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PAROCHIAL REGISTERS AND ACCOUNT BOOKS IN THE CODE OF CANON LAW AND IN THE REGULATIONS OF EPISCOPAL CONFERENCES

Abstract

The aim of the article is to present the issue of parochial registers and account books in the Code of Canon Law and in the regulations of Episcopal Conferences. The first part presents the norms of the 1983 Code of Canon Law on parochial registers and account books. The second part presents the issue of keeping and storing the register of confirmation, while the third part is devoted to the regulations of Episcopal Conferences on parochial registers and account books. The article ends with a summary and bibliography.

Keywords: parochial registers; parish; parish priest; Episcopal Conference; complementary norms

Introduction

The Catholic Church, both a spiritual community and a hierarchically organized community that is at the same time different from state communities, has its own, original administration characterized by its own tasks and means of action. It remains in the service of building the ecclesial community and guiding its development towards the ultimate goal.¹ The administrative ministry in the parish includes the duty to keep parochial registers and account books and store them in the parish archives. Parish books and registers form an integral component of

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¹ Cf. J. Krukowski, *Administracja w Kościele. Zarys kościelnego prawa administracyjnego*, Lublin 1985, p. 19.

church administration, directly serving the fulfilment of pastoral tasks.² These books are of momentous pastoral and legal importance. They reveal the administrative life of the Church and, in a special way, the pastoral care of the faithful. They are also fundamental to the exercise of the rights and duties of the faithful with regard to the administration of the sacraments, at the same time they are essential for the proper organization of pastoral care.³

The universal legislator demands that each parish keep a series of books in which certain acts must be recorded. As a universal law, this provision was established at the Council of Trent, although in some European countries these books have been required by particular legislation for centuries.⁴

Church books must be maintained, available and kept in each parish for documentary evidence of certain data. With regard to data, a distinction should be made between: those relating to personal status and pastoral care (i.e., data relating to the status of persons and the administration of the sacraments), and those relating to assets, including mass scholarships and foundations. The term 'parochial registers' (*libri paroeciales*) as used by the Code of Canon Law (hereafter: CIC) includes only books with data regarding canonical status and pastoral care.⁵ The books containing the relevant information relating to church property are referred to as parish registers, not parish books.⁶

The 1983 Code of Canon Law mandates that the following parochial registers and account books be kept in each parish: for the baptised, married, deceased and others. The legislature also refers to particular law, i.e., the regulations of the Episcopal Conference or diocesan bishop, which may oblige or recommend the

² Cf. H. Schmitz, *Die Pfarrlichen Kirchenbücher*, „Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht”, 161 (1992) issue 1, p. 116. 'Parochial registers, which certify the celebration of the sacraments and register the dead, together with curial records, which record ordinations, provide insight into the history of sanctification of the Christian people in its institutional and social dynamics. (...) Furthermore, documents on the administration of church property also reflect the involvement of individuals and the business activities of institutions, providing an important source of information.' Pontificia Commissione per i Beni Culturali della Chiesa, *La funzione pastorale degli archivi ecclesiastici* (2 febbraio 1997), issue 1. 2, Città del Vaticano 1997. Cf. J. Fuentes, *Libros parroquiales*, w: *Diccionario General de Derecho Canónico*, Obra dirigida y coordinada por J. Otaduy, A. Viana, J. Sedano, vol. 5, Pamplona 2012, p. 177.

³ Cf. Fuentes, *Libros parroquiales*, p. 177.

⁴ Cf. ibidem. Some Roman churches are known to have kept records and established the first archives since the 4th century. In the 14th century, one diocese in Spain required parish registers of visitation, foundation, *fabrica ecclesiae* (a term used in medieval and modern documents to mean the construction of a church, as well as all the work involved in building, rebuilding or repairing it, as well as furnishing and operating it), and records concerning parishioners. Cf. ibidem. Benedict XIII, the 'archivist' pope and former archbishop of Benevento, issued various specific norms regarding parish archives, which also involved the books stored in them. D. Balboni, *I libri parrocchiali dopo il Concilio di Trento*, „Archiva Ecclesiae”, 18–21 (1975–1978) p. 243.

⁵ As public documents, parochial registers attest to everything that is directly and substantially recorded in them. Cf. cann. 1540–1541.

⁶ Cf. Schmitz, *Die Pfarrlichen Kirchenbücher*, p. 115. The Code does not use the term 'parochial account books.'

keeping of other books in addition to those listed in the Code. The parish priest is to ensure that these books are properly transcribed and stored. Hence, the question arises: what parochial registers and account books are required by the code law, where should the register of confirmation be kept, and what regulations, taking into account the common law regarding parochial registers and account books, have been issued by the bishops' conferences of various countries. This article is an attempt to answer the questions raised above. It omits specific issues such as how to keep certain registers or account books, how to store them, who is responsible for preparing and maintaining them, or the matter of protecting and processing personal data contained in the books. These issues go beyond the scope outlined in this paper. The author presents only the legal status of the subject matter covered in the topic of the article.

The source base for this article is essentially the 1983 Code of Canon Law and the norms of selected Episcopal Conferences that have applied its norms on parochial registers and account books. Due to the limited scope of the article, a selection of specific provisions was made. It was guided primarily by the criterion of representativeness (presentation of resolutions of bishops' conferences operating on different continents, in different socio-ecclesial conditions: Europe, Africa, South America, Asia, Australia). The criterion of accessibility of these norms to the author played a role in the choice of particular laws.

The literature on the present issue is not very abundant. It has been included in the bibliography. The main sources used were commentaries on individual canons of the 1983 Code of Canon Law, a dictionary of canon law, and two articles relevant to the issues addressed in the following article (José Martín de Agar and Heribert Schmitz). It should be added that the issues presented in this article have not yet been addressed in the Polish canon literature.

1. The norms of the 1983 Code of Canon Law on parish books and registers

The 1983 Code of Canon Law explicitly enumerates certain books that must be kept and maintained in all parishes. First of all, 'in every parish, parochial registers should be kept, namely the registers of the baptised.' The legislator also mentions this book in other places. Can. 877, § 1 obliges the pastor of the place where the baptism was administered to immediately and accurately record in the book of the baptised the name of the baptised, making mention of the minister, parents, godparents and witnesses, if any, as well as the place and date of the baptism administered, providing also the date and place of birth. Pursuant to can. 895, the parish priest is required to notify the pastor of the place of baptism of the confirmation, so that the latter can make annotations in accordance with the provision of can. 535, § 2. Subsequently, can. 1122, § 1 reminds us that 'the contracted marriage is to be noted also in the baptismal registers in which the baptism of the spouses has been recorded', and 'If a spouse did not contract marriage in the parish in which the person was baptised, the pastor of the place of the celebration is to send notice of the marriage which has been entered into as soon as possible to the pastor of the

place of the conferral of baptism'.⁷ Moreover, can. 1123 addresses the baptismal register in the following disposition:

Whenever a marriage is either convalidated in the external forum, declared null, or legitimately dissolved other than by death, the pastor of the place of the celebration of the marriage must be informed so that a notation is properly made in the marriage and baptismal registers.

The legislator reminds that it is necessary to record in the baptismal register membership in the Church *sui iuris* or transition to another one, confirmation,⁸ as well as any matters related with the canonical status of the faithful by virtue of marriage,⁹ with the exception of secret marriages,¹⁰ by virtue of adoption,¹¹ as well as the reception of ordination,¹² and perpetual profession made in a religious institute. Annotations must always be made visible in the baptismal certificate.¹³

Another parochial register mandated by common law is the marriage register.¹⁴ This book under the CIC is also mentioned in can. 1121, § 1, where it is stipulated that

After a marriage has been celebrated, the pastor of the place of the celebration or the person who takes his place, even if neither assisted at the marriage, is to note as soon as possible in the marriage register the names of the spouses, the person who assisted, and the witnesses, and the place and date of the celebration of the marriage according to the method prescribed by the conference of bishops or the diocesan bishop.¹⁵

The code legislator also obliges parishes to keep a death register. According to the tenor of can. 535, § 1, 'Each parish is to have parochial registers, that is, those of (...) deaths.' The necessity of keeping the said register is also indicated by can. 1182, which stipulates: 'When the burial has been completed, a record is to be made in the register of deaths according to the norm of particular law.'¹⁶

Also elsewhere, in addition to can. 535, § 1, the current CIC prescribes as mandatory the keeping of the following books in parishes: catechumens,¹⁷ Mass

⁷ Can. 1122, § 2.

⁸ Can. 895.

⁹ Cann. 1122–1123, 1685, 1706.

¹⁰ Can. 1133.

¹¹ Can. 877, § 3.

¹² Can. 1054.

¹³ Can. 535, §; cf. Sousa Costa, *Commento al can. 535*, p. 327; cf. J. Renken, *Commentary on canon 535*, in: *New Commentary on the Code of Canon Law*, ed. J. Beal, New York 2000, p. 708.

¹⁴ Can. 535, § 1.

¹⁵ Cf. can. 1121, § 3, cann. 1123, 1682, § 2, 1706; cf. Sánchez-Gil, *Comentare el can. 535*, in: *Comentario exegético al Código de Derecho Canónico*, eds. A. Marzoa, J. Miras, R. Rodríguez-Ocaña, vol. 2, part 2, Pamplona 2002, pp. 1283–1286.

¹⁶ Cf. Sánchez-Gil, *Comentario al can. 535*, p. 1285.

¹⁷ 'When the period of the precatechumenate has been completed, those who have made known their intention to embrace faith in Christ are to be admitted to the catechumenate in liturgical ceremonies and their names are to be inscribed in the book designated for this purpose.' Can. 788, § 1. The said book should be a special book for those who join the catechumenate; therefore, it cannot be equated with any of the books in which the names of those entering the sacrament of baptism are

offerings,¹⁸ receipts and expenditures,¹⁹ collections of documents and proofs on which the rights of parish institutions are based,²⁰ a book containing the liabilities of pious foundations and their fulfilment, where the accrued Mass offerings are also recorded, as well as other alms.²¹

It should be pointed out that parish books, treated by the common law as compulsory, will include any registers or account books established by civil law (e.g., in tax matters) for entities that enjoy legal personality.²²

2. The issue of keeping and storing confirmation registers²³

Confirmation has a social character in the life of the Church, so it is necessary to leave specific evidence of its celebration. This is exactly one of the functions of a confirmation witness: to witness this celebration and testify to it when necessary. To reinforce the proof of confirmation, there is also a special book for the registration of the confirmed, which is mandatory in all diocesan

recorded. Can. 788, § 3 indicates first of all the right of the candidates to have their names entered in the register of catechumens, but also the duty of the ministers to keep such a book, and this presupposes two conditions: on the one hand, that the candidates have expressed their willingness to accept faith in Christ, and on the other hand, that they have passed the period of the precatechumenate. C. Guillermo Arias Jiménez, *El estatuto jurídico del catecúmeno: una propuesta para la Iglesia Colombiana a la luz de la exigencia del canon 788 del Código de Derecho Canónico de 1983*, Bogotá 2019, pp. 54–55; cf. G. Trevisan, *Lo „stato giuridico” del catecúmeno*, „Quaderni di Diritto Ecclesiale”, 10 (1997) issue 3, p. 255.

¹⁸ Can. 955, § 3: ‘Those who entrust to others Masses to be celebrated are to record in a book without delay both the Masses which they received and those which they transferred to others, as well as their offerings.’; can. 958, § 1: ‘The pastor and the rector of a church or other pious place which regularly receives offerings for Masses are to have a special book in which they note accurately the number of Masses to be celebrated, the intention, the offering given, and their celebration.’ Cf. L. Chiappetta, *Il Codice di Diritto Canonico*, vol. 1, Napoli 1988, p. 635; cf. Sánchez-Gil, *Comentario al can. 535*, p. 1285.

¹⁹ Can. 1284, § 1 (7): ‘[Administrators] must keep well organized books of receipts and expenditures’; J. Krukowski, *Komentarz do kan. 535*, p. 442, misstates can. 1287, § 1 (7); cf. can. 532; pcf. Sánchez-Gil, *Comentario al can. 535*, p. 1285; cf. Krukowski, *Komentarz do kan. 535*, p. 442.

²⁰ Can. 1284, § 2 (9); J. Krukowski, *Komentarz do kan. 535*, p. 442, misstates can. 1287, § 2 (9).

²¹ Can. 1307, § 2. J. Krukowski, *Komentarz do kan. 535*, p. 442, does not provide a record of accepted and fulfilled foundation obligations that is valid under code law. Can. 1307, § 2. Conferenza Episcopale Italiana, *Atti ufficiali in applicazione del codice di diritto canonico*, „Notiziario CEI”, 18 (1983) issue 7, p. 209 clearly indicates that the book in can. 1307, § 2 is required by common law: ‘In the parish archives there are, in addition to the books prescribed by can. 535, § 1 and required by can. 1284, § 2, (9) and (1307) (...)’ Issue 6, p. 209; cf. Sánchez-Gil, *Comentario al can. 535*, p. 1285; cf. Renken, *Commentary on canon 535*, p. 708.

²² Cf. Sánchez-Gil, *Comentario al can. 535*, pp. 1284–1285.

²³ The matter of the confirmation register was treated separately due to the fact that it can be kept at the parish or diocesan level, which is an important issue from the perspective of the purpose of the article.

curia,²⁴ and, if the episcopal conference decides so, in the parishes where confirmation took place.²⁵

Since the first half of the 18th century, parish priests have been required to keep a register of confirmations. Pope Benedict XIV (1740–1758), in his apostolic constitution *Firmandis* of 6 November 1744, instructs bishops to check during canonical visitation whether parish priests keep a register of the confirmations. He wrote:

Ad personalem quoque parochi visitationem, proindeque ad episcopi ius et officium pertinet ea occasione examinare, an titulo legitimo parochus etiam regularis animarum curam exerceat, an residentiae lex ab eo observata fuerit atque observetur (...) denique an parochus apud se recte ordinatos retineat **libros** tum baptizatorum, ubi fons baptismalis adsit in ipsius Ecclesia, tum **sacro chrismate confirmatorum** (underlined by J. A.), libros etiam matrimoniorum, et status animarum²⁶.

The 1917 Code of Canon Law²⁷ in can. 470, § 1 demanded that parishes keep a special register of confirmations, in which, pursuant to can. 798, the parish priest should enter the name of the minister, the confirmed person, their parents and the confirmation witness, as well as the day and place of the confirmation. All of the above was to be done regardless of the annotation in the baptismal register, which was mentioned in can. 470, § 2.²⁸

The 1983 Code of Canon Law in can. 895 stipulates:

The names of those confirmed with mention made of the minister, the parents and sponsors, and the place and date of the conferral of confirmation are to be recorded in the confirmation register of the diocesan curia or, where the conference of bishops or the diocesan bishop has prescribed it, in a register kept in the parish archive. The pastor must inform the pastor of the place of baptism about the conferral of confirmation so that a notation is made in the baptismal register according to the norm of can. 535, §2.

Thus, the registration of confirmation is to be made: a) either in the confirmation register kept at the diocesan curia; b) or, if the Episcopal Conference or diocesan bishop so decides, in the appropriate register kept in the parish archives. In summary, the confirmation register is to be stored either at the diocesan curia or at the parish office.²⁹ It is easy to see that now – unlike with the previous CIC –

²⁴ Cf. J. Hortal, *Los sacramentos la Iglesia en su dimensión canónico-pastoral*, Bogota 2002, p. 93.

²⁵ Cf. can. 895.

²⁶ Benedictus PP. XIV, Constitutio Apostolica *Firmandis* (6 Novembris 1744), in: *Codicis Iuris Canonici fontes*, ed. P. Gasparri, vol. 1, Romae 1923, pp. 858–859; cf. M. Pastuszko, *Sakrament bierzmowania*, Kielce 2005, p. 373.

²⁷ *Codex Iuris Canonici, Pii X Pontificis Maximi iussu digestus Benedicti Papae XV auctoritate promulgatus*, Romae 1951.

²⁸ Pastuszko, *Sakrament bierzmowania*, p. 374.

²⁹ *Código de Derecho Canónico. Edición bilingüe, fuentes y comentarios de todos los cánones*, ed. A. Benlloch Poveda, Valencia 1993, p. 414; cf. *Commento al Codice di Diritto Canonico*, ed. P. Pinto, p. 551.

the register of confirmations in parishes is not mandated by common law, but by decision of the episcopal conference or diocesan bishop.

It is worth noting that can. 895 presents two possibilities as to where the book of confirmation should be drawn up and kept. Interestingly, a diocesan registry to be maintained at the bishop's curia is preferred in the first instance. It is not provided for in the analogous canons on baptism. The purpose of the aforementioned diocesan register of confirmation is to implicitly affirm the primacy of the bishop as ordinary minister of this sacrament. The bishop is usually the steward of confirmation, so the diocesan register can make it easier, if necessary, to obtain a certificate of receipt of this sacrament. The second option – a parish register of confirmations – is also permitted by can. 895. However, it is seen by the legislature as a secondary option, since the choice of this option requires a decision by the local bishops' conference or diocesan bishop.³⁰

3. The norms of Episcopal Conferences on parochial registers and account books

Many Episcopal Conferences, following the CIC, remind of the obligation to keep baptismal registers in parishes, for example, the Bishops' Conference of India decided: 'The Bishops' Conference leaves it to the diocesan bishop to order the keeping of all other registers except the parish registers of baptisms, marriages and deaths.'³¹ The Bishops' Conference of the Netherlands repeats after the CIC: 'In every parish, parochial registers should be kept, namely the registers of the baptised (...)'.³² The Bishops' Conference of England and Wales has ruled similarly: 'In addition to baptismal registers (...) are to be in every parish in England and Wales (...)'.³³ Some conferences indirectly speak of the necessity of a baptismal register in the parish, generally referring to can. 535 § 1 of the CIC.³⁴ Some episcopal conferences remind, following the CIC, of the obligation of parishes to keep a register of marriages.³⁵

³⁰ Cf. K. Hart, *Commentary on canon 895*, in: *New Commentary on the Code of Canon Law*, p. 893; cf. J. Martín de Agar, *Estudio comparado de los decretos generales de las conferencias episcopales*, „Ius Canonicum”, 32 (1992) issue 63, pp. 194–195; cf. E. Zanetti, *L'archivio diocesano e il cancelliere*, „Quaderni di Diritto Ecclesiale”, 14 (2001) issue 2, p. 148.

³¹ Conference of Catholic Bishops of India, *Complementary Legislations to the Code of Canon Law, Canon 535*, <http://ccbi.in/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Complementary-Legislations-to-the-Code-of-Canon-Law-1.pdf> (accessed on: 28.06.2020).

³² *Regelingen R.K. Kerkgenootschap in Nederland*, issue 5, *Toepassingsbesluiten bij de Codex Iuris Canonici*, Utrecht 1989, p. 10.

³³ Conferenza episcopale di Inghilterra e Galles, *Decreti generali della Conferenza episcopale riguardanti la legislazione complementare al codice di diritto canonico, pubblicati nel 1985 e nel 1986*, „Ius Ecclesiae”, 1 (1989) issue 1, p. 362.

³⁴ E.g. Conferenza Episcopale Italiana, *Atti ufficiali in applicazione del codice di diritto canonico*, p. 209, or Episcoporum Conferente Hungariae, *Normae complementame ad Codicem Iuris Canonici ab Episcoporum Conferentia Hungariae compositae*, „Ius Ecclesiae”, 6 (1994) issue 2, p. 849.

³⁵ E.g. New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference, *Particular Legislation. Promulgation of the general decrees of the New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference*, „Ius Ecclesiae”, 9 (1997) issue

Among the optional legislative powers of the bishops' conferences, *Lettera circolare ai Presidenti delle Conferenze Episcopali* provides for the determination of the place where the register of confirmations should be kept.³⁶ J. Martín de Agar notes that, so far, all the conferences that have issued regulations in connection with can. 895 have entrusted the registration of confirmation to parishes.³⁷ For example, the Episcopal Conference of Paraguay ruled that: 'The Episcopal Conference of Paraguay directs that a book of confirmation be kept in the own registers of each parish or vicariate',³⁸ and the Italian Episcopal Conference has determined: 'The register of confirmations is to be kept in the parish archives, in addition to the books that are obligatory under can. 535, § 1 and what is prescribed in cann. 1284, § 2 (9) and 1307.'³⁹ The Episcopal Conference of Venezuela, on the other hand, specified: "The Episcopal Conference of Venezuela, based on can. 535, § 1, has also resolved as follows: in addition to the books indicated in the canon, the registers of confirmations must be kept..."⁴⁰ The Bishops' Conference of England and Wales has ordered: 'Due to long-standing practice in England and Wales, pursuant to can. 895, a register of the confirmations is to be kept in each parish, instead of a central register in the diocesan curia.'⁴¹ The Polish Bishops' Conference reminded that: 'In addition, a special book with the data on the confirmation recipients in the parish where this sacrament was administered should be prepared.'⁴²

Some bishops' conferences remind of the obligation to keep parish registers in the parishes listed in the CIC beyond can. 535, § 1. For example, regarding the parish register of catechumens, the Episcopal Conference of Chile decided that:

1, p. 405. Conferentia Episcoporum Iapaniae, *Normae applicativae C.I.C.*, 20 febbraio 1992, „Ius Ecclesiae”, 4 (1992) issue 2, p. 776.

³⁶ Casaroli A., *Lettera circolare ai Presidenti delle Conferenze Episcopali* (8 novembre 1983), „Communicationes”, 15 (1983) issue 2, pp. 135–139.

³⁷ *Estudio comparado de los decretos generales de las conferencias episcopales*, p. 195.

³⁸ Conferencia episcopale del Paraguay, *Norme complementari al C.I.C.*, „Ius Ecclesiae”, 10 (1998) issue 1, p. 408.

³⁹ Conferenza Episcopale Italiana, *Can. 535 § 1*, in: *Delibere e decreti della Conferenza Episcopale Italiana*, Milano 2005, p. 85; cf. G. Marchetti, *Il registri dell'ingresso nella vita cristiana*, „Quaderni di Diritto Ecclesiale”, 25 (2012) issue 2, p. 211.

⁴⁰ Conferencia Episcopal de Venezuela, *Legislación complementaria al Código de Derecho Canónico, Libros parroquiales*, in: Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano – CELAM, *Universidad de Navarra Facultad de Derecho Canónico, Código de Derecho Canónico, edición bilingüe y anotada, Tomo II, a cargo del instituto marín de azpilcueta sexta edición revisada y actualizada*, Pamplona 2006, p. 1740. The bishops of Hungary have made similar decisions, Episcoporum Conferente Hungariae, *Normae complementame ad Codicem Iuris Canonici*, p. 849.

⁴¹ Conferenza episcopale di Inghilterra e Galles, *Decreti generali della Conferenza episcopale riguardanti la legislazione complementare al codice di diritto canonico*, p. 362. The same regulations was issued in the Philippines, Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines, *Norms approved for the local implementation of some provisions of the New Code of Canon Law*, „Ius Ecclesiae”, 4 (1992) issue 1, p. 352.

⁴² *Wskazania Konferencji Episkopatu Polski dotyczące przygotowania do przyjęcia sakramentu bierzmowania* (14 March 2017), issue 20, <http://episkopat.pl/wskazania-konferencji-episkopatu-polski-dotyczace-przygotowania-do-przyjecia-sakramentu-bierzmowania/> (accessed on: 4.07.2020).

A book or 'Register of Catechumens' should be kept, recording the identity of the catechumen, the name of the person who presented them, the priest who received them, and the place and date of reception. Attention should be also paid to the selection of the witness and the other stages of the catechumenate expressed in the ritual. The place of registration is the relevant parish.⁴³

The Episcopal Conference of Ecuador cites the code obligation for parishes to keep a book of Mass offerings,⁴⁴ and the Episcopal Conference of El Salvador mentions keeping an account book.⁴⁵

According to the tenor of can. 535 § 1, in addition to the baptismal, marriage, and death register, each parish must also keep books recommended by the Episcopal Conference or the diocesan bishop. The conference has legislative authority over the maintenance and preservation of 'other parish books' in addition to those specifically mandated by the CIC. Many bishops' conferences, recognizing the necessity or usefulness of the 'other parish books' mentioned in can. 535, § 1, have established various books and registers in their territory as mandatory.

The Episcopal Conference of El Salvador decided that the following must be kept in the parish: a register of marriage records, a chronicle recording the most important events in the life of the parish, major activities, apostolic movements, significant changes in the life of parishioners, natural phenomena affecting the population of the parish, etc.⁴⁶ The Episcopal Conference of Venezuela specified that 'in addition to the books indicated in canon [535 § 1 – J.A.], there must be books ... of administration, a chronicle'.⁴⁷

The Italian Bishops' Conference has determined as follows: the following books and registers should be kept in the parish: the register of the administration of property and the register of legacies, the register of 'Status animarum', the register of First Communions and the Parish Chronicle.⁴⁸ The Bishops' Conference of England and Wales has mandated that parishes keep a register of converts and (where appropriate) a register of burials in the parish cemetery.⁴⁹

⁴³ *Legislación complementaria de la Conferencia Episcopal de Chile al Código de Derecho Canónico, 4a Edición, Marzo de 2006. Comentada por Mons. Juan Luis Ysern de Arce Obispo Emérito de Ancud, Santiago de Chile 2006, p. 54.*

⁴⁴ Conferencia Episcopal Ecuatoriana, *Legislación complementaria al Código de Derecho Canónico, Nombramiento de párrocos por tiempo determinado*, in: Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano – CELAM, *Universidad de Navarra Facultad de Derecho Canónico*, p. 1587.

⁴⁵ Conferencia Episcopal de El Salvador, *Normas complementarias al Código*, in: Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano – CELAM, *Universidad de Navarra Facultad de Derecho Canónico*, p. 1622.

⁴⁶ Conferencia Episcopal de El Salvador, *Normas complementarias al Código*, p. 1622.

⁴⁷ Conferencia Episcopal de Venezuela, *Legislación complementaria al Código de Derecho Canónico*, p. 1740.

⁴⁸ Conferenza Episcopale Italiana, *Can. 535 § 1*, p. 206; cf. Marchetti, *Il registri dell'ingresso nella vita cristiana*, p. 206; cf. Martín de Agar, *Estudio comparado de los decretos generales de las conferencias episcopales*, p. 195.

⁴⁹ Conferenza episcopale di Inghilterra e Galles, *Decreti generali della Conferenza episcopale riguardanti*, p. 362.

The Mexican Episcopal Conference recommends keeping a parish chronicle.⁵⁰ The Austrian Bishops' Conference, on the other hand, determined that the following registers were to be kept in the parish: conversions and returnees to the Church and the state of souls.⁵¹ The Bishops' Conference of Kenya, following the disposition of canon 535, § 1, determined that the following books should be kept in the parish: marriage announcements, marriage cases (Marriage Cases Books), marriage certificates.⁵²

The Episcopal Conference of Sri Lanka has ordered that books be kept in the parish relating to: First Holy Communion and parish chronicle,⁵³ while the Thai Bishops' Conference recommended keeping a 'state of souls' book.⁵⁴ The 'status animarum' book is ordered to be kept by the bishops of Japan.⁵⁵ The Episcopal Conference of the Philippines requires the keeping of a First Communion book.⁵⁶

Conclusions

1. Church books play an important role in the spiritual and pastoral life of the Church in parishes. They have their roots in certain ecclesiastical regulations that developed over a long period of time, and which were often and heavily influenced by state regulations.

2. Parochial registers are also fundamental to the exercise of the rights and duties of the faithful with regard to the administration of the sacraments, at the same time they are essential for the proper organization of pastoral care.

3. The 1983 Code of Canon Law explicitly requires that certain parochial registers and account books be kept. In addition to these, it authorizes the episcopal conferences or the diocesan bishop to order or recommend the keeping of other parochial registers and account books.

4. The bishops' conferences were given the authority (an optional norm) by the universal legislature to introduce certain parochial registers and account books in their territory.

4. Some bishops' conferences in their regulations repeat the code norms on parochial registers and account books. Importantly, it is not a mere citation of code

⁵⁰ Conferencia del Episcopado Mexicano, *Decreti generali della Conferenza episcopale del 12 ottobre 1985 e dell'11 aprile 1988, riguardanti la legislazione complementare al codice di diritto canonico*, „Ius Ecclesiae”, 1 (1989) issue 1, p. 368.

⁵¹ Österreichische Bischofskonferenz, *Dekret über Führung und Aufbewahrung der Pfarrbücher sowie über Urkundenausstellung* (16–18 Juni 2014), „Amtsblatt der österreichischen Bischofskonferenz”, 76 (2016) issue 67, p. 10.

⁵² Kenya Episcopal Conference, *Complementary Norms*, „Ius Ecclesiae”, 9 (1997) issue 2, p. 828.

⁵³ Catholic Bishops' Conference in Sri Lanka, *Complementary Legislation to the Code of Canon Law*, „Ius Ecclesiae”, 6 (1994) issue 1, p. 384.

⁵⁴ Bishops' Conference of Thailand, *Particular norms for Thailand*, „Ius Ecclesiae”, 5 (1993) issue 1, p. 413.

⁵⁵ Conferentia Episcoporum Iaponiae, *Normae applicativae C.I.C.*, p. 776. The 'status animarum' book is one of the primary sources of historical demography.

⁵⁶ Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines, *Norms approved for the local implementation of some provisions of the New Code of Canon Law*, p. 352.

provisions, but a reminder and a kind of application of these norms to specific conditions and circumstances.

5. It is a fact that the conferences that have issued regulations in connection with can. 895 have generally delegated the registration of confirmation to parishes. It seems that not only parishes can be entrusted with keeping the confirmation register, but also a duplicate of this book should be kept at the diocesan curia, due to the double security of the data on the reception of this sacrament and the confirmation of the primacy of the bishop as ordinary minister of confirmation.

6. The presented norms of selected episcopal conferences provide for the existence of the following parochial registers and account books: a register of marriage records, a parish chronicle, a book of apostolic movements in the parish, a book of parish property administration, a register of legacies, a register of 'Status animarum', a register of First Communions, a book of conversions and returnees to the Church, and a book of marriage announcements.

7. Apparently, all episcopal conferences should mandate the keeping of a book of premarital announcements (where the institution of announcements exists) and a parish chronicle.

8. Undoubtedly, parishes should also keep a book of formal apostasies, as well as an account book of parish property.

9. The conferences should issue regulations for pastors governing the storage, processing and sharing of personal data recorded in parish records.

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**KSIEGI I REJESTRY PARAFIALNE
W KODEKSIE PRAWA KANONICZNEGO I W PRZEPISACH
WYBRANYCH KONFERENCJI EPISKOPATÓW**

Abstrakt

Celem artykułu jest ukazanie zagadnienia ksiąg i rejestrów parafialnych w Kodeksie prawa kanonicznego i w przepisach konferencji episkopatów. W jego pierwszej części przedstawiono normy Kodeksu prawa kanonicznego z 1983 r. o księgach i rejestrach parafialnych. W drugiej części ukazano kwestię prowadzenia i przechowywania księgi bierzmowania, natomiast część trzecia została poświęcona przepisom konferencji episkopatów w sprawie ksiąg i rejestrów parafialnych. Całość artykułu zamykają podsumowanie i bibliografia.

Słowa kluczowe: księgi parafialne; parafia; proboszcz; konferencja episkopatu; normy komplementarne



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CATHOLIC PRESS IN THE KINGDOM OF POLAND IN THE YEARS 1905–1914 AND THE IDEA OF MODERN EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP¹

Abstract

The Catholic press in the Kingdom of Poland at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries covered in major part the situation of the Church in the changing social reality, and also discussed and critically commented on Western concepts of modernization. Publicists searched for ways of shaping modern society and defining the role of the Church in this process that suited domestic conditions. The discourse on modernity addressed issues of education and citizenship, among others.

Magazines addressed mainly to the clergy and published over a longer period of time are taken as representative subjects of the study; these include: *Przegląd Katolicki*, *Ateneum Kapłańskie*, *Wiadomości Pastorskie*, *Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej*, *Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej*, *Przegląd Diecezjalny w Kielcach*, and *Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie*. They promoted contemporary knowledge about the ways in which the Church supports school and extracurricular education, and pointed out the symbiotic relationship between the education of the young generation and the consolidation of religious values, the shaping of civic attitudes, and concern for the ethical dimension of the social community. The article adopts a research strategy based on the so-called social

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concept of the history of education. Methods of historical and pedagogical research and methods of press discourse analysis were applied. The formal and editorial issues of the periodicals are briefly discussed, focusing primarily on educational and civic issues as they appeared in the Catholic social press after 1905, and on the problems of extracurricular education.

Keywords: idea of modern education; idea of modern citizenship; Catholic press; Kingdom of Poland (1905–1914); extracurricular education

Introduction

The turn of the 20th century witnessed heated discussions in the Kingdom of Poland regarding modernization processes, usually referred to in historiography as modernity. The Catholic Church has been one of the actors of social life involved in the debate on the problems caused by social and ideological changes. The Catholic press published many texts on the faith and the situation of the Church in the changing realities. Assessments of socio-political, religious, economic and ideological processes were made, and Western modernization concepts were discussed. The journalistic deliberations were aimed at seeking the ways to shape modern social relations and define collective identity that corresponded to domestic conditions.

It is worth recalling that the Catholic Church as an institution sought to develop its own vision of modernization, alternative to concepts based on scientific and materialistic assumptions, which in their extreme manifestations denied the meaning and need for religion. Currently, scholars are questioning the validity of the dichotomy, in which liberals were assigned the role of supporters of progress, and Catholics – defenders of tradition averse to modernity in any form.² The achievements of the ‘Catholic Enlightenment’ and the complexity of 18th century culture are emphasized, questioning the juxtaposition of two images of the Enlightenment – secular and religious.³ The encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII were of particular importance for the theoretical reflection and directions of the Church’s practical social activity. Since that pontificate, the Church has systematically commented on current social issues.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the discussion of modernity in the Kingdom of Poland included two perspectives – education and citizenship. In Catholic circles, these were also considered particularly important areas of social life. Many

² A. Barańska, *Nowoczesny naród, nowoczesna religijność – przypadek Polski*, part 2 https://xpxzhp.umcs.lublin.pl/Referaty/Anna%20Bara%C5%84ska_Nowoczesny%20nar%C3%B3d,%20nowoczesna%20religijno%C5%9B%C4%87_cz.%202.pdf (accessed on: 10.07.2021); R. Butterwick-Pawlikowski, *Między oświeceniem a katolicyzmem, czyli o katolickim oświeceniu i oświeconym katolicyzmie*, „Wiek Oświecenia”, 30 (2014), pp. 11–53; M. Janowski, *Małżeństwo z rozsądku: katolicyzm i nowoczesność w dziewiętnastowiecznej Europie*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 122 (2015) issue 4, pp. 657–699.

³ S. Janeczek, *Rola Oświecenia chrześcijańskiego w kulturze wieku XVIII*, „Kultura i Wartości”, (2015) issue 15, p. 15.

interesting contributions on these issues have been presented in the religious press,⁴ including periodicals intended mainly for Catholic priests. These periodicals, being an important transmitter of facts, views and assessments, had a significant impact on the formation of attitudes of the clergy. The subject of research for this article comprises magazines addressed to the clergy, issued for at least several years and having a significant readership ratio. Consequently, three periodicals for priests regardless of diocesan affiliation were analysed: *Przegląd Katolicki*, *Ateneum Kapłańskie* and *Wiadomości Pasterskie*, as well as magazines for the priests of individual dioceses: *Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej*, *Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej*, *Przegląd Diecezjalny w Kielcach*, *Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie*. The research strategy adopted in the article is the so-called social concept of educational history. Methods of historical and pedagogical research and methods of press discourse analysis were also applied.

Formal and publishing issues

Przegląd Katolicki was the oldest Catholic weekly newspaper in Warsaw. It had been published since 1863. Its first editor was Rev. Prof. Michał Nowodworzki, succeeded by Rev. Antoni Sotkiewicz, and from 1878 Rev. Teofil Jagodziński, from 1907 Rev. Antoni Szaniawski, in 1909–1910 Rev. Teofil Matuszewski, and from 1911 Rev. Władysław Załuskowski. The magazine featured texts written by clergymen from all dioceses of the Kingdom of Poland, as well as from dioceses outside the Congress Kingdom.⁵ According to the programme objectives of the periodical, it was to serve as a comprehensive informational resource for both clergy and lay readers.⁶ In addition to theological issues, it addressed social and philosophical problems.

Wiadomości Pasterskie was published from January 1905 to December 1907; it was a monthly theological and pastoral magazine, edited and published first by Rev. Antoni Grochowski, and since 1906 by Rev. Marian Fulman. The magazine was intended for Roman Catholic priests. The first and second annuals were published in Piotrków, while the last (the third) was published in Częstochowa.

The *Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej* and *Ateneum Kapłańskie* monthly magazines represented the group of Włocławek church magazines.⁷ They were characterized by rich content, high scientific level and careful editing. The Bishopric of Włocławek had ample financial resources, strong publishing facilities in

⁴ Religious periodicals, including Catholic ones, experienced intensive development in the Polish lands in the 19th and early 20th centuries; today they are a particularly valuable category of sources for historical research. *Polskie czasopisma religijno-społeczne w XIX wieku. Materiały do katalogu*, eds. B. Lesisz, Cz. Drapińska, D. Olszewski, K. Marciniak, Warsaw-Lublin 1988.

⁵ H.E. Wyczawski, *O warszawskim „Przeglądzie Katolickim”*, „Studia Theologica Varsaviensia”, 16 (1978) issue 2, pp. 269–279; I. Kaczmarek, „*Przegląd Katolicki*” w latach 1863–1915, „*Przegląd Tomistyczny*”, 3 (1987), pp. 317–342.

⁶ G. Markiewicz, *Spór o model społeczeństwa na łamach „Przeglądu Tygodniowego” i „Przeglądu Katolickiego” w latach 1864–1880*, Łódź 2000, pp. 12–13.

⁷ A. Notkowski, *Z dziejów prasy polskiej na Kujawach wschodnich do 1918 r.*, cz. 2, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego”, 10 (1971) issue 10/4, p. 435.

the form of an extensive Diocesan Printing House and General Bookstore, and an educated staff (especially clergy associated with the seminary), among whom were people with editorial and journalistic practice.⁸ *Ateneum Kapłańskie* was the first theological and social scientific journal for the clergy in the Kingdom of Poland; the subtitle stated that it was '[...] devoted to Scripture, dogmatic theology, apologetics, moral and ascetical theology, canon law, liturgy, philosophy, history, social sciences, pedagogy and Christian art.' The monthly had nationwide coverage and had a debit for the entire Austrian and German empires, the US and France. It was published by the Theological Seminary in Włocławek from 1909 to 1939, under the guidance of professors of the local seminary.⁹ The subject matter of *Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej*, a monthly magazine with the character of an internal bulletin of the bishopric, concerned the affairs of the diocese; the magazine was published from 1907 to 1939.¹⁰

The *Przegląd Diecezjalny* monthly, edited by Rev. Jacek Pycia, had been in circulation from 1911 as the body of the Kielce diocesan curia. Published in Kielce until 1939, it experienced a suspension in editing forced by the war in 1914–1916. It was subject to compulsory subscription by all parishes of the diocese.¹¹ Another important Catholic periodical was *Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej*, a monthly magazine devoted to religious, scientific and social affairs, published in Sandomierz in 1908–1947. The publisher of the magazine was Rev. Jan Gajkowski, who cooperated with the rector of the local seminary, Rev. Paweł Kubicki, and seminarian professors.¹²

Issued between 1911 and 1914, the *Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie* monthly magazine was intended to provide information material for the clergy of the Warsaw Archdiocese, to facilitate their practical activities and to inform them about matters related to their vocation and social tasks.¹³ Its editor and publisher was Rev. Kazimierz Bączkiewicz.¹⁴

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ The magazine was founded by Rev. Idzi Radziszewski, rector of the Włocławek seminary. Beginning in 1909, the monthly was published by Rev. Stanisław Gruchalski, and the magazine's responsible editor was Rev. Antoni Szymański.

¹⁰ Initially, the editor-publisher of *Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej* was the Rev. Marian Fulman, and Rev. Piotr Czapla was the head of the literary department. Beginning in 1908, Rev. Rudolf Filipiński, who also became editor-publisher the following year, served as the magazine's head manager.

¹¹ *Przegląd Diecezjalny*, later renamed *Kielecki Przegląd Diecezjalny*, was the longest-running Catholic periodical in the Kielce Diocese.

¹² The Editorial Committee included the rector of the seminary Rev. Paweł Kubicki, Canon Marcei Gralewski, Canon Antoni Rewera, Dean Stanisław Puławski, and seminary professors: Józef Rokoszyński, Julian Młynarczyk, Adam Szymański, Andrzej Wyrzykowski, Józef Kawiński, Stefan Suchecki; J. Krasieński, „*Kronika*” jako dzieło redaktorów, in: *Stulecie periodyku diecezjalnego „Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej”*, ed. J. Krasieński, Sandomierz 2009, pp. 28–29.

¹³ *Od Redakcji*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, (1911) issue 1–2, pp. 1–2.

¹⁴ From 1912, the head of the literary department of the magazine was Rev. Czesław Sokółowski, and its administrator was Rev. Jan Podbielski. Rev. Alexander Pajęcki served as publisher and editor from 1914.

All of the magazines in question served as a link between Church authorities and lower-level clergy, posting papal encyclicals, bishops' letters and ordinances, government regulations, diocesan news, and information on personnel changes among priests.

Education and citizenship in Catholic social work

In the 19th century, education and upbringing were a constant in Catholic culture's consideration of social processes. They were considered traditional areas of concern for the Church, invariably important also under the conditions of civilizational changes taking place under the influence of the development of capitalist relations and Enlightenment ideas. In the realities of the Kingdom of Poland, the lack of its own statehood and the oppressive policies of the tsarist authorities made it difficult to carry out social educational activities. The increase in the scope of freedoms in this area after 1905 contributed to the growth of educational initiatives and the revival of journalistic discussions on education. This also applied to Catholic circles. Education, closely linked to religion and morality, was considered one of the foundations of social development. The category of citizenship was also permanently included in the glossary of terms used in the Catholic press in Congress Poland in the early 20th century in considering social issues. It was, moreover, sometimes present in Catholic journalism in earlier decades as well. *Przegląd Katolicki* argued, as early as 1876, that the most important task of education '[...] should be to make everyone according to their position and conditions of life a good husband, a good father, a decent farmer, a faithful and conscientious servant, a reliable craftsman, in a word, a citizen of the country worthy of the name.'¹⁵

The model of citizenship promoted in the Catholic press was expressed in the recognition of the paramount value of community goods, as well as in demands for participation in public life and the expansion of traditional forms of activity, previously carried out in private spaces or confined to a single social group. The pattern of civic conduct referred to both romantic and positivist ideals, and combined concern for preserving the continuity of national identity with concepts of grassroots work. This issue was closely linked to the dissemination of social and moral values among adults and the younger generation to strengthen their civic attitudes. Among the most important qualities and attitudes were honesty, integrity, patriotism, generosity, and responsibility for community property. Most of the articles, however, paid little attention to the importance of tolerance, openness and responsibility for words. The need to foster respect for the law was also disregarded, which was also due to the Russified nature of the judiciary. A characteristic feature of the promoted model of citizenship was the strong presence of national content, while avoiding the problem of the scope of the social and civic community, as well as the relationship of the collective with minority groups (such as national minorities). Issues of civil citizenship, related to the rights of the individual guaranteed by the legal system and political citizenship, concerning the active and passive

¹⁵ As cited in: Markiewicz, *Spór o model społeczeństwa*, p. 189.

right to vote, have been addressed to a limited extent. This was due to the political situation in the Kingdom of Poland and the interference of the censors, but also due to the tendency to avoid problems which were difficult to solve in the absence of their own statehood, and controversial to some public opinion. Consideration of this topic would have to involve, for example, defining attitudes toward the rights of women and Jews. This made the discussion of citizenship less inquisitive, leaving unanswered the key question: who deserves to be called a full member of the community? Between the lines of statements about the need to build a civic community, one can see the difficulty of defining the degree of inclusion and the acquiescence to the arbitrariness of dominant groups over non-elite communities. Much has been written about the need to 'empower' the peasantry, while assuming the need for guardianship exercised by the clergy and, in part, by representatives of the landed gentry and intelligentsia.

The clergy addressed the importance of forming civic attitudes in the faithful, and applied this criterion to themselves as well. For example, Rev. Hipolit Zieliński, addressing the National Democracy's efforts to subordinate the Catholic clergy to party goals, argued: '[...] whoever failed to submit to the party's command was denied the label of a patriot and all the virtues that could adorn a good citizen of the country.'¹⁶ At the same time, the press reminded the public of the need for extreme caution, as the Church's attempts at civic and patriotic activity in Congress Poland could risk being accused of anti-government or even espionage activities. In these terms, the Russian authorities sometimes read communications with the Roman Curia, although official relations between the Catholic bishops of the Russian Empire and the Vatican were always conducted through the Ministry of the Interior. Activity for education and the empowerment of the faithful was met with accusations of unlawful interference by Catholic priests in the organization of secret Polish schools and the establishment of national organizations.¹⁷

Reflections on modernity in the press for the clergy were combined with a contestation of its materialist and scientific dimensions. Catholic circles in Congress Poland sought their own concept of modernization, alternative to the modernity promoted in secular circles. As Brian Porter-Szücs wrote, 'Catholic authors even appropriated and to some extent domesticated the troublesome vocabulary of modernity, words like science and progress.'¹⁸ Typically, the category of modernity was avoided by using the term 'progress'. Reference was made to the Christian concept of man, stating that progress means the perfection of man, the spiritual maturation to which he was called by God.¹⁹ Using the concept of progress, issues

¹⁶ H. Zieliński, *Stronnictwo narodowo-demokratyczne a Kościół*, „Wiadomości Pastorskie”, (1906) issue 6, p. 377.

¹⁷ Sz., *Z ksiązek i z prasy. Religia w życiu narodowym*, „Ateneum Kapłańskie”, (1909) issue 5, pp. 470–473; *Rozporządzenia prawno państwowe*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, (1911) issue 11, pp. 294–299.

¹⁸ B. Porter-Szücs, *Faith and Fatherland. Catholicism, Modernity, and Poland*, Oxford 2011, p. 82.

¹⁹ Until World War I, the press relied on assumptions laid out in *Encyklopedia kościelna*, published in the late 19th century, where the collective dimension of progress was addressed, arguing

of social modernization were considered, and solutions to social problems were sought, emphasizing that: 'The social question is first and foremost a question of education and upbringing; second only to this is the need for economic reform,' while also underlining that 'the education of the mind should again be checked for harmony with Christian truth.'²⁰

The equation of national education with folk education in most Catholic periodicals was symptomatic.²¹ Regarding the people as the building blocks of society and the modern nation (although neither the concept of the people nor the nation was specified), efforts to educate them were considered a mission of special importance. Pointing out 'the highest determinants of the ideals of the whole nation', the '1) Catholic faith, 2) Polish culture, 3) the good of the Polish people' triad was emphasized.²² In response to the question of what is the most important area of activity within Catholic social work, Rev. Franciszek Wojewódzki argued that: '[...] there is not the slightest doubt, and nobody can say otherwise that the most urgent and necessary of all social issues in our country, in the present era, is the enlightenment of the people. And it is not just because these people are ignorant, that education has been hampered for a number of years.'²³ According to Rev. F. Wojewódzki, there was a threat to the 'nation' from the Communist International; he considered those who 'wear sheep's clothing' to be even more dangerous – within this group he included educational activists originating from among the peasantry, sympathetic to liberal, independence and socialist circles.²⁴ *Przegląd Katolicki* has repeatedly argued that it is the moral duty of all Catholic society to build a Catholic education system.

School, learning and education of the people are terms encountered almost everywhere today in every broader walk of life: we find them vividly in the Catholic press, we hear them around the cities in speeches and lectures, we read about them almost constantly in dailies and newspapers, sometimes irreligious or even downright hostile to the aspirations and principles of the Catholic Church. Let us then march boldly forward today with the motto *let the national-Catholic education live*; united and with strength we raise this banner to the top, but not otherwise than under the banner of the Cross and the Church of Christ.²⁵

that: 'Only through the perfecting of the individual, can any social progress be made, and mutually all social progress aims at the moral perfecting of the individual. The more reason, justice and prosperity there is in society, the easier it will be for each individual to fulfil their destiny', J.N. [Jan Nowodworski], *Postęp ludzkości*, in: *Encyklopedia kościelna*, ed. M. Nowodworski, vol. 20, Warsaw 1894, p. 493.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 518.

²¹ A. Śnieżko, *Nieco o stanie oświaty ludowej*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1907) issue 14, pp. 216–218.

²² A.Sz., *Nie żadne stronnictwo, ale potężny Obóz Narodowo-Katolicki*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1905) issue 51/52, p. 793.

²³ F. Wojewódzki, *Pasterz parafii i prace społeczne*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1909) issue 6, p. 84.

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ Śnieżko, *Nieco o stanie*, p. 216.

While formulating a vision of the nation's close ties with religion and Catholic education, the problems of education of other religious groups were *de facto* on the side.

The discussion of the role, importance and scope of activities for the development of education and the formation of civic attitudes was linked with the consideration of the participation of the clergy in social activities.²⁶ This issue spurred a lively debate in the Catholic press at the beginning of the 20th century, and clergy attitudes varied widely.²⁷ Some shared the conviction of combining pastoral work with social and civic work. In 1906, Rev. M. Fulman wrote in *Wiadomości Pasterskie*: 'Parish priests have a duty not to shy away from any social work. In charitable and cooperative societies they should appear not as a burden on honour or a thing of insignificance, but as an animating spirit.'²⁸ Welfare and educational activities for children and young people were depicted as a particularly important element of Catholic social work. In 1906, *Przegląd Katolicki* featured an extensive series of articles by Stefania Marciszewska, dedicated to the activities of the Society for the Care of Children²⁹. The author claimed that '[...] children and youth are the foundation of societies, the element that rejuvenates them. Thus, the first goal of work in the social field is to care for children and young people.'³⁰

Rev. Józef Magott argued in *Wiadomości Pasterskie* for the need for the clergy to undertake socio-educational activities, believing that their neglect had contributed to the strengthening of attitudes of religious indifferentism in some circles. He wrote:

[...] part of our intelligentsia has become indifferent to religion, but we are to blame for this, because with our desire to rule and other vices we display we pushed them away, and we have not given them an understanding of religion. Also, some of our young people are combating religion. But who is to blame for this? Who took interest in these young people? Who cared about their spiritual and material well-being? This youth suffers and strays because we have not fulfilled our duty in terms of education.³¹

The demands for social activation of the clergy were usually combined with expectations of their involvement in educational and caring activities and appeals 'to leave the vestry for schools and children's shelters, to asylums and classrooms [...] Unfortunately, many priests consider this very sitting in the vestry a point of honour, and any departure therefrom as harmful social activity and a sign

²⁶ A. Szymański, *O pracy społecznej*, „Wiadomości Pasterskie”, (1905) issue 3, pp. 153–176; M. Fulman, *Nasza praca społeczna na dobre*, „Wiadomości Pasterskie”, (1905) issue 6, pp. 389–395.

²⁷ A discussion on this topic was held in 1909 in the pages of *Przegląd Katolicki*, (1909) issue 5, 12, 14, 15.

²⁸ M. Fulman, *Wielkomięskie i fabryczne parafie*, „Wiadomości Pasterskie”, (1906) issue 2, pp. 87–88.

²⁹ S. Marciszewska, *Towarzystwo Opieki nad Dziećmi*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1906) issue 48, pp. 744–745; issue 49, pp. 762–763; issue 50, pp. 775–777.

³⁰ Ibidem, (1906) issue 48, p. 744.

³¹ J. Magott, *Jaką prowadzić drogą?*, „Wiadomości Pasterskie”, (1906) issue 11, p. 666.

of modernism.³² Some of the clergy were against the implementation of social tasks, arguing that combining pastoral and social activities contradicts the words of Christ: 'My kingdom is not of this world.'³³ The clergy's distancing from the involvement in organizing social activities was due, among other things, to the dislike of the expectations of National Democracy, which considered the work of the clergy on behalf of the people and the democratization of social relations as its main mission, while at the same time considering religion to be subordinate to the national cause.

The subordination of religion to national and social tasks aroused concerted opposition from the clergy, which did not imply a negation of Catholic social work as such. The journalistic polemics concerned the scope, type and form of social activism expected of priests. There was agreement on the immutability of the Church's mission as the guardian of morality, from which came a conviction about the fundamental role and responsibility of the clergy in the field of education and upbringing.³⁴ It was recalled that the priestly tradition sees the priest as a kind of teacher, combines the religious activities of the Church with the promotion of education.³⁵ It was also considered a form of civic duty for the clergy. The press for the clergy reported that '[...] the dissipation of superstition, ignorance and prejudice as to the rights of the Church in the work of education and public enlightenment in Poland is to be our first task both in ecclesiastical and extra-ecclesiastical teaching.'³⁶ The conviction of the Church's unquestionable right to curate education and upbringing stemmed from the belief in the inseparability of the education – morality – religion triad. The moral order was recognised as stemming from religion, therefore religion had to be the foundation of education.³⁷ At the same time, it was accepted that the main purpose of education is to shape man in the spiritual dimension – religious and moral, rather than intellectual, as '[...] a child who acquires various knowledge in school, but lacks in virtue and morals, loses more than gains.'³⁸ Religion has been claimed to be the core element that teaches a young man how to use abilities and knowledge, because '[...] one that has great learning, and does not know how to use it properly, will end up in

³² *Pasterzowanie w wielkich miastach*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1914) issue 15, pp. 229–230.

³³ V.A. Bołdyrew, M. Krakowiak, *Obszary działalności edukacyjnej i opiekuńczej Kościoła Katolickiego wobec dzieci i młodzieży w Królestwie Polskim i na Kresach zaboru rosyjskiego na początku XX w.*, „Piotrkowskie Zeszyty Historyczne”, 20 (2019) issue 1, pp. 63–96.

³⁴ Concern for the education of parishioners should be combined with concern for the priests' own intellectual level, so they were encouraged to be scholarly and literate. Devoting oneself exclusively to practical activities and neglecting self-education led to a risk of parochial views. 'If one's vision reaches only the borders of the parish or neighbourhood and their view of the world becomes narrow and limited, pettiness will be the consequence of such a state of affairs.' K. Tomczak, *Kapłan i czytelnictwo*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, (1913) issue 11, pp. 297–300.

³⁵ „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1907) issue 1, p. 25.

³⁶ H. Zieliński, *Polska Macierz Szkolna*, „Wiadomości Pastorskie”, (1907) issue 6, p. 377.

³⁷ X.A. Woroniecki, *O stosunku moralności do religii*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, (1911) issue 5–6, pp. 99–107.

³⁸ *Rozporządzenia diecezjalne*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1908) issue 2, p. 52.

peril'.³⁹ Assuming that the Catholic religion was to be the basis of all education, it was expected that also in elementary and secondary schools funded by the state, no subjects should be taught that opposed those religious values.

The moral order shaped by the Catholic religion was considered to have a universal dimension and absolute value. It is the basis of social life and a prerequisite for proper civic education. School raises good children for the family, good Christians for the Church, and good citizens for the homeland.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, many representations disregarded the fact that one in three inhabitants of the Kingdom of Poland was not Catholic; and so, for example, in 1909, *Przegląd Katolicki* argued that society needed a school '[...] not only Polish and national, but also religious, that is, Catholic, because Catholic is the whole nation'; a school that does not meet these conditions, 'should [...] sink right into the ground'.⁴¹ Thus, the Church was considered an institution that upholds education, exercising spiritual leadership over the education system in a society with no statehood on its own. Education based on Christian ethics and the social teachings of the Church was to be the guarantor of educating the younger generation in accordance with the requirements of early 20th century civilization. In the Catholic press, the educational and upbringing-related duties of priests were presented as a result of the law, but also a spiritual duty to direct education. The Church's participation in matters of education and the formation of civic attitudes was considered essential, especially in relation to the people, without specifying this concept, usually with the rural people in mind. There were constant calls in the Catholic press for the establishment of schools,⁴² especially in villages where elementary education faced challenges and private schooling was quite limited. Parishes were to become educational centres. Fostering education among the peasantry was proclaimed to be the duty of every 'intelligent individual', all the more a priest.⁴³ Addressing the small number of schools, they stressed the adverse impact of the lack of educational institutions on the social life of local communities.⁴⁴ They also constantly reminded that the

³⁹ Ibidem.

⁴⁰ S.K. Zdzitowiecki, *Z miłosierdzia Bożego i Stolicy Apostolskiej łaski Biskup Kujawsko-Kaliski wiernym diecezji naszej pozdrowienie i błogosławieństwo pasterskie*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1907) issue 12, pp. 361–370.

⁴¹ *Piękne słowa P. W. Gomulickiego*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1909) issue 12, p. 188.

⁴² *Pastoralia. Budujemy szkoły*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1912) issue 6, pp. 177–180.

⁴³ Z., *Pastoralia. Powszechne nauczanie a młodzież wiejska*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1913) issue 12, pp. 379–382; L. Kleczyński, *Przewodnik Duszpasterza. O kółkach rolniczych*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, (1913) issue 5, pp. 136–140.

⁴⁴ *Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej* reported on the lack of education, for example, in the parish of Magnuszew, with 2 one-classroom schools: one private, attended by only 18 children, and the other – the government school – with up to 70 students. The parish also ran schools in Trzebień and Łękawica. This meagre number of institutions could not meet the educational needs of the local community. Another problem was the lack of understanding on the part of many parishioners about the importance of developing elementary education, which could become a ticket to vocational schools for young people. A. Pawiński, *Parafia Magnuszewska*, „Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej”, (1912) issue 5, pp. 147–150.

primary purpose of school is not the transmission of knowledge, but proper moral education. In addition to acquiring the ability to read and write, the child should be equipped with moral principles in school, '[...] brought up to harmonize the development of physical and spiritual forces, to become a formed human: healthy, reasonable, responsible, noble.'⁴⁵ The press also reported on the formal and legal aspects of the establishment of private schools by priests.⁴⁶ It included articles about specific educational initiatives taken by the clergy, for example, *Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej* reported that the priests of the Piotrków deanery took an active part in the establishment of a grammar school in Piotrków in 1906. Piotrków vicars pledged to pay 50 roubles annually each to the school for 3 years.⁴⁷ The organist school, which had been in operation since 1894, was considered valuable in religious, educational and civic terms. It continued the tradition of the formerly active section of church music lovers at the Warsaw Music Society.⁴⁸

The significance of catechetical activities for education

Catechesis of school children remained a particularly important area of educational activity for the clergy. Concern for its quality was combined with the intensification of the clergy's catechization work with children and young people in rural communities in the last decades of the 19th and early 20th centuries, which led to an improvement in the religious formation of the countryside.⁴⁹ The press addressed to the clergy served to help establish the methods and goals for conducting systematic catechization. The knowledge of the methodology of teaching religion, derived from the seminaries, turned out to be inadequate, not corresponding to the requirements of the reality of the early 20th century. The need for the priest to constantly enrich his knowledge and improve his catechetical skills was emphasised.⁵⁰ The authors argued that religious education for children should be illustrative and practical, and knowledge should be conveyed in simple and understandable language. It was stressed that the catechist should not place undue emphasis on the externals of learning and should not expect children to know catechetical definitions. More important was the students' understanding of the essentials and preparation for First Communion.⁵¹ A clergyman conducting

⁴⁵ Z., *Pastoralia. Powszechne nauczanie*, p. 379.

⁴⁶ Rev. Wład. Mik., *Rozporządzenia Prawnopaństwowe. Z powodu nowej ustawy szkolnictwa prywatnego*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, (1914) issue 9–10, pp. 270–272.

⁴⁷ S. Szabelski, *Wieści z diecezji*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1907) issue 4, pp. 132–133.

⁴⁸ Z Kurii Biskupiej. *Rozporządzenia diecezjalne. O zakładaniu po parafiach Związku Katolickiego*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1907) issue 7, pp. 224–226.

⁴⁹ W. Mędrzecki, *Młodzież wiejska na ziemiach Polski centralnej 1864–1939. Procesy socjalizacji*, Warsaw 2002, pp. 89, 102.

⁵⁰ W. Gajzler, *Pastoralia. Nieco o katechizacji dzieci*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1914) issue 1, pp. 25–30; Wł. Górzyński, *Wykłady sztuki chrześcijańskiej w seminariach*, „Ateneum Kapłańskie”, (1909) issue 2, pp. 109–120.

⁵¹ Prior to First Communion, 3 grades were established for teaching children prayers and catechetical messages. Lessons were to be held on Sundays and holidays 1 hour each throughout the year, and 3 times a week for 10 weeks after Easter. The teaching of the catechism was to be combined

catechesis was expected to be patient, empathetic towards his pupils, use appropriate didactic and educational methods.⁵² His story was to be lively, joyful, full of life and feeling, and change its form often in order to affect the mind and spiritual sphere of the student.⁵³ The teaching provided by a priest, as by any teacher, was to refer to the principles of pedagogy.⁵⁴ The press emphasized the importance of good, substantive and pedagogical preparation of catechists,⁵⁵ but also their personal qualities, and the ability to gain respect and recognition. While requiring catechists to hone their teaching skills, they stressed the importance of comprehensively influencing students during the class.⁵⁶ These lessons were intended to be a particularly important transmitter of knowledge about the principles of the faith, Catholic morality, dogma, sacred history, Catholic values, behaviour during religious rites, but also an opportunity for social and moral education.⁵⁷ Having good relations with young people in mind, the catechist should walk in the corridors during breaks, visit the recreation halls, school dining halls, and participate in excursions of male youth. The catechist remained a pastor both inside and outside the school classroom, so he could not only focus on imparting a certain amount of religious knowledge, but at the same time had to be a professional educator, shaping attitudes and good manners.⁵⁸ Attention was drawn to the need for parish priests to cooperate with the parents of students, and they were obliged to remind

with the singing of religious songs. A child could not enter a higher grade until they had passed an exam on the teachings of the previous form. After passing the exam on the teachings of the second grade, the children took their first confession. The catechist was required to explain its terms to them beforehand. After the third grade exam, students took their First Communion. *Rozporządzenia diecezjalne*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1907) issue 2, pp. 49–51.

⁵² *Momento dla katechizujących*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1908) issue 7–8, pp. 251–252.

⁵³ *Jak rozbudzać wśród młodzieży szkolnej cześć dla Przenajświętszego Sakramentu?*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1909) issue 6, pp. 83–84; *Odpowiedzi i informacje*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1914) issue 1, pp. 31–32; Rev. W. K., *Bibliografia*, „Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej”, (1913) issue 1, p. 29; X. S., *Głos wiejskiego proboszcza o nauczaniu katechizmowym i o podręcznikach do nauk katechizmowych*, „Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej”, (1913) issue 2, pp. 47–48; issue 3, pp. 81–84.

⁵⁴ Tomczak, *Rozporządzenie papieskie o głoszeniu słowa Bożego*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, (1911) issue 5–6, pp. 81–93. The press also addressed the value of ‘knowledge of sociology and psychology’ among priests for a better understanding of man as an individual being and member of society. M. Ciemniński, *Na co należy zwrócić uwagę w nauczaniu kapłańskim?*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1907) issue 51, p. 804.

⁵⁵ Szabelski, *Pastoralia. Braki i potrzeby naszego nauczania religijnego*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1914) issue 7–8, pp. 223–229.

⁵⁶ *Przewodnik Duszpasterza*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, (1914) issue 3, pp. 67–70; issue 4, pp. 95–103.

⁵⁷ *Rozporządzenia diecezjalne*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1908) issue 2, pp. 50–53.

⁵⁸ A. Trepkowski, *Katecheta jako duszpasterz w klasie i poza klasą*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, (1911) issue 1–2, pp. 28–35; *Miscellanea. Warunki przyjmowania Kandydatów do Szkół zawodowych Męskich Towarzystwa Popierania Przemysłu Ludowego w Królestwie Polskim*, „Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej”, (1913) issue 6, pp. 206–207.

parents and guardians of their duty to send their children to catechesis. The dissemination of catechetical classes conducted in schools and at parishes was linked in the articles with an increase in the social importance of this area of education and with an improvement in the position of priests.⁵⁹

The role of good teaching aids for lecturing on religion was also highlighted. Looking for means to improve the quality of catechesis, they considered a textbook that would properly fulfil the didactic and educational role. In 1906, *Mały katechizm Kościoła rzymsko-katolickiego* [Small (Provincial) Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church] was compiled and adopted by the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Warsaw by their order.⁶⁰ It was introduced to teach children in the church and schools of the Polish Educational Society. On the eve of World War I, there were calls in the press for the preparation of a new catechism textbook; in the view of the clergy, of the many catechisms in operation at the beginning of the 20th century, none had stood the test of time. Rev. Leon Wojciechowski's remarks on the preparation of a textbook for the catechization of rural children were published in the pages of *Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej* in 1913.⁶¹ Another article in this magazine pointed out the disadvantages of catechism textbooks: excessive volume, overburdening the child's memory, excruciatingly long formulas 'that have to be learned by heart.'⁶² Catechists working with children also counted among the disadvantages of the folk catechisms the widespread use of archaisms in the textbooks, the lack of illustrations and the poor quality of printing.

Catechesis was to be linked with the overall religious life of children and young people. The authors emphasized the importance of cooperation between the school, clergy and parents in deepening the religious spirituality of young people, taking care of their participation in religious practices.⁶³ The 'great pedagogical value of children's confession' was pointed out.⁶⁴ They wrote about the important role

⁵⁹ It was explained in the press that religious instruction in parish-established schools complemented and expanded the teaching of the elementary school network, thus providing access to education for a larger group of children. After the introduction of a general school network, when the number of schools in each parish increased, teaching religion in them became part of the pastoral duties of each parish priest, as was the case, for example, in Galicia. Such an organization simplified the catechization of children; moreover, the new law provided for remuneration for teaching religion in elementary schools, which had previously been usually conducted free of charge in the villages, allocating for that purpose 60 roubles per year for 2 hours per week, in addition to the possibility of teaching in several schools. *Odpowiedzi i informacje*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1914) issue 1, pp. 31–32.

⁶⁰ *Mały katechizm Kościoła rzymsko-katolickiego*, Warsaw 1906; *Rozporządzenia diecezjalne*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1907) issue 2, pp. 49–51.

⁶¹ L. Wojciechowski, *Uwagi w sprawie przygotowania podręcznika diecezjalnego dla katechizacji dzieci wiejskich*, „Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej”, (1913) issue 10, pp. 312–321.

⁶² X. S., *Głos wiejskiego proboszcza o nauczaniu katechizmowym i o podręcznikach do nauk katechizmowych*, „Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej”, (1913) issue 2, pp. 47–48; issue 3, pp. 81–84.

⁶³ Szabelski, *Praktyki i zwyczaje religijne w szkole*, „Wiadomości Pasterskie”, (1906) issue 11, p. 656.

⁶⁴ *Kilka uwag o postępowaniu z dziećmi w konfesjonale*, „Wiadomości Pasterskie”, (1907) issue 11, p. 679.

of trips and pilgrimages of schoolchildren in the educational process, including religious education. These were considered 'an important factor of education', increasingly used 'in the life of the rejuvenated Polish school.'⁶⁵ It was stressed that pilgrimages 'are a very positive factor in the work on the moralization of youth.'⁶⁶

The papal decree on the preaching of the word of God⁶⁷ stressed the rank of sermons, an essential form of church teaching to the faithful. The press recommended homiletic literature, including texts particularly useful for youth work, such as *Egzorty świętane zastosowane do potrzeb uczniów wyższych klas szkół średnich* by Antoni Bystrzonowski.⁶⁸ The importance of involving youth in religious practices was emphasized. One of the recurring themes was the integral relationship between religious teaching provided through catechesis and homilies and the formation of the moral attitudes of the faithful. Particular importance was attributed in this regard to the influence of pastors on the younger generation. The press pointed out the value of sermons also relating to social issues, shaping basic civic virtues such as honesty, prudence, solidarity with other members of the community, care for the common good, and responsibility for community property. The homiletic message of the pastor should prepare the individual to be part of the community, to work in solidarity, self-education and self-control. It was argued that in sermons the faithful should be reminded of the basic principles of life that apply to every Catholic, namely concern for the family, honesty, the duty to work on character. The method of explaining in a sermon some religious principle was recommended, as related with customs among people in order to stimulate love of God and neighbours. The essential purpose of the sermon, therefore, was to elevate and ennoble the moral side in a person through religious motives. As addressed in *Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie*, the implementation through catechesis and homily of ethical tasks made the pastor a moral educator, shaping the moral system, but also a sense of citizenship, especially towards young people.⁶⁹

Catholic press and Polish school education after 1905

The Catholic clergy and press displayed ambivalent attitudes towards the issue of the 1905 school strike, which resulted in a boycott of Russian schools, the formulation of demands for the introduction of the Polish language into teaching and the establishment of private Polish schools.⁷⁰ Some of the clergy feared youth radicalization and anarchy. In a letter to Polish Parents published in *Przegląd Katolicki* in July 1905, Archbishop Wincenty Popiel expressed his concern over the Russian school boycott. He was also concerned about demands for the

⁶⁵ Szabelski, *Wycieczki i pielgrzymki młodzieży szkolnej*, „Wiadomości Pasterskie”, (1906) issue 11, p. 656.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, p. 658.

⁶⁷ Tomczak, *Rozporządzenie papieskie*, pp. 81–93.

⁶⁸ *Nasza najnowsza literatura homiletyczna w oświeceniu krytycznym*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, (1911) issue 7–8, pp. 155–170.

⁶⁹ Tomczak, *Rozporządzenie papieskie*, pp. 81–93.

⁷⁰ K. Lewalski, *Kościół rzymskokatolicki a władze carskie w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 111–119.

establishment of private schooling due to the threat of students' access to this form of education being limited by their parents' financial capabilities. Fearing the exclusion of the poor from such education and the widening gap between wealthy and poor youth, he concluded that 'private education will not remedy the evil.'⁷¹ Addressing parents with an appeal to send their children to school in the new school year, 'whether private or public [...] according to the means at your disposal', he emphasized the religious and civic dimension of their responsibility for the education of the younger generation.⁷² Also published in the pages of *Przegląd Katolicki* was a letter from the Archbishop of Gniezno and Poznań Florian Stablewski, who supported the positions of Archbishop W. Popiel.⁷³ Admonishing the striking youth, he urged them to obey: 'The measure of the value of youth is always the understanding that it is not to them to lead the nation, but to serve it, and with such service only, under the leadership of tried and tested men, can they give the guarantee of God's blessing.'⁷⁴

The events surrounding the youth strike and the vision of Polish education, formulated at the time by circles advocating a secular model of education, caused concern among the clergy. The belief in the fundamental role of religion in the upbringing of children and young people was closely linked to the conviction of the necessary presence of religion in school education and criticism of non-denominational schools. Concerns about the secularization of education have sometimes gone hand in hand with the formulation of strong accusations and the stigmatization of opponents. In November 1905, the *Przegląd Katolicki* reported that: 'the new Polish school turns out to be a seedbed of moral anarchy right from the start.'⁷⁵ The author of the article accused circles of the Polish intelligentsia, which succumbed to the influence of a- and anti-religious intellectual currents, of having established Polish secondary schools with '[...] a faithless kind of rationalism, supported by works of Jewish and Protestant origin,' among which he mentioned books by Immanuel Kant.⁷⁶

Much emotion was evoked by the evaluation of the activities of the Polish Educational Society. The Catholic press has devoted much space to criticizing the schools managed by the institution. It is difficult to determine whether during the period of the school strike and the activities of the Society, the press for the clergy expected Catholic schools to be complementary or competitive with community schools. The article in *Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej* argued that although

⁷¹ *Arcybiskup warszawski do Rodziców polskich*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1905) issue 30, p. 458. The archbishop argued: 'And what will happen to the masses of poor youth? Why should the son of a peasant, an artisan, a poor widow, a seamstress half-blinded from work, go to waste more so than their companion from the school bench lavishing in comforts and affluence, with teachers, tutors and all kinds of academic help at their disposal?'

⁷² *Ibidem*.

⁷³ *Pismo J.E. Najdostojniejszego Arcypasterza Gnieźnieńskiego i Poznańskiego*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1905) issue 32, pp. 489–490.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 399.

⁷⁵ *Co warta jest szkoła obecnie niby już „polska”*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1905) issue 47, p. 732.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 729.

the Society runs many schools, its success can only be sustainable if it operates under the auspices of the Catholic Church.⁷⁷ The author of the text lamented that under the aegis of the Society, various kinds of talks were organized more and more often, where a lot of time was devoted to issues of natural science, which, in his opinion, contributed to the disappearance of the religious worldview.⁷⁸ A few issues later, the same periodical reported on a conference on religious and social matters in Włocławek,⁷⁹ held by order of Bishop Stanisław Zdzitowiecki on 26 June 1907. The first subject of deliberations was the attitude of the clergy toward the Society. As written in the report, those gathered at the conference concluded that the institution does not guarantee either by law or by activity the education of Catholic youth in the Catholic spirit. They called for the introduction of a provision on the Catholic spirit of its institutions in the Society's statute, letting prefects influence the Catholic direction of youth education, and guaranteeing tolerance of non-Catholics in the Society's schools.⁸⁰ Other magazines wrote in a similar vein. For example, *Wiadomości Pasterskie* considered one of the biggest problems of Polish education to be '[...] insufficient consideration of the religious factor in the modern Polish school and in the main organization of our education, i.e., in the Society.'⁸¹ *Przegląd Katolicki* lamented that in organizing schooling under the Society, '[...] the Catholic Church was left out and deprived of its rightful access to school and education of Catholic youth'.⁸²

Concurrently, some of the clergy criticized the priests, who outright condemned the activities of the Society. In 1907, in the pages of *Wiadomości Pasterskie* Rev. H. Zielinski, while expressing his conviction of the need to care for the religious education of the younger generation, at the same time criticized the attitudes of radical clergymen who depreciated the activities of the Society: 'A serious institution was being rebuked from the pulpit, accused of being godless and pagan, and mercy was not even bestowed upon those who only send their children to the Society's schools. It was a reprehensible abuse of the Church office and the sacrament, which was only capable of kindling hatred against the clergy and even the Church itself.'⁸³ The clergy's anxiety and fear of ideologization and further secularization of education persisted after the dissolution of the Society by the

⁷⁷ The arguments of the Society's Chairman Antoni Osuchowski about the self-governing nature of Society's field organizations of circles were recalled. Hence, it was considered necessary for priests to have a part in the decision-making process. Rev. F. M., *Zakładajmy biblioteki parafialne*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1907) issue 1, p. 24.

⁷⁸ Ibidem, p. 22.

⁷⁹ *Konferencja w sprawach religijno-społecznych w Włocławku*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1907) issue 7, pp. 227–228.

⁸⁰ Ibidem.

⁸¹ Zieliński, *Polska Macierz Szkolna*, p. 375.

⁸² J. Antonowicz, *Administrator Dyecezyi Sejneńskiej do wielbego duchowieństwa dyecezyalnego i wszystkich wiernych Chrystusowych tejże dyecezyi*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1907) issue 20, p. 307.

⁸³ Zieliński, *Polska Macierz*, p. 375.

Russian authorities.⁸⁴ They were concerned about the influence of various progressive circles, to which the editors of the *Przegląd Katolicki* included 'Masonic', popular and socialist circles. References to nationalist, sometimes combined with anti-Semitic, rhetoric were evident in some of the texts published in this magazine and concerning educational issues.⁸⁵ For example:

If Polish school were now to fall into such hands, it would be a disaster for the education of the people far more dangerous than the present disastrous monopolistic influence of national democracy. The Polish school would then rot to the core. [...] The people themselves will cope with the school which one party has denied them, but let all the powers available to the people guard them against the new Jewish-Masonic bondage.⁸⁶

Much space in the periodicals under analysis was devoted to promoting vocational education. Detailed information on schools, courses and organizations providing vocational training was often provided. Such articles served an informative function for priests, who could then pass on specific messages to parishioners and disseminate to the rural population the prospects of young people obtaining qualifications for specialized agricultural work and the virtues of craft work. Much space was devoted to promoting information about the activities of the Society for the Promotion of Folk Industry in the Kingdom of Poland, registered in September 1907.⁸⁷ The articles reported about the organization's goals, emphasizing the educational aspects. The Society was to establish schools of folk industry and drawing classrooms, open stores for the sale of folk industry products, prepare instructors, i.e. specialists in various branches of folk industry, arrange permanent, moving and temporary exhibitions to spread its activities as widely as possible. Much attention was paid to the establishment of schools of instructors, whose task was to prepare and provide future workshops and schools of folk industry with properly, professionally and pedagogically trained managers.

The press periodically reported on the Society's standards of requirements for prospective students. Entrants to vocational schools usually had to be between the ages of 16 and 20, demonstrate good knowledge of reading, writing and performing 4 arithmetic operations.⁸⁸ Handicraft instruction, teaching aids, housing, lighting, and medical care were provided to the students free of charge by the Society; the students paid only for boarding school maintenance. The education period was 2 years. The press reported that admission to any of the professional schools had to be applied for directly to the Society's Board in Warsaw. Information about

⁸⁴ I. Charszewski, *Kościół a Polska Macierz Szkolna*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1907) issue 20, pp. 317–318; issue 21, pp. 328–330.

⁸⁵ *Działwa polska w szponach masonerii*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1906) issue 47, pp. 721–722.

⁸⁶ *Notatki z prasy peryodycznej*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1907) issue 51, p. 813.

⁸⁷ *Towarzystwo Popierania Przemysłu Ludowego w Królestwie Polskim*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, (1911) issue 5–6, pp. 122–125.

⁸⁸ Exemplary behaviour and good health were also prerequisites for student admission. In addition, the candidate had to have a passport, a smallpox vaccination certificate, necessary underwear, bedding, clothes, and shoes for the duration of their stay at the school. *Miscellanea. Warunki przyjmowania Kandydatów do Szkół zawodowych Męskich*, pp. 206–207.

specific ventures of the Society was systematically provided, such as the Jan Bloch Toy Instructors' School in Nałęczów, founded in 1905 and later operating under the auspices of the Society.⁸⁹ Various workshops and courses, conditions of admission to them, costs, and the study duration periods were also covered.⁹⁰ The establishment of lace-making schools in the Kingdom was postulated in *Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie*, while stressing the importance of disseminating craft skills among rural youth.⁹¹

Much of similar information about vocational training aimed at rural youth was provided in the Catholic press. They also argued for the importance of building a market for goods produced at such facilities. This was considered as realisation of the principles of social solidarity. Such functions were attributed, for example, to the People's Industry Support Store in Warsaw, at Bracka 18 Street, which sold textiles, furniture, basketry accessories purchased from workshops and institutions established by the Society and run by private individuals, mainly from various folk manufacturers.⁹² The store's role was to act as an intermediary between the manufacturer and the consumer, to acquaint the wider public with the products of the folk industry. However, to accomplish this task, the store needed active public support. The press helped promote such institutions among the parish clergy, who disseminated knowledge of them to the faithful. Describing private philanthropic initiatives for the organization of vocational education, the aim was to popularize such activities for the people among the aristocracy and landed gentry. One example cited in the press was the initiative of Count Jan Zamoyski, who organized a weaving workshop at his own expense.⁹³

Encouraging priests to popularize vocational education, the Catholic press wanted to spread among the people a new educational path that would contribute to the economic, social and cultural advancement of both individuals and the

⁸⁹ The headmaster of the school was Z. Janikowski of Kraków, a Galician toymaking specialist. Students were allowed to live in a boarding house, which housed 50 students, who paid 7 roubles each per month. In 1910, there were 20 students at the school aged 13–24, seventeen of whom lived in a boarding house. Tuition at the facility was free of charge, and after the first few months, students were paid a percentage of the value of the items produced. In order to form and develop in the future instructors a sense of aesthetics and good taste, as well as to enhance the artistic value of the subjects they produced, students took drawing and modelling lessons, 2 hours a day, from artists who came to Nałęczów during the 2 summer months. *Towarzystwo Popierania Przemysłu Ludowego w Królestwie Polskim*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, (1911) issue 11, pp. 286–288.

⁹⁰ The articles covered, for example, the information about art and craft workshops for men in Częstochowa, in the building of the Museum of Folk Industry, and carpentry workshops in Złoty Potok in the Częstochowa district, as well as courses for women: weaving instructors in Grzędzice in the Płock governorate, lace-making instructors, and threaded button-making instructors in Warsaw. *Miscellanea. Warunki przyjmowania Kandydatów do Szkół zawodowych Męskich*, pp. 206–207.

⁹¹ It was reported that in order to make such folk products more competitive, the Society's Board of Directors instructed the talented illustrator Wanda Szrajber to develop lace patterns against a background of folk motifs. *Ibidem*.

⁹² *Towarzystwo Popierania Przemysłu Ludowego w Królestwie Polskim*, pp. 286–288.

⁹³ A. Pawiński, *Parafia Magnuszewska*, „Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej”, (1912) issue 5, p. 150.

people *en masse*. It was considered a promising way to modernize the Królewiec countryside and the peasantry while remaining within the same cultural model based on religious principles. Educational work in schools, workshops and courses, reported in the Catholic press, was carried out mainly by activists from the landed gentry community. It was to provide an alternative to similar schools for peasant youth organized by liberal and progressive intelligentsia sympathetic to socialists. The latter were disparaged in the Catholic press, primarily for promoting a secular model of education. The school in Kruszynek was accused of conducting anti-religious propaganda, according to which 'attempts are made to confine the Church's moralizing activities within the temple walls.'⁹⁴ Vocational and extracurricular educational activities to develop craft skills among the people were expected to play an important educational role towards the younger generation, according to the editors of Catholic periodicals. It was estimated that they would contribute to the dissemination of an educational model promoting honesty, reliability, conscientiousness, thrift, diligence, and entrepreneurship. It was also pointed out that a good craftsman, educated in a solid school, could provide real competition for Jewish craftsmen and merchants.⁹⁵ These texts did not avoid taking the economic rivalry between the Jewish and Catholic populations as the axis of consideration, and criticizing the position of Jews in crafts and trade, which was regarded as excessively strong and a threat to the well-being of Polish society.

The activities of private teachers' seminaries were considered important for the development of elementary education. They were seen as an opportunity to fill teacher shortages for the growing number of folk schools each year. *Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej* reported about the activities of the Ursynów seminary, important for the development of teaching staff, founded in 1907, with as many as 160 alumni in 1912.⁹⁶ It also stressed the value of preparatory courses for candidates willing to retrain as folk school teachers. Such courses were conducted, among others, by Roch Kowalski, supervisor of the 4-class men's school on Chmielna Street in Warsaw. Admissions were given to boys and men over the age of 16 who had graduated from at least a 1-grade elementary school and wanted to be early childhood teachers in the future.⁹⁷

Issues concerning extracurricular education

The periodicals under analysis urged clergy to initiate extracurricular education activities for children, adolescents and adults. *Przegląd Katolicki* argued that a pastor should establish a parish library, organize lectures, and promote the

⁹⁴ *O szkołę dla dziewcząt w Kruszyńku*, „Wiadomości Pasterskie”, (1907) issue 4, p. 253.

⁹⁵ Cf. Pawiński, *Parafia Magnuszewska*, p. 149.

⁹⁶ *Miscellanea. Seminarium nauczycielskie w Ursynowie*, „Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej”, (1912) issue 5, pp. 159–160.

⁹⁷ Lectures began in July 1907, and the total cost of living and tuition was about 30 roubles per person. The press assured that R. Kowalski could be entrusted with the youth, as he is 'a religious man of the best morals'. *Z kurii biskupiej*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1907) issue 7, p. 224.

reading of Catholic books and periodicals.⁹⁸ These were activities aimed at raising the level of religious knowledge and reflection of the younger and older generations, but also general knowledge of the world. The importance of the reading activity of priests in metropolitan parishes was emphasized, as task that can be not only educational but also apostolic. Arguments were raised for the importance of clergymen's participation also in readings organized by secular organizations, which could serve to attract participating listeners who 'do not attend Mass or confession, and through which these people could then be attracted to churches.'⁹⁹ The Catholic press attached great importance to the promotion of reading and the collection of parish books, useful for self-education and community development.

For detailed information on the organization of parish libraries, cf. *Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej*.¹⁰⁰ Recalled was the fact that the Church had already had a rich historical tradition of disseminating knowledge – it was at churches and monasteries that many children acquired literacy skills. Referring to this tradition, it was argued that 'the propagation of sound education is his [the priest's] foremost duty.'¹⁰¹ This was all the more important because the schools run by the partition authorities, with foreign languages of instruction, did not instil in children a love of Polish literature. Therefore, it was deemed a priest's duty to provide parishioners with useful books that would bring 'enlightenment to the countryside.'¹⁰² It was postulated that there should be a library in every parish, and practical, including legal, information was given about the rules of its organization.¹⁰³ The problem was the lack of professional staff. Usually the library was run by a parish priest or vicar, but the latter often changed, and the lack of continuity in the librarian's role adversely affected the extent of the institution's impact on the local community.¹⁰⁴ The need to carefully select the book collection and to adapt it to the mental level of the audience was stressed; otherwise the book 'will be boring, and so the educational campaign will prove pointless.'¹⁰⁵ Parish library was also tasked with providing religious education through pamphlets, proclamations and publications addressing current affairs.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, orders were published not to collect books, journals, magazines and pamphlets opposed to religion and good morals,¹⁰⁷ with the range of publications criticized being wide – from socialist pamphlets and leaflets to publications by the Centnerszwer's bookstore as part of a self-education

⁹⁸ Wojewódzki, *Pasterz parafii i prace społeczne*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1909) issue 6, p. 85; *Pasterzowanie w wielkich miastach*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1914) issue 15, p. 229.

⁹⁹ *Pasterzowanie*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1914) issue 15, p. 229.

¹⁰⁰ Rev. F. M., *Zakładajmy biblioteki parafialne*, p. 23.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*; „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1907) issue 2, pp. 52–55.

¹⁰³ The library of the Marians of the Immaculate Conception, which has existed in Piotrków since 1898 at the Bernardine Church, was given as an example. Formal issues related to the establishment of libraries were addressed, as well as the possibility of establishing rosary circle libraries.

¹⁰⁴ „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1907) issue 3, pp. 95–102.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, (1907) issue 2, p. 57.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁷ *Rozporządzenia diecezjalne*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, (1907) issue 2, p. 51.

library deemed dangerous to the faith.¹⁰⁸ The selection of items for the book collection was also the responsibility of a clergyman. While addressing various forms of extracurricular educational activities, warnings were issued that the possible idleness of the clergy in this field could be exploited by representatives of other ideologies. 'Our people crave education, they feel instinctively, so to speak, an educational hunger. If we, shepherds, do not actively contribute to satisfying this hunger, we will be replaced by those multitudinous and highly zealous enlighteners for whom education is not actually an end but a means of thuggery.'¹⁰⁹ Thus, when imposing on priests the mission of caring for readership, organizing lectures and readings, it was not uncommon to resort to ideological arguments and rhetoric characteristic of the National Democratic milieu.

Much space in the Catholic press was devoted to the importance of efforts to develop institutional forms of care and upbringing for young children from poor families, emphasizing their value especially for rural families. Children's shelters and pre-school institutions that played a crucial role in modernizing the system of care and education for young children, were considered an important link in education. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the idea of organized institutional care for several-year-old children in the Kingdom of Poland was no longer new, it can be considered a *signum temporis* of 19th-century social life, but initially children's shelters developed primarily in cities, providing support for working-class families. Between 1905 and 1914, there was an intensive development of rural children's shelters, largely the result of the Catholic Church and the social organizations operating under its auspices. Many parish priests encouraged local communities to raise money for the upkeep of the children's shelter, sometimes donating their own funds. At the beginning of the 20th century, the press addressed to the clergy and lay Catholics emphasized the utilitarianism of children's shelters, which provided many hours of care and education for the children of poor, working parents, sometimes also being a place of holistic care for orphaned children.

The periodicals under analysis repeatedly stressed the importance of the clergy's support for organizing and running children's shelters.¹¹⁰ This was all the more important because it was easier to obtain permission from the partition authorities to establish them than schools. In view of the inadequate number of schools, especially in the villages, children's shelters could play a special role. At times the only educational institutions in the immediate area, they became an important component of popular education. It was emphasized that the concern for the establishment of children's shelters is an important field of social work for a priest. The organization of institutional care for children was considered a moral duty of society, with the priest assigned the role of guiding these activities. The establishment of children's shelters was showcased as a form of support for poor families in villages and cities, but the most important goal was to carry

¹⁰⁸ Rev. F. M., *Zakładajmy biblioteki parafialne*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁹ Wojewódzki, *Pasterz parafii*, p. 85.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Ogrody dziecięce*, „Wiadomości Pasterskie”, (1905) issue 12, pp. 791–792; S. Kuczyński, *Przewodnik Duszpasterza. Ochronki*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, (1913) issue 11, pp. 300–303.

out the function of caring for and educating children. Arguments were raised that this stage of education should be the beginning of religious, moral and social formation, complementing the influence of the family. The shelter's educator was obliged to teach children prayers and the first principles of the catechism. Through well-selected talks, stories and games, the children were to learn proper moral and religious principles, to learn obedience and respect towards elders, agreement and politeness when playing with peers, dutifulness and agility. They also stressed the importance of the children's shelter for the development of the child, who was expected to gain basic knowledge of the outside world in the institution. Children's shelter was also intended to be a place for aesthetic education. The quality of educational activities largely depended on the work of the educator, so the importance of the high ethical and religious level of the educator, her kindness to children and professional preparation for the profession was emphasized. The selection of candidates for the role of women educators in children's shelters and attention to their qualifications was an important social issue, hence the press, including those addressed to the clergy, included information about courses for female children's shelter educators.¹¹¹

The press chronicles of current events described the activities of individual children's shelters. Information on local initiatives showed the value of parish-level activities. For example, *Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej* wrote about the St Stanislaus Kostka children's shelter in Sandomierz, the shelter and classrooms for children in Zawichost¹¹² and the shelter in Trzebień¹¹³. These were typical notes that provided figures for children, information about the nature of the institution, and the name of its manager or founder. Showing concrete examples of establishments set up within the parish community was meant to inspire similar initiatives, to help better understand the idea of educating young children, which was increasingly considered necessary. The role of the priest was also to convince the faithful of this idea. The institution of the children's shelter on the one hand referred to the traditional, pre-modern model of charity-based care, and on the other was a manifestation of modern thinking about education, emphasizing the importance of purposeful, planned education and upbringing of children as young as a few years old, and the importance of self-help activities in the creation of social institutions.

The situation of the family was the subject of much discussion in the Catholic press related with problems and challenges of social transformation under the conditions of civilizational change in the early 20th century. The words of the bishops were posted, providing guidance on the educational impact of parents. It was emphasized that parents are called by God to raise their children properly and give them by their own conduct a proper example of religious, moral and civic

¹¹¹ *Kursy wakacyjne dla ochroniarek*, „Wiadomości Pasterskie”, (1907) issue 3, pp. 180–181.

¹¹² The head of the institution in Zawichost was Aniela Spoczynska, with custody of approx. 30–40 children in the children's shelter, and 15–20 girls in the classroom. *Sprawozdanie z działalności Towarzystwa Dobroczynności w Sandomierzu w roku 1911*, „Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej”, (1912) issue 2, pp. 72–73.

¹¹³ The shelter in Trzebień was founded and maintained by Count Jan Zamoyski. The facility provided care for 37 court children and 10 farm children. Pawiński, *Parafia Magnuszewska*, p. 150.

attitudes. The parental home was supposed to be the best catechism for children. Parents were to ensure that children are brought up in a religious spirit, and at the same time with a sense of duty of responsibility for the welfare of the family, community, nation and country. It was postulated that parents should teach interpersonal relations, and eradicate lying and stealing.¹¹⁴ The family's responsibility for shaping the civic attitudes of the younger generation before God and people was emphasized. In this context, a diagnosis was made of family upbringing in elite social groups, putting forward the thesis of a crisis of morality, the decline of Christian values of family life and the lack of civic responsibility. There have been numerous complaints about bad behaviour and lack of modesty in young people, their laziness, and the corruption of morals. 'The maiden is raised as a puppet for sale, the young master learns from his early childhood to push poor people around and to please only himself. What specimens one encounters among this aristocratic youth.'¹¹⁵ The disastrous influence of mass culture on the younger generation was deplored.¹¹⁶ For example, the Łódź bourgeoisie was accused of indifference to the responsible upbringing of youth, including tolerating the commercialization of culture, and even indifference to the threat of pornography, which has a negative impact on adolescent boys.¹¹⁷ Coeducational schools were considered dangerous for the education and socialization of young people. Such a concept of organizing secondary education, promoted by secular educational activists, was approached with scepticism. It was assessed that 'the coeducational system is, to say the least, problematic in its benefits and very dangerous in its application.'¹¹⁸

Conclusion

The reflections of Catholic journalism in the early 20th century on various aspects of education and the formation of civic attitudes among the faithful were an important part of the debate to help develop the Church's position on social changes in the Kingdom of Poland in the period after the 1905 Revolution. In the press intended for the clergy, practical opportunities were sought to implement the concepts of Catholic social work, developed on the basis of the Church's social teaching and native traditions dating back to the Enlightenment, integrating religious culture and education with the social and economic practice of the early 20th century. Attempts were made to identify the ways to realize the upbringing of a human – a Christian and a citizen, in this typical, since the European Enlightenment, dyad involving a national element, shaped under the influence of modern national ideology of the turn of the 20th century. Addressed to the clergy, the press disseminated knowledge about the needs and opportunities for the Church to support school and extracurricular education, as well as institutional and family upbringing,

¹¹⁴ Zdzitowiecki, *Z miłosierdzia Bożego*, pp. 361–370.

¹¹⁵ Zbrodniczy łańcuch, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1914) issue 1, p. 11.

¹¹⁶ P. Ostoja, *Walka z demoralizacją*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1909) issue 35, pp. 545–547; *Apasze i bezwyznaniowa inteligencja*, „Przegląd Katolicki”, (1913) issue 7, p. 107.

¹¹⁷ *Więści z Łodzi*, ibidem, (1914) issue 8, pp. 124–125.

¹¹⁸ Rec., *O wspólnem obu płci kształceniu w szkole średniej*, „Wiadomości Pasterskie”, (1906) issue 3, p. 192.

pointing out the close links between the education of the younger generation and religion, civic attitudes and the moral level of society. With the focus on the need to improve catechetical activities and the concern of priests for education, arguments were raised that the education of children and young people is the supreme social task, a *sine qua non* for building modern order and social harmony.

Constantly present in Catholic journalism was the problem of the civic duty of priests and the faithful – adults and the younger generation – to the community. In the reflections posted in the press for the clergy, citizenship was treated as part of the processes of progress and modernization of society. The task of the Church, the social societies operating under its auspices, organizations for children and young people, and Polish private education was to spread values that strengthen civic attitudes among adults and the younger generation. The most important of these were honesty, integrity, patriotism, generosity, and responsibility for community property. Little attention was paid to the importance of tolerance, responsibility for words, openness, and respect for the law (imposed by the partitioner). Civic education, especially towards children and young people, was given priority, with the expectation that its effect would be to raise a consolidated generation around the idea of building a modern society, open to irredentist activities. A characteristic feature of the promoted model of citizenship was the strong presence of national content and the belief in the need to build a modern community of citizens. What was not written *expressis verbis* was who was eligible to belong to that community in the Kingdom of Poland and in the future free country. Typically, the press for the clergy did not clearly state its position on the rights of women and Jews. This made the discussion of citizenship less inquisitive, leaving unanswered the key question about who deserves to be called a full member of the community.

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PRASA KATOLICKA W KRÓLESTWIE POLSKIM W LATACH 1905–1914 WOBEC IDEI NOWOCZESNEJ OŚWIATY I OBYWATELSTWA

Abstrakt

W prasie katolickiej w Królestwie Polskim przełomu XIX i XX wieku dyskutowano o sytuacji Kościoła w zmieniających się realiach społecznych, omawiano i krytycznie komentowano zachodnie koncepcje modernizacyjne. Publicyści poszukiwali odpowiadających rodzimym warunkom sposobów kształtowania nowoczesnego społeczeństwa i określania roli Kościoła w tym procesie. Dyskurs o nowoczesności dotyczył m.in. zagadnień oświaty i obywatelstwa. W niniejszym artykule reprezentatywnym przedmiotem badań uczyniono czasopisma adresowane głównie do duchowieństwa i wydawane przez dłuższy okres:

„Przegląd Katolicki”, „Ateneum Kapłańskie”, „Wiadomości Pasterskie”, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, „Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej”, „Przegląd Diecezjalny w Kielcach”, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”. Propagowano w nich nowoczesną wiedzę o sposobach wspierania przez Kościół oświaty szkolnej i pozaszkolnej, wskazywano symbiotyczne związki edukacji młodego pokolenia z utrwalaniem wartości religijnych, kształtowaniem postaw obywatelskich i dbałością o etyczny wymiar wspólnoty społecznej. W artykule przyjęto strategię badawczą opartą na tzw. społecznej koncepcji historii wychowania. Zastosowano metody badań historyczno-pedagogicznych oraz metody analizy dyskursu prasowego. Krótko omówiono kwestie formalno-wydawnicze czasopism, skupiając się przede wszystkim na zagadnieniach oświatowo-wychowawczych i obywatelskich, ukazywanych w katolickiej prasie społecznej po 1905 roku oraz problemach edukacji pozaszkolnej.

Słowa kluczowe: idea nowoczesnej oświaty; idea nowoczesnego obywatelstwa; prasa katolicka; Królestwo Polskie (1905–1914); edukacja pozaszkolna



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ARCHIVES OF THE PARISH IN WAŁCZ INVENTORY

Abstract

The article presents the preserved archives of the Catholic parish of St Nicholas in Wałcz. The town was founded at the beginning of the 14th century. At the same time, the first church was erected. Until the Reformation, the parish in Wałcz belonged to the Archdeaconry of Zaność in the Diocese of Poznań. At the beginning of the 17th century, the church was returned to Catholics, and the parish became part of the newly established Czarnków deanery. In 1772, the Wałcz land was incorporated into the Prussian state. Since the reactivation of the Wałcz deanery at the end of the 18th century, it has remained a part of it, despite the changing political and church realities. The Wałcz region returned to Poland in 1945. The pre-war archives of the parish of St Nicholas were transferred to the diocesan archives in Koszalin. There they were developed and inventoried, divided into series with new reference numbers (1–327). The rich historical material can be used for more in-depth specialist research.

Keywords: Wałcz; parish of St Nicholas; archives; inventory; Diocesan Archives in Koszalin

Introduction

Recently, many researchers have increasingly shown a willingness to conduct searches in parish archives. The records kept there are indispensable in writing monographs of parishes, towns or smaller regions, also called little homelands. Gaining access to them is a difficult endeavour, as parishes often do not have

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a suitable room where they can be made available, and the ministers do not have the time to properly supervise this work. To remedy such a situation, historical archives are transferred to well-functioning diocesan archives, which undertake not only the acquisition, preservation and professional processing of records, but, importantly, making them available under professional supervision.

Since its beginnings, the Catholic Church in Poland has kept records produced by its various offices, from central to parish level. Relevant legal norms¹ were introduced by the Council of Trent, provincial and diocesan synods, and more recently by the codes of canon law of 1917 and 1983. Many dioceses have further clarified them by promulgating statutes of diocesan synods. In the Diocese of Koszalin-Kołobrzeg,² the 1990 synodal statutes are effective, and the obligation to transfer parish records to the central diocesan institution was clarified at the beginning of the 21st century, with the erection of this institution.³ The published article is a continuation of the previously undertaken issue of making available preserved sources for the history of the Wałcz land. It aims to fill another gap that still exists in this field.⁴ Parish records from Czaplinek, Jastrowie and Sypniewo are yet to be compiled and presented.⁵ The above-mentioned parishes were also part of the pre-war Wałcz deanery.

The political history of the fond's author

Wałcz – the seat of the Wałcz parish in the Koszalin-Kołobrzeg Diocese – is a town located in the southeastern part of the West Pomeranian Voivodeship, situated between two lakes – Raduńskie and Zamkowe. Wałcz was granted municipal rights⁶ on 23 April 1303 by Brandenburg Margraves Otto, Konrad and Jan Waldemar. It

¹ W. Abraham, *Ustawodawstwo kościelne o archiwach*, „Archeion”, 4 (1928) pp. 1–14; S. Librowski, *Archiwa Kościoła Katolickiego w Polsce*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka* (hereinafter: EK), vol. 1, ed. F. Gryglewicz, Lublin 1973, col. 877–886; S. Olczak, *Kancelarie kościelne w okresie staropolskim*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne” (hereinafter: ABMK), 64 (1995) pp. 15–24; S. Olczak, *Kancelaria*, in: EK, vol. 8, ed. A. Szostek, Lublin 2000, col. 551–556; A. Weiss, *Archiwa parafialne w archidiecezji poznańskiej na przykładzie Wolsztyna*, ABMK, 75 (2001) pp. 109–122; M. Dębowska, *Stan badań nad archiwami parafialnymi w Polsce*, ABMK, 75 (2001) pp. 11–17; R.R. Kufel, *Kancelaria, registratura i archiwum parafialne na ziemiach polskich od XII do początku XXI wieku*, Zielona Góra 2005.

² I Synod Diecezji Koszalińsko-Kołobrzesckiej, Koszalin, 1990, pp. 132–135.

³ Zarządzenie w sprawie gromadzenia zbiorów Archiwum Diecezji Koszalińsko-Kołobrzesckiej, „Koszalińsko-Kołobrzesckie Wiadomości Diecezjalne” (hereinafter: KKWD), 31 (2003), issue 10–12, pp. 37–38; T. Ceynowa, *Archiwum Diecezji Koszalińsko-Kołobrzesckiej – powstanie i funkcjonowanie*, in: *Przeszłość Kościoła w archiwach Pomorza Zachodniego*, ed. T. Ceynowa, Koszalin 2014, pp. 133–144.

⁴ The author recently published: *Archiwum dziekańskie dekanatu waleckiego do 1945 r.*, ABMK, 115 (2021) pp. 33–55 and *Archiwum Parafii pw. Wniebowzięcia NMP w Skrzatuszu. Inwentarz*, „Rocznik Skrzatuski”, 9 (2021) pp. 125–145.

⁵ The files have already been transferred to the diocesan archives. After an initial search, more than 200 sewn file units were found in each fond.

⁶ German name Arnskrone. The village of Krone was given to the Knights Templar of Czaplinek in 1249.

was founded next to the village of Wolczen. The new town was given 208 patches (*lanów*) of land, well laid out and safely seated.⁷ In 1307 it was sold to the Lieben family. It was later occupied by the Teutonic Order. Casimir the Great recaptured the city in 1368 and established the county seat there. After purchasing the New March, the Teutonic Knights tried to reclaim Wałcz and the surrounding area. In 1407 they destroyed the city, but failed to capture the castle. Two years later, besieged again, the town managed to defend itself. Seized temporarily during the Thirteen Years' War, it returned to Poland after the Second Peace of Toruń in 1466. Despite Polish neutrality, Wałcz and the surrounding area was invaded and looted by the Swedes during the Thirty Years' War. A dozen years later, Swedish troops occupied Greater Poland after the shameful surrender of the nobility at Ujście. In 1657, Wałcz was regained thanks to the endeavours of Stefan Czarniecki. Partition treaties made by Austria, Russia and Prussia as early as 1772 included the city and county within the borders of the state of Frederick II. In the 19th century, Wałcz was part of the Kwidzyn regency in West Prussia. The end of World War I maintained the *status quo*. In the interwar period, the city belonged to the Poznań-West Prussia Border March.⁸ Only the end of World War II restored Wałcz to Poland.

The first parish church of St Nicholas was certainly established upon the foundation of the town. Some researchers anticipate the possibility that a temple existed on the site as early as the 13th century. In 1314, a parson of Wałcz, Albert, was mentioned for the first time as a witness in the foundation document of the town of Mirosławiec. At the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, the Wałcz parish was part of the Nowokaliski deanery, which was also an officiality. The local deans, due to their distance from the diocesan capital, had extensive powers of the bishops of Poznań.⁹ As a result of the Reformation, the Wałcz church was occupied by Protestants, who nominated Lutheran priests at the church. After the reorganization of the Poznań Diocese in 1602, seven deaneries were created, including the Czarnków deanery, which included the remaining parishes of the former Nowokaliski deanery, headed by Wałcz. The strengthening of Catholic faith was handled by the Jesuits, brought first to Tuczno and then to Wałcz, where they established the famous 'Wałcz Athens' and conducted missionary activities in nearby towns and villages. A special place where their activities left a significant mark was Skrzatusz with its miraculous Pietà. The territorial scope of the deanery was defined by the visitations of the years: 1628, 1640, 1669, 1696, 1726–1728 and 1738. After the First Partition, the deanery became part of the Prussian state. The bishop of Poznań established an officiality in the area. The change of boundaries after the Congress of Vienna restricted its scope only to the Wałcz deanery and it was then known

⁷ T. Ceynowa, *Wałcz*, in: EK, t. 20, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2014, col. 192–193. Includes primary literature. *150-lecie kościoła pw. św. Mikołaja w Wałczu 1867–2017*, ed. M. Lewandowski, Wałcz 2017.

⁸ In 1938, the unit was incorporated into the Pomeranian and Brandenburg provinces.

⁹ J. Nowacki, *Archidiecezja poznańska w granicach historycznych i jej ustrój*, vol. 2, [Poznań] 1964, pp. 386–397. The author lists dozens of parishes outside Wałcz.

as the West Prussian Officiality.¹⁰ After the end of World War I, Edmund Dalbor, archbishop of Poznań, delegated Rev. Robert Weimann to serve in the territory of the archbishop's delegation based in Tuczo.¹¹ In 1923, Pope Pius XI annexed the 2 deaneries of Chełmno and erected the apostolic administration, which was finally named the Free Prelature of Piła in 1930.¹² After the end of World War II, Primate August Hlond established apostolic administrations in the areas granted to Poland. Wałcz with its deanery became part of the most extensive Kamień and Lubusz Apostolic, and Piła Prelature.¹³ Many years of efforts by Primate Stefan Wyszyński resulted in the establishment of a permanent Church organization in Poland in 1972. Since then, the Wałcz parish has been part of the Koszalin-Kołobrzeg Diocese.

The territory of the parish has changed over the centuries. The visitations of 17th and 18th centuries list the following villages as being part of the Wałcz parish: Skrzatusz,¹⁴ Różewo, Kłębowiec, Chwiram, Dobino, Witkowo, Wiesiółka, Ostrowiec, Gostomia, Leżenica and Róża.¹⁵ Apart from the parish seat, the Poznań directories from the 19th century provide only the names of towns with branch churches: Dobino, Chwiram and Kłębowiec. In his *Brevis descriptio*,¹⁶ Rev. Jan Korytkowski adds a few more villages where single Catholic families resided, and the towns had Evangelical temples. The 1928 directory¹⁷ provides similar coverage of the parish. After World War II, parish of St Anthony was erected near the Evangelical Church in Wałcz, where Capuchin friars have ministered since 1949. Bishop Czesław Domin in 1993 established a new parish community of Divine Mercy from part of St Nicholas Parish. Thus, the current parish of St Nicholas

¹⁰ B. Kumor, *Ustrój i organizacja Kościoła polskiego w okresie niewoli narodowej 1772–1918*, Kraków 1980, p. 178; T. Ceynowa, *Ziemia pogranicza. Dekanat walecki w latach 1821–1920*, Radom 2004, p. 151.

¹¹ These were the deaneries of the Poznań Archdiocese that remained outside the border cordon.

¹² B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich (968–1939)*, ABMK, 21 (1970) p. 370; E. Klitsche, *Die Bulle de salute animarum vom Jahre 1821 und die Entwicklung der kirchlichen Verhältnisse im Osten Deutschlands bis auf unsere Zeit*, in: *Die Apostolische Administratur Schneidemühl*, hg. F. Westpfahl, Schneidemühl 1928, pp. 46–47; E. Gatz, *Schneidemühl*, in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. 9, Freiburg im Breisgau 2000, szp. 189–190; R. Prejs, *Pralatura pilska w świetle schematyzmu z 1940 r.*, „Roczniki Teologiczne”, 55 (2008), issue 4, pp. 36–37. Includes the literature on the Prelature of Piła. T. Ceynowa, *Materiały Archiwum Diecezji Koszalińsko-Kołobrzkiej w Koszalinie dotyczące kościelnych dziejów Piły*, „Studia Koszalińsko-Kołobrzkiej”, 26 (2019) pp. 251–252.

¹³ G. Wejman, *Organizacja Kościoła katolickiego na Pomorzu Zachodnim i Ziemi Lubuskiej w latach 1945–1972*, Szczecin 2007.

¹⁴ Skrzatusz became independent in 1660 and included Wiesiółka, Różewo and Witkowo (present-day Witankowo).

¹⁵ The status of Róża varied; once it enjoyed independence (along with Leżenica and Gostomia), at other times it was dependent on Wałacz. The final dismemberment took place in the first half of the 19th century.

¹⁶ J. Korytkowski, *Brevis descriptio historico-geographica Ecclesiarum Archidioecesis Gnesnensis et Posnanensis*, Gnesnae 1888, pp. 250–252.

¹⁷ *Schematismus Administratur Schneidemühl*, hg. F. Westpfahl, Schneidemühl 1928 pp. 29–32.

includes part of the town and the villages of: Chrzastowo, Glinki, Kłębowiec, Piława and Rudnica.¹⁸

The creators of the archival records in Wałcz were the clergy, who were commissioned by the respective hierarchs to manage the parish.¹⁹ From the end of the 16th century,²⁰ the office of parish priest was held by: Łukasz Komorski (1594–1595), Michał Maior (1595–1595), Jakub Niniński (1596–1598), Joachim Libarius (1598–1618), Kasper Santoff (1618–1620), Jakub Hildebrand (1620–1629), Ambroży Berenth (1629–1640), Wojciech Baykowski (1640–1645), Wojciech Pigłowski (1645–1652), Michał Wdech (1652–1660), Jan Kazimierz Mincenberg (1660–1700), Jan Kazimierz Marczyński (1700–1706), Fryderyk Stanisław Lentz (1706–1731), Adam Józef Bartnik (1731–1745), Piotr Dedyński (1745–1749), Jan Cymer (1750–1755), Bogusław Bronikowski (1755–1788), Jan Ignacy Bocheński (1788–1793), Józef Dalski (1794–1828),²¹ Antoni Perzyński (1829–1850), Joannes Habisch (1850–1872), Carl Wurst (1872–1891),²² Martinus Gutzmer (1893–1906), Clemens Prandke (1906–1931),²³ Heinrich Wilhelmi (1931–1945),²⁴ Walerian Głowacz (1945–1947), Stefan Janiak (1947–1953), Maciej Szałagan (1953–1960), Witold Szymczukiewicz (1960–1964), Czesław Krusiewicz (1964–1974), Bernard Witucki (1974–1976), Romuald Kunicki (1976–2009) and currently Antoni Badura.

History of the fond

The records of the Wałcz parish have been kept in the parish archives located in parish buildings, usually in the rectory, since their creation. The few surviving tabs and references may indicate attempts to organize them or to give them a specific place in the registry. This applies only to the records from the 19th and early 20th centuries. Only folders of proper provenance were retained in the fond. The number of preserved units does not make it possible to determine what was the initial state of the documentation produced. However, it seems that today we have the vast majority of the resulting files. At the time of taking over the contents of the pre-war

¹⁸ *Schematyzm Diecezji Koszalińsko-Kołobrzeskiej 2012*, ed. K. Klawczyński, Bydgoszcz 2012, pp. 612–618.

¹⁹ Until 1920 from Poznań, in 1920–1945 from Tuczno and Piła, in 1945–1972 from Gorzów Wielkopolski and since 1972 from Koszalin.

²⁰ J.I. Bocheński, *Historia kościoła parafialnego w Wałczu spisana na podstawie prawdziwych dokumentów i wiarygodnych autorów przez Jana Ignacego Bocheńskiego proboszcza waleckiego w roku 1790*, ed. L. Bąk, Wałcz 2002, pp. 106–125. The author lists and briefly characterizes Wałcz parish priests from the end of the 16th century to the present day. The list is further supplemented on the basis by L. Bąk, *Ziemia walecka w dobie reformacji i kontrreformacji w XVI–XVIII w.*, Inowrocław 1999, pp. 247–264.

²¹ Ceynowa, *Ziemia pograniczna*. A capital source for establishing pastoral staff in the Poznań Church are the directories from the late 18th century until the establishment of the archbishop's administration in Tuczno in 1920.

²² There was a vacancy for two years.

²³ Based on the directories of the administration and the Free Prelature of Piła from 1927–1942.

²⁴ The last German parish priest remained in the Wałcz parish until July 1946, and then left with the last transport of German Catholics. Until then, he had been allowed to hold services for his parishioners.

parish archives to the diocesan archives, three storage locations were found. The record books and a few units relating to the former Jesuit College were located in the parish office,²⁵ a dozen or so units in the utility room of the old rectory, and the vast majority in the parish auxiliary buildings (which no longer exist).²⁶ The files taken from the last two rooms were fumigated at the State Archives in Poznań.

Characteristics and method of organizing the fond

In correspondence sent to the administrative curia in Gorzów, an inventory was found most likely drawn up by the first Polish priest in 1946. It consisted of 206 items. No record books were mentioned in it.²⁷ Post-war inventories kept at the parish²⁸ do not mention previously produced documentation. Only *Schematyzm Diecezji Koszalińsko-Kołobrzeskiej* of 1998 shows exclusively surviving metrics. Their title reads: Akta parafii rzymskokatolickiej w Wałczu. [*Files of the Roman-Catholic Parish in Walcz*] During the partition and the interwar period, the record used the following German name: Acta der katholischen Pfarrkirche zu Dt. Crone. Chronology of the files of the 17th–18th centuries. Territorial coverage – Wałcz parish from the 17th century to 1945. Size 4 mb, 327 administrative units. The files were kept with a case file system, which was characteristic of 19th-century Prussian and later German law firms. The state of preservation of the files is generally assessed as good. The analysis of the presented inventory shows that the fond is not complete. The ordinances of the church authorities of Poznań and Piła have not survived in their entirety. In addition, copies of visitations by bishops²⁹ or archdeacons from the First Polish Republic were found to be missing. Even the numerous surviving financial records are not fully complete. The parish legacy presented in the article is also completely devoid of parish announcements which could allow us to reconstruct the functioning of the pastoral ministry. 19th-century records are the most numerous. The ministers showed great care in preserving the documentation they produced. Visitations and church legislation also contributed

²⁵ Records from the parish office have been preliminarily compiled by the authors of a monograph concerning Wałcz District, in particular by Roman Walczak. These researchers were most likely unaware of most of the preserved records. The author of the article, who previously covered Wałcz deanery from 1821 to 1920, also managed to reach only the archival records from the parish office. The archival units, discovered in the early 21st century, were secured in a darkened and dry place.

²⁶ Currently, a parish parking lot operates in its place. From today's perspective, such a division of the file is incomprehensible. However, it is important that they have been preserved and can be made available today.

²⁷ Archive of the Diocese of Koszalin-Kołobrzeg, Gorzów Curia 1945–1972, ref. 320. T. Ceynowa, *Inwentarz archiwalny. Materiały archiwalne przekazane przez Diecezję Gorzowską nowo erygowanej Diecezji Koszalińsko-Kołobrzeskiej z lat 1945–1972*, Radom 2014, pp. 58–59.

²⁸ This may suggest that Rev. Walerian Głowacz compiled the list in one copy and sent it to Gorzów. The paper he used was from the pre-war era. The few typos indicate that he had a good command of the German language.

²⁹ Records from that time are preserved only in the Archdiocesan Archives in Poznań.

to this state of affairs.³⁰ Most of the units are in the form of a sewn file, typical of the Prussian chancellery system of the time. They contain prints, sometimes handwritten inscriptions, and details of prints. It is rare to find registry references composed of a Latin letter and number. If the tabs are preserved, they contain the entire title or abbreviation of the unit name. Interwar documentation was placed in binders or folders. German is the predominant language, although there are some texts in Polish and Latin.³¹ The few surviving old prints were excluded and donated to the seminary library in Koszalin.

The parish records transferred to the diocesan archives in 2005 were mixed with those of the Wałcz deanery. At the beginning, their fond affiliation was established. The impossibility of reproducing the earlier arrangement of files in the local registry forced the archive staff to provide them with their own structure during the inventory process. The content criterion and the subject directory method proved to be the most feasible for that purpose. During the arrangement, few metal items were removed, files that were more damaged and loose were placed in acid-free cardboard folders and titled accordingly.³² Each unit was given an inventory sheet with a title, a signature consisting of Arabic numerals and border dates. The preserved fond includes 327 archival units. The files were not discarded. Each inventory record contains the following elements: reference, title, external description, documentation language, number of pages and border dates.

Fond content

The contents of the fond consist of archives related to the functioning of the parish in Wałcz until 1945. In the course of the study, they were assigned the following scheme titles: I. Ordinances of Ecclesiastical and Secular Authorities, refs. 1–5; II. Parish Representations, Parish Council, Church Council, refs. 6–19; III. Parish, Territory, Buildings, Inventories, refs. 20–43; IV. Branch Churches, refs. 44–74; V. Financial and Economic Affairs, refs. 75–250; VI. Construction of New Parish Church, refs. 251–258; VII. Visitation, refs. 259; VIII. Correspondence, refs. 260–262; IX. Education, refs. 263–266; X. Hospital, refs. 267–269; XI. Religious Orders, Confraternities, Associations, refs. 270–272; XII. Foundations, Mass Intentions, refs. 273; XIII. Litigation, Trials, refs. 274–288; XIV. Population, refs. 289–293; XV. Parish Employees, refs. 294–295; XVI. Sacraments, refs. 296–301; XVII. Cemetery, refs. 302–304; XVIII. Varia, refs. 305–311; XIX. Record Books, refs. 312–327.

Of particular note are the surviving church record books. The obligation to introduce them was proclaimed at the Council of Trent and clarified in the synodal legislation nationwide and in individual dioceses. From the surviving archives, it

³⁰ *Zbiór ustaw archidiecezyj gnieźnieńskiej i poznańskiej*, compiled by Rev. T. Trzcíński, Poznań 1906, pp. 7–15. The author cites 19th-century ordinances of the archbishops of Greater Poland.

³¹ Such writings are most often preserved from the time of Rev. J. Dalski, Antoni Perzyński or from the visitation writings of the archbishops of Poznań and Gniezno: Marcin Dunin and Mieczysław Ledóchowski. In the record books, individual church ministers also used Polish in writing place names.

³² New titles were given only in a few cases, in accordance with the contents of the folders.

is not possible to state clearly when this duty began to be fulfilled in the Wałcz parish. The state of preservation of record books from Skrzatusz,³³ a parish that emerged from Wałcz in 1660, may suggest a much earlier undertaking of this duty. Perhaps the earlier records shared the fate of the burned church buildings. Records of baptisms, marriages and deaths begin in 1687 in a single book. Basically, the continuity of all record books has been preserved with the exception of the marriage notice book from 1925–1945.³⁴ During World War I, in 1915, separate records were initiated for the military parish.³⁵ A thorough search of these books is of great importance for demographic and genealogical research. Supplementary records often constitute irreplaceable information on bishop and dean visits and events that other sources are silent about. All record books are digitized and made available to interested parties only in digital form. They are of great interest, especially to Germans who are descendants of those displaced after World War II. Finally, it is worth noting that the diocesan archive also has several Evangelical record books.³⁶

INVENTORY RECORDS OF THE PARISH OF ST NICHOLAS IN WAŁCZ³⁷

I. Ordinances of Ecclesiastical and Secular Authorities

1. Rozporządzenia i rezolucje 1807-1808, ss. 36
2. Acta der kathol. Pfarrkirche zu Dt. Crone betreffend eine Verfügung über die neue (...) 15.03.1869, ss. 4
3. Acta der kathol. Pfarrkirche zu Dt. Crone betreffend Miscellanea 1875-1881, ss. 70
4. Acta generalia der katholischen Pfarrkirche zu Deutsch Krone, ss. 3
5. Acta betreffend die katholische Pfarre Deutsch Krone, betreffend Militaria 1889, ss. 20

II. Parish Representations, Parish Council, Church Council

6. Wybory do Rady parafialnej 1917, ss. 130
7. Acta des katholischen Kirchenvorstandes zu Deutsch Krone 1849-1850, ss. 96
8. Acta der kathol. Pfarrkirche zu Dt. Crone betreffend die Kirchenvorsteher 1853-1874, ss. 42
9. Acta betreffend Wahlen 1876-1900, ss. 108
10. Acta betreffend die Ausstellung der Kirchenbeamten 1877-1880, ss. 100

³³ Skrzatusz, re-established in 1660 and excluded from Wałcz by Bishop Wojciech Tolibowski, began keeping separate record books as early as 1658. Ceynowa, *Archiwum parafii pw. Wniebowzięcia NMP w Skrzatuszu*, p. 141; T. Ceynowa, *Katolickie księgi metrykalne diecezji koszalińsko-kołobrzeskiej*, ABMK, 113 (2020) pp. 49–78.

³⁴ The book was still located in the parish office as late as the 1990s.

³⁵ A similar situation occurred in Piła, where information on the families of the military members was recorded in separate books.

³⁶ A list of surviving Evangelical record books can be found on the diocesan archives website at www.archiwum.koszalin.opoka.org.pl.

³⁷ The author has preserved the original spelling of the titles of individual sewn file units.

11. Currenden [Rada Parafialna] 1876-1899, ss. 400
12. Acta der kathol. Pfarrkirche zu Dt. Crone betreffend die Vorladung Currende des Kirchenvorstandes 1876-1893, ss. 704
13. Protokoll-Buch des katholischen Kirchenvorstandes Dt. Crone 1876-1890, ss. 472
14. Protokoll-Buch der katholischen Kirchen-Gemeinde Deutsch Crone 1876-1905, ss. 320
15. Sprawozdania ze spotkań 1876-1889, ss. 280
16. Rada Parafialna – korespondencja 1906-1924, ss. 138
17. Pfarrverwaltung Dt. Crone 1906-1908, ss. 138
18. Patronats Kirchen Vorsteher 1913, ss. 10
19. Wykaz parafian uprawnionych do udziału w wyborach uzupełniających 1920, ss. 90

III. Parish, Territory, Buildings, Inventories

20. Acta der katholischen Kirchen-Kasse zu Dt. Crone 1825-1867, ss. 134
21. Acta der kathol. Pfarrkirche zu Dt. Crone betreffend den Aufbau der Orgel in der katholischen Pfarrkirche 1835-1845, ss. 156
22. Acta betreffend den Neu- und Reparaturbau des Kirchenthurms zu Dt. Crone 1839-1844 [1880], ss. 150
23. Acta betreffend die Pfarrbauten der kathol. Pfarre zu Dt. Crone 1858-1881, ss. 391
24. Acta der kathol. Pfarrkirche zu Dt. Crone betreffend den Bau und die Reparaturen der Kirche und Pfarrgebäuden 1862-1895, ss. 876
25. Acta der kathol. Pfarrkirche zu Dt. Crone betreffend den Pachtwertrag des Probstei Vorwerks 1864-1871, ss. 54
26. Acta der kathol. Pfarrkirche zu Dt. Crone betreffend den Verkauf eines Pfarrgartens 1870-1872, ss. 16
27. Gutzmer 1882-1883, ss. 32
28. Acta betreffend die Vicarenwohnung 1885-1889, ss. 24
29. Acta betreffend die katholische Pfarre Deutsch Crone betreffend Barbarahaus 1887-1897, ss. 240
30. Promenada nad jeziorem Zamkowym 1890-1925, ss. 34
31. Acta der kathol. Pfarrkirche zu Dt. Crone betreffend die Herstellung einer unterirdischen Leitung des (...) katholischen Schulhauses 1893, ss. 5
32. Reparaturen – budynki parafialne 1897-1898, ss. 56
33. Plany zagospodarowania terenu przy kościele, plany cmentarzy, grunty 1901-1920, ss. 320
34. Pieta Gruppe 1906-1908, ss. 268
35. Landabtretung zum Eisenbahn bei Dt. Crone – Schloppe, ss. 132
36. Probstei-Vorwerk 1909-1923, ss. 44
37. Eisenbahn Flatow – Dt. Krone 1913-1914, ss. 23
38. Neubau des Viehstalles auf Probstei-Vorwerk 1914-1920, ss. 230
39. Kreuzplatz Schönlanckenstrasse 1925-1927, ss. 31

40. Projekt ogroduzenia krzyża na rozwidleniu dróg na Czaplinek i Mirosławiec 1926-1930, ss. 5
41. Budowa kościoła 1927, ss. 1
42. Kirchenbau auf dem Münchsberg 1927-1928, ss. 6
43. Scheune Probsteivorwerk 1928-1930, ss. 55

IV. Branch Churches

44. Acta den durch das Gräbenanlegen von Seiten des Frick und Radke zu Quiram dem hiesigen Pfarracker verursachten Schaden betreffend 1837-1839, ss. 35
45. Acta der kathol. Filial-Kirche in Klausdorf 1852-1895[1902], ss. 598
46. Breitenstein – kościół filialny 1857-1859, ss. 58
47. Acta der kathol. Filial-Kirche Clausdorf 1875-1881, ss. 34
48. Acta der katholischen Filial-Kirche in Clausdorf 1876-1878, ss. 12
49. Kommissarische Vermögens-Verwaltung Clausdorf durch Kirchenvorstand 1876-1877, ss. 160
50. Quiram – kościół filialny, sprawy finansowe 1886-1896, ss. 62
51. Acta betreffend den Minderaufbau der Filialkirche zu Klausdorf 1893-1905, ss. 348
52. Filialkirche Quiram 1899-1912[1927], ss. 418
53. Ausfertigung des Rezesses über die Naturalabgaben-Ablösung von Quiram Kreis Dt. Crone 1906, ss. 16
54. Clausdorf – sprawa dzierżawy 1907-1925, ss. 156
55. [Wybory uzupełniające na członków Dozoru kościelnego i Reprezentacji parafii] – Breitenstein 1907-1920, ss. 76
56. Wahl Quiram 1908-1920, ss. 150
57. Klausdorf Kirche u. Pfarr (...) [kościół i budynki parafialne] [1870] 1909-1928, ss. 210
58. Quiram 1916-1932, ss. 242
59. Kirchen-Neubau – Quiram 1912-1924, ss. 416
60. Etat der katholischen Kirchenkasse zu Quiram pro 1913/1918 1912-1926, ss. 834
61. Sammellisten zum Altar 1921, ss. 22
62. Wahl Quiram 1921-1934, ss. 64
63. Orgel – Quiram 1922-1930, ss. 72
64. Glocken – Quiram 1923-1925, ss. 94
65. Kirchbau Klausdorf 1924, ss. 178
66. Kirchbau Klausdorf 1924, ss. 57
67. Bauverträge mit Unternehmer Kirchbau Klausdorf 1925, ss. 210
68. Kirchbau Klausdorf. Beläge 1925-1927[1931], ss. 350
69. Einnahme und Ausgabe zur Jahresrechnung der Kirchenkasse in Quiram für 1929, 1927-1931, ss. 158
70. Neu-Bau des Wohnhauses, Stall, Klausdorf 1928-1929, ss. 138
71. Orgelbau Quiram 1927-1928, ss. 21
72. Korespondencja z Administracją Apostolską w Pile (Rada parafialna w Chwiramie) 1929-1930, ss. 32

- 73. Quiram – sprawy finansowe 1918-1929, ss. 214
- 74. Jahres-Rechnung, Ausgabebelege, Einnahmebelege 1930, ss. 70

V. Financial and Economic Affairs

- 75. [Księga przychodów i rozchodów] 1794-1823, ss. 384
- 76. Acta der kathol. Pfarrkirche zu Dt. Crone betreffend das Rechnungswesen der Pfarrkirche 1794/1796 und Reparatur-Verzeichnis der Dt. Kronsche Parochial-Kirche 1794-1796, ss. 104
- 77. Ausgabe-Beläge 1818-1819, ss. 44
- 78. Dochody parafii 1821-1836, ss. 184
- 79. Jährliche Kirchen-Rechnung der katholischen Parochial-Kirche 1820-1824, ss. 89
- 80. Jährliche Rechnung der römisch-katholischen Kirchenkasse pro 1825, ss. 30
- 81. Acta der katholischen Kirchenkasse Dt. Crone die Kirchen – Kassen – Rechnung pro 1825-1833, ss. 132
- 82. Jahres-Rechnung der römisch-katholischen Parochial Kirche zu Dt. Crone pro 1826, ss. 25
- 83. Jahres-Rechnung der römisch-katholischen Parochial Kirche zu Dt. Crone pro 1827, ss. 25
- 84. Jahres-Rechnung der römisch-katholischen Parochial Kirche der Stadt D. Crone pro 1828, ss. 25
- 85. Einnahme- und Ausgabebelege 1828, ss. 107
- 86. Acta betreffend die Kirchenrechnungen Pfarr Kirche zu Dt. Crone 1828, ss. 31
- 87. Einnahme und Ausgabe 1829, ss. 115
- 88. Jahres-Rechnung der römisch kathol. Parochial-Kirche der Stadt Dt. Crone 1829-1832, ss. 25
- 89. Einnahme und Ausgabe Beläge zur römisch kathol. Parochial Kirche pro 1830, ss. 127
- 90. Einnahme und Ausgabe Beläge zur kath. Kirchenkassen Rechnung der Kreis Stadt Dt. Crone pro 1831, 1831-1832, ss. 106
- 91. Jahres-Rechnung der römisch-katholischen Parochial-Kirche 1831, ss. 28
- 92. Jahres-Rechnung der römisch-katholischen Parochial-Kirche der Stadt Dt. Crone pro 1830, 1832, ss. 25
- 93. Jahres Rechnung der römisch katholischen Parochial Kirche der Stadt Deutsch Krone 1832, ss. 25
- 94. Einnahme und Ausgabe Beläge zur katholischen Kirchen Kasse Deutsch Crone 1832, ss. 119
- 95. Rechnung der römisch katholischen Parochial Kirche zu Dt. Crone für das Jahr 1833, 1833-1834, ss. 39
- 96. Rechnung der römisch katholischen Parochial Kirche zu Dt. Crone für das Jahr 1834, 1833-1834, ss. 30
- 97. Rechnung der römisch katholischen Parochial Kirche zu Dt. Crone, 1833, ss. 40
- 98. Einnahme-und Ausgabe-Beläge zur katholischen Kirchen-Kasse, Rechnung der Kreis-Stadt-Deutsch Krone auf das Kalender-Jahr 1836, 1833-1836, ss. 260

99. Ein. und Ausgabe Beläge, 1834, ss. 146
100. Acta der katholischen Kirchen-Kasse zu Dt. Crone 1834-1835, ss. 29
101. Rechnung der römisch katholischen Parochial-Kirche zu Dt. Crone 1834, ss. 30
102. Acta betreffend der katholische Kirchenkasse Dt. Crone 1834, ss. 37
103. Rechnung der römisch katholischen Parochial-Kirche zu Dt. Crone für das Jahr 1834-1835, ss. 43
104. Nachweisung von Sämtlichen (...) katholischen Kirchenkasse Dt. Crone 1834-1835, ss. 26
105. Acta die zu Schriften des Magistrats Weidegeld betreffend, 1834-1840, ss. 20
106. Acta der katholischen Kirchenkasse Dt. Crone 1835-1836, ss. 101
107. Beantwortung (...) die Notaten der katholischen Kirchen-Kassen-Rechnung zu Dt. Crone pro 1835, ss. 10
108. Acta der katholischen Kirchenkasse Dt. Crone 1836-1842, ss. 20
109. Jahres-Rechnung Dt. Crone 1836, s. 44
110. Acta die Teilung des der Pfarre in Folge der Separation zugefallenen Holzes auf den sogenannten Pfarrhufen betreffend 1837, ss. 12
111. Odpowiedzi rejencji w sprawie kasy kościelnej, 1838, ss. 8
112. Jahres-Rechnung der katholischen Kirchenkasse zu Deutsch Crone – Marienwerder, 1839-1840, ss. 27
113. Einnahme- und Ausgabe- Beläge zur katholischen Kirchen-Kasse Rechnung der Deutsch Krone 1839, ss. 227
114. Einnahme- und Ausgabe- Beläge zur katholischen Kirchen-Kasse-Rechnung der Kreis-Stadt Deutsch Crone pro 1840, 1840-1841, ss. 210
115. Einnahme- und Ausgabe- Beläge zur katholischen Kirchen-Kasse-Rechnung der Kreis-Stadt Deutsch Crone pro 1841, 1841-1842, ss. 148
116. Jahres-Rechnung der katholischen-Kirchen-Kasse zu Deutsch Crone Regierungs-Departement Marienwerder pro 1841, 1841-1842, ss. 30
117. Jahres-Rechnung der katholischen Kirchen-Kasse zu Deutsch Crone pro 1842, ss. 29
118. Einnahme- u. Ausgabe- Beläge zur katholischen Kirchen-Kassen-Rechnung der Kreis Stadt Deutsch Crone pro 1842, 1842-1843, ss. 234
119. Sprawy finansowe, 1843-1844, ss. 28
120. Beläge zum Etat der katholischen Kirchen Kasse zu Dt. Crone pro. 1849 bis 1854, ss. 54
121. Einnahme- u. Ausgabe-Beläge zur katholischen Kirchen-Kassen-Rechnung der Kreis Stadt Deutsch Crone pro 1844, 1844-1845, ss. 197
122. Einnahme- und Ausgabe Beläge zur katholischen Kirchen-Kassen-Rechnung der Kreis Stadt Deutsch Crone pro 1845, 1845-1846, ss. 284
123. Jahres Rechnung der katholischen Kirchen Kasse zu Deutsch Crone 1845, ss. 30
124. Einnahme- u. Ausgabe Beläge zur katholischen Kirchen-Kassen-Rechnung der Kreis Stadt Dt. Crone pro 1846, 1845-1847, ss. 252
125. Acta der kathol. Pfarrkirche zu Dt. Crone betreffend den Verkauf einer Pfarrbaustelle an den ehemal. Bürgermeister F. Krüger, 1846-1854, ss. 92

126. Einnahme und Ausgabe Beläge zur Jahres Rechnung der katholischen Kirchen Kasse zu Dt. Crone pro 1849, 1847-1850, ss. 260
127. Einnahme u. Ausgabe Beläge zu katholischen Kirchen-Kassen-Rechnung pro 1847, 1847-1848, ss. 206
128. Jahres Rechnung der katholischen Kirchen Kasse zu Deutsch Krone Regierung Marienwerder, 1847, ss. 32
129. Acta Manualia betreffend die gegen (...) katholischen Kirchen Kasse, Rechnungen zu Dt. Krone, 1848, ss. 6
130. Manual der katholischen Kirchen-Kasse zu Dt. Crone pro 1848, 1844-1848, ss. 42
131. Manual der katholischen Kirchen-Kasse zu Dt. Crone pro 1849-1850, ss. 42
132. Jahres-Rechnung der katholischen Kirchen-Kasse zu Dt. Crone 1848, ss. 32
133. Jahres Rechnung der katholischen Kirchen-Kasse zu Dt. Crone 1848-1850, ss. 32
134. Acta der kathol. Pfarrkirche zu Dt. Crone betreffend die Beantwortung der Notaten über die Kirchen-Rechnung, 1848-1884, ss. 397
135. Acta der katholischen Kirchen-Kasse Dt. Crone, 1848, ss. 28
136. Notaten Beantwortung über die bei der Jahres Rechnung Revision pro 1849, ss. 16
137. Etat, 1849-1954, ss. 87
138. Jahres Rechnung der katholischen Kirchen Kasse zu Dt. Crone, 1849, ss. 37
139. Einnahme und Ausgabe-Beläge zur Jahres Rechnung der katholischen Kirchen Kasse pro 1850 zu Dt. Crone, 1849-1851, ss. 230
140. Manual der katholischen Kirchen pro 1850, ss. 39
141. Jahres-Rechnung der katholischen Kirchen-Kasse zu Dt. Crone pro 1851, ss. 44
142. Beläge zur Jahres-Rechnung der katholischen Kirchen-Kasse zu Dt. Crone pro 1851, ss. 151
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Zbiór ustaw archidiecezyj gnieźnieńskiej i poznańskiej, compiled by ks. T. Trzeciński, Poznań 1906.

ARCHIWUM PARAFII WAŁECKIEJ. INWENTARZ

Abstrakt

W artykule zaprezentowano zachowane archiwalia katolickiej parafii pw. św. Mikołaja w Wałczu. Miasto zostało lokowane na początku XIV wieku. W tym samym czasie ufundowano pierwszy kościół. Parafia wałecka do reformacji przynależała do archidiaconatu zanoteckiego w diecezji poznańskiej. Na początku XVII wieku zwrócono kościół katolikom, a parafia weszła w skład nowo powstałego dekanatu czarnkowskiego. W 1772 roku ziemię wałecką włączono do państwa pruskiego. Od momentu reaktywowania dekanatu waleckiego pod koniec XVIII wieku wchodzi nieprzerwanie w jego skład, mimo zmieniających się realiów polityczno-kościelnych. Do Polski Wałeczczyzna powróciła w 1945 roku. Zachowane przedwojenne archiwalia parafii pw. św. Mikołaja przekazano do Archiwum Diecezji Koszalińsko-Kołobrzeskiej w Koszalinie. Tam je opracowano i zinwentaryzowano, podzielono na serie, nadając nowe sygnatury (1-327). Bogaty materiał historyczny może posłużyć do bardziej pogłębionych specjalistycznych badań.

Słowa kluczowe: Wałcz; parafia pw. św. Mikołaja; archiwalia; inwentarz; Archiwum Diecezji Koszalińsko-Kołobrzeskiej w Koszalinie



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THE ROMAN ARCHIVES OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS: ORIGINS, RESOURCES AND OPERATION

Abstract

The article presents the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus. After the parts devoted to recollecting its history, discussing its structure and resources, a great deal of information was given on the realities of the institution's daily work in recent years. Elements of statistics and bibliographic indications referring to the literature on the subject are accompanied by general considerations relating to the archives.

Keywords: archives; Jesuits; historiography; Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus; *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*

The Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, known by its Latin official name, *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, is the main (central) archives of the Jesuits. It is located in the Eternal City and its task is to collect, organize and make available to researchers a rich collection of documents from the 16th to the 20th century. These are central archives in the sense that it contains documents pertaining to the central body of the order, not all documents pertaining to Jesuits from every era and country. The latter should be sought in local religious archives – wherever the Society was and is active (usually the archives of individual provinces or even houses), although many of these collections are no longer owned by the Jesuits today.¹

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¹ E. Lamalle, *L'archivio di un grande Ordine religioso. L'archivio Generale della Compagnia di Gesù*, „*Archiva Ecclesiae*”, 24–25 (1981–1982) pp. 90–91. A catalogue of contemporary Jesuit archives published 20 years ago (T.M. McCoog, *A Guide to Jesuit Archives*, Rome 2001) is understandably in need of updating.

In order to learn about the resources and understand the organization of the order's Roman archive, in which the present article can be of help, it is worth briefly mentioning its genesis and history.²

From the history of the archives

Despite some valuable, albeit fragmentary, studies, the entire history of these archives is still waiting for an analysis worthy of such an interesting subject.³ Its origins are inextricably linked to the first period of the history of the Society of Jesus. Acknowledged by Pope Paul III in 1540, the order grew rapidly, and it is in the centralized structure of its general government that the genesis of the Roman Jesuit archives must be traced. Since regular correspondence very soon became both a tool of governance and a guarantor of unity among the religious, it became necessary to organize a secretariat to provide aid to the Superior General and his assistants.⁴ Thus the *Romanum Societatis Iesu* Archives was born, which shared the fate of St Ignatius Loyola and his first companions. After arriving in Rome in

² The article is based on two papers by the author – *Zasób i organizacja Archiwum Kurii Generalnej Jezuitów w Rzymie* (5th General Meeting of Polish Archivists 6–7 September 2007) and *Co archiwista wiedzieć powinien, czyli kilka refleksji dotyczących funkcjonowania archiwum na przykładzie Rzymskiego Archiwum Towarzystwa Jezusowego* (Scientific Conference 'Monastic Archives. Developing and Making Collections Accessible', organized by the Association of Church Archivists, Kraków, 12 January 2008).

³ In addition to the studies cited in this article, the bibliography of the subject matter includes: E.J. Burrus, *Research Opportunities in Italian Archives and Manuscript Collections for Students of Hispanic American History*, „The Hispanic American Historical Review”, 39 (1959) pp. 428–463 (in particular pp. 439–441); idem, *Mexican Historical Documents in the Central Jesuit Archives*, „Manuscripta”, 12 (1968), pp. 133–161 (in particular pp. 133–136); J. De Cock, *El archivo Romano de la Compañía de Jesús: A.R.S.I.*, „Jesuitas. Anuario de la Compañía de Jesús”, 1997, pp. 114–115 (Italian, German, English, and French versions also exist); W. Gramatowski, *The General Archives of the Society of Jesus*, in: *Inventarium Archivi Romani Societatis Iesu. Manuscripta antiquae Societatis*, part I: *Assistentiae et Provinciae*, Romae 1992 [typescript in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus], pp. VII–XI (Italian version on pp. I–VI); W. Gramatowski, I. Kadulska, *Dokumenty polskie w zbiorach Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, in: *Staropolska kultura rękopisu*, ed. H. Dziechcińska, Warsaw, 1990, pp. 163–189; L. Lukács, L. Polgár, *Documenta romana historiae Societatis Iesu in regnis olim corona hungarica unitis*, vol. 1, Romae 1959, pp. 33*–36*, 47*–48*; F. de Borja Medina, *La Compañía de Jesús y la evangelización de América y Filipinas en los archivos de la Orden*, in: *Memoria Ecclesiae*, vol. V: *Órdenes religiosas e evangelización de América y Filipinas en los archivos de la Iglesia santoral hispano-mozárabe en España. Actas del VII Congreso de la Asociación celebrado en Córdoba (12 al 15 de septiembre de 1992)*, Oviedo 1994, pp. 31–61 (in particular pp. 31–35, 44–52); L. Pásztor, *Guida delle fonti per la storia dell'Africa a Sud del Sahara negli Archivi della Santa Sede e negli Archivi Ecclesiastici d'Italia*, Zug 1983, pp. 302–311 (in particular p. 302); F. del Ser Pérez, *La provincia jesuítica de Castilla en el Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, „Cuadernos de Historia Moderna”, 20 (1998) pp. 167–188; J. Teschitel, *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI)*, „Archivum”, 4 (1954) pp. 145–152; idem, *Das Generalarchiv der Gesellschaft Jesu in Rom*, „Römische Historische Mitteilungen”, 4 (1960–1961) pp. 247–254.

⁴ N.R. Verastegui, *Importanza degli archivi nella storia e nella spiritualità della Compagnia, secondo il “Nostro modo di procedere”*, in: „Scriptis tradere et fideliter conservare”: Gli archivi come „luoghi della memoria” nella Compagnia di Gesù, Roma 2003, pp. 29–51.

1537, they resided at several different addresses before finding their headquarters in today's Piazza del Gesù, which owes its current name to the new order's mother temple, built between 1568 and 1584 and for centuries adjacent to its Generalate. The Jesuits settled there in 1541, and a few years later the founder and first general took up residence in the rooms that still exist today – the only remnant of the house that preceded the current building, erected between 1599 and 1623.⁵

The archives 'wandered' along with the first Jesuits, and it is not always easy to figure out who exactly helped St Ignatius during those first few years in organizing the rapidly growing correspondence.⁶ Until 1773, it was housed in the aforementioned house at the Church of the Gesù, where it also remained after the order's suppression, although the instability of the situation at the time probably explains why so many of its documents were lost or ended up in the hands of different owners, e.g. the collection of plans for Jesuit churches and houses, kept today in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.⁷ The losses of this period are estimated at hundreds of volumes.⁸

An interesting episode of those years was the action to save the archives from probable confiscation by Napoleon. When the Vatican Archives collection began to be transported to Paris by his orders, St Joseph Pignatelli, fearing for the fate of the Jesuit archives, obtained permission and financial assistance from Pius VII to move the documents discreetly from Gesù to the church of san Pantaleo in the Colosseum area, where the Jesuits then resided in the Eternal City.⁹ There, the archives survived for several years, until the end of the French occupation and the resurrection of the Society of Jesus in 1814. The Jesuits then returned to their headquarters in Gesù, along with their archives, although, as it turned out, not for long.

⁵ For the architectural complex of the Gesù, cf. P. Pecchiai, *Il Gesù di Roma descritto ed illustrato*, Roma 1952. For the various residences of the early Jesuits in Rome, cf. A.M. de Aldama, *Guida a Roma Ignaziana. Sulle orme di Sant'Ignazio di Loyola*, Casale Monferrato 1990, and M. Ruiz Jurado, *I luoghi di sant'Ignazio di Loyola a Roma*, Gorle 2011. It is interesting to note that the first and third Roman addresses of St Ignatius are presently 'Polish' places – the house of the Resurrectionist Fathers (via San Sebastianello 11) and the Polish Embassy to the Holy See (via dei Delfini 16).

⁶ G. Schurhammer, *Die Anfänge des römischen Archivs der Gesellschaft Jesu*, „Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu”, 12 (1943) pp. 89–118.

⁷ J. Teschitel, *L'organizzazione dell'archivio generale della Compagnia di Gesù*, „Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato”, 22 (1962) p. 191; E. Lamalle, *Les plans des Archives Romaines de la Compagnie de Jésus. Inventaire*, in: *Le recueil de plans d'édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, ed. J. Vallery-Radot, Rome 1960, pp. 389–402.

⁸ E. Lamalle, *La documentation d'histoire missionnaire dans le 'Fondo Gesuitico' aux Archives Romaines de la Compagnie de Jésus*, *Euntes Docete* 21 (1968), p. 131.

⁹ José Pignatelli y Moncayo (1737–1811), Spaniard, Jesuit since 1753, after the expulsion of the order from Spain (1767) resided in Italy, where he contributed to the gradual restoration of the Society's structures; canonized by Pius XII in 1954 (*Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. Biográfico-temático*, vol. IV, Roma-Madrid 2001, pp. 3131–3133). The initiative of Pignatelli and assistance of Pius VII in saving the archives is mentioned by the saint's biographer, D.A. Hanly, *Blessed Joseph Pignatelli (of the Society of Jesus). A Great Leader in a Great Crisis*, New York 1937, pp. 204–206.

The reason for its subsequent transfer was the policy of the government of a unified Italy in 1870, far from favourable toward the Jesuits and other ecclesiastical institutions of Rome. Numerous seizures of their estates, libraries and archives also called into question the security of Jesuit documents. In 1873, the Jesuits had to leave the Eternal City. Their General Curia moved to Fiesole near Florence, where it remained until 1895, while the archives were first hidden and then sent in secret to Exaten in the Netherlands, where the German Jesuits, expelled from their motherland by Bismarck's Kulturkampf, had their house of study. The transfer took place in 1893 under the direction of the then archivist, Fr van Meurs.¹⁰ Since the action had to be carried out discreetly, for three months he sent the documents gradually, parcel by parcel, to the addresses of various friends, who, forewarned, sent them forward to their destination.¹¹

By the end of 1893, the archives occupied three different locations: the fundamental part of it was in the Netherlands, the more recent documents (those from after 1814) shared the fate of the Curia and were placed in Fiesole, and the archive of the Procurator General of the Order, located in 1870 in the Jesuit Collegium Romanum, was confiscated by the Italian government along with the library of that college. This book collection became the foundation of the present Vittorio Emanuele II National Library in Rome, where it still resides to this day, while the aforementioned archives were returned to their owners in 1924. After the return of the General Curia to Rome (1895) and of the archives from the Netherlands (1939), all three parts of the archives were brought together in 1945 in the new Curia at Borgo S. Spirito 4, where they remain to this day; since 1995 they have been housed in a special building.

