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*The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow
Faculty of History and Cultural Heritage*



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COVER PHOTO

Sorting plant in the Karol and Maria Hospital for Children, Warsaw, Poland
(photo courtesy by A. Banaszkiwicz)

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DOMUS EDITORIA

Faculty of History and Cultural Heritage
ul. Kanonicza 25, 31-002 Kraków
e-mail: folia@upjp2.edu.pl

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Commentationes et dissertationes

Adam Bujanowicz¹

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-1369-8304>

Medical University of Warsaw

Aleksandra Banaszekiewicz²

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7684-6887>

Medical University of Warsaw

Prevention of infections: the Karol and Maria Hospital for Children, Warsaw, Poland

The COVID-19 pandemic caused many changes in hospital healthcare around the world³. New hospitals are being built only to treat infected patients, and in existing hospitals, wards are being set to hospitalise patients with suspected or diagnosed infections. In most hospital emergency rooms, all or some of the patients admitted to the hospital are tested for infection and waiting rooms for patients with test results pending are

- 1 Student Research Association GEKON, Medical University of Warsaw, Poland.
- 2 Department of Pediatric Gastroenterology and Nutrition, Medical University of Warsaw, Poland.
- 3 W. Carroll, V. Strenger, E. Eber, F. Porcaro, R. Cutrera, D. Fitzgerald, I. Balfour-Lynn, *European and United Kingdom COVID-19 pandemic experience: The same but different*, “Paediatric Respiratory Reviews” 35 (2020), pp. 50–56.

being created. Unfortunately, in many cases these measures fail and outbreaks of nosocomial infections occur.

Let us therefore briefly recall what attempts were made to prevent nosocomial infections, a practice understood at the time as preventing the mixing of infectious and non-infectious patients, in the Karol and Maria Hospital for Children in Warsaw, which opened in 1913⁴.

The Karol and Maria Hospital for Children, Warsaw, Poland

The hospital [Figure 1], consisting of nine pavilions, was founded by Zofia Szlenkier, a daughter of rich Warsaw industrialists. It was very modern for its time, and was considered “well thought-out” by visiting physicians⁵. The opinion resulted from the fact that its first Chief Physician, Dr Józef Brudziński, actively participated in all stages of construction, from the blueprints of the pavilions to the design of hospital interiors⁶.

A number of innovative systems were in place in the Karol and Maria Hospital for Children in Warsaw to prevent nosocomial infections. They are listed below and successively discussed:

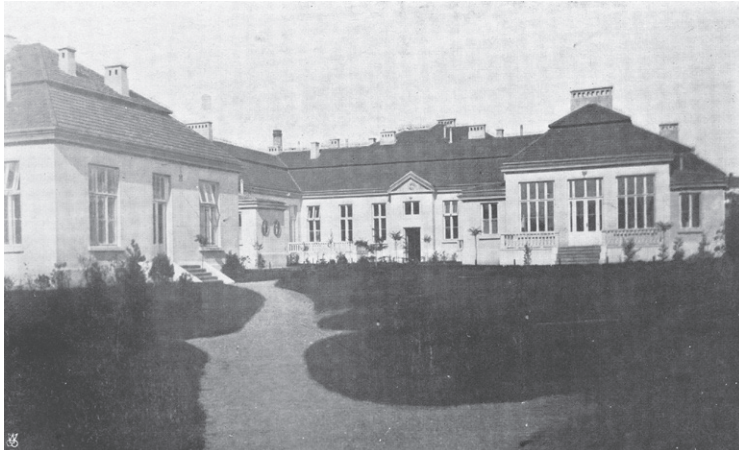
- the hospital was built in the pavilion system, with some hospital pavilions designated for the treatment of infectious patients and some for non-infectious patients; outbuildings were located between the infectious and the non-infectious sections to allow accessing them was from the “infectious” and “non-infectious” sides.
- treatment of children with a single infectious disease was limited to one pavilion: a system of individual isolation based on separate cubicles operated inside the pavilions
- an observation pavilion with cubicles was constructed specifically for patients suspected of infectious diseases as yet undiagnosed,
- a system for dividing patients into potentially infectious and non-infectious as soon as patients enter the outpatient clinic from the street,
- appropriate arrangement of pavilions and hospital roads so that infectious and non-infectious patients do not meet.

4 J. Brudziński, *Szpital im. Karola i Maryi dla dzieci (Urządzenia i zarządzenia, związane z zapobieganiem chorobom zakaźnym)*, “Przegląd Pediatryczny” 6 (1914), pp. 97–143;

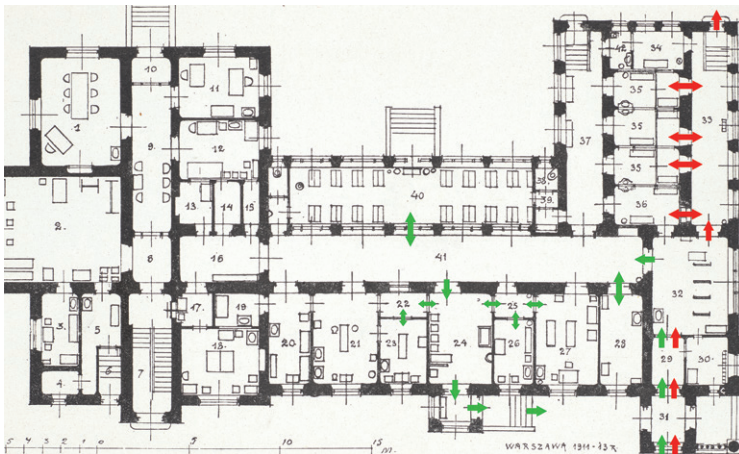
J. Brudziński, *Organizacja pracy lekarskiej w szpitalu im. Karola i Maryi dla dzieci w Warszawie*, “Przegląd Lekarski” (1914), No. 2: p. 28; No. 3: p. 41; No. 4: p. 48.

5 J. Brudziński, *Słów kilka o postępach szpitalnictwa dziecięcego*, “Czasopismo Lekarskie” 1 (1905), pp. 62–66.

6 W. Szenajch, *Józef Brudziński*, “Gazeta Lekarska 3 (1918), pp. 17–22.



1. General view of the hospital



2. Plan of ambulatory building



3. Sorting plant

The fight against nosocomial infections started in Karol and Maria Hospital for Children in Warsaw as soon as a child was referred to the hospital, and followed the plan developed by Brudziński.

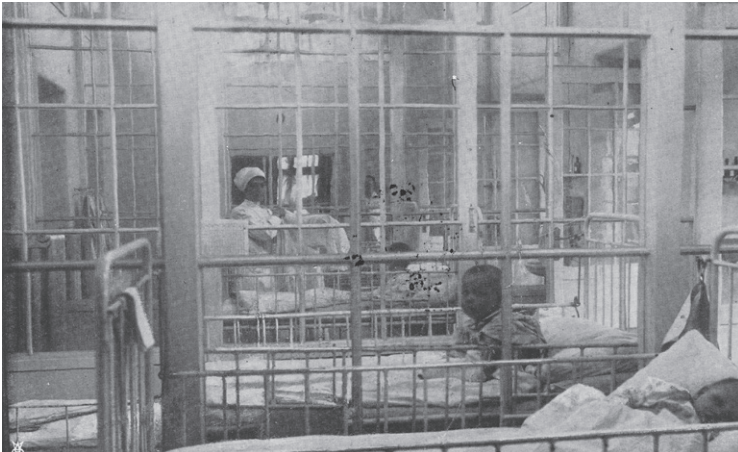
The outpatient clinic, whose plan is shown in Figure 2, was used to admit patients. Its building was set back from other pavilions, and was entered directly from the street. Before the child was allowed to enter the hospital, the nurse on duty asked through the window if the child had some rash and if the mother suspected any infectious disease. In case of such suspicion being confirmed, the child was immediately taken to a special isolation ward with the entrance from the outside (isolation wards are described in greater detail below), where they awaited an appointment with a physician. Other patients (along with their mother or caregiver) entering the outpatient clinic were directed to an area called sorting room [Figure 3] or a waiting room with cubicles [No. 32 in Figure 2]. Each cubicle was occupied by only one patient with an accompanying caregiver. It was still in the cubicle that the nurse, after taking the history, and examining the patient's skin and throat, decided which of the patients was suspected of having an infectious disease. Such patients were directed along the infectious path [red arrows in Figure 2]: first along a special corridor [No. 33 in Figure 2] to the isolation rooms [Nos 35 and 36 in Figure 2], where they waited to be examined by a physician. The physician entered the isolation ward through another entrance (different from the one for the patients), from the clean corridor [No. 37 in Figure 2]. On entering the isolation ward, the physician put on an apron, and another one on entering the isolation room. The latter was left in the isolation room after patient examination.

Having been examined by the physician, an infectious patient did not return through the isolation room, but was directed along another corridor to the exit straight into the street designated for infectious patients [No. 33 in Figure 2]. In turn, the patients who required a stay in the hospital were directed along a special route to the appropriate infectious pavilion.

Patients considered non-infectious were directed from the sorting plant along the non-infectious path [green arrows in Figure 2] – along the non-infectious corridor [No. 41 in Figure 2] to the waiting room [No. 40 in Figure 2] arranged into a glazed veranda with benches for two, designated for the child and the mother; the benches were scattered throughout the waiting room to minimize the risk of contact between patients. To avoid walking across the entire waiting room, toilets were provided at both ends. In the waiting room, there was a fountain letting children drink



4. Summer waiting room



5. Isolatory cubicles

water without using cups. In summer, children could go out into the garden, which served as a summer waiting room [Figure 4], through the balcony door.

Doors from the waiting room led to four doctor's surgeries: two for internal medicine [Nos 26 and 27 in Figure 2], one for throat, nose, ear, and eye patients [No. 28 in Figure 2], and one for surgical patients [No.23 in Figure 2]. There was also an operating theatre [No. 21 in Figure 2], a plaster dressing room [No. 20 in Figure 2], and a sterilisation room [No. 19 in Figure 2]. Having received medical advice, children left the outpatient clinic without passing through the common waiting room.

In addition, the outpatient clinic housed an orthopedic unit [No. 2 in Figure 2] with instruments for the treatment of spinal curvature and other body deformities, and a light therapy room [No. 6 in Figure 2] with a separate entrance and changing room.

In the non-infectious pavilions housing the internal and surgical wards, there were 4 cubicles, or glazed rooms, each with a separate window [Figure 5]. Each newly arrived child was placed in a cubicle. Children were only moved to the general room after they were deemed to have no infectious disease. Each ward had separate entrances for patients and for the medical staff. Each pavilion also had a light therapy room with a quartz lamp and a room intended for the "hopeless cases", which allowed to isolate children in terminal condition, so as to "spare the other children's emotions". Each ward had 2 bathrooms, toilets, washrooms, a handy kitchenette, and dirty linen rooms. Surgical and internal wards had day-care rooms designed for recovering patients. Each room in the ward had its own easily accessible terrace, where the children could move to in good weather.