Archival resources

The archives' structure stems from the order's strictly centralized system of governance and is almost a mirror image of it: the general in Rome exercises authority with the help of his associates called assistants, while an extensive system of correspondence ensures a regular flow of information from all the provinces of the Society. Thanks to such an organized central administration, the basic principles of which have not changed over the centuries, today we have about 2,000 linear meters of documentation.¹²

In its current form, the archives consist of three departments:

¹⁰ Jan Baptist van Meurs (1828–1908), Dutch, Jesuit from 1846 (R. Mendizábal, *Catalogus defunctorum in renata Societate Iesu ab a. 1814 ad a. 1970*, Romae 1972, p. 212 [ref. 11.794]).

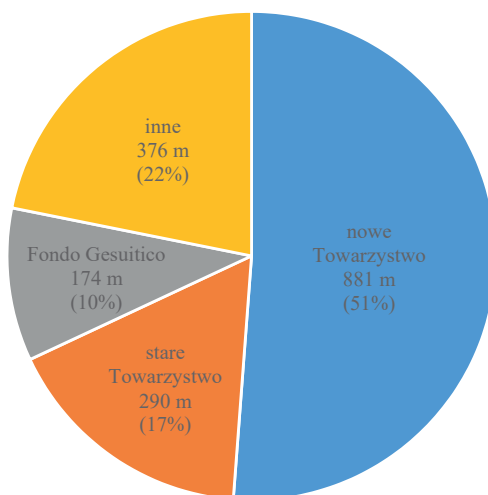
¹¹ J. Ramón Eguillor, M. Revuelta Gonzáles, R.M. Sanz de Diego, *Memorias del P. Luis Martín General de la Compañía de Jesús (1846–1906)*, vol. 2. Roma 1988, pp. 755–757.

¹² In 1962, the then archivist Josef Teschitel estimated the pre-1773 documents at 556 linear meters (cf. Teschitel, *L'organizzazione dell'archivio generale*, p. 192), while in 1970 Lajos Pásztor estimated the archives' total collection at 900 linear meters (cf. L. Pásztor, *Guida delle fonti per la storia dell'America Latina negli archivi della Santa Sede e negli archivi ecclesiastici d'Italia*, Città del Vaticano 1970, p. 395). Since then, the amount of documentation stored here has increased significantly (mainly due to the acquisition of entire archival collections, such as the archives of the Jesuit Historical Institute and the Roman churches belonging to the order).

- documents relating to the so-called old Society (the period prior to the order's suppression in 1773);¹³
- documents from the time of the so-called New Society (the period after the rebirth of the order in 1814);
- the so-called Fondo Gesuitico, or archive of the Order's Procurator General, containing mainly property and litigation files, such as documentation relating to relations with Roman offices and tribunals, documents relating to Jesuit colleges, etc.

In addition, the new archive has found a place for special collections, forming a *de facto* fourth section, which includes photographs, iconography, maps, building plans, medals, seals and entire separate archival groups, including documents from the Jesuit churches of Rome – Gesù, Sant'Ignazio and the Caravita oratory (in addition to a series of scores of interest to music historians, they mainly contain documents of an administrative and economic nature, such as accounts, registers of Masses celebrated, etc.).

Diagram 1. Structure and resources of the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus



Source: R. Danieluk, *Michał Boym, Andrzej Rudomina and Jan Smogulecki – Three Seventeenth Century Missionaries in China. A Selection of Documents from the Roman Jesuit Archives*, „Monumenta Serica. Journal of Oriental Studies”, 59 (2011) p. 423.

Each of these departments is divided into smaller organizational units, and the whole collection is in the records. In addition to general inventories, covering the entirety of a given section, there are also detailed inventories of certain series or

¹³ For the so-called old and new Society, cf. R. Danieluk, *La reprise d'une mémoire brisée: l'historiographie de la 'nouvelle' Compagnie de Jésus*, „Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu”, 150 (2006) pp. 269–271.

even volumes, as well as thematic inventories, such as the inventory of polonica from the old Society period or the inventory of Chinese books.¹⁴

The graphic shows data from 2011, but changes in recent years have not been so significant as to make it completely out of date.

The three main divisions (the old and new Society and the Fondo Gesuitico) share the same types of documentation. These include correspondence, accounts from the order's local premises and historical and biographical materials about the Jesuits, catalogues, directories and documentation on administrative and legal matters. Since the undersigned has already addressed this topic in other articles, let it be forgiven that only a reference to the aforementioned literature can be found herein; the reader may nevertheless find further bibliographic suggestions in it.¹⁵

Operation of the archives

As with any archive, the operation of the Jesuit Roman Archives can also be considered on several levels. Here are some of them:

1. Facilities and finance

For the past 27 years, the archives have been located in a new building, better suited for storing collections, as, in the interest of preserving them, the storerooms have been equipped with the necessary installations, taking into account security requirements. Unfortunately, technology does not preclude unpleasant surprises in the form of failures and various shortcomings that made a major renovation of the building necessary in 2020. In considering the construction of archival storage facilities, it is also important to take into account their location (in our case, the proximity to Janiculum Hill does not help to maintain adequate humidity in the halls).

¹⁴ A.P. Bieśet al., *Polonica w Archiwum Rzymskim Towarzystwa Jezusowego*, vol. 1–5, Kraków 2002–2008; A. Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome. A Descriptive Catalogue Japonica-Sinica*, vol. I–IV, Armonk-New York-London 2002.

¹⁵ For the origins and types of Jesuit correspondence, cf. R. Danieluk, *Jezuickie inspiracje działań Piotra Skargi*, „*Studia Bobolanum*”, 2 (2013) pp. 31–34; idem, *Nieopublikowane dokumenty Piotra Skargi w archiwach rzymskich*, „*Studia Bobolanum*”, 2 (2013) pp. 208–210. For the Archivum Romanum and other types of its documentation, cf. idem, *Święta Lipka w dokumentach Rzymskiego Archiwum Towarzystwa Jezusowego*, in: *Święta Lipka – perła na pograniczu ziem, kultur i wyznań*, Warsaw 2008, pp. 73–77; idem, *Obecność jezuitów na Świętojańskiej w dokumentach Rzymskiego Archiwum Towarzystwa Jezusowego*, „*Studia Bobolanum*”, 3 (2010) pp. 89–97; *Documenti dell'Archivio Romano della Compagnia di Gesù sulla presenza e attività dei gesuiti nelle Marche tra XVI e XVIII secolo: Possibilità di ricerca*, in: *Studi Maceratesi*, vol. 44: *Ordini e Congregazioni religiose dal Concilio di Trento alla soppressione napoleonica. Atti del XLIV Convegno di Studi Maceratesi, Abbazia di Fiasstra (Tolentino), 22–23 novembre 2008*, Macerata 2010, pp. 163–191; idem, *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu: un luogo privilegiato per lo studio dell'attività evangelizzatrice dei gesuiti*, „*Archiva Ecclesiae*”, 53–55 (2010–2012) pp. 221–254; idem, *Starania o przekształcenie poznańskiego kolegium jezuitów w uniwersytet w świetle dokumentów Rzymskiego Archiwum Towarzystwa Jezusowego*, in: *Wokół jezuickiej fundacji uniwersytetu z 1611 roku*, ed. D. Żołędź-Strzelczyk, R. Witkowski, Poznań 2011, pp. 107–121; idem, *Lituanica w Rzymskim Archiwum Towarzystwa Jezusowego: możliwe kierunki poszukiwań*, in: *Jezuici Lietuvoje (1608–2008): gyvenimas, veikla, paveldas/Jesuits in Lithuania (1608–2008): Life, Work, Heritage*, p. 1, ed. N. Markauskaitė, Vilnius 2012, pp. 135–148.

With an eye on the future of the institution that the archives serve, i.e., the Jesuit General Curia, provision has been made accordingly for more space for the documents to gradually find their way here. With such collection growth as in the last quarter century, the problem of space should not arise in the coming decades.

Another important aspect is, of course, financial security. Napoleon is said to have stated that three things are needed to wage war: money, money and more money. It seems that this statement of the Emperor of the French can also be successfully applied to the maintenance of the archives. In the case of the historical archives of the Jesuit General Curia, it is maintained entirely from the budget of that office. In addition to the salaries of employees, the costs relate to the maintenance of the building (including carrying out the necessary work), the purchase of necessary equipment (computers, scanners, photocopiers, etc.) and the operation of the institution itself, which, obviously, always involves expenses, such as the preservation of documents or their digitization. All this has to be covered by the budget of the office that owns the archives.

2. Personnel

In order to carry out its task of collecting, organizing and providing access to documents, the archive needs adequate personnel. In addition to the four Jesuit archivists, there are currently six employees who perform all the necessary work, from the functions of storeroom and reading room service to the inventory and digitizing of documents to running the archive secretariat and other day-to-day matters. It should be added that since 2010, the archive has taken over most of the duties of the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus, which also means research work, participation in conferences and publication – for example the periodical *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, published twice a year. It turns out that a team of ten people is a relatively modest workforce for all this work.

The number and professional qualifications of personnel will undoubtedly depend on the size, nature and operation of each archive. At the same time, it seems obvious that not everyone can do everything, and this should be kept in mind when deciding whether to hire new employees. On the other hand, it is also worth mentioning the opportunities for employees to improve their professional qualifications by taking part in various courses and trainings, as well as by participating in the work of the Italian Association of Church Archivists (*Associazione Archivistica Ecclesiastica*) and other similar organizations.

3. Collection of materials

Like any other historical archive, the *Archivum Romanum* also systematically receives documents produced by the General Curia when they become obsolete to the point of being excluded from the curial office and in the transitional archive. In practice, this means a period of about 15–20 years from the end of a given curial practice. Unfortunately, it is usually up to the producing offices to decide which documents are transferred to the historical archives, and the advice of an archivist is not always sought.

From time to time, for various reasons, groups of files not directly related to the Curia's activities find their way into the archives, such as the legacy of Jesuit historians that had worked at the aforementioned Historical Institute and died in Rome, or the entire archives of that Institute, or the legacy of historian Robert Graham, a long-time employee of La Civiltà Cattolica and a member of the team commissioned by Paul VI to research the Vatican Archives with regard to the activities of the Holy See and Pius XII during World War II (the work resulted in the publication of 12 volumes of documents, while the legacy itself was handed over to the Vatican Secretariat of State several years ago).¹⁶ Essentially, however, the archives only collect documents that are the product and testimony to the activities of the General Curia, which reflects its mission and which sometimes causes surprise to some visiting researchers who expect that all documents pertaining to Jesuits around the world are kept there.

According to theoretical archival science, each archive is supposed to be, as it were, a reflection of the institution that produces it. It is worth keeping the above in mind in organizing the archives (whether it refers to registry, transitional or historical archives), in setting the rules for the transfer of documents by 'our' office, influencing, where possible, also the decision on which documents should be transferred to the Historical Archives. Of course, it is necessary to know well how 'our' office operates, to be in contact with its employees, influencing them so as to avoid, if possible, a situation in which they hand over documents that are out of order or worthless.

4. Ordering and preservation of materials

The ideal situation is when the historical archive receives documents already organized and inventoried from the registry or transitional archive. Such ideal situations are, fortunately, possible and do occur: many secretariats of the Curia transfer organized batches of material to the Roman Archives. The archivist then only needs to mark these documents with a reference number, place them in storage and record them in the register. Unfortunately, there are times when, for various reasons, documents in need of sorting out are handed over to the archives, which of course prolongs and complicates the work of the archivist.

In the event where it is impossible to inventory the entirety of a given fond at once, it is worthwhile to start by creating at least some sort of general inventory that will allow the archivists to become acquainted with the collections they have, such as dividing the legacy received from several people by their names (this method will be used, for example, to develop a set of files (fond) of individual Jesuit historians whose legacies we keep). The second stage will be to describe a particular set in more detail, such as by type of documents (letters, lecture scripts,

¹⁶ Robert A. Graham (1912–1997), American, Jesuit since 1929 (*Catalogus defunctorum in renata Societate Iesu (III)*, 1986–2000, Romae 2001, p. 40), worked in Rome in 1966–1977; the 12-volume edition of Vatican documents addressed in the article is: P. Blet, R.A. Graham, A. Martini, B. Schneider, *Actes et Documents du Saint-Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*, Città del Vaticano 1965–1981.

personal notes, etc.), and finally to create a detailed inventory, such as a detailed list of letters by correspondents' names or dates.

The use of computer databases opens up new possibilities whereby, once the relevant information is entered, it is possible, for example, to immediately find the answer to the question of whether the collection of the files of a particular Jesuit historian contains letters to any of his colleagues, and so on. The problem remains, of course, in the introduction of a great amount of information into the computer and its updating, which is an indispensable condition for the usefulness of such a database, and in this field the Roman Archives still has much work to do. This makes the aids produced by previous archivists all the more deserving of attention and use. These are usually card files, which describe a given piece of documentation in a threefold key: persons (*personae*), places (*loca*) and subjects (*res*), constituting *de facto* indexes: of names, geographical names and subject matter. Here we are dealing with a kind of card file, which may be an ideal aid in many searches.

The mission of the historical archive is to preserve documents forever, and although this 'forever' is, of course, a relative term this does not absolve archivists from the obligation to give the collections in their possession adequate care and to provide for their preservation in the budget and in the operation of the archives. Technologies and approaches will, of course, depend on the age and type of collections, as well as the problems that preservation activities are intended to address.

In the case of the Archivum Romanum, a large portion of the documents was preserved and inventoried while in the Netherlands. Thanks to the technology used at the time, valuable documentation from the 16th–18th centuries was secured. Many other documents are still awaiting preservation, which is a real challenge that is not easy to meet for many reasons.

In addition to the use of specialized technologies, it is also important to remember the proper way of storing collections, which promotes their preservation. To preserve documents in good state, certain conditions are necessary: proper humidity and temperature, avoidance of sunlight, proper arrangement of items on shelves, binding of loose pages into volumes or their storage in one or another fascicle, binder or package – all of these make documents survive longer, or shorter if no such preservation methods are applied. Rather than merely eradicating the effects of incompetent storage, it is also worthwhile to take preventive measures.

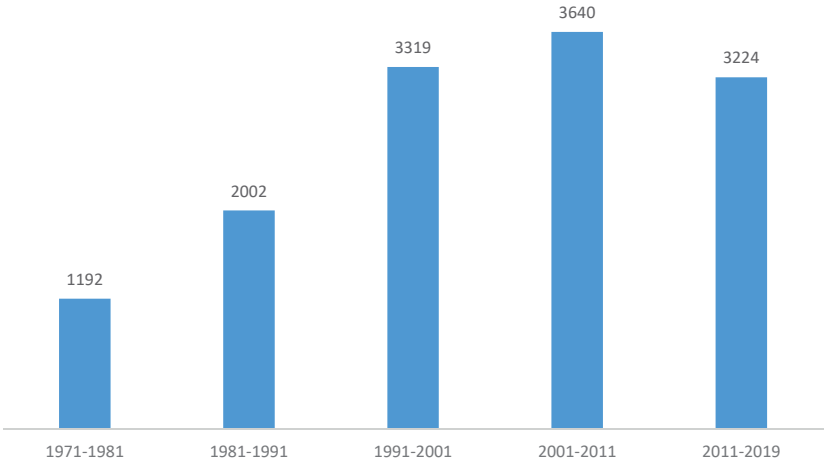
The frequency of making collections available to researchers is also an important aspect. Statistics of recent decades prove that thousands of volumes are consulted annually in the reading room of the Roman Archives (4,775 in 2004 alone), and each such consultation is, after all, a potential risk and danger of damage or even theft, hence the importance of the archive security issue. Efforts should be made to ensure that the documents are safe from the not necessarily dishonest but often incompetent researchers when consulted in the reading room.

5. Sharing materials

The archive is open to researchers, making available, like the Vatican Archives, documents from the period up to October 1958. The ever-increasing number of searches carried out and the systematic presence of researchers from many countries

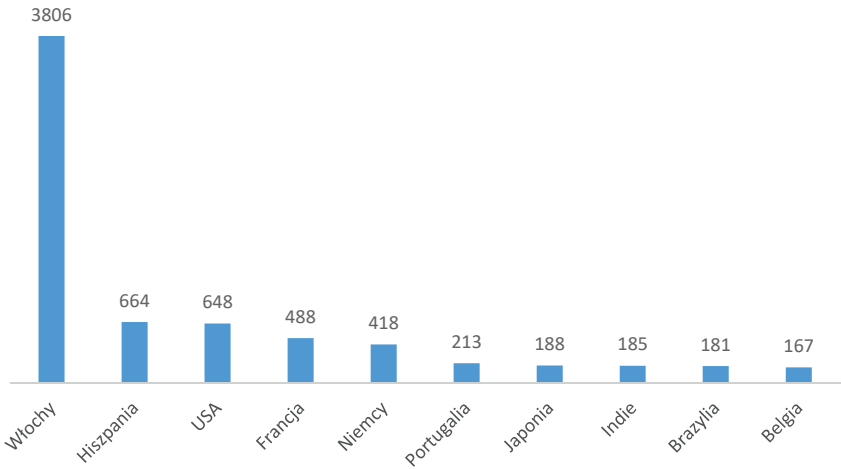
unequivocally and eloquently testify to the value of these collections. The graphic below illustrates this frequency from 1971 to 2019.

Diagram 2. Frequency of use of the collections of the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus from 1971 to 2019



Source: own research.

Diagram 3. Nationality of visitors using the collections of the Roman Archives between 1995 and 2019



Source: own research.

As can be seen, the overall trend is upward (the last number is smaller, but it refers to eight years, not ten, as in the other time frames).

If we want to give a pictorial representation of the nationality of researchers visiting the Roman Archives over the past quarter century, a diagram 3 would emerge.

Sharing collections naturally entails a whole series of consequences.

Certainly, the work should be organized to ensure that all the objectives of the archives are carried out in parallel. It would be inappropriate, for example, to focus on providing service to researchers using the archives while neglecting other work, such as inventory, and vice versa: inadequate assistance with searches should never be excused for being overly busy. A certain balance between the different levels of the archives' operation is therefore necessary here, and this means more than one challenge for the management.

The adoption of some sort of calendar and regulations would be a basic aid in the work. The Jesuit archive is open to researchers from mid-September to the second half of July, Monday through Friday (not counting public holidays according to the Italian calendar), from 9 am to 4 pm. Applicants are received by one of the archivists. Having presented a letter of recommendation and an identity document, they fill out the appropriate form and agree to abide by the rules and regulations in effect, which stipulate, in addition to the obvious security standards, the frequency of requesting the documents. By filling out a special receipt, anyone can obtain two archival units at 10 am, 11 am and 3 pm. Documents already digitized (even if containing hundreds of volumes, it is still only a small part of our collection!) are made available only in this form.

What is needed, of course, is a suitable workplace for the reporting researchers and the staff to support them. The reading room allows for the admission of about 30 people, although recent restrictions due to the COVID-19 pandemic meant that only 8 people were admitted at a time in 2020. It is equipped with computers, although the visitor is obviously allowed to use their own. One employee, who also serves as a storekeeper, is scheduled to operate the reading room.

Ordering reproductions is permissible. Photocopies are made only for books in the reading room, while in the case of archives, only digital reproduction is available. Until 2005, the archives employed a photographer who carried out orders placed by researchers for a fee. For the past few years, reproductions have been made by archive staff.

The use of the archives' collections is free of charge, with the exception of reproductions in any of their forms (photocopy, digital photo).

Apart from the workspace, personnel and rules and regulations of the archive, the assistance provided to researchers is also important. In addition to the initial interview, inventories in the reading room and other aids (dictionaries, bibliographies, some monographs and publications of the Historical Institute) also facilitate the search efforts at the Archivum Romanum. Some of them are also available on the computer and on the archive website <http://www.sjweb.info/arsi/>.

As far as the Internet is concerned, although it is difficult to overestimate its advantages in the field of library and other searches wherever the relevant information is already available online, one needs to consider and decide what exactly

needs making it available online: should it be only preliminary information about the archive, or inventories, or the documents themselves?

With its own website, the Archivum Romanum made its presence in the world of information, which is undoubtedly a good thing. The consequence, however, of even this small dissemination of knowledge about the archive was and is an increase in correspondence. Not only questions about the possibility of searches or inquiries for information and reproduction of documents are received via email, but even requests to conduct searches that are most often not feasible. While ‘revealing’ ourselves on the Internet, therefore, we must also reckon with this consequence.

It is necessary to prepare and determine whether and how the archive intends to conduct correspondence. In our case, we always respond to inquiries about general information or those for which the answer does not require excessive searching. Any time we are able to assist, we do so. However, if the request concerns longer search, we must apologize, explaining that due to lack of staff and other work, fulfilling this request is beyond our means. The vast majority of our correspondents understand this, although some inquiries seem to indicate that their authors imagine that our archive has some sort of vast database, including information on all Jesuits from every era and every country. Unfortunately, we do not possess such collection and all we can do is bring those people down to earth...

In general, it should be acknowledged that sharing collections is a good thing also because it allows us to influence the shape of the historiography of a given topic. In the case of the Roman Archives, this is more than obvious, for it is common knowledge that historians’ interest in Jesuits’ issues in the broadest sense has increased in recent decades. This is evidenced, for example, by the increase in the number of publications devoted to this issue: in 1981–1990 these amounted to 11,227, while in 1991–2000 this number grew to 20,217!¹⁷ At least some of these studies were made possible by ARSI documents. The turnout of researchers seems to confirm that this interest is not waning. In recent years, an average of 400 to 600 researchers visited the archive every year (that number of permits were issued to use the collection), although 2020 was naturally a special year in this regard.

An interesting phenomenon is the fact that until recently the vast majority of historians favoured the period of the old Society. Since the opening of the archives’ new headquarters (1995), there have been about 80% of them, and given that the new Society’s collections account for more than half of the archives, this means that its knowledge and use is disproportionate to its resources.

Instead of a summary

Announcing the opening of the documents stored in the Vatican Archives from the pontificate of Pius XII, Pope Francis said, on 4 March 2019, that the Church is not afraid of history and therefore he, following the example of his predecessors in

¹⁷ Cf. Danieluk, *La reprise d’une mémoire brisée*, p. 303. The statistics are based on the bibliography: L. Polgár, *Bibliographie sur l’histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1901–1980*, vol. 1–3, Roma 1981–1990. WorldCat <https://www.worldcat.org/advancedsearch> provides the following data (after entering ‘jesuit’ in the keyword field): 1981–1990: 5,849 titles; 1991–2000: 9,981 titles; 2001–2010: 19,761 titles; 2011–2020: 24,530 titles (accessed on: 4.11.2020).

the office of Peter, entrusts historians with another portion of Church documentation in the hope that they will be able to use it properly.¹⁸ Whether this is actually the case is another interesting topic, but this is not the subject matter of the present article, which can be concluded by reminding the readers that the Society of Jesus is following in this footsteps set by the popes and making its own archives available to researchers. Historiographical trends and topics that capture more or less attention of Clio's adepts are changing, but the idea guiding them remains valid: using the experience of the past to better understand the present, because only in this way can the future be well planned.

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¹⁸ „L'Osservatore Romano”, 4–5 III 2019, p. 1.

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RZYMSKIE ARCHIWUM TOWARZYSTWA JEZUSOWEGO: GENEZA, ZASÓB I FUNKCJONOWANIE

Abstrakt

Rzymskie Archiwum Towarzystwa Jezusowego (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu), jest głównym (centralnym) archiwum jezuitów. Znajduje się przy kurii generalnej zakonu, a jego zadaniem jest gromadzenie, porządkowanie i udostępnianie badaczom zbioru dokumentów z okresu od XVI–XX w. Jest archiwum centralnym w tym znaczeniu, że zawiera dokumenty odnoszące się do centralnego zarządu zakonu, nie zaś wszystkie dokumenty dotyczące jezuitów z każdej epoki i z każdego kraju. Od 1541 do roku 1773 mieściło się w domu przy kościele del Gesù, gdzie pozostało również po kasacie zakonu, choć niestabilność ówczesnej sytuacji doprowadziła do zaginięcia wielu dokumentów. W 1873 r. jezuici musieli opuścić Rzym ze względu na politykę władz włoskich. Kuria generalna przeniosła się do Fiesole koło Florencji, gdzie pozostała do 1895 r., zaś archiwum zostało najpierw ukryte, po czym wysłane w sekrecie do Exaten w Holandii, gdzie niemieccy jezuici mieli swój dom studiów. Pod koniec roku 1893 archiwum znajdowało się w trzech różnych miejscach: zasadnicza jego część była w Holandii, dokumenty nowsze (te z okresu po 1814 r.) w Fiesole, zaś archiwum prokuratora generalnego zakonu, znajdujące się w 1870 r. w jezuickim Collegium Romanum, zostało wraz z biblioteką tej uczelni skonfiskowane przez rząd włoski. Księgozbiór ten stał się zaczątkiem dzisiejszej

Biblioteki Narodowej Vittorio Emanuele II w Rzymi. Wspomniane archiwalia powróciły do swoich właścicieli w 1924 r. Po powrocie kurii generalnej do Rzymu (1895) oraz archiwaliów z Holandii (1939), wszystkie trzy części archiwum spotkały się w 1945 r. nowej kurii przy Borgo S. Spirito 4, gdzie pozostają do dzisiaj; od roku 1995 umieszczono je w specjalnym budynku. W obecnym swoim kształcie archiwum składa się z działów: 1. dokumenty dotyczące tzw. „starego” Towarzystwa (okres poprzedzający kasatę zakonu w 1773 r.); 2. akta z czasów tzw. „nowego” Towarzystwa (okres po odrodzeniu zakonu w 1814 r.); 3. tzw. Fondo Gesuitico, czyli archiwum prokuratora generalnego zakonu zawierające głównie akta majątkowe i procesowe; 4. zbiory specjalne. Zasób jest na bieżąco opracowywany i udostępniany do kwerend naukowych badaczom z całego świata. Sukcesywnie rośnie liczba zdigitalizowanych archiwaliów.

Słowa kluczowe: archiwum; jezuici; historiografia; Rzymskie Archiwum Towarzystwa Jezusowego; Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu



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GRATULARE SION ALMA. **UNKNOWN OFFICE OF ST CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA**

Abstract

The article is a pioneering edition of a breviary Office of St Catherine of Alexandria titled *Gratulare Sion alma*, from a breviary of the Benedictine Abbey in Saint-Savin en Lavedan, on the France – Spain border. The breviary is kept in the City Library in Toulouse (manuscript 73). The Office was not included in *Analecta Hymnica*, while *Repertorium Hymnologicum* only contains its incipit, which was noted by U. Chevalier based on printed *Breviarium Grassense* (Toulouse 1513). As the Office is present in the 15th century part of the manuscript from Saint-Savin en Lavedan, one may suppose that it is the oldest known source of *Gratulare Sion alma*. The Office has a Benedictine form, and to a large extent it is original work. Almost all antiphons and most responsories seem to have been created locally and do not have their counterparts in other liturgical sources. The manuscript 73, which is described here, is not the only existing breviary from Saint-Savin en Lavedan. There is also an earlier, two-volume breviary from the same abbey, kept in the City Library in Bagnères-de-Bigorre (manuscripts 31 and 32, 14th century), but it does not include any Office of St Catherine.

Keywords: St Catherine of Alexandria; The Divine Office; breviary; liturgy

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The subject of this article is the text of the breviary Office *Congratulare Sion alma* composed in honour of St Catherine of Alexandria. This work does not exist in scholarly circulation; it has not been included in the *Analecta Hymnica*,¹ nor has it been published *in extenso* so far.² However, it is worth paying attention to, as it expands knowledge about the development of the cult of this significant figure for European culture. The present study should therefore be regarded as a pioneering edition of the Office, which, as intended by the authors of the article, is thus introduced into scholarly circulation.

The beginning of the cult of St Catherine in the West, locally present since the 8th century,³ can be traced to Normandy in the mid-11th century. From then on, it gradually gained momentum with the importation of her relics (circa 1030) to the now defunct Trinité-du-Mont/St Catherine monastery in Rouen by the monk Simeon of the Sinai monastery.⁴ Liturgical calendars from the 11th century, let alone earlier ones, do not generally include the saint.⁵ And although in liturgical books written down in the 12th century, the celebration of St Catherine is marked in (very few) instances,⁶ it was at that time that the first surviving breviary Offices were written, representing some of the strongest manifestations of her veneration.

Tracing the liturgical texts for 25 November in the books, one easily notices their abundant variety, especially in France. The monasteries around Rouen show the strongest concentration of evidence of the cult of the Martyr of Sinai, proving

¹ *Analecta Hymnica* (hereinafter: AH) contains the texts of nine rhymed Offices in honour of St Catherine: *Inclita sanctae virginis* (12th century); *Benedicta sit immensa* (13th century); *Ave virgo speciosa* (13th century); *Gratulemur in honore* (13th century); *Virginis eximiae* (13th century); *Triumphandi concordando* (14th century); *Lucundare superna patria* (14th century) and two Offices without the first antiphon. AH 18, no. 37–39; 26, no. 69–74. AH should now be approached with the right degree of criticism, both for the attribution of sources and their selection.

² The only mention in the literature is the incipit of the Office published in U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, vol. 4, Louvain 1912, p. 155, no. 37734.

³ P. Assion, *Katharina (Aikaterinê) von Alexandrien*, in: *Lexikon der Christlichen ikonographie*, vol. 7, ed. W. Braunfels, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1990, col. 290.

⁴ Ch. Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe*, Hampshire-Burlington 2007, p. 73.

⁵ E.g. *Breviarium antiquissimum*, Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 83(76), 2nd half of 11th c., f. 7v; *Missale vetus*, Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire. Section de Médecine, ms. H314, 11th/12th c., f. 6r and English manuscripts from the 3rd quarter of the 11th century: the Exeter psalter, London, British Library, Harley ms. 863, f. 6r and collectarium of Winchester, London, British Library, ms. Cotton MS Vitellius E XVIII, f. 7r. The earliest Mass forms for the feast of St Catherine come from Monte Cassino in the 10th century. Por. H. Paprocki, *Katarzyna Aleksandryjska, II. Kult*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 8, ed. A. Szostek, Lublin 2000, col. 986–987. The mere presence of texts about St Catherine in such early liturgical sources should not be overly surprising in light of the Benedictines of Monte Cassino's contacts with Greek communities in southern Italy.

⁶ E.g. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 23037, f. 6r; London, British Library, Cotton ms Vespasian A XIV, f. 6r; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. NAL 2188, f. 4r.

that it was from the north of France that it spread across Europe.⁷ The first Office of St Catherine was written at the Benedictine monastery of Holy Trinity and St Catherine in Rouen, created by the monk Ainard.⁸ Although the content of this composition has not survived, the mid-11th century can be considered the moment when the expansion of post-Gregorian works dedicated to the Virgin of Sinai began.

James J. Blasina distinguished three main types of breviary Offices dedicated to her.⁹ The first is the Frankish-English initiatory *Inclita sanctae virginis*, very widespread in Europe; the second is the Neapolitan-Norman *Virginis eximiae*, even more popular than the previous one; the third is the Norman-Germanic *Ave virgo speciosa*, characteristic primarily of Germanic circles.

After examining some 1,000 records of the Offices concerning St. Catherine, a fourth, *Gratulemur in honore* – an Office characteristic of the Burgundian Netherlands – should absolutely be added to the above three types. It was composed in Liège or the immediate vicinity in the early years of the 13th century or even earlier – in the late 12th century. This Office was present in the Leodian liturgy almost unchanged until the end of the 18th century, long after the Council of Trent. Outside the territory of the Diocese of Liège, it was performed in Erfurt (as late as the 15th/16th century)¹⁰ and in Plock as early as the 14th century¹¹ and there are many indications that it survived there until approx. the middle of the 15th century.

In addition to these four essential Catherinian Offices, medieval and later sources contain other endemic Offices that we do not find in the breviaries, as they constitute isolated cases, characteristic of only one particular centre or a small area, and have been preserved in one or few records. Such is, among others, the office *Gratulare Sion alma*, which is the subject of this article.

Office *Gratulare Sion alma*

According to the current state of knowledge, only two written works containing the text of *Congratulare Sion alma* are known to come from Saint-Savin en Lavedan and Lagrasse Benedictine monasteries.

⁷ P. Schill, *Ikongraphie und kult der hl. Katharina von Alexandrien im mittelalter studien zu den szenischen darstellungen aus der Katharinenlegende*, München 2005, p. 54 [doctoral dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität].

⁸ Ordericus Vitalis (c. 1075 – c. 114), in a chronicle entitled *Historia Ecclesiastica*, describing, among other things, the history of Normandy, records the person of a Benedictine monk named Ainard (Aenardus, Ainardus, Aynardus, d. 1078), a monastic liturgist and musician. Cf. V. Gazeau, *Normannia monastica. Prosopographie des abbés bénédictins (Xe-XIIe siècle)*, Caen 2007, p. 299; idem, *Les abbés bénédictins de la Normandie ducale*, „Anglo-Norman Studies”, 26 (2003) p. 80.

⁹ J.J. Blasina, *Music and Gender in the Medieval Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria, c. 1050–1300*, Cambridge MA 2015 [doctoral dissertation, Harvard University], pp. 52–93.

¹⁰ AH 26, no. 74. Sources: Breviary from the church of St Severus in Erfurt, Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. Carm. 24 (1494); breviary from St Mary's Cathedral in Erfurt; printed by Kaspar Hochfelder, Nuremberg 1497; breviary from St Severus Church in Erfurt; printed by Johann Schöffner, Mainz 1518.

¹¹ Plock, Library of the Seminary, ms. bs. *Pontificale Plocense* 12th/13th c. The Office *Gratulemur in honore* was added in the early 13th century to the manuscript. The codex arrived in Plock most likely in the 14th century.

Essential to the subject of the article is a manuscript found in the Toulouse Municipal Library,¹² which is the basis for the edition of the Office text. This is the breviary used at the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Savin en Lavedan, located in the Diocese of de Tarbes.¹³ The manuscript's provenance is confirmed by the presence of two Offices about the abbey's patron saint, St Saviniana (translation of 5 August and the main feast on October 9 with octave). The paper-and-parchment codex (374 inscribed pages measuring 197 x 140 mm), restored in 1982, is not homogeneous. It contains a small fragment of a missal (f. 146–164), and a liturgical calendar, but the largest part of it consists of the pages of several breviaries from the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries.¹⁴ The liturgical calendar is found not at the beginning of the codex, but inside (f. 164–175) and is a later addition from 16th century. The liturgical degree (*dignitas*) of the celebration of St Catherine is designated therein as II *capis* (*duobus capis*, f. 174v). The codex may have been in use as late as 1565 (marginal note, f. 374v), that is, during the historic reign (1543–1593) of the enlightened Abbot François de Foix Candale, OSB. It must have been a time of flourishing musical culture in Saint-Savin de Lavedan, as evidenced by the construction in 1557 by an anonymous organ builder of the Toulouse school¹⁵ of a small but richly carved, 8-voice Renaissance organ with a single keyboard, one of the oldest organs currently in existence in France.

Manuscript 73 is not the only existing breviary from Saint-Savin en Lavedan Abbey. We even have an earlier, two-volume breviary,¹⁶ but it is difficult to draw conclusions from it about the celebration of the canonical hours on St Catherine's Day. Both volumes are missing the initial pages where the calendar most likely was included. That is frustrating, of course, but what is really surprising about it is the lack of an Office about the saint (not due to damage), so it is likely that the breviary was transcribed at a time when the abbey was not yet using its own texts about St Catherine, although 25 November was obviously celebrated, as supported by the objects of veneration associated with her figure (more on that later). A faint trace, drawing attention to the liturgy on the day of the Virgin of Alexandria, is

¹² Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 73, f. 332r–334r (original folio 119r–121r). V. Leroquais, *Les breviaries manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 4, Paris 1934, pp. 179–182. Digital copy Paris, BNdF, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105600395> (accessed on: 23.07.2021).

¹³ The Monastery of Saint-Savin en Lavedan (Abbaye de Saint-Savin-en-Lavedan; Santi Savini di Bigorra or St. Savini Levitanensis) was a Benedictine abbey in the municipality of Saint-Savin, Hautes-Pyrénées. The manuscript was owned by the Dominicans in Toulouse before it was included in the City Library's holdings. V. Leroquais' provenance of the breviary is confirmed by Joseph Lemarié in *Le bréviaire de Ripoll, Paris, B.N. lat. 742. Étude sur sa composition et ses textes inédits*, Montserrat 1965, p. 38.

¹⁴ *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 7, ed. P. Fournier, Paris 1885, p. 33.

¹⁵ P. Lafond, *Abbaye de Saint-Savin de Lavedan (Hautes-Pyrénées) (suite et fin)*, „Bulletin Monumental” 53 (1887) p. 10.

¹⁶ Bagneres-de-Bigorre, Bibliothèque Municipale, mss. 31, 32 (14th c.). V. Leroquais, *Les breviaries manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 1, Paris 1934, pp. 101–104.

a later added marginal note, now illegible, written next to the correct place in the calendar (ms. 31, f. 96r).

A second, later source for the transmission of *Congratate Sion alma* is the Benedictine breviary printed for the Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lagrasse (La Grasse, Diocese of Carcassonne).¹⁷ As a result of being hidden in a damp place during the German occupation (1940–1944), it suffered greatly,¹⁸ e.g. the colophon no longer exists, which showed that *Breviarium Grassense* was embossed in 1513 by the Toulouse printer Jan de Guerlins (d. 1521),¹⁹ active in the late 15th and early 16th centuries in Spain and France.²⁰ From the very scanty information, it appears that a probably unique copy (restored in 1959²¹) of this print,²² from which U. Chevalier transcribed the incipit of the Office for his catalogue, has been preserved. And this is the only, so far, faint trace of *Congratate Sion alma* in the scientific literature, and, importantly, a trace from the 16th century – clearly later than the manuscript from Saint-Savin en Lavedan.

The Benedictines at Saint-Savin de Lavedan seem to have introduced their own texts about St Catherine into the breviary liturgy later than most religious centres in Europe. Since the earlier, 14th-century breviary (Bagnères-de-Bigorre, mss. 31 and 32) was never supplemented with the Catherinian Office, it is reasonable to believe that it was withdrawn from use in the 15th century and in its place the Benedictines introduced a new, updated one (Toulouse, ms. 73), which already witnesses the celebration of the new Office of *Gratulare Sion alma* on 25 November. There are many indications that this book documents a picture of 15th-century monastic liturgy, which was already well-established, although not very far-reaching into the past at the time.

Gratulare Sion alma exhibits a monastic (Benedictine) structure. Thus, Vespers contains four antiphons, a responsory and the antiphon ad Magnificat. The two nocturnes consist of six antiphons and four readings with responsories, followed by a canticum with a preceding antiphon. The third nocturne consists of other four readings with responsories. Lauds consists of five antiphons, a responsory and the antiphon ad Benedictus.

It is necessary at this point to highlight a characteristic trace. At the time of the entry of the Office *Congratate Sion alma* into the manuscript, another Alexandrian saint – Peter, the bishop – was mentioned in parallel with St Catherine

¹⁷ *Breviarium ad usum sacri et devoti monasterii Grasse, Carcassonnensis diocesis, Per Johannem de Guerlin*. Cf. R. Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires imprimés (Supplément aux catalogues de Weale et Bohatta). Propres des Saints (édition princeps)*, Paris 1990, p. 148.

¹⁸ F.X. Altés i Aguiló, *El breviari del monestir de Lagrassa imprès l'any 1513, i el seu homiliari catalanonarbonnes*, „Miscellània litúrgica catalana”, 8 (1997) pp. 75–76.

¹⁹ *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*, XVIII 77:1, eds. L. Desgraves, J. Betz, J. Muller, Baden-Baden 1974.

²⁰ F.J. Norton, *Printing in Spain 1501–1520*, Cambridge 1966, pp. 31–32. In addition to the breviary for the Abbey of Lagrasse, de Guerlins also published a breviary for the Diocese of Tarbes (*Breviarium Tarbense*, Toulouse 1519). Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires imprimés*, pp. 295, 571, 600.

²¹ Altés i Aguiló, *El breviari*, p. 81.

²² Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires imprimés*, p. 148; Altés i Aguiló, *El breviari*, p. 75.

in many liturgical centres under the date of 25 November. This martyr, although present earlier in calendars, became a background figure after the introduction of the celebration of St Catherine. In the breviary of ms. 73 only three liturgical moments include brief mentions of him. An oration precisely in his honour, *Deus mundi Creator*, was recited for the first time at Vespers after the oration *Deus qui dedisti legem Moysi*. More space was devoted to him in the second nocturne, when first six antiphons about St Catherine were sung, but the following four readings (passages) were already about St Peter (*in secundo nocturno fit de sancto Petro martyre*). After the canticle, it turned praising St Catherine, as four responsories are again dedicated to her. The figure of the holy bishop was recalled for the third time at the end of the Lauds, when, as in vespers, a prayer in his honour was included.

Originally, therefore, the second nocturne emphasized the figure of the Alexandrian martyr. The manuscript, however, witnesses to a time when the shift of the celebration of St Peter the Martyr to another day had already taken place.²³ Here, in addition to the three instructions described above (the so-called rubrics), the margins of the pages recorded the word *transfertur* three times in 16th-century script, alerting the performers not to recite texts about St Peter, as his liturgical celebration had been moved. Similar process was noted in the calendar: 'Petri episcopi et martyris transfertur' (f. 174v). This may indicate that the book was still in use in the mid-16th century.

Since we are dealing only with the textual version of the Office, we cannot claim anything with certainty about the melodies of most antiphons and responsories, nor can we confirm the existence of the phenomenon of numerical succession of modi, so characteristic of post-Gregorian works. Most of the chants appear to be original creations. This is confirmed by the acrostics in the antiphons of both nocturnes and Lauds, arranged in a chain of successive letters of the alphabet.

1st Nocturne:

Ad aeterni Regis laudem
Beatissima Regina
Clara virgo Catharina
Dum videret properante
Erat virgo Catharina
Festum sanctae Catharinae

2nd Nocturne:

Gloriosae Catharinae
Hac in die Catharina
Inclita virgo doctorum
Katherina gloriosa
Luce clara perlustratur
Martyr Christi Catharina

²³ V. Leroquais reports that the date under discussion is 27 November.

Canticle Antiphon:
Noster caetus clangat laetus

Lauds:
Optatus dies rutilat
Praeclara nobis gaudia
Quam devotis obsequiis
Regitur caelestis curia
Splendor aeterni luminis

The ad Nonam and ad Magnificat antiphons at Second Vespers are also original.

On the other hand, the following chants should be considered unoriginal (i.e., borrowed from or highly modelled on other Offices): both hymns (I Vesperae and Matutinum), three of the four little hour antiphons (prima, tertia and sexta), the 4th responsory *O Christi pietas*, the 7th responsory *Sancta Catharina Christi martyr* (this is a variant of the chant in honour of various saints, including Benedict's *Sancte Benedicte confessor Domini*). The hymns (*Catharina mirabilis* and *Ad festum sanctae virginis*), whose texts were widespread in Europe, were probably sung with the same melody as in the other centres, but we cannot be certain.

Two songs reveal borrowings from other chants: 1. the antiphon of the Lauds *Optatus dies rutilat* (its beginning betrays an affinity with the text of the hymn to St Tecla) and the antiphon *ad Benedictus O summa Christi pietas*, showing clear ties to the identically titled antiphon to St Nicholas. The latter, by the way, appears quite often in various Catharinian Offices, most often in the version *O Christi pietas*. However, doubts could be raised about the last antiphon *O caelestis regni rosa*, because the same text is found in a 15th-century monastic prayer book from Pavia.²⁴ Among other things, the book contains eight texts dedicated to St Catherine, including two antiphons and five orations. In addition, this antiphon (in a slightly altered form) also appeared in a 15th-century manuscript from Brussels.²⁵

It should also be added that the breviary readings were based on the text of the *Golden Legend* of James de Voragine. This is one of more than a dozen textual variants of the *Passio* used in the Offices concerning St Catherine.²⁶ Two characteristic mistakes by the scribe, uncorrected in the manuscript, are worth highlighting in the text of the Office. The first appeared in the last stanza of the vesper hymn *Catharina mirabilis: Hoc decus* (should be: *Deus*) *det omnipotens / et Filius omnipotens / cum Spiritu Paraclito / qui regnat in perpetuo*.

The second obvious error is evident in the instructions for the last antiphon of the Lauds. The copyist noted 'ad Vesperas', although it should be 'ad Benedictus'. Despite the evident usage of the book, there are no signs of proofreading anywhere, which poses the question whether these errors should be considered so obvious that the editors saw no need to correct them. Or perhaps these mistakes were left

²⁴ *Liber precum*, Mediolan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, ms. AD IX 41, f. 11v.

²⁵ AH 46, no 242.

²⁶ *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* A–I, ed. Socii Bollandiani, Bruxellis 1898–1899, p. 252, no 7.

uncorrected because manuscript breviaries were already a thing of the past, supplanted by printed books, which required unification. Particularly in Benedictine circles, the liturgical degree of the celebration of St Catherine had clearly declined to the level of the common recollection of virgins. In addition, the stipulations of the Council of Trent forbade the use of rhymed Offices.

For the most part, the Office *Congratulare Sion alma* appears to be an original creation of (most likely) the Benedictines. Naturally, one has to allow for the possibility that this Office was edited in another centre and was also adopted in Saint-Savin en Lavedan, but this seems less likely against the current state of knowledge. We simply know of no other record source. Absence of proof, of course, is not evidence of absence; however, having no previous records of this Office or even information about it, according to the principle of inference *ex silentio*, until we come across such, we consider this Office as a manifestation of the local cult of St Catherine.

Perhaps the unique texts echo Catalan, or possibly Catalanarbanian, liturgy. The survival of such a conglomerate is suggested by the results of a comparative study of the breviary readings in a homily also printed in 1515 by John de Guerlins for the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lagrasse.²⁷

Finally, a general note: the cult of St Catherine of Alexandria at the Abbey of Saint-Savin en Lavedan is documented from the beginning of the present Romanesque temple. An altar dedicated to her from the 12th century survives, as does a fragment of a later altar painting (the saint's head; now in the Musée du Trésor, located in the former chapter house). These objects of veneration place the Abbey of Saint-Savin en Lavedan among the earlier centres where the cult of Saint Catherine occurred. It lasted uninterrupted for at least four centuries (12th–16th centuries), as evidenced by a breviary with the recorded Office *Congratulare Sion alma*. Other surviving sources, however, prove that the Benedictines at Saint-Savin en Lavedan delayed for a relatively long time before introducing a breviary Office dedicated to the saint into the liturgy.

Text edition

(classical Latin spelling)

Abbreviations:

an – antiphona

ca – canticum

cap – capitulum

ev – evangelium

h – hymnus

i – incipit

inv – invitatorium

or – oratio (collecta)

ps – psalmus

r – responsorium

²⁷ Altés i Aguiló, *El breviari*, pp. 75, 107.

- – repetitio a latere
 v – versus responsorii
 vs – versiculus

	In vigilia beatae Catharinae	W wigilię świętej Katarzyny
	I Vesperae	I nieszpory
	<i>Super psalmos antiphonas</i>	<i>Antyfony do psalmów</i>
an 1	Gratulare Sion alma tanti festi gaudio quo regina Catharina triumphat martyrio.	Ciesz się i raduj, Syjonie, szczęśliwy z tak wielkiego święta, gdy królowa Katarzyna triumfuje nad męczeństwem.
an 2	Salve martyr gloriosa sponsa Christi nobilis quae triumphas in agone sacri plena minimis.	Bądź pozdrowiona, chwalebna męczennico, szlachetna oblubienico Chrystusowa, która triumfujesz w świętym męczeństwie pełna pokory.
an 3	Gloriosa Catharina te laudamus iugiter ut regnare tecum polo possimus perhenniter.	Chwalebna Katarzyno, Ciebie wciąż wychwalamy, byśmy wiecznie z Tobą królować mogli w niebie.
an 4	Alma virgo te collaudat per orbem ecclesia tuis servulis instantes transfer ad caelestia.	Panno łaskawa, Ciebie wychwala Kościół po całym świecie, przeprowadź wszystkich, którzy mienia się Twymi sługami, do świata niebiańskiego.
cap	Qui gloriatur (i)	Kto się chlubi (i)
r	Gloriosa Catharina (i)	Chwalebna Katarzyna (i)
v	Aurea (i)	Złota (i)

h	Catharina mirabilis atque Deo amabilis per omnia laudabilis nobis succurre miseris.	Katarzyno przedziwna i Bogu miła, we wszystkim godna chwały, nam nieszczęsnym pośpiesz z pomocą.
	Adsis nobis exulibus tuum festum colentibus et carentes virtutibus nos subleva sideribus.	Wspieraj nas, wygnańców czczących Twoje święto, i nas, cnót wszelkich pozbawionych, wynieś aż do gwiazd.
	De tuis sacris ossibus manat liquor languentibus curans eos doloribus tuis orationibus.	Z Twoich świętych szczątków sączy się płyn leczący z cierpień za Twym modlitewnym wstawiennictwem.
	Post triumphum martyrii te portaverunt angeli in monte sacro Sinai sic iusserat vox Domini.	Po triumfie męczeństwa aniołowie Cię przenieśli na świętą górę Synaj, jak rozkazał głos Pański.
	Quae dum eras in saeculo corde vivevas [lege: vivebas] Domino florens flore virgineo Regis mittens in solio.	Która, póki byłaś w świecie doczesnym, sercem przebywałaś w Panu, błyszcząc kwiatem dziewictwa, na tron królewski wyniesiona.
	Unde virgo sanctissima nos de morte perpetua prece subleva assidua per saeculorum saecula.	Skąd, najświętsza Panno, uchron nas od śmierci wiecznej ustawiczną Twą modlitwą przez wszystkie wieki.
	Hoc decus [lege: Deus] det omnipotens et Filius omnipotens cum Spiritu Paraclito qui regnat in perpetuo. Amen.	Tę chwałę przyjmij, niech ją da Bóg wszechmogący i wszechmocny Boży Syn z Duchem Poczyszycielem, który na wieki króluje. Amen.
vs	Ora pro nobis beata Catharina (i)	Módl się za nami, święta Katarzyno (i)
ad Magnificat an	Ave virgo Catharina paradisi lilium ave martyr gloriosa patris ora filium ut caelorum mereamur ingredi palatium.	Bądź pozdrowiona, Katarzyno dziewico, lilio rajska, bądź pozdrowiona męczennico chwalebna, proś Syna Ojca przedwiecznego, byśmy godni byli wstąpić do pałacu niebieskiego.

or	Deus qui dedisti legem Moysi in summitate montis Sinai et in eodem loco per sanctos angelos tuos corpus beatae Catharinae virginis et martyris tuae mirabiliter collocasti, presta quaesumus, ut eius meritis et intercessione ad montem qui Christus est, valeamus pervenire. Per.	Boże, który na szczycie góry Synaj dałeś prawo Mojżeszowi i na to samo miejsce przez twoich świętych Aniołów w cudowny sposób przeniosłeś ciało twej świętej Dziewicy i Męczennicy Katarzyny, prosimy, przez jej zasługi i wstawiennictwo, pozwól, byśmy do tej góry, którą jest Chrystus, dojść mogli. Przez.
or	<i>Commemoratio sancti Petri martyris</i>	<i>Wspomnienie świętego Piotra męczennika</i>
	Deus mundi creator (i) <i>transfertur</i>	Boże, stwórco świata (i) <i>przeniesione</i>

	Ad Matutinum	Na jutrznię
inv	Regem regum laudum ecclesia qui hodie potenti dextera Catharinam vexit ad aethera.	Kościół słaui Króla królów, który dziś wynosi Katarzynę do chwały niebios, po prawicy Wszechmocnego.
h	Ad festum sanctae virginis Catharinae et martyris, Dei laetentur populi Per omne tempus saeculi.	W święto świętej Katarzyny, dziewicy i męczennicy, radują się narody Boże poprzez wszystkie wieki.
	Haec nam Virgo Deo digna, pia, dulcis ac benigna, bis sex (dies) ieiunando complevit in ergastulo.	Owa bowiem Panna miła Bogu, pobożna, łagodna i łaskawa, dwakroć sześć dni wypełniła postem i w odosobnieniu.
	Cum missus est Michael Archangelus et signifer, ut secura sit de praevio repugnantes vituperet.	Gdy posłany został archanioł i chorąży Michał, by bezpieczna była dzięki wskazującemu drogę, a stojących na drodze zganił.
	Ille cum quibus liceat dicens qui in Deo sperat, semper vincit si sufferat in Deo Christi gratia.	I mówiąc im wskazał, że godzi się mówić: ten, kto pokłada nadzieję w Bogu, zawsze zwycięża, jeśli tylko otrzyma w Bogu łaskę Chrystusową.
	Demum Christus apparuit quem Virgo sancta meruit videreque renuit mundum de quo non doluit.	Wreszcie Chrystus się objawił, którego święta Dziewica godna była ujrzeć, i uwolnił ją od świata, który z nią nie współcierpiał.
	Virgo nata regis Costi miserere semper nostri ne sit dies iudicii nobis poena supplicii.	Panno zrodzona z rodu królewskiego Kostusa, miej wciąż litość nad nami, by dzień sądu nie był dla nas karą cierpienia.

	Illud imple quae petisti et Tu Rex qui promisti ut in exitu animae sit nobis salus veniae.	Napełnij go tym, o co prosiłaś, i Ty, Królu, który przysięgłeś, że przy zejściu z tego świata dusze dostąpią zbawienia i łaski przebaczenia.
	Laus honor et imperium sit Creatori omnium cum Nazareno Filio et Spiritu Paraclito. Amen.	Stworzycielowi wszystkich rzeczy niech będzie chwała, cześć i panowanie z Synem Nazareńczykiem i Duchem Świętym. Amen.

	In I Nocturno	I nokturn
an 1	Ad aeterni Regis laudem deprecamus modulam nam beatae Catharinae virginis sollemnia.	Ku chwale Króla wiekuistego z wszystkich sił niesiemy modły, bowiem trwa uroczystość błogosławionej Katarzyny dziewicy.
ps 1	Domine Dominus noster (i)	Panie, Pan nasz (i)
an 2	Beatissima regina Costi regis filia mansit patris post excessum iura tenens regia.	Błogosławiona królowa, córka króla Kostusa, pozostaje po śmierci tą, która sprawuje królewskie prawa ojca.
ps 2	Caeli enarrant (i)	Niebiosa głoszą (i)
an 3	Clara virgo Catharina claris docta laboris pollebat sacrificante conveniesque nobilis.	Jasna dziewico, Katarzyno, roztropna w szlachetnym trudzie, przybędziesz szlachetna, ty, która wślawiłaś się, składając ofiarę.
ps 3	Domini est terra (i)	Pana jest ziemia (i)
an 4	Dum videret properante virgo cultus daemonum intrat templum colitabat multitudo gentilium.	Kiedy śpiesząc, ujrzy dziewica cześć dla duchów złych, wkracza do świątyni i gromadzi wielką liczbę ludzi.
ps 4	Eructavit (i)	Wyrzywa się (i)
an 5	Erat virgo Catharina mirae plenitudinis omniumque videbatur oculis mirabilis.	Katarzyna była dziewczą pełną niezwyklej doskonałości i oczom wszystkich niezwykłą się jawiła.
ps 5	Deus noster refugium (i)	Bóg naszą ucieczką (i)
an 6	Festum sanctae Catharinae nostra colat concio ut illius mereamur inuari praesidio.	Niechaj nasze zgromadzenie czci święto świętej Katarzyny, byśmy byli godni schronić się pod jej obronę.
ps 6	Magnus Dominus (i)	Wielki Pan (i)
vs	Specie tua (i)	Piękno twe (i)

lectio 1	Catharina virgo Costi regis filia...	Katarzyna dziewica, córka króla Kostusa...
r 1	Post passiones martyrium sub caesare Maxentio Catharina laudabilis virginitatis lilio.	Po cierpieniach męczeństwa za cesarza Maksencjusza, chwalebna Katarzyna kwiatem dziewictwa.
-	Decorabat ecclesiam et ornavit martyrio.	Uświęciła Kościół i męczeństwem ozdobiła.
v	Virgo Dei pura pudore virginitatis.	Panna w Bogu czysta o wstydzie dziewiczym.
lectio 2	Et de potentu deorum...	I mocą Bożą ...
r 2	Gloriosa Catharina orta regali ingenie studiis liberalibus ornata dilectissimae.	Godna chwały Katarzyna z rodu królewskiego, odznaczała się szlachetnymi staraniami najmilszego serca i godnego urodzenia.
-	Exemplum cunctis extitit caste vivendi et pie.	Pozostaje dla wszystkich przykładem czystego życia i pobożności.
v	Aurea quae Dominus coronavit laurea Christus.	Którą Chrystus Pan otoczył złotym wieńcem.
lectio 3	Dum vero Maxentius...	Kiedy zaś Maksencjusz...
r 3	Rex Costus genuit quam Christus item convocavit hoc caro spiritus haec.	Król Costus zrodził tę, którą Chrystus również powołał, tak ciało, jak i ducha.
-	Haec marcuit in te levavit.	To, co wędłło, w Tobie orzeźwił.
v	Virgo divina trahe nos ad te Catharina.	Przez Boga zesłana dziewico, pociągnij nas ku Tobie, Katarzyno.
lectio 4	Pro quaere Maxentius...	Dla wybadania Maksencjusz...
r 4	O Christi pietas o virtus atque potestas virginis ex membris sacris fluit.	O, jaka pobożność Chrystusowa, jaka pobożność oraz moc płynie ze świętych szczątków dziewicy.
-	Unda liquoris unde fides aegris infundit dona salutis.	Skąd przejrystym strumieniem wody wypływa wiara dla chorych i dary zbawienia.

v	Virginis ob meritum manet hoc memorabile signum.	Przez zasługi dziewicy pozostaje godny upamiętnienia znak.
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	In II Nocturno	II nokturn
	<i>Fit de sancto Petro martyre. Transfertur</i>	<i>Będzie o świętym Piotrze. Przeniesiony</i>
an 7	Gloriosae Catharinae virginis sollemnia celebremus quae per orbem recolit ecclesia.	Celebруем uroczystość chwalebnej dziewicy Katarzyny, którą Kościół słaui w świecie.
ps 7	Benedixisti (i)	Pobłogosławiłeś (i)
an 8	Hac in die Catharina caesaris insaniam fide fregit ac ruinae dedit idolatriam.	Tego dnia Katarzyna szaleństwo cesarza wiarą uśmierzyła i do upadku doprowadziła bałwochwalstwo.
ps 8	Fundamenta (i)	Fundamenty (i)
an 9	Inclita virgo doctorum destruxit sufficiam quos apene morte demptos reduxit ad praeviam.	Niezlomna dziewica przełamała dowodzenia uczonych, których niemalże przez śmierć zabranych naprowadziła na właściwą drogę.
ps 9	Cantate I (i)	Śpiewajcie I (i)
an 10	Catherina gloriosa carcere recluditur quae sanctorum angelorum obsequiis alitur.	Chwalebna Katarzyna uwolniona z więzienia, która czczona jest przez posłuszeństwo świętych aniołów.
ps 10	Dominus regnavit (i)	Pan króluje (i)
an 11	Luce clara perlustratur carceris ergastulum quo beata Catharina Christum vidit Dominum.	W jasnym świetle przechodzi przez niewolę odosobnienia, w którym błogosławiona Katarzyna widzi Chrystusa Pana.
ps 11	Cantate II (i)	Śpiewajcie II (i)
an 12	Martyr Christi Catharina culpas nostras dilue ut caelestis regnum scalam valeamus scandere.	Męczennico Chrystusa, Katarzyno, winy nasze obmyj, byśmy godni byli wejść po stopniach do królestwa niebieskiego.
ps 12	Dominus regnavit II (i)	Pan króluje II (i)
	<i>In secundo nocturno ut supradictum est. Transfertur</i>	<i>W drugim nokturnie jak wyżej zostało wskazane. Przeniesiony</i>

vs	Posuisti Domine (i)	Ustanowiłeś, Panie (i)
lectio 5	Natalis sancti Petri Alexandrini...	W dzień narodzin świętego Piotra Aleksandryjskiego...
lectio 6	Quorum tres autem persecutorum...	Z których zaś trzech prześladowców...
lectio 7	Cumque se super in omni agone...	Kiedykolwiek względem siebie w każdym trudzie...
lectio 8	Satisque vigilanter...	Wystarczająco i czujnie...
	<i>Super canticum</i>	<i>Do kantyku</i>
an	Noster caetus clangat laetus sollemni laetitia ad honorem summi Regis laetabunda cantica.	Nasz radosny zastęp męczenników wyśpiewuje w uroczystej radości na cześć najwyższego Króla pełne wesela pieśni.
ca	Audite me (i)	Wysłuchajcie mnie (i)
ev	Simile est regnum caelorum (i)	Królestwo niebieskie podobne jest (i)
vs	Adiuuabit (i)	Wspomógł (i)
r 5	O mater in superis Catharinae virgino sanctissima o inenarrabilis constanter patronis.	O Matko wśród najwyższych najświętsza, Katarzyny dziewicy niewypowiedzianej ustawicznie patronki.
-	Quae Maxentii minas contemnens caelesti sponso convicta es.	Która nie zważając na groźby Maksencjusza, niebieskiemu oblubieńcowi została przyrzeczona.
v	Virgo pia martyr Dei intercede pro nobis ad Dominum.	Panno pobożna, męczennico Boża, wstawiaj się za nami u Pana.
r 6	Hodie virgo regia Catharina mater pia suffulta quia regno standit caelestia.	Dziś królewska dziewica Katarzyna, matka łaskawa, umocniona została, ponieważ staje w królestwie niebieskiego pałacu.
-	Cuius precamur praecibus adsis coniugi caelestis.	Którą błagamy prośbami, bądź blisko oblubienica niebieskiego.

v	Haec sic conferens oleum ingressus sponsi thalamum candore nitet nivei cruore ruber roseo.	Ona zaś, tak przynosząc olejek, wszedłszy do komnaty małżonka, bielą śniegu błyszczy, purpurowa czerwienią różaną.
r 7	Sancta Catharina Christi martyr audi rogantes servulos.	Święta Katarzyno, męczennico Chrystusa, wysłuchaj proszących sług.
-	Et impetratam nobis caelitus tu defer indulgentiam.	I z woli Bożej ześlij nam wyproszoną łaskawość.
v	O Catharina sidus aureum Domini gratia servorum gemitus solita sustine clementia.	O Katarzyno, gwiazdo złota, dzięki łasce Pana, płacz sług Twoich powstrzymaj Twą niezwykłą łagodnością.
r 8	O Catharina nobilis gloriosa laudabilis succurre nobis precibus te devote poscentibus.	O Katarzyno szlachetna, chwalebna i godna uwielbienia, przybądź z pomocą nam, pobożnie błagających Cię naszymi modlitwami.
-	Ut tecum Christi gloria praeservamur in aethera.	Abyśmy z Tobą łaskę Chrystusa zachowali w niebie.
v	O regina Catharina paradisi lilium posce plebis supplicanti beatam precamur.	O królowo Katarzyno, uproś, błagamy, błogosławioną lilię rąską dla proszącego Cię uniżenie ludu.

	In Laudibus antiphonae	Antyfony na chwałbę
an 1	Optatus dies rutilat in quo martyr ecclesia dignis extollit laborum Catharinae sollemnia.	Jaśnieje dzień wyczekiwany w którym Kościół uświęca cierpienie Katarzyny męczennicy jako godne sprawowania uroczystości.
an 2	Praeclara nobis gaudia Salvator confert hodie quod Catharinam munere decoravit victoriae.	Zbawiciel przynosi nam dziś radość wspaniałą, gdyż Katarzynę darem przystroił zwycięstwa.
an 3	Quam devotis obsequiis colit nostra religio effudit lac et sanguine pudoris testimonio.	O, w jak uniżonej bogobojności cześć oddaje nasza pobożność, tak wypływa mlekiem i krwią świadectwo skromności.

an 4	Regitur caelestis curia laudes dicant Altissimo qui Catharinam hodie coronavit martyrio.	Zbiera się zgromadzenie niebieskie i chwałę głosi Najwyższemu, który Katarzynę dzisiaj uwieńczył męczeństwem.
an 5	Splendor aeterni luminis te supplices te possimus ut Catharine martyris caelsis iungamus coetibus.	O, blasku wiecznej światłości, pokornie Cię prosimy, byśmy w zastępach niebieskich złączyli się z Katarzyną dziewicą.
cap	<i>Ut supra</i>	<i>Jak wyżej</i>
r	Martyr et alma Dei	Męczennico i łaskawa Boża
-	Virgo constans Catharina	Dziewico, niewzruszona Katarzyno,
v	Possimus ecce Rex quod nobis sis medicina.	Prosimy Króla, byś była dla nas lekiem.
h	Catharina mirabilis (i)	Katarzyno przedziwna (i)
vs	Ora pro nobis (i)	Módl się za nami (i)
ad Vesperas [lege: ad Benedictus] an	O summa Christi pietas omni laude dignissima quae Catharinae virginis longe declaras merita nam ex ipsius tumulo sacri liquoris unctio manetque caecis oculos reddit et sanat languidos.	O najwyższa dobroci Chrystusowa, najgodniejsza wszelkiej chwały, która zasługi Katarzyny dziewicy sławisz na wieki, bowiem z jej świętego grobu płynny olejek wypływa, wzrok przywraca niewidomym i uzdrawia chorych.
	<i>Caetero ut supra. Commemoratio sancti Petri</i>	<i>Reszta jak wyżej. Wspomnienie świętego Piotra</i>

	Horae minores	Godziny mniejsze
an ad I	Ave gemma claritatis ad instar carbunculi ave rosa paradisi more flagrans balsami. Catharina virgo felix gloriosa meritis assistantes tuis festis caeli iunge gaudiis.	Witaj, perło łagodności, podobna brylantom, witaj różo rajska, lśniąca na podobieństwo balsamu. Katarzyno, szczęśliwa dziewico, godna chwały dla Twych zasług, uczestniczących w Twoim święcie, przyłącz do udziału w radości niebieskiej.

an ad III	Ave gloriosa virgo ave sponsa Regis regum speciosa ave viva Christi hostia tua devote celebrantibus sollemnia impetra caelestia suffragia.	Witaj, panno chwalebna, Witaj, wspaniała oblubienico Króla królów, witaj, żywa ofiara Chrystusa, świętującym nabożnie Twoją uroczystość wyjednaj przychyłość nieba.
an ad VI	Virginis eximiae Catharinae martyris almae festa celebrare da nobis Rex pie Christe.	Daj nam cześć święto niezwykłego dziewictwa i czystego męczeństwa Katarzyny, Chryste, Królu łaskawy.
an ad IX	Honestatis speculum castitatis vinculum Catharina Conditorum saeculi Salvatorem populi nobis ita ut condonet et coronet in gloria nos laudantes et cantantes. Alleluia.	Niech Katarzyna, zwierciadło szlachetności i poręka czystości, ubłaga za nami Stworzyciela ludzkości i Zbawiciela ludu, by ukoronował w chwale nas, chwalebnych i śpiewających. Alleluja.

	Ad (II) Vesperas	Na (II) nieszpory
an 1	Gratulare Sion (i)	Raduj się, Syjonie (i)
	<i>Capitulum, hymnus, versiculus ut supra</i>	<i>Capitulum, hymn, wersykuł jak wyżej</i>
r	O Christi pietas (i)	O dobroci Chrystusowa (i)
v	Virginis (i)	Dziewictwa (i)
ad Magnificat an	O caelestis regni rosa Catharina gloriosa quae probata velut aurum coram Christo defers laurum esto lapsis medicina veneranda Catharina ut tecum laudis iubilum canamus autem Dominum.	O róžo królestwa niebieskiego, chwalebna Katarzyno, któraś pożądana niczym złoto, wobec Chrystusa nosisz wieniec laurowy, bądź lekiem dla upadających, godna czci Katarzyno, byśmy zaś z Tobą radosny śpiew chwały zanosili Panu.
ca	Magnificat (i)	Uwielbiaj (i)
	<i>Hymnus, versiculus, responsorium, oratio ut supra</i>	<i>Hymn, wersykuł, responsorium, modlitwa jak wyżej</i>

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GRATULARE SION ALMA. NIEZNANE OFICJUM O ŚW. KATARZYNIE Z ALEKSANDRII

Abstrakt

Artykuł jest pierwszą edycją oficjum brewiarzowego o św. Katarzynie z Aleksandrii *Gratulare Sion alma* z brewiarza benedyktyńskiego opactwa w Saint-Savin en Lavedan na pograniczu francusko-hispańskim. Brewiarz jest przechowywany w Bibliotece Miejskiej w Tuluzie (ms. 73). Oficjum nie zostało ujęte w serii *Analecta Hymnica*, a w *Repertorium Hymnologicum* widnieje zaledwie jego incipit, który Ulysse Chevalier zanotował na podstawie drukowanego, późniejszego *Breviarium Grassense* (Toulouse 1513). W rękopisie z Saint-Savin en Lavedan oficjum istnieje w XV-wiecznej warstwie, dlatego mamy prawo przypuszczać, że jest to najstarszy znany obecnie przekaz *Gratulare Sion alma*. Ma ono strukturę benedyktyńską i w dużej mierze stanowi twórczość oryginalną. Niemal wszystkie antyfony i większość responsoriów to – jak się wydaje – twórczość lokalna, niemająca odpowiedników w europejskich źródłach liturgicznych. Opisywany rękopis 73 nie jest jedynym zachowanym brewiarzem z Saint-Savin en Lavedan. Istnieje także wcześniejszy, dwutomowy brewiarz z tego samego opactwa, przechowywany w Bibliotece Miejskiej w Bagnères-de-Bigorre (manuskrypty 31 i 32 z XIV wieku), jednak nie zawiera on oficjum o św. Katarzynie.

Słowa kluczowe: Św. Katarzyna z Aleksandrii; oficjum; brewiarz; liturgia



AGNIESZKA GRONEK* – KRAKÓW

THE 17TH-CENTURY ICONS OF THE MUSZYNA WORKSHOP CIRCLE AT THE PARISH MUSEUM IN GRYBÓW

Abstract

The Grybów Parish Museum has an interesting collection of icons. Although their exact provenance is unknown, it is evident that they are here thanks to the parish priest of St Catherine Church in Grybów in 1921–1961, Jan Solak, who moved them from nearby Orthodox churches that had been abandoned after the (displacement) Operation Vistula. On the basis of stylistic analysis and comparative studies, it was possible to link most of them to workshops that had been operating in the Lemko Region during the 17th century. The studies presented here concern two previously unknown icons from the circle of Muszyna painters. These are two fragments of the apostolic tier from an unknown church. As a result of detailed research, it was possible to identify the stylistically closest works (from Matysová, Banica and Brunary), determine the time of their creation (around 1640), find another part of the described apostolic tier in the District Museum in Nowy Sącz and determine its place of origin (Brunary).

Keywords: icons; Lemko Region; Muszyna; Grybów, Brunary; 17th century

The Parish Museum in Grybów has an interesting collection of icons among its numerous exhibits, mostly from local Catholic churches. They were probably brought to the church by Rev. Jan Solak, parish priest of St Catherine Church in Grybów in 1921–1961, from nearby Orthodox churches abandoned after the Operation Vistula.¹ Most of them date back to the 17th century, and works belonging to the same painting workshops can be found in the District Museum in Nowy

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¹ Reported on 14 October 2017 by Ms Maria Filipowicz-Solarz, curator of the Parish Museum in Grybów, whom I thank very much for her assistance and permission to photograph the icons.

Śącz, the East Slovak Museum in Košice, the Sarajevo Museum in Bardejov, the Museum of Folk Architecture in Stará Ľubovňa, the National Museum in Lviv and many churches in the Śącz Region.² Notable among these works is a fragment of an apostolic tier from an iconostasis of unknown origin, whose distinctive stylistic features, to all experts in Lemko Region, bring to mind the milieu of the Muszyna painters (Fig. 1, 2). The purpose of the article is to develop a description of these icons, and to identify the works closest in terms of craftsmanship on the basis



Fig. 1. Fragment of the Apostolic Order (left side),
Museum Parish in Grybów, photo by P. Krawiec



Fig. 2. Fragment of the Apostolic Row (right side),
Museum Parish in Grybów, photo by P. Krawiec

² A. Gronek, *Jeszcze o ikonach monogramisty C.Z. Przyczynek do studiów nad malarstwem cerkiewnym polsko-słowackiego pogranicza*, in: *Sztuka pograniczy. Studia z historii sztuki*, eds. L. Lameński, E. Błotnicka-Mazur, M. Pastwa, Lublin-Warsaw 2018, pp. 241–259; idem, *An anonymous painter in the 1680s in western Lemkivshchyna. Characteristics of his style*, „Вісник Національної академії керівних кадрів культури і мистецтв” [National Academy of Managerial Staff of Culture

of stylistic and comparative analysis. This will make it possible to place these previously unknown icons confidently, and not just intuitively and hypothetically, in the circle of Muszyna painters, as well as to determine the time of their creation, as well as their provenance.

Four apostles each were depicted on two wooden sub-images, in the shape of a horizontal rectangle. They are, counting from the left: Simon the Zealot, Mark, Matthew, Peter, and on the second: Paul, Luke, John, James the Brother of the Lord. Identifying the figures is facilitated by their names written in calligraphic majuscule on either side of their heads. In addition, Peter holds the keys, Paul the sword, and the evangelists – the codices. Simon and James are not distinguished by any attributes. Each of the men is shown on a two-field background – green at the bottom, with graphically drawn flowers on tall leafy stems, and smooth gold at the top – bordered by an arcade. Its vertical elements, reminiscent of triple-spindle balusters, carry an arch, with decorative lily flowers placed in its axils. The apostles are presented in a three-quarter view, almost in identical, dynamic, walking poses. They all move toward the central theme, some to the right and some to the left. Only the apostles on the edge of the boards, Simon and James, turn to face the opposite direction of the march. It is easy to guess that originally there were more apostles to complete the traditional number of twelve, probably Philip and Bartholomew on the left and Andrew with Thomas on the right.

These icons are characterized by a modest colour scheme, limited to muted greens, grey blues, dark yellows, light and brown reds and dirty whites. They definitely represent graphic values over painterly ones. The complexions are painted in layers: patches of complexion colour are laid on top of a light greenish underpainting in bulges, then covered with dense, smoothly circled white lines. They do not just mimic the parallel wrinkles on the forehead, but also the plasticity of the cheeks and the protrusion of the nose. Greenish underpainting was left in the eye sockets, on the sides of the nose and around the mouth. The contours of the eyes, ears, mouth and the back of the nose were drawn in black. The eyebrows, moustache, beard, hair on the head arranged smoothly or in locks, sometimes characteristically parted by transverse strands, were also drawn with clear lines. The features described are most clearly seen in Simon (Fig. 3), Matthew, Peter and John. The faces of James, Luke and Mark seem to be modelled more softly, with a preference for stain over line. However, this is not an intentional effect, but caused by the loss of the top layer of painting, as evidenced by the retained thick lines under the eyes, on the forehead and sides of the cheeks. Paul's face, which is almost completely devoid of the top layers of painting, resembles a flat mask, on which the most important elements have been circled with a black outline (Fig. 4).

The robes of the apostles, especially the top himations, are shown dynamically, and their draping resembles an intricate construction composed of linear patterns and geometric figures. They are formed by lighter, equally wide stripes arranged on the

and Arts Herald], (2019) issue 2, (June), pp. 285–289; idem, *Ikony anonimowego malarza działającego na zachodniej Łemkowszczyźnie w latach 80. XVII wieku. Charakterystyka stylu*, in: *Tożsamość i pamięć. Konteksty kulturowe i społeczne. Studia ukraińoznawcze*, eds. R. Kęsek, D. Pilipowicz, Kraków 2020, pp. 25–52.

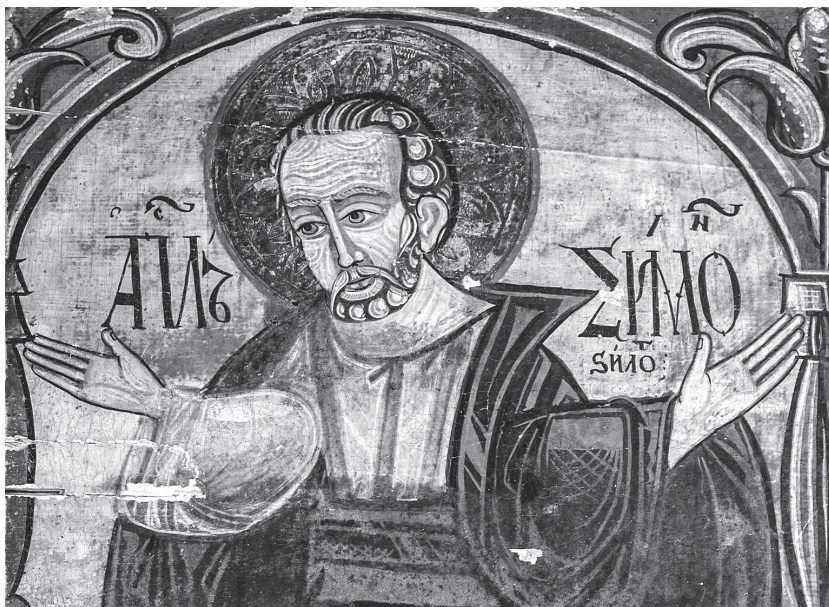


Fig. 3. St. Simon the Zealot, of the apostolic order (left side),
Parish Museum in Grybów, photo by P. Krawiec



Fig. 4. St. Paul, of the apostolic order (right side),
Parish Museum in Grybów, photo by P. Krawiec

largest bulges, usually along the edges of the legs, as well as long, thin lines, short dashes, dots, zigzags and characteristic reticulation in the half-shadows (Fig. 5). Blue and orange robes are accented by white colour, and the maroon ones – by red. The hollows of the folds are emphasized by black lines. The edge of the red mantle is circled with a sharp white line that twitches here and there. Among the rich set of lines and figures shown here, building the plasticity of the folds and softness of the fabric in the conventional manner, there are a few that mark the painter's individual style. These include the aforementioned reticulation consisting of thin lines in the half-shadows, a dotted stripe crossing the thigh folds, and narrow black hollows with colour-accented edges. Among the definitely predominant smooth lines, sharp edges and figures similar to rectangles and triangles, one can spot wavy and twitching lines and irregular spots here and there.

The works of painters active in the Muszyna area in the 17th century were first discussed by Hanna Pieńkowska in her doctoral dissertation, defended at the Jagiellonian University under the guidance of Vojeslav Molè in 1950, and published in part more than twenty years later.³ As an employee of the Historic Preservation Office of the Kraków Province, on the



Fig. 5. St. James, brother of the Lord, of the apostolic order (right side), Parish Museum in Grybów, photo by P. Krawiec

³ H. Pieńkowska, *Ikony Sąddeckie XVII i XVIII wieku (ze zbiorów Muzeum w Nowym Sączu)*, „Rocznik Sądecki”, 12 (1971) pp. 573–618.

orders of the Ministry of Culture and Art, she began collecting and inventorying Orthodox monuments deteriorating in abandoned churches of Lesser Poland. Over the course of several weeks (from 8 September to 4 October 1947), more than 300 antiquities were transported from 36 churches in the Nowy Sącz District to the museum repository.⁴ Taking care of this collection allowed her to do analytical and comparative work, which resulted in a dissertation and a degree, and in 1951 also a position as director of the Provincial Historic Preservation Office in Kraków. In her doctoral dissertation, she divided the relics under study into several stylistic groups and discussed their features, and was the first to characterize the work of Paweł Radymski, a painter from Powroźniki whose name inscribed on the great icon of *The Last Judgment* in this church was already read by Józef Łepkowski in 1851.⁵ The 16th-century painting convention of this circle was pointed out by Romuald Biskupski, who singled out another painter of this circle known by name and place of origin, Paweł Muszynski, creator of *The Last Judgment* in the East Slovak Museum in Košice.⁶ The researcher from Sanok also synthesized and aptly discussed the main features of the works of this provincial centre of icon painting, namely contouring, planeness and decorativeness. Since the 1980s, detailed research work on these icons was undertaken by Zofia Szanter, who emphasized, first of all, their dependence on Moldavian painting, concentrated them around two artists known by name, analysed stylistic and iconographic features, pointed out differences and similarities, and read the inscriptions.⁷ Later, Z. Szanter divided the chronology of the 'Muszyna key' paintings into three periods: traditional, modern and declining, while ascribing specific works to them.⁸ The painters of the traditional period were Awlenty [Pawlenty/Paweł] Radymski, an unknown master icon painter from Szczawnik, and an unknown master icon painter from Matysová. She pointed to the constancy of iconographic motifs and compositions and the dependence on Moldavian painting as common features of these artists. According to the researcher, the works of painters classified as part of the modern trend were to be influenced by the sovereign icons and the *Mandyllion* from the iconostasis in Powroźnik. Among others, the creators of the *Pantocrator* from Wola Cieklińska, *Hodegetria* from Leluchów and Nowa Wieś, and Paweł Muszyński, master icon painter from Banica were included in this period.⁹ In the declining period, iconos-

⁴ M. Kornecki, *Losy cerkwi i zabytków sztuki cerkiewnej w dawnym województwie krakowskim 1945–1975 (Przyczynek do dziejów sztuki zachodniej Łemkowszczyzny)*, in: *Losy cerkwi w Polsce po 1944 roku*, eds. A. Marek, B. Tondos, J. Tur, K. Tur-Marciszuk, Rzeszów 1997, p. 105. T.M. Trajdos, *Składowa muzealna w Muszynie*, „Almanach Muszyny”, 14 (2004), pp. 149–151.

⁵ S. Tomkowicz, *Inwentaryzacja zabytków Galicyi Zachodniej*, eds. P. & T. Łopatkiewicz, vol. 1, Kraków 2007, p. 175.

⁶ R. Biskupski, *Malarstwo ikonowe od XV do pierwszej połowy XVIII wieku na Łemkowszczyźnie*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa”, 39 (1985) issue 3–4, p. 161.

⁷ Z. Szanter, *XVII-wieczne ikony w kluczu muszyńskim*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa”, 40 (1986) issue 34, pp. 179–196.

⁸ Taż, *Muszyńscy malarze ikon w XVII wieku*, in: *Zachodnioukraińska sztuka cerkiewna. Dziela-twórcy-ośrodki-techniki*, ed. J. Gieźma, Łańcut 2003, pp. 199–235, in particular from p. 201.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 208–212.

tases were created for the churches in Bodaki, Bartne and Maciejowa. It is worth noting that the icons of this painting circle also reached Slovakia, and this stylistic and workshop dependence has long been recognized by Aleksander Frycký,¹⁰ Štefan Tkáč,¹¹ and Vladislav Grešlik.¹² This milieu has produced, among others, the *Crucifixion* from Tročany, *Archangel Michael*, *Deesis* and *Christ Pantocrator* from Matysová, the *Mandylion* from Wenecja, Matysová and Příkra.

For incomprehensible reasons, especially in view of the fact that the community of Muszyna painters is relatively well recognized, the discussed fragment of the apostolic tier in the Parish Museum in Grybów has remained out of scholarly circulation. Its state of preservation is far from ideal. Large losses of paint layers are visible, especially in the lower parts. Sometimes these are abrasions, but there are also splatters of the entire paint layer making the primed canvas and even the board visible on the surface. This deep damage also occurred where the ground-work boards were joined together despite being secured with strips of canvas. The apostolic tier was located on top of the iconostasis, which should not cause damage to the lower boards. They most likely occurred later, during storage in an upright position on the floor, which exposed them to easy abrasion and moisture.

However, despite the damage, all the formal features are legible, so that comparative studies can be made with other icons from this painting circle. Among them, several apostolic tiers have been preserved including the works by P. Radymski from Maciejowa,¹³ from Złockie,¹⁴ the ones in Berest and Kwiaton, and also by anonymous authors in Jastrzębik,¹⁵ from Szczawnik,¹⁶ from Leluchów,¹⁷ from Matysová,¹⁸ in Banica¹⁹ and small fragments from Brunary²⁰ and in Zdynia.²¹ It is difficult to say with certainty which icons were in the centre of the examined apostolic tier, whether it was the *Deesis* group, as for example from the churches in Maciejowa, Matysová and Kwiaton, or *Christ on the Throne*, as from the churches in Szczawnik and Jastrzębik. The icons of the *Lord in Majesty* preserved in the 'Muszyna key' were placed at that time rather in the tier of sovereign

¹⁰ A. Frycký, *Ikony z východného Slovenska*, Košice 1971, p. 11.

¹¹ Š. Tkáč, *Ikony slovenské od XVI do XIX storočia*, Warsaw 1984, p. 196.

¹² V. Grešlik, *Ikony 17. storočia na východnom Slovensku*, Prešov 2000, pp. 20–26.

¹³ District Museum in Nowy Sącz, inv. no. MNS/915-917/S; M.T. Maszczak, *Ikony w zbiorach Muzeum Okręgowego w Nowym Sączu*, Nowy Sącz 2010, nos. 9–11.

¹⁴ District Museum in Nowy Sącz, inv. no. MNS/652-653/S; ibidem, nos. 15–16.

¹⁵ J. Żak, A. Piecuch, *Lemkowskie cerkwie*, Warsaw 2011, p. 44.

¹⁶ District Museum in Nowy Sącz, inv. no. MNS/685-686/S; Maszczak, *Ikony*, nos. 25–26; Biskupski, *Malarstwo ikonowe*, Fig. 42–43.

¹⁷ District Museum in Nowy Sącz, inv. no. MNS/771/S; M.T. Maszczak, *Ikony*, no. 36.

¹⁸ Museum in Stará Ľubovňa, inv. nos. 12815–12817, 10143–10147; *Matysovské ikony*, ed. D. Mikulík, Stará Ľubovňa 2014, p. 26; J. Gieźza, *Cerkwie i ikony Lemkowszczyzny*, Rzeszów 2017, pp. 200–201.

¹⁹ Żak, Piecuch, *Lemkowskie*, p. 137; Gieźza, *Cerkwie*, p. 210.

²⁰ District Museum in Nowy Sącz, inv. no. MNS/948/S; Maszczak, *Ikony*, no. 27; J. Kłosińska, *Icons from Poland*, Warsaw 1989, no. 16.

²¹ The tier icons were found during conservation work in 2016; they were used to reinforce a wall in the church; Gieźza, *Cerkwie*, pp. 276–277.

icons.²² There is no doubt, however, that the missing apostles at the ends of the processions in the Grybów museum are Philip and Bartholomew and Andrew and Thomas, as they appear on icons from Złockie, Matysová, Szczawnik, Jastrzębiak, on fragments from Maciejowa, Brunary, and Leluchów. It is noteworthy that the apostles assume similar poses in all of the tiers, as if they were drawn from a single template. In every part, the even rhythm of the figures walking towards the centre is disrupted by Simon the Zealot on the left and James the Brother of the Lord on the right. On all the discussed monuments, the apostles are set against a neutral, coarse and vaguely graphic background, usually partially engraved in a floral pattern. They often stand on a wide strip of grass with flowers growing on long leafy stems; shown in clearances, as if they were walking on an arcaded cloister. The arcades are always built up with segmented columns and profiled archivolts with axils decorated with flowers. Similar motifs also fill the gilded backgrounds of other icons of this circle, especially with depictions of Christ and the saints. All these works are also unified by their colour scheme and the definite predominance of graphic over painterly values. The golden nimbuses are often filled with rays in the shape of flower petals. The modelling of the face with thin white lines, densely superimposed on a darker underpainting, seen on the icons in question from the Grybów Parish Museum is evident also in the apostle tiers from Matysová and Jastrzębiak. Heavily contoured eyebrows and eyelids, especially upper eyelids, the edge of the nose, ears, and lips are characteristic of all icons of this milieu. The ears of the figures in the icons in question were depicted in two ways: traditional – as in Matthew and John – as small, resembling dangling drops, and modern – large, imitating natural ones, in which a broad, flesh-coloured line shapes the auricle, and an irregular, spilled, somewhat wavy stain fills its interior. It seems that this is a practice also known in the whole community of Muszyńska painters, because ears depicted in this way can also be seen in the apostolic tiers in Jastrzębiak, Banica (Fig. 6, 7), from Matysová (Fig. 8, 9), from Brunary (Fig. 10) and from Szczawnik. Consequently, in order to identify the closest stylistic works to those under discussion among these (very similar) works, it is necessary to focus our attention on the individual characteristics of their creators, i.e. small elements that facilitate the illusion of plasticity of the garments. Thus, the distinctive regular reticulation of bright lines in the half-shadows, especially on the fabric falling from the forearm and on the lower ends of the himations, apart from the icons in Grybów, also characterizes the icons from Matysová, Brunary and Banica. The twitching thin white line on the edges of Luke's red mantle and Mark's chiton highlights the analogous garments in the apostles and Archangel Michael of Matysová, the apostles from Brunary and in Banica, but also on the icons of the *Ascension* in Powroźnik²³ and *Saint Dmitri* in Bodaki.²⁴ Unusual transverse stripes with dots crossing the fabric adjacent to the thigh are also found on the robes of the apostles in the tiers from Matysová, Brunary and Banica. On these icons, radial black lines imitating creases are spread in a similar manner,

²² M. Helytowycz, *Ukrajinski ikony „Spas u Sławi”*, Lviv M 2005, passim.

²³ Giełza, *Cerkwie*, p. 469.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 574.



Fig. 6. St. Matthew and Peter, part of the apostolic order,
the church of St. Cosmas and Damian
in Banica (as of 2006), photo by P. Krawiec



Fig. 7. St. Paul and Luke, part of the apostolic order,
the church of St. Cosmas and Damian
in Banica (as of 2006), photo by P. Krawiec



Fig. 8. Fragment of the apostolic row (left side), from the church in Matysowa st. Michael the Archangel, Museum in Stara Lubowla, photo by P. Krawiec



Fig. 9. Fragment of the apostolic row (right side), from the church in Matysowa st. Michael the Archangel, Museum in Stara Lubowla, photo by P. Krawiec



Fig. 10. St. Andrew and Thomas, fragment of the apostolic order from the Orthodox church st. Archangel Michael in Brunary, District Museum in Nowe Sącz, according to J. Kłosińska, *Icons from Poland*, Warsaw 1989, No. 16

as if created by tightening this belt on the thigh, while wavy, twitching lines and irregular spots hidden between the geometric ones, with sharp and straight edges, contribute to the softness effect of fabrics on icons from Matysová, Brunary and Banica. The presence of all the small motifs on the apostolic tiers from these three localities makes it possible to attribute them to the creator of the icons housed in the Grybów Parish Museum. Icons from Matysová were created around 1640, as such a date was recorded on the icon of Archangel Michael from the same church, showing great stylistic similarity with the apostolic tier.²⁵ Accordingly, the icons in the Grybów museum can be similarly dated. In addition, a fragment of the tier from Brunary with the figures of Andrew and Thomas matches to the above in size, indicating their common origin from the iconostasis from the Orthodox Church of St Michael the Archangel.

Brunary Wyżne is an old village on the Biała River located under the Magdeburg Law in 1335 by Casimir the Great.²⁶ In 1391, during the reign of King

²⁵ *Matysovské ikony*, pp. 11, 24.

²⁶ J. Łepkowski, *Ruś Sandecka niegdyś Biskupszczyzna*, „Gazeta Lwowska”, (1855) issue 40, p. 160; Pieradzka, *Na szlakach Łemkowszczyzny*, 1939, p. 60.

Władysław Jagiello, the Muszyna key estate, including Brunary, passed to the ownership of Bishop of Kraków Jan Radlica and his successors. In 1547, the then owner of the estate – the bishop of Kraków, Samuel Maciejowski, issued a privilege allowing the village to be located again, this time under Vlach law. In the 17th century, the parish of Brunary also included Piorunka and Czarna. In 1641 Maciej Bodniewicz, ordained by the Uniate bishop, Atanazy Krupecki, became the paroch.²⁷ The paroch's grave was to be located under the stairs leading to the church, and his son's – under the sacristy.²⁸ The present day Orthodox Church of Archangel Michael was built in the 18th century and is mentioned in the bishop's visitations of 1765 and 1777.²⁹ It was probably expanded or rebuilt in 1831, as 19th- and 20th-century directories indicate that very year as the time the temple was built.³⁰ This date was also echoed by J. Łepkowski, who, as chairman of the Monument Restoration Commission, travelled around the Sącz Region and described the temples he encountered, with a view to drawing up an archaeological map to facilitate the inventory and protection of monuments. He described the church in Brunary as grand, and inside it he drew attention to Moses and Aaron, which, according to him, were painted by Michał Stachowicz on the royal gates. He did not dwell further on the other icons, stating that they date from the 17th century and are similar to many others in the area.³¹ Today it is difficult to say whether he actually saw a similarity between the icons of the Muszyna key (he made similar comments about the icons in Banica, Barest, Czertyżne and Czyrna), or whether the icons all looked the same in the dark Orthodox churches. When J. Łepkowski visited Brunary, he probably looked at the same iconostasis, which is still in the church today. He could not see Moses and Aaron on the royal doors, because it was customary to place either the evangelists and the *Annunciation* or the *Tree of Jesse* in that spot. The Old Testament priests, Aaron and Melchizedek, may have been depicted on the deacon's doors, as they are present in that church today. The iconostasis, on the other hand, dates back to the 18th century. Thus, the fragment of the apostolic tier from this Orthodox Church in the District Museum in Nowy Sącz probably originated from an earlier iconostasis and was transferred to the repository in Muszyna by Hanna Pieńkowska in 1947, during a campaign to secure movable relics from abandoned Orthodox churches. As regards the temples that were soon to serve the new faithful, not all equipment was carried away, but only individual icons that were more valuable or unnecessary for the service. Probably at the same time, the two larger boards of the apostolic tier from this church were

²⁷ *Shimatizm' Vsego Klira Katolikov' Obradu Grečesko-Ruskogo Eparhij Peremyskoj...*, Pere-myszl 1879, p. 265.

²⁸ *Szematyzm greko katolickiego duchowienstwa apostolskoji administracji Łemkowszczyzny*, Lviv 1936 (reprint Stenford 1970), p. 38.

²⁹ W. Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku*, Lublin 1998, p. 255.

³⁰ *Schematismus universi venerabilis cleri ruthenorum catholicorum dioeceseos Premisliensis, Samboriensis et Sanocensis*, Premisle 1897, p. 97.

³¹ S. Tomkowicz, *Inwentaryzacja zabytków Galicyi Zachodniej*, vol. 1. Powiat Grybowski (1887–1895), „Teki Grona Konserwatorów Zabytków”, 1 (1900) p. 107.

secured by Rev. Jan Solak, and with his work he laid the foundation for today's Grybów Parish Museum.

Icons with fragments of the apostolic tier, which are the subject of this study, have not yet been covered by scientific research. By utilising stylistic and comparative analysis, this study made it possible to identify the works closest in terms of technique from among the many surviving icons of the community of the Muszyzna painters. These include icons: from the Orthodox Church of St Archangel Michael in Matysová, on display at the Museum in Stará Ľubovňa in Slovakia, from the Orthodox Church of St Cosmas and Damian in Banica, and from the Orthodox Church of St Archangel Michael in Brunary, now at the District Museum in Nowy Sącz. The date recorded on one of the icons from Matysová made it possible to determine the time of creation of the icons under study to be around 1640. In addition, the icon from Brunary turned out to be the missing fragment of the apostolic tier in question, making it possible to establish its origin.

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O XVII-WIECZNYCH IKONACH WARSZTATU MUSZYŃSKIEGO W MUZEUM PARAFIALNYM W GRYBOWIE

Abstrakt

W Muzeum Parafialnym w Grybowie znajduje się interesujący zbiór ikon. Choć ich dokładna proveniencja nie jest znana, wiadomo, że znalazły się tu dzięki proboszczowi kościoła św. Katarzyny w Grybowie w latach 1921–1961, Janowi Solakowi, który przeniósł je z pobliskich cerkwi opustoszałych po wysiedleńczej akcji „Wisła”. Na podstawie analizy stylistycznej i studiów porównawczych udało się większość z nich połączyć z warsztatami pracującymi na Łemkowszczyźnie w XVII wieku. Prezentowane tu badania dotyczą dwóch nieznanych wcześniej ikon pochodzących z kręgu malarzy muszyńskich, które stanowią fragmenty rzędu apostolskiego ikonostasu z nieznannej cerkwi. W wyniku szczegółowych badań udało się wskazać dzieła najbliższe stylistycznie (z Matysowej, Banicy i Brunar), określić czas ich powstania (ok. 1640 roku), odnaleźć w Muzeum Okręgowym w Nowym Sączu kolejną część opisywanego rzędu apostolskiego i ustalić miejsce jego pochodzenia (Brunary).

Słowa kluczowe: ikony; Łemkowszczyzna; Muszyna; Grybów; Brunary



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‘MEDICAL’ INCUNABULA FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE MAJOR SEMINARY IN KIELCE¹

Abstract

The article discusses five incunabula with medical content currently stored in the Library of the Major Seminary in Kielce. Treatises by undisputed medieval authorities Michele Savonarola and Gentile da Foligno have been bound together in a form of a single adligat. The binding and contents of incunabula have been characterized, citing specific sections, tips, and prescriptions. The medical achievements and biographies of the two authors mentioned are discussed in brief. Unfortunately, at the present stage of research it is impossible to explain how the volume found its way to the Library of the Major Seminary in Kielce. It is only possible to ascertain its use in the 16th–17th centuries through provenance entries.

Key words: incunabula; Michele Savonarola; Gentile da Foligno; medicine; Library of the Major Seminary in Kielce

Several incunabula with medical content are stored in the collection of the Library of the Major Seminary in Kielce (hereinafter: BWSDK). Specifically, there are 5 prints, co-bound – not coincidentally – in a single adligat. A review of the inventory of incunabula, available in the BWSDK research room, allows us to conclude that these are the only incunabula with medical content stored in this collection.² They contain treatises by two authors – Michele Savonarola: *Canonica*

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¹ At this point, I would like to thank the head of BWSDK, Rev. Adam Wilczynski, Ph.D. and Ms Karolina Wychowanec for their assistance.

² Both the card catalogue and the inventory written down in the form of a workbook (probably created or only edited and completed during the course of the search by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa

de febris, published in Bologna by Dionisius Bertochus in 1487 (BWSDK Inc. 93³) and *De pulsibus*, *De urinis*, *De aegestionibus*, published in Bologna by Henricus de Harlem and Joannes Walbeek in 1487 (BWSDK Inc. 94⁴), as well as Gentile da Foligno: *Super quinto libro Canonis Avicennae*, published in Pavia by Francisco de Bobbio in 1486 (BWSDK Inc. 95⁵), *Super secundo libro Canonis Avicennae*, published in Pavia by Antonius de Carcano for Jerome de Durantibus ca. 1488 (BWSDK Inc. 96⁶), and *Consilia medica* published in Pavia by Antonius de Carcano for Jerome de Durantibus ca. 1485 (BWSDK Inc. 97⁷).

Before discussing the incunabula with medical content annotated in the title, it is worth citing the most important information about BWSDK's historical book collection. It was established with the beginning of the seminary in 1727–1729. In the centuries that followed, the library went through various vicissitudes, including fire, but it also received gifts and legacies of prints and manuscripts from the local chapter library, from local professors and diocesan clergy, book collections from the bishops of Kielce, from cancelled nearby monasteries, and less frequently from Kielce residents. Currently, the book collection contains about 10,000 old prints.⁸ In the early 1960s, a team led by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa catalogued

with the team on site) contain no other incunabula with medical content. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that incunabula with such content can be found among the BWSDK's 10,000 old prints, as exemplified by my search and discovery of a previously unknown incunabulum; cf. P. Kardyś, *Patrum Bernardinorum Conventus Sancti Caroli Kielcijs ad Bibliothecam. Biblioteka oo. Bernardynów z Karczówki od założenia konwentu do XIX wieku*, in: *Dzieje Karczówki w Kielcach (pod Kielcami) w latach 1624–2024*, vol. 6, *Biblioteka bernardynów na Karczówce od 1632 roku do kasaty klasztoru w 1864 roku*, ed. J. Michta, Kielce 2019, pp. 184–185 (Bernardus Abbatus de Monte Clarevallis, *Sermones*, Basilae: Exaratur per Nicolaum Kesler, 1495, 2°; BWSDK 004223/Inc. 92 [XV.F.162]).

³ *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, vol. I–II, moderante A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, composuerunt M. Bohonos et E. Szandorowska, Warsaw 1970 (hereinafter: IBP) 4931. A full list of known copies is provided in *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (hereinafter: GW; <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/GWEN.xhtml> [accessed on: 19.12.2019]) with links to electronic facsimile versions, therefore I have decided to not provide numbers from other known repertories (e.g. Hain's and Copinger's) or catalogues (e.g. *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Incunabelkatalog). Cf. S. Flis, *Kopernikowski inkunabul w Olsztynie*, *Komunikaty Warmińsko-Mazurskie* 4 (1970) pp. 594, 600–605 (the same incunabula with M. Savonarola's treatise, *Canonica de febris*, was in the possession of Nicolaus Copernicus).

⁴ IBP 4936; GW (online) 140724.

⁵ IBP 2326; GW (online) 10616.

⁶ IBP 2323; GW (online) 10610.

⁷ IBP 2318; GW (online) 10618. As with the title, inaccuracies also exist regarding the date of publication (1486–1488?).

⁸ Cf. T. Wróbel, *Dzieje Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach na przestrzeni 250 lat*, in: *Księga jubileuszowa 1727–1977. 250 lat Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach*, Kielce 1977, pp. 51–176; A. Kaleta, *Powstanie i rozwój Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach*, *Kielecki Przegląd Diecezjalny* 74 (1998) issue 4, pp. 335–341; D. Olszewski, *Wprowadzenie historyczne*, in: *Katalog duchowieństwa i parafii diecezji kieleckiej*, Kielce 1999, pp. 36–38.



Fig. 1. Top lining of the adligat containing jointly bound incunabula Inc. 93–97, BWSDK, photo by P. Kardyś



Fig. 2. Bottom lining of the adligat containing jointly bound incunabula Inc. 93–97, BWSDK, photo by P. Kardyś

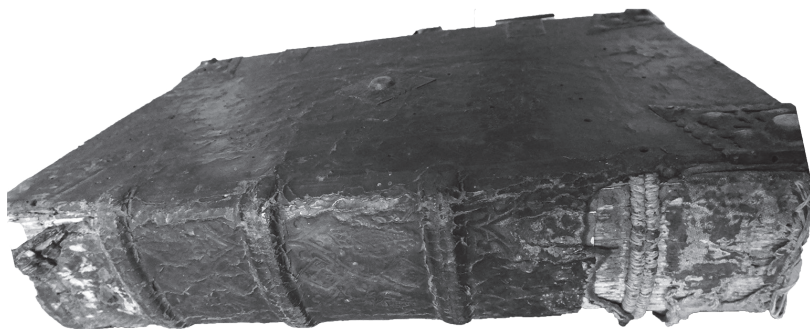


Fig. 3. Spine of the adligat containing incunabula Inc. 93–97, BWSDK, photo by P. Kardyś

the incunabula.⁹ 92 items were described. We now know that there may be more, as evidenced by Piotr Kardyś's finding of sermons by Bernard of Clairvaux published in Basel in 1495 in the former book collection of the Bernardine Fathers of Karczówka. Unfortunately, the research and publications to date on the collection of incunabula held at the BWSDK are merely contributory in nature and are limited to the few mentions in the works of P. Kardyś¹⁰ and Andrzej Kwaśniewski,¹¹ and statistical information provided in guides to the libraries of the Polish Church.¹² The current state of work on the old-print collection is not much better. The only monographic study of some of them, by P. Kardyś, is a study of the book collection of the Bernardine Fathers of Karczówka, which entered the BWSDK after the monastery's dissolution in 1864¹³. The exceptions are the studies of P. Kardyś and A. Kwaśniewski on private book collections preserved in the BWSDK and J. Zdanowski, J. Wolny, K. Bracha, R. Kaczor¹⁴ and the aforementioned P. Kardyś

⁹ T. Wróbel, *Biblioteka*, in: *Seminarium Duchowne w Kielcach*, BWSDK [typescript]; cf. card catalogue in the BWSDK reading room (similarly, an inventory of incunabula in binder form in the BWSDK research room).

¹⁰ P. Kardyś, *Dwa rękopisy Adama wikarego darowane kolegiacie kieleckiej w 1430 roku*, Między Wisłą a Pilicą 12 (2011) pp. 55–64; idem, *Inicjały z pieskiem w rękopisie średniowiecznym Rk-41/23 z Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach*, in: *Zwierzęta w historii, literaturze i sztuce Europy*, eds. S. Konarska-Zimnicka, L. Kostuch, B. Wojciechowska, Kielce 2017, pp. 187–198; idem, *Przyczynki do dziejów księgozbioru kolegiaty kieleckiej w średniowieczu i okresie wczesnonowożytnym*, Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej 56–57 (2006–2007) pp. 17–44; idem, *Stanisław z Jankowic – kanonik kielecki z XV w. i jego księgozbiór*, Studia Muzealno-Historyczne 3 (2011) pp. 87–97; idem, *Szyszkowiana/pseudoszyszkowiana z dawnego księgozbioru bernardynów z Karczówki przechowywane obecnie w zbiorach Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach*, Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi, 12 (2018) pp. 429–441; idem, *Z dziejów pewnego rękopisu. Przyczynek do związków intelektualnych kanoników regularnych kłódzkich z Małopolską w XIV/XV wieku*, in: *Realia życia codziennego w Europie Środkowej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Śląska*, ed. A. Barciak, Katowice-Zabrze 2011, pp. 94–105; idem, *Stanisław z Bodzentyna, wikariusz kolegiaty kieleckiej z XVI wieku i jego księgozbiór* (in print).

¹¹ A. Kwaśniewski, *Księgozbiory prywatne zachowane w Bibliotece Kapituły Kieleckiej (XV–XVIII w.)*, Kielecki Przegląd Diecezjalny 87 (2011) pp. 703–711; idem, *Księgozbiór kanonika kieleckiego Wojciecha Strzemeskiego (+1602) w świetle inwentarza z 1650 r.*, Rocznik Kolbuszowski 12 (2012) pp. 87–107; idem, *Księgozbiory prywatne zachowane w Bibliotece Kapituły Kieleckiej (XV–XVIII wiek)*, Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej 62 (2012) pp. 69–95; idem, *Księgozbiór kapituły kieleckiej w świetle inwentarza z 1598 r.*, ABMK 99 (2013) pp. 43–92; idem, *Księgozbiór Kapituły Kieleckiej w świetle inwentarza z roku 1650*, in: *Książka dawna i jej właściciele*, vol. 2, eds. D. Sidorowicz-Mulak, A. Franczyk-Cegła, Wrocław 2017, pp. 207–227.

¹² R. Nir, *Informator o archiwach, bibliotekach i muzeach kościelnych w Polsce*, Chrześcijanin w Świecie 9 (1977) issue 56/57, pp. 199–227; *Zbiory rękopisów w bibliotekach i muzeach w Polsce*, ed. D. Kamolowa, in cooperation with K. Muszyńska (church archives), Warsaw 1988, p. 67; *Biblioteki Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce. Informator*, ed. W. Żurek, Kielce 2005.

¹³ Kardyś, *Patrum*, passim; cf. footnotes 10–11.

¹⁴ I. Zdanowski, *Iluminowane rękopisy księgozbiorów kapituł katedralnych i Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach oraz kościoła parafialnego w Miechowie*, Kielce 1929; J. Wolny, *Inventaire des manuscrits théologiques médiévaux de la Bibliothèque du chapitre à Kielce*, Mediaevalia Philologica Polonorum 16 (1971) pp. 43–83; K. Bracha, *Statuta vel praecepta scholarium. Przyczynek*

and A. Kwaśniewski on medieval manuscripts. On the other hand, medieval liturgical manuscripts, such as the Kielce antiphonary, the Wislicz gradual, the Miechów antiphonary and the Franciscan graduals, have long been given high priority.¹⁵ Against this background, separate publications on BWSDK incunabula are basically non-existent. Therefore, each study, however contributory (as in this case), brings new knowledge about BWSDK and contributes to the future development of a monograph concerning that book collection.

The adligat of interest certainly earned its final shape not by accident. This is indicated both by its content, i.e. exclusively medical texts by two medieval authorities, and by the way the whole product was executed. The issue in this case is the lack of clean sheets between the various treaties. The exact date of the binding cannot be definitively determined, but it is possible that it was made in Italy – in Pavia or Bologna (although the possibility that it was also made in Padua should not be dismissed), or the separate prints were bound in Poland, immediately after they were brought to the country, most likely by a Polish medical student in Pavia, Bologna or Padua. Nevertheless, even if the codex was bound in Italy, it was acquired by a student from Poland. However, the most probable place of binding seems identical to the place of publication or to the Paduan milieu, where the authors of these works (Michele Savonarola and Gentile da Foligno) were recognized as prominent representatives of medical science and where their output and works were commented on and included in curricula as late as the 16th century. In addition, the University of Padua was a natural place for the education of future medics from areas north of the Alps, especially from the Kingdom of Poland, not only during the Middle Ages,¹⁶ but also far into the 16th and 17th centuries, when newcomers from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth visited

do dziejów najstarszej szkoły w Kielcach w XV w., *Studia Muzealno-Historyczne* 3 (2011) pp. 31–51; idem, *Średniowieczne rękopisy dawnej Biblioteki kieleckiej kapituły kolegiackiej. Badania i źródła*, in: *Rękopiśmienne księgi dawnej Biblioteki kolegiaty kieleckiej*, Kielce 2019, pp. 9–26; R. Kaczor, *Peccata matrimoniales. Wykroczenia przeciw moralności małżeńskiej w świetle „Noty penitencjalnej” z rękopisu Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach z XV w.*, „Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach”, 30 (2015) pp. 104–113.

¹⁵ The literature is compiled by K. Bracha, *Średniowieczne rękopisy*, pp. 25–26. The latest state of research on medieval liturgical manuscripts kept in Kielce Cathedral and BWSDK is brought by *Antiphonarium Kielcense. Antyfonarz kolegiaty kieleckiej (ok. 1372 r.)*, ed. K. Bracha, Kielce 2020, pp. 17–136.

¹⁶ Cf. A. Przedziecki, *O Polakach w Bolonii i Padwie*, Warsaw 1853; A. Ostaszewski, *O herbach polskich i Polakach w Uniwersytecie padewskim i bolońskim*, in: idem, *Szkice naukowo-literackie z zakresu sztuki i archeologii*, Kraków 1887, pp. 97–138; J. Fijałek, *Polonia apud Italos scholastica saeculum XV*, fasc. 1, Cracoviae 1900; S. Windakiewicz, *Polacy w Padwie*, *Przegląd Warszawski* 3 (1922) issue 10, pp. 5–21 (essentially concerns the 16th and 17th centuries); L. Ćwikliński, *Uniwersytet padewski i polscy jego uczniowie (1222–1922)*, *Dziennik Poznański*, 1922, issue 95, 97–99, 101; J. Lachs, *Polscy uczniowie padewskiej szkoły lekarskiej*, *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii i Medycyny*, 1 (1924) issue 3–4, pp. 127–149; T. Quirini-Popławska, *Studia Polaków na Uniwersytecie Padewskim w XV i XVI wieku: stan badań oraz wstępne hipotezy*, *Prace Komisji Środkowoeuropejskiej* 21 (2013) pp. 19–30; T. Ulewicz, *Iter Romano-Italicum Polonorum czyli o związkach umysłowo-kulturalnych Polski z Włochami w wiekach średnich i renesansie*, Kraków 1999; S.A. Sroka,

Padua and matriculated, especially at the Faculty of Law (for the 16th century alone, an estimate of up to 3,000 is provided, including as many as 116 doctors of philosophy and medicine, which allows us to hypothesize that Poles studied in Padua primarily in medical fields).¹⁷

Considering the surviving provenances from the 16th–17th centuries at earliest, we can also conjecture another possibility, namely that the adligat arrived in Poland on the wave of humanistic interests and numerous travels of Poles to Italy, especially to the universities of Padua and Bologna, back in the 16th century. The owners of the volume were Zygmunt Ulrich Burkholcer from Warsaw, Dr Tomasz Gmerciusz of Sierpc (?) and pharmacist Andrzej Lubecki. However, there is no doubt that most of its users are unknown to us, and given both the long duration of popularity of the content of these incunabula and the possibility of using them for several centuries, there must surely have been many.

Unfortunately, BWSDK does not have an inventory of donations, nor has an oral tradition survived in its community that could explain how this block came into its book collection. Neither the typescript of Rev. Tomasz Wróbel, the long-time director of BWSDK, nor the contributory studies addressing the history of its book collection mention such a fact.¹⁸

The binding of the incunabulum consists of boards covered with brown leather with numerous blind embossing – piston impressions and roll decorations. The upper lining is framed by a double frame with floral and animal (?) motifs made by roll, framed by rhombuses and ovals. The central part of the lining is occupied by a plaque with numerous impressions of rue (?) motifs. The bottom lining is badly damaged, part of the board is missing, the whole is deeply devastated by woodworms, the leather has faded, and the embossing in most places is unrecognisable, so it is difficult to make appropriate comparative studies on bookbinding without full conservation of the volume. On both the upper and lower cladding, 3 brass corners have survived with round knobs each (on the upper cladding, the upper left corner is missing, on the lower lining – the lower right corner); in the central parts of the upper and lower lining, rhomboidal plaques with knobs identical to those on the corners, but with a different copper sheet embossing than on the

Stopnie naukowe uzyskane przez Polaków na uniwersytecie w Padwie w drugiej połowie XV wieku, in: *Świat historyka: studia ofiarowane prof. Janowi Tyszkiewiczowi*, Pułtusk 2016.

¹⁷ Quirini-Popławska, *Studia*, p. 28: 'Poles were encouraged to study at the University of Padua by the high scientific level of the university, favourable financial conditions for studying and the possibility of receiving a reduction in fees, e.g. not without significance in terms of doctoral examinations was the international character of the university and the fact that its professors and rectors, as well as students, were representatives of various European nations. Among them, as many as 11 Poles held the dignity of rector and vice-rector of the University of Padua in the 15th and 16th centuries [...]'. About the University of Padua: J. Verger, *Padua*, III, *Universität*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (hereinafter: LdM), vol. 6, München 1996, col. 1621–1623.

¹⁸ J. Zdanowski, *Seminarium Duchowne w Kielcach. Szkic historyczny w dwóchsetną rocznicę założenia*, Kielce 1927, pp. 11–17; Wróbel, *Biblioteka*; idem, *Dzieje Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach na przestrzeni 250 lat*. Obviously, this does not exclude the possibility of finding specific bequests and donations to the BWSDK in the future, if only in the holdings of the Diocesan Archives in Kielce (for example, in the personnel files of priests).

corners; a distinctive feature is the Gothic letter 'm' in the centre of each side of the rhomboid plaque. The front lining also retains the brass fastenings of 2 buckles with a six-leaf punched rosette motif on a floral thread, and a fragment of the fastener of one buckle was preserved in the lower lining. The whole is sewn together with 4 double string binders, finished with a capital at the top and bottom of the book block spine.¹⁹ To reinforce the sewing of the individual sections, 2 pieces of parchment leaf, with the dimension of about 9.5/10 x 29 cm, were used on the spine, with fragments of the fief law notation in Old High German (one piece was glued to the back of the block, the other to the back of the binding), dating from the early 14th century (?), with rubrics and initials in red ink. The text was written in black ink in 2 linear columns included in the margins. According to the author's description in the BWSKD catalogue, this is an excerpt from Part 1 of *Zwierciadło saskie*, excerpts from articles 74, 75, 76, 78 and 79.²⁰ In addition to the main text, there are also marginal notes and writing exercises (such as letters of the alphabet). An entry 'de febribus:' on the end-paper of the upper lining; 'In principio creavit [...]', 'Dominus solvit compeditas' on the end-paper of the lower lining. The print is arranged in 2 columns, in Gothic font with numerous abbreviations. There is no foliation or *reclamans*, but the sections were marked with catchwords – consecutive letters of the alphabet in the form of a, a2, a3, a4, etc., up to the letter 'r', or aii/aII, aiii/aIII, etc. Over time, new foliation was made with brown (or red), now faded, ink in part of the book block, contemporary with pencil, separately in each tract. There are now a total of 320 cards (121 + 64 + 52 + 36 + 47). Some treatises end with registers (*Registrum*) of sections or illnesses, with a brief description of their contents, e.g. on k. 120v: a – 'Prima vacat canonica sed calidas febris', section i – 'est flegma in hac felice mo. Dicendo sine luciditate'. The sections are quaternions and ternions, with few missing cards, and, exceptionally, with flyleaves. Originally, the print did not have initials, leaving only blank spaces for them to be inked in. At present, the vast majority of paragraphs have initials, made in red or blue ink. Also bolded or underlined by red ink are some of the letters that begin the rubrics, *consilia* and *recepte*, wherever they do not begin with a paragraph. And it may come as a surprise that throughout the entire book block, the typical 'pointers' indicating particularly important sections are to be found as exceptions. This could suggest an infrequent reading, but it seems that in view of the practical information contained in the various treatises, this is the result of care rather than

¹⁹ The analysis of the binding employed the information contained in A. Chmiel, *Introligatorzy cudzoziemscy i zamiejscowi w Krakowie w latach 1574–1646*, *Exlibris* 7 (1929) issue 2, pp. 91–94; J. Dobrowolski, *Zarys dziejów introligatorstwa w Krakowie*, Kraków 1968, *passim*; *Inkunabuły Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, ed. A. Lewicka-Kamińska, Kraków 1962, *passim*; A. Lewicka-Kamińska *Rzut oka na rozwój oprawy książkowej w Krakowie*, *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 16 (1972) issue 1–2, pp. 49–68; J. Tondel, *Inkunabuły w zbiorach Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Pelplinie*, Pelplin 2007, pp. 147–177, 549–551; J.S. van Leeuwen, *The Golden Age of Bookbindings in Cracow 1400–1600*, Kraków 2011, *passim*; *Katalog inkunabułów Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, eds. T. Dąbrowska, E. Knapik, J. Wojtowicz, Kraków 2015, *passim*.

²⁰ Cf. R. Lieberwierth, *Eike von Repgow, mittelalterlicher deutscher Rechtsdenker und Verfasser des Sachsenspiegels (um 1180 – nach 1233)*, in: *LdM*, vol. 3, München 1986, col. 1726–1727.

lack of interest or ‘obsolescence’ of the medical knowledge contained therein. I believe that in this particular case, a better indicator of the long-term use of the volume is its damaged binding.²¹

As for printers and imprinters, only basic information can be cited. The printer Antonius de Carcano was active in Pavia in 1472 (?) – after 1497.²² Similarly, Girolamo Duranti, an outwork employer, lived and worked in Pavia in the 15th century, while Dionysius Bertochus, Joannes Walbeek and Henricus Haarlem worked in Bologna. The author of the dedication in the work of M. Savonarola was Siculus Raynerius, while the work of G. da Foligno was prepared for printing by the doctor of medicine F. de Bobbio.

Giovanni Michele Savonarola²³ was born in Padua around 1384 (certainly before 1385), son of Giovanni and Catarina di Zanino of Bergamo; died in Ferrara after 24 February 1466 or 1468, was buried in the Church of S. Maria in Vado, and after the destruction of the building his remains were transferred to the church of S. Giorgio. He was the grandfather of the famous preacher Girolamo Savonarola. He is considered ‘the most important person in practical medicine of the 15th century’ because he was to initiate a ‘healthy reaction to medical scholasticism’²⁴ through his critique of the dialectical method in medicine in favour of concrete practical exercises. The Savonarola family achieved great social and economic success in Padua, where they probably arrived from Tortona in the mid-13th century. It is possible that before Michele began his medical studies in Padua, he served as a soldier. As a physician, he practised in Padua and Ferrara, and taught medicine in that city. He was a personal physician at the court of Nicolo III d’Este in Ferrara (from around 1440). He wrote a very popular medical textbook (the first edition was published after his death, in 1479) *Practica maior*, on gynaecology and paediatrics. It was used by the author of what was later perhaps the most popular textbook for midwives in the 16th century, Eucharius Rösslin (*Rose Garden*).²⁵

²¹ The current appearance of the binding does not indicate mechanical damage or moisture, rather just frequent use.

²² *A Catalogue of the Fifteenth-century Printed Books in the University Library Cambridge*, Cambridge 2010, nos. 2640–2645, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/catalogue-of-the-fifteenth-century-printed-books-in-the-university-library-cambridge/4E7E3C26502907D084BA01F214FFF716> (accessed on: 19.12.2019).

²³ *Michele Savonarola, Medicina e cultura di corte*, eds. C. Crisciani, G. Zuccolin, Firenze 2011, passim; R. Ruggiero, *Savonarola Michele*, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/michele-savonarola_%28Enciclopedia-machiavelliana%29/ (accessed on: 5.03.2022); R. Simonetti, *Savonarola Michele*, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/michele-savonarola_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/michele-savonarola_(Dizionario-Biografico)) (accessed on: 5.03.2022); M. Rippa Bonati, *Savonarola, Giovanni Michele (1384–1468)*, in: *LdM*, vol. 7, München 1995, col. 1413; W. Wegner, *Savonarola, Michael*, in: *Enzyklopädie Medizingeschichte*, eds. W.E. Gerabek, B.D. Haage, G. Keil, W. Wegner, Berlin-New York 2005, p. 1287.

²⁴ G. Ongaro, *La medicina nello Studio di Padova e nel Veneto*, in: *Storia della cultura veneta*, III, *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, Vicenza 1981, pp. 75–134; idem, *Medicina*, in: *L’Università di Padova. Otto secoli di storia*, ed. P. Del Negro, Padova 2001, pp. 153–193 (especially p. 159).

²⁵ M.-H. Green, *Źródła Eucharystii Rosegarden Rosslina dla kobiet w ciąży i położnych (1513)*, „*Historia Medycyna*” 53 (2009) pp. 167–192.

The authors of some biographies believe that M. Savonarola wrote under the influence of the Neapolitan physician Francesco da Piedemonte²⁶ or the humanist Giovanni Conversano²⁷. The latter resided in Padua during M. Savonarola's youth, and some conjecture that he may have influenced M. Savonarola's later interest in paediatrics and obstetrics, or even that M. Savonarola was his student. According to other researchers, this is contradicted by a note dated 8 August 1407, in which M. Savonarola appeared as a student of Paolo Veneto²⁸ and Biagio Pelacani²⁹ in Padua. A year later, he was already *artium magister* and medical student, and also a homeowner in the St Matthew's district. On 13 July 1413, he passed the departmental examination in medicine, and on August 20 he successfully completed his public defence. His career then began to gain momentum, as just a year later he married Caterina, daughter of Pietro da Pernumii,³⁰ personal physician of Francesco da Carrara the Elder.³¹ He lived to see eight children – five daughters and three sons. He practiced with the best medical authorities of the time, such

²⁶ Cf. O. Lizzini, *Francesco da Piedimonte (Pedemontanus)*, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-da-piedimonte_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (accessed on: 5.03.2022). He studied medicine at the University of Naples or Salerno, and died in 1320. He appears in the sources as Maestro and professor of medical science, and was a physician at the royal court in Naples, among other places. He wrote the very famous *Complementum in opera Mesue*, a treatise on practical medicine without reference to old beliefs and superstitions; cf. L. Thomdike, *A history of magic and experimental science*, vol. 5, *Fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, New York-London 1960, p. 46; R. Calvanico, *Fonti per la storia della medicina e della chirurgia per il Regno di Napoli*, Napoli 1962, passim; F. Garofano Venosta, *Francesco da Piedimonte*, Capua 1967, passim.

²⁷ Giovanni Conversano, Conversino was born around 1343 in Buda. His father was the physician to Louis of Anjou. He studied grammar and rhetoric in Ravenna, Bologna and Ferrara. He was a teacher of rhetoric in Padua, notary and lawyer, courtier and advisor to Francesco I da Carrara. Afterwards, he stayed in Venice and Dubrovnik. He died in 1408 in Venice. He appears in Petrarca's letters; cf. B.G. Kohl, *Conversini, Giovanni*, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-conversini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (accessed on: 19.12.2019).

²⁸ A.D. Conti, *Paolo Veneto (Paolo Nicoletti)*, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-veneto_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-veneto_(Dizionario-Biografico)) (accessed on: 5.03.2022); *Paolo Veneto*, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-veneto_%28Dizionario-di-filosofia%29/ (accessed on: 5.03.2022). Paolo Veneto (approx. 1368–1428/1429), philosopher and theologian, studied at Oxford and Padua, professor at the University of Padua, ambassador of the Republic of Venice to Polish King Władysław Jagiełło in 1413. He commented on Aristotle, wrote treatises on logic inspired by occultism, and also taught in Florence, Siena, Bologna, and Perugia.

²⁹ G.F. Vescovini, *Biagio Pelacani, Blasius de Pelacanis da Parma*, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/biagio-pelacani_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (accessed on: 5.03.2022). He lived in approx. 1350/1354–1416, and was also known as Biagio of Parma, teacher and philosopher, graduated from the University of Pavia, taught mathematics, astrology and philosophy in Pavia, Bologna and Padua, accused of heresy, commented on Aristotle.

³⁰ Pietro da Pernumii, Piero da Pernumia, died in 1393, physician, humanist; cf. F.M. Colle, *Storia scientifico-letteraria dello Studio di Padova del cavaliere*, vol. 3, Padova 1825, p. 253.

³¹ Francesco I da Carrara (il Vecchio), 1325–1393, a prince and condottiero, buried in Padua, member of a noble family of Padua, sat in the Signoria of Padua in 1350–1388 and exercised de facto power in Padua at the time, patron of culture and the arts; cf. *Francesco da Carrara*, https://web.archive.org/web/20080609102831/http://www.italica.rai.it/rinascimento/parole_chiave/schede/

as Giacomo della Torre,³² Galeazzo Santasofia,³³ Antonio Cermisone,³⁴ and Paolo Veneto. He described the latter in his work *Libellus*³⁵ as ‘philozophorum nostre etatis princeps et mihi gloriosus preceptor’. He practiced intensively in Bassano, Feltre, Montebelluna, Pederobba and, of course, his hometown of Padua for the next nearly 20 years before moving to Ferrara. Earlier, since 1435, he was listed on the Padua city council, which confirms his belonging to the Paduan patriciate.

In addition to medicine, chemistry (he criticized, among other things, alchemists seeking a formula to turn matter into gold) and pharmacy, he was also interested in the history of Padua. He wrote in Latin and Italian. The authors of the biographies characterize him as endowed with broad literary, political and religious interests, which he expressed in a variety of writings. His fame, however, came primarily from medical science, especially his work *Practica de aegritudinibus a capite usque ad pedes*, also known as *Practica maior*. This constantly revised textbook, which included several separate pamphlets (*De febribus*, *De verminibus*, *De urinis*, *De regimine pregnantium*³⁶), was originally intended for the women

9carrara.htm (accessed on: 19.12.2019); G. Cracco, *Carraa, Franceso da (1325–1393)*, in: *LdM*, vol. 2, München 1977, col. 1527.

³² A. de Ferrari, *Della Torre (Iacobus a Turre, de la Turre, Dalla Torre, de Forlivio, Forlivien-sis, Foroliviensis, Ferolivias)*, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giacomo-della-torre_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (accessed on: 5.03.2022). Doctor of liberal arts and medicine, he was born in Forlì around 1360/1362 into a noble family, studied in Padua and Bologna, was a lecturer at the Studio Paduano Medicorum in 1400, taught medicine in Siena, obtained a chair in Padua, commented on Aristotle, Hippocrates, Avicenna, but above all was an expert on Galen (even in the 16th century at the University of Padua, statutes required his methods of commenting on the scholar). He is mentioned with admiration by M. Savonarola, among others. He was an unquestioned authority for his attempt to reconcile medical ‘facts’ with practical observations. He probably died in 1413 and was buried in Padua.

³³ Galeazzo Santasofia (d. 1427) studied medicine in Padua and Bologna, taught anatomy in Vienna after 1400, and performed the first autopsy north of the Alps in 1404; cf. W. Regal, M. Nanut, *Vienna – A Doctor’s Guide: 15 walking tours through Vienna’s medical history*, Wien-New York 2007, p. 7.

³⁴ F. di Trocchio, *Antonio Cermisone*, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-cermisone_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (accessed on: 5.03.2022). He was born in the second half of the 14th century in Padua and died in 1441. He studied medicine in Padua, enrolled in the college of physicians and ‘artists’ in 1389, received his doctorate in medicine probably just a year later, then taught medicine in Pavia and Piacenza until 1399 (1401), returned to the university in Padua around 1411/1413. He was a highly appreciated physician, so much so that the university senate allowed another person to read his lectures in his stead (while he was practising medicine). He commented on Avicenna, Averroes, Rhazes, Mesue, Serapion, Ali Ben Abbas, Hippocrates and Galen. His scientific writings were published by Lynn Thorndike (*Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century; Studies in the History of Medicine and Surgery; Natural and Mathematical Science, Philosophy, and Politics*, London 1963, pp. 1, 261, 1192, 1437).

³⁵ *Libellus de magnificis ornamentis Regiae Civitatis Paduae*, in: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. A. Segarizzi, vol. 24, Roma 1902.

³⁶ G. Zuccolin, *Nascere in latino e in volgare. Tra la „Practica maior” e il „De regimine pregnantium”*, in: *Michele Savonarola. Medicina*, pp. 137–209.

of Ferrara and contained the knowledge of paediatrics of the time.³⁷ He had already published treatises on the use of baths, hot waters and baths (*De balneis et thermis*, where he focused on the properties of the waters of the Poretta, San Filippo/Sienna and Villa/Bagni di Lucca spas) and on the prevention of pestilence (*De cura languoris animi ex morbo venientes*, *De preservatione a peste et eius cura*) as early as in 1448. The popularity of the writings of M. Savonarola treating infertility is indirectly mentioned by Niccolò Machiavelli in the second act of *La Mandragola* (The Mandrake).³⁸ He is believed to have perfectly mastered the art of accurately describing the medical phenomena he dealt with. However, we do not know the entirety of his texts,³⁹ only the most famous ones.⁴⁰ In 1433 he was lecturing on Avicenna at the University of Padua, but as early as 1440 he worked at the court in Ferrara and taught medicine at the university there. However, he still maintained contacts and influence in Padua, as evidenced by his presence in city documents under 1443 and his ownership of several properties (houses and land in the countryside) as late as the first half of the 1450s (he had not sold it until 1458). He was appointed to Leonello d'Este's personal service in 1450, and the peak of his political career and high social standing probably came in 1452, when Pope Nicholas V appointed him a knight of Jerusalem without the need for oaths. In his writings, he relied primarily on Avicenna, whom he called 'his guide/leader'.⁴¹ He dealt with the etiopathogenesis, symptomatology, treatment of varicose veins and individual therapy for each disease according to a complete description from head to toe.

³⁷ Cf. *Storia della medicina*, eds. G. Armocida, E. Bicheno, B. Fox, in: *Dizionario di S. Musitelli, Eiclopedia Tematica Aperta*, Milano 1993, pp. 354: 'Opus medicinae seu Practica de aegritudinibus de capite usque ad pedes' (first edition published in 1479).

³⁸ Niccolò Machiavelli wrote the comedy *The Mandrake: The Love Root* in 1513; cf. A. Momigliano, *La storia tra medicina e retorica*, in: idem, *Tra storia e storicismo*, Pisa 1985, pp. 11–24; P. Stoppelli, *La Mandragola: storia e filologia. Con l'edizione critica del testo secondo il Laurenziano Redi 129*, Roma 2005, pp. 131–134.

³⁹ R. Gualdo, *Per l'edizione delle opere volgari di Michele Savonarola*, in: *Michele Savonarola. Medicina*, p. 16.

⁴⁰ Zuccolin, *Nascere in latino*, p. 139; in addition to those mentioned above: *De aqua ardens* (1440), *De preservatione a peste et eius cura* (1444–1449), a gynaecological and paediatric treatise *Ad mulieres Ferrarienses de regimine pregnantium et noviter natorum ad septennium* (before 1460). M. Savonarola was also the author of numerous works of a political, moral and ascetic nature, including: *De foelici progressu illustrissimi Borsii Estensis ad marchionatum ferrariae, Mutinae et Regii ducatum comitatum Rodigii* (approx. 1452; encourages the young prince to study and retain prudence and sobriety), *De vera republica et digna seculari militia* (approx. 1460; composed in anticipation of the succession of Borso by Nicolo di Leonello, then in favour of Ercole), *De nuptiis Batibecho et Serabocha* (approx. 1466; addressed to princes and courtiers), *De cura languoris animi ex morbo venientis* (after 1450; on the unity of spirit and matter in suffering).

⁴¹ R. Simonetti, *Filosofia naturale, medicina e pittura nella testimonianza di Michele Savonarola*, in: S. Collodo, R. Simonetti, *Filosofia naturale e scienze dell'esperienza fra Medioevo e Umanesimo. Studi su Marsilio da Padova, Leon Battista Alberti, Michele Savonarola*, Padova 2012, pp. 395–430.

Tiziana Pesenti Marangon believes that M. Savonarola's most important work (*Practica maior*) was written in two stages, first in Padua, then in Ferrara.⁴² Of particular importance is his early work *Speculum phisionomie* of 1442, which contains all the principles of medicine that guided his work. In 1446–47 he wrote *Libellus de magnificis ornamentis Regie Civitatis Padue*, where demonstrated tremendous knowledge and erudition in the artistic field as well. His views and achievements were assimilated, especially by medics in the 16th century, and were so popular and widely known that they made their way into the belles lettres.⁴³

The second author, Gentile da Foligno (Gentile da Foligno, Gentilis Fulginas, Fulgineus, de Fulgineo, de Gentilibus, 1280/1290–1348), was no less famous and popular in both the late medieval and early modern period.⁴⁴ He was born in Foligno as the son of the well-known physician Gentile di Bartolo. He grew up in Bologna, where he probably studied medicine; his teachers might have included Taddeo Alderotti,⁴⁵ and then in Padua – Pietro d'Abano.⁴⁶ Nothing certain is known about his life before 1322 other than that he must have practised as a doctor, since he mentioned in his writings 34 years of practice and 10 years of lectures. He lectured in Siena from 1322 to 1324, among other places, in addition, from 1325 to probably 1338 he taught medicine in Perugia,⁴⁷ where he was given a house near the Church of San Agostino by the city government. It is possible that he simultaneously had lectures at other universities; for example, he often mentions Padua in his *Consilia*. He most certainly arrived there in 1340, as he appears in the sources as Ubertino da Carrara's personal physician⁴⁸ until his death in 1345. He is believed to have had a tremendous influence on the study of medicine in Padua (among other things, he promoted exchanges of medical students between

⁴² T. Pesenti Marangon, *Michele Savonarola a Padova: l'ambiente, le opere, la cultura medica*, Quaderni per la storia dell'università di Padova 9–10 (1976–1977) pp. 45–102 (especially p. 92).

⁴³ Wegner, *Savonarola*, p. 1287; M. Rippa Bonati, *Savonarola, Giovanni Michele (1384–1468)*, in: LdM, vol. 7, München 1995, col. 1413–1414.

⁴⁴ M.L. Ceccarelli Lemuit, *Gentile da Foligno*, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gentile-da-foligno_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gentile-da-foligno_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (accessed on: 5.03.2022); H.H. Lauer, *Gentile da Foligno*, in: LdM, vol. 4, München 1989, col. 1247–1248.

⁴⁵ L. Belloni, L. Vergnano, *Alderotti, Taddeo (Thadeus Florentinus)*, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/taddeo-alderotti_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/taddeo-alderotti_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (accessed on: 5.03.2022). Born in Florence in 1223, he lived in Bologna, where he taught medicine from around 1260, commenting on Hippocrates, Galen and Aristotle. Dante called him 'Hippocrate' and described him as one of the most outstanding medics of his time. He initiated a renaissance of ancient medicine in the study of Bologna. He died in Bologna in 1295. Cf. G. Baader, *Alderotti, Taddeo, Arzt*, in: LdM, vol. 1, München 1980, col. 345.

⁴⁶ Pietro d'Abano (Petrus de Abano, Petrus Patavinus), born in 1250, died in 1318, philosopher and physician, travelled to Constantinople and Paris, was active in Padua, described as *maestro di medicina*, his main work was *Conciliator differentiarum philosophorum precipue medicorum* written in 1303; L. Sturlese, *Petrus von Abano*, in: LdM, vol. 6, München 1993, col. 1959–1960.

⁴⁷ G. Ermini, *Storia della Università di Perugia*, Firenze 1971, pp. 172–179.

⁴⁸ M. Chiara Ganguzzu Billanovich, *Carrara, Ubertino da*, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ubertino-da-carrara_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ubertino-da-carrara_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (accessed on: 5.03.2022). Born in Padua at the beginning of the 14th century, died in 1345, a condottiero, ruled Padua from 1338–1345.

Padua and Paris) and on the promotion of drug research. He most likely died in Foligno in 1348, treating plague victims, and was buried in the Augustinian church there.⁴⁹ Notably, he was a respected teacher and promoter of Greek and Arabic medicine, especially Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, Averroes, Mesue, Avenzoar, Rhazis Ali Abbas, Maimonides, Pietro d'Abano, Dino Del Garbo, Bartolomeo da Varignana, and Mondino Luzzi. He claimed to have dissected cadavers, emphasized the importance of knowledge of anatomy in the practice of medicine, and studied pathologies, as his numerous *Consilia* and *Recepte* (i.e., descriptions of the treatment of specific clinical cases or pathologies with recommendations for an accepted treatment regimen and pharmacological measures; he authored at least 218 advices) seem to confirm. These advices were a particularly popular new way to describe and comment on specific cases, even in public debates. However, Gentile da Foligno's fame was primarily due to his commentaries on Avicenna's 5 books, popular in medical circles up to the 17th century, and although many before and after him commented on Avicenna, he was the first to have made a complete commentary, i.e. as early as 1346.⁵⁰

He cites specific cases very often in his *Advices*, such as. 'Fratre Angelo', 'Francisci episcopi oliuensis', 'Paulus civis perusinus', 'domine Federice'. Of course, authorities are just as often present in his writings: 'Dixit Avicenna', 'Dixit Galienus', 'dicit Sordon' (?), 'dixit Gerard', etc. In the content of the treatises, dissected below, we can get an idea of the issues around which medical attention and knowledge was focused at the time. This is important because, as a rule, the authors of encyclopaedic entries on individual treatises characterize their content in a very brief and vague manner. The same can be observed for the authors of biographies of famous medics.⁵¹

The treatises described and characterized here, along with the specific issues described in them, are a testament to the longevity and relevance of medieval medical knowledge in modern Poland. They also convey information about the reception of the then-current canon of medical knowledge in the Polish lands, while probably being a fragment of broader intellectual interests among the secular or monastic clergy throughout the 18th century, before they found their way to the BWSDK, as it is difficult to assume that they were handed down by lay people. They are also a testimony to the rich content stored and made available in the Kielce seminary library, and a contribution to the material heritage of Polish culture, belonging to the group, not at all numerous, of Italian editions of medical incunabula that have survived in Polish libraries. They also bring us closer to their subject matter and content in detail, which is important, since most often the authors of many

⁴⁹ A. Palmerini, *Gentile da Foligno*, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gentile-da-foligno_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/ (accessed on: 5.03.2022); Lauer, *Gentile*, col. 1247–1248.

⁵⁰ L. Thorndike, *A history of magic and experimental science*, 3, New York 1934, pp. 233–252; idem, *Consilia and more works in manuscript by Gentile da Foligno*, *Medical History* 3 (1959) pp. 8–19.

⁵¹ Cf. K. Frankowicz, *Renesansowy księgozbiór krakowskiego lekarza Stanisława Różanki*, *Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny* 24 (2018) pp. 11–77 (summary and earlier literature on medical book collections in the 16th century, especially those in Kraków).

publications operate in generalities, writing about the topics they cover only on the basis of available literature, which is often encyclopaedic in nature.

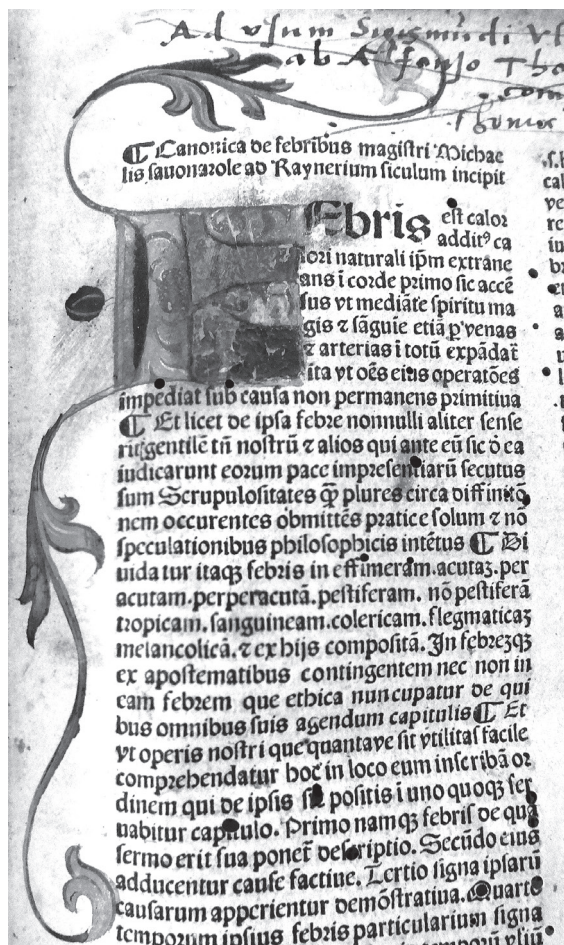


Fig. 4. Michele Savonarola, *Canonica de febris*,
initial letter of preface [F]ebris, Inc. 93,
BWSDK, photo by P. Kardyś

Description and contents of incunabula:⁵²

1.

BWSDK Inc. 93/XV.F 169 adl.: Savonarola, Michele (1384–1468)⁵³, *Canonica de febris*, Bologna: Dionysius Bertochus, III 1487, 2° (k. 121)⁵⁴

- double-column print – 50–54 lines per column – red and blue initial letters made by hand – rubrics – few marginal notes – initial letter of preface F[ebri] silvered gray-pink, identical floral thread on left and upper margins – present foliation with pencil – quaternions (custodians a–k) and ternions (catchwords l–r) – lacks k. a – REGISTRUM at the end with list of sections;

- subject: fever, human physiology;

- provenance:

1) k. 1r (former k. a2r), in the top margin: Ad usum Sigismundi Ulricii Burkholcer⁵⁵ Warssawick ab Alfonso Thome Gmerci⁵⁶ Doctoris filio comparavit; Thome Gmercii Doctoris; Thomas Gmercij Doctoris medicij Varschoviensis;

2) k. 1r (former k. a2r), a crossed-out note in the bottom margin: Possesor huius libri Andreas Lubecky⁵⁷ apotecarius 1635;

3) k. 1r (former k. a2r), on the right margin in pencil, in 18th century handwriting: Ex Bibliotheca Seminarii Kielcensis;

k. 1ra incipit: Canonica de febris magistri Michaelis Savonarole ab Raynerium siculum⁵⁸;

k. 1ra Capitulum primum de causis febrium et generalium;

k. 2va Capitulum secundum de signis febrem in uniuersali significantibus;

⁵² The spelling of uppercase and lowercase letters and v=u in the original was preserved. Since this is not a catalogue of incunabula, I decided not to follow the generally accepted rules of editing, such as those of IBP or *Katalog inkunabulów Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, but to describe the entire block as accurately as possible, thus presenting its characteristics and the kind of print layout in which it was bound and used over several hundred years.

⁵³ IBP 4931; GW 140699; Savonarola, Giovanni Michele, also known as John Michael Savonarola (1385?–1466); *Savonarola, Michele 1385?–1466?*, <http://worldcat.org/identities/lccn-n84059119/> (accessed on: 23.12.2019); some websites provide his birth date as 1384 and his death as 1464.

⁵⁴ *Begin. [fol. 2 recto:] Canonica de febris magistri Michaelis sauonarole ad Raynerium siculum incipit, etc. G.L.*, https://www.worldcat.org/title/begin-fol-2-recto-canonica-de-febris-magistri-michaelis-sauonarole-ad-raynerium-siculum-incipit-etc-gl/oclc/503759149&referer=brief_results (accessed on: 23.12.2019).

⁵⁵ Burkholcer, Sigismund Ulrich (?).

⁵⁶ Gmercius, Thomas z Sierpeca, a physician from Warsaw (16th century), author of an elegy on the death of Anna Stancel (*Elegia in obitum matris Gregorii Sanboritani*), cf. the Estreicher Electronic Bibliography Database, *Seprcius Gmertius Tomas*, https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/skany/?dir=dane_indeks|27|scan|0387|; *Sieprca (z) Gmertius Tomasz*, https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/skany/?dir=dane_indeks|28|scan|0055| (accessed on: 23.12.2019); W. Wisłocki, *Liber diligentiarum facultas artisticae Universitatis Cracoviensis, cz. I, 1487–1563*, in: *Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce*, series I, vol. 4, Kraków 1886 (Samboritanus G. Theoresis, 1561, 1569).

⁵⁷ Andreas Lubecky, apothecary [in Warsaw (?), approx. 1635].

⁵⁸ Adresat dedykacji Siculus Raynerius.