The observation pavilion consisted of five isolation wards: glazed rooms with an upper window for ventilation. Children entered each isolation ward from the outside, through a heated vestibule with a bathtub. There was a washbasin and handy utensils such as a thermometer, a can of cotton wool, etc. in each isolation ward, apart from the obvious bed and table. Another entrance led to each isolation ward from the clean corridor, which ran on the side opposite to the vestibule and was only intended for hospital staff. The corridor was equipped with a container of disinfectant fluid for disinfecting hands after leaving the isolation ward and a shoe wiping station. The pavilion was designed as an "independent hospital within a hospital": it had a handy kitchenette, a washroom, a dirty linen room, a storeroom for linen, etc., as well as a small operating theatre only intended for the patients of the pavilion. The pavilion also

featured a doctor's surgery, a nurse's room, and a dedicated bathroom and toilet. All in order to reduce the number of contacts and the potential of transmission.

Pavilions for the treatment of specific infectious diseases such as diphtheria and scarlet fever were designed to be largely self-sufficient, which means they all had small surgical rooms. Here, great attention was paid to preventing transmission of the infection by doctors and nurses. While leaving the pavilion, both the doctor and the nurse left their clothes in the room, changed into a white coat and went to the washroom. Only there, after taking a bath, they changed into clean clothes. Parents could visit their hospitalised children once a week, but each time only after taking a history of infectious diseases at home. If a family were diagnosed with an infectious disease, admission to the ward was prohibited.

The hospital kept strict records of all cases of nosocomial infections, which were reviewed and regularly discussed to prevent further incidents.

Discussion

It is important to remember that the history of hospitals exclusively for children had been very short before 1913. Hospitals for adults only opened rooms for treating sick children and small hospitals for children opened in private apartments only early in the 19th century⁷. The first hospital in Europe designed to treat children and not just to care for them was established in Paris in 1802. It had not been until the second half of the 19th century that hospitals for children were commonly built in most European countries and in North America. In Poland, the first such hospital was established in Lviv in 1845. By 1908, about 200 hospitals for children had been built worldwide⁸.

Quite naturally, the builders of hospitals for children could rely on the experience gleaned from hospitals for adults, but the specificity of children's diseases suggested that the solutions that worked in hospitals for adults did not necessarily work in a hospital designed to treat children only⁹.

7 S. Radbill, *A history of children's hospitals*, "The American Journal of Diseases of Children" 90 (1955) No. 4, pp. 411–416.

8 A. Marek, *Szpitala dziecięce w Europie 1802–1908*, "Medycyna Nowożytna" 13 (2006), pp. 79–92.

9 P. W. Smith, K. Watkins, A. Hewlett, *Infection control through the ages*, "American Journal of Infection Control" 40 (2012) No. 1, pp. 35–42.

The solutions proposed in the Karol and Maria Hospital for Children in Warsaw, which was Warsaw's third hospital dedicated exclusively to the treatment of children, were the result of plentiful study tours taken by its founder and first Chief Physician, professor Józef Brudziński, who among others visited hospitals and treatment facilities for children in Paris, Graz, Vienna, Wrocław (Breslau), London, Berlin, and Budapest¹⁰.

The first solutions to reduce nosocomial infections were applied in 1869, when Karl Rauchfuss, a Russian pediatrician, built the Prince Oldenburg Children's Hospital in St Petersburg based on the pavilion system, placing children with infectious diseases in separate pavilions. Since then, the system was employed in all newly established European hospitals for children¹¹.

Reducing the hazard of children infecting one another throughout the hospital, the pavilion system did not solve the problem of patient isolation. Numerous cases with undetermined diagnosis of infectious diseases, cases with mixed infections, and children admitted to the hospital in the initial stage of infectious diseases remained a major problem. New solutions were sought. One of them, applied for the first time in France, was to isolate patients inside pavilions. Attempts were made to introduce separate rooms, or glass or mesh screens separating patients. Moreover, cubicle systems were introduced to enable total (closed cubicles, i.e. small, glazed rooms) or partial (various types of separators between beds) isolation of patients inside the room¹².

On the other hand, the barrier system was widely used in London. It relied on separation of the patient's bed by means of a band or just a large distance between the beds, and the use of only sterilised household items by patients. Yet all these systems made use of common ventilation systems, usually based on holes in the windowpanes. That resulted from the conviction that infectious diseases were commonly transmitted through direct or indirect person-to-person contact. On the other hand, infection "through the air" was only deemed possible within a small space around the patient¹³.

It can be assumed that the Karol and Maria Hospital for Children in Warsaw concentrated, like a lens, the most modern ideas of European

10 W. Szenajch, *Józef Brudziński*, footnote 5.

11 A. Marek, *Szpitalne dziecięce*, footnote 7.

12 J. Brudziński, *O szpitalnictwie dziecięcym w Paryżu*, "Medycyna" 20 (1900), pp. 468–472.

13 J. Brudziński, *O szpitalnictwie w Londynie*, "Medycyna" 25 (1900), pp. 595–597.

hospital design that were verified by the critical and practical mind of Józef Brudziński. In 1923, the Karol and Maria Hospital for Children in Warsaw was named “Thopital modele” by Dr Jean Comby, editor-in-chief of “Archives de Medicinedes Enfants” monthly, and as such became known to all involved in hospital treatment of children. In the first decade of its operation, it was visited by several thousand people from different countries¹⁴.

Józef Brudziński enjoyed the recognition of not only fellow Poles but also foreigners, as evidenced by the fact that the Association Internationale de Pediatrie entrusted him with the keynote speech on the prevention of nosocomial infections at the 2nd International Pediatric Congress held in Brussels in 1915.

It is worth noting that all the solutions presented in the hospital were designed before 1918, that is before the Spanish flu pandemic, which caused the death of millions of people around the world. The pandemic also became a turning point for rethinking many solutions in outpatient and hospital healthcare designed to reduce the transmission of infectious diseases¹⁵.

The authors admit to being impressed by many of the solutions introduced in the Karol and Maria Hospital for Children in Warsaw over a century ago, at a time when there was much less knowledge about infectious diseases in children. Even today, many of such solutions are worth applying in contemporary hospitals for children.

14 W. Szenajch, *Józef Brudziński*, footnote 5.

15 B. J. Jester, T. M. Uyeki, A. Patel, L. Koonin, D. B. Jernigan, *100 Years of Medical Countermeasures and Pandemic Influenza Preparedness*, “The American Journal of Public Health” 108 (2018) No. 11, pp. 1469–1472; K. R. Short, K. Kedzierska, C. E. van de Sandt, *Back to the future: Lessons learned from the 1918 influenza pandemic*, “Frontiers in Cellular and Infection Microbiology” 8 (2018), p. 343, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fcimb.2018.00343>.

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Abstract

Adam Bujanowicz, Aleksandra Banaszekiewicz

*Prevention of infections: the Karol and Maria Hospital
for Children, Warsaw, Poland*

The COVID-19 pandemic caused changes in the operation of children's hospitals around the world. The prevention of the spread of infections is one of the most pressing issues faced by everyone involved in medical care. The following article reminds what the Karol and Maria Hospital for Children in Warsaw opened in 1913 did to prevent nosocomial infections. At the time, this hospital was one of the most modern in Europe, and the solutions it offered were welcomed with admiration and amazement. Even if not widely used, many of them seem relevant today.

Keywords:

nosocomial infection, hospital

Abstrakt

Adam Bujanowicz, Aleksandra Banaszekiewicz

Zapobieganie zakażeniom:

Szpital Dziecięcy im. Karola i Marii w Warszawie

Pandemia COVID-19 spowodowała zmiany w funkcjonowaniu szpitali dziecięcych na całym świecie. Zapobieganie rozprzestrzenianiu zakażeń jest jednym z najbardziej naglących problemów, z którymi spotyka się opieka medyczna. W poniższym artykule chcemy przypomnieć, w jaki sposób usiłowano zapobiegać zakażeniom wewnątrzszpitalnym w Szpitalu dla Dzieci im. Karola i Marii w Warszawie, otwartym w 1913 roku. Szpital ten był wówczas jednym z najbardziej nowoczesnych w Europie, a rozwiązania w nim proponowane budzą podziw i zdumienie. Wiele z nich nadal wydaje się być użytecznych, chociaż nie stosuje się ich powszechnie.

Słowa kluczowe:

zakażenia wewnątrzszpitalne, szpital

David Radek

ORCID <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4267-341X>

Silesian University in Opava

Heretics as devil's servants. The construction of religious otherness in Silesian historiographical sources from the late Middle Ages

The death of Wenceslas IV King of Bohemia in August 1419 and the subsequent outbreak of the Hussite revolution in Bohemia can without a greater doubt be considered an event that fundamentally transformed the space of the Silesian principalities of the late Middle Ages¹. At the time of the outbreak of the Hussite revolution, the Silesian principalities already belonged to the Bohemian Crown for several decades and they were connected to the actual Kingdom of Bohemia by a wide range of political, social, and economic ties. Despite these bonds, Silesian society did not manifest a more distinct interest in the reform teachings of Jan (John) Hus and his followers, and took a reserved stance towards Hussitism from the beginning, which after the radicalisation of the situation in Bohemia resulted in open resistance to the Bohemian Reformation. In the 1420s and 1430s, Silesia became the refuge for many exiles from Bohemia, whether clergymen or Catholic burghers. Several important tractates and polemic

1 For key information on the Hussite revolution, see: F. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 1–4, Praha 1995–1996.

writings with Hussite teachings also come from the Silesian milieu, which testifies to the significant antipathy to the Hussites. The negative stance towards the Hussites was confirmed in 1420, when the papal legate declared the first crusade against the Hussites in Wrocław, the most important Silesian city and the informal centre of the Silesian principalities. All the Silesian dukes and princes sided with Sigismund of Luxembourg, the new King of Bohemia, whom they also supported militarily during the first crusade. Representatives of the Silesian dukes and princes also watched the hasty coronation of Sigismund of Luxembourg at Prague Castle in 1420, which was the only success of the first crusade, as it was defeated by the Hussites. In the following years, the Silesians also took active part in battles against the Hussites but, considering the situation in Bohemia and the gradual consolidation of the Hussite side, they were steadily forced into the defensive and themselves had to face the attacks of Hussite armies in Silesia in the second half of the 1420s. The military weakness of the Silesian dukes and princes fully manifested itself in 1428, when the Hussites undertook a large expedition against Silesian principalities. The local defensive structures could not withstand the pressure of the Hussite divisions, and the Hussites looted a large number of Silesian towns without much difficulty. The following Hussite expeditions pacified the Silesian dukes and, in the early 1430s, they already controlled majority of Silesian territory. The local dukes usually preferred to agree to armistices with Hussite armies. The situation only changed after the Battle of Lipany in 1434, where the radical wing of the Hussite armies was defeated, and some Silesian garrisons immediately withdrew to Bohemia. The remaining Hussite divisions in Silesia were paid off by the Silesian dukes and the town of Wrocław, and also left Silesia².

The repeated defeats of the Silesian troops by the Bohemian Hussites became etched into the local collective memory and became a cornerstone of Silesian identity for many decades, which in the 15th century stood firmly on the side of Roman orthodoxy and was completely opposed

2 For the reaction of the Silesian duchies to Hussitism and the Hussite Wars in Silesia, see: the earlier but still valuable today work – C. Grünhagen, *Die Hussitenkämpfe der Schlesier*, Breslau 1872, pp. 10–37. For a new perspective, see M. Čapský, D. Prix, *Slezsko v pozdním středověku (do roku 1490)*, in: *Slezsko v dějinách českého státu*, vol. 1: *Od pravěku do roku 1490*, ed. by Z. Jirásek, Praha 2012, pp. 338–367.

to the Bohemian Reformation³. Although earlier Polish historiography, mainly under the influence of Marxism, tried to prove the sympathy of at least part of the Silesian population for Hussitism, modern research has repeatedly demonstrated that there is no evidence for stronger sympathies, and the Silesian society had no understanding for the teachings of Jan Hus⁴. More reasons why that was the case can be found. First, Silesia was part of a different diocese than Bohemia and Moravia. The Diocese of Wrocław traditionally belonged to the Archdiocese of Gniezno, where the situation was quite unlike in the Archdiocese of Prague. Konrad of Oleśnica Bishop of Wrocław also played a key role, as he opposed the ideas of Jan Hus from the outset, and took a number of measures to prevent the spread of Hussite ideas in 1420. These measures turned out to be successful, and the Hussite idea of church reform was misunderstood in Silesian⁵. Undoubtedly, the differences between the economies of Silesia on the one hand, and Bohemia and Moravia as well as between the nations also played a role: Hussite ideas spread primarily among the Czech-speaking population, while Silesia was predominately the German-speaking⁶. The brunt of the Hussite Wars coupled with the fear of the Hussites had a strong influence in Silesia throughout the 15th century. The article attempts to explain how this fear was reflected in the Silesian historiography of the 15th century, and how the local chroniclers perceived Hussitism, and how they constructed the religious identity of the Hussites and their allies.

The reasons why the Hussites became so significantly inscribed into the collective memory of Silesia cannot be explained solely by military developments that affected Silesian territory in the latter half of the 1420s and in the early 1430s. In the Silesian history but also generally in the history of the lands of the Bohemian Crown, Hussitism is a unique event

- 3 The question of Silesian identity in the monitored period was recently dealt with by W. Mrozowicz, *Regional identity in Silesia (until 1526)*, in: *The Long Formation of the Region Silesia (c. 1000–1526)*, ed. by P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2013, pp. 215–237.
- 4 An overview of the Polish historiography was summarised by W. Iwańczak, *Táborité v polské historiografii 19. a začátku 20. století*, “Husitský Tábor” 12 (1999), pp. 69–75.
- 5 See B. Zilynská, *Synodální opatření proti husitům v diecézích širší střední Evropy*, in: *Ve znamení Koruny české. Sborník k šedesátým narozeninám prof. PhDr. Lenky Bobkové*, CSc., eds. L. Březina, J. Konvičná, J. Zdichynec, Praha 2006, pp. 265–288.
- 6 R. Žerelik, *Dzieje Śląska do 1526 roku*, in: *Historia Śląska*, ed. by M. Czapliński, Wrocław 2007, pp. 98–101.

that has no parallel in the centuries leading up to it. Hussitism was mainly the first significant encounter with religious otherness, or – to use its contemporary term – with heresy. Although reports on the existence of Waldensian communities in Bohemia and Beguines in Silesia already in the 14th century exist, the influence of such groups was marginal, and they were severely persecuted by the Inquisition. A study of Silesian narrative sources from the time returns hardly any reflection on or reaction to them. The existence of these communities is only known thanks to several preserved sources on the activity of the Inquisition⁷. The impact of Hussitism on Silesian society is also corroborated by the influence of Hussitism and the military events associated with it on most of the Silesian narrative and 15th-century historiographical sources, including the most diverse minor annals kept in the Silesian monasteries. The Racibórz Chronicle, a minor annal written in the second half of the 15th century in Racibórz in Upper Silesia mainly depicting events in the town can serve as an example. However, its unknown author considered it important to record that the “arch-heretics” (*archiheretici*) Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague were burnt at the stake in 1415⁸.

Although the direct threat to Silesia from the Hussites ceased in the mid-1430s, as their radical wing was defeated at the Battle of Lipany and the remaining groups focused on consolidation in Bohemia rather than incorporating lands of the Bohemian Crown, the fear and resistance to Hussitism in Silesia continued and even intensified. This fact is also proved by the narrative sources from the second half of the 15th century. For instance, browsing through the chronicle of Peter Eschenloer, *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*, that is the history of Wrocław, you discover that although the chronicle describes the events from 1439 to 1479, its main axis is the struggle against the Hussites, personified particularly by the figure of the Bohemian king George of Poděbrady. As explained

7 On the persecution of heretics in the 14th century in the Czech lands, see: A. Patčowsky, *Bludiště pravé víry: Sektáři, kacíři a reformátoři ve středověkých Čechách*, Praha 2018, pp. 33–73. Inquisition sources were edited, see *Proces beginek świdnickich w 1332 roku. Studia historyczne i edycja łacińsko-polska*, ed. by P. Kras, T. Gałuszka OP, A. Poznanski, Lublin 2017. See also J. Szymański, *Ruchy heretyckie na Śląsku w XIII i XIV wieku*, Katowice–Kraków 2007.

8 *Ratiborer Chronik* (ed. by A. Weltzel), “Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens” 4 (1862), p. 116. Jerome was in fact burnt at the stake a year later, in 1416, see: F. Šmahel, *Život a dílo Jeronýma Pražského*, Praha 2010, pp. 85–91.

below, other contemporary Silesian chronicles were also written in the same fashion, to mention Caspar Borgen's "Annales Glogovienses"⁹ and Johannes Froben's Chronicle of Namysłów ("Annales Namslavienses").

The increased attention paid to the Hussites resulted from the developments that took place in Silesia in the early 1450s. After long years of anarchy in the interregnum after the death of Albert II of Habsburg (d. 1439), the lands of the Bohemian Crown only had a new king, Albert's son Ladislaus the Posthumous, in 1453. Nevertheless, the main figure of Bohemian politics was George of Poděbrady, a Calixtine aristocrat and leading representative of the Utraquist Party. Thanks to his clever policies, he could rely on the support of some Catholic nobility. After the untimely death of Ladislaus the Posthumous (d. 1457), it was none other but George of Poděbrady who was elected King of Bohemia¹⁰. The new king won recognition in Bohemia and Moravia without major opposition, yet he encountered strong opposition in Silesia not only from the Wrocław burghers but also from the dukes, who had significant reservations against a "heretic" on the throne. After several months of negotiations, George of Poděbrady reached agreements with most of the Silesian dukes, who subsequently recognised him their sovereign. In spite of the above, the city of Wrocław posed a problem, and George of Poděbrady was unable to force it to pay homage even through military campaigns waged against the proud city since 1459. Conciliatory arrangements allowing Wrocław burghers to postpone paying homage for three years were only made thanks to the mediation of the Papal Curia. Yet several years later, Pope Pius II (d. 1464) changed his position on the Bohemian sovereign, which also found reflection in Silesia because subsequent to the change of the papal policy Wrocław stopped paying its homage. On the contrary, the proud city on the Odra River welcomed the formation of an opposition against George of Poděbrady (Confederacy of Zelena Hora) in Bohemia, and in the late 1460s stood firmly on the side of the challengers of the

9 Caspar Borgen was determined to be the author of the "Annales Glogovienses" by P. Knoetel, *Der Verfasser der "Annales Glogovienses"*, "Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens" 22 (1888), pp. 94–109.

10 The circumstances accompanying the election of George of Poděbrady have been described, see: R. Urbánek, *Věk poděbradský*, vol. 3, Praha 1930, pp. 223–280; P. Čornej, M. Bartlová, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české*, vol. 6: 1437–1526, Praha–Litomyšl 2007, pp. 152–162; V. Filip, K. Borchardt, *Schlesien, Georg von Podiebrad und die römische Kurie*, Würzburg 2005, pp. 81–99.

Bohemian monarch¹¹. There are no greater doubts that the main reason behind the apathy of Wrocław burghers was the confession of the Bohemian king, which they considered heretical while their king could not be “a heretic”. Peter Eschenloer, in his history of the city of Wrocław, repeatedly emphasised the fact that the king had to profess Roman orthodoxy, because only that could ensure the necessary legitimacy of his rule. After the outbreak of the Second Hussite War and the start of conflict between the Hungarian monarch Matthias Corvinus with the Czech lands, Wrocław immediately took the side of the Hungarian ruler and recognised him its sovereign even prior to his election as King of Bohemia in 1469. The resistance to the Bohemian heretics did not change even with the death of George of Poděbrady in 1471 and the accession of Vladislaus II to the Bohemian throne. Only late in the 15th century, after Matthias Corvinus died (1490), did the tension between Wrocław and the Bohemian milieu lessen¹².

A look into the Silesian life and institutions clearly demonstrates that various religious confession could cause significant fear in the late Middle Ages. That fear was fuelled in the Silesian metropolis by radical preachers, among others the famous John of Capistrano, who preached in Wrocław in 1453, the main topic of his sermons unsurprisingly being the Bohemian Hussitism coupled with the promotion of the war against the Turks and alongside sermons aimed against the Jews, which led to an widespread pogrom of the local Jewish community. Other preachers dominating the Wrocław pulpits in the 1450s included Nicholas Tempelfeld and Bartholomew Tempelfeld¹³.

It is not necessary to demonstrate more clearly that the rigidly anti-Hussite position of a part of Silesian society resulted from the fear of religious otherness. The deeper roots of the fear were closely connected to the importance of what the medieval society recognised as heresy. For the medieval society, heresy, or religious otherness, represented

11 V. Filip, K. Borchartt, *Schlesien, Georg von Podiebrad*, pp. 81–99.

12 Other than the aforementioned works, on the history of Silesia see also: R. Žerelik, *Dzieje Śląska do 1526 roku*, pp. 98–118.

13 M. Čapský, *Město pod vládou kazatelů. Charizmatičtí náboženští vůdci ve střetu s městskou radou v pozdně středověkých českých korunních zemích*, Praha 2015, pp. 79–104. See also: G. Roth, ‘Wider die Anfechtungen der Ketzer’. Nikolaus Tempelfelds Traktat *Ordo nature et rationis in der Übersetzung durch Peter Eschenloer. Edition und Erläuterungen*, “Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung” 69 (2020), pp. 209–254.

a fundamental threat, because it was considered a threat to Christian values that played an essential role in the thinking of the contemporary people. Heretics had been considered enemies of Christ and members of the *civitas diaboli* standing in opposition to Augustine's *civitas dei* already in the days of St Augustine. Although the heresy contemporary to St Augustine was in many regards different from the heretical movements of the late Middle Ages, his conclusions on the subject remained valid at the close of the Middle Ages, when they were considered the fundamental starting point for interpretations. Above all, the saint's claim that heretics belong to the *civitas diaboli* played a significant role in the minds of late medieval intellectuals¹⁴. Augustine's reflections on the nature of heresy was also a strong inspiration for the Bohemian reformer Jan Hus, who, paradoxically, was considered a heretic by the Catholic Church¹⁵.

Already Jean Delumeau, who introduced the issue of fear into historiography, drew attention to the fact that an increased fear of the devil, according to the contemporary, intervening significantly with events in this world, can be observed in the late Middle Ages. According to Delumeau, the transformation was undoubtedly related to the plague that affected Europe in the 14th century and to a great extent altered the Europeans' mental world¹⁶. Although the lands of the Bohemian Crown lay on the edges of the plague epidemic and, at least in the first years of the plague in Europe, were not more seriously affected, the situation changed in the second half of the 14th century as the plague also infested the lands of the Bohemian Crown. In the following years, it kept returning but in gentler forms. For instance, the reports from 1452 speak of the spread of the plague in Upper Silesia, more specifically in the principality of Racibórz, and in the Silesian-Polish borderland. It cannot be ruled out that also Nicholas V Duke of Racibórz died of the plague¹⁷. In the eyes of late me-

14 C. Bruschi, P. Biller, *Text and the Repression of medieval Heresy: Introduction*, in: *Text and the Repression of medieval Heresy*, ed. by C. Bruschi, P. Biller, York 2002, pp. 4–5.