- k. 4vb Capitulum tertium de dicta in febribus ipsis conuenienti. Rubrica;
k. 8vb Capitulum quartum. Rubrica de cibis temperatis; Rubrica de bistemperatis simplicibus usque bistemperantiam quatuor humorum initium...;
k. 9ra Rubrica de bistemperatis simplicibus usque bistemperantiam quatuor humorum initium;
k. 11va Capitulum quintum de alteratiuis digestiuis omnium quatuor humorum indifferenter simplicium et compositorum;
k. 12rb De digestiuis colere non naturalis;
k. 15rb De solutis flegmatis falsi;
k. 15va De solutiuis melancolie non naturalis et primo per adustionem colere rubee;
k. 15vb Capitulum sextum de effirneris; de causis effimerarum febrium;
k. 19rb Capitulum septimum de putridis acutis et non acutis. Rubrica;
k. 20va Capitulum octavum de significantes putride interpolate;
k. 30vb De acutis paracutis et per peracutis non pestiferis;
k. 40rb Capitulum decimum de acutis pestiferis;
k. 44ra De signis prognosticis future pestis;
k. 45ra De preseruacione corporis a peste. Rubrica;
k. 61va Capitulum de Tropicis siue conuersiuis;
k. 62ra Capitulum de sanguineis;
k. 62va De Sinocha Rubrica;
k. 63rb De signis sinoche demosntratiuis;
k. 66rb De Sinocho Rubrica;
k. 68ra Capitulum de febribus colericis;
k. 69rb De tertiana pura;
k. 72va De Tertiana non pura que a multis nota nuncupatur;
k. 76vb De Tertiana continua;
k. 77va De causone capitulum;
k. 80vb De febribus flegmaticis. Et primo de interpolatis;
k. 84rb De cura flegmaticarum in generali;
k. 87va De cura flegmaticarum [...] et primo de periodica ex flegmate dulci;
k. 89ra Cura febris flegmatice periodice de flegmate falso;
k. 89vb De cura flegmatice periodice ex flegmate muscillaginoso et vitrico et aquoso;
k. 90ra De cura flegmatice periodice ex flegmate acetolo et pontico;
k. 90rb De cura flegmatice periodice permixte;
k. 90va De cura cotidiane continue et latice;
k. 91va De febre empiala sive empialos dictae;
k. 92rb De liparia. Rubrica;
k. 93ra De lisura et est febris inter has media;
k. 93vb De febre sincopali humorosa. Rubrica;
k. 97rb De cura quartanarum;
k. 99vb De cura quartane note siue non vere. Initium faciens a cura quartane sanguinee;
k. 100rb De cura quartane colericæ;
k. 101rb De cura quartane flegmatice;
k. 102rb De cura quartane ex milia fecali et non est adultione;

- k. 102vb De quartana continua;
- k. 103rb De quintanis sextanis et huiusmodi;
- k. 104rb Capitulum de ethicis;
- k. 107va De cura febris ethice simplicis;
- k. 111ra De ethica senectutis. Rubrica;
- k. 112rb Capitulum de febribus compositis;
- k. 114rb De emitriteo. Rubrica;
- k. 115va De cura emitritei secundum suas species omnes. Et primo de cura veri;
- k. 116va De cura no veri et per maioris colera e ad intra et melia extra facere decliare...;
- k. 116vb De cura ethice cum putrida composite;
- k. 118vb De febribus eraticis;
- k. 119rb De febre abstematu;
- k. 120va De recidiua Rubrica; explicit: Ad laudē omnipotentis Deis ac Gloriose eius matris Marie: Et Beati Hieronimi doctoris opus hoc Magistri Michaelis Savonarole dictum canonica de febribus: Finitur boñ. Dyonisius de Berthochis impressit M.CCCCLXXXVII die octavo mensis martii.

2.

BWSDK Inc. 94/XV.F.170 adl.: Savonarola, Michele⁵⁹, *De pulsibus; De urinis; De aegestionibus*, Bologna: Henricus de Harlem et Joannes Walbeek, 8 May 1487, 2° (k. 64)

- double-column print – 46 lines per column – red and blue initial letters made by hand – rubrics – pointers – few marginal notes – present foliation with pencil – ternion sections (catchletters from a to l) – REGISTRUM at the end with list of sections;

- subject: urine, blood circulation, human physiology;

- k. 1a (przybyszowa) czerwonym atramentem Savonarolla Michael De pulsibus De urinis De egestionibus;
- k. 2ra (ara) Incipit summa de pulsibus: clarissimi; ac medicine monarce: Domini Magistri Michaelis Savonarole patavini ad laudē dei omnipotentis eiusquem gloriose Matris Virginis: totiusquem curie triumphalis Amen;
- k. 2ra Capitulum primum de esse pulsus;
- k. 2vb Capitulum secundum de causis pulsus et generalis;
- k. 3ra Capitulum tertium de notificatione generum sive specierum: aut differentiarum eius cum suis causis particularibus;
- k. 11va Capitulum quartum de obseruandis a medico ut pulsuum debita...;
- k. 12va Capitulum quintum De rebus naturalibus pulsum mutantibus;
- k. 13rb Capitulum sextum de pulsu habitudinis; Capitulum septimum de pulsu etatum;
- k. 13vb Capitulum octauum de pulsu sexus; Capitulum nonum de pulsu pignantium;

⁵⁹ IBP 4936; GW 140724. Actually inscribed with red ink on the present k. 1r Savonarolla (sic!) Michael, *De pulsibus, De urinis, De egestionibus*.

- k. 14rb Capitulum decimum de rebus non naturalibus pulsuum mutantibus et primo de aere;
- k. 14va Capitulum undecimum de pulsu estatis; Capitulum ducodecimum de pulsu hyemis;
- k. 14vb Capitulum decimum tertium de pulsu autumnii;
- k. 15rb Capitulum decimumquartum de pulsu regionum; (sic! Cap. 15 is missing) Capitulum decimumseptimum de pulsu ex cibo et potu pueniente;
- k. 17ra Capitulum XVI (sic!) de pulsu ex sompno et vigilia pueniente;
- k. 18ra Capitulum decimumseptimum de pulsu ex motu et quiete et ex balneo pueniente;
- k. 18va Capitulum decimumoctauum de pulsu ex inanitione et replectione et coytu;
- k. 18vb Capitulum decimumnonum de accidentibus anime puenientibus;
- k. 19ra Capitulum vigesimum de pulsibus ex rebus praeter naturam puenientibus;
- k. 19va Capitulum vigesimumprimum de pulsu putridarum in generali;
- k. 20rb Capitulum vigesimumsecundum de pulsu effimerarum;
- k. 20vb Capitulum XXIII de pulsu sanguineorum;
- k. 21rb Capitulum vigesimumquartum de pulsu colericarum in generali;
- k. 21vb Capitulum vigesimuquintum de pulsu tertiane pure;
- k. 22ra Capitulum vigesimumsextum de pulsu tertiane non pure; Capitulum vigesimumseptimum de pulsu tertiane ex ingrossatione colere facte per adustionem;
- k. 22rb Capitulum vigesimumoctauum de pulsu prassine; Capitulum XXIX. de pulsu tertiane ex admixtione colere mixtione non vnita; Capitulum XXX de pulsu tertiane note qua colera citrina precedente; Capitulum XXXI de pulsu tertiane note: quia colera pueniente vitellina et est maioris fame;
- k. 22va Capitulum XXXII de pulsu continue tertiane; Capitulum XXXIII de pulsu causionidis; Capitulum trigesimum quartum de pulsu fleumaticarum febrium;
- k. 23rb Capitulum trigesimumquintum de pulsu fleumatice ex flegmate naturali; Capitulum trigesimumsextum de pulsu quotidiane;
- k. 23va Capitulum trigesimumseptimum de pulsu fleumatice de flegmate falso; Capitulum trigesimum octauum de pulsu vitreo et acetoso; Capitulum XXXIX de pulsu febre fleumatice continue et latice;
- k. 23vb Capitulum XL de pulsu empiale; Capitulum XLI de pulsu lipparie; Capitulum XLII de pulsu sincopal. humorse;
- k. 24ra Capitulum XLIII de pulsu sincopale huminite; Capitulum XLIII de pulsu quartane pure;
- k. 24va Capitulum quadragesimumquintum de pulsu quartane note et flaumatice;
- k. 24vb Capitulum XLVI de pulsu quartane note ex adustione sanguinis; Capitulum XLVII de pulsu quartane note ex adustione Colere; Capitulum XLVIII de pulsu quartane note ex adustione melancolie naturalis; Capitulum XLIX de pulsu eraticarum; Capitulum quinquagesimum de pulsu erbicarum;
- k. 25rb Capitulum quinquagesimumprimum de pulsu ethice senectutis;
- k. 25va Capitulum quinquagesimumsecundum de pulsu febre pestilentialis;
- k. 25vb Capitulum quinquagesimumtertium de febre apoftegmatum; Capitulum LIII de pulsu febre compositarum; Capitulum quinquagesimumquintum de pulsu emitritei veri et non veri;

- k. 26ra Capitulum quinquagesimumquintum de pulsu emitritei veri et non veri; Capitulum quinquagesimumsextum de pulsu in particularibus morbis contingenti;
- k. 27vb Capitulum ultimum de significationibus et prognosticis pulsus;
- k. 29va Explicit tractatus de pulsibus domini magistri Michaelis Savonarole patauini;
- k. 29vb Incipit summa de urinis domini Michaelis Savonarole patauini; Capitulum primum de descriptione urine: et conditionibus in eius visu attendendis;
- k. 31ra nota marginalna rubra: urina corrupta;
- k. 32ra Capitulum secundum de coloribus urine;
- k. 33ra De albo colore urine;
- k. 34vb De nigro colore urine;
- k. 35va De viridi colore et liuido apparente et urina;
- k. 36ra De citrino colore;
- k. 37ra De rubeo colore;
- k. 38rb De coloribus etatum;
- k. 38va De coloribus complexionii;
- k. 38vb De coloribus urine sensualis;
- k. 39ra De urina pregnantium; De urinis virorum;
- k. 39rb Differentia inter urina hominis et alios liquores et urina aliorum animalium;
- k. 40va De coloribus urine in omni superioribus cuiuscunqem humoris apparentibus;
- k. 40vb De coloribus urinarum in superioribus colorum apparentibus; De coloribus urinarum in superioribus melancolie apparentibus;
- k. 41ra De coloribus urine in sanguine apparentibus;
- k. 41rb Capitulum tertium de substantia urine;
- k. 43va Capitulum quartum de quantitate urine;
- k. 44rb Capitulum quintum de contentis urine;
- k. 44va De circulo;
- k. 45ra De ampulla;
- k. 45rb De granis; De nebula;
- k. 45va De spuma;
- k. 45vb De pure; De pinguedine;
- k. 46ra De pilo; De sanguine;
- k. 46rb De arena;
- k. 46va De chimo; De furfure crinoyde et squamis;
- k. 47ra De atomis; De filis sparmaticis;
- k. 47va De materia cineritia; De vapore siue fumo in urina apparente;
- k. 47vb De ipostasi;
- k. 49rb De mucillaginosa; De capillari; De sanguificali;
- k. 49va Di carnosae;
- k. 50vb Dubitationes occurrentes circa dicta. Et primo circa primum capitulum;
- k. 51rb Secundum dubium circa primum capitulum; Circa capitulum de colore dubitatur primo;
- k. 51va Secundum dubium circa capitulum de coloribus; Primum dubium, circa capitulum de substantia;
- k. 51vb Secundum dubium circa capitulum de substantia;

k. 52ra Tertium dubium circa capitulum de substantia; Quartum dubium circa capitulum de substantia;
 k. 52rb Quintum dubium circa capitulum de substantia;
 k. 52va Primum dubium circa capitulum de continentibus urine;
 k. 52vb Secundum dubium; Tertium dubium;
 k. 53ra Quartum dubium; Quintum dubium; Sextum dubium;
 k. 53rb Septimum dubium; Octauum dubium;
 k. 53va Nonum dubium;
 k. 53vb Undecimum dubium; Duodecimum dubium;
 k. 54ra Completus est tractatus de urinis Michaelis de Savonarola patauini; Editio de Egonibus de domini Michaelis de Savonarola patauini: feliciter incipit; Capitulum primum quod sit ego naturalis;
 k. 55vb Capitulum secundum de egone non naturali siue preter naturam dicta cum suis signis demonstratiuis et prognosticis et quorundam dubiorum annexione;
 k. 58rb Capitulum tertium de signis demonstratiuis et prognosticis a forma et substantia sumptis;
 k. 59ra De signis demonstratiuis et prognosticis a quantitate sumptis; De signis demonstratiuis et prognosticis a colore sumptis. Et primo de citrino;
 k. 59vb Rubrica de colore albo egonis; Rubrica de egonibus nigris;
 k. 60vb De signis demonstratiuis rubeorum; Signa eruginosi virulenti et saniosi;
 k. 61ra De coloribus oppositis creteo et terreo;
 k. 61va De demonstratiuis fetoris odoris et eximis eorum Rubrica; De signis demonstratiuis annexorum ut sunt fetositas spuma et huius; Dubium de unctuosa egonem;
 k. 61vb Dubium et quantitate egonum;
 k. 62ra Dubium de egone fetida; Dubium de egestionibus nigris;
 k. 62va Dubium de felle nigro;
 k. 62vb Dubium de egone nigra; Dubium de varietate colorum;
 k. 63va Dubium de ventositate;
 k. 64ra Dubium de spumositate;
 k. 64rb Complectus et egregium opus: De Pulsibus, Urinis: et Egestionibus: Excelentissimi medici artium: et medicine doctoris famosissimi Domini Magistri Michaelis Savonarole patauini: gratitudinis referendo infinitas deo glorioso immortalis eiusque genitrici Marie Virgini et toti curie triumphanti. Amen. Impressum Bononie Henricum Harlem et Johannem VValbeec socios. Anno M.CCCC.LXXXVII. octavo die mensis Maii.

3.

BWSDK Inc. 95/XV.171 adl.: Gentilis de Fulgineo (-1348), *Super quinto libros Canonis Avicennae*, Pavia: ed. Franciscus de Bobbio, Antonius de Carcano pro Hieronymus Durantibus, 1488?, 2^o (k. 52)⁶⁰

⁶⁰ IBP 2326; GW 10616. WorldCat, <https://www.worldcat.org/title/super-quinto-libro-canonis-avicennae/oclc/823685305/editions?editionsView=true&referer=br> (accessed on: 29.12.2019). The addressee of the dedication, Franciscus de Bobbio, a doctor of medicine, lived and worked in the 15th century.

- double-column print – red and blue initial letters made by hand – rubrics – few marginal notes – present foliation with pencil, former with red ink – ternion and quaternion sections (catchwords from a to h) – lacks k. a (begins with aII);
- subject: cosmology, poisons, antidotes, medicines;
- k. aIIr (present k. 1r, former foliation with red ink k. 3r) on top margin with red ink: Gentilis Super Quinto Can. Auicenne;
- k. 1ra: Incipit solenne et fidele scriptum Gentilis de Fulgineo sup. quinto canonis Auicenne;
- k. 7vb Tractatus primus de tyriacis et confectionibus magnis et primo ad tiriaca adromanci;
- k. 18ra Rubrica trociseorum, hic primo ponit tiriace descriptiones;
- k. 21vb Alia descriptio. Hic est tertia descriptio in qua consili...;
- k. 33vb Confectio metridati;
- k. 34rb Descriptio trociseorum kokion est non et non inuenio...; Tiriaca exdre hec tiriaca dicit...;
- k. 36vb Tiriaca dyateferon id est de quatuor...;
- k. 37ra Sotira hoc nomen ab effectu ponitur...;
- k. 37vb Trifera. Multi auctores de triferis faciunt speciale capitulum;
- k. 40rb Uera ea. iam determinauit...;
- k. 45rb Diaciminum galieno;
- k. 49rb Sermo noster: post sermonem de fusus et cetera loquitur...; Nostra narratio. Post sermonem...;
- k. 52vb Hic finitur singularis expositio clarissimi doctoris Gentilis de Fulgineo super quinto canonis Avicenne diligenter emendata per clarissimum artium et medicine doctorem dominum magistrum Franciscum de Bobio medicinam ordinariam de mane legentem et felici ginasio ticinensi. Impensa Jeronimi de Durantibus impressa. Explicit. Laus Deo.

4

BWSDK Inc. 96/XV.F.172 adl.: Gentilis de Fulgineo (-1348), *Super secundo libro Canonis Avicennae*, Pavia: Antonius de Carcano pro Hieronymus Durantibus, 1488?, 2°, (k. 36)⁶¹

- double-column print – red and blue initial letters made by hand – present foliation with pencil – ternion sections (from aii to f) – lacks k. a;
- subject: common drugs and their use;
- k. 1ra (former aii) Incipit: scriptum Clarissimi doctoris Gentilis de Fulgineo Sup. 2°. Can. Avi. Capitulum primum. Quegnitione uirtutum medicinarum et ciborum...;
- k. 6ra Capitulum secundum. Medicinarum iam permissit radicem ad cognoscendum explorem medicinarum et uirtutes;
- k. 8ra Capitulum tertium. Degnitionis hic ponit uia cognitionis preparatione et primo...;
- k. 14va Capitulum quartum. Decimus [...] medicine;
- k. 31vb Medicinis autem;

⁶¹ IBP 2323; GW 10610 (*Super secundo canonis*).

k. 35va Medicinarum vult loqui de conseruatione et collectione medicine et in hoc dat iudicia...;

k. 35vb Laus deo. Explicit subtile scriptum Gentilis de Fulgineo super secundo can. Avicenne diligenter emendatum et impressum impensa Jeronymi de durantibus.

5

BWSDK Inc. 97/XV.F.173 adl.: Gentilis de Fulgineo (-1348), *Consilia medica*, Pavia: Antonius de Carcano, 1485, 2° (k. 48)⁶²

- double-column print – red and blue initial letters made by hand – rubrics – few marginal notes – ternion and quaternion sections (from a to h) – former foliation with brown ink from k. 2 to k. 47 in the top right corner – new foliation with pencil; - subject: medical advice, prescriptions, commentaries;

k. 1r (former k. ar) title in brown ink: *Consilia Gentilis De Fulgineo*;

k. 2ra Incipiunt consilia per egregia clarissimi et toto orbe medici. Celebratissimi gentilis de fulgineo Patrum consilium pro uno melancolico; Consilium ad debilitatem cerebri et neruorum cum multa grauedine;

k. 2rb Consilium pro episcopo oliuensi dispositio ad ydriprisim ethicam et multas alias egritudines...;

k. 4ra Consilium pro uno epidi;

k. 4vb Consilium pro quondam quasi apoplectico;

k. 5ra Consilium pro fatuo ex multo gaudio;

k. 5rb Consilium pro quondam habente timorem et accidentia melancolica; Consilium ad imaginationes;

k. 6rb Consilium in debilitate uisus propter ascensum uaporum a iuncturis ad caput;

k. 6vb Consilium Gentilis pro eadem ad idem;

k. 7ra Consilium ad debilitatem uisus; Consilium ad principium catarracte; Consilium ad obtalmiam cum ulceratione: pupille cum aliquibus receptis ad fedandum dolores oculorum;

k. 7va Recepte ad diversas egritudines oculorum; Recepte tutie lapidis...;

k. 8ra Gentilis. De hoc mense ad lacrimam purget premissio hoc digestiuo; Gentilis padue. Consiliorum bonum ad rubedine oculorum precedentibus eumitionibus;

k. 8rb Gentilis pro quondam qui patiebatur obtalmiam...; Secretum probatum ad uestigia oculi et cornea...;

k. 8va Puluis Bartolomei de uariagna ad debilitatem uisus;

k. 8vb Confectio ad debilitate uisus Gentile; Confectio Gentilis costringens lachrimas destruens flegma...; Ad conseruandum oculos imorbit; Sirupus ad uisum quatuor;

k. 9ra Puluis preparatione uisus; Domum odoriferorum cerebrale; Puluis que ordinavit Gentilis ad debilitate uisus...; Consilium ad Sibilum et tinitum aurium...;

k. 9va Consilium ad surditatem et antiquis sulceribus aurium et aliquibus alijs receptis ad tinitum et surditates;

k. 10ra Oleum quod composuit magister Jo. de Sancta Sophia...; Dura stra infirmitate neruorum secundum Gentile...;

⁶² IBP 2318; GW 10618.

- k. 10rb Lectuarium solitium ad neruos secundum Gentile...; Pilule pro neruis; Consilia pro uno dispositio ad paralesim;
- k. 10 vb Consilium ad paralesis et quibusdam receptis et egritudines neruorum;
- k. 11ra Urquetum ad neruos debilitatos;
- k. 11rb Littere bonum ad paralisim Gentile;
- k. 11rb Consilium ad podagram et ciragram;
- k. 12 rb Consilium pro calculoso;
- k. 12va Puluis solutione sine dolore; Consilium de macratione cuiusdam puelle et maxime secundum sinistram partes;
- k. 13rb Recepte quedam epitome ad egritudines iuncturam sicut podagra sefatica et dolores iuncturarum;
- k. 13va Ad fiaticam regatur regimine sibi imposito et de mense septembris incipiat...;
- k. 13vb Aqua raxis ad fiaticam...; Remedium bonum ad fedandum dolores...; Consilium ad gibositatem cum quibusdam receptis ad egritudines iuncturarum et neruorum;
- k. 14ra Consilium ad gilbositatem;
- k. 14vb Recepte quedam ad grossitudinem gule et botium;
- k. 15 ra Recepte ad botium;
- k. 15rb Recepte ad fetorem oris; Ad inflationem et tumorem...; Remedium bonum ad dolorem; Ad praua ulcera oris...;
- k. 15vb Recepte ad tineam; Recepte ad scabiem in partibus capitis;
- k. 16rb Recepte in fractura cranei;
- k. 16va Emplastrum cuiusdam medici de Perusio...; Emplastrum optimum in dispose cranei...; Cura quedam emperica in fractura cranei;
- k. 16vb Recepte quedam ad faciendum flauos capidos;
- k. 17ra Consilium ad catarum;
- k. 17rb Consilium ad catarum conquibusdam aliis receptis ad idem;
- k. 17vb Consilium ad egritudines pectoris guturis et pulmonis;
- k. 18rb Consilium ad sputum sanguinis;
- k. 18va Gentilis consilium ad pleuresim;
- k. 19va Consilium in sputo sanguinis;
- k. 20 ra Sirupus magistri Nicolai de Sancta Sophia...;
- k. 20rb Consilium pro ptisico ex ruptura uene cum pulsu cordis;
- k. 20va Consilium pro pregnante habente sputum sanguinis;
- k. 21rb Consilium ad ptisim;
- k. 22ra Consilium ad dolorem pectoris;
- k. 22vb Recepte quedam ad asma et quandam alias egritudines pectorales;
- k. 23ra Consilium ad catarum;
- k. 23rb Consilium Gentilis pro quondam ad defectu cordis...;
- k. 23vb Tota electnarium restauratium vale et utile...; Incipiunt Scilia ad egritudines stomaci et primo ad dolores eius;
- k. 24ra Consilium ad debilitatem digestium stomaci;
- k. 25ra Consilium ad malitiam stomaci cum macredine. Corporis;
- k. 26rb Consilium ad debilitatem stomaci pro quadam domina;
- k. 26va Consilium ad debilitate digestiue stomaci cum macredine uentris;

- k. 26vb Consilium ad dolorem stomaci cum conuersione cibi ad acetositatem;
k. 27rb Consilium ad uomitum trium mensium; Consilium ad debilitatem stomaci;
k. 27vb Sepe preparatum ad incidendum flegma...; Oleum mirabile magistri Francisci...;
k. 28ra Ad affectio bona et mala dispositione stomaci...; Confectio ad idropisim et solutiua; Recepte ad opilationem mesereicarum et cacesiam; Ad cacesiam cum quadam mala...;
k. 28rb Ad cacesiam et principium idropisis...; Pro pararo ad idropisim ex longa complexione...;
k. 28va Sirupus pro quondam asclitico; Confectio solutiua ad asclitem; Consilia et recepte quedam ad diuersas species idropisis;
k. 28vb Consilium pro quodam ydropico asclite fiat...; Gentilis ad idropisim et panitem dispositio huius...;
k. 29ra Sirupus solutium pro quondam yposarco...;
k. 29vb Consilium ad asclitem cum tipanite;
k. 29vb Ad asclite cum infantoe pedum; Ad debilitate epatis ex causa frigida cum febre; Experimentum Gentilis pro quondam [...] ad fluxu epaticum...;
k. 30ra Consilium primum ad egritudines splenis;
k. 30vb Consilium pro quondam domina in mala dispositione splectionis ex dominio humorum melancolicorum;
k. 31ra Consilium Gentilis ad duritiem splenis;
k. 31rb Nota de suco arnoglosse et parato ydropissi...;
k. 31va Consilium Gentilis ad splenem grossum...;
k. 31vb Consilium ad egritudines penum et primo ad gomoream;
k. 32ra Consilium pro multiplicando spermatis;
k. 32rb Eructio rabi moysis;
k. 32va Pelulle mirabiles ad prouocandum luxuriam;
k. 32vb Consilium ad materias grossas [...] Bartolomei de Verona;
k. 33va Consilium in ulceribus uesice et porrorum curitidum;
k. 34va Recepte ad tumorem genuum ulcera renum et ardorem urine; Secundum consilium pro domino Ubertino de Carraria factus;
k. 35ra Consilium in ulceribus resice;
k. 35va Consilium ad aexcoriationem uesice;
k. 35vb Consiulium ad lapidem uesice;
k. 36ra Consilium ad rapidem renum; Sirupus ad ardorem urine; Consilium ad disinteriam;
k. 36rb Consilium ad disinteriam cum aliquibus alijs receptis ad idem;
k. 36va Nota sirupus bonum quem fecit fieri pro exposoro qui habebat desinteria...; Nota bonum clistere et excoriatione; Consilium in habundantia multe melia in partibus rerum;
k. 36vb Recepte quedam ad colicam;
k. 37ra Ad colicam exceptum; Ad colicam ex humore flegmatico; Consilium pro puero epaticte dolores et uenire cum egritudie epatica; Consilium otra dolores colicos et stomaticos fortes;

- k. 37rb Consilium ad fluxum emoroidarum cum aliquibus receptis ad diuersas dispositiones;
- k. 37ra Ad emoroidas aperiendas; Ad fluxum emoroidarum excerptum quondam patieband...; Ad dolorem emoroidarum fedandum;
- k. 37rb Recepte ad rupturam; Olectuarium ad rupturam; Recepte ad aliquos dispositiones metricis;
- k. 38rb Olectuarium satis sucnies seu efficax ad ocipiendum; Consilium et pluatione aborsus;
- k. 38va Consilium Gentilis ad concipiendum;
- k. 39ra Dura ad sterilitatem fratrum Arnoldum de Villa Nova;
- k. 39rb Nesarium eiusdem ad facilem ptu sine tumore aborsus;
- k. 39vb Consilium alium pro quondam muliere quasi infirmata pp. floksum menstruorum;
- k. 40ra Ad fluxum sanguis ex ulcere matricis...; Consilium et supflua humiditate matricis;
- k. 40rb Consilium et opilare uenorum matricis;
- k. 41ra Consilium ad suffocationes matricis dispositio...;
- k. 41va Consilium pro quondam domina iuene que partu habebat predictam grauitatem...; Consilium pro quoadam domina habente fluxum menstruorum longo...; Contar frigitem matricis; Consilium ut mulier quasi uirgo appareat...;
- k. 41vb Pangunctum ad magnitudine uulue et fetore magnum...; Consilium Gentilis pro quodam cabioso cum scabio grossa;
- k. 42ra Consilium pro quodam iuene qui patiebat scabiesm fumat ducem uicibus...;
- k. 42rb Consilium pro quodam dispositio ad lepram et precipue;
- k. 42va Consilium pro quodam qui patiebatur morbeam...;
- k. 42vb Consilium ad pestilentiam que accidit Janue...;
- k. 43ra Consilium ad pestilentiam;
- k. 43va Consilium et epidimia pusii [...] anno M.CCC°XLVII;
- k. 44rb Hec sunt recepte pulsii electuarii et humorum suprapositorum;
- k. 44va Consilium ad morfum aspidis furdi; Incipit tractatum de ernia f. Gentilem;
- k. 47rb Finit. Laus Deo.
- k. 47v Alphabetical Registrum of diseases in Latin with folios drawn up by author of foliation in brown ink – manuscript – two columns.

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INKUNABUŁY „MEDYCZNE” Z BIBLIOTEKI WYŻSZEGO SEMINARIUM DUCHOWNEGO W KIELCACH

Abstrakt

W artykule omówiono 5 inkunabułów o treści medycznej przechowywanych obecnie w Bibliotece Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach. Traktaty autorstwa niekwestionowanych średniowiecznych autorytetów Michele Savonaroli i Gentile da Foligno zostały współoprawione w jeden klocek. Scharakteryzowano oprawę i zawartość inkunabułów, przytaczając poszczególne rubryki, porady i recepty. Krótko zostały omówione dokonania w zakresie medycyny i biografie obu wymienionych autorów. Niestety, na obecnym etapie badań niemożliwe jest wyjaśnienie, w jaki sposób wolumin trafił do Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach. Można jedynie stwierdzić fakt użytkowania go w XVI–XVII wieku poprzez wpisy o charakterze poweniencyjnym.

Słowa kluczowe: inkunabuły; Michele Savonarola; Gentile da Foligno; medycyna; Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Dchownego w Kielcach



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EMOLUMENT OF ORGANISTS IN ROMAN CATHOLIC PARISHES OF THE DIOCESE OF PRZEMYŚL IN THE MID-1800S

Abstract

The article discusses the emolument of organists in the Roman Catholic parishes of the Diocese of Przemyśl in the middle of the eighteenth century. The main sources for learning more about this parish community include bishop's visitations. In the paper, we focus primarily on two of them, i.e. the ones from 1743–1745 and 1753–1757, carried out by the Ordinary of Przemyśl, Wacław Hieronim Sierakowski (1742–1760).

In some sources organists were equated with teachers and vice versa. Their teaching was made possible by their ability to write and read.

However, this article deals primarily with the material bases of organists. These were divided into real estate, remuneration in cash, and benefits from the parish population. The former included residential and farm buildings as well as fields, gardens, orchards and meadows. While it was rare for organists not to have their own cottages, the issue of the more broadly defined farmland is not so obvious. Home-adjacent and small gardens and orchards were often among their possessions, but larger agricultural complexes were rare. They sowed these small patches of land with crops or vegetables nevertheless. They also practised animal husbandry. The technical condition of the buildings standing there also raised many concerns.

It was important for organists to receive money in the form of fixed annual salaries paid by parish governors either as a lump sum or in instalments. In addition to this emolument, the lay ministers received money for their services from city guilds, religious brotherhoods, magistrates, and parish residents. In addition, they received gratuities from the clergy who assisted the parish priests in singing or playing during various services, etc.

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The benefits also involved stipends paid by the faithful. These included, among others, *akcydensy* and *petyty*, consisting in sheaves of grain, as well as other grain tributes of various amounts. Some unspecified benefits were also provided in the forms of *kolędy*, *kartkowe*, *klerykatury*, *stołowe* and *quaestus*. Despite the difficulties in interpreting some of the terms related to organists' emoluments in this type of sources, they remain the best described group among all church ministers.

Keywords: emolument; organists; Diocese of Przemyśl; Bishop Wacław Hieronim Sierakowski; visitation

Introduction

The affairs of lay parson assistants in the Diocese of Przemyśl, known in the sources as lay ministers, have long been on the sidelines of researchers' interests. Of all the bachelors (teachers), bellringers, gravediggers, organ-blowers, cantors, ecclesiastics, musicians, organists and sextons, only the first group has been described many times by historians.¹ Virtually no extensive studies have been devoted to the other functions.² This seems unjust, as they were essential personnel in almost every parish, and to overlook their role in the social and economic life of pastoral establishments is incomprehensible.³

This article will take a closer look at the property status of organists, since among of all the ministers residing in the parishes of the Przemyśl Diocese, it is they who are recorded most often on the pages of the visitation books

¹ The main contributions to the knowledge of this community in the area of the Przemyśl Diocese, also in terms of emoluments, were made by J. Chachaj, *Łacińskie szkoły parafialne na terenie metropolii lwowskiej w epoce nowożytnej*, Lublin 2005, pp. 135–171, and R. Pelczar, e.g. in *Szkolnictwo w miastach zachodnich ziem województwa ruskiego (XVI–XVIII w.)*, Rzeszów 1998; *Stan badań nad szkolnictwem ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej w okresie staropolskim*, *Przemyskie Zapiski Historyczne*, 6–7 (1988–1989) pp. 251–256; *Sieć łacińskich szkół parafialnych w ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej od XIV w. do 1772 r.*, *Rocznik Przemyski*, 28 (1991–1992) pp. 59–76; *Instrukcja dla nauczyciela szkoły parafialnej w Dobromilu z 1763 r. Przyczynek do dziejów oświaty staropolskiej*, *Nasza Przyszłość*, 104 (2005) pp. 259–266.

² The picture looks a little better for other dioceses. For example, the office of organist in the Diocese of Włocławek is discussed in detail by T. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae. Służba kościelna i witraży w diecezji włocławskiej w XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2011. Cf. F. Kyrk, *Ministri ecclesiae i rectores scholae w wypisach źródłowych z akt konsystorza sandomierskiego z lat 1522–1619*, in: *Religie – Edukacja – Kultura. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Stanisławowi Litakowi*, ed. M. Surdacki, Lublin 2002, pp. 337–348; M. Konopka, *Organiści w archidiaconacie sandomierskim w XVIII wieku*, *Studia Organologica*, 2 (1998) pp. 49–58; G. Poźniak, *Organiści w archidiaconacie opolskim w drugiej połowie XVII wieku na podstawie akt wizytacyjnych Jungnitza*, *Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego*, 23 (2003) pp. 331–349; A. Wiśniowska-Kirch, *Organy i organiści w okręgu wiślickim w XVIII wieku na podstawie akt wizytacyjnych*, *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 48 (2000) pp. 169–224.

³ Cf. S. Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku. Struktura, funkcje społeczno-religijne i edukacyjne*, Lublin 2004, p. 168.

of the mid-18th century. While our knowledge about their functions in and outside the Church is extensive,⁴ we still have very little information about their emoluments.⁵

The above study, as just noted, was based on church sources.⁶ It is based on documents relating to two general visitations of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Przemyśl, conducted by Bishop Wacław Hieronim Sierakowski in 1743–1745, and once again in 1753–1757.⁷ Scarce information about organists from the area of this diocese can also be found in monographs of individual parishes and towns. For historians, however, this information is highly inadequate. The references there are only of auxiliary and supplementary nature.⁸

⁴ Cf. e.g. T. Nowicki, *Organista – funkcja*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. XIV, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2010, col. 756–758; W. Głowa, *Niedzielną służbę bożą w kościołach parafialnych diecezji przemyskiej w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku w świetle wizytacji biskupich*, Przemyśl 1993, pp. 105–107, 339, 347, 352, 356, 366, 380; M. Waśkiewicz, *Organy w kościołach parafialnych w miejscowościach Medyka, Miżyniec, Mościska oraz Pnikut w XVII–XX w.*, „Kresy Południowo-Wschodnie. Rocznik Regionalnego Ośrodka Kultury, Edukacji i Nauki w Przemyślu”, 2 (2004), issue 1: *Historia i tradycja*, pp. 161–176. And also: J. Mizgalski, *Organisci i organmistrzowie polscy jako źródła rozprzestrzeniania się muzyki profesjonalnej na terenie Polski do końca XVIII w.*, „Prace Naukowe Instytutu Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego”, 1 (1961) pp. 50–118; L. Gawroński, *Muzyka religijna w Lublinie w latach 1574–1794*, Lublin 1996, pp. 31–36 et seq.; J. Prosnak, *Z dziejów staropolskiego szkolnictwa muzycznego*, „Muzyka”, 6 (1955) issue 9–10, pp. 11–23; J. Rajman, *Organy, organmistrzowie i organisci w średniowiecznym Krakowie*, in: *Cracovia – Polonia – Europa. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrozumskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. W. Bukowski, Kraków 1995, pp. 147–157; *Służba ołtarza. Organista i organy*, ed. R. Rak, Katowice 1985, pp. 9–14; S. Chodyński, *Organy, śpiew i muzyka w kościele katedralnym wrocławskim. Szkic historyczny*, Wrocław 1902.

⁵ One of the few separate articles touching on this subject in relation to the area of the Przemyśl Diocese is the text by F. Leśniak, *Organisci i kantorzy w Krośnie (1518–1630)*, in: *Człowiek w teatrze świata. Studia o historii i kulturze dedykowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Grzybowskiemu z okazji osiemdziesiątych urodzin*, ed. B. Popiołek, Kraków 2010, pp. 132–141.

⁶ Its extraordinary value for various researches was emphasized by, among others, D. Główna, *Akta wizytacji kościelnych z wieków XVI–XVIII jako źródło do historii kultury materialnej: gospodarstwo wiejskie w dobrach parafialnych w archidiakonacie warszawskim*, in: *Szkie z dziejów materialnego bytowania społeczeństwa polskiego*, ed. M. Dembińska, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Lódź 1989, pp. 233–254, and S. Litak, *Akta wizytacyjne parafii z XVI–XVIII wieku jako źródło historyczne*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego”, 5 (1962), issue 3, pp. 41–58.

⁷ Documentation of two visitations of Nowe Miasto deanery and one of the Pruchnik deanery has not survived to our time.

⁸ The most important of these works include: M. Boratyn, *Dzieje parafii husowskiej do 1918 roku*, in: *Husów. Wieś na Pogórzu Dynowskim w ujęciu monograficznym*, ed. A. Uchman, Husów 2010, p. 225; H. Borcz, *Parafia Markowa w okresie staropolskim i do schyłku XIX stulecia*, in: *Markowa – sześć wieków tradycji. Z dziejów społeczeństwa i kultury. Materiały z Międzynarodowej Konferencji zorganizowanej z okazji XX-lecia Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Markowej w dniach 22–23 maja 1999 roku*, eds. W. Blajer, J. Tejchman, Markowa 2005, pp. 110–111, 132–133; J. Makara, *Dzieje parafii jarosławskiej. Odbitka z czasopisma „Jarosławskie Wiadomości Parafialne”*, Jarosław 1936, pp. 160–162, 507; S. Tymosz, *Recepcja reformy trydeńskiej w działalności kanoniczno-pas-*

Organists (from Latin *organarius*) in the Old Polish period were, by the standards of the time, fairly well-educated people. One must agree with the words of Henryk Borcz, who claimed that '[...] cantors and organists, in addition to their musical training, were as a rule proficient in the art of reading and writing, and for this reason played an important role in the communities in which they were active [...] and they undoubtedly counted among the social elite of the time.'⁹ The ability to read and write allowed organists to actively participate in the deliberations of the aldermen's courts. In Husów in the eighteenth century, the function of court scribe (Latin *scriba*) was held for nearly 20 years by a certain Wojciech Kontecki,¹⁰ and in nearby Markowa in the second half of the seventeenth century, this office was held by Wojciech Piwecki, who, in addition, was also a teacher in this parish.¹¹

The canonical visitations of the Przemyśl Diocese carried out in the mid-18th century by Bishop W. H. Sierakowski were characterized by exceptional detail on many issues. Unfortunately, organists were rarely recorded by their names in those documents. According to records, in Dydnia the office was held by Izidor Kawalerski,¹² in Haczów, Klimkówka and Targowisko: Michał Niczowski (Nyczowski), Stanisław Maszyński and Marcin Dąbski, respectively;¹³ in Żołynia – Antoni Guszowski¹⁴, in Medyka – Grzegorz Bzowski¹⁵, and in Lubenia and Tyczyn – Józef Rępański and Stanisław Barwiński.¹⁶

In a great many cases, proficiency in reading and writing made organists parish teachers. Moreover, sometimes in the sources the organist was even equated with the teacher.¹⁷ For example, in Strzałkowie (a branch of the Nowy Sambor parish) the visitor recorded the function held by the organist as 'rector scholae alias organario', and in Korczyna – 'organarius qui simul est et baccalaureus.'¹⁸ In addition, their

toralnej arcybiskupa Wacława Hieronima Sierakowskiego w latach 1740–1780. Studium historyczno-prawne, Lublin 2002, pp. 337–339; T. Wojciechowski, *Polana – wieś bieszczadzka. Dzieje cywilne i kościelne*, Polana 2009, pp. 272–274.

⁹ Borcz, *Parafia Markowa*, p. 132.

¹⁰ *Księga Sądu Ławniczego wsi Husów (1625–1870)*, eds. J. Bar, A. Kisała, E. Szal, T. Wrona, Husów 2008, issue 131, p. 58 (1743), issue 164, p. 80 (1759).

¹¹ J. Półwiartek, *Wieś Markowa w okresie systemu pańszczyźnianego*, in: *Z dziejów wsi Markowa*, ed. J. Półwiartek, Rzeszów 1993, pp. 36, 53.

¹² Archives of the Archdiocese of Przemyśl (hereinafter: AAPrz), ref. 175, *Acta visitationis decanatus Brzozoviensis... 1745*, p. 355.

¹³ Ibidem, ref. 171, *Status et visitatio ecclesiarum decanatus Crosnensis... 1745*, k. 107 (Haczów), k. 120 (Targowiska), k. 166 (Klimkówka).

¹⁴ Ibidem, ref. 73, *Acta causarum curiae episcopalis Premisliensis... 1742–1750*, k. 329v.

¹⁵ Ibidem, ref. 178, *Acta visitationis decanatus Moscicensis... 1753*, k. 52.

¹⁶ Ibidem, ref. 174, *Acta visitationis decanatus Ressoviensis... 1745*, k. 64 (Tyczyn), k. 126 (Lubenia).

¹⁷ Cf. Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 169.

¹⁸ As cited in: AAPrz, ref. 164, *Acta visitationis decanatus Samboriensis... 1744*, k. 227 (Strzałkowie); ref. 171, *Status et visitatio ecclesiarum decanatus Crosnensis... 1745*, k. 83v (Korczyna). Cf. ibidem, ref. 167, *Status et acta visitationis ecclesiarum decanatus Jaroslaviensis... 1744*, k. 115v (Markowa); ref. 170, *Status et visitatio ecclesiarum decanatus Tarnogrodensis... 1744*, k. 117 (Lubaczów); ref. 171, k. 107 (Haczów), k. 136v (Iwonicz), k. 197v (Jasionka); ref. 172, *Acta visi-*

apartments were also often used for teaching activities.¹⁹ Despite this, documents from both visitations of Bishop W.H. Sierakowski list only 12 organist-teachers.²⁰ As for the organists of other 19 parishes, it is not possible, for various reasons, to be absolutely certain whether such teaching was conducted by them.²¹

The organists' emolument consisted of many elements. The most important of these were real estate in the form of land and buildings, and salaries paid in money by parish administrators. The other mentioned elements were known under the names of *akcydensy* and *petyty*. Natural products (*naturalia*) and other supplemental income were further down the list.

Real estate: land – gardens and orchards

The organist's land consisted primarily of arable fields, meadows, gardens and orchards. The latter components definitely dominated the parish landscape and, according to sources, were the most common emoluments of these parsonage assistants.²² As an aside, it should be said that, because of their similar nature, gardens and orchards were often reduced to a single name. For this reason, these terms were sometimes used interchangeably in visitation terminology. 'Garden, or orchard' was recorded, for example, in Grodzisko.²³

These lands were varying in their acreage. Organists from Grabownica and Klimkówka had gardens as large as forty *zagon*s (*zagon* – an Old Polish unit of area).²⁴

tationis decanatus Sanocensis... 1745, k. 156v (Zarszyn); ref. 173, Acta visitationis decanatus Denoviensis... 1745, k. 84 (Harta), k. 95 (Futoma). Furthermore: J. Chachaj, Łacińskie szkolnictwo parafialne na Rusi Koronnej od XVI do XVIII wieku, Lublin 2003, pp. 53–56; H. Błażkiewicz, Szkolnictwo parafialne w diecezji przemyskiej w latach 1636–1757 w świetle wizytacji biskupich, „Nasza Przyszłość”, 46 (1976) pp. 163–164, 170; S. Kot, Szkolnictwo parafialne w Małopolsce XVI–XVIII w., Lwów 1912, pp. 11–19; J. Kowalik, Szkolnictwo parafialne w archidiecezji sandomierskiej od XVI do XVIII wieku, Lublin 1983, pp. 52–53; S.K. Olczak, Szkolnictwo parafialne w Wielkopolsce w XVII i XVIII wieku (w świetle wizytacji kościelnych), Lublin 1978, pp. 101–102; A. Zapart, Szkolnictwo parafialne w archidiecezji krakowskiej od XVI do XVIII wieku, Lublin 1983, pp. 166–171.

¹⁹ In many cases, schools as separate buildings served organists as residential buildings, in addition to teaching function. It is also not uncommon to see terms like 'school alias organist's house', 'organist's house, i.e. school' or 'school meaning organist's house'. Cf. AAPrz, ref. 175, *Acta visitationis decanatus Brzozoviensis... 1745, p. 374 (Domaradz); ref. 189, Visitatio decanatus Crosnensis... 1756, k. 59v60 (Iwonicz), k. 150v (Kombornia). A fundamental, perhaps unresolvable, problem is the distinction between typical schools and organists' premises.*

²⁰ In Brzozów, Futoma, Haczów, Harta, Iwonicz, Jasionka, Kombornia, Korczyn, Lubaczów, Markowa, Strzałkowie (a branch of the Nowy Sambor parish) and Zarszyn.

²¹ In Bachórzec, Besko, Domaradz, Hyżne, Izdebki, Jasienica, Jawornik, Klimkówka, Lubenia, Miejsce Piastowe, Nowosielce, Nozdrzec, Odrzykoń, Przysietnica, Rogi, Targowiska, Trześniów (a branch of the Jasionów parish), Wrocanka and Zabierzów.

²² This was also the case in the Diocese of Włocławek, cf. T. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 390–395, 400.

²³ AAPrz, ref. 169, *Status et visitatio ecclesiarum decanatus Leżajscensis... 1744, p. 140.*

²⁴ Ibidem, ref. 171, k. 171v (Klimkówka); ref. 175, pp. 176–177 (Grabownica); LNB, fond 5, Rękopisy Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sprawa 4918/II, *Villa Grabownica haereditaria gen. Górskich visitata die 5 Junii A.D. 1745, k. 4v–5.*

Several others owned 10–20 *zagon*s (e.g. in Ostrów).²⁵ Others, in turn, had only small lands equal to several *zagon*s or several patches assigned to them (e.g. in Dylągowa).²⁶ In many situations, the visitation documents are limited to only a laconic statement that the land was small.²⁷ The most accurately measured area of the garden was in Potok (Kulińska Wola) in the Tarnogród deanery. The scribe noted that it had a dimension of half a *stajanie* (an Old Polish measurement unit) by 5 *zagon*s.²⁸

Some of these landholdings were part of the broader parsonage property in the past. However, over time, parish priests, wishing to equip their helpers in some way, separated pieces of land from their own property, which the latter then developed according to their own needs. This is evidenced, for example, by the two fenced gardens located in the parsonage meadow in Dydnia, the garden excluded from the parsonage area in Grabownica or parts of plots separated in the same way in Krzemienica, Hoczew and Mrzygłód.²⁹ It was not only the clergy managing the parish that turned out to be benefactors of the organists. In Sanok, some unspecified garden was donated to the minister by the local magistrate, in Wysoka by the village council, and in Lesko by an unknown foundation.³⁰ It is also interesting to note that from the garden donated by the parson of Pnikut, the organist performed feudal service, becoming, so to speak, a serf peasant.³¹

Incidentally, such properties have become the subject of disagreements. One such occurred in Ostrów, where a garden belonging to an organist was illegally planted by his employer. Because of this, a dispute arose between the two, which was settled in favour of the organist by Bishop W.H. Sierakowski.³² The sowing of the organist's garden by the pastor also took place in Poraz. Unfortunately, the details of this case are unknown.³³

The usefulness of gardens and orchards for organists is undisputed, as even small ones provided vegetables and fruits for the table of their owners. Given that the most common vegetable on parsonage farms was cabbage, it is probably fair to venture the thesis that it was indeed cabbage that accounted for the largest percentage of the crop among the other vegetables.³⁴ As for fruits, plums were certainly popular. Of the fruit trees, it was plum trees that were most often mentioned on the

²⁵ AAPrz, ref. 167, k. 142v.

²⁶ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 39v.

²⁷ Cf. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 396.

²⁸ AAPrz, ref. 170, k. 23v. Cf. M. Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii w rzymskokatolickiej diecezji przemyskiej w XVIII wieku*, doctoral dissertation, Archives of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin 2017 [typescript], p. 97.

²⁹ AAPrz, ref. 169, k. 66 (Krzemienica); ref. 172, k. 105, 113 (Hoczew), k. 186v–187, 189 (Mrzygłód); ref. 175, p. 166 (Grabownica), pp. 355–356, 364 (Dydnia).

³⁰ Ibidem, ref. 172, k. 13 (Sanok), k. 46 (Lesko); ref. 174, k. 105v (Wysoka).

³¹ Ibidem, ref. 165, *Acta visitationis decanatus Moscicensis... 1743–1744*, k. 26, 32.

³² Ibidem, ref. 182, *Visitatio et status ecclesiarum in decanatu Jaroslaviensis... 1755*, k. 105v, 108.

³³ Ibidem, ref. 172, k. 95, 99.

³⁴ Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, p. 133.

pages of visitation records. The apple tree was mentioned in Stary Sambor, among others, with the record stating that '[...] by this organist's house [there is] a small garden fenced with brushwood, [and] in it a small apple tree'.³⁵ Other references to fruit trees are limited to the term 'fertile trees', numerous in some cases. About 40 were counted in Piotraszowka and Świlcza, and dozens in Haczów.³⁶

Gardens or orchards served not only to grow the crops described above. The land was also used to plant various crops. While there are scarce mentions of this in the visitation records, it nevertheless seems to have been practised quite often, for example, by an organist from Łowce, who in his approx. fifteen-acre garden grew grain, in addition to vegetables.³⁷ It is likely that oats or rye were involved in this case, as these two cereal species are most often reported by Church sources. Indirectly, the sowing of gardens may also be evidenced by barns within the lands belonging to organists, which had separate partitions for storing grain, i.e. grain bins.

Real estate: land – arable land

It was much less common for organists to have strictly arable land.³⁸ Such estates were spotted with only 26 individuals and, as with gardens and orchards, their areas varied. In Jaćmierz, the organist owned a quarter of a field and approx. 2 acres of land.³⁹ Almost identical acreage was in the hands of ministers from Bachórzec, Jawornik and Leszczyna.⁴⁰ Half of these fields (one-eighth) were enjoyed by parson's helpers from Dynów and Winniki.⁴¹ The latter village deserves special attention. The organist there was given land as early as 1729 under the will of Franciszek Nahujowski, although the parish was not formally established until 1747.⁴²

Organists in other parishes held estates of various sizes: in Mrzygłód (6 *zagon*s), Medyka (2 *zagon*s) and Dublany (an eighth of a field).⁴³ In Przysietnica, the local peasants donated 7 *stajania* of fields to the organist, and in Dydnia, after Bishop Sierakowski had sorted out the matters, the organist received 3 new parts of fields located in 2 new locations.⁴⁴ Visitations mention of pieces of land of unspecified area in Dubiecko, Siennów, Rudołowice and Rychce.⁴⁵

³⁵ AAPrz, ref. 164, k. 44.

³⁶ Ibidem, ref. 172, k. 113 (Haczów); ref. 174, k. 138v (Piotraszówka), k. 150 (Świlcza).

³⁷ Ibidem, ref. 166, *Acta visitationis decanatus Pruchnicensis... 1744*, k. 208, 212v.

³⁸ Cf. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 390–395.

³⁹ AAPrz, ref. 175, pp. 117–118, 120.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, ref. 158, *Iura praecipua et principaliora ecclesiarum parochialium decanatus Moticensis et Leżajscensis... in visitatione generali... a. D. 1721*, p. 1839 (Leszczawa); ref. 173, k. 20, 21v (Bachórzec), 100–100v (Jawornik).

⁴¹ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 90v, 92v (Winniki); ref. 173, k. 5v (Dynów).

⁴² Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, pp. 41–44.

⁴³ AAPrz, ref. 164, k. 205 (Dublany); ref. 172, k. 186v–187 (Mrzygłód); ref. 178, k. 50 (Medyka).

⁴⁴ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 305 (Przysietnica); ref. 187, *Visitatio decanatus Brzozoviensis... 1756*, k. 27v (Dydnia).

⁴⁵ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 192 (Rychce); ref. 167, k. 4v (Rudołowice), k. 28 (Siennów); ref. 173, k. 27v (Dubiecko).

Unlike the gardens and orchards already discussed, arable land was not readily excluded from parsonage land. The explanation, it seems, lies in the humble dimensions of the parsonage (parish) property. However, this phenomenon may not have affected wealthier parishes. In Stara Sól, it was the prebendary Rev. Sebastian Majerski who funded the organist with arable lands of unknown area in return for his active participation in various services.⁴⁶ More often, however, it was the nobility that secured the organists' livelihoods by giving them some of their own, not insignificant, piece of land. This was the case in Radochońce, where a piece of the field was ceded to the minister by the owners of the local manor.⁴⁷ In Przybyszówka, for a quarter of arable land, the organist was obliged to sing devotional songs, presumably for the souls of the founders, and in Husów, a donation by a certain Uleniecki provided the *dlawiduda* – as the organist was sometimes referred to in Old Polish – with a field of unspecified size.⁴⁸ The issue of land ownership in Iwonicz was also interesting. Immediately at the beginning of the 17th century, Crown Chamberlain Andrzej Bobola⁴⁹ offered the local parson's helper an arable land of seven *pręt* (an Old Polish measurement unit). More than 100 years later, another heir to Iwonicz, Voivode of Volhynia Jan Franciszek Stadnicki,⁵⁰ illegally seized the land. The situation remained unchanged until the visitation of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski in the 1840s.⁵¹

Land ownership was sometimes associated with other problems. An organist in Bachórzec got into trouble for lending the land he used. He had previously agreed with the parish priest to whom ceded his arable land in exchange for 76 zlotys⁵² for an annual lease. Although initially everything went his way, the records of the parish visitation drawn up in 1745 unequivocally state that the adjudicated sum was not paid by the clergyman for years, although he continued to regularly sow the leased field.⁵³ Natural disasters and random events have also caused serious concern among ministers. For example, in Przeworsk and Krościenko, gardens and orchards were adjacent to nearby rivers, so the water that rose from time to time often destroyed crops and washed away the roots of the trees.⁵⁴ For unknown reasons,

⁴⁶ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 3v, 11v. Sebastian Majerski – prebendary of St Trinity parish in Stara Sól, cf. M. Kociubiński, *Księga diecezji przemyskiej do roku 1772*, vol. I: *Biogramy*, part 2: *M-Ż*, Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Przemyślu, Jarosław-Przemyśl 1989, p. 387 [typescript].

⁴⁷ AAPrz, ref. 178, k. 15.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, ref. 167, k. 83v (Husów); ref. 174, k. 153v (Przybyszówka).

⁴⁹ Andrzej Bobola – crown chamberlain (1607–1616), cf. *Urzędnicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, vol. X: *Urzędnicy centralni i nadworni Polski XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, eds. K. Chłapowski, S. Ciara, Ł. Kądziela, T. Nowakowski, E. Opaliński, G. Rutkowska, T. Zielińska, Kórnik 1992, issue 704, p. 117.

⁵⁰ Jan Franciszek Stadnicki – Voivode of Volhynia (1697–1713), cf. *Urzędnicy*, t. III: *Ziemie ruskie*, issue 5: *Urzędnicy wołyńscy XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. M. Wolski, Kórnik 2007, issue 776, p. 153.

⁵¹ AAPrz, ref. 171, k. 136v.

⁵² 1 Polish złoty = 1 florin = 30 grosz.

⁵³ AAPrz, ref. 173, k. 20.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, ref. 182, k. 34–34v (Przeworsk); ref. 189, k. 43 (Krościenko).

the orchard (garden) of the organist in Stubno was also ravaged.⁵⁵ Furthermore, it remains a mystery as to why the organist from Dynów, in possession of an eighth of the land, did not use the land at all, thus limiting his already small income.⁵⁶

Real estate: land – meadows and ponds

The organists' emoluments also included meadows and ponds. However, they did not contribute in any significant way to increasing their income. Their insignificance was attested to in the sources. The scarcity of information on these estates is explained by the fact that they very rarely appeared in the hands of organists.⁵⁷ Only three such references were documented from the area of the Przemyśl Diocese in the mid-18th century. The meadows were at the disposal of organists from Blizne, Dubiecko and Besko. Slightly more data on the productivity of such land is included only regarding the latter parish. As noted in the records of the 1745 visitation, 2 carts of hay (*currus faena*) were brought from this meadow.⁵⁸ Virtually nothing is known about the surface area of these lands. In Blizne it was described as small, and in Dubiecko – as not large.⁵⁹ The role of a meadow, it seems, was played by one of the gardens in the aforementioned parish of Dydnia. This is evidenced by an interesting note reporting that the organist 'habet ab antiquo in laneo plebanali hortos duos, unum pro oleribus, alterum pro faenificiis.'⁶⁰

Information about organists does not include the pastures they leased. This can be explained by their lack of sufficiently large or numerous livestock. For this reason, separate pastures were simply not necessary for them. If they did own such animals, they certainly exercised their right to free grazing on manorial or communal grazing lands ('libertatem pellendi pecus ad pascua communis'); this was the case in Wrocanka.⁶¹

Smaller ponds served mainly as a watering hole for domestic poultry, while the larger ones were used to raise fish.⁶² Information about the organist's pond was noted only once, namely in Gniewczyna. It did not represent much value being 'mud-infested and overgrown.'⁶³

Real estate: buildings – residential buildings

In addition to land, the organists' estates consisted of residential buildings. They were ordinary wooden peasant cottages, divided inside into different sections. They usually contained a larger or smaller vestibule with doors diverging from

⁵⁵ Ibidem, ref. 178, k. 61v.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 5v.

⁵⁷ Cf. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 392–393.

⁵⁸ A second, larger measure of hay rolls was still in use. It was referred to by the Latin term *aservus faenus* or *aservus magna faenus*, meaning hay heap or haystack, cf. Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, p. 137.

⁵⁹ AAPrz, ref. 173, k. 27v (Dubiecko); ref. 175, p. 257 (Blizne).

⁶⁰ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 355.

⁶¹ Ibidem, ref. 171, k. 182v.

⁶² Cf. Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, pp. 140–141.

⁶³ AAPrz, ref. 167, k. 195.

it to other rooms, i.e. one or more chambers, sometimes to alcoves (small rooms usually used for sleeping), bakeries and various chambers. The sight of homemade pigsties, cowsheds and stables was also not uncommon.

It is correct to assume that these facilities were part of the organists' emoluments.⁶⁴ However, after a careful analysis of the contents of the visitation protocols in terms of the usefulness of these buildings, it can be concluded that in the mid-18th century their usability and functionality left much to be desired. This has already been noted by Tomasz Nowicki, who researched the parishes of the Diocese of Włocławek.⁶⁵ In the Diocese of Przemyśl, out of 118 organists' houses listed in Bishop W. H. Sierakowski's first visitation, as many as 62 buildings (52%) could be described, due to their state of preservation, as at least average, bad, and in many cases even very bad. It is worth noting that even in these usable houses, the visitors noted some deficiencies, and ordered their immediate repair. This is also illustrated by the considerable number of negative words describing the technical condition of these properties. Words like 'bad', 'scarred', 'rotten', 'mouldy', 'banged up', 'decayed', 'leaky', 'crumbling', 'ruin', as well as 'reparation' and 'need' in both visitations counted nearly 300 and involved as many as 89 pastoral establishments.⁶⁶ The worst sight the visitors found probably in Humniska in 1743, where half of the cottage was 'fundamentally bad, rotten in the foundations, and scarred and bad inside in the walls', and the bakery in it was described as 'old in the walls, crumbling, propped up and without a floor.'⁶⁷ Almost identically portrayed in the visitation protocol in the same year was the organist's house in Dublany, which 'has sunk considerably into the ground and both the walls and the roof are in bad condition.'⁶⁸ The appearance was no better for the house in Kosina (with 'scarred walls, and rotten and crumbling roof').⁶⁹ In the case of Sarzyna, the remark was very straightforward: 'in a word, everything [there] needs to be repaired in its entirety.'⁷⁰

The situation was even worse during the second (the so-called 'checking') visitation conducted by Bishop W. H. Sierakowski in the mid-1850s. It records only 99 abbreviated descriptions of organists' houses. Significantly, however, as many as one-third of them were practically useless by then. This leads us to two conclusions. First, the reforming decrees of the previous visitation were not implemented with due diligence. For example, in Dobropol (Majdan Sieniawski) in 1744, the minister's cottage was described as 'bad in the roof' and 'with a bad

⁶⁴ Cf. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 402.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, pp. 407–411.

⁶⁶ By the time W. H. Sierakowski became bishop, there had been 158 parishes (excluding branches) within the Diocese of Przemyśl. During the reign of this illustrious ordinary (1742–1760), 15 new pastoral posts were established, followed by two more in the following 12 years, that is, until the first partition of Poland. In total, there were 175 parishes (excluding branches) in 1772. Cf. Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, pp. 33, 58.

⁶⁷ AAPrz, ref. 175, pp. 199–200.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 211.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, ref. 169, k. 21.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, k. 205v.

and rotten ceiling.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the walls, foundations, windows, as well as its furnishings were recorded as being in good condition. Ten years later it was reported: 'that which is described *in antiquo statu*, is crumbling thoroughly *ad praesens*'.⁷² This was by no means an isolated incident. Similarly, the bishop's recommendations were not implemented at least in Grodzisko, Izdebki and Kombornia.⁷³ The organist's house in Krasne suffered a peculiar fate. In early September 1755, when Bishop W. H. Sierakowski visited this parish for the second time, he saw that the out of organist's house 'made of wood embedded in the quoin [...]', which was 'in the walls frothed, old, bad'⁷⁴ 'only its yard' remained.⁷⁵ Secondly, it seems that the owners-organists themselves did not particularly care for their homes. This should probably explain the fact that in a fairly short period of time reasonably prosperous buildings turned into complete ruins. This happened, among other things, to the organist's house in Wołkowyja, which 'collapsed' within ten years.⁷⁶ Such a fate also befell the cottages of organists in Bachórzec, Jasionka, Manasterz, Ostrów, Potok, Sietesz or the royal Stryj.⁷⁷ The house in Medynia was, probably also due to neglect, only suitable for 'rapid collapse', and in Miejsce (Piastowe) – to 'collapse and burning'.⁷⁸

To some extent, the organists' excuse for their houses not being in the best condition is the fact that they used wood for their construction, a material that is not very resistant to weather conditions, especially to humidity. One should also not forget about pests (e.g. bark beetles) destroying unprotected building material. And indeed, if one takes into account that at that time wood was generally not impregnated (especially in small, rural parishes), the condition of buildings made of it worsened year by year. It is no coincidence that the records note that the walls in the organist's house in Makowa were 'badly deteriorated from the worms'.⁷⁹

In some cases, the opposite happened. Visitors were undoubtedly pleased with the rebuilt and well-maintained buildings. Everything, of course, depended on the ministers themselves, but also on the parish administration. In the aforementioned Humniska, on the site of the ruined organist's property, a new building was erected by the local parson, Rev. Jan Wiszniowski, Canon of Płock, at his own expense.⁸⁰ The reforming decree was also received with utmost care by the parson from Przy-

⁷¹ Ibidem, ref. 170, k. 75.

⁷² Ibidem, ref. 179, *Acta visitationis decanatus Tarnogrodensis...* 1753, k. 76v.

⁷³ Ibidem, ref. 180, *Visitatio et status ecclesiarum in decanatu Leżajscensis...* 1754, k. 30 (Grodzisko); ref. 185, *Visitatio ecclesiarum decanatus Denoviensis...* 1755, k. 98v, 100v (Izdebki); ref. 189, k. 147, 150v (Kombornia).

⁷⁴ Ibidem, ref. 174, k. 88v.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, ref. 181, *Acta visitationis decanatus Rzeszoviensis...* 1754, k. 103.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, ref. 186, *Acta visitationis decanatus Sanocensis...* 1755, k. 77.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, ref. 176, *Acta visitationis decanatus Samboriensis...* 1753, k. 49v, 50v (Stryj); ref. 179, k. 134 (Potok); ref. 182, k. 63v, 64–64v (Manasterz), k. 99v (Ostrów), k. 105v, 108 (Sietesz); ref. 185, k. 61v, 63 (Bachórzec); ref. 189, k. 95v–96 (Jasionka).

⁷⁸ Ibidem, ref. 180, k. 97 (Medynia), ref. 189, k. 121v (Miejsce Piastowe).

⁷⁹ Ibidem, ref. 182, k. 113–113v.

⁸⁰ Ibidem, ref. 187, *Visitatio decanatus Brzozoviensis...* 1756, k. 52v. Jan Wiszniowski – parson in Humniska (1747–1764), cf. Kociubiński, *Księża*, vol. I, part 2, p. 755.

byszówka, who demolished the old, decayed house and erected a new one on the same site.⁸¹ Of particular interest was the situation in Nienadówka. Although the clergyman demolished the building, which had deteriorated over time, he used the building blocks from the previous structure to construct the new one. The problem was that the wooden structural elements unfortunately bore signs of partial decay.⁸² At the expense of the parish priests, organist's houses were also erected in Blizne, Gniewczyn, Golcowa and Lubenia.⁸³ Unconventional was the erection of the cottage in Wysoka, where it was partly paid for by the parson and partly by the parishioners ('partim communitatis villae alias parochianorum').⁸⁴ Also worth mentioning are the activities of the Canon of Kamieniec, Rev. Józef Krzysztof Krzyżanowski, parson in Nowosielce.⁸⁵ He dismantled his helper's existing house, but, as stated in the protocol of the visitation, 'he is thinking of erecting a different one, and has already bought a cottage for 54 zlotys from a peasant for this purpose.'⁸⁶ Whether the whole affair was successfully brought to a conclusion is unknown.

The organists themselves have also revitalized their homes to a greater or lesser extent. The most outstanding renovation works were undertaken in that matter in Targowiska ('reperitur et conservatur')⁸⁷ and Zaczernie. In the latter village, the minister, using his own money, erected a residence for himself within the boundaries of the former school.⁸⁸ In Haczów, on the other hand, the organist began 'to brick the cellar for his convenience [...] considerably *in parte*', and also installed a new stove in one of the rooms of the occupied cottage.⁸⁹

Rural communities also assisted in rebuilding homes, with varying degrees of success. In the aforementioned Haczów, 'out of the duty of the community, the new [roof] is given in three parts for two years,' even though the fourth part of it still needed completion.⁹⁰ Also in Jasionka, the faithful were expected to provide housing for their organist-teacher ('per communitatem eiusdem villae Jasionka indiget uti ad hac obligatam').⁹¹ The same duty fell on the townspeople of Krosno, where a completely new house had to be erected, for the existing organist's property was threatened by... the collapse of the city wall.⁹² A different course of action was

⁸¹ AAPrz, ref. 181, k. 27.

⁸² Ibidem, ref. 180, k. 104.

⁸³ Ibidem. 167, k. 195 (Gniewczyna); ref. 175, p. 257 (Blizne), p. 326 (Golcowa); ref. 181, k. 156v, 160v (Lubenia).

⁸⁴ Ibidem, ref. 181, k. 88v.

⁸⁵ Józef Krzysztof Krzyżanowski – parson in Nowosielce (1745–1763), cf. M. Kociubiński, *Księga diecezji przemyskiej do roku 1772*, vol. I: *Biogramy*, part 1: *A–Ł*, Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Przemyślu, Jarosław-Przemyśl 1989, p. 326 [typescript].

⁸⁶ AAPrz, ref. 180, k. 53v.

⁸⁷ Ibidem, ref. 189, k. 51.

⁸⁸ Ibidem, ref. 174, k. 185.

⁸⁹ Ibidem, ref. 189, k. 36–36v.

⁹⁰ Ibidem.

⁹¹ Ibidem, k. 95v–96.

⁹² Ibidem, k. 19.

taken in distant Iwonicz, where, although the wood was delivered and even the first works began, the parishioners abandoned further work for unknown reasons.⁹³

It turns out that not all organists had their own roof over their heads. In Krzemienica, the apartment of the parson's assistant was consumed by fire, incidentally also destroying the church, the prebendary and the hospital. Except for the organist's property, all were soon rebuilt.⁹⁴ The same fate befell the house of the church servant in royal Lubaczów, which was razed to the ground by fire in 1743. Despite the rapid and partial erection of the cottage anew, the organist did not move in, but the vicar did.⁹⁵ In Stary Sambor, the 'familia' of the parish priest resided in the organist's house.⁹⁶ The fire also became a source of misfortune for the organist in Lubatowa, who received assistance from the villagers led by the parish; they managed to rebuild his house.⁹⁷ The organist's property in Łonowice was also burned. It seems that there the organists themselves were at fault in this case, since the visitation of 1776 mentions that 'the organist's house, which was not far from the church [was] set on fire through the carelessness of the organists' but, as in Lubatowa, the parish priest quickly erected a new building.⁹⁸ It is difficult to judge where the said organists found refuge. Perhaps, as in Nowotaniec, they were taken in by parishioners.⁹⁹

Not infrequently, deprived of housing, they found a place for themselves in hospital chambers. One of them lived with the poor in Łąka,¹⁰⁰ and the other 'for the better comfort of his own' stayed among the poor in Malawa, because a parson's serviceman had taken up residence in his former cottage for a longer period of time.¹⁰¹ Another, from the wealthy Lesko provostry in 1745, rented part of the hospital for little money. Exactly 10 years later, he has already settled into 'his own home in the city.'¹⁰² A city inventory compiled in 1769 was helpful in locating this building. It says that on Krakowska Street '[...] an organist had lived beforehand on the empty hospital square, who gave every year 3 zlotys to the hospital, [but] now this household has fallen.'¹⁰³ Nevertheless, this lay minister was, in some way, dependent on the Lesko shelter for more than 20 years.

⁹³ Ibidem, k. 59v–60.

⁹⁴ Ibidem, ref. 180, k. 84, 85v, 90v, 91v.

⁹⁵ Ibidem, ref. 170, k. 130.

⁹⁶ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 43v–44, 45. The term 'familia' was used to refer to the parson's assistants, consisting of farmhands, wenches, shepherds, sheepherders, cowhands, miners, watchmen and gamekeepers, cf. Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, p. 179.

⁹⁷ AAPrz, ref. 189, k. 87v.

⁹⁸ Stefanyk National Science Library, fond 5, Rękopisy Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sprawa 4844/II, *Status ecclesiae et beneficii in Łonowice sive Łanowice descriptus in visitationibus A.D. 1743 et 1776*, p. 51.

⁹⁹ AAPrz, ref. 172, k. 128.

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem, ref. 174, k. 175v.

¹⁰¹ Ibidem, ref. 181, k. 111v–112.

¹⁰² Ibidem, ref. 172, k. 60; ref. 186, k. 103.

¹⁰³ The State Archive in Przemyśl, inventory 158, Archives of the Lesko Castle of the Krasicki family, ref. 14, *Inwentarze dóbr podgórskich liskich na skarb trzymanyh pro anno 1769*, pp. 134–135.

Organists from Staromieście, Strachocina and Żołynia also had to change their places of residence. The first, due to the demolition of his house, has re-located to the vicarage¹⁰⁴, while the second has temporarily moved to the old rectory, and was later promised a new cottage, since a parson's assistant resided in the old one.¹⁰⁵ The old chaplaincy, on the other hand, became a quiet haven for an organist from Żołynia for a long time.¹⁰⁶

Concluding the subject of residential buildings, it should also be added that sometimes these ministers did not stay in them alone. The organist in Dylągowa shared a house with a sexton, and the one in Łańcut lived in a cottage in a cemetery, with a bellringer as his housemate.¹⁰⁷

Real estate: buildings – farm buildings

The organist's yards also included facilities designed solely for farming purposes. These included stables, barns, cowsheds, pigsties, sheds, as well as those structures that served as larders – cellars and root cellars.

In total, we can note this category of construction in 73 pastoral facilities, almost half of all parishes. Stables were the most numerous, mentioned 34 times by the sources. They were followed by pigsties (24), sheds (19), barns (15) and cowsheds (2). Pantries, cellars and root cellars counted a total of only 7.

Only some of the buildings are marked for their purpose. And so in the farms of the organists in Haczów, Klimkówka and Równe there were stables 'for cattle.'¹⁰⁸ Pigsties in Medenice, Rokietnica and Świlcza and a shed in Grodzisk were also intended for these animals.¹⁰⁹ In Klimkówka, pigs were raised in a pigsty.¹¹⁰ Grain was kept in sheds in Kosina and Myślatycze and in a barn in Haczów.¹¹¹ The examples given present the nature of these buildings, but fail to provide answer to two basic questions. First, whether the ministers actually owned livestock, and second, if they did, what number of these animals they had. The visitations unfortunately fails to report on this matter. However, it can be assumed that organists were usually engaged in some kind of animal breeding to an unspecified extent. An argument supporting this thesis can be found in the privilege stating the right of the organist from Wrocanka to freely graze his animals on the manor meadows.¹¹² Yet another evidence is the occurrence of mangers and ladders for large and smaller game in the buildings. Although only in Klimkówka did the visitor indicate that they were

¹⁰⁴ AAPrz, ref. 181, k. 21v.

¹⁰⁵ Ibidem, ref. 187, k. 59, 60v.

¹⁰⁶ Ibidem, ref. 169, k. 124.

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, ref. 169, k. 50v (Łańcut); ref. 173, k. 37 (Dylągowa).

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem ref. 171, k. 115 (Haczów), k. 171v (Klimkówka), k. 179 (Równe).

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem ref. 164, k. 174v–175 (Medenice); ref. 166, k. 186v–187 (Rokietnica); ref. 169, k. 140 (Grodzisko); ref. 181, k. 32 (Świlcza).

¹¹⁰ Ibidem, ref. 171, k. 171v.

¹¹¹ Ibidem ref. 165, k. 22v (Myślatycze); ref. 169, k. 21 (Kosina); ref. 171, k. 115 (Haczów).

¹¹² Ibidem, ref. 171, k. 182v.

used to feed cattle,¹¹³ but it is hard to imagine that in the other 9 farmyards they were used for other purposes.

On many occasions, stables, pigsties or barns were located in the cottages next to the rooms, kitchens and hallways. Housing animals and people together was of great importance, especially in winter, when an often decrepit stable or pigsty could not guarantee livestock surviving harsh weather conditions.

The technical condition of these buildings, according to the protocols of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski's first visit, was not very bad, in contrast to the housing units. Only some of them required urgent repairs. And thus the organists' sheds in Haczów and Manasterz required renewal in the roof,¹¹⁴ and in Sietesz – repairs to the walls.¹¹⁵ However, a completely different picture emerges from the descriptions of the second visitation, whereby farm buildings were also mentioned among the devastated houses. In the case of Czukiew 'there is no barn *ad praesens*,'¹¹⁶ the shed in Grabownica, 'which is described *in antiquo statu*, [has been] abandoned,'¹¹⁷ and 2 pigsties in Nienadówka were assessed as 'old and bad.'¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, there were many positive remarks in this visit as well. Among others, in Haczów, which has already been mentioned many times, the local organist erected a stable at his own expense.¹¹⁹

Brogi (hay barracks) were yet another interesting element in the parish landscape.¹²⁰ Eight such components were counted at the disposal of parson assistants. It is difficult to tell from the source records what they were actually used by organists for. In Futoma, Harta or Siennów, they were probably related to the 'sheaf' *petyty* paid to the church servants,¹²¹ which will be discussed further below. In Jaćmierz and Siennów, the organists owned more than just their share of arable land, so it is inevitable that the straw or hay stored in the hay barracks could have come from there.¹²² Interestingly enough, hay barracks also appeared on the farms of organists without land or *petyty*. The reverse was true for those who received land allotments – in their case, these wooden structures could not be found.

The last part of the organists' outbuildings were cellars and root cellars. They guaranteed the freshness of the harvest stored in them for their owners. Naturally, cellars with separate massive doors, stairs and of large cubic capacity turned out to

¹¹³ Ibidem, k. 171v.

¹¹⁴ Ibidem, k. 115 (Haczów); ref. 167, k. 79v (Manasterz).

¹¹⁵ Ibidem, ref. 167, k. 136v.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem, ref. 176, *Acta visitationis decanatus Samboriensis... 1753*, k. 102v.

¹¹⁷ Ibidem, ref. 187, k. 57.

¹¹⁸ Ibidem, ref. 180, k. 104.

¹¹⁹ Ibidem, ref. 189, k. 36v.

¹²⁰ *Bróg* – 'a straw canopy on four poles [...] to be raised and lowered [...]. *Bróg*, as a building, or rather a roof for hay and grain [...]. It [also] means a heap of grain placed without a roof under the open sky', Z. Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*, vol. I: *A-D*, Warsaw 1972, p. 208.

¹²¹ AAPrz, ref. 167, k. 32–32v (Siennów); ref. 173, k. 97 (Futoma); ref. 185, k. 34 (Harta); LNB, fond 5, Rękopisy Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sprawa 4900/II, *Harta villa haereditatis mgci Domini Joannis de Kozielsko Ogiński capitanei Msciboviensis visitata die 21 mensis Augusti anno 1745*, k. 7.

¹²² AAPrz, ref. 167, k. 32–32v (Siennów); ref. 175, p. 134 (Jaćmierz).

be better in this regard. In the more primitive of the two, i.e. root cellars or small pits dug into the ground, freshly harvested crops were placed and then covered with a relatively thin layer of dirt. During the major winter frosts, additional straw was laid down and also covered with dirt.¹²³ Only 7 such cavities near the homes of parsons' assistants were rerecorded in the documents of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski's visitation.

Emolument in money: fixed salary

In addition to real estate, organists were also entitled to certain monetary gratuities in the form of fixed salaries, paid quarterly or annually by the parish priests. Upon agreement on the specific terms between the parish priest and the future minister, a contract was written that specified the rate of such remuneration. In exchange for a salary, the organist was obligated to do certain work in the parish area.¹²⁴ In the mid-18th century, the related revenue was relatively diverse. The prebendary in Krosno paid the least, only 12 zlotys, but the organist there still collected more than 150 zlotys from other sources.¹²⁵ Organists from Jasionka and Niebieszczany also had identical profits of 12 florins. The difference between them and the aforementioned servant from Krosno was that in addition to this salary, they did not receive any other money.¹²⁶ 17 other organists in the Przemyśl Diocese charged slightly more, i.e. 16 florins. Most often, the visitation records show dues as high as 24 and 40 zlotys. Such amounts were accounted for in 21 and 24 pastoral facilities, respectively. In total, fees in the range of 16–40 zlotys were applied in as many as 87 parishes. There were also higher amounts. Fifty florins were paid by the parson in Milczyce to his assistant, and the organists in Łowce, Wojutyce and Łukowa received 10 zlotys more.¹²⁷ It is also worth mentioning the annual 72 florins transferred by the parish priests of Nowe Miasto and Sieniawa and 80 zlotys by the provost of Krasiczyn and the provost of Sanok.¹²⁸ Three-digit sums were also paid, albeit very rarely. Such sizeable amounts were received by organists in Leżajsk (100 zlotys), Krzywca (120 zlotys) and Wojutyce (120 zlotys)¹²⁹.

As signalled, payments were regulated in two ways. They were either spread over four instalments (quarterly) or paid in full at the end of the year. It is possible that the latter solution was implemented on St Martin's Day, i.e. on 11 November.

In principle, the rates discussed above had fixed values; nevertheless, as Bishop W. H. Sierakowski's second visitation shows, in several cases they changed over

¹²³ Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, p. 134.

¹²⁴ Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 335–337.

¹²⁵ AAPrz, ref. 171, k. 27.

¹²⁶ Ibidem, k. 197v (Jasionka); ref. 172, k. 144–144v (Niebieszczany).

¹²⁷ Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 148v (Milczyce); ref. 166, k. 208 (Łowce); ref. 170, k. 56v (Łukowa); ref. 176, k. 143 (Wojutyce).

¹²⁸ Ibidem, ref. 166, k. 76v (Krasiczyn); ref. 170, k. 81 (Sieniawa); ref. 172, k. 13 (Sanok); LNB, fond 141, Zbiór Aleksandra Czołowskiego, opys 1, sprawa 2085, *Akta i przywileje kościoła Nowego Miasta Bybła 1721*, p. 308.

¹²⁹ AAPrz, ref. 164, k. 251v (Wojutyce); ref. 166, k. 98v (Krzywca); ref. 169, k. 166v, 170 (Leżajsk). Cf. Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 170.

time. This was the case with the amount received by organists in Pantalowice, which decreased from 60 zlotys in 1744 to 40 zlotys in 1755.¹³⁰ A twenty-florin difference was also recorded in Husaków (from 80 zlotys to 60 zlotys).¹³¹ Decrease in salaries was also noted for Medynia, Mościska and Radochońce.¹³² On the other hand, if sources are to be believed, ministers from Radenice (an increase from 40 zlotys to 60 zlotys) and Staromieście (from 16 zlotys to 40 zlotys) had their salaries increased.¹³³ The highest increase in salary took place in the case of an organist from Oleszyce – from 40 florins to 70 zlotys.¹³⁴

Parsons were not the only ones funding the organists' work. In Haczów and Łańcut they were contributed by mansioners, with the difference that in the latter parish they shirked this duty.¹³⁵ In the capital of the land of Sanok, the minister received a salary from the magistrate in the amount of 12 zlotys in addition to the benefits already collected from the provost.¹³⁶

Helpers in Drohobycz (from the Brotherhood of Corpus Christi), Medyka and Urzejowice were paid in unusual currency. These lay ministers received their emoluments not in florins, but in thalers (*imperialem talerum*).¹³⁷

Emolument in money: other income

In addition to fixed salaries, organists, especially those in cities and towns, had additional opportunities to earn money. Aside from the fact of receiving funds resulting from the obligations of the contract with parish administrators, these ministers also collected income from the performance of other work. Given that they performed a very important function at numerous church ceremonies, it should come as no surprise that it was for these ministries that they received the greatest gratuities. The authors of these foundations were the wider parish communities, in other words, peasants, the bourgeoisie, the nobles, bishops and even the king himself. The royal privilege could be enjoyed, for example, by the organist from Krosno. In 1533, Sigismund I the Old ordered the authorities of that city to pay the minister 48 zlotys from the income flowing from the city's propination. Later, for various reasons, the magistrate paid only 10 zlotys.¹³⁸ The Bishop of Przemyśl, Jerzy Albrecht Doenhoff ordered several Brześć subjects to give 60 florins to

¹³⁰ AAPrz, ref. 167, k. 35v; ref. 182, k. 54v.

¹³¹ Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 6; ref. 178, k. 4v.

¹³² Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 35 (Radochońce), k. 72 (Mościska); ref. 178, k. 15 (Radochońce), k. 69v (Mościska).

¹³³ Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 55v (Radenice); ref. 174, k. 51v (Staromieście); ref. 178, k. 41 (Radenice); ref. 181, k. 18v (Staromieście).

¹³⁴ Ibidem, ref. 170, k. 100v; ref. 179, k. 6v.

¹³⁵ Ibidem, ref. 171, k. 107 (Haczów); ref. 180, k. 66v–67 (Łańcut).

¹³⁶ Ibidem, ref. 172, k. 13.

¹³⁷ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 86 (Drohobycz); ref. 165, k. 194v (Medyka); ref. 167, k. 155 (Urzejowice). 1 thaler = 8 zlotys. Cf. A. Dylewski, *Historia pieniądza na ziemiach polskich*, Warsaw 2011, pp. 208–210.

¹³⁸ AAPrz, ref. 171, k. 27.

the organist at the end of the 17th century. This custom survived until the time of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski.¹³⁹

Correspondingly, organists were also rewarded by brotherhoods operating at parishes, and individual priests. As for confraternities, the Drohobycz brotherhoods are a great example. The Society of Corpus Christi annually set aside 8 zlotys from its treasury, the same amount was paid by the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, and half of this amount by the Brotherhood of St Anne.¹⁴⁰ It was also not uncommon for city guilds to pay money to organists. In Jarosław, the organist and cantor were paid a total of 14 florins each year by 9 guilds for attending fraternal services, and in Radymno, the organist and bellringer were paid 2 zlotys by 5 guilds.¹⁴¹ These might not have been dizzying amounts, but they make it clear that these assistants were highly respected by the parish community. In Krosno, the minister's work was also appreciated by choir members, who rewarded him once a year with 40 zlotys.¹⁴²

On more than one occasion, the organists' skills were also used by other lay clergy. The altarist of Eleven Thousand Virgins of Krosno gave 8 zlotys, the vicar in Nowosielce gave 2 zlotys and 16 grosz for singing and playing the organ, and the prebendary in Husaków gave 12 florins.¹⁴³ In Brzozów, for singing about the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the choir together with the boys, a certain Jakub Nowakowski paid the organist a quarterly rate of 3 zlotys.¹⁴⁴ For similar work in Przysietnica, the lay minister received a fee of 10 zlotys and 15 grosz. In Dynów, for active participation in liturgies, the organist received 2 zlotys from the city guilds and 10 florins from the residents of the nearby village of Kramarzówka.¹⁴⁵

An interesting case concerns fees from the so-called 'Church cows',¹⁴⁶ which were an important element in the broader parish economy. While there are not many mentions of organists directly, two of them were noted in pastoral establishments. In Pantalowice, the organist charged 30 zlotys (2 zlotys per head) from 15 cows leased by local peasants. He also received 2 additional more capons from each of them.¹⁴⁷ It is also known that he had one cow in Golcowa at his disposal, but it is difficult to determine the amount for which it was charged. It was probably

¹³⁹ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 35.

¹⁴⁰ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 85v, 86; LNB, fond 45, Archiwum Dzieduszyckich, opys 1, Rękopisy Biblioteki Poturzyckich Dzieduszyckich, sprawa 113, *Akta kościoła parafialnego w Drohobyczu z lat 1637–1783*, k. 81v.

¹⁴¹ AAPrz, ref. 168, *Acta visitationis Ecclesiae Collegiatae Jaroslaviensis... 1743*, pp. 27, 36, 84–85.

¹⁴² Ibidem, ref. 171, k. 27.

¹⁴³ Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 6 (Husaków); ref. 171, k. 27v (Krosno); ref. 180, k. 50 (Nowosielce).

¹⁴⁴ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 35.

¹⁴⁵ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 5v (Dynów); ref. 175, p. 305 (Przysietnica).

¹⁴⁶ J. Półwiartek, *Tak zwane „krowy kościelne” – problemem badawczym dziejów wsi*, in: *Celem nauki jest człowiek... Studia z historii społecznej i gospodarczej ofiarowane Helenie Madurowicz-Urbąskiej*, red. P. Franaszek, Kraków 2000, pp. 296–297.

¹⁴⁷ AAPrz, ref. 167, k. 35v; ref. 182, k. 54v.

valued at 1 florin, since this is the amount at which a lease of 120 'parish' animals was estimated there.¹⁴⁸

Organists worked not only as operators or musical equipment or lending their voices. They also performed other roles. For example, in Błażowa the organist received additional pay for ringing at funerals.¹⁴⁹ Some kind of payment for these ministries was also paid to the ministers in Lubenia, Borek (a branch of Tyczyn parish) and probably in Nowotaniec.¹⁵⁰

Benefits from the parish population: *akcydensy*

Danuta Quirini-Popławska defines *akcydensy* as 'occasional payments received by the parish priest from donations for church purposes given by parishioners.'¹⁵¹ However, it is not clear from this description what exactly this type of income consisted in. A similar conclusion can be drawn from T. Nowicki that these were 'occasional fees paid by the faithful in return for the above-standard service of church ministers,' although in another passage of his book he also includes among *akcydensy* 'fees paid on the occasion of, for example, baptisms, inquisitions, weddings or funerals.'¹⁵² Jan Ryś, who studied schools in Lesser Poland, put the matter quite clearly, writing that these '[...] occasional incomes are impossible to determine and they depended on the size of the parish, which determined the frequency of particular ceremonies, and the amount of fees paid on these occasions depended on the wealth of the organizer and local customs.'¹⁵³ In an attempt to explain this issue, Henryk Błażkiewicz claimed that they included the third parts of 'non-fixed church incomes [...] from baptisms, funerals, weddings, from Christmas calls or for distributing Christmas wafers.'¹⁵⁴

Information on *akcydensy* collected by organists from the Diocese of Przemyśl is poor, despite being mentioned as many as 104 times. In the sources, these benefits were referred to by the Latin expressions: *accidentium*, *accidentia* i *accidentibus*

¹⁴⁸ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 315.

¹⁴⁹ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 61v.

¹⁵⁰ Ibidem, ref. 174, k. 81 (Borek), 126 (Lubenia); ref. 186, k. 141v (Nowotaniec); LNB, fond 5, Rękopisy Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sprawa 4904/II, *Borek, villa ill. Domini Joannis Branicki [...] visitata A.D. 1745 circa visitationem ecclesiae in opiddo Tyczyn, uti principalis et matris*, k. 4v. Cf. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 383.

¹⁵¹ D. Quirini-Popławska, *Szkolnictwo krośnieńskie od XVII w. do 1914 r.*, in: *Krosno. Studia z dziejów miasta i regionu*, ed. J. Garbacik, vol. II: (1918–1970), Kraków 1973, p. 340.

¹⁵² Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 379.

¹⁵³ J. Ryś, *Sytuacja materialna nauczycieli miejskich szkół parafialnych w Małopolsce w średniowieczu*, in: *Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Feliksowi Korytkowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, eds. J. Chrobaczyński, A. Jureczko, M. Śliwa, Kraków 1993, pp. 527–534; Kot, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, p. 86. Cf. Chachaj, *Łacińskie szkolnictwo*, p. 232.

¹⁵⁴ Błażkiewicz, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, p. 189. Cf. Pelczar, *Szkolnictwo*, p. 49; Kowalik, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, p. 80; S. Litak, *Edukacja początkowa w polskich szkołach w XIII–XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2010, p. 177; Chachaj, *Łacińskie szkolnictwo*, p. 233; Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 170.

parochialibus.¹⁵⁵ Such vague terms occur with all organists, but unfortunately make it difficult to understand them accurately. All that is certain is that organists accounted for a third or fourth of all *akcydensy* and that they sometimes shared them with other parson's helpers. The sources did not include their types or the monetary amounts paid. Therefore, the 1755 records of the organist in Błażowa seem particularly important in this context. Namely, it listed the rates for certain ministries: he charged '*groszowe plus vel minus*' for baptisms and divinations, 6 gr for announcements, and 1 florin for ringing bells at funerals. He also received a fourth from funeral *akcydensy* and some *akcydensy* from Christmas wafers.¹⁵⁶ One should also mention here three lay ministers from the parishes of Haczów, Milczyce and Wyszatyce, who, according to the records, were paid 3 groszy each for unidentified *akcydensy*.¹⁵⁷ The organist from Jasienica also received some income for ringing and for the so-called *spisne*.¹⁵⁸

It was not only parish priests who allocated portions of *akcydensy* to their helpers. In Markowa this was practised by the vicar, and in Łańcut by the mansioners. The latter, as in the case of salaries, evaded this obligation.¹⁵⁹

There is no doubt that very little is yet known about these revenues. One has to agree, therefore, with T. Nowicki, arguing that 'the incidentality and diversity of these fees was therefore a significant obstacle to their estimation' and that 'the sum of fees from *akcydensy* and, therefore, the coefficients presented could and must have been characterized by quite significant variability on a year-to-year basis'.¹⁶⁰ What might have been a matter of course for the visitors in their time is now a mystery to today's expert on the subject.

Benefits from the parish population: *petyty*

Less common than *akcydensy* were the so-called *petyty* (*petycje*). Stanisław Kot argues that they were 'the subject of dreams' for the teacher, as they allowed '[to] be gifted with sheaves of grain immediately after the harvest'.¹⁶¹ Explaining this concept, Andrzej Zapart argues that it consisted of 'probably voluntary tributes paid to the rector of the school in sheaves of grain'.¹⁶² Perhaps they once had the form of a tithe, converted at a later time to an unspecified value, which was became known as *petyta*.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁵ In the printed visitation of the parish of Żurawica from 1744, the passage '*et praeterea de accidentibus Parochialibus participat*' was translated, perhaps not very well, as 'and in addition, he receives a part of the coming parish income', *Wizytacja biskupa Sierakowskiego parafii Żurawica z roku 1744*, in: *Dzieje Żurawicy. Studia i materiały*, vol. 3, ed. M. Hofman, Żurawica 2014, p. 76.

¹⁵⁶ AAPrz, ref. 185, k. 6v–7.

¹⁵⁷ Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 148v (Milczyce); ref. 166, k. 30 (Wyszatyce); ref. 171, k. 107 (Haczów).

¹⁵⁸ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 211.

¹⁵⁹ Ibidem, ref. 167, k. 115v (Markowa); ref. 169, k. 31v (Łańcut).

¹⁶⁰ Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 385, 386.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 85.

¹⁶² Zapart, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, p. 226. Cf. Litak, *Edukacja początkowa*, p. 180.

¹⁶³ Cf. Pelczar, *Szkolnictwo*, p. 49; Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 358–360.

As in the case of *akcydensy*, here, too, the sources constitute only a limited aid in explaining the essence of *petyty*. They were reflected in the terms: *manipulos petitionales*, *petitae*, *accidens petita*, *quaestum petitionarium manipulorum*, *quaestum petitionalem*, and with the parish of Kombornia the compound expression *manipulos petitionales vulgo z petycji*.¹⁶⁴ *Liberum petitae* was the term applied in the case of Żurawica.¹⁶⁵ The frequency of their occurrence is lower than the above-mentioned non-fixed church income. They were mentioned only 34 times.

Aside from the knowledge that *petyty* were handed over in sheaves of grain, we do not have accurate descriptions of their volumes. The exception is the parish in Lubatowa. The visitation report of 1745 records that the local parson's assistant received 15 sheaves of rye and oats each from peasants, 8 sheaves of the same grain from homesteaders, and 6 sheaves each from bailiffs.¹⁶⁶ 11 years later (1756), it confirmed the collection of tributes in the form of 1 sheaf of rye and 1 sheaf of oats from each *pręt* of arable land.¹⁶⁷ In Błazowa, the organist also received *petyty* in hay, as well as wheat and butter.¹⁶⁸ Small *petyty* were also collected by the ministers from peasants in Siennów, Kombornia and Poraż.¹⁶⁹ In Staromieście and Hyżne, they earned *petyty* by ringing church bells. In the latter parish, the organist performed these activities to... ward off storms ('ex gratia incolarum pro pulsu campanarum contra aereas tempestates').¹⁷⁰

Benefits from the parish population: other grain tributes

A considerable number of organists, instead of *petyty* from parishioners, received, quarterly or annually, grain from parish rulers, and stored it in their own small granaries. It is difficult to estimate its real value today. This state of affairs was caused by the use of different bulk measures at the time, and the lack of detailed studies on the subject prevents any comparisons in this regard.¹⁷¹ To highlight this problem more, we should look at a few examples. In Milczyce, the church servant received wheat, barley and peas from the parson in *pólmiarki*, in Humniska and Nowotaniec in *mace* – barley, wheat and rye, in Jasionowo in *korce* – wheat, and

¹⁶⁴ AAPrz, ref. 175, p. 265.

¹⁶⁵ Apparently, *Wizytacja biskupa Sierakowskiego parafii Żurawica z roku 1744*, p. 76 erroneously translates this phrase as 'permission to conduct a collection.' In this case, it certainly means a payment in sheaves. Cf. AAPrz, ref. 168, *Acta visitationis Ecclesiae Collegiatae Jaroslaviensis...* 1743, p. 93.

¹⁶⁶ AAPrz, ref. 174, k. 158.

¹⁶⁷ Ibidem, ref. 189, k. 73v.

¹⁶⁸ Ibidem, ref. 185, k. 6v–7.

¹⁶⁹ Ibidem, ref. 167, k. 28 (Siennów); ref. 172, k. 95 (Poraż); ref. 175, p. 265 (Kombornia).

¹⁷⁰ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 72v (Hyżne); ref. 174, k. 51v (Staromieście). It was widely believed that ringing church bells was supposed to chase away storm clouds. This activity was banned by the Austrian authorities, who considered it completely ineffective and, because of the lightning, very dangerous for the callers. Cf. *Continuatio edictorum mandatorum et universalium in Regnis Galiciae et Lodomeriae a die Januarii ad ultimam decembris anno 1783 emanatorum*, Leopoli 1783, pp. 131–132.

¹⁷¹ Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, pp. 147–155.

in Lubaczowo in *korczyki* – unknown grain.¹⁷² With the remaining parishes, the visitations sparingly provide unfamiliar measures (*mensuras*). The largest number of such measures (4) was assigned to organists in Zarzecze, Mościska, Tuligłowy and Krościenko, among others. At the latter facility, in addition to wheat and barley, the minister also stored 2 measures of green buckwheat at his place.¹⁷³ The organist in Kusienice had the choice that, so to speak, depended in large part on the harvest in the field. Every quarter he was provided with 1 measure of wheat or barley and buckwheat.¹⁷⁴ More interestingly, in Jasienica before Christmas, wheat was delivered to the organist, for... baking wafers.¹⁷⁵

Sometimes the transfer of these tributes posed a lot of problems. The parson's assistant in Pnikut complained about it. Initially, he had been contracted for 4 *półmiarki* of various grains, but due to the fault of his superior, they were not given to him on time. In 1743, the parson's debt in this regard amounted to as much as 36 *półmiarki*.¹⁷⁶ Similar problems also affected the organist in Husów.¹⁷⁷

The tributes in Dylągowa were paid in a peculiar way. The servants, i.e. an organist and a sexton, were not given the grain from the parson, but rather the farmers and homesteaders of Dylągowa and the nearby village of Silnica. Moreover, the local peasants (*ab incolis*) also funded 1/3 of *akcydensy* on their part.¹⁷⁸

Benefits from the parish population: *stołowe*

Yet another organist's emolument was called *stołowe*. Explaining its essence, T. Nowicki writes that this tribute was provided by parishioners to church servants at Easter, and 'as an emolument for the church administrator it was known under the name of *mensalia* – *stołowe*.'¹⁷⁹ The formula probably worked somewhat differently in relation to several of the parson assistants described here. Basically, it meant perhaps not so much paying out money during the Easter season as hosting

¹⁷² AAPrz, ref. 165, k. 148v (Milczyce); ref. 170, k. 117 (Lubaczów); ref. 172, k. 128 (Nowosielce); ref. 175, pp. 188–189 (Humniska), p. 284 (Jasionów); LNB, fond 5, Rękopisy Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sprawa 4943/II, *Visitatio villae Jasionów 1745*, k. 4.

¹⁷³ AAPrz, ref. 165, k. 72 (Mościska); ref. 166, k. 147 (Tuligłowy); ref. 167, k. 16v (Zarzecze); ref. 171, k. 74v (Krościenko).

¹⁷⁴ Ibidem, ref. 166, k. 182v.

¹⁷⁵ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 211.

¹⁷⁶ Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 26.

¹⁷⁷ Ibidem, ref. 167, k. 83v.

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 37.

¹⁷⁹ Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 371–372. As far as the parishes of the Przemyśl Diocese are concerned, for example, in Chmielnik the parson received 1 grosz from each peasant and 3 grosz from the bailiffs, while in nearby Wola Rafałowska and Lubenia: from the peasants – 1 grosz each, from the homesteaders – 3 grosz each and 2 grosz, respectively, and from the bailiffs – 6 grosz and 1.5 grosz each, respectively, cf. AAPrz, ref. 174, pp. 112, 118v, 126. Cf. E. Wiśniowski, *Kolęda – meszne – stołowe na ziemiach polskich. Próba rejonizacji*, in: *Kultura średniowiecza i staropolska. Studia ofiarowane Aleksandrowi Gieysztorowi w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. D. Gawinowa, Warsaw 1991, pp. 625–626; J. Matuszewski, *Missalia – mensalia*, in: *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, eds. S.K. Kulczyński et al., Warsaw 1976, pp. 380, 387–388.

ministers in the homes of parsons.¹⁸⁰ This was usually practised on Sundays and holidays and was commonly referred to as *obiady* (dinners). This is evidenced by the use of the Latin word *prandium* in the case of Giedlarowa and Leżajsk.¹⁸¹ Naturally, we cannot completely rule out that it only meant meals served by parish priests. The laconic nature of the information about *stołowe* does not allow us to draw far-reaching conclusions on the matter. Nevertheless, where the record of Sundays and holidays appears, it most certainly referred to the free weekly meals eaten by organists in the company of their superiors or in the parsonage in general. In addition to Giedlarowa and Leżajsk, this could also be the case in Manasterz, Pantalowice and Malawa.¹⁸²

Traditional *stołowe*, as it seems, was practised in several other parishes. In the above-mentioned Błażowa, all this duty (in money?) was regulated ‘around Easter’ – the same as in Zaczernie (‘mensales quas circa festum Pascha in toto ab omnibus percipit’¹⁸³). In other pastoral facilities, there is uncertainty about the applied rules. ‘Auxiliary’ vocabulary also does not make it easy to determine the exact nature of this tribute. The statements used in this context, such as *mensam et victum*, *mensam alias victum*, *ius ad mensam* or *victus*, are not very helpful. In addition, in Wola Rafałowska, the existing *mensam et victum* was accompanied by *et de amictus ipse*, which would mean that the parson provided the organist with an unspecified clothing.¹⁸⁴ In Leżajsk, on the other hand, *ius ad mensam* turned into an annual 10 zlotys paid by the provost.¹⁸⁵

Benefits from the parish population: other

The forms of organists’ emoluments already discussed also included *kolęda*, *kartkowe*, *klerykatura*, *dziesięcina*, *meszne* and *naturalia*. Disappointingly, the sources do not contain much information on the subject, therefore it is difficult to determine the actual scale of their occurrence in the parishes of the Przemyśl diocese from isolated mentions.

Kolęda was, according to T. Nowicki, ‘a particularly important parish benefit, bringing in no small amount of income,’ and was mainly enjoyed by parish priests, but ‘numerous source examples indicate that parish workers also had a share in this benefit.’¹⁸⁶ While this may indeed have been the case in the Diocese of Włocławek, it was not necessarily the case in the diocese of interest to us. In the visitation protocols, *kolęda* contributing to organists’ benefits is mentioned only 6 times. In

¹⁸⁰ In *Ministri ecclesiae* (pp. 389–390), Nowicki draws a clear boundary between the Easter *stołowe* and *stołowe* in the sense of dinners. He calls the latter the right to free board and includes among the substantive rights of parson’s helpers.

¹⁸¹ AAPrz, ref. 169, k. 149v (Giedlarowa), k. 166v, 170 (Leżajsk).

¹⁸² Ibidem, ref. 167, k. 35v (Pantalowice), k. 74v–75 (Manasterz); ref. 174, k. 91v (Malawa).

¹⁸³ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 61v (Błażowa); ref. 174, k. 185 (Zaczernie).

¹⁸⁴ Ibidem, ref. 174, k. 119.

¹⁸⁵ Ibidem, ref. 169, k. 166v.

¹⁸⁶ Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 367.

each case it is referred to by the Latin term *strena*.¹⁸⁷ As the name implies, this income was received during the Christmas season. Slightly more details about the organist's *kolęda* can be found in a document from the 1755 visitation of the parish of Błażowa, which states that the organist '[...] participating in Christmas calls *cum R.R. Vicariis quartam partem* gladly receives his share, and in many places a separate benefit' *a parte* for himself.¹⁸⁸

A particular type of organist's emolument called *quaestus* appears twice in the visitations of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski. The author of a monograph on the Jarosław parish, Jakub Makara, states unequivocally that it simply meant a fundraiser. A local teacher led it twice a year – on St Catherine the Virgin and Martyr (November 25) and on St Gregory the Great (March 12).¹⁸⁹ However, we do not know how it was carried out and what it consisted of. As for the organists' *quaestus*, in Jawornik they took the form of cannabis and eggs (*cannabis et ovonia seu quaestus*), while in Lubenia they were granted in the form of butter (*butyri*). Presumably, they were donated by peasants from these parishes. In the former parish *naturalia* were paid during Lent, and in the second – in summer (*in aestate*). The principles behind this remain unknown.¹⁹⁰

Very rarely did organists received *dziesięciny* or *meszne*. Church sources from the mid-18th century record only 3 such cases. In Błażowa, even before the modification of emoluments, the organist, instead of money, received a part of the *meszne* from the parish priest at Easter.¹⁹¹ Finished grain, this time as *dziesięcina* from the mill (*decimam mensuram*), was also received by the organist in Przybyszówka. However, during the time of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski, this activity was already discontinued for unknown reasons.¹⁹² *Dziesięcina* was also granted in the parish of Krzywca, and the Jewish brewery leaseholder was obliged perform that duty, by order of the local manor.¹⁹³

Klerykatura and *kartkowe* also deserve a few words of mention. *Klerykatura* is defined as the primary form of teacher's remuneration, paid 'by parishioners both in the countryside and in the city in the form of natural products, money or services.'¹⁹⁴ These benefits, as S. Kot specifies, were made by peasants, mainly farmers who owned arable lands.¹⁹⁵ The only organist (notably, not the teacher)

¹⁸⁷ Cf. P. Kałwa, *Powstanie i rozwój polskiej kolędy jako daniny kościelnej. Studium prawnohistoryczne*, Lviv 1933, pp. 24–26.

¹⁸⁸ AAPrz, ref. 185, k. 6v–7.

¹⁸⁹ Ibidem, ref. 168, pp. 92–93; Makara, *Dzieje parafii*, pp. 180–181.

¹⁹⁰ AAPrz, ref. 173, k. 100–100v (Jawornik); ref. 174, k. 126 (Lubenia).

¹⁹¹ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 61v.

¹⁹² Ibidem, ref. 174, k. 153v.

¹⁹³ Ibidem, ref. 166, k. 98v.

¹⁹⁴ Zapart, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, p. 228. Cf. Błażkiewicz, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, p. 188; Pelczar, *Szkolnictwo*, p. 49; Kowalik, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, pp. 80–81; Litak, *Edukacja początkowa*, p. 180.

¹⁹⁵ Kot, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, pp. 82–83. In the parish of Świlcza, farmers paid 1 grosz each, and 2 homesteaders and bailiffs paid 0.5 grosz each, cf. AAPrz, ref. 174, k. 146.

who derived any profits from it was based in Nienadówka.¹⁹⁶ The second income of church servants signalled here was known as *kartkowe*. According to T. Nowicki, this benefit was counted among the offerings paid around Easter and was then 'paid to parish priests and church servants for issuing Easter confession cards.'¹⁹⁷ The word *kartkowe* was used only once in the visitations of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski for Błażowa in 1755.¹⁹⁸ If T. Nowicki is right about some connections between *kartkowe* and the census of confessors during Lent, the so-called *spisne*,¹⁹⁹ then, this kind of emolument also applied to organists from Dubiecko and Jawornik, in addition to Błażowa.²⁰⁰

The last type of emolument mentioned in the visitations were *naturalia* (natural products) of various kinds. In Giedlarowa, the minister received 1 *zagon* of cabbage and turnips from the parson's garden, in Kombornia – 1 bread from the peasants of the village of Budzin, and in Lubaczów the organist enjoyed some portion of the parson's vegetables.²⁰¹

Conclusion

Among the lay parson's helpers, visitation sources from the mid-18th century most often mention organists, who enjoyed personal property of various volumes. Their emoluments included real estate in the form of land, residential and farm buildings. They also included salaries in money and certain benefits received from the population living in the parish.

Almost all organists in the parishes of the Diocese of Przemyśl had their own homes, received a fixed salary and obtained a third of the so-called *akcydensy*. Other components of their wealth were sporadic and irregular in nature.

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¹⁹⁶ AAPrz, ref. 169, k. 78.

¹⁹⁷ Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 373.

¹⁹⁸ AAPrz, ref. 185, k. 6v–7.

¹⁹⁹ Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 373.

²⁰⁰ AAPrz, ref. 173, k. 27v (Dubiecko), k. 100–100v (Jawornik).

²⁰¹ Ibidem, ref. 169, k. 149v (Giedlarowa); ref. 170, k. 117 (Lubaczów); ref. 175, p. 265 (Kombornia).

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UPOSAŻENIE ORGANISTÓW W PARAFIACH RZYMSKOKATOLICKIEJ DIECEZJI PRZEMYSKIEJ W POŁOWIE XVIII WIEKU

Abstrakt

W artykule omówiono uposażenie organistów, którym dysponowali oni w połowie XVIII stulecia w parafiach rzymskokatolickiej diecezji przemyskiej. Głównymi źródłami pozwalającymi bliżej poznać tę społeczność parafialną są wizytacje biskupie. Tutaj skupiono się przede wszystkim na dwóch, tj. z lat 1743–1745 i 1753–1757, przeprowadzonych przez ordynariusza przemyskiego Wacława Hieronima Sierakowskiego (1742–1760). Niekiedy organistów utożsamiano z nauczycielami i na odwrót. Prowadzenie przez nich zajęć dydaktycznych możliwe było dzięki ich umiejętności pisania i czytania. Artykuł ten traktuje jednak przede wszystkim o materialnych podstawach funkcjonowania organistów. Dzieliły się one na nieruchomości, wynagrodzenia w pieniądzu oraz świadczenia ludności parafialnej. Do tych pierwszych należały domy mieszkalne, budynki gospodarcze, pola, ogrody, sady i łąki. O ile rzadko się zdarzało, żeby organiści nie mieli swoich chałup, o tyle kwestia szerzej pojętego gospodarstwa nie jest już tak oczywista. Przydomowe i niewielkie ogrody oraz sady

często bywały w ich rękach, ale większe kompleksy rolne stanowiły rzadkość. Mimo tego zasiewali oni te niewielkie skrawki gruntów zbożami lub warzywami. Parali się także hodowlą zwierząt. Stan techniczny stojących tam budynków również budził wiele zastrzeżeń. Ważne dla organistów okazywały się wpływy pieniężne w postaci stałych rocznych pensji wypłacanych przez rządców parafialnych jednorazowo lub w ratach. Obok tego wynagrodzenia za swoje posługi ministrowie otrzymywali pieniądze od cechów miejskich, bractw religijnych, magistratów oraz mieszkańców parafii. Dodatkowo za np. śpiewanie lub granie w czasie różnych nabożeństw dostawali gratyfikacje od duchownych będących personelem pomocniczym dla plebanów. Ostatnimi były świadczenia uiszczane przez samych wiernych. Zaliczano do nich m.in. akcydensy oraz petyty, tj. snopki zbóż, a także w różnym wymiarze inne daniny zbożowe. Pewne bliżej niesprecyzowane korzyści przynosiły także kołody, kartkowe, klerykaty oraz tzw. stołowe i *quaestus*. Pomimo trudności w interpretacji niektórych pojęć związanych z uposażeniem organistów w tego typu źródłach pozostają oni wciąż najlepiej opisaną grupą wśród wszystkich ministrów kościelnych.

Słowa kluczowe: uposażenie; organiści; diecezja przemyska; bp Wacław Hieronim Sierakowski; wizytacja



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THE TERTIARIES OF ST FRANCIS OF ASSISI IN THE DIOCESE OF CHEŁMNO AND GDAŃSK FROM THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY TO 1992

Abstract

The study attempts to show the movement of the Third Order in two of then dioceses: Chełmno and Gdańsk. The chronological range of the work covers the period between the second half of the nineteenth century up to the twentieth century, when in 1992 the Polish Church was administratively reorganized.

The Third Order of Saint Francis of Assisi, nowadays known as Secular Franciscan Order, has existed since eight centuries. Its basis has been penitential movements. The influence of Francis of Assisi together with his followers, made the penitential groups more secular. In the Third Order there were people of various alliance, clergy, kings, the poor and the rich. Over the centuries, Church has brought up almost 300 Tertiaries.

The Franciscan Third Order has been vivid in Pomerania for many centuries. One of the first congregations of the Third Order of Saint Francis of Assisi in the Diocese of Chełmno was the community from Wejherowo (1862) and the first community from the Free City of Gdańsk (before the Gdańsk Diocese was erected) was the congregation at Holy Trinity Parish in Gdańsk Oliwa. The most dynamic time for the development of the Tertiary movement was the interwar period (1918–1939). After World War II, the movement weakened. One of the reasons for that was the ratio of communist power to the Church in Poland.

After the Church reorganization in 1992, the Tertiary congregations of the former Chełmno Diocese were included in the Archdiocese of Gdańsk, the Diocese of Pelplin and the Diocese of Toruń. Nowadays, the Tertiary communities belong to the Gdańsk Region of the Secular Franciscan Order.

Keywords: Church; congregation; community; diocese; Franciscan; penitential group; Pomerania; Tertiary; The Third Order of Saint Francis of Assisi

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Introduction

The Tertiaries (Latin: *ordines tertii*) are members of associations related to the spirituality of regular orders and legally subordinate to them.¹ The name third orders (secular orders)² indicates the structures of the Tertiaries called Lay Franciscans, Lay Dominicans, Lay Carmelites, etc. From the 13th century onward, their number grew dynamically, 'none, however, equalled the Third Order of St Francis in importance and scope.'³

The Third Order of Saint Francis of Assisi, nowadays known as Secular Franciscan Order, has existed for nearly eight centuries (1221).⁴ The foundation for it was the penitential movements already in place. In the early days, before receiving approval for their rule, Francis and his brothers also called themselves 'penitents of Assisi.'⁵ Thomas of Celano wrote about the emerging movement in 1228 in *Vitae I* (1 Cel 37).⁶

The Secular Franciscan Order abounds with numerous saint and blessed figures. Over the centuries, the Church has elevated nearly three hundred Tertiaries to the altars, and further processes are underway in the Holy See.⁷ From this group came many founders of religious congregations and associations. The Third Order included people of various alliance, clergy, kings, the poor and the rich.⁸ The Tertiaries had monastic garb, descriptions of which we can find in the breviaries of the Third Order.⁹

Franciscan Third Order has existed for several centuries in Pomerania. The study will show the Tertiary movement in two former dioceses – Chełmno¹⁰ and Gdańsk. The chronological range of the work covers the period between the second half of the nineteenth century up to the twentieth century, when in 1992 the Polish Church was administratively reorganized.

¹ T. Wyrwał, *Zakony Trzecie*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. XX, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2014, col. 1196.

² *Brewiarzyk dla członków Trzeciego Zakonu Najśw. Marji Panny z Góry Karmelu i św. Matki Teresy*, Kraków 1929, p. 3; *Brewiarzyk Trzeciego Zakonu Świętego Ojca Dominika*, Kraków 1921, pp. 139–149.

³ H. Holzapfel, *Podręcznik historii Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, Kraków 2012, p. 524.

⁴ A. Brandl, *Der Dritte Orden hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, in: *St. Franziskus 1226–1926*, München 1926, pp. 75–81.

⁵ L. Iriarte, *Historia franciszkanizmu*, Kraków 1998, p. 502.

⁶ *Wczesne źródła franciszkańskie*, ed. S. Kafel, vol. 1, Warsaw 1981, p. 42.

⁷ M. Kuczkowski, *Tercjarze św. Franciszka z Asyżu*, Pelplin 2014, pp. 375–388; Iriarte, *Historia*, p. 570.

⁸ A. Gemelli, *Franciszkanizm*, Warsaw 1988, pp. 91–93; *Zakony franciszkańskie w Polsce*, vol. I, part 1, eds. H. Gapski, C.S. Napiórkowski, Niepokalanów 1998, p. 54.

⁹ *Brewiarzyk Trzeciego Zakonu Świętego Ojca Franciszka*, Kraków 1887, pp. 105–110.

¹⁰ M. Kuczkowski, *Tercjarze św. Franciszka z Asyżu w diecezji chełmińskiej*, „*Studia Pelplińskie*”, 44 (2011) pp. 301–322.

The establishment of communities

The Diocese of Chełmno was established by decision of papal legate William of Modena on 28 July 1243,¹¹ while the Diocese of Gdańsk was erected by the Holy See with the bull *Universa Christi Fidelium cura* of 30 December 1925. Sometime earlier, on 21 April 1922 an apostolic administration was established in the Free City of Gdańsk, and until then, its faithful territorially belonged to two dioceses: the Diocese of Chełmno and the Diocese of Warmia.¹²

As of 25 March 1992, Pope John Paul II reorganized the administrative structure of the Church in Poland with the bull *Totus tuus Poloniae populus*. Among other changes, the Metropolis of Gdańsk was created, which included the Archdiocese of Gdańsk and the dioceses of Pelplin and Toruń, and thus, after 749 years, the Diocese of Chełmno ceased to exist.

The time of the formation of the first Tertiary communities in Pomerania was in the middle of the 19th century, a period of partition, when the Catholic Church in the Polish lands faced various restrictions, suppressions and persecutions. Particularly experienced was the Church in the Prussian partition.

In the history of the establishment of lay Franciscan communities, the 'network' of monasteries of the First Franciscan Order played an important role. In Poland, the first Franciscan monasteries were established in Wrocław and Opole (1236), and then in Kraków (1237). Initially, most of them were located in the southern part of Poland,¹³ which significantly influenced the number of Tertiary congregations.

During the partition period, the Franciscans suffered significantly in terms of their development. Some monasteries were separated from their parent provinces, convents were dissolved,¹⁴ and state laws were introduced without regard to religious and ecclesiastical law.¹⁵

The reform of the rule of the Third Order (1883) by Leo XIII resulted in a 'reawakening' in the Tertiary movement. By 1882, Tertiary congregations were known to exist in 59 towns in Poland, although the number of the Tertiaries was unknown.¹⁶ In 1926, the major dioceses in Poland in terms of the number of Tertiaries were the dioceses of Kraków, Podlasie and Przemyśl, and the largest

¹¹ A. Radziński, *Wokół początków diecezji chełmińskiej*, „Zapiski Historyczne”, 61 (1996), issue 2–3, pp. 7–12; *Diecezja chełmińska. Zarys historyczno-statystyczny*, Pelplin 1928, p. 15 (the date of 29 July 1243 is given).

¹² A. Baciński, *Gdańska diecezja*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. V, ed. J. Misiurek, Lublin 1989, col. 919.

¹³ *Zakony franciszkańskie*, pp. 380–381: map 1–2.

¹⁴ D. Synowiec, *Franciszkanie w Polsce 1772–1970*, in: *Zakony św. Franciszka w Polsce w latach 1772–1970*, part 2, Warsaw 1978, pp. 12–25.

¹⁵ K. Grudziński, *Prowincje i klasztory*, in: *Zakony św. Franciszka w Polsce w latach 1772–1970*, part 3, ed. J. Bar, Warsaw 1978, pp. 19–36.

¹⁶ *Rzut oka na rozwój III Zakonu św. O. Franciszka w Polsce*, „Wiadomości Tercjarskie”, 1927, issue 1, p. 8.

congregations (168 members) was existed the Sandomierz Diocese. At that time, Franciscan Tertiaries were present in every diocese.¹⁷

In the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, new methods of working with the faithful emerged in pastoral ministry. One of them was the use of the press, including Tertiary magazines.¹⁸ In Poland, more than a dozen titles of such periodicals were published in the interwar period.¹⁹ The magazines played a major role in furthering knowledge of Franciscan Third Order. The information contained in them is often to this day the only source on individual congregations of the Third Order, '[...] since the Tertiary archives concerning the interwar period in Poland are basically non-existent, except perhaps exceptionally the residual records of one or another congregation.'²⁰ One of the few congregations from the former Diocese of Chełmno with the most important documents concerning the functioning of the community was the Third Order of Sierakowice.²¹

Tertiaries in the Diocese of Chełmno

One of the first congregations of the Third Order of St Francis of Assisi in the Chełmno Diocese was the Wejherowo community, which existed as early as 1862,²² another functioned at the Church of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist in Chełmno (founded in 1865).²³ Other congregations were the communities of Starogard Gdański (1886) and Kościerzyna (1892).²⁴

The Tertiary movement developed with exceptional prominence in the 1920s, when the congregations were established at parishes. In 1925, there were already 39 of them,²⁵ with 42 in the following year. At that time, Tertiaries were present in 16% of parishes in the Diocese of Chełmno.²⁶ In 1937, the Third Order in the

¹⁷ M. Kuczkowski, *Dzieje Trzeciego Zakonu św. Franciszka z Asyżu na ziemiach polskich w latach 1918–1939 w świetle czasopism tercjarskich*, Pelplin 2010, pp. 158–159.

¹⁸ A. Pańczak, *Historia III Zakonu Franciszkańskiego*, Warsaw-Woźniki 2015, pp. 245–246.

¹⁹ Kuczkowski, *Dzieje*, pp. 10–17.

²⁰ R. Prejs, *Recenzja*, „Studia Franciszkańskie”, 20 (2010), pp. 460–463.

²¹ The documentation resources of the Secular Franciscan Order in Sierakowice include: *Księga dochodów i wydatków Zgromadzenia III Zakonu św. Franciszka w Sierakowicach*, *Księga protokollarna kongregacji III Zakonu św. Franciszka w Sierakowicach*, *Składki miesięczne i kwartalne Zgromadzenia III Zakonu św. Franciszka w Sierakowicach*, *Trzeci Zakon św. Franciszka w Sierakowicach 1927 (Przyjęci do oblóczyn)*, *Spis Profesów III Zakonu św. Franciszka w Sierakowicach 1927*.

²² C. Bogdalski, *Pamiętnik Ogólnopolskiego Kongresu tercjarskiego odbytego w Krakowie z okazji 700 letniego Jubileuszu założenia III Zakonu św. O. Franciszka 1221–1921*, Częstochowa 1922, p. 287: 'Wejherowo, Diocese of Chełmno dates the Third Order as early as 1862 or maybe even earlier, since the Reformanti resided here and successfully developed the Third Order.'

²³ *Nekrologija*, „Echo Trzeciego Zakonu Św. O. Franciszka”, 1883, issue 2, p. 6; *Diecezja chełmińska*, p. 142: III Zakon założony w 1865 r.

²⁴ M. Granowa, *Kościerzyna*, „Szkoła Seraficka”, 1937, issue 3, p. 93.

²⁵ *Życia tercjarskiego na Pomorzu*, „Szkoła Seraficka”, 1926, issue 12, p. 27.

²⁶ *Rzut oka na rozwój III Zakonu św. O. Franciszka w Polsce*, p. 16.

Diocese of Chełmno had 3185 members, including 2780 sisters and 405 brothers,²⁷ and in 1938 the Tertiary movement was concentrated in 67 congregations.²⁸

The number of people in each congregation varied, most often with about 100 members each. However, there were communities well above this average. Among such was the congregation from Starogard Gdański, with 400 Tertiaries in 1927.²⁹

The 1930s saw a significant increase in the number of Tertiaries in the communities. Congregations with about 200 members were not uncommon. Men accounted for about 10% of their staff.³⁰ Spiritual assistance was provided mainly by monks from the Assumption Province of the Order of Friars Minor in Katowice (Jan Adamski, Kapistran Holte, Grzegorz Moczygęba), and only in a few communities by fathers from the Warsaw Province of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (including Krescenty Haszyc).³¹

Tertiary congregations in the diocese were brought together by the Diocesan Council of the Third Order, headed by a director appointed by the Ordinary Bishop, who enjoyed authority from the superiors of the First Order. In the Chełmno Diocese, the diocesan directors were Rev. Franciszek Różyński – until November 1925,³² Rev. Jan Krysiński – until 1927³³ and Rev. Kazimierz Bieszk, Ph.D. – until October 1938.³⁴ After World War II, the diocesan director of the Third Order from 1948 to 1967 was Rev. Alojzy Karczyński.³⁵

The functioning and development of the communities actually depended on the congregational directors of the Third Order. They were mainly parish priests or administrators, and only occasionally parish vicars. Their duties included convening monthly meetings, admitting candidates to the novitiate, managing professions vows, conducting formation, or submitting annual reports to the Diocesan Council and the First Order. Some of the priest directors were also Franciscan Tertiaries. This group from the Chełmno Diocese included Rev. Antoni Henryk Szuman, Rev. Bernard Łosiński, Rev. Antoni Arasmus and Rev. Konstantyn Krefft, now among the Polish martyrs of World War II in the Pelplin Diocese's ongoing beatification process.³⁶

²⁷ J. Walkusz, *Duchowieństwo katolickie diecezji chełmińskiej 1918–1939*, Pelplin 1992, p. 289.

²⁸ The number of congregations was provided based on information in Tertiary magazines of the time.

²⁹ *Diecezja chełmińska*, p. 579.

³⁰ Kuczkowski, *Dzieje*, p. 159.

³¹ For the names of the monks, see the list of congregations below. In the case where no assistant is given, it can be assumed that the same monk also visited surrounding congregations.

³² Różyński, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1925, issue 12, p. 747.

³³ U. Byszkowska, *Sierakowice*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1930, issue 12, p. 717.

³⁴ *Do Tercjarzy diecezji Chełmińskiej*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1928, issue 11, p. 704; Walkusz, *Duchowieństwo*, pp. 288–289.

³⁵ H. Mross, *Ks. Alojzy Wojciech Karczyński (1892–1967)*, in: *Księga jubileuszowa 350 lat Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Pelplinie*, ed. A. Nadolny, Pelplin 2001, pp. 518–519.

³⁶ W. Mazurowski, W. Węckowski, *Zginęli za wiarę*, Pelplin 2011, pp. 25–83.

As of 1939, the number of congregations began to decline, and this was influenced by a variety of factors, including World War II and the abandonment of work on Tertiary communities located far from monasteries. Another important reason was the attitude of the people's government toward the Church in Poland.

After the reorganization of the Church structures in 1992, the Tertiary congregations of the former Chełmno Diocese were included in Archdiocese of Gdańsk (5), the Diocese of Pelplin (7) and the Diocese of Toruń (7).³⁷ Nowadays, the Tertiary communities belong to the Gdańsk Region of the Secular Franciscan Order.

LIST OF CONGREGATIONS³⁸

Borzyszkowy – founded on 26 June 1926, in 1927 it numbered 84 Tertiaries.

Brodnica – founded in 1926, in 1927 it numbered 30 Tertiaries.

Brusy – founded on 16 December 1921, in 1924 it numbered 118 members (115 women and 3 men), the director of the congregation was Rev. B. Grüning, a parish priest.³⁹

Brzeźno – founded in 1927.

Chełmno – founded in 1865. In 1883, after a retreat at the Sisters of Charity convent in Chełmno, 115 women made their profession. Maria Szubert was elected superior of the congregation, and Rev. Anioł [Aleksander] Okoniewski was appointed director.⁴⁰ Spiritual care was provided by the Capuchin Fathers, and K. Haszyc, OFM Cap, became the assistant.⁴¹ In 1927 it had 148 Tertiaries, with Rev. Marian Drapiewski as the director in 1935.⁴²

Chełmża – founded in 1922. In 1927 it had 70 Tertiaries. The director was Rev. Józef Szydzik,⁴³ and the superior was Febronja Majewska.⁴⁴ She was then succeeded by Anastazja Lewandowska. In 1934, a retreat was led by Norbert Uljasz, OFM, which was followed by the establishment of a male branch of the Third Order.⁴⁵

Chmielno – founded on 8 February 1925. The canonical erection of the community took place on 24 September 1926, and St Clare was chosen as the congregation's patron saint. The Tertiaries funded statues of St Francis of Assisi, St Anthony of Padua and St Clare, as well as a painting of St Therese of the Child Jesus.

³⁷ Council of the Gdańsk Region, *Składki Wspólnot FZŚ (2007–2010) Regionu Gdańskiego*.

³⁸ Some of the data on the founding date and the number of Tertiaries comes from: *Diecezja Chełmińska*, Pelplin 1928. Information on some congregations was enriched with data from Tertiary magazines.

³⁹ Brusy, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1925, issue 9, p. 569.

⁴⁰ H. Mross, *Słownik biograficzny księży diecezji chełmińskiej wyświęconych w latach 1821–1920*, Pelplin 1995, p. 225.

⁴¹ *Kroniczka*, „Echo Trzeciego Zakonu Św. O. Franciszka”, 1883, issue 2, pp. 60–64.

⁴² Elżbieta, *Trzeci Zakon w Chełmnie*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu”, 1936, issue 3, p. 90.

⁴³ *Chełmża*, „Dzwonek Jubileuszowy Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1927, issue 8, p. 505.

⁴⁴ S. Majewska, *Chełmża*, „Dzwonek Jubileuszowy Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1928, issue 6, p. 383.

⁴⁵ A. Lewandowska, *Trzeci Zakon w Chełmży*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu”, 1934, issue 5, p. 156.

The community had a well-stocked library, subscribed to Tertian magazines and had a flag purchased in 1928.⁴⁶ In 1929 it had 91 members, under the supervision of by K. Holte, OFM.⁴⁷

Chojnice – founded in 1901. In 1927 it had 104 tertiaries, and in 1928 – 150; the community was supervised by Jan Adamski, OFM.⁴⁸ In the following years, the congregation included: in 1929 – 178 people,⁴⁹ in 1931 – 251, in 1932 – 250, in 1936 – 218, and in 1937 – 227. In 1937, G. Moczygęba, OFM (commissioner of the Third Order) conducted a retreat and visitation, after which a new congregational board was elected: superior – Józef Meller, deputy superior – Henryk Miszewski, superior of the women's community – Maria Sikorowa, secretary – Antonina Gulowska, treasurer – Józefa Połczyńska and Emilia Konitzer (assistant for German Tertiaries).⁵⁰ Rev. T. Broniszewski became director, his successors were Rev. Józef Grzemeski and Rev. K. Felskowski. The congregation had a library with 57 books,⁵¹ and the stock of its volumes increased in the following years.⁵² The Tertiaries subscribed to the *Szkoła Seraficka* and *Głos św. Franciszka* magazines.

Chwaszczyno – founded on 29 July 1922, in 1927 it numbered 80 Tertiaries.

Czarny Las – founded in 1912.

Działdowo – founded on 25 May 1927, it numbered 52 Tertiaries.

Dziemiany – founded on 29 September 1926. The community's erection was carried out by Rev. J. Krysiński. The director of the congregation each time was the rector of the church.⁵³ In 1927 it had 30 Tertiaries.

Gniew – existed in 1866.⁵⁴ Spiritual assistance in 1934 was provided by K. Holte, OFM. In 1936 it had 154 tertiaries; the superior was L. Samulewski, and the secretary was J. Kłopocki.⁵⁵

Grudziądz (St Nicholas) – founded on 17 September 1903 (this date can be assumed on the basis of information about the deceased Tertiaries, published in *Dzwonek* magazine⁵⁶). In 1920, the director was Rev. B. Dembek. In 1927 it had 242 Tertiaries, and in 1928 – 261.

Jabłonowo – existed in 1927.

Kamień Pomorski – functioned since 1917, in 1927 it numbered 54 Tertiaries.

⁴⁶ *Chmielno, powiat Kartuzy*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1929, issue 9, pp. 573–576.

⁴⁷ *Chmielno, powiat Kartuzy*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1929, issue 10, pp. 639–640.

⁴⁸ *Chojnice, Pomorze*, „Szkola Seraficka”, 1929, issue 2, p. 62.

⁴⁹ Bonkowa, *Chojnice*, „Szkola Seraficka”, 1930, issue 2, p. 62.

⁵⁰ J. Meller, *Chojnice*, „Szkola Seraficka”, 1937, issue 10, pp. 284–285.

⁵¹ H. Wróblewska, *Chojnice*, „Szkola Seraficka”, 1932, issue 10, pp. 318–319.

⁵² *Chojnice na Pomorzu*, „Szkola Seraficka”, 1933, issue 7/8, p. 240.

⁵³ *Dziemiany na Pomorzu*, „Szkola Seraficka”, 1927, issue 2, p. 54.

⁵⁴ Pelplin Diocesan Archives, *Księgi Brackie z 1866 i 1903–1938*, ref. 130–131.

⁵⁵ J. Kłopocki, *Gniew (Pomorze)*, „Szkola Seraficka”, 1936, issue 9, pp. 267–268.

⁵⁶ *Nekrologja*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1922, issue 10, p. 318.

Karsin – existed in 1918; Rev. J. Szydzik admitted candidates to the congregation.⁵⁷
 Kartuzy – founded on 24 October 1926. In 1927 it had 98 Tertiaries, and in 1934 – 150.⁵⁸

Kasparus – founded on 26 June 1926, in 1927 it numbered 27 Tertiaries.

Kleszczewo – existed in 1925.⁵⁹

Kliczkowe – existed in 1925.⁶⁰

Kokoszkowy – existed before 1926. That year, 100 people joined, along with Rev. J. Döring, dean of Starogard.⁶¹

Kościerzyna – founded in 1892. At its inception, it had 25 members, and in 1937 it numbered 178 Tertiaries. The community was under the supervision of K. Holte, OFM.⁶²

Leśno – founded on 19 December 1926, in 1927 it numbered 70 Tertiaries.

Lipinki – existed since 1922, in 1927 it numbered 50 Tertiaries.

Lipusz – founded on 1 December 1923, it numbered 50 people. Rev. J. Dorszyński, parish priest, became director of the congregation. 100 new members joined the congregation in December 1926. In 1927 it had 198 Tertiaries,⁶³ and in 1935 – 228.⁶⁴

Lubichowo – founded on 14 October 1912.

Łąg – founded on 8 November 1914, in 1927 it numbered 114 Tertiaries.

Nawra – existed since 1921, in 1927 it numbered 16 Tertiaries.

Nowe Miasto – existed in 1927 and had 120 Tertiaries.

Osiek – founded on 8 August 1926; 100 people joined that year.⁶⁵ In 1929 it had 155 Tertiaries.⁶⁶

Parchowo – founded on 17 June 1936. It was erected on the initiative of Rev. Sylwester Frost, the parish priest. The spiritual guardian was K. Holte, OFM. In 1938 it had 113 Tertiaries.⁶⁷

Pelplin – existed in 1895. From 1895 to 1913, Rev. Augustyn Schwanitz, rector of the Pelplin Seminary, served as director, followed by Rev. Stanisław Dziegielewski. After World War II, the Third Order resumed its activities, with 63 members on 15 May 1947. Since 1950, after the suspension of church associations in

⁵⁷ *Karsin*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1918, issue 6, pp. 25–26.

⁵⁸ *Trzeci Zakon w Kartuzach Pom.*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu”, 1934, issue 6, p. 184.

⁵⁹ *Z żałobnej karty*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1925, issue 10, p. 640.

⁶⁰ *Z żałobnej karty*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1925, issue 1, p. 63.

⁶¹ *Starogard*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1926, issue 11, p. 696.

⁶² Granowa, *Kościerzyna*, p. 93.

⁶³ *Diecezja chełmińska*, p. 393.

⁶⁴ *Lipusz*, „Szkoła Seraficka”, 1936, issue 4, pp. 124–125.

⁶⁵ *Starogard*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1926, issue 11, p. 696.

⁶⁶ *Osiek*, „Szkoła Seraficka”, 1930, issue 5, pp. 157–158.

⁶⁷ *Parchowo*, „Głos św. Franciszka”, 1938, issue 6, p. 190.

Poland, it operated under the name of the Worshippers of St Francis of Assisi (*Czcziciele św. Franciszka z Asyżu*), and meetings were officially held under the guise of 'Scripture readings.' Before 1950, most members of the Third Order belonged simultaneously to the Society of the Apostleship of Prayer and the Living Rosary. The directors of the Third Order congregations were: Stanisław Rymarz, OFMCap, Rev. Alojzy Karczyński, Rev. Roman Górski, and Rev. Tadeusz Borcz. The superiors were: Józefa Kreft, Lucja Wileńska, and Piotr Anflik.⁶⁸

Piece – founded on 1927, it numbered 250 Tertiaries.

Pogódkki – existed in 1927 and had 10 Tertiaries.

Rajkowy – existed in 1927 and had 20 Tertiaries.

Reda – founded on 2 October 1926, in 1927 it numbered 40 Tertiaries.

Rumia – founded on 9 October 1926, in 1927 it numbered 45 Tertiaries.

Rytel – founded on 29 September 1918, in 1927 it numbered 99 Tertiaries.

Rywałd – existed before 1927.

Sierakowice – founded on 12 December 1926. The canonical erection was carried out by Rev. J. Krysiński. The director was Rev. B. Łosiński.⁶⁹ In 1926, 44 sisters belonged to the congregation, in 1927 there were 68 Tertiaries, and in 1929 – 130. The Third Order had a library and subscribed to Tertiary magazines. In 1950 there were 156 tertiaries in the congregation, in 1962 – 40, and in 1987 – 4.

Skórcz – the congregation existed before 1938, and had 36 members in 1938.

Starogard Gdański – founded in 1886 by Rev. Józef Block. In 1921 it had 600 members. The superior was M. Flisikowska, who represented the Polish Tertiaries at the worldwide congress in Rome,⁷⁰ and in 1925 was elected in Kraków as a delegate to the General Council of the Third Order.⁷¹ From 1922 to 1927, the superior was J. Kerlin. In 1926, 136 people entered the novitiate,⁷² and in 1927 the congregation had 400 members.⁷³ In 1932 it had a population of 330, and its director was Rev. Antoni Henryk Szuman,⁷⁴ who was elected to the General Council of the Third Order in Poland in 1937. The congregation

⁶⁸ Pelplin Diocesan Archives (hereafter ADwP), *Vereine*, ref. 126, k. 21–22; ADwP, *Czcziciele św. Franciszka w Pelplinie – Kronika Trzeciego Zakonu Świętego Franciszka przy kościele Parafii Katedralnej Bożego Ciała w Pelplinie*, ref. 137; ADwP, *Ogłoszenia parafialne*, ref. 94–108; *Diecezja chełmińska*, p. 626.

⁶⁹ *Męczeństwo Duchowieństwa Pomorskiego 1939–1945*, Pelplin 1947, p. 36: 'Rev. Bernard Łosiński, Honorary Canon, Dean and Pastor of Sierakowice, aged of 75, 49 in priesthood, martyred on 22 April 1940.'

⁷⁰ *Starogard*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1922, issue 3, p. 87.

⁷¹ *Sprawozdanie*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1925, issue 10, p. 629.

⁷² *Starogard*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1926, issue 11, p. 695.

⁷³ *Diecezja chełmińska*, p. 576.

⁷⁴ *Męczeństwo*, p. 28: 'Rev. Henryk Szuman. Papal Chamberlain, Dean and Pastor of Starogard, St Matthew's parish, aged 57, 31 in priesthood, executed by shooting on 2 October 1939 in Fordon.'

- was very active, in 1926 it had a Tertiary choir,⁷⁵ a library of 300 volumes, and a well-functioning mutual aid company.⁷⁶
- Stężycza – founded on 17 November 1935 on the initiative of Rev. F. Kalisz. In 1936 it had 105 Tertiaries.⁷⁷
- Szymbark – existed before 1919.
- Tczew (Holy Cross parish) – founded in 1927. In 1936 it had 156 Tertiaries. Board meetings were held once a month at the parish chancery under the chairmanship of Rev. Aleksander Kupczyński, director of the congregation and parish priest.
- Toruń (Parish of the Blessed Virgin Mary) – founded in 1899. In 1927 it had 200 Tertiaries. The canonical erection was carried out in December 1933 by Anastazy Pankiewicz, OFM. The director of the congregation was Rev. F. Jank, and his deputy was Rev. J. Mykowski. In 1936, 132 people belonged to the congregation. The fraternity had a Tertiary library, and also subscribed to *Szkoła Seraficka* (20), *Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu*, *Pochodnia Seraficka* and *Pokój i dobro* magazines.⁷⁸
- Toruń (Parish of St John) – founded on 4 October 1926, in 1927 it numbered 95 Tertiaries.
- Wąbrzeźno – founded on 26 September 1926. It operated at the parish of St Simon and Jude, Apostles. It was erected on the initiative of Rev. J. Zakryś, the parish priest. The community, under the name of St Clare, was ordained by Rev. J. Krysiński. After its founding, it counted 26 Tertiaries. In 1935, the director of the congregation was Rev. Brunon Szymański,⁷⁹ followed by Rev. Tadeusz Grzechowski, vicar of the parish.⁸⁰ In 1938 it had 70 Tertiaries.
- Wda – founded on 19 December 1926, it numbered 39 Tertiaries.
- Wdzydze Tucholskie – existed before 1939.⁸¹
- Wejherowo – existed in 1862. In 1892 its director was Rev. Walenty Dąbrowski. In 1921 it counted 148 people, including 134 sisters and 14 brothers.⁸²
- Wiele – founded in 1927, it numbered 70 Tertiaries.
- Wygoda – founded on 4 October 1925. When established, it had 56 members. In 1926, the staff was 99 professed and 36 novices. The director of the congregation was Rev. Anastazy Sadowski.⁸³ In 1927 it had 130 Tertiaries,⁸⁴ and in

⁷⁵ M. Flisikowska, *Starogard*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1926, issue 6, p. 369.

⁷⁶ Bogdalski, *Pamiętnik*, p. 278.

⁷⁷ *Stężycza*, „Szkoła Seraficka”, 1937, issue 3, p. 94.

⁷⁸ *Toruń*, „Szkoła Seraficka”, 1937, issue 4, pp. 254–255.

⁷⁹ *Męczeństwo*, p. 37: ‘Rev. Brunon Szymański. Prefect in Świecie, aged 35, 10 in priesthood, martyred on 25 July 1940.’

⁸⁰ Grzechowski, *Wąbrzeźno – Pomorze*, „Rodzina Seraficka”, 1936, issue 11, pp. 349–351; S. Szczygalska, *Sprawozdanie*, „Rodzina Seraficka”, 1938, issue 4, pp. 123–125; *Męczeństwo*, p. 17: ‘Rev. Tadeusz Grzechowski. Vicar in Wąbrzeźno, aged 36, 9 in priesthood, martyred in October 1939.’

⁸¹ *Ofiary na ogólnopolski kongres*, „Wiadomości Tercjarskie”, 1939, issue 37, p. 416.

⁸² C. Bogdalski. *Pamiętnik*, p. 287.

⁸³ *Męczeństwo*, p. 26: ‘Rev. Anastazy Sadowski. parish priest in Szynwałd, aged 66, 40 in priesthood, martyred in November 1939.’

⁸⁴ *Diecezja chełmińska*, p. 381.

1935 – 325. The guardian on behalf of the First Order was K. Holte, OFM.⁸⁵ The director of the congregation at the time was Rev. Tadeusz Zapałowski,⁸⁶ with A. Patelczykówna as superior. In 1936 the community counted 311 Tertiaries, and in 1937 – 313.

Zblewo – founded on 2 August 1886. In 1926, 150 people joined the community, along with Rev. Konstantin Kreft.⁸⁷

Żarnowiec – founded 08 December 1926, in 1927 it numbered 160 Tertiaries.

Zhukovo – existed before 1935; 100 candidates were admitted the same year.⁸⁸

Tertiaries in the Diocese of Gdańsk

Congregations of Franciscan tertiaries in the Gdańsk area certainly existed before the creation of the Diocese of Gdańsk. The first community functioning in the territory of the Free City of Gdańsk was the congregation at the Holy Trinity (cathedral) Parish in Gdańsk-Oliwa, which counted about 300 people in 1923.⁸⁹ After the erection of the Diocese of Gdańsk in 1925, the Third Order existed at the cathedral and churches of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Bernard. The Oliwa congregation also included Tertiaries from Sopot. In the 1930s, there were also communities at the parishes of St Brigid, St Francis of Assisi in Gdańsk-Emaus and the Assumption of Mary in Trąbki Wielkie. Before the end of World War II, in the spring of 1945, some Tertiaries of German origin left Gdańsk. However, members of the Third Order from other parts of Poland were among the influx of new residents that came to the city at that time. The return of the Franciscans to Gdańsk was very important for the development of the Gdańsk Tertiaries after the war. In 1945, the Order of Friars Minor Conventual (OFMConv) took over the Holy Trinity Church,⁹⁰ and in 1946, the Friars Minor Reformed (OFM) of the Province of Our Lady of the Angels took over the dilapidated post-Evangelical church in Gdańsk-Nowy Port, which in 1949 was given the title Missionary Sea Church of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.⁹¹ In 1946, the Order of Capuchin Friars Minor (OFMCap) of the Kraków Province took over the rector's church of St James.⁹²

The first community in the Diocese of Gdańsk, was the congregation at the Sacred Heart of Jesus parish in Gdańsk-Wrzeszcz established in 1946.⁹³ Another congregation that resumed its activities in late 1947 was the community at the

⁸⁵ A. Patelczykówna, *Wygoda diec. chełmińska*, „Szkola Seraficka”, 1935, issue 9, p. 270.

⁸⁶ *Wygoda*, „Szkola Seraficka”, 1936, issue 5, p. 157; *Męczeństwo*, p. 30: ‘Rev. Tadeusz Zapałowski. ki. parish priest in Sulęczyn, aged 35, 10 in priesthood, martyred in October 1939.’

⁸⁷ *Starogard*, „Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu Ś.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego”, 1926, issue 11, p. 696; *Żukowo pod Kartuzami*, „Szkola Seraficka”, 1936, issue 8, p. 268.

⁸⁸ Cf. *ibidem*.

⁸⁹ Z. Kropidłowski, *Franciszkański Zakon Świecki w diecezji gdańskiej w latach 1925–1992*, „Universitas Gedanensis”, 2000, issue 1–2, p. 42.

⁹⁰ *Historia klasztoru*, <http://www.gdansk.franciszkanie.pl/> (accessed on: 23.02.2021).

⁹¹ A. Sztainke, *Prowincja M.B. Anielskiej (1911–1970)*, in: *Zakony*, part 3, p. 229.

⁹² K. Gadacz, *Powstanie prowincji galicyjskiej kapucynów, jej rozwój i zmiana nazwy na krawską*, in: *Zakony*, part 2, p. 223.

⁹³ Kropidłowski, *Franciszkański Zakon Świecki*, p. 43.

cathedral parish. About 200 Tertiaries belonged to it.⁹⁴ In October 1949, another Tertiary congregation was erected at St James Church of the Capuchin Fathers. Among the three monastery-based Tertiary communities, the congregation at St James Church was the most active for many post-war years.⁹⁵

In the 1960s, two new congregations were established at the parishes of Our Lady of Perpetual Help (1964) in Gdańsk-Brętowo and Apostles Peter and Paul (1969) in Gdańsk-Jelitkowo.⁹⁶

In the 1970s, sixteen new Tertiary communities were established at the following parishes:⁹⁷

1. St Barbara – Gdańsk – 1976;
2. Christ the King – Gdańsk – 1976;
3. St Ignatius – Gdańsk-Orunia – 1976;
4. Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary – Gdańsk (Łąkowa) – 1976;
5. Holy Family – Gdańsk-Stogi – 1976;
6. St Matthew – Nowy Staw – 1976;
7. Transfiguration – Nowy Dwór – 1976;
8. Our Lady, Star of the Sea – Sopot – 1977;
9. Blessed Virgin Mary Queen of the Most Holy Rosary – Gdańsk-Przymorze – 1977;
10. St Joseph – Malbork-Kałdowo – 1977;
11. Our Lady of Perpetual Help – Pruszcz Gdański – 1977;
12. Elevation of the Cross – Gdańsk-Chełm – 1978;
13. St Francis of Assisi – Gdańsk-Siedlce – 1979;
14. St Maximilian – Gdańsk-Suchanino – 1979;
15. Corpus Christi – Gdańsk-Morena – 1979;
16. Immaculate Heart of Mary, Gdańsk-Nowy Port – (existed before) reerection 1999.

In the 1980s, three communities were established at the following parishes:

1. Our Lady of Perpetual Help – Gdańsk-Wrzeszcz – 1984;
2. Assumption of Mary (St. Mary's Basilica) – Gdańsk – 1985;
3. Holy Trinity – Gdańsk – 1986.

In the 1970s, a diocesan Franciscan Pastoral Centre was established at Holy Trinity Church, and in 1979 a novitiate was established for congregations from the Diocese of Gdańsk. In 1986, the Centre became the Provincial Centre for Franciscan Pastoral Care, which expanded its reach to include the dioceses of Chełmno, Gniezno, Koszalin and Warmia.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Cf. *ibidem*.

⁹⁵ Cf. *ibidem*.

⁹⁶ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 44.

⁹⁷ Council of the Gdańsk Region of the Secular Franciscan Order: data from reports of the SFO communities and from Sr Teresa Sobol, OFS, superior of the Council of the Gdańsk Region of the SFO in the 1996–1998 and 1998–2001 terms.

⁹⁸ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 45.

In 1989, the number of Secular Franciscans in the Diocese of Gdańsk amounted to 905, of which about 80% were women. By March 25, 1992, there were 23 active congregations (20 at parishes and 3 at monasteries).⁹⁹

The congregation's directors and assistants included,¹⁰⁰ among others:

- cathedral parish (Gdańsk-Oliwa): Rev. Alexander Lubomski, Rev. Leon Kossak-Głowczewski, Rev. Brunon Kędziorski, Fr Tomasz Fudalla, OFM;
- St James (Capuchin Friars): Fr Władysław Łanucha, Fr. Karol Warachim, Fr. Przemysław Knapp, Fr. Zygmunt Knap, Fr Jan Chabierski, Fr Józef Śleboda;
- Holy Trinity (Conventuals): Fr Grzegorz Kozieł, Fr Tarsycjusz Rosiński, Fr Szymon Grodzki, Fr Mieczysław Seroczyński, Fr Henryk Sobieszak, Fr Benjamin Banaszak.

The Tertiaries of the Diocese of Gdańsk included diocesan priests, such as Rev. Jan Helmut Wiecki – parish priest from Kłodawa, Rev. Canon Kazimierz Krucz – parish priest from Brętów, Rev. Canon Władysław Matys – parish priest in Gdańsk-Piecki, Rev. Józef Wałag – parish priest from Pruszcz Gdański.

An important figure for Franciscan Tertiaries was Fr Roch Betlejewski,¹⁰¹ OFM-Conv (1915–1993), whose activities were important for the revival and development of the Tertiary movement in the Diocese of Gdańsk. Thanks to his efforts, twelve new Tertiary congregations were erected and six were reactivated. After the establishment of the Province of St Maximilian Kolbe (OFMConv) in Gdańsk, he became the provincial assistant. He organized annual retreats for Tertiaries in Wejherowo before the feast of St Francis of Assisi and on the occasion of the stigmatization of St Francis, as well as rallies in Gniezno. His efforts were continued by Fr Kazimierz Kozłowski, provincial assistant since 1989. He published the *Dziennik Mniejszy* Tertiary bulletin, and also contributed to the establishment of the Franciscan Centre in Gdańsk.¹⁰²

Conclusion

The vast majority of Tertiary congregations in Poland during the Partitions had no connection with the First Franciscan Order. Dissolutions of religious orders were carried out, and monks were dispersed or secluded. The Tertiaries had no spiritual

⁹⁹ From the account of Sr T. Sobol, OFS, it appears that after the administrative reorganization of the Church in Poland (1992), the Gdańsk congregations included communities from the area of the former Chełmno diocese, namely: St Anne of Wejherowo (1862), from the area of Gdynia: The Most Holy Virgin Mary, Queen of Poland (1931), Sacred Heart of Jesus (1961) and St Anthony (1988); in addition, new communities were erected at the parishes of: Corpus Christi in Hel (1999), Our Lady of the Rosary in Gdynia (2000) and St Maximilian in Gdańsk-Suchanin (2007).

¹⁰⁰ Data from Sr T. Sobol, OFS.

¹⁰¹ W. Gral, *O. Roch Zdzisław Waclaw Betlejewski 22 styczeń 1915 – 7 grudzień 1993*, in: idem, *Franciszkanie zmarli w XX wieku*, vol. III, Gdynia 2002, p. 500: 'In 1972, he came to Gdańsk and promoted the Franciscan spirit among the laity with extraordinary zeal for three terms as an assistant of the Secular Franciscan Order. He had resided in Gdynia since 1986 as a good confrere, a zealous penitentiary of the Franciscan shrine and religious congregations, and a cordial protector of the SFO.'

¹⁰² The information comes from the Council of the Gdańsk Region of the SFO, to which the author of the article belonged for several terms.

fathers or administrators. This situation had a negative impact on the development of the Tertiary movement. In the interwar period, the situation changed dramatically. The General Council of the Third Order in Poland was established, which, among other things, coordinated the actions of the congregation, and through its activities promoted the Franciscan movement among the clergy and hierarchy of the Polish Church. Thanks to these ventures, the Third Order in Poland before World War II had more than 200,000 members, gathered in nearly 2,000 congregations.¹⁰³

The study provides general information about the existence of individual congregations in the Diocese of Chełmno and Gdańsk. Is the above list of congregations and the number of their members complete? Certainly not. In the times under study, there were also so-called solitary Tertiaries who did not gather in communities. It can be concluded that there were congregations without the spiritual care of the First Order, and thus they were not listed in any structures.

During the period in question, the Third Order of St Francis of Assisi played a very important role. In addition to religious matters and monastic discipline, their activities were wide-ranging. The Tertiaries conducted charitable and social work, as well as engaged in missionary and cultural and educational endeavours.¹⁰⁴ These objectives were also fulfilled by the Secular Franciscans of Gdańsk Pomerania, who strived for Christian perfection.

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¹⁰⁴ Kuczkowski, *Dzieje*, p. 303.

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TERCJARZE ŚW. FRANCISZKA Z ASYŻU W DIECEZJI CHEŁMIŃSKIEJ I GDAŃSKIEJ OD POŁOWY XIX WIEKU DO 1992 ROKU

Abstrakt

W opracowaniu podjęto próbę ukazania ruchu tercjarskiego w dwóch ówczesnych diecezjach – chełmińskiej i gdańskiej. Zakres chronologiczny rozważania obejmuje okres od połowy XIX wieku do 1992 roku, kiedy dokonano reorganizacji administracyjnej Kościoła w Polsce. Trzeci Zakon św. Franciszka z Asyżu, zwany Franciszkańskim Zakonem Świeckich, istnieje od prawie ośmiu wieków, jego fundamentem były ruchy pokutne. Pod wpływem działania Franciszka z Asyżu i jego współbraci grupy pokutne nabierały nowego charakteru, które wyróżniała ich „świeckość”. W szeregach zakonu byli ludzie różnych stanów: duchowni, królowie, bogaci i biedni. Na przestrzeni wieków z ruchu tercjarskiego Kościół wyniósł na ołtarze prawie trzysta osób. Jedną z pierwszych kongregacji Trzeciego Zakonu św. Franciszka z Asyżu w diecezji chełmińskiej była wspólnota z Wejherowa (1862), zaś pierwszą wspólnotą z terenu Wolnego Miasta Gdańska (jeszcze przed erygowaniem diecezji gdańskiej) była kongregacja przy parafii pw. Świętej Trójcy w Gdańsku-Oliwie. Najbardziej dynamicznym okresem rozwoju ruchu tercjarskiego stał się czas międzywojenny (1918–1939). Po II wojnie światowej nastąpiło jego osłabienie. Jednym z czynników mających wpływ na taki stan rzeczy był stosunek władzy ludowej do Kościoła w Polsce. Po reorganizacji administracyjnej Kościoła w Polsce (1992) wspólnoty tercjarskie dawnej diecezji chełmińskiej znalazły się w granicach archidiecezji gdańskiej, diecezji pelplińskiej i diecezji toruńskiej. Obecnie należą one do Regionu Gdańskiego Franciszkańskiego Zakonu Świeckich.

Słowa kluczowe: diecezja chełmińska; diecezja gdańska; franciszkanie; tercjarze; Trzeci Zakon; św. Franciszek z Asyżu



REV. JAROSŁAW R. MARCZEWSKI* – LUBLIN

ORDOS AND DIRECTORIES OF THE DIOCESE OF LUBLIN IN THE ERA OF THE PARTITIONS OF POLAND

Abstract

The Diocese of Lublin was established in 1805 by a papal bull, the announcement of which was, however, postponed until 1807 for political reasons. As a consequence, it was only from 1808 that ordos and directories of the Diocese of Lublin began to appear. In their external features and content layout, they resembled earlier prints issued in the Dioceses of Chelm. In the years 1808–1918, that is in the period of the partitions of Poland, 111 ordos and 105 directories of the Diocese of Lublin were published. All of them were found, due to intensive research, in the archival and library institutions of Lublin. Ordos and directories of the Diocese of Lublin were published both in Warsaw and Lublin. They were written in Latin, Polish and Russian. The ordos included liturgical calendar, followed by pastoral and liturgical announcements important from the point of view of the Diocese's life and the ministry of the priests. The directories included information about the entire Church hierarchy under Russian rule, and about the clergy and institutions of the Diocese of Lublin. All the mentioned data have become a valuable source for research into the Church's past.

Keywords: ordo; directory; clergy; the Diocese of Lublin

Many dioceses of the Polish Church, both historical and contemporary, have had (more or less extensive) research devoted to them focusing on their ordos and directories.¹ This is because the subject remains intriguing both on the level

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¹ B. Kumor, *Schematyzmy diecezji tarnowskiej z XIX wieku jako źródło demograficzne*, „Przeżycie Demograficzne Polski”, 1 (1967) pp. 67–87; T. Krahel, *Schematyzmy diecezji wileńskiej jako źródło historyczne*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 38 (1979) pp. 109–149; 39 (1979)

of the library or archival search itself, as well as in the strict aspect of substance. Finding the collection of the aforementioned prints and estimating their informative value also contributes to making available these interesting source materials that can locally serve the study of the Church's institutional, social and cultural past. In the case of the Diocese of Lublin, there has been no such study so far. This article, therefore, aims to fill this gap at least to some chronological extent. The historical framework of the subject is consciously limited to the era of the partitions, beginning with the real existence of the Diocese of Lublin, as a product of the historical circumstances of the functioning of the Church in the Polish lands changed by the partitions, until the end of the national enslavement and the regaining of freedom also in the area of religious life.

pp. 191–235; H. Kramarz, *Schematyzmy galicyjskie jako źródło historyczne*, „Studia Historyczne”, 25 (1982) issue 1, pp. 27–48; W. Kowalski, *Schematyzm diecezji krakowskiej z tzw. kopiarza wiślickiego*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 81 (2004) pp. 101–138; G. Zamoyski, *Schematyzmy diecezji przemyskiej ob. łac. jako źródło statystyczno-kartograficzne*, „Rocznik Przemyski”, 41 (2005) issue 4, pp. 127–142; H. Kramarz, „*Schematyzmy galicyjskie*” (1776–1914) jako c.k. rocznik sprawozdawczy dotyczący obsady kadrowej władz, urzędów, towarzystw i instytucji, „Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej”, 10 (2007) issue 1, pp. 5–29; J. Kopiec, *Schematyzmy diecezji opolskiej z lat 1947–1974*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 61 (1992) pp. 167–216; A. Kwaśniewski, *Rubrycele i schematyzmy diecezji kieleckiej (1808–1818)*, „Z Dziejów Regionu i Miasta. Rocznik Oddziału Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego w Skarżysku-Kamiennym”, 4 (2013) pp. 57–77; A. Kwaśniewski, *Rubrycele i elenchusy diecezji krakowskiej z lat 1801–1848*, „Świętokrzyskie Studia Archiwalno-Historyczne”, (2014) pp. 205–245; P. Górecki, *Opolskie roczniki diecezjalne 1947–2010*, „Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego”, 34 (2014) pp. 207–230; P. Kardyś, *Rubrycele i schematyzmy diecezji żmudzkiej z lat 1853–1914 zachowane w Archiwum Diecezjalnym w Kielcach*, „Nasza Przyszłość”, 126 (2016) pp. 291–319; S. Bylina, *Schematyzm Diecezji Siedleckiej czyli Podlaskiej w latach 1945–1992*, „Rocznik Białkopodlaski”, 24 (2016) pp. 293–316; Ł. Krucki, *Rubrycele i schematyzmy archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej. Katalog druków przechowywanych w Archiwum Archidiecezjalnym w Gnieźnie*, Gnieźno 2016; M. Hałaburda, *Katalog rubrycel diecezji pińskiej 1926–1939 znajdujących się w księgozbiorze Archiwum Diecezjalnego w Drohiczyźnie*, „Studia Teologiczne. Białystok, Drohiczyń, Łomża”, 35 (2017) pp. 241–260; S. Konarska-Zimnicka, *Ze zbiorów Archiwum Diecezjalnego w Kielcach: rubrycele i schematyzmy diecezji tyraspolskiej 1858–1913*, „Archeion”, 118 (2017) pp. 341–364; M. Różański, *Schematyzmy diecezji łódzkiej w okresie II Rzeczypospolitej (1922–1939) jako źródło do poznania jej struktury organizacyjnej*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 110 (2018, pp. 311–326; T. Moskal, *Rubrycele i schematyzmy diecezji sandomierskiej (1818–1992)*, „Roczniki Teologiczne”, 65 (2018) issue 4 pp. 39–50; J.R. Marczewski, *Rubrycele i schematyzmy diecezji chełmsko-lubelskiej*, „Roczniki Teologiczne”, 65 (2018) issue 4, pp. 51–71; M. Hałaburda, *Schematyzmy diecezji pińskiej (1926–1939)*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 112 (2019) pp. 151–166; J.R. Marczewski, *Rubrycele i schematyzmy łacińskiej diecezji chełmskiej*, „Roczniki Teologiczne”, 66 (2019) issue 4, pp. 21–39; Ł. Krucki, *Rubrycele i schematyzmy archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej (1532–2019)*, „Roczniki Teologiczne”, 67 (2020) issue 4, pp. 5–39; J. Szczepaniak, *Rubrycele diecezji krakowskiej z lat 1735–1811 przechowywane w księgozbiorze podręcznym Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 114 (2020) pp. 353–370; idem, *Zawartość i katalog rubrycel diecezji krakowskiej z lat 1735–1811 znajdujących się w księgozbiorze podręcznym Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 115 (2021) pp. 471–502.

Organization of the Diocese of Lublin during the partition period

The context for the issuance of ordos and directories of each diocese was the local shape of religious life. Thus, the local ecclesiastical tradition, the extent of the borders and the internal structure of dioceses, including the Diocese of Lublin, were directly reflected in the specific external form, layout and content of the prints in question.

Even before the final collapse of Polish statehood, there was a project at the Great Sejm to establish a diocese combining Chełm and Lublin. The idea was that the Diocese of Chełm of the Latin Rite, which had been crippled in terms of its territory and income as a result of the first partition, would gain renewed organizational and pastoral stability. As a result, by virtue of parliamentary decisions issued on 11 June 1790, the fragment of the Chełm Diocese that had remained under Polish rule was enlarged to include a wider area derived mainly from the Lublin archdeaconsry of the Kraków Diocese. The bishop was consequently expected to bear the title of Bishop of Lublin and Chełm. The Holy See approved the circumscription changes on 20 July 1790, retaining the existing Chełm Bishop's title.² Nevertheless, in the practice of ecclesiastical and state life, a new, informal name began to solidify: the Diocese of Chełm-Lublin.³

After the third partition, as a result of the efforts of the partitioning authorities, the Holy See established the Diocese of Lublin, encompassing part of the so-called Chełm-Lublin Diocese that remained under Austrian rule, as well as the incorporated parts of the Lusk, Płock and Poznań dioceses. The *Quemadmodum Romanorum Pontificum* foundation bull was issued by Pius VII on 23 September 1805. In reality, however, due to the complicated political situation of the Austrian Empire, which at the time included the territories covered by the borders of the newly established Diocese of Lublin, the execution of the papal decisions did not take place until more than two years later – on 19 October 1807.⁴

The Diocese of Lublin inherited the tradition of the Chełm Diocese, which was said to be reflected in the translocation of the cathedral from Krasnystaw to Lublin, the renaming of the Chełm chapter to the Lublin chapter and the appointment of Wojciech Skarszewski, the last bishop of Chełm, as the first bishop of Lublin. On the other hand, it was the heritage of Lublin, not Chełm that constituted the main territorial and demographic component of the new diocese.

The changes taking place on the political map in the era of the Napoleonic wars had serious consequences for the early history of the Lublin Diocese. First, in the light of the creation of the Duchy of Warsaw, the Bishop of Lublin was given jurisdiction over the Zamość territories taken from Austria in 1811. Under the already changed, i.e. Russian, partition, within the Congress Kingdom of Poland, on 30 June 1818, the *Ex imposita nobis* bull, issued by Pius VII, established the shape of the diocese, stripped of the Podlasie territories, but with the annexed

² B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich (966–1939)*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 20 (1970) pp. 322–325.

³ Marczewski, *Rubrycele i schematyzmy diecezji chełmsko-lubelskiej*, pp. 52–53.

⁴ Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji*, pp. 325–328.

Vistula territories, taken from the abolished Diocese of Kielce.⁵ The Diocese of Lublin, hitherto dependent on the Metropolis of Lviv, became part of the Warsaw ecclesiastical province.⁶

The shape of the diocese outlined after the Congress of Vienna lasted almost half a century. It was only by a decision of the Russian partitioning authorities on 20 May 1867, that the territories of the abolished Diocese of Podlasie were annexed to the Diocese of Lublin, as a result of tsarist repression after the January Uprising. Despite the inclusion of the territory into administration by the Lublin bishops, full papal approval for the enforced state of affairs did not come until 30 December 1889. Less than three decades later, i.e. on 24 September 1918, the Diocese of Podlasie was restored under the conditions of the reborn Polish state.⁷

Collection of prints

Ordos, being by their nature strictly utilitarian prints, intended for a specific liturgical year and therefore subject to obsolescence, did not claim to be long-term valuable publications in the eyes of their contemporaries. Likewise, with the constant change of positions and functions of the clergy and the admittedly rarer but ongoing changes in the field of ecclesiastical structures, the directories, which contain information on the organizational and personnel shape of a given diocese, were superseded by new prints that were constantly being supplemented. It was only in retrospect of history that it became apparent how interesting and at the same time systematic news from many areas of church life was available to those who had insight into the range of publications discussed. Under these circumstances, compiling the full collection of ordos and directories published for a given diocese throughout its existence becomes a serious, but also a fundamental challenge in the course of a research. In the case of the Diocese of Lublin, the central archives and libraries of Lublin, both ecclesiastical and state, are by nature the relevant institutional circle for ongoing study.

The Lublin ordos and directories⁸ of the partition era were found in five local institutions. These include: The State Archive in Lublin, the Hieronim Łopaciński Provincial Public Library in Lublin, the Lublin Archdiocesan Archives, and the University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin and the Library of the Metropolitan Seminary in Lublin. Unfortunately, the prints in question do not appear as complete in any of the above-mentioned institutions. The full collection of ordos should consist of 111 prints. Directories, on the other hand, unlike ordos, did not have to be published for all years. This is not only the conclusion based on library searches and comparative activities alone, but also on a casual marginal note preserved in an ordo for the year 1866, kept in the Lublin Archdiocesan Archives,

⁵ Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji*, pp. 329–330.

⁶ B. Kumor, *Ustrój i organizacja Kościoła polskiego w okresie niewoli narodowej (1772–1918)*, Kraków 1980, pp. 40–45.

⁷ Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji*, p. 331.

⁸ The article refrains from including detailed bibliographic information in footnotes about the ordos and directories that are sufficiently clearly indicated in the main text by the year for which the publication was intended.

stating: 'This year's clergy catalogue was not compiled.' Seemingly, directories were not prepared for the years 1810–1811 and 1866–1869. The full set of these publications should therefore include 105 copies.

The largest collection of ordos is kept in the Library of the Metropolitan Seminary in Lublin. Of the 111 prints for the years 1808–1918, 100 publications are stored there. As for directories, out of 105 items, 95 prints can be found in the institution. The Lublin Archdiocesan Archives includes 95 ordos and 92 directories. The University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin stores 66 ordos and 66 directories. It is worth noting that the prints held by the university library have been digitized and are available for general online access.⁹ The State Archive in Lublin contains 48 ordos and 48 directories. The least number of the prints in question is kept by the Hieronim Łopaciński Provincial Public Library in Lublin, counting only 34 ordos and equal number of directories. Summing up the resources of Lublin archival and library institutions, among the expected 111 ordos and presumably 105 directories, all necessary publications are available to compile a list of prints for the years 1808–1918. It is worth noting that Karol Estreicher's *Bibliografia* mentions only some of them.¹⁰ For a complete summary of the currently preserved collection of ordos and directories, see the table below.

Table 1. Ordos (R) and directories (S) of the Diocese of Lublin for the years 1808–1918 held at the Lublin Archdiocesan Archives (AAL), the State Archive in Lublin (APL), the University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (BUKUL), the Library of the Metropolitan Seminary in Lublin (BMSDL) and the Hieronim Łopaciński Provincial Public Library in Lublin (WBPHLL)

Year	AAL	APL	BUKUL	BMSDL	WBPHLL
1	2	3	4	5	6
1808	R			R	
	S			S	
1809	R				
	S				
1810	R			R	
1811		R			

⁹ Biblioteka Uniwersytecka KUL, *Consignatio Cleri Saecularis ac Regularis Dioecesis Lublinensis pro Anno Domini [...] Confecta*, <https://dlibra.kul.pl/dlibra/publication/14618> (accessed on: 15.03.2020); ibidem, *Ordo Officii Divini ad Usus Dioecesis Lublinensis pro Anno Domini...*, <https://dlibra.kul.pl/dlibra/publication/14476> (accessed on: 15.03.2020).

¹⁰ K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska XIX wieku*, part I, vol. 3, Kraków 1962, p. 36; part I, vol. 4, Kraków 1963, pp. 70, 146–148.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1812		R			
		S			
1813		R			
		S			
1814		R		R	
		S		S	
1815		R		R	
		S		S	
1816	R				
	S				
1817	R				
	S				
1818				R	
	S			S	
1819	R			R	
	S			S	
1820	R	R			
	S	S			
1821		R		R	
		S		S	
1822		R		R	
		S		S	
1823		R		R	
		S		S	
1824		R		R	
		S		S	
1825		R		R	
		S		S	
1826	R			R	
	S			S	
1827	R			R	
	S			S	
1828	R			R	
	S			S	

1	2	3	4	5	6
1829	R			R	
	S			S	
1830	R	R			
	S	S			
1831	R			R	
	S			S	
1832	R			R	R
	S			S	S
1833	R			R	
	S			S	
1834	R			R	
	S			S	
1835	R			R	
	S			S	
1836	R			R	
	S			S	
1837	R			R	
	S			S	
1838	R			R	
				S	
1839		R		R	
		S		S	
1840	R		R	R	
	S		S	S	
1841	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1842		R		R	
		S		S	
1843	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1844	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1845		R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S

1	2	3	4	5	6
1846	R		R	R	
	S		S	S	
1847	R				
	S				
1848	R		R	R	
	S		S	S	
1849	R		R	R	
	S		S	S	
1850	R		R	R	
	S		S	S	
1851	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1852		R	R	R	
		S	S	S	
1853	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1854	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1855	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1856	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1857	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1858	R			R	
	S			S	
1859	R		R	R	R
	S		S	S	S
1860	R			R	R
	S	S		S	S
1861	R			R	
	S			S	
1862	R		R	R	R
	S		S	S	S

1	2	3	4	5	6
1863	R	R	R		R
	S	S	S		S
1864	R		R	R	R
	S		S	S	S
1865	R		R	R	R
	S		S		S
1866	R			R	R
1867	R			R	R
1868	R			R	
1869	R			R	R
1870	R	R		R	R
	S	S	S	S	
1871	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1872	R	R		R	R
	S			S	
1873	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	
1874	R		R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1875	R		R	R	R
	S		S	S	S
1876		R			
	S	S	S	S	S
1877	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1878	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1879	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S

1	2	3	4	5	6
1880	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1881	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1882	R		R	R	R
	S		S	S	S
1883	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1884	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1885	R		R	R	R
	S		S	S	S
1886	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1887	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1888	R		R	R	
	S		S	S	
1889	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1890	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1891	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1892	R		R	R	
	S			S	
1893	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1894	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	S
1895	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1896	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S

1	2	3	4	5	6
1897	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1898	R		R	R	
	S		S	S	
1899	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1900	R	R		R	R
	S	S		S	S
1901	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1902	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1903	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1904	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1905	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1906	R		R	R	
	S		S	S	
1907	R		R	R	
	S		S	S	
1908	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1909	R		R	R	
	S		S	S	S
1910	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1911	R	R	R	R	R
	S	S	S	S	S
1912	R		R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1913	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	

1	2	3	4	5	6
1914	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	
1915	R		R	R	
	S		S	S	
1916	R		R	R	
	S		S	S	S
1917	R	R	R	R	
	S	S	S	S	S
1918	R		R	R	
	S			S	S

Source: own research

Typology of prints

Ordos and directories of the Lublin Diocese were referred to by various titles. In each case, however, the nomenclature indicated the same type of publication content. In 1808–1809, 1843–1845 and 1862–1918, the publications came out under the title *Directorium*. In 1810–1842 and 1846–1861 the prints were named *Ordo*. The former name was therefore used 62 times, while the latter occurred 49 times. The relatively small disparity does not showcase either form as particularly preferred. Furthermore, the fact that for the people of the time these terms meant the same thing is evidenced by the fact that the ordos for 1862–1869 were provided with the name *Ordo* on the bastard title, while the name *Directorium* appeared on the title page. It is worth mentioning that after the issuance of the tolerance decree and the abolition of preventive censorship in 1907 attempts were made to reminisce, in the titles of the ordos, that they were intended for the Diocese of Lublin and the Diocese of Podlasie. This was all the more interesting because at that time the fact that the Tsar had abolished the Diocese of Podlasie was already formally accepted by the Holy See.

The titles of the directories also varied. The term *Catalogus* was used in 1808–1809, 1812–1836, 1842, 1857–1865 and 1870–1918. The name *Consignatio* functioned in 1837–1841. The directories of 1843–1856 were referred to as *Elenchus*. The content of the publication made further distinctions in the title, hence the directories titled *cleri saecularis*, or *cleri saecularis et regularis*, or *ecclesiarum et utriusque cleri tam saecularis quam regularis*, or *universi cleri*.

All ordos of the Diocese of Lublin have a 19th-century *sedecimo* library format, within the range of 15–19 cm. The indicated trend of increasing dimensions occurred clearly from the early years of the second half of the 19th century.

The covers of the surviving ordos are varied. The original covers are mainly cardboard-based, from the 1870s onward, sometimes provided with embossed decorations and publication titles. Non-original covers date from both the 19th century – at that time, many ordos were bound together in decorated leather covers;

and the 20th century – at that time, they were bound in grey cloth and cardboard. It should be noted that the covers of the prints were already differing at the publishing stage, and this was even done to the same publication. For example, the information found on prints for 1900 indicates that the co-bound ordos and directories were provided with either decorative or plain cardboard covers or paper covers.¹¹

The Lublin ordos were issued by order of the diocesan administrators. This was reflected in the formula used and posted on the title pages: *sub autoritate, autoritate et mandato*. In most cases, ordos were issued by the power of the authority of the Lublin bishops in office: in 1808–1824 by order of Bishop Wojciech Skarszewski, in 1825–1839 by Bishop Józef Marceł Dzięcielski, in 1854–1863 by Bishop Wincenty a Paulo Pieńkowski, in 1873–1879 by Bishop Walenty Baranowski, in 1884–1885 by Bishop Kazimierz Wnorowski, and in 1891–1915 by Bishop Franciszek Jaczewski. During the *sede vacante* period, this role fell to diocesan administrators. Consequently, in 1840–1842, the ordos were issued on the orders of Bishop Mateusz Maurycy Wojakowski, in 1864–1869 by Rev. Kazimierz Sosnowski, in 1870–1872 by Bishop Walenty Baranowski, in 1880–1883 by Rev. Szymon Koziejowski, in 1886–1890 by Rev. F. Jaczewski, and in 1916–1918 by Rev. Zenon Kwiek. Only in the years 1843–1853 the ordos did not include information on the person commissioning their publication. We should assume, however, that the principle resulting from the canonical order of ecclesiastical life remained constant. The ordos for 1843–1845 were probably issued under the auspices of diocesan administrator Bishop M. M. Wojakowski, and after his death, the ordos for 1846–1853 were subject to the approval of the next administrator, Rev. Wincenty a Paulo Pieńkowski.

The ordos contain little data on their editors. They presumably came from the chapter or consistory circle, which was characteristic of the time. Confirmation in this case is provided by the information – the only of its kind – contained in the ordos for 1844–1847, which were developed by Rev. Hipolit Stawiński. At the time, he was a clerk at the Lublin consistory with the rank of assistant professor and also vicar of the Lublin cathedral.¹² Other editors from the partition period remain unknown.

The places of publishing ordos and directories of the Lublin Diocese changed throughout history. Publications for 1808–1824 included no information about the printing house. Only as late as 1825, did each print include a message about the place of its publication. Interestingly, until the 1860s, the Lublin rubrics were published

¹¹ The Lublin Archdiocesan Archives (hereafter: AAL), ref. Rep 60 B IIa 112, On ordos and catalogues published in print for 1899–1902, without pagination, Account of funds received for ordos and catalogues for 1900.

¹² Hipolit Stawiński (1815–1876) – priest of the Diocese of Lublin, ordained in 1840, prebendary of the Church of the Holy Spirit in Lublin, regens of the Lublin consistory, procurator of the Lublin cathedral chapter, from 1853 parish priest in Parczew, from 1855 incardinated to the Diocese of Podlasie; AAL, ref. Rep 60 A 253, Tabular list of lay clergy for 1839–1846, k. 13v–14r; ref. Rep 60 A 254, Tabular list of lay clergy for 1847–1864, k. 23v, 40v, 47v, 65v–66r; S. Dzyr, *Diecezja podlaska i jej duchowieństwo w latach 1818–1867*, in: *Dzieje diecezji janowskiej czyli podlaskiej w latach 1818–1867*, eds. E. Jarmoch, S. Bylina, R. Wiszniewski, Siedlce 2017, p. 169.

alternately – either in Warsaw or in Lublin. Ordos for the years 1825–1840 were published in Warsaw by the missionary priests at the Holy Cross Church (*Varsaviae ad Sanctam Crucem*). The ordos for 1842 and 1843 included information about the printing in Lublin, although the name of the publishing house was not provided.¹³ In the following years, 1844–1845, the ordos were once again printed in Warsaw, but this time by the publishing outhouse of the Piarist Fathers (*Varsaviae Typis Scholarum Piarum*). Ordos for 1846–1849 were published in Lublin by Szabs Gutfeld (*Lublina Typis S. Gutfeld*), and Ordos for 1850 – once again by the Piarist Fathers. Ordos for the years 1851–1854 were in turn printed in Lublin by Józef Kossakowski (*Lublina Typis Josephus Kossakowski*).¹⁴ Publications for 1855–1862 left the printing house of the missionary priests in Warsaw. The printing of ordos was permanently established in Lublin starting with the publication for 1863, which was printed by Józef Nowaczyński (*Lublina Typis J. Nowaczynski*).¹⁵ The Lublin printers publishing the ordos changed frequently in subsequent years. The publication for 1864 was printed by Władysław Kossakowski (*Lublina Typis Ladisłai Kossakowski*), the ordos for 1865–1868 were again printed by J. Nowaczyński, and for 1869 by the Drukarnia Rządowa printing house (*Lublina Typis Gubernii Lublinensis*). Lasting stability was noted during the following years, as from then on the ordos were printed by the Kossakowskis. Moreover, the Lublin directories, which were co-bound with the ordos, began to be additionally marked with the printer's name. Consequently, ordos and directories for the years 1870–1882 were published under the name of W. Kossakowski, while those for 1883–1918 under the name of Michalina Kossakowska (*Lublina Typis Michaelinae Kossakowska*).¹⁶ Therefore, of the total of 93 rubrics bearing information on the place of publication, 66 were published in Lublin and 27 in Warsaw. Most often, i.e. 54 times, they were printed at the Kossakowskis, and in 25 cases near the Holy Cross Church.

Ordos and directories were issued for the subsequent upcoming years. Therefore, in order not to obstruct the use of their content from the beginning of the

¹³ The following printing houses were operating in Lublin at that time: Kazimierz Szczepański's Printing House, Drukarnia Rządowa Printing House, Szabs Gutfeld's Printing House; P. Gdula, *Drukarstwo lubelskie*, „Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska”, Sectio F. Historia, 8 (1953) p. 70.

¹⁴ The Kossakowskis resumed operations after Jan Karol Pruski, who was active in Lublin in 1813–1823; Gdula, *Drukarstwo lubelskie*, pp. 65–68.

¹⁵ The enterprise, named Zakład Artystyczno-Litograficzny i Drukarnia Józefa Nowaczyńskiego, continued the traditions of Kazimierz Szczepański's Printing House in Lublin; Gdula, *Drukarstwo lubelskie*, pp. 68–69.

¹⁶ The Kossakowskis' Printing House was founded in 1847 by Józef Kossakowski, who ran the institution until his death in 1857. It was then taken over by his son Władysław (d. 1870), his wife Michalina (d. 1894), then their first daughter Pelagia Ostachiewicz (d. 1907) and finally the second daughter Karolina Rogowska, who remained the owner until the end of the partition era. After her, Jadwiga and Tadeusz Wierzbicki took over the institution as of 1918, followed by Jan Józwiakowski in 1939. The company survived until 1949 under the name of Michalina Kossakowska's Printing House; D. Walkowska, *Drukarnia Kossakowskich (1846–1939)*, in: *Studia z dziejów druku i księgarstwa w Lublinie w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. B. Szyndler, Lublin 1988, pp. 127–128, 130–132, 144–145.

new calendar year, they had to be published in the preceding one. The date of publication was therefore not provided, and the title pages indicated the year for which the column was intended. It is also worth noting that it has not always been possible to prepare ordos well in advance. This can be seen from the dates of issuance of the church *imprimatur* and the approval on the part of state censorship. The government censor's approval to publish a ordo was included for the first time in the latter for 1850. The date of approval was 2 January 1850, subject to submission to the censor's office of the legally prescribed number of printed copies. It seems, therefore, that the ordo appeared only in the earliest days of its liturgical instructions and regulations. Similar incidents occurred later. In 1863 the censor authorized printing on 15 January, while in 1875 the corresponding date was 6 March, and in 1886 – 9 January. The place where state authorities issued permissions to print was the censor's office in Warsaw, except in the year of the January Uprising (1863), when instead of a civilian censor's office, such permission was given in Lublin by a military official assigned to this task. Information about the issuance of the Church *imprimatur* was included in the ordos, starting with 1868. This was usually in Lublin, except in 1872, when Bishop W. Baranowski granted permission while staying in St Petersburg. Church approval usually preceded that of the state censors. Sometimes it was issued very early, such as in 1872, 1873 and 1895, when it was given in July. In 1896, 1897, 1899 and 1914 it was granted in June. In 1898 the permission was issued on 5 May, and in 1915 it the approval was given as early as on 21 April. In each of these cases the approval of state censors in such cases was obviously prior to the Church permission. Eventually permission from state censors was no longer required and marked in the prints, starting with the ordo for 1907.

It is worth noting that, starting with the publication for 1865, the church and state approval also began to be marked in prints for the issuance of diocesan directories. The church approval was abandoned starting from the publication for 1880, and only the approval of government censors remained in the lists of diocesan institutions and clergy, and eventually it was removed, as in the case of ordos, with the 1907 directory.

It should be further noted that different dates of censorship approval were marked for the ordos and the directories for 1865 regarding each print. Was it indicative of their separate publication? Not necessarily, as they were, as a rule, co-bound. In any case, however, it seems that permission to publish them was being handled separately at the time. Nevertheless, starting with the ordo and the catalogue for 1870, the same dates of authorization from the censor's office appeared in the prints.

The pagination of prints began to be permanently applied with the ordo and directory for 1823. The ordo with the smallest volume included 35 pages and was published for 1855. The largest, published for 1913, contained 136 pages. The smallest directory was 24 pages long and was issued for 1865. The largest, with 190 pages, was published for 1874.

The fact that some ordos are supplied with information on the price of the copy remains interesting. In 1814–1819 it was 2 zlotys 15 groszy, in 1820–1828

it was 3 zlotys, in 1831–1840 it was 3 zlotys 15 groszy, and in 1841 the price was 3 zlotys 23 groszy. The last two pieces of information on the price were included in the ordos for 1866–1867. These were 35 and 40 kopecks, respectively.

Some other ordos included a call to pray for those who funded the publication. Thus, it seems that in those years ordos were distributed free of charge in connection with the purchase of the circulation by the power of a gesture of devotional nature. This kind of information was first included in the ordo for 1842. It did not always provide knowledge on the actual donor (*Ratione obtenti Directorii quilibet sacerdos unam Missam pro animabus Joannis, Rosaliae et consanguineorum absolvere tenetur*). Sometimes, however, the benefactor was mentioned explicitly, such as in the ordo for 1862 (*Pro anima fundatoris huius Directorii p.m. Michaelis Leszczyński¹⁷ et consanguineorum illius quilibet sacerdos saecularis unum Sacrificium Missae absolvere tenetur*). In general, information about the obligation to celebrate Mass according to the intention stated in the ordos received free of charge was included in publications 21 times in the period 1842–1865. It seems that from 1866 onward, the ordos were permanently sold for a charge.

The language of Lublin ordos and directories was initially exclusively Latin. The Polish language appeared for the first time to a greater extent in the ordo for 1851. Mandatory prayers for the tsar's ruling house, intended to be recited during court-related services, were then written in Polish. In 1864–1867 texts Polish in Polish were replaced with their Latin counterparts, in 1868 the texts were in both Polish and Latin, and in 1869–1875 and 1877 only in Polish. In addition, starting in 1871, excerpts from exam announcements began to appear in Polish, and in 1882 the Polish text of the Tridentine Creed was added. The breakthrough came in 1876, when Russian was also used in publications for the first time. Namely, the directory was published simultaneously in Latin and Russian, with the Russian part, which has become a permanent practice, being somewhat less rich in terms of information. Russian directories, in parallel with the Latin ones, were published for the years 1877–1883, 1887, 1890, 1893–1894 and, for the last time, for 1910. Russian also appeared from 1877 in ordos in the form of prayers for the Russian ruling house. Each time, however, it was also accompanied by a Polish text. This was the case up to and including the ordo for 1907. Between 1908 and 1910, the Russian text did not appear, leaving room for the Polish version, only to return between 1911 and 1916. The ordos for 1917–1918 no longer included either Polish or Russian text.

Contents of prints

The content and layout of the ordos of the Lublin Diocese was a continuation of what was in the publications of the Chełm Diocese and later the Chełm-Lublin Diocese.¹⁸ Correspondingly, the ordo for 1808 on the first page includes the title of the print, the name and titles of Bishop W. Skarszewski, as well as his coat of arms

¹⁷ Michał Leszczyński (1761–1848) – priest of the Lublin Diocese, ordained in 1800, canon of the Lublin cathedral chapter since 1830; AAL, ref. Rep 60 A 252, Tabular list of lay clergy 1835–1838, k. 50v–51r; ref. Rep 60 A 254, k. 9v.

¹⁸ Marczewski, *Rubryce i schematyzmy diecezji chełmsko-lubelskiej*, pp. 54–55.

and the relevant epigram.¹⁹ Page two features information entitled *Revoluciones annuae* and *Festa mobilia*. What followed was a general liturgical calendar, and detailed liturgical information for the Lublin Collegiate Church.

There were minor changes in the ordos in the later period. The coat of arms was generally included, with minor interruptions in the case of diocesan administrators, until the end of Vincent a Paulo Pieńkowski's episcopal ministry, that is, until the ordo for 1863. However, the coat-of-arms poems disappeared after the death of Bishop J. M. Dzięcielski, that is, after 1839.²⁰

Co-bound with 42 leaves of the ordo for 1808, the clergy directory had 14 leaves. It included information on the bishop, lists of prelates and canons of the Lublin cathedral chapter and the Lublin collegiate chapter, a list of local deans, and a list of parish clergy at each post arranged by deanery. The directory then provided a list of the seminary's board of trustees and a list of alumni, a list of competitive examiners for clergy applying for parsonage, a list of examiners for clergy of each deanery applying for confession privileges, and finally a list of priests who died in the previous year. Additional 2 leaves, placed at the end, addressed the phases of the moon and sunrise and sunset and were titled *Lunationes* and *Tabula ortus et occasus solis*, respectively.

This basic arrangement of the contents of ordos and directories appeared in various minor variations over the following decades. Beginning with the directory for 1813, the list of examiners began to be followed by announcements of examination dates for clergy and other news, including liturgical instructions, which were collected under the titles *Notificatio cleri diaecesani*, *Decreta scitu necessaria* and *Annotationes liturgicae*, respectively. Sometimes whole papal documents were also included following the catalogue, such as Benedict XIV's bull on Freemasonry in 1817. Beginning with the publication for 1817, a list of feast days associated with the ruling house began to appear, followed a year later by a description of the manner and the text of the prayer itself to be recited at that time. The ordo for 1818 included liturgical texts for celebrations at the Zamość collegiate church, which had been incorporated into the diocese, and the directory listed the members of the chapter. The directory for 1823 singles out the consistory of Lublin, after the canons of the cathedral chapter. The same publication contained a detailed collection of statistical information on parishes and clergy. Namely: the number of faithful was listed next to each parish, and the year of birth and priestly ordination was listed next to each clergyman. In addition, all the monasteries located in the diocese are presented, along with the monks and nuns. Starting with the directory for 1827, the order of clergy-related information was changed. Afterwards, the news concerning examiners and seminaries was moved ahead of the list of parish clergy, so that henceforth all central diocesan institutions and their staffing were

¹⁹ A. Strycharczuk, J.R. Marczewski, *Apoteoza godła heraldycznego biskupa Wojciecha Skarszewskiego w łacińskich wierszach herbowych w rubrycelach chełmsko-lubelskich i lubelskich*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, 63 (2015) issue 3, pp. 149–176.

²⁰ A. Strycharczuk, J.R. Marczewski, *Apoteoza godła heraldycznego biskupa Józefa Marcelego Dzięcielskiego (1768–1839) w łacińskich wierszach herbowych w rubrycelach lubelskich*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, 68 (2020) issue 3, pp. 112–128.

included at the beginning of the directory. Beginning with the directory for 1831, all announcements with the exception of information and prayers for the ruling house were moved to the end of the ordo as related to the liturgy. In the directory for 1842, the list of alumni was moved further down in the publication, following the list of priests. The practice was repeated in the directory for the following year with regard to the entire seminary institution. Beginning with the directory for 1843, an index of parishes and clergy began to be included before the information and prayers for the ruling court. In the directory for 1844, the list of the clergy, alumni and deceased priests was followed by a separate list of monasteries and regular clergy, including nuns.

This arrangement of ordos and directories was perpetuated for two decades, with the exception that, starting with the directory book for 1855, general diocesan statistics was placed before the index. The days and texts of prayers for the Pope appeared for the first time in the directory for 1864, and were placed before the texts of prayers for the members of the ruling house. Since only the ordos were published for the years 1866–1869, they included the lists and prayers for the Pope and the ruling house, as well as astronomical tables, following the liturgical calendar. This transfer was perpetuated in the following years as well – from then on, the directories ended with indexes. From 1870, the directories changed to distinguish between institutions and clergy in the Lublin and Podlasie governorates. It is worth remembering that the borders of governorates in the Congress Poland coincided with those of the dioceses. In the same year, 1870, information about the seminary's board of trustees and alumni returned to its earlier place in the directory's agenda, i.e. among the central diocesan institutions. Starting with the ordo for 1872, a number of liturgical information and indications of a general nature were placed before the liturgical calendar itself. At the end of the ordo, before the astronomical information, the only remaining information was concerned with examinations for benefices and seminary. Starting with the directory for that year, information about the pope and church superiors in Russia began to be posted in front of the offices and institutions of the Diocese of Lublin. From the ordo for 1873, prayers for the pope and ruling house were also additionally accompanied with the texts for the bishop, while information on examinations was moved to the end of the directory, after the index.

The 1874 directory is of particular interest. On its 30 pages, after the lists of foreign ecclesiastical dignitaries and before the news about local institutions and individuals, an extensive text was printed on Chełm and Kraków traditions and the establishment and organization of the Diocese of Lublin. A complete list of the previous bishops of Chełm and Lublin has also been added. Concurrently, the directory for 1875 included some documents on the origins of the Lublin Diocese. Beginning in 1876, information about the seminary was fragmented so that what pertained to the seminary board was printed next to the central institutions, while the list of alumni followed the list of all diocesan clergy. Concurrently that year, a practise was initiated to print the abbreviated directory in Russian after its Polish counterpart.

From the 1880s onward, there came a stabilization of the layout of the contents of Lublin ordos and directories alike, which lasted basically until the end of the Partition Era. Therefore, it seems worth recalling, for the sake of exemplification, the exact table of contents of one of the prints of the time. The layout and content of the selected publication for 1900 was as follows:

Directorium divini officii

De necessitate, utilitate et modo catechizandi

Revolutiones anni

Festa mobilia

Communio paschalis

Praenotanda

De oratione iussu ordinarii loci dicenda

Tempus lectionis matutini cum laudibus

Announcing the Jubilee Year

Liturgical Calendar

Brevis regula vitae

Dies festivi papales

Dies festivi episcopales

Dies festivi imperialis palatii (also in Russian)

Phases lunae

Tabella ortus et occasus centri solis

Catalogus ecclesiarum et utriusque cleri

Hierarchia Romano-Catholica

Catalogus cleri

Episcopus

Capitulum Cathedrale Lublinense

Capitulum Insignis Collegiatae Zamoscensis

Consistorium Generale

Decani foranei

Seminarium Dioecesis Lublinensis

Preceptores religionis et moralitatis in scholis publicis

Gubernium Lublinense (deaneries, parishes, clergy)

Gubernium Siedlcense (deaneries, parishes, clergy)

Ordinati anno 1899

Presbyteri emeriti

Residentes sine officio

Presbyteri extra dioecesim degentes

Demeriti

Presbyteri in Domino defuncti anno 1899

Seminarium Dioecesanum (alumni)

Hospitalia infirmorum

Diocesan statistics

Alphabetica specificatio ecclesiarum

Alphabetica consignatio universi cleri

Consignatio examinum

The identification of the places of storage and presentation of the complete collection of ordos and directories of the Lublin diocese at the time of the partitions, which has been done under this study, is undoubtedly an important achievement that can facilitate the work of future researchers of the diverse range of issues related to local church life of almost the entire 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century. Due to the specific past of local ecclesiastical structures, once combining within their boundaries several modern ecclesial organisms, the content presented in the article can presumably serve a relatively wide audience.

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RUBRYCELE I SCHEMATYZMY DIECEZJI LUBELSKIEJ W DOBIE ZABORÓW

Abstrakt

Diecezja lubelska została ustanowiona w 1805 roku mocą wydanej wówczas papieskiej bulli. Jej ogłoszenie z przyczyn politycznych zostało odłożone do 1807 roku. W konsekwencji dopiero od 1808 roku zaczęły ukazywać się rubrycele i schematyzmy lubelskie. W swoich cechach zewnętrznych oraz układzie treści przypominały wcześniejsze druki diecezji chełmskiej i chełmsko-lubelskiej. W okresie rozbiorów, w latach 1808–1918, ukazało się 111 rubrycel i 105 schematyzmów. Wszystkie udało się odnaleźć w archiwalnych i bibliotecznych instytucjach Lublina. Rubrycele i schematyzmy lubelskie były wydawane w Warszawie oraz Lublinie. Posługiwano się w nich językiem łacińskim, polskim i rosyjskim. W rubryceli zamieszczano kalendarz liturgiczny, a także ogłoszenia duszpasterskie oraz liturgiczne ważne z punktu widzenia życia diecezji i posługi księdza. W schematyzmach podawano informacje o całej hierarchii kościelnej pod panowaniem rosyjskim oraz o duchowieństwie i instytucjach diecezji lubelskiej. Z perspektywy czasu stały się one cennym źródłem do badań nad kościelną przeszłością.

Słowa kluczowe: rubrycela; schematyzm; duchowieństwo; diecezja lubelska



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PARISH OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST IN TRZCIANKA AND ITS RECORD BOOKS TO 1945

Abstract

The article broadens the current knowledge about the history of the parish of St John the Baptist in Trzcianka before 1945. It has been established that it certainly existed in the early 17th century, and had possibly been erected as early as in the 16th century. Until the second half of the eighteenth century, it operated as the Holy Trinity Parish, then its name was changed to the present one. For more than three centuries, the churches and parish buildings fell victim to fires several times and were rebuilt. The first two churches (before 1628 and 1717) were wooden, the next two (1835 and 1917) were made of brick. The parish has also changed its state and church administrative affiliations many times. The oldest preserved parish books date back to 1730 and are stored in the Archives of Koszalin-Kołobrzeg Diocese in Koszalin. Owing to a search of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century parish visitation records in the Archdiocesan Archives in Poznań, we were able to partially reconstruct information about unpreserved parish books that may have been burned in the fire of the parsonage in Trzcianka in 1730. The search in the state archives also made it possible to locate duplicates of the 19th-century record books of Trzcianka.

Keywords: record books; Catholic Church; Trzcianka; Greater Poland

Introduction

Located at the northern edge of Greater Poland, Trzcianka has changed its ecclesiastical administrative affiliation several times over the centuries. Since its creation in the 16th century, it has been part of the diocese and then, since 1821,

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the archdiocese of Poznań. In 1920, it was incorporated into the bishop's delegation based in Tuczno, and in 1930 into the Free Prelature of Piła, where it remained until the end of World War II. On 15 August 1945, Cardinal August Hlond established an apostolic administration in the so-called Western Territories, with headquarters in Gorzów Wielkopolski, to which Trzcianka was also included. This administration was transformed by Paul VI into 3 new dioceses in 1972, and Trzcianka was incorporated into the Diocese of Gorzów, to which it then belonged for 20 years. As a result of the administrative reorganization of the Church in Poland, carried out by Pope John Paul II in 1992, Trzcianka was annexed to the Koszalin-Kołobrzeg Diocese, where it is now located.¹ The archives of this diocese also hold the Trzcianka record books from before 1945.²

The purpose of this article is to outline the history of St John the Baptist Parish in Trzcianka from its inception to the end of World War II and to gather information on its record books until 1945, i.e. 3 basic types of books: baptisms/births, marriages, and deaths, for which extensive information has survived. Other types of parish registers will be omitted, as it is difficult to determine whether they were ever kept in Trzcianka before 1945. The article will cover both the original Trzcieanec record books and their duplicates made up to 1874 as civil registration records. These duplicates, although called civil registry books, were in fact copies of parish registers. The relevant civil registry books from 1874–1945 will be omitted for the purpose of the article. Although they often contain very similar information to that included in parish record books, they nevertheless constitute a completely different type of source. All civil registry books for Trzcianka urban and rural districts are currently (2020) either in the State Archives in Poznań Branch in Piła,³ or in the Registry Office in Trzcianka.⁴

The history of the parish of St John the Baptist in Trzcianka until 1945

The Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka was one of the three main religious communities in the town before 1945, along with the Evangelical parish and the Jewish community.⁵ It is not known when exactly it was founded, but it was un-

¹ T. Ceynowa, *Trzcianka*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 19, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2013, col. 1101–1102.

² A list of the record books of Trzcieanec stored in the Archives of the Koszalin-Kołobrzeg Diocese, along with their physical description and contents, was recently published by: T. Ceynowa, *Katolickie księgi metrykalne diecezji koszalińsko-kołobrzesckiej*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 113 (2020) pp. 69–70.

³ State Archive in Poznań Branch in Piła (hereinafter: APPiła), Trzcianka Registry Office – urban district, ref. 576 (1874–1916 birth records, 1874–1935 marriage records, 1874–1934 death records) and Trzcianka Registry Office – rural district, ref. 577 (1874–1916 birth records, 1874–1934 marriage records, 1874–1934 death records). All records for both districts from 1874–1914 have been digitized, and the digital copies are available at www.szukajwarchiwach.gov.pl (accessed on: 1.04.2020).

⁴ These are 1917–1945 birth records (for urban and rural districts), 1936–1945 (urban district) and 1935–1945 (rural district) marriage records, and 1935–1945 death records (for urban and rural districts).

⁵ M.L. Bamberger, *Die jüdische Gemeinde und ihre Einrichtungen*, in: *Schönlanke an der Ostbahn*, ed. E. Froese, Berlin 1930, pp. 26–27; W. Bartel, *Die evangelische Kirchgemeinde*, in:

doubtedly the oldest officially operating religious community in Trzcianka. The earliest surviving document mentioning the existence of a Catholic church in Trzcianka dates back to 1620 and reports that the temple was at that time under the care of the parish administrator assigned to the village by the parson of Piła and the dean of Czarnków.⁶ The earliest record indicating that this church was a parish church dates back to 1624.⁷

It is highly probable that the village of Trzcianka had a small, probably wooden, church as early as in the 16th century.⁸ It presumably collapsed in 1601 or slightly earlier. In a study on the town of Trzcianka published in 1930, the local vicar, Rev. Joachim Aust, began his description of the history of the Catholic parish by quoting an unknown document from 1601, which purported to record: 'our old wooden church has already collapsed.'⁹ So far, this is the only trace indicating the existence of a church in Trzcianka in the 16th century.

In 1580, the village of Trzcianka had its own bell, as attested by German researcher of the history of the Netze District, Prof. Carl Schulz.¹⁰ Ownership of the bell may have been linked to the construction of the first church in Trzcianka as early as the 16th century. This is the hypothesis that some researchers are leaning towards.¹¹ However, the bell alone is not the evidence of the existence of a temple, because villages without churches also had bells, hung on a special scaffolding, which sounded the alarm in case of fire, called for communal prayer or accompanied the dead on their last journey to their eternal resting place.¹²

As already mentioned, the first known record of the existence of a Catholic church in Trzcianka dates only from 1620. According to the records of the Poznań

idem, pp. 20–23; P. Birecki, *Z dziejów XIX-wiecznych kościołów Trzcianki i jej najbliższej okolicy*, „Kronika Ziemi Trzcianieckiej”, 7 (2017) pp. 21–32.

⁶ Archdiocesan Archives in Poznań (hereinafter: AAP), ref. AC 138 – Consistory records of Gaspar Hap, suffragan of Poznań, chancellor and auditor-general, Marcin Moręski, vicar-general and officiate, Jakub Wierzbicka Doruchowski, chancellor and auditor-general of Poznań in 1619–1621 (hereinafter: AC 138), k. 397; J. Nowacki, *Archidiecezja poznańska w jej granicach historycznych i jej ustrój*, vol. 2, Poznań 1964, pp. 578–579.

⁷ AAP, ref. AE XXV – Jan Trach Gniński. Records of the activities of the *absente episcopo* and *sade vacante* diocesan administrator 1619–1621, 1624 (hereinafter: AE XXV), k. 43v–44.

⁸ According to M. Hlebionka, the foundation of Trzcianka probably took place between 1558 and 1561. The village was then still called Trzcianna Łąka. Cf. M. Hlebionek, *Roźdróżka – Trzciana Łąka. Jeszcze o początkach Trzcianki*, in: idem, *Studia z dziejów Trzcianki i Ziemi Trzcianieckiej*, Trzcianka 2005, pp. 6–16.

⁹ J. Aust, *Die katholische Kirchengemeinde Schönlanke*, in: *Schönlanke*, p. 23.

¹⁰ C. Schulz, *Merktafeln zur Geschichte des Netzekreises und der Stadt Schönlanke*, Schönlanke-Kreuz 1930, p. 37.

¹¹ Cf. M. Hlebionek, *Pejzaż epigraficzny Trzcianki*, in: idem, *Studia z dziejów Trzcianki*, p. 40 and the works he cites.

¹² The situation was similar in nearby Nowa Wieś, which had a bell as early as ca. 1700. It fell from a scaffolding set up in the garden of one of the landlords and was melted down in 1738 and placed in the cemetery bell tower, although the first church in Nowa Wieś had not been built until 1798. Cf. F. Just, *Dreihundert Jahre Posener Schulzendorf. Geschichte des Dorfes Neudorf bei Schönlanke (Kr. Czarnikau)*, Bromberg 1918, p. 73.

consistory, at that time it was under the care of the parish administrator, Rev. Joshua Zibardus (Zybert), who was appointed to this office in the same year.¹³ Administrator of a parish or other benefice was appointed in place of another clergyman, collecting income from that benefice. Thus, it is possible that Trzcianka parish already existed at that time, and J. Zibardus was its administrator on behalf of another parson, drawing income from Trzcianka parish property.

J. Zibardus was not a good manager of the parish and had to leave after about 3 years. His successor in Trzcianka was Rev. Henryk Żywacz (Szywacz, Struort). Poznań bishop's records report that in 1624 H. Żywacz sued his predecessor in the bishop's court, accusing him of numerous negligent acts in the management of the parish property. After hearing witnesses, the court found J. Zibardus partially guilty of the parish's debt and failure to sow the parish fields with wheat (thereby exposing his successor to losses) and ordered him to pay compensation.¹⁴ J. Zibardus was at that time the vicar in Marcinkowice in the Wałcz district.¹⁵

The earliest surviving protocol written after the bishop's visitation of the Trzcianka parish, dated 15 October 1628, reports the existence in that village of 'a parish church without any sacred invocation, unconsecrated, a foundation of the lords of Czarnków'. The visitor also noted that 'the original foundation act of the church does not exist'. According to the aforementioned document, the rector of the temple for 4 years was Rev. Michał Lyncki, a Prussian by origin. The villages of Łomnica and Nowa Wieś were then subject to this church by parish law. The property of the parish included 1 acre of land, an orchard and a fishing pond. Peasants from Trzcianka, Łomnica and Nowa Wieś paid tributes to the parish priest in the form of grain, eggs, sausages and cash.¹⁶

The document also states that the church has not been consecrated. It may have belonged for a certain time to the Lutherans during the period of the extensive Reformation (the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries), according to Ludwik Bąk, a researcher of the history of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the lands of the Netze District.¹⁷ Such a supposition seems to be confirmed also by the entry in the Visitation Protocol of 1628, stating that the Blessed Sacrament was not kept in the church. Another confirmation of this theory can be found in the decree issued by the visitor (apparently fearing Protestant influence) to not only place the Blessed Sacrament in the church, but also to carry it to the sick, if necessary, and to display it every 2 weeks for public adoration, a thoroughly Counter-Reformation effort.¹⁸ Whether or not the Trzcianka church was in Prot-

¹³ AAP, ref. AC 138, k. 397.

¹⁴ AAP, ref. AE XXV, k. 43v–44.

¹⁵ His career in Marcinkowice was also short-lived, as in 1628 he received an admonition from the visitor for neglecting the service, along with the announcement that he would be replaced 'with an exemplary priest'. Cf. L. Bąk, *Ziemia Wałecka w dobie reformacji i kontrreformacji w XVI–XVIII w.*, Piła 1999, p. 403.

¹⁶ AAP, ref. AV 07, Visitation of the Poznań Archdeaconry by Świątosław Strzałkowski 1628–1629 (hereinafter: AV 07), k. 12v–13.

¹⁷ Bąk, *Ziemia Wałecka*, pp. 404–405.

¹⁸ AAP, ref. AV 07, k. 13.

estant hands, much evidence suggests that Protestants, referred to as heretics in diocesan documents, made up the bulk of the village population. Such indications can be found in the court ruling of 1624 (heretics were said to have looted and destroyed the parish's movable property and beehives), in the visitation protocol of 1628 (the church servant at the parish church is a heretic), as well as in the visitation protocol of 1641 (the visitor says explicitly that almost all the residents of Trzcianka are heretics – ‘ab haereticis qui ibidem fere sunt omnes’).¹⁹

In February 1638, Rev. Jerzy Rzepinski, a German-speaking Pole presented by Katarzyna Czarnkowska, was introduced into the office of the parish priest of Trzcianka.²⁰ During his ministry, on 16 October 1640, the consecration of churches in Trzcianka and Biała took place.²¹ A visitation document from 1641 states that the parish church bears the invocation of the Holy Trinity, and that there is a school attached to the parish. The parish estate included farmland divided into 3 parts, which brought in 12 zlotys of annual income. Profits from crops or land lease were mainly used to buy wine and candles. The parish priest owned 1 acre of land, 2 meadows in Biała and orchards. In addition to the usual tributes in rye and Polish zlotys, the residents of Trzcianka donated chicken eggs for Easter, sausages for Christmas, and sheaves of hay, rye and oats at harvest.²²

The 17th-century parish church in Trzcianka collapsed or burned down in the early 18th century. This may have happened during the 1717 village conflagration, when 65 houses along with outbuildings, the manor house and brewery burned.²³ If the church had indeed burned down, reconstruction began the same year, for the parish's visitation protocol after the visitation conducted by Józef Kierski on 1 April 1738 mentions a new temple of 1717, as yet unconsecrated, whose founders were supposed to be the ‘heirs of the village’.²⁴

¹⁹ AAP, ref. AE XXV, k. 58v–59; AAP, sygn. AV 07, k. 13, AV 10, Visitation of the Pszczew archdeaconry by Jan Branecki administrator of the diocese and his delegate Andrzej Swinarski, and of the Oborniki and Czarnków deaneries by Feliks Mietlicki, cathedral canon in 1640–1641 (hereinafter: AV 10), k. 351v.

²⁰ AAP, ref. AC 146, Records of the Vicar General and Judicial Vicar of Poznań, concerning the *sede vacante* diocese administrator Jan of Zalesie Baykowski, suffragan of Poznań 1635–1639 (hereinafter: AC 146), k. 306.

²¹ AAP, ref. AV 14, Visitation of the Czarnków deanery by Wojciech Dobrzelewski, Archdeacon of Poznań 1663 (hereinafter: AV 14), k. 32v.

²² AAP, ref. AV 10, k. 349v–350v.

²³ Ł. Nowak, *Trzcieńskie konflagracje, czyli o pożarach folwarku, wsi i miasta Trzcianka (Trzcionka/Schönlanck) w XVIII w.*, „Kronika Ziemi Trzcieńskiej”, 9 (2019) p. 47. A description of the damage caused to the village by the fire of 18 July 1717 was published on the Trzcianka Virtual Museum website by M. Hlebionek: <https://wirtualnemuzeumtrzcianki.trz.pl/content/opis-szkód-wyrządzonych-miejscowości-przez-pożar-w-1717r> (accessed on: 1.03.2020).

²⁴ AAP, ref. AV 26, Visitation of the Czarnków and Wałcz deanery by Bishop Suffragan Józef Tadeusz Kierski, Vicar General Custodian and Judicial Vicar of Poznań 1738 (hereinafter: AV 26), k. 143; J. Łukaszewicz, *Krótki opis historyczny kościołów parochialnych, kościółków, kaplic, klasztorów, szkółek parochialnych, szpitali i innych zakładów dobroczynnych w dawnej diecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 1, Poznań 1858, p. 196.

A more detailed description of the parish church was included in the visitation records of Bishop Krzysztof Antoni Szembek in 1718:

The new church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity [...]. Inside: flooring, plank ceiling, pews, choir – all new. No pipe organ. One new altar, freshly gilded. Both the ceiling and the walls next to it are painted in colours. No foundation. The altar has a consecrated portable altar with relics permitted by the [church] office, according to an inscription on the opposite side, where relics of saints are placed. In addition, two new altars have altar stones; one of them has an old altar on it with a sculpture of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. No chapels. Brand new ciborium, gilded, well stocked with latches and locked.²⁵

In 1713, Rev. Andrew Stanislaw Cybort became the parish priest in Trzcianka. His contribution to the parish was not only the construction of a new temple in 1717. He also meticulously maintained the church's books. The oldest surviving record book of the Catholic parish in Trzcianka (1730–1753) was prepared and filled in large part by him. Rev. A. S. Cybort died in 1738 in Trzcianka and was the first parish priest to be buried in the church he built. His successor was Rev. Jakub Ladwig, who also died in Trzcianka and was buried near the church in 1751. These are the oldest information about the burial of parish priests in Trzcianka.²⁶

In 1731, the village was granted township status,²⁷ which, however, initially had little impact on the life of the parish. The formation of urban structures must have continued for the next several years, because in the 1830s the oldest record book still referred to Trzcianka as a village. It was not until the mid-18th century that vicars began to appear in the then urban parish.²⁸

In 1754, a prominent figure became the parish priest in Trzcianka, namely a Warsaw canon and secretary to the Bishop of Poznań Teodor Kazimierz Czartoryski – Rev. Jan Ginter. After several years of his ministry, on St. John's Day, 24 June 1754, Trzcianka was hit by a major fire in the city, in which, in addition to the houses of the townspeople, all the parish buildings burned down. However,

²⁵ AAP, ref. AV 19, Visitation of the Greater Poland Part of the Diocese by Bishop Krzysztof Antoni Szembek 1718–1719 (hereinafter: AV 19), k. 26.

²⁶ Archive of the Koszalin-Kołobrzeg Diocese in Koszalin (hereafter: ADKK), ref. 43, Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka. Book of baptisms, marriages and deaths 1730–1753 (hereinafter: 43), pp. 420, 424.

²⁷ The act granting Trzcianka township status was signed by King Augustus II the Strong on 3 March 1731. However, the village of Trzcianka and the farmstead continued to exist near the town, functioning as separate entities. M. Hlebionek, *Przywilej lokacyjny miasta Trzcianki*, Trzcianka 2006, p. 4; Schulz, *Merktafeln zur Geschichte*, pp. 38–39.

²⁸ The earliest mention of the presence of a vicar in Trzcianka dates back to 16 February 1749. This is an entry in the marriage records, in which Rev. Mathias Schröder is identified as *vicarius trzcionensis*. In addition, Rev. M. Schröder does not appear in the records until 1751, when, as one of several priests arriving as a substitute in Trzcianka after the death of Rev. Jan Jaht, he performed several baptisms in the local church, but was not identified as a vicar. He may have done so as one of the canons of Czarnków, after an unsuccessful attempt to install him in Trzcianka in 1749. The first vicar, who certainly remained in the local parish for several years, was Rev. Adam Jaht, working in Trzcianka since March 1753. The parish priest at the time was Rev. J. Jaht (1751–1754). ADKK, ref. 43, p. 281n.

the church survived, which the townspeople considered an obvious miracle. Every year since then, 24 June has been celebrated as a municipal holiday. Shortly after the fire, the name of the parish must also have been changed from Holy Trinity to St John the Baptist.²⁹ Father J. Ginter not only led to the reconstruction of the parish buildings in a short time, but taking advantage of the favour of the Catholic owner of the Trzcianka estates, count Antoni Lasocki, he applied in 1765 for a special document in which the count confirmed the former obligations to the church and granted new privileges to the parish in Trzcianka.³⁰

When, as a result of the First Partition of Poland, the lands north of the Noteć River were annexed to Prussia, the Bishop of Poznań Andrzej Młodziejowski established a district officiality for them in 1773, with its headquarters initially in Trzcianka and, after the Second Partition of Poland, in Wałcz. Rev. J. Ginter, a parish priest from Trzcianka, became the judicial vicar.³¹ At this time, the establishment of an Evangelical parish in Trzcianka took place (1 February 1773).³² The Evangelicals accounted for about two-thirds of the city's total population. According to statistics from 1771, there were 1133 Catholics and 2015 dissidents living in the parish of Trzcianka, not including Jews.³³

By the end of the 18th century, the wooden Catholic church was in need of major renovation. The inspection protocol of the Trzcianka estate in 1793 stated that it was already in danger of collapse at that time, nevertheless there were still plans to change the roofing.³⁴ The building survived another 30 years in this condition. In 1823, the cemeteries at the Catholic and Protestant churches were closed and moved to a site then outside the city.³⁵ Afterwards, works were undertaken to clear the church grounds and demolish the old parish buildings. This prepared the site for the construction of a new brick parish church, which was solemnly consecrated on 20 August 1835. The newly built temple had Baroque altars, which were transferred from the decommissioned monastery in Gołańcz.³⁶

²⁹ *Trzcianka w przeszłości i obecnie. Rękopisy z 1912 r.*, ed. and trans. Ł. Nowak, Trzcianka 2019, p. 171; Nowak, *Trzcieńskie konflagracje*, pp. 43–44.

³⁰ M. Hlebionek, *Źródła do dziejów parafii w Trzciance*, Trzcianka 1996, pp. 18–22.

³¹ B. Kumor, *Ustrój i organizacja Kościoła polskiego w okresie niewoli narodowej (1772–1918)*, Kraków 1980, p. 178. Rev. J. Ginter's successors in the office of parish priest were: Rev. Ignatius Stielke (1778–1790), Rev. Jakub Szwanki (1790–1791), Rev. Piotr Westfal (1791–1807), Rev. Jan Dalski (1807–1828), Rev. Martin Moerke (1828–1832), Rev. Marcin Tuszyński (1832–1838), Rev. Jakob Kranz (1838–1861), Rev. Robert Samberger (1861–1865), Rev. Gustav Lüdke (1865–1890), Rev. Adalbert Lenz (1890–1907), Rev. Stanisław Paradowski (1907–1910), Rev. Aloysius Bucks (1910–1922), Rev. Bernhard Timm (1922–1945). Cf. M. Hlebionek, *Z dziejów parafii w Trzciance*, Trzcianka 1995, p. 40.

³² Schulz, *Merktafeln zur Geschichte*, p. 42.

³³ M. Kędelski, *Ludność północno-zachodniej Wielkopolski w XVIII w.*, „Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza”, 36 (1991) p. 34.

³⁴ *Protokoły rewizyjne dóbr trzcieńskich z 1793 r.*, ed. and trans. Ł. Nowak, Trzcianka 2018, p. 157.

³⁵ APPiła, ref. 15/715, *Anlegung von Begräbnisplätzen und Kommunalfriedhof 1931–1944* [nonpaginated].

³⁶ Hlebionek, *Z dziejów parafii*, p. 10.

At the beginning of the 18th century, Trzcianka experienced a decline in population, and consequently the number of Catholics diminished significantly. In 1818, they accounted for just over 1/5 of the total population. Of the 2,789 total Trzcianka residents, 1,579 were Lutherans, 609 were Catholics, and 600 were Jews.³⁷ The city's population began to increase with the development of industry from the mid-19th century. In 1871, there were already 3954 people living in Trzcianka, including 2542 Evangelicals, 841 Catholics and 571 Jews.³⁸

In 1890, the number of Trzcianka Catholics reached about 1,000. At that time, large factories began to open in the city, attracting an increasing number of workers. This brought the number of Catholics to nearly 3,000 by the beginning of the 20th century, almost five times the number of Catholics when the parish church was built. In view of this, it was necessary to erect a new temple. Construction work began in the spring of 1914 and was successfully completed despite the ongoing war. The consecration of the new church, built in neo-Baroque style, took place on 2 December 1917.³⁹

In 1922, Rev. Aloysius Bucks, the constructor of the Trzcianka church, left the parish, and was replaced by the last German parish priest, Rev. Bernhard Timm. Between 1925 and 1940, the parish had a population of about 3,200 believers, making pastoral work in the parish beyond the capacity of a single priest. Therefore, from 1925 until the end of the war, one additional vicar was employed.⁴⁰

The territorial coverage of the Catholic parish in Trzcianka has changed only slightly over the centuries. The visitation protocol of 1641 states that even then it included (apart from Trzcianka itself): Łąka Pańska (later Sarcz), Łomnica, Nowa Wieś and Straduń.⁴¹ Over the years, new settlements were established within the parish, which automatically became part of it, namely: Rudka (as Hutka farmstead, 17th century), Rychlik (as Carolina settlement incorporated into the parish in 1855) and Smolarnia (early 18th century). By 1920, the following towns and villages, in addition to the town of Trzcianka itself, already belonged to the Catholic parish: Łomnica, Nowa Wieś, Przyłęki, Rudka, Rychlik, Sarcz, Smolarnia and Straduń. In 1920, more villages were added to the parish: Biernatowo (railroad station),

³⁷ J. Demian, *Handbuch der neuen Geographie des Preußischen Staats*, Berlin 1818, p. 368.

³⁸ D. Chojecki, *Obraz statystyczno-administracyjny Trzcianki w 1873 roku, część I*, „Kronika Ziemi Trzcianeckiej”, 4 (2014) p. 46.

³⁹ *Kronika parafii pw. św. Jana Chrzciciela w Trzciance 1914–1918 spisana przez ówczesnego proboszcza – ks. Aloysiusa Bucksa*, ed. and trans. Ł. Nowak, Trzcianka 2015, pp. 22–36.

⁴⁰ *Apostolische Administratur Schneidemühl 1927* [Schematismus], Schneidemühl 1927, p. 14; *Freie Prälatur Schneidemühl 1932* [Schematismus], Schneidemühl 1932, p. 34; *Freie Prälatur Schneidemühl 1936* [Schematismus], Schneidemühl 1936, p. 37; *Freie Prälatur Schneidemühl 1940* [Schematismus], Schneidemühl 1940, pp. 40–41; P. Hammling, *Zur Geschichte der katholischen Kirche im Netzekreise*, in: *Die Apostolische Administratur Schneidemühl*, ed. F. Westpfahl, Schneidemühl 1928, p. 92.

⁴¹ AAP, ref. AV 10, k. 351.

Górnica, Hedwigshof (a settlement now defunct) and Siedlisko. This state of affairs was preserved until the end of World War II.⁴²

In 1945, Trzcianka became part of Poland again after 173 years, and the care of the parish was entrusted to the Congregation of the Missionaries of La Salette, who have worked there to this day.

Record Books

Nonpreserved originals

The earliest mention of the keeping of record books in Trzcianka is contained in the visitation protocol of the Archdiocese of Poznań of 13 March 1641, where they were listed in the parish inventory among other books. These included baptism and marriage records ('libri metrices baptisatorum et copulatorum').⁴³ Presumably these metrical records did not survive until the next visitation or were discontinued, since the next visitation protocol of 18 July 1663 recommended that the parish priest keep baptism and marriage books.⁴⁴ Conducting the next visitation of the Trzcianka parish, Archdeacon Mikołaj Zalasowski noted in his protocol of 2 October 1695, that metrical records had been kept since 1680. Again, this was a case of baptism and marriage books, but there was no death book ('libri metrices, baptisatorum simul et matrimonia liber copulatorum ab anno 1680 ad annum praesentem sunt conscripti et mortuorum desunt').⁴⁵ Between 1695 and 1718, a death record book must have been drawn up as well, since in the documents of the parish visitation conducted in 1718 Bishop K. A. Szembek noted that the parish of Trzcianka kept parish registers of the baptisms, marriages and deaths transcribed according to the prescribed model ('libri metrices baptisatorum, copulatorum et mortuorum secundum formam descriptorum dantur').⁴⁶ Visitation of 1727 mentions only one book in *quarto* format, kept for 3 types of records.⁴⁷ One book is also mentioned in the 1738 visitation.⁴⁸ However, this is certainly not the same manuscript. Entries in the oldest surviving ledger begin in March 1730. It can therefore be assumed that the ledger listed in 1727 was kept until February 1730. It is difficult to say whether at the time of the 1738 visitation the older records no longer existed, or whether the visitor may have focused only on the ledger in which he made an entry. A clue to this may be found in the 1738 visitation protocol, which states that 'the [parish priest's] residence burned down eight years ago'.⁴⁹ Perhaps along with the rectory in 1730, the older parish books were also burned.

⁴² W. Volkmann, *Die Kirchenbücher der katholischen Pfarreien in der früheren Provinz Grenzmark Posen-Westpreußen*, Schneidemühl 1939, p. 105.

⁴³ AAP, ref. AV 10, k. 351.

⁴⁴ AAP, ref. AV 14, k. 34.

⁴⁵ AAP, ref. AV 18, Visitation of the Archdeaconry by Mikołaj Zalasowski 1696–1696 (hereinafter: AV 18), k. 364v.

⁴⁶ AAP, ref. AV 19, k. 29v.

⁴⁷ AAP, ref. AV 20, Visitation of the Poznań Archdeaconry by Franciszek Libowicz 1726–1728 (hereinafter: AV 20), k. 319v.

⁴⁸ AAP, ref. AV 26, k. 143v.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, k. 145.

None of the books kept before 1730 have survived to the present day. As early as 1851, Józef Łukaszewicz, a researcher of the history of the Poznań Archdiocese, wrote about the Trzcianka church: 'Its present books begin with the year 1730, the earlier ones probably burned down in the frequent fires of the place.'⁵⁰

Table 1. List of nonpreserved record books of the Catholic parish in Trzcianka

Type	Years	Place of last storage	Year of last known mention
Baptisms Marriages	1641	Parish Archives	1641
Baptisms Marriages	1680–1695	Parish Archives	1695, perhaps a reference from 1718 also applies to it
Baptisms Marriages Deaths	1718 (deaths after 1695)	Parish Archives	1718, lost before 1851 (probably burned in 1730)
Baptisms Marriages Deaths	1727–1730	Parish Archives	1727, lost before 1851 (probably burned in 1730)

Source: AAP, AV 10, k. 351; AV 18, k. 364v; AV 19, k. 29v, AV 20, k. 319v

Preserved originals

The oldest surviving record book of the Catholic parish in Trzcianka covers the years 1730–1753. It is a single *in quarto* format ledger for 3 types of metrical records: baptisms, marriages and deaths. It is already mentioned in the 1738 visitation, which was also noted in it.⁵¹ The second oldest surviving Trzcianka record book began in 1754 and by 1797 all 3 types of metrical records were entered in it.⁵² Then, due to lack of space for further entries for marriages and deaths, a separate ledger was established for them in 1797, and the ledger that begun in 1754 was continued with entries for baptisms alone. This situation lasted until 1829, when this ledger was closed, and baptisms from 1829–1830 began to be recorded in the book established earlier for marriage and death records. In 1830, this ledger was closed as well, and from 1831, 3 separate ledgers were kept: baptism, marriage and death records. Thus, until 1830, there was a system in Trzcianka based on dividing one book into 3 parts and entering 3 types of metrical records into it at

⁵⁰ Łukaszewicz, *Krótki opis historyczny*, p. 196.

⁵¹ AAP, ref. AV 26, k. 143v; ADKK, ref. 43, pp. 70, 351, 419.

⁵² Not only metrical entries were made in this book. It also contains a number of copies of documents from the 18th and 19th centuries that are relevant to researching the history of the parish. Cf. M. Hlebionek, „*Documenta ecclesiae parochialis Trzciankensis*” w inwentarzu parafii z 1798 roku, in: *Pamiętnik I Ogólnopolskiego Zjazdu Studentów Archiwistyki*, eds. W. Chorażyczewski, R. Degen, Toruń 1998, pp. 75–81. Some of these copies were published in 1996. Cf. Hlebionek, *Źródła do dziejów parafii w Trzciance*.

the same time. The ledgers from this period are characterized by a fair amount of arbitrariness in the formulation of entries, and are also partially incomplete. It was not until 1830 that a system was introduced that involved completing a printed form of metrical records.⁵³ A total of 11 Catholic record books were drawn up between 1730 and 1945, including three simultaneously for baptisms, marriages and deaths (1730–1830), four for baptisms alone, and two each for marriages and deaths alone (1831–1945). Until 2004, all these records were kept in the archives of St John the Baptist parish in Trzcianka.⁵⁴ According to the decree of Ordinary Bishop of the Diocese of Koszalin-Kołobrzeg Marian Gołębiewski of 4 November 2003, all archives in the parishes belonging to this diocese produced before 1945 had to be handed over for mandatory deposit to the diocesan archives.⁵⁵ On 7 October 2004, the parish of St John the Baptist in Trzcianka transferred its metrical records from 1730–1945 to the Archives of the Koszalin-Kołobrzeg Diocese in Koszalin, where they can be found until today (2020).⁵⁶

Table 2. List of preserved record books of the Catholic parish in Trzcianka

Type	Years	Place of storage
1	2	3
Baptisms Marriages Deaths	1730–1753 1730–1753 1730–1753	ADKK, Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka, ref. 43
Baptisms Marriages Deaths	1754–1829 1754–1797 1754–1797	ADKK, Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka, ref. 44
Baptisms Marriages Deaths	1829–1830 1797–1830 1797–1830	ADKK, Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka, ref. 45
Baptisms	1831–1863	ADKK, Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka, ref. 46

⁵³ M. Hlebionek, *Archiwum Parafii św. Jana Chrzciciela w Trzciance*, Przegląd Zachodniopomorski, XIII/ XLII (1998) issue 1, p. 165.

⁵⁴ A 1962 study published by the *Katholisches Kirchenbuchamt und Archiv für Heimatvertriebene* of Munich on the metrical records of Catholic church provinces east of the Oder and Neisse rivers as of 8 May 1945 incorrectly states that the oldest surviving record books of the Catholic parish in Trzcianka are the baptism book from 1831, the marriage book from 1886–1944 and the death book from 1872. Cf. *Handbuch über die Kirchenbücher in der Ostdeutschen Kirchenprovinz östlich der Oder und Neiße und dem Bistum Danzig*, ed. J. Kaps, München 1962, p. 134.

⁵⁵ *Zarządzenie w sprawie gromadzenia zbiorów Archiwum Diecezji Koszalińsko-Kołobrzesckiej*, Koszalińsko-Kołobrzesckie Wiadomości Diecezjalne, 10–12 (2003) pp. 37–38.

⁵⁶ Archive of the parish of St John the Baptist in Trzcianka (hereinafter: APTJCh), Acceptance protocol of archival materials from the parish of Trzcianka transferred to the Diocesan Archives in Koszalin dated 4 October 200.

1	2	3
Marriages	1831–1885	ADKK, Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka, ref. 47
Deaths	1831–1872	ADKK, Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka, ref. 48
Baptisms	1863–1893	ADKK, Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka, ref. 49
Deaths	1872–1945	ADKK, Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka, ref. 50
Marriages	1886–1944	ADKK, Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka, ref. 51
Baptisms	1893–1920	ADKK, Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka, ref. 52
Baptisms	1921–1945	ADKK, Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka, ref. 53

Source: ADKK, Inventory of the fond: Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka

Duplicates

As a result of the First Partition of Poland, the Netze District became part of Prussia, and on 22 September 1772 Prussian troops seized Trzcianka.⁵⁷ Beginning in 1794, parish record books gained the status of public documents in Prussia, and extracts made from them could be used for secular purposes. The 1794 General Domestic Law for the Prussian States (§500–§509) required the priests of Catholic and Protestant parishes to prepare duplicate record books at the end of each calendar year.⁵⁸

During the time of the Duchy of Warsaw, it was made compulsory to keep state registry books: births, marriages and deaths, but the function of civil registrars was usually performed by clergymen and these records were actually duplicates of church books. Such an order continued in Prussia even after 1815 and lasted until 1874, when civil registry offices independent of the clergy were established and urban and rural mayors were appointed their managers.⁵⁹

For Trzcianka, duplicates of Catholic record books have been preserved only fragmentarily in the State Archives in Poznań and its branch in Piła.⁶⁰ Those stored at the National Archives in Piła were transferred there in August 2006 from the District Court in Trzcianka. Digital copies of some of the duplicates stored in both Poznań and Piła are available on the *Szukaj w archiwach* website.⁶¹

⁵⁷ J. Dolata, *Trzcianka w latach 1772–1815*, in: J. Dolata, E. Gajda, H. Rogacki, *Trzcianka. Zarys dziejów*, vol. 1, Poznań 1994, p. 60.

⁵⁸ *Allgemeines Landesrecht für die Preußischen Staaten*, vol. IV, Berlin 1794, pp. 789–790.

⁵⁹ A. Hamryszczak, *Materiały do badań genealogicznych w zasobach Instytutu Archiwów, Bibliotek i Muzeów Kościelnych KUL w Lublinie*, „Rocznik Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Genealogicznego”, 1 (2009) pp. 112–113.

⁶⁰ *Księgi metrykalne i stanu cywilnego w archiwach państwowych w Polsce*, ed. A. Laszuk, Warsaw 2003, p. 406.

⁶¹ APP, Civil Status Records of the Roman Catholic Parish of Czarnków and parishes of various denominations of the Czarnków district, ref. 3266/0: https://www.szukajwarchiwach.gov.pl/zespol?p_p_id=Zespol&p_p_lifecycle=1&p_p_state=normal&p_p_mode=view&_Zespol_javax.portlet.action=zmienWidok&_Zespol_nameofjsp=jednostki&_Zespol_id_zespolu=18759 (accessed on: 1.05.2020); APPiła, Civil Status Records of the Roman Catholic Parish of Trzcianka, ref. 894: <https://www.szuka->

Table 3. List of duplicate record books of the Catholic parish in Trzcianka

Type	Years	Place of storage
Deaths	1815–1816	APP, Civil Status Records of the Roman Catholic Parish of Czarnków and parishes of various denominations of the Czarnków district, ref. 3266/0/2
Baptisms Marriages	1818	APPiła, Civil Status Records of the Roman Catholic Parish of Trzcianka, ref. 894/1
Baptisms Deaths	1819	APPiła, Civil Status Records of the Roman Catholic Parish of Trzcianka, ref. 894/2
Baptisms Marriages Deaths	1820–1821	APPiła, Civil Status Records of the Roman Catholic Parish of Trzcianka, ref. 894/3
Deaths	1851–1861	APP, Civil Status Records of the Roman Catholic Parish of Czarnków and parishes of various denominations of the Czarnków district, ref. 3266/0/49
Baptisms Marriages Deaths	1858	APP, Civil Status Records of the Roman Catholic Parish of Czarnków and parishes of various denominations of the Czarnków district, ref. 3266/0/45
Deaths	1864	APP, Civil Status Records of the Roman Catholic Parish of Czarnków and parishes of various denominations of the Czarnków district, ref. 3266/0/53
Deaths	1868	APP, Civil Status Records of the Roman Catholic Parish of Czarnków and parishes of various denominations of the Czarnków district, ref. 3266/0/57
Deaths	1872–1874	APP, Civil Status Records of the Roman Catholic Parish of Czarnków and parishes of various denominations of the Czarnków district, ref. 3266/0/63

Source: APP, Inventory of the fond: Civil Status Records of the Roman Catholic Parish of Czarnków and parishes of various denominations of the Czarnków district; APPiła, Inventory of the fond: Records of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianka

Conclusion

The author's search of state and church archives has shed new light on the history of the parish of St John the Baptist in Trzcianka and its metrical records. It also provided an opportunity to correct some untrue statements and inaccurate accounts. A search of the Catholic parish's visitation records led to a determination of the time and form of its record books during the Old Polish period. This information has never been published before.

jwarchiwach.gov.pl/zespol?p_p_id=Zespol&p_p_lifecycle=1&p_p_state=normal&p_p_mode=view&_Zespol_javax.portlet.action=zmienWidok&_Zespol_nameofjsp=jednostki&_Zespol_id_zespolu=23718 (accessed on: 1.05.2020).

Parish record books are an invaluable source not only for genealogical research, but also for regional studies. The information contained in them allows us to supplement our existing knowledge of the history of Trzcianka and the surrounding area. Further research would need to use the metrical data to conduct an analysis of social change and demographics in the parish. The development of a comprehensive monograph of the parish based on the latest findings, including hitherto unknown historical sources, also remains a research postulate.

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ref. 47, Book of marriages 1831–1885.

ref. 48, Book of deaths 1831–1872.

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PARAFIA PW. ŚW. JANA CHRZCICIELA W TRZCIANCIE I JEJ KSIĘGI METRYKALNE DO 1945 ROKU

Abstrakt

Artykuł znacznie poszerza dotychczasowy stan wiedzy na temat dziejów parafii pw. św. Jana Chrzciciela w Trzciancie przed 1945 rokiem. Ustalono, że z pewnością istniała ona już na początku XVII wieku, a możliwe, że powstała jeszcze w wieku XVI. Do drugiej połowy XVIII wieku funkcjonowała jako parafia pw. Trójcy Świętej, następnie zmieniono jej wezwanie na obecne. Przez ponad trzy wieki kościoły i zabudowania parafialne kilkakrotnie padały ofiarą pożarów i były odbudowywane. Pierwsze dwie świątynie (sprzed 1628 r. i 1717 r.) były drewniane, dwie kolejne (1835 r. i 1917 r.) murowane. Parafia wielokrotnie zmieniała również państwową i kościelną przynależność administracyjną. Najstarsze zachowane księgi parafialne pochodzą z 1730 r. i przechowywane są w Archiwum Diecezji Koszalińsko-Kołobrzeskiej w Koszalinie. Dzięki kwerendzie w siedemnasto- i osiemnastowiecznych aktach wizytacji parafialnych z Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego w Poznaniu częściowo udało się odtworzyć informacje na temat niezachowanych ksiąg parafialnych, które mogły spłonąć w pożarze plebanii w Trzciancie w 1730 r. Kwerenda w archiwach państwowych pozwoliła także na ustalenie miejsc przechowywania duplikatów trzcieńskich ksiąg metrykalnych pochodzących z XIX w.

Słowa kluczowe: księgi metrykalne; Kościół katolicki; Trzciańska; Wielkopolska



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THE SALESIAN ARCHIVE OF THE PROVINCE OF WARSAW – THE HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

Abstract

The Salesian Archive of the Province of Warsaw has always been located in the provincial council's headquarters (Oświęcim 1919–1922, the Powiśle District of Warsaw 1923–1944, Łódź: Wodna Street 1945–1978 and Kopcińskiego Street 1978–1986, the Praga District of Warsaw 1986-).

Initially, the archive was headed by a provincial secretary. Generally, as a current archive, the Salesian Archive of the Province of Warsaw was associated with the Salesian secretariat and was established for its internal use. The archive cannot be referred to as historical until the 1960s, when in 1967, Rev. Czesław Madej was seconded to deal with this task. The archive was burnt in September 1944, during the German pacification of the Powiśle District of Warsaw. The archival collection was partially recreated out of the unburnt part of the collection and materials located in other Salesian institutions. It is assumed that the main organizer of the archive was Rev. Andrzej Świda who, in 1972–1995, collected, arranged and systemized each of the archival items. He divided the collected acts and documents into fonds and subfonds arranging them in the same way as it was done in the General Salesian Archive in Rome. Each of three adjacent rooms (the music collection repository, the study room and the main repository) was equipped with a reference library containing basic magazines, dictionaries, indexes, books on various Salesian topics, Salesian printed and typescript publications and typescripts of Ph.D. and M.A. theses.

Keywords: the Salesian Society; archive; library; Warsaw

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Introduction

The Central Archive of the Society of St Francis de Sales (hereinafter: Salesian Society, congregation) was generally located in the provincial house and was one of its agencies. Therefore, it is appropriate to zoom in on the 'journey' of the Board of Directors of the St Stanislaus Kostka Province. At the end of the 19th century, Salesians from Italy arrived on Polish soil and established their first establishments in the areas of the Austrian Partition. In 1905, a new Province of the Holy Guardian Angels (Austrian-Hungarian) was established with headquarters in Oświęcim. Salesian establishments in Galicia during the Partitions received recognition on 27 June 1912 by Emperor Franz Joseph I.¹ The dynamic development of the congregation, language and nationality difficulties, and Poland's regaining of independence influenced the separation of the new Province of St Stanislaus Kostka in 1919, with its headquarters in Oświęcim, and from 1923 in Warsaw's Powiśle District. On 14 May 1922, the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment approved the existence of the Society of St Francis de Sales in Poland, as a result of which it obtained legal personality.² Until 1933, the Polish Province included all parishes, as well as teaching and care works run by Salesians in the Second Republic. Due to long distances, communication difficulties and the development of a network of establishments, a new Province of St Hyacinth with headquarters in Krakow (southern) was separated from the Province of St Stanislaus Kostka (northern) in 1933. In 1979, during the last administrative division of houses and Salesians in Poland, the new Province of Piła under the name of St Adalbert³ was separated from the Province of St Stanislaus Kostka (Warsaw).

In the activities of the Salesian Society in Poland, with the exception of the Salesian Archives of the Piła Province, the archive is regarded as a place or premises. For many years, the provincial's secretary was responsible for them. At the time, the storage location of historical archives was associated with the registry of the provincial secretariat, and the objects were located on shelves or in separate, lockable wooden cabinets located in the secretariat, hallway and corridor. A sep-

¹ Cf. Archivio Salesiano Centrale – Rome (ASC), E 961, Austria, decree of erection of 14 October 1905; S. Zimniak, *Salesiani nella Mitteleuropa. Preistoria e storia della provincia Austro-Ungarica della Società di S. Francesco di Sales (1868 ca-1919)*, Roma 1997, pp. 339–340.

² Based on the *Decree on Associations* of 3 January 1919 (Journal of Laws 1919, no 3, item 88), the Minister approved the *Statutes of the Salesian Society*. Archive of New Files in Warsaw, Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment. Male Orders, vol. 5, ref. 911, k. 468–469; A. Świda, *Droga do samodzielności polskiej prowincji salezjańskiej*, Warsaw 1990, pp. 111–112; J. Krawiec, *Powstanie Towarzystwa Św. Franciszka Salezego oraz jego organizacja i działalność na ziemiach polskich*, Kraków 2004, pp. 134–135.

³ The Salesian Archive of the Warsaw Province (hereafter: ASIW), file: Division of Polish Provinces Circular by Rev. T. Kopa and Rev. S. Pływaczek, Turin, 30 October 1933; file: Division of the Polish Provinces 1979–1980. Decree of the erection of the Salesian Provinces under the name of St Adalbert with headquarters in Piła, 16 December 1979, L.dz. 10/80 issued by Rev. General E. Vigano.

arate room for this agenda was set up in Oświęcim and in Warsaw, at the Rev. Jan Siemiec Facility, but only as late as in 1936, after the expansion of the facility and the eviction of girls from one wing. In September 1944, Salesian facilities were destroyed by the Germans during the Warsaw Uprising.⁴ Due to difficulties related to the reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Family and the Rev. Jan Siemiec Facility, the management of the St Stanislaus Kostka Province was temporarily relocated to Łódź, on Wodna Street, as of 1945. Then, from December 1978 to April 1986, the Province headquarters was located on the second floor of the new religious house (rectory) at the Church of Saint Therese of the Child Jesus in Łódź. New premises for the agendas of the board of the St Stanislaus Kostka Province have been prepared in a new edifice (religious house and rectory) at the Basilica of the Sacred Heart in Warsaw's Praga District. Since 1986, it also houses the Salesian Archives of the Warsaw Province.⁵

The early days of the Warsaw Province Archives

For most of the history of the Salesian Society in the world, including Poland, no separate religious was assigned to maintain the provincial archives. From this practice, one can conclude that the file repository was intended primarily for the internal use of the institution that produced the files. Perhaps this is why provincial archive was seen as a place of storing documents and files and statistical data. This practice was partly due to the tradition nurtured in the congregation, the lack of seconding of priests and coadjutors (religious brothers) for academic work, and above all the normative acts contained in the general regulations of the Salesian Society, approved by the Holy See. The issue of archives was systematically overlooked in the laws (constitutions) of the Society of St Francis de Sales, and was only vaguely and perfunctorily mentioned among the duties of the provincial secretary.⁶ Likewise, the most recent General Regulations of 1984 did not mention the archivist and archives as an institution, and only recommended in Article 62 the care '[...] for the maintenance of immovable and movable property. Of particular importance is the maintenance of libraries and other documentation materials, due

⁴ Cf. J. Pietrzykowski, *Towarzystwo Salezjańskie w Polsce w warunkach okupacji 1939–1945*, Warszawa 2015, pp. 230–231.

⁵ ASIW, Personal file of Rev. W. Balawajdar. Chronicle of Prov. Rev. Balawajder 20 December 1944–12 May 1945; Private correspondence 1945–1947; Rev. W. Szulczyński. Circulars 1978–1984. Circular, 8 December 1978.

⁶ 'Provincial shall appoint a secretary [...]; to him also shall be entrusted the provincial archives', *Regulaminy Towarzystwa Salezjańskiego*, Warsaw 1925, Article 356, p. 149. 'He also maintains the archives of the province and takes care of the collection and collation of statistical data', *Regulaminy Ogólne*, Łódź 1972, p. 214, Article 145. By way of justification for such past practice in the Salesian Society, it can be added that the Second Polish Plenary Synod indirectly takes note of the diocesan and parish archives: 'Objects of particular value, especially those withdrawn from worship, can be transferred to the diocesan museum or enrich the parish collection. The same is true of archives and parish book collections', *II Polski Synod Plenarny (1991–1999)*, Poznań 2001, p. 117, Article 69.

to their great cultural and community values.’ The secretary remains ‘responsible for the provincial archives, collects and compiles statistical data’.⁷

In 1987, through the efforts of the Secretary General, Rev. Francesco Maraccani, a manual/guide for provincial priests was developed and published under the title *Elementi giuridici e prassi amministrativa nel governo dell’ispettoria* (Legal Basis and Practical Guidance in the Management of Province). The last – thirteenth – chapter deals with the (central) archive of the province and the (local) archive of the religious house. The author used the relevant canons of the Code of Canon Law (487–491), the General Regulations of the Salesian Society, the Circular of the Superior General Rev. Pietro Ricaldone (24 October 1943) and the records of earlier General Chapters. In accordance with generally accepted practice, he listed the types of archives: historical, current and secret. The provincial secretary is still responsible for the first two, but a separate function appears in the document, namely archivist.⁸

Polish state and church archives do not have separate recommendations for the construction of archival buildings. The published indications mainly dealt with recommendations and storage conditions for archival materials.⁹ During the Stalinist era in Poland, when the party-state authorities unlawfully and brutally deprived the Salesians of their youth-related activities in schools and orphanages, documents, files and correspondence were secured in the central archives of the Warsaw Province to prevent them from falling into the wrong hands. For these reasons, the more valuable archival materials were temporarily stored outside their proper storage location.¹⁰

In the case of St Stanislaus Kostka Province, one can speak of a separate historical archive only in the mid-1960s. A room behind the house chapel, located on the left second balcony of the church, was used for the main storehouse. For a new and young religious congregation, this is not a date that causes complexes of delay. For the sake of some clarity, it should be mentioned that according to Fr Prof. Jerome Eugene Wyczawski, OFM, the birth of ecclesiastical archivology and the establishment of church archives with scientific instrumentation is the third decade of the 20th century.¹¹ One can speak of the separation of the historical and current archives in the Salesian Society only after 1978, that is, after the headquarters of the province was moved to a new religious house in Łódź, at Kopcińskiego Street, and to the premises in the Church of St Thérèse of the Child Jesus. The corner parts of the temple house large rooms that served as apartments for Salesians, Salesian nuns or were used as catechetical classrooms. On the east side of the third floor,

⁷ *Regulaminy Ogólne*, Rome 1986, Article 62, p. 289; Article 159, p. 363.

⁸ Atti dei Capitoli Generali n. 120, p. 279; „Atti del Consiglio generale della Società Salesiana di san Giovanni Bosco”, 66(1985) n. 314, pp. 50–56; *Elementi giuridici e prassi amministrativa nel governo dell’ispettoria*, Roma 1987, pp. 152–162.

⁹ Cf. A. Czajka, *Nowe budynki archiwalne: koncepcje, chronologie, inspiracje*, in: *Ochrona zasobu archiwów kościelnych*, ed. A. Laszuk, Warsaw 2012, p. 19.

¹⁰ Oral report by Rev. Janusz Tomasiak, transcript of interview, Warsaw, 10 June 2014.

¹¹ Cf. H.E. Wyczawski, *Przygotowanie do studiów w archiwach kościelnych*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1989, pp. 229–231; Oral report by Rev. W. Szulczyński, Warsaw, 3 September 2019.

one room with the dimensions of 10 x 12 meters has been allocated for archival storage. The storage space was sufficient and did not raise any major concerns. Excessive light in the room, due to the surface of the windows, and the difficulties associated with shading them turned out to be a sort of a drawback. Nevertheless, there were no major problems with maintaining a constant temperature and adequate humidity. A major problem, on the other hand, arose from the lack of a separate research and staff room. Out of necessity, the storeroom substituted for all these functions. The reconstituted provincial archive of a religious congregation with a new founding record initially received little attention from researchers. Two desks were inserted in the storage room for those using the archive. The Salesians, who were conducting scientific research, were allowed to temporarily take the archives to guest rooms, located in the religious house (rectory). The archival resources were organized in individual fonds and subfonds bearing the appropriate references. The files and documents were in binders in a file cabinet system and were stored in an upright position on metal rack shelves.¹²

The archive of the St Stanislaus Kostka Province, although existing since its inception, was formally erected as late as 24 May 1986 by Prov. Rev. Zdzisław Weder after the transfer of the entire collection to the religious house in Warsaw, Praga, at the Basilica of the Heart of Jesus. On 12 September 2013, he became the director of ASIW. The appointment attests to a certain independence and validity of this provincial agency and, in a sense, makes its status similar to the corresponding central archives in Poland. Prov. Rev. Andrzej Wujek approved the statute and regulations of this archive on the same day.¹³ The location of the historical archive in the basement of the Provincial Government building is in accordance with the requirements of the 1983 Code of Canon Law, which, in can. 486, §2, requires the Ordinary to properly equip the archive in the curia.¹⁴ Three adjoining rooms have been separated for the Salesian archive, with the middle one serving as a reading room and research room.

The basic equipment in the two storerooms of the provincial archive consists of stationary metal library racks with sliding shelves. The third storage room has already been prepared for the installation of modern compact shelving in it.

Reference library

Four desks (workstations) and a computer containing a reference library catalogue were prepared for the researchers in a 9 × 5 m room. A wooden bookcase with shelves containing basic dictionaries, encyclopaedias and sets of six monthlies was set up against one wall; the titles included: *Nasza Przyszłość*, *Archiwa*, *Bib-*

¹² Cf. J. Pietrzykowski, *Le risorse dell' Archivio Salesiano della Ispettorica di Varsavia*, paper delivered on 30 October 2001 in Madrid, at the ACSSA international conference [typescript in the author's collection].

¹³ ASIW, Decree erecting the Provincial Archives, Warsaw, 24 May 1986, L.dz. 205/86; Appointment of Rev. Jan Pietrzykowski as Director of the Salesian Archive of the Warsaw Province, Warsaw, 12 September 2013, L.dz. 252/2013.

¹⁴ 'In the diocesan curia there is also to be a secret archive', Code of Canon Law, Poznań 1984, can. 489, p. 223.

lioteki i Muzea Kościelne, Seminare. Poszukiwania naukowo-pastoralne (currently a quarterly – *Seminare. Poszukiwania naukowe*). On the opposite side is a wooden cabinet with drawers of catalogues and inventory books, which are unfortunately already outdated. The research room / reading room is a space where files and documents from the provincial archive are made available.¹⁵

The main storeroom of the historical archive was located to the right of the research room, directly adjacent to it, in a separate, largest (9 x 11 m) room of the basement of the provincial house. The files and documents occupy 115 linear meters. The premises of the main storeroom also serve as an auxiliary and temporary reference library. The book collection consists of publications by and about Salesians both on national and international level. An important place is occupied by source publications and those on the history and development of the Salesian work. Valuable collections include the bound periodicals and normative acts *Atti del Capitolo Superiore della Società Salesiana* and, since 1967, *Atti del Consiglio Generale della Società Salesiana*. As far as worldwide monthly magazines are concerned, there is an incomplete collection of *Bollettino Salesiano*. Its Polish version was the *Wiadomości Salezjańskie* and, from 1916, *Pokłosie Salezjańskie*. In the interwar period, the Salesians in Poland also periodically published a magazine called *Młodzież Misyjna* and *Kłosy z Bożej Roli*. Of the post-war publications of a continuous nature, the most noteworthy is a monthly magazine, initially for internal use, with a changing title: *Nostra, Nostra. Biuletyn Salezjański, Biuletyn Salezjański Nostra, Biuletyn Salezjański, Don Bosco*, and periodically published *Ziarna* addressed to the youth. On the initiative of the Provincial Vicar and then Provincial Zbigniew Malinowski, the magazine *Komunikaty*, renamed to *Pro Memoria*, was published for 20 years for internal use. Among scientific foreign continuous publications, the following six monthlies have been completed: *Salesianum. Periodicum internationale trimestre editum a professoribus Pontificiae Studiorum Universitatis Salesianae – Roma* and *Ricerche Storiche Salesiane*.

In addition to constitutions and regulations, valuable sources include printed documents of general chapters, translated into Polish since 1965. Some provincial chapters have drawn up directories, which were then published in print and given to all members of the St Stanislaus Kostka Province. Like any church archive, the Salesian archive collects various types of directories, among them more than 20 annuals of *Annuario Pontificio*. The Archive of the Warsaw Province can boast of having a valuable complete collection of *Elenco Generale della Società di S. Francesco di Sales*, Torino, Roma (1888–1979) and *Elenco Salesiani di Don Bosco*, Roma 1980–2019. Here, by way of comparison, it should be noted that the Library of the Pontifical Salesian University in Rome (UPS) has only been in the possession of *Elenco Generale* since 1893.

The collection of the reference library includes typescripts of master's, bachelor's and doctoral theses of Salesians, as well as publications by those using the Salesian Archive of the Warsaw Province. A large part of these addresses the wide-ranging

¹⁵ Cf. L. Wilczyński, *Warunki lokalowe przechowywania kościelnych materiałów archiwalnych*, in: *Ochrona zasobu archiwów kościelnych*, ed. A. Laszuk, Warsaw 2012, pp. 35–36.

activities of the Salesian Society in the pastoral, youth, school, missionary and artistic fields. Many typescripts are prepared by the Salesians for printing and are waiting for a publisher. These include ascetical conferences, practical aids related to parish leadership, catecheses, oratory and missionary work, as well as diaries and memoirs, biographies of altar candidates and more prominent members of the congregation. Of great interest among historians of the younger generation is the study by Rev. Jan Ślósarczyk *Historia prowincji św. Jacka Towarzystwa Salezjańskiego w Polsce* (vol. 1–7, Pogrzebień 1960–1969, typescript ASIW), in which the author described the history of all Salesian male and female establishments in Poland. Other major collections include the one prepared for publication by Rev. Wincenty Zaleski, Ph.D., *Mała encyklopedia hagiograficzna*.¹⁶ The confessor at the Higher Seminary of the Salesian Society at Łąd, Rev. Paweł Golla, the writing legacy of Rev. Antoni Hlond, Ph.D. collected in 25 volumes.¹⁷ Cleric Krzysztof Lis recorded Popes' statements about Poland and Poles, under the supervision of Rev. Stanisław Kosinski, M.A.¹⁸

Postwar reconstruction of the Salesian Archive of the Warsaw Province

The Salesian Archive of the Warsaw Province in Warsaw is a fairly young historical archive. Its resources were burned on 4 September 1944 by the Germans during the pacification of the Warsaw Uprising in the Powiśle District.¹⁹ The resources of the postwar archive of the central archive of the St Stanislaus Kostka Province were formed as a result of the meticulous work of historian Rev. Antoni Kolodziejczak, who was vicar of the Province in Łódź from 1965 to 1973. Together with the provincial secretaries – Rev. Janusz Tomasik and then Rev. Henryk Jendryczka – he collected, organized and systemized the archival materials. The unquestionable merit of Rev. A. Kolodziejczak was the collection and entry into the books of the minutes of the meetings of the provincial councils, as well as the consolidation of the minutes of the conventions of the directors of religious houses. Thanks to the dedicated work of the first vicar of the province, many materials were saved from annihilation and the restoration of the historical archive began. It was not until 1967 that Rev. Czesław Madej was assigned to work in the central archives of the province.²⁰

The greatest contribution to the organization and development of the Salesian Archives of the Warsaw Province was made by the former provincial of the St Stanislaus Kostka Province, Rev. Andrzej Świda, who dedicated himself to this task in 1972–1995. Although a chemist by training, he was competent in Salesian

¹⁶ W. Zaleski, *Mała encyklopedia hagiograficzna*, issue 1–18, Jaciążek 1982 [typescript ASIW].

¹⁷ *Ks. dr Antoni Hlond, salezjanin-kompozytor. Dokumenty – korespondencja*, vol. 1–25, collected by Rev. P. Golla, Łąd 1969–1976 [typescript ASIW].

¹⁸ *Polska i Polacy w wypowiedziach papieży X-XX w.*, vol. 1–10, edited and collected by K. Lis, Łąd 1983 [typescript ASIW].

¹⁹ ASIW, file: War losses, Questionnaires 1945, Warsaw 28 September 1945.

²⁰ Cf. J. Pietrzykowski, *Ksiądz Antoni Kolodziejczak (1909–1977) – salezjanin, wykładowca, dyrektor szkoły w Łodzi, przełożony domów formacyjnych, wikariusz inspektora*, „Polonia Maior Orientalis”, 3 (2016) pp. 177–178.

spirituality and the history of the Salesian Society in Poland.²¹ The resource has been methodically organized, including the card file and book inventories. The archival materials are relatively young compared to the presence of the Salesian Society in Poland. The oldest ones are about 100 years old, such as the report of Rev. Antoni Baraniak on the visit of Rev. General Blessed Philip Rinaldi to the novitiate house in Czerwińsk nad Wisłą.

The collection of the Salesian Archive of the Warsaw Province includes documentation produced as part of the congregation's post-World War II activities, surviving older archival materials transported from some of the closed premises, documents and files from former Salesian works closed or transferred to dioceses, e.g. parishes. Valuable acquisitions supplementing the collections of the central archive were duplicates of documents from teaching and educational institutions and pastoral centres, as well as from the general house in Turin and Rome. Among these archives, it is appropriate to mention documents of the erection of religious houses, parishes, property records, appointments of directors and parish priests, inventories, reports of canonical visitations conducted.

The resources interesting from the point of view of the history of the congregation in Poland and the Catholic Church include the memoirs of the Salesians from the war and occupation, as well as those written for the 10th anniversary of the congregation's ministry in the Western and Northern Territories. Rev. A. Świda collected and arranged the written accounts of eyewitnesses and participants in those events.

Audiovisual documentation is still not fully compiled and is being prepared to be made available to researchers. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Rev. Kazimierz Cichecki toured religious houses and recorded accounts and memories of senior priests with a portable reel-to-reel tape recorder. Unfortunately, only some of them were assigned as references. Most of these recordings, including interesting and valuable interviews with Rev. A. Hlond, are not used due to technical difficulties. A large part of the stored audiovisual documentation is occupied by microfilms, floppy disks, compact discs, videotapes, DVDs and religious films on reel-to-reel tapes. These materials are still a challenge to supervisors and are waiting to be lost to modern means of communication.

Another remarkable archival material related to the activities of the Salesians in Poland and the missions is a collection of old photographs. Rev. A. Świda sorted the photos and placed them in cardboard boxes in alphabetical order by various establishments. Unfortunately, the vast majority of these photographs lacks proper description. However, their value is still considerable, as some of the religious and utilitarian buildings visible in the photos have either been destroyed or have lost their original shape due to adaptation and reconstruction.

One smaller 9 x 5 m warehouse, located to the left of the reading room, has been separated for the music archive, which mainly stores the legacy of Salesian composers and musicians. Moreover, it contains collections of plays staged by amateur theatres operating at Salesian educational and pastoral institutions. The

²¹ Cf. A. Świda, *Okruchy własnych wspomnień*, Łódź 1985 [typescript ASIW].

storeroom also includes published songbooks, canticles, motets, compact discs, book items and comprehensive biographies on the lives and activities of famous Salesian composers. Much effort to arrange the legacy of Rev. A. Hlond (Chlondowski) has been made by Prof. Maria Wacholc of the Academy of Music in Warsaw.

As the years went by, the archive material in the storeroom increased. This happened mainly due to the discontinuation of educational and pastoral institutions and works (Gościkowo-Paradyż, Frombork, Pluty, Skolity, Lublin at Misjonarska Street, Łódź – Theological Seminary, Salesian Institute of Christian Education, Zgierz, etc.) and taking over the legacy of deceased confreres.

Current structure of the Salesian Archive of the Warsaw Province

Recently, the concept of archival storage has been changed. First of all, the binders were removed and the files were put into folders, stored in cardboard boxes.

In the early 2000s, all windows were replaced with modern ones that have tinted safety double glazing. Every second window was additionally equipped with vents. All exterior doors have been replaced with metal, burglar-proof and fireproof doors. There are plans to upgrade electric lighting in the near future. Suitable fire extinguishers with fire blankets are used as firefighting equipment.

Due to the changes, the existing reference numbers have lost their validity, although the new ones have not yet been introduced. An extensive group of files relates to the territorial development of the Warsaw Province, the history of the establishments, apostolic activities and property.²² This fond has been arranged in alphabetical order, with the files in the folders in chronological order. The majority of the archival material collected was about the oldest religious houses, such as: Różanystok, Czerwińsk, Sokołów Podlaski or Warsaw-Basilica. Valuable information can be found in the collection covering former facilities, among them: Wilno-Stefańska, Supraśl, Kurhan, Rev. Jan Siemiec Facility in Warsaw's Powiśle.

The importance, diversity and, above all, the continuous expansion of the archival resources have influenced the need to organize the collection. The factual layout has been preserved following the model of the General Archives in Rome and in accordance with the guidelines given in *Elementi giuridici*. Some of the fonds that make up the archive's resources have been disassembled. Due to the seizure, often in a violent manner, of monastic property and the suppression of school and educational works, the creation of office records (other than the writing of appeals), which were considered eligible for secrecy, was abandoned in some establishments so that they could not provide grounds for the repression of some brothers.

The most important and extensive part of the resources of the Salesian Archive of the Warsaw Province is made up of materials produced and collected by the secretariat (office) of the province. The organization of the archival resource was largely influenced by the structure of the centralized congregation, especially the

²² Cf. J. Wąsowicz, *Działalność naukowa i edukacyjna archiwum kościelnego na przykładzie Archiwum Salezjańskiego Inspektorii Pilskiej*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 102 (2014) pp. 328–329.

number and type of institutions operating within it, as well as the origin, number and quality of files from the General House in Turin and Rome, the various diocesan curia, government offices and its own chancellery, and correspondence. The material arrangement of fonds and subfonds is clear and corresponds to the forms of apostolic activity of the Salesian Society.

The archive's collection consists of the following fonds and subfonds:

- General House: Superior General, General Counselors, Secretary General, Delegate of the General Minister for Poland, General Chapters.

- Provincial Board: Provincials, Provincial Chapters, Provincial Commissions, Minutes of Provincial Councils, Conference of Major Superiors of Male Orders, Religious Consultation, Conference of Polish Salesian Provincial, Directors' Conventions, Episcopal Curia, Contacts with state authorities.

- Formation: Aspirantates, Scholastics, Novitiate in Czerwinski, Novitiate in Kutno-Woźniaków, Philosophical Studentate (Postnovitiate), Major Seminary, General Index, Ratio Studiorum, Formation Programs, Calendar of Classes (annual plans), Annual Reports on the activities of the Major Seminary, Continuing Formation Courses, Retreats of Confreres, Courses for Principals.

- Salesian Associates.

- Missions, Correspondence, Chronicle of Zambia by Rev. K. Cichecki, Chronicle of Novoyelnya by Rev. W. Dąbrowski.

- Mariasong.

- Major events: Coronation of the Image in Czerwińsk, Coronation of the Image in Różanystok, 75 years of the Salesian presence in Poland, Beatifications and canonizations, Pope's visit to the Basilica.

- Salesian establishments.

- Chaplaincies.

- Chronicles from individual establishments and pastoral announcements.

- Former Salesian establishments.

- Personal files of deceased confreres in alphabetical order.

- Posthumous memoirs of the Salesians in alphabetical order.

- Former Salesians in chronological order (not available).

Concluding remarks

The archive arouses the interest of researchers in many fields of study: historians, educators concerned with education, schooling or charity, missiologists, people of culture interested in amateur theatre, etc. According to the circular letter of the Pontifical Commission for the Cultural Heritage of the Church of 7 February 1997 on the pastoral function of church archives, the documentation gathered in the Salesian Archive of the Warsaw Province is a significant and valuable legacy. It stores and shows the meaning of Tradition. It allows us to reconstruct the life and apostolic, missionary and schooling work of the members of the congregation. It presents the awareness and continuity of the history of the Church's charism. The historical archive is a memorial to the Warsaw Province.

There is a belief that church archives are part of the national heritage, under their own autonomy.²³

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²³ Cf. J. Śrutwa, „List okólny Papieskiej Komisji ds. Dziedzictwa Kulturowego Kościoła”, z dnia 7 lutego 1997 roku na temat pastoralnej funkcji archiwów kościelnych (streszczenie), „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 70 (1998) pp. 232–233.

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ARCHIWUM SALEZJAŃSKIE INSPEKTORII WARSZAWSKIEJ – DZIEJE ZASOBU

Abstrakt

Archiwum Salezjańskie Inspektorii Warszawskiej zawsze znajdowało się w siedzibie zarządu inspektorii (Oświęcim 1919–1922; Warszawa-Powisłe 1923–1944; Łódź, ul. Wodna 1945–1978, ul. Kopcińskiego 1978–1986; Warszawa-Praga 1986–) i początkowo opiekę nad nim sprawował ksiądz sekretarz inspektorialny. Praktycznie jako archiwum bieżące było ono związane z sekretariatem i przeznaczone zasadniczo do użytku wewnętrznego. O archiwum historycznym można mówić dopiero w latach 60. ubiegłego wieku, kiedy do

tego zadania w 1967 roku został oddelegowany ks. Czesław Madej. Podczas pacyfikacji przez Niemców dzielnicy Powiśle w Warszawie we wrześniu 1944 roku archiwum zostało spalone. Z ocalałych resztek i materiałów archiwalnych znajdujących się w placówkach salezjańskich odtworzono w części zasób archiwalny. Za właściwego organizatora archiwum uważa się ks. Andrzeja Świdę, który w latach 1972–1995 gromadził, porządkował i systematyzował poszczególne archiwalia. Zebrane akta i dokumenty umieścił w zespołach i podzespołach, uszeregowanych na wzór Salezjańskiego Archiwum Centralnego w Rzymie. W trzech sąsiadujących ze sobą pomieszczeniach (zbiory muzyczne, pracownia, magazyn główny) znajduje się też podręczna biblioteka zawierająca podstawowe czasopisma, słowniki, schematyzmy, książki o tematyce salezjańskiej, publikacje salezjanów drukowane i w maszynopisach oraz maszynopisy prac doktorskich i magisterskich.

Słowa kluczowe: Towarzystwo Salezjańskie; archiwum; biblioteka; Warszawa



DOROTA PIKULA-KUZIAK* – SIEDLCE

HISTORIC TEXTILES IN THE DIOCESAN MUSEUM IN SIEDLCE IN THE LIGHT OF REINVENTORY RESEARCH

Abstract

Reinventory works at the Diocesan Museum in Siedlce, undertaken in 2020, subsidized by the National Centre for Culture as part of the ‘Kultura w sieci’ (Culture in the Web) programme, included historic textiles sewn from 15th–20th century fabrics collected in a warehouse for many years. They revealed more than 140 objects (chasubles, copes, mitres, dalmatics, stoles, maniples, palls, burses), only a small part of which had been catalogued. Other items are of largely unknown provenance, damaged, often re-repaired and re-stitched many times. Only a few of them can be found in the catalogues of art monuments in Poland or in inventory cards collected in the office of the Provincial Office for Monuments Protection. As part of the reinventory work, all the historical paraments gathered in the collection of the Diocesan Museum were carefully documented in terms of content and visual records, and more than 150 of them were placed on the online exhibition *Splendor Podlasia* (Splendour of Podlasie) (<https://splendorpodlasia.pl>) to allow a wide audience to learn about this interesting resource. The content of the article is also concerned with undertaking research into the history of the two oldest, late-Gothic fabrics from which the chasubles were sewn, and the reuniting of the ceremonial set (*sacra paramenta* and *sacra indumenta*) of Bishop Franciszek Kobielski (1679–1755), which had been dispersed for years.

Keywords: Splendor Podlasia; Diocesan Museum in Siedlce; inventory; antique church textiles; Bishop Franciszek Kobielski; chasuble; mitre; pall

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In the fall of 2020, thanks to funding from the National Centre for Culture received under the 'Culture on the Web' program, the Diocesan Museum in Siedlce has undergone reinventory works, which also involved its historical textile resources. It facilitated a close look at what had been accumulated in storage cabinets for 40, and in parts even for 100 years. This is a collection of antique paraments used in religious rites, which with their unique fabrics and embroideries complemented the solemn mood of the liturgy. They are usually divided into *sacra paramenta* (priestly vestments, among them: humeral, mitre chasuble, stole, maniple) and *sacra indumenta* (used to cover the altar and liturgical equipment, including: purificator, pall, veil, burse). These church textiles were created from fabrics dating from the 15th to the 20th centuries. The collection was developed systematically from objects withdrawn from worship, collected in the course of cleaning sacristies and attics of parsonages of churches in the Diocese of Siedlce. There is no doubt that today it is a valuable contribution to the reference materials related with the history of the region's culture, traditions, the fate of the local church and links to European culture. Saved from devastation, soggianness, oblivion, stored in a warehouse, they are unfortunately unavailable to the public, mainly due to their poor state of preservation. The passage of time, evident in the fabric's torn elements, damaged galloons, faded fabric and staining, prompts the transfer of a large part of this collection to a conservation studio. However, this is a slow and immensely expensive process. Only a few of these antique textiles have lived to see public display and placement in exhibition halls. The Diocesan Museum in Siedlce has been open to the public for more than 20 years by an erection decree issued in 2000 by Bishop Jan Wiktor Nowak (1931–2002). Nevertheless, as early as 1918, Benedict XV, while resurrecting the Janów or Podlasie Diocese with the bull *Commissum humilitati nostrae*, prompted Bishop Henryk Przeździecki (1873–1939) to establish the Diocesan Museum, with its seat in Janów Podlaski. Scattered mementos of art and faith began to be collected, and when the curia was moved to Siedlce in 1922, the collected museum objects were taken with it.¹ However, it was not until the 1980s and 1990s that the exhibition halls became organized and preparations were made for the first public display of the resources of the museum, which had been in the making for years. The exhibition halls were organized in rooms remaining after the Higher Seminary of the Diocese of Siedlce, which moved to Opole near Siedlce. One of the museum's halls displays several antique liturgical vestments, handicrafts, book collections, Uniate art, and sacred paintings, including *The Ecstasy of St Francis* painted in 1580 by El Greco (1541–1614).

The reinventory programme has allowed not only for a renewed review of the liturgical paraments deposited in storage, but also for the preparation of the online exhibition *Splendor Podlasia*,² which presents historic textile objects from the collection of the Diocesan Museum in Siedlce and from several local vestries. Starting in the fall of 2020 and for five consecutive years, more than 150 cards will

¹ R. Dmowski, *Unitis Viribus. Diecezja Podlaska w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warsaw 2013, pp. 39–54.

² *Splendor Podlasia*, <https://splendorpodlasia.pl> (accessed on: 7.03.2022).

be available with detailed photos of the exhibits, displaying for public view the weaving details and the state of preservation of the object, taken by Piotr Jamski, an employee of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, as well as with descriptions presenting individual costumes, the origin of the fabrics, the types of materials used for them, noting the weaving techniques used and the types of thread, prepared by Barbara Jamska and Dorota Pikula-Kuziak, curator of the Diocesan Museum in Siedlce.

Summary of reinventory

The stock of ancient paraments at the Diocesan Museum in Siedlce, included in the 2020 study, involves more than 140 objects, most of which date from the 18th century, although there are some older ones as well. They have been grouped by type of vestment and liturgical colour scheme. *Sacra paramenta* include 56 single, so-called violin chasubles (24 chasubles in white, 9 in green, 7 in black, 14 in red, 2 in purple). ‘Sets’ were also singled out, with the assumption that each would consist of a violin chasuble and at least one surviving example of *sacra paramenta* or *sacra indumenta* of the same material as the chasuble.

Over the centuries of Christianity, the style of liturgical vestments has changed, including the chasuble, which developed from a loose form of cloak – paenula in ancient times³ through the shape of a bell reaching the priest’s ankles in the Middle Ages to a short, stiff, double-breasted garment, or violin chasuble, in the 18th century. It was widely used in this form until the reforms of the Second Vatican Council in 1968.⁴ For a long time there were no colour distinctions for liturgical vestments, which until the ninth century had been made from wool or linen in natural colour.⁵ The first canon of liturgical colours was established in the early 13th century by Pope Innocent III (pontificate in 1198–1216), who recognized four church colours: white, red, black and green. Until the Council of Trent (1545–1563), convened to carry out reforms in the Catholic Church, there was considerable liberty in the choice of vestment colour for the liturgy. The first known record in which the colours are assigned to specific days is the missal from 1570: white – for the feasts of the Lord and the remembrance of the saints, red – for Pentecost, the feast of the cross, the liturgical remembrance of the apostles and martyrs, purple – for Advent, Lent and penitential days, green – for the ordinary days of the week, and black – for Good Friday and the liturgy for the dead.⁶

The described resource includes 4 sets of red, 6 sets of gold, 9 of green, 9 in white, 3 in blue. The collection of antique textiles also includes 19 copes (4 each in white, black, red and purple, 2 in green and 1 multicoloured) and 19 dalmatics (4 in gold, 2 each in green, black and multicoloured, 9 in white). There is also

³ A. Sorrentino, *Sztuka przewodniczenia celebracjom liturgicznym. Praktyczne sugestie dla kapłanów*, Kraków 2001, p. 176, as cited in: P. Szczepaniak, *Geneza i ewolucja szat liturgicznych: ornat, dalmatyka, kapa. Zabytkowe szaty liturgiczne bazyliki mniejszej w Sieradzu*, „Kwartalnik Wydziału Teologicznego UMK”, 47 (2019) issue 3, pp. 91–110.

⁴ Szczepaniak, *Geneza i ewolucja szat liturgicznych*, pp. 94, 99.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 95

⁶ A.J. Nowowiejski, *Wykład liturgii kościoła katolickiego*, vol. 2, Płock, 1905, pp. 85–105.

1 humeral, 1 alb, 1 cincture, 20 pieces of maniples and stoles in various liturgical colours, not assigned to any chasuble or cope. The elements of the bishop's pontifical attire in the collection of the Diocesan Museum in Siedlce include 31 mitres (predominantly white and gold from the 18th century, which have an approximate shape to today's mitres), 12 contemporary zucchetos, 1 gremials, 14 pairs of gloves (in white, purple, green) and 2 pairs of embroidered white silk shoes. There are also church banners – 2 antique and 2 contemporary. Particularly noteworthy are the 2 so-called Radziwiłł sets – multicoloured sets of vestments and altar linens created on the initiative of Anna Radziwiłł nee Sanguszkó,⁷ already described earlier in terms of their historical and artistic aspects.⁸ Other examples of textiles collected in the storeroom of the Diocesan Museum in Siedlce are yet to be analysed and presented in the professional literature.

As can be observed, the stored liturgical vestments were sewn from expensive, usually 18th-century French silk satins, damask, woven using weft plating and brocading techniques, using coloured silk threads, often decorated with embroidery and appliqué, with a repeated motif of colourful bouquets and garlands, which, in addition to decorating the clergyman, symbolically referred to paradise and God's mercy.⁹ Materials harder to find were also used, including Italian, Turkish, Persian or Russian imports. They were brought in directly to sew the paraments, or alter-

⁷ Set 1 – white, made in the carpet and kelim factory of Anna Radziwiłł nee Sanguszkó in Biała Podlaska in the 1840s for St Anne Church in Biała Podlaska, decorated with flat laid stitch embroidery and upholstery embroidery, made with coloured silk threads and a thread with gold and silver braid. The set includes a brocaded cope with a cloth dress of silk from the 1830s, with an embroidered image on the hood, in an oval, of St Anne teaching Mary, a chasuble with a scene of St Charles Borromeo praying before the crucifix, dalmatics (with St Jerome and Archangel Michael), 2 stoles, 2 maniples, and a veil; the set was repaired in the 19th century, consisting of replacing part of the lining of the cope, the entire lining of the chasuble, dalmatics, stoles, and veil; Diocesan Museum in Siedlce (hereinafter: MDS) MDS1, MDS1a, MDS2, MDS3, MDS4, MDS5, MDS5a, MDS5d, MDS5c. Set 2, decorated with figural and prominent floral embroidery in coloured woolen threads, petit point stitch, made in Paris in 1727 at the behest of Anna Radziwiłł nee Sanguszkó for the Reformati church in Biała Podlaska dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary: a cope with a skirt of blue and white silk stripe, with a lace pattern depicting an embroidered scene of the stigmatization of St Francis on the hood, a chasuble with a scene of the adoration of the Virgin Mary by St Anthony, together with a stole decorated with an analogous technique (MDS6, MDS6a, MDS6II). The galloons in the hem were replaced in the 19th century, and a new cotton lining was inserted in the chasuble. Set 2 is distinguished by a floral, prominent, colourful ornament of frayed leaves, hooked at the end, facing sideways, characteristic of this factory, and popular in folk textiles of the Grodno region. Tadeusz Mankowski suggests the participation of folk embroiderers in their making, cf. T. Mankowski, *Polskie tkaniny i hafty XVI–XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 1954, p. 85.

Cf. T030, T046 (inventory cards of sample objects from the Radziwiłł set) on display at <http://splendorpodlasia.pl>.

⁸ M. Ozga, *Zespół haftowanych tkanin liturgicznych fundacji Anny z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowej*, „Studia Waweliana” 14 (2009) pp. 89–102; K. Kolendo-Korczakowa, *Działalność ekonomiczna Anny z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowej – manufaktury hafciarskie w świetle nowych znalezisk*, in: *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe*, eds. T. Kostkiewiczowa, A. Roćko, Warsaw 2005, pp. 193–202.

⁹ Szczepaniak, *Geneza i ewolucja szat liturgicznych*, p. 98.

natively court costumes that were no longer in use were utilised, such as gowns and żupans, as well as tapestries and fabrics that were still valuable, but replaced with newer, more fashionable ones. The use of several fabrics from different eras and cultures in a single garment seems to have been popular during the Baroque era. It does not follow, however, that the principle of using older textiles for the columns and newer ones for the sides of the garment or vice versa was applied. It is therefore interesting to follow this arbitrariness. Today, it allows us to learn more about the trends of those years, which is a valuable source for the study of Old Polish artistic culture. The use of unique decorations of liturgical costumes at that time, the uniqueness of solutions and selection of fabrics, the variety of embroidery stitches, types of threads, applications of lace or patterned galloons arouses understandable interest among art historians, who refer to works created with the involvement of many, today unnamed, artists, manufactured in court, monastic, church, noble, bourgeois or magnate workshops. Church embroidery developed rapidly during the Counter-Reformation. There was a proliferation of votive offerings at the time in the form of richly decorated paraments donated to churches. To this day, many parish treasuries in Poland still contain liturgical vestments worthy of a researcher's attention. They are often characterized by distinctive embroidery decoration and ornamentation with the hallmarks of peculiar Sarmatian art.¹⁰ Embroidery workshops have existed in Poland since the late 16th century. However, embroidery guilds in Poland have only been known since the mid-17th century. Leading the way at the time were the Lublin and Lviv guilds.¹¹ Today, however, we are able to attribute only a few objects from the Diocesan Museum in Siedlce to a specific workshop. The bulk of the textile exhibits date from the 18th and 19th centuries, but are often of unknown provenance. Of the more than 140 objects, the origin of only 32 can be determined with certainty, information about which can be found in the volumes of *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce* or on the inventory cards in the office of the Provincial Office for Historic Preservation. The old paraments probably referred to the history of the local church, to the person of the founder, recorded in the form of a coat of arms or foundation note on the lining, or to links with European culture. In many cases, however, such information, even if archival, is laconic. A large number of chasubles, copes, dalmatics and mitres in the MDS collection has no history preserved to this day, except for the fact that they have been stored there for many years. Lapidary information about them prevents a full range of research. The items transferred directly to the Museum's storeroom have lost their religious context and, unfortunately, their history as well, which is an unfortunate existing circumstance for most of the church museums. As a consequence, they constitute a 'silent' treasury of works of art, mostly of excellent quality.

Even if there is no complete information to trace the archival past of the museum resources, it is interesting to note the fact that only some of the historic garments have not survived unchanged to this day. Before they became excluded

¹⁰ Mańkowski, *Polskie tkaniny i hafty XVI–XVIII wieku*, p. 19.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 24.

from veneration, they were repaired and re-stitched, usually in the 19th century, when that kind work was already performed by machinery. The repairs included replacing worn portions of the fabric, sewing in new linings, and adding galloons in place of delicate bobbin lace. It is therefore heart-warming that, while completing the intended scope of the research, it is possible to distinguish in the textile resources those garments whose history can be traced. In this way we become capable of describing the oldest items separated in the collection, as well as those that had been scattered over the years and now, thanks to the arrangement, constitute a complete whole again.

The oldest chasubles and late Gothic textiles

Among the oldest objects collected in the textile collection are 3 violin chasubles,¹² made of Italian fabric, from the parish of St John the Baptist in Sadowne.¹³ Two of them are red, and one green, all of similar size of 109 x 63 cm, sewn most likely in a single workshop. They were created using fabrics dating to about 1480 – this is an Italian, most likely Florentine, velvet brocade (altambas) with a red and green background, with velvet pile sheared at two heights, decorated additionally with a weft of gold thread arranged in the form of bunting. These fabrics, woven in a large-repeat pattern, in the tones of yellow-red and yellow-green, were weft-woven with doubled gold thread and a yellow silk tone (now almost completely worn out). The pattern consists of large pomegranate fruits,¹⁴ surrounded by small, six-petalled flowers and a thick, sigmoid-shaped stem. The motif of this fruit has been the dominant one for many centuries. It was already present with the ancient Greeks, who, giving it great prominence, bestowed it on the victor in the competition, and in Christian culture it was considered, among other things, a symbol of Christ's victory over death.

The Archives of the Diocese of Siedlce have not preserved data from the Sadowne parish regarding the foundation of these vestments. What can be done

¹² Two red chasubles (MDS10, MDS966), red stole (MDS10a), green chasuble (MDS12), green stole (MDS1054); MDS Inventory, Part III, nos 10–12; <https://splendorpodlasia.pl>: T001, T002, T003.

¹³ *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. X, *Województwo warszawskie*, issue 26, *Powiat węgrowski*, eds. I. Galicka, D. Kaczmarzyk, Warsaw 1964, p. 16, Fig. 134–136.

¹⁴ The pomegranate fruit is often invoked in the Bible, where it is referred to as a symbol of fertility. Due to the large number of red seeds in the flesh, the fruit was associated with fertility worship and treated as an aphrodisiac. The pomegranate is also a symbol of life, as it has a very long flowering period and never loses its leaves. It was also a sacred ornamental motif, for example, the capitals of the two columns standing in front of Solomon's temple were decorated with pomegranate fruit (Kings 7:20), also the robes of the temple priests were decorated with objects that were shaped like pomegranates (Exodus 28:34). As interpreted by the Church fathers, the pomegranate fruit is a symbol of the Church that unites different nations and countless believers. It is listed among the seven plants promised to the Jews in the Promised Land (Deuteronomy 7:8–8). In the Song of Songs, the Bride says: 'I would give you spiced wine to drink, the nectar of my pomegranates.' (Song 8:2), which the fathers of the Church translate as the inner beauty of love and the divine blessing that God has promised for those remaining faithful to the Law, cf. D. Forstner, OSB, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej. Leksykon*, Warsaw 2001, p. 165.

today, if we wish to refer to their history, is to analyse the style, the fabrics used, the type of galloons, and the linings. These late-Gothic garments have unfortunately not been preserved in their original form to the present day. At the end of the 16th century, adding a wide stripe – a column along the front and back of the chasuble – became a popular decoration practice. It is assumed the priestly garments began to change shape from that period on, taking the form of two elongated rectangles with rounded sides over time.¹⁵ Consequently, one can float the hypothesis that originally these chasubles from Sadowne, sewn from 15th-century fabric, were adjusted to fit expectations and fashions, then made smaller, with added columns, and finally took on a form similar to the current one, i.e. violin style. In the 19th century, they underwent extensive mending measures, cutting out the best-preserved Late Gothic portions of the fabric, and inserting strips of contemporary fabrics into the columns at the front and back: maroon velvet and red silk damask for the red chasubles, and silk green moire for the green-coloured vestments (Fig. 1). In addition, stoles were also prepared,¹⁶ made of the same material as the column, red damask and silk green moire. All chasubles and stoles are trimmed with the same gold-coloured galloon in the form of a ribbon woven with cotton threads with a metal braid, in a diagonal stripe pattern. The repair probably took place after the visitation of 1835, when it was recommended that the parish ‘preserve the old equipment.’¹⁷ All the work was done by machines. However, this repair proved particularly unfortunate for 2 red chasubles. Repeated stitching of the antique, cracked fabric with a careless machine stitch along the robes unfortunately damaged the fabric irreparably (Fig. 2). Concurrently, a comparative analysis with preserved chasubles similar to these collected in other church museums¹⁸ allows us to assume that the columns in the chasubles from Sadowne may have been, before this unprofessional reproduction, made of Gothic fabric, corresponding to the sides thereof.¹⁹

¹⁵ Nowowiejski, *Wykład liturgii kościoła katolickiego*, pp. 234–235.

¹⁶ Both stoles (MDS1054, MDS10a) were matched to the chasubles during the 2020 reinventory.

¹⁷ During the 1835 visitation, ‘a chasuble of green velvet patterned with yellow threads with flowers, column with green and yellow flowers, on velvet, very old, without props’ (item 20) was recorded in the parish, along with ‘a chasuble of red velvet patterned with interspersed yellow threads, narrow galloon, unfit for use’ (item 28), and ‘a chasuble of red with column of yellow velvet with flowers, silver gallons, decorated, very poor condition for use’ (item 18). The references are most likely to the listed robes of late Gothic fabrics, which are in very poor condition. Note on page 239 with the information ‘request to preserve old equipment’ was probably a spur for their reparation, which consisted of sewing new galloons, inserting damaged columns, and adding new lining, Archive of the Diocese of Siedlce (hereinafter: ADS), Sadowne Parish Files, *Visitatio Generalis Ecclesiae Parochialis Sadoviensis [...] die 4 septembris 1835*, visitation conducted by Rev. Teodor Majewski, prelate, scholastic of the Podlasie Cathedral Chapter, provost of Stężyce, general visitor; pages: 228–229, ref. D 146, IV.

¹⁸ The Archdiocesan Museum of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła in Kraków has in its collection the so-called Wadowice chasuble (D231) with similar fabric on the sides of the vestment, also with the mentioned column.

¹⁹ M. Michałowska, *Leksykon włókiennictwa*, Warsaw 2006, Fig. 41, a chasuble made of corresponding fabric with a preserved column of the same fabric as the sides.



Fig. 1. Chasuble of green Gothic brocade with column of green silk moiré inserted in the 19th century, back and front. Source: Sadowne parish, currently in the collection of the Diocesan Museum in Siedlce, photo by Piotr Jamski

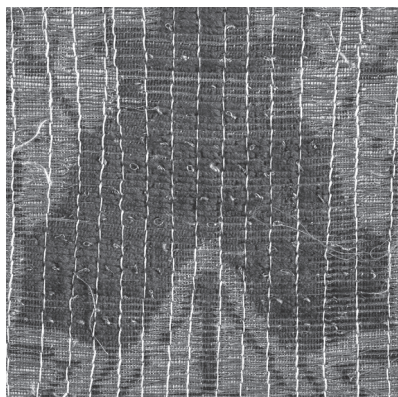


Fig. 2. Detail of red chasuble: Gothic brocade stitched in the 19th century with machine stitching with yellow cotton thread, resulting in the destruction of the antique fabric, photo by Piotr Jamski

Scattered set completed once again

Another important final result of the reinventory work was the reuniting of items scattered over the years that formerly constituted a pontifical set (*sacra paramenta* and *sacra indumenta*) belonging to Bishop Franciszek Antoni Kobielski (1679–1755).²⁰

A white violin chasuble,²¹ measuring 102 x 64 cm, and a 208 cm long stole²² (Fig. 3) were stored since the bishop's death in the treasury of the Holy Trinity Church in Janów Podlaski. After 1921, following the transfer of the capital of the Diocese of Janów (Podlasie) from Janów Podlaski to Siedlce,²³ they were an important part of the collection of memorabilia in the private collection of the bishops of Siedlce kept in the residence of Bishop Jan Mazur.²⁴ In 2014, the chasuble, along with the stole, was donated to the Diocesan Museum in Siedlce, which made it possible for these artefacts to join the mitre stored in the Museum's storeroom since the 1990s, with a hitherto unknown history.²⁵ In 2020, an additional burse,²⁶ which appears to have been a component of this pontifical set, was found in storage resources (Fig. 4). As a result, the ceremonial paraments, temporarily scattered, were reunited years later. The whole set is an interesting example of 18th-century ceremonial liturgical garb, including the mitre, chasuble, stole and burse, which are still preserved in good condition. They are distinguished by the identical, precious, silk, Italian white-coloured lame fabric, used for all the elements, with a pattern of silver flowers, Poraj – the founder's coat of arms – visible on the *fannones* of the mitre and on the back of the chasuble, embroidered with silk coloured thread in knotted stitch, as well as a wide ribbon, characteristic of the entire set, forming the inner divisions and hem, appliquéd, decorated with ornamental embroidery, made with gold thread in laid work. It is interesting that the embroidery on the ribbon is seemingly the same with a different pattern on the various elements of the set: the pattern on the chasuble is made up of repeating rhombuses and flowers, the mitre contains heraldic lilies and stylized acanthus leaves. As evidenced by data recorded in the Museum's inventory, the mitre of Bishop F. A. Kobielski was

²⁰ Bishop Franciszek Antoni Kobielski, Poraj coat of arms (1679–1755) – provost of the Kraków Cathedral Chapter in 1717–1749, dean of the collegiate chapter of St John the Baptist in Warsaw in 1717–1744, canon of Gniezno, canon of Kujawy in 1736–1739, bishop of Kamieniec in 1736–1739, bishop of Lutsk from 1739, chancellor of Queen Maria Josepha of Austria, wife of Augustus III of Poland, relative and protégé of Primate Stanisław Szembek, supporter of Saxon policy, Franciszek Antoni Kobielski, https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franciszek_Antoni_Kobielski (accessed on: 1.12.2022). The set is listed among the liturgical vestments of the Janów treasury, cf. R. Mironczuk, *Janów Biskupi. Miasto rezydencjalne biskupów łuckich (1465–1796) i podlaskich (1818–1867)*, Kraków, 2018, p. 243, Fig. 273.

²¹ MDS610; <https://splendorpodlasia.pl>: T043.

²² MDS610a.

²³ Dmowski, *Unitis Viribus*, p. 50.

²⁴ Bishop Jan Mazur (1920–2008) – Ordinary of the Diocese of Siedlce from 1968 to 1996, senior bishop since 1996, cf. *Jan Mazur*, [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan_Mazur_\(biskup\)](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan_Mazur_(biskup)) (accessed on: 1.12.2022).

²⁵ MDS19.

²⁶ MDS1004.

brought from the parish in Sarnaki (there is no archival data on the circumstances and time of its inclusion in the MSD collection), measuring 38 x 33 cm, it is white, of the *auriphrygiata* type, stiffened with cardboard, similar in shape to contemporary ones, decorated on the obverse with embroidery, made with colourful silk threads, satin and knotted stitch, depicting St Francis at the moment of receiving the stigmata, on the reverse – St Anthony of Padua in front of the Child Jesus blessing from the clouds (Fig. 5). The two figures evoked on the mitre refer to the names of the bishop's patron saints. However, there was no information about the burse from this set in the Museum's inventory. It was found as late as during the 2020 reinventory. The whole was repaired most likely at the beginning of the 20th century, when the bishop's ceremonial garments were still in its entirety.²⁷ As can be seen, the lining was replaced, sewing in light and dark pink artificial silk, the burse was probably reduced in size at the time, and the fabrics of the chasuble, burse and stole were unfortunately reinforced with diagonal machine stitch netting, destroying the original 18th century weaves. Luckily, the fabric of the mitre has avoided these treatments.

Since accurate archival information is missing, it should be assumed that the foundation of this magnificent set took place on the occasion of the ceremonial ingress of Bishop F. A. Kobielski in 1739 to the Church of the Holy Trinity in Janów Podlaski, the seat of the Lusk bishopric, a brick basilica built five years earlier to a design by Carlo Ceroni.²⁸ As an Ordinary in that church,²⁹ he supervised the finishing work, funded the side altars, the stalls and the organ prospectus with his coat of arms placed in the centre,³⁰ visible on the described chasuble, and *fannones* of the pontifical mitre. After his death in 1755, his body was deposited in the crypt of the church, while a posthumous epitaph in black, pink and white marble by Francisco Placidi (1710–1782) was placed inside the collegiate church.³¹ The ceremonial set of *sacra paramenta* and *sacra indumenta* worn by him during

²⁷ Listed in the 1998 MDS Inventory, part III, point 19, erroneously attributed to Bishop Peter Benjamin Szymański as 'found in the parish of Sarnaki.' Its repair was carried out by the Benedictine Sisters of the Most Blessed Sacrament from Siedlce.

²⁸ Carlo Ceroni (1646–1721) – Italian architect and builder, came to Poland through the mediation of his uncle Isidoro Afaitati around 1685, a royal architect as of 1703, ran a construction company with his brother, author of, among other things, the design and construction of the church of the Reformati church in Węgrów (1706), reconstruction of the parish in Węgrów (1706), restoration of the Bernardine church in Czerniaków (1715), design and construction of the Janów collegiate church (1721), cf. *Słownik architektów i budowniczych środowiska warszawskiego XV–XVIII wieku*, eds. P. Migasiewicz, H. Osiecka-Samsonowicz, J. Sito, Warsaw, 2016, pp. 87–91.

²⁹ *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. XVIII, *Województwo lubelskie*, issue 2. *Powiat Biała Podlaska*, eds. K. Kolendo-Korczakowa, A. Oleńska, M. Zgliński, Warsaw 2006, p. 79; ADS, Akta Dawnej Diecezji Łódzkiej, ref. D 142, k.4v, as cited in: Mironczuk, *Janów Biskupi*, p. 223.

³⁰ M. Trzaskalik-Wyrwa, *Organy Diecezji Siedleckiej, katalog*, Siedlce 2016, p. 155; E. Smulikowska, *Prospekty organowe w dawnej Polsce*, Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź, 1989, p. 216.