15 Jan Hus, *Knížky o svatokupectví*, ed. by J. Hrabák, Praha 1954, pp. 20–22.

16 Delumeau, *Strach na západě ve 14. – 18. století*, part 2: *Obležená obec*, Praha 1999, pp. 54–79.

17 Reports on the plague and the death of Nicholas V can be found in the Ratibor Annals: *Ratiborer Chronik* (ed. by A. Weltzel), p. 118. It must be added that the chronicler mentioned the two events separately, so it is not certain whether Nicholas V really died of the plague.

dieval people, the plague was certainly God's way of punishing mankind for their sins, and for many of the contemporaries it was an irrefutable proof of devil's work.

The plague was not the only proof of the devil's activity in the world, and a number of examples to the contrary can be found in late medieval sources. In sources associated with Hussitism, whether sermons, theological treatises, or other literature, you find the topic of the devil returning very frequently, and Hussite intellectuals were firmly convinced about his influence on contemporary events. To Hussite scholars, irrefutable evidence for the devil meddling in the affairs of this world were the papal schism and the state of the Church as such early in the 15th century. A typical example comes in the works of Jan Hus, who did not doubt the devil's influence on the contemporary Church, and the society at large. According to Hus, one of the greatest transgressions of the late medieval Church was the sales of indulgences, which he addressed extensively in his sermons. He also dealt thoroughly with the subject in his later work, written at a time when he could no longer preach in the Bethlehem Chapel and lived in exile outside of Prague. His text suggests that the main cause of selling indulgences was the devil, who spread the practice among the people who, according to Hus, will in turn spread it until the end of the world¹⁸. Another example comes in Jan Želivský, a radical Prague preacher, whose preserved sermons allow to find frequent references to the devil and his works in the contemporary world. Želivský naturally found his proofs mainly in the activity and functioning of the Church¹⁹.

Catholic authors quite obviously shared the conviction of the devil's work in the world, yet in their opinion these were the heretics, notably Hussites, who served the devil. It was precisely Hussitism they considered the proof of the devil's activity. The conviction was shared not only by the authors of theological tractates, who argued against Hus and his followers, to mention Ludolf von Sagan an abbot from Silesia, but it was adopted also by authors of contemporary chronicles who were not necessarily part of the ecclesiastical milieu²⁰. In Silesia, their number includes

18 Jan Hus, *Knižky o svatokupectví*, p. 57. On Hus's activity in exile in the country, see: P. Soukup, *Jan Hus. Život a smrt kazatele*, Praha 2015, pp. 149–159.

19 *Výzva Jana Želivského. Výbor z kázání*, ed. by A. Molnár, Praha 1954, pp. 28–29.

20 On Ludolf von Sagan, see the extensive work by F. Machilek, *Ludolf von Sagan und seine Stellung in der Auseinandersetzung um Konziliarismus und Hussitismus*, München 1967.

Peter Eschenloer, the municipal scribe in Wrocław, and Johannes Froben, a municipal scribe in Namysłów. The conviction that religious otherness, or, to use the terms used at the time “heresy”, was firmly linked to the devil was shared by most medieval people, while the fact that heresy originated from the devil was one of the fundamental stereotypes linked to religious differences. It has already been pointed out many times that the descriptions of heretics in medieval chronicles hardly ever depict the contemporary reality as they are often based on *topoi* and stereotypes that the medieval society attributed to heretics²¹. As stated above, one of the basic stereotypes was to seek the origin of heresy with the devil, a source from which other alleged traits of heretics were also derived. A typical sign was hubris and stubbornness: attributes traditionally associated with the devil. Another popular stereotype was the question of sexual morality, as contemporary authors often spoke of the intensified sexuality of heretics, which allegedly deviated from norms. Other stereotypes worth mentioning include insidiousness, treachery, and other negative qualities. In general, the authors from period attributed to heretics a wide range of transgressions against contemporary conventions and morals²².

How then did Silesian chroniclers construct the heretics of their time and what narrative means did they use? The Silesian historiography of the 15th century comprises mainly minor chronicles and annals, which predominantly served to capture the events of the time, and their authors did not follow any elaborated concepts. This claim mainly applies to the chroniclers whose works cover the Hussite Wars, that is the first decades of the 15th century. One of them is the chronicle of Sigmund Rosicz, a Wrocław clergyman, who most likely died in 1470 and left several autobiographical notes on the pages of his work. It is generally assumed that he was between sixty and seventy years of age at the time of his death, which means that he lived his whole adult life in the shadow of the Hussite threat. Yet, his chronicle holds no major description of the Hussite heresy. In his eyes, the Hussites were the enemy, and he referred to them mainly

21 For more detail, see: H. Grundmann, *Der Typus des Ketzers in mittelalterlicher Anschauung*, in: *Kultur- und Universalgeschichte: Walter Goetz zu seinem 60. Geburtstage*, Leipzig–Berlin 1927, pp. 91–107.

22 See also: E. Potkowski, *Stereotyp heretyka-innowiercy w piśmiennictwie kaznodziejskim*, in: *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, ed. by B. Gremek, Wrocław 1978, pp. 121–135.

as heretics²³. The image of the Hussites in the work of Sigmund's contemporary, Martin of Bolkenheim, is constructed in a similar manner, as he perceived the Hussites as enemies and heretics²⁴. The already mentioned *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau* by Peter Eschenloer is a work of a different type. Its author wrote his chronicle not only to capture the past events but he started from a clearly stated concept justifying the steps taken by Wrocław against George of Poděbrady. His chronicle played a crucial role in the town's collective memory, which is proved by the fact that a special copy of the chronicle was deposited at the Wrocław Townhall to serve as a reminder of Wrocław's resistance against the heretic king²⁵. The main tenet of the chronicle is the explanation of the position taken by the Wrocław burghers, who refused to recognise George of Poděbrady as their monarch. According to Peter Eschenloer, they were right because, in his eyes, George of Poděbrady was a heretic and thus lost the right to exercise power, and for this reason was incompetent to receive homage²⁶. Speaking of George, he mainly emphasised his pride and obstinacy. The stress on the two traits is characteristic, because medieval scholarship traditionally connected the two with heresy and the devil. Already Lucifer, the first fallen angel, was considered proud and stubborn, which made him unable to escape his delusions. In a similar way, in their pride and obstinacy, medieval heretics were also unable to abandon their misguided and flawed convictions. For example, Peter Eschenloer literally states that George of Poděbrady "...starb auch in seynir keczerey vorstockt"²⁷.

George of Poděbrady was often described through comparisons to animals. Animal symbolism played a significant role in medieval thought, which is also true about the stereotypes and topoi used to describe heretics.

23 *Sigismundi Rosiczii chronica et numerus episcoporum Wratislaviensium itemque gesta diversa transactis temporibus facta in Silesia et alibi. Ab anno C. 1051 usque 1470*, in: *Geschichtschreiber Schlesiens des XV. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by F. Wachter, Breslau 1883, pp. 50–86 (*Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum*, 12).

24 *Chronik des Martin von Bolkenheim*, in: *Geschichtschreiber Schlesiens des XV. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 1–18.

25 See: e.g., W. Iwańczak, *Piotr Eschenloer – świadek epoki*, in: *Tysiąclecie dziedzictwo kulturowe diecezji wrocławskiej*, ed. by A. Barciak, Katowice 2000, pp. 160–170.

26 For more detail, see J. Drabina, *Rola argumentacji religijnej w walce politycznej w późnośredniowiecznym Wrocławiu*, Kraków 1984, pp. 57–71.

27 P. Eschenloer, *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*, part 1: *Chronik bis 1466*, part 2: *Chronik ab 1467*, ed. by G. Roth, New York–München–Berlin 2003, p. 824.

This is how Caspar Borgen, the author of “*Annales Glogovienses*”, spoke of George of Poděbrady:

A.d. 1468 dominus legatus excommunicavit quasdam duces in Slesia quinque, scilicet Przemislaum Wentzeslaum duces superioris, Conradum Album et Conradum Nigrum et Fridericum de Legnitz duces inferiores, quia invocavit eos ut subsidium deberent praestare Wratislaviensibus et aliis principibus et civitatibus contra venenosum draconem Jirsigk.

He recognised the Bohemian king a “tyrannical dragon”, extending the label to the children of the Bohemian king as well. The designation of the Bohemian king as a dragon was highly symbolic. As Michel Pastoureau demonstrated, the dragon was perceived by the medieval people as a symbol of evil and as a diabolical creature²⁸. It is no coincidence that dragons also appeared in the prophecies proclaiming the apocalypse and the coming of the Antichrist. Thus, labelling George of Poděbrady as a “tyrannical dragon”, Caspar Borgen unambiguously indicates that the Bohemian king is one of the devil’s minions, which is also proved by the next sentence “Unus autem exterminare voluit ordinem beatae virginis Mariae, alter omnipotentis dei [ecclesiam] traditam s. Petro”. The author believes that George’s purpose was to destroy the Church of the Almighty God entrusted to St Peter and his successors²⁹.

The belief in the connection between George of Poděbrady and the devil was also shared by Johannes Froben, another Silesian chronicler of the late Middle Ages. At the moment of the king’s death, he wrote a brief note that is telling in many ways:

Georgius von Podebradt, bemisscher ketzzerisscher konig, vnnd N. Rockitczianus, seyn bisschoff zcu Pragaw, jn irsten teyle deszes jares zcu Pragaw gestorben seyn, von der heyligen cristlichen kirchen bey irem leben, auch noch dem tode vordamnt, wurdenn begraben yn der hellenn³⁰.

28 M. Pastoreau, *Dějiny symbolů v kultuře středověkého západu*, Praha 2018, p. 22.

29 All quotes from the “*Annales Glogovienses*”, see *Annales Glogovienses bis z. J. 1493. Nebst urkundlichen Beilagen*, ed. by H. Markgraf, Breslau 1877, pp. 15–16 (*Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum*, 10).

30 I quote after R. Czarnecki, *Kronika Namysłówa autorstwa Johannes Frobena jako utwór dziejopisarstwa miejskiego*, Warszawa 2015, p. 160. See also the extensive analysis of Froben’s chronicle.

Froben pointed out the fact that George died in the same year as the elected archbishop of Prague Jan Rokycana, a representative of the moderate Calixtines, whose position of the archbishop of Prague was never confirmed by the pope, and who was only recognised by the Hussites. Froben did not forget to mention that both were excommunicated from the Holy Church and both would be buried in hell. The mention of burial in hell is characteristic, and the author clearly points to the heretic being a servant of the devil.

Similar descriptions of Bohemians can relatively often be encountered in late medieval chronicles, although most attention was as a rule paid to prominent figures of the Hussite movement, notably Jan Hus and, in the later period, George of Poděbrady and the above-mentioned bishop Rokycana. Medieval authors often perceived heresy as a specific infection that could be contracted like other diseases. Although most of them found it unthinkable that anyone from Silesia, known for its orthodoxy, could become infected with heresy, there were exceptions. A reason for the Silesian chroniclers to pay them much more attention.