³¹ Mironczuk, *Janów Biskupi*, p. 132, Fig. 108; A. Turowicz, *Nagrobek Biskupa Kobielskiego w Janowie Podlaskim; nieznanie dzieło Franciszka Placidiego*, „Podlaski Kwartalnik Kulturalny”, 14 (2000) issue 4, p. 8

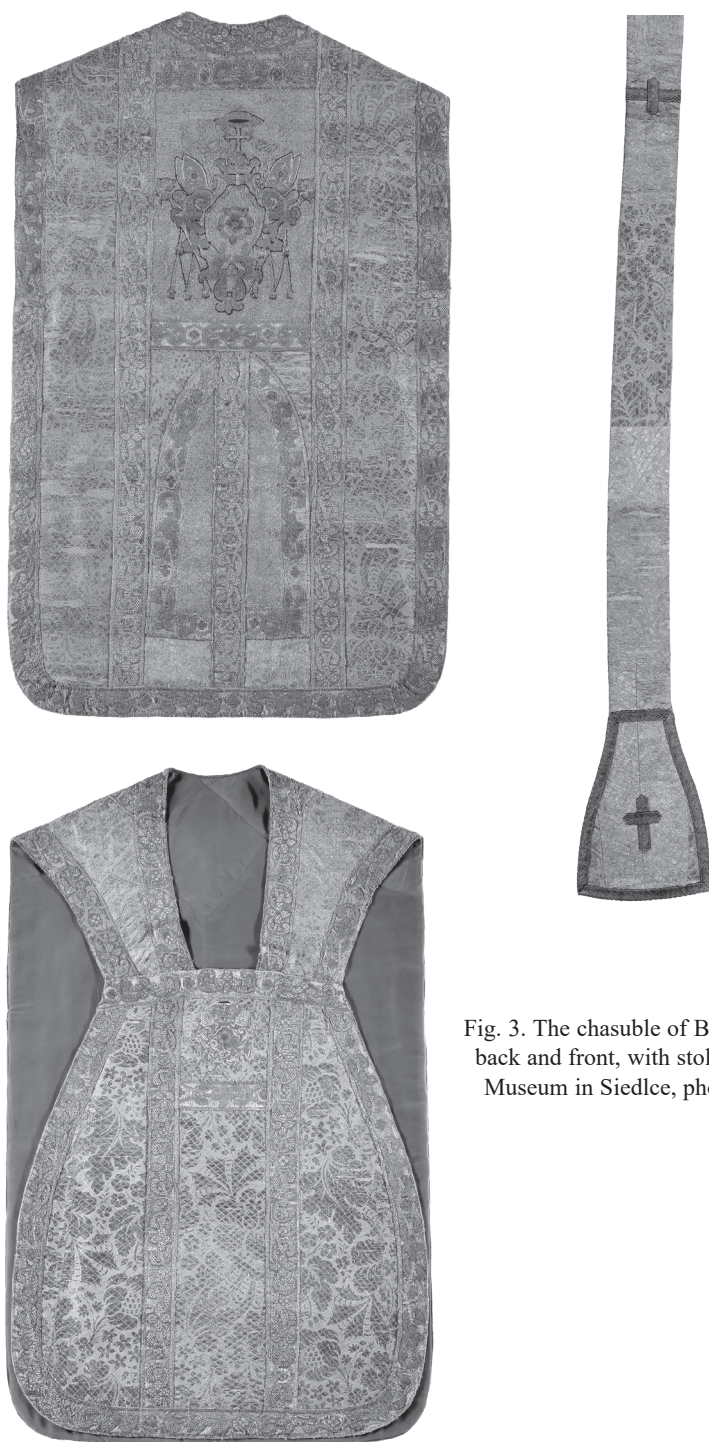


Fig. 3. The chasuble of Bishop F.A. Kobielski, back and front, with stole. Source: Diocesan Museum in Siedlce, photo by Piotr Jamski



Fig. 4. Burse from the pontifical set of Bishop F.A. Kobielski, 18th century. Source: Diocesan Museum in Siedlce, photo by Piotr Jamski



Fig. 5. Mitre of Bishop F.A. Kobielski, 18th century, obverse and reverse. Source: Diocesan Museum in Siedlce, photo by Piotr Jamski



the ingress, highlighting the moment of the unique celebration at the time, was recompleted years later from parts scattered in various sacristies. It is currently a valuable exhibit, whose history, as one of the few objects in the collection, is known.

Conclusions

While summarizing the collected information, it is important to appreciate the process and scope of the work undertaken at the Diocesan Museum in Siedlce and its results. That work facilitated a careful review of the textiles deposited in the museum's storeroom, as well as evaluation of the collection, factual and photographic documentation, technical analysis of the textiles, undertaking archival searches to study the history of some of them, and realizing the needs in terms of conservation. Unfortunately, stumbling upon an archival trace of former donors proved impossible, which makes it difficult today to find local artistic patronage, except for the community in Biała Podlaska, visible in works from the 18th century carpentry and kelim factory of Anna Radziwiłł nee Sanguszko. Nevertheless, the stock of ancient paraments from the Diocesan Museum in Siedlce provides an interesting reference to local artistic tastes and endeavours for liturgical splendour. Even if this collection of items does not allow for display in its entirety in the halls of the museum, its popularization through publications and the Internet provides an opportunity to reach a wide audience of historians, museum professionals, history teachers or catechists.

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ZABYTEKOWE TEKSTYLIA W MUZEUM DIECEZJALNYM W SIEDLCACH W ŚWIELE BADAŃ REINWENTARYZACYJNYCH

Abstrakt

Prace reinwentaryzacyjne w Muzeum Diecezjalnym w Siedlcach, podjęte w 2020 roku, dofinansowane przez Narodowe Centrum Kultury w ramach programu „Kultura w sieci”, objęły zabytkowe tekstylia szyte z tkanin XV–XX-wiecznych gromadzone w magazynie od wielu lat. Ujawniły ponad 140 obiektów (ornatów, kap, mitr, dalmatyk, stuł, manipularzy, palek kielichowych, burs), z których tylko znikoma część była już wcześniej skatalogowana. Pozostałe są w dużej mierze nieznanego pochodzenia, zniszczone, często po wielokroć reperowane i przesywane. Tylko nieliczne z nich odnajdujemy w katalogach zabytków sztuki w Polsce czy w kartach inwentaryzacyjnych gromadzonych w biurze Wojewódzkiego Urzędu Ochrony Zabytków. W ramach prac reinwentaryzacyjnych objęto staranną dokumentacją merytoryczną i fotograficzną wszystkie zgromadzone w zbiorach Muzeum Diecezjalnego zabytkowe paramenty, a także umieszczono ponad 150 z nich na wystawie online *Splendor Podlasia* (<https://splendorpodlasia.pl>), by pozwolić poznać ów interesujący zasób szerokiemu gronu odbiorców. Treść artykułu dotyczy także podjęcia badań nad historią dwu

najstarszych, późnogotyckich tkanin, z których uszyto ornaty, oraz powtórnego połączenia w całość, przez lata rozproszonego, uroczystego kompletu (*sacra paramenta* i *sacra indumenta*) bp. Franciszka Kobielskiego (1679-1755).

Słowa kluczowe: Splendor Podlasia; Muzeum Diecezjalne w Siedlcach; inwentaryzacja; zabytkowe tekstylia kościelne; bp Franciszek Kobielski; ornat; mitra; palka



WŁADYSŁAW ROŻKOW* – LUBLIN

THE HISTORY OF THE PARISH OF ST STANISLAUS THE BISHOP AND MARTYR IN HORODOK PODILSKYI IN 1941–1991

Abstract

As of the end of the 18th century there were two churches in Horodok Podilskyi – one under the invocation of St Anne and St Anthony, and the other of St Stanislaus the Bishop and Martyr. In 1935, these temples were closed by the Soviet authorities and soon devastated, including the chapel built in 1845 in the cemetery part. Catholics in Horodok were deprived of pastoral care.

The revival of religious life in Soviet Ukraine occurred during the German occupation period. The faithful regained their temples and were able to worship freely. In 1943, thanks to the efforts of the Catholics of Horodok, Rev. Franciszek Oleń from the Diocese of Lutsk began to visit the cemetery, where he celebrated Mass and administered the sacraments. Toward the end of 1944, Rev. Jan Olszański, a 25-year-old priest from the Lviv Archdiocese and future bishop of the Kamianets-Podilskyi Diocese, assumed the post of parish priest in Horodok. His catechization of children, which was forbidden in the USSR, caused him to be expelled to the village of Manykivtsi in 1959. Over the years, pastoral care for the Catholics of Horodok was provided by commuting priests. It was not until 1970 that Rev. Franciszek Karasiewicz was assigned to St Stanislaus Parish and served there as parish priest until 1977. Due to his deteriorating health, caused by constant harassment from the local authorities, the clergyman left Horodok Podilskyi and was replaced by Rev. Władysław Wanags, MIC.

At the outset of his work in Horodok, the new parish priest intended to build a new church in place of the small chapel, retaining the former name of St Stanislaus the Bishop and Martyr. In 1988, despite opposition from state authorities, Rev. W. Wanags decided to begin construction of the church. On 17 September 1988 Bishop Vilhelms Nukšs consecrated the new church in Horodok. It was the first Catholic temple established in Soviet Ukraine.

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Keywords: Horodok; Podolia; Diocese of Kamianets-Podilskyi; Rev. Franciszek Oleń; Bishop Jan Olszański; Rev. Franciszek Karasiewicz; Rev. Władysław Wanags

The purpose of this article is to present the history of the parish of St Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr in Horodok in 1941–1991, one of the few Roman Catholic communities in Podolia that survived throughout the post-war Soviet period. The proposed dates are important milestones. The year 1941, *terminus a quo*, is associated with the start of the German-Soviet war, in the aftermath of which a revival of religious life took place in the territories beyond the Zbruch River, as well as the reactivation of Catholic parishes that had been liquidated by the communist authorities in the interwar period. One of the first religious communities in Podolia that succeeded in resuming its activities at the time was the Parish of Horodok. In contrast, the year 1991, *terminus ad quem*, is associated with the collapse of the USSR, which ended a certain phase of State-Church relations and finally put an end to religious persecution in Ukraine.

The history of the parish until 1941

Horodok is a small town located on the Smotrych River, in the southwestern part of Khmelnytskyi (formerly Kamianets-Podilskyi) Oblast in Ukraine. Its establishment dates to the second half of the 14th century. For many centuries, the largest national group living in Horodok were Poles, which is why the town was colloquially referred to as Little Warsaw.¹ To this day, the area is home to a large Polish population, belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, which makes up a large part of the population of Horodok and nearby towns.

The Roman Catholic parish in Horodok was erected in 1496. Its first wooden church was burned by the Tatars in 1550. In 1589, Ruthenian Governor Mikołaj Herbut founded a new, brick church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. This temple had survived until the 18th century. In 1779, the church of St Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr was erected in its place. Slightly earlier, in 1732, a brick filial church of St Anne was built in Horodok.² In 1778, Conventual Franciscans from Kamianets settled at the temple. The monks brought with them to Horodok the grace-famous image of St Anthony of Padua. This saint was recognized as the pa-

¹ Official statistics show that Poles now make up about 30% of the city's population. However, as Marek Koprowski pointed out, according to some data, the percentage is at least twice as high. 'Some Poles have simply become Ukrainianised and are only now returning to their roots. Whoever wanted to be promoted in Soviet times had to declare to be Ukrainian, especially in Horodok, where openly admitting Polishness was treated almost like publicly declaring oneself an enemy of the Soviet people.' M. Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, Warsaw 2011, p. 27.

² The State Archive of the Khmelnytskyi Oblast in Khmelnytskyi (hereafter: APOCh), Podolskaja duchownaja rimo-katoliczieskaja konsistorija [Roman Catholic Clergy Consistory of Podolia], f. 685, op. 2, spr. 133, Wizitnaja wiadomost' Grudieckago prichodskago kostiela w Podolskoj gubernii w Kamienieckom ujezdzie sostajaszcziego za 1862 god [Visitation Records of the Parish Church in Horodok of the Podolian Governorate, Kamianets Uezd for 1862], k. 140.

tron saint and protector of the city, and was referred to as St Anthony of Horodok. After the departure of the Franciscans in 1832,³ the miraculous image remained in St Anne's Church, and in 1856 it was moved to the Church of St Stanislaus.⁴

In 1866, as a result of the dissolution of the Kamianets Diocese, the Parish of Horodok came under the jurisdiction of the Lutsk bishops.⁵ This state of affairs lasted for more than half a century, as the possibility of reactivating the bishopric in Kamianets-Podilskyi did not arise until after the fall of the tsarist rule (1917).⁶ However, hopes for the revival of the Kamianets Diocese were dashed by the provisions of the 1921 Treaty of Riga, under which Podolia became part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, since 1922 part of the USSR.⁷

Most of the faithful of the Kamianets Diocese were Poles, among whom the Catholic Church and its clergy enjoyed great authority. The Church itself, helping its followers to preserve their own identity – by defending and promoting Polishness – was for the Soviet authorities a fundamental obstacle to the upbringing of Polish communists.⁸ In view of this, one of the first actions undertaken by the Bolsheviks as part of the Sovietization of Podolia was to combat Catholicism. Enormous personal and financial resources were involved, and an efficient and extensive repressive apparatus was used for these purposes.⁹

³ In 1832, as part of the post-Uprising repression, the tsarist authorities liquidated the Franciscan monastery in Horodok and seized its property. The monastery building was taken over by the Daughters of Charity, but they too had to leave the town in 1870, as they exerted too much influence on the residents and hindered their Russification. Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, p. 29.

⁴ Cf. A. Sidlec'kyj, *Światy Antonij z Paduji, pokrowytel Gorodka*, „Głos Seminarii”, 17 (2013) issue 1, pp. 6–7.

⁵ Cf. B. Kumor, *Kasata diecezji kamienieckiej na Podolu w 1866*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, 1 (2002) pp. 209–217.

⁶ On 24 September 24 1918, Pope Benedict XV resumed the Diocese of Kamianets, appointing Rev. Piotr Mańkowski as its Ordinary. Cf. W. Rosowski, *Dzieje rzymskokatolickiej diecezji kamienieckiej w latach 1918–1941*, Lublin 2008, p. 45; S. Nabywaniec, *Odrodzenie diecezji kamienieckiej i jej losy po 1918 r.*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, 1 (2002) pp. 157–207.

⁷ Marek Koprowski points out that '[...] when the Republic of Poland was reborn, along with the Diocese of Kamianets, the residents of Horodok hoped that their town would be incorporated into it. Many of them joined the Polish army. However, the border was established on the Zbruch River, twenty kilometres west of Horodok.' Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, p. 29.

⁸ J. Szymański, *Kościół katolicki na Podolu. Obwód winnicki 1941–1964*, Lublin 2003, p. 28.

⁹ It is worth noting that Article 7 of the Treaty of Riga, signed at the end of the Polish-Bolshevik war, guaranteed religious freedom to the Polish population living in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus: 'Russia and Ukraine shall ensure to persons of Polish nationality, located in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, on the basis of equality of nationalities, all rights, securing the free development of culture and language and the performance of religious rites. [...] Persons of Polish nationality located in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus have the right, within the framework of internal legislation, to cultivate their native language, organize and support their own education, develop their culture and create associations and unions for this purpose. The same rights, under domestic legislation, will be enjoyed by Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian nationals located in Poland. The two contracting parties undertake to each other not to interfere directly or indirectly in the affairs of the regime and life of the Church and religious associations located in the territory of the other party. Churches and religious associations to which persons of Polish nationality in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus belong

As soon as the Bolshevik authorities occupied Podolia, the same legal order as in Soviet Russia began to apply there. And so the nationalization of industry and land, including Church property, began. Some priests tried to oppose this. One of them was Rev. Józef Sadowski,¹⁰ administrator of the Parish of Horodok. For resisting the Soviet authorities, the clergyman almost paid with his life. When the Bolsheviks consolidated their power and nationalized church lands in 1921, Rev. J. Sadowski threatened those who dared to occupy the land with an anathema. In response, CHEKA decided to arrest the priest. However, they did not anticipate the reaction of the parishioners. The faithful began ringing bells, and then several thousand people amassed. The Chekists fired in the air and threatened to open fire on the crowd¹¹. The faithful were not frightened by these threats and demanded the priest's release. Fearing the reaction of the faithful, the officers released the reverend. During the night, two parishioners, Licznarawski and Koluga, drove him to the Polish border, which he crossed and thus saved his life. After returning to Horodok, both men were arrested and then shot.¹²

have the right, within the limits of internal legislation, to independently arrange their internal Church life. The aforementioned churches and religious associations shall have the right, within the limits of internal legislation, to use and acquire movable and immovable property necessary for the performance of religious rites and the maintenance of clergy and ecclesiastical institutions.' It would seem that the Treaty of Riga left the Polish population living in the Soviet state a considerable amount of freedom. However, the wording about arranging the Church life within the limits of internal legislation left no illusions. Domestic law was considered by the Bolsheviks as superior to the international agreement. Poles left behind in a communist-ruled country were to realise that very soon. *Traktat pokoju między Polską a Rosją i Ukrainą, podpisany w Rydze dnia 18 marca 1921 r.*, Journal of Laws of 1921 item 300; G. Szubtarski, *Antykościelne ustawodawstwo w ZSRR za rządów Włodzimierza Lenina (1917–1923)*, „Kościół i Prawo”, 2 (2013) issue 2, p. 71; D. Sula, *Kościół katolicki na Ukrainie w latach 1921–1939*, in: *Państwo – religia. Instytucje państwowe i obywatele wobec religii w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w XX wieku*, ed. J. Durka, vol. 1, Kalisz 2014, p. 110.

¹⁰ Rev. Józef Sadowski (1872–1934) – graduate of the Zhytomyr Major Seminary; ordained in 1897; administrator in Kumaniv (1902–1907) and Horodok (1910–1921), minister in Chornokincy and Sydoriv (1921–1930), parish priest in Zimna Voda (1930–1934). Cf. R. Dzwonkowski, *Losy duchowieństwa katolickiego w ZSSR 1917–1939. Martyrologium*, Lublin 1998, pp. 422–423.

¹¹ On 23 April 1921, Bishop P. Mańkowski wrote a letter to Prime Minister Wincenty Witos, in which he informed the latter of the situation of the Church in Podolia; he mentioned, among other things, the events in Horodok: 'Do the facts such as: the arrest in the church of Rev. Sadowski in Horodok in Podolia on Easter Sunday, the shooting of the crowd, and finally the release of the priest due to the intimidating attitude of the population of several thousand [...]; or the escape of Rev. Balicki from Kupyn because he had been warned that he was to be arrested, and the arrest of a dozen parishioners in exchange for him and keeping them in prison for up to several weeks; or: the hiding of Rev. Liniewicz of Zalitsi out of necessity to escape persecution, imply the possibility of a peaceful stay and normal work under Bolshevik rule? [...] Do the constant arrests without even giving reasons, searches, looting, constant harassment, give any guarantee of possible living conditions. [...] I look in vain for a reference in the treaty to the return of the Church and individuals to their property.' P. Mańkowski, *Pamiętniki*, Warsaw 2000, p. 367.

¹² Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, p. 30.

From 1921 to 1927, the Horodok Parish was managed by Rev. Franciszek Trocki.¹³ In 1927, he was arrested and imprisoned in the GPU prison in Proskuriv. Subsequently, by a decision of the Judicial College of the OGPU on 25 March 1929, he was charged with '[...] conducting anti-Soviet activity, on the grounds of backwardness and religious superstition, spreading anti-Semitic sentiments and disobedience to the Soviet authorities, using the religiosity of the masses for propaganda in favour of the bourgeois Polish state' and was sentenced to 10 years in gulag.¹⁴ Evidence against the clergyman included religious literature found during the search, a proclamation from the Polish Episcopate calling for the fight against Bolshevism, a Catholic newspaper with an article titled *Co mówi się i pisze się o Żydach* (*What People Say and Write about Jews*), and a church calendar for the priests of the Kamianets Diocese for the year 1925, published in Buchach.¹⁵

Since the end of 1927, the Parish of Horodok was administered by Rev. Ryszard Szyszko-Bohusz.¹⁶ He worked there for less than 2 years, and then was arrested

¹³ Rev. Franciszek Trocki (1889–?) – graduate of Zhytomyr Major Seminary; ordained in 1912; vicar in Proskuriv (1912–1916), administrator in Yarmolyntsi (1916–1921), parish priest in Skazyn-tsi, administrator in Horodok and Kupyn (1921–1927); arrested in 1927, then sentenced to 10 years in the camps; released in 1932, by exchange of political prisoners returned to Poland; auxiliary chaplain in the garrison in Toruń (1932–?). Cf. Dzwonkowski, *Losy duchowieństwa katolickiego*, pp. 486–488.

¹⁴ The Soviet authorities tried to thoroughly falsify the real causes of religious persecution, by employing targeted legislation and the ubiquitous propaganda. Arrests of clergy and lay faithful, sentencing them to devastating labour in gulags, destitute exiles and death sentences were presented as punishments for counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet and espionage activities. Article 58 of the *RSFSR Criminal Code* served as the basis for these sentences, which contained fourteen points so broad that it gave the authorities unlimited powers in terms of political prosecutions. In his work entitled *The Gulag Archipelago*, Alexander Solzhenitsyn wrote: 'There is indeed no such offence, intention, deed or kind of inaction under the sun that cannot be reached by the punishing hand of Article fifty-eight' (A. Solzhenitsyn, *Archipelag Gulag. Próba dochodzenia literackiego*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1998, p. 66). Rev. F. Trocki was also convicted under this very article. R. Dzwonkowski, *Kapłani-męczennicy i wyznawcy wiary w diecezji kamieniecko-podolskiej w XX wieku*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, 1 (2002) p. 238.

¹⁵ APOCh, NKWD Głównoje Uprawlenije Gosudarstwennoj Biezopasnosti [NKVD Main Administration of State Security], f. P-6193, op. 12, spr. II – 5393, Postanowlenije o priwleczienii w kaczestwie obwiniajemogo Trockogo Francyska Iwanowicza [Decision to Initiate Proceedings against the Suspect Franciszek Trocki, Son of Jan], 15 X 1928, k. 22; ibidem, NKWD Głównoje Uprawlenije Gosudarstwennoj Biezopasnosti, f. P-6193, op. 12, spr. II – 5393, Wypiska iz protoroła zasiedaniya Kollegii OGPU (sudebnoje) [Excerpt from the Minutes of the OGPU Judicial College Meeting], 25 III 1929, k. 37.

¹⁶ Rev. Ryszard Szyszko-Bohusz (1881–1937) – graduate of Zhytomyr Major Seminary; ordained in 1906; vicar in Korets (1906–1910) and Kyiv (1910–1914), administrator in Obodivka (1914–1920), pro-synodal judge of the Diocesan Clergy Court in Kamianets-Podilskyi, chancellor of the curia of the Kamianets Diocese (from 1920), administrator in Horodok, Chankiv and Tynna (1920–1929); arrested several times by the Soviet security organs (1922, 1924, 1929); sentenced by the OGPU to 8 years of forced labour (1930); sentenced to death by the NKVD troika (1937). N. Rublova, S. Kokin, I. Kuras, *Biografiji rymo-katolyč'kych swiaszczenykiw, represowanych radians'koju władaju*, „Z archiw WUCZK-GPU-NKWD-KGB”, 21 (2003) issue 2, pp. 434–435.

for the third time by the OGPU in the fall of 1929 and sentenced to 8 years of slave forced labour.¹⁷

After the imprisonment of Rev. R. Szyszka-Bohusz, despite numerous obstacles from state factors, the parish in Horodok continued to function and priests from nearby towns came there from time to time. However, as a result of the intensification of anti-religious policies, the situation of Catholics in the Soviet Union worsened day by day.¹⁸ In addition to the numerous repressive measures, which were becoming increasingly brutal, the faithful also faced soaring taxes on rent, assurance, land annuities and other financial burdens. When these fees reached such an amount that paying them became impossible, churches were closed.¹⁹

The closure of the temples was a deliberate and prolonged process that gradually gained momentum. In 1931, in the Kamianets Diocese, churches in Mohyliv-Podilskyi, Nemyriv and Zbryzh were closed. A year later, the churches in Yampil, Snitkiv, Rashkiv and Verbovets were taken, followed by the churches in Letychiv, Hraniv, Zavaliyki and Balta in 1933. In 1934, in Podolia, the churches in Kopaihorod, Medzhybizh, Mykolaiv and Pechera were seized from the faithful and given for various purposes. In 1935, the Soviet authorities took over the temples in Sharivka, Sharovechka, Ulanov, Hnivan, Zhmerynka, Voronovysia, Obodivka, Bershad, Holoskiv, Zhvanets, Kytaihorod, Dunaivtsi, Mukariv, Proskuriv, Felsztyn, and Kamianets-Podilskyi.²⁰ In the same year, the state authorities closed two churches in Horodok.²¹ Soon the temples were devastated,²² but the authorities

¹⁷ State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine in Kyiv, Kryminalni sprawy na rehabilitowanych osob [Criminal Cases of Rehabilitated Persons], f. 6, spr. 68067-ФП, vol. 1, Prigovor Wierchownogo Suda USSR USSR 'po diełu ksiendzow' [Verdict of the Supreme Court of the USSR on Priests], 27 June 1930, k. 1–19.

¹⁸ According to Emilia Gulko's account, by 1932 the Horodok parish had almost completely died: 'Prayer groups stopped functioning, no one gathered for prayers, as it was forbidden. Even visiting the cemetery was not allowed [...]. Funerals were held without crosses, or any Christian symbols. When the deceased was escorted to the cemetery, we could not pray at the grave or linger at the grave for any length of time.' For an interview with Emilia Gulko conducted by Rev. P. Gonczaruk, see P. Gonczaruk, *Wira i žyttia. Swidoctwa wirujuczych*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, 2 (2003) p. 644.

¹⁹ R. Dzwonkowski, *Kościół katolicki w ZSSR. Zarys historii*, Lublin 1997, p. 245.

²⁰ Idem, *Kościół katolicki obrządku rzymskiego w Ukraińskiej SRS 1921–1939*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, 8–9 (2014–2015) pp. 303–304; Rosowski, *Dzieje rzymskokatolickiej diecezji kamienieckiej*, pp. 141–144.

²¹ APOCh, Ispołnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia [Executive Committee of the Council of Deputies Working in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast], f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 14, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti za III kwartał 1949 [Information Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the Third Quarter of 1949], 12 X 1949, k. 108.

²² From the memoirs of Włodzimierz Malecki, historian and witness to the devastation of the temples in Horodok: 'A series of powerful explosion was heard. We were very frightened – thinking the war was coming... The Communists often told us that Piłsudski would attack us soon. In the

failed to destroy the miraculous image of St Anthony. According to accounts from local parishioners, the church janitor cut the image out of the frames, wrapped it around his body, covered it with clothes and, under the watchful eye of NKVD officers, carried it out of the temple. The faithful placed the image in the cemetery chapel. It was from then on the only place where they could gather for communal services. However, the Soviet authorities were not going to tolerate this. In 1937, they arrested a thousand people in Horodok overnight, including all educated Poles, and deported them to Kazakhstan. Soon after that, they also closed the chapel in the cemetery. According to some testimonies, the image of St Anthony in the chapel was thrown into a public toilet by NKVD officers. Someone passing by noticed it, pulled the painting out of the cesspool, cleaned it and gave it to Sister Katarzyna Kuryłowska, then leader of the underground Catholic community in Horodok.²³

As a result of the Communists' consistently implemented anti-religious policies, the Catholic Church in Podolia virtually ceased to function in 1937. All Catholic churches were closed, destroyed or converted into granaries, stables, factories, clubs, etc. Only two churches remained in the USSR – in Moscow and Leningrad (Saint Petersburg), intended for the religious practices of foreign diplomats.²⁴

German occupation (1941–1944). Rebirth of the parish and the pastoral ministry of Rev. Franciszek Oleń

The situation of the Catholic Church in Podolia changed during the German occupation. Beginning in August 1941, churches that had been liquidated by the Soviet authorities before the war began to reopen in the Kamianets Diocese.²⁵ The cemetery chapel in Horodok was one of the first religious buildings in Podolia to be recovered at the time.²⁶ On 15 August 1941, on the feast of the Assumption

morning, the entire Smotrych valley, where our city is located, was as if in a thick fog, but it was lime dust from the blasted temples and smoke from the burned synagogue.' D. Poluchowicz, A. Denysiewicz, *Przygody Świętego Antoniego na Podolu*, <http://slowopolskie.org/przygody-witego-antoniego-na-podolu/> (accessed on: 23.09.2020).

²³ Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, pp. 33–34.

²⁴ State Archive of the Russian Federation in Moscow, NKVD SSSR [NKVD of the USSR], f. P-9401, op. 2, spr. 6531, *Sprawka o sotojaniu rimsko-katoliczieskich kostiołow na tierritorii SSSR* [Note on the Status of Roman Catholic Churches in the USSR], 4 V 1944, k. 2; W. Rożkow, *So-wiecka administracja państwowa wobec duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego na Podolu w latach 1944–1964*, in: *Studia z historii najnowszej Polski*, eds. R. Łatka, M. Przeperski, vol. 2, Warsaw 2020, p. 75.

²⁵ APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Swiedenija o naliczii diejstwujuszczich molitwiennych zdanij rieligioznych kultow – kromie russkoj prawosławnojj cerkwi po Kamieniec-Podolskojj obłasti 1 VII 1945 goda [Data on Functioning Houses of Prayer for Religious Worship, Except for the Russian Orthodox Church in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast on 1 July 1945], 1 VII 1945, k. 21–22.

²⁶ From Emilia Gulko's account: '[One day] Marysia came running to me and said: "I was with the German. I told him that our sons and husbands are at war, and we would like to pray for them. We will pray for you as well, just let the cemetery chapel be renovated so that we can gather there for prayers. And he let us do it!"' Interview with Emilia Gulko, p. 643.

of the Blessed Virgin Mary, services were resumed in the Horodok temple.²⁷ The image of St Anthony of Padua, rescued from the Bolsheviks, was soon placed in its place there. In 1942, a local painter under the surname of Kulpa pasted the surviving fragment of the miraculous painting into canvas and recreated the painting in its original size.²⁸

Initially, pastoral services in Horodok, as in many other towns occupied by the Third Reich, were provided by chaplains of German army units. Realizing the need for pastoral care of Catholics beyond the Zbruch River, Bishop of Lutsk Adolf Szelążek²⁹ sent several priests to the Kamianets and Zhytomyr dioceses with the intention that in time more would join them. At the end of November 1941, he asked, through his plenipotentiaries, the local German authorities for permission to reactivate pastoral work in the area. However, Reichskommissariat Ukraine did not agree to issue a general permit to priests, but only to process individual applications.³⁰

In 1943, thanks to the strenuous efforts of the Catholics of Horodok, Rev. Franciszek Oleń³¹ returned to them from the Diocese of Lutsk.³² According to

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, pp. 33–34.

²⁹ Bishop Adolf Szelążek (1865–1950) – ordained in 1888; vicar in Płock (1888–1889), student at St Petersburg Theological Academy (1889–1893); after returning to Płock in 1893, he worked as a lecturer at the Major Seminary and as a secretary at the consistory general, then as regens of the consistory, pro-synodal examiner (1902–1910), defender of the marriage knot in the bishop's court (1894–1896), rector of the Major Seminary in Płock (1909–1918); auxiliary bishop of Płock (1918–1925), and ordinary of the Diocese of Lutsk (1926–1950). He was arrested by Soviet authorities in 1945; the trial that followed demanded the death penalty for him. Released in 1946 thanks to the intervention of the Holy See, he left the USSR for Poland. Cf. B. Karwowska, W. Rożkowski, L. Zygnier, *Ks. Biskup Adolf Piotr Szelążek (1865–1950). Kapłan, biskup, wygnaniec*, Podkowa Leśna 2010.

³⁰ R. Dzwonkowski, *Odrodzenie życia religijnego w diecezji łucko-żytomierskiej i kamienieckiej 1941–1991*, in: *Restaurare omnia in Christo. 25-lecie reaktywowania Kościoła Rzymskokatolickiego na Ukrainie. Diecezja kijowsko-żytomierska*, eds. J. Ślepówroński, W.W. Żurek, Kyiv-Zhytomyr 2017, p. 88; Rożkow, *Sowiecka administracja*, p. 76.

³¹ Rev. Franciszek Oleń (1910–1991) – ordained priest in 1939; vicar in Volodymyr-Volynskiy (1939), minister in Stara Huta (1939–1942); in 1942 he went to the Zhytomyr Diocese with his pastoral ministry; in 1943–1945 he worked in Podolia, including Horodok, Makariv, Skazyntsi, Stara Huta (according to Maria Dębowska, the frequent change of location indicates that the priest probably did not obtain permission from the German authorities for a longer stay in any town or village); from 1945 he served as a minister in the Diocese of Koszalin-Kołobrzeg. M. Dębowska, *Kościół katolicki na Wołyniu w warunkach okupacji 1939–1945*, Rzeszów 2008, pp. 312, 439; *Reaktywowanie duszpasterstwa w diecezjach żytomierskiej i kamienieckiej*, ed. M. Dębowska, Rzeszów 2010, p. 29; W. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags (1931–2001) – obrońca Kościoła na Podolu*, Białe Dunajec-Ostróg 2018, p. 26.

³² On 7 October 1943, Rev. Franciszek Oleń sent a letter to Bishop A. Szelążek, in which he informed him about the situation of the Church in Podolia: 'As I have already written to Your Excellency, I am in Horodok [Podilskiy]. The parishioners here are very pious, but also abandoned, as there was currently no priest here. Although there is one priest here in Kamianets, he is now paralysed, and so he cannot contribute at all. As regards the other places, churches have been preserved here

accounts from local parishioners, his pastoral work in Horodok and nearby towns was outstandingly hard and exhausting. He has baptised thousands of children, blessed countless married couples, heard the confessions of multitudes of the faithful and anointed many of the sick. His pastoral work lasted from dawn to dusk. As a result of exhaustion, the clergyman often lost consciousness. One the Horodok parishioner recalled years later: 'Rev. Oleń was brought to us. He looked as if he was dead. He could no longer continue to work for us. He advised us to ask for a permanent minister to be sent to Horodok.'³³

The return of the Soviet authorities. The beginning of the pastoral work of Rev. Jan Olszański (1944–1946)

In July 1944, after the Soviet army entered Podolia, Bishop A. Szelażek, knowing the expectations and religious needs of the local Catholics, appointed Father Adolf Kukuruziński³⁴ administrator of the Kamianets Diocese. However, lacking an adequate clergy staff as a result of the mass murders committed by Ukrainian OUN-UPA nationalists against the Polish population of Volhynia, the bishop appealed to the Metropolitan Curia of the Latin Rite in Lviv for personal support for the pastoral mission in Podolia. In his refusal of September 3, 1944, the Metropolitan of Lviv Archbishop Bolesław Twardowski³⁵ explained his in-

in Yarmolyntsi (there were two, and one remains), in Felsztyn, in Skazyntsi, one in Kamianets, in Kutkivtsi and Smotrych". *Pismo ks. Franciszka Olenia do bpa Adolfa Piotra Szelażka*, in: *Reaktywowanie duszpasterstwa*, p. 104.

³³ W. Juszcyszyna, *Pols 'ko-ukrajins'ki wzajemyny na terytoriji Chmelnyc'koji oblasti: polaky ta Rymo-katołyč'ka Cerkwa w Gorodku*, in: *Represiji proty polakiv ta inszych nacionalnoje na Podilli: rol i misce w kraju*, ed. I. Jaszcuk, Khmelnytskyi 2016, p. 430.

³⁴ Rev. Adolf Kukuruziński (1894–1970) – ordained priest in 1917; performed pastoral duties in Proskuriv, Lutsk, Volodymyr-Volynskyi, Zdolbuniv, Ostroh, Berestechko; Ph.D. in canon law at the Catholic University of Lublin (1927); from 1927–1939, lecturer at Lutsk Major Seminary, employee of Lutsk Diocesan Curia, deputy director of Diocesan Institute of Catholic Action, prison chaplain; during World War II, clerk at Lutsk Diocesan Curia, cathedral parish priest in Kamianets-Podilskyi and administrator of Kamianets Diocese (1944); arrested by NKVD in 1944, sentenced under Article 54 of the CC of the USSR to 10 years of gulag; after his release from the camps (1957), expelled by the Soviet authorities to Poland; auditor of the diocesan court in Opole (1957–1959), official of the same court (from 1959), chaplain to the Sisters of Notre Dame in Głubczyce (1960–1962), chaplain to the Franciscan Sisters of the Hospital in Proszków (1961–1970). APOCh, Ispolnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Informacyonnyj otcziot Upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti za I kwartał 1945 g. [Information Report of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the First Quarter of 1945], 21 IV 1945, k. 8; Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa*, pp. 35–36; J. Szymański, *Kościół katolicki w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim w 1945 r.*, in: *Historia świadectwem czasów. Księdzu Markowi Tomaszowi Zahajkiewiczowi*, eds. W. Bielak, S. Tylus, Lublin 2006, pp. 480–481; W. Urban, *Duszpasterska siejba kapłanów repatriantów na Ziemiach odzyskanych w latach 1945–1970*, Wrocław 1972, p. 57.

³⁵ Archbishop Bolesław Twardowski (1864–1944) – ordained in 1886; graduate of the Pontifical Gregorian University, after studying in Rome he worked as prefect of the Lviv Major Seminary; chancellor of the Lviv Archdiocese (1895–1902), parish priest in Ternopil (1902–1918), auxiliary

ability to fulfil the request with analogous reasons given by the Bishop of Lutsk. The fruitless intervention of Bishop A. Szelażek did not end the efforts to support the pastoral mission beyond the Zbruch.³⁶ As a result of a renewed request for personnel assistance, made during Rev. A. Kukurużyński's visit to Lviv, the following clergymen were selected following an appeal by the Metropolitan Curia to the superiors of male religious orders to undertake pastoral missions in the East: Fr Aleksander Emil Zonn, CM,³⁷ Fr Martynian Wojciech Darzycki, OFM,³⁸ Fr Aleksander Beń, OFM,³⁹ Fr Hilary Marcin Wilk, OFMCap.⁴⁰ In October 1944,

bishop of the Lviv Archdiocese (1918–1923), metropolitan archbishop of Lviv (1923–1944). Cf. G. Chajko, *Arcybiskup Bolesław Twardowski (1864–1944). Metropolita lwowski obrządku łacińskiego*, Rzeszów 2010.

³⁶ *Pismo abpa Bolesława Twardowskiego do bpa Adolfa Piotra Szelażka*, in: *Reaktywowanie duszpasterstwa*, pp. 208–209; Dębowska, *Kościół katolicki na Wołyniu*, p. 319; J. Wołczański, *Misja pastoralna ks. Jana Olszańskiego na Podolu z lat 1944–1989 w relacjach sowieckich władz wyznaniowych*, in: *Kościół katolicki w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w obliczu dwóch totalitaryzmów (1917–1990)*, eds. M. Krzysztofiński, J. Wołczański, vol. 2, Rzeszów-Lwów 2017, p. 240.

³⁷ Fr Alexander Emil Zonn, CM (1899–1976) – ordained priest in 1934, took perpetual vows in the Congregation of Missionary Fathers in 1938; administrator of the parish of Minoty (1934–1935), rector of the church in Vaskovichi (1935–1936), prison chaplain in Lviv (1938–1940), vicar of St Vincent Parish in Lviv (1940–1941), chaplain of the Institution for the Mentally Ill (1942–1943); in 1944 he went on a mission to the East, pastored in Uman, Zavallia, Novohrad-Volynskyi and Kyiv; after 1946 he returned to Poland; until 1961 administrator of the Gozdnicza parish; transferred to Kraków, served as confessor and itinerant missionary. Szymański, *Kościół na Podol.*, pp. 284–285.

³⁸ Fr Martynian Wojciech Darzycki, OFM (1918–2009) – joined the Bernardines in 1934; ordained priest in 1943; minister in Lviv, then in the village of Krymok (1944–1946); in 1946 he was sentenced to 8 years of gulag, 5 years of exile and 5 years of deprivation of civil rights; released from the gulag in 1952, pastored in Murafa, Sharhorod; from 1957 until his death, he worked in Miastkówka [now Horodivka]. Cf. L. Karłowicz, *Ciernista droga. Życie i działalność o. Martyniana Darzyckiego OFM więźnia Kołomy*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1997; R.O. Jusiak, *O. Martynian Wojciech Darzycki OFM (1918–2009) – bernardyn, odnowiciel franciszkanów na Ukrainie*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2014.

³⁹ Fr Aleksander Beń, OFM (1912–1991) – took his perpetual vows in 1934, ordained priest in 1939; in 1939–1944 pastored in Boremel in Volhynia, Torchyn and Lviv; vicar of the cathedral parish in Kamianets-Podilskyi (1944), after the arrest of Fr A. Kukurużyński (28 December 1944), parish priest of the same; arrested in January 1945, then sentenced under Article 54 of the CC of the USSR to 8 years of gulag; after his release from the camps (1956), conducted clandestine pastoral activities in Kazakhstan. APOCh, Ispolnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Informacyonnyj otcziot Upolnomoczenogo Sowjeta po diełam religioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti za I kwartał 1945 g., 21 IV 1945, k. 8; M. Dębowska, L. Popek, *Duchowieństwo diecezji łuckiej. Ofiary wojny i represji okupantów 1939–1945*, Lublin 2010, pp. 41–42; Szymański, *Kościół na Podol.*, p. 307; J. Żaryn, *Starania ks. dr Teodora Benscha o uwolnienie czterestu księży diecezji łuckiej*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie” (1997) issue 1, p. 70; Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa*, pp. 121–122; S. Barcik, *Franciszkanie łagiernicy*, in: *Duchowieństwo polskie w świecie. Materiały VII Międzynarodowego Sympozjum Biografistyki Polonijnej. Papieski Uniwersytet Urbiański. Rzym, 17–18 października 2002 r.*, eds. A. Judycka, Z. Judycki, Toruń 2002, pp. 32–33.

⁴⁰ Fr Hilary Marcin Wilk, OFMCap (1917–1998) – ordained in 1942; performed pastoral work in Kraków and Lviv, administrator of Kryvotyn parish (1944–1946); sentenced to 8 years of

all of the above-mentioned monks received permission from the NKVD to live and carry out a pastoral mission beyond the Zbruch.⁴¹

At the end of September 1944, the Metropolitan Curia of the Latin Rite in Lviv published a communication to diocesan priests encouraging them to undertake pastoral missions in the East.⁴² A 25-year-old vicar from Kachanivka, Rev. Jan Olszański, made a spontaneous response to the new challenge.⁴³ After receiving a year's leave granted by Archbishop B. Twardowski, he was appointed parish priest in Horodok in October 1944.⁴⁴ Without much difficulty at the time, he obtained permission from the Soviet authorities to conduct pastoral activities.⁴⁵

imprisonment in 1946, was released from the gulag in 1952; parish priest in Bar (1952–1958); in 1958 deprived of the right to serve in the priesthood and sentenced to a year of forced labour, in 1959 deported by the Soviet authorities to the border in Przemyśl, arrived in Poland in May 1959; worked, among other places, in Sędziszów Małopolski, Bolków, Nowa Sól and Skomielna Czarna; returned to Ukraine in 1991 and served in parishes in Starokostiantyniv and Krasyliv. H.M. Wilk, „Ty nie zginiesz”, Lublin 2002, pp. 17–26, 103–171; The Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine in Kyiv (hereafter CAPSOU), Centralnyj komitet Komunistycznoji Partiji Ukrajiny [Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine], f. 1, op. 23, spr. 2741, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie Upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam religioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po Ukrainskoj SSR za trietij kwartał 1953 g. [Information Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Ukrainian SSR for the Third Quarter of 1953], 21 XI 1953, k. 2–3; J.L. Gadacz, *Słownik polskich kapucynów*, vol. 2, Wrocław 1986, pp. 415–416.

⁴¹ Szymański, *Kościół katolicki na Podolu*, pp. 38–39.

⁴² Wołczański, *Misja pastoralna*, p. 240.

⁴³ Rev. Jan Olszański (1918–2003) – graduate of the Metropolitan Major Seminary in Lviv; ordained in 1942; vicar in Kachanivka (1942–1944), parish priest in Horodok (1944–1946 and 1948–1959), vicar of the parish of Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Lviv (1946–1948), parish priest in Mavkoviychi (1959–1991), diocesan bishop in Kamianets-Podilskyi (1991–2002). APOCh, Upolnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti [Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs to the Council of Ministers of Ukraine in Khmelnytskyi Oblast], f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 45, Ankieta na sluzhytiela religioznogo kulta [Survey of the Servant of Worship Jan Olszański], 15 I 1970, k. 65; APOCh, Upolnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 45, Awtobiografija [Autobiography of Rev. Jan Olszański], 15 I 1970, k. 68; Cf. J. Wołczański, *Ksiądz biskup Jan Olszański. Duszpasterz – patriota – człowiek*, in: *Pasterz i twierdza. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana księdzu biskupowi Janowi Olszańskiemu ordynariuszowi diecezji w Kamieńcu Podolskim*, ed. J. Wołczański, Kraków-Kamianets-Podilskyi 2001, pp. 9–19; idem, *Misja pastoralna*, pp. 239–264; R. Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa polskiego represjonowanego w ZSRS 1939–1988*, Lublin 2003, pp. 451–453; A. Hlebowicz, „Trwajcie”. *Biskup Jan Olszański (1919–2003)*, „Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej”, 64 (2006) issue 5, pp. 73–81.

⁴⁴ Archives of Archbishop Eugeniusz Baziak in Kraków, Files of the Metropolitan Curia of the Latin Rite in Lviv, ref. 1053, Do Wielebnego Ks. Jana Olszańskiego kooperatora w Kaczanówce, 20 IX 1944, no page number; APOCh, Upolnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 45, Jego priepodobiju ksiendzu Ioannu Olszanskomu [To the Most Reverend Father in God Jan Olszański], 4 X 1944, k. 70.

⁴⁵ APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 14, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upolnomocziennogo

The young priest was received in the Horodok parish with great enthusiasm. As Stanisław Gumeniuk pointed out, immediately after Rev. J. Olszański arrived in Horodok, crowds of believers began to flow into the cemetery shrine: ‘Oh, how many people were coming to our chapel at that time, even though it could hold as much as 50–60 of them; it was “filled with” 300 and more. Hundreds of people crowded around the shrine to hear the word of God.’⁴⁶ The events were also recorded in the memoirs of Zuzanna Michalska: ‘The chapel was crowded all the time. There was even no room to cross yourself. It was just the same outside – there were crowds of the faithful, all chilled to the bone, standing and listening to the Mass.’⁴⁷ Particularly large crowds of the faithful at the cemetery chapel could be seen during holidays and church celebrations, above all during the indulgence on June 13, when Catholics from all over the Kamianets Diocese came to Horodok. One local parishioner recalled years later:

Everyone that could arrived for the indulgence of our miraculous St. Anthony of Padua: on foot, on carts... Many pilgrims arrived on the evening of 12 June. Local Catholics tried to shelter them in their homes for the night; however, there were so many pilgrims that most of them had to sleep in the cemetery, on the graves. These graves had been very overgrown. After the indulgence, all vegetation was levelled and there were no more weeds to be seen. During the solemn Mass, crowds stood at the chapel so large that there was not enough room to swing a cat.⁴⁸

After the Red Army occupied the territory of Soviet Ukraine and the eastern provinces of the Second Polish Republic, which became part of the USSR, the Soviet authorities modified their previous methods of fighting religion. At that time, significant changes were made in USSR policy toward the Church. The main tool for carrying out the new religious policy became the Council for the Orthodox Church, established on 14 September 1943, which was a *de facto* branch of the USSR Ministry of State Security (MGB). It was to oversee the introduction of government regulations relating to the religious sphere, submit draft resolutions and legislation on religious cults, register buildings, clergy and religious communities, keep statistical records, and inform the republican government about the religious situation.⁴⁹

Sometime later, on 19 May 1944, the Council for Religious Cults under the USSR Council of Ministers was established to control the activities of non-Orthodox

Sowieta po dziełach rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti za III kwartał 1949, 12 X 1949, k. 109.

⁴⁶ S. Gumeniuk, *Kim ty jesteś...?*, „Głos Podola”, (2000) issue 1–2, pp. 7–10.

⁴⁷ An interview with Susanna Michalskaya conducted by Rev P. Gonczaruk, cf. P. Gonczaruk, *Wiara i życie. Świadectwa duchowych przeżyć osób prześladowanych na Podolu w latach 1918–1990*, Lublin 2016, p. 37.

⁴⁸ Interview with Maria Szczucka conducted on 4 November 2019 by the author (audio recording; author’s private archive).

⁴⁹ Szymański, *Kościół katolicki na Podolu*, p. 110.

communities, including Old Believers.⁵⁰ Between 1943 and 1944, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR adopted more than a dozen documents outlining the directions of religious policy and determining how to resolve various issues related to the activities of religious communities. In February 1945, the Council for Religious Cults sent out an instruction to regional plenipotentiaries on the conditions for legalizing religious organizations. The faithful were required to have protocols for electing members of parish committees and revision commissions, to have a room suitable for religious practice, and to have a priest referred by the church administration centre. Religious buildings in the USSR, along with objects of worship, were considered state property, so in order to gain access to the temple and its equipment, each registered religious community had to sign a contract with the district executive committee, in which it undertook to take care of the material goods entrusted to it, make them available to representatives of the Council of Deputies and the Council's Plenipotentiary for Religious Cults, and use them exclusively for religious purposes.⁵¹

The Catholic parish in Horodok was officially registered on 17 January 1945.⁵² According to reports by the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults, the number of believers in the Horodok parish in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast at the time was about 3,000. Concurrently, according to these documents, the residents of Horodok accounted for slightly less than half of the total parishioners (about 1,400 people), with more than 53% of the faithful arriving from nearby villages: Bedrykivtsi, Novosilka, Nove Porichchia, Kreminna, Chornyvody, Zhyshchyntsi, Lisohirka, Pidlisnyi Oleksynets and others.⁵³ The situation was different with the so-called 'twenty', i.e. a 20-member parish committee: 60% of the members were the citizens of Horodok.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ CAPSOU, Centralnyj komitet Komunistycznej Partiji Ukrainy, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 887, Postanowienie Sowjeta Narodnych Komissarow SSSR nr 572 ob organizacii Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow [Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR No 572 on the Establishment of a Council for Religious Cults], 19 V 1944, k. 2.

⁵¹ Rożkow, *Sowiecka administracja*, p. 77.

⁵² APOCh, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Sprawka o riezistracii rieligioznogo obszczestwa [Certificate of Registration of Religious Community], 25 IV 1945, k. 121; V. Rozhkov, *Losy świątyń i wspólnot rzymskokatolickich w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim (chmielnickim) w latach 1944–1964*, Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne 2021, issue 115, p. 427.

⁵³ APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczizsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 14, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoi oblasti za III kwartał 1949, 12 X 1949, k. 109.

⁵⁴ APOCh, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Spisok imuszczestwa Gorodokskogo rimsko-katoliczieskogo prichodskogo kostiela [Inventory of the Roman Catholic Parish Church in Horodok], b.d., k. 122; ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Tipowoj dogowor [Standard Agreement], 20 VIII 1948, k. 124.

In 1945, there were 34 parishes in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast, with 6 Roman Catholic priests.⁵⁵ As the number of registered communities significantly exceeded the number of clergy, priests had to serve several to a dozen parishes, sometimes very far from their place of residence. And thus, for example, Rev. J. Olszański, a Horodok resident, regularly commuted with pastoral ministry to Kutkivtsi, Kupyn, Yarmolyntsi, Zinkivtsi, Cherche, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Tynna, Skazyntsi, Kumaniv, Vilkhovets, Bebechy, Felsztyn⁵⁶ and Sharivka.⁵⁷

Departure of Rev. John Olszański. The fate of the Horodok community in 1946–1948

Over time, the number of priests working in the Kamianets Diocese began to decline sharply. Dominik Milewski,⁵⁸ Michał Żukowski,⁵⁹ Łukasz Makolądra,⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Swiedenija o naliczii diestwujuszczich molitwiennych zdanij rieligioznych kultow – kromie russkoj prawosławnoy cerkwi po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti 1 VII 1945 goda, 1 VII 1945, k. 21–22.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Informacyonnyj otcziot Upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti za II kwartał 1945 g. [Information Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the Second Quarter of 1945], 1 VII 1945, k. 12–15.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 18, Spiec'zapiska o naliczii rimsko-katoliczieskich rieligioznych obszczin i namieczijemyje mieroprijatija po otsieleniju molitwiennych domow, kostiolow, kaplic, rospusku i sniatiju s riegistracii obszin etogo kulta [Note on the State of Roman Catholic Religious Communities and Planned Undertakings aimed at Closing Prayer Houses, Churches, Chapels, Dissolving and Depriving Communities Belonging to this Religious Institution of Registration], 28 VIII 1949, k. 37.

⁵⁸ Rev. Dominik Milewski (1897–1981) – ordained priest in 1929; vicar in Klewan (1929–1931), parish priest in Rafalivka and administrator of Chortoryisk parish (1931–1933), parish priest in Hlybochok (1933–1943), during the German-Soviet war (1941–1945) member of the partisan unit of the Home Army, parish priest in Slavuta (1943–1945). APOCH, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 19, Sprawka [Certificate], 17 V 1950, k. 38; ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Swiedenija o naliczii diestwujuszczich molitwiennych zdanij rieligioznych kultow – kromie russkoj prawosławnoy cerkwi po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti 1 VII 1945 goda, 1 VII 1945, k. 21–22; ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Informacyonnyj otcziot Upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj Oblasti za wriemia s 10 I po 1 XII 1945 goda [Informational Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast from 10 January to 1 December 1945], 2 XII 1945, k. 32–35; W. Stoczkowyj, W. Nesterenko, *Rymsko-Katolycka Cerkwa na Podilli u 20-ti – 90-i roku XX st. Istoryko-geograficzne doslidzenia*, Kolomyia 2001, p. 36; Szymański, *Kościół katolicki w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim*, p. 480.

Jacek Muzyka,⁶¹ Fr Julian Kowalski, CR⁶² were forced to end their pastoral work in Ukraine and leave for Poland.⁶³

⁵⁹ Rev. Michał Żukowski (1899–1983) – ordained in 1923; vicar in Buchach (1923–1926), prefect of common schools in Sarny (1930–1937), in 1937–1943 ministered in parishes in Kovel and Zasmyki, from 1944 worked in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Diocese, where he held the authority of vicar general; he exercised his priestly ministry in Wovkovyntsi, Bar, Mynkivtsi, Kozarivka, Yaltushkiv. After being deported from the USSR, he settled in Toruń in 1946. Szymański, *Kościół katolicki w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim*, pp. 477–479; H. Dąbkowski, *Wspomnienie o ks. mgr Michale Żukowskim (1899–1983)*, in: *Kresowi księża harcerze. Od Kamieńca Podolskiego do Nowogródka*, ed. H. Dąbkowski, Warsaw 1999, pp. 37–44.

⁶⁰ Rev. Łukasz Makolądra (1910–1998) – ordained in 1935; worked as administrator of the Skalat parish; during the pogroms organized by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), served as priest in the Krasne parish; in 1945, parish priest in Sataniv. APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Swiedienija o naliczii diejstwuuszczich molitwiennych zdaniach rieligioznych kultow – kromie russkoj prawosławnoy cerkwi po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti na 1 VII 1945 goda, 1 VII 1945, k. 21–22; ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Informacyonnyj otcziot Upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj Oblasti za wriemia s 10 I po 1 XII 1945 goda, 2 XII 1945, k. 32–35; Szymański, *Kościół katolicki w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim*, p. 481; W. Urban, *Archidiecezja lwowska*, in: *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945. Metropolie wileńska i lwowska, zakony*, ed. Z. Zieliński, Katowice 1992, p. 109.

⁶¹ Rev. Jacek Muzyka (1889–1966) – ordained priest in 1915; vicar in Svirzh (1915–1919), Kulykiv (1919–1921), expositus in Mahdalivka (1921–1930), parish priest in Toky (1930–1945); in 1945 he served as minister in Krasyliv; as part of expatriation he left for Poland. APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Swiedienija o naliczii diejstwuuszczich molitwiennych zdaniach rieligioznych kultow – kromie russkoj prawosławnoy cerkwi po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti na 1 VII 1945 goda, 1 VII 1945, k. 21–22; ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Informacyonnyj otcziot Upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj Oblasti za wriemia s 10 I po 1 XII 1945 goda, 2 XII 1945, k. 32–35; Szymański, *Kościół katolicki w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim*, p. 481–482.

⁶² Fr Julian Kowalski CR (1885–1979) – joined the Resurrectionists in 1913; ordained a priest in 1920; in 1920–1939 worked in Siedlce, Garwolin, Zdolbuniv, Kraków, Warsaw; in 1939–1946 supervisor of the Resurrectionist religious house in Lviv; in 1944 began working in Podolia – in Proskuriv and Sharivka; in 1946 left for Poland; served as minister in the towns of: Gdańsk, Brzenik, Wilkanów and Idzików. S. Bizuń, *Historia Krzyżem znaczone. Wspomnienia z życia Kościoła katolickiego na Ziemi Lwowskiej 1939–1945*, Lublin 1994, p. 87; Szymański, *Kościół katolicki w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim*, pp. 480–481.

⁶³ APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Informacyonnyj otcziot upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti za wriemia s 10 I po 1 XII 1945 goda, 2 XII 1945, k. 32–35; ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 3, Otcziot za II kwartał 1946 goda po rieligioznym kultam po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti [Report on Work in the Sphere of Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the Second Quarter of 1946], 8 VII 1946, k. 25–26; ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow

In October 1946, in response to orders from his superiors and MGB officials, the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast suspended Rev. J. Olszański from performing his duties in the Horodok parish and transferred him to Proskuriv, presumably to have a better control his activities. After less than a week of his work in the town, as a result of blackmail and various restrictions by the Soviet authorities, the clergyman was forced to discontinue his ministry in Podolia and leave for Lviv, where he took up duties as vicar of the parish of Our Lady of Perpetual Help.⁶⁴

While living in Lviv, despite numerous obstacles from state factors, Rev. J. Olszański tried to carry out very active pastoral activities, and worked in various fields both among the still numerous Polish community at the time, and among Ukrainians of the Greek Catholic rite using religious services in Roman Catholic churches after the liquidation of their Orthodox Church during the Lviv pseudo-sobor in 1946. He was particularly committed to the Metropolitan Basilica, where he conducted catechization of schoolchildren, which was forbidden in the Soviet state.⁶⁵

After the departure of Rev. J. Olszański to Lviv, there was no longer any priest on the territory of the Kamianets Diocese who could perform pastoral service.⁶⁶ The lack of clergy led the faithful in many localities, including Horodok, to hold traditional, familiar services without the presence of a priest. Quite often, these took the form of a simplified Mass, presided over by a person well versed in the liturgy who enjoyed great authority and trust in the religious community. Fr Martynian Wojciech Darzycki, OFM, recalled: 'People arranged services themselves when there was no priest nearby. On Sundays, candles were lit, altar servers brought out the missal, and a chalice was placed on the altar. The choir began the singing usually performed at Mass, and it was the Mass for Four Voices. Also, the

trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 3, Swiedienija o służytelach rieligiznych kultow pri molitwiennych zdaniach [Data on Servants of Religious Worship at Houses of Worship], 8 VII 1946, k. 27; ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 3, Otcziot za III kwartał 1946 goda po rieligioznych kultam po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti [Report on Work in the Sphere of Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the Third Quarter of 1946], 5 X 1946, k. 34.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 6, Otcziot za II kwartał 1947 goda o rabotie po rieligioznych kultam po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti [Report on Work in the Sphere of Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the Second Quarter of 1947], 2 VII 1947, k. 13–14; ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 3, Otcziot o rabotie za IV kwartał 1946 g. [Report on Work for the Fourth Quarter of 1946], 31 XII 1946, k. 46; The State Archive of Lviv Oblast, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam rieligii pri SM SSSR po Lwowskoj oblasti, f. P-1332, op. 2, spr. 77, Ksiondz Olszanskij Jan Janowicz [Biography of Rev. Jan Olszański], 18 IV 1956, k. 30; ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam rieligii pri SM SSSR po Lwowskoj oblasti, f. P-1332, op. 2, spr. 77, Ankieta na służytela kulta [Survey of the Servant of Worship], 18 I 1947, k. 4; Wołczański, *Ksiądz biskup Jan Olszański*, p. 12.

⁶⁵ Wołczański, *Ksiądz biskup Jan Olszański*, p. 12.

⁶⁶ APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 3, Otcziot o rabotie za IV kwartał 1946 g. [Report on Work for the Fourth Quarter of 1946], 31 XII 1946, k. 46.

entire church sang hymns. The lesson and the Gospel falling on a given Sunday were read.⁶⁷ In turn, the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast, A. Steciuk, informing his superiors about the situation of the Church in Podolia in one of his reports, noted:

[...] on weekdays, church services tend to be individual [...], while on Sundays they are collective. Collective services are presided over by organizers, that is, people familiar with the order of the church liturgy. These people, during the Sunday service, which normally must be conducted by a priest, skip the priestly prayers and give the choir signs indicating which prayers must be sung [...]. In other words, there is reading and singing of prayers in the church, accompanying the Mass celebrated by the priest.⁶⁸

In 1947, due to the absence of a permanent minister in Horodok, the Soviet authorities decided to close the cemetery chapel and the community was dissolved. However, these intentions were unfruitful, as the Polish community of several thousand living there kept a round-the-clock vigil at the temple with pitchforks and sticks in hand until the danger had passed. The successful defence of the chapel further integrated the Catholic population and strengthened them morally for further struggle.⁶⁹

The return of Rev. Jan Olszański and his second stationary stay in Horodok (1948–1959)

At the end of the second year of Rev. J. Olszański's work at the parish of Lady of Perpetual Help in Lviv, the state authorities demanded that he return to Podolia, arguing that there was a lack of clergy in those areas.⁷⁰ In fact, the transfer of the young priest from Lviv was intended to reduce the activity of the Catholic Church in the area. This was a widespread method of the Soviet authorities. They wanted the largest parishes to have their pastoral work carried out by old men, after whose death the community could be deprived of its registration.⁷¹ With no guarantees to continue his pastoral mission, Rev. J. Olszański decided to return to the Proskuriv parish. The clergyman's second stay in Proskuriv also did not last

⁶⁷ Z. Lech, *Szpieg Watykanu!*, „Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą”, (1993) issue 4, pp. 571–572.

⁶⁸ APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 25, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie Upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rielioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR, pri Kamieniec-Podolskom oblipolkomie za III kwartał 1953 g. [Information Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the Third Quarter of 1953], 27 X 1953, k. 58–59.

⁶⁹ R. Dzwonkowski, *Za wschodnią granicą 1917–1993. O Polakach i Kościele w dawnym ZSRR z Romanem Dzwonkowskim rozmawia Jan Palyga*, Warszawa 1993, p. 222.

⁷⁰ APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 15, spr. 21, Upołnomocziennomu Sowjeta po dielam rielioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti tow. P.M. Sierdiuchenko [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults to the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast, Comrade P.M. Serdyuchenko], 1 X 1948, k. 50.

⁷¹ Wołczański, *Ksiądz biskup Jan Olszański*, p. 12.

long and was certainly not easy.⁷² Thanks to the efforts of his former parishioners, who repeatedly approached the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults, Rev. J. Olszański finally succeeded in obtaining permission to return to Horodok. On 20 November 1948, the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast, P. Serdyuchenko, registered Rev. J. Olszański as parish priest in Horodok.⁷³

Between 1948 and 1953, only 2 Catholic communities with a permanent minister functioned in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast – in Polonne and Horodok.⁷⁴ According to data from the Council for Religious Cults, in 1950, 50–70 parishioners attended services at the Horodok chapel on weekdays, 100–150 on Sundays, 200–300 on church feast days, and about 2,000 worshippers on Easter, with a maximum of 150 people at a time.⁷⁵ As the cemetery chapel did not meet the growing needs of the community, local Catholics, led by Rev. J. Olszański, began to write petitions to the state authorities requesting permission to expand it. For one such petition in 1951, they managed to collect some 11,000 signatures.⁷⁶

As one witness recalled years later, '[...] what, particularly disturbed the local officials, were the church chants resounding throughout Horodok.' These testified to the high level of religiosity of the local population, who openly declared their faith despite numerous oppressions and persecutions. This was undoubtedly thanks to the parish priest, who, both by word and his own example, was able to develop in the Catholics of Horodok an attitude of loyalty to God and the Church.⁷⁷ The Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast wrote in a report:

⁷² Rożkow, *Sowiecka administracja*, p. 80.

⁷³ APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 14, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti za III kwartał 1949, 12 X 1949, k. 109.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 25, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie Upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rielioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR, pri Kamieniec-Podolskom oblipołkome za III kwartał 1953 g., 27 X 1953, k. 57.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 18, Dokad o sostojanii i diejatel'nosti rieligioznych obszczin w Kamieniec-Podolskoj obasti na 1 maja 1950 goda [Report on the Status and Activity of Religious Communities in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast as of 1 May 1953], 23 V 1950, k. 109.

⁷⁶ From the memoirs of Stanisław Gumeniuk: 'Back in those days, thinking not so much about building – that could only be dreamed of – but about expanding the shrine, believers voluntarily signed the petition. That was in 1951, almost eleven thousand signatures were collected. [...] The local secretary of the District Committee, Comrade Szczerbata, who especially hated "everything that thinks differently" said of the priest at a party conference: "It's either him or me!" The forces were uneven. Interestingly, soon after the priest was driven away from us, she died in an accident.' Gumeniuk, *Kim ty jesteś? ...,* pp. 7–10.

⁷⁷ Ibidem.

[...] Rev. Olshansky is trying to use his authority and his own example, which must be followed by the church activists and the general faithful (sometimes even violating Soviet legislation on cults in the process), to embrace the largest possible group of people with his activities and to influence their consciousness. [...] He devotes a great deal of his time to prayer. On weekday mornings, days and evenings, he kneels in the chapel (2.5–3 hours each time) and recites prayers with his head lowered. During that time, there are usually 20–25 people in the chapel who follow his example.⁷⁸

Despite numerous prohibitions and obstacles from the state authorities, Rev. J. Olszański made attempts to organize regular and active pastoral work in Horodok. According to the Council for Religious Cults, in 1953 the priest baptised 800 children, blessed 100 married couples, and celebrated 100 funerals.⁷⁹ Not surprisingly, his activities were of great concern to local officials. In October 1954, the Khmelnytskyi Regional Executive Committee asked the Council for Religious Cults to direct the priest to another parish, arguing that the priest notoriously violated Soviet religious law, including conducting services outside the cemetery chapel, treating the sick, writing medical prescriptions for them, distributing his photos and illegally visiting the faithful. In early November 1954, after considering a request from the regional authorities, the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults of the Ukrainian SSR, Pyotr Vilchovyi, sent a letter to his subordinate in Khmelnytskyi, indicating that there were no legal grounds for expelling Rev. J. Olszański from Horodok. He stressed that in the case of ‘open-air’ services, preventive interviews were held with the clergyman, while regarding information about other offences, no evidence was found to confirm them. Thus, the attempt of the local authorities to deprive the parish in Horodok of pastoral care failed, and Rev. J. Olszański was still able to carry out the pastoral mission there.⁸⁰

In his 1958 report entitled *On Forms and Methods of Religious Propaganda Implemented by Clergy and Religious Activists*, the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast, informing his superior in Kyiv about the situation of the Roman Catholic Church in Podolia, paid special attention to the Horodok parish and its pastor:

⁷⁸ APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sovieta dieputatov trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 28, Dokladnaja zapiska o rieligioznoj diejatel'nosti rimsko-katoliczeskogo rieligioznogo obszczestwa w g. Gorodok, Gorodokskogo rajona [Report on the Activities of the Roman Catholic Religious Community in Horodok, Horodok Raion], 13 X 1954, k. 89.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sovieta dieputatov trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 28, Priesiedatelju Sovieta po dielam rieligioznykh kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR tow. Polanskomu I.W. [To the Chairman of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade Polanski I.W.], 16 VI 1954, k. 229.

⁸⁰ Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sovieta dieputatov trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 21, spr. 97, Upolnomocziennomu Sovieta po dielam rieligioznykh kultow pri Chmielnickom Obl'istpol'komie tow. Steciuku A.N. [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Khmelnytskyi Regional Executive Committee, Comrade Steciuk A.N.], 7 XI 1954, k. 66–67.

It is worth noting that the religious community in Horodok is very active. About 800 people visit the chapel every Sunday. On days of church celebrations, especially Easter, more than 2,500 faithful gather there. Catholics from Tynna, Yarmolyntsi, Solobkovitsi and Kamianets-Podilskyi are constantly gathering there. [...] Rev. Jan Olszański, who serves the Horodok parish, tries to perform church canons in front of the faithful. [...] He regularly delivers sermons on religious topics before the faithful. He tries to embrace as many of the faithful as possible with his preaching activities. This is borne out by the fact that until 1954 he celebrated Mass in the chapel and delivered homilies at the entrance to the temple. When forbidden to do so, he repeatedly requested permission to preach at the entrance. By his example and fanaticism, praying for hours on his knees, and strictly adhering to the canons, he attempted to create a strong ecclesiastical asset, which in turn strengthens his authority among the faithful. This is confirmed by the fact that by 1954 almost every believer had Olszański's photos attached next to the paintings. He is willing to travel to other religious communities for priestly services. In 1957, he travelled to Mynkivtsi (7 times), Pidlynsnyi Mukariv (8 times), Zalistsi (6 times).⁸¹

At the end of the 1950s, during the period of the intensified anti-religious campaign, the activity of the Horodok parish priest, supported by the enthusiasm of the faithful, began to concern the state authorities even more. In 1958, the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast, in a special letter dedicated to the activities of the Roman Catholic Church in the regions, addressed his superiors with a proposal to limit the travels of Rev. J. Olszański. In it, he stressed that the clergyman very often visits the faithful of various localities, celebrates Masses and other services there, thereby 'exerting a great influence on the masses.'⁸² Of particular concern to the authorities was the priest's activities among children and young people, especially the inclusion of them in regular catechization, which was forbidden under Soviet legislation.⁸³

In December 1958, the state authorities adopted a decision to remove the 'overzealous' priest from Horodok. On 26 December, Rev. J. Olszański was sum-

⁸¹ Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 40, Dokładnaja zapiska o formach i metodach rieligioznoj propagandy duchowienstwom i rieligioznym aktywom sriedi nasilenija [Note on Forms and Methods of Religious Propaganda Carried Out among the Population by the Clergy and Religious Activists], 14 IV 1958, k. 54–55.

⁸² Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 40, Informacionnaja zapiska upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom Obl'istpolkome o rieligioznoj diejatielnosti rimsko-katoliczieskoj cerkwi w nasielionych punktach Chmielnickoj oblasti [Information Note of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Khmelnytskyi Oblast Executive Committee on the Religious Activities of the Roman Catholic Church in the various Localities of the Khmelnytskyi Oblast], 2 VIII 1958, k. 66–67.

⁸³ Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 21, spr. 97, Upolnomocziennomu Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom Obl'istpolkome tow. Steciuku A.N., 27 XII 1958, k. 44.

moned to Kyiv, to the plenipotentiary of the USRS Council for Religious Cults.⁸⁴ He recalled his visit as follows:

They summoned me to Kyiv and said: 'You will not see Horodok again.' And then everything they said was made up. I allegedly won twenty-five thousand roubles in the lottery. And I allegedly donated these roubles to an orphanage. When they told me this, I asked them:

– And what was I supposed to do with that money, I suppose I would have donated it to a good cause?

– And that's a no-no, because you should donate it to the 'raion.' Instead, you gave it to 'detsad' and now the children will say that the priest gave them food. Well, of course, they knew very well that it was all a lie, but they needed a reason to expel me from Horodok.⁸⁵

On 23 February 1959, Rev. J. Olszański was suspended from pastoral activities in Horodok.⁸⁶ One the parishioner recalled years later:

When they were about to take Rev. Jan Olszański away, we kept a constant watch day and night. As he celebrated his last Mass, he walked out to the pulpit and fainted there. During the consumption of the last communion, people cried and shouted: 'Jesus, don't abandon us!' [...] After the last Mass, Father Olszański attached a small heart to the image of St Anthony.⁸⁷

After a short break, Rev. J. Olszański was directed by the state authorities to the village of Manykivtsi, which is far from major centres.⁸⁸

The fate of the Horodok community after the expulsion of Rev. Jan Olszański (1959–1970)

The eviction of Rev. J. Olszański as the only minister of the Horodok parish, who was also well-liked and respected, became a serious blow to the local Catholics. The townspeople of Horodok did not come to terms with this decision of the authorities and wrote numerous petitions and complaints demanding his re-

⁸⁴ Ibidem.

⁸⁵ J. Olszański, *Wygнали mnie z Gródka* (interview with Bishop J. Olszański conducted by K. Renik), in: K. Renik, *Podpolnicy. Rozmowy z ludźmi Kościoła na Litwie, Łotwie, Białorusi i Ukrainie 1990–1991*, Warsaw 1991, p. 302.

⁸⁶ APOCh, Ispołnitelnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo obłasnego Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 43, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri ispołkowie Chmielnickogo Obłasnego Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, za pierwoje poługodije 1959 goda [Informational Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Regional Council of Deputies in Khmelnytskyi, for the First Half of 1959], 20 VIII 1959, k. 147.

⁸⁷ An interview with Jadwiga Śnigórska conducted by Rev P. Gonczaruk, cf. P. Gonczaruk, *Wiara i życie. Świadectwa duchowych przeżyć osób prześladowanych na Podolu w latach 1918–1990*, Lublin 2016, pp. 53–54.

⁸⁸ APOCh, Ispołnitelnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo obłasnego Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 43, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri ispołkowie Chmielnickogo Obłasnego Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, za pierwoje poługodije 1959 goda, 20 VIII 1959, k. 147.

turn.⁸⁹ In 1960, due to the 'intrusive activity' of Horodok Catholics in the case of Rev. J. Olszański, the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults approached his superiors with a proposal to refer the clergyman to another district.⁹⁰ The authorities in Kyiv recognized that the expulsion of Rev. J. Olszański to the Khmelnytskyi Oblast would not solve the problem, but agreed to transfer him to another parish as long as the need arose.⁹¹

In parallel with efforts to suspend Rev. J. Olszański from his duties as minister of the Horodok community, the state authorities also took steps to close the chapel in the cemetery. Local officials suggested to the faithful that since they needed a larger place to pray, they would be given a larger replacement room on the condition, however, that they agreed to demolish the temple and turn the cemetery into a park.⁹² Refusing to agree to such an arrangement, Horodok parishioners began guarding the chapel around the clock, lest someone set it on fire or tried to blow it up. In the end, they succeeded in defended it.⁹³ Resistance from local Catholics was not the only obstacle to installing a city park in the cemetery. On the other side of the cemetery was the St Alexander Nevsky Orthodox Church. Having failed to obtain the consent of the Orthodox Christians for the liquidation of the church, on top of that having only one replacement room suitable for religious worship in it, the state authorities had to abandon their plans.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 49, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom obl'ispolkome za 1961 god [Information Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Khmelnytskyi Oblast Executive Committee for 1961], 26 I 1962, k. 31; Central State Archive of Higher Authorities of Ukraine in Kyiv (hereinafter: CAPWOWU), Sowiet po dielam rieligij pri Sowietie Ministrow Ukrainskoj SSR [Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR], f. 4648, op. 4, spr. 356, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom obl'ispolkome za 1964 god [Informational Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Khmelnytskyi Oblast Executive Committee for 1964], 29 XII 1964, k. 143.

⁹⁰ APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 46, Priedsiedatielu ispolkoma Gorogokskogo rajonnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia tow. Radomskomu [To the Chairman of the District Executive Committee at the Council of Deputies working in Horodok, Comrade Radomski], 31 XII 1958, k. 2.

⁹¹ Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 42, Upolnomocziennomu Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom Obl'istpolkome tow. Steciuku A.N., 7 VI 1960, k. 13.

⁹² CAPWOWU, Sowiet po dielam rieligij pri Sowietie Ministrow Ukrainskoj SSR [Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR], f. 4648, op. 5, spr. 166, Upolnomocziennomu Sowjeta po dielam rieligii pri Sowietie Ministrow SSR po Ukrainskoj SSR [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR], 11 IV 1969, k. 6.

⁹³ Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, p. 39.

⁹⁴ APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 46, Upolnomocziennomu Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow USSR tow. Poloniku K.F. [To the Chairman of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade Polonikov K.F.], 30 V 1960, k. 15.

The transfer of Rev. J. Olszański from Horodok meant that local Catholics were completely deprived of receiving sacramental services. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, only three priests worked in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast: J. Olszański, Andrzej Gładysiewicz⁹⁵ and Antoni Borysowicz.⁹⁶ Concurrently, only the latter had the right to carry out pastoral ministry outside his parish, for in 1959 priests J. Olszański and A. Gładysiewicz were forbidden by the state authorities to leave the territory of their parishes for ‘failure to comply with the provisions of Soviet religious law.’⁹⁷ It should also be noted that the pastoral activities of Fr. A. Borisowicz,

⁹⁵ Rev. Andrzej Gładysiewicz (1914–1983) – ordained priest in 1939; vicar in Kovel (1939–1940), parish priest in Volodymyr-Volynskyi (1940–1945); arrested by the NKVD in 1945, then sentenced to 10 years of gulag and 5 years of deprivation of civil rights, left the camps in 1953, after which he spent 1953–1956 as an exile in Norilsk; parish priest in Polonne (1956–1983). APOCh, Ispolnitelnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 37, Informacyonnyj otcziet o rabotie Upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri ispolkonomie Chmielnickogo oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia za II poługodije 1956 goda [Informational Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Executive Committee of the Council of Deputies Working in the Khmelnytsky Oblast for the Second Half of 1956], 27 I 1958, k. 263; M. Kuczer, *Ksiądz Andrzej Gładysiewicz (1914–1983), duszpasterz parafii Polonne na Podolu*, in: *Wyrwać i przetrwać jak Bóg daje. Świadkowie Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego na Ukrainie Sowieckiej 1917–1991*, ed. J. Wołczański, Kraków 2010, pp. 329–354.

⁹⁶ Rev. Antoni Borysowicz (1893–1966) – ordained a priest in 1917; studied at the St Petersburg Theological Academy, then at the Jagiellonian University; in 1921–1923 worked in the parishes in Khalopyenichy, Byerazino, Małe Dolce and Dobrovody, chaplain and prefect of the Nazareth Sisters Middle School in Kalisz (1923–1926), headmaster of the same middle school (1926–1939), parish priest in Paberżë (1939–1944), then in Minsk (1944); arrested in 1944, sentenced to 5 years’ exile to Tyumen in Siberia, released in 1950; after regaining freedom, he returned to Paberżë, where he sought permission for 9 months to undertake legal pastoral activities; in 1951 he was arrested again and sentenced to 3 years’ exile to Ad-Boksar in Kazakhstan, from where he returned in 1953; in 1953–1966, St Anne’s parish priest in Grechany. APOCh, Ispolnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskiego oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 25, Upolnomoczenomu Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po USRR tow. Wilchowomu P.A. [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the USSR Council of Ministers in the USSR, Comrade Wilchowyy P.A.], 23 IX 1953, k. 105; ibidem, Ispolnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskiego oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 28, Priedsiedatielu Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR tow. Polanskomu I.W. [To the Chairman of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade Polański I.W.], 23 XI 1954, k. 95; ibidem, Ispolnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskiego oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 34, Priedsiedatielu Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR tow. Polanskomu I. W., 24 III 1956, k. 23; Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa*, pp. 138–140.

⁹⁷ Ibidem, Ispolnitelnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 46, Dokład o sostojanii i rieligioznoj diejatielnosti rimsko-katoliczieskoj cerkwi na tierritorii Chmielnickoj oblasti po sostojaniju na 1 oktiabria 1960 goda [Report on the Status and Religious Activities of the Roman Catholic Church in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast as of 1 October 1960], 1 X 1960, k. 80–81.

parish priest in Grechany, were also very limited at this time, both by his constantly deteriorating health and obstacles from state factors.⁹⁸

In the absence of pastoral care, many Catholics from Horodok began attending churches in Mavkovychi and Grechany.⁹⁹ The rest of the faithful, who did not have the opportunity to travel such a long distance every week (more than 50 kilometres one way), continued to use only their chapel, taking part in so-called para-liturgies and other services. The issue of declining worshippers' attendance at the Horodok temple has been raised more than once by Soviet officials. A letter from B. Radomski, chairman of the District Executive Committee in Horodok, addressed to the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast, A. Steciuk, dated May 1959, reads as follows:

[...] the activity of Horodok Catholics, compared to previous years, began to wane to some extent. This can be explained by the fact that there is no priest in Horodok. This has had a positive effect on the attendance of Catholics at the chapel, especially young people. While in previous years 1.5–2 thousand worshippers visited the chapel on Easter, in 1959 the numbers amounted to about 160 people, including 50 young people, and 150 women.¹⁰⁰

In the mid-1960s, some priests, aware of the needs of the Horodok community, began secretly visiting it. One of them was Rev. Bronisław Mirecki.¹⁰¹ Over time, thanks to the efforts of the faithful, official visits by priests to the Horodok

⁹⁸ The report of the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast for the first half of 1959 reads as follows: 'I advised Rev. Borysowicz to travel as little as possible to other churches for Holy Masses. It is worth noting that starting in April this year, the minister from Grechany did not travel to any other church. Nevertheless, he still has a desire to visit communities without a permanent priest.' APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 43, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri ispolkome Chmielnickogo Oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, za pierwoje polugodije 1959 goda, 20 VIII 1959, k. 146.

⁹⁹ Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 49, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom obl'ispolkome za 1961 god, 26 I 1962, k. 27.

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 42, Upownowaženomu Rady w sprawach religijnych kultiw pri Chmelnyckomu obłwykonkomi tow. Steciuku O.N. [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Khmelnytskyi Regional Executive Committee, Comrade Steciuk A.N.], 7 V 1959, k. 50.

¹⁰¹ Rev. Bronisław Mirecki (1903–1986) – ordained priest in 1933; vicar in Zhydachiv (1933–1935), administrator of the parish of Nove Selo (1935–1939), administrator in Pidvolochysk (1939–1944), and parish priest of the same (1944–1958), in 1958–1974, after being removed from the register of clergy by the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults, he carried out clandestine pastoral activities, parish priest in Halushchyntsi (1974–1986). The State Archive of Ternopil Oblast in Ternopil, Upolnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri SM SSSR po Tiernopolskoj obłasti [Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Ternopil Oblast], f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 42, Informacyonnyj otcziot o sostojanii i diejatielnosti rieligioznych kultow w Tiernopolskoj obłasti za 1-je polugodije 1959 goda [Information Report on the State and Activity of Religious Cults in the Ternopil Oblast for the First Half of 1959], 17 VI 1959, k. 3; K. Kaczmarek, *Niezłomny kapłan z Podola. Ks. kanonik Bronisław Mirecki*

chapel also became possible. After all, this was not permanent pastoral care, as the state authorities only agreed to occasional (maximum 3–4 times a year) visits by clergymen to Horodok.¹⁰²

In 1969, the Catholics of Horodok had a visit by Rev. A. Gładysiewicz from Polonne. In his sermon, delivered in the cemetery chapel, the clergyman referred quite emotionally to the situation of the Horodok community at the time. He stated, among other things, that if the faithful had spoken out more strongly, more forcefully in defence of Rev. J. Olszański, the authorities would never have dared to expel him. He urged them to renew their efforts to seek permission from the authorities for a permanent priest to take charge of their community. He even threatened that if they did not do so, he and other priests would stop coming to Horodok. The plea was successful. The Catholics of Horodok resumed their efforts to obtain permission for a permanent priest to settle in their town.¹⁰³ As recalled by S. Gumieniuk:

Delegations from our community have travelled dozens of times to Khmelnytskyi, Kyiv and Moscow, as well as to Riga. The religious authorities demanded that the minister candidacy be presented, and the church authorities said they would not do so until 'spravka' [certificate] was settled. All in all, our delegates visited not only the Council on Religious Affairs under the Ukrainian government in Kyiv, but also Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada Nikolai Podgorny and a member of Polański's political bureau. Each of these decision-makers had to agree that our parish should get a permanent pastor.¹⁰⁴

The pastoral work of Rev. Franciszek Karasiewicz (1970–1977)

Intense efforts by Horodok Catholics culminated in 1970, when the state authorities gave permission for Rev. Franciszek Karasiewicz to begin pastoral ministry in the town.¹⁰⁵ On February 5, the clergyman was officially registered as a minister of 3 parishes: in Horodok, where he had a designated place of residence, in Ho-

(1903–1986), in: *Kościół katolicki w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w obliczu dwóch totalitaryzmów (1917–1990)*, eds. M. Krzysztofiński, J. Wołczański, vol. 2, Rzeszów-Lviv 2017, pp. 89–100.

¹⁰² APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 45, Upolnomocziennomu Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom Obl'istpolkome tow. Steciuku A.N., 11 II 1960, k. 3.

¹⁰³ F. Karasiewicz, *Spogady pro duszpastyrs'ku praciu*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, (2012) issue 6, p. 469.

¹⁰⁴ Gumieniuk, *Kim ty jesteś?*..., p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ Rev. Franciszek Karasiewicz (b. 1940) – ordained in 1968; vicar in Daugavpils (1968–1970), parish priest in Horodok (1970–1977), administrator in Derazhnia, Holozubyntsi (1970–1977), parish priest in Derazhnia (1977–1992), resident at the Holy Spirit Seminary in Horodok (since 1992). APOCh, Upolnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Awtobiografija, 4 II 1970, k. 24; ibidem, Upolnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Awtobiografija, 4 II 1970, k. 24; ibidem, Upolnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Charakteristika na gr-na Karasiewicza F.I. [Opinion on citizen Karasiewicz F.I.], 16 X 1979, k. 45.

lozubyntsi and Derazhnia.¹⁰⁶ As there was no parsonage at the Horodok cemetery chapel, he was registered in a house at 19 Chkalov Street.¹⁰⁷ Rev. F. Karasiewicz recalled the beginning of his work in Podolia as follows:

I arrived in the regional capital, Khmel'nitskyi, by plane. A religious representative came out to the airport to pick me up; he put me in a hotel and told me to wait for the necessary documents. It was an obvious ploy. I was immediately approached by KGB officers who began to 'trick' me into agreeing to cooperate with their institution, otherwise I would not get a 'certificate.' I strongly refused. After three days, the plenipotentiary stated to me that in that case I would get a 'spravka' (certificate), but only for six months. Then I threatened that if I did not receive a permanent 'spravka,' I would return to Latvia and serve the people there. The plenipotentiary, seeing my determination, finally agreed, and on 14 April 1970, I appeared in Horodok. I remember standing outside the chapel at seven o'clock in the evening, and within a dozen minutes some hundred people had gathered to greet me. At the first Mass, which I celebrated half an hour later, a crowd of several hundred people gathered around the temple. When I went out in front of the chapel after the Mass ended, I saw a crying girl standing at the gate. When I asked her why she was crying instead of being happy that the parish had received a young priest, she replied, wiping away her tears: 'I am happy, but I am crying because I realize how hard it will be for you to work in Horodok.' [...] The girl said that she would pray for me. It quickly became clear to me that prayer was sorely needed. I was subjected to intense pressure, and was harassed about practically everything – children attending Masses, adults not sneaking to the chapel via side paths through the cemetery, but demonstratively and *en masse* walking in to the chapel through the main gate of the cemetery, etc. My every step was followed. A KGB representative was present at every service. The faithful were summoned for questioning.¹⁰⁸

At the very beginning of his work in Horodok, Rev. F. Karasiewicz and his parishioners took the trouble to renovate the chapel. However, the state authorities did not agree to this. In view of this, decision was made to carry out the renovation work in such a way so that local officials would not know about it. For example, the chapel's ceiling was repaired in this way. It was removed and the attic was reinforced with beams. Thanks to the rebuilding of the temple and the construction of a choir, the harmonium gained its new place, as well as the parish choir, led by organist Józef Zakrzewski, who commuted from Dunaivtsi. The internal remodelling of the chapel was not the only change. In order for the crowd of faithful coming to Masses to take an active part in them, one of the building's windows was enlarged. In this window Rev. F. Karasiewicz began to celebrate liturgies, which put him in contact with the faithful. Mass attenders who could not fit in the small chapel

¹⁰⁶ Ibidem, Upołnomoczeniyy Sowieta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Spravka [Certificate], 5 II 1970, k. 21.

¹⁰⁷ Karasiewicz, *Spogady*, p. 435.

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, pp. 435–436, 469; cf. Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, pp. 41–42.

formed circles at the window. The closest one was formed by children, the next by teenagers, and the next by adults.¹⁰⁹

After a few months, Rev. F. Karasiewicz and his parishioners installed a portable sound system in the chapel, so that all those present in the cemetery adjacent to the chapel could hear the words spoken at the altar and from the pulpit. After the service, during which the sound system was used for the first time, someone from the parish reported to the priest that 2 employees of the district executive committee, assisted by a militia officer, were waiting for him at the entrance to the temple. Having learned of this, the clergyman quickly dismantled the sound equipment and carried it out of the chapel. After all the faithful left the temple, the searches began. Having found no apparatus, the guests left the chapel. The next day, the people who attended the service were questioned, however to no avail. In his memoirs, Rev. F. Karasiewicz stressed that the story of the search in the chapel was a clear confirmation for him of the words he once heard from one of the KGB officers: 'Remember, our collaborators are everywhere, even in the church.'¹¹⁰

In 1972, the state authorities decided to discontinue Rev. F. Karasiewicz's pastoral service in Horodok and move him to Grechany. In response, a few hundred Catholics from Horodok went to Grechany, kidnapped the priest in liturgical vestments right after the service ended, and in a procession the whole crowd proceeded to the front of the local Lenin monument. There, as Rev. Roman Dzwonkowski pointed out, the people fell to their knees and, raising their hands, began to call out: 'Lenin, don't take the priest away from us! There is no word in your constitution about taking the priest away from us!' A crowd of about a thousand people gathered. The authorities were stunned by this view. People were asked to come to the office and Rev. F. Karasiewicz was reinstated to continue his pastoral work in the Horodok parish.¹¹¹

The approval of the clergyman's return to Horodok did not mean that the authorities intended to leave him alone. Years later, Rev. F. Karasiewicz recalled:

They came to me from Kyiv and Khmelnytskyi, trying to convince me to work less actively. The local plenipotentiary, who was constantly in trouble because of me, also urged me to at least abstain from formally showing the effects of my pastoral ministry. You baptised ten, take account of only one, he advised. You gave five weddings, show only one, etc. He explained that he had a wife and children and did not want to be constantly singled out by my zealotry as the worst performer, who should have been expelled from the party long ago. He often implored me: 'Say no word about politics. In your sermons, address God, the Mother of God, the Lord Jesus, but leave politics alone, or it will not end well.'¹¹²

Rev. F. Karasiewicz did not intend to reduce the pace of his activities. During the Easter celebrations in 1973, he confessed 4316 people. He was able to determine the exact number from the cards issued before the Easter confession. On

¹⁰⁹ Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, pp. 43–44; Karasiewicz, *Spogady*, p. 452.

¹¹⁰ Ibidem, pp. 437–438.

¹¹¹ Dzwonkowski, *Za wschodnią granicą*, p. 288.

¹¹² Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, p. 47.

each, the penitent had to write their name, year of birth and place of residence. When a parishioner did not make an Easter confession, the parish priest would send a picture with an invitation and encouragement to take the sacrament.¹¹³

Working beyond his strength, having to commute to 2 parishes and harassment from state authorities severely strained the health of Rev. F. Karasiewicz. In 1975, the clergyman was hospitalized with symptoms of a heart attack.¹¹⁴ Over the next 2 years, his health deteriorated so much that he was no longer able to serve 3 parishes. In 1977, Rev. Karasiewicz resigned from his role as parish priest in Horodok and moved to Derazhnia.¹¹⁵

The activity of Rev. Władysław Wanags, MIC (1977–1991)

After the departure of Rev. F. Karasiewicz, the Catholics of Horodok began to seek the arrival of another priest. The faithful gathered for prayer in private homes. Particularly important was the house of 2 female catechists, whom many called aunties, without even suspecting that they were actually Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The sisters kept the Blessed Sacrament at their home. It was concealed inside the statue of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception. Prayers were performed in this house practically every day, from noon until late in the evening. Para-liturgical services were held, the rosary was prayed, and catechesis was conducted for children and youth.¹¹⁶

In February 1977, state authorities gave permission for a Marian Father from Latvia, Rev. Władysław Wanags,¹¹⁷ to come to Horodok. After obtaining permission from Bishop Julijans Vaivods¹¹⁸ and the plenipotentiary of the Council for

¹¹³ Ibidem; Karasiewicz, *Spogady*, pp. 458–459.

¹¹⁴ APOCh, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Elektrokardiograficzieskoje issledowanije [Electrocardiographic examination of Rev. F. Karasiewicz], 2 VIII 1975, k. 38; ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Uważajemyj Iwan Tichonowicz [Dear Mr Ivan Tichonovich – Letter from Rev. F. Karasiewicz], 8 VIII 1976, k. 39.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Charakteristika na służytela Dieražniaskogo kostioła Karasiewiczza Franca Iosifowicza [Opinion on the Servant of Worship of the Derazhnia Church Karasiewicz Franciszek Iosifowicz], 7 VII 1988, k. 47.

¹¹⁶ Koproński, *Kresy we krwi*, p. 48.

¹¹⁷ Rev. Władysław Wanags, MIC (1931–2001) – ordained priest in 1973, took perpetual vows in the Congregation of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1979; vicar in Latgale (1973–1976) and Liepāja (1976–1977), parish priest in Horodok (1977–1996). Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags*, pp. 15–80; M. Biletska, *Ks. Władysław Wanags MIC i jego posługa na Podolu w latach 1977–2001*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 107 (2017) pp. 33–62.

¹¹⁸ Bishop Julijans Vaivods (1895–1990) – ordained priest in 1918; chancellor of the bishop's curia in Liepāja (1918–1944), vicar in Liepāja (1944–1958); in 1958 arrested and sent to a 2-year gulag for compiling and distributing anti-state writings; vicar in Riga (1962–1964), apostolic administrator of the Archdiocese of Riga (1964–1990), Cardinal-presbyter from 1983. Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance, Ministry of the Interior, 0639/108, vol. 5, State of the Church

Religious Affairs of the Latvian SSR, the clergyman arrived in Ukraine.¹¹⁹ He celebrated the first Mass in the Horodok parish on Ash Wednesday, 23 February 1977. In his autobiography, he noted:

Other priests celebrate the first Mass in a new parish in white chasubles, with organs, choir singing, while I was in a purple – penitential – chasuble, and with ashes sprinkled on my head. I did not know anyone. Alone, with Jesus and Mary, but without a home or church. How painful of an experience it was! Until today, I see that it was God who sent me to Ukraine, and I admit that Divine Providence was watching over the people.¹²⁰

Initially, the faithful had little confidence in the new pastor. They knew that he had graduated from a military school and speculated that he might have been a KGB agent. Very soon, however, the situation changed dramatically. On 9 April 1977, Holy Saturday, just before the solemn Mass, the chapel caught fire. As soon as he heard about it, Rev. W. Wanags immediately rushed to extinguish it. He climbed the ladder to the burning roof and, taking off his cassock, began smothering the fire with it, but the fire kept reigniting. The clergyman noticed a suspicious, smoking object. Without much thought, he pulled it out of the fire and dropped it on the ground. When people came closer, they saw that it was a bottle of burning tar. The fire was successfully extinguished, while the priest suffered several severe burns. The parishioners bandaged him so that he could celebrate the Mass.¹²¹ The priest commented on the event as follows: ‘People were in a great awe. They began to pray for me. In this way, the Lord God has granted me a chance to win their hearts. The enemies, on the other hand, thought that if the chapel had burned down, the new priest would be blamed, and then the parishioners themselves would expel him. They were disappointed.’¹²²

in the Latvian SSR. Informacja z pobytu tajnego współpracownika ps. Jakub w ZSRR, 22 IV 1965, k. 63–66; Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa*, pp. 611–612.

¹¹⁹ APOCh, Upołnomocziennij Sowieta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Upołnomocziennomu Sowieta po dielam religii pri Sowietie Ministrow USSR po Chmielnickoj oblasti tow. Bubiakowu I.G. ot Wanagsa Władysława Pawłowicza, ksiendza rymko-katoliczieskoj cerkwi [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs to the USSR Council of Ministers in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast, Comrade Bubiakov I.G. from Wanags Władysław, s. Paweł, a priest of the Roman Catholic Church], 22 II 1977, k. 190.

¹²⁰ W. Wanags, *Autobiografia to jest krótki życiorys księdza W. Wanagsa do 25 września 1986 roku*, Archives of the Parish of St Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr in Horodok, p. 21 [manuscript].

¹²¹ Cf. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags*, p. 32.

¹²² W. Wanags, *Nie sprzeciwiaj się Bogu* (interview with Rev. W. Wanags conducted by Rev. S. Kurlandzki), in: S. Kurlandzki, L. Danilecka, *Panie, do kogoż pójdziemy? Marianie na Ukrainie*, Warszawa 2001, p. 226. The growth of Rev. W. Wanags’ authority among the people brought him to the attention of local authorities. KGB operatives took every opportunity to get the clergyman to cooperate. After one of the subsequent conversations, a long and tiresome one aimed at imposing collaboration, Wanags, pretending not to understand the essence of the conversation, took out the money and handed it to his interlocutor. And when the man became indignant, pointing out that he was not taking bribes, the priest explained: the official had not said anything specific during the conversation, so the clergyman, not understanding the purpose of the visit, assessed the situation as extortion to pay him money. The officials failed to realize their intention. After some

At the very beginning of his work in Horodok, Rev. W. Wanags decided to expand the cemetery chapel, which could not accommodate all the faithful, and was also in ruins.¹²³ About 230 parishioners attended services every day (130 in the morning, 100 in the evening), and 500–600 people gathered on Sundays.¹²⁴ Particularly large crowds of believers (about 3,000) could be seen during holidays and church celebrations, when Catholics from all over the Khmelnytskyi Oblast came to Horodok,¹²⁵ while the area of the chapel did not exceed 80m². The interior was damp, the ventilation was not working properly, and the wooden floor was completely destroyed by mould. In 1978, the ceiling collapsed along with the wall on the south side. As far as possible, with the efforts of parishioners, renovations were carried out to the room.¹²⁶ Rev. W. Wanags intended to build a new church, retaining the existing invocation of St. Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr. To this end, he and the faithful continually petitioned the municipal authorities for permission to expand the chapel, but their pleas were consistently denied by the authorities.¹²⁷

time, the secret service personnel invited the priest for an interview, which was to take place at a plot of land in the forest. ‘What kind of official are you to operate a money exchange office in the forest?’ – replied W. Wanags to the proposal and refused to go with them. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags*, p. 33.

¹²³ Interview with Rev. Oleg Siwiec conducted on 20 June 2013 by the author (audio recording; author’s private archive).

¹²⁴ APOCh, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, O rasszyrienii molitwiennogo doma [On the Extension of the House of Prayer], 29 X 1987, k. 169; ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Ob uwieliczenii poleznoj płoszcziadi molitwiennogo doma w gorodie Gorodkie [On the Extension of the House of Prayer in the Town of Horodok], 26 VIII 1987, k. 150.

¹²⁵ Ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Sprawka ob obstanowkie w rimsko-katoliczieskoj cerkwi g. Gorodka [Report on the Situation in the Roman Catholic Church in the Town of Horodok], 18 XII 1987, k. 191.

¹²⁶ Ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Spieczifikacyja molitwiennogo doma rimsko-katoliczieskoj cerkwi w gorodie Gorodok [Specification of the House of Prayer of the Roman Catholic Church in the Town of Horodok], 8 V 1979, k. 142.

¹²⁷ Ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Ob obstanowkie w sriedie wierujuszczich Gorodokskoj katoliczieskoj cerkwi g. Gorodka [On the Situation of the Faithful of the Horodok Catholic Church], 16 X 1987, k. 177–178. From the memoirs of Rev. W. Wanags: ‘After some time, a commission from Moscow and Khmelnytskyi arrived. I sat them in a room, and the one from Moscow says: “Why don’t you listen to the authorities?” “What do you mean I don’t listen?” “You want to expand the chapel, don’t you?” “Yes, I do, and that’s what I’m asking the authority – to allow a small expansion: 5 metres from the front, 5 metres from the back, 5 metres from the right and 5 metres from the left, because people are freezing and getting wet outside.” “That’s too much. And why five meters each way?” “What do you mean, you don’t know that there were five wounds in the Lord Jesus?” They became outraged and cried out: “Expel him out of Horodok and don’t let him build 5 wounds!” People prayed fervently and I finally received permission.’ Wanags, *Nie sprzeciwiąj się Bogu*, p. 227.

In 1981, parishioners wrote a request o for permission to expand the chapel by 154 m². On 23 July, the Executive Committee of the District Council of Deputies authorized its expansion the total area of 211 m². Construction work continued until 1983.¹²⁸ However, the chapel was still too small, so Rev. W. Wanags, together with parishioners, renewed efforts to expand it once again. For several years, the authorities refused to agree to any change, even the slightest one, often without informing the faithful about their refusal.¹²⁹

On 5 and 16 February 1987, the faithful applied to the district and Regional Executive Committee to request o permission to expand the old part of the chapel to the width of the part built in 1983 (the addition would be about 100 m²).¹³⁰ In mid-June 1987, the parishioners visited the District Executive Committee, the union and republican Council on Religious Affairs, the Regional Party Committee, the office of the Council on Religious Affairs plenipotentiary, they also wrote a complaint to the *Ogoniok* magazine and an application to the Executive Committee.¹³¹ In late August and early September, the faithful submitted another application, this time for permission to expand the chapel by additional 254 m². After four years of resistance on the part of the authorities, Rev. W. Wanags began to think of starting construction work regardless of their decision.¹³² In order to curb his

¹²⁸ Ibidem, Upoŋnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, O rasszyrienii molitwiennogo doma rimsko-katoliczieskogo objedinienija w g. Gorodok [On the Extension of the House of Prayer of the Roman Catholic Church in the Town of Horodok], 15 XI 1987, k. 172.

¹²⁹ A report by the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast about an interview with representatives of the Horodok parish reads: 'The faithful of the Horodok parish, who came on their own initiative, said that in early January 1986 they submitted an application to the District Executive Committee and the Union Council for Religious Affairs with a request o to enlarge the chapel building. Receiving no response, they turned to the District Executive Committee on the matter on 3 March 1986. Deputy Chairman W. Z. Krocak said that their application was considered and the request was denied. He explains that there is enough chapel space for all parishioners. He refused to communicate the official resolution to the faithful.' APOCH, Upoŋnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Sprawka o biesiedie s wierujuszczimi gorodokskoj katoliczieskoj obszczyny gr. Torczinskoj Janinow, Guminskoj Gieniefoj, Narwa Tadeuszem [Note on a Conversation with the Faithful of the Horodok Catholic Community, Citizens Torczyńska Janina, Gumińska Genowefa, Narwa Tadeusz], 5 III 1986.

¹³⁰ Ibidem, Upoŋnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Zajawa do upownoważenogo w sprawach religij pry Radi Ministriw SRSR tow. Bubiakowu wid wykonawczogo organu Rymo-katolyckiego prychodu m. Gorodka [Application to the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade Bubiakow I.T. from the Executive Body of the Roman Catholic Parish of the Town of Horodok], 16 II 1987, k. 174.

¹³¹ Ibidem, Upoŋnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, O sostojanii w sriedie wierujuszczich Gorogokskoj katoliczieskoj cerkwi [On the Situation in the of the Faithful of the Horodok Catholic Church], 16 X 1987, k. 177.

¹³² A report on the situation in the Horodok parish by the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Khmelnytskyi Oblast, A. Gorodecka, reads: 'While in the office of the Plenipotentiary of the

‘enthusiasm,’ the authorities directed the Deputy Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast, A.W. Potanow, to address him. During a visit to the Horodok parish on 28 September 1987, he insisted that the faithful stop writing applications, while imposing a plan for rebuilding the chapel drawn up by the authorities. In response, Rev. V. Wagnas said that the proposed project would not meet the needs of the parish, and that the faithful would demand a larger temple. The conversation was described by A.W. Potanow as follows:

Wagnas was unyielding. He kept saying about democracy, or how that the authorities have destroyed the churches. Furthermore: ‘We are being ignored, redirected to and from, but we will keep fighting for what we deserve. The disabled, the elderly stand in the cold and rain... Is this justice?! Give us what we ask for. We will demand what we have included in our drawings – the baptismal font and other rooms.’ It was explained to Wagnas that all these matters are handled by the local authorities, so the faithful should be discouraged from travelling to Moscow and Kyiv. Wagnas replied: ‘We understand. We are just asking.’ And then he added: ‘People will stand up for what they need.’ Tears appeared, prayers began: ‘God, you will help us, you will listen to us.’ Once again, a conversation of a preventive nature was held. Wagnas retained his position.¹³³

Efforts to expand the chapel and the priest’s strong position among parishioners led to an escalating conflict with the authorities. KGB officers were constantly tracking the clergyman, listening to his sermons to find any controversial statements. People were incited against the priest, meetings were held in clubs, where false stories were spread about him, including the attribution of extremism, mental disorders, and the pursuit of power or religious fanaticism. The Horodok parish priest was repeatedly summoned for ‘preventive’ talks, and a lawsuit was also prepared against him, which – thanks to the resistance of parishioners – was eventually ineffective. After some time, a new lawsuit was prepared, but the charges were proven to be falsified. Several attempts have been made to assassinate the priest. On one occasion his car was rammed by a truck, but Rev. W. Wagnas was not in the car at the time. Behind the wheel was another priest, who was seriously injured as a result of the accident. Attempts were also made to beat up the Horodok pastor, which also failed – he was fit and physically strong enough to defend himself even when several opponents attacked him.¹³⁴

In the mid-1980s, the Council for Religious Affairs of the region began the procedure for resettling Rev. W. Wagnas from Khmelnytskyi Oblast. The state authorities wanted the initiative for the priest’s transfer to come from the parishioners

Council for Religious Affairs on 28 August 1987 Rev. Wagnas stated: ‘It is democracy now. I promised the faithful to build a real church, and I will do it, even if the authorities do not allow it.’ APOCh, Upoŋnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, O sostojanii w sriedie wierujuszczich Gorogokskoj katoliczieskoj cerkwi, 16 X 1987, k. 177.

¹³³ Ibidem, Upoŋnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Sprawka, 1 X 1987, k. 197.

¹³⁴ Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wagnas*, p. 37.

themselves or the Riga Curia, so they used every opportunity to discredit him in the eyes of the faithful and other priests.¹³⁵ Attempts were also made to influence Cardinal J. Vaivods through the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Latvian SRS Kokor-Trop to have the hierarch refer Rev. W. Wanags to another parish.¹³⁶

The party leadership instructed the Horodok Executive Committee not to issue a permit for the construction of a church; to influence Rev. Wanags to reduce his enthusiasm for pastoral work and make him leave Horodok; to determine who among the parishioners opposes the authorities, initiating conflicts; to tighten requirements for members of the Religious Cults Control Committee in order to introduce coordinated actions directed at weakening religion.¹³⁷ In 1988, Rev. W. Wanags began building a church without a permit. The reaction of the authorities was immediate: the clergyman was accused of violating the law and

¹³⁵ CAPWOWU, Sowiet po dielam rieligij pri Sowietie Ministrow Ukrainskoj SSR [Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR], f. 4648, op. 7, spr. 304, Upołnomocziennomu Sowietu po dielam rieligij pri Sowietie Ministrow Łatwijskoj SSR po Ukrainskoj SSR [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR], 29 IV 1985, k. 45.

¹³⁶ The allegations were presented in detail in the document entitled *O przeniesieniu z obwodu [chmielnickiego] gródeckiego księdza Wanagsa W.P.*: 'Wanags, native to Latvia, has been working in the region since 1977, and was evaluated positively in the first years. Recently, he has been creating conflict situations. It is taken into account that he suffers from schizophrenia. Attention should be paid to the following aspects:

- He attempts to subordinate other priests (8 of them).
- He demands a leadership position. He is provoking the faithful to write petitions and to organize demonstrations in order to remove the "blockade around Catholics" in order to obtain permission for an addition to the building (of an area of 256 m², and additional 336 m², whereas 135 m² was allowed).

He is attempting to build a garage, laundry room, checkroom, pantry, storage. At the same time, word is spreading that a "spiritual centre of Ukraine" will be created out of the Horodok church. He incites the faithful to write petitions to revive the activities of churches "closed by the Soviet power" (79 in the past, 13 now), in connection with this he created conflict situations in Vilkhovets, Sataniv, Tynna, Smotrych in the Dunaivtsi Raion. He is to be replaced by priest Tkacz Wiktor Leonidowicz, who is native to our region. He graduated from Riga Major Seminary a year ago and was then sent to our oblast. There was an earlier agreement with the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Latvian SSR, Mr Kokor-Trop, to dismiss Wanags by the Riga Curia. We realize that it will be quite difficult to arrange this under the new working conditions. And we do not insist on removing him from the registered list. Please take advantage of the Council's suggestion that the Riga Curia dismiss Wanags (and appoint its alumnus Tkacz Wiktor Leonidowicz to the Horodok parish) from our region.' APOCh, Upołnomocziennyj Sowietu po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, O pieriemieszczeniu iz oblasti Gorodokskogo księdza Wanagsa W.P. [On the Transfer of Rev. Wanags W.P. from the Horodok Raion], 5 X 1987, k. 195–196.

¹³⁷ Ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowietu po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Ob obstanowkie w sriedie wierujuszczich Gorodokskoj katolickieskoj cerkwi g. Gorodka, 16 X 1987, k. 177.

of extremist activity, as a May 1988 report by the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast clearly confirms:

Wanags Władysław Pawłowicz has been working in the Horodok parish since February 1977. He very quickly put an end to feuds and division among the faithful, as a result of which he secured a firm position and authority. He is distinguished by his religious fanaticism, is prone to extremism, fabrication and spreading unhealthy rumours, including that the Soviet authorities are planning his physical elimination. On more than one occasion, he encouraged members of the executive body, ordinary believers to violate the law on religious worship to pressure the Soviet party organs on the expansion of the church. He has a negative influence on other priests, and constantly incites the faithful of Sataniv, Tynna, Smotrych, Yarmolyntsi, Solobkovitsi to uncompromisingly demand that the local authorities register parish communities. He spreads the belief that with a more hard-line position of the faithful, Horodok will become the “spiritual centre” of Ukraine’s Catholics. He is prepared very poorly in terms of politics – he does not follow the press, but is interested in the activities of the Pope and Church in Poland, has close contacts with the clergy of the Baltic republics.¹³⁸

Construction work on the cemetery chapel in Horodok was carried out at night. After some time, it was possible to build an underground room under the temple. This allowed the faithful to gather for prayer and receive the sacraments in dignified conditions. One day BBC radio informed that in Horodok, Ukraine, the faithful were praying in catacombs. The information could have negatively affected the image of the USSR in the international arena during perestroika, when the Soviet authorities were anxious that the Union be portrayed abroad as a democratic state where there is no political or religious persecution.¹³⁹ Thanks to this radio information, the state authorities decided to issue a building permit for the church and even appointed an architect. He drew up a design, according to which the temple was to look like a large gymnasium. Rev. W. Wanags, dissatisfied with the design, left for Riga to commission an architect in that city to carry out the plan for the church. The new design was approved by an architect authorized by the authorities, but the party leadership did not like the church being too tall. However, in the end it was possible to obtain permission to build a temple according to the drawings of an architect from Riga.¹⁴⁰

The construction of the church was proceeding under constant harassment and trouble caused by state authorities. Among other things, the delivery of construction materials to the site was obstructed. Therefore, parishioners ordered them for themselves, kept them at home, and later secretly brought them to the chapel. All

¹³⁸ Ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Charakteristika na služytelia kulta Gorodokskogo kostiela Wanagsa Władysława Pawłowicza [Opinion on the Servant of Worship of the Horodok Church, Wanags Władysław Pawłowicz], 25 V 1988, k. 177.

¹³⁹ Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags*, p. 44.

¹⁴⁰ Ibidem; Interview with Rev. Oleg Siwiec.

construction work was carried out with the resources and strength of the faithful. Even the elderly, women and children participated in the construction.¹⁴¹

A long struggle against the authorities took place over permission to supply a baptistery at the front of the church. In order to solve the problem, Rev. W. Wanags addressed the City Council. In an interview with the secretary, he asked: 'Can a man be headless?' 'No', the official replied, not understanding what the clergyman was arriving at. 'And can there be a church without a head, without a cross?' 'Also no', replied the secretary. 'Then I am going to complain about you to the court', Rev. Wanags announced to him. 'What right did you have to remove the head of the church from the construction plan?!' The decision to build a baptistery was made, and during the erection of the 'head' no representative of the authorities appeared at the construction site.¹⁴²

Despite the construction work undertaken, the church was still too small. The sacristy, presbytery, rectory and parish hall were missing. Rev. W. Wanags decided to expand the church without waiting for permission from state authorities.¹⁴³ Only a few days after the work began, a representative of local authorities appeared at the site: 'A city official comes in and asks: "What are you doing here, what's going to be here?" "There will be an apartment for the priest and housekeeper, a kitchen, a dining room, and a garage." "Then write an application for permission." I did write it and submitted to the office. A month passes, and there is no answer. I concluded that silence is consent. I took the Bible, went to the office and said: "Peace be unto you!" An official approached to greet me, and I handed him a Bible with the words: "Hold the Scripture so that you know what was, what is and what will be." And he replied: "You can build one floor." I tell him: "God Bless!" He said nothing about the design neither gave written permission.'¹⁴⁴ After some time, a commission from Moscow and Kyiv arrived. Officials accused the parish priest of building without authorities' permission. The clergyman replied that he received verbal permission, which was the basis for the said commission to approve the construction project.¹⁴⁵

Rev. W. Wanags also failed to obtain permission for the addition of a porch in the church. Its construction was necessary for the people to not freeze during Mass in winter. Consequently, he began the construction, once again 'illegally'.¹⁴⁶ By the time the authorities realised that, it was too late: the walls were standing,

¹⁴¹ Interview with Rev. Antoni Andruszczyszyn conducted on 18 June 2013 by the author (audio recording; author's private archive).

¹⁴² Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags*, p. 45.

¹⁴³ Wanags, *Nie sprzeciwiaj się Bogu*, p. 227.

¹⁴⁴ Ibidem, pp. 227–228.

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Rev. Oleg Siwiec.

¹⁴⁶ From the memoirs of Józef Szpyszko: 'A loud "Peace be unto you!" dispersed the morning silence and shook the remnants of sleep from several hundred parishioners. A merry murmur passed over the crowd and immediately hushed, and half a thousand pairs of eyes turned their gaze with undisguised curiosity to the priest who had just appeared on the threshold of the church. Rev. Wanags carefully scanned the crowd, already gathered in front of the church at dawn. Men with shovels and axes here, women with brooms and buckets there, their gazes are blazing – what a nice view! Nothing

and it would have been hard to dismantle them, as it was unpredictable how people would have acted then.¹⁴⁷

After all construction work was completed, Rev. W. Wanags travelled to Riga and invited Bishop Vilhelms Nukšs¹⁴⁸ to consecrate the church, which took place on 17 September 1988.¹⁴⁹ A miraculous image of St Anthony was placed in one of the side altars of the church.¹⁵⁰

In 1988, the Council for Religious Affairs cancelled the provision stipulating that religious buildings are state property.¹⁵¹ This was of utmost importance to believers and gave hope that the long-standing efforts to register religious

can stop them now. Just one more effort, and finally the temple of the dreams will be ready. With a satisfied nod, the priest raised his eyes to heaven and whispered his thanks to God.

– Well, shall we build the porch? – he turned to the crowd.

– Of course! Let's build! – they replied with approval.

– Then let us pray that the Lord God bless our efforts. After the Our Father and Hail, Mary, Rev. Wanags divided the duties and the people got down to work. The courtyard of the church was filled with the hum of voices, the clatter of trucks, the clank of shovels – construction was in full swing. After all, it is imperative to finish as soon as possible, as long as officials have not found out... But they have. They came, assessed the situation, pressed their lips together, and began to search for Rev. Wanags.

– How can it be – Mr priest breaking the law?

– But how can there be a house without a vestibule? – he replied with outrage. – Winter will be cold, people will freeze, as there is no antechamber.

– Without permission, it is not allowed – the officials stubbornly repeated and crossed their arms on their chests, with their whole posture making it clear: 'We won't allow it!'

People have gone silent. They stood, listening closely to how their parish priest would defend himself. And he just shrugged his shoulders and said: – Not allowed means not allowed. We will not be building.

Officials seemed satisfied with such an answer. They thanked him for his forbearance, shook hands with the priest, turned and walked away. Wanags bid them a polite farewell, watching them until their silhouettes completely disappeared, and returned to the parishioners. And they stood frozen solid, with shovels and buckets in their hands, with a silent question in their wide-open eyes: 'What will it be?'

– Hey, keep digging! – Wanags waved them – the bureaucrats have gone, we must finish before they return.

They managed to finish the porch. When the officials returned, they were left with no choice but to approve the addition project.' Interview with Józef Szpyczko conducted on 15 May 2016 by A. Podluk (audio recording; private archive of A. Podluk).

¹⁴⁷ W. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags...*, p. 46.

¹⁴⁸ Bishop Vilhelms Nukšs (1938–1993) – ordained in 1964; vicar of Krāslava parish (1964–1965), vicar of St Mary Magdalene parish in Riga (1965–1966), vicar of Our Lady of Sorrows church in Riga (1966–1967), St Anthony parish priest in Riga (1967–1977); St Albert parish priest in Riga and dean of the Riga deanery (1979–1987), auxiliary bishop of the Riga Archdiocese (1987–1993). I. Čigāne, *Vilhelms Nukšs - priesteris uz mūžiem!*, „Ludzas Zeme”, (2015) issue 70, p. 6.

¹⁴⁹ W. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags...*, p. 48.

¹⁵⁰ N. Szpyczko, *Śladami Księdza Władysława Wanagsa, niestrudzonego sługi Maryi*, „Rota” (2004) issue 49, p. 1.

¹⁵¹ J. Sosnowskich, *Transformacja gosudarstwenno-konfessionalnykh otnoszenij w 1985–1997 gg. Na materialach Czielabinskoj oblasti*, Chelyabinsk 2014, p. 23.

communities and reclaim temples would see fruition. The news of the construction of the church in Horodok, which was the first Catholic temple in Ukraine to be built during the Soviet era, further mobilized the Catholics of Podolia.¹⁵²

Realizing the needs of the gradually strengthening Catholic Church in Ukraine, Rev. W. Wanags decided to establish a lower seminary in Horodok. Having received permission from his superior Rev. Viktors Pentjušs, MIC,¹⁵³ he erected 2 buildings and announced recruitment. There were 18 candidates who lived in the lower seminary and attended school in Horodok.¹⁵⁴

On 23 April 1991, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the *Law On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations*. Then a new stage of Ukraine's spiritual revival began.¹⁵⁵ In that year, Rev. J. Olszański became diocesan bishop of the reactivated Kamianets-Podolskyi Diocese.¹⁵⁶ He proposed to Rev. W. Wanags to establish a higher seminary to prepare candidates for the priesthood. In 1991, news of the seminary's establishment was officially announced in Horodok, and after just one month, 20 candidates¹⁵⁷ began formation in the first year under the supervision of Rev. Jan Ślepowroński.¹⁵⁸

In November 1989, Rev. W. Wanags managed to obtain permission from the state authorities to build the House of Mercy, a shelter for the poor elderly.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵² Cf. W. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags...*, p. 53.

¹⁵³ Rev. Viktors Pentjušs, MIC (1915–2007) – ordained in 1942; arrested in 1948, after four months of investigation, sentenced for ‘aiding the German occupier and anti-Soviet agitation’ to 10 years of forced labour in a gulag (a coal mine in Vorkuta); released from the gulag in 1956. Rehabilitated in 1989, by a decision of the Latvian Prosecutor General's Office. From 1972 to 1991, he served as father confessor at Riga Major Seminary and was later appointed vice chancellor. Cf. R. Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa...*, p. 469.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Rev. Antoni Andruszczyszyn.

¹⁵⁵ W. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags...*, p. 49.

¹⁵⁶ Archive of the Curia of the Kamianets-Podolskyi Diocese, Joannes Paulus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei dilecto filio Joanni Olszański [Nomination Bull of Rev. Jan Olszański], 16 February 1991, no ref.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. J. Niemiec, *Utworzenie i początki działalności Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego diecezji kamieniecko-podolskiej obrządku łacińskiego w Gródku Podolskim 1991–1992*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, (2002) issue 1, pp. 61–91.

¹⁵⁸ Rev. Jan Ślepowroński (b. 1959) – ordained in 1985; rector of the Major Seminary in Horodok (1991–2001), parish priest in Bar (2001–2012), rector of the Major Seminary in Vorzel (2012–2017), since 2017 parish priest in Vilkhovets. *Schematyzm Kamjanec-Podilskoj dijeceziji*, Kamianets-Podilskyi 2003, p. 9; *Ks. Jan Ślepowroński*, <http://www.orient.sacro.pl/index.php?a=gl&s=246&szczeg=216> (accessed on: 7.01.2021).

¹⁵⁹ APOCh, Upoñnomocziennyj Sowieta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Riszennia Wykonawczogo komitetu pro zajawu czeñniw dwadciatky Gorodockoji rymo-katolyckoji obszczyny [Decision of the Executive Committee on the Composition of the 20-member Council of the Horodok Roman Catholic Community], 22 XI 1989, k. 205; ibidem, Upoñnomocziennyj Sowieta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Zakluczienije o razrieszenii objedinieniju rimsko-katoliczeskoj cerkwi g. Gorodka na stroitelstwo Doma Miłosierdija [Decision to Allow the Community of the Roman Catholic Church in the Town of Horodok to Build a House of Mercy], 4 XII 1989, k. 204.

However, after the construction work was completed, by the decision of Bishop J. Olszański, the edifice was handed over to the Major Seminary, which continued to develop. Then Rev. W. Wanags, having received material assistance from Poland, began the construction of the fourth building, which still houses the House of Mercy.¹⁶⁰ However, when the Superior General of the Congregation of Marian Fathers came to Horodok and saw that Rev. W. Wanags was building a House of Mercy, he categorically forbade him to do so. He was concerned that there would not be enough funds for the construction and everything would have to be financed by the congregation from its funds. In light of Rev. W. Wanags' resistance, his superior allowed him to make his own decision regarding the construction of the House of Mercy. During his next visit, the Superior General was surprised that Rev. W. Wanags succeeded in carrying out his construction plans.¹⁶¹

The elderly living at the House of Mercy receive full medical and nursing care, comfortable living conditions and food. Rev. W. Wanags purchased 30 hectares of farmland, so residents are provided with food. He also managed to receive material assistance from the Wspólnota Polska Foundation to buy a tractor and farming tools. However, there was a shortage of funds for medicine, so Rev. W. Wanags often travelled abroad in search of benefactors.¹⁶² He served as St Stanislaus parish priest until August 1996. Due to his deteriorating health, he handed over his duties to Rev. Antoni Andruszczyszyn, MIC.¹⁶³

Conclusion

The 20th century was an exceptionally difficult period for the parish in Horodok. The Bolsheviks' seizure of power in Podolia gave rise to nearly seventy years of persecution of the Catholic Church, which was considered a dangerous enemy of the communist order. In fighting the Church, the Soviet authorities used a variety of methods, including the physical elimination of the clergy and the most zealous believers. As early as 1937, in consequence of anti-religious policies consistently embodied by the authorities on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, the Catholic Church virtually ceased to function. All the temples have been closed, destroyed or converted to factories, stables, granaries or clubs. However, the Soviet authorities failed to completely destroy the faith among Catholics, who found various ways to

¹⁶⁰ Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags*, p. 49.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Rev. Antoni Andruszczyszyn.

¹⁶² Interview with Rev. Oleg Siwiec.

¹⁶³ Rev. Antoni Andruschyszyn, MIC (b. 1951) – ordained in 1986; took perpetual vows in 1990; from 1987 to 1996 served as parish priest in Slavuta and in 10 systematically recovered and rebuilt churches throughout the area, parish priest in Horodok (1996–2003), vicar in Khmelnytskyi (2003–2006), vicar in Chernivtsi in Podolia (2006–2013), currently vicar in Khmelnytskyi. APOCh, Upomocniennyj Sowietu po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 17, Ankieta na sluzhytiela rieligioznogo kulta, 23 IX 1988, k. 22; ibidem, Upomocniennyj Sowietu po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 17, Awtobiografija, 23 IX 1988, k. 23; A. Andruszczyszyn, *Dziesięć kościołów „na sumieniu”* (interview with Rev. A. Andruszczyszyn conducted by L. Danilecka), in: Kurlandzki, Danilecka, *Panie, do kogóż pójdziemy?*, pp. 75–88.

lead a hidden religious life, and at the first opportunity reopened temples seized by the authorities. Such a possibility arose after the Third Reich attacked the USSR in June 1941 and German troops occupied Ukraine. Thanks to the initiative of the faithful and incoming ministers, Catholic parishes began to function again in Podolia and religious life developed.

The cemetery chapel in Horodok was one of the first Catholic temples in Podolia to be recovered at the time. In August 1941, services began to be held again in the Horodok temple. Initially, as in many other towns occupied by the Third Reich, pastoral services were provided by chaplains of German army units. After some time, thanks to the efforts of the Catholics of Horodok, Rev. Franciszek Oleń from the Diocese of Lutsk began to visit the cemetery, where he celebrated Mass and administered the sacraments.

In the fall of 1944, Rev. J. Olszański, the future bishop of the Kamianets-Podolskyi Diocese, took over as parish priest in Horodok. His catechization of children, which was forbidden in the USSR, caused him to be expelled by state authorities to the village of Manykivtsi in 1959. From then on, the Horodok community was deprived of permanent pastoral care. It was not until 1970 that Rev. Franciszek Karasiewicz was assigned to St Stanislaus Parish and served there as parish priest until early 1977. Due to his deteriorating health, the clergyman left Horodok, and a priest from Latvia, Rev. W. Wanags, MIC, was appointed in his place after some time. In 1988, he led the dedication of the church he illegally built in Horodok. It was the first Catholic temple erected in Soviet Ukraine.

The Catholic Church, persecuted in the Soviet state, was doomed to total destruction. However, as it turned out, faith in God and the dedication and courage of the lay and clergy faithful were stronger than totalitarianism. In the struggle for its survival, the Catholic Church on the territory of the USSR not only persevered, but strengthened itself spiritually, as clearly confirmed by the history of the Horodok parish.

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DZIEJE PARAFII PW. ŚW. STANISŁAWA – BISKUPA I MĘCZENNIKA W GRÓDKU PODOLSKIM W LATACH 1941–1991

Abstrakt

Od końca XVIII wieku w Gródku Podolskim funkcjonowały dwa kościoły – jeden pw. św. Anny i św. Antoniego, drugi pw. św. Stanisława – Biskupa i Męczennika. W 1935 roku świątynie te zostały zamknięte przez władze sowieckie, a wkrótce zdewastowane. Zamknięto także kaplicę wybudowaną w 1845 roku na cmentarzu. Katolicy z Gródka zostali pozbawieni opieki duszpasterskiej. Odrodzenie życia religijnego na Ukrainie Sowieckiej nastąpiło w okresie okupacji niemieckiej. Wierni odzyskali świątynie i mogli swobodnie sprawować nabożeństwa. W roku 1943, dzięki staraniom katolików gródeckich, zaczął do nich przyjeżdżać ks. Franciszek Oleń z diecezji łuckiej, który odprawiał w kaplicy cmentarnej Msze św. oraz udzielał sakramentów. Pod koniec 1944 roku funkcję proboszcza parafii w Gródku objął 25-letni kapłan z archidiecezji lwowskiej ks. Jan Olszański, przyszły biskup diecezji kamieniecko-podolskiej. Prowadzona przez niego katechizacja dzieci, która była w ZSRS zakazana, spowodowała, że w 1959 roku został on wydalony do wioski Manikowce. W ciągu wielu lat opiekę duszpasterską nad katolikami z Gródka sprawowali dojeżdżający kapłani. Dopiero w 1970 roku do parafii św. Stanisława skierowano ks. Franciszka Karasiewicza, który pełnił tam funkcję proboszcza do 1977 roku. Z powodu pogarszającego się stanu zdrowia, spowodowanego nieustannym nękaniami ze strony lokalnych władz, duchowny opuścił Gródek Podolski, a na jego miejsce wyznaczono ks. Władysława Wanagsa MIC. Już na początku swojej pracy w Gródku nowy proboszcz miał zamiar w miejsce małej kapliczki zbudować nowy kościół, zachowując dotychczasowe wezwanie św. Stanisława – Biskupa i Męczennika. W 1988 roku pomimo sprzeciwu władz państwowych ks. W. Wanags zdecydował się na rozpoczęcie budowy kościoła. W dniu 17 września 1988 roku bp Vilhelms Nukšs poświęcił nowy kościół w Gródku Podolskim. Była to pierwsza świątynia katolicka powstała na Ukrainie Sowieckiej.

Słowa kluczowe: Gródek Podolski; Podole; diecezja kamieniecko-podolska; ks. Franciszek Oleń; bp Jan Olszański; ks. Franciszek Karasiewicz; ks. Władysław Wanags



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ALEKSANDRA GIEŁDOŃ-PASZEK* – KATOWICE
LUCYNA SADZIKOWSKA** – KATOWICE

**MARIAN KOŁODZIEJ'S 'MEMORY FILES.
LABYRINTHS' AT THE ST MAXIMILIAN CENTRE IN HARMĘŻE
AND ANONYMOUS SKETCHES STORED IN THE RESOURCES
OF THE GROSS-ROSEN MUSEUM AS DOCUMENTS
OF THE TIME OF THE HOLOCAUST**

Abstract

In the lower floor of the Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate in Harmęże, which is part of the St Maximilian Centre, an exhibition has been installed entitled „Klisze pamięci. Labirynty” (Memory Files. Labyrinths). The exhibition features drawings by Marian Kołodziej, a former Auschwitz prisoner. The Archives of the Gross-Rosen Museum contain a collection of sketches by an anonymous author, most likely a prisoner of the concentration camp, so far unpublished in their original form with back matter. The authors of this article jointly present the individual drawing compositions of M. Kołodziej and anonymous drawings preserved in the archives of the Gross-Rosen Museum. Their value as testimonials has been emphasised, while highlighting the undeniable artistic value of the illustrations. Both „Klisze pamięci. Labirynty” and the analysed drawings from Gross-Rosen, which Henryk Motowilczuk donated in 2007 to the Archives of the Gross-Rosen Museum in Rogoźnica (ref. 11022/DP), have documentary value and enrich the study on World War II. Seven situational compositions, drawn in pairs of two, four, and a single one on three sheets of wrapping paper, as well as an exposition of drawings by M. Kołodziej,

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a prisoner marked with the number 432, formed the source basis of the article, which uses the case study method. The text is an attempt at a synthetic presentation of testimony from the perspective of an art historian and literary scholar: a composition of drawings created after almost fifty years of silence on the subject of M. Kołodziej's experiences in a concentration camp, and a document of camp life found behind a picture frame almost sixty years after the liberation of the camp, seen from an individual perspective. The paper addresses the issue of the analogy of drawing to reality, and also touches on the essence of each sketch individually and outlines the strategies undertaken by the draughtsman.

Keywords: Marian Kołodziej's „Klisze pamięci. Labirynty”; St Maximilian Centre in Harmęże; anonymous sketches; Gross-Rosen Museum in Rogoźnica; artistic activity of the camp prisoners

It is not an exhibition – not art, not pictures, but words enclosed in a drawing [...]. Art is helpless in the face of what man has wrought on man... A look at Auschwitz through drawing. Anyone who has been in Auschwitz and survived Auschwitz has been marked with the inalienable lifelong stigma of the human tragedy that unfolded there. I would like to hint to the viewer: be patient, patiently read everything that is written in these drawings. These are my 'drawn words' addressed to you. You need to read them.²

The Polish historiography on the artistic activities of concentration camp prisoners has so far devoted too little space to the surviving manifestations of painting or visual arts talents as gestures establishing a special tripartite relationship between the creator, the reality and the viewer.³ The peculiarities of concentration camps, the conditions and rules applying in each of them shaped the illegal or legal artistic activity of the imprisoned, which oftentimes, in addition to their deep faith and desire to survive, constituted for them solid defence mechanisms against total enslavement. In a world of violence, the artistic creations of the camps' inmates were the most beautiful expression of human discontent with the overwhelming evil. As Anna Pawełczyńska notes: 'Every norm that constitutes a cultural achievement was dysfunctional under concentration camp conditions. Each of the Ten Commandments required a thorough reinterpretation.'⁴ This is why concentration camp inmates cried to the rescue with art that sublimates the wartime experience.

² The quote is the words of Marian Kołodziej, which were made the motto in the publication: T. Świebocka, *Słowo wstępne*, in: H. Słojewska-Kołodziej, *Twoja droga przez Labirynty Mariana Kołodzieja. Przewodnik*, Gdańsk-Harmęże 2018, p. 4.

³ The attestation placed in an artistic or literary context is not a genre or form, but a gesture (undertaken in the face of and in the wake of experience – the experience of reality at a particular historical moment – directed to someone who may become the recipient and guarantor). The gesture stems from need, necessity or compulsion and can be unintentional or deliberate. Cf. G. Hartman, *Ciemność widoma*, „Literatura na Świecie”, 9–10 (2005), pp. 265–295.

⁴ A. Pawełczyńska, *Wartości a przemoc. Zarys socjologicznej problematyki Oświećcimia*, Warszawa 1973, p. 168.

Prisoners of concentration camps produced a variety of works done in secret and in hiding from the SS, showing the truth about life behind barbed wire. These were drawings bearing 'the mark of the artist's handwriting and the characteristics of the period in which the work was created,'⁵ and small both secular and religious objects made for the private use of the imprisoned, for example, crosses, rosaries, embroidered handkerchiefs, carved figures of the Child, angels and animals. They reflected the need for emotional, spiritual and aesthetic experiences even in the harsh conditions of the camp. The captives also produced works by inmate artists (such as birthday or Christmas cards with calligraphed phrases and titles of Christmas carols, like „Stille Nacht”) for the camp service.

In the case of Marian Kołodziej,⁶ an Auschwitz prisoner with camp number 432, the return to his experiences – and thus the creation of a harrowing visual history – came after a silence of almost fifty years. The spur to tell the story of himself and the non-survivors of the 'death factory' was his illness – a stroke and the accompanying paralysis. In order to facilitate his rehabilitation, he began drawing scenes of camp life in pencil. This simultaneous self-therapy began in 1993 and ended in May 2009, a few months before his death. M. Kołodziej has created more than 260 drawing compositions of various sizes, using the simplest artistic means to express a frightening, yet unusual story. Using symbolism in the narrative, he evocatively depicted two worlds clashing with each other: good – in human figures (e.g., the prisoner hangs on wires, beaten with sticks like St Sebastian with arrows; St Francis, as a symbol of good, holds the slumping Fr Maximilian) and evil – in beasts (a round-shaped and human-destroying chimera; a fornicator –

⁵ T. Csorba, *O rysowaniu*, Warsaw 1980, p. 7.

⁶ Marian Kołodziej was born in 1921 in Raszków, and on 14 May 1940 he was arrested by the Gestapo in Kraków and imprisoned in Montelupich Prison, and later transferred to a prison in Tarnów. On 14 June 1940, he arrived in the first transport to Auschwitz (he received camp number 432). While in the camp he was assigned to various kommandos: Abbruchkommando, Kiesgrubekommando, Strassenkommando, IIndustriehof – II Bauhof, Waserkommando. The sickly man was taken to the Blechhammer sub-camp in Świętochłowice, where he secretly copied plans of armaments factories for the resistance. For this activity he was sentenced to death and deported to Auschwitz, where he was imprisoned in the bunker of Block 11. He survived in the camp until the end of 1944, during the evacuation he was transferred to Gross-Rosen and then to Buchenwald. In February 1945, he was deported to Mauthausen. Liberation took place on 6 May 1945. After returning to Poland, he took up studies at the Academy of Fine Arts in Kraków, at the Faculty of Painting, under the auspices of Prof. K. Frycz. He graduated in 1950 with a specialization in stage design. He left for Gdańsk, where he took a job at the Wybrzeże Theatre as stage designer. He was the creator of the papal altars in Zaspia in Gdańsk in 1987 and in Sopot in 1999. In 1997, he became an Honorary Citizen of the City of Gdańsk. In 1992, he suffered a stroke and was partially paralysed. On 6 February 2006, he was awarded the Gloria Artis Gold Medal for Merit to Culture. He died on 13 October 2009, at the age of 88, in a hospital in Gdańsk. On 23 October 2009, he was buried in the basement of the Franciscan church in Harmęże.

The Kraków Province of the Franciscans of St Anthony of Padua and Blessed Jakub Strzemię, expressing its appreciation and respect for Marian Kołodziej, admitted him to the circle of honorary brothers and friends of its Franciscan community in 1998. In 2003, he was awarded the statue of St Francis of Assisi.

a camp louse grows to the size of the Fifth Horseman of the Apocalypse bringing death; a monster – a triple-faced oberkapo resembling Svetovit – strikes the bell). The time of the war and the camps was shown in black and white (not counting the grey). He depicted the day of liberation from the camp, his dreams and memories in full colour (for example, when documenting the time and place of regaining freedom – May 1945 in Mauthausen-Ebensee – he used school paints he found and, due to the lack of a paintbrush, captured a fairy-tale alpine landscape with a match made from them). It is worth paying some attention at this point to the symbolism of the colours used. It is widely recognized that the symbolic value of colours is a type of information, a carrier of content and a manifestation of individual expression. In light of association theory, however, the symbolic meaning of colour may arise not necessarily as an intentional act by the artist, but as a result of the association of two independent qualities perceived by different senses, the result of which is a consistent message.⁷ Regardless of the adopted theory⁸ explaining the use of certain colours in M. Kołodziej's sketches, their meaning established in the culture is reduced to the association of the grey colour with poverty, misery, passivity, and the black colour with death, despair, mourning, resignation, and evil.⁹ These very colours dominate the artist's camp-related works. The importance of the full range of colours in liberation artworks needs no comment.

M. Kołodziej's drawings are a specific conversation with Memling and his depiction of the philosophy of the Last Judgement – with the condemned and the saved. It is also an undermining of his faith in the fair judgement of life.

On 14 August 1998, the St Maximilian Centre in Harmęże¹⁰ saw the opening of the permanent exhibition titled „Memory Files. Labyrinths,”¹¹ which, with the truly scenographic precision of a deeply thought-out, macabre spectacle created by Hitlerism, consists of countless drawings and paintings, assembled in strings of cardboard, combining into large boards, into a spatial, labyrinthine display.¹² Tracing the camp experience of the author's camp and all those who went through the hell of camp imprisonment, we are confronted with visuals depicting death devices that were thoughtfully and devilishly constructed (Kołodziej chalks up

⁷ Cf. S. Popek, *Barwy i psychika*, Lublin 2021, p. 81.

⁸ The problem of perception and use of colours was addressed by many painters (e.g. E. Delacroix, Ph. O. Runge), physicists (H. von Helmholtz, I. Newton) and even philosophers (L. Wittgenstein – the theory of colour exclusion).

⁹ Cf. S. Popek, *Barwy i psychika*, p. 78.

¹⁰ The St Maximilian Center in Harmęże, which began its establishment in 1989, consists of three buildings: the Church of Our Lady Immaculate, the Franciscan convent of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary with a retreat house, and a retreat and educational house named after St Maximilian, run by the Missionaries of the Immaculate of Father Kolbe. *Centrum św. Maksymiliana w Harmężach*, <https://harmeze.franciszkanie.pl/> (accessed on: 22.04.2021).

¹¹ „*Klisze pamięci. Labirynty*” Mariana Kołodziej, <https://wystawa.powiat.oswiecim.pl/> (accessed on: 10.04.2021).

¹² The monumental exhibition „Memory Files. Labyrinths” was reviewed by Sebastian Świadek, who, in tribute to Marian Kołodziej, attempted to discuss his dramatic camp experiences and convey the message that humanity has not learned anything from history. S. Świadek, *Klisze pamięci numeru 432. Mariana Kołodzieja zapis gehenny obozowej*, Kraków 2011.

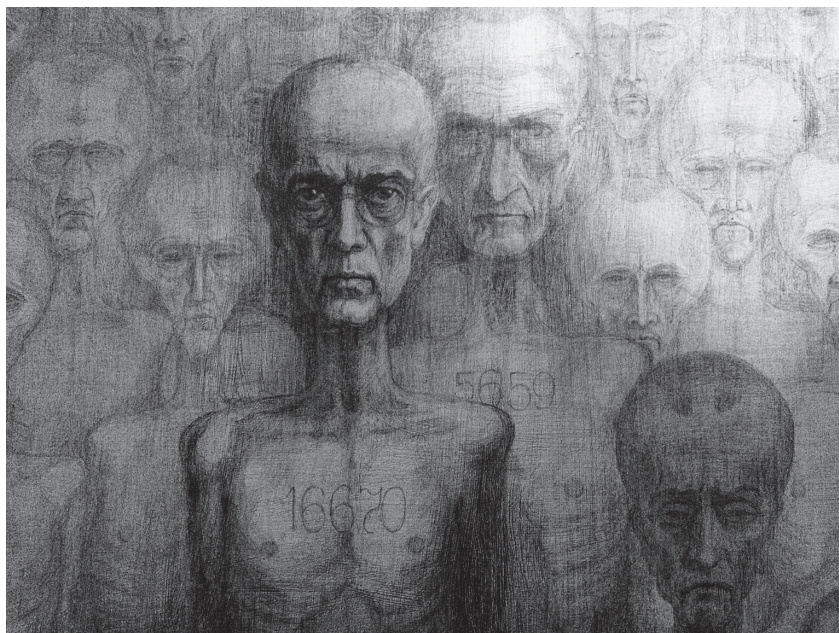


Fig. 1. Father Maximilian M. Kolbe against the background of the silhouettes of fellow prisoners. Copyright © St Maximilian Kolbe Centre in Harmęże



Fig. 2. Prisoner Marian Kołodziej – camp number 432. Copyright © St Maximilian Kolbe Centre in Harmęże

the crematorium grate, the pillar as one of the most horrific tortures, making an attempt to allude to Christ suffering in the crown of thorns – in this image, Christ removes prisoner No 432 from the martyr's pillar).

The installation of the exhibition in the lower floor of the Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate in Harmęże was of considerable importance to the creator, since, as he stated in an interview, 'I stood at one roll call with Father Kolbe.'¹³ Saint Maximilian – camp number 16670, next to Marian Kołodziej – camp number 432, became the second hero of the exhibition. The author of the „Memory Files” never concealed the fact that the gesture of St Maximilian's selfless love towards an unknown husband and father of a family during a roll call in July 1941 made such a great impression on him that he began to seek a second Christ in Fr Kolbe.



Fig. 3. The symbolic gesture of breaking the wafer.
Copyright © St Maximilian Kolbe Centre in Harmęże

Rev. Prof. Józef Tischner addressed the exposition, which depicts what the rejection of the Decalogue and Christian values in life can lead to, as follows: 'First of all, it seems that any transformation of these images into words is some kind of detriment to them. The images are so full of eloquence that any attempt to supplement them with verbal commentary is a hopeless endeavour. They not only require no such commentary, but in some sense they invalidate it. Of course, the whole philosophy of Auschwitz can be developed against their background, but even so, the number of words spoken will not pass for the quality of these

¹³ H. Słojewska-Kołodziej, *Twoja droga przez labirynty Mariana Kołodzieja*, p. 42.

images. These images have the quality that is one of a kind. It seems to me that they are first of all paintings about Man. And I would say: A man in a state of spiritual decay. Not only physical one. These are paintings about death, which has lost all meaning.¹⁴

The statement that the goal of artists is not to present only cruelty¹⁵ seems fundamental in the context of the quoted excerpt from Rev. Prof. J. Tischner's opinion on the paintings of M. Kołodziej and this text. The creators do not try to present anything to the viewer, but only work through certain states and issues, tapping into the affective potential of subconscious messages. The same is true of the artistic testimonies of concentration camp prisoners – those created in and out of the camp, from a great distance in time.

It should be noted that the first manifestation of their inner need to express themselves and their feelings were drawings on postal blanks, cards and forms¹⁶ of official letters¹⁷ sent from concentration camps. Camp censors sometimes allowed prisoners to decorate official correspondence with drawings.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that the content of the sketches was diverse – from floral motifs¹⁹ through images

¹⁴ H. Słojewska-Kołodziej, *Twoja droga przez labirynty Mariana Kołodzieja*, p. 45.

¹⁵ Cf. A. Kisiel, *Przelamując spojrzenie Orfeusza. Praca (anty)archiwalna Brachy L. Ettinger*, „Er(r)go”, 41 (2020) issue 2, pp. 97–110.

¹⁶ ‘Letters sent from the camp were subjected to censorship by the Postzensurstelle, which was staffed by SS officers. Camp regulations mandated that letters be written in German on a special letter form. On one A4 page, a prisoner could write two columns of fifteen lines each. Regardless of the current state of health, it was mandatory to include the phrase: “I’m healthy and I feel good.” When a prisoner tried to pass on some inappropriate or unauthorized information, the SS censors would delete it. Often, too, the letter was not sent at all, and the author was, of course, additionally punished.’ J. Klistala, *Żołnierze rybnickiego ZWZ/AK, POP, PTOP w obozach koncentracyjnych: Auschwitz-Birkenau, Mauthausen, Gusen, Dachau, Ravensbrück, Buchenwald, Majdanek, Oranienburg, Sachsenhausen, Flossenbürg... i innych*, Bielsko-Biała 2008, pp. 127–128.

¹⁷ M. Kołodziej depicted the scene of writing letters to families in his drawings, allowing some colour to leak into this image. It seems as if the recipients of the letters are still stuck in the memory of the imprisoned. Every prisoner wants to separate from others when writing a letter, to be alone focused on the words sent to the loved ones.

¹⁸ The website of the Gross-Rosen Museum in Rogoźnica presents Christmas camp letters with drawings. ‘A deviation from the rules of correspondence that was tolerated by the camp authorities was to decorate letters with drawings. The drawings often expressed a longing for freedom and family and allowed them to survive. They depicted memorable sights, flowers, fairy tale characters and holiday themes, among others. [...] The materials for making them, i.e. crayons, paints, pencils, were supplied illegally from the “Baubüro” construction kommando. The SS were also interested in this work. Particularly popular among them were paintings – oil and watercolour, business cards, birthday invitations, etc.’ *Bożonarodzeniowe listy obozowe*, <https://www.gross-rosen.eu/bozonarodzeniowe-listy-obozowe/> (accessed on: 15.12.2017). Cf. L. Sadzikowska, *Listy z lagrów i więzień 1939–1945. Wybrane zagadnienia*, Katowice 2019, p. 87.

¹⁹ Franciszek Ogon (born 10 September 1907 in Rybnik; camp number in Auschwitz 107466; died 17 June 1945 in Gusen due to extreme exhaustion) officially wrote letters in German and one – the last one – in Polish. On the form of a letter to his wife Maria, dated 30 July 1944, he painted a bouquet of flowers in the upper left corner. In this way, he expressed the memory of her name day. Cf. L. Sadzikowska, *Listy z lagrów*, p. 258. Colourful pictures depicting a bouquet of flowers were

of knights in armour²⁰ to Christmas motifs (images of angels, carrying a heart in their hands, and the inscription *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, hovering over a Christmas tree). These drawings should be considered a considerable source of learning the truth about those times,²¹ keeping in mind that 'it is important to reach the original material correlates of writing practices'.²² Due to its enormous historical and emotional value, camp art is exceptionally valuable; it is a universal message understandable to any audience.

Art works born under conditions of extreme danger are a remarkable and moving document of time and history. One can also find in them feelings and emotions that are difficult to reproduce nowadays, which accompanied the 'artists in striped uniforms' every day.

The source materials²³ from the Archives of the Gross-Rosen Museum in Rogóżnica (recorded under ref. 11022/DP) and complementary copies of 20 sketches, donated by the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, sketched by Imre Holló, Ph.D.,²⁴ a prisoner of the Riese Dörnhau²⁵ camp in the Owl Mountains, may become interesting didascalia to M. Kołodziej's sketches.

also created on the blanks of camp letters sent from Gross-Rosen Concentration Camp. Cf. e.g., the letters stored in the Gross-Rosen Museum Archives, ref. 1609/DP-L, 1636/DP-L, 2153/DP-L.