A typical example can be the Bolko V Duke of Opole, who lived in approximately in 1400–1460 and already in his life was infamous for his alliance with the Hussite troops that attacked Silesian principalities. Although the cooperation was intermittent and did not even last three years, Silesian chroniclers never forgave Bolko V and therefore the Duke of Opole was always described as a diehard heretic. In the later years of his life, the Duke of Opole most likely never maintained any contacts with the Bohemian Hussites until the coronation of George of Poděbrady as King of Bohemia. He was one of few Silesian dukes and princes supporting the Hussite's election, and advocated for his recognition in Silesia as well. It is unknown whether he did so for religious reasons or perhaps his steps had a different motivation, but modern researches on the life of Bolko seems to confirm that the Duke of Opole was not a Hussite and the Calixtine creed was never part of his faith. More likely, he opted for an alliance with the Hussites, notably supporting George of Poděbrady, for selfish reasons³¹.

The most impressive description of Bolko V was left by Caspar Borgeni on the pages of the “*Annales Glogovienses*”. His work contains a relatively unique description with a similarly extensive description, which, moreover, hints at multiple topoi associated with the medieval view of heretical movements, which cannot be found in his chronicle. Bolko V is drawn

31 See D. Radek, *Bolek V. Opolský. Život a legenda (okolo 1400–1460)*, Opava 2018.

as a typical heretic, with all the signs proper for ones like him in the period context. Especially the description of Bolko's death, which depicts the Duke of Opole as a proud and stubborn heretic, is significant:

Demum infirmabatur et debuit finem suum concludere iuxta dictum commune: Qualis vita, talis finis etc. Misit sellare et praeparare optimum equum duem secum in curia habuit et fecit eum adduci, et dixit se non velle ad infernum invare pedestre, sicut et alii latrones, sed equitare, ut decet dominum. Et sic in illa fantasia mortuus est anno uts...³²

According to the chronicler, at the moment of his death he ordered horses to be brought because he wanted to go to hell on horseback, as befits a lord. We can assume that this remark is not an end in itself, and it was not a chance but the symbolic meaning of the horse that made Caspar Borgenii choose it. It was not only a symbol of Bolko's social status, as the horse in the medieval thought could be considered as an animal with a devilish essence and therefore associated with the devil, so it was quite distinctive for the Duke of Opole to be taken to hell on horseback. This short example also demonstrates another stereotype associated with heretics, widespread and already mentioned above: hubris or obstinacy. According to Caspar Borgenii, the Duke of Opole could not manage to be humble even on his deathbed, which apparently reflected the fact that he was a diehard heretic.

Caspar Borgenii proved the connection with dark forces, or with the devil himself, also in other parts of the text while referring to the developments following the death of the Duke of Opole:

Sepelieruntque eum fratres minores honorifice in ecclesia eorum non curando de excommunicatione, quia quod diabolus abhorret hoc monachus ausus est facere. Sed monachi nullam requiem habuerunt die noctuque. Percipiensque hoc episcopus Wratislaviensis praecepit eum extumulare et eum in loco sibi competenti sepelire, ut decet excommunicatum sepelire. Quod factum est, et sic monachi habuerunt pacem et requiem³³.

The Głogów chronicler stated that Bolko V had been buried by the Franciscans in Głogówek, where he lived. However, considering the character

32 *Annales Glogovienses bis z. J. 1493*, pp. 26–27.

33 *Annales Glogovienses bis z. J. 1493*, pp. 26–27.

of the Duke of Opole, it was not a good step and the restless spirit of Bolko returned to the world of the living and frightened the local friars. The situation was not resolved until the arrival of the bishop of Wrocław, who had Bolko's body exhumed and buried in unconsecrated ground, as befits a heretic.

The motifs of the alliance of the Duke of Opole with the devil and dark powers was also used by the Wrocław chronicler Peter Eschenloer. This is how he described the monarch's death:

Am dinstag vor Pfingsten was ein grawsam gewitter öbir die gancz Slesia, es filen steine als die gense eyr, als die enten eyr, diser hagil tat grossen schaden am getreide. Nymant gedocht grawsamer erschrecklichen gewitters, es werete vom morgen bis an andiren tag, dorynnen herczuge Bolko der grosse keczere star und vorczweifelte an seinen ende³⁴.

According to Peter Eschenloer, when the Duke of Opole was dying, all of Silesia was struck by a large storm, accompanied by hail with hailstones the size of duck eggs falling and causing significant damage to the crops. The storm quietened down once Bolko the "great heretic" had died. The narrative strategy of Peter Eschenloer was not as direct as Caspar Borgen's, yet the tenor of his text was still obvious to his contemporary readers. The author apparently considered Bolko V to be a man who had succumbed to heresy and thus became part of the *civitatis diaboli*. The connection with the devil was also proved by the unnatural natural phenomena that accompanied his death. Eschenloer demonstrated the heresy of the Duke of Opole also elsewhere, where he stated that Bolko V did not believe in the afterlife:

Do Girsik vff Mittfaste zu Glacz was, hulte jm der herczog Bulke von Oppuln. Diser gloubete nicht noch disem leben ein andir leben. Er hatte vormols keinem kunig zu Behemen gehult, sunder diser was jm eben gloübig³⁵.

Here, too, the meaning of the author's words is evident – by questioning a fundamental part of the Christian faith, the Duke of Opole became a heretic in the eyes of a contemporary reader. The author's remark hides yet another level linked to his dislike of George of Poděbrady. As indicated

34 P. Eschenloer, *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*, part 1: *Chronik bis 1466*, part 2: *Chronik ab 1467*, p. 349.

35 P. Eschenloer, *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*, p. 243.

above, the basic idea of Eschenloer's work was that it is impossible to pay homage to a heretical king, whom his distinct religious views stripped of legitimacy and the right to rule. The heresy of Bolko V is confirmed precisely by the fact that he dared to take a feudal oath to a heretical king, by which he was made equal to the Bohemian heretics.

The construction of religious otherness on the pages of Silesian chronicles arose to a great extent from the fear that engulfed Silesia during the Hussite Wars and also reflected the general tendency of the late Middle Ages, as it was explained by Jean Delumeau and Robert Muchembled, who drew attention to the boom in the fear of the devil, which spread throughout Europe in the late Middle Ages, mainly as a result of the plague that repeatedly visited European lands³⁶. In the late Middle Ages, the conviction about devil's involvement in the world can be traced throughout the lands of the Bohemian Crown. The devil was a frequent subject both in the treatises of Hussite scholars and of their opponents on the Catholic side. Yet the examples from Silesia clearly demonstrate that proofs of the activity of the devil that were drawn in this way belonged not only to the ecclesiastical milieu and the medieval polemicists, but were a society-wide issue affecting more or less all the social classes.

In the late Middle Ages, Silesians were convinced that the devil was the root of the Hussite heresies and that the Hussites were devil's servants or allies, as the examples analysed above demonstrate. Considering the nature of Silesian historiography of the late Middle Ages, which, with a few exceptions mentioned above, was dominated by briefer annals and not very extensive chronicles, you, unfortunately, have to base your reflections on just three narrative sources, whose authors considered the question of heresy deeper. In their chronicles, Peter Eschenloer, Johannes Froben, and Caspar Borgen presented a colourful picture of Bohemian heretics, built of topoi and period stereotypes that were traditionally associated with heresy in the Middle Ages. The authors of this paper placed particular emphasis on the question of the devilish origin of heresy and the connection between the devil and the heretics themselves: the tendencies manifested most pronouncedly in the descriptions of George of Poděbrady and his followers, and of Bolko V of Opole, a temporary ally of the radical Hussites in the 1430s. Both magnates were perceived as enemies of the Silesians, hardened heretics, and above all servants of the devil.

36 R. Muchembled, *Dějiny ďábla*, Praha 2008, pp. 48–53.

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Abstract

David Radek

Heretics as devil's servants. The construction of religious otherness in Silesian historiographical sources from the late Middle Ages

Since the times of St Augustine, the medieval society was firmly convinced about the connection between heresy and the devil, and heretics were often considered members of the *civitas diaboli*. In the Silesian milieu, a similarly constructed religious identity can be more often encountered in the late Middle Ages, when the society was facing the threat of Hussitism. This was reflected in the works of contemporary chroniclers (e.g., Peter Eschenloer, Caspar Borgen, Johannes Froben, etc.). The descriptions of heretics were created in accordance with the already existing Christian tradition and predominantly consisted of stereotypes and topoi associated with heresy. The paper focuses on the analysis of narrative strategies used by Silesian chroniclers and endeavours to explain how the image of heretics was created, with an emphasis on the role the devil played in these descriptions, therefore it analyses the relationship between heretics and the devil.

Keywords:

heresy, narrative sources, Silesia, Hussitism, Jan Hus

Abstrakt

David Radek

Heretycy jako studzy diabła. Konstrukcja religijnej odmienności w śląskich źródłach historiograficznych późnego średniowiecza

Już od czasów św. Augustyna społeczeństwo średniowieczne było głęboko przekonane o związku herezji z diabłem, a heretyków często uważano za członków *civitatis diaboli*. W środowisku śląskim z podobnie skonstruowaną tożsamością religijną częściej można się spotkać w późnym średniowieczu, kiedy społeczeństwo śląskie stanęło w obliczu zagrożenia husytyzmem. Powyższe znalazło odzwierciedlenie w pracach ówczesnych kronikarzy (np. Petera Eschenloera, Caspara Borgeniego, Johanna Frobenusa i innych). Opisy heretyków tworzone były zgodnie z istniejącą już tradycją chrześcijańską i w przeważającej mierze składały się ze stereotypów i toposów związanych z herezją. Artykuł skupia się na analizie strategii narracyjnych stosowanych przez śląskich kronikarzy i stara się wyjaśnić, w jaki sposób kreowali oni obraz heretyków, z naciskiem na rolę, jaką w tych opisach odgrywał diabeł.

Słowa kluczowe:

herezja, Śląsk, husytyzm, źródła narracyjne, Jan Hus

Konrad Meus

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6865-2174>

Pedagogical University of Krakow

When cordons broke and borders were born... Western Galicia Province in November 1918

The 19th century, referred to by historians as the “long century”, as it lasted from the beginning of the French Revolution (in the case of Poland, to the time of the Partitioning) to the collapse of the “old” European order in the wake of the Great War¹. For Poles living in the Austrian partition, the twilight of the old era came in November 1918, a month that can unquestionably be regarded as the “longest month” of the “long 19th century”. It was a month in which the situation in the counties of Western Galician changed like a kaleidoscope: from euphoria, through critical moments, to relative stability. Nevertheless, there were cities where all these stages occurred simultaneously. However, before the memorable November came, Galicians of Polish nationality had already gained independence in October.

1 See J. Osterhammel, *Historia XIX wieku: przeobrażenie świata*, ed. W. Molik, Poznań 2013, pp. 71–74.

Independence came in October

On 30 April 1937, a law voted by the Polish Parliament only a week earlier came into force, establishing 11 November as Independence Day. Article 1 of this act stated that the day would be “the anniversary of the regaining of the independent state by the Polish Nation”². Since then, 11 November has become the most important date in the calendar of Polish national holidays. The joy of this celebration was only short-lived, as from 1939, for the next half a century, Poles had neither the opportunity nor permission to celebrate this holiday. This changed in February 1989, when the Sejm of the Polish People’s Republic re-established 11 November as the “National Independence Day”. At this point, however, it is worth asking a legitimate question regarding how the actual day was remembered by the people concerned, in this case the inhabitants of the western part of Galicia.

It turns out that Monday 11 November was a day like any other here. People living in Western Galicia were rather concerned with existential problems. One witness to that day is the headmaster of the humanist gymnasium in Wadowice, and at the same time the father of the well-known writer Janina Brzostowska, Jan Doroziński. Under the “memorable” date of 11 November 1918, he noted: “Wadowice swamp – municipal office = profiteer sells flour at 12 k[oronas] each! Bread is still not baked. In Germany, revolution and Bolshevism. Incredibly harsh armistice conditions = English imperialism. Armistice from today”³. His picture of 11 November is completely different from that of 30 October 1918, as he wrote that Galicia was passing into Polish rule. On 1 November, on the other hand, Doroziński made a longer entry, drawn up in a truly enthusiastic tone, which read as follows: “We begin a new life as citizens of the Polish State!!! Universal joy! The Liquidation Commission is beginning to govern – all the eagles are down! Beautiful weather in the morning, nice mood yesterday evening! Pay 1148.25 K + 920 K dearness allowance = 2068.25”⁴. The author’s euphoria was not unjustified, as already by 28 October, a founding meeting of the Polska Komisja Likwidacyjna Galicji i Śląska Cieszyńskiego [Polish Liquidation Commission for Galicia and Cieszyn Silesia, hereafter:

2 Ustawa z dnia 23 kwietnia 1937 r. o Święcie Niepodległości, Dz. U. Nr 33 poz. 255.

3 J. Doroziński, *Dziennik*, ed. G. Studnicki, Wadowice 1998, p. 82 [diary published in the form of a manuscript of a limited edition, the copy used is in the collection of the Wadowice Public Library, ref. No. R9/49546].

4 J. Doroziński, *Dziennik*, ed. G. Studnicki, Wadowice 1998, p. 82.

Polish Liquidation Commission] was held in Kraków, its members envisaging the takeover of the territory of the Austrian partition. Three days after this event, on 31 October, the Commission took full control of Kraków, removing the Austrians from the city. The same day saw the issuing of a mobilisation order for the Polish Army Headquarters in Kraków signed by Bolesław Roja, who at the same time, with the support of the People's Party, became Commander in Chief of the Kraków Army District with the rank of Second Lieutenant General⁵.

Euphoria

The events unfolding in Kraków did not go unchallenged in the Galician counties. The euphoria that prevailed in the cities and towns of Western Galicia found vent not only in memoirs, as in Doroziński's case, but above all in deeds. In fact, as early as the first days of November 1918, and less than a week after the establishment of the Commission in Kraków, information posters announcing the creation of an independent Poland appeared on the walls and fences of Galician cities. At the same time, the inhabitants were informed of the assumption of total power by the local representatives of the Polish Liquidation Commission of Galicia and Cieszyn Silesia, formally recognised as the government of the area. Announcements of this type were found, among others, on the streets of Mielec. Its issuers and signatories, including the president of Polish Liquidation Commission structures in Mielec, Stanisław Łojasiewicz, and his deputy Franciszek Krempa, on the one hand proclaimed the creation of independent Poland, and on the other called for the maintenance of public order and respect for fundamental rights, in a way anticipating the events that were to follow. Their proclamation read:

Compatriots!

A free, united, independent Poland has been established!

At the same time, by the will of the whole county, a county government was formed under the name of the County Polish Liquidation Commission, which assumed authority over all the offices and affairs of the county.

All previous authorities placed themselves under the orders of the Polish

5 H. Korczyk, *Roja Bolesław Jerzy (1870–1940)*, in: *Polski słownik bibliograficzny*, vol. 31, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1988–1989, p. 509; *Narodziny niepodległości w Galicji (1918–1919). Wybór dokumentów z archiwów lwowskich*, ed. by M. Przeniosło, Kielce 2007, pp. 104–105.

Government and continue to hold office under the direction of the County Polish Liquidation Commission. Lieutenant Kazimierz Wierciński was appointed the commander of the army and gendarmerie in the county. The existing gendarmerie, with some changes, continue to serve as Polish gendarmeries; they should be obeyed and helped unconditionally. All deserters from the Austrian army and those on leave in hiding may safely return home. A separate order will be issued by the Polish military authorities regarding their further military status. Order and peace must unconditionally be maintained, and any offence will be severely punished. Personal freedom and respect for other people's property must be respected and guaranteed by all. All taverns must close until further notice, which is to be carried out by the municipal chiefs. Requisitions in favour of foreign countries [i.e., central states – K.M.] shall be abolished. However, in order to avoid starvation among the population of Polish towns and factories, the crops found in the fields must be collected with the help of the local and neighbouring population. Compatriots! At such a great and important moment for the Polish nation, let us throw away all private resentments and all dissensions, and let us stand together in love and harmony to rebuild our homeland, so terribly destroyed by our enemies⁶.

Interestingly, the appeal was dated 2 November 1918 and was probably delivered to the streets of the towns and villages of Mielecki County at that time, while the correspondence, as can be seen from the annotation on the presentation, containing a copy of the announcement was delivered to the Polish Liquidation Commission headquarters in Kraków eight days later, on 10 November⁷. This fact proves that the activities carried out by the Mielec residents took place under the auspices of the Polish Liquidation Commission headquarters, but without its detailed control or top-down instructions.

6 Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv/Центральний Державний Історичний Архів України у Львові [hereafter: CDIAL], fond 211: Polish Liquidation Commission, description 1: Administrative Department, case 158: Appeal of the representation of the county authorities in Mielec to the population on the rebirth of the Polish state, k. 1.

7 CDIAL, fond 211, case 158, k. 1.

Initiatives similar to those seen in Mielec, however, were ostensibly grassroots. Perhaps there even were so, yet only in a tactical sense. In fact, however, as Ludwik Mroczka noted, their initiators received telegraphic orders from Kraków from the local provisional leadership of the Polish Liquidation Commission, which had barely taken control of the historic Polish capital. The call to action, addressed to Galician magistrates and county councils, came at a crucial moment, from 31 October to 4 November, when the permanent composition of the Polish Liquidation Commission was established⁸. The dispatches sent from Kraków included an order to start “the election of representatives by the population in the form of county liquidation commissions or other similar national political-administrative bodies”⁹. At the same time, the manner in which these elections were to be made was not imposed. In this respect, it was left to the discretion of local activists¹⁰. Often, though not always, the county commissions were composed of members of patriotic organisations already active in the region, which were established in the early autumn of 1918 or, as in the case of Nowy Sącz, as early as February. It is worthwhile to point out that such organisations existed in Nowy Targ (Powiatowa Organizacja Narodowa – County National Organisation), Nowy Sącz (Towarzystwo Obrony Obywatelskiej – Civic Defence Society), Sanok (Komitet Samoobrony Narodowej – National Self-Defence Committee), Kęty (Organizacja Narodowa – National Organisation), and also in Jarosław (Organizacja Narodowa – National Organisation)¹¹. In cities where there were no patriotic organisations (or their structures remained rather weak), county committees were appointed ad hoc from local activists¹².

The few days in late October and early November 1918 proved to be crucial in taking control of the cities and towns scattered across Western Galicia. In many cases, the process was carried out in an organised manner. Apart from the aforementioned Mielec, where the local authorities even had a printing press at their disposal (as evidenced by printed announcements), it is worth mentioning the example of Biała (now Bielsko-Biała),

8 L. Mroczka, *Galicji rozstanie z Austrią. Zarys monograficzny*, Kraków 1990, p. 144.

9 L. Mroczka, *Galicji rozstanie z Austrią*, pp. 144–145.

10 L. Mroczka, *Galicji rozstanie z Austrią*, p. 145.

11 L. Mroczka, *Galicji rozstanie z Austrią*, pp. 152–154; M. Tylza-Janosz, *Kto był kim? O kęckich burmistrzach*, in: *Kęty 740: historyczne fundamenty miasta*, eds. R. Bożek, M. Tylza-Janosz, Kęty 2017, p. 73.

12 L. Mroczka, *Galicji rozstanie z Austrią*, pp. 155–157.

where an Executive Committee subordinate to the Kraków Liquidation Commission was established as early as on 1 November. It was headed by prominent representatives of the local community including: Antoni Mikulski, director of the teachers' seminary in Biała (acting as president of the Committee), Waclaw Seidl, a doctor at the sanatorium in Bystra (vice-president), Ignacy Stein, director of the Gimnazjum Realne school (secretary), Daniel Bernard Gross, a domestic lawyer (rapporteur for food matters), secondary school teachers Karol Rybarski (clerk for military affairs and public safety), Józef Braszka (clerk for food affairs), and the only woman in the group, Adela Domanusowa (treasurer) – an activist with the Liga Kobiet Naczelnego Komitetu Narodowego w Białej [Women's League of the Supreme National Committee in Biała]¹³. Besides them, several other locally recognised people were selected to assist the Committee. Almost simultaneously with the establishment of the Executive Committee, in agreement with the magistrates of Bielsko (Austrian Silesia) and Biała (Galicia) and the German Rada Narodowa [National Council] established in Bielsko (sic), a proclamation was issued in Polish and German to the population calling for peace among representatives of both nationalities, and “refraining from all disturbances”¹⁴. On Friday, 1 November, the Polish Committee accepted a declaration of loyalty to the new authorities from Polish officers of the Bielsko 55th Infantry Regiment. The soldiers took over the limited supplies remaining in the local military warehouses. That step enabled the establishment of a Polish militia in Biała, under the command of Lieutenant Bolesław Kański from the 55th Regiment. With such an established position, on Saturday, 2 November, the authorities of the local Polish Liquidation Commission Committee began negotiations with the starost in Biała, persuading him to recognise himself as a Polish official, which he did several hours later. At around 2 pm, he ordered flying the white-and-red flag with the simultaneous removal of the black eagle symbolising Austrian rule¹⁵. Along with the starost's decision, similar steps were taken by the heads of other government offices located in Biała. At the same time as the starost of Biała was taking the decision to recognise the authority of the Liquidation Commission over the county, its representatives visited the mayor to persuade him

13 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 102: Correspondence on the establishment of the Executive Committee in Biała, k. 1.

14 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 102, k. 1.

15 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 102, k. 1.

to follow in the footsteps of the county authorities. The mayor emphasised that he would do so once the Rada Miejska [City Council] had given its approval. On Tuesday 5 November, the Executive Committee received a message back from the Town Hall that the municipality “submits itself to the sovereignty of the Polish State”¹⁶. As the municipal council’s declaration was not followed by any real action, on the following day, the presidium of the Polish Liquidation Commission Committee issued an ultimatum requiring the following five conditions to be fulfilled within the following three days (by the evening of 9 November):

1. The municipal council will fly the white-and-red national flag from the tower of the town hall as a sign that it has placed itself under the orders of the Polish government.
2. The municipal council will introduce the Polish language for Polish parties and the German language for German parties in its oral and written proceedings.
3. Letters to the Polish authorities and public institutions shall be written in Polish.
4. Signage in the city streets and in the offices of the municipal council shall be changed to bilingual Polish–German.
5. All forms of official announcements to the public issued by the municipal council shall be in Polish and German with signatures in both languages¹⁷.