²⁰ Cf. S. Kłodziński, *Merytoryczne i psychologiczne znaczenie oświęcimskich listów obozowych*, „Przegląd Lekarski”, 47 (1990) issue 1, p. 35.

²¹ Cf. J. Jaworska, *Nie wszystkim umrę. Twórczość plastyczna Polaków w hitlerowskich więzieniach i obozach koncentracyjnych 1939–1945*, Warsaw 1975.

²² P. Rodak, *Rzeczy pisane, rzeczy napisane. O materialności praktyk piśmiennych*, in: *Literatura i „faktury” historii XX (i XXI) wieku*, eds. A. Molisak, J. Wierzejska, T. Wójcik, A. Zieniewicz, Warsaw 2014, p. 45.

²³ The material was collected as part of the implementation of the Miniatura 2 grant, awarded by the National Science Centre for the project 'The Role of Reading in Selected Concentration Camps – Collection of Source Materials', ref. 2018/02/X/HS2/01015. The search was conducted in the second half of 2019. For their kind help, words of thanks are due to Leokadia Lewandowska and Aneta Małek from the Collection Department of the Gross-Rosen Museum.

²⁴ Imre Holló – one of the Hungarian prisoners of AL Riese Dörnhau, a branch of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. He was transferred to the Owl Mountains region directly from Auschwitz, probably on 6 June 1944. The camp of his imprisonment was located in the buildings of a carpet factory in the small village of Dörnhau, better known today as Kolce near Głuszyca. On the site of the former plant, Imre found pieces of cardboard on which he began sketching drawings depicting camp life: the prisoners' work, morning roll calls, the serving of meals. He also did not shy away from drastic scenes, such as the abuse of prisoners by camp guards, emaciated 'living skeletons' and executions. He did his work secretly, during meal breaks, often with the help of fellow inmates. *Archiwum Historii Mówionej Ziemi Walbrzyskiej*, <https://www.archiwum-historii-mowionej.pl/grafiki-imre-hollo-dokumentujace-zaglade-w-sztolniach-walimskich/> (accessed on: 13.11.2020).

²⁵ 'Among the numerous sub-camps, their complex located in the region of the Owl Mountains had a special character, with large-scale work undertaken on the construction of a complex of quarters for Hitler and the chief civil and military authorities of the Third Reich. Several thousand Jewish prisoners were sent to this work, which was deployed in at least 12 camps, collectively known as Arbeitslager Riese, and headed by SS hauptsturmführer Albert Lütkemeyer. They worked under particularly difficult conditions to excavate adits, unload construction materials, and build the necessary infrastructure. [...] The group of camps forming AL Riese consisted of: AL Dörnhau in Kolce,

Documents nos. 1–3 were previously published in their original form, without back matter, in the pages of the local newspaper²⁶ and in the *Odkrywca* magazine.²⁷ It is worth taking action to ensure that the materials found and donated to the Archives of the Gross-Rosen Museum by Henryk Motowilczuk, an amateur painter living in Walim, reach a wide audience, to remind and warn against totalitarianism. The authors of the present study understand the analysed sketches, according to Roland Barthes²⁸ lesson, as an image – a representation, a drawing on paper, and as a representation (resurrection) of iconographic tropes and historical contexts.

The drawings by the anonymous author, found²⁹ more than sixty years after the liberation of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, reflect the organization of the murder process – it took place in isolation, away from the eyes of witnesses. The idea was to keep the crime secret, but also to dehumanize the victims.

One may wonder why, in this case, the author, most likely a prisoner with a piece of paper at his disposal, chose the technique of drawing as a way of expressing the camp experience. Psychologists find that making a drawing is an easier way to communicate with others than verbally confessing personal feelings, especially if they cause anxiety. They also point out that 'the unreliability of human memory does not apply to drawing'.³⁰ The display of M. Kołodziej's works seems to confirm the findings of psychologists.

There is no doubt that the technique of writing, which requires absolute skill and certainty in the arrangement of signs-letters, which are supposed to signify a particular designator or symbol, to convey a specific meaning, was not an immanent and, so to speak, primary and innate form of expression of the author of the drawings. The creator of the analysed sketches chose a drawing technique that requires careful search and full concentration of shape alignment to represent the viewed or remembered reality on the plane of paper. Perhaps subconsciously, the prisoner of the camp communicates to the viewer through his drawings the message that words do not have as much range of expression as the drawn line, they are too insignificant in meaning to express or articulate the truth that one needs to present, to visualize. In this sense, words are useless, because none can convey the tragedy experienced in the camp. Writing can be seen as an act that from the beginning

Erlenbusch in Olszynie, Falkenberg in Sokolec, Fürstenstein in Książ, Kaltwasser in Zimna, Lärche, Märzbachtal and Säuerwasser in the Głuszyca area, Schotterwerk in Głuszyca Górna, Tannhausen in Jedlina, where the central district of the complex was also set up, AL Wolfsberg on Mount Włodarz and Wüstegiersdorf in Głuszyca'. A. Konieczny, *KL Gross-Rosen hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny na Dolnym Śląsku 1940–1945*, Wałbrzych 2012, p. 33.

²⁶ A. Szałkowski, *Tragedia na kartkach papieru*, „Panorama Wałbrzyska” of 7 August 2007, pp. 1, 3. <https://walbrzych.naszemiasto.pl/tragedia-na-kartkach-papieru/ar/c1-6709165> (accessed on: 1.12.2020).

²⁷ P. Maszkowski, *Szkice zagłady*, „Odkrywca”, 5 (2007) pp. 9–12.

²⁸ R. Barthes, *Retoryka obrazu*, „Pamiętnik Literacki”, 75 (1985) issue 3, p. 289.

²⁹ In 2007 Henryk Motowilczuk, who had purchased old picture frames from residents of nearby towns a few years earlier, came across three folded yellowed sheets of paper while refreshing the frame in which a damaged picture depicting a bouquet of flowers was placed. Cf. A. Szałkowski, *Tragedia na kartkach papieru*.

³⁰ G.D. Oster, P. Gould, *Rysunek w psychoterapii*, Gdańsk 2000, p. 23.

should be precise, clear, but thus limited by the content of the text. A drawing is developed gradually, rarely finished, leaving flexibility of interpretation and liberty to read its lines. It is also individual, unique; a pattern, an outline, an act-signature of the author's existence is retained in the line and point within the gesture of the hand moving while drawing. The word, although more capacious in meaning, is becoming a tool of expression that is commonplace and thus less personal and intimate. The author of the analysed sketches, as a witness³¹ transcending the state of oscillation between the 'impossibility' and the 'imperative' of narrating,³² has created a message about the camp experience, using memory and means of expression carried by the affects he felt. The crime scene depicted in the drawings is corroborated by the rich material contained in the trial hearings, the testimony of Aniela Ptak³³ or the studies of experts on the subject.³⁴ One needs to remember that '[...] a witness can become not only a survivor, but also an observer of an event that has rubbed shoulders with violence, participated in the event in some way, if only by mere presence, also someone who was not present but has knowledge of the event, feels its impact and the need to convey those impressions.'³⁵

The recovered drawings, drawn on three pieces of paper, undoubtedly of great documentary value, do not seem to represent a high artistic level on the surface. However, this is only an initial, rather misleading recognition. These works can be classified as sketches rather than finished works, but this was probably the result of deliberate decision inspired by their subject matter. If they were made in the camp, revealing them carried terrible consequences.³⁶ Haste and sketchiness were therefore a necessity. The most common group of camp paintings – in addition to those officially done by prisoners, often professional artists, commissioned by the authorities – were portraits of fellow inmates.³⁷ The most forbidden subjects,

³¹ A witness understood as someone who testifies 'to the extent that their testimony always presupposes something (a fact, thing or word) that precedes them'. G. Agamben, *Co zostaje z Auschwitzu. Archiwum i świadek. Homo sacer III*, Warsaw 2008, p. 151.

³² Cf. D. Laub, *Zdarzenie bez świadka: prawda, świadectwo oraz ocalenie*, „Teksty Drugie”, 5 (2007) pp. 120–123.

³³ During the war, Aniela Ptak lived and worked as a forced labourer in a linen factory in the Walim area. As testified by her, she witnessed many of the crimes committed by the Nazis against prisoners working in the same factory or in the tunnelling of adits. Aniela Ptak's testimony from that period is archived at the Gross-Rosen Museum in Rogoźnica.

³⁴ Cf. M. Mołdawa, *Gross-Rosen – obóz koncentracyjny na Śląsku*, Warsaw 1979; D. Sula, *Życie kulturalne i religijne więźniów w KL Gross-Rosen*, Wałbrzych 2007; P. Kruszyński, *Podziemia w Górach Sowich i Zamku Książ*, Wałbrzych 2004; R. Owczarek, *U bram „Riese”*, Kraków 2013.

³⁵ A. Dauksza, *Ustanawianie świadka*, in: *Świadek: jak się staje, czym jest?*, eds. A. Dauksza, K. Koprowska, Warsaw 2019, p. 172.

³⁶ It should be added that 'The whole organization of life in the camp was methodically aimed at abusing and breaking the prisoner physically and mentally.' Z. Łukaszkiewicz, *Gross-Rosen*, „Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce”, 8 (1956) pp. 80–91.

³⁷ Cf. http://lekcja.auschwitz.org/pl_18_sztuka/ (accessed on: 5.12.2020). One of the first drawn portraits in the collections of the Gross-Rosen Museum is a self-portrait of prisoner Franciszek Jązwiecki (camp number 9212). He was sent to KL Gross-Rosen on 13 March 1943, and was transferred to KL Gross-Rosen the same year. The sketchbook he saved includes portraits of prisoners at

punishable which the greatest repression, were genre scenes depicting life in the camp. The work was done clandestinely, using captured materials, and scrupulously concealed. These are the most likely circumstances under which the sketches discussed here were created.

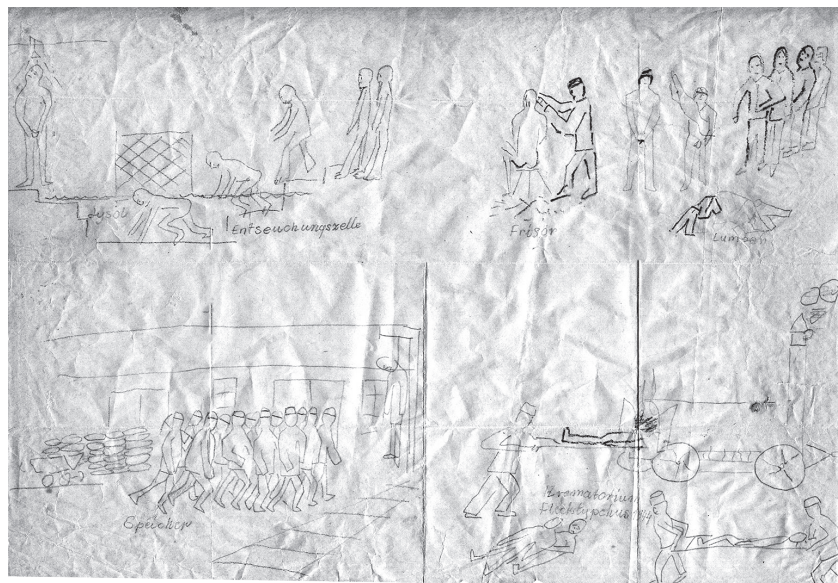


Fig. 4. Scenes from camp life (bathhouse, disinfection, haircuts, changing clothes, prisoners marching out to work, crematorium). From the resources of the Archives of the Gross-Rosen Museum in Rogoźnica, ref. 11022/DP

The sketches were made on scraps of wrapping paper (one groundwork is quite crumpled, another is torn), which is a clear indication that it was a decorative material. They are drawn up in pencil and black crayon (here and there the pencil is corrected with crayon, as if the author had both tools at their disposal), in a hurry, being more of a conceptual sketch than a finished work. This was probably due to the need to make a quick, cartoonish note of the remembered situation. A total of seven situational compositions were made, spread over two, four and one on three sheets of wrapping paper. The placement of several scenes on a single scrap of paper suggests that the author had no more of it available. The sequential nature of the scenes recorded in the sketches allows us to assume that the artist wanted to show the succession of camp events, the tragic finale of which was the crematorium. Some of them are described in German. Seemingly the author's intention was to abbreviate not so much the story of what life was

Auschwitz, Sachsenhausen and only one self-portrait mentioned, taken at Gross-Rosen concentration camp. Cf. D. Sula, *Życie kulturalne i religijne więźniów*, p. 29. It is interesting to note that the only surviving portrait of a female prisoner is a drawing depicting a Hungarian Jewish woman who was imprisoned in the Zittau sub-camp (the picture is small: 4 x 4.5 cm). Cf. Archiwum Muzeum Gross-Rosen, ref. 825/F.

like in the camp, but how it proceeded on and how it inevitably ended. There is no room for individual expression, which we usually encounter in a finished work such as M. Kołodziej's paintings.



Fig. 5. Unloading of prisoners arriving at the camp. From the resources of the Archives of the Gross-Rosen Museum in Rogoźnica, ref. 11022/DP

After a close examination of the compositional arrangements of all the drawings, the conclusion emerges that, despite the nature of an abbreviated note, they are well thought out. They convey in a condensed way the most essential elements of the unfolding events and thus characterize them well. All episodes are very lush in terms of narrative, but no less valuable in terms of drawing, although at first glance they do not appear as such. They are characterized by well-executed foreshortenings, i.e. the ability to convey the essence of the objects and places depicted (locomotive, station buildings, prisoners' cells). The movement of the characters was also aptly characterized. It is dynamic at moments when inmates perform some activity (disinfection, going to work). Static elements, on the other hand, draws attention in depictions of crowded people waiting for transport in front of the Wüstewaltersdorf (Walim) station, and the SS officers guarding them. Despite the sketchy nature of the whole, the anonymous author captures the physiognomic features of the characters. Here we have men of varying height, some with facial hair, with clearly Semitic features,³⁸ wearing hats and caps, judging by their attire – representing different material status, and probably (which is known

³⁸ Cf. A. Kobiłec, *Więźniowie Żydzi w KL Gross-Rosen i jego obozach filialnych*, in: *Narody Europy w KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. A. Konieczny, Wałbrzych 1995, pp. 34–35.

to us) different citizenship. This attention to detail while keeping the message brief was most likely dictated by a desire to convey situational truth, to show a scene that probably sank deeply into the author's memory. The background of the composition is the very well-drawn architecture of the Wüstewaltersdorf train station. If we compare the representation of this building from the camp drawing with its view in old photographs, we become struck by the fidelity of the detail.³⁹ The station has a distinctive mansard roof with a gable, as well as a sign with the word 'Wüstewaltersdorf' above the entrance. The number of windows, the proportions of the annex relative to the main edifice and many other elements of the building are consistent with the real objects. This remarkable fidelity of detail raises the assumption that the drawing was made on the spot. This would be unlikely to happen if the author was one of those awaiting transport. Did the author have an extraordinary memory for details, or did they make a sketch already in the post-camp period, adding to the faithfully reconstructed topography, a memorized image with people waiting for transport? Or maybe they witnessed transportation with the station in the background every day, so they could easily recreate it. Similar questions can be asked about the brilliantly presented locomotive. The excellent scheme of this means of transportation shown here takes into account all the most essential features of the machine's construction and is rendered correctly in perspective brief.

The drawing depicting transportation, drawn on a separate groundwork, is undoubtedly the best in terms of artistic skill, but also the most puzzling. It raises the question: who was its author? Did they work nearby as a prisoner and were they really an amateur artist? They certainly had firm hand in drawing lines. Straight lines are drawn flawlessly, unlike amateur work. Awareness of perspective drawing further demonstrates the artist's strong drawing skills. Also notable is the ability to synthesize relevant content and narrative talent. The sketchy nature of these works may be due to the circumstances of their creation – working in secret, under pressure, but the aforementioned apt sketchiness of the drawings betrays the hand of a talented person, although it is difficult to say whether they were professionally engaged in art.

At this point, it is worth returning to the *Memory Files*, since an interesting common element in the works of M. Kołodziej and the anonymous artist is transportation, and especially the train, the means of transport that brought prisoners to the camps. While viewing the exhibition *Memory Files. Labyrinths* by M. Kołodziej, visitors must first walk through a stylized semi-dark cattle wagon, thus taking in the atmosphere of the war years and understanding this dark time in human history.

The realism of the Wüstewaltersdorf station and the locomotive conveyed in the drawings of the anonymous prisoner, confirming the deep emotions of the transport participant, prompts another question. Where and when were the drawings created, given their unusual storage location? There are many indications that

³⁹ The Polish Poland website (<http://polishpoland.com/tag/wustewaltersdorf/>, accessed on: 5.12.2020) features a postcard with a view of the station, which looks exactly like the one depicted in the camp sketch.

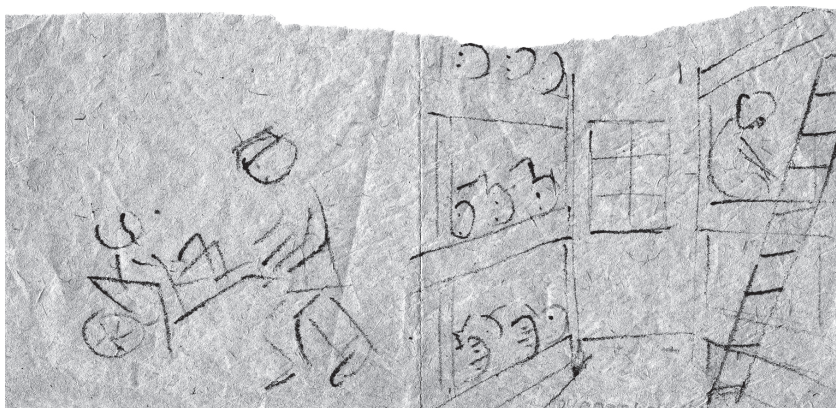


Fig. 6. Inside the barracks. From the resources of the Archives of the Gross-Rosen Museum in Rogoźnica, ref. 11022/DP

two of them were created in the camp,⁴⁰ which is supported by the notational type of narration and random groundwork. Some doubt may be raised by the drawing depicting transportation – slightly different in character, drawn on a separate sheet and well-composed. Its extraordinary detail and the fact that it is made entirely in crayon may raise the question of whether it was made during imprisonment or in the post-camp period. The Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum website reads:

A separate group consists of post-war works. Artists who survived the camp tried to convey on canvas or paper the enormity of the tragedy and the horrifying realities of camp life. They created works, and sometimes whole cycles where we can see the conditions of existence of prisoners, roll calls, tragic sanitary conditions, hunger, punishment, humiliation, as well as emotions: fear, despair and helplessness.⁴¹

If the drawing depicting the transport was made in a camp, its author either had an extraordinary eidetic memory, combined with drawing skills, or made the sketch *in situ*, observing the transportation. If they drew it up after the war, as a supplement to quick camp sketches, they may have seen the station in nature or recreated it from a postcard. However, this is unlikely, given the similarity of the groundwork to the other two sketches.

Another ambiguity that arises here concerns corrections with black crayon on the pencil sketch. Were they applied later, or for some reason the unknown author corrected the invisible sketch in crayon? We know from prisoners' testimonies, collected in the archives of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, that the materials used to make the illegal drawings were obtained by the imprisoned, and

⁴⁰ It is worth noting that the manifestation of artistic, cultural activities was a defence mechanism against the loss of subjectivity or more broadly: humanity. Cf. S. Ruszkowska, *Co powiedziałby Goethe, czyli o kulturze w Buchenwaldzie*, „Teksty Drugie”, 6 (2016) pp. 406–416.

⁴¹ *Sztuka w KL Auschwitz*, http://lekcja.auschwitz.org/pl_18_sztuka/ (accessed on: 5.12.2020).

there was severe punishment for their possession. Perhaps the corrections are due to the difficulties the author encountered in obtaining tools for their work – they corrected some parts of their sketches with a crayon they acquired later.

It is worth comparing these camp drawings with other similar ones documenting the daily reality of the place. The works of M. Kołodziej and those collected in the archives of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum can serve as comparative material. Particularly relevant here is a sketchbook by an anonymous artist with the initials MM, known as *Szkieownik z Auschwitz* (Sketchbook from Auschwitz).⁴² As in the drawings discussed above, it depicts the extermination of prisoners and similarly captures the topography of the site with remarkable detail. The author of the *Sketchbook from Auschwitz* also uses a simplified drawing form, and captures perspective and situational details just as well.

The *Sketchbook from Auschwitz* is a unique document, but no less valuable are the three, or rather seven sketches from Gross-Rosen, which, although much more modest, also document the time of the Holocaust. To fully assess the value of these drawings, it is necessary to deepen the research efforts devoted to them. Undoubtedly, they require conservation expertise in terms of the groundwork and tool used, but also a historical archival search on the anonymous author. Their identity may be possible to establish.

Regardless of the outcome of this research, perhaps to be undertaken in the future, the sketches remain valuable documentary material, triggering strong emotions due to their asceticism.

Drawings created under extreme conditions or from a certain distance in time, as in the case of M. Kołodziej's paintings, are not only an important document of time and history, but also a means of expressing the strong feelings that accompanied the prisoners. They are also, and perhaps above all, evidence of what their author has seen or experienced. Such materials should be disseminated by publishing them as artistic testimonies of the past.

It seems that a careful look at the drawings presented in the article and watching the exhibition of M. Kołodziej's works at the St Maximilian Centre in Harmęże allows the viewer to discover the invisible, seemingly absent sense that lies in the detail of individual pictures. The ability of precise observation, as a unique kind of recording of camp reality, and, on the other hand, the perspective of the viewer who, decades after the drawings were made, is able to see not only things that are hard to see, but also things that are invisible and contemporarily unseen, is a kind of perceiving the world as a mystery, both in the material and metaphysical dimensions. It is noteworthy that the creation and discovery of the described images took place and is still taking place in silence. This immanent feature connects the creator-prisoner and the modern viewer with an imperceptible bond.

Viewing the anonymous drawings in the Gross-Rosen Museum Archives and the exhibition *Memory Files. Labyrinths* triggers at least two perspectives – an internal one, i.e. looking at the scene from the perspective of the characters immortalized

⁴² *Rysunki przedstawiające rzeczywistość obozową. Szkieownik z Auschwitz. Prace nieznanego autora*, http://lekcja.auschwitz.org/pl_18_sztuka/ (accessed on: 5.12.2020).

in the paintings, and an external one, i.e. observing that occurs outside the depicted world, outside the sketches. Both the permanent exhibition of M. Kołodziej's paintings and the drawings of the anonymous Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoner are an opening to the space to the evocation of hidden meanings, to the senses that mostly appear on the margins of reality, and which, being the very essence of things, reach the ultimate truth.

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KLISZE PAMIĘCI. LABIRYNTY MARIANA KOŁODZIEJA W CENTRUM ŚW. MAKSYMILIANA W HARMEŻACH I ANONIMOWE SZKICE PRZECHOWYWANE W ZASOBACH MUZEUM GROSS-ROSEN JAKO DOKUMENTY CZASU ZAGŁADY

Abstrakt

W dolnej kondygnacji kościoła Matki Bożej Niepokalanej w Harmężach, wchodzącego w skład Centrum św. Maksymiliana, zainstalowana została ekspozycja zatytułowana *Klisze pamięci. Labirynty*. Jest to wystawa rysunków Mariana Kołodzieja, byłego więźnia KL Auschwitz. W Archiwum Muzeum Gross-Rosen przechowywany jest zbiór szkiców anonimowego twórcy, najprawdopodobniej więźnia obozu koncentracyjnego, dotychczas niepublikowany w oryginalnej formie z aparatem naukowym. Autorki artykułu zestawiają poszczególne kompozycje rysunkowe M. Kołodzieja oraz anonimowe rysunki zachowane w ar-

chiwum Muzeum Gross-Rosen. Uwypuklając niezaprzeczalną wartość artystyczną rysunków, podkreślono ich wartość jako świadectwa. Zarówno *Klisze pamięci. Labirynty*, jak i poddane analizie rysunki z Gross-Rosen, które Henryk Motowilczuk przekazał w 2007 roku Archiwum Muzeum Gross-Rosen w Rogoźnicy (sygn. 11022/DP), mają wartość dokumentu i wzbogacają studia drugojenno. Podstawą artykułu, w którym zastosowano metodę *case study*, stało się siedem kompozycji sytuacyjnych, narysowanych po dwie, cztery i pojedyncza na trzech kartkach papieru pakunkowego, a także ekspozycja rysunków M. Kołodzieja, więźnia oznaczonego numerem 432. Tekst jest próbą syntetycznego przedstawienia z perspektywy historyka sztuki i literaturoznawcy świadectw – kompozycji rysunków stworzonej po bez mała pięćdziesięciu latach milczenia na temat przeżyć lagrowych M. Kołodzieja oraz dokumentu życia obozowego ujętego z perspektywy indywidualnej, odnalezione go za ramą obrazu po prawie sześćdziesięciu latach od wyzwolenia lagru. Artykuł porusza zagadnienie związane z kwestią analogiczności rysunku do rzeczywistości, a także dotyka istoty każdego szkicu z osobna i nakreśla podejmowane przez rysownika strategie.

Słowa kluczowe: Klisze pamięci. Labirynty; Marian Kołodziej; Centrum św. Maksymiliana w Harmężach; anonimowe szkice; Muzeum Gross-Rosen w Rogoźnicy; działalność artystyczna więźniów obozu



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‘THAT KNOBLOCH, THAT GARLIC, WE CAN SMELL IT IN OUR NOSES’. POLISH BERNARDINES AND THE REFORMATION IN THE 16TH CENTURY

Abstract

Polish Bernardines in the 16th century were seen, including by Protestants, as staunch defenders of the faith and the Catholic Church. They undertook this activity as early as the 1520s. In it, they used traditional methods: preaching, confession, liturgy, religious song, held positions as fund-raisers and court chaplains, and organized monastic religious brotherhoods. Thanks to their good theological education and leading a moral life at an appropriate level, only three Bernardine friars known by name departed for the Protestant camp. The monks lost only one monastery in Wschowa to the Protestants, and took over the Prussian monasteries in Lubawa, Barczewo, Nowe, Gdańsk and Toruń after the Saxon monastic province of St John the Baptist collapsed during the Reformation. Much of this is due to the provincial superiors who were able to protect Bernardine monasteries from the Reformation.

Keywords: Protestants; Bernardines; preachers; apostates; Wschowa

In 1514, Pope Leo X proclaimed an indulgence for the entire Christian world under the usual conditions of attending confession and Communion and making a monetary offering for the construction of St Peter's Basilica in Rome. A 22-year-old prince, Archbishop Albrecht Hohenzollern, became the papal commissioner for this indulgence in Germany. He had under his auspices the archbishopric of Mainz, Magdeburg and the bishopric of Halberstadt. According to the agreement, half of the indulgence proceeds were to be sent back to Rome, while the other half belonged to the archbishop. He assumed that income from indulgences should

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amount to about 51,300 ducats. He therefore incurred a debt of 29,000 Rhine guilders at the Fugger Bank. The indulgence preachers were therefore followed by representatives of the bank. This way of proclaiming the indulgence was approved by Pope Leo X with the Bull *Sacrosanctis Salvatoris* of 31 March 1515. It was undoubtedly a simony. Among the many preachers in the Magdeburg province was the Dominican Johann Tetzel. He proclaimed that in order to obtain an indulgence for the dead, it is not necessary to attend confession and Holy Communion, i.e. a state of sanctifying grace, but it is sufficient to make a monetary offering. The Augustinian Martin Luther spoke out against such a teaching, as it had no theological basis. He proclaimed the 95 theses entitled *Dominus et magister noster* in Wittenberg against J. Tetzel on 31 October 1517. They were intended to provide a basis for theologians to discuss Catholic doctrine on indulgences. They quickly spread in print in Germany because of their polemical and popular character. This was mainly due to the fact that they referred to issues widely discussed in public. In 1517, Archbishop Albrecht of Magdeburg sent M. Luther's theses to Rome, and ordered the Magdeburg chapter to open a church trial against the new doctrine. Pope Leo X, preoccupied with Medici family politics and the Turkish threat to Europe, initially disregarded the German monk's case and referred it to Augustinian General Gabriel della Volta. In 1518, the monastic chapter of the German Augustinians in Heidelberg voted in favour of M. Luther, in contrast to the general chapter of the Dominicans in Frankfurt (Oder). In the same year, the papal legate in Germany Cardinal Thomas Cajetan (Tommaso de Vio) summoned the German reformer to the Diet of Augsburg. However, when Luther realized that absolute submission to the Pope was being demanded of him, he resorted to the principle of conciliarism. In 1520, he published three basic polemical writings in which he formulated his views, both religious and socio-political. In his treatise *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung* (To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate), he called on the rulers to take the reform of the Church into their own hands, thus granting them primacy over ecclesiastical authority. He demanded the reform of monasteries and the abolition of celibacy. In a work published in Latin, *De captivitate babilonica Ecclesiae prelude* (On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church), he spoke out strongly against the Pope and the clergy, and rejected the sacraments as a human invention through which the clergy enslaves the faithful. Finally, in a letter published in German and Latin, *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen/ Tractatus de libertate christiana* (On the Freedom of a Christian/A Treatise on Christian Liberty), he preached the necessity of submission to secular authority in every area except the spiritual. The final decision on M. Luther was made by Pope Leo X. With the bull *Exurge Domine*, announced on 15 June 1520, he condemned 41 sentences taken from Luther's writings, and on 3 January 1521, with the bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem* he excluded him from the Catholic Church.¹ The schism has thus become a reality.

¹ R. Decot, *Mała historia reformacji w Niemczech*, Kraków 2007, pp. 26–39; Z. Wójcik, *Historia powszechna XVI–XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1999, pp. 180–183; Z. Zieliński, *Niemcy. Zarys dziejów*, Katowice 1998, pp. 62–63.

Over time, 'Wittenberg innovations' reached Poland, which, being in the Western circle of culture and Christianity, participated in its achievements and crises. These trends, however, did not religiously divide the nation for long or lead to civil wars. The hallmark of Poland's Protestantization was its relatively large diversity in terms of religion. The Reformation in the country was divided into three periods by Rev. Prof. Bolesław Kumor. In the first, covering the years 1520–1535, speeches by reformers were rare, and their supporters included mainly bourgeois of German origin. The reformation was fought against by the king with edicts and Primate Jan Łaski with reformist synods. The second period encompasses years 1535–1563. After the death of King Sigismund I the Old in 1548, the nobility and magnates began to openly join the Reformation camp. Their economic and political aspirations were closely linked to the new religion. Other significant factors included the growing influence of Calvinism, as well as the growing number of Unity of the Brethren. Protestantism was split and the idea of a national church emerged. In the third period, which falls between 1563 and 1572, the Protestant camp attempted to pursue religious unification and gain legal status. During this phase, the Counter-Reformation camp, led by papal nuncios, especially Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Commendone and Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius,² slowly came to the fore.

The Order of Friars Minor also experienced decisive moments at the time of M. Luther's speech. The year 1517 became a milestone in its history. Until then, the two branches of the Conventual and Observant Franciscans formed one order under the leadership of a common general. In 1517, Pope Leo X summoned the Conventuals and the Observants to an extraordinary religious chapter in Rome to achieve unity in the order. However, the Conventuals refused to accept the reform and a general originating from the Observants. The consequence of this attitude was the Pope's promulgation of the bull *Ite et vos in vineam meam* on 29 May 1517, under which the Observants were recognized as the main core of the order. Only the Observants, Amadeites, Coletans and Claretians henceforth formed the Order of Friars Minor (Ordo Fratrum Minorum or Ordo Fratrum Minorum Regularis Observantiae). By virtue of the bull, the observant provincial vicars became ministers (provincial superiors).³

² B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, vol. 5. *Czasy nowożytnie. Rozłam w chrześcijaństwie zachodnim*, Lublin 2002, p. 131; W. Konopczyński, *Dzieje Polski nowożytnej*, vol. 1. *1506–1648*, Warsaw 1999, pp. 109–110, 129–130, 156–157.

³ *Dokumenty papieskie dotyczące Reguły i ideału ubóstwa św. Franciszka z Asyżu do roku 1517*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2017, pp. 143–157; Joannes de Komorowo, *Kronika Zakonu Braci Mniejszych Obserwantów (1209–1536)*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2014, pp. 323–327 (text of the Bull of Leo X translated into Polish pp. 379–389); H. Holzapfel, *Podręcznik historii Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, part 1. *Historia Zakonu do podziału w roku 1517*, Kraków 2012, p. 140; R. Prejs, *Za Franciszkiem. Dzieje Pierwszego Zakonu Franciszkańskiego, 1209–1517*, Kraków 2011, pp. 319–321; L. Iriarte, *Historia franciszkanizmu*, Kraków 1998, pp. 96–97; K. Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy, 1453–1572*, vol. 1, Lviv 1933, p. 57; idem, *Franciszkanie polscy*, vol. 1. *1237–1517*, Kraków 1937, p. 10.

Thus, the last Bernardine vicar in Poland was Rafał of Proszowice.⁴ The first provincial, in turn, was Leon of Łańcut, elected at the provincial chapter in Kraków on 8 September 1517.⁵ In the same year, the Bernardine province had 27 monasteries in the following cities: Kraków (1453), Warsaw (1454), Kobylin (1456), Kościan (1456), Wschowa (1456), Poznań (1457), Tarnów (1459), Lublin (1460), Lwów (1460), Sambor (1460), Przeworsk (1461), Kalisz (1465), Koło (1466), Warta (1467), Kowno (1468), Radom (1468), Wilno (1468), Opatów (1469), Łowicz (1470), Święta Katarzyna (1477), Tykocin (1479), Bydgoszcz (1480), Połock (1498), Skepe (1498), Budzław (1504), Słupca (1507), Kazimierz Biskupi (1514). Thus, the Bernardines had institutions in almost all of Poland's major cities, and the bourgeoisie, especially of German origin, often converted to Protestantism. These conventions comprised about 800 monks.⁶ Until the takeover of the monastery in Lubawa in 1580, the Bernardines had not received any new foundation.⁷ Historians explain the temporary stagnation in the establishment of new monastic institutions by the intensification of the Reformation movement, during which a significant number of magnates, wealthy nobility and burghers, from whom the founders of Bernardine monasteries had hitherto been recruited, turned to Protestantism.⁸

In the 16th century, the Bernardines took over a number of Prussian monasteries previously belonging to the Saxon province of St John the Baptist, which, under the influence of St John Capistrano in 1518, were passed to the Observants.⁹ During the Reformation, the Saxon province collapsed mainly due to a lack of candidates for the order from among the Lutheranized German population in Pomerania. The first Prussian monastery was taken over by the Bernardines in Lubawa (Löbau) in the Michałów Land. Its founder was the Bishop of Chełmno, Mikołaj Chrapicki. In 1502, he brought the Friars Minor from the Saxon province to the Lubawa

⁴ Rafał of Proszowice was born around 1453 in Proszowice. From 1467 to 1472 he studied at the Academy of Kraków, where he earned the title of bachelor of liberal arts. Afterwards, he entered the Order of Friars Minor (Bernardines) in Kraków. He served as vicar of the Polish Vicariate in 1506–1509, 1514–1517, and then as provincial superior in 1526–1529 and 1532–1534. He died in the odour of sanctity on January 26, 1534 in Warta; K. Grudziński, *Rafał z Proszowic*, in: *Hagiografia polska. Słownik bio-bibliograficzny*, vol. 2, ed. R. Gustaw, Poznań-Warsaw-Lublin 1972, pp. 261–270.

⁵ Joannes de Komorowo, *Kronika Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, p. 339; N. Golichowski, *Upominek dla czcigodnej zakonnej Braci OO. Bernardynów w Galicji i W. Ks. Krakowskiem*, part 1. *Szereg prowincjałów i wykaz wypadków znaczniejszych*, Lviv 1895, p. 10.

⁶ H.E. Wyczawski, *Krótką historia Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, pp. 619–620.

⁷ S.B. Tomczak, *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, in: *Wkład bernardynów w życie religijno-kulturalne Narodu Polskiego (wybrane aspekty)*, eds. C. Gniecki, A.K. Sitnik, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2016, p. 42.

⁸ Wyczawski, *Krótką historia Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, p. 622.

⁹ The origins of the Saxon province of the Franciscans – Conventuals until 1518, and then Observants – were described by J.B. Freed, *Dzieje saskiej prowincji franciszkanów w XIII wieku*, in: *Zakony franciszkańskie w Polsce*, vol. 1. *Franciszkanie w Polsce średniowiecznej*, part 1. *Franciszkanie na ziemiach polskich*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 1983, pp. 195–225.

monastery. Under the influence of the Reformation, the religious house began to depopulate. In 1564, the last Lubawa Observant from the Saxon province, Andrzej Laurentii, died. The next bishop of Chełmno, Piotr Kostka, made efforts with the apostolic nuncio in Poland, Giovanni Andrea Caligari, to repopulate the abandoned monastery. The Bernardine provincial Mikołaj of Busko agreed to take it over. In 1580, the bishop gave the foundation to the Bernardines.¹⁰

In 1326, Warmian Bishop Eberhard built a monastery and a church dedicated to St Andrew the Apostle for the Franciscans. By the middle of the 16th century, the facility was deserted. The monastery and church buildings were restored by Andrzej Batory, Bishop of Warmia. At his suggestion, the papal legate Henry Gaetano, while staying in Poland, offered to hand over the property to the Bernardines, to which Provincial Benedict Gąsiorek agreed. The first Bernardine friars arrived in Barczewo in 1598.¹¹

At the end of the 13th century, during the reign of Pomeranian Duke Mestwin II, the Franciscans took over the monastery and church of St Francis of Assisi in Nowe (Neuburg). In 1335, the foundation was renewed by Dietrich von Altenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. During the Reformation, the monks died out, so that after 1561 the monastery was completely deserted. In this situation, the custodian of the Prussian monastic custody, Maciej von Luthe, handed over the establishment to the city magistrate. Under King Stefan Batory's decree of 27 February 1581, Protestants handed the parish and monastery churches back to Catholics. In turn, on 12 November 1595, King Sigismund III Vasa issued a diploma by which the Protestants surrendered the monastery's facilities, and the Bernardines received permission to take over the institution. Chełmno castellan Jerzy Konopacki, seeking to bring the Bernardines to Nowe, initiated the transfer of ownership of the Nowe monastery by Pope Clement VIII from the Saxon province to the Greater Poland province of the Bernardines in 1603. Fourteen Bernardines arrived in Nowe on 26 June 1604.¹²

The monastery and church of the Holy Trinity in Gdansk (Dantiscum, Gedania) was founded for the Franciscans in 1431 by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Paul von Rusdorf. In 1555, Jan Rolaw, the custodian of the Prussian monastic custody, handed over the Gdańsk monastery to the city's Lutheran magistrate, who was already in office at the time. The Lutherans set up a denominational school in the buildings abandoned by the monks. After taking over the Prussian monastic houses in Lubawa, Barczewo and Nowe, the Bernardines made efforts, with the approval of the bishops of Włocławek, to revindicate the monastery in Gdańsk. Talks held in 1652 between Ludwik of Zbąszyń, a delegate of the provincial of the monastic province of Greater Poland Antoni Grabowski, and representatives of the city magistrate did not yield the expected results. The magistrate stood stubbornly by the position of religious freedom guaranteed to the city by the Polish kings

¹⁰ J. Krawiec, *Lubawa*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce*, pp. 184–185.

¹¹ H.E. Wyczawski, *Barczewo*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce*, p. 19.

¹² Idem, *Nowe*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce*, pp. 233–234; K. Kościński, *Franciszkanie i Bernardyni w Nowem nad Wisłą. Przyczynek do historii południowego Pomorza*, Poznań 1906, pp. 4–7

and the non-infringement of its possessions. In this situation, King John Casimir suggested that the monks settle in Gdańsk by some chapel, and only later seek the recovery of the monastery and church. Provincial Franciszek sent three monks from Warsaw in 1673 to establish a residence in the city. The fruit of their pastoral work was the conversion of 230 Protestants, including two pastors. Concerned about this state of affairs, from 1674 the magistrate led successful efforts with state and Church authorities to expel the Bernardines from Gdańsk.¹³

The foundation of the monastery and church of Blessed Virgin Mary in Toruń was managed by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Poppo von Osterna (1244–1246). As a result of the pestilence prevailing in the city, the monks died out and in 1547 there was only one Franciscan living in the monastery, Bartłomiej (d. 1559), whom the Protestant burgrave of Toruń, Jan Stromband, tried to remove with no success. After Bartłomiej's death, Chełmno Bishop Jan Lubodziecki transferred the establishment to the administration of a diocesan priest, but the Lutherans refused to hand it over to him. They began holding their services in the church, and set up a grammar school in the monastery.¹⁴

The delegates of the Bernardine province to the general chapter in Rome in 1600, the custodian Hieronim Przybiński and the provincial commissioner Paweł of Łęczycza (Fr[ater] Paulus Lenczicius commissarius provincialis ministri provinciae Poloniae), appealed to the general of the order, Francis a Sosa, for the revindication of the Toruń monastery.¹⁵ They issued a letter outlining the critical state of the then-destroyed and looted monasteries of the Prussian Custody under the Saxon Province of St John the Baptist. They also included in it a statement that a similar fate befell the Toruń monastery seized by Lutherans, who occupied the temple for their services and set up a grammar school for boys in the monastery house. They then motivated their request for the return of the monastery in seven concise points. They justified the need to take over the convent in Toruń, among other reasons, by the fact that it had never belonged to a religious family other than the Order of Friars Minor of the Regular Observance. During the Reformation, the Saxon province in which the monastery was located was abolished, resulting in a lack of vocations and thus its demise. The takeover of the convent by the Bernardines was agreed to by the Polish king, the nobility and the Catholic part of the Toruń bourgeoisie, anticipating that when the monks took over the church and monastery, heretical services and the Lutheran college would be abolished. In the letter's conclusion, the authors stated that the takeover of the Toruń convent would be an action both for the glory of God and for the benefit of Christians, as well as an opportunity to take the church 'out of ungodly hands' and restore the temple to its former splendour. The letter was signed by H. Przybiński and Paweł of Łęczycza.¹⁶

¹³ H.E. Wyczawski, *Gdańsk*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce*, pp. 65–66.

¹⁴ Idem, *Toruń*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce*, p. 381.

¹⁵ A.K. Sitnik, *Paweł z Łęczycy, bernardyn (1572–1642)*, „*Studia Franciszkańskie*”, 12 (2002) p. 540.

¹⁶ Archives of the Province of the Bernardine Fathers in Kraków (hereinafter: APBK), manuscript W-37, Akta różne Prowincji Wielkopolskiej Zakonu Braci Mniejszych bernardynów, 15th–18th c., k. 264–264v.

In 1603, thanks to the efforts of Chełmno castellan Jerzy Konopacki, the ownership of the Toruń monastery was ceded to the Bernardines under Pope Clement VIII, which was confirmed by King Sigismund III Vasa. The city magistrate, however, did not want to hand over the seized facilities to the monks. He even applied for a memorandum, arranged by Jan Muck von Muckendorff, in which he proved the rights of Protestants to all churches. However, the Bernardines did not stop their efforts to revindicate the monastery. It was not until 1724, during a trial against the participants in the tumult and the city council, that a verdict was passed to implement papal and royal decisions to return the monastery and church to the Bernardines. The monks arrived in Toruń on 7 December 1724, two days after the verdict was announced.¹⁷

In this way, the monasteries of the Prussian Custody belonging to the Saxon monastic province during the Reformation period became part of the Greater Poland Province of the Bernardines.

In 1520, the newly created Bernardine province was visited by the order's general, Francesco Lichetto. He attended the provincial chapter on 21–25 August 1520 in Kraków, where he expressed his highest praise for the new province and warned the monks against religious novelties.¹⁸ This was the only visit by a general of the order to Poland during the Old Polish period. It undoubtedly contributed to the strengthening of the Bernardines at a time of full independence and reformation.

It must be admitted that, starting from the creation of their first community in Kraków by St John of Capistrano in 1453, the Bernardines took care of the high intellectual level of the monks. They were educated in the larger monasteries, where the teachings of philosophy and theology were practised. The teachers were Bernardine friars with the title of bachelor and masters of the Kraków Academy. The Bernardines therefore achieved a higher level of education than diocesan priests. Over time, the influx of candidates to the order from the academic community almost ceased, as it did for other novices. Studying at foreign universities during the Reformation was also unsafe. For these reasons, the general level of education of Bernardines at the end of the sixteenth century declined significantly.¹⁹ Apostolic nuncio Giovanni Andrea Caligari pointed out this problem when reporting from Poland to Rome. Nevertheless, he stressed the high moral level of their religious life.²⁰ The Kraków Cathedral Chapter issued a similar opinion of the Bernardines in an Instruction of 1551, while sparing no criticism of the moral state of the episcopate, and canons and monks of Kraków.²¹ During the Reformation, from the ranks of the Bernardines came the Servant of God Rafał of Proszowice, who died

¹⁷ Wyczawski, *Toruń*, pp. 381–382.

¹⁸ *Relatio de ministro generali Francisco Licheto capitulum provinciale Cracoviae celebrante 21–25 Augusti 1520*, ed. M. Bihl, „Archivum Franciscanum Historicum”, 27 (1934) pp. 466–530.

¹⁹ W.F. Murawiec, *Reforma potrydencka Zakonu Braci Mniejszych w Polsce (w. XVI–XVIII)*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1990, p. 34; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 206–207.

²⁰ J.A. Caligarii *nuntii apostolici in Polonia epistolae et acta (1578–1581)*, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 4, ed. L. Boratyński, Cracoviae 1915, pp. 206–207, no. 114, p. 211, no. 115.

²¹ *Instructio nuntiis Capituli Cracoviensis ad Synodum a. 1551 data*, in: *Acta historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia ab anno 1500 usque ad annum 1795*, vol. 1. *Andreae de Viencborco*

in the Warta monastery in 1534. The satisfactory intellectual and moral state of the monks had a positive impact on the fact that the Bernardine province, suffered little loss from the Reformation, in terms of personnel.

In fact, similar trends persisted throughout the Order of Friars Minor. Similarly to M. Luther, Observants also criticized the granting of indulgences for funds intended for the construction of St Peter's Basilica in Rome, as exemplified by a speech in the late 15th century by Leipzig University professor Jan of Breitenbach. As a result, the order's general, Francisco Quiñones, obtained from Pope Clement VII a dispensation for monks to preach indulgent sermons combined with monetary contributions in 1525. General Minister F. Quiñones referred to the Lutheran disputes in a similar manner to his Catholic contemporaries, who perceived them as the beginning of the long-awaited reform of the Catholic Church. The German Observant, confessor to Emperor Charles V, Jean Glapion, thought that M. Luther could bear good fruit for the Catholic Church if he would only retract certain articles from his writings. Nevertheless, the Observants from the monastery in Jüterbog near Wittenberg, whose guardian was Bernard Dappen, who had direct contact with the new movement, had already stood in strong opposition against M. Luther's theses in the spring of 1519, for it turned out that the Protestants were not concerned with reforming the Catholic Church, but with breaking away from the Holy See altogether. In 1520, the order's general, Francesco Lichetto, arrived in Germany to reform the province of St John the Baptist, hitherto a conventual one, which in 1518 passed to the Observants. At that time he had already instructed monks to burn M. Luther's writings and establish preachers in every monastery to combat this heresy. The general chapter of the order, held in Capri in 1521, ordered the Observants to undertake prayers for the preservation of the Catholic faith, and to oppose the Lutheran heresy through the word of God and the proclamation of untainted theological teaching, even going so far as to commit martyrdom. By order of the same chapter, the Saxon Observants, led by Andreas Grone, went on a mission to the Elector of Saxony to reject the teachings of M. Luther, to no avail. Observants in Germany therefore defended the Catholic faith by example of their lives, sermons and writings. Many apostates, such as Franz Hanisch, Konrad Pellikan and Eberlin of Günzburg, issued positive opinions on German Observants and warned Protestants against them. Also, Pope Paul III in 1537 stated that the Observants, through their exemplary lives and sermons, had converted many transgressors to the Catholic faith, although not all of them, obviously. According to Heribert Holzapfel, about 20 monks in German-speaking countries are known to have converted to Protestantism during the 60 years of the 16th century. There were probably more of them. Nevertheless, they represent a negligible percentage of the 2,000 Observants living in the German, Saxon and Cologne provinces. None of the Observant monasteries was dissolved to move to the Protestant camp. In 1520 in Leipzig, the entire Observant monastery headed by Augustine of Alfeld (d. 1532) undertook to defend the Catholic faith. In 1539

Zebrzydowski, episcopi Vladislaviensis et Cracoviensis epistolarum libros a. 1546–1553 continens, ed. W. Wisłocki, Cracoviae 1878, p. 485, no. 846.

Prince John Frederick of Saxony gave the city to the Lutherans. At that time, the Observants, headed by the monastery's guardian Kasper Sager, put up so much resistance that the prince banned them from visiting houses and persuading the townspeople to persevere in the Catholic faith. They were expelled from the city in 1543. A similar fate befell the Observants from Zwickau in 1525, from Brunswick in 1528, from Weimar in 1532, from Magdeburg in 1542, from Halle in 1546, among others. The city of Legnica witnessed the activity of Antoni of Wrocław. It was only after he and his fellow congregants were expelled from the city in 1524 that Protestantism was able to flourish. In the Diocese of Wrocław, Eusebius of Neumarkt (d. 1531 in Głogów) was widely known as a 'slayer of heretics'. Due to the spread of negative opinions about monasteries by Protestants, monks lost their livelihood base, as well as an influx of new candidates for the order. Many were even expelled from their premises. As a result, the Observants had to leave some 300 monasteries in Germany and Austria. Between 1520 and 1620, 500 monks shed blood in defence of the Catholic faith. Similarly, in France, the Huguenots burned about 100 monasteries, and 200 Observant monks known by name became martyrs between 1560 and 1580. More than 80 monks shed their blood for the faith in the Netherlands. The best known are Nicholas Pieck and his companions. In 1572, they left a heroic example of constancy and patience in Gorkum and Brielle. In England, King Henry VIII imprisoned the Observant provincial and confessor to Queen Catherine of Aragon, John Forest, in 1533. Despite this, the Observants were not intimidated. William Peto, a guardian in Greenwich, was among the first to speak out against the king's actions. In 1534, the Observant monks were expelled from their monasteries, and some 200 were imprisoned in London. In Scotland, some 140 monks were sentenced to exile.²²

In religiously tolerant Poland, the situation of the Observant monks was not as dire as in Germany or England. The Bernardines lost only one monastery in Wschowa (Fraustadt) near Leszno. It was founded by the townsfolk in 1455. The magistrate offered the Bernardines land for the construction of a church and monastery outside the city walls. That same year, the provincial chapter in Olomouc approved the new foundation, and the following year the Austrian-Czech-Polish vicar Gabriel of Verona approved it. In 1462, the Bernardines built a monastery and half-timbered church with donations from the townsfolk and local nobility. They dedicated the temple to St Francis of Assisi and St Bernardine of Siena.²³

²² Iriarte, *Historia franciszkanizmu*, pp. 315–320; H. Holzapfel, *Podręcznik historii Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, part 2. *Historia Zakonu od 1517 do 1909 roku*, Kraków 2012, pp. 381–400.

²³ *Kronika wschowskich bernardynów*, ed. A. Pańczak, Wschowa 2019, p. 23; K. Lutowski, *Bernardyński kościół pw. św. Józefa Oblubieńca we Wschowie*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, eds. P. Klint, M. Małkus, K. Szymańska, Wschowa-Leszno 2009, p. 371; J. Pawłowska, *Rafał Gurowski – dobrodziej wschowskich bernardynów*, in: *Rafał hrabia Gurowski. Szkice do XVIII-wiecznego portretu szlacheckiego*, eds. K. Lutowski, M. Małkus, Wschowa 2007, p. 27; S.B. Tomczak, *Wschowa*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce*, p. 442; APBK, manuscript W-27, *Annalium Polono-Seraphicorum tomus IV. continens trium conventuum, videlicet Posnaniensis, Thorunensis ac Vschovensis fundationes, progressus et res memorabiles. Archivum conventus Vschovensis seu Fraustadiensis. Introductio FF. Minorum Observantium ad civitatem*

The mid-16th century saw the Protestantization of Wschowa, populated mainly by German-speaking people. Protestantism was embraced by the city's starost Maciej Górski. In 1552, after parish priest Michael Tschepe died, the starost handed over the parish church to his fellow parishioners. He then brought in Protestant priest Jan Weisshaupt, who left Wschowa in 1554 because of 'angry monks'. His place was taken by Andrzej Knobloch, about whom the guardian of the Bernardine monastery named Jan used to say: 'That Knobloch [*pol. knobloch* – a garlic-flavoured sausage], that garlic, we can smell it in our noses.' Another Wschowa guardian and preacher, Fabian Orzeszkowski (1556–1558), in his polemical sermons, spoke out against Protestant priests, especially A. Knobloch, who was particularly active in Wschowa. F. Orzeszkowski accused A. Knobloch of selling several Hosts to Lublin Jews in exchange for a fur coat. He delivered a sermon on the subject on the second day of Easter in 1558, calling him a 'corrupter of pious souls'. Consequently, on 1 September of the same year, the Bernardine monastery and church were burned down. The buildings were probably set on fire by Piotr Henszten, a former servant of the monastery, who was bribed by the Protestants with 4 Polish marks. The crowd of people surrounding the burning monastery buildings prevented the few willing to undertake rescue operations from doing so. The Bernardines took up residence in outbuildings. Three weeks later, the buildings that had survived the first fire were set on fire for a second time under unexplained circumstances, and the fire has now completely consumed them. Catholics accused a Protestant by the name of Walenty, of arson, but failed to prove his guilt. The homeless monks were thus forced to leave the city in 1558. Some of them went to the monastery in Kościan, others to Poznań.²⁴

After 71 years of their absence, the Bernardines returned to Wschowa. On 29 August 1628, thanks to the efforts of Wschowa starost Hieronim Radomicki, Apostolic Nuncio Antonio Santacroce and Poznań Bishop Maciej Łubieński, King Sigismund III Vasa ordered the city magistrate to return to the monks the land

Wschovensem [...] opera P.F. Joannis Kamiński anno 1722, 1453–1730, k. 362; manuscript W-33, Topographica ac chronologica conventuum Majoris Poloniae descriptio [...] opere et studio [...] Patris Augustini Ciepliński, 15th–17th century, p. 234.

²⁴ E. Śliwiński, *Sytuacja polityczna ziemi wschowskiej w drugiej ćwierci XVII w.*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, p. 107; A.M. Wiczorkowski, „Boża Rola”. *Staromiejski Cmentarz Ewangelicki we Wschowie w latach 1609–1630*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, p. 225; A. Pańczak, *Działalność rekatalizacyjna wschowskich bernardynów*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, p. 315; J. Pawłowska, *Zabiegi Hieronima Radomickiego o powrót wschowskich bernardynów do Wschowy w świetle ich kroniki*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, p. 365; Ch. Fryc, A. Pańczak, L. Szymborski, *Wczoraj i dziś franciszkanów we Wschowie. Historia, przewodnik, liturgiczna posługa w kościele klasztornym*, Wschowa 2000, p. 8; H.E. Wyczawski, *Orzeszkowski (Nucius) Fabian (1495–1575)*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1981, p. 359; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 248–249; *Kronika klasztoru Braci Mniejszych Obserwantów, czyli Bernardynów we Wschowie, 1455–1808*, Wschowa 1971 [typescript in the Library of the Franciscan Monastery in Wschowa], pp. 7, 9; APBK, manuscript W-27, *Annalium Polono-Seraphicorum tomus IV*, k. 366–368; manuscript W-33, *Topographica ac chronologica conventuum Majoris Poloniae descriptio*, pp. 235–236.

that once belonged to them, as well as the ruins of the monastery and church. On 25 June of the following year, the Bernardines appeared in Wschowa. Thanks to the acquisition of benefactor Michael Tarnowicki, they built a new monastery and erected St Joseph's Church. The temple was consecrated in 1652 by a Bernardine, Maciej Kurski (1660–1681) – Suffragan Bishop of Poznań. Upon their return to Wschowa, the Bernardines, undertook conversion activities in addition to their usual pastoral work. Between 1716 and 1793, they succeeded to make 102 conversions to the Catholic faith.²⁵

Acts of hostility on the part of Protestants towards the Bernardines were cited by the continuator of the chronicle of Johannes de Komorowo, Innocenty of Czerniejewo. When the monastery in Bydgoszcz burned down in 1545, 'Lutheran doctrine supporters rejoiced, and Catholics, together with their brothers, grieved immensely', the chronicler recorded. A similar situation occurred when a fire consumed Stradom and Kazimierz in Kraków in 1556. At the time, 'the Lutherans were very angry' that the Bernardine monastery had survived. In 1567 in Kalisz they paid a cleric to set fire to the monastery infirmary.²⁶

Apart from the lost monastery in Wschowa, only three Bernardines are known to have abandoned the order and joined the Protestants. Compared to apostasies in other orders, that number represents a negligible percentage. According to Innocenty of Czerniejewo, the earliest among the transgressors was a preacher from Warta named Zachariasz. In 1562 he joined the Picards, or, as Rev. Kamil Kantak puts it, to the Unity of the Brethren.²⁷

Before 1566, Daniel Ostrowski a preacher from Kościan, wrote a polemical work on the Mass under the title *Odpowiedź [...] na list przeciw ofierze świętej Nowego Testamentu, którą Kościół apostolski Mszą zowie, do niego pisany, w której też jest wywód tej ofiary najświętszej położony*. The treatise, based on Scripture and the works of the Church Fathers, was the result of a polemic with a Protestant, a certain Bojanowski (d. 1566), and was highly regarded in terms of theological matter by the prelate of Gniezno, later Jesuit Stanisław Warszewicki. However, D. Ostrowski, began to lead an immoral life. 'It can be heard', wrote Fr. K. Kantak, 'that having risen from bed, he walked without preparation to the altar'. He also had an affair with a woman. In order to keep D. Ostrowski in the order, S. Warszewicki

²⁵ *Kronika wschowskich bernardynów*, pp. 48–50; A. Pańczak, *Działalność rekatalizacyjna wschowskich bernardynów*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, pp. 318–319, 328; Pawłowska, *Zabiegi Hieronima Radomickiego o powrót wschowskich bernardynów do Wschowy w świetle ich kroniki*, pp. 367–368; K. Lutowski, *Bernardyński kościół pw. św. Józefa Oblubieńca we Wschowie*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, pp. 371–373; N. Golichowski, *Przed nową epoką. Materiały do historii OO. Bernardynów w Polsce*, Kraków 1899, p. 140; APBK, manuscript W-27, *Annalium Polono-Seraphicorum tomus IV*, k. 378; manuscript W-33, *Topographica ac chronologica conventuum Majoris Poloniae descriptio*, p. 239.

²⁶ Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 247; Joannes de Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, eds. K. Liske, A. Lorkiewicz, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 5, Lviv 1888, pp. 370, 380, 386.

²⁷ Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 211; Joannes de Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, p. 385.

published his treatise in print commissioned to Mateusz Siebeneycher in Kraków in 1566. However, D. Ostrowski abandoned the order, joined the Protestants and married. No information about his fate as a Protestant is contained in the sources. His imminent death prevented him from achieving an arguably more significant position.²⁸

The next apostate was Julian Poniatowski, a Bernardine. He was born in 1580 and entered the Order of Friars Minor (Bernardines) at a young age. At the age of 25, he was already a preacher and philosophy lecturer in Lublin. He was probably already then suspected of having Protestant views, since he had to take an oath of allegiance to the Catholic Church. He suffered from a nervous disease. In 1602, when the monastery in Lublin burned down, he was transferred to Radom. Provincial Marian Postękański entrusted him there only with the role of a preacher. In January 1602, he and his confrater went on a fundraising trip. He stayed in Kurów with Abraham Zbąski, who embraced Calvinism. He took the 50 zlotys and all the items from fundraising, and sent the monk back to the convent. From there, he went to Gdańsk. Before the end of May of the same year, he married Zofia Pawłowska and became a Protestant priest. The Bernardines made unsuccessful efforts to make J. Poniatowski return to the monastery. Finally, at the provincial chapter in Radom at the end of May 1602, a curse was placed upon him during the sombre ceremonies, which were vividly described by Rev. K. Kantak:

The superior, preceded by twelve priests, wearing mourning chasubles, enters the church. At the front of the procession they carry a crucifix, wrapped in a pall. Each participant holds a candle in their hand. The chairman (commissioner Gąsiorek or the new provincial Czerniejewski) ascends the pulpit and reads the text of the curse, as Julian Poniatowski, having already renounced heresy once, embraced it once again, having betrayed both the Order and the Church, having committed double transgression, having taken the Church's vestments and paraphernalia and exposed them to the insults of heretics. That is why he curses him out of the Church, expels him from the community of believers and puts him under divine judgement. Now they are breaking and trampling candles, ringing the bells and reciting that terrible psalm of the CVIII curse. Finally, the candles are thrown into the fire.

Such a solemn curse, as far as we can judge, the only incident of its kind for the Bernardines, did not fail to make a great impression. It was recounted that during the event, Poniatowski, absent of course, 'stretched his tongue beyond his teeth and lips and they could not hide it as long as this solemn act of cursing lasted to the horror of the ministers who were with him, the sacrilegious wife and family'.²⁹

On 18 April 1603, the procurator of the Bernardines of Radom, Jan Dychowski, recorded a complaint in the Lublin castle against J. Poniatowski that he had stolen 50 zlotys and commodities estimated at the same amount from the fundraising.

²⁸ H.E. Wyczawski, *Ostrowski Daniel (zm. po 1566)*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 361; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 211–212; S. Barącz, *Pamiętnik Zakonu OO. Bernardynów w Polsce*, Lviv 1874, pp. 256–257; Joannes de Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, p. 386.

²⁹ K. Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy, 1573–1795–1932*, vol. 2, Lviv 1933, p. 240.

The Bernardines did not learn until 1605 that J. Poniatowski had been in Gdańsk. After some time, a Bernardine fund-raiser met him in Vilnius. The authors of the sources are silent about his further fate.³⁰

Other Bernardines fought to defend the Catholic faith. In Toruń, a Bernardine (Gebron) of Grębow preached a sermon in the presence of the papal legate and the king against the teachings of M. Luther. Due to his efforts, heretical books were publicly burned. As Rev. K. Kantak speculates, this was the first anti-Protestant sermon delivered in Poland from the pulpit in Polish language. Unfortunately, its content has not been preserved.³¹

Before 1522, Cezary of Gostyń (d. 1552 in Poznań) lived in a monastery in Wrocław, founded by St John of Capistrano. After the Franciscans were expelled from the city by the townspeople in 1522, he moved to the Bernardine province in Poland. He dedicated his memoirs about the expulsion of the Observants from Wrocław under the title *Historia tragedialis [...] inter [...] patrem [...] Benedictum [...] Benkowycz, commissarium generalem et dominos Wratislavienses in negotio Fratrum Minorum Ordinis S. Francisci Regularis Observantiae* to the then Kraków custodian Rafał of Proszowic.³² In Kraków, Stanisław (a.k.a. Hieronim) of Lviv (d. 1556 in Tarnów), a lecturer of theology and preacher at the Cathedral Church, translated the Scriptures into Polish to counteract the impact of the Lutheran Bible. This translation was to be handed over to the Jesuit Antoni Possewin for proofreading.³³

There is no trace, according to historian Hieronim Eugeniusz Wyczawski, OFM, of the Bernardines defending Catholicism with polemical writings in the early stages of the Reformation, although some 30 of them were engaged in writings of various kinds at the time. They used this method only during the Counter-Reformation period. Initially, they opposed heresy mainly through sermons. In them they explained the dogmas of the faith, especially those attacked by Protestants.³⁴ Among the main preachers of this period was Marcin of Podolin (d. 1559 in Kraków), whom the author of his obituary calls 'a hammer of heretics'. He preached in the central monasteries of the province: in Kraków, Warta, Poznań, Warsaw and Lviv.³⁵

³⁰ Wyczawski, *Krótko historia Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, p. 622; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 2, pp. 36, 238–240.

³¹ Holzapfel, *Podręcznik historii Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, part 2, p. 388; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 212, 219; Joannes de Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, p. 339.

³² The manuscript is in the Jagiellonian Library, ref. 3539. A.K. Sitnik, *Bernardyni lwowscy. Historia klasztoru i kościoła pod wezwaniem świętych Bernardyna ze Sieny i Andrzeja Apostoła we Lwowie, 1460–1785*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2006, pp. 255, 357; Grudziński, *Cezary z Gostynia*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 80; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 196, 213–214, 242, 304; *Kroniki Bernardynów poznańskich*, eds. S.B. Tomczak, J. Wiesiołowski, Poznań 2002, pp. 41, 43, 55, 105, 110, 336, 396; Joannes de Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, pp. 2–3, 342, 357–358.

³³ H.E. Wyczawski, *Stanisław ze Lwowa (Leopoliensis)*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, pp. 456–457; Holzapfel, *Podręcznik historii Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, part 2, p. 393; Barącz, *Pamiętnik*, p. 209.

³⁴ Wyczawski, *Krótko historia Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, p. 622.

³⁵ Sitnik, *Bernardyni lwowscy*, p. 231; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 219–220.

Provincial Sebastian of Lviv (d. 1561 in Kraków) preached the word of God in Lviv (1525–1526, 1529–1530), Warsaw (1528), Vilnius (before 1530) and Kraków (1541).³⁶ Another Bernardine monk, Jakub of Śrem a.k.a. Jakub Obara of Śrem (d. 1562 in Staniątki), after being ordained a presbyter, was a preacher in Opatów (1530), Kazimierz Biskupi and Radom (1531), again in Radom and Sambor (1535), Opatów (1536–1537), Radom (1537), Sambor (1538–1541) and Bydgoszcz. Toward the end of his life, he settled in Kraków. His six collections of Sunday sermons, passion sermons, Eucharistic sermons and sermons on the saints from 1522–1548 have been preserved. It exemplifies a good theological education, knowledge of works of ancient philosophy and contemporary preaching literature.³⁷

The most prominent preachers of the 16th century included Klemens Ramułt of Radymno (d. 1562 in Sambor). He devoted his entire priestly life to preaching in the Bernardine churches of Przeworsk (1520, 1547), Poznań (1527, 1533, 1541, 1549–1551), Kraków (1529–1531), Warsaw (1542), Warta (1543), as well as Lublin, Tarnów and Lviv. His sermons were highly praised by his contemporary Stanisław Orzechowski. K. Ramułt left eight collections of sermons in manuscripts. In his polemics with dissenters, he represented a moderate position.³⁸ Florian of Piaseczno near Warsaw (approx. 1536–1576, died in Poznań), after his ordination as a presbyter, was a preacher in Koło nad Warta (1572), Bydgoszcz (1572), Tarnów (1573) and Poznań. Only the third part of his sermons survived in manuscript. Following the example of preachers, including Protestant ones, he generally did not address theological theses in them, but used a polemical method. He reproached his opponents for their moral shortcomings, and accused Poles of uncritically accepting anything new.³⁹ Provincial Mikołaj of Busko (d. 1583 in Warsaw) worked in monasteries in Warsaw (1570), Kraków (1572) and Vilnius (1576). His lost volume of polemical sermons contained seventeen teachings. He preached them during the interregnum of 1572 in Kraków. Their tone was so strident that the Bishop of Kraków Franciszek Krasieński (1525–1577) forbade him from publicly preaching them. In view of the above, he tried to publish them in

³⁶ Sitnik, *Bernardyni lwowscy*, pp. 155, 255; W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy. Dzieje klasztoru św. Anny w Warszawie, 1454–1864*, Kraków 1973, p. 140; C. Bogdalski, *Bernardyni w Polsce*, vol. 2, Kraków 1933, pp. 345, 372; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 241–243; *Kroniki Bernardynów poznańskich*, pp. 2, 41, 50–52, 55–57, 105, 396.

³⁷ W. Murawiec, *Jakub ze Śremu*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, pp. 183–184; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 127, 147, 149, 169.

³⁸ A. Bruździński, *Bernardyni w Przeworsku w okresie staropolskim*, in: *550 lat obecności oo. Bernardynów w Przeworsku (1465–2015)*, eds. M.R. Gęśla, A.K. Sitnik, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2015, p. 74; K. Panuś, *Zarys historii kaznodziejstwa w Kościele katolickim*, part 2. *Kaznodziejstwo w Polsce od średniowiecza do baroku*, Kraków 2001, p. 328; Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, p. 141; H.E. Wyczawski, *Ramułt Klemens (Klemens z Radymna) h. własnego*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 407; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 221–234.

³⁹ A.K. Sitnik, *Piśmiennictwo bernardynskie XV–XXI wieku*, in: *Wkład bernardynów w życie religijno-kulturalne narodu polskiego (wybrane aspekty)*, p. 270; idem, *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum mortuorum in loco Posnaniensi quiescentium, 1466–1838*, „*Studia Franciszkańskie*”, 21 (2011) p. 426; W. Murawiec, *Florian z Piaseczna*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 128; *Kroniki Bernardynów poznańskich*, p. 338.

print, with no success.⁴⁰ As regards the preacher Paweł of Łomża (d. 1591), who left a manuscript collection of Christmas sermons, the authors of the sources only provided news that he worked in a monastery in Vilnius and died in Kościan.⁴¹ Innocenty of Czerniejewo (approx. 1510–1597, died in Poznań) minister in Przeworsk (1537, 1539, 1543, 1552), Kobylin (1547), Kraków (1570), Radom (1581) and Poznań, where he spent the last years of his life and preached polemical sermons.⁴²

Upon the analysis of the Bernardine sermons, the conclusion is that the monks were very well versed in past and current theological and polemical literature. The credit for this should be attributed to the 16th-century monastic librarians, who made sure that the monastery's bookstores were well stocked. Rev. K. Kantak stated: 'In this respect they surpass all other monasteries, only the Dominican ones can go hand in hand with them.'⁴³ This is evidenced by the resulting studies on Bernardine monastery libraries, whose bibliographic and catalogue documentation was made by Ryszard Żmuda.⁴⁴

During the period of the Reformation spreading in Poland, Polish religious songs proved useful for polemics. To prevent the faithful from committing apostasy, the Bernardines held lavish and lively services with singing in their churches, which were not practised by Protestants. At the 1524 provincial chapter in Warta, they decided that every day in every monastery the Mass would be sung, rather than recited as before.⁴⁵ In addition to the works of Blessed Ladislas of Gielniów in Latin addressed to the clergy and in Polish to the faithful, the words of the songs were composed by new poets, for whom singing with the people was one of the forms of catechesis.⁴⁶ Among them was Innocenty of Kościan (d. 1541 in Poznań), whose song about the Infant Jesus was still sung by the faithful in churches in the 18th century.⁴⁷ Works in Latin were also created by Fabian Orzeszkowski. A collection of poems found after his death was later lost. Only their fragments are known.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, pp. 33, 37, 87, 90, 119, 141–142; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 239–240.

⁴¹ H.E. Wyczawski, *Paweł z Łomży*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 369.

⁴² Sitnik, *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum mortuorum in loco Posnaniensi*, p. 428; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 235–238, 304–305.

⁴³ Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 241.

⁴⁴ R. Żmuda, *Stan badań bibliologicznych o bibliotekach klasztorach bernardynów w Polsce za lata 1918–2015*, in: *Wkład bernardynów w życie religijno-kulturalne Narodu Polskiego (wybrane aspekty)*, pp. 318–338.

⁴⁵ Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 213.

⁴⁶ A. Szulc, *Homo religiosus późnego średniowiecza. Bernardyński model religijności masowej*, Poznań 2007, p. 43; W. Wydra, *Władysław z Gielniowa. Z dziejów średniowiecznej poezji polskiej*, Poznań 1992, pp. 107–108.

⁴⁷ H.E. Wyczawski, *Inocenty z Kościana (Innocentius a Costen)*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 180; Sitnik, *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum mortuorum in loco Posnaniensi*, p. 422.

⁴⁸ H.E. Wyczawski, *Orzeszkowski (Nucius) Fabian*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 359; Sitnik, *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum mortuorum in loco Posnaniensi*, p. 426.

Protestants were critical of the church chanting practised by the Bernardines. Such testimony was cited by Rev. K. Kantak: 'The heretics dare to dishonour, berate, and shame, appallingly and boldly reprove the singing in the Church of God.'⁴⁹

Despite the manuscript form, Polish songs spread widely throughout the country. They were used in the liturgy not only by their propagators, but also by diocesan priests in parish churches.⁵⁰

The Bernardines also influenced the faithful through confessions. Each monastery had several confessors appointed. Whether they could absolve heresy, it is difficult to say. The authors of the sources attribute such a right to the monks only in 1586.⁵¹

The Friars Minor also served the faithful through the example of their own lives. Such responsibility was borne by the fund-raisers. They used contacts with people outside the monastery to spread more than just political news, as exemplified by Mickiewicz's Father Robak (Jacek Soplica). During the Reformation, they 'agitated in courts' in favour of Catholicism, and thus became itinerant preachers. According to monastic statutes, the fund-raiser was to repay the host for his hospitality by celebrating Mass. Hence, the function of fund-raiser was entrusted by the superiors of the monasteries to monks who were responsible and well-behaved.⁵²

The Reformation contributed to the development of chaplaincies in the courts of the nobility. The chaplains undoubtedly influenced the shape of the religiosity of the faithful within the reach of their pastoral activities. In order to oppose Protestant preachers with a foothold in the courts of the nobility, the Bernardines abandoned strict laws restricting monks from staying outside the monastery. This allowed the chaplaincy to develop at the courts of Catholic benefactors. In 1591, at the provincial chapter in Bydgoszcz, the chapter fathers drew up appropriate provisions for chaplains regulating, among other things, their presence at the courts during Advent and Lent.⁵³

The brotherhoods established at Bernardine monasteries were one of the social forms of piety of the time, as well as a response to the Reformation, which placed an exaggerated emphasis on purely internal life and minimized manifestations of collective worship. They provided a sense of strength and, through statutory obligations to participate in the liturgy, taught active and conscious participation in it. The brotherhoods also held colourful processions – popular at the time – in costumes, with banners and images of patron saints and candles. The prescribed

⁴⁹ Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 214.

⁵⁰ K.J. Grudziński, A.K. Sitnik, *Bernardyni w służbie Ojczyzny, 1453–1953*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2015, pp. 37–38.

⁵¹ Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 240.

⁵² Sitnik, *Bernardyni lwowscy*, p. 113.

⁵³ APBK, manuscript VI-b-2, *Constitutiones provinciales in capitulo Samboriensi 1597 a patribus auditoribus examinatae certisque correctionibus per reverendum patrem Benedictum Anserinum Leopoliensem pro tunc commissarium ad capitulum hociidem destinatum et patrem Franciscum Warthensem, ministrum Provinciae electum ac per admodum venerandos patres diffinitores ac alios Provinciae patres simul congregatos emendatae ex variis infra subiectis capitulis depromptae et in ordinem redactae*, 1597, k. 23.

ascetic practices facilitated self-improvement and reminded people to pray for the dead. In the 16th century, brotherhoods functioned at almost every Bernardine monastery.⁵⁴

Naturally, the greatest responsibility for the moral state of the monks and the actions they took was borne by the Bernardine provincials. It was also incumbent on them to arrange the defence of the Catholic faith. The provincials of the Reformation period were among the most outstanding monks. They regularly convened monastic chapters, travelled or sent delegates to the order's general chapters, and maintained an active religious and pastoral life in the monasteries by selecting appropriate guardians, preachers and confessors. They preserved the monastic discipline. None of them leaned toward Protestantism, as was the case with the Provincial of the Conventual Franciscans, Francis Lismanini (1538–1554).⁵⁵ Thanks to them, the Bernardine province successfully weathered the religious storm, and during the Counter-Reformation period it was one of the stronger centres for the renewal of the Catholic Church in Poland.⁵⁶

In conclusion, Polish Bernardines in the 16th century were seen, including by Protestants, as staunch defenders of the faith and the Catholic Church. They undertook this activity as early as the 1520s. In it, they used traditional methods: preaching, confession, liturgy, religious song, holding the functions of fund-raisers and court chaplains, and also by forming monastic religious brotherhoods. Thanks to their good theological education and leading a moral life at an appropriate level, very few Bernardine friars departed for the Protestant camp. This is to be credited largely to the provincials, who were able to protect Bernardine monasteries from the Reformation.

⁵⁴ J. Flaga, *Stowarzyszenia i bractwa religijne przy kościołach bernardyńskich do końca XVIII wieku*, in: *Pięćset pięćdziesiąt lat obecności oo. Bernardynów w Polsce (1453–2003)*, ed. W.F. Murawiec, D.A. Muskus, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2006, pp. 545–562; T.M. Trajdos, *Znakomita szlachta w szeregach lwowskiego Bractwa św. Bernardyna, 1462–1499*, in: *Tempus est optimus magister vitae. Prace dedykowane Ojcu Profesorowi Wiesławowi Franciszkowi Murawcowi OFM*, ed. A.K. Sitnik, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2010, pp. 93–108; A.K. Sitnik, *Bractwa przy bernardyńskim kościele św. Barbary w Przeworsku w okresie staropolskim*, „Przeworskie Studia Regionalne”, 2 (2015) pp. 143–158; idem, *Bractwa religijne i tercjarstwo zrzeszone przy bernardyńskim kościele pod wezwaniem Nawiedzenia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Kole (do 1864)*, in: *Bernardyni w Kole*, Koło 2006, pp. 29–49; idem, *Bractwa religijne i tercjarstwo zrzeszone przy bernardyńskim kościele pw. świętych Bernardyna ze Sieny i Andrzeja Apostoła we Lwowie (do 1785)*, „Studia Franciszkańskie”, 16 (2006) pp. 269–282.

⁵⁵ S. Napiórkowski, *Lismanin Franciszek*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 10, ed. E. Ziemann, Lublin 2004, col. 1146–1147.

⁵⁶ Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 244–245.

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**„TEN KNOBLOCH, TEN CZOSNEK, CZUJEMY GO W NOSIE”.
BERNARDYNI POLSCY A REFORMACJA W XVI WIEKU**

Abstrakt

Bernardyni polscy w XVI wieku byli postrzegani, także przez protestantów, jako zdecydowani obrońcy wiary i Kościoła katolickiego. Działalność tę podjęli bardzo wcześnie, bo już w latach 20. XVI wieku. Wykorzystywali w niej tradycyjne metody: kaznodziejstwo, spowiedź, liturgię, pieśń religijną, piastowane funkcje kwestarzy i kapelanów dworskich, organizowanie przyklasztornych bractw religijnych. Dzięki dobremu wykształceniu teologicznemu oraz prowadzeniu życia moralnego na odpowiednim poziomie jedynie trzech znanych z imienia i nazwiska bernardynów przeszło do obozu protestanckiego. Zakonnicy utracili na rzecz protestantów tylko jeden klasztor we Wschowie, a przejęli klasztory pruskie w Lubawie, Barczewie, Nowem, Gdańsku oraz Toruniu po upadłej w okresie reformacji saskiej prowincji zakonnej św. Jana Chrzciciela. W znacznej mierze jest to zasługa prowincjałów, którzy potrafili uchronić klasztory bernardyńskie przed reformacją.

Słowa kluczowe: protestanci; bernardyni; kaznodzieje; apostaci; Wschowa



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**A NEW SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE SYNOD
OF THE UNIATE CHURCH IN ZAMOŚĆ: BASILIAN DIARY
OF PROTOARCHIMANDRITE ANTONI ZAWADZKI
(25 AUGUST – 18 SEPTEMBER 1720)¹**

Abstract

The subject of this publication is an excerpt from the Diary (*Dziennik*) of Father Antoni (Zawadzki), a protoarchimandrite of the Basilian Order, found by the late Prof. Ihor Skoczylas. The source belongs to the collection of Orthodox Bishop Pavel (proper name Prokop Dobrochotov) deposited in the Scientific and Research Archive of the St Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The text of the diary, written in Latin and Polish, refers to the events of the Provincial Synod in Zamość in 1720 (25 August – 18 September), which is why it was called *Diary of the Synod of Zamość* (*Diariusz synodu zamojskiego*) by its editor. It is edited in accordance with the contemporary principles of editing historical sources, and is preceded by an extended introduction discussing the text and introducing Father Antoni and the historical context of the events. The Diary belongs to the written narrative sources created *en masse* among the clerical and lay elite of the Kyiv Metropolis. It is an act of public law and an official document of the Basilian Order, and its text block consists of: chronicler's notes on the events of the synod, descriptions of its sessions and deliberations, Zawadzki's activities as the protoarchimandrite of the order, documents and correspondence of the Roman Curia and the Basilian Order, as well as official decrees of the protoarchimandrite regarding administrative, economic, pastoral, and financial matters.

Keywords: Basilians; protoarchimandrite Antoni Zawadzki; diary; 1720 Synod of Zamość

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¹ The article was translated into Polish by Paulina Byzdra-Kusz, Ph.D. and Konrad Byzdra, M.A., with substantive assistance from van Almes, Ph.D.

Among the many manuscripts and old prints related to the history of the Basilian Order, which are deposited in the collection of Orthodox Bishop Pavel (Prokop Dobrochotov),² I found the chronicle notes of protoarchimandrite Antoni (Zawadzki), made in August and September 1720 in Zamość. Hereinafter I refer to it as *Diariusz synodu zamojskiego* (*The Diary of the Synod of Zamość*). This unique source was found in the fifth volume of Fr Antoni's *Dziennik*, kept by the hieromonk from August 1720 to March 1724 (*Collectaneorum Zawadzianorum cum Actis Protoarchimandritibus cum indice*).³ A total of nine volumes of *Dziennik*, which include notes from 1711–1737, as well as summaries and copies of documents from 1695–1705 and 1710–1736, were preserved.⁴ These codices found

² Currently, the collection is part of the Scientific and Research Archive of the St Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Its creator, Bishop Pavel, was a lecturer and rector of the Lithuanian Theological Seminary in the 1830s and 1840s – first in Zhyrovichy and later in Vilnius. The collection became known in wider scholarly circles in the early 1990s through the publication of Kyiv historian Vasyl Ulyanovsky, who compiled its inventory with commentary. V.Ī. Ul'ānovs'kij, *Kolekciā ta arhiv ēpiskopa Pavla Dobrohotova*, Kiĭv 1992. In addition, in 2012 the Institute for European Cultural Heritage Research in Białystok, headed by Wojciech Walczak, Ph.D., launched a major project to digitize and make public the entire Dobrochotov's collection. Some of these materials have already been presented online on the Polonica Digital Repository website: The Collection of Pavel Dobrochotov, https://fbc.pionier.net.pl/search#fq={!tag=dterms_accessRights}dterms_accessRights%3A%22Dost%C4%99p%20otwarty%22&q=dc_subject%3A%22Kolekcja%20Paw%C5%82a%20Dobrochotowa%22 (accessed on: 28.08.2020). An overview of documents from the collection can be found in the publications: T.G. Tairova-Ākovleva, *Materiały po historii Belorussii v Arhive Sankt-Peterburgskogo instituta istorii RAN*, „Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana”, (2009) issue 1–2, pp. 203–208; W. Walczak, *Polonika z kolekcji Pawła Dobrochotowa (nr 52) z Instytutu Historii Rosyjskiej Akademii Nauk w Petersburgu*, in: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 2, eds. W. Walczak, K. Łopatecki, Białystok 2010, pp. 197–239.

³ Naučno-issledovatel'skij arhiv (Russkaā sekciā) Sankt-Peterburgskogo instituta istorii Rossijskoj akademii nauk (hereinafter: ASPbII), kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 350, k. 6–15v. Cf. Ul'ānovs'kij, *Kolekciā ta arhiv*, p. 187.

⁴ Volume 1: *Collectaneorum Zawadzianorum cum praefico elencho contentorum* – collection of documents and letters from 1695–1705 and 1710 (ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 346, k. 1–103); volume 2: *Collectaneorum Zawadzianorum cum indice alphabetico ad finem posito* – records from 1711–1713 (ibidem, ed. hr. 347, k. 1–122); volume 3: *Collectaneorum Zawadzianorum cum indice alphabetico in fine posito* – records from 1713–1714 (ibidem, ed. hr. 348, k. 1–210); volume 4: *Collectaneorum Zawadzianorum una cum Actis Protoarchimandritalis Officii inchoate a [d]ie 23 7br[is] Anni 1719 cum indice ad finem posito* – records kept from January 1718 to August 1719 (ibidem, ed. hr. 349, k. 1–215); volume 5: *Collectaneorum Zawadzianorum cum Actis Protoarchimandritibus cum indice* – records kept from August 1720 to March 1724 (ibidem, ed. hr. 350, k. 1–385); volume 6: *Collectaneorum Zawadzianorum cum Actis Protoarchimandritibus cum indice* – records from 1724–1726 (ibidem, ed. hr. 351, k. 1–260); volume 7: *Collectaneorum Zawadzianorum cum Actis Protoarchimandritibus officio cessantibus a [nn]o [d]ie 16 8br[is] cum indice* – records from 1726–1729 (ibidem, ed. hr. 352, k. 1–245); volume 8: *Collectaneorum Zawadzianorum* – records from 1729–1731 (ibidem, ed. hr. 353, k. 1–219); volume 9: *Collectaneorum Zawadzianorum* – records kept from 1732 until 23 February 1737 (ibidem, ed. hr. 354, k. 1–123).

their way into Bishop Paweł's collection from the library of the Basilian monastery in Zhyrovichy, where they were recorded as early as the mid-18th century.⁵

The author of *Diariusz synodu zamojskiego* and *Żywot Leona Kiszki*, Fr Antoni was a representative of a new generation of the clerical and intellectual elite of the Uniate Church – educated in the monastic novitiate and papal colleges in accordance with the ideals of Basilian piety formed by Joseph (Veliamyn Rutsky). In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, this generation of monks witnessed the rise of the Order of Saint Basil the Great and the beginnings of the revival of the union in the Ukrainian-Belarusian-Lithuanian lands. Although Fr Antoni held a high position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, we do not know much detail about his family environment and secular life.⁶ However, it is known that he came from a clergyman's family that lived in the Brest region. His father, Rev. Teodor Zawadzki, was mentioned in 1665–1667 as a Uniate parish priest in the village of Pishcha of the Eparchy of Volodymyr–Brest.⁷

According to the recently found manuscript *Metryka profesorów monasteru w Byteniu*, the future protoarchimandrite was born around 1669/1670, and at baptism was given the name of Alexander.⁸ He had at least two brothers – the elder Julian (secular name Jan, 1657–1714/1715) and the younger Kazimierz (secular name Konstantyn, 1671–1712), who also became hieromonks of the Basilian Order.⁹

⁵ It is attested by the eloquent note in the official Russian language: 'Siâ Kniga êst' z Bibliotêki Monastyra Žirovickogo Činu S[vâ]togo Vasiliâ Velikogo 1758 Anno podpisana' (ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 347, k. 3–15).

⁶ Unfortunately, it should be considered an error for previous researchers to identify protoarchimandrite Fr Antoni (Zawadzki) with another Basilian, Antoni (Zawadzki), who came from an Orthodox family from Pogórze and died in Chełm at the time. He is mentioned in the *Manuscript of Leon (Kiszka)*, who wrote the biographies of his confreres. Cf. Central'nij deržavnij istoričnij arhiv Ukraïni, f. 201, op. 4b, spr. 421, p. 290 (old pagination). This error was made in particular by Meletius M. Wojnar: M.M. Wojnar, *De Protoarchimandrita Basilianorum (1617–1804)*, Romae 1958, p. 278.

⁷ A biographical note of the clergyman can be found in the publication: D. Lišejčykaŭ, *Svâtar u belaruskim socyume: prasapagrafiâ ŭniackaga duhavenstva 1596–1839 gg*, Minsk 2015, p. 252.

⁸ ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 377, k. 43–43v; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Wien, Handschriftensammlung, Series nova (hereinafter: ÖNB), cod. SN-3847, *Visitatio monasterii Bytenensis peracta a die 20 octobris 1736*, k. 33. The discovery of authentic documents pertaining to Fr Antoni (Zawadzki) as a hieromonk of the Basilian Order leads us to reject the thesis that he came from Vilnius or the Vilnius province. Cf. notes on: M.M. Wojnar, *Basilian Scholars and Publishing Houses (XVII–XVIII)*, *Analecta OSBM* 9 (1974) issue 1–4, p. 76. The first to provide biographical information about Fr Antoni (Zawadzki) was the Basilian chronicler of the last quarter of the 18th century, Ignacy (Stebelski): I. Stebelski, *Dwa wielkie światła na horyzoncie połockim z cieniów zakonnych powstające czyli Żywoty śś. panien i matek Ewfozyny i Parascewii zakonnic i hegumenij, pod ustawą ś. o. Bazylego Wielkiego w monastyrze ś. Spasa za Połockiem żyjących, z chronologią i przydatkiem niektórych służących do tego pożytecznych krajowych wiadomości z rozmaitych dziejopisów i pism zebranych*, vol. 1. Vilnius 1781, pp. LXXIII–LXXIV (this text uses the 1866 Lviv edition of this old print).

⁹ Their following biographies have been preserved: *Wielebny ojciec Julian Zawadzki* (Rossijskaâ nacional'naâ biblioteka (Sankt-Peterburg), Otdel rukopisej, Pol'skoâzyčnye dokumenty, *Diptycha Patrum et Fratrum Ord[inis] S[ancti] Bas[ilii] M[agni] Congregationis tit[uli] S[anctissimi]mae*

At the age of 20, or more precisely on 19 June 1689, he joined the monastery in Byten and entered the novitiate there, so that just one year later, on 20 August 1690, he took his monastic vows and adopted the name Antoni (his autograph from that time is preserved with the wording: ‘Antonius Zawadzki, Ord. D.B.M., professus’) as a clergyman of the Uniate Church (‘sacerdotis ritus graeci’).¹⁰ He then entered the Jesuit College in Vilnius, where he earned a bachelor’s degree in November 1691 and a master’s degree in early July 1693, perhaps continuing his studies within the walls of that institution.¹¹

In sources from the early 18th century, Fr Antoni is listed as vicar (steward) of the Byten monastery. During that time, the hieromonk experienced a real shock from the events of the Great Northern War, when Swedish troops occupied Byten and forced the monks to pay a huge contribution. To handle this, Fr Antoni borrowed 1,200 Polish zlotys from local Jews in 1706 to ransom the monastery.¹² In 1703, he took part in the 25th Novgorod Chapter,¹³ and in the minutes of the next chapter in Bielyja in 1709, he was already recorded as hegumen of the Vitebsk monastery (in the Archeparchy of Polotsk). It was then that he was given a position as one of the consultants of the Basilian Order¹⁴ and was appointed hegumen of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Vilnius (he held the office again from 1718 to 1720).¹⁵ In 1710, the fervent hieromonk was transferred to Zhirovichi, where he remained until at least 1714, conducting visitations of monastic centres on behalf of the Basilian protoarchimandrite. In February 1714, as a consultant to the order, he was present

Trinitatis defunctorum ab A. 1686 et non omnium, et non omnino servata annorum serie, collecta a R.mo Joanne Olszewski, consultore Ordinis, superiore Torokanensi, continuata vero per Reverendissimum Antonium Zawadzki, exprotoarchimandritam, consul torem et superiorem Torokanensem usque ad annum 1730 (hereinafter: *Diptycha Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*), p. 82; Wielebny ojciec Kazimierz Zawadzki (ibidem). Biographical data on the two brothers was collected by Dzianis Lisiejczykau. The publication will be one of the products of project NCN-2020/39/B/HS3/01232 ‘Basilians of the Lithuanian province in 1617–1839’.

¹⁰ ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 377, k. 43–43v; Visitatio monasterii Bytenensis peracta a die 20 octobris 1736 (ÖNB, cod. SN-3847, p. 33). My sincere thanks to Dr. Dzianis Lisiejczykau of Minsk for informing me about these sources.

¹¹ D. Blažejovskij, *Byzantine Kyivan rite students in Pontifical Colleges, and Seminaries, Universities and Institutes of Central and Western Europe (1576–1983)*, Rome 1984, p. 164. Cf. *Wykaz alumnów Seminarjum Papieskiego w Wilnie 1582–1773*, „Ateneum Wileńskie”, 11 (1936) p. 262.

¹² He repaid this debt as late as in 1716. Cf. Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj istoričeskij arhiv, f. 823, op. 3, d. 1171, k. 1.

¹³ *Arheografičeskij sbornik dokumentov, otnosâsihsâ k istorii Severo-Zapadnoj Rusi, izdavaemyj pri upravlenii Vilenskogo učebnogo okruga*, vol. 12, sost. P.A. Gil'tebrandt, F.G. Eleonskij, A.L. Mirotvorcev, Vil'na 1900, p. 155.

¹⁴ Ibidem, pp. 159, 162, 170.

¹⁵ ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 2, ark. 3, № 189, k. 1; Nacional'nij muzej im. Andreâ Šeptic'kogo u L'vovi, Viddil rukopisnoï ta starodrukovanoï knigi, Rukopisi latins'ki, Rkl-581, k. 5, 11; ibidem, Rkl-702, k. 4–5; ÖNB, cod. SN-3845, k. 36; *Akty, izdavaemye Vilenskoj Arheografičeskoj komissiej*, vol. 8, Vil'na 1875, pp. 184–185 (№ 88); ibidem, vol. 9, Vil'na 1878, pp. 56–57 (№ 15); vol. 11, pp. 404–405 (№ 129); Wojnar. *De Protoarchimandrita Basilianorum*, pp. 279–280.

at a meeting of the hierarchy in Novogradok, when Leon (Kiszka) with whom he had uneasy relations in the following period, was elected Metropolitan of Kiev.¹⁶

At a meeting of the Novgorod chapter in 1717, the new protoarchimandrite of the Basilians, Fr Maksymilian (Wietrzyński), entrusted Fr Antoni with the office of vicar general.¹⁷ In September 1719, due to the scandal caused by Wietrzyński's unbecoming behaviour, Fr Antoni, at the request of the monastic community, headed the Basilian Order for almost a decade (1719–1726 with an interruption).¹⁸ During his tenure as protoarchimandrite, he remained in a morally, physically and financially exhausting dispute with Wietrzyński and his supporters,¹⁹ demanding the return of illegally appropriated funds, property and documents to the order. The former head of the Basilians, however, did not reconcile himself to the loss of power and appealed to Rome, requesting that the case be reviewed by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. In 1723, in accordance with a decree of the Roman Curia, Fr Antoni even had to give up his office to Wietrzyński for a time.²⁰ Both Protoarchimandrite Zawadzki and Metropolitan Leon (Kiszka) persistently appealed to the Holy See to review Wietrzyński's case and punish him as soon as possible.²¹ Eventually, the Wietrzyński's *casus* was addressed by the Roman dicasteries, which conducted a special investigation involving a wide

¹⁶ *Litterae basilianorum in terris Ucrainae et Bielarussiae*, ed. A.G. Welykyj, P.B. Pidrutchnyj, vol. 1, Romae 1979, p. 232 (doc. 133); *Litterae episcoporum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes (1600–1900)*, ed. A.G. Welykyj, P.B. Pidrutchnyj, vol. 5, Romae 1981, pp. 21, 32, 44–45, 60, 122 (doc. 3, 31, 41).

¹⁷ P.V. Pidručnij, *Īstoričnij naris zakonodavstva Vasiliâns'kogo Činu sv. Josafata (1617–2018)*, Rim-L'viv 2018, pp. 185–186; Wojnar, *De capitulis basilianorum*, Romae 1954, pp. 21–22.

¹⁸ *Litterae basilianorum*, vol. 1, pp. 236–240 (doc. 139–140).

¹⁹ Cf. the materials for said trial in Rome: *Acta S.C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielorussiae spectantia*, vol. 3, ed. A.G. Welykyj, Romae 1954, pp. 188–189 (doc. 1003); *Litterae basilianorum*, vol. 1, pp. 246–249 (doc. 148–151); *Supplicationes Ecclesiae Unitae Ucrainae et Bielorussiae*, vol. 2, ed. A.G. Welykyj, Romae 1962, pp. 169–173, 183–184, 187–189, 191–192, 198–201 (doc. 640–641, 644–645, 662, 666–668, 673, 685–686).

²⁰ During that time, two decrees were published in Rome by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith on the case of Maksymilian (Wietrzyński) vs. Metropolitan L. Kiszka and protoarchimandrite A. Zawadzki: 1. *Sacra Congregatione de propaganda Fidae Excellentissimo Dominico Caesare Florello relatore Congregationis Ruthenae Sanctissimae Trinitatis plurium pro Reverendissimo P. Maximiliano Wietrzyński, epi-mach Protoarchimandrita Congregationis Ruthenorum, etc. contra fiscum, et RPPD Leonem Kiszka, metropolitanum totius Russiae, P. Antonium Zawadzki, (...) facti cum summario*, Romae 1721; *Sacra Congregatione de propaganda Fidae Excellentissimo Domino Caesare Florello relatore Congregationis Ruthenae Sanctissimae Trinitatis plurium pro Reverendissimo P. Maximiliano Wietrzyński, epi-mach Protoarchimandrita Congregationis Ruthenorum, etc. contra fiscum, et RPPD Leonem Kiszka, metropolitanum totius Russiae, P. Antonium Zawadzki, (...) facti cum summario*, Romae 1723 (Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, Retų spaudinių skyrius, L-18/2-63/1-2). Cf. *Litterae basilianorum*, vol. 1, pp. 236–240, 248–250, 273–292 (doc. 139–140, 150–151, 170–180).

²¹ *Epistolae metropolitaram kioviensium catholicorum: Leonis Kiška, Athanasii Szeptyckij, Floriani Hrebnyckij 1714–1762*, ed. A.G. Welykyj, Romae 1959, pp. 64–66 (doc. 47–48).

range of individuals and institutions.²² The former protoarchimandrite was forced to leave the borders of the Kyiv Metropolis, and then went to Switzerland, where he converted to Calvinism.

At the Vitebsk chapter in 1726, Fr Antoni relinquished the presidency of the order, having contented himself with the position of first protoconsultor and then consultor of the Basilians and hegumen in Torokany. At the end of September 1730, he moved to Byten, where he assumed the position of hegumen (superior). Basilian visitors who arrived there in October 1736 noted that the former protoarchimandrite lead a pious monastic life, had a strong influence on the young novice monks and generally *'ex nihil est ad corrigendum.'*²³ In May 1733, a few years before his death (15 March 1737), Fr Antoni even received a royal appointment to the vacant Uniate Archeparchy of Smolensk,²⁴ but due to the death of Augustus II, the hieromonk's ordination failed to occur.

Father Antoni enjoyed a well-deserved authority in the Uniate Church, the Roman Curia and the Catholic community of the Republic as a minister, preacher and efficient church official. The Kyivan metropolitans invariably delegated special papal privileges to him, which allowed him to conduct broad administrative and pastoral activities. Thus, the Basilian dignitary had the right to manage the clergy who confessed lay Catholics of both Latin and Byzantine-Slavic rites.²⁵

In addition to the nine-volume *Dziennik*, this protoarchimandrite and one of the fathers of the Synod of Zamość also left behind another writing legacy, including the one relating to the church in Byten. In 1713, he described in detail the persecution his fellow monks suffered at the beginning of the Northern War from the Russian army and Tsar Peter I, who personally killed several hieromonks in Polotsk. Having titled this account *Historia o pozabijaniu bazylianów w Połockiej cerkwi przez cara moskiewskiego, etc. w roku 1705tym dnia 30 junia starego*, he then sent it to Rome.²⁶ In 1723–1730, together with Fr Jan (Oleszewski), he also compiled the lives of deceased Basilians, known as *Dyptyki czy Katafalki*.²⁷ In

²² Correspondence and acts of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith concerning this matter: *Congregationes Particulares Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielorussiae spectantes*, vol. 1, eds. A.G. Welykyj, E. Kaminskyj, Romae 1956, pp. 127–130 (doc. 61); *Litterae S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusiae spectantes* (hereinafter: *Litterae SCPF*), vol. 3, ed. A.G. Welykyj, Romae 1956, pp. 130–132, 135–143, 146, 148–150, 161–162, 176, 179 (doc. 1198–1200, 1204–1205, 1207–1209, 1215, 1218–1220, 1234, 1254, 1260).

²³ ÖNB, cod. SN-3847, *Visitatio monasterii Bytenensis peracta a die 20 octobris 1736*, k. 33, 35v; *Litterae basilianorum*, vol. 1, pp. 302, 313, 319, 330–331 (doc. 187, 191, 193, 201–202).

²⁴ *Epistolae metropolitaram*, p. 192 (doc. 23).

²⁵ The originals of the relevant acts issued by the Metropolitan in June 1711, March 1725, May 1727 and February 1730: ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 128, k. 1; *ibidem*, ed. hr. 129, k. 1–1 ob.; *ibidem*, ed. hr. 130, k. 1–1v.

²⁶ *Monumenta Ucrainae historica*, vol. 5, collegit A. Šeptyckyj, ed. J. Slipyj, Romae 1968, pp. 14–26 (doc. 15).

²⁷ *Diptycha Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, pp. 3–149v. Various editions and lists of these Basilian lives are collected in the Archives of the St Petersburg Institute of History of the RAS (Russian Academy of Sciences): ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 266, 285, 305, 324–327, 361, 363.

his word to the reader, he cites numerous biographical information that allows us to trace his religious service in greater detail.

Diariusz synodu zamojskiego (*The Diary of the Synod of Zamość*), kept by the protoarchimandrite of the Basilians from 25 August to 18 September 1720, is among the written narrative sources that were created *en masse* in the last quarter of the 17th century among the clergy and lay elite of the Kyiv Metropolis. The appearance of these documents testifies to the assimilation by Uniate monks of the Western, Latin practice of keeping books of pontifical activities (*libri functionum pontificalium*), which, combined with chronicle records of a private and institutional nature, were widely used in the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. At the same time, like the entire *Dziennik*, *Diariusz synodu zamojskiego* is also an act of public law and an official document of the Basilian Order. It recorded the actions of the protoarchimandrite and other office documentation, which automatically acquired official status. In other words, *Diariusz* can be qualified as an egodocument with biographical content, as well as a book of outgoing and incoming correspondence of the private and public type. The chronicle of the Synod of Zamość shows a certain consistency in the records, which were created in the first person, and the narrative component clearly displays subjectivity and even emotion. This is particularly evident in the history of contacts with the then-head of the Uniate Church and the apostolic nuncio, i.e. the most important participants in the synod of 1720.

All documents and chronicle records in *Diariusz synodu zamojskiego* are dated according to the Gregorian calendar. It was written by Fr Antoni's own hand, and only a copy of a letter from the prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to Metropolitan Leon (Kiszka)²⁸ was inscribed in a different, clear calligraphic handwriting, probably by Fr Patryk (Żurawski/Żyrawski), the protoarchimandrite's personal secretary. Pasted between pages 13 and 15 of *Diariusz* is an uncertified copy of Fr Antoni's decree on the activation of pastoral activities by the hieromonks of the Basilian Order (catechization of the laity) on the territory of the Kyiv Metropolis, sent from Zamość on 16 September 1720 to the hegumens of all monasteries.²⁹ The Basilians' office practice at the time indicates that a copy of this decree may have been made by the order's secretary, Fr Antoni (Tomiłowicz).

The entries in *Dziennik* were kept in sloppy handwriting (in brown ink), mostly in Latin, and only the subject headings of the notes and deeds (31 in total) and three documents were written in Polish. Individual chronicle records and acts are bulleted in Latin letters. The margins of the pages were marked out with straight lines, and some pages show traces of ink stains (k. 7, 7v, 8, 8v, 15). The headings for the various entries were inserted by the author in the margins of the manuscript after *Diariusz* had already been drafted. This is clearly indicated by Fr Antoni's later commentary next to the note of 9 September 1720, in which we read that one of the monetary transactions considered at the synod was successfully completed the following year: 'Ale się potym wróciła w roku 1721, *hic pagina 201b*.'³⁰

²⁸ Ibidem, ed. hr. 350, k. 9.

²⁹ Ibidem, k. 14–14v.

³⁰ Ibidem, k. 11v.

In this way, the author clarified and corrected the entries in his *Dziennik*, as manifested by the protoarchimandrite's numerous proofreading corrections in the margins of the codex (especially with regard to dates, as on page 9 and others), as well as the crossed-out portions of the text (k. 6v, 7, 7v) that he considered outdated or erroneous. For example, on card 10v, much of the sentence has been deleted (painted over) from two lines about the synod not holding its session on August 29: 'propter pestam et propter debilitatem Ill[ustrissimi] D[omini] metropolitani.'³¹ When, upon reviewing his notes from the synod, Fr Antoni realized that under the date of September 10 he had mistakenly duplicated the information about the ordination of Bishop Teofil (Godebski) of Pinsk, which had already been mentioned when describing the event under the date of 8 September (when the episcopal ordination actually took place), he crossed out this section of *Dziennik*.³²

As regards the reliability and accuracy of the information recorded in *Diariusz*, a fair comparison with the narrative on the actions and resolutions of the Zamość Synod published in 1724 in Rome by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith³³ demonstrates full convergence. Perhaps the only exception is the erroneous dating of the start of the second ceremonial session of the synod: it was inaugurated not on 2 September, but the day before.³⁴ Likewise, the numerous events described by Fr Antoni, which he witnessed during this Orthodox gathering, correspond to the realities of the time. The contents of the biography of one of the synod's most important participants, Metropolitan Leon (Kiszka), which was written down by Fr Antoni in the early 1830s based on notes from the fifth volume of *Dziennik*, meticulously reflect the subject matter and chronology of his relationship with the head of the Uniate Church,³⁵ as presented in *Diariusz synodu zamojskiego*.

The text of *Diariusz* from 25 August to 18 September is essentially narrative in nature, however, it contains several acts and information of a clerical nature. This entire text block consists of:

- chronicle notes on current events from the period of the Synod of Zamość;
- documents and correspondence of the Roman Curia and the Basilian Order;
- official decrees of the protoarchimandrite regarding administrative, economic, pastoral and financial matters;
- extensive descriptions of the synodal sessions, meetings and deliberations, as well as the activities carried out by Fr Antoni as protoarchimandrite of the order.

Three-fourths of the volume of *Diariusz* consists of notes related to Fr Antoni's duties as superior of the Basilian Order and his personal contacts with other synod

³¹ Ibidem, k. 10v.

³² The second of the deleted entries, although a repetition of the first in terms of narrative, also contains clarified data on a local Latin Canon, a participant in the ordination, who is listed here as 'canonico zamoyscensi et concionatore ordinario'. Ibidem, k. 11–12.

³³ Cf. *Synodus provincialis Ruthenorum habita in Civitate Zamosciae anno MDCCXX*, Romae 1724.

³⁴ Ibidem, pp. 52–53.

³⁵ ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 324, k. 66v–68v.

fathers – most notably Apostolic Nuncio Girolamo Grimaldi, Kyiv Metropolitan Leon (Kiszka) and numerous archimandrites and hegumens. Topics of these messages include:

- Fr Antoni's receipt of correspondence from various monasteries and institutions of the Basilian province of the Holy Trinity, as well as from the Procurator General of the Basilians (from Warsaw, Vilnius, Lublin, Minsk, Rakaŭ, Rome, Rahachow and Torokanie);
- delegating monks from Zamość to study at the papal colleges in Olomouc and Rome;
- working meetings with the nuncio, the metropolitan, bishops and Basilians;
- private and official meetings with the clergy and representatives of the secular elite (separate with Count Potocki on August 28);
- conflict with Pinsk cathedral candidate Fr Teofil (Godebski) and Vitebsk elder and judicial vicar Augustyn (Lubieniecki), who were suspected of the sin of simony and misuse of funds.

Since *Dziennik* under analysis is also a record of pontifical activities of the protoarchimandrite of the Basilian Order, it is not surprising that we find entries of various kinds of documents and official letters in it. These are:

- *Derelicta*, i.e. record of the belongings of Józef (Czyżewski), hieromonk of Minsk monastery who died in July 1720;³⁶
- letter of the prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Fr Giuseppe Sacripante, to Metropolitan Leon (Kiszka) of 8 June 1720, regarding the case of Fr Maksymilian (Wietrzyński)³⁷ (the inclusion of this correspondence in *Dziennik* is not coincidental, since the participants of the Synod of Zamość addressed in detail, especially on September 12, the unbecoming behaviour of Wietrzyński, who was removed from the protoarchimandrite position in June 1719);³⁸

³⁶ Particularly interesting in this document is the inclusion of a meticulous enumeration of private property (mainly clothing and small sums of money) that belonged to the Basilian in the first quarter of the 18th century, including liturgical books (the 'Muten' texts, as well as the polustav and psalter of Vilnius origin), which the Minsk clergyman used on a daily basis. Ibidem, ed. hr. 350, k. 8–8v.

³⁷ Ibidem, k. 12v.

³⁸ The Prefect of the Congregation informs the metropolitan that he has received the acts of investigation into the abuses of M. Wietrzyński (primarily involving embezzlement of Basilian funds), and promises assistance in revealing the foundation acts of Unitarian monasteries unlawfully excluded from the archives of the Basilian Order and taken to the Jesuits in Kraków, assuring Leon (Kiszka) that the Roman Curia will issue a just ruling in the case. At the end of June of that year, the Secretariat of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith reported that a whole pile of documentation was arriving from the Procurator General in Rome, the Metropolitan of Kyiv and the Basilian Protoarchimandrite, and on the eve of the Synod of Zamość, these materials were being intensively studied and discussed in the Roman dicasteries. Litterae SCPE, vol. 3, pp. 154, 156, 167 (doc. 1226, 1230, 1241).

- information on the canonical status of the Buchach monastery,³⁹ the Ascension Archimandry in Minsk⁴⁰ and the jurisdiction of the protoarchimandrite over the Basilian archimandrites.⁴¹

As we read in the fifth volume of Fr Antoni's *Dziennik*, he was carefully preparing to attend the Provincial Synod of Zamość. As late as 6 August 1720, when leaving Zhyrovichi, he took thirteen dogmatic, ecclesiological, canonical and polemical books with him from the library of the local monastery. They were to be a source of information for him in the context of the process of discussing and enacting important matters for the Basilian Order. It should be noted that of the dozen or so folios in the Zhyrovichi collection, only two books of a polemical nature – *Perspektiwa* by the convert Kasjan (Sakowicz) from 1642 and *Zwiercadło, albo Zaslona* by the Uniate ruler of Pinsk, Pachomiusz (Orański) from 1645 – were written by Ruthenian authors from the Kyiv Metropolis. The rest are eleven codices presenting the Latin intellectual tradition, especially post-Tridentine theology and canon law of the Roman Catholic Church.⁴² It has to be admitted, however, that

³⁹ ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 350, k. 6v. The question of the status of the Buchach monastery was included in *Dziennik* because of the complex process of incorporating this newly established Basilian community into the Lithuanian province of Holy Trinity in 1717. This was a precedent in the Kyiv Metropolis at the time – the first case in the history of the Lviv Eparchy when a monastic centre located on its territory came under the jurisdiction of the Basilian protoarchimandrite instead of the local Uniate ruler. Ā. Stoc'kij, *Bučas'kij monastir Otciv Vasiliān: na službi Bogovi j Ukraīni. Do 300-littā zasnuvannā*, Žovkva 2011, pp. 56–57. Another problem was the difficulty of legitimizing the foundation of Belz Voivode Stefan Potocki (1652–1726/1727), which faced resistance from the two Catholic archbishops of Lviv – Uniate and Latin, who supported their position citing the provisions of the Council of Trent. In order to resolve these misunderstandings, Fr Antoni (Zawadzki) met with Count Potocki in Zamość on 28 August, having made a note in advance in his *Dziennik* about the foundation in Buchach.

⁴⁰ ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 350, k. 7–7v. The appearance in *Dziennik* of information about the Ascension Archimandry in Minsk reflects the complex internal processes within the womb of the Basilian Order, related to the final stage of the generally effective struggle of its leadership against the institution of archimandry. Since the Zhyrovichi chapters of 1675 and 1679, Basilians had persistently demanded the abolition of the archimandry, and in the early 18th century they achieved some results in this matter. First of all, the Vilnius monastery was deprived of this status. Cf. *Na perehrestī kul'tur: Monastir i hram Presvatoī Trījci u Vil'nūsī*, eds. A. Bumblauskas, S. Kulāvičius, Ī. Skočilās, Vil'nūs 2017, pp. 131–132; *Kultūry kryžkelė: Vilniaus Švč. Trejybės šventovė ir vienuolynas*, eds. A. Bumblauskas, S. Kulevičius, Ī. Skočilās, Vilnius 2017, pp. 110–111. At the same time, neither the royal power, which was losing its influence on the appointment of Basilian dignitaries (the Warsaw General Sejm repeatedly passed constitutions on the restitution of Unitarian archimandry in the Church), nor the numerous candidates for the office of archimandrite from among the Catholic nobility of the Latin and Eastern rites, who were lured by the prestigious clerical career and rich benefices, were interested in such a turn of events. Fr Augustyn (Lubieniecki), hegumen of Vitebsk and a contender for the office of Minsk Archimandrite, belonged to the latter group.

⁴¹ ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 350, k. 9v–10.

⁴² The Latin codices that Fr Antoni (Zawadzki) took to Zamość were: two volumes of a treatise by the Italian abbot Ascanio Tamburini published in Cologne, Jan Zonaras' commentaries on the canons of the Eastern Church published probably in Paris, the then Code of Canons of the Roman Catholic Church, a collection of conciliar decrees by the Paduan doctor of theology Ludovici Baila,

some of them, such as the scholarly study of the Greek *Euchologion* by Dominican Jan (Jakub) Goar (printed perhaps in Paris in 1647) or the three treatises on the Eastern Church written by Greek Leon Allacci, a graduate of the Pontifical College of St Athanasius in Rome,⁴³ were the best examples of the literature of the time on Christianity in the Byzantine rite. In comparison, another participant in the Synod of Zamość, Fr Parteniusz (Łomikowski), archdeacon of St George Cathedral in Lviv and a hegumen of the monasteries in Pidhirtsi and Zolochiv, brought to Zamość, along with other liturgical books, the Vilnius edition of the Uniate *Służebnik*.⁴⁴

From 26 August to 17 September 1720, the Basilian protoarchimandrite described, on a daily basis, the actions taken at the Synod of Zamość (this is only a quarter of the entire *Diariusz*). Despite their small size, the notes contain unique information about the course of the meeting in Zamość, not recorded in any other source, including the official 1724 edition of the documents. In general, this information covers:

- solemn sessions of the Synod (26–28 August and 17 September);
- closed (private, internal) sessions of the synod;
- public pontifical and ecclesial activities (ceremonial entry of the nuncio and the metropolitan to Zamość,⁴⁵ liturgies celebrated by the archbishop, ordination of the ruler of Pinsk, Teofil (Godebski), appointment of Fr Augustyn (Lubieniecki) as the Archimandrite of Minsk);
- working meetings and discussions among the synod fathers.

a liturgical treatise by the Latin bishop Guillaume Durand printed in Lyon, and a theological paper by the apostolic prothonotary and consultant to one of the papal congregations Augustine Barbosa. Cf. A. Tamburini, *De jure Abbatum et aliorum praelatorum tan regularium quam secularium*, vol. 1–2, Coloniae Agrippinae 1691; *Joannis Zonarae Commentarii; Corpus Iuris Canonici*; L. Bail, *Summa conciliorum omnium ordinata, aucta, illustrata ex Merlini, Joverii, Baronii, Bini, Coriandoli, Sirmundi, aliorumque collectionibus, ac manuscriptis aliquot, cum annotationibus, et controversiis partim dogmaticis, partim historicis, ac verborum indice locupletissimo*, vol. 1, Patavii 1701; G. Durandi, *Rationale divinarum officiorum, Nunc recens utilissimis Adnotationibus illustratum. Adjectum fuit praeterea aliud Diuinarum Officiorum Rationale ab Ioanne Beletho Theologo Parisiensi, abhinc ferè quadringentis annis conscriptum, ac nunc demum in lucem editum. Cum duplici, uno prioris, altero posterioris Rationalis Indice locupletissimo*, Lugduni 1672; A. Barbosa Lusitani, *Summa apostolicarum decisionum, extra ius commune vagantium*, Genevae 1650. Cf. ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 350, k. 2.

⁴³ These treaties are as follows: L. Allatii, *De aetate, et interstitiis in collatione ordinum etiam apud Graecos seruandis ad eminentissimum Principem Franciscus Mariam Brancatium*, Romae 1638; idem, *De ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione libri tres...*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1648; idem, *De Octava Synodo Photiana*, Romae 1662 (another edition: 1666).

⁴⁴ 'Służebników znowu dwa druku Wileńskie[go] in folio, z tych ieden w J[ego] M[ości] o[jca] archidyakona, co wzioł do Zamoscia na synod, y do tych czas nie oddał.' L'vivs'ka nacional'na naukova biblioteka im. V. Stefanika NAN Ukraini, Viddil rukopisiv, f. 3, od. zb. 129, Registr ozdobu Cerkwi Kathedralney spisany w tejże katedrze Ś[więteg]o Jerzego Lwowskiej spisany w roku 1719, k. 42. I am sincerely grateful to Ivan Almes, Ph.D. of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv for the information on this record.

⁴⁵ ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 350, k. 6.

According to *Diariusz*, meetings (sessions) were not held on almost half of the 23 days of the Synod, i.e. in 29–30 August and 4, 7, 9 and 12–16 September. The interruptions in the sessions were primarily due to the threat of the spread of plague in Zamość and the health of the Kyiv Metropolitan and Basilian Protoarchimandrite, who were often ill, causing synodal sessions to be cancelled or postponed.⁴⁶ The three solemn sessions, which, as the Roman edition of *Synodus provincialis Ruthenorum* reports, were held on 26 August, 1 September, and 17 September 1720,⁴⁷ are described in various ways by Zawadzki, depending on his interest in their program and his personal participation. From *Żywot Kiszki*, written by the protoarchimandrite, we learn that due to illness he was unable to attend the last solemn meeting and influence the content of the resolutions passed at that time.⁴⁸

According to Fr Antoni, the first solemn session lasted three days in a row – from 26 to 28 August, and was held in various locations: the parish temple, the Metropolitan's house and the residence of the Apostolic Nuncio. Unfortunately, this session is presented in the *Diariusz* by means of very laconic chronicle records, stating that it was interrupted due to the epidemiological threat in the city, the illness of Leon (Kiszka) and the mail that arrived in those days to the synod participants (it was the practice at the time to respond to letters promptly so that they could be sent by the same means of transportation – either by carriage or stagecoach).

The second solemn session was originally scheduled for Saturday, 31 August, but was moved to Sunday, 1 September, due to the illness of the Kyiv Metropolitan. According to *Diariusz*, it lasted two days – from 1 to 2 September at the residence of Apostolic Nuncio G. Grimaldi. The protoarchimandrite detailed one of the parts of this session, chaired by the Nuncio on 2 September at St Nicholas and Protection of the Blessed Mother of God Church in Zamość.

Another, third solemn session was announced for Saturday, 7 September, but in the end it was not held (Fr Antoni does not explain why), and some Basilians, disappointed by this fact, left Zamość without even saying goodbye to their protoarchimandrite.

The synod fathers had to wait a full decade for the opening of the last solemn meeting. In *Diariusz* we can find little information about it: the session was held in the local Uniate Orthodox church, and it was at that time that the acts of the Provincial Synod were signed by the Apostolic Nuncio, the Ruthenian rulers and archimandrites, while the Metropolitan of Kyiv, the bishops of Chełm and Przemyśl and 'almost all the archimandrites' left Zamość the same day.

Apart from additional facts about the ceremonial sessions, the information cited in *Diariusz* about closed internal ('private') sessions is essential. These sessions were of a working, less formal nature, and were devoted to discussing draft provisions of the synod and various administrative issues. Father Antoni describes with detail four such 'private' meetings: on 5, 6, 10 and 11 September. They were

⁴⁶ Ibidem, k. 6v.

⁴⁷ We can read about them in the Roman edition of the Zamość Synod documents: *Synodus provincialis Ruthenorum*, pp. 41–52 (first session), 52–54 (second session), 54–55 (third session).

⁴⁸ ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 324, k. 68.

also held on other days, of course, and the protoarchimandrite documenting the meetings of the synod fathers did not always indicate their formal status.⁴⁹

Another form of the activity of the Synod of Zamość involved the meetings convened by the nuncio, the metropolitan and the protoarchimandrite. The first such meeting with fathers from the province of the Holy Trinity congregation was organized by Fr Antoni as recently as 25 August, and two days later a '[c]onferentia D[ominorum] ep[iscoporum] et caeterorum fuit de mane in hospitio D[omi]ni m[e]tropolitanis' was held.⁵⁰ The participants also gathered on 6 September at the guest house of the head of the Uniate Church,⁵¹ to discuss the merger of monks from the eparchies newly converted in the late 17th and early 18th centuries into a single Basilian congregation. The topic of the meeting of 9 September (also initiated by the metropolitan) was 'honorario Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omi]no nuntio, et suis domesticis auditori, et c[eteris].'⁵² At this meeting, Father Antoni presented the order's complaint against the archimandrites of Ovruch and Talachyn, who usurped these ecclesiastical offices. Leon (Kiszka), in turn, asked the protoarchimandrite to agree to the archimandrite ordination of Augustyn (Lubieniecki), who was supported by the secular magnates (in particular, the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, and Prince Michał Serwacy Wiśniowiecki, who granted him the right of presentation without the knowledge of the Basilian Order).⁵³

Furthermore, F. Antoni held meetings with various synod participants, mainly Basilians. On 18 September, after the convention had already ended, he appeared in audience with Nuncio G. Grimaldi and laid out to the Vatican dignitary his reservations about the various provisions that concerned the Basilian Order.⁵⁴ The protoarchimandrite was most concerned about the decision to merge all the monasteries of the eparchy into one province 'novam provincia[m] uniant[ur].' The local rulers believed that the new congregation should include those monasteries that had long belonged to the Holy Trinity Province, and the Basilians did not want to lose them. The nuncio suggested including Fr Antoni's arguments in the desiderata of the Uniate Church addressed to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Indeed, within a few years, such desiderata were sent to Rome.⁵⁵ Father Antoni also denied that the hermitage archimandry had been placed under the administration of the Archbishop of Smolensk.

Thematically, *Diariusz synodu zamojskiego* focuses primarily on those events witnessed by Fr Antoni himself, as well as issues that were discussed with his direct participation or on his initiative. These included:

⁴⁹ Only with regard to 9, 14, 15 and 16 September, did he explicitly state that on these days '[v]acant synodales sessiones. Ego infirmor'. Ibidem, ed. hr. 350, k. 13v.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, k. 6–6v.

⁵¹ Ibidem, k. 10v.

⁵² Ibidem, k. 11r.

⁵³ Ibidem, k. 7.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, k. 15.

⁵⁵ ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 324, k. 68v.

- declaration of dogmatic submission of the synod participants to the Holy See – submission of the Catholic profession of faith⁵⁶ and solemn proclamation of papal bulls, constitutions and decrees, including the Only Begotten Son of God (*Unigenitus*), At the Lord's Table (*In Coena Domini*) and On Ecclesiastical Immunity (*De immunitate Ecclesiastica*);
- draft chapters on the holy sacraments and their administration, parishes, monasteries and the religious state, nuns, fasts and feasts, relics, miracles and the veneration of saints;
- project to merge the monasteries of the 'new union' into a single congregation and the status of the former Basilian communities in the Volhynia and Chełm regions;
- discussion with the Apostolic Nuncio and Metropolitan of Kyiv on the jurisdiction of the protoarchimandrite of the Basilian Order over archimandrites;
- the question of a seminary for the whole eparchy and the funds for its maintenance (a legation by Metropolitan Jerzy (Winnicki) for 40,000 Polish zlotys secured on the Czaplă estate).⁵⁷

Diariusz reflects the extraordinary intensity and dynamism of the Council's discussions on virtually all the issues on the agenda, which later formed the basis of the synod's resolutions. Thus, Fr Antoni's diary entries straighten out the thesis, widespread in historiography, that the draft of the decisions made at the provincial meeting in Zamość was prepared in advance at the Roman Curia, and that its participants had no influence on the final shape of the acts and only formally signed them.⁵⁸ In fact, a number of synod fathers were involved in discussing the Zamość reform, as the contents of *Diariusz* clearly confirm.

In particular, the first solemn session of 26–28 August and closed sessions debated proposals for the chapters of *De fide et confessione fidei*, on the seven holy sacraments (especially the Eucharist) and the Eucharistic sacrifice. Discussed were also the sensitive issues for the Russian Orthodox Church of simony among the clergy, the advisability of adopting the new Gregorian calendar, and the issue of portable altars.⁵⁹ On 5 September, in the first of the closed sessions that we know of, the chapters on hieromonks, nuns, parish priests and the seminary were addressed. The sensitive issue of precedence between the protoarchimandrite and the archimandrites of the Basilian Order, which arose in connection with the need for everyone present at the synod to sign the Creed, was also raised at the time. The 'private' session of 6 September, on the other hand, was devoted to the canonical status of nuns of the Volhynia Eparchy and the presence in the liturgical calendar of the Feast of the Patience of the Mother of God and the Respect of Blessed Josaphat (Kuntsevych).⁶⁰

Other, closed sessions of the synod addressed the issue of eparchies' and monasteries' contributions to funding the seminary for lay clergy (the 'Reverend

⁵⁶ Ibidem, ed. hr. 350, k. 7v.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, k. 7, 9.

⁵⁸ Cf., e.g. Ū. Fedoriv, *Zamojs'kij sinod 1720 r.*, Rim 1972, pp. 26–27.

⁵⁹ ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 350, k. 6v–7.

⁶⁰ Ibidem, k. 10.

Protoarchimandrite' was required to support this eparchy initiative). The issue of the careerism of Fr Augustyn (Lubieniecki), who contended simultaneously for the Pińsk cathedral and the Minsk archimandrite, was also vividly discussed. A particularly intriguing piece of information is related to the synodal session of 11 September, whose participants focused on only one issue – the need to 'stop the dissemination of a book by Kasjan Sakowicz targeting Greek and Ruthenian rites.'⁶¹ No other source mentions the discussion at the Synod of Zamość of the polemical treatise *Perspektywa*, the publication of which in 1642 had had far-reaching effects on the ethos of Kyiv Christianity. The initiative of the Kamianets Roman Catholic chapter to 'reprint this mocking book' may have been the pretext for raising the issue on the synod's agenda, as Fr Antoni wrote with outrage in his *Diariusz*. Other topics of debate that day included 'fasts in the Greek rite,' the oppression of Ruthenians by the Latin clergy, and the maintenance of eparchial seminarians with funds from the Basilian Order, which the protoarchimandrite did not agree to.

While participating in the Synod of Zamość, Fr Antoni simultaneously performed the duties of protoarchimandrite of the Basilian Order and devoted most of his time to this activity, as reflected in the relevant entries in *Diariusz*. These are mostly administrative, economic and financial issues: construction orders, investigations into the activities of individual Basilians, the transfer of monks to other monasteries, the appointment of vicars and hegumens of individual communities, the transfer and distribution of funds, etc. In addition to official orders, he also dealt with other day-to-day problems of the order that needed immediate attention. On 9–10 September, he summoned Protoarchimandrite Fr Augustyn (Lubieniecki) to court because the latter had arbitrarily chosen a monastery for himself, and declared that the protoarchimandrite had acted and was acting contrary to the monastic rules.⁶² On 12 September, he joined in putting forward candidates for the vacant post of archimandrite of Grodno's St Boris and Gleb monastery.⁶³

Fr Antoni's records regarding the synod's sessions, numerous deliberations and meetings show his complex and in some aspects even conflicting relations with the then head of the Uniate Church. In the notes, which are clearly subjective in nature, one can see some opposition to Leon (Kiszka), who forced the protoarchimandrite to make compromises that were painful for him and the order during the Zamość Synod, both officially and privately. The fundamental issue, which the Uniate eparchy and the Basilians wanted to resolve differently, was the association of monks from the newly converted rulers in a separate congregation and their institutional ties with the Lithuanian Province of the Holy Trinity.⁶⁴ There was also talk of a certain practice from the time of W. Rutsky, namely the inclusion of Basilians in administrative and pastoral activities in the structures of the eparchy and the metropolis, which created additional tensions between Kiszka and Zawadzki.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Ibidem.

⁶² Ibidem, k. 7–7v, 12–12v.

⁶³ Ibidem, k. 13v.

⁶⁴ ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 324, k. 68.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, k. 67v.

As regards the subject of contacts with the Metropolitan of Kiev during their joint stay in Zamość, Fr Antoni wrote in a rather despairing tone, emphasizing the metropolitan's ill-will toward himself and the entire order.⁶⁶ However, the oppositional discourse constructed by Fr Antoni in *Diariusz* against the head of the Uniate Church should not deceive us. In addition to the subjective daily records of the protoarchimandrite, we can find in it the broader context of the synod's workings – the cooperation of white (secular) and black clergy, or the ability to find consensus on major issues concerning the reform of the 'Ruthenian faith.' This spirit of solidarity is mentioned more than once by Fr Antoni himself, when a week before the provincial assembly in Volodymyr-Volynskyi he discussed with Leon (Kiszka) the reaction of the Uniate Church to the proposals received from the Roman Curia as to the provisions of the synod,⁶⁷ agreed upon the nomination of Fr Augustyn (Lubieniecki) and the creation of a new Basilian province, or signed the resolutions of the synod, despite the addition of significant remarks against them.

Diariusz presents the Basilian legend of the Synod of Zamość, which is a delightful tale of sacrificial service to its order and resolute defence of its rights and prerogatives before the Uniate Eparchy and the Warsaw Apostolic Nunciature. It is not coincidental that of the nineteen thematic chapters on the provisions either discussed or passed at the synod of 1720, Fr Antoni comments primarily on those related to the status of the Basilian Order in the Russian Orthodox Church, the reorganization of its structure, and the spiritual and intellectual formation of its monks. The protoarchimandrite also manifested simultaneous interest in liturgical, ecclesiological and dogmatic projects. According to the rule of *argumentum ex silentio*, the lack of negative reaction to their content in *Diariusz* proves the protoarchimandrite's agreement with the other fathers of the Zamość Synod upon these issues.

The text of *Diariusz synodu zamojskiego* is published in accordance with modern principles of editing historical sources in Polish language.⁶⁸ For better reception, modern punctuation was introduced, sentences were grouped into paragraphs, and the boundaries between them were marked with periods. Misspelled words, questionable or unintelligible (in terms of content) fragments are marked with a question mark and commented on, and the critical remarks are included in footnotes. Illegible passages have been marked with an ellipsis. All grammatically and morphologically incorrect words and colloquialisms have been left in the places wherever they constitute an important testimony to the presence of Polish and Latin languages in the Basilian environment. Text omissions and additions, passages corrected or poorly legible in the original, and mistakes are written in square brackets. The spelling of lowercase and uppercase letters

⁶⁶ Ibidem, k. 68.

⁶⁷ ASPbII, kol. 52, op. 1, ed. hr. 350, k. 5–6v.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Instrukcja wydawnicza dla źródeł historycznych od XVI do połowy XIX wieku*, ed. K. Lep-szy, Wrocław 1953.

(except for ecclesiastical and secular titles and the names of Divine Persons and the names of sacred things), as well as the division of the text into individual words, are in accordance with modern spelling rules. The verbal and digital notation of numbers was not unified. However, changes were made to the spelling of *y* to the appropriate letters according to modern rules, and the letters: *o*, *n*, *s*, *c*, *z* were left without diacritical marks.

SOURCE DOCUMENT

No 1

city of Zamość – 1720, 25 August – 18 September

Excerpt from the Diary of the Protoarchimandrite of the Basilian Order Fr Anthony (Zawadzki) with a Description of the Activities of the Provincial Synod of Zamość of 1720

Na synod prowincjalny Zamoyski ja[k] miał bydź i[n]gress⁶⁹.

Die [vigesima quin]ta

Veni cum R[everend]o patre abbate milcensi in Zamoscie; quo die consultatum ab Illustr[issi]mo metropolitano et Ill[ustrissi]mo archiep[iscop]o polocensi et ep[iscop]o chelmensi de modo ingrediendi pro actu synodi provincialis, civit[a] tem Zamoscie; quonia[m] ille ingressus nullum solitum hospitalitatis localis et auctoritati metropolitanae conveniens pararet[ur] applausus; quem applausum solus nuper habuit ingressus Celsissimi D[omi]ni nuntii apostolici ut praesidis dictae synodi. Ingressi die [19]⁷⁰ aug[us]ti.

Eadem die patres ex provincia congregationis S[an]ctissimae Trinit[at]is conveniunt, qui erant vocati; et ecclesia Zamoyscensis disponebatur, ad actum solenne[m] ei[us]modi.

A Rakow⁷¹. Eadem die a R[everendo] p[at]re Pachomio Pietruch de Rakow accepi datas die 15 [praese]ntis, qui significat, p[atrem] superiorem die 14 aug[us]ti, occasione acceptae medicinae extinctum R[everendum] p[atrem] Sadok-Preszkiewicz et nihil reliquisse pecuniar[um].

⁶⁹ Headline written in the margin.

⁷⁰ A space was left in the original for the date of Apostolic Nuncio Girolamo Grimaldi's arrival in Zamość. It was completed based on a letter from this Vatican dignitary to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome on 22 August 1720. Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Segretaria di Stato, Polonia, vol. 149, k. 330–331v.

⁷¹ Note in the margin.

Sessio synodalis publica [pri]ma hac die f[acta]⁷².

Die [vigesima sex]ta

*Vilna*⁷³. Accepi Vilna a p[atre] pro[curat]ore generali datas die 11 p[rae]sentis, qui [pri]mo significat causam Iatwieskoviensem commodi[us] intentandam esse in subsello castrensi, ad quam munimenta fundativalia, iam esse acticata. [Secun]do [...]cium⁷⁴ velle componere sed meli[us] obtento decreto. [Ter]tio. Ad causam Czereiensem, cit[a]tiones se expediturum.

*Vilna*⁷⁵. Item a R[everendo] p[atre] vicario datas die 10 aug[us]ti qui significat se curaturum cit[a]tionis ad causam Czereiensem. [Secun]do ut inhibeat p[ater] Michałowski celebr[ati]one ad S[anctae] Ioanne[m] ubi duo apparamenta atterunt[ur]. Eadem die prandiu[m] apud Ill[ustrissimu]m D[ominu]m nuntiu[m].

D[ie] [vigesima septi]ma

Conferentia D[ominorum] ep[iscop]o[rum] et caeterorum fuit de mane in hospitio D[omi]ni m[e]tropolitanis. A prandiis vacavit.

*Romam*⁷⁶. Eadem die expediti ad patrem procuratorem p[er] fratres, [pri]mo quod soci[us] p[ater] Polatilo assignat[ur] revocand[us] ex collegio P[ro]pag[andae], et in ei[us] locum, ad collegium mittendus, ali[us] p[ro] rhetorica. [Secun]do lapidem et laminas duas B[eatissi]mae Zyrovicensis, imagines 160, Missale promisi mittendum.

*Dług [do] Rzymu posłany za Lebieckiego*⁷⁷. Debitum scutata 42 seu aureos 21 et gr[ossos] 6 misi p[er] man[us] f[rat]ris Czudowski. Wziawszy cambiu[m] u J[egomości] x[iędza] Tromb[e]tego.

*Rakoviam*⁷⁸. Eodem die respond[i] p[atri] Pietruch, vicario rakoviensi, de p[rae]dictis R[everendi] p[atris] Sadok-Preszkiewicz, superioris loci.

D[ie] [vigesima octa]va

*Buczacka fundacya ma trudności od łacińskie[go] y ruskiego biskupów*⁷⁹. J[ego] M[ość] P[an] w[o]j[e]w[o]da bełski, bywszy strażnik koronny J[ego] M[ość] P[an] Stefan Potocki, wizitowany odemnie przy J[ego] M[ościu] m[e]t[ropo]licie, J[ego] M[ościu] łuckim, J[ego] M[ościu] chełmskim biskupach, conferował o fundacyj swojej Buczacki[ej] proponendo: [pri]mo ratione kościołka quoties convenit J[ego] M[ości] arcybiskupa lwowskiego, y capitulum toties miał deklaracyą, że mieli pozwolić i[n]cessus uczynić do fundacyj Buczackiej, et toties nihil effectis. [Secun]do quod in hac causa conventus J[ego] M[ość] nuntius deklarował, że ten kościółek per provisionem S[an]ctissimi D[omi]ni papae ma cedere do fundacyj bazilianom buczackim. [Ter]tio że J[ego] M[ość] episcop lwowskinie chce dwóch

⁷² Headline written in the margin.

⁷³ Note in the margin.

⁷⁴ Illegible fragment.

⁷⁵ Note in the margin.

⁷⁶ Note in the margin.

⁷⁷ Note in the margin.

⁷⁸ Note in the margin.

⁷⁹ Note in the margin.

monastyrków o cztere mile od Buczacza erigowanych od babki J[ego] M[os]ci gospodarówny wołoskiej, nie chce postąpić, aby do klasztoru Buczackiego były affiliowane dla gruntów, które mają te klasztorki (*które J[ego] M[os]ć ep[isko] p ruski facilituje*)⁸⁰, w czym J[ego] M[os]ć ep[isko]p lwowski instancyej J[ego] M[os]ci m[e]t[ro]p[o]lity conventus tak od J[ego] M[os]ci P[ana] w[o]j[e]w[o]dy, jako y J[ego] M[os]ci m[e]t[ro]p[o]lity, y J[ego] M[os]ci chełmskie[go] y J[ego] M[os]ci łuckiego, deklarował, sobie rachować chcąc subordinationem, klasztoru Buczackiego ad regulam concilii Trydentini, quod a religione declaratu[m] J[ego] M[os]ci.

Synodu sessio [ter]cia⁸¹

Eadem die fuit sessio in residentia Cels[is]s[im]i D[omi]ni nuntii, in qua consultatum, disputatum, et resolutu[m] super titulo [ter]tio „De fide et confessione fidei”; [quar]to „De Sacramento Baptismi”; [secun]do de symonia iniuncta Ill[ustrissi]mis D[ominis] ep[iscop]is Russiae; [pri]mo de calendario novo recipiendo vel non [...]”⁸² et soluta sessio ad cras pro hora [septi]ma.

D[ie] [vigesima no]na

Vacat sessio synodalis propter pestam et propter debilitatem Ill[ustrissimi] D[omini] metropolitani⁸³. Discuteba[n]t[ur] propositiones de S[a]c[ra]m[en]to Confirmationis, et generaliter de Sacris Oleis Chrysmatis et catechumenorum et de forma Sacramento Baptismi⁸⁴. [Secun]do de Eucharistia et Sacrificio Missae, altarib[us] portatilib[us].

Die [trigesima]ma.

Vacat sessio synodalis, propter postam et propter debilitatem Ill[ustrissimi] D[omi]ni metropolitani

*Do Rzymu y Olomunca expediowani bracia*⁸⁵. Eadem die f[ra]tres studentes, expediti in viam de Zamość Romam tres, Georgius Bulhak p[ro] theologia, Damianus Czudowski et Artemius Piotrowicz, p[ro] philosophia ad Collegiu[m] Graecum, Olomucium Laurenti[us] Bielecki et Eustachius Ko[v]lenski p[ro] philosophia.

Die [trigesima pri]ma sessio synodalis in eodem loco ad residentiam Ill[ustrissimi] D[omini] nuntii in qua discutaban[tur] p[ro]positionis de S[a] c[ra]m[en]tis Paenit[en]tiae et Extremae Unctionis

*Włodzimirski[ej] sumy 12000 periclitant[ur] przez x[ie]dza Bielskieg[o], rektora*⁸⁶. Eadem die coram Ill[ustrissimo] D[omino] metropolitano convent[us]

⁸⁰ Note in the margin.

⁸¹ Headline written in the margin.

⁸² A blank space was left for completion.

⁸³ The sentence is crossed out in the original.

⁸⁴ The last five words are crossed out.

⁸⁵ Note in the margin.

⁸⁶ Note in the margin.

V[enerabilis] A[dmodum] R[everendus] p[ater] Patricius Bielski, archim[an]d[ri]ta ovrucensis, ad praesens olim rector collegii Vlodimiriensis; de restituenda inscriptione, super 12000 sumae Vlodimiriensis, data ab Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omino] Winnicki, metropolitano, qui hanc sumam, mutuo acceperat ad solvendam suma[m] p[ro] bonis Czaple. Qui R[everendus] p[ater] Bielski, confess[us] se ab Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omino] metropolitano accepisse illam inscriptionem, sed eam se non habere nec recordari cui consignarent, nisi forte D[omi]no Hulenicki.

*P[ro]mocya x[iędza] Lubienieckie[go] ambitiosissima et ordini iniuriosissima non cessat*⁸⁷. Eadem die accepi a R[everendo] p[at]re Lubieniecki, sup[er]iore viteb[scensi], instantiales Cels[issi]mi principis Wiszniowiecki, cancellarii datas die 10 aug[us]ti 1720 qui instat pro eodem: [pri]mo ut advitalis sit superior viteb[scensis]; [secun]do ut archimandrium habeat Minscensem simul; [ter]tio exprimit quod hac conditione, signaverit privilegium R[everendo] p[at]ri Godebski, ut R[everendus] p[ater] Lubieniecki archimandria[m] obtineat cu[m] advitalit[a]te.

Eadem et simul cum p[rae]notatis instantiis, R[everendus] p[ater] Lubieniecki cora[m] Ill[ustrissi]mo m[e]t[ro]p[ol]i[t]a, labem symoniaca[m] incurrisse R[everendum] p[at]rem Godebski circa p[ro]motionem suam ad Pincensem ep[isco]patu[m] eo quod sex millia imperialiu[m] in Telechany, sibi debitoru[m], obtulerit Cels[issi]mo D[omi]no principi cancellario et c[etera]. Cuius damni quod ipse R[everendus] p[ater] Lubieniecki extiterit causa, ambitiose conquirendo instantias pro se ad eundem ep[isco]patum, retorsit R[everendus] p[ater] Godebski; imo quod contra votum obedientiae et contra a[n]ni votum non ambiendi, recentissime emissum in capitulo Novogrodensi die 24 [septem]bris in an[n]o 1719, duo privilegia p[ro] archimandria Minscensi et pro ep[isco]patu Pincensi procuraverit in suam personam, et se centis modis procurando, electionem factam a religione in personam R[everendi] p[at]ris Godebski impedire, et eludere cassare propter instantias, magnatuu[m] inevitabiles, sumptuose, cum damno monasterii cui praest, contenderit et contendat. Ipse et symoniacus, et ambitiosus et c[etera].

1720 September, die [pri]ma

Et ita in p[rae]sentia Ill[ustrissi]mi D[omi]ni m[e]t[ro]p[ol]itae, R[everendis] s[i]m[us] p[ater] protoarchimandrita, R[everendo] patri Lubieniecki verboten[us] declaravit se non religiose p[ro]cessisse et p[ro]cedere, tam in ambiendo ep[isco]patu quam in procuranda dignit[a]te archimandritali p[rae]cipue iniuriasse respectu religionis, (*archimandria Mińska czemu oddana klasztorowi Ś[więtego] Ducha?*⁸⁸) eo quod archimandriae Minscensis titulus est sublatus et eliminatus per capitulu[m] eccl[esi]ae Zyrovicense in anno 1675 sess[i]one [secun]da, continuatu[m] a S[anc]ta Sede Apostolica in anno 1676 die 13 aprilis. Et quidem titulus iste sublatus, et iura illi[us] foundationis, Ascensionis D[omi]ni ecclesiae transfusa in monasteriu[m] S[an]cti Spiritus Minscensenon gratiose, et liberaliter, sed ex quadam iustitia, eo quod religiosi haec iura, iam a tot annis, in alienas manus indebitas distracta non tantum improbo labore, studio indefesso, sed etia[m] pecunia sui monasterii unde-

⁸⁷ Note in the margin.

⁸⁸ Note in the margin.

quaque conquisita, per lites, et difficult[a]tes, imo et vitae dispendio temperaverunt. Denique quod R[everendus] p[ater] Liubieniecki insolenter tot privilegia reportet pro singulis puniendus iuxta ius commune, et constitutiones religionis.

Sessio synodalis publica secunda⁸⁹

Die [secun]da [septem]bris sessio publica fuit in ecclesia cui praesidebat Cels[issi]m[us] nunti[us]. Ill[ustrissi]m[us] D[ominus] metropolita Missa[m] lectam celebravit; post concionem dixit R[everendus] p[ater] Spiridon Iachimowicz mox primum Roma ex Collegio Graeco redux ex themate: „Nonne oportuit te misereri conservi tui”. Sermonem tum nectens de vindicta non sumenda sed venia de iniuriis proximo danda. Tum post concione[m] thronus Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omino] nuntio p[rae]parat[us], dum interim metropolitanus, ep[iscop]i et archiep[iscop]i in mantiis suis et infulis circa altare subsisterent. Tum deinde throno p[rae]parato omnes exiverunt pontificaliter et consederunt; et iterum assurrexerunt, cum praeside, et praesidis clerici intonarunt ex pontificali quae de rubrica, et lectum euangelium: „Ecce ego mitto vos” a diacono. Denique orationes a praeside. Et sequit[ur] consessus ep[iscop]orum omnium, in stallis sitis caeteris assistentib[us] ascendit cathedram (proponente R[everendo] p[at]re Constantino Szacinski, Ordinis Divi Basilii Magni, superiore chomscensi et requirenti, ut legant[ur] casus resonati bullae „Caenae D[omi]ni”; [secun]do decretum „De immunitate ecclesiastica”; [ter]tio bulla „Unigenitus” S[anctis]s[i]mi papae Clementis XI quae omnia legit ex pulpito seu cathedra R[everendis]s[i]m[us] pater Innocentius Pehowicz, archim[andri]ta mi[l]lensis; ad extremum subsecuta fidei professio quorundam non paucoru[m] qui nuper, cum aliis, nondum fecissent.

Et soluta sessio ad diem sabbati, quod est dies [septi]ma. Post haec prandium apud Ill[ustrissi]mum D[omi]num metropolitanum omnium cum praeside ep[iscop]orum et abbatum et religiosorum.

Die [ter]tia sessio synodalis, expedivit propositiones de S[a]c[ra]m[en]tis Ordine et Matrimonio

*Torokanie*⁹⁰. Eodem die accepi de Torokanie a V[enera]bili p[at]re superiore datas die 27 aug[us]ti:

*Derelicta summa x[risti]ana Switlickiego ma być oddana Brześciowi z Żyrowicz*⁹¹. [Pri]mo. Circa sumam zyrovicensem, a D[omino] Poluchiński receptam 1500 fl[ore]norum ut ex illa, unum mille restituat[ur] Brestensi mon[a]s[te]rio a m[on]as[te]rio Zyrovicensi, in locu[m] distractae sumae Switlicciana, et inscriptio synagogae Pruzanensis p[ro] d[ebi]to 1555 florenis redeat retro Zyrovicios; quae pecunia expendi debet p[ro] m[on]as[te]rio Brestensi erigendo.

[Secun]do. P[at]rem Iakowicki monendum et exhortandum petit ut non segniter procedat circa erectione[m] Brestensem.

⁸⁹ Headline written in the margin.

⁹⁰ Note in the margin.