In the event that the demands were not met, the Polish Committee was to ask the Polish Liquidation Commission in Kraków to send a government commissioner to Biała to assume the powers of the mayor. At this point, it is worth noting that while the situation in Galician Biała was quite clear, in Bielsko, a Silesian city neighbouring it, the local German National Council set up a civic guard composed of soldiers from the former Austrian gendarmerie and equipped with weapons from the 55th Infantry Regiment. It was commanded by a captain named Josephy. With the troops at his disposal, he threatened the Bielsko authorities with intervention in the event of a pledge to the National Council of Cieszyn Silesia. This declaration caused friction between Poles and Germans on both sides of the Biała River¹⁸.

16 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 102, k. 1.

17 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 102, k. 2.

18 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 102, k. 2.

Due to its geographical location and the large German minority in the socio-political life of the city, Biała had its own peculiarities, as reflected in the ultimatum referred to above, which was concise in its content. However, apart from the points which presumed equal treatment of the Polish and German languages, the seizure of power was similar in other cities and towns where local Polish Liquidation Commission structures had been organised. In addition to expressing loyalty to the Polish government in Kraków, there used to be a symbolic display of the red-and-white flag and the removal of Austrian eagles.

In the first period of the rebirth of Polish statehood in Western Galicia, the Liquidation Commission adopted the concept of appointing county commissioners in individual starosties. By the decision of the members of the Commission taken on 6 November, a former starost or at least a starosty official could become a commissioner. This move was intended to ensure a “smooth” transition of county structures from Austrian to Polish rule. It was even suggested that the personal continuity of the county office should be maintained¹⁹. Of course, a sine quo non condition for the former starost to remain in office was, among other things, the proper attitude shown during the war. The first appointments of county commissioners took place on 6 November. The starosts appointed by the Austrians were retained in, among others: Biała (Kazimierz Chłapowski), Brzesko (Władysław Chyliński), Brzozów (Roman Trzeciak), Dąbrowa Tarnowska (Włodzimierz Hendrich), Gorlice (Aleksander Strzelbicki), Jarosław (Michał Rawski), Kolbuszowa (Kazimierz Jaworczyński), Myślenice (Bolesław Kudelski), Mielec (Stefan Różecki), Oświęcim (Jan Dauksza), Przeworsk (Eustachy Romanowski), Pilzno (Henryk Stubenvoll), Ropczyce (Stefan Żelechowski), and briefly in Wadowice (Antoni Pogłódowski, later replaced by Tadeusz Moszyński)²⁰.

The commissioners in charge operating on behalf of the Liquidation Commission took the oath of office from subordinate officials in the first few days after taking office, and then prepared reports on the local supply situation and public safety. These reports were then sent to Kraków, to the knowledge of the Polish Liquidation Commission Administrative Department²¹. The tasks of the commissioners did not generally differ

19 L. Mrocza, *Galicji rozstanie z Austrią*, p. 146

20 L. Mrocza, *Galicji rozstanie z Austrią*, pp. 148–149.

21 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 105: Report of the commissioner of the Polish Liquidation Commission on his stay in Wadowice in connection with instructions implemented in the work of the county, k. 1–2.

from the previous competences of the county starosts. Their duties included supplying the civilian population with food and basic raw materials as well as ensuring public safety. In November 1918, the fulfilment of these tasks proved particularly difficult due to the apogee of the social and economic crisis at the time.

The crisis

The euphoric state associated with the restoration of independence passed very quickly, and if it persisted it was rather among those with a strong national and political consciousness. Nevertheless, for the majority of inhabitants of Western Galicia, November 1918 was a time of particular concern about what the following day would bring. Problems with provisions, the spreading Spanish flu, and common crime peaked at that time.

Shortages of food, clothing, and energy resources came to the fore. Food prices “skyrocketed” to dizzying heights. To confirm this, let me just mention that the black-market price of a kilogram of butter in Wadowice rose from 10 koronas in May 1916 to 60 koronas in September 1918, while in February it was still 50 koronas²². In comparison, in May 1918 the price of one kilogram of butter in Brzozów was at 40 koronas, which was a fivefold increase compared to the same period a year earlier²³. Prices for other products were equally unfavourable. In November 1918, a kilo of sausages near Wadowice cost 24 koronas. Several months earlier (April 1917), a merchant had to pay a mere 8 koronas for it²⁴. Clothing was not spared from the increases. The price of a pair of everyday shoes in Galicia in autumn even reached 400–500 koronas, i.e., about 25% of the salary of a state gymnasium headmaster²⁵.

To make matters worse, in addition to problems with provisions, the people of Galicia were directly exposed to epidemic diseases “raging” in the province and taking a deadly toll, especially among children, from the beginning of the war. The most dangerous diseases were cholera, typhoid, smallpox, and scarlet fever. However, the real hecatomb was yet to come in 1918. It was the Spanish flu virus, which decimated the

22 J. Dorosiński, *Dziennik*, p. 80.

23 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 97: Correspondence with the county authorities in the town of Brzozów and others on the maintenance of public order in connection with the Jewish pogroms and the payment of compensation, k. 19.

24 J. Dorosiński, *Dziennik*, p. 66.

25 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 97, k. 19.

civilian population. Numerous surviving chronicle accounts attest to the scale of the drama. One such account was given by a chronicler from the monastery of the Discalced Carmelites in Wadowice, who wrote in October 1918:

While men, fathers or sons of families are dying on the battle fronts, at the same time death is taking its toll at home in the same families, perhaps more numerous than the battles on the battlefield. For 2 or 3 months now, there has been a dangerous epidemic in all European countries [...] which first appeared in Spain last summer, and for this reason is called “Spanish flu” in our area, and is taking a lot of people, most of them girls. At present, it is reported to be raging strongly in the whole of the monarchy and is raging so strongly that whole towns, villages, and cities are like one big hospital [...] it hardly misses anyone in families, it lays down individual members of the family either one by one or several together, sometimes even whole families at once, so that there is no one to tend to the sick and the less sick have to serve the more seriously ill, when it lays down everyone in several neighbouring houses. Doctors call it “Spanish Influenza”, because its symptoms are similar to those of Influenza, but it is much more troublesome and dangerous, because in more severe cases it covers the surface of the lungs with a purulent film, which in the event of cold causes death already on the third day of the illness²⁶.

Of course, with the end of November, the epidemiological situation did not change significantly. Influenza continued to take its deadly toll. Its last outbreak did not die out until 1920 and, to make matters worse, the threat of spotted fever and cholera appeared in the lands of the former Austrian Partition.

In November 1918, an “epidemic of banditry” also raged in Galicia. The depraved and armed soldiers of the collapsing imperial army moving along the Galician roads posed a real threat to the civilian population²⁷. Some of them committed crimes against life, health, and property after returning home, showing far-reaching demoralisation caused by their war experiences. They fuelled fatalistic and antagonistic sentiments, which

26 *Kronika klasztoru Karmelitów Bosych w Wadowicach 1892–1921*, ed. by C. H. Gil, Kraków 2009, p. 389.

27 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 234: Reports of county commissioners, heads of county courts, etc. on anti-Jewish pogroms and their aftermath, k. 1–2, 5, 31, 71–72.

soon turned into attacks on Galician Jews. To make matters worse, with the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy, a general feeling of impunity prevailed in Galicia, exacerbated by the prolonged war, the increasing cost of living, widespread epidemics and overwhelming hunger²⁸. As a preventive measure, the local authorities, together with local national organisations, restricted the opening hours of taverns and inns in some counties. Entrepreneurs breaking local law were threatened with severe sanctions, including the withdrawal of licences to sell alcohol. In the Żywiecki County, a circular containing such a directive was announced as early as on 2 November 1918 and confirmed in a relevant circular four days later²⁹.

As has already been mentioned, a group particularly vulnerable to the progressive brutalisation of social life in Galicia were Jews. They were blamed for the dramatic food costs and economic situation. Rumours circulated among the common people that Jewish shopkeepers were hiding food, which de facto resulted in horrendous prices of necessities or their complete absence. Traditionally, Jews were accused of getting rich by practising usury. In addition, it was widely believed that Jewish soldiers serving in the imperial army enjoyed exceptional privileges and some successfully avoided conscription altogether³⁰. In selected regions, the Jewish minority was accused of hiding weapons which, it was frequently believed, were to be used against Poles³¹. In such circumstances, any anti-Jewish agitation meant that hitherto prevailing social norms were shattered and Jews became victims of physical violence. The first recorded anti-Jewish incidents occurred in Krosno as early as on 28 October 1918. In the following days, riots against Jews took place in Kraków and Tyczyn. The apogee of the riots was between 4 and 7 November. At that time, the riots “swept” through, among others, Andrychów, Chrzanów, Dynów, Jaworzno, Kłaj, Mszana Dolna, Niepołomice, Oświęcim, Radomyśl, Rymanów, Trzebinia,

28 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 234: Reports of county commissioners, heads of county courts, etc. on anti-Jewish pogroms and their aftermath, k. 23–24, 42.

29 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 117: Reports of the county committee of the Polish Liquidation Commission in Żywiec, k. 1, 3–4.

30 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 97, k. 14–20; CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 234, k. 2.

31 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 131: Reports of the starost in Krosno on the prevailing situation in the county, k. 2.

Wadowice, Wiśnicz, Zakliczyn, Zator, and Żmigród³². Of the cities mentioned, the most dramatic events were recorded in Chrzanów, where four people were killed, two Jews and the same number of Christians³³. The riots in the towns most often occurred on market and fair days, when there were exceptionally large numbers of the rural population coming from the neighbouring municipalities³⁴, although (e.g., in Kolbuszowa) the riots also escalated on a public holiday (Sunday)³⁵.

From around 10 to around 20 November 1918, anti-Jewish incidents took place in the Eastern Galician cities of Przemyśl and Brzesko, where clashes broke out between villagers participating in a pogrom and the Jewish self-defence. A controversial situation occurred in Brzozów in November, where the municipal council passed a resolution to expel Jewish refugees who had left the surrounding villages for fear of pogroms. It is also intriguing that the refugees were not allowed to return to their homes because of the attitude of the local peasantry³⁶. The events became notorious thanks to the well-known Jewish activist, politician and lawyer Adolf Gross, who represented the interests of the victims in contacts with the Polish Liquidation Commission³⁷. It was mainly thanks to his intervention that the Administrative Department of the Polish Liquidation Commission

32 M. Przeniosło, *Polska Komisja Likwidacyjna 1918–1919*, Kielce 2010, pp. 234–236; see also K. Meus, *Anti-Jewish Riots in the Cities of West Galicia in 1918. An outline of the Problem*, in: *Vel'ká doba v malom priestore: zlomové zmeny v mestách stredoeurópskeho priestoru a ich dôsledky (1918–1929)/Grosse Zeit im kleinen Raum. Umbrüche in der Stadt des mitteleuropäischen Raumes und deren Wirkungen (1918–1929)*, eds. P. Svorc, H. Heppner, Prešov–Graz 2012, p. 379.

33 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 225: Report of the commissioner of the County Starosty in Chrzanów on the damage suffered by the Jewish community during the anti-Jewish pogroms taking place in the county with examples, k. 25.

34 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 99: Reports of the commissioner in the Bocheński county on the damage suffered by the Jewish community during the anti-Jewish pogroms taking place in the county with examples, k. 2.