⁹¹ Note in the margin.

*Minsco*⁹². Eadem die a R[everendo] p[at]re superiore minscensi datas die 19 augusti qui [pri]mo significat p[at]rem Sadok, sup[erio]rem rakoviense[m], die 14 functu[m]. [Secun]do. P[at]rem Sylvanu[m] expeditum iam in Rohaczew et libros derelictos p[at]ris Loszukiewicz illic accepisse ferendos. [Ter]tio. Co[m]munit[a] tem post visit[a]tionem miti[us] pati clausura[m] et p[at]rem Domanski post assumptum vicariatum. [Quar]to. R[everendi] p[at]ris Iosaphatdefuncti derelictorum misit r[e]g[ist]ru[m]. [Quin]to. Circa pulvillum, a me ibi relictum, V[enera]b[i]lis Lowickichartulam. Item a R[everendo] p[at]re Domanski relationem de fatiis R[everendi] p[at]ris Rakoviensis. Item a p[at]re Silvano.

*Derelicta x[iędza] Czyżewskiego*⁹³.

R[e]g[iste]r rzeczy pozostałych W[ielebnego] o[ł]jca Iosafata Czyżewskiego, zesłego w roku 1720 d[zie] 19 jula w Mińsku

Rasa francuskiego sukna nadnoszona; studentowi Przyńskiemu.
Sotanna sztametowa nowa kirem podszyta; ad dispo[sition]em R[everen]d[is]s[i]mi.
Kaptur komzetowy nadnoszony; item.
Kaptur sztametowy stary; na mego włożony.
Pas szeroki łyczkowy; oddany któremuś x[ię]dzu.
Raska kamowa przynoszona.
Czapek bobrowych dwie; z szynkim y wązkim bobre[m].
Podkapek.
Kaftan pułsztametowy; na mego ułożony.
Westikula stara bakanami podszyta.
Kieca stara. Poduszek 2. Poduszki x[iędzowi] Łowickiemu, kieca na laniae.
Koc płótnem podszyty; x[iędzowi] bratu oddany Lemieszewskiemu.
Kolderka dwieczkowa; x[iędzowi] Kowickiemu.
Pechawik bobrem opuszony.
Kapelih szary, y mitralka.

Xiegi

Połustaw Wileński; oddany b[ratu] Lemieszewskiemu.
Psałterzyk.
Mutety alias partytury nierewidowane.
Sepet, w nim buse, o dwiema nierewidowane, y huzynka; rozdane kufry oycom y braci.

Peculium. Expensa z tych p[ie]n[ię]dzy przez x[iędza] starszego stale circa funus et [cetera] złotych 14 groszy 22

Talarów 17.
Pułtalarków 2.
Tynfów 82.
Czerwonych 3.

⁹² Note in the margin.

⁹³ Headline written in the margin.

Ołtynik moskiewski.

*Suma[m] 6000 Gode[b]ska repetit[ur] od J[egomości] x[iędz]a Theofila,
postępującego na ep[archi]q Pińską⁹⁴*

Eadem die ad vespera[m] causa religionis, contra R[everendum] p[at]rem Theophilum Godebski, n[omi]natum ep[isco]pu[m] pinscense[m] de summa 6000 florenoru[m] et 3000 imperialium legatoru[m] a sua matre ordini pro fundatione Choroborovicensi, et pro fundatione ab ipso R[everendo] p[at]re Theophilo, capitulo g[e]n[era]li Novogrodensi in anno [milesimo septingentesimo decimo septi]mo oblata et suscepta, et a fundatore nedum inscripta, sed multis debitis sup[er] Choroborowicze contractis per ipsum R[everendum] p[at]rem Theophilum. Coram Ill[ustrissi]mis R[everen]d[issi]mis D[omi]nis m[e]t[ro]p[ol]itano, archiep[isco]po poloc[ensi], ep[isco]po chelmensi agitata et conclusa, [pri]mo ut incusat[us] extunc inscribat 6000 post annos duos exolvenda; [secun]do unu[m] mille imperialium inscribat super Choroborowicze et Milaszewiczepost sua fata exolvenda, seu ipsis bonis, occupandis; [secun]do ut hanc inscriptionem extunc recognoscat, in castro Krasnostaviensi, ante consecrationem.

Die [quar]ta⁹⁵

In Torokanie⁹⁶. Expedivi responsa cum resolutione ad V[enerabilem] p[atrem] p[ro]consultorem circa sumam Brestensem et Zyrovicensem. Item Minscum ad V[enerabilem] p[atrem] superiorem, responsa. Ad suu[m] vicarium.

In Rohaczow⁹⁷. Item ad R[everendum] p[atrem] Silvanum, vicarium rohaczoviensem, ut sit patiens.

Brestam⁹⁸. Item ad p[atrem] Iakowicki, superiorem brestensem, ut erigat monasterio saltem aliqua[m] habitatio[n]em ante hyemem, et ut sit vicario suo alias religioso digno altiori gradu, gratiosus, et sumptum p[ro] erectione monasterii apud V[enerabilem] A[dmodum] R[everendum] p[atrem] torocanensem esse actu.

*Copia literaru[m] ab Em[inentissi]mo D[omi]no praefecto S[acrae] Congr[eg]at[ionis] de propaganda fide praefecto Iosepho Sacripante card[inali] a[n]no 1720 die 8 iunii datarum.
X[iędz] Wietrzyński sprawę opisuje.*

Cardinalis praefectus do x[iędz]a metropolity⁹⁹

Acta causae p[atrum] Maximiani Wietrzyński et Firmiani Wolk, una cum peculiari facti informatione Sacrae huic Congregationi ab amp[litudine] tua per manus patris Stephani Trombetti prompte transmissa accepim[us], de iis maturo praecedente examine, rectum prout iustitiae ratio postulat iudicium apto tempore prolaturi. Neque est cur ipse suspiceris quod praefati patres obicem ponere studuerint p[at]ri p[ro]curato[ri] g[e]n[era]li ne hac in causa agere valeat, quasi tibi sit

⁹⁴ Headline written in the margin.

⁹⁵ The previous word *[ter]tia* was crossed out.

⁹⁶ Note in the margin.

⁹⁷ Note in the margin.

⁹⁸ Note in the margin.

⁹⁹ Headline written in the margin.

affinitate coniunctus, nulla etenim hactenus super hoc eidem S[acrae] Congregationi ex parte ipsorum vel eorum defensoris, deducta fuit exceptio. Quo vero ad authographa scripturarum et foundationum ad plura Basiliani Ordinis monasteria spectantia, ab eodem p[atre] Wietrzynski in [grave]¹⁰⁰ eorum p[rae]iudicium prout amp[litudo] tua asseruit sublata, curam omnem impendere, ut ea quantocius in lucem prodant[ur] ac p[rae]fatis monasteriis restituantur, Em[inentissim]i patres non praetermittent. Caeterum quoad spirituales quarundam ruthenor[um] diaecesiu[m] indigentias iis in proxima provinciali synodo opitulante Deo, plenissime subventum iri confidimus teq[ue] in tam necessarium sanctumq[ue] opus, eo, quo eximie polles, religionis studio ecclesiasticae[que] disciplinae zelo nedum ad animarum Christi sanguine redemptarum salutem paranda[m] verum etiam ad nationis tuae maius in dies incrementum, et decus pro viribus promovendum, annisurum¹⁰¹ fore speramus. Porro haec sunt quae tibi meis hisce literis nomine antedictae congregationis brevi rescribenda putavi et amp[litudini] tuae summam a Deo opt[imo] max[imo] incolumitatem enixe precor.

Amp[litudinis] tuae. Romae, 8 iunii 1720¹⁰².

Die [quin]ta¹⁰³

Synodalis sessio privata¹⁰⁴.

Sessio synodalis, tractavit de regularibus, de monialibus

Eadem die sessio data su[m]mae seminarialis Przemyslensis 40 m[illia] a nobis ad seminarium p[atrum] teatinor[um], Leopoliensiu[m], consentientibus in idem Ill[ustrissim]is et R[everendissim]is D[ominis] metropolitano, et ep[iscop]o po[mon]stoliensi, quam subscripsit R[everendissim]us p[ro]toarchim[andrit]a, V[enerabilis] A[dmodum] R[everendus] p[ater] Basilii Procewicz, consultor ordinis, V[enerabilis] A[dmodum] R[everendus] p[ater] Demetrius Zankiewicz, consultor, V[enerabilis] A[dmodum] R[everendus] p[ater] Antoni[us] Tomilłowicz, ord[inis] secretarius.

Sessio synodalis privata¹⁰⁵

Eodem sessio synodalis fuit, in qua tractatum [pri]mo de parochis; (*Praecedentia protoarchim[andrit]y przed archimandritami*¹⁰⁶) [secun]do de praecedentia inter p[ro]toarchimandritam et archimandritas, quos haberi p[rae]cedentiam ante p[ro]toarchimandrita[m] praetendebat Ill[ustrissim]us m[etropolit]itanus, ex eo

¹⁰⁰ When presenting the contents of the letter in *Dziennik*, the author left out this word. It was completed based on the original document. Archivio Storico „De Propaganda Fide” – Congregazione per Evangelizzazione dei Popoli, Litterae S. Congregationis et Secretarii, vol. 109, k. 190.

¹⁰¹ In the original letter: *arrisurum*. Ibidem, k. 190v.

¹⁰² The original of the letter is kept at the Vatican: ibidem, v. 189v–190v. Version published by the Basilans: *Litterae S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae spectantes*, vol. 3, ed. A.G. Welykyj, Romae 1956, pp. 149–150 (doc. 1220).

¹⁰³ The previous word *[quar]ta* was crossed out.

¹⁰⁴ Headline written in the margin.

¹⁰⁵ Headline written in the margin.

¹⁰⁶ Note in the margin.

quod simul p[rae]tenderet esse a iurisdictione p[ro]toarchimandritae ipso ascensu ad titulu[m] archimandritae eximerent[ur] a iurisdictione p[ro]toarchima[n]dritae. Quod p[ro]toarchimandrita in faciem Celsissimo D[o]mino nuntio negavit et sibi iurisdictionem super archimandritas ex primevis constitutionib[us] infamati ordinis deberi; (*P[ro]toarchim[an]d[ri]ta składal y karat archim[an]d[ri]tów y ma iurisdikcyę nad nimi*¹⁰⁷) [secun]do ex praxi exercitae iurisdictionis p[ro]toarchimandritae sup[er] archimandritas p[ro]babat, ut in Nicolaum Korsak, archimandritam mscislaviensem, in Stephanu[m] Szeluzinski, braslaviensem, et [Ieroteum]¹⁰⁸ Kudrycki, braslaviensem[m], itidem braslaviensem, qui iudicati et pro delictis suis puniti ac degradati cum essent benedicti in monasteriis privatam vitam finierunt. [Ter]tio praxi praecedentiae usitata in synodo p[ro]vinciali Kobrynensi a[n]no 1626 a die 26 augusti celebrata, in qua post ep[iscopos] p[ro]toarchimandrita locum tenuit, post illu[m] duo vicarii ep[iscopales], denique archimandrita mscislaviensis et archimandrita owrucensis.

Itaque Ill[ustrissi]m[us] D[omi]nus nuntius moderando collisionem in subscriptionib[us] synodi, suasit R[everen]d[issi]mo, ut si non velit infrasubscribere salvo iure p[rae]cedentiae, ad decisionem S[anct]ae Sedis Ap[osto]licae remittendae, in seorsivo solu[m] Professionem fidei subscribat.

*Na seminarium aby provincia contribucyą dawala, nuntiusz koniecznie chce, et responsum negative*¹⁰⁹. Idem Ill[ustrissi]mus D[omi]nus nunti[us] instabat serio, ut ex provinciae nostrae monasteriis contributio fiat pro seminario educandorum seminaristarum dioecesanorum. Respondit R[everen]d[issi]m[us] non posse hoc onus declarare p[ro]pter exhaustam provinciam, et non sufficiente[m] p[ro]videndis religiosiis alumnis ad collegia mittendis. Et quod erigendo studio theologico intra provincia[m] studiu[m] applicet. Denique, ad conferendum cum patrib[us] accepit.

Eadem die R[everen]d[issi]mus p[ro]toarchimandrita conferebat cum patribus de hac contributione; qui omnes et singuli professi se non posse quidq[ua]m e monasteriis conferre, cum non sint pares proventus, educandis misere personis monasterialib[us], et operibus rei p[ub]licae ferendis. Ex relatu ad cras differri deberet.

¹⁰⁷ Note in the margin.

¹⁰⁸ In the original, space was left to write the name of Fr Kudrycki, Archimandrite of Bratslav. The name of this hieromonk was established on the basis of his biography. Rossijskaâ nacional'naâ biblioteka (Sankt-Peterburg), Otdel rukopisej, Pol'skoazyčnye dokumenty, *Diptycha Patrum et Fratrum Ord[inis] S[ancti] Bas[i]lii M[agni] Congregationis tit[uli] S[anctissi]mae Trinitatis defunctorum ab A. 1686 et non omnium, et non omnino servata annorum serie, collecta a R.mo Joanne Olszewski, consultore Ordinis, superiore Torokanensi, continuata vero per Reverendissimum Antonium Zawadzki, exprotoarchimandritam, consul torem et superiorem Torokanensem usque ad annum 1730*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁹ Note in the margin.

D[ie] [quin]ta.**Sessio synodalis private¹¹⁰**

Sessio synodalis tractabat de monialib[us], de parochis, de seminario erigendo, ad quam erectionem, ut R[everen]d[issi]mus protoarchimand[ri]ta declararet, contributionem ex provincia, (*nunti[us] urget contributionem a provincia¹¹¹*) Ill[ustrissi]m[us] D[omi]nus nunti[us] instabat (ex instinctu Ill[ustrissi]mi D[omi]ni m[e]t[ro]p[ol]itani et archiep[iscop]i polocensis). Et p[ater] protoarchimand[ri]ta provincia[m] excusabat ab hoc onere rationib[us], deniq[ue], accepit ad conferendum cum patribus.

Die [sex]ta.**Sessio synodalis privata¹¹²**

Sessio synodalis tractabat de monialib[us] reliqua idque dioecesum Volynensium. Fidei professionem fecerunt in loco sessionis V[enera]bilis pater hegumenus poczayoviensis cum aliquot aliis hegumenis, et duob[us] ex confraternia stauropegiensi Leopoliensi id est D[omi]n[us] Laszkowski et D[omi]nus [Czesnikowski]. De festis item tractatu[m] p[rae]cipue festo in Lituania et Alba Russia usitato Piacionka, alias Decima, a magna feria [sex]ta quod in memoriam compassionis dolorosae Matris Virginis, officio ad hoc ordinato celebret[ur]. De festo B[eati] M[artyris] Iosafati celebrando die dominico post die 26 [septem]bris iuxta novu[m].

Xi[ę]ż a b[iskup]i praetendunt deberi sibi ex provincia dari theologos. Responsum neg[at]ive¹¹³. Eodem die Ill[ustrissi]m[us] archiep[iscop]us polocensis intulit quod ep[iscop]i necessario debent habere theologos ad latus suum; atq[ue] insistit ut protoarchim[an]d[ri]ta p[ro]videat. R[everen]d[issi]m[us] protoarchim[an]d[ri]ta respondit se non posse, ac petiit Ill[ustrissimu]m praesidentem non velle obligare ad id onus, cum p[ro]toarchim[an]d[ri]ta soli Ill[ustrissi]mo metropolitano ex nexu obligatus sit p[ro]videre. Ill[ustrissi]m[us] polocensis intulit iesuitam se theologum habituru[m]. P[ro]toarchim[an]d[ri]ta respondit „Etiam”. Et sibi in primis p[ro]videndum incumbit ut monasteria habeant personas doctas ad concionandum ad confessiones ad lectorat[us] et c[etera].

Protoarchimandrita ma jurisdikcyę nad archimandrita¹¹⁴. Notandum 115. Nuper in sessione die [quin]ta discussum factum de iurisdictione p[ro]toarchim[an]d[ri]tae super archimandritas et de praetensa ab iisdem praecedentia in ordine synodali. R[everen]d[issi]mus p[ro]toarchimandrita deducebat, in primis iurisdictionem ex eo quod archimandritas p[ro]toarchim[an]d[ri]ta deponebat ut p[atrem] Szeluzynski, braslaviensem, Paulum Korsak, mscislaviensem, et [Ieroteum]¹¹⁶ Kudrycki itidem braslaviensem. Denique quod visitet p[ro]toarchimandrita. Et locum non tantu[m] in capitulo g[e]n[er]ali post ep[iscop]os ante archimandritas sed et in colloquio

¹¹⁰ Headline written in the margin.

¹¹¹ Note in the margin.

¹¹² Headline written in the margin.

¹¹³ Note in the margin.

¹¹⁴ Note in the margin.

¹¹⁵ Word underlined in the original.

¹¹⁶ In the original, space was left to write the name of Fr Kudrycki.

Lublinensi, et in synodo Kobrynensi p[ro]vinciali, in a[n]no 1626 a die 26 augusti celebrata, post episcopos protoarchimand[ri]ta, deinde duo vicarii absentium episcoporum, denique, mscislaviensis et owrucensis archim[an]d[ri]tae locum habuerunt. Sed Ill[ustrissimus] D[omi]nus metropolitanus respondit, non haberi iurisdictione[m] super archimandritas protoarchimandritam. Et congreg[at]io[n]e[m] g[e]n[era]lem esse actum domesticum non publicum, talemq[ue] esse actu[m] colloqui[um]. Ill[ustrissimus]m[us] D[omi]n[us] nunti[us] respondit inconueniens esse non infulatum praecedere infulatos.

*Zakonnicy wołyńsci, ijako się mają in congregationem unam zebrać, vide Smuka tom[um] VI collect[ionis]*¹¹⁷. Eodem die [sex]ta de mane apud Il[lustrissimu]m D[ominum] metropolitanu[m] colloqui ep[iscop]alis discuss[us] fuit de modo redigendi in congregationem unam monachos dioecesum Luceoriensis, Leopoliensis, Premyslensis et Chelmensis qui non incorporat[ur] provinciae nostrae; atque conclusum ut vel eidem congregationi S[anctissim]ae Trinit[at]is incorporent[ur] et cum electo provinciali, subordinentur generali seu protoarchimandritae, ut in fundamento brevis Urbani VIII suadebat R[everend]issim[us] protoarchim[an]d[ri]ta [vel etia[m] se]¹¹⁸ paratam faciant provinciam ubi eligant provinciale[m], et pro [vincialis habeat]¹¹⁹ [...] ¹²⁰. Caeterum remissum hoc ad s[acram] congrega[ti]o[n]em definiendum.

*Lublino*¹²¹. Eadem die accepi a r[everendo] p[at]ri lublinensi datas die 4 p[rae]sentis qui petit [pri]mo religiosum unum, (*Derelictum horologium*¹²²) [secundo] declarat, horologium post fata patris Małachowskinon divenditum, et ad me remittendum.

*Zakon z metropolitą certuje o archim[an]d[ri]tach sine consensu benedikowanych Bielsk[i]ego y Jachimowicza*¹²³. Eadem die convent[us] Ill[ustrissimus]m[us] metropolitan[us] a p[ro]toarchim[an]d[ri]ta et consultoribus, et requisitus de patribus, Patricio Bielski, et Iosaphato Iachimowicz, insolenter absq[ue] consensu religionis ad titulos archimandriaru[m] evolantib[us], et benedictis; qui Ill[ustrissimus]m[us], primum bibonem et damnificatorem ad 10 m[ilia], alterum mendacem et damnificatorem suos accusavit. De consensu autem non accepto, frustraneam requisitione[m] et c[etera] respectu patris Iosaphat, eo quod p[er]misisset capitulum g[e]n[era]le illum consedissee in capitulis duob[us] (cum tamen ipse praesul hoc noluisset contradicentibus capitularib[us]). De secundo nihil addidit, dissimulando. Contra primu[m] iudicialiter procedere suasit, ut abiudicet[ur].

¹¹⁷ Note in the margin.

¹¹⁸ The last three words are crossed out.

¹¹⁹ The last three words are crossed out.

¹²⁰ Subsequent two lines crossed out, illegible.

¹²¹ Note in the margin.

¹²² Note in the margin.

¹²³ Note in the margin.

D[ie] [septi]ma.**Sessio synodalis solemnns quae debuit et p[ro]missa fieri non fuit**

Et patres nonnulli ex p[ro]vincia foras abierunt, uti V[enerabilis] A[dmodum] R[everendus] p[ater] Demetri[us] Zankiewicz, consultor, superior novogrodensis, insalutato p[at]re archim[an]d[ri]ta, et alii.

X[iędza] Lubienieckiego benedikować na archimandrią Mińska, x[iądz] metropolita deklarował¹²⁴. Ill[ustrissi]m[us] D[omi]nus metropolitanus, declaravit R[everendo] p[at]ri Lubieniecki benedictio[n]em in archimandriam Minscensem, die 12 expediendam, contra iura provinciae et sua expressa scripta ad consultorium toties, et ad R[everen]dissimum.

X[iądz] Godebski nie podpisał swojej inscripcyey 14 m[illium] na Choroborowiczach¹²⁵. Eadem R[everen]d[issi]m[us] p[ate]r Godebski noluit subscribere inscriptionem 14 m[illium] super Choroborowicze, prout assecuraverat religionem circa suum ascensum ad ep[isco]patu[m] Pincense[m].

Eadem die P[ro]fessionem fidei subscriptam a religiosis provinciae missam p[er] p[atrem] secretarium non suscepit Ill[ustrissi]m[us] nunti[us] agens ista ad R[everendum] p[atrem] Trombetti pertinere, et nisi in ipsi[us] p[rae]sentia subscriptiones factae forte non suscipienda[m].

D[ie] [octa]va.

**Reg[ist]rum Professionis fidei misi per puerum
ad R[everen]d[u]m p[at]rem Trombetti qui suscepit tradendam D[omi]no nuntio in templo parochiali Zamoyscensi**

X[iądz] Godebski biskupem poświęcony in solemnitas acta¹²⁶. Item eadem die peracta solennitas consecrationis in ep[isco]pum R[everen]di patris Theophili Godebski assistantib[us] Ill[ustrissi]mis D[omi]nis archiep[iscop]o polocensi, ep[iscop]o leopoliensi. Ex clero regulari R[everen]d[issi]mus p[ate]r protoarchim[an]d[ri]ta, V[enerabilis] A[dmodum] R[everendus] p[ate]r Tomillowicz, secretarius ordinis, superior bytenensis, R[everendus] p[ater] Mihuniewicz, superior zyrovicensis, R[everendus] p[ater] Zurawski, secretari[us] R[everen]d[issi]mi p[ro]toarchim[an]d[ri]tae, R[everendus] p[ater] Szacinski, superior chomscensis, et R[everendus] p[ater] Sylvester Kulczynski. Diaconi. R[everendus] p[ater] Iustinus Kozaczenco, superior werchowiensis, R[everendus] p[ater] Spiridon Iachimowicz, assignatus praefectus scholarum Vlodimiriensiu[m], R[everendus] p[ater] Ignati[us] Kulczynski, s[acrae] th[eologiae] d[oc]tor Roma redux. Considente Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omi]no nuntio in suo throno. Concionatus clericus canonicus R[everendus] D[omi]n[us] [...]¹²⁷.

Denique prandium hospitibus iuxta morem apud ill[ustrissimu]m D[ominu]m metropolitau[m], pro Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omi]no nuntio et archiep[iscop]is, ep[iscop]is et regularibus.

¹²⁴ Note in the margin.

¹²⁵ Note in the margin.

¹²⁶ Note in the margin.

¹²⁷ A space was left in the original to write the name of the Roman Catholic preacher canon.

*X[iqdz] Godebski 14 m[ilia] zakonowi assekuruje na Choroborowiczach*¹²⁸. Eadem die inscriptionem fecit R[everendus] p[ater] Godebski, n[omi]nat[us], a[n]teq[ua]m consecraret[ur] super bonis Choroborowicze et Milaszewicze suis haereditariis, 14 m[ilia] religioni.

Die [no]na.

Sessio synodalis non fuit

Sed conferentia D[ominorum] ep[iscoporum] de honorario Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omi]no nuntio, et suis domesticis auditori, et c[eteris] dando. Cum aliqui D[omi]ni ep[iscop]i ex suis personis iam dederint, atque duo et non ampli[us] noluerint dare.

*Archimandritae owrucki y toloczyński coram D[omino] m[e]t[ro]p[ol]i[ta]ta conveniunt[ur]*¹²⁹. Eadem die supplicavi Illustrissimu[m] D[ominum] metropolitano pro iniuria p[ro]vinciae quod R[everendus] p[ater] Patricius Bielski, in archimandriam Owrucensem extra provincia[m] sine consensu superiorum ascenderit.

*X[iqdz] Bielski stracił inscriptia x[iędza] Winnickie[go] na 12 m[ilia] Włodzimirskiej sumy. Ale się potym wróciła w roku 1721, hic pagina 201b*¹³⁰. [Secun]do q[uo]d incriptionem 12 m[ilium] collegii Vlodimiriensis ab Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omino] Winnicki metropolitano accepta[m] ab Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omi]no (prout ipse fassus est ingenue) perdidit. R[everendus] p[ater] Iosaphat Iachimowicz in archimandria[m] Toloczynensem[m] cuius fundatio nulla est in natura reru[m], sine consensu religio[n]is, et conditionate permissus (ad instantias imperiosas Ill[ustrissi]mi et D[ominorum] praelatorum) considerare in loco archimandritali, ut intra bienniu[m] et fundatione[m] recognitam a fundatorib[us] p[rae]sentet, et erectionem faciat monasterii, sub amissione, loci et tituli, archimandritalis. Respondit Ill[ustrissi]mus non se velle seu posse hic diiudicare. Id Vladimiriæ: quod factum directe ad eludenda[m] instantiam et ut faciat quod placet intra provincia[m] circa interna religionis.

*Ill[ustrissi]m[us] m[e]t[ro]p[ol]ita p[ro]movet ad archim[an]driam Minscensem R[everendum] p[atrem] Lubieniecki*¹³¹. Item Ill[ustrissi]m[us] D[ominus] m[e]t[ro]p[ol]ita induxit omnes ep[iscopos] ut instarent apud R[everend]issimu[m] pro consensu in persona[m] R[everendi] p[at]ris Augustini Lubieniecki quaten[us] archimandriae Minscensi potiat[ur] penes advitalit[at]em superioratus Vitebscensis. Ad quod R[everend]issimu[m] et consultor ac secretarius ordinis responderunt negative eo quod titul[us] archimandriae si quis fuerit ante sublat[us] sit et advitalitas Vitebscensis sine dependentia, in calculis sit contra ius commune, et pluralitas beneficioru[m] regularium.

Eadem cit[at]us R[everendus] p[ater] Lubieniecki ad iudiciu[m] R[everend]issimu[m] pro ambitiose export[at]is privilegiis, et instantiis emendicatis potentum pro sua administratione¹³² promotione. Quia serum tempus fuit et consultores abfuerunt, iudicium ad cras facta inductione causae pro hora [septi]ma delatum.

¹²⁸ Note in the margin.

¹²⁹ Note in the margin.

¹³⁰ Note in the margin.

¹³¹ Note in the margin.

¹³² Word crossed out.

*Roma*¹³³. Eadem die accepi Roma a p[at]re pro[curat]ore litt[er]as datas die 20 iulii quib[us] significat (*x[iqdz]* Wietrzynski w Rzymie *dilacyi zazywa w sprawie swej*¹³⁴) p[at]rem Wietrzynski laborare dilationib[us] in spe[m] quod aliqua documenta ad defensionem s[u]i de Polonia accepturi sint. [Secun]do processum Bialozorovianu[m] nondum copiatum. [Ter]tio ut duos Olomucium alumnos expediam. [Quar]to quod sit avisat[us] de rebus omnib[us], aliis scriptis religiosis p[at]re Wietrzynski asportatis. Ea esse apud p[at]res Societatis Cracovienses, et quod illa Romam missuri sint. P[ro] quibus supplicavit procurator S[acrae] Congreg[at]io[n]i, ut ei[us]modi scripta, seu iura maneant ibidem; atque ut scribat[ur] instantia ad s[acram] congreg[at]io[n]em, quatenus iura et munimenta de Cracovia restituant[ur] provinciae.

*Rzyskiej residencyej r[e]g[is]tra p[ro]ventuum et expensorum przyslane*¹³⁵. Item datas die 3 augusti in quib[us] misit r[e]g[is]tru[m] proventuum et expensorum et iustifica[ci]o[n]es, circa provent[us] et expensa. Et quod a religio[n]e, nullam habuerit accepta[m] discretio[n]em cum tamen ab aliis accipiat, ut D[ominis] ep[isco]pis et metropolitano. [Secun]do socium habere potest et providere ex eleemosyna missali, etsi reliquum ex eleemosina alia supplendum sit. [Ter]tio omnes et ubique locatae res provinciae a p[at]re Wietrzynski asportatae, sequestratae sunt.

D[ie] [dec]i[ma]

Consecratio ep[isco]pi pinscensis Ill[ustrissi]mi Theophili Godebski in ecclesia parochiali Zamoyscensi, ab Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omi]no metropolitano, assistantib[us] Ill[ustrissi]mis archiep[isco]po polocensi, ep[isco]po leopoliensi, in praesentia Ill[ustrissi]mi D[omi]ni nuntii apostolici; concionem dicente R[everen]d[issi]mo D[omi]no canonico zamoyscensi et concionatore ordinario¹³⁶.

Die [dec]i[ma].

Sessio synodalis privata¹³⁷

Sessio synodalis fuit, in qua de contributione pro seminario clericorum saeculariu[m] per contribu[ti]o[n]em etiam ex monasteriis provinciae importandam, pro qua Ill[ustrissi]m[us] nunti[us] fortiter institit apud R[everen]d[issi]mu[m], qui etiam porrectis in memoriali, et expositis rationibus, impossibilitatis ad comportandam contributionem dictam cum ipsa provincia sit misera in omnibus fere monasteriis et c[etera].

X[iqdz] Lubieniecki protoarchimandrita citat[ur] et iudicat[ur] de ambitu¹³⁸. Eadem R[everendus] p[at]er Lubieniecki citat[us] ad iudiciu[m] p[ro]toarchim[an] d[ri]tale pro ambitiosa concurrentia tum ad ep[isco]patum Pinscensem, [tum ad] archimandriam Minscensem et simul advitalitate superioratus Vitebscensis omnino, et sine omni obligatione liquidationis ac reddendae rationis, umquam. In qua

¹³³ Note in the margin.

¹³⁴ Note in the margin.

¹³⁵ Note in the margin.

¹³⁶ The entire paragraph was deleted in the original.

¹³⁷ Headline written in the margin.

¹³⁸ Note in the margin.

causa, quoad punctum episcopat[us] ambitu, iuramento se expurgare quod ipso inscio exportaret[ur] privilegiu[m] p[er] M[agnificu]m D[omi]num Protasowicz obligat[us]; a quo puncto appellavit ad Ill[ustrissimu]m D[ominu]m m[e]t[r]opol[ita]n[u]m litanu[m]. Quoad punctum ambitae archimandriae cum advitalit[a]te superioratus Vitebscensis suspensum decretum ad conferendum cum Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omino] metropolitano. Et sessio synodalis vacat.

D[ie] [undeci]ma.

Sessio synodalis privata¹³⁹

Sessio synodalis fuit in qua tractatu[m] de libro Cassiani Sakowicz contra ceremonias graecoru[m] et russorum, sarcastice conscriptorum supprimendo cum quidam R[everen]di D[omi]ni clerici, seu capitulu[m] Camenecense, reimprima[r]e eundem sarcasticu[m] libru[m] intendant. [Secun]do de ieiuniis ritus graeci.

*Laciński clerus oprimit graecum*¹⁴⁰. [Ter]tio de oppressionibus, quae clerici ritus nostri, a clero latino, et praecipue, in eo quod a consistoriis latinis non administret[ur] iusti[tia] nostris. [Quar]to iterum de seminaristis secularibus ex provincia alendis; cui puncto R[everen]d[issi]mus et omnes abbates ac superiores nihil declararunt excusando tenuitatem, et indigentia[m] magna[m] monasteriorum.

Die [duodeci]ma

*Minscum*¹⁴¹. Expedivi Minscu[m] ad p[atrem] superiorem, significando periclitari archimandria[m] Minscensem, adeoq[ue] omnia iura ut ex nunc evehat in Zyrowicze et ibi obsignata deponat.

*In Bieliczany*¹⁴². Item in Bieliczany ut Hulewicz p[ro]vent[us] anni p[rae]teriti, et saliares pecunias, ac frumentales, deponat apud p[atrem] superiorem minscense[m] aut etiam asportet in Berezwicz.

*In Berezwicz*¹⁴³. Item ad R[everendu]m p[atrem] vicarium berezwicensem ut fratrem H[iczes]ski cum advenerit illuc remittat Vitebscu[m] p[er] vectorem zalesiensem.

*In Zalesie*¹⁴⁴. Item ad V[enerabile]m f[rat]re[m] Lukaszewicz, ut pecunias Zalesienses conservet integras ad meum adventum, sive dispo[siti]o[n]em ulteriorem; [secun]do ut equos qui redituri sunt saginari faciat. Haec expeditu[m] p[er] R[everendu]m p[atrem] Zinko Antonium.

*Ca[us]a R[everendi] p[at]ris Procewicz cu[m] R[everendo] p[at]re Saporowicz iudicata a R[everen]d[issi]mo et consultorib[us]*¹⁴⁵. Eadem die causa V[enerabilis] A[dmodu]m R[everendi] p[at]ris Procewicz, cum R[everendo] p[at]re Saporowicz, de imperialib[us] 28 et tynfonibus trib[us] ac uno sextone, acceptis ex pecunia actoris ab Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omi]no archiep[iscop]o polocensi. In qua decretum est ut sequit[ur]. Quoniam V[enerabilis] A[dmodu]m R[everendus] Procewicz, c[o]

¹³⁹ Headline written in the margin.

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¹⁴⁴ Note in the margin.

¹⁴⁵ Note in the margin.

n[sul]t[o]r ordinis, ut penes documenta, quae V[enerabilis] A[dmodum] R[everendus] p[ater] Saporowicz cora[m] iudicio p[ro]duxit, iuramento comprobet, se vere mutuas dedisse pecunias R[everendo] p[at]ri Wietrzynski, et se recepissee ab eodem ex manib[us] Ill[ustrissim]i D[omi]ni archiep[isco]pi polocensis, suas, sibi a R[everendo] p[at]re Wietrzynski imperiales 28 tynfones tres et unum sextonem; et V[enerabilis] A[dmodum] R[everendus] p[ater] Saporowicz, ultro se obtulit ad eiusmodi comrobatione[m]. Ideo iudicium p[rae]sens decedit ut penes documenta non convincentia defensione[m] inculpati R[everen]di p[at]ris Saporowicz, iuramento comprobet; et V[enerabilis] A[dmodum] R[everendus] p[at]re Procewicz plenu[m] ius habeat, requirendi sua, apud que[m] de iure.

Haec iuramentum exactu[m] die [decima ter]tia¹⁴⁶. Rotha iuramenti: „Ego N. invoco D[omi]n[u]m Deum et c[etera] quod ego iure mutuo dedissem R[everendo] p[at]ri Wietrzynski imperiales 28, tynfones tres et unum sextone[m]; et eosdem ut mihi debitos ab Ill[ustrissim]o D[omi]no polocensi ex assignatione R[everendi] p[at]ris Wietrzynski recepi ut meum mihi debitum; sic me De[us] adiuvet”.

Archimandria Grodnensis vacat. Electio fit candidatoru[m]¹⁴⁷. Eadem die Ill[ustrissim]us Domin[us] metropolitanus requisivit a religione personam, ad archimandriam Grodnensem p[ro]movendam, saltem ad p[rae]sens in titulum administratoris. Super quo puncto consulti consultores ordinis V[enerabilis] A[dmodum] R[everendus] p[ater] Procewicz, c[o]n[sul]t[o]r, superior chelmensis, R[everen]d[issi]m[us] pater Solikowski, archim[an]d[ri]ta kobrynensis, p[ro]to consultor, V[enerabilis] A[dmodum] R[everendus] p[at]re Antonin[us] Tomillowicz, ord[ini]s secretari[us], candidatos praeposuerunt: R[everen]d[issi]mu[m] p[atrem] Solikowski resignata Kobrynensi, V[enerabilem] A[dmodum] R[everendum] p[at]re re[m] Ioanne[m] Oleszewski, p[ro]toconsultorem, superiorem torokanensem[m], R[everendum] p[at]rem Iosephum Saporowicz, superiorem polocensem[m], ea conditione, ut pri[us] exolvat 412 imperiales sumae Dobryhorensi debitos, et per decretu[m] capituli¹⁴⁸ [quar]tu[m] R[everendum] p[atrem] Patriciu[m] Bielski, archim[an]d[ri]tam owrucensem. E contra R[everendum] p[atrem] Innocentiu[m] Charkiewicz, vicariu[m] supraslensem, excluderunt quia non est nostrae provinciae; R[everendum] p[atrem] Iosaphatu[m] Iachimowicz, archimandrita[m] praetensum toloczynensem, ne pro delicto accipiat gratiam.

Archimandria w Mińsku wznowia Ill[ustrissim]u[s] D[omi]nus m[e]t[r]o[p]o[lita] Leo Kiszka¹⁴⁹. Eadem die Ill[ustrissim]u[s] D[omi]n[us] Ioseph[us] Lewicki, ep[iscop]us chelmensis, ab Ill[ustrissim]o D[omi]no metropolitano convenit R[everen]d[issi]mu[m] circa p[ro]motionem R[everendi] p[at]ris Lubieniecki ad archimandriam Minscensem stante advitalitate superioratus Vitebscensi qui[a] fundator de persona soli[us] R[everendi] p[at]ris Lubieniecki cavit in sua fundat[i]ali inscriptio[n]e cum hac cautione (*archimandritae minscenti conditiones datae a religio[n]e¹⁵⁰*), ut (sic et in eadem inscriptione cautu[m] sit, ne advitalis p[at]e)

¹⁴⁶ Note in the margin.

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¹⁴⁸ The last four words are crossed out.

¹⁴⁹ Note in the margin.

¹⁵⁰ Note in the margin.

r Lubieniecki, ex administratione bonoru[m] illi[us] monasterii teneat[ur] ulli liquidationem et calculum facere) ipse liquidationem faciat singulis annis R[everen]d[issi]mo p[at]ri protoarchim[an]d[ri]tae, sicut et de archimandria Minscensi similiter; [secun]do ut vicarios habeat a R[everen]d[issi]mo protoarchim[an]d[ri]ta institutos tam Vitebsci, quam Minsci qui de p[ro]ventib[us] omnib[us] sciant et calculum faciant R[everen]dissimo. Ad quae pristinae se habens R[everen]d[issi]m[us] et consultores videndo non esse evitabilem archimandriam Minscensem propter instantias magnatu[m], et consensum ab Ill[ustrissi]mo et religione datum condescendit salva liquidatione ut supra, et c[etera].

D[ie] [decima ter]tia

*Romam*¹⁵¹. Expedivi Romam ad procuratorem, responsa. [Secun]do ut expediat p[atrem] Lysiczynski. [Ter]tio ut r[e]g[ist]rum archivi transmittat. [Quar]to ut saltem prima posta significet: quo? cui? q[ua]ndo? q[uo]modo? fundaverit residentiam.

*Lublinum*¹⁵². Item Lublinum ad R[everendum] p[atrem] superiorem ut horologium, et contribu[tio]nem mittat.

*Czerejskie[go] wikariego odmieniono*¹⁵³. Item expedivi in Luhoml ad R[everendum] p[atrem] superiorem ut descendat Czereiam et moveat p[atrem] Bu[n]ikowski in locu[m] ei[us] p[atrem] Hryniewski installet vicariu[m], traditis omnib[us] r[e]g[ist]ris a se et p[atrem] Bu[n]ikowski subscriptis.

Eadem die, iuramentum heri decisum V[enerabilis] A[dmodum] R[everendus] p[ater] Saporowicz expleturus coram officio comparuit, et accessit. Et V[enerabilem] A[dmodum] R[everendum] p[atrem] Procewicz a p[rae]tensione sua liberum declaravit.

*Varsaviam*¹⁵⁴. Eadem ad D[ominum] Roykiewicz ut post 4 septimanas ab hac data postam meam Vilna[m], interim ei dabit[ur], aliq[ua]m Volynia[m], nisi si pachetum aliquid notabile veniat Roma Vilnam mittat.

*In Torokanie*¹⁵⁵. Eadem ad R[everendum] p[atrem] Torokanensem ut ex semi duob[us] millib[us] pecuniae Zyrovicensis a D[omi]no Polubinski apud se depositis 500 florenos extradat V[enerabili] A[dmodum] Reverendo p[atrem] zyrovicensi.

*Su[m]ma x[ię]dza Switlickiego z[lo]t[ych] 1000*¹⁵⁶. Reliquum mille detineat in deposito ad ulteriorem dispo[sitio]nem; et interim si necesse fuerit aliquid ex hoc mille dare pro erectione Brestensi, et quidem securitate omni cauta circa expensas faciendas.

¹⁵¹ Note in the margin.

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¹⁵⁴ Note in the margin.

¹⁵⁵ Note in the margin.

¹⁵⁶ Note in the margin.

Die [decima quart]a, [decima quin]ta, [decima sex]ta

Vacant synodales sessiones. Ego infirmor.

Die [decima septi]ma.**Sessio synodalis [ter]tia solennis et ultima¹⁵⁷**

Sessio synodalis [ter]tia et ultima in ecclesia loci. Subscripta synodus a praeside D[omin]is ep[iscop]is et abbatib[us]. Et soluta synod[us]

Discessit Ill[ustrissi]m[us] metropolitanus foras, Ill[ustrissi]m[us] chelmensis, Ill[ustrissi]m[us] premyslensis et abbates fere omnes. Et R[everen]d[issi]m[us] protestat[us] c[irc]a p[atrem] Lubieniecki.

Die [decima octa]va

Discesserunt, salutato Ill[ustrissi]mo Domino nuntio, Ill[ustrissi]mi polocensis, leopoliensis, luceoriensis; et abbates dermanensis, dorohobuzensis et owruciensis Patrici[us] Bielski.

Synodum provincialem subscripserunt p[ro]toarchim[an]d[ri]ta et abates¹⁵⁸. Eadem die ego subscripsi seu R[everen]d[issi]mus, synodum post ep[iscop]os et archimandritam czereiensensem, Chrysostomu[m] Fryckiewicz Radziminski. Tunc reliqui et abbates ut dermanensis, leszczynensis et c[eteri], ultimus owrucensis; post illum nemo; neq[ue] subscripsit, praetendens, toloczynensis Iosaphat Iachimowicz.

Item apud Ill[ustrissimu]m D[omi]num nuntium audientia[m] habui cui recommendavi.

Propositio[n]es provinciae contra quaedam statuta synodi provincialis Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omi]no nuntio datae¹⁵⁹. [Pri]mo (inter desideria) ut non p[rae]iudicaret iuri provinciae, punctum residentiae pro Ill[ustrissi]mo smolenscensi in Pustynensi monasterio assignatae, ad quod monasteriu[m] ius possessio[n]is plenu[m] habet provincia congreg[at]io[n]is S[anctissi]mae Trinit[at]is cum neq[ue] titulum abbatae habeat. Ad quod punctum Ill[ustrissi]m[us] D[ominus] nuntius non respondit directe, sed it[e]m quaesivit an etiam habeat alium monasterium Ill[ustrissi]m[us] Smolenscensis? Resp[on]di: „Habet S[ancti] Onufrii abbatiā et S[anctorum] Hleb et Borys Polociae”. Subiunxit Ill[ustrissi]m[us]: „Etiam vult manutenere abbatiā[m] Grodnense[m] quam Ill[ustrissi]m[us] m[e]t[r]opolita non vult illi permittere”.

[Secun]do quonia[m] monachi Luceorienses, Leopolienses, Premyslenses in unam congreg[at]io[n]em se redigere volunt et D[omi]ni ep[iscop]i illorum illud concedunt, ut congregati in unam capitulam eligant sibi provincialem convocante at praesidente Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omi]no metropolitano et praesente R[everen]d[issi]mo patre protoarchim[an]d[ri]ta congreg[at]ionis S[anctissi]mae Trinit[at]is. Et quia Ill[ustrissi]mi D[omi]ni ep[iscop]i illorum monachorum loci ordinarii comuni termino expresserunt suam in hoc vol[un]tatem, ut dicti monachi suaru[m] dioecesum, congregent[ur] et eligant provincialem; ne videan[tur] praetendere comprehendere, etiam illa monasteria, suaru[m] dioecesum quae iam dudum incorporata sunt provinciae seu congregationi S[anctissi]mae Trinit[at]is, uti sunt: Buczacense in

¹⁵⁷ Headline written in the margin.

¹⁵⁸ Note in the margin.

¹⁵⁹ Note in the margin.

Leopoliensi; Dermanense, Dubnensia duo et¹⁶⁰ Zydyczynense et Dorohobuzense in Luceoriensi, Chelmenese, Lublinense, Turkovicense, Kulemczycense, et alia prout Belzense cum attinentib[us] – in Chelmensi; et ne per taliter avulsa monasteria, congrega[ti]o S[ancitissi]mae Trinit[a]tis ferat suae provinciae detrimentum?

Ad desideria synodi provincialis m[e]t[r]o[p]o[lita] debet dare ratio[n]es seu informationes Sedi S[anctae] Apostolicae¹⁶¹. Respondit Ill[ustrissi]m[us] D[omi]n[us] nunti[us]: „Circa desideria synodi, Ill[ustrissi]m[us] D[omi]n[us] metropolit[anus] imprimis debet dare circa singula informationes S[acrae] Congreg[ati]o[n]is mittendas ex quib[us] informationibus et datis rationibus ego cum intellexero [...] ¹⁶² illu[m] praetendere, ut [suarum] earu[m] diecesum¹⁶³ o[mn]ia monasteria ad illam¹⁶⁴ novam provincia[m] uniant[ur], [...] ¹⁶⁵ significabo R[everen]d[issi]mo p[a]tri, et tum suas rationes, dabit pro congreg[ati]o[n]e S[ancti]ss[i]mae Trinit[a]tis, ad Sacram Congreg[ati]o[n]em; interim qui possessionem habet monasteriorum non potest cogi ut dimittat; sacraque congrega[ti]o discernet et declarabit”.

Seminarium świeckich każe przewidować prowincyej nuntius. Responsum neg[ati]ve. Soluta audientia Ill[ustrissi]m[us] D[omi]n[us] nunti[us] iterum instabat, ut declarare[m] pro seminario clericoru[m], ex monasteriis provinciae nostrae idque iterum atque iteru[m]. Deniq[ue]¹⁶⁶ R[everen]dissim[us] se excusabat rationib[us] iam antep[ro]positis. Deniq[ue] dixit quando tamen istam declarationem categoricam sit habiturus a R[everen]d[issi]mo? Respondi nisi facta conferentia cum Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omi]no metropolita, qui annis decem fuit p[ro]toarchim[an]d[ri]ta, et optime statum novit singulorum monasteriorum congreg[ati]o[n]is nostrae; que[m] ego n[on]dum novi.

Valedixi et benedictiones accepi ab Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omino] nuntio.

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 Central’nij deržavnij istoričnij arhiv Ukraїni, f. 201, op. 4b, spr. 421.

¹⁶⁰ The last two words are added above the line.

¹⁶¹ Note in the margin.

¹⁶² Word or phrase inked, illegible.

¹⁶³ Word added above the line.

¹⁶⁴ Word crossed out.

¹⁶⁵ Word crossed out, illegible.

¹⁶⁶ Word crossed out.

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NOWE ŹRÓDŁO DO DZIEJÓW SYNODU ZAMOJSKIEGO CERKWI UNICKIEJ: BAZYLIAŃSKI DIARIUSZ PROTOARCHIMANDRYTY ANTONIEGO ZAWADZKIEGO (25 SIERPNIA – 18 WRZEŚNIA 1720 ROKU)

Abstrakt

Przedmiotem publikacji jest fragment odnalezionego przez śp. prof. Ihora Skoczylasa *Dziennika* protoarchimandryty zakonu bazylianów o. Antoniego (Zawadzkiego). Źródło należy do kolekcji prawosławnego biskupa Pawła

(właśc. Prokopa Dobrochotowa), zdeponowanej w Naukowo-Badawczym Archiwum Petersburskiego Instytutu Historii Rosyjskiej Akademii Nauk. Tekst dziennika, napisany w języku łacińskim i polskim, dotyczy wydarzeń zamojskiego synodu prowincjonalnego w 1720 roku (25 sierpnia – 18 września), dlatego nazwany został przez jego edytora *Diariuszem synodu zamojskiego*. Wydany jest zgodnie ze współczesnymi zasadami edycji źródeł historycznych, a poprzedza go rozbudowany wstęp omawiający tekst oraz przybliżający osobę o. Antoniego i kontekst historyczny wydarzeń. *Diariusz* należy do pisemnych źródeł narracyjnych tworzonych masowo w środowisku duchownych i świeckich elit metropolii kijowskiej. Jest aktem prawa publicznego i oficjalnym dokumentem zakonu bazylianów, a na jego blok tekstowy składają się: zapiski kronikarskie na temat wydarzeń synodu, opisy jego sesji i narad, czynności Zawadzkiego jako protoarchimandryty zakonu, dokumenty i korespondencja Kurii Rzymskiej i zakonu bazylianów, a także oficjalne rozporządzenia protoarchimandryty odnośnie do spraw administracyjnych, gospodarczych, duszpasterskich i finansowych.

Słowa kluczowe: bazylianie; protoarchimandryta Antoni Zawadzki; diariusz; synod zamojski 1720 roku



JAGNA RITA SOBEL* – WROCŁAW

BIBLICAL SCENES ON MEDIEVAL SEALS OF SILESIAN PARISH PRIESTS

Abstract

This article deals with the appearance of biblical scenes on the medieval seals of Silesian parish priests, which is one of the least examined areas of sigillography. Six imprints from the 13th through 15th centuries are analysed, belonging to Wojsław, the parish priest of Otmuchów; Bertold, the parish priest of Nowy Kościół; Stefan, the parish priest of Nysa; Jan, the parish priest of Wegry; Tomasz, the parish priest of Strzelin; and Jan Bawde, the parish priest of St Peter's Church in Legnica. The above-mentioned analysis confirms the adoption of biblical scenes on parish sigils. Moreover, all six cases exhibit references to the New Testament. Five of the seals show events known from the Gospel: the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary or the baptism of Jesus (the only reproduction available today is blurry, preventing a clear interpretation of the image it represents), the Flight into Egypt, the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ and his meeting with St Thomas. One of the imprints portrays the scene of Archangel Michael's Battle with the Dragon as it is described in the Apocalypse of St John. The iconography of those sigils is related to the iconosphere that surrounded its disposers. Such a measure proved that a parish priest's choice of sigil image was not always influenced by the *patrocinium* of his parish church; sometimes the images represented only their personal piety. However, the scarcity of those relics proves that they are exceptions among the seals of Silesian parish priests.

Keywords: seals; iconography; biblical scenes; parish priests; Silesia

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Recent decades have seen a surge in sigillography research in Polish historiography¹. Proposals for new typologies of seals have become the epiphenomenon of in-depth methodological reflection.² There is also a growing interest among researchers in historical iconography, which offers a broader interpretation of seal imagery.³ At the same time, searches are constantly being carried out for the purpose of the arrangement and scientific development of groups of seals in general or only functioning to a modest degree in historiography.⁴ This is because

¹ The latest developments have been summarized recently by Zenon Piech, cf. Z. Piech, *Perspektywy polskich badań sfragistycznych*, in: *Pieczęcie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Stan i perspektywy badań*, eds. Z. Piech, J. Pakulski, J. Wroniszewski, Warsaw 2006, pp. 31–58; idem, *Współczesne badania sfragistyczne w Polsce. Osiągnięcia i postulaty*, „Sfragističnij Šoričnik”, 1 (2011) pp. 160–188; idem, *Seminaria sfragistyczne a systematyczne badania sfragistyki polskiej*, in: *Dawne pieczęcie. Typologia – metody badań – interpretacje*, ed. Z. Piech, Warsaw 2015, pp. 9–13. Achievements in the individual field of sigillography are discussed by the authors of articles collected in the publication *Pieczęcie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*.

² Z. Piech, *Uwagi o typologii i nazewnictwie pieczęci w polskich i zagranicznych badaniach sfragistycznych*, in: *Dawne pieczęcie*, pp. 15–46.

³ From the rich bibliography of Polish research on seal iconography, let us limit ourselves only to works of a synthetic and methodological nature: Z. Piech, *Czy ikonografia historyczna powinna być nauką pomocniczą historii?*, in: *Tradycje i perspektywy nauk pomocniczych historii w Polsce. Materiały z sympozjum w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim dnia 21–22 października 1993 roku profesora Zbigniewowi Perzanowskiemu przypisane*, ed. M. Rokosz, Kraków 1995, p. 133, footnote 40; idem, *Źródła ikonograficzne w badaniach historyka mediewisty*, in: *Pytania o średniowiecze. Potrzeby i perspektywy polskiej mediewistyki*, ed. W. Fałkowski, Warsaw 2001, p. 189; idem, *Jakiej ikonografii potrzebują historycy?*, in: *Dzieło sztuki: źródło ikonograficzne, czy coś więcej? Materiały sympozjum XVII Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków w Krakowie, 15–18 września 2004*, ed. M. Fabiański, Warsaw 2005, pp. 19–36; idem, *Pieczęć jako źródło ikonograficzne: ze studiów nad ikonografią historyczną*, „Sfragističnij Šoričnik”, 5 (2015) pp. 21–87; T. Kałuski, *Badania nad wizualnością pieczęci w Europie Zachodniej i w Polsce. Główne kierunki i nowe możliwości interpretacji*, „Sfragističnij Šoričnik”, 3 (2012) pp. 262–270; idem, *Semiotyka w badaniach sfragistycznych*, in: *Znaki i symbole w przestrzeni publicznej od średniowiecza do czasów współczesnych*, eds. A. Jaworska, R. Jop, K. Madejska, Warsaw 2016, pp. 11–19.

⁴ The results of such activities are source editions published in the form of seal catalogues, cf. B. Marcisz-Czapla, *Pieczęcie biskupów lubuskich*, „Nadwarciański Rocznik Historyczno-Archivalny”, 11 (2004) pp. 75–97; M. Hlebionek, *Katalog pieczęci przy dokumentach samoistnych w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Bydgoszczy*, Warszawa 2012; idem, *Pieczęcie przy dokumentach Związku Pruskiego. Akt erekcyjny i dokumenty akcesyjne*, Toruń 2017; B. Małachowska, *Pieczęcie miast księstw opolsko-raciborskiego i cieszyńskiego do roku 1740*, doctoral dissertation, Library of the University of Silesia, Katowice 2013, pp. 248–433, <https://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/publication/107315/edition/101026/content> (accessed on: 31.01.2022); M. Szymoniak, *Pieczęcie klasztoru bożogrobców w Miechowie*, in: *Dawne pieczęcie*, pp. 378–412; M.L. Wójcik, *Pieczęcie rycerstwa śląskiego w dobie przedhusyckiej*, vol. 1–2, Kraków-Wrocław 2018; T. Kałuski, *Od przedstawień figuralnych do heraldycznych. Opaci lubiąscy i ich pieczęcie od schyłku średniowiecza do sekularyzacji klasztoru w 1810 roku*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze”, 57 (2019) s. 177–209; idem, *Projekt edycji pieczęci cystersów śląskich. Francuskie i niemieckie przykłady wydawania pieczęci cysterskich*, in: *Editiones sine fine*, vol. 2, eds. K. Kopiński, J. Tandecki, Toruń 2021, pp. 117–130.

sigillographers are aware that a complete picture of Polish seal material can only be provided by its full recognition.

The political changes that took place in Poland in the late 1980s and early 1990s unshackled science from the restraints of Marxist-Leninist ideology. This allowed researchers to freely take an interest in church *sigilla*, not adhering to the research trends favoured by the communist authorities, and thus poorly developed to that point.⁵ At present, we already have at our disposal works presenting the seals of bishops, members of cathedral and collegiate chapters and abbots, as well as the institutions they represented, i.e. bishoprics, chapters and monasteries.⁶ The focus of researchers' attention on the seals of these groups of owners should

⁵ Piech, *Współczesne badania*, p. 181. Cf. article by M. Haisig, *Osiągnięcia i postulaty w zakresie sfragistyki polskiej*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 4 (1959) pp. 164–166, which does not formulate any postulates on church sigillography.

⁶ Cf. P. Wiszewski, *Średniowieczna śląska pieczęć klasztorna jako środek przekazu informacji (XIII – I połowa XVI w.)*, in: *Pieczęć w Polsce średniowiecznej i nowożytnej. Zbiór studiów*, ed. P. Dymmel, Lublin 1998, pp. 11–29; M. Starnawska, *Pieczęcie zakonów krzyżowych na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu jako źródło do ich dziejów. Perspektywy badawcze*, in: *Pieczęć w Polsce*, pp. 89–119; M.L. Wójcik, *Pieczęcie cystersów jemieńskich do połowy XVI wieku (z zespołu Rep. 85 Archiwum Państwowego we Wrocławiu)*, in: *Pieczęć w Polsce*, pp. 31–37; idem, *Średniowieczne pieczęcie cystersów rudzkich*, in: *Cystersi w społeczeństwie Europy Środkowej. Materiały z konferencji naukowej odbytej w klasztorze oo. Cystersów w Krakowie Mogile z okazji 900 rocznicy powstania Zakonu Ojców Cystersów. Poznań – Kraków – Mogiła 5–10 października 1998*, eds. A.M. Wyrwa, J. Dobosz, Poznań 2000, pp. 405–415; idem, *Pieczęcie opatów rudzkich*, in: *Klasztor cystersów w Rudach. Materiały z ogólnopolskiej konferencji naukowej odbytej 7 czerwca 2008 r. w Rudach*, ed. N. Mika, Racibórz 2008, pp. 41–56; idem, *Pieczęcie klasztoru Premonstratensek w Czarnowasach*, in: *Sztuka dawnego Opola*, eds. B. Czechowicz, J. Filipczyk, A. Kozieł, Opole 2018, pp. 27–44; J. Pakulski, *Średniowieczne pieczęcie prałatów i kanoników kapituł katedralnych metropolii gnieźnieńskiej*, in: *Duchowieństwo kapitułne w Polsce średniowiecznej i wczesnonowożytnej. Studia nad pochodzeniem i funkcjonowaniem elity kościelnej*, eds. A. Radziwiński, Toruń 2000, pp. 177–196; idem, *Geneza pieczęci herbowych biskupów i arcybiskupów metropolii gnieźnieńskiej*, in: *Polska heraldyka kościelna. Stan i perspektywy badań*, eds. K. Skupieński, A. Weiss, Warsaw 2004, pp. 23–41; idem, *Średniowieczne pieczęcie kapituł katedralnych metropolii gnieźnieńskiej w świetle dotychczasowych badań*, in: *Pieczęcie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 169–196; Marcisz-Czapla, *Pieczęcie biskupów*, pp. 49–98; idem, *Święci w ikonografii nowożytnych pieczęci klasztornych na Śląsku*, in: *Człowiek – obraz – tekst. Studia z historii średniowiecznej i nowożytnej*, ed. M.L. Wójcik, Dzierżoniów 2005, pp. 89–107; P. Pokora, *Stan i perspektywy badań nad pieczęciami episkopatu średniowiecznej Polski*, in: *Pieczęcie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 135–167; idem, *Herby na pieczęciach episkopatu doby jagiellońskiej (do końca XV wieku)*, in: *Pieczęcie herbowe – herby na pieczęciach*, eds. W. Drelicharz, Z. Piech, Warsaw 2011, pp. 109–190; idem, *Typologia i nazewnictwo pieczęci biskupich*, in: *Dawne pieczęcie*, s. 145–196; P. Stróżyk, *Średniowieczne pieczęcie templariuszy i joannitów na ziemiach polskich*, in: *Pieczęcie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 197–217; idem, *Herby na pieczęciach cysterskich – wybrane zagadnienia*, in: *Pieczęcie herbowe*, pp. 191–215; idem, *Klasyfikacja pieczęci benedyktyńskich i cysterskich z ziem polskich*, in: *Dawne pieczęcie*, pp. 197–206; E. Knapke, *Średniowieczne i wczesnonowożytne pieczęcie oficjalów i wikariuszy generalnych krakowskich*, in: *Dawne pieczęcie*, pp. 285–325; Szymoniak, *Pieczęcie klasztoru*, pp. 327–412; Kałuski, *Od przedstawień*, pp. 159–210.

not come as a surprise, since they are the ones that have survived in the greatest number to our time.

However, there is a lack of separate studies devoted to the seals of the lower clergy, primarily parsons. The *sigilla* belonging to them, both from Polish lands and neighbouring countries, have not, so far, enjoyed a separate monograph. We find little information about them on the pages of synthetic studies of sigillography by Polish,⁷ Czech⁸ and German⁹ researchers. The specific studies on this issue include only a few isolated works by Michael Gosmann,¹⁰ Enno Bünz and Petr Kubín,¹¹ Karel Maráz,¹² Miroslav Glejtek,¹³ and more recently also Leszek Krudysz.¹⁴ It is also worth noting at this point that research on parish seals is developing separately.¹⁵ To date, the question of Silesian medieval parsonage *sigilla*, was most extensively covered, although only in less than four pages, before the

⁷ *Sfragistyka*, eds. M. Gumowski, M. Haisig, S. Mikucki, Warsaw 1960, pp. 215–216; M. Gumowski, *Handbuch der polnischen Siegelkunde*, Graz 1966, p. 77.

⁸ J. Krejčíková, T. Krejčík, *Úvod do české sfragistiky*, Ostrava 1989, pp. 63–67; T. Krejčík, *Pečeť v kultuře středověku*, Ostrava 1998, p. 248; K. Maráz, *Sfragistika. Studijní texty pro posluchače pomocných věd historických a archivnictví*, Brno 2014, pp. 97, 99, 104.

⁹ W. Ewald, *Siegelkunde*, München-Berlin 1914 [reprint: München-Wien 1972], p. 219; A. Stiel-dorf, *Siegelkunde. Basiswissen*, Hannover 2004, p. 72.

¹⁰ M. Gosmann, *Ein Siegelstempel des Pfarrers Friedrich von Hüsten (um 1300) im Arnsberger Stadtarchiv*, Jahrbuch Hochsauerlandkreis. Berichte, Erzählungen, Aufsätze, Gedichte, 8 (1992) pp. 37–39.

¹¹ E. Bünz, P. Kubín, *Sigillum Petri plebani de Glathovia. Ein spätmittelalterliches Pfarrersiegel aus Klattau (Böhmen)*, „Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde”, 50 (2004) pp. 35–45; E. Bünz, *Spätmittelalterliche Pfarrei- und Pfarrersiegel*, in: *Das Siegel. Gebrauch und Bedeutung*, hrsg. G. Signori, Darmstadt 2007, pp. 31–43; idem, *Die mittelalterliche Pfarrei. Ausgewählte Studien zum 13.–16. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen 2017, pp. 334–351 (chapter titled *Spätmittelalterliche Pfarrei- und Pfarrersiegel*).

¹² K. Maráz, *K pečetím farního kléru v českých zemích v letech 1283–1310*, in: *Sacri canones servandi sunt. Ius canonicum et status ecclesiae saeculis XIII–XV*, ed. P. Krafl, Praha 2008, pp. 623–629.

¹³ M. Glejtek, *Texty na stredovekých cirkevných pečatiach uhorskej proveniencie (11.–16. storočie)*, in: *Inskrypcje na pieczęciach. Treści, formy, funkcje*, eds. P. Pokora, M. Hlebionek, T. Kałuski, Poznań 2016, p. 56.

¹⁴ L. Krudysz, *A Unique 14th Century Seal-Matrix from Gieblo, Zawiercie District*, „Archaeologia Polona”, 59 (2021) pp. 139–154.

¹⁵ Literature on the subject up to 2011 was compiled by Piech, *Współczesne badania*, p. 181, footnote 65. Later works include: T. Kałuski, I. Matejko, *Treści ideowe pieczęci parafii wiejskich na obszarze archidiaconatu głogowskiego (XVIII–XX w.)*, in: *Wież w heraldyce i sfragistyce polskiej*, eds. A. Gut, P. Gut, Warsaw 2012, pp. 149–170; A. Karpacz, *Typariusz pieczętny z dawnego kościoła pw. św. Katarzyny Aleksandryjskiej w Krzeszowie a przestrzeń wiejskiej świątyni*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Towarzystwa Doktorantów UJ. Nauki Społeczne”, 9 (2014) pp. 183–209; T. Kałuski, *Inskrypcje na pieczęciach instytucji kościelnych oraz duchowieństwa w archiprezbiteracie świebodzińskim (XVII–XX w.)*, in: *Inskrypcje na pieczęciach*, pp. 93–121; G. Trafalski, *Treści i funkcje napisów w polu pieczęci parafialnych z XVIII–XIX wieku*, „Sfragističnij Šoričnik”, 6 (2016) pp. 421–428; M. Szczepanowski, *Współczesne wizerunki napieczątne parafii częstochowskich*, „Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie. Zeszyty Humanistyczne”, 16 (2017) pp. 415–432.

war by Marian Gumowski¹⁶. Notes on these monuments have also been made by Helene Krahmer¹⁷ and Józef Mandziuk,¹⁸ although these are of marginal significance. I have recently outlined more extensively the current state of research on parish sigillography in a separate text, also postulating the need for their further continuation and an inventory of such monuments.¹⁹ It is clear, however, that as the searches conducted in this direction progress, it also becomes indispensable to elaborate on the collected sources. In this article, based on the material collected so far, which includes more than 70 sphragistic monuments from 1228–1449,²⁰ I will analyse a selected problem, which is biblical motifs appearing on medieval *sigilla* belonging to parish priests of Silesian churches, both rural and urban.

The analysis of the iconography of the parsons' seals should be made – as with any sigillographic source – keeping in mind the broad context in which they were created. Their possession was commanded by numerous statutes for the clergy, first issued in 1248 by the papal legate James, and later by bishops and archbishops.²¹ The parish priests' choice of seal imagery was influenced by the sacred nature of their ministry, which consists mainly of the celebration of the Eucharist and catechetical work,²² but it seems that the greatest influence in this case was exerted by the surrounding iconosphere, that is, all the pictorial messages available to them. They provided the parsons with iconographic motifs, which they then transferred to their own seals.²³ I have outlined iconosphere of the pastors of the era in detail in a separate article.²⁴ At this point, however, I feel obliged to reiterate the most important findings contained therein, relevant to the subsequent argument, and to make a few additions, as they are necessary for the proper placement of the seals discussed herein in the context of the iconography of the time, which in turn will form the basis for the analysis of the images present on them.

Four levels can be distinguished in the iconosphere in which medieval parsonages functioned, consisting of iconographic messages created by numerous entities (individuals and institutions) in the form of various painting forms, sculptures, tombstones, but also present on more mobile media such as coins or seals, namely:

¹⁶ M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie do końca XIV wieku*, in: *Historja Śląska od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1400*, vol. 3, ed. W. Semkowicz, Kraków 1936 [reprint: Kraków 2013], pp. 314–317.

¹⁷ H. Krahmer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des geistlichen Siegels in Schlesien bis zum Jahre 1319*, „Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens”, 69 (1935) pp. 1–39.

¹⁸ J. Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku. Średniowiecze*, vol. 1, part 1 (until 1302), Warsaw 2003, pp. 215–219.

¹⁹ J.R. Sobel, *Pieczęcie proboszczów – zapomniany dział sfragistyki. Przyczynek do badań nad pieczęciami kleru parafialnego na przykładzie pięciu sigillów śląskich plebanów z początku XIV w.*, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 75 (2020), issue 1, pp. 32–40.

²⁰ They constitute the source basis of a monograph I am currently preparing on the medieval seals of the parish priests of Silesian parish churches.

²¹ *Sfragistyka*, pp. 209, 215; Gumowski, *Handbuch*, p. 77; Pakulski, *Średniowieczne pieczęcie prałatów*, pp. 194–195; Karpacz, *Typariusz pieczętny*, pp. 185–186.

²² K. Dola, *Dzieje Kościoła na Śląsku*, part 1: *Średniowiecze*, Opole 1996, pp. 148–154; Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła*, pp. 115, 239–245.

²³ Piech, *Jakiej ikonografii*, p. 26; idem, *Pieczęć jako źródło*, pp. 76–77.

²⁴ Sobel, *Pieczęcie proboszczów*, pp. 41–44.

personal, local, regional and general.²⁵ The personal iconography of a parish priest includes basically only one element – his own coat of arms, shaped under the influence of knightly or bourgeois culture (in the case of house marks). However, not every parish priest had this kind of identification and ownership mark, especially from the 14th century onward, since an increasing number of these clergymen were recruited from outside the knighthood,²⁶ hence it is not reasonable to distinguish the personal level in the case of every possessor of the seals of interest to us. The local iconosphere was formed mainly by iconography related to the patron saint(s) of the parish temple, that is both their images and attributes. Iconic messages filling the interior of the church were also significant, particularly the image placed in the main altar, usually referring to the *patrocinium* of the temple.²⁷ The scope of the next, regional, level was determined in ecclesiastical terms by the boundaries of the diocese, which provided the parson with motifs related to the cathedral's invocation, the person of the bishop or its own culture. The parish priest's reference to such iconography in the field of his seal could sometimes even become political, especially during the period of disputes between the Church and the laity (the appropriate choice of sealed imagery served, for example, to manifest ties with the bishop ordinary). On the secular side, the regional iconosphere was complemented by princely, chivalric and urban iconography. The general level consisted essentially of the entire universal iconographic output of Europe at the time, which – let us point out – remained under the overwhelming influence of Christianity. Obviously, being acquainted with all these pictorial messages was, even then, beyond the capacity of one man. The emphasis is therefore placed on the widespread motifs, themes and topoi in the culture of the time, which the parson may have encountered, if only by interacting with the works of local artists. As a special element of the general iconosphere, monastic iconography should be singled out, appearing on parish seals in the form of symbols or emblems of the congregations to which their bearers belonged or whose superiors they were subordinate to (we are referring, for example, to the situation where the abbot had the right of patronage over a particular church and, on that account, collation of its parson).²⁸ Importantly, the spheres presented did not function independently of one another. On the contrary, they interpenetrated one another, with the higher

²⁵ In my earlier publication, I proposed a three-level division of the iconosphere into local, regional and general tiers, cf. *ibidem* p. 41. However, seals found during further archival searches exposing the personal coats of arms of parish priests prompted me to highlight a fourth, personal level.

²⁶ Dola, *Dzieje Kościoła*, p. 77; A. Radziwiński, *Kościół w Polsce około 1300 r.*, in: *idem, Kościół i duchowieństwo w średniowieczu. Polska i państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*, Toruń 2012, p. 139.

²⁷ On the role of the altar in the liturgical space of the church cf. P. Łobodzińska, *Przestrzeń liturgiczna kościoła św. Elżbiety we Wrocławiu w późnym średniowieczu*, in: *Fara w mieście od średniowiecza do współczesności. Społeczność – duchowość – architektura – wystrój. Studia z historii sztuki*, eds. R. Eysymontt, D. Galewski, Wrocław 2019, pp. 121–122.

²⁸ An example of a parish priest's reference to such iconography can be found in the *sigillum* of Marcin, parson in Osina Wielka, cf. Sobel, *Pieczenie proboszczów*, pp. 57–59, 64 (photo 5).

levels remaining an inspiration for the lower ones and providing them with material in the form of iconographic patterns and widely known and clear symbolism. It should be remembered that the reference of a pastor commissioning his stamp to a particular level was never a random decision and always resulted from an intention to communicate through the seal specific content reflecting his family, professional, political relationships, personal beliefs or individual piety.

It is not difficult to see in the considerations presented that – not counting heraldic depictions, taken mainly from knightly culture – the vast majority of the imagery of seals' *sigilla* belonging to parish priests drew their motifs from sacred iconography. Dominant among them were depictions of saints, under whose images we often see a kneeling adorer (distinguished by *Vocabularium internationale sigillographicum* separately as devotional, votive or cult type).²⁹ They are usually patrons of specific parish churches, such as St Lawrence on the *sigillum* of Rudolf, parson in Gluchołazy from 1312,³⁰ or the Blessed Virgin Mary depicted with the infant Jesus in her arms, thus in the so-called Hodegetria type, on the seal of Michał of Niemiecki Bród, parish priest in Opava from 1394,³¹ which makes us include the iconography of these *sigilla* within the level of the local iconosphere. The latter parson was at the same time a member of the Teutonic Order,³² an organisation with special ties to the Mother of God, a fact reflected in the congregation's official name: the Order of the Teutonic Knights of St Mary's Hospital in Jerusalem. The stamp image of his *sigillum* therefore does not refer exclusively to the church's *patrocinium*, but also to the monastic iconography at the same time.

In addition to the aforementioned images, which draw their motifs from parish iconography, there are seal depictions with figures of saints in no way associated with the *patrocinium*. An example is the seal of Piotr, the parson in Gajków, which – known from two imprints dated 1313 and 1317³³ – depicts the Mother of God, also in Hodegetria type, on an architectural arch, under which an adorer prays. However, the patroness of the parish is not – as the *imago* of the seal suggests – Mary, but St Margaret (of Antioch).³⁴ Through references to the then universal Christian culture, such depictions are part of the level of the general iconosphere. They include many saints known from the Bible, as evidenced by the aforementioned *sigilla* of the pastors of Opava and Gajków. Nevertheless, whether or not

²⁹ *Vocabularium internationale sigillographicum*, ed. K. Müller, L. Vrtel, Bratislava 2016, p. 299.

³⁰ State Archives in Wrocław (hereinafter: AP Wr.), Rep. 88 no 48 (74a). For more on this seal, cf. Sobel, *Pieczęcie proboszczów*, pp. 51–54, 63 (photo 2).

³¹ Státní okresní archiv v Opavě, Archiv města Opava, inv. č. 193, sign. IV/4. Opava, despite not being part of the diocese of Wrocław, is considered the capital of the so-called Opavian Silesia, hence the inclusion of the seal of the parish priest in question within my considerations. This is because the boundaries of the region of interest extend beyond the Wrocław Diocese to include parts of the Olomouc and Lubusz dioceses.

³² This is evidenced by an excerpt from the titles included on the document he issued (*ibidem*): 'frater Ordinis Sancte Marie hospitalis Ierosolimitani de domo theutonica'.

³³ AP Wr., Rep. 66 no 43 (51); *ibidem*, Rep. 125 no 142 (158).

³⁴ H. Neuling, *Schlesiens ältere Kirchen und kirchliche Stiftungen nach ihren frühesten urkundlichen Erwähnungen*, Breslau 1884, p. 74.

these saints appear in the pages of Scripture, the seals with their images should be analysed together, as that distinction did not affect the way these figures were presented (saints, both from biblical times and later, are found on portrait seals, with an adorer, as patrons over coats of arms in the case of bust/coat-of-arms depictions, as patrons of cities on their walls, etc.).

The subject of this sketch, however, relates to biblical scenes, and those on stamps belonging to parish priests appear very rarely, even incidentally. Of all the sphragistic material known to me, which includes more than 70 types of parsons' seals, it is represented by only five *sigilla* belonging to: Wojśław – parish priest in Otmuchów – from 1280; Stefan – parson in Nysa – from 1298; Jan – parish priest in Węgry – from 1309; Tomasz – parson in Strzelin – from 1390 and Jan Bawde – parish priest in Legnica – from the 1430s and 1440s. In my considerations, I also include a sixth seal, belonging to Bertold – parson in Nowy Kościół (Nova Ecclesia, Neukirch, now Żerniki within the borders of Wrocław) – dated 1280. No copy of it has survived. It is known only because of the reproduction included in the 19th century catalogue of seals compiled by Paul Pfothenhauer.³⁵ This sporadic presence of subjects of interest concerning the seals of Silesian parish priests makes them all the more worthy of scientific analysis.

Their sparse group is headed with the aforementioned *sigillum* of Otmuchów parson Wojśław, who affixed it to a document issued on 27 May 1280 by Szymon, the prebendary of Opole³⁶ (Fig. 1).

Running around the surround of the seal, partially blurred, a majuscule legend states: '+ S VOISLAY CAN(onici) WRAT(islaviensis) Et REC(toris) I(n) EKLE(-sia) OTOMVChOVIEN(sī)'.³⁷ In addition to his position as a parish priest, it also indicates that Wojśław held the office of canon of the Wrocław cathedral chapter.³⁸

³⁵ P. Pfothenhauer, *Die schlesischen Siegel von 1250 bis 1300 beziehentlich 1327*, Breslau 1879, p. 19, tab. 12, no 84.

³⁶ Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław (hereafter: AAd. Wr.), Documents with alphabetical references, DD 58.

³⁷ A slightly different interpretation was given by W. Irgang, eg. *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch* (hereinafter: SUB), Bd. 4, hrsg. W. Irgang, Köln-Wien 1988, p. 262, seeing the word 'IN' in place of the short form 'CAN'. This passage is also quoted after him by E. Wólkiewicz, *Kapituła kolegiacka św. Mikołaja w Otmuchowie. Dzieje – organizacja – skład osobowy (1386–1477)*, Opole 2004, p. 71. I cite the contents of the seal legends analysed in this article generally in accordance with the guidelines in the publication entitled *Zasady transkrypcji inskrypcji napieczętnej*, in: *Opracowanie materiałów sfragistycznych w archiwach. Wyniki prac zespołu naukowego powołanego przez Naczelnego Dyrektora Archiwów Państwowych do przygotowania wskazówek metodycznych do opracowania materiałów sfragistycznych w zasobie archiwów państwowych*, eds. P. Gut, M. Hlebionek, Warsaw 2020, pp. 159–163, with the difference that I use uppercase and lowercase letters to distinguish between majuscule and minuscule inscriptions.

³⁸ He was a member of the chapter, according to research by E. Wólkiewicz (*Kapituła kolegiacka*, p. 71), in 1264–1288. A slightly different time period of Wojśław's canonry, namely the years 1264–1285, was given by R. Samulski, *Untersuchungen über die persönliche Zusammensetzung des Breslauer Domkapitels im Mittelalter bis zum Tode des Bischofs Nanker (1341)*, Teil 1, Weimar 1940, p. 152. In addition, he also held the office of procurator of Wrocław, which is noted in the sources under 1273 (ibidem, p. 120; Wólkiewicz, *Kapituła kolegiacka*, p. 71).



Fig. 1. Seal of Wojśław, parish priest in Otmuchów,
dated 1280. Source: AAd. Wr., DD 58, photo by J.R. Sobel

Commissioning a seal stamp, which represented a fairly high artistic level, this clergyman evidently renounced any motifs referring to the iconography of his own parish church, whose patron saint was St Nicholas.³⁹ Instead, he chose to appeal to the level of the general iconosphere, placing in the imaginary field the dying Christ on the cross, above which are the moon and the sun (in the form of a six-rayed star).⁴⁰ The Messiah is accompanied by a figure of a saint standing on a small elevation on the left (heraldically), wearing a halo and a long, undulating robe with his hands folded in a gesture of prayer, while on the right is a kneeling adorer, probably personifying the owner of the seal, i.e. the priest of Otmuchów. Due to the lack of attributes and the mediocre state of preservation of the imprint (some elements of the image blurred), the precise identification of the person with the halo remains impossible, although it is most likely either St John or the Mother of Jesus. In the case of the former, the symbolism of the seal, in addition to its

³⁹ Neuling, *Schlesiens ältere Kirchen*, p. 90; Wólkiewicz, *Kapitula kolegiacka*, p. 70.

⁴⁰ The aforementioned heavenly bodies are common elements found in depictions of the Passion of Christ (appearing in them as early as the 6th century), cf. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (hereinafter: LCI), Bd. 2, hrsg. E. Kirschbaum, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1970, p. 609; E. Panofsky, *Ikonografia i ikonologia*, in: idem, *Studia z historii sztuki*, Warszawa 1971, p. 25.

possessor's personal reverence for the Saviour, could also express his faithfulness shown to God by the example of the 'beloved disciple of Christ,' who was the only one of the apostles to remain by his side during his passion on the cross. However, if the figure was Mary, then the symbolism of the *sigillum* could refer to Jesus' testament spoken from the cross, immortalized in the pages of the Gospels by St John: 'When Jesus saw his mother there, and the disciple whom he loved standing nearby, he said to her, "Woman, here is your son," and to the disciple, "Here is your mother." From that time on, this disciple took her into his home.' (John: 19, 26–27). In such a case, the parson would place himself, as it were, in the place of St John, which would express his personal attachment to the Blessed Virgin.

Conflicting interpretations have been reported by researchers on the now-lost seal of Bertold, parish priest in Nowy Kościół, authenticating a 1280 diploma issued by Reinold, procurator of the Poor Clares convent in Wrocław.⁴¹ As already mentioned, we can only know its *imago* from the lithographic reproduction by P. Pfotenhauer, included in his publication *Die schlesischen Siegel* (Fig. 2).

Unfortunately, the state of preservation of this *sigillum* was poor, so it caused problems for the publisher both in reading the legend and interpreting the seal image. While he managed to decipher from the inscription only the explicit wording of 'ECCE NOUE,' which he was also not certain about, as he annotated it with a question mark,⁴² the *imago* was described by him as follows: 'Im oberen Theile zwei Figuren (vielleicht die Taufe Christi darstellend), darunter ein Betender unter einem gothischen Portal.'⁴³ Another proposal was put forward in the 1930s by M. Gumowski, one of the most prominent Polish sigillographers, who saw in it a scene of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁴⁴ Unravelling this mystery is not facilitated by the *patrocinium* of the church where Bertold ministered, as it

⁴¹ SUB, Bd. 4, pp. 267–268, no 400.

⁴² Pfotenhauer, *Die schlesischen Siegel*, p. 19. It should be noted that W. Irgang, the issuer of the 1280 document, attributed the authenticating seal to another Bertold, serving as Prior of the Red Star Crusader Monastery of St Matthias in Wrocław, reading the fragment of the legend as 'VRAT,' cf SUB, Bd. 4, p. 268. His proposed solution is presumably based on the order of the persons noted in the corroboration formula and the corresponding order of the seals attached to the parchment (originally there were four *sigilla* hanging by it, but by the end of the 19th century only three remained). However, it cannot be ruled out that this order has been disrupted, as has frequently happened in law office practice. Moreover, it is difficult to clearly identify its bearer on the basis of the reproduction of the seal alone, as it is impossible to see either the formula 'ECCE NOUE,' or the word 'VRAT' on it. Nevertheless, I favour P. Pfotenhauer's position, attributing the seal to the parson, as, while before the war W. Irgang used, in view of the failure to preserve the original document, most likely its photocopy, P. Pfotenhauer had the original in his hands along with the accompanying seals. I assume, therefore, that the legibility of Bertold's *sigillum*, despite its generally poor state of preservation, was far better, and thus more accurate, than the photocopy that formed the basis of W. Irgang's edition.

⁴³ Pfotenhauer, *Die schlesischen Siegel*, p. 19.

⁴⁴ Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie*, p. 316. This representation was common for the lower clergy of the Polish lands. Among the Lesser Poland material we can mention, for example, the *sigillum* of the provost of the Premonstratensians of Zwierzyniec, cf. F. Piekosiński, *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich doby piastowskiej (uzupełnienie)*, Kraków 1936, p. 8, no 655.



Fig. 2. Seal of Bertold, parish priest in Nowy Kościół, dated 1280.
Source: P. Pfothner, *Die schlesischen Siegel*, p. 19, tab. 12, no 84

invokes St Lawrence and St Margaret, patron saints of the parish since its foundation before 1265.⁴⁵ Additional iconographic inspiration could possibly have been provided to the parish priest by the monastery of the Poor Clares of Wrocław, since the village of Nova Ecclesia was the property of this abbey.⁴⁶ The reconstruction of its iconosphere was made by Przemysław Wiszewski. Based on his research, we can conclude that the scene of Christ's baptism generally did not appear in it (not counting one depiction in a 13th-century psalter, which is, however, a typical Christological motif appearing in these books).⁴⁷ Medieval seals of the Poor Clares of Wrocław depict Our Lady with the Child on a throne (a stamp belonging to the prioress) and Mary in the company of St Clare and St Francis (*sigillum* of the convent).⁴⁸ It contains no motif of St John the Baptist among them. Late medieval ornamental elements of the monastery church, relating to the lives of Christ and

⁴⁵ Neuling, *Schlesiens ältere Kirchen*, pp. 83–84.

⁴⁶ Ibidem.

⁴⁷ P. Wiszewski, *Herb mało użyteczny. O słabości tradycji heraldycznej wybranych klasztorów żeńskich na Śląsku (XIII – 1. połowa XIX w.)*, in: *Polska heraldyka kościelna*, pp. 72–73.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 65. The National Museum in Wrocław has preserved its original 14th-century stamp, cf. B. Marcisz-Czapla, *Tłoki pieczętnie i pieczęcie kościelne z terenu Śląska*, in: *Gloria Deo. Rzemiosło sakralne*, vol. 2, ed. M. Korżel-Kraśna, Wrocław 2010, p. 158, no 220.

Mary,⁴⁹ could theoretically support the thesis of placing the Annunciation scene on the seal of the associated priest. However, it should be remembered that St John the Baptist is the patron saint of the Diocese of Wrocław, and the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan River appears on the then *sigillum* of the local cathedral chapter.⁵⁰ In that case, placing a similar image on the seal of the parish priest would find its justification, expressing his ties to the bishopric. However, this issue cannot be resolved with only a 19th-century reproduction of an indistinct print, and therefore without the possibility of an autopsy of the original.

Sigillum of the Nysa parish priest Stefan,⁵¹ indicated by a seal engraved in Gothic majuscule with the legend '+ S STEPhANI PLE/BANI DE NIZA,' preserved on two copies of the same document dated 31 July 1298, issued by the Bishop of Wrocław Jan III Romka,⁵² exposes the well-known scene from the Gospel of St Matthew, in which Holy Family flees to Egypt with an adorer kneeling below, under an architectural arch, with his hands folded in a prayerful gesture⁵³ (Fig. 3).

This representation finds no analogy on church seals known either from Silesia or from other Polish lands, whether collected by me during archival searches or described by sigillographers in the literature. However, we see this scene on several medieval *sigilla* from the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, the State of the Teutonic Order and Denmark, which were analysed in the 1950s by Eberhard Crusius.⁵⁴ In terms of form, the seal of the parson in Nysa does not deviate from the examples of imagery established by the above author – it shows the Mother of God with the infant Jesus in her arms, seated on a donkey led by St Joseph, walking – to the left (heraldically), as is characteristic of representations of this scene.⁵⁵ An important (unprecedented) novelty here is the addition of a fourth figure closing the parade.⁵⁶ Its exact identification is unfortunately hindered by the poor state of preservation of the two imprints, most likely made with a worn stamp or blurred in later years. However, we can assume that its presence is a testimony to the reception of some apocryphal texts mentioning an additional companion of

⁴⁹ Wiszewski, *Herb mało użyteczny*, pp. 72–73.

⁵⁰ Pakulski, *Średniowieczne pieczęcie kapituł*, pp. 179–180.

⁵¹ Cf. A. Müller, *Die Pfarrer von Neiße, ein Beitrag zur schlesischen Presbyterologie*, „Archiv für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte”, 14 (1956) pp. 65–66; E. Wólkiewicz, *Proletariusze modlitwy? Drogi karier, finanse i kultura materialna niższego kleru w średniowiecznej Nysie*, Warsaw 2020, pp. 190–191. According to both researchers, Stefan ministered in the Nysa parish between 1292 and 1312. After 31 July 1298, however, he must have made a change in his stamp, because with the document he authenticated on 6 May 1312 (AP Wr., Rep. 88 no 48 [74a]) we find a seal showcasing a completely different image – the figure of St James, before whom the adorer is praying, cf. Sobel, *Pieczęcie proboszczów*, pp. 49–51, 62, no 1.

⁵² AAd. Wr., Documents of the municipal parish of Nysa, 31 VII 1298; AP Wr., Rep. 102 no 6.

⁵³ A similar description of this seal imagery was provided by the editors of SUB, Bd. 6, hrsg. W. Irgang, D. Schadewaldt, Köln-Weimar-Wien 1998, p. 282.

⁵⁴ E. Crusius, *Flucht und Heimkehr. Studie zur Ikonographie der mittelalterlichen Siegel mit 10 Abbildungen*, „Archivalische Zeitschrift”, 49 (1954) pp. 65–71.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, pp. 65–66.

⁵⁶ Attention to this fact has already been drawn by E. Crusius, cf. ibidem, p. 67.



Fig. 3. Seal of Stefan, parish priest in Nyxa, dated 1298.
Source: AAd. Wr., Documents of the municipal parish of Nysa,
31 VII 1298, photo by J.R. Sobel

the Holy Family exodus.⁵⁷ The *imago* of this seal is in no way connected with the *patrocinium* of the church where parish priest Stefan ministered. Its patron saint since the temple was erected, probably at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries, was indeed St James⁵⁸ (currently it is known as the Basilica of St James the Apostle and St Agnes). While commissioning the seal stamp, the parson evidently abandoned the manifestation of ties to his own parish and referred to a well-known event from the New Testament, whose reception on German, Danish and Teutonic seals was proved by the aforementioned E. Crusius. We can see here a reference to the level of the general iconosphere. We are unable to answer the question of what influenced such a choice of iconography by parish priest Stefan, as it has always remained an individual matter for each holder of *sigillum*. However, we can recognize in this decision a desire to convey certain ideas, derived in this case from the theological meaning of the scene. As the evangelist notes, after the Magi left '[...] the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream. "Get up," he said, "take the child and his mother and escape to Egypt. Stay there until I tell

⁵⁷ LCI, Bd. 2, pp. 43–44.

⁵⁸ Neuling, *Schlesiens ältere Kirchen*, p. 81.

you, for Herod is going to search for the child to kill him.” So he got up, took the child and his mother during the night and left for Egypt,’ (Matthew: 2, 13–14). The behaviour of St Joseph is very clear: he shows readiness to fulfil the task God has given him, trusting Him implicitly. He does not hesitate or ask any questions. The message of the seal image in question may thus have promoted an attitude of trust in the Almighty and openness to carrying out His will in one’s own life.

A similar abandonment of the parish’s own iconography in favour of the influence of universal Christian culture is seen on the seal of Jan, parish priest in Węgry⁵⁹ (a village near Żórawina, south of Wrocław), authenticating a document dated 28 November 1309, issued by Henry, parson in nearby Domaniów (Fig. 4).

The owner of the seal is easy to identify from the majuscule legend as it reads: ‘+ S IOH(ann)IS PLEBANI / DE W[ANGERN].’ Its *imago*, depicting St Thomas putting his hand into the side of Christ to confirm his resurrection, in no way refers to the invocation of the local church, because since the temple’s erection, which probably took place at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, it referred to St Hedwig.⁶⁰ Here too, therefore, the theological significance of the seal imagery seems relevant. The ideological content communicated by them can be linked to the words of Jesus addressed to St Thomas during his encounter with him, shown in the field of the seal in question: ‘Because you have seen me, you have believed; blessed are those who have not seen and yet have believed.’ (John: 20,29). One can see here the call to develop a faith that overcomes all doubts, which may have been the very intention of the parson when he commissioned the *sigillum* stamp.

We encounter a reference to the parish iconosphere on an imprint belonging to a parson in Strzelin, preserved with a diploma dated 4 August 1390 (Fig. 5).

Its exhibitors were the canon of Otmuchów and the judicial vicar of Wrocław Jerzy Fulschussil and the rectors of five parish churches from Oława and the surrounding area, including the one in Strzelin. The parish priest’s name is revealed by a minuscule legend running around the surround of his seal: ‘+ sigillum thame plebani in strelin.’ Such a passage of a rather illegible inscription is also confirmed by diplomatic sources, mentioning in 1396–1399 the Strzelin parson named Tomasz.⁶¹ Although the exact date of his assumption of the local parish is unknown, this identification is supported by the fact that Franciszek (Franz), Tomasz’s predecessor at the Strzelin rectory, was last recorded in 1364, and in 1396 Thomas mentions him as having passed away.⁶² In the field of the heavily blurred imprint, one manages to see the figure of St Michael the Archangel facing (heraldically) to the left, probably clad in knightly armour, with wings and a nimbus around his head, who, treading on the dragon’s tail that winds through the entire lower part of the *sigillum*, pierces its throat with a spear and thus strokes the monster. The prominence of this particular saint is an obvious reference to the patron saint

⁵⁹ R. Stelmach, *Katalog średniowiecznych dokumentów przechowywanych w Archiwum Państwowym we Wrocławiu*, Wrocław-Racibórz 2014, no 1060, mistakenly identifies the name of this village as Węgrów.

⁶⁰ Neuling, *Schlesiens ältere Kirchen*, p. 136.

⁶¹ F.X. Görlich, *Geschichte der Stadt Strehlen in Preußisch-Schlesien*, Breslau 1853, p. 15.

⁶² Ibidem, pp. 14–15.



Fig. 4. Seal of Jan, parish priest in Węgry, dated 1309.
Source: AP Wr., Rep. 125 no 132 (148), photo by J.R. Sobel



Fig. 5. Seal of Tomasz, parish priest in Strzelin, dated 1390.
Source: AP Wr., Rep. 125 no 266 (280), photo by J.R. Sobel

of the Strzelin temple.⁶³ Starting in the 1430s, he was also the point of reference to Strzelin authorities, putting his images on the fields of city seals. He is first shown, winged and blowing a trumpet, on a seal used between 1336 and 1369, and then, without the instrument but with a sword in his right hand, on a *sigillum* from 1409–1540, whose stamp, however, was probably created as early as at the end of the 14th century.⁶⁴ Archangel Michael was thus consistently pictured on these seals with his proper attributes,⁶⁵ but never during the battle with the dragon, visible on the imprint belonging to the Strzelin parish priest.⁶⁶ His desire to show his ties to the parish and its patron saint by placing an image of St Michael on his stamp thus ran the risk of duplicating a motif already rooted in local iconography, as a result of which the *sigillum* would lose its identifying qualities. The parson's decision to use this biblical scene may therefore have been motivated by a desire to distinguish his mark from the image present on the city seal. Since medieval *sigilla* belonging to other Strzelin parish priests have not survived, it is impossible to determine whether this was a motif inherited by successive priests assuming this prebendary or the exclusive invention of one of them. Finally, when analysing the content communicated by the monument under study, one cannot overlook its theological significance, relating to the events described in the Book of Revelation: 'Then war broke out in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon and his angels fought back. But he was not strong enough, and they lost their place in heaven.' (Revelation: 12, 7–8). The scene exposed on the seal of Parson Tomasz, reminded all those viewing the *sigillum* of the final defeat of Satan and the triumph of the Lamb, due at the end of time. It also reminded them about the need to prepare for these events by repenting, doing good deeds and undertaking the struggle with their own sins. The attitude of St Michael fighting the dragon – a symbol of evil⁶⁷ – should therefore be a model of conduct for every believer.

⁶³ Neuling, *Schlesiens ältere Kirchen*, p. 127.

⁶⁴ M.L. Wójcik, *Herb miasta Strzelina – historia i współczesność*, „Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego”, 19 (2020) pp. 268–270. Cf. P. Wiszewski, *Między konwencją, polityką i modą. Średniowieczne śląskie pieczęcie miejskie z wizerunkami świętych*, in: *Formuła – archetyp – konwencja w źródle historycznym. Materiały IX Sympozjum Nauk Dających Poznać Źródła Historyczne, Kazimierz Dolny, 14–15 grudnia 2000 r.*, eds. A. Górak, K. Skupieński, Lublin-Radzyń Podlaski-Siedlce 2006, pp. 289–291.

⁶⁵ LCI, Bd. 3, hrsg. E. Kirschbaum, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1971, p. 257; J. Marecki, L. Rotter, *Jak czytać wizerunki świętych. Leksykon atrybutów i symboli hagiograficznych*, Kraków 2013, pp. 609–610.

⁶⁶ The dragon did not appear on Strzelin *sigilla* until the modern era. Presumably, as early as 1518, a new city seal was put into use, on which the image of the Archangel Michael was supplemented by a scale held by him in his left hand. On it were placed a man and the dragon, symbolizing Satan, which referred to the assessment of the good and bad deeds at the final judgement. This motif is found on the seals of the city of Strzelin at least until the end of the 17th century, cf. Wójcik, *Herb miasta Strzelina*, pp. 270–272.

⁶⁷ LCI, Bd. 1, hrsg. E. Kirschbaum, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1968, pp. 516–517; S. Kobielus, *Bestiariusz chrześcijański. Zwierzęta w symbolice i interpretacji. Starożytność i średniowiecze*, Warsaw 2002, p. 296; L. Rotter, *Zwierzęta jako atrybuty świętych*, in: *Symbolika zwierząt*,

An interesting example of the influence of another prebendary held by a parish priest on the choice of iconography of his seal is the youngest of the analysed monuments, namely the *sigillum* of Jan Bawde, parson of St Peter's Church in Legnica in 1432–1450 and provost of the Holy Sepulchre Collegiate Church in the same city in 1429–1450⁶⁸ (Fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Seal of Jan Bawde, parish priest of St Peter's Church in Legnica and provost of the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre, dated 1439.

Source: AP Wr., Rep. 93 no 34 (113), photo by J.R. Sobel

At present, we know of as many as nine copies of it, which definitely stands out from the material discussed so far. They are preserved with documents issued between 1439 and 1446,⁶⁹ that is, at the time when J. Bawde, in place of Henryk Senftleben, archdeacon of Legnica, performed the duties of *causarum ecclesias-*

eds. J. Marecki, L. Rotter, Kraków 2009, p. 139; idem, *Mityczne oraz legendarne stwory i bestie*, in: ibidem, pp. 172–173.

⁶⁸ S. Jujeczka, *Duchowni średniowiecznej Legnicy. Studium prozopograficzne nad klerem diecezjalnym*, Legnica 2006, pp. 130, 146, 266–267.

⁶⁹ AAd. Wr., Alphabetically referenced documents, A 10, GG 76a, P 73, SS 21; AP Wr., Rep. 66 no 576 (561); Rep. 93 no 34 (113), 41 (120); AP Wr. Legnica Branch, Documents of the City of Legnica no. 397, 413.

ticarumin judge in the archdeaconry, which took place between 1437 and 1446.⁷⁰ It is this latter function that is indicated by the inscribed Gothic minuscule legend of its seal, which states: ‘+ s + iohanis + bawde + comissarii [divisor in the form of a lily] archidiaconatus + legniczensis [divisor in the form of a six-rayed star].’ As evident, the content of the inscription does not reveal the parson function of this clergyman. Nonetheless, given the very modest number of parish seals displaying biblical scenes, it is worth including his *sigillum* in this analysis. This is made possible by the fact that J. Bawde performed the pastoral duties assigned to him in the St. Peter’s Church in Legnica, as described above, from 1432 until his death in 1450,⁷¹ i.e. also at the time of the use of the aforementioned stamp. The image on display, also found on parish seals known outside of Silesia,⁷² shows a resurrected Christ in a field dotted with stars, with a cross nimbus around his head and wearing an undulating robe, emerging from an open tomb. However, it is not the grotto known from the Gospels, but a Gothic sarcophagus typical of the seal owner’s time. Leaving it, Jesus raises his right hand in a gesture of blessing, while in his left hand he holds a wooden beam topped with a cross, to which a two-striped banner (the so-called Resurrection Flag) is attached, hanging behind his head. Beneath the scene described, at the very bottom of the seal field, a small shield was placed with the seal bearer’s mark, revealing his bourgeois origin (self-reportedly, he came from Kluczbork).⁷³ Thus, in this representation, we see an obvious reference to the *patrocinium* of the Legnica collegiate church, of which J. Bawde was the provost, rather than to his function as a commissioner, mentioned in the legend of the *sigillum*. It can be assumed that this image is a continuation of the iconographic motif present on the older seal of J. Bawde, which is not preserved today, dating back to the time when he was only a provost, and thus created in 1429 at the earliest. When he additionally assumed the parish of St. Peter’s three years later, he no longer changed the stamp, as the provostry surpassed the parish in dignity. He had the new *stamp* made after assuming his duties as commissioner of the archdeaconry in 1437, albeit at the latest in early 1439, as the oldest known documents bearing this *sigillum* date from March of that year. Of all the offices held by J. Bawde, the dignity of parson stood lowest in the hierarchy, and it was probably this fact that lay behind the decision to disregard any reference to the function of parish priest on his seal. The diplomas sealed by him are signed only with the title of provost, often supplemented by the dignities of commissary and judge *causarum ecclesiasticarum*.⁷⁴ In addition to referring to

⁷⁰ Jujeczka, *Duchowni średniowiecznej Legnicy*, pp. 169, 267, although elsewhere (ibidem, p. 244) it is stated that J. Bawde’s duties related to the office of archdeacon were performed in place of Senftleben in 1439–1444, i.e. in a four years shorter period.

⁷¹ Ibidem, pp. 146, 267.

⁷² E.g., on the *sigillum* of Jindřich, parson in Miroslav, dated 1267, where the sealed image is further explained by an inscription reading ‘SVRREXIT DOMINVS IESUS CRISTUS,’ cf. Krejčíková, Krejčík, *Úvod do české sfragistiky*, s. 67.

⁷³ Jujeczka, *Duchowni średniowiecznej Legnicy*, p. 266.

⁷⁴ Two documents in Latin, dated 11 March 1439 and January 30, 1443, referred to J. Bawde as ‘prepositus (ecclesie) collegiate sancti sepulcridominici legniczensis’ (AP Wr., Rep. 93 nos 34

the *patrocinium* of the collegiate church, the *imago* of Bawde's seal also carried an important theological message. It was a reminder of the final defeat of death by the risen Christ. After all, this event is the climax of salvation history, the most important for every baptised person. Although we do not know from the pages of Scripture the exact description of this moment, the scene present on the *sigillum* of the Legnica clergyman recalls St Matthew's account of the discovery of the empty tomb by the women. The angel said to the women, 'Do not be afraid, for I know that you are looking for Jesus, who was crucified. He is not here; he has risen, just as he said. Come and see the place where he lay.' (Matthew: 28, 5–6). What catches the eye in addition to this scene is the house mark below, which is J. Bawde's mark of recognition and ownership. The seal is an example of combining in a single depiction of the heraldic element of the parson's personal iconography with a motif embedded in the iconosphere of the church where he ministered, although in this case there can be no parish level representation.⁷⁵

The presented sigillographic monuments document the reception of biblical content on the seals of parish clergy. Noteworthy is the fact that all six cases analysed in the paper featured scenes taken from the New Testament, with five references to events related to the life of Christ described in the pages of the Gospels, and one to a prophetic vision from the Revelation of St John. They present a good testimony to their disposers, because – given the rather low requirements for candidates for the clerical state at the time⁷⁶ – they attest to their adequate intellectual and

[113], 41 [120]), and five more, dated 9 March 1439, 12 December 1444, 3 May 1445, 14 July 1445, and 10 September 1446, expanded this title to include the office of commissary and judge, adding the formula: '(wratislaviensis dioecesis) commissarius et iudex causarum ecclesiasticarum (executor)'. (AAd. Wr., A 10, GG 76a, P 73, SS 21; AP Wr., Rep. 66 no 576 [561]). Furthermore, the terms 'arbiter,' 'arbiter et amicus' and 'iudex' were used with reference to him in diplomas: dated January 30, 1443 and December 12, 1444 (AP Wr., Rep. 93 no 41 [120]; Rep. 66 no 576 [561]). The editors of the two documents, dated 29 July 1442 and 29 August 1446, written in German, title him only as the collegiate provost: 'Thumprabist der kirchen czu legnicz' (AP Wr. Branch in Legnica, Legnica City Documents no 397), 'Tumprobist zu legnicz' (ibidem, no 413). It is worth noting that in the years 1437–1450 he appears as parson only in documents that he did not seal in person (*Urkundenbuch der Stadt Liegnitz und ihres Weichbildes bis zum Jahre 1455*, hrsg. F.W. Schirmacher, Liegnitz 1866, nos 666, 667, 753).

⁷⁵ Notably, however, that this type of seal, exposing the image of a saint with the bearer's coat of arms beneath it, was widespread in the 14th–15th centuries among *sigilla* belonging to members of cathedral chapters. This trend includes the seals of the provosts Trojan of Poznań and Mirosław of Gniezno, the dean of Poznań Piotr Drogosławic, the dean of Wrocław and Duke of Legnica Henryk, the canon of Wrocław Jan, as well as numerous *sigillas* of the cathedral canons of Kraków. For these monuments see Pakulski, cf. *Średniowieczne pieczęcie praelatów*, pp. 185–188; E. Kozaczekiewicz, *Ikonaografia średniowiecznych pieczęci krakowskich kanoników katedralnych*, in: *Kultura religijna i społeczna Małopolski od XIII do XVI wieku*, eds. W. Szyborski, J. Kozioł, Tarnów 2011, pp. 128, 137–141.

⁷⁶ Dola, *Dzieje Kościoła*, p. 147; I. Skierska, *Pleban w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*, in: *Kolory i struktury średniowiecza*, ed. W. Fałkowski, Warsaw 2004, pp. 164–167; E. Wiśniowski, *Parafie w średniowiecznej Polsce. Struktura i funkcje społeczne*, Lublin 2004, pp. 158–160; Radziwiński, *Kościół w Polsce*, p. 139.

theological formation. However, the small number of the *sigilla* proves that they were an exception to the entire group of parish clergy. It is also worth noting that the functions of these seals were not limited to identifying and representing their owners. They expressed the parson's personal piety and, in some cases, also his connection to the parish. Finally, by communicating theological content through images, much more strongly appealing to the public's imagination than today, these seals were a kind of complement to the traditional *Bibliae pauperum*. Thus, they could also serve as an additional teaching aid for a parish priest carrying out catechetical duties to the faithful of his parish.

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SCENY BIBLIJNE NA ŚREDNIOWIECZNYCH PIECZĘCIACH ŚLĄSKICH PROBOSZCZÓW

Abstrakt

W artykule został podjęty temat obecności scen biblijnych na średniowiecznych pieczęciach proboszczów śląskich, będących przedmiotem badań jednego z najślabiej rozpoznanych do tej pory działów sfragistyki. Analizie poddano sześć odcisków z XIII–XV wieku, należących do Wojysława – proboszcza otmuchowskiego, Bertolda – plebana w Nowym Kościele, Stefana – proboszcza nyskiego, Jana – plebana w Węgrach, Tomasza – proboszcza w Strzelinie oraz Jana Bawdego – proboszcza kościoła św. Piotra w Legnicy. Potwierdziła ona recepcję scen biblijnych na sigillach plebańskich, przy czym we wszystkich sześciu przypadkach były to nawiązania do Nowego Testamentu. Na pięciu pieczęciach znalazły się wydarzenia znane z Ewangelii: zwiastowanie Najświętszej Maryi Pannie lub chrzest Jezusa (jedyna dostępna dziś niewyraźna reprodukcja tego zabytku nie pozwoliła rozstrzygnąć kwestii interpretacji obecnego na nim wyobrażenia), ucieczka Świętej Rodziny do Egiptu, ukrzyżowanie

i zmartwychwstanie Chrystusa oraz Jego spotkanie ze św. Tomaszem. Jeden odcisk eksponuje opisaną w Apokalipsie św. Jana scenę walki św. Michała Archaniola ze smokiem. Ikonografię tych pieczęci odniesiono do ikonosfery otaczającej ich dysponentów. Zabieg ten wykazał, iż nie w każdym wypadku plebani dobierali wyobrażenia napieczęte, kierując się patrocinium swojego kościoła parafialnego. Niekiedy wyrażały one wyłącznie ich osobistą pobożność. Niewielka liczba tych zabytków świadczy jednak o tym, iż są wyjątkami na tle śląskich pieczęci proboszczowskich.

Słowa kluczowe: pieczęcie; ikonografia; sceny biblijne; proboszczowie; Śląsk



REV. MICHAŁ SOŁOMIENIUK* – GNIEZNO

‘THE ORIGINAL WAS FOUND AND DID NOT CHANGE ITS OWNER’ THE FATE OF THE GNIEZNO OLD PRINT PL 178, CONTAINING *OFFICINA FERRARIA*¹

Abstract

The subject of this article is the fate of an old print from the resources of the Archdiocesan Archive in Gniezno, containing, among others, a unique Polish-language poem by Walenty Róźnieński entitled *Officina Ferraria* from 1612. This jointly bound print was given to the Gniezno chapter library as a testamentary gift by Rev. Anthony Dyament in 1885. The scientific and historical value of the print was discovered before World War II by the librarian and chapter archivist, Rev. Canon Leon Formanowicz, and it was scientifically analysed by Prof. Roman Pollak, who prepared its edition in 1936. The print, taken by the Germans to Poznań during the war, returned to its rightful owner after its end and was reintroduced to the inventory in 1955. That same year, Rev. Stanisław Bross, PhD, chapter vicar of the Gniezno Archdiocese during the imprisonment of Primate Stefan Wyszyński, loaned it without notifying the metropolitan chapter to Prof. Kornel Wesołowski of the Warsaw University of Technology. K. Wesołowski held the print until his death in 1977, after which his widow donated it to the National Library. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Primate’s Chapter in Gniezno tried unsuccessfully to reclaim the valuable book. Most recently, the current director of the Archdiocesan Archives in Gniezno, Rev. Michał Sołomieniuk, analysed the Gniezno print in Warsaw in 2017. In the Cathedral Library in Gniezno the book retains the signature BK Pl 178.

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Keywords: *Officina ferraria*; Walenty Rożdżeński; Rev. Leon Formanowicz, Prof. Roman Pollak; Rev. Stanisław Bross, Archdiocesan Archives in Gniezno; Gniezno Cathedral Library; Gniezno Chapter Library; National Library in Warsaw

An old print, containing more than a dozen publications, including a unique work on metallurgy entitled *Officina ferraria* from the early 17th century, was donated to the Gniezno Chapter Library in 1885. It reached the library as a testamentary gift by Rev. Canon Antoni Dyament.² It was first described and published in print before World War II. After the war, it was lent without the formal consent of the Metropolitan (Primate) Chapter to Prof. Kornel Wesołowski,³ and after his death it was transferred to the National Library in Warsaw. The purpose of this study is to trace the fate of this rarity from the time it was donated to the Gniezno Chapter Library in the 19th century to the present day.

In his 1929 work titled *Biblioteka Kapitulna w Gnieźnie*, rev. Leon Formanowicz⁴ drew attention to one particular volume/block, consisting of more than a dozen prints. When describing the first of them, he noted: ‘the Estreicher bibliography takes no account of this rhyming description of forges, or farm and forge life.’⁵ This unknown piece was titled *Officina ferraria abo Huta y warstat z kuzniami szlachetnego dzieła zelaznego przez Walentego Rozdzińskiego teraz nowo wydana*, and was issued in Kraków, in the Printing House of Symone Kempini, in the year 1612. In the aforementioned work on the Chapter Library, the priest-librarian described all the prints included in the block, which is particularly important today for the identification of the object. Rev. L. Formanowicz drew the attention of Old Polish literature researcher Prof. Roman Pollak⁶ from Poznań to this discovery

² Rev. Antoni Dyament (1802–1885) was a priest of the Gniezno Archdiocese who held the office of penitentiary and canon of the St George Collegiate Chapter in Gniezno, as well as secretary of the Metropolitan Chapter there. By virtue of his will, he bequeathed his small but valuable book collection to the Gniezno Chapter Library, cf. L. Formanowicz, *Katalog druków polskich XVI-go wieku Biblioteki Kapitulnej w Gnieźnie*, Poznań 1930, p. 7. At present, the name Cathedral Library is used.

³ Prof. Kornel Kazimierz Wesołowski (1903–1976) – chemist, metallographer and metallurgist; lecturer at the Wawelberg and Rotwand School in 1933–1939, lecturer at secret courses at the Higher Technical School in Warsaw in 1942–1944, lecturer again at the Wawelberg and Rotwand School in 1945–1951, professor at the Warsaw University of Technology from 1949, lecturer at the WAT in 1951–1959, cf. Encyklopedia PWN, *Wesołowski Kornel Kazimierz*, <http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Wesołowski-Kornel-Kazimierz;3994958.html> (accessed on: 5.06.2021).

⁴ Rev. Leon Formanowicz (1878–1942) – canon of the metropolitan chapter in Gniezno, librarian of the chapter, bibliophile and author of several important studies of its book collection. He was martyred by the Germans in the Hartheim concentration camp near Linz, cf. J. Nowacki, *Formanowicz Leon*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 7, eds. K. Ajdukiewicz, W. Konopczyński, Kraków 1948–1958, pp. 64–65.

⁵ L. Formanowicz, *Biblioteka kapitulna w Gnieźnie*, Poznań 1929, p. 14.

⁶ Roman Pollak (1886–1972) – professor of Polish philology, researcher of Old Polish literature, especially of the Baroque period, lecturer at the Adam Mickiewicz University, and during the war

and made the valuable rarity available to him for scientific purposes. The Gniezno chapter librarian brought the block to Prof. R. Pollak in Poznań in December 1931, and the latter worked on it for a year and a half and returned it in 1933.⁷ The professor devoted an article⁸ to the newly discovered work and published two editions of the text before the war – a partial one in 1933⁹ and a complete one in 1936.¹⁰ The latter was already a critical edition and was reissued, in a revised version, in 1948.¹¹ In his report to the Metropolitan Chapter of Gniezno for 1933, Rev. L. Formanowicz wrote about his discovery as follows:

An Old Polish poem by Walenty Rożdzieński from 1612 titled *Officina ferraria abo huta i warstat z kuźniami szlachetnego dzieła żelaznego*, completely forgotten, unknown even to specialists, and located in a rare volume in the chapter library, was published in reprint by the Poznań polonist Prof. Roman Pollak, Ph.D. Rożdzieński's work is a unique phenomenon in our literature for several reasons. Not because of the artistic beauty, as it excels in this context on just a few pages, not for the poetic form, because it is poor, but first and foremost because of the unusual content in old Polish literature, the charm of life not recorded elsewhere, which beats with a strong pulse from these pages and rewards the ineptitude of form with the truth of real experience and a passionate love of the subject. 'He reveals to us,' writes Prof. Pollak in an enthusiastic preface, 'a piece of Old Polish life, hitherto hidden in the depths of the mines, in the riverside steel mills, in the forest backwoods where charcoal was burned. Drenched, smeared with smoke, the figures of blacksmiths, smelters, foundry-workers, basket makers, coal miners – otherwise unknown to Old Polish literature – appear from these pages. Rożdzieński's poem is an unknown "roadway", chipped as early as three hundred and more years ago from Silesia to Poland.'¹²

The rare volume of 1936 was described by R. Pollak as follows:

The original print of *Officina ferraria*, preserved in the block of the Gniezno Chapter Library [reference PL 178], is the first in this group among a dozen old Polish prints, mostly well preserved and known from other sources. These prints date from 1583–1628. This block entered the Gniezno book collection

the rector of the secret University of the Western Territories in Warsaw, cf. T. Witzczak, *Roman Pollak (31 lipca 1886 – 23 lutego 1972)*, „Pamiętnik Literacki”, 63 (1972) issue 3, pp. 393–402.

⁷ Archdiocesan Archives in Gniezno (hereafter: AAG), SP 317, ref. 10 (Legacy of Rev. Leon Formanowicz, correspondence 1931–1932), k. 127, 135, 383–384, ref. 11 (correspondence 1933–1934), k. 86.

⁸ Cf. R. Pollak, *Staropolski poemat o górnikach i hutnikach*, „Przegląd Współczesny”, 133 (1933) pp. 112–124.

⁹ W. Rożdzieński, *Officina ferraria abo huta y warstat z kuźniami szlachetnego dzieła żelaznego. Poemat z roku 1612 z unikat u biblioteki kapituły gnieźnieńskiej wydał Roman Pollak*, Poznań 1933.

¹⁰ W. Rożdzieński, *Officina ferraria abo huta y warstat z kuźniami szlachetnego dzieła żelaznego (1612). Z Unikat u Biblioteki Kapitulnej w Gnieźnie wydał, wstępem i przypisami zaopatrzył Roman Pollak*, Katowice 1936.

¹¹ *Officina ferraria abo huta i warstat z kuźniami szlachetnego dzieła żelaznego przez Walentego Rożdzieńskiego teraz nowo wydana*, revised and supplemented edition by R. Pollak, Katowice 1948.

¹² AAG, SP 317, ref. 11, k. 322.

as a testamentary gift of Rev. A. Dyament. Rożdzieński's poem is perfectly preserved. Slightly damaged title page and last page secured by underlining. The entire print contains 46 leaves with an 18 x 14 cm format. The title page gives an idea of the different varieties of fonts used by the typographer. Six wood engravings, primitively executed and rebound, enrich the edition. Individual pages of text framed in double-framed boxes; headings at top appropriate to text content.¹³

Noteworthy, the first mention of a copy of *Officina ferraria* (most likely identical to the preserved rarity) can be found as early as in the 1691 book inventory of Jan Kazimierz Grabski, son of starost of Kcynia from Żurawia near Kcynia.¹⁴ Renarda Ocieczek wrote about the importance of the work in 1965 as follows:

Rożdzieński [...] is [...] an author of particular interest in the history of Polish literature that arouses curiosity because of his ideological values [...]. Thus, from almost the first moment when the rare volume of *Officina ferraria* was discovered in 1929, to this day there has been an extraordinary interest in the writer, about whom the contemporary epoch has given us such scant knowledge, including his only work. It is evidenced, among other things, by a huge bibliography of dissertations, articles, reprints of the text and iconography, as well as a plethora of smaller and larger references and commentaries to the content of the work.¹⁵

The precious block itself was taken out of Gniezno by the Germans during World War II and deposited in a repository of Polish prints in Poznań. Along with many other books, it returned to Gniezno after the war, but waited for several more years to be rediscovered. Meanwhile, immediately after the war, the Silesian Institute in Katowice approached Prof. R. Pollak about the re-edition of W. Rożdzieński's work, the unique copy of which was considered lost.¹⁶ The professor immediately travelled to Gniezno¹⁷ and discussed the matter with the mitred prelate Stanisław Bross.¹⁸ He then learned that the print had not been found after the war.

¹³ R. Pollak, *Wstęp*, in: W. Rożdzieński, *Officina ferraria*, Katowice 1936, p. XII.

¹⁴ This inventory is in the Kórnik Library and is titled *Silva rerum variarum publico et pseudo-politicarum utilium et inutilium ordine et sine ordine conscriptarum prout in Sylva quaerendarum per me I.C.G.C.K. advectarum et conscriptarum Anno Domini 1685* (Manuscript BK 993).

¹⁵ R. Ocieczek, *Główne kierunki recepcji „Officina ferraria” Walentego Rożdzieńskiego*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Katowicach. Prace Historycznoliterackie Katedry Historii Literatury Polskiej”, 3 (1965) p. 49.

¹⁶ Cf. three letters from Roman Lutman, Ph.D. to R. Pollak from 1945 and 1946 in the Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Poznań, Roman Pollak P.III-63, no. 20 (this number refers to the correspondence concerning the postwar edition of W. Rożdzieński). The archives from this team will be hereinafter referred to as: R. Pollak's Legacy. In a letter dated 17 July 1946, R. Lutman writes: 'It would be best if a copy of the Gniezno edition were to be found, as making producing films of the previous edition will not yield good results.'

¹⁷ Cf. AAG, Institutional Archives, Correspondence No 68/1959, Letter from R. Pollak to Rev. W. Zientarski dated 20 December 1959 ('just after the second war').

¹⁸ Mitred prelate Stanisław Bross, Ph.D. (1895–1982) – priest of the Gniezno Archdiocese, before the war the chief director of the Institute of Catholic Action; during the imprisonment of Primate Stefan Wyszyński he was appointed by the communists as the administrator of the Gniezno

Investigating the fate of the old print during the office term of the Chapter Vicar Mitred Prelate Rev. S. Bross (October 1953 – October 1956) requires special attention, since the records on the subject, found in the archives, vary in detail. The first postwar clue is found in curial archives. The earliest trace of interest in the valuable book is a request from Rev. Edmund Rosiński, Ph.D., of Kruszwica to the Metropolitan Curia in Gniezno to borrow it from the 'chapter house' (presumably the Chapter Library). The letter was received on 4 September 1953, but was not included in the file until 4 February 1954, with a handwritten annotation by Rev. S. Bross: 'Received by Prof. Kornel Wesolowski / Warsaw.'¹⁹ It is not clear whether this response was given to Rev. E. Rosieński orally or in writing. It is also unclear when Rev. S. Bross placed the note. Another request to borrow the old print was received on 3 March 1954, submitted by Władysław Piasecki, director of the Library of the AGH University of Science and Technology in Kraków. The request itself was not preserved, but was recorded in the curia's files in the following words: 'The matter of notifying Wł[adysław] Piasecki in Kraków of the fate of Rożdżeński's print PL 178 issued 1612 in Kraków and owned by the Gniezno Chapter Library.' Here, once again, is a handwritten note by Rev. S. Bross: 'The print was lent to Mr Prof. Wesołowski from Warsaw. / Ad acta / Gn[iezno] 15/XII.55 / B.'²⁰ The puzzling matter is the very long procedural period (from March to December). Almost at the same time, on 5 March 1955, Stanisława Jasińska, the acting director of the Kórnik Library, requested to borrow the volume. It was to be used for Marian Pełczyński's scientific work. The request, without a response, was set aside *ad acta* on 15 June 1955 (handwritten note by Rev. S. Bross, placed on a letter from the Kórnik Library).²¹ The fourth trace concerning the work of W. Rożdżeński is an official letter, preserved in the original, from the director of the library of the AGH University of Science and Technology, W. Piasecki, dated 21 March 1955. It shows that W. Piasecki visited Rev. S. Bross more than a year earlier (that is, before March 1954) and learned that the print had not yet been found. The mitred prelate promised to notify W. Piasecki of the result of the search, but did not do so for a year. Here is the reason why W. Piasecki saw fit to inquire about the book once again: '[...] there was a scant news of the discovery of a unique work that had been considered lost, and my friends from Gniezno even claimed that it had been lent to Kórnik. I dare to ask for a message with which I may have more luck this time.'²² And on that letter, Rev. S. Bross noted in his handwriting: 'Received by Mr. Prof. Kornel Wesołowski / Warsaw / Ad acta Gn[iezno] 16/I.56.' Director

Archdiocese (chapter vicar), cf. M. Damazyn, *Nie-ordynariusz gnieźnieński Stanisław Bross*, „Roczniki Teologiczne” 64 (2017) issue 3, pp. 133–156.

¹⁹ Cf. AAG, Archives of the Metropolitan Curia I (hereinafter: AKM I), ref. 2756 (Correspondence Register 1953–1954), pp. 140v–141r; AAG AKM I ref. 1671 (Archdiocesan Archive File; nonpaginated unit, curia register number: 7684/53/K).

²⁰ AAG, AKM I, ref. 1671, curia register number: 1337/54/W. The 'W' marking refers to the chapter vicar, so the matter was retained to his own competence by Rev. S. Bross, who was acting in that capacity, without being referred to the chapter.

²¹ AAG AKM I, ref. 1671, curia register number: 2081/55/W.

²² AAG AKM I, ref. 1671, curia register number: 2554/55/W.

W. Piasecki renewed the question in writing less than a month later, on 16 April 1955. That letter was also referred to by a note by Rev. S. Bross with the same content as quoted above and with the same date.²³ According to this clue, the block was found either before Rev. E. Rosieński's letter was received, i.e. before March 1953, or in 1954–1955, and was lent to Prof. Kornel Wesołowski of the Warsaw University of Technology before 15 December 1955.

The second clue is found in the legacy of Prof. R. Pollak. According to surviving correspondence, Marian Pelczyński, a former student of the professor and then employee of the Kórnik Branch Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, came across the lost volume in 1955 in the resources of the Gniezno Chapter Library.²⁴ He immediately notified Prof. R. Pollak of this discovery. In a letter to the professor dated May 1959,²⁵ he recalled:

In February 1955, on behalf of the Kórnik Library, I travelled to Gniezno, to the Chapter Library, to search for and inventory the old prints of the Greater Poland located there. Among the piles of books delivered to me at the curia, I came across an acknowledged lost unique work by W. Rożdzieński: *Officina ferraria*. Delighted by this discovery, I showed the book to the bishop present, Rev. Jan Czerniak, Ph.D., who was in the room where I was working, and stressed the importance of the discovery. I also notified the Kórnik Library and the Professor of the discovery. At that time, I also undertook efforts to microfilm Rożdzieński's work and made attempts to establish closer contacts between the Chapter Library and the Kórnik Library.

In March of that year, I was contacted by Director Władysław Piasecki of the Main Library of AGH University of Science and Technology in Kraków and asked that he be allowed to reach Rożdzieński and microfilm his work for the library. In view of this, I went to Gniezno again to discuss the matter with Mitred Prelate Rev. Stanisław Bross, Ph.D., Vicar General, to whom the Chapter Library was then subordinate. Rev. Bross assured me that the print did not exist, that it had probably been taken away by the Germans during the war, and that in view of this there was no chance of finding it. When I informed him that I had recently had Rożdzieński's work in my hands, he expressed deep surprise, disbelief, and finally joy and emotion that the print had been found. Personally, I was under the impression that it was just a ploy, since Rev. Bross himself prepared the books for me and reviewed them before delivering them to me at the curia, so he must have known about the existence of the print of interest to us. Later, he also once again tried to explain to me that the print does not exist. He tried to delay the matter of microfilming, inventing more and more

²³ AAG AKM I, ref. 1671, curia register number: 3227/55/W.

²⁴ Marian Pelczyński became employed at the Kórnik Library on 1 September 1954 on a full-time basis, but was commissioned to do cataloguing work on the central catalogue of old prints of the Greater Poland Region as early as 15 July that year, cf. Kórnik Branch Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (hereafter: BK), Departmental Archives, Marian Pelczyński – personal file, p. 60: *Pismo poufne p.o. dyrektora St. Jasińskiej do Biura Kadr i Doskonalenia Kadr Naukowych PAN z 19.10.1954 r.* In 1957–1964, he was director of the library of the Agricultural Academy in Poznań.

²⁵ The letter has no date, but it can be determined from R. Pollak's correspondence to Rev. W. Zientarski.

obstacles. Finally he stated that he had already promised it to Prof. Wesołowski from Warsaw, so we can also use it with Mr Piasecki further down the line, which would contradict his alleged good faith. By the way, I would like to mention that also in the summer of 1955 or 1956 (I can no longer recall the exact date, as I went to Gniezno several times) I also showed this print to Rev. Stefan Ciechanowski, the chaplain to Rev. Bross and librarian of the Chapter Library, who had undergone a short librarian preparation training in Kórnik. At the same time it turned out that Rożdżeński's work was in the part of the collection already developed by Rev. Ciechanowski. The book, bearing the reference PL 178a, stood on a shelf in the Chapter Library, in the polonica section, and there I saw it again at the time. At the time, it was a matter of proving to Rev. Bross that the print actually existed. I was with Rev. Ciechanowski in the Library at the time and found the book myself on the shelf.²⁶

It should be added here that Rev. S. Bross, imposed by the communist authorities as administrator of the Gniezno archdiocese during the imprisonment of Primate S. Wyszyński, governed without regard to the opinion of the Metropolitan Chapter,²⁷ to which the Chapter Library was then subordinate.

The two clues mentioned above basically confirm this sequence of events: in February 1955 M. Pełczyński found the PL 178a polonicum in Gniezno and identified it as *Officina ferraria*, in the summer of 1955 the old print was still in the Chapter Library, with it gone before 15 December 1955. Ergo: in the second half of 1955, the book was borrowed (?) by Prof. K. Wesołowski, a researcher at the Warsaw University of Technology. The lender must have been Mitred Prelate Rev. S. Bross. The behaviour of the mitred prelate toward M. Pełczyński (feigned surprise), the delay in responding to the letters in question or outright failure to respond, the absence of any written request on the part of K. Wesołowski – all this leads one to guess that the lending (?) was made secretly, in violation of normal procedures.

After the return of Primate S. Wyszyński from internment in 1956, Rev. S. Bross was removed from power and from holding important positions in the Gniezno Archdiocese. According to accounts from the oldest priests, the mitred prelate never showed any remorse before the cardinal and felt slighted for the rest of his life. This explains the fact that he did not explain himself to the church authorities about the matter of informal lending of a valuable book, and proved unable to cooperate on this issue. In the aforementioned letter, M. Pełczyński expressed the opinion that the valuable rarity could have been lent to someone just before the return of Primate S. Wyszyński without any annotation in the Chapter Library.

After the return of Primate S. Wyszyński, Prof. R. Pollak began to contact the new chapter librarian, asking for access to the print to photograph and prepare a full edition of the work.²⁸ He was then verbally informed that the block was not on

²⁶ R. Pollak Legacy, Letter from M. Pełczyński to R. Pollak.

²⁷ The name 'Primate's Chapter' began to be used during the time of Primate S. Wyszyński.

²⁸ AAG, Institutional Archives, Correspondence No. 34/1959, Letter from R. Pollak to Rev. W. Zientarski dated 6 May 1959.

site and that there was no information about it being borrowed.²⁹ In a letter dated January 1960, Rev. W. Zientarski added: 'The enforced absence of the Ordinary of the Diocese H.E. the Primate Cardinal from 1953 to 1956 also took a toll on the Chapter Library.'

Professor R. Pollak began to inquire in Poland whether anyone had borrowed the work of W. Rożdżeński during the office of Mitred Prelate S. Bross. He asked the director of the Main Library of the AGH University of Science and Technology in Katowice, W. Piasecki, who responded in the negative:

The Main Library of the AGH University of Science and Technology did not borrow the original of Rożdżeński from Gniezno. Yes, we took every effort to obtain it, I was in Gniezno twice in my time, I received solemn assurances from Mitred Prelate Rev. Stanisław Bross, Ph.D., that he would give permission for the microfilming of the *Officina* having agreed with the Professor, and with Prof. Kornel Wesołowski – a metallurgist from the Warsaw University of Technology [...]. Then I heard something about the Kórnik Library, which was unverified information. Rev. Bross must know that, but according to my experience – as a rule, he did not correspond on the matter and it is difficult to communicate with him.³⁰

From the above words it appears that Director W. Piasecki was also at the home of Mitred Prelate S. Bross on the same issue.

Undaunted, Prof. R. Pollak began to seek contact with K. Wesołowski, who was a stranger to him. He succeeded in it thanks to Prof. Waław Olszak of the Warsaw University of Technology.³¹ Professor W. Olszak had a conversation with K. Wesołowski and reported it in writing to R. Pollak. It is clear from this account that K. Wesołowski also thought about publishing the work of W. Rożdżeński and agreed to make it available to R. Pollak on film or microfilm. W. Olszak adds: 'However, [Wesołowski] did not want to reveal the whereabouts of the original. Although, I was assured that "the original is nothing to worry about". Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain a more concrete explanation.'³²

At the request of W. Olszak, K. Wesołowski wrote to R. Pollak. He did not explicitly state that the original *Officina* is in his possession, but when asked about the fate of the original, he replied mysteriously: 'the original was found and did not change its owner.'³³ Nevertheless, he offered access to microfilms made by his hand with the publication of W. Rożdżeński's work in mind. In this situation, R. Pollak immediately informed Rev. W. Zientarski about this correspondence, sent

²⁹ Letter from R. Pollak to Rev. W. Zientarski mentioned in footnote 7 and reply from W. Zientarski dated 4 January 1960, *ibidem*.

³⁰ R. Pollak Legacy, Letter from W. Piasecki to R. Pollak dated 16 January 1960 (B-7-1/60).

³¹ Waław Olszak (1902–1980) – professor, Ph.D., lecturer – first at the Academy of Mining and from 1952 at the Warsaw University of Technology, where he headed the Department of Theory of Elasticity and Plasticity; from 1969 he was also rector of the Centre Internationale des Sciences Mécaniques in Udine, Italy; cf. AGH, *Olszak Waław*, http://historia.agh.edu.pl/wiki/Waław_Olszak (accessed on: 4.06.2021).

³² Cf. R. Pollak Legacy (unnumbered), Letter from W. Olszak to R. Pollak dated 16 February 1960.

³³ R. Pollak Legacy No 7/20, Letter from K. Wesołowski to R. Pollak dated 14 March 1960.

him a copy of the first letter from K. Wesołowski and commented on it as follows: 'The most valuable passages in it are the news that "the original was found and did not change its owner?". If so, why doesn't the owner own it?'.³⁴

Asked by R. Pollak for the microfilms, K. Wesołowski sent them to Poznań on 5 April 1960. In a letter accompanying the shipment, he described himself as a metallographer and bibliophile.³⁵ The professor shared the happy news with Rev. W. Zientarski,³⁶ Prof. Stanisław Rospond,³⁷ with whom he planned to collaborate on research articles on the poem, and with W. Piasecki, while remaining discreetly silent about the fate of the original.³⁸ Rev. W. Zientarski did not respond, for a relatively long time, to the proposal to purchase the microfilm, in view of which R. Pollak began to assume that the original had already returned to Gniezno and inquired about it in writing in early February 1961. The chapter librarian swiftly replied: 'With regret, [...] I have to report that the original print has not yet been found and returned to the owner.'³⁹ He also expressed his thanks for finding the trace. Saddened by this, R. Pollak sent a letter in March 1961 to Primate S. Wyszyński, in which he briefly described the post-war fate of the valuable print. Two important sentences were found there: 'Before [...] Rev. Dr. Zientarski took over the library, the rarity disappeared without a trace, without a receipt'; '[...] the rarity should be returned to Gniezno and there on the spot be available for scientific research'.⁴⁰ The polonist asked the Primate to make efforts to return W. Rożdżeński's work to Gniezno, as the monumental edition of *Officina* was slowly nearing completion and he wanted to show the original at the scientific session that was to accompany the promotion of the book. The *commercium epistularum* between the famous polonist and the clergy of Gniezno ends with this letter.

Professor R. Pollak made a successful attempt to gain access to the original, which he had not been seen since before the war. The undertaking was mediated by Prof. W. Olszak. After his conversation with K. Wesołowski, he wrote mysteriously but clearly to the polonist: 'Professor W. is willing to allow you to see the facility, but asks for absolute discretion. [...] The viewing could take place, for example, at his department, 85 Narbutta Street. He prefers the Professor to be alone.'⁴¹ The meeting took place on 22 April 1961, at the place indicated by K. Wesołowski.

³⁴ AAG, Institutional Archives, unnumbered correspondence from 1960, attached to ref. 55/1960. Letter from R. Pollak to Rev. W. Zientarski dated 27 March 1960.

³⁵ R. Pollak Legacy No 8/20, Letter from K. Wesołowski to R. Pollak dated 5 April 1960.

³⁶ AAG, Institutional Archives, Correspondence No 55/1960, Letter from R. Pollak to Rev. W. Zientarski dated 1 May 1960. In that letter, the professor used a telling phrase: 'My mystical endeavours and diplomatic manoeuvring led to my becoming the owner of the microfilm of Rożdżeński's *Officina*.'

³⁷ Stanisław Rospond (1906–1982) – professor, linguist, polonist, lecturer at the University of Wrocław; cf. R. Pollak Legacy (unnumbered), Letter from S. Rospond to R. Pollak dated 16 April 1960.

³⁸ R. Pollak Legacy (unnumbered), Letter from W. Piasecki to R. Pollak dated 1 May 1960.

³⁹ AAG, Institutional Archives, Correspondence No 12/1961, Letter from R. Pollak to Rev. W. Zientarski dated 1 February 1961 and the response of the latter dated 10 February 1961.

⁴⁰ R. Pollak Legacy No 13/20, Letter from R. Pollak to Card. S. Wyszyński dated 2 March 1961.

⁴¹ Ibidem, No 17/20, Letter from W. Olszak to R. Pollak dated 14 March 1961.

The Old Polish researcher also obtained permission for Prof. S. Rospond to send his associate to Warsaw for collating the text with the original.⁴² K. Wesołowski only showed the Gniezno old print to selected individuals – never two at once.

With the publication of W. Rożdżeński's work in 1962,⁴³ correspondence about it ceased for a long time. The issue of holding the old print only came up again after the death of K. Wesołowski. In mid-April 1978, the Gniezno clergy learned from the *Dziennik Telewizyjny* news that the bibliophile's widow had donated a volume containing *Officina ferraria* to the National Library.⁴⁴ According to the minutes of the meeting of the Primate's Chapter on 1 June 1978: '[...] Rev. Canon Zientarski refers to the fact that the block, containing *Officinam ferrariam*, which in an unknown way ended up in the hands of Prof. Wesołowski years ago, was donated by his wife to the National Library. The Archdiocesan Archive has asked for the return of this block, but has not yet received any response.'⁴⁵ A year later, the minutes of the chapter's meeting recorded under the date of 22 June 1979: 'Rev. Director [W. Zientarski] reported that there are difficulties in recovering the *Officina ferraria* block.'

Rev. W. Zientarski corresponded with the National Library regarding the return of the block between 1978 and 1983. He sent his first letter on 24 April 1978.⁴⁶ Shortly thereafter (8 May 1978), he received a letter from a Warsaw resident who wrote: '[...] a week ago I was looking at it (a whole block) at an exhibition of donations to the National Library in W[arsaw]. The organizers of the exhibition informed me that this rarity was donated by the family after the late professor of the Warsaw University of Technology, Wesołowski.'⁴⁷ Upon no response from the directors of the National Library, Rev. W. Zientarski wrote a second letter to them in December 1978, in which he noted: 'The mentioned block [...] was lost from our library under circumstances that are still unexplained. Therefore, I kindly request information on how our property can be recovered.'⁴⁸ The long-awaited answer was provided in a letter dated 22 December 1978 by Rafał Kozłowski, deputy director of the National Library.⁴⁹ The letter itself is not preserved in the archive's own correspondence in Gniezno, but its contents can be inferred from

⁴² Ibidem, No 17/19, Letter from S. Rospond to R. Pollak dated 30 April 1961.

⁴³ W. Rożdżeński, *Officina ferraria ábo hutá i Wárstát z Kuźniami szlachetnego dzieła Zelaznego*, eds. R. Pollak, M. Radwan, S. Rospond, Ossolineum: Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków 1962. The introduction lacks any mention of where the original is kept and who owns it.

⁴⁴ AAG, Institutional Archives, Correspondence No 222/1983, Letter from Rev. W. Zientarski to P. Buchwald-Pelc dated 5 December 1983.

⁴⁵ AAG, Files of the Metropolitan Chapter (hereinafter: A Cap), B 48, k. 270v.

⁴⁶ AAG, Institutional Archives, correspondence No 135/1978, a copy of the letter (ref. 122/1978) has not survived, but we learn of its existence from a response of 6 June 1978 to a letter from an individual, Jan Lis of Warsaw.

⁴⁷ Ibidem.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, correspondence No 229/1978, Letter from W. Zientarski to the directors of the National Library dated 18 December 1978.

⁴⁹ The letter bore the reference number Z. D. III-159/1978.

Rev. W. Zientarski's 'reply to the reply' of December 1980:⁵⁰ 'The passage in the letter expressing surprise that we have made efforts to recover PL 178 cannot be taken seriously. It is rather surprising that an institution of such stature as the National Library, accepting a unique print with a well-known owner, did not raise any objections to the legitimacy of Prof. Wesołowski's possession of the said block, especially since the provenance marks clearly indicate where the block came from. So I ask again that you allow us to take back our property as soon as possible.' Once again, R. Kozłowski's letter of 1978 is mentioned by the first director of the archive in a letter to Associate Professor Paulina Buchwald-Pelc of the Department of Old Prints of the National Library in 1983: 'evidence was requested that this book was our property at the time of the donation.'⁵¹ From the same letter we learn that the Archdiocesan Archives had already sent copies of letters from R. Pollak, M. Pelczyński and K. Wesołowski.

Why did Canon W. Zientarski delay so long in sending another letter to the National Library? Light on this is shed by, among other documents, a letter he sent on 31 January 1979⁵² to Prof. Tadeusz Dziekoński.⁵³ The director turned to this particular researcher because he was a colleague of Prof. K. Wesołowski in the mid-1950s and had been in Gniezno with him. The answer most likely never came. Perhaps Rev. W. Zientarski decided to write to R. Kozłowski after receiving news of Prof. T. Dziekoński's death, which occurred on 25 October 1980.

After the above-mentioned exchange of letters with the National Library, the matter was probably put on hold, i.e. the Library directors stopped corresponding about the Gniezno block PL 178. This is evidenced by letters exchanged in 1985 with the aforementioned J. Lis, to whose repeated question about the fate of the uniqueness Rev. W. Zientarski replied: 'The National Library did not even deign to ask whether Prof. K. Wesołowski's widow is the rightful owner of this donation [...]. For several years, the Archdiocesan Archives has been seeking to regain its ownership; To no avail, so far, as the National Library behaves as if it has taken over no one's property, expressing surprise that anyone can claim it.' This letter also contains a valuable conjecture about the disappearance of the book from Gniezno: 'It was probably recklessly lent to Prof. Kornel Wesołowski.'⁵⁴

What remains incomprehensible in this story is that Rev. W. Zientarski was not given access to a file from the curial archives, called 'Teczka Archiwum Archi-

⁵⁰ AAG, Institutional Archives, correspondence No 229/1980, Letter from Rev. W. Zientarski to R. Kozłowski dated 5 December 1980.

⁵¹ Ibidem, correspondence No 222/1983, Letter from Rev. W. Zientarski to P. Buchwald-Pelc, 5 December 1983.

⁵² Ibidem, correspondence No 20/1979, Letter from Rev. W. Zientarski to T. Dziekoński, 31 January 1979.

⁵³ Tadeusz Dziekoński (1910–1980) – Professor, Ph.D. (dr hab.), researcher of the history of mining and metallurgy, cf. T. Mikoś, *Profesor Tadeusz Dziekoński jako badacz górniczo-hutniczych dziejów*, http://history-of-mining.pwr.wroc.pl/old/attachments/article/10/23Mikos-Profesor_Tadeusz_Dziekoński.pdf.

⁵⁴ AAG, Institutional Archives, correspondence No 209/1985, Letter from Rev. W. Zientarski to J. Lis, 25 July 1985.

diecezjalnego' (Archodiecane Archive File) from 1949–1955. It contains as many as three of the above-mentioned remarks by Rev. S. Bross about the transfer of the valuable book to Prof. K. Wesołowski, which he once explicitly referred to as a lending and twice as collecting. However, nowhere did he write about the sale or donation of this rarity to K. Wesołowski.

Identification of an old print containing *Officina ferraria*

On 4 May 2017, Rev. Michał Sołomieniuk, Ph.D., director of the Gniezno Archdiocesan Archives, travelled to Warsaw and conducted identification of a volume with the signature SD XVI. Qu 6937-6950. The examination of the artefact was performed with the assistance of four employees of the National Library, including an armed guard. The Gniezno resident could not turn the pages of the book himself (this was done by an employee of the Warsaw Library) or touch it. The examination confirmed that:

1. The volume is a block of 14 different publications, which Rev. L. Formanowicz labelled as adligates from 'a' to 'o' (omitting 'j' and 'i').

2. The front endpaper bears a pink label with the printed phrase 'Z daru testam. // X. A. Dyamenta' and a double frame. The books being part of the donation have the same pink label with identical text.

3. The spine bears a label with the two-part 'PL 178' imprint – such labels can be seen on the entire set of 16th-century polonica from the collection of the Gniezno Cathedral Library.

4. The volume measures 180 x 140 mm.

5. The volume contains the following information, inscribed in pencil on the inside of the back cover: '1977 D 88 // Akc. 11-24/77 // Dar p. Barbary Wesołowskiej z Warszawy'.

Rev. L. Formanowicz left behind two descriptions of the valuable block: all the adligats were briefly described in the *Biblioteka Kapitulna w Gnieźnie* publication,⁵⁵ as opposed to only the 16th-century prints in the catalogue of polonica (more extensively than in the earlier publication). In the table below, in the middle column, I provided a description of 16th-century prints from the catalogue of polonica and 17th-century prints from *Biblioteka Kapitulna*, while on the right I included an abbreviated catalogue description according to the National Library catalogue.

⁵⁵ Formanowicz, *Biblioteka*, pp. 14–15.

Table 1. Comparative summary of the description of *Officina ferraria* according to two sources

No.	Description according to Rev. L. Formanowicz	Abbreviated description according to the National Library catalogue (reference numbers in parentheses)
1. (adl. a)	Roździeński, Walenty Officina Ferraria, ábo Hutá y Wárstat z Kuźniámi szlachetnego dzieła Żelaznego. Kraków, Szymon Kempini, 1612 ⁵⁶ .	(SD XVI. Qu 6937) Roździeński, Walenty (ca 1570-ca 1642), Officina ferraria abo Huta y warstat z kuzniami szlachetnego dzieła żelaznego przez Walentego Rozdzińskiego teraz nowo wydana W Krakowie : w Drukarni Symone Kempiniego, 1612. 4°
2. (adl. b)	Reces sejmu warszawskiego. [B. m. i dr.] 1583. 4° Prow.: Kłoczek z exlibrisem Z daru testam. X. A. Dyamenta ⁵⁷	(SD XVI. Qu 6938) Recess seymu warszawskiego albo Dialog o seymie warszawskim... [S.l. : s.n.], 1583. 4°
3. (adl. c)	Izdbiński, Joannes, Krótkie opisanie zjazdu kolskiego. [Poznań, Jan Wolrab, po 10 VIII 1590]. 4° ⁵⁸	(SD XVI. Qu 6939) Krotkie opisanie zjazdu kolskiego vrodzonego Iana Izdbinskiego z Ruszca, marszałka na te[n] czas ziem wielgopolskich pod Kolem na dzień s. Wawrzyńca roku [...] 1590. 4°
4. (adl. d)	Rada Pańska. Tłum. pols. z tłum. włos. Jakóba Górskiego. Kraków, Druk. Łazarzowa, [po 3.I.] 1597. 4° ⁵⁹	(SD XVI. Qu 6940) Furió y Ceriol, Fadrique (1532-1592). Rada panska to iest Iakich osob pan kazdy wybierac sobie ma do rady swoiey przez Friderika Fvrivsza Ceriolę po hiszpańsku napisana a przez [...] Iakvba Gorskiego [...] z włoskiego na polskie przełożona [...]. W Krakowie : w Drukarni Łazarzowej, [post 3 I] 1597. 4°

⁵⁶ In the so-called initial copy of L. Formanowicz's catalogue of polonica (i.e., the main tool for AAG librarians to work on the resource), a pencil note was made on p. 112: 'PL 178 includes, among others, Roździeński's *Officina ferraria* (missing since the 1950s – annotated in the storage).'

⁵⁷ Formanowicz, *Katalog druków polskich*, No 315.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, No 188. According to L. Formanowicz, Karol Estreicher knows of only one copy, from Kórnik.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, No 105.

5. (adl. e)	[Januszowski Jan:] Poprawa niektórych obyczajów Polskich potocznych. Kraków, Franciszek Cezary, 1628.	(SD XVI. Qu 6941) Starowolski, Szymon (1588-1656). Poprawa niektórych obyczajów polskich potocznych [...] przez iednego Szlachcica staropolskiego [...] napisana y trzeci raz przedrukowana [...]. W Krakowie : w Drukarni Franciszka Cezarego, 1628.
6. (adl. f)	Palczowski Paweł: Kolęda Moskiewska. Kraków, Mikołaj Szarffenberger, 1609.	(SD XVI. Qu 6942) Palczowski, Paweł (ca 1570-1609?). TYT UJEDN: Wyprawa wojenna Króla Jego Mości do Moskwy. TYTUŁ: Kolęda moskiewska to iest Woyny moskiewskiej przyczyny slvszne [...] krotko opisane przez Pawła Palczowskiego [...]. W Krakowie : Mikołaiia Szarffenbergera [i.e. Jan Szarfenberger], 1609. 4°
7. (adl. g)	Zbylitowski, Andreas Witanie króla nowego Zygmunta III. Kraków, Druk. Łazarzowa, 1587. 4° ⁶⁰	(SD XVI. Qu 6943) Zbylitowski, Andrzej (ca 1565-ca 1608). Witanie króla nowego Zygmvnta Trzeciego [...] od zacnego senatu y rycerstwa sławney Korony Polskiej napisane przez Andrzeia Zbylitowskiego, Z. Z. W Krakowie : z druk. Laz., 1587. 4°
8. (adl. h)	Poselstwo do króla Zygmunta III od Rad i Stanów W. X. Litewskiego. Kraków, Mikołaj Szarffenberger, 1588. 4° ⁶¹	(SD XVI. Qu 6944) Hlebowicz, Jan (?-1590). Poselstwo do krola [...] polskiego Zygmunta Trzeciego od rad y wszzech stanow W. X. Litewskiego [...] / [Jan Hlebowicz]. W Krakowie: w Drukarni Mikołaiia Szarffenbergiera, 1588. 4°

⁶⁰ Ibidem, No 425.

⁶¹ Ibidem, No 281.

9. (adl. i)	[Solikowski Jan Dymitr:] Wizerunek ytrapioney rzeczypospolitey, i Naprawa Piotra Grzegorzkowica. Z ksiąg Stanisława Orzechowskiego wzięta. [Przy tem] Herkules słowieński Kaspra Miaskowskiego. Dobromil, 1612.	(SD XVI. Qu 6945) Solikowski, Jan Dymitr (1539-1603). Wizervnek vtrapionei Rzeczypospolitei i naprawa Piotra Grzegorzkowica z ksiąg Stanisława Orzechowskiego wzięta. Przy tym Hercvles słowieński Kaspra Miaskowskiego. Tenze D.D. W Dobromilu : [Jan Szeligą], 1612. 4°
10. (adl. k)	Starowolski Szymon: Pobudka Abo Ráda ná zniesienie Tatarow Perekopskich. Kraków, Maciej Jędrzejowczyk, 1618.	(SD XVI. Qu 6946) Starowolski, Szymon (1588-1656). Pobvodka abo Rada na zniesienie Tatarow Perekopskich Szymona Starowolskiego [...]. W Krakowie : w Drukarniej Macieia Iędrzeiowczyka, 1618. 4°
11. (adl. l)	Palczowski Krzysztof: O Kozakach, Iesli ich znieść czy nie. Kraków, Maciej Jędrzejowczyk, 1618.	(SD XVI. Qu 6947) Palczowski, Krzysztof (ca 1568-1627). O Kozakach, iesli ich zniec czy nie, discvrs Krzysztofa Palczowskiego [...]. W Krakowie : w Drukarniej Macieia Iędrzeiowczyka, [post 1 II] 1618.
12. (adl. m)	Perspectiwa na vpatrzenie sposobow woiovania kraiow nieprzyiaciol krzyza swietego y nawatlenia snadnego, tyrnanstwa pogańskiego. Poznań, Jan Wolrab, 1622.	(SD XVI. Qu 6948) Perspectiwa na vpatrzenie sposobow woiovania kraiow nieprzyiaciol Krzyza Swietego y nawatlenia snadnego tyrnanstwa poganskiego z opisaniem porządkow ich woyskowych [...], do tego przydane iest Wyrażenie prawdziwe położenia krain przednieyszych w panstwie tureckim leżących [...] z pisma wielu [...] autorow [...] zebrane. W Poznaniu : w Drukarni Iana Wolraba, [post 20 VII] 1622. 4°
13. (adl. n)	Obrona rozsadv o niedopvszczeniv bvdowania haeretyckiego zbory w Poznaniw na respons przeciwko temu wydany. Poznań, Jan Wolrab, 1616.	(SD XVI. Qu 6949) Hap, Kasper (1563-1619). Obrona rozsadv o niedopvszczeniv bvdowania haeretyckiego zbory w Poznaniw na respons przeciivko temu wydany. [Poznań : Jan Wolrab], 1616. 4°

14. (adl. o)	Gostkowski Wojciech: Sposób iákim góry złote, srebrne, w przeznaczym Kolestwie Polskim zapsowane naprawić. 1622. B. m. i d.	(SD XVI. Qu 6950) Gostkowski, Wojciech. Sposob, iakim gory złote, srebrne w [...] krolestwie polskim zapsowane naprawic, stanom koronnym oboygá narodow [...] do vważania podany [...] przez Woyciecha Gostkowskiego wydany. [S.l. : s.n., post 28 II] 1622. 4°
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Source: own research

The above comparison confirms that the block described by Rev. L. Formanowicz and the volume in the National Library's collection are the same item.

Conclusion

The National Library has among its old prints a block with the reference SD XVI. Qu 6937-6950, which was assigned to a Gniezno polonicum with the ref. PL 178. The print includes, among other things, a unique work titled *Officina ferraria*. The library acquired the object in question in 1977 as a donation from B. Wesołowska of Warsaw, widow of Prof. K. Wesołowski. The professor came into possession of the valuable book through informally recorded lending (?) of it to him by Mitred Prelate Rev. S. Bross, administrator of the Gniezno Archdiocese imposed by the Stalinist authorities. This presumably took place in the second half of 1955. After the return of the Blessed Primate S. Wyszyński from internment, Rev. S. Bross was deposed and deprived of his canonical dignity, which is why he showed no willingness to cooperate, including in the matter of the return of *Officina*. Professor K. Wesołowski made this work available to Professor R. Pollak in the 1960s in an almost clandestine manner and avoided answering the question of whether he was the legal owner of the book. This shows that he held the print without the owner's permission. The Archdiocese of Gniezno, through Rev. W. Zientarski, made efforts, in 1978–1983, to recover its property, sending to the National Library, among other things, copies of letters from R. Pollak, M. Pełczyński and K. Wesołowski. These letters undoubtedly demonstrate that Prof. K. Wesołowski was not the legal owner of the print. In 2017, the director of the Gniezno Archdiocesan Archives, Rev. M. Sołomieniuk, Ph.D., undertook an analysis of the book at the National Library's headquarters and confirmed that it was a print from the stock of the Cathedral Library in Poland's first capital. In Gniezno, the print is invariably referred to as BK Pl 178, while it is now in the National Library in Warsaw.

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„ORYGINAŁ ZOSTAŁ ODNALEZIONY I NIE ZMIENIŁ WŁAŚCICIELA”. LOSY GNIEŹNIŃSKIEGO STARODRUKU PL 178, ZAWIERAJĄCEGO OFFICINA FERRARIA

Abstrakt

Przedmiotem artykułu są losy starodruku z zasobu Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego w Gnieźnie, zawierającego m.in. unikat polskojęzycznego poematu Walentego Roździeńskiego pt. *Officina ferraria* z 1612 roku. Ten druk współoprawny został подарowany gnieźnieńskiej bibliotece kapitulnej jako dar testamentalny ks. Antoniego Dyamenta w 1885 roku. Wartość naukową i historyczną druku odkrył przed II wojną światową bibliotekarz i archiwista kapitulny ks. kan. Leon Formanowicz, a zbadał go naukowo prof. Roman Pollak, który w 1936 roku przygotował jego edycję. Druk, w czasie wojny zabrany przez Niemców do Poznania, wrócił do prawowitego właściciela po wojnie i został ponownie zinwentaryzowany w 1955 roku. W tym też roku ks. dr Stanisław Bross, wikariusz kapitulny archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej w czasie uwięzienia prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego, wypożyczył go bez powiadomienia kapituły metropolitalnej prof. Kornelowi Wesołowskiemu z Politechniki Warszawskiej. K. Wesołowski przetrzymywał druk do śmierci w 1977 roku, po czym wdowa po nim podarowała go Bibliotece Narodowej. Na przełomie lat 70. i 80. XX wieku kapituła prymasowska w Gnieźnie bezskutecznie starała się o zwrot cennej książki. Ostatnio, w 2017 roku, badał gnieźnieński druk w Warszawie obecny dyrektor Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego w Gnieźnie ks. Michał Sołomieniuk. W Bibliotece Katedralnej w Gnieźnie książka wciąż ma sygnaturę BK Pl 178.

Słowa kluczowe: *Officina ferraria*; Walenty Roździeński; ks. Leon Formanowicz; prof. Roman Pollak; ks. Stanisław Bross; Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Gnieźnie; Biblioteka Katedralna w Gnieźnie; Biblioteka Kapitulna w Gnieźnie; Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie



REV. JÓZEF SZYMAŃSKI* – SŁUPSK

**REPORT OF REV. HENRYK HILCHEN, PHD,
ON HIS WORK AMONG POLISH WORKERS
IN FRANCE DURING THE SUMMER WEEKS OF 1924**

Abstract

Rev. Henryk Hilchen, PhD, priest of the Archdiocese of Warsaw, was born on 30 July 1881 in Warsaw. Hilchen studied at the Faculty of Chemistry of the Warsaw University of Technology and at the Lviv Polytechnic, where he completed his education after two years. In 1905, he went to Freiburg, Switzerland, where he continued his studies at the Faculty of Law and Economics, culminating in the degree of Doctor of Political Science. In Freiburg he also studied theology and philosophy. In 1910, he returned to Poland and joined the theological seminary in Warsaw. Ordained priest on 21 December 1912, he was vicar in the village of Dobrze near Stanisławów, and then in Łowicz, in Łódź, and from July 1915 in the parish of All Saints in Warsaw.

From 1915, he was secretary general of the Association of Christian Workers, and editor at the Christian associations known as 'Pracownik Polski' (1916–1917). In 1919 he became a councillor of the city of Warsaw, editor of the *Przewodnik Społeczny* monthly magazine, chaplain of the School of Artillery Cadets and of the military unit stationed in Sołacz. In 1920, he went to Rome, where he entered the novitiate of the Dominican order and took up theological studies at the Collegium Angelicum. Beginning in July 1922, by order of Pope Pius XI, he provided assistance to two successive apostolic nuncios in Poland. He was a regular correspondent for *L'Osservatore Romano* and *L'Avvenire d'Italia*. In 1929 he became pastor of a parish in Leszno near Błonie, and in 1931 of Our Lady of Częstochowa in Warsaw, where he completed the construction of a church. In 1937, he received the Gold Cross of Merit of the Republic of Poland, and in the following year was awarded the Polonia Restituta Order. In the same year he was elected to the Warsaw City Council. Before the city's capitulation, he was a hostage who guaranteed that President Stefan

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Starzyński's negotiations with the Germans would be respected. Arrested by the Germans on 3 October 1939, he was imprisoned in the Pawiak prison until the end of November. Despite the destruction of the church and rectory during a German bombing on 12 September 1944, he formally served as pastor until July 1945. As of June of this year, he became the parish priest in Miedzyrzecz. On 15 October 1947, at the Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Słupsk, he undertook to organize a new parish dedicated to St Otto. On 29 November 1952 he became the parish priest in Tarczyn near Grójec. On his way to the new facility, on 29 January 1953, he suffered a stroke. He died on 20 August 1956, and was buried in the Powązki cemetery.

He kept an ongoing record of his life and activities in the form of diaries, correspondence, various notes or official documents. This paper showcases his work among Polish workers in France during the summer weeks of 1924. The original document in typescript form is kept in the Archdiocesan Archives in Gniezno, Archive of the Primate of Poland, Files of the Protector of Polish Emigration, France – PMK Varia, Section III/15a.

Keywords: Rev. Henryk Hilchen; Polish pastoral ministry in France; Polish emigration in France; Polish Catholic Mission in France

Rev. Henryk Hilchen, PhD – priest of the Archdiocese of Warsaw. Born on 30 July 1881 in Warsaw, he was the son of Teodor and Józefa, née Węzyk-Rudzka. He began his elementary school education in Sosnowiec, continued at the Latin school in Kielce, and received his secondary school certificate at the Edward Al-exander Rontaler (Ronthaler) trade school in Warsaw with the title 'commercial candidate' and the distinction of a silver medal for his studies, which resulted briefly in a job as a laboratory assistant. In 1901, he enrolled at the Warsaw Polytechnic, in the Department of Chemistry. After a year, he moved to Lviv Polytechnic, from which he graduated after 2 years of study. The reason for the move was the threat of arrest due to his involvement in the student academic movement, especially in Zjednoczenie. Similarly, after relocating to Lviv, he became involved in the Bratnia Pomoc organization, where he was treasurer, prefect of the academic Sodality of Our Lady, and lecturer at the 'Jedność' workers' association.

In 1905, he travelled to Freiburg, Switzerland, where he continued his studies in Law and Economics at the Catholic University. After 5 years, he received a doctorate in political science on the basis of a dissertation entitled *Historia Drogi Żelaznej Warszawsko-Wiedeńskiej* (History of the Warsaw-Vienna Iron Road). He also studied theology and philosophy at the university there. Belonging to the Filarecja and Sarmacja associations, he was involved in educational and aid activities among Polish emigrants.

In 1910, he returned to the country, despite obstacles from the tsarist government. After an unsuccessful attempt to study at the theological seminary in Włocławek, he entered the seminary in Warsaw, where he was ordained a priest on 21 December 1912 by Archbishop Aleksander Kakowski.

He began his pastoral work with an 11-week vicariate in the village of Dobre near Stanisławów, from where he was transferred for a few months to the vicariate

in Łowicz, where he developed Catholic associations and founded an agricultural circle in the village of Zawady. Beginning in October 1913, he worked in Łódź for eight months, from where he went on vacation in July 1914. The outbreak of war caused him to return to Warsaw from Switzerland via the Balkans. However, based on a decision by the tsarist authorities, he was not allowed to stay there, and therefore took up pastoral work in Jadów, where he developed charitable activities for those affected by the war as secretary of the formed civic committee. In July 1915, he became vicar of All Saints parish in Warsaw and prefect of secondary schools.

From 1915, he was secretary general of the Association of Christian Workers, and editor at the Christian associations known as *Pracownik Polski* (1916–1917). In 1919, he became a councilman for the capital city of Warsaw. He resigned from his post, that same year, at the request of Archbishop Edmund Dalbor, and at the behest of Archbishop A. Kakowski moved to Poznań, where he took over the editorship of the Christian-Democratic monthly *Przewodnik Społeczny* and became chaplain of the Artillery Cadet School and the military unit stationed in Sołacz. At the same time, he was involved in academic ministry.

In 1920, he went to Rome, where he entered the novitiate of the Dominican order and took up theological studies at the Angelicum. In July 1922, at the behest of Pope Pius XI, he returned to Warsaw to assist two successive apostolic nuncios in Poland and serve as prefect of secondary schools. After the establishment of the Catholic Press Agency, he became a regular correspondent for *L'Osservatore Romano* and *L'Avvenire d'Italia*.

His candidacy was under consideration for field bishop of the Polish Army. He enjoyed papal dignities and honours – the title of honorary papal chamberlain and the Golden Cross of Benemerenti, which he received in 1925.

In 1929 he became a parish priest in Leszno near Błonie, and in 1931 of Our Lady of Częstochowa in Warsaw, where he completed the construction of a church. In 1937, he received the Gold Cross of Merit of the Republic of Poland, and in the following was awarded the Polonia Restituta Order. In the same year he was elected to the Warsaw City Council. Before the capitulation of the capital, he was – as a volunteer – among 12 prominent representatives of society who were hostages guaranteeing compliance with President Stefan Starzyński's negotiations with the Germans. On 3 October 1939, he was arrested by the Germans and imprisoned in the Pawiak prison until the end of November. After regaining his freedom, he became chairman of the disabled care circle at the Ujazdów hospital. He organized the kitchen of the Central Welfare Council at the parsonage, serving about 2,000 lunches a day, and organized 2 care centres for children (one of the Central Welfare Council, the other of Caritas). Shortly before the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising, he agreed to deposit part of the Old Polish archival collection of the Central Archives of Historical Records in the church tower, thanks to which it was saved from burning. The church tower survived the fire, while the church and parsonage were destroyed. During the uprising, he organized a hospital in a shelter under the church, which was seized by the Germans on 16 September 1944. He managed to save the church paraments, record books and some of the

documentation and library. From then on, he stayed at the parsonage in Pruszków, and later in Podkowa Leśna, until 23 June 1945. On 12 September 1944, the church and parsonage were destroyed by a German bombardment, but he nevertheless formally served as a parish priest until July 1945.

His repeated requests for a new parish or other assignments in the archdiocese were not met with understanding from Church authorities. As a consequence, he left for Poznań, reported to Archbishop Walenty Dymek, after which he took over the parish and the office of parish priest in Międzyrzecz. He was appointed dean and apostolic consultant of Międzyrzecz by the apostolic administrator of the Kamień, Lubusz and Piła Prelature in Gorzów Wielkopolski, Rev. Edmund Nowicki Ph.D. Within four months, he organized the parish, renovated the temple, and rebuilt church and religious life. On 21 November 1945, he was officially dismissed from his position as administrator of the parish of Our Lady of Częstochowa in Warsaw. As of 1946, he asked to be transferred to or near Warsaw. From 15 October 1947, at the Sacred Heart Church in Słupsk, he undertook the organization of a new parish of St. Otto, where he rebuilt the presbytery of the church and erected 2 side altars. He also worked there as vice-dean. He was a consultant and, from 1948, a member of the Administrative Council of the Apostolic Administration. On 18 August 1952, the curia of the Ordinariate in Gorzów approved his departure from Słupsk, and on 29 November 1952, by decision of the Warsaw curia, he was appointed parish priest in Tarczyn in the Grójec deanery. He left Słupsk on 23 January 1953. On his way to the new post, he stayed at the Polonia Hotel in Warsaw, where he suffered a stroke on 29 January. On 22 August 1954, he asked the curia for a referral to the House of Retired Priests in Warsaw. He died on 20 August 1956, and was buried in the Powązki cemetery.

So far, the figure of Rev. H. Hilchen has been the subject of studies by Irena Łapinowa,¹ Rev. Witold M[alej],² Rev. Waldemar Wojdecki,³ Bronisław Panek OC,⁴ Rev. Robert R. Kufel,⁵ and Rev. Józef Szymański.⁶ In recent years, Zygmunt Szultka and Henryk Walczak have compiled and published in a 2-volume work materials on the Słupsk pastor.⁷ They pointed out that Rev. H. Hilchen 'Kept documentation of his life and activities on an ongoing basis in the form of diaries, correspondence,

¹ Hilchen Henryk (1881–1956), in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 9, ed. K. Lepszy, Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków 1961, pp. 514–515.

² *Liber mortuorum – Hilchen Henryk (1881–1956)*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, 51 (1969) issue 3–4, pp. 252–254.

³ *Historia jednej balustrady – o kościele w Lesznie*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie”, 78 (1996) issue 2, pp. 205–207.

⁴ *Materiały do dziejów Polskiej Misji Katolickiej we Francji*, issue I. *Księża polscy w duszpasterstwie okręgu paryskiego 1922–1929*, Fr. B. Panek OC, Paris 1992, pp. 33–36.

⁵ Hilchen Henryk, in: *Słownik biograficzny księży pracujących w Kościele gorzowskim 1945–1956*, vol. II (H–Ł), ed. Rev. R.R. Kufel, Zielona Góra 2017, pp. 25–27.

⁶ *Tworzenie struktur parafialnych i życia religijnego w Słupsku w latach 1945–1948*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 112 (2019) pp. 211–231.

⁷ *Kościół katolicki na ziemiach polskich. Wspomnienia i refleksje ks. dr. Henryka Hilchena z lat 1910–1945*, eds. Z. Szultka, H. Walczak, vol. 1 (1910–1918), vol. 2 (1919–1945), Szczecin 2014.

various notes or official documents that he wrote down or created in his office.⁸ In volume two of his 'memoirs and reflections', on page 83, he wrote: 'I submitted a report on my stay in France to Card[inal] Dalbor and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.' Earlier, in the same volume, from page 73, he described the circumstances of his departure, the first steps taken on French soil.⁹

One of the first priests to report to the Primate of Poland, Cardinal Edmund Dalbor, on the state of the pastoral care of Poles in France was Rev. Stanisław Adamski.¹⁰ The following year, by order of Bishop Adam Sapieha, a similar mission was carried out by Rev. Leon Kalinowski,¹¹ and later by Rev. Arkadi-

⁸ Ibidem, vol. 1, p. 14.

⁹ Ibidem, vol. 2, pp. 73–83.

¹⁰ He was born on 12 April 1875 in Zielona Góra near Szamotuły. Son of Piotr and Józefa (née Wasilewska). He attended grammar school in Poznań and Międzyrzecz, and studied philosophy and theology in Poznań and Gniezno, where he was ordained priest on 12 November 1899. He took up pastoral ministry at the Holy Trinity parish in Gniezno, and later at the cathedral, and was at the same time archivist of the Gniezno cathedral chapter. In 1904, he became a canon of the Collegiate Chapter of St Mary Magdalene in Poznań. Between 1904 and 1930, he worked for a number of associations in Poznań. He published the *Robotnik* magazine and was general secretary of the Union of Catholic Workers from 1904. He founded the Working Women's Union and the *Gazeta dla Kobiet* magazine. He was editor of the *Ruch Chrześcijańsko-Społeczny* biweekly. In 1911, he became president of the Association of Cooperatives and published *Poradnik dla Spółek*. During this time, he became director of the 'Księgarnia św. Wojciecha' bookstore, and later served as chairman of its Supervisory Board. He was the founder of the Union of Cooperative Societies, the superintendent of the Bank of the Union of Cooperative Societies and a member of the Organizing Committee of the Bank of Poland and the State Cooperative Council. From 1918 to 1925 he was president of the 'Unitas' priests' union. He was among the co-founders of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, and was appointed honorary professor of the faculty of economy and law. In 1919 he became a secret papal chamberlain, and in 1920 – parish priest of the metropolitan chapter in Poznań. He made two trips to the United States, where he became familiar with the problems of the local Polish community. During the Greater Poland Uprising he became head of the district government and took an active part in the formation of the Polish Army. He was an MP from 1919 to 1921 and a senator from 1922 to 1927. In 1925, he gave a draft of Catholic Action's statutes for all of Poland. In 1930, he became director of the Supreme Institute of Catholic Action. On 30 November 1930, he became bishop of the diocese of Katowice. In it, he established Catholic Action and the Internal Mission, and organized the Catholic Press Agency. He was chairman of the Episcopal School Committee and, from 1945, chairman of the Pastoral Commission. During the German occupation, he stayed in Częstochowa, and from 1941 in Warsaw. After returning to the Silesian Diocese in January 1945, he reorganized pastoral and catechetical life. From 1952 to 1956, he was detained in Lipnica near Szamotuły. He spent the last years of his life at home, stricken with paralysis. He died on 12 November 1967 in Katowice and was buried there in the crypt of the Silesian Cathedral. *Czy wiesz kto to jest?*, ed. S. Łoza, Warsaw 1938, p. 5; *Materiały do dziejów Polskiej Misji Katolickiej we Francji*, issue I, pp. 1–4; J. Mandziuk, *Adamski Stanisław*, in: *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 5, ed. L. Grzebień, Warsaw 1983, pp. 28–38.

¹¹ Born on 10 April 1879 in Warsaw, he received his primary education at a municipal school in Lublin, secondary education in Odessa, then in Russia, and his philosophical and theological studies from 1907 at the seminary in Lublin. On 23 July 1911, he was ordained a priest by Bishop Franciszek Jaczewski. He undertook pastoral ministry as a vicar in the parish of Fajslawice (1911–1914), then in the parish of Górzno (1914–1919), with the mission to create the parish of Sobolew.

usz Lisiecki.¹² The travels to this country were aimed at diagnosing the scale of pastoral needs among compatriots and reorganizing the leadership of the Polish pastoral centre.¹³

The following report is relevant to expatriate pastoral care in France. Drawn up at the request of Bishop Stanisław Kostka Lukomski,¹⁴ it exemplifies the background of the pastoral care carried out by the Polish Catholic Mission in France for compatriots.

The original document in typescript form is kept in the Archdiocesan Archives in Gniezno, Archives of the Primate of Poland, Files of the Protector of Polish Emigration, France – PMK Varia, Section III/15a, *Sprawozdanie ks. dr Henryka Hilchena z pracy wśród robotników polskich we Francji w czasie tygodni letnich*

From 1919 to 1923 he was administrator of the Malowa Góra parish, where he rebuilt the church destroyed during World War I. He then served as a parish priest in: Wola Gułowska (1923–1924), Łomazy (1924), Adamów (1924–1935), Ostrów Lubelski (from 26 May 1935 to 29 October 1940 – arrested by the Germans). From 1939 he was vice-dean of the Parczew deanery, and a month before his arrest he became an honorary canon of the Cathedral in Siedlce. He was arrested again on 23 March 1941 and imprisoned in Radzyń Podlaski, and then in the Lublin castle, in the concentration camp in Auschwitz (from 2 April 1941), and Dachau (from 4 May 1941; camp number 25031), sentenced to the transport of the disabled and gassed on 21 June 1942. *Materiały do dziejów Polskiej Misji Katolickiej we Francji*, issue I, pp. 43–45.

¹² He was born on 12 January 1880. Son of Roman and Barbara (née Kolendowska). He attended the St Mary Magdalene Grammar School in Poznań and received his secondary school certificate in 1901. He studied theology at the seminary in Poznań. Ordained priest on 17 December 1904. He began his pastoral ministry on 1 January 1905 as a vicar in Ostrów Wielkopolski, and organized a branch of the People's Libraries Society there. Chairman of the district committee of the PLS, and in 1907–1930, a member of the PLS Main Board in Poznań. Beginning in 1909, he was editor of the *Czytelnia Ludowa* quarterly which turned into the *Przegląd Oświatowy* monthly. He moved to Poznań and became a canon of the Collegiate Chapter of St Mary Magdalene on 15 February 1910, general secretary of the Union of Catholic Societies of Polish Workers and editor of *Robotnik*. Furthermore, he took over the editorship of the new monthly magazine *Stowarzyszenie*, which he defined as a guide to practical work for Polish societies, and periodically the editorship of the *Przewodnik Katolicki* (1915–1916). He was also the general secretary of *Straż św. Józefa* from 1 April 1910. From 1905, he was a member of the National League. On 1 July 1916, he became parish priest in Bnin. From the following year, he was a member of the Prussian parliament. In November 1918, he participated in conferences with Józef Piłsudski and Ignacy Daszyński on the formation of the government. In Poznań, he was a member of the Supreme People's Council and a delegate of the Śrem district to the Polish District Sejm. In 1920, he made trips to Germany and France to study the religious and national needs of Polish expatriates. On 1 October 1924, he became a professor at the Gniezno Seminary in Church history. On 24 June 1926, he became bishop of Katowice. He died in Cieszyn on 13 May 1930, during a bishop's visitation. M. Banaszak, *Lisiecki Arkadiusz Marian*, in: *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, vol. 6, ed. L. Grzebień, Warsaw 1983, pp. 335–338; *Materiały do dziejów Polskiej Misji Katolickiej we Francji*, issue I, pp. 58–61.

¹³ Rev. R. Dzwonkowski SAK, *Polska opieka religijna we Francji 1909–1939*, Poznań-Warsaw 1988, pp. 49, 126; B. Panek OC, *Księża polscy pracujący na placówkach duszpasterskich we Francji od 1922 r.*, „Seculum Christianum”, 1 (1994) issue 1, p. 222.

¹⁴ Rev. T. Białous, *Biskup Stanisław Kostka Lukomski (1874–1948). Pasterz niezłomny*, Rajgród 2010.

1924 roku, k. 15. [Document title handwritten in pen]. The original style, spelling, punctuation and syntax have been preserved in the publication of the source.

**Report of Rev. Henryk Hilchen, PhD,
on his Work among Polish Workers in France
during the Summer Weeks of 1924**

Eminencjo,

Stosownie do życzenia, wyrażonego przez J.E. ks. Biskupa Łukomskiego wyjechałem do Francji statkiem, aby móc przyjrzeć się traktowaniu naszych wychodźców przez służbę okrętową. Statek „Pologne” odszedł z Gdańska 6 lipca w niedzielę i doszedł do Hawru 10 lipca we czwartek. Przez całą drogę stosunek służby do naszych ludzi był całkowicie poprawny, tembardziej, że kapitan okrętu Bretończyk, okazywał szczególne zainteresowanie się polskimi wychodźcami, pragnąc by im było możliwie dobrze. Kabiny III klasy czyste, w nich umieszczono kobiety z dziećmi oddzielnie od mężczyzn. Jedzenie które kilkakrotnie próbowałem, było zupełnie dobre. Ludzie przeto nie narzekali na statek i na obsługę, ale na Ukraińców, którzy w liczbie 56 oficerów z żonami i dziećmi dokuczali naszym wychodźcom, szczególnie dzieciom.

W Hawrze odebrał cały transport p. Wicekonsul Winiarz¹⁵, który zwrócił się do mnie z gorącą prośbą, aby przedstawić Misji polskiej w Paryżu konieczność lepszego zorganizowania duszpasterstwa na terenie Brytanji i Normandji, gdyż w tamtą stronę księża polscy wcale nie przyjeżdżają tak, że tysiące dusz jest bez pomocy religijnej.

W Paryżu zajechałem w towarzystwie ks. prałata Szurka¹⁶ do Misji Polskiej (263 bis rue St. Honore), aby otrzymać informację i polecenie dokąd mam się

¹⁵ Roman Winiarz held office in Havre from 1 June 1924 to 31 August 1931. Cf. *Rocznik Służby Zagranicznej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej według stanu na 1 czerwca 1939*, Warsaw 1939, p. 68.

¹⁶ Stanisław Szurek – a priest from the Lviv Archdiocese. Born on April 3, 1885 in Męcina Wielka near Gorlice. He attended regular schools in Kobylanka, Lviv and Biecz, and the 3rd and 6th grammar school in Lviv. He received his secondary education certificate in 1904. In 1908, he graduated from the Theological Faculty in Lviv and was ordained a priest on 28 June 1908. He was a vicar and catechist in Rohatyn and Stryi. In 1909–1913 he studied at the Faculty of Theology at the University of Vienna, where he received his doctorate in theology in 1913. In 1913–1914 he was secretary to Archbishop Józef Bilczewski, catechist of the Institution for the Blind and editor of *Gazeta Kościelna*. In May 1914, he went to Rome, where for a year he was vice-rector of the Polish hospice and representative of the Polish bishops at the Vatican. He also studied ascetics and liturgics in Rome. With the onset of World War I, he went to Switzerland and studied biblical sciences, philosophy and dogmatics at the University of Freiburg. At the end of 1915, he returned to Lviv, where he became a clerical father at the seminary. In October 1921, he took over the commissioned lectures on liturgy, and from October 1922 on pastoral theology at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. On 27 November 1923, he was awarded a doctorate in pastoral theology. From 1928 he was curator of the Archdiocesan Museum in Lviv. In 1923, he was given the dignity of secret chamberlain of the Holy Father. He died on March 26, 1964 in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, where he had settled after World War II. K. Kamiński, *Szurek Stanisław*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 19, ed. E. Gigilewicz,

udać, aby posłużyć wychodźcom, a jednocześnie by samemu najlepiej zapoznać się z emigracją.

Przed wszystkim pojechałem do Reims. Pomimo, że ks. Szymbor¹⁷ upewnił mnie, iż przyjazd księdza jest należycie przygotowany, musiałem sam o wszystkim się starać. Stosownie do polecenia ks. Szymbora zjechałem do seminarjum duchownego. Tutaj nikt nic o przysłaniu księdza polskiego nie wiedział. Ks. Superjor przyjął mnie jednak b. gościnnie, dając pokój i pożywienie. W Kurji arcybiskupiej również nikt nic nie wiedział, tak, że dopiero po pokazaniu celebretu dostałem upoważnienie „sacrum faciendi, confesiones audiendi. Dei verbum annuntiandi in gratiam fidelium linguae poloniae in archidioecesi Rhemensi degentium a die 12 Julii usque ad diem 16-am ejusdem mensis anni 1924”¹⁸ oraz niektóre wskazówki, gdzie szukać Polaków. Niestety tam ich nie było, więc udałem się do urzędu policyjnego, aby otrzymać adres chociaż jednego Polaka, bo zaufany ks. Szymbora mający mnie czekać, sam nie wrócił z Paryża i nikomu nie dał znać o przyjeździe księdza polskiego. W policji częstowano mnie adresem obywateli polskich wyznania mojżeszowego, oczywiście to była złośliwość francuskiego ateisty i musiałem mu tłumaczyć, że tak jak Francuzi pomimo obywatelstwa francuskiego murzynów i arabów nie uważają za Francuzów, tak my Żydów za Polaków uznawać nie możemy. W końcu otrzymałem adres jakiejś służącej, którą znalazłem, a przez nią trafiłem do miejscowego księdza proboszcza, nie wiedzącego zresztą nic o Polakach w swojej parafii. Ponieważ dowiedziałem się, że w parafii S-te Clotilde byli przed paru laty robotnicy polscy, poszedłem i tak Ks. proboszcz i ks. wikary

Lublin 2013, col. 166–167; L. Grzebień, *Szurek Stanisław*, in: *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, vol. 7, ed. L. Grzebień, Warsaw 1983, pp. 250–252.

¹⁷ Szymbor Wilhelm – priest of the Congregation of Missionary Fathers of St Vincent a Paulo CM (Lazarite). He was born on 16 October 1879 in Niwka near Będzin. He joined the congregation in 1896. He was ordained priest in 5 July 1903. At the request of the Primate Cardinal Edmund Dalbor on 10 May 1922, he undertook the reorganization of Polish pastoral ministry in France. He held the office and duties of rector of the Polish Catholic Mission in France until the end of July 1928. He reorganized Polish pastoral ministry and led the unification of various religious organizations into the Union of Polish Catholic Societies. In early July 1929, he began retreat and missionary work in pastoral centres in Brazil. In August 1931, he became superior of the house and rector of the Theological Institute in Kraków, Stradom area. On 1 October 1935, he became rector of the Silesian Theological Seminary in Kraków and superior of the congregation's house. On 11 August 1944, he was arrested by the Germans and imprisoned at Montelupich Street in Kraków, and later in concentration camps (Flossenburg, Mülsen, Dachau). After his liberation from the camp, he settled in the missionaries' general house in Paris and for several months conducted pastoral activities in Polish communities in the Paris area. In 1946, he returned to the country and was appointed house superior and rector of the Stradom Theological Institute. He died on 9 December 1946, *Misjonarze św. Wincentego a Paulo w Polsce (1651–2001)*, vol. II–1 *Biografie*, ed. J. Dukała CM, Kraków 2001, pp. 484–490; *Materiały do dziejów Polskiej Misji Katolickiej we Francji*, issue I, pp. 111–113; Rev. J. Szymański, *Duszpasterze Polonii i Polaków za granicą. Słownik biograficzny*, vol. I, Lublin 2010, pp. 141–144.

¹⁸ „(...) sprawowania Mszy św., słuchania spowiedzi św., głoszenia kazań w języku polskim dla wiernych w archidiecezji Reims podczas przebywania od 12 lipca aż do 16 tegoż samego miesiąca 1924 roku”.

Bremond okazali mi nadzwyczajną uprzejmość i ks. wikary zaprowadził mnie na fermę. Niestety zostali na niej tylko brat i siostra i ci mieli zająć się odnalezieniem innych Polaków. Tymczasem udałem się na poszukiwanie mieszkania owego męża zaufania ks. Szymbora – niejakiego p. Smodlibowskiego, który rzeczywiście w tym czasie nadjechał z Paryża. Jest to z zawodu handlowiec, który na spółkę ze swoim przyszłym teściem, adwokatem Lambert założył biuro dla emigrantów według poniżej załączonego ogłoszenia:

Baczność Polacy! Z dniem 1 czerwca r.b. otwiera się Biuro prawnicze dla Wychodźstwa Polskiego we Francji, którego zadaniem będzie bronić interesów polskich wobec władz i pracodawców francuskich.

Równocześnie będzie załatwiać biuro powyższe sprawy, dotyczące paszportów, sprowadzanie metryk z kraju, uzyskanie papierów ślubnych, **carte d'identité**¹⁹, prowadzenie spraw sądowych przy sądach francuskich oraz tłumaczenie dokumentów polskich na język francuski.

Najsukuteczniejsze i najszybsze uskutecznienie spraw handlowo-bankowych we Francji i całej Polsce.

W tym samym lokalu pod poniżej podanym adresem otwiera się sklep artykułów męskich i żeńskich.

Najtańsze polskie źródło zakupu trzewików, ubrań, bielizny, kapeluszy, skarpet, brzytw, luster, noży i t.d.

Godziny urzędowe w dni powszednie od 9–12 i od 3–7 po poł., w niedzielę i święta od 10–13 i od 4–7 po poł.

Adres: „Polonia”

Office Central Franco-polonais
8 Avenue de Laon – Reims”.

Treść tej odezwy mówi za siebie. P. Smodlibowski opowiadał mi, że Francuzi w Szampanji traktują robotników w sposób niemożliwy do zniesienia. Zniewalanie dziewczyn, wypędzanie robotników po półrocznej pracy za to, że w niedzielę chcą iść na nabożeństwo, a nie do roboty, jest na porządku dziennym. P. Smodlibowski obiecał w razie potrzeby napisać obszerne sprawozdanie z tego co widział i czego bezpośrednio się dotyczył. Że jest wśród naszych wychodźców źle, to sam widziałem, gdy np. musiałem listownie interweniować w takiej sprawie, że zarządzający w jednej fermie umieścił dwoje obcych sobie ludzi nie tylko w jednym pokoju, ale na jednym łóżku.

Z powodu braku organizacji duszpasterskiej wśród Polaków zebrało się zaledwie kilkadziesiąt osób, aczkolwiek w okolicy jest ich paręset.

Z Reims pojechałem do Sedanu. Tutaj, pomimo, że ks. proboszcz (archiprêtre) wiedział, że przyjadę i przygotował noclegi, posiłek, znowu wskutek braku zorganizowania polskiego duszpasterstwa, Polacy o moim przyjeździe nic nie wiedzieli, tak iż trzeba było przy pomocy ks. wikarego szukać służących i te rozsyłać w najbliższą okolicę, by zebrać ludzi. Na drugi dzień spowiadałem kto przyszedł, odwiedziłem chorych w szpitalu i chrzciliśmy dzieci. Byłem też w domach naszych robotników pod Sedanem, konstatując, że robotnik polski w Westfalji z województw:

¹⁹ Carte d'identité (Fr.) – identity card.

śląskiego, poznańskiego i pomorskiego stoi pod względem kultury najwyżej, potem z b. Kongresówki, a w końcu z Małopolski.

Z Sedanu udałem się do Mouzon, gdzie przy dwóch fabrykach jest kolonia robotnicza z przeszło 290 osób. Chociaż ks. dziekan do którego telefonowałem z Sedanu, uprzedził robotników o moim przyjeździe, do kościoła na wyznaczoną 8 g. przyszły cztery kobiety i kilkoro dzieci. Po modlitwie na intencję obojętnych poszedłem do kolonii i tam siedziałem od 8-ej do 11-ej wieczorem, rozmawiając z początku o Polsce, a kończąc kazaniem, wskutek którego na drugi dzień o 4½ rano przyszło ludzi bardzo dużo na mszę ś-tą, naukę i spowiedź. Wieczorem po pracy mogłem mieć różaniec, naukę i słuchałem spowiedzi; na zakończenie byłem znowu na pogadance. To samo powtórzyłem nazajutrz. Wskutek słabej opieki nad tą kolonią ze strony Misji polskiej upadek moralny wielki, w wskutek jeszcze trudności przy wyrabianiu papierów, potrzebnych do ślubu, na kolonii z 300 osób było 6 małżeństw dzikich.

Z Mouzon wyjechałem do Verdun, ale tam było niemożliwością poprostu znaleźć robotników polskich, dopiero przypadkowo w wagonie spotkałem dwóch, którzy gorzko narzekali na brak opieki tak ze strony władzy duchownej, jak i świeckiej.

Po powrocie do Paryża zdałem sprawę ks. Szymborowi, który tłumaczył się, że rzeczywiście nie może dać sobie rady, że robi co może i że pomimo chęci nic więcej zdziałać nie jest w stanie²⁰.

W dalszym ciągu ks. Szymbor wysłał mnie do Amiens. Tutaj zatrzymałem się stosownie do polecenia na plebanji św. Anny, gdzie całe duszpasterstwo jest w rękach księży Misjonarzy. Do Amiens zwykle jeździł ks. Machay²¹, którego pracę było widać, bo w niedzielę przyszło tak dużo ludzi, że spowiadałem od 6 rano do 2 po południu z przerwą na Mszę ś-tą i kazanie. Po południu dalej

²⁰ Ks. J. Szymański, *Opieka duszpasterska nad Polakami we Francji do 1926 roku w ocenie ambasadora Alfreda Chłapowskiego*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 100 (2013) pp. 387–401.

²¹ Ferdynand Machay – a priest of the Archdiocese of Kraków. He was born on 4 May 1889 in Jabłonka, in the Orawa region. He did his philosophical and theological studies at the Spiš Chapter and at the Theological Faculty of the University of Budapest. He was ordained a priest in 1912. Having received a scholarship from the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, he studied at the Catholic Institute in Paris from 1922 to 1924. He was chaplain of the St Casimir's Institution, and edited *Polak we Francji* in 1923–1924. He became involved in pastoral activities among Polish labour emigrants, especially among agricultural workers. After returning to Poland, he became editor of *Dzwon Niedzielný* (1924–1929) and secretary of the Catholic League. From 6 December 1937 to 23 October 1944, he was parish priest of the Most Holy Salvator church in Zwierzyniec, based at the Norbertine Sisters' convent in Kraków. On 23 November 1938, he was appointed senator of the Polish Republic by President Ignacy Moscicki. In 1944, he became administrator of St. Mary's parish, later becoming dean of the city of Kraków. He died on 31 July 1967 in Kraków, and was buried in the Salvator cemetery. *Czy wiesz kto to jest?*, ed. S. Łoza, Warsaw 1938, p. 450; P.W. Mynarz SOCist, *Spółeczna działalność ks. Ferdynanda Machaya wśród polskiej emigracji zarobkowej we Francji (1922–1924)*, „Studia Polonijne”, 1 (1976) pp. 85–102; *Opieka duszpasterska*, „Polak we Francji” issued on 14 September 1924; E. Jaszewska, *Drugie zebranie księży Polskiej Misji Katolickiej we Francji*, „Studia Polonijne”, 39 (2018) p. 329; Rev. J. Szymański, *Duszpasterze Polonii i Polaków za granicą. Słownik biograficzny*, vol. II, Lublin 2011, pp. 119–120.

słuchałem spowiedzi, odmówilem różaniec, miałem naukę i byłem na zebraniu w Domu Katolickim. Robotnikami zajmuje się Jezuita kleryk Józef Baumgarten, który mieszkał w Częstochowie i w Rosji. Mówi po polsku ale dosyć słabo, jednak ułatwia naszym ludziom znalezienie pracy, zdobywa papiery urzędowe, pośredniczy przy trudnościach z pracodawcami, jednym słowem bardzo jest oddany sprawie. Mam jednak obawę, że wskutek braku dostatecznej znajomości języka, nawet po wyświęceniu na księdza nie przyniesie tyle korzyści, ile tam trzeba dać tej dużej kolonii robotniczej.

Na drugi dzień miałem jeszcze dość dużo pracy. W południe poszedłem do O.O. Dominikanów, gdzie poznałem O. Guénin. O. Guénin był w Hawrze parę lat temu, gdy rozpoczęła się emigracja polska do Francji. Ponieważ kiedyś był w niewoli niemieckiej i przebywał jakiś czas w Grudziądzu, więc czuł się w obowiązku zająć się polskimi robotnikami, tembardziej, że był wdzięczny za serdeczny stosunek Polaków z Grudziądza i okolicy, oraz, że nauczył się kilkudziesięciu słów polskich. Posiadając bardzo rozległe i duże stosunki we Francji, otrzymał obietnicę pomocy tak ze strony rządu, jak i ze strony katolików francuskich, aby móc zorganizować duszpasterstwo dla Polaków. W tym celu kilkakrotnie, jak mi mówił, zwracał się do ks. Szymbora i nie dostał żadnej odpowiedzi. Wobec tego zrezygnował z pracy nad Polakami, twierdząc, że ma dosyć roboty wśród Francuzów, aby narzucać się tam, gdzie nawet nie znaję elementarnej grzeczności.

Ks. Guénin wyraźnie zaznaczył, że działałby dla dobra Francji, ale dobro duszy ludzkiej musiałyby, jako katolik i zakonnik, stawiać na pierwszym miejscu. Plan jego był taki: Całą Francję chciał podzielić na okręgi, w każdym okręgu miałyby księżę: Polaka i Francuza, którzy by wspólnie prowadzili pracę. Francuz byłby w kontakcie z każdą diecezją swego okręgu, gdzie wyznaczony przez władzę duchowną, a opłacany przez organizację ksiądz, udzielałby stałych informacji o ruchu emigrantów, czerpiąc swoje wiadomości z raportów proboszczów i księży dziekanów. Polak zaś mając ścisłe dane o ilości i ugrupowaniu emigrantów, jeździłby sam lub posyłałby księdza Polaka wówczas, gdyby zachodziła potrzeba. Całym ruchem kierowałby w stosunku do społeczeństwa i rządu francuskiego O. Guénin, w stosunku do robotników i episkopatu polskiego ksiądz Szymbor. Obaj zaś w stosunku do episkopatu francuskiego.

Gdy O. Guénin nie otrzymał odpowiedzi na ten pierwszy projekt, zaproponował ks. Szymborowi podział Francji na dwa okręgi z tem, żeby w jednym pracował ks. Szymbor, w drugim zaś on, O. Guénin, każdy wedle swojej metody. Po pewnym czasie można by przekonać się, który system lepszy i po porozumieniu się z episkopatem polskim i francuskim uzgodnić pracę na większą chwałę Bożą i dla dobra duszy robotnika. Na to również nie otrzymał odpowiedzi.

Z trzecim projektem wystąpił po jakimś czasie, mając na myśli późniejszą opiekę duchową nad emigracją polską, a mianowicie w jaki sposób można by było zdobyć duchowieństwo najodpowiedniejsze do pracy duszpasterskiej nad wychodźcami. O. Guénin twierdzi i słusznie, że praca studentów nie może wystarczyć, gdyż jest dorywcza, bez ciągłości i zależna od różnych warunków, w jakich się student znajduje, gdy tymczasem należy pracować systematycznie, jeżeli ma być dobry rezultat. O. Guénin, uzyskawszy zapewnienie pomocy materialnej ze

strony organizacji francuskich misyjnych, zaproponował, ażeby księża polscy postarali się znaleźć wśród rodzin emigrantów chłopców, zdradzających powołanie kapłańskie. Ci chłopcy oddani do seminariów małych, potem dużych diecezji, wybranych przez Komisję francusko-polską, a w nieustannym kontakcie w czasie świąt i wakacji z rodzinami, byłiby wychowani kosztem Towarzystw Misyjnych francuskich pod warunkiem, że po swem wyświęceniu byłiby obowiązani 3 lata pracować we Francji, potem zaś mogliby zostać we Francji lub jechać do Polski do diecezji przez siebie wybranej. Korzyści przy pracy takiego księdza wśród robotników byłyby te, że znałby dobrze stosunki emigracji i stosunki w diecezjach francuskich, a uważany za księdza diecezjalnego, miałby dużo większe ułatwienia, aniżeli ksiądz przysłany z Polski. Co do księży biskupów francuskich, to nie mogliby rościć pretensji do tych księży, gdyż nie ponosiliby przy ich wychowaniu i kształceniu żadnego ciężaru. Na tę propozycję O. Guénin także nie otrzymał odpowiedzi od ks. Szymbora. Aczkolwiek dzisiaj absolutnie nie może zająć się tą sprawą, to jednak każdej chwili na zapytanie Waszej Eminencji służy ściślejszym, aniżeli ja to przedstawiłem, projektem zorganizowania pracy duszpasterskiej wśród naszych wychodźców.

W Amiens ks. proboszcz (misjonarz – lazarysta) poruszył sprawę płacenia za utrzymanie księży Polaków, przysłanych przez ks. Szymbora, twierdząc, że parafia nie może ponosić tego ciężaru, jak również kosztów, związanych z urządzaniem nabożeństw. Zdaje się że w poruszeniu tej sprawy przemawia pewnego rodzaju chciwość, gdyż robotnicy, zwykle b. liczni chętnie składają ofiary na tackę, z czego może być opłacany kościół i plebania. Sprawę tę uregulował przy mnie brat Józef. T. J.

Do Amiens telegrafował ks. Szymbor, abym natychmiast jechał do kopalni Tw. Ostricourt, co też bez zwłoki uczyniłem, przyjeżdżając tam wieczorem. W samym Ostricourt ks. proboszcz Francuz nie chciał mnie nawet puścić za furtkę i zmusił przeto do dźwigania walizki parę kilometrów nie dając nikogo, kto by wskazał drogę. Widoczna była niechęć względem księdza Polaka²². Spotkawszy chłopca polskiego dostałem się do ks. Masny-Mkniewski²³, który czekał na mój przyjazd,

²² Cf. Rev. J. Szymański, „*Nie chcemy tego ukrywać*” – oczami świadków. *Sytuacja duszpasterstwa polonijnego w Północnej Francji w 1928 roku*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 98 (2012) pp. 367–377.

²³ Andrzej Masny-Mkniewski – priest of the Congregation of Missionary Fathers of St Vincent a Paulo CM (Lazarite). Born on 22 July 1877 in Łąka, son of Andrzej and Zuzanna. He received his secondary education from 1891 at a small seminary in Kraków. In 1895, he entered the Congregation of Missionary Fathers and began his novitiate. He was ordained priest on 6 July 1902. He worked as a vicar in the parish of Jezierzany in the Lviv Archdiocese. From 1904 he was a catechist in Tarnów. In 1905, he was transferred to Krakow's Kleparz district, where he served as chaplain of the Helcels' Institute. Beginning in 1907, he worked again in the Lviv Archdiocese, first in Sarnki Dolne, then in Vitkov Novi (1908–1911). From 1911, he lived in Krakow, in Kleparz district. In 1914, he became a vicar in Jezierzany, but remained there only a year, and then served as a chaplain in the homes of the Sisters of Mercy. At the end of World War I, he was drafted into the Prussian army. In 1918–1920 he was a chaplain of the Polish Army. After completing this service, he was vicar in Olcza near Zakopane for 2 years. From 1922 to 1927 he worked in the Polish pastoral ministry in Oignies (dep. Pas-de-Calais), commuting to several Polish colonies: Carvin, Garguebel,

gdyż chociaż rozpoczęto misję, przygotowane wielką reklamą, nie zaproszono dostatecznej liczby misjonarzy.

Odezwa brzmiała jak następuje:

Misja dla Polaków zagłębia Ostricourt.

Niech będzie Pochwalony Jezus Chrystus.

W życiu trzeba czasem silniejszej zachęty, aby nas podnieciła do czynów szlachetnych: tym bardziej trzeba nam jej przy jednostajności obowiązków i zajęć, które dzień po dniu przyzwyczajają nas do myślenia o poziomie niższym, kiedy przeciwnie duch nasz winien wznosić się wzwyż do rzeczy nadprzyrodzonych i nadawać człowiekowi i ludzkości całej pęd ku celowi ostatecznemu, mieszczącemu w sobie także szczęście nieskończone.

Pomóc w tym mają nam Misje św., których ze wszystkich stron domagaliście się od pewnego czasu. Urządzimy je. Tak zaś je sobie rozłożymy, aby wszyscy, nie przerywając pracy codziennej i nie tracąc zarobku na powszedni chleb, mogli z Misji skorzystać dla duszy, dla swego spokoju wewnętrznego, dla utwierdzenia się w zasadach wiary i obyczajów według nauki Bożej oraz dla własnego uszlachetnienia.

Misje te ugrupuje się w trzech seriach według osiedli najbliższych szybów:

IV – V – VI

t.j. w kościele św. Barbary, w kaplicy św. Henryka i w kościele św. Józefa, mianowicie

od 20 do 27 lipca dla IV i V (III) osobno
(Kościół św. Barbary i kaplica św. Henryka)

Niedziela 20/7 nieszpory i kazanie wstępne dla wszystkich.

Poniedziałek 21/7 godzina 8½ Msza św. i nauka

1½ przygotowanie i błogosławieństwo dla dziatwy

17 wiecz. nauka i błogosławieństwo dla wszystkich wiernych

Wtorek 4 rano: kazanie i Msza św. dla mężczyzn i dziatwy

Środa 8 rano: kazanie dla niewiast

Czwartek 8½ Msza św.

Piątek 9 kazanie dla mężczyzn

Sobota 1½ przygotowanie i błogosławieństwo dla dziatwy

4 kazanie i droga krzyżowa dla mężczyzn

7 kazanie i błogosławieństwo dla kobiet i dziewcząt

Czwartek 24/7 spowiedź dla dzieci

Piątek i sobota 25 i 26/7 spowiedź dla wszystkich

Niedziela 27/7 Suma i komunია generalna.

Od 27/7 do 3/8 dla I, II, VI i VII.

Leforest, Libercourt, Montcheau, Oignies, Ostricourt, Thumeries, and Wahagnies. Upon his return to Poland, he assisted in pastoral work at the rectoral church in Kleparz, Krakow. From 1931, he worked at the Holy Family parish in Tarnów as a vicar and catechist. For the last years of his life, he was a resident priest in this parish. He died on 5 March 1949 in Tarnów, Poland, and was buried in the old city cemetery in the tomb of the missionary priests. S. Janacek, A. Masny, *Masny-Mkniewski Andrzej*, in: *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, vol. 6, ed. L. Grzebień, Warsaw 1983, pp. 428–430; *Materiały do dziejów Polskiej Misji Katolickiej we Francji*, issue IV/II: *Księża polscy w duszpasterstwie Północnej Francji 1922–1929*, ed. B. Panek OC, Paris 1992, pp. 107–110; R. Dzwonkowski, *Przemiany polskiej parafii w północnej Francji (1922–1972)*. *Studium historyczno-socjologiczne parafii Oignies*, „Studia Polonijne”, 1 (1976) pp. 34–35, 43, 47.

(w kościele św. Józefa)

Ten sam program, jak wyżej, tylko że w niedzielę 3/8

godzina 7 Msza i Komunia generalna

9 Msza św. i Komunia dla dzieci wszystkich szybów

11 Msza cicha.

Po niesporach procesje i postawienie krzyża misyjnego.

Oignies 30/VI 1924

ks. M. J. Masny-Mkniewski.

Wyznaczono mię do św. Barbary, dokąd nazajutrz udałem się pieszo od św. Józefa z ks. Masnym i gdzie prowadziłem misje sam jeden (prócz nauki Mszy ś-tej o 4-ej rano) przez 3 dni, miewając po 5 nauk dziennie i przygotowując dzieci do I spowiedzi. Zorganizowana w ten sposób praca przez ks. Szymbora jest poniżej wszelkiej krytyki, więc nic dziwnego, że i rezultaty muszą być nikłe, boć tak wielkiej sprawy w duszpasterstwie jak misje, nie można sobie lekceważyć, i urządzać je bez rozumnego planu, bez należytego obmyślenia, a przede wszystkim bez sprowadzenia misjonarzy świeckich czy zakonnych.

Podczas mego pobytu w Ostricourt zetknąłem się ze sprawą, której nie można tolerować, a mianowicie: księży polscy (ci, z którymi się zetknąłem) ignorując prawo kanoniczne, nie uznając należycie praw księży proboszczów, czego sam byłem świadkiem, gdy ks. proboszcz dowiaduje się ostatni o tym, co się dzieje w jego kościele.

Ks. Masny ze swego mieszkania zaprowadził mnie do kościoła i polecił ubrać się, by wyjść ze Mszą ś-tą. Pewien, że jest to kościół pod jurysdykcją ks. Masnego, zacząłem się ubierać, gdy przyszedł miejscowy ks. proboszcz i ogromnie się zdziwił (i słusznie), że obcy ksiądz będzie u niego odprawiał nabożeństwo. Oczywiście sprawę natychmiast wyjaśniłem.

Stosunki w tej dużej kolonii są tak dziwne między ks. Polakiem a ks. Francuzem, że miałem przygotowane mieszkanie u robotnika, a nie na plebanji. Po zetknięciu się z ks. proboszczem bardzo zacnym i spokojnym człowiekiem i gorliwym kapłanem, zaproszony w imię miłości kapłańskiej, zamieszkałem u niego.

Ks. proboszcz Jules Humez po zbliżeniu się do mnie skarżył się przede wszystkim, że małżeństwa Polaków, błogosławione przez ks. Masny są nieważne, gdyż ani on proboszcz, ani ks. Biskup, ani ksiądz wikariusz jeneralny ks. Masny nie upoważniali. Użalał się również na to, że wszystkie inne czynności kapłańskie sprawowane na terytorium jego parafii, księży polscy załatwiają bez najmniejszego ze strony ks. proboszcza udziału, a przecież prawo kanoniczne nie uznaje jednostek narodowościowych, lecz terytorialne, jakimi są parafie. Te słuszne zresztą, żale na nieuporządkowanie przez władzę kompetentną spraw związanych z prawami proboszczowskimi, tłumaczy niechęć, jaką księży Francuzi żywią względem księży Polaków. Oczywiście, w tej niechęci gra pewną rolę moment finansowy, gdy proboszcz pomimo wielkiej liczby wiernych w parafii, nie czerpie stąd żadnego dochodu, gdy wszystko idzie w stronę księdza Polaka. Wydaje mi się przeto, jako rzecz niezbędną uregulowanie opłat i ich podziału. Robotnicy chętnie dają pieniądze księdzu polskiemu, który też zabiera wszystko, nic nie dając ks. proboszczowi Francuzowi. Ten zaś, wychodząc z założenia, że on jest proboszczem i jemu

należą się jura stolae i pewien jest, że mu się dzieje krzywda, a stąd pretensje do księży Polaków. Tymczasem można by było porozumieć się zupełnie dobrze przy interwencji władzy duchownej tak polskiej, jak i francuskiej.

W kopalni Ostricourt poznałem się z pp. dyrektorami: Père i Buchet, którzy wprost wyjątkowo, jak na francuskich kapitalistów, okazują pomoc duchowną naszym robotnikom, pomagając w organizowaniu duszpasterstwa i oświaty. P. Buchet, który mnie zawiózł do Lens i Arras, przez całą drogę otwarcie podniósł zalety polskiego robotnika, który jako katolik praktykujący i uświadomiony narodowo, nie wpada pod wpływ komunistów, a więc zostaje robotnikiem uczciwym i pracowitym. To też tendencja w Towarzystwie Ostricourt jest ta, by, nie oglądając się na oficjalne pertraktacje rządów francuskiego i polskiego, ułatwić misji polskiej pracę nad robotnikami. W tym celu wybudowali dla Polaków specjalny kościół²⁴ i dają pewne sumy na utrzymanie księży, nauczycieli i ochroniarek. Narzekał i on, zresztą bardzo delikatnie na nieuporządkowany stosunek księży polskich i francuskich oraz na brak sprężystości w akcji katolickiej ze strony misji polskiej (aczkolwiek zastrzegał się, że osobiście ks. Szymbor jest bardzo miły człowiek), co fatalnie odbija się na religijności wśród robotników. Rzeczywiście, kilka lat powinno było wystarczyć do uporządkowania tej sprawy na terytorium tak przychylnym, jakim jest Towarzystwo Ostricourt.

Po powrocie do Paryża udałem się do J.E. ks. Biskupa Chaptal²⁵ i z nim mówiłem o całej akcji. Ksiądz biskup zwrócił uwagę, że całą pracę Misji polskiej utrudniają: brak pieniędzy i zbyt małe zainteresowanie się społeczeństwa polskiego losami duszpasterstwa katolickiego wśród naszych wychodźców we Francji oraz, pomimo kilku komplementów dla ks. Szymbora, przyznał, że Misja polska nie stoi na wysokości zadania tak pod względem ogólnej działalności, jak i pod względem doboru księży, którzy nie zawsze mają na celu duszpasterstwo.

Ks. biskup Chaptal upoważnił mnie do przedstawienia Waszej Eminencji projektu, którego zrealizowanie mogłoby zaradzić brakowi księży polskich we Francji. Ks. biskup chce umieścić kilku kleryków polskich, przysłanych przez Episkopat Polski w Seminarium Ste Sulpice lub rue des Carmes. Utrzymanie całkowite przyjmuje na swój rachunek pod warunkiem, że księża Biskupi polscy, którzy chcieliby w ten sposób kształcić swych kleryków w Paryżu, musieliby się zgodzić, by po wyświęceniu młodzi księża w ciągu kilku lat pracowali wśród wychodźców polskich we Francji. Sprawę szczegółów odłożył do bezpośredniego przynajmniej listownego porozumienia się z Waszą Eminencją, o ile sam projekt zostałby przez Episkopat Polski przychylnie przyjęty.

²⁴ Dzwonkowski, *Przemiany polskiej parafii w północnej Francji (1922–1972)*, p. 34.

²⁵ Anatol Rafał Emanuel Chaptal – born on 25 December 1861 in Paris. He was ordained a priest on 17 December 1897, became a suffragan of Cardinal Dubois on 20 February 1922, coordinator of religious foreign missions in the Paris Curia and guardian of immigrants on 3 May 1922. He died on 27 May 1943. M. Brudzisz CSsR, *Pierwsze zebranie księży Polskiej Misji Katolickiej we Francji*, „Studia Polonijne”, 33 (2012) p. 147; B. Panek OC, *Księża polscy pracujący na placówkach duszpasterskich we Francji od 1922 r.*, „Seculum Christianum”, 1 (1994) issue 1, p. 221; *Bishop Emanuel-Anatole-Raphaël Chaptal de Chanteloup*, <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bchaptal.html> (accessed on: 30.11.2020).

W Paryżu rozmawiałem też z p. konsulem Rembiszewskim²⁶, który jeszcze jako konsul w Lille wiele dobrego czynił dla duszpasterstwa wśród naszych robotników. P. konsul był ze mną bardzo szczery ze względu na osobistą znajomość. Ogromnie się cieszył, że może nareszcie ten rodzaj opieki będzie lepiej zorganizowany i że może da się usunąć tarcie²⁷, jakie istnieje między ks. Szymborem, a ks. Helenowskim²⁸. Polecił mi również, abym w swoim sprawozdaniu podkreślił bardzo gorąco, że ten rozłam, gdzie wina jest z obydwu stron, jak najprędzej można było usunąć. Natomiast ubolewał, że wskutek przeciążenia pracą konsulat, ten nie jest w możności zaspokoić wszystkie potrzeby naszych wychodźców, co się odbija ujemnie na ich moralności. Prosił mnie aby przedstawić Waszej Eminencji, że wprost dla dobra całej sprawy należałoby odznaczyć życzliwość niektórych Francuzów, którzy w najlepszym duchu polskim i katolickim pracy naszej współdziałają. Sam proponował już oficjalnie, ale jak dotąd bezskutecznie, więc prosi o poparcie przez Waszą Eminencję, aby Rząd polski dał jakie order, na które Francuzi są tak bardzo czuli:

1. P. Prefektowi departamentu Nord p. Morand
2. Podprefektowi departamentu Nord p. Chavin
3. Dyrektorowi gł. Ostricourt p. Buchet
4. Dyrektorowi Ostricourt p. Pere
5. Dyrektorowi Bruay les Mines p. senatorowi Elby.

Z Paryża udałem się do Rennes, aby wziąć udział w La semaine sociale catholique, a jednocześnie, aby móc zetknąć się z robotnikiem polskim, pracującym na roli. Po moim przyjeździe do Rennes zatelegrafował ks. Szymbor z Ostricourt chcąc ułatwić pracę za pośrednictwem kurii archidiecezjalnej. W przemęczeniu swoim zapomniał do mnie telegrafować do Paryża, wskutek czego nie przyjechałem na oznaczony przez ks. Szymbora termin i robotnicy zebrali się w liczbie 40 zupełnie na próżno. Dowiedziawszy się o tym po przyjeździe do Rennes, umieściłem w dwóch najpoczytniejszych miejscowych pismach (nakład koło 400.000) ogłoszenie następujące: „Aux employés d’uvries et d’ouvrières polonais: M. l’abbé

²⁶ Leon Rembiszewski – born on 20 February 1888. He held his office in Lille from 1 January 1923 to 15 October 1923, and then in Paris until 1 December 1926 as deputy head of the consulate. Cf. *Rocznik Służby Zagranicznej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, pp. 69, 231,

²⁷ Szymański, *Opieka duszpasterska nad Polakami we Francji do 1926 roku*, pp. 387–401.

²⁸ Wincenty Helenowski (Gach) – priest of the Płock Diocese. He was born on 8 March 1893 in Helenów near Przasnysz. On 30 May 1918, he was ordained a priest by Bishop Antoni Julian Nowowiejski. He ministered to the Polish exile in France, first in Paris and then in Retonde (Osie department). From 1921 he worked in the north of France, in Barlin (Diocese of Arras), and from 1922 in Bruay-en-Artois, Hersin-Coupigny, Paris, Rethondes. Beginning in 1926, he took up pastoral ministry at Holy Trinity Parish in Montreal, Canada. After returning to Poland in 1931, he was editor of the *Hasło Katolickie* diocesan biweekly. In 1932, he became parish priest in Wyszyny near Mława, in 1934 in Czeremno near Gabin, and on 18 November 1940 he became administrator of the Gabin parish. From 10 February 1945, he served as parish priest and dean in Gostynin, and from 1 August 1948, as parish priest in Sochocin, where he remained a resident from July 1974. He died on 23 September 1980, in a hospital in Płock. *Materiały do dziejów Polskiej Misji Katolickiej we Francji*, z. IV/II, pp. 80–82; Szymański, *Duszpasterze Polonii i Polaków za granicą. Słownik biograficzny*, vol. II, pp. 72–73.

D-r Henryk Hilchen de Varsovie de passage à Rennes à l' occasion de la Semaine sociale serait très heureux de se mettre à la disposition de ses compatriotes polonais de Rennes et des environs.

Il les recevra durant toute la journée du jeudi 31 juillet de 6 heures du matin à 7 heures du soir à la chapelle des Missionnaires de la rue Martenot.

Une Messa sera célébrée à 7 h. 30. Rosaire et salut à 16 heures. Confession durant toute la journée”²⁹.

Skutek tego ogłoszenia był taki, że słuchałem spowiedzi do 11½ w południe, poczem dopiero udzieliłem Komunii św., co tak wzruszyło J.E. ks. Kardynała Charot, gdy się o tym dowiedział, że wszystkich robotników i robotnice zaprosił do siebie na wspólny obiad z uczestnikami zjazdu, gdzie nam zrobili owację: l' abbé Thellier: „s' adressant aux prêtres polonais il salue les ouvriers de ce pays, présents au diner et qui ce matin ont eu la joie de recevoir d' un des leurs le pain de l' Eucharistie”³⁰.

Wieczorem na bankiecie wydanym na cześć gości cudzoziemców, przewodniczący „Tygodnia społecznego” prof. Duthoit z Lille wznosząc toast na cześć kilkunastu obecnych tam narodowości, do nas – Polaków powiedział w końcu swej mowy: „Honneur à la France, honneur à la Croatie et vive la Pologne, à laquelle nous envoyons un chaleureux merci pour les émigrantes qu' elle nous donne”³¹. Na to odpowiedziałem krótką mową, wydrukowaną później w całości w „Le Nouvel-liste” 1/VIII pod znanym nagłówkiem:

Pour les polonais immigrants. Voici le texte intégral du toast, que M. l' abbé de Hilchen, représentant la Pologne, prononça au banquet de mardi soir:

„Profondément ému, je ne peux que répéter ces mots d' un paysan polonais par lesquels il s' adressa aux évêques français lorsqu' ils sont venus chez nous. Il a dit à S.E. le Cardinal Dubois: Je vois, Eminence, que la Pologne et la France possèdent une âme commune”.

Oui, Messieurs, nous, Polonais, et vous, Français, nous avons une âme commune, parceque nous aimons tout ce qui est beau, tout ce qui est digne a, en un mot, parceque nous sommes catholiques et parceque nous sommes patriotes. Grâce à la Miséricorde divine, grâce à notre foi et à notre espérance, à notre tenace resistance contre les oppresseurs séculaires, grâce à votre victoire, Français, nous avons reconquis notre liberté nationale et politique.

„Nous l' avons basée sur principes de la justice sociale chrétienne, plutôt catholique, et notre Patrie, malgré tous les efforts des sectaires, a démontré encore une fois au monde entier qu' elle est toujours fidèle „Polonia semper fidelis”.

²⁹ ‘To Polish workers: Rev. Henryk Hilchen Ph.D. from Warsaw passing through Rennes staying on the occasion of the Social Week will be very happy to be at disposal of his compatriots residing in Rennes and the surrounding area. He expects everyone on Thursday, 31 July, from 6 o'clock in the morning until 7 o'clock in the evening at the missionary chapel on Martenot Street. Mass will be celebrated at 7³⁰. Rosary and adoration at 4 pm. Confession throughout the day’.

³⁰ ‘Rev. Thellier, addressing the Polish priests, greeted the workers of this country present at the luncheon and those who had the joy of receiving the Bread of the Eucharist’.

³¹ ‘Glory to the French, glory to the Croats, long live Poland, to which we send our warm thanks, and for those emigrants it gives us’.

Mais nous n'oublions jamais que „per Francos gesta Dei” et nous croyons le plus profondement, que malgré, toutes les tentations, la France catholique unie, créera une force victorieuse de même qu'elle a vaincu ses ennemis extérieurs! „On voit des signes de votre victoire dans les efforts des hommes de bonne volonté, de science profonde et expérimentelle, sur le problème de la population, qui est essentiel pour l'existence de la Patrie.

„Epuisés par la guerre terrible, qui a imprégnée votre terre fertile d'un sang toujours si noble, épuisés par l'action de ceux, qui veulent abaisser votre natalité, vous avez besoin des travailleurs.

La Pologne reconnaissante vous les prête en envoyant à la France presque 400.000 émigrés.

„Quand votre terre sera repeuplée par vous-mêmes, nous reprendrons nos ouvriers, assurés, que vous n'en avez plus besoin.

„Mais, Messieurs, aidez nous à les maintenir chez vous dans la piété, dans la foi, dans la moralité chrétienne, par nos missionnaires, par nos écoles, par nos journaux. Ne craignez pas notre nationalisme, duquel nous accuse l'internationalisme.

„Nous sommes patriotes – comme vous!

„Nous sommes catholiques – comme vous!

„Nous aimons notre Pologne catholique, comme vous aimez votre France catholique. Mais nous aimons aussi votre Patrie, en l'honneur de laquelle je me permets au nom de la revue „Guide social, qui représente la pensée catholique sociale en Pologne, de crier de tout mon cœur: Vive la France, Vive la France catholique!”³².

³² To Polish expatriates. Here is the text in its entirety spoken during the toast that Rev. Hilchen, representing Poland, gave at the banquet on Tuesday evening: 'Deeply moved, I, for one, can only echo the words of one Polish farmer who addressed the French bishops when they came to visit us. He said to H.E. Cardinal Dubois: Your Eminence, I see that Poland and France share a common soul. Yes, Gentlemen, we Poles, and you French have a common soul, because we love all that is good, all that is worthy, in a word, because we are Catholics, because we are patriots. Thanks to God's mercy, thanks to our faith and our hope, and our steadfast resistance against secular persecutors, thanks to your victory, Dear Frenchmen, we have regained our national and political freedom. We based our actions on the principles of Christian, or more precisely Catholic social justice, and, despite all the efforts of the sectarians, our homeland was able to display to the whole world the belief that "Polonia semper fidelis." We will never forget that through the success of the French, the works of God have been revealed, and we firmly believe that despite all odds, Catholic France, united, will create a victorious force, just as it has overcome external enemies! Seeing the signs of your victory in the efforts of people of good faith, your deep knowledge and experience on the problem of the people, which is crucial to the existence of the Fatherland. Exhausted by the terrible war that so saturated your land with the dear fertile blood, exhausted by the actions of those who wanted to humiliate our nationality, you need workers. Poland gratefully delivers, sending nearly 400,000 emigrants to France. When your land is populated by yourselves, we will pick up our workers, making sure you do not need them again. But, gentlemen, help us to sustain all this in piety, in faith, in Christian morality, through our missionaries, through our schools, through our press. Do not be afraid of our nationalism, which internationalism accuses us of. We are patriots – like you! We are Catholics – like you! We love our Catholic Poland as you love your Catholic France. But we also love your Motherland, in recognition of which I take the liberty, on behalf of the *Prze-*

Na zjeździe tym zetknąłem się z pewnym księdzem polskim studiującym [Kaczmarek]³³ na uniwersytecie w Lille i w rozmowach z nim o duszpasterstwie polskim wysłuchałem bardzo dużo ciężkich zarzutów pod adresem ks. Szymbora. Mówił mi, iż o ile stosunki nie zostaną uporządkowane i ks. Szymbor nie ustąpi lub zasadniczo nie zmieni swego postępowania, księża polscy mają zamiar gremialnie opuścić Francję, gdyż, jak mówią, święcili się nie na misje, ale dla diecezji. Wyjechali zupełnie dobrowolnie, o ile zaś księża biskupi narażają ich na przykrości wśród obcych, na zdaniem ich, i to najważniejsze, rozbicie opieki duchowej nad wychodźcami, a nawet jej zmarnowanie przez nieumiejętne prowadzenie sprawy ze strony ks. Szymbora, oni, księża polscy, nie mogą z tem współdziałać wobec swego sumienia, kościoła i Ojczyzny.

Od księży Polaków b. poważnych słyszałem też zdanie bardzo niepochlebne o ks. Helenowskim, że nawet *quoad fidem*³⁴ jest niepewny. Ks. Helenowski obecnie jest człowiekiem bardzo bogatym, posiada banki, księgarnie, sklepy i to wszystko zarobił na wychodźstwie, gdyż jadąc do Francji nie posiadał żadnych kapitałów. Swoją uprzejmością i sprytem umiał wkraść się w łaski początkowo ks. Biskupa Chaptala, obecnie zaś swego biskupa ks. Nowowiejskiego. Polecono mi ostrzec Waszą Eminencję, że nawet listy poufne, pisane przez Waszą Eminencję do J.E. ks. Biskupa Płockiego, ks. Helenowski posiada u siebie przynajmniej w odpisach.

wodnik Społeczny magazine, which represents Catholic social thought in Poland, to cry out wholeheartedly: Long live France, Long live Catholic France!’

³³ Czesław Kaczmarek [surname added by hand] – priest of the Płock diocese, bishop of the Diocese of Kielce from 24 May 1938. He was born on 16 April 1895 in Lisewo Małe near Sierpe. Ordained priest on 20 August 1922. Beginning in November, he began studying sociology at the University of Lille, where he earned a doctorate from the Institute of Social and Political Sciences in 1927. During his studies, he served as a pastoral minister among Polish emigrants. He had been parish priest in Bruay en Artois since 15 August 1926. Upon his return to Poland in 1928, he assumed the office of secretary of the Union of Polish Male Youth and later became director of the Płock Diocesan Institute of Catholic Action. On 24 May 1938, he became bishop of the Diocese of Kielce. Arrested on 20 January 1951 on charges of espionage for the United States and the Vatican, fascization of social life, illegal currency trading and collaboration, he pleaded guilty to the charges during his show trial (14–22 September 1953). He was sentenced to 12 years in prison for running an anti-state and anti-popular centre and ‘for collaborating with the Germans, attempting to overthrow the system of the People’s Republic of Poland and propaganda for the benefit of Washington-Vatican principals.’ On 9 June 1959, the government of the Polish People’s Republic demanded that the Polish Episcopate remove him from his position. He died on 26 August 1963 in Lublin. He was posthumously acquitted and rehabilitated in 1990. Archives of the Archdiocese of Gniezno, Archives of the Primate of Poland, Files of the Protector of Polish Emigration, France, Section III/15a; C. Kaczmarek, *L’Emigration polonaise en France après la guerre*, Paris 1928; *Misja Polska Katolicka we Francji*, „Polak we Francji” issued on 27 January 1924; *Księża na studiach we Francji*, „Polak we Francji” issued on 2 August 1925; R. Gryz, *Kaczmarek Czesław*, in: *Leksykon duchowieństwa represjonowanego w PRL w latach 1945–1989*, ed. J. Myszor, vol. 1, Warsaw 2002, pp. 101–104; Rev. J. Szymański, *Duszpasterze Polonii i Polaków za granicą. Słownik biograficzny*, vol. III, Rzeszów 2020, pp. 117–119.

³⁴ *Quoad fidem* (Lat.) – in matters relating to faith.

Z tego, co przez te kilka tygodni mego pobytu we Francji widziałem, pozwolę sobie przedstawić Waszej Eminencji następujące wnioski.

1. Robotnicy polscy, werbowani do Francji, mieli w oczach rządu francuskiego zastąpić emigrującego do miast i brakującego na prowincji robotnika francuskiego. Wobec zmniejszenia się przyrostu naturalnego ludności francuskiej i nacisku osiedleńczego sąsiadów Francji (Hiszpanów, Włochów, Szwajcarów, Belgów nawet Niemców) emigrant polski nie wzbudzał obawy grożącego Francji uszczerbku posiadania terytorialnego.

2. Robotnicy polscy mieli wedle pragnień czynników miarodajnych rządowych i społecznych czy narodowych, wsiąknąć w lud, by krwią swoją rozrodzić wzmocnić i podnieść przyrost ludności.

3. Robotnicy polscy są wyzyskiwani przez kapitalizm francuski, gdyż przedsiębiorcy pomimo postanowień konwencji polsko-francuskiej nie traktują naszych ludzi na równi z robotnikiem francuskim, aczkolwiek poufnie uznają nawet wyższość naszego robotnika. Robotnicy francuscy, nie rozumiejąc potrzeb własnego kraju, pod wpływem agitacji komunistycznej, na ogół są wrogo usposobieni względem robotników polskich.

4. Robotnicy polscy pod względem organizacji zawodowej nie przedstawiają żadnej siły, a nie łączeni przez duchowieństwo w związki zawodowe chrześcijańskie, które jako autonomiczne koła mogłyby łączyć się ze związkami zawodowymi katolickimi francuskimi, wstępują do związków francuskich socjalistycznych i komunistycznych, zatracając w nich wiarę i poczucie odrębności narodowej.

5. Wpływ otoczenia na wiarę i moralność naszych wychodźców jest w najwyższym stopniu rozkładowy. Robotnicy, pozostawieni parę miesięcy bez opieki duchowej, zrywają z Kościołem, naśladując bezbożny lud francuski. Pod względem zaś moralnym wpadają w najohydniejszą rozpustę, chorując wenerycznie lub żyjąc nie tylko *contra legem*³⁵, ale i *contra naturam*³⁶.

6. Praca naszych placówek konsularnych wobec wielkich potrzeb wychodźstwa jest stanowczo niewystarczająca, co się odbija bardzo ujemnie na życiu moralnym naszych wychodźców, nie mogących zdobyć potrzebnych papierów do zawarcia związków małżeńskich.

7. W celu energiczniejszej obrony wychodźców jest rzeczą konieczną otwieranie pod kontrolą konsulatów jak najliczniejszych biur porady prawnej.

8. Organizacja duszpasterstwa jest obecnie niżej wszelkiej krytyki. Prócz efektów, które rzeczywistych potrzeb nie zaspokoją, o żadnej systematycznej pracy w tym kierunku nie ma mowy. Na korespondencję, nawet najpilniejszą, gdy chodzi np. o danie ślubu, pomimo dwóch listów księdza Proboszcza i listu księdza Biskupa – Biuro polskie nie odpowiada.

9. Ks. Szymbor, pomimo, że osobiście jest bardzo miły i ma dużo dobrych chęci, nie jest na wysokości swego zadania i z całą stanowczością pozwalam sobie twierdzić, że pomimo swego poświęcenia, jest jako kierownik dla całej sprawy raczej szkodliwy i może doprowadzić wprost do katastrofy tak pod względem

³⁵ *Contra legem* (Lat.) – against the law, contrary to the law.

³⁶ *Contra naturam* (Lat.) – against nature.

duszpasterskim, jak i pod względem opinii, gdyż sam twierdził, że posiada bardzo wiele długów i nie wie w jaki sposób będzie je regulował.

10. Na czele duszpasterstwa polskiego we Francji powinien stanąć kapłan świecki, dobrze wychowany, bardzo gorliwy, oczywiście pobożny i posiadający autorytet i jeśli było możliwe – finansowo niezależny. Z rozmów prowadzonych z księżmi, obecnie najwięcej odpowiednim byłby ks. Taczak³⁷, mieszkający w Alzacji.

11. Budżet całej akcji powinien być rok rocznie opracowany i przedstawiony Najprz. Episkopatowi polskiemu, gdyż obecnie słyszy się zarzuty, że Misja polska, będąca na utrzymaniu Francuzów, nie broni dostatecznie interesów polskich.

12. Stosunki między duchowieństwem polskim a duchowieństwem francuskim winny być jak najrychlej uregulowane tak pod względem prawnym, jak i finansowym, aby nie było tych tarć wzajemnych, a nawet przekroczeń kanonicznych.

13. Sprawa wynagrodzenia księży, jeżdżących z misjami również powinna być uporządkowana, aby z jednej strony robotników nie odzwyczajać od ponoszenia pewnej ofiary na cele religijne, z drugiej zaś strony zapobiec możliwym nadużyciom ze strony ludzi niesumiennych.

14. Propozycja p. konsula Rembiszewskiego o zmanifestowaniu wdzięczności tym, którzy okazują pomoc wysiłkom polskim, przez udzielanie im dekoracji, zdaje się, zasługuje na całkowite poparcie.

Na zakończenie tego sprawozdania, jeszcze raz dziękuję Waszej Eminencji za umożliwienie zapoznania się ze sprawą tak ważną, jak nasze wychodźstwo i wyrażam gotowość służenia zawsze swoją osobą, o ile zajdzie potrzeba mej pracy.

Warszawa, Jezuicka 6.

³⁷ Teodor Taczak – priest of the Gniezno Archdiocese. He was born on 16 October 1878 in Mieszków near Jarocin. Ordained priest on 10 March 1901. After ordination, he continued his studies at the University of Münster, where he received his doctorate in 1903. During his studies, he was involved in pastoral ministry among Poles in Saxony, an industrial centre in Westphalia (Bochum, Paderborn). As of 11 November 1921, he undertook pastoral ministry among compatriots in France (Alsace-Lorraine). He arrived in Poland in 1925. On 18 November 1925, he became parish priest of Our Lady of the Assumption in Śrem. From December 1930, he served as parish priest at St. Martin's parish in Poznań. Arrested as a hostage on 11 September 1939, imprisoned in the Old City Hall, he was released on 30 October 1939 and forced to leave for the General Government. He died suddenly on 22 June 1941 on a street in Warsaw, and was buried in the Powązki cemetery. Archives of the Archdiocese of Gniezno, Archives of the Primate of Poland, Files of the Protector of Polish Emigration, France, Section III/14; 15a; *Materiały do dziejów Polskiej Misji Katolickiej we Francji*, issue III. *Księża polscy w duszpasterstwie Dekanatu Wschodniego 1922–1929*, Fr. B. Panek OC, Paris 1992, pp. 105–108; Jaszewska, *Drugie zebranie księży Polskiej Misji Katolickiej*, p. 327; Szymański, *Duszpasterze Polonii i Polaków za granicą*, vol. II, pp. 177–178.

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SPRAWOZDANIE KS. DR. HENRYKA HILCHENA Z PRACY WŚRÓD ROBOTNIKÓW POLSKICH WE FRANCJI W CZASIE TYGODNI LETNICH 1924 ROKU

Abstrakt

Ksiądz dr Henryk Hilchen – kapłan archidiecezji warszawskiej. Urodził się 30 lipca 1881 roku w Warszawie. Studiował na Wydziale Chemii Politechniki Warszawskiej i na Politechnice Lwowskiej, gdzie ukończył kształcenie po dwóch latach. W 1905 roku wyjechał do szwajcarskiego Fryburga, gdzie kontynuował studia na Wydziale Prawa i Ekonomii, uwieńczone stopniem doktora nauk politycznych. We Fryburgu studiował także teologię i filozofię. W 1910 roku wrócił do kraju i wstąpił do seminarium duchownego w Warszawie. W dniu 21 grudnia 1912 roku przyjął święcenia kapłańskie. Był wikariuszem we wsi Dobre k. Stanisławowa, w Łowiczu, w Łodzi, a od lipca 1915 roku w parafii pw. Wszystkich Świętych w Warszawie. Od 1915 roku był sekretarzem gene-

ralnym Stowarzyszenia Robotników Chrześcijańskich, redaktorem organu stowarzyszeń chrześcijańskich „Pracownik Polski” (1916–1917). W 1919 roku został radnym miasta stołecznego Warszawy, redaktorem miesięcznika „Przewodnik Społeczny”, kapelanem Szkoły Podchorążych Artylerii oraz jednostki wojskowej stacjonującej na Sołaczu. W 1920 roku wyjechał do Rzymu, gdzie wstąpił do nowicjatu zakonu dominikańskiego i podjął studia teologiczne w Collegium Angelicum. Od lipca 1922 roku, na polecenie papieża Piusa XI, służył pomocą dwóm kolejnym nuncjuszom apostolskim w Polsce. Był stałym korespondentem „L'Osservatore Romano” i „L'Avvenire d'Italia”. W 1929 roku został proboszczem parafii w Lesznie k. Błonia, a w 1931 roku parafii Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej w Warszawie, gdzie dokończył budowę kościoła. W 1937 roku otrzymał Złoty Krzyż Zasługi RP, zaś w następnym roku został odznaczony orderem Polonia Restituta. W tym samym roku został wybrany do Rady Miejskiej Warszawy. Przed kapitulacją stolicy był zakładnikiem gwarantującym przestrzeganie pertraktacji prezydenta Stefana Starzyńskiego z Niemcami. Aresztowany przez Niemców 3 października 1939 roku, do końca listopada był więziony na Pawiaku. Mimo zniszczenia 12 września 1944 roku kościoła i plebani podczas niemieckiego bombardowania, funkcję proboszcza formalnie pełnił do lipca 1945 roku. Jakkolwiek od czerwca tego roku został proboszczem w Międzyrzeczu. W dniu 15 października 1947 roku przy kościele Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego w Słupsku podjął się organizacji nowej parafii pw. św. Ottona. Dnia 29 listopada 1952 roku został proboszczem w Tarczynie k. Grójca. W drodze na nową placówkę, 29 stycznia 1953 roku, dostał udaru. Zmarł 20 sierpnia 1956 roku. Spoczął na Powązkach. Na bieżąco prowadził dokumentację swego życia i działalności w postaci dzienników, korespondencji, różnych notatek czy oficjalnych dokumentów. Niniejsze opracowanie egzemplifikuje jego sprawozdanie z pracy wśród robotników polskich we Francji w czasie tygodni letnich 1924 roku. Dokument oryginalny w formie maszynopisu przechowywany jest w Archiwum Archidiecezjalnym w Gnieźnie, Archiwum Prymasa Polski, Akta Protektora Wychodźstwa Polskiego, Francja – PMK Varia, Dział III/15a.

Słowa kluczowe: ks. Henryk Hilchen; duszpasterstwo polonijne we Francji; emigracja polska we Francji



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JAKUB SAWICKI (1899–1979), A BIBLIOGRAPHER

Abstract

This paper focuses on the characteristics of the bibliographical activity of the eminent canonist and seasoned bibliographer Jakub Sawicki. He created a pioneering bibliography of particular synods, initiated and maintained for many years a basic current law history bibliography, and compiled a number of personal bibliographies. After the presentation of the bibliographer's profile, the circumstances of the creation of the individual reference lists are presented, the principles of the selection of material are outlined, and the method of their preparation is discussed.

Keywords: Jakub Sawicki; *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*; *Materiały do polskiej bibliografii historyczno-prawnej*; personal bibliographies; history; method of preparation

In the biography of Jakub Sawicki (1899–1979), an outstanding canonist and expert in the history of the Polish state and law, two leading directions of scientific activity can be distinguished. One of them was the editing of historical sources. In this field, he gained particular recognition with the publication of the ten-volume *Concilia Poloniae* (1945–1963), containing source material, discussions and critical studies on Polish synodal statutes of the pre-partition period. This work is of fundamental importance for researchers of the history of the Church and canon law in Poland. It also serves scholars of cultural history, political and socio-economic relations. His equally valuable editorial achievement was the publication of the three-volume work *Iura Masoviae terrestria. Pomniki dawnego prawa mazowieckiego ziemskiego* (Warsaw 1972–1974), useful especially for historians interested in the past of Mazovia. These two source publications have assured their

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author a permanent and unassailable place in the history of Polish historiography and legal history.

The second domain of J. Sawicki's creative activity was bibliographic work. He was primarily interested in special bibliographies, and particularly appreciated personal and subject bibliographies. From his pen came the pioneering *Bibliographia synodorum particularium* (E Civitate Vaticana 1967). It received a favourable reception worldwide and brought the author international recognition. No less important was J. Sawicki's achievement in initiating and publishing, for almost a quarter of a century, *Materiały do polskiej bibliografii historyczno-prawnej*, published since 1954 in the pages of *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*. Since its inception, this material have become one of the primary sources of information not only in the scientific craft of legal historians, but also legal scholars and historians in the strict sense. Jakub Sawicki also created personal bibliographies, in which he recorded the writing achievements of many scholars.

Despite J. Sawicki's significant contribution to the history of Polish bibliography, his overall bibliographic activity has not yet been the subject of in-depth research and has not lived to see publication. The analysis of the literature on the subject suggests that the interest of researchers has been mainly in the bibliography of law history, but it too has not been subjected to in-depth study.² Other bibliographies were mentioned marginally in memoir articles about the scholar figure, generally containing a canon of recurring facts,³ in dictionary publications,⁴ and in a monographic study devoted to personal bibliographies of Polish historians.⁵ It therefore seems reasonable to address the above subject.

The intention of the author of the article is to present and characterize the entire achievements of J. Sawicki in the field of bibliography. Attention will be paid to

² H. Izdebski, *Prace bibliograficzne Jakuba Sawickiego a aktualne problemy bibliografii historycznoprawnej*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, 33 (1981) issue 1, pp. 265–274; B. Koreńczuk, *Polska bibliografia historycznoprawna. Początki, rozwój i stan obecny*, „Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Prawo”, 288 (2004) pp. 407–422.

³ F. Pasternak, *Szkic biograficzny i bibliografia prac naukowych prof. Jakuba Sawickiego*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, 21 (1978) issue 1/2, pp. 195–221; J. Bardach, *Jakub Sawicki 1899–1979*, „Państwo i Prawo”, 34 (1979) issue 5, pp. 118–120; P. Hemperek, *Jakub Sawicki (1899–1979)*, „Summarius”, 8 (1979) pp. 292–297; S. Russocki, *Jakób Teodor Sawicki (25 VII 1899 – 3 II 1979)*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 86 (1979) issue 3, pp. 876–879; M. Sędek, Ch. Wójcik, *Jakub Sawicki 1899–1979*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, 23 (1981) issue 1, pp. 249–256; M. Sędek, *Professor Jakub Sawicki 1899–1979*, „Rocznik Mazowiecki”, 8 (1984) pp. 261–269.

⁴ *Sawicki Jakub Teodor Walery*, in: *Biogramy uczonych polskich*, part 1, *Nauki społeczne*, issue 3, P-Z, eds. A. Śródka, P. Szczawiński, Wrocław 1984, pp. 218–221; J. Senkowski, *Sawicki Jakub (Jakób) Teodor Walery*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 35, ed. H. Markiewicz, Warsaw-Kraków 1994, pp. 313–316; H. Izdebski, *Sawicki Jakub*, in: *Słownik historyków polskich*, ed. M. Prosińska-Jacki, Warsaw 1994, p. 464; A. Śródka, *Sawicki Jakub Teodor Walery*, in: *Uczni polscy XIX-XX stulecia*, ed. A. Śródka, vol. 4, S-Ż, Warsaw 1998, pp. 33–35; A. Znajomski, *Sawicki Jakub Teodor Walery*, in: *Słownik pracowników książki polskiej. Suplement III*, ed. H. Tadeusiewicz, Warsaw 2010, pp. 245–246; G. Bałtruszajtys, *Jakub Sawicki 1899–1979*, in: *Profesorowie Wydziału Prawa i Administracji Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1808–2008*, ed. G. Bałtruszajtys, Warsaw 2008, pp. 184–187.

⁵ A. Znajomski, *Bibliografie osobowe historyków polskich*, Lublin 2004.

the reasons for the creation of each collection and the method of their compilation. The selection of material, bibliographic description, layout of bibliographies and information and support materials will also be discussed.

At the outset, it is worth introducing the (forgotten to a certain extent) profile of J. Sawicki. This will allow us to better understand the genesis and formation of his bibliographic interests and present the context of the creation of the various directories.

Jakub Teodor Walery Sawicki was born in Vienna on 25 July 1899 to a family of intellectuals. He was the son of prominent lawyer Jan Sawicki and Emma, née Milikowska, who came from a family of well-known booksellers and publishers in Lviv. He stayed in his hometown until the age of eighteen. Beginning in 1907, he was educated at Vienna's elite Theresian Academy, where he gained thorough knowledge of several foreign languages, including two classical ones, and acquired a passion for history. He crowned his grammar school education in 1917 with a certificate of secondary education and the Imperial Gold Medal, awarded to him for outstanding academic performance.

After graduating from school, he was drafted into the Austrian army. He served in the 4th Fortress Artillery Regiment with the rank of lieutenant, and participated in battles fought during World War I on the Western Front and on the Italian Front. After Poland regained its independence in November 1918, he volunteered for the Polish Army. He was assigned to the Polish military attaché in Vienna with the rank of second lieutenant. At the same time, he took up law studies at the University of Vienna, but had to interrupt them in May 1919 due to his commissioning to serve in the 1st Branch of the Supreme Command in Warsaw. In 1920 he took part in the Polish-Bolshevik war, and after its end worked at the Ministry of Military Affairs until September 1921. After demobilization, he enrolled in the Faculty of Law at Jagiellonian University. During his studies, he attended seminars by Stanisław Kutrzeba, Stanisław Estreicher and Józef Brzeziński, who was the supervisor of his doctoral dissertation. He completed his studies in 1926, earning a doctorate in law.

In 1926–1927, he worked as a trainee at the Court of Appeals in Lviv. At the same time, he participated in a seminar on the history of ecclesiastical law, conducted by the eminent canonist Władysław Abraham at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. His interest in synodal law was born under influenced by direct contacts with this scholar.⁶ Over time, these issues became one of the core branches of his research inquiries.

At the end of 1927, he was employed as a senior assistant in the Department of Church Law at the Jagiellonian University Faculty of Law. He worked there until 1930. In the 1928/1929 academic year, taking advantage of a National Culture Fund scholarship, he supplemented his studies at leading foreign research centres, staying in Prague, Paris, Vienna and Berlin. While abroad, he attended seminars given by internationally renowned scholars, deepened his knowledge, conducted searches in libraries and archives, and gathered materials for his post-doctoral (habilitation) dissertation. After returning to Poland, he focused on finalizing his

⁶ Hempterek, *Jakub Sawicki*, p. 296.

habilitation dissertation, but did not complete it, as all the material, along with the finished portions of the text, was lost in unexplained circumstances at the Jagiellonian University.

This severe loss caused J. Sawicki to move to Warsaw, bearing in mind his intention to give up his research work altogether. From September 1930 until the outbreak of World War II, he worked as an official at the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment (hereafter: MWRiOP). Initially, he was employed in the Catholic Affairs Department and later in the Legal Department. As an employee of the MWRiOP, he participated in negotiations with the Papal Commission on the implementation of the Concordat provisions.

An important event in J. Sawicki's private life was his marriage in 1932 to Elżbieta Czarkowska (née Kirchmayer). His wife repeatedly provided him with comfort and invaluable support in his research work. Influenced by her encouragement, he returned to scientific research in the 1930s, which bore fruit in the form of a dissertation entitled *O stanie prawnym mniejszości religijnych w Państwie Polskim* (Warsaw 1937). This work formed the basis of his post-doctoral thesis, conducted in 1937 at Stefan Batory University in Vilnius.

After his habilitation, as an associate professor, he took up lecturing on Church law at Vilnius University. At the same time, he taught religious administration at the University of Warsaw. In 1938, he stayed in Rome, where he conducted research at the Vatican Archives, completing materials for a planned publication of ancient Polish synodal laws. The realization of this pioneering editorial intention was hindered by the outbreak of World War II and the destruction of collected source materials during the war.

During the occupation, J. Sawicki first worked for the Liquidation Commission of MWRiOP, and from December 1940 until the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, he held the position of legal advisor to the Patent Office. Beginning in 1941, he gave secret lectures on ecclesiastical law to students at the Law Faculty of the University of Warsaw. He also participated in the Home Army's propaganda diversion known as Operation N. He was involved in translating Polish conspiratorial materials into German, the purpose of which was to misinform the German population and Wehrmacht soldiers. Thanks to his excellent command of the German language, the texts he translated were considered reliable by the Germans. After the fall of the Warsaw Uprising, J. Sawicki arrived in Kraków via the Pruszków camp. There he once again began to teach Church law at clandestine classes for a group of his Warsaw students in the former Polish capital. He also commuted to Kielce to give lectures to students at the Catholic University of Lublin.

After the liberation of Kraków from German occupation, he taught and practised Church law at the Faculty of Law of the Jagiellonian University as a deputy professor. He also began publishing his crowning editorial work *Concilia Poloniae* in Kraków in 1945.

After several months in Kraków, he returned to Warsaw, where he settled permanently. From October 1945, he was employed at the Faculty of Law of the University of Warsaw, first as a deputy professor, then as an associate professor, and from 1947 as a full professor. From 1947 to 1954, he headed the Department

of the History of Polish State and Law, and later served as a staff member of the department. Immediately after the war, he was actively involved in organizing the Law Faculty at the University of Warsaw. Thanks to his efforts and advocacy, the Institute of Legal History was established.

He also worked with the Patent Office for the first few post-war years. He headed a Polish delegation attending an international conference held in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, in 1947 to organise patents, designs and trademarks. From 1947 to 1949, he chaired the government commission on patent law reform.

J. Sawicki's professional situation deteriorated during the Stalinist period. In 1949, he was ousted from his work on patent law. At the university, by a ministerial decision in 1950, his department was transformed into a combined faculty, which also included two new professors, Juliusz Bardach and Bogusław Leśnodorski, both members of PZPR.⁷ He was restricted in his freedom of research and contact with students, and was not allowed to give obligatory lectures or conduct examinations. He was also harassed and attacked by activists from the Union of Polish Youth for his Catholic worldview.

Only as a result of the Polish October in 1956 he managed to return to his full professional activity. His lectures, talks and seminars were resumed. In 1956–1959, he held the position of associate dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Warsaw. In the 1960s, he resumed his contacts with patent lawyers.

After his retirement in 1969, he refused to abandon his research activities. He continued his academic work, published and participated in meetings and discussions of his alma mater, the Institute of Legal History at the University of Warsaw.

His professional work has been accompanied by membership in many national and international scientific societies and organizations. He was a member of the Société d'Histoire de Droit in Paris, the Institute of Medieval Canon Law in Washington, D.C., the Polish Historical Society, the Society of History Lovers in Warsaw, the Warsaw Scientific Society, the Scientific Society of the Catholic University of Lublin, among others. He was also a member of the Law Commission and the Historical Commission of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków. Being a well-known and respected person in international scientific life, he has repeatedly lectured at foreign universities and participated in conferences, congresses and meetings held outside Poland.

His broad activities have been recognized by the academic community and government authorities. In 1969, he received the Prize of the Minister of Science and Higher Education for scientific activity. In 1971, he received an honorary doctorate in theology from the University of Bonn, and in 1976 the Rev. Idzi Radziszewski Prize awarded by the Scientific Society of the Catholic University of America for all of his scholarly work in the spirit of Christian humanism. He has been decorated several times for his work and contributions, e.g. the Cross of

⁷ The authorities considered entrusting the leadership of the Department of the History of Polish State and Law to another person. Eventually, however, J. Sawicki retained his position as head of the department he created. G. Bałtrusajtys, *Z dziejów katedr historii prawa Wydziału Prawa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego: przyczynek badań trudnych lat 1945–1950*, „Zeszyty Prasoznawcze”, 15 (2015) issue 3, pp. 229–230.

Valor for his participation in the 1920 campaign, the Gold Cross of Merit in 1939 and the Officer's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta in 1957.

Jakub Sawicki died on 3 February 1979. He was buried at the Powązki Cemetery in Warsaw.

It is not easy to determine when J. Sawicki became interested in bibliographic issues. With a high degree of probability, it can be assumed that it was during his studies at the seminary classes taught by S. Estreicher, who from an early age grew up in the atmosphere of his father Karol Estreicher's work on *Bibliografia polska*, and over time actively participated in it. On more than one occasion he helped his father in organizing the material, proofreading, library searches, and after his death he undertook to complete the entire work.⁸ The knowledge and experience gained from working on *Bibliografia* made him consider it an indispensable source of information for scientific activities. This is evidenced by the reviews of law history bibliographies and reviews of the literature on the history of law that he compiled in the early years of the 20th century in order to familiarize Polish scholars with the latest foreign publications, which was intended to serve the development of research on this subject in Poland.⁹ J. Sawicki's other master, S. Kutrzeba, also had bibliographic inclinations. At the beginning of the 20th century, during the period of building the foundations of Polish law history bibliography, he published current reviews of the literature on the law history and legal and economic system of Poland.¹⁰ His interests also included personal bibliography.¹¹ These facts prove that this researcher also appreciated the importance of bibliography in scientific work. One can, therefore, assume that these two seasoned scholars, knowing the value and importance of bibliography in research, introduced their students to this subject during their seminar classes.

Shortly after graduating, J. Sawicki made his début as a bibliographer. In 1930, he published a modestly sized, up-to-date law history bibliography of the Slavic, Baltic, and Balkan states for 1929, entitled *Bibliografia della Rivista di Storia del Diritto Italiano per l'anno 1929, Europa Orientale (Paesi slavi, baltici, e balcanici)*, Roma 1930. Over time, bibliography became one of J. Sawicki's passions, along with editing historical sources. A decisive influence on the final crystallization and consolidation of his interests was the traumatic experience of World War II, during which the achievements of many societies were destroyed, which strengthened his

⁸ J. Korpała, *Karol Estreicher [st.] twórca Bibliografii polskiej*, Wrocław 1980, pp. 195–196; A. Borowski, *Stanisław Estreicher jako bibliograf*, in: *Stanisław Estreicher 1969–1939. Materiały z posiedzenia naukowego w dniu 18 czerwca 2010 r.*, ed. W. Lohman, Kraków 2015, pp. 25–34.

⁹ S. Estreicher prepared a review of the monumental *Bibliografia historyczno-prawna za lata 1926–1936*, vol. 1–2, Lviv 1938–1939 by K. Koranyi. The review was supposed to appear in „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, but due to the outbreak of World War II it was not printed. M. Zabłocka, *O pracach bibliograficznych Karola Koranyiego*, in: *Karol Koranyi (1897–1964). Studia w stulecie urodzin*, ed. M. Szprenglewska, Toruń 1998, p. 70; cf. M. Patkaniowski, *Stanisław Estreicher (1869–1939)*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 53 (1946) issue 3/4, p. 489.

¹⁰ Koredczuk, *Polska bibliografia historycznoprawna*, p. 410.

¹¹ S. Kutrzeba, *Bibliografia prac ś.p. Bolesława Ulanowskiego*, in: *Bolesław Ulanowski*, Kraków 1920, pp. 25–34.

conviction, '[...] that the two most important tasks and duties facing the historian are: concern for the preservation of the sources for posterity, expressed in their publication, and concern for the preservation of the memory of historical work, both past and present, expressed in bibliographical work'.¹² He devoted much of his postwar life to carrying out this mission.

Beginning in the 1950s, a period when his teaching and research activities were marginalized at the university, he began to fully develop bibliographic work. At first, he took up the development of personal bibliographies. 'He treated [their creation] (...) as the fulfilment of a duty to both outgoing and future generations of scholars: he rescued from oblivion the achievements of the old masters, collected literature for today's and future researchers.'¹³ In order to carry out this duty, he intended to compile personal bibliographies of all legal historians and researchers dealing with the history of law on the margins of other historical disciplines. To his credit, he largely accomplished this ambitious plan, although he did not manage to publish all bibliographies in print. Some of them remained as manuscripts.¹⁴

The first list to be announced among his reference lists was the completion of the bibliography of one of his masters, W. Abraham;¹⁵ later, in an effort to disseminate the work of this historian as widely as possible, he published complete lists of the publication of this author two times more.¹⁶ In *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* he posted bibliographies of Józef Rafacz¹⁷ and Stanisław Borowski,¹⁸ and in *Prawo Kanoniczne* he published personal bibliographies of: Heinrich Felix Schmid,¹⁹ Tadeusz Silnicki,²⁰ Bolesław Ulanowski,²¹ and Rev. Jan Fijałek.²² He also compiled

¹² Izdebski, *Prace bibliograficzne Jakuba Sawickiego*, p. 265.

¹³ Sędek, Wójcik, *Jakub Sawicki*, p. 252.

¹⁴ Izdebski, *Prace bibliograficzne Jakuba Sawickiego*, p. 266.

¹⁵ J. Sawicki, *Uzupełnienie bibliografii prac Władysława Abrahama*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, 3 (1951) pp. 333–337.

¹⁶ Idem, *Bibliografia prac Władysława Abrahama (1860–1941)*, „Polonia Sacra”, 8 (1956) issue 1/2, pp. 173–212; idem, *Bibliografia prac Władysława Abrahama (1860–1941)*, in: *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy XII wieku*, ed. W. Abraham, Poznań 1962, pp. 331–359.

¹⁷ J. Sawicki, *Bibliografia prac śp. profesora Józefa Rafacza*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, 4 (1952) pp. 493–501.

¹⁸ Idem, *Bibliografia prac Stanisława Borowskiego (1924–1946)*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, 5 (1953) pp. 259–264.

¹⁹ Idem, *Bibliografia prac naukowych prof. Heinrich Felix Schmida (1922–1964)*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, 9 (1966) issue 3/4, pp. 450–471. This work was also published in Germany under the title *Schriften von Heinrich Felix Schmid*, Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, „Kanonische Abteilung”, 54 (1968) pp. 487–506.

²⁰ J. Sawicki, *Bibliografia prac prof. dra Tadeusza Silnickiego (1913–1969)*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, 13 (1970) issue 3/4, pp. 276–285.

²¹ Idem, *Bibliografia prac prof. dra Bolesława Ulanowskiego (1882–1926)*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, 14 (1971) issue 1/2, pp. 309–324.

²² Idem, *Bibliografia prac ks. Jana Fijałka (1887–1951)*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, 15 (1972) issue 3/4, pp. 269–292.

the bibliography of Tadeusz Wojciechowski, which has been reissued twice,²³ and the bibliography of Józef Siemieński.²⁴

Personal bibliographies by Jakub Sawicki are subject-object compilations. Within each reference list, he first recorded the works of a particular scholar, and then presented publications devoted to that scholar. From the perspective of the recipient, this is the most advantageous solution, because a single list groups literature related to both the work and life of the person, which greatly facilitates the search for publications useful in various research work, most often in the field of biography, history of historiography and scientometrics.

The author based the various bibliographies on a very broad source base. He tried to use all available sources of information, both printed and in the form of manuscript, including collections and accounts of private individuals. It so happened, however, that some sources, mainly foreign journals, were beyond his reach for objective reasons, which made most bibliographies having some gaps in completeness.

The bibliographies under analysis are retrospective reference lists. They take into account works published in a strictly defined period of time, the lower boundary of which is determined by the year of the first publication of a given historian, and the upper boundary by the annual date of closure of the bibliography.

In the selection of material, Jakub Sawicki did not apply any restrictions in terms of linguistic and territorial coverage, and he also did not narrow the author's scope in the object section. In both parts, he also refused to restrict the publishing-formal coverage by including self-published prints (books, pamphlets, prints and offprints from periodicals) and bibliographic works. The bibliographic works include dissertations from collective departments, articles from periodicals and the daily press. In addition to the written documents in the object section, he also recorded iconographic documents.

Taking into account the form of writing, he listed together scientific, popular-science and popular works. He included source publications and studies. He documented individual author's publications, co-authored works, editorial works, editorials, scripts, textbooks, translations, reviews, polemics, dictionary and encyclopaedic entries, voices in discussions, reports, prefaces, papers, letters to the editors of journals, bibliographies, memoirs and obituaries. In the bibliography of S. Borowski, he also noted the surviving typescripts of the works of this historian,

²³ [Idem], *Bibliografia prac Tadeusza Wojciechowskiego*, in: T. Wojciechowski, *Szkice historyczne jedenastego wieku*, prepared for printing and preceded with an introduction by A. Gieysztor, Warsaw 1951, pp. 21–25; [idem], *Bibliografia prac Tadeusza Wojciechowskiego*, in: T. Wojciechowski, *Szkice historyczne jedenastego wieku*, prepared for printing and preceded with an introduction by A. Gieysztor, Warsaw 1970, pp. 26–31. The bibliography was published anonymously. Its authorship was established on the basis of information provided by the publisher in subsequent editions of T. Wojciechowski's works, on pages 347 and 25, respectively.

²⁴ J. Sawicki, *Bibliografia prac Józefa Siemieńskiego 1905–1950*, in: *Księga pamiątkowa 150-lecia Archiwum Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, Warsaw 1958, pp. 155–178.

as well as works prepared by him for publication, which were destroyed during World War II.²⁵

Such an immeasurably rich array of recorded materials shows that J. Sawicki wanted to give his personal bibliographies the highest possible degree of completeness and thus ensure their optimal informational value. To achieve this, he did not introduce any intended selection in most of them. The only exceptions are the bibliographies of J. Rafacz and H. F. Schmid, in which he showed scientific works, omitting all popular-science and popular works.

Jakub Sawicki tried to describe individual works from the autopsy, but did not always have access to them. Hence, in addition to the dominant primary descriptions, there are also derivative descriptions. He used abbreviated and annotated descriptions in addition to the full standard description. In some lists, he made use of the formal standards in effect at the time, but not in every case. All this has resulted in heterogeneous descriptions, differing in construction, order and completeness of elements, and form of writing.

The first element of the description in the subject section is generally the title of the publication. In some bibliographies, it is graphically distinguished by italics or by space, making it act as a heading. If the author published his works anonymously, then the information that it is an unnamed publication is included at the head of the description. If the work was published under a pseudonym or cryptonym, then at the beginning of the description there is an implicit form of the author's name, cited as it appears in the title page. In addition, it is enclosed in square brackets. The description of co-authored works is similar. They begin with the name of the co-author of the publication in question.

Only anonymous and collective works are described in the object section under the title. The author's publications, in turn, have heading at the beginning of the description. The headings consist of the original name of the author, their first name or names, sometimes initials or abbreviated names, although their order is also sometimes reversed, i.e. first name, last name. There is also brief information about the authors, usually specifying their profession: (ks.) – priest (Pol. *ksiądz*). In order to improve the readability of bibliographies, names that serve as headings are often printed in capital letters or highlighted by space.

In the standard description of non-serial prints, after the full title and subtitle of the publication, the bibliographer provided the following elements: the designation of the edition in the form taken from the title page (Roman numeral, Arabic numeral or word designation), the parts of single volumes or the whole of multi-volume works (preceded by the corresponding abbreviation: 'T.', 'Cz.'), the title of the volume, the publication address (place of publication, year of publication, name of the publishing institution – not always), the title of the series with its numbering (sometimes before the publishing address, sometimes after the physical description), the format (occasionally), the size and information about the illustrative materials. If there was no title in the publication, a fake title was created by him. He also tried to determine the missing components of the publication address if absent in

²⁵ Sawicki, *Bibliografia prac Stanisława Borowskiego*, pp. 263–264.

the title. If this failed, he provided the abbreviations used in bibliographic practice: '[b. m. i d.]', '[b. r.]', '[b. m. i r.]'.

When describing dissertations from a collective work, he generally included the preposition 'W:' after their title and subtitle, followed by a reference consisting of the title of the collective work, the volume number (if it was part of a multi-volume work), the place and year of publication and the size of the publication described.

The description of articles from magazines and newspapers follows a similar structure. In it, he also included the same reference after the article's title and subtitle, with the difference that it consisted of the journal's title (in full, abbreviated or acronym form), year/volume, year of publication, issue, and the article's pages (occasionally missing for newspaper articles). He also provided information about illustrations and summaries in foreign languages in the description of articles and dissertations.

Descriptions of the reviews vary depending on whether they were written by the given researcher or only relate to their publication. The former were given the form of a basic complete description. Sawicki began it with the abbreviation 'Rec.:' followed by a standard description of the reviewed work and the reference of the journal containing the review in a single line.

The description of the reviews relating to the historian's works is in abbreviated form. It is located directly below the reviewed work. It is also preceded by the abbreviation 'Rec.:' and followed by the name of the reviewer (surname and first name, pseudonym or cryptonym, if not resolved), the title of the review, if any, and the reference according to the pattern adopted in the description of journal articles.

J. Sawicki also described prints and offprints from periodicals and collective works in abbreviated form. He did not create separate items for them, but placed them in a single line with a description of the publications from which they came. His description of them was reduced to specifying the form of publication, generally given in the abbreviation 'odb.', 'nadb.', the place and year of publication and the size.

Concerned about the appropriate informational value of the bibliography, he supplemented the standard description with appropriate bibliological and content-related annotations as necessary. With the help of the former, as a rule, he characterized the formal features of the recorded documents. It informed about the authorship '[pod pseud. Jan Bróg]', '[pod cyfrą S.]', '[z Adamem Wolffem]', '[bezimiennie]', the different versions of the title, publishing address, series, language of publication '[Tekst w jęz. polsk. i franc.]', the publishing form '[w formie artykułu]', the genre '[Nekrolog]', '[Streszczenie]', '[Autoreferat]', '[Trzy felietony]', the publishing technique '[Skrypt litografowany]', '[Maszynopis powielany]' and the method of dissemination of the document '[Odczyt przez radio]'. He also showed the social significance of the publication. Of the content annotations, the bibliographer used only the explanatory ones. They were used to clarify vague or figurative titles with precision. The location of annotations varied depending on their type. The bibliological annotations are given in one sequence with the rest of the description elements. The explanatory annotations are given immediately

after the title or at the end of the description. They are enclosed in square brackets, and thus are easy to recognise.

Although varying in detail, the bibliographic descriptions created by J. Sawicki generally serve their purpose well. They facilitate seamless identification of the literature compiled in the personal bibliographies, and through annotations they also make it possible to gain additional information about the documents.

In all the bibliographies examined in the subject sections, the author used a chronological arrangement in the main body. He arranged the individual works according to their publication dates, highlighted graphically in bold. They are located above the description and act as headings. Such a solution is very beneficial for the reader, because it makes the bibliography easier to use.

He also furnished the vast majority of the object sections with a chronological arrangement, although he did not introduce headings in their case. An exception is the bibliography of Rev. J. Fijałek, in which publications relating to this historian are arranged by publishing and literary forms and within them – chronologically.

The chronological arrangement introduced by J. Sawicki in the main part is undoubtedly optimal for personal bibliographies. This is because it shows not only a person's publishing output, but also the development of writing, its growth and intensity in successive years or periods. It also reveals the variability of research interests and reports on the popularity of publications.

Within the dates of publication, the bibliographer arranged the literature according to publishing and literary forms. At the beginning of a given year, he listed mostly separate non-serial publications, followed by journal articles and dissertations from collective works, and then listed dictionary and encyclopaedia entries, reviews, voices in discussions, and prefaces, although their order sometimes varies from one reference list to another.

To increase the functionality of the bibliography J. Sawicki introduced numerical references. He combined reissues of individual publications, shown under different publication dates. He also used them to bind reprints of works and multi-part articles.

The personal bibliographies in question do not have indexes and most other typical information and support materials. In the individual lists, the author included only brief introductions, and in the bibliography of H. F. Schmid, he also included a list of journal titles and their abbreviations. It is legitimate and desirable in this compilation, because all journal titles appearing in bibliographic descriptions are in the form of acronyms. Omitting the information and support materials certainly does not increase the efficiency of the bibliography. Some justification for this state of affairs may be the fact that the bibliographies appeared in non-separate form. They were printed on the pages of journals, in collective works or as a complement to the reissued works of historians. Such publications generally dispense with the inclusion of ancillary information material due to the limited size of these publications.

While working on personal bibliographies, J. Sawicki undertook another remarkably important and ambitious bibliographic endeavour. In 1954, he began to publish *Materiały do polskiej bibliografii historyczno-prawnej* in *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*. The list was born at a time when another prominent legal

historian and also bibliographer Karol Koranyi was compiling and publishing successive volumes of international law history bibliography and planning to prepare Polish law bibliography under the title *Polska bibliografia prawnicza*.²⁶ Like J. Sawicki, K. Koranyi attached particular importance to bibliography as a basis for research work. It seems that the bibliographical passions of the two scholars and their direct contacts, if only during meetings at the Institute of Legal History of the University of Warsaw,²⁷ influenced the creation of *Materiały*. Undoubtedly, a favourable circumstance for the creation of the bibliography in question was the appearance of the magazine *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* in 1948, which from the beginning of its existence took care of reliable scientific information, successively expanded the reporting section and chronicle, and, noteworthy, published bibliographies, including personal ones. From the sixth volume onwards, the periodical has made available the pages of law history bibliography.²⁸

J. Sawicki began his edition of the bibliography with a retrospective list for 1944–1953,²⁹ and then, beginning with a compilation for 1954, he published it systematically in the form of annual running lists. A total of 23 volumes of this compilation came out from under his hand, the last one for 1977 was compiled jointly with Hubert Izdebski.³⁰

The lower end of the chronological range of the first list was the date of the promulgation of the PKWN Manifesto – 22 July 1944, and the upper end was 31 December 1953, which closes the list. In current compilations, the qualification of a publication for a given yearbook was generally determined by the year of its actual appearance in circulation, rather than the publication date appearing on the title page. It is worth adding that in the interest of completeness, publications omitted from earlier lists, most often because of difficulties in reaching foreign serial publications, were included in the various current lists.

The author based the collection of material on the two essential parts of the Polish current national bibliography, i.e. *Przewodnik Bibliograficzny* and *Bibliografia Zawartości Czasopism*. He also used the current *Bibliografia Historii Polskiej*. However, he did not narrow his search exclusively to these sources. With

²⁶ K. Koranyi, *Bibliografia historyczno-prawna za lata 1926–1936*, vol. 1–2, Lviv 1938–1939; K. Koranyi, J. Koranyiowa, *Bibliografia historyczno-prawna za lata 1937–1947*, vol. 1–2, Toruń 1953–1959; cf. Zabłocka, *O pracach bibliograficznych Karola Koranyiego*, pp. 68–72; J. Bardach, *Ze wspomnień o Karolu Koranyim*, in: *Karol Koranyi (1897–1964). Studia w stulecie urodzin*, ed. M. Szprenglewska, Toruń 1998, p. 76.

²⁷ K. Koranyi headed the Department of the Universal History of State and Law from 1949 to 1964, and was director of the Institute of the History of Law at the University of Warsaw from 1952 to 1955. Cf. Z. Witkowski, *Karol Koranyi (1897–1964), historyk państwa i prawa, profesor i rektor UMK*, in: *Toruńscy twórcy nauki i kultury (1945–1985)*, eds. M. Biskup, A. Giziński, Warsaw 1989, p. 149.

²⁸ The announcement of the publication of this bibliography was signalled in 1953. Cf. *Od redakcji*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, 5 (1953), p. 9.

²⁹ J. Sawicki, *Materiały do polskiej bibliografii historyczno-prawnej za lata 1944–1953*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, 6 (1954) issue 2, pp. 445–519.

³⁰ J. Sawicki, H. Izdebski, *Materiały do polskiej bibliografii historyczno-prawnej za rok 1977*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, 31 (1979) issue 1, pp. 253–344.

his usual inquisitiveness and meticulousness, he conducted searches in journals, mainly foreign, and from the early 1970s, when *Bibliografia Zawartości Czołpism* began to apply stricter selection in the registration of articles, he also paged through domestic periodicals. He also obtained material through his colleagues and friends, who sent him prints of their works printed in the pages of various periodicals, primarily foreign ones, which are not readily available in Poland. Thanks to such extensive source searches, J. Sawicki managed to gather a number of publications unknown to other Polish bibliographies, and gave *Materiały* a high degree of completeness within the adopted criteria for the selection of materials.

The bibliography covered publications on the broadly defined history of the state and law. It recorded writings devoted to, among other things, the history of legal doctrines, the history of the socio-political system, administration, the judiciary and specific areas of law, but left out works from related humanities disciplines, such as history and archaeology.

The task of the bibliography was to present the achievements of the history of Polish law science. Hence, the bibliographer based the principles of material selection on two fundamental criteria – authorial and factual. He registered the works of Polish authors regardless of the language of publication and place of publication, including Polish reviews of foreign texts. He also included works by foreign authors on the history of the state and law of the Polish lands and areas historically connected with Poland in whole or in significant part, regardless of the place of publication and the language of publication.

Thus, the bibliography had unlimited authorial, territorial, linguistic, publishing and formal coverage. It registered domestic prints and foreign polonica. It documented separate non-serial (books, prints, offprints) and serial (journals, etc.) publications, articles from specialized scientific journals – historical and legal, and dissertations from collective works. It also recorded sources and studies published in the form of printed and reproduced works. It included textbooks, scripts, memorial books, conference proceedings, bibliographies, reviews, polemics, translations, dictionary entries, reports, abstracts and obituaries. It also encompassed published master's and doctoral theses.

Facing the need to limit the size of the bibliography due to the slim space available to him in the journal, J. Sawicki applied formal and substantive selection.³¹ He eliminated works by foreign authors published in Poland in various languages if they were not devoted to the history of the Polish state and law. He omitted bibliographic excerpts and general scientific journals, as well as periodicals in related fields. He also disregarded the press, and selected only the most important items from popular science magazines. The selection that was carried out was as right and accurate as possible. Thanks to it, works of minor importance were excluded from the inventory, which had a positive effect on the informational value of the whole compilation.

In *Materiały*, as in the personal bibliographies, some of the descriptions were taken over by J. Sawicki from other bibliographic sources, although it is worth

³¹ Sawicki, *Materiały do polskiej bibliografii historyczno-prawnej za lata 1944–1953*, p. 446.

noting that the vast majority were created from autopsy. He used full, abbreviated and annotated standard descriptions. He modelled the form of description in the law history bibliography on the regulations set forth in the Polish standard PN N-01152 and followed it consistently, beginning with the 1954 compilation. This was very convenient and practical for readers, because the standardised reference scheme made it easier to use the bibliography.

He generally quoted individual elements of the description in the original language. Only prints published in non-Latin languages were transliterated.

The structure of the full standard description differs only slightly from the model used in personal bibliographies. The heading that begins the description of the author's work differs only in that it is always in capitals. The bibliographer also tried to include resolved pseudonyms and cryptonyms of the authors. In the description of separate non-serial sources, the designation of the edition is specified with an Arabic numeral, there is often a format located before the size of the publication, and the title of the publishing series together with its numbering are located at the end of the description. In the description of journal articles, the bibliographer introduced abbreviations for journal titles, bringing them in line with applicable standardization guidelines. The scheme for describing dissertations from collective works has remained essentially unchanged compared to personal bibliographies. The only change is that the title of the dissertation is preceded by the name of the author.

Some modifications, however, have been made to the description of reviews. These are usually preceded by an abbreviated description of the reviewed work, and then followed by a description of the review, beginning with the abbreviation 'Rec.:'. Next is the name of the reviewer, distinguished graphically in capital letters or by space (this depends on the given annual), the title of the review (if any), the title of the journal, its numbering and the pages occupied by the review. If a work has received many reviews, their descriptions are not separate units, but form a collective work.

The placement of reviews is sometimes twofold. They either appear below the description of the reviewed work, in which case they are generally written in a smaller font size, which makes the bibliography easier to read, or they are located immediately after the description of the assessed publication, in which case they are not graphically highlighted in any way.

In addition to book annotations and explanatory annotations in the law history bibliography, J. Sawicki also introduced content annotations. They list the contents of collective works and conference materials and thus, like the review descriptions, constitute collective items. As a rule, content annotations are preceded by terms typical of Polish bibliographic practice: 'Zawiera m.in.:' or 'Z treści:', sometimes abbreviated 'M.in.:'. A certain shortcoming of the annotations in question, especially in the early annuals of the bibliography, was the lack of any graphic distinction and separation from the standard description. They were treated as a further component of the description, making them significantly more difficult to recognize. Over time, the author improved this solution and regularly provided annotations

with paragraph indentation under the standard description. This modification has significantly improved the clarity and readability of the bibliography.

The author used a sectional arrangement to organize the records in the main part. Its structure was largely modelled on the structure of Karol Koranyi's retrospective *Bibliografia historyczno-prawna*.³² He divided all the sources into 17 sections. These are: I. Sources; II. History and Critique of Sources; III. Auxiliary Publications; IV. Methodological Issues; V. Legal Literature and its History; VI. History of Legal Doctrines and Social and Political Programmes; VII. Social System; VIII. Political and Administrative System; IX. Churches and Religions; X. Judicial Organization and Trial; XI. Civil Law; XII. Criminal Law; XIII. Commercial and Maritime Law; XIV. Law of Nations and International Relations; XV. Industrial and Mining Law; XVI. Legal Regulation of Labour Relations and Labour Law; XVII. General. He expanded the eighth and seventeenth divisions, creating first-tier subdivisions.

Inside the various sections and subsections, the publications have been arranged according to a subject chronology modelled on the periodisation of Jan Baumgart's then contemporary *Bibliografia historii polskiej*. General literature was grouped first, and then followed by publications on the slave era, the feudal era, the decay of feudalism and the capitalist era, respectively. They are mostly grouped according to alphabetical arrangement. The exceptions are works relating to researchers of the history of law. They are arranged by subject according to the names of the historians to whom the publications relate, located at the head of the description and distinguished by space. For better orientation in the recorded literature, successive periods have been separated by horizontal dashes.

The adopted method of organizing the material in the main frame, as well as in the internal serialization, consistently implemented in all the compilations by J. Sawicki, has worked well for the law history bibliography. It allowed viewers, especially those interested in specific issues in the history of law, to efficiently reach for the information they needed. It is worth adding that after the change of the author of the bibliography, the basic structure of the arrangement has not been significantly transformed,³³ which proves the apt choice of arrangement made by J. Sawicki.

As a result of the introduction of the sectional arrangement, there appeared a need to combine works that qualify for different sections or subsections by means of cross-references or multiple descriptions. Jakub Sawicki chose the second solution. Beginning with the reference list for 1954, he equipped the bibliography with multiple descriptions.³⁴ They are in the form of abbreviated record, consisting of the author's name, the title of the publication, cited in abbreviated form, and the item number, directing to the location of the standard description.

³² Zabłocka, *O pracach bibliograficznych Karola Koranyiego*, p. 71; Izdebski, *Prace bibliograficzne Jakuba Sawickiego*, p. 269.

³³ Izdebski, *Prace bibliograficzne Jakuba Sawickiego*, p. 271.

³⁴ In the retrospective list, the author did not use cross-references or multiple descriptions due to the insufficient space reserved for *Materiały in Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*. Cf. Sawicki, *Materiały do polskiej bibliografii historyczno-prawnej za lata 1944–1953*, p. 446.

To facilitate the search, the bibliography is accompanied by a name index (*Indeks nazwisk*), which is in fact a personal index. It lists in alphabetical order, the authors, the names of all co-creators (co-authors, publishers, editors, translators), reviewers and contributors to the publications described. It also includes titles of serial publications, anonymous works and collective works. The index is easy to use due to the appropriate distinction of digital indicators, corresponding to each category of publication creators.

Of the other information and support materials, all the compilations have small-size methodological introductions and lists of sections that direct the searcher to specific items. The names of the sections are given, starting with the list for 1958, in Polish and German, which has greatly expanded the bibliography's audience. In addition, there are registers of earlier annuals of the bibliography, along with their location in the corresponding volume of *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*. Although the bibliography does not include a list of journal titles and their abbreviations, its absence does not reduce the information value of the compilation, because the titles of journals can generally be recognized without too much trouble.

The auxiliary indexes found in the historical and legal bibliography serve their purpose well. They help the reader reach the information they are looking for efficiently.

J. Sawicki's extraordinary diligence and exceptional commitment to collecting and compiling materials for each annual made the law history bibliography stand out among other bibliographies, both domestic and foreign, in terms of speed of preparation and regularity of publication. Thanks to this, it gained a loyal audience and became a valuable reference not only for historians of the state and law, but also for other researchers, including historians in a strict sense, who, unable to wait for their current *Bibliografia historii polskiej*, usually published with some delay, used *Materiały* as the most up-to-date source of information.³⁵

The culmination of J. Sawicki's bibliographic activity was undoubtedly *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*. The thought of preparing it came to him in the late 1930s, when he began researching the history of Polish particular synods and their legislative activities. At that time, he recognized the lack of an adequate source of information to assist in obtaining the required literature. Consequently, he occasionally began collecting bibliographic material.³⁶ He became even more convinced of the need for such a compilation after 1956, when Polish science, after a period of isolation during the Stalinist years, established a link with global science. During his many travels abroad, he realized how much research had developed around the world on the history of particular synods and their legislation. Influenced by contacts with representatives of Western European academia and direct encouragement from the director of the Institute of Medieval Ecclesiastical Law at Yale University, Stefan Kuttner, who was involved in editing a monumental

³⁵ Izdebski, *Prace bibliograficzne Jakuba Sawickiego*, p. 270.

³⁶ J. Sawicki, *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*. (*Sprawozdanie*), „Prawo Kanoniczne”, 9 (1966) issue 3/4, p. 401.

edition of the sources of canon law,³⁷ J. Sawicki initiated intensive collection of materials for the future bibliography. An additional impetus, which spurred the work carried out even further, was the growing scientific demand for this type of list, which was related to the development of research on synodal issues, compounded, among other things, by the preparations for the Second Vatican Council,³⁸ which took place in 1962–1965.

The effort resulted in the monumental worldwide *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*, published at the Vatican in 1967 by the Congregation of Seminaries and Universities. It was published as part of the series *Monumenta Iuris Canonici*. Series C: Subsidia, Vol. 2, edited by S. Kuttner and promulgated by the Institute of Medieval Canon Law at Yale University in New Haven, USA. J. Sawicki dedicated the work to the memory of his master – Prof. W. Abraham, who inspired him with synodal issues.

The published *Bibliographia* gained lively interest and admiration from specialists around the world. The publication received as many as eighteen positive reviews, published not only on the pages of Polish periodicals, but also in numerous prestigious specialized journals in Europe and America.³⁹ The reviewers were unanimous in pointing out the pioneering and also model nature of the list, and emphasized the tremendous work of the bibliographer in preparing the entire compilation. It is worth citing at least two reviewers' opinions at this point. One of them stated that the publication 'Constitutes [...] the first and only attempt in the world literature to develop a bibliography of synods with a similarly broad, unlimited territorial and chronological scope,'⁴⁰ while the other argued that 'Prof. Sawicki's bibliography is prepared in an exemplary manner.'⁴¹ The author complemented the initiated work successively, publishing five more supplements between 1968 and 1976.⁴² The prepared publication brought the creator widespread recognition in international forums.

Bibliographia was built on a very solid source foundation. While collecting the material, J. Sawicki used an immeasurably wide range of diverse domestic and

³⁷ M. Szczaniecki, *Czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej profesora dra Jakuba Sawickiego*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, 20 (1968) issue 2, pp. 200–201.

³⁸ Sawicki, *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*, p. 402.

³⁹ For a full list of reviews, see Pasternak, *Szkic biograficzny*, pp. 216–217.

⁴⁰ J. Szymański, (rev.) *Sawicki Jakub, Bibliographia synodorum particularium, E Civitate Vaticana 1967*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, 20 (1968) issue 2, p. 163.

⁴¹ J.R. Bar, (rev.) *Sawicki Jakub, Bibliographia synodorum particularium, E Civitate Vaticana 1967*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, 11 (1968) issue 3/4, p. 316.

⁴² J. Sawicki, *Supplementum ad Bibliographiam synodorum particularium*, „Traditio. Studies in Ancient and Medieval History Thought, and Religion”, 24 (1968), pp. 508–511; idem, *Supplementum secundum ad Bibliographiam synodorum particularium*, „Traditio. Studies in Ancient and Medieval History Thought, and Religion”, 26 (1970), pp. 470–478; idem, *Supplementum tertium ad Bibliographiam synodorum particularium*, „Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law. New Series”, 2 (1972), pp. 91–100; idem, *Supplementum Quartum ad Bibliographiam synodorum particularium*, „Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law. New Series”, 4 (1974), pp. 87–92; idem, *Supplementum quintum ad Bibliographiam synodorum particularium*, „Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law. New Series”, 6 (1976), pp. 95–100.

foreign sources. He reached out to textbooks, the history of canon law sources and encyclopaedic publications. He scrolled through multi-volume studies and serial publications, and became familiar with a number of general national and special bibliographies, including lists of prints from the 15th and 16th centuries. He also studied all the country's book collections, including those from Warsaw, Kraków and Wrocław. Thanks to a grant from the Institute of Research and Study in Medieval Canon Law in Washington, D.C., he conducted searches in a number of libraries in Austria, Switzerland, Italy, France and Germany between 1963 and 1964.⁴³ The overseas search proved to be very fruitful. As a result, the number of items more than doubled – from 1,400 to about 3,000.⁴⁴ In the implementation of the entire project, J. Sawicki also received help and support from foreign colleagues and friends. They assisted in checking and complementing the descriptions, using the book collections available to them, which the author could not reach for various reasons. Through such an extensive search, J. Sawicki has given his work a high degree of completeness. He collected 3403 numbered bibliographic items, although in reality their number is much higher, as he labelled many of them with consecutive letters of the alphabet in addition to the repeated numbering. By the same principle, he also numbered the works recorded in the supplement titled *Addenda et corrigenda*. According to one reviewer, the list totals nearly 3,600 descriptions.⁴⁵

As the title itself indicates, *Bibliographia synodorum particularium* is limited in its scope. It includes collections of statutes, critical editions of the texts of statutes, and studies relating to particular synods and their legislation. In addition to materials on the synods of the Roman Catholic Church, it also records works on other Christian churches and denominations, as well as non-Christian religions, including Buddhism and Judaism, among others.

The compilation under discussion is a retrospective bibliography. In the main part, it documents the work from the earliest times to 1965. The supplement also includes works published in 1966, proving that the author has not closed the upper limit of the chronological range. With the intent to give readers as complete an inventory as possible, he also included recent works on synods.

The collected literature includes works published worldwide, regardless of the language of publication and the nationality of the authors. The bibliography compiles separate non-serial publications, journal articles, dissertations from collective works, and bibliographic excerpts generally in the form of chapters on synodal legislation. It also includes sources (texts and resolutions of particular synods) and their critical reviews and old prints. It registers scientific works, popular science, monographs, dictionary and encyclopaedia entries and reviews, but only those that were published in the form of separate non-serial prints.

The abundance of materials on synods, generally scattered over various foreign publications, made it necessary for the author to apply selection in the choice of

⁴³ For a detailed discussion of the source basis, see J. Sawicki, *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*, E Civitate Vaticana 1967, pp. X–XII and XIV–XV.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. X.

⁴⁵ W.M. Bartel, (rev.) Sawicki Jakub, *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*, E Civitate Vaticana 1967, „Nasza Przyszłość”, 33 (1970), p. 255.

publications. He excluded from the bibliography literature on ecumenical synods and the resolutions of these synods. The selection included publications in the field of canon law. He also excluded all textbooks and general systems of canon law containing chapters on synods. Of the sources of canon law, he only included the most important works with extensive literature on the subject in the bibliography, while excluding the rest. He did not record the publications of provincial and diocesan synods promulgated as single separate texts. He also did not include general histories of the Church, provinces and dioceses, and general historical studies. Among the numerous reviews and polemics, he compiled only those that were published in the form of self-published papers, as well as those devoted to Ernest Babut's work *Le concile de Turin*.⁴⁶ The selection carried out did not adversely affect the information value of the bibliography. On the contrary, it made it possible to select the items that are most valuable and useful to experts and researchers interested in synodal issues from the many sources and studies.

Primariness was the guiding principle followed by J. Sawicki. He made sure to check as many of the registered publications as possible from the autopsy. When he could not, for objective reasons, personally verify some of the works, he entered derivative descriptions, marking them according to bibliographic practice with an asterisk. However, they represent a small percentage of the total. Some reviewers questioned the need for an autopsy in preparing bibliographic descriptions.⁴⁷ It must be said, however, that this was an accurate and legitimate process. Thanks to this practice, the author was able to determine the individual elements of the descriptions and correct errors appearing in other bibliographies. All this made it possible to give the vast majority of descriptions a unified structure.

As in the personal subject bibliographies and in the law history bibliography, J. Sawicki began the description of the author's prints with a heading. This function is performed by the surname (highlighted in bold) and usually the first names of the author of the publication, sometimes supplemented by information about their profession or position. If the author's name was part of the title of the work, it is enclosed in brackets in the entry. The authorship of anonymous prints was identified and the names of the creators of the works were determined correspondingly to the above principle.

When describing several publications by the same author occurring immediately after one another, the bibliographer would annotate only the first item with the keyword, and replace it with a horizontal dash in subsequent items. This solution did not inhibit the functionality of the bibliography; on the contrary, it made the descriptions easier to perceive.

The descriptions of anonymous and collective works begin with their titles. The role of the heading here is generally played by the first word of the title, marked in bold.

The personal heading is followed by the title and title additions in the descriptions of all standard publication types. They are cited in full, usually in the original

⁴⁶ Sawicki, *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*, E Civitate Vaticana, p. XI.

⁴⁷ Szymański, (rev.) *Sawicki Jakub*, p. 164.

language, with the exception being the titles of works in non-Latin languages, which have been transcribed. With the intent to give the bibliography the widest possible impact, the author consistently provided after the original titles, expressed in lesser-known languages (including Polish), their translations into one of three more recognizable languages: Latin, French or German. He put the translations in square brackets.

In the standard description of non-serial prints, the title is immediately followed by the publisher's address, consisting of the place of publication, the name of the printer or publisher and the date of publication, cited as in the title page. If the date of publication was marked with Latin numerals, the author also presented it in Arabic numerals, enclosed in parentheses. Afterwards he included the format, the size, including numbered and unnumbered pages, and information on illustrations.

In the description of journal articles, the title of the text is followed by the title of the journal (in abbreviated or acronym form), the numbering of the periodical (annual number, volume, year of publication, issue number) and the pages of the article.

When describing dissertations from collective works, after the title of the dissertation, the bibliographer first placed the preposition 'In:', followed by the title of the collective work, the volume number (if it was part of a multi-volume work), the place and year of publication and the size of the dissertation.

According to a similar principle, he also described entries from dictionaries and encyclopaedias. The differences are that the title of the entry, which is in quotation marks, is preceded by the abbreviation 'Art.', the titles of lexical publications are expressed in acronyms, and the publishing address is reduced exclusively to the year of publication. The description of this type of publication takes the form of an abbreviated record.

Using the abbreviated description, J. Sawicki also presented prints, reissues of publications and multi-volume works. They are not separate bibliographic units, but form collective items. The prints are placed immediately after the description of the non-separate works from which they are derived. Their description is reduced to 'et separ.', the place and year of publication, and the size. The subsequent editions are in the full description of the first edition of a given publication and contain only the elements that differentiate individual reissues. As a rule, these are: publishing address, format and size. After the title, place of publication and publisher's name, the subsequent volumes are enumerated in the description of multi-volume works, along with their separate titles (if any), publication dates and sizes. Abbreviated records also occur at title references, directing from the first words of the title of an anonymous work to the established name of the author.

A large part of the descriptions were completed by the bibliography creator with appropriate annotations, consisting mostly of bibliological annotations. They provide information on the established year or place of publication, specify its form of publication or writing, inform about the size of the document, provide the already mentioned translations of original titles into other languages, and list the acronyms of the libraries holding the print in question along with its signature. There are also content annotations to clarify ambiguous titles.

As a rule, annotations are integrated into the sequence of the standard description. However, this does not prevent their identification, because they are generally distinguished from other components of the description by being enclosed in square brackets or parentheses. Only the annotations containing the acronyms of the libraries are devoid of parentheses, but they are located under the main description, which also makes them easily recognizable.

When constructing the structure of the bibliography, J. Sawicki considered a number of possibilities for arranging the collected publications. Among other things, he took into account the division between sources and literature, considered the separation of provincial and diocesan synods, and analysed the usefulness of the chronological and topographical layout.⁴⁸ Eventually, however, he decided that a division into two main sections – *Generalia* i *Specialia* – would be most beneficial to the readers. In the first section, he collected publications of a general nature, such as collections of the texts of the resolutions of general synods, texts concerning them, and general compendia (dictionaries, summas, encyclopaedias, dictionaries, etc.). In the second, he presented the texts of particular synods and the studies concerning them. In each of these sections, he introduced an alphabetical arrangement, serializing the descriptions in alphabetic order of the authors' names and the first words of the titles of anonymous prints and collective works. Only the articles in the titles expressed in foreign languages, including German, English and French, were not an element of that arrangement, as according to bibliographic practice, they are not considered words that serialize the descriptions.

The author was aware that the arrangement introduced could be questionable, which was indeed reflected in the opinions of the reviewers.⁴⁹ Choosing the most favourable arrangement with such specific, yet diverse and abundant material was certainly not a simple matter. It must be admitted that thanks to the division used, the author avoided multiple repetition of descriptions, because the texts of the synodal resolutions and the studies concerning them are in one place, which should be considered an advantage of the bibliography.

Jakub Sawicki provided his work with cross-references. In addition to the title references already mentioned, he also introduced author references. They direct from the names of the co-authors to the name of the author placed at the head of the entry in the bibliographic description. They also lead from the foreign or altered form of the author's name to the native form. With the help of cross-references, the bibliographer also linked the texts of synodal resolutions to the studies devoted to them. Cross-references are placed in the alphabetical sequence of each part of the bibliography, while not being numbered, which is in accordance with the principles of bibliographic methodology.

Taking care of the proper functionality of the bibliography, J. Sawicki equipped his work with appropriate information and support materials. It is headed by three indexes, i.e. personal, geographical and factual. In the personal index, the bibliographer has listed in alphabetical order the names of contributors and the names of all

⁴⁸ Sawicki, *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*, E Civitate Vaticana, pp. XII–XIII.

⁴⁹ Bartel, (rev.) *Sawicki Jakub*, p. 316; Szymański, (rev.) *Sawicki Jakub*, p. 164.

persons appearing in the titles of publications. However, he omitted the names of printers, publishers and booksellers. He also did not include the names of authors placed as an entry at the beginning of the bibliographic descriptions, considering that it would be unnecessary to repeat them, since they appear in the main part of the bibliography in alphabetical order. From the viewer's perspective, this was not the best solution. When looking for the creators of the publication, the reader is forced to leaf through not only the index, but also the text of the bibliography, consisting of two alphabetical ranks, which is inconvenient and time-consuming.

The geographical index lists in alphabetical order the names of countries, towns and cities mentioned in the main part of the bibliography. The guiding principle that the bibliographer followed in creating the index items was to give individual geographic names in the contemporary version. If a given name had a different entry in the bibliographic description, he linked it in the index by cross-reference to the form currently in use. The exceptions are names in Latin. The bibliographer cites them as taken from the Holy See's 1961 statistical yearbook *Annuario Pontificio* and from Ulysse Chevalier's *Topo-bibliographie* (New York 1959)⁵⁰.

The factual index, which is actually a class index, lists alphabetically issues related to synodal issues. According to the author, that index '[...]' tries to make it easier to reach certain items not captured very clearly by the two previous indexes, or certain subject groups.⁵¹

In addition to indexes, the usefulness of the bibliography is enhanced by other relevant reference materials. These include: a table of contents that facilitates reaching the individual components of the bibliography without any problems; an introduction in Latin, defining the principles of selection of material and familiarising with the adopted methodological solutions and, at the same time, giving the entire work an international character; a list of bibliographic abbreviations; a list of titles of periodicals, collective works and serial publications; a list of abbreviations of the names of libraries, appearing under bibliographic descriptions.

All analysed bibliographies compiled by J. Sawicki are characterized by their careful editing. Single-column text composition in the main part and double-column in the indexes, paragraph indentation in bibliographic entries and at cross-references, horizontal spacing between descriptions used as a rule, graphic distinction of author's entries and proper punctuation – all this makes the handling of individual bibliographies easy.

In summary, it must be said that J. Sawicki was a bibliographer by vocation. He considered the creation of bibliographies his duty and patriotic obligation. With time, he embarked on increasingly ambitious bibliographic endeavours and refined, developed and expanded his own research technique. He prepared the various lists with great dedication and reverence, and based the various bibliographies on a very broad source base. He cared about the completeness of the inventories within the set criteria for the selection of material and put great emphasis on appropriate methodological solutions in bibliographic description, arrangement of materials

⁵⁰ Sawicki, *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*, E Civitate Vaticana, p. XIII; idem, *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*. (*Sprawozdanie*), p. 406.

⁵¹ Idem, *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*. (*Sprawozdanie*), pp. 406–407.

and information and support materials. He also took care of the proper preparation of the bibliography in terms of typography. In doing so, he wanted to make his inventories as informative as possible and to ensure their optimal functionality. The bibliographical works of J. Sawicki, and in particular *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*, have attracted admiration and recognition not only in Poland, but also internationally, and their author has earned a permanent and unassailable position in the history of bibliography and science.

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JAKUB SAWICKI (1899–1979) JAKO BIBLIOGRAF

Abstrakt

Problematyka artykułu koncentruje się na charakterystyce działalności bibliograficznej znamienitego kanonisty i jednocześnie wytrawnego bibliografa Jakuba Sawickiego. Stworzył on pionierską bibliografię synodów partykularnych, zainicjował i przez wiele lat prowadził podstawową bieżącą bibliografię historyczno-prawną oraz opracował szereg bibliografii osobowych. W tekście, po prezentacji sylwetki bibliografa, przedstawiono okoliczności powstania poszczególnych spisów, przybliżono zasady doboru i selekcji materiału oraz omówiono metodę ich opracowania.

Słowa kluczowe: Jakub Sawicki; *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*; Materiały do polskiej bibliografii historyczno-prawnej; bibliografie osobowe; historia; metoda opracowania

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