35 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 234, k. 36.

36 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 97, k. 6.

37 C. Brzoza, *Reprezentanci społeczności żydowskiej w Radzie Miejskiej międzywojennego Krakowa*, in: *1866. Odbudowa samorządu miejskiego – narodziny nowoczesnego Krakowa*, eds. K. Meus, Ł. T. Sroka, Kraków 2018, pp. 183–184.

annulled the debatable resolution of the Brzozów councillors that went unquestionably beyond all norms³⁸.

Violence against Jews also reached the Galician countryside, where Jewish property was robbed. Inns and shops were particularly vulnerable to attacks. A reading of the surviving reports drawn up by the county starosts for the Polish Liquidation Commission shows that attacks occurred mainly along the main roads, although not exclusively. The pattern of looting remained very similar in many places. To illustrate the extent of the lawlessness and social depravity prevalent in Galicia at the time fully, I will quote the account of one of the victims of the tumult, Maurycy Huppert, an innkeeper from Bulowice near Andrychów:

On the morning of 6 November, around 11 am, some 20 farmhands came to my house, where I run a tavern, armed with sticks, and demanded beer, wine, vodka, and snacks, as well as some tobacco, which I immediately gave them without any payment, and they also took away the liquor in bottles, the rest of the tobacco, and all the meats. The articles taken from me had a value of 2000 koronas. These farmhands came from the Wadowicki County. They left my premises as a military patrol was approaching from Kęty. The court investigation was not conducted. No one was bodily injured because I handled the attackers very gently. Of the perpetrators I do not know any, they only attacked Israeli houses and mostly taverns and shops³⁹.

There were also situations where the victims themselves tried to defend their possessions. There is confirmation of this in the village of Skawa near Jordanów, where, during an attempted theft at Abraham Goldman's inn, four assailants were severely wounded, and one of them subsequently died⁴⁰.

In some areas of Western Galicia (e.g., in the Krośnieńskie County) attacks on Jews living in the countryside repeated even for several weeks⁴¹. There were towns where the economic losses caused by the anti-Jewish riots were counted in hundreds of thousands of koronas. For example,

38 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 97, k. 8.

39 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 104: Reports of the commissioner of the starosty in the town of Biala for the assessment of the damage suffered by the Jewish community during the pogroms taking place in the county, k. 5.

40 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 234, k. 16.

41 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 131, k. 2.

in Andrychów, where 18 shops and five private dwellings were destroyed, the losses were estimated at almost one and a half million koronas⁴².

At this point, however, it must be emphasised that riots were avoided in many places. Here I will refer to the example of the town of Kęty, located on the Lviv–Vienna route. There, a group of almost a hundred people, consisting of inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, was successfully dispersed. On 6 November 1918, having earlier ransacked Isaac Reich's inn in Czaniec, they headed towards Kęty. Before the crowd reached the town, its march was stopped at its turnpikes, by what is known as Geller's inn, by the head of the railway station named Waga and one of the Austrian gendarmes. The two men's determination thus protected the Jews of Kęty from the rabble, who had been enraged by the earlier attacks⁴³.

The violence was directed against the Jews, although Christians were also robbed during the riots. For example, in the village of Bestwina in the Bielski County, the storehouse of the local Farmers' Circle run by a Christian entrepreneur Stanisław Niżański was looted. The losses suffered by Niżański were estimated at 1,500 koronas⁴⁴. On another occasion, in Grębów, in the court district of Tarnobrzeg, the flat of the local estate manager, Seweryn Dolański, was ransacked⁴⁵.

It is worth noting that the Polish authorities approached the November anti-Jewish riots and pogroms very seriously. As a result of the investigations they carried, wherever it was possible to identify suspects, court proceedings were initiated for beatings, robberies, and murders. To confirm the above, let me only mention that it was possible to arrest, among others, 28 participants of anti-Jewish speeches that took place near Kęty in November⁴⁶. Similar actions were taken, with varying success, in other counties of Galicia. Sometimes up to a hundred people sat in the dock.

42 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 108: A list of damages caused by riots and robberies in the Wadowicki County in November 1918, k. 17, 20; CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 143: Reports of the Inspectorate of Guards for Western Galicia in Kraków, k. 16; CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 233: Reports of county commissioners, county courts, etc. regarding losses incurred as a result of anti-Jewish riots, k. 49; M. Przeniosło, *Polska Komisja Likwidacyjna*, pp. 234–235; K. Meus, *Anti-jewish Riots*, p. 379.

43 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 233, k. 18.

44 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 104, k. 3.

45 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 234, k. 49.

46 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 233, k. 8, 19, 71.

This was the case, for example, in the Milówka court district, where up to 169 people were indicted⁴⁷. However, as the above-mentioned Adolf Gross argued in 1918, the Polish Liquidation Commission leadership allowed itself to make controversial accusations against Galician Jews, in a way blaming them for negative articles and comments appearing in foreign press about the pogroms and Poland in general⁴⁸.

Stabilisation

In order to prevent the escalation of violence in cities and towns, district security guards (also called land guards) were established locally. As Marek Przeniosło noted in his monograph on the Polish Liquidation Commission, the process of their formation began on 31 October 1918⁴⁹. However, the main decisions on their functioning were, in fact, taken in Kraków in the first days of November. It was then that it was decided to appoint commanders for the new formation in the counties subject to Polish Liquidation Commission authority. By mid-November, 23 such positions had been filled⁵⁰. In military matters, they reported directly to the military command in Kraków. In administrative matters and those related to public safety, they were supervised by the Polish Liquidation Commission county commissioner⁵¹. The guards were composed of professional gendarmes and newly-recruited volunteers. The conscription was carried out by county officials together with army officers, most often including the local guard commander⁵². It was assumed that there should be two county guards for every five hundred residents. In cities with their own military staff, it was possible to appoint a smaller number of gendarmes. For example, in Rzeszów, the needs of the gendarmerie were calculated at 600 people, but due to the presence of the army in the city, the number of 310 guards (31 posts with ten-person crews) was considered sufficient. Yet even that figure proved difficult to achieve. It is sufficient to point out that, the headcount of the Rzeszów security guard

47 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 234, k. 50.

48 C. Brzoza, *Reprezentanci społeczności żydowskiej*, p. 184.

49 M. Przeniosło, *Polska Komisja Likwidacyjna*, p. 157.

50 M. Przeniosło, *Polska Komisja Likwidacyjna*, p. 158.

51 M. Przeniosło, *Polska Komisja Likwidacyjna*, p. 158; *Narodziny niepodległości w Galicji (1918–1919)*, pp. 119–120.

52 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 108, k. 20.

at the end of November 1918 was 51 (sic) men⁵³. Unfortunately, the guards in the counties suffered from financial shortcomings⁵⁴. The gendarmes themselves expressed grievances about the low pay, yet recruitment efforts began to yield tangible results. For example, in the Łańcucki County 133 people were recruited into the forces, for three weeks in December 1918 alone⁵⁵. Nevertheless, the shortage of personnel was considerable. To illustrate the problem, let me quote the example of the Bocheński County, where there were only 3 gendarmes for every 1,000 inhabitants, not all of whom were equipped with firearms (see the table below). The armament and uniforms at the disposal of the guards often left much to be desired⁵⁶. In addition to post-Austrian weapons, it was quite common for guards to use Russian rifles of various types that had been taken from the civilian population⁵⁷. The proper provision of public safety in the smaller towns of Galicia required the reinforcement of the local law enforcement forces with military troops arriving from the larger urban centres. This was the case, for example, in Brzozów, where the commander of the Rzeszów military district, Colonel Ludwik Zawada, arrived with troops on 1 December 1918. By his decision, a county military command was established in the Brzozowski County under the command of Lieutenant Jan Gabryła. The steps taken by Zawada brought the expected results. Already on 4 December, the local Polish Liquidation Commission commissioner reported to Kraków: “since 2 December there has been peace and public safety in the county, but military assistance is necessary for the time being”⁵⁸. Actions similar to those described in Brzozów were also taken in other Western Galician cities and towns. This was the case, for example, in Alwernia, where an army assistance company arrived from Chrzanów on 19 December to prevent possible riots. Eventually, no riots took place in Alwernia⁵⁹.

53 *Narodziny niepodległości w Galicji (1918–1919)*, pp. 121–122; M. Przeniosło, *Polska Komisja Likwidacyjna*, p. 160.

54 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 97, k. 8.

55 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 234, k. 62.

56 M. Przeniosło, *Polska Komisja Likwidacyjna*, pp. 159–160.

57 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 143, k. 13, 17.

58 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 97, k. 7.

59 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 234, k. 75.

Security guard posts in the Bocheński County as of 10 December 1918

NO.	POST	PROFESSIONAL GENDARMES	VOLUNTEERS	NUMBER OF GUNS
1.	Bochnia	11	5	8
2.	Bogucice	2	3	8
3.	Chrostowa	2	14	12
4.	Gierczyce	1	20	13
5.	Groble	2	14	4
6.	Kłaj	1	19	13
7.	Królówka	1	15	15
8.	Lipnica Murowana	2	3	5
9.	Łapanów	2	38	33
10.	Niegowić	2	22	20
11.	Niepołomice	3	9	7
12.	Rączków	2	11	12
13.	Rzegocina	1	14	15
14.	Rzezawa	2	29	22
15.	Staniątki	2	12	13
16.	Uście Solne	21	17	13
17.	Uspina	1	10	3
18.	Wiśnicz	4	22	15
19.	Wola Zabierowska	1	17	12
TOTAL		63	294	243

Source: CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 143, k. 12–13.

As the following weeks passed, the presence of military and gendarmerie units had the expected effect. In Brzesko, where the pogroms took an exceptionally dramatic course, it was reported to Kraków as early as on 20 November that “the peasants, after the riots, are again trading with the Jews, who are returning [to their houses and flats]”⁶⁰. This state

⁶⁰ CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 143, k. 3.

of affairs was precisely the result of the presence of military troops and the proper functioning of the security guards⁶¹. However, the gendarmes were not always able to ensure public order due to the thinness of their forces. The number of gendarmerie posts in rural municipalities usually ranged from two to three⁶². In towns, the situation was more favourable in this respect, but even so the forces of law and order remained inadequate. Let me quote an example from Niepołomice, where, during a riot on 5 November 1918, a dozen or so soldiers under the command of Wiktor Zechetgruber were disarmed by the swelling crowd of demonstrators, despite firing a warning salvo⁶³.

In the first half of November 1918, the Polish Liquidation Commission authorised the formation of a “voluntary reserve of Jewish soldiers” to maintain public order and, above all, to ensure the safety of the Jews⁶⁴. The Jewish guards had to meet the relevant criteria imposed by the Commission. According to a letter preserved in the resources of the Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [National Archives in Krakow], which was received by the county authorities in Wadowice on 12 November, the newly-formed Jewish self-defence units were obliged to comply with the following conditions:

1. This Guard is to be unconditionally subordinate to the Supreme Command of the Polish Army.
2. It is to be provided with external badges indicating that it belongs to Poland.
3. It is to be used to perform security service not only in the interests of the Jewish but also Christian population.
4. It is to be used to relieve in its work the military detachments⁶⁵.

In some towns, the initiatives of local Jews to set up their own militias were torpedoed by local Polish Liquidation Commission structures. A letter of 13 November 1918 addressed to the Jewish communities in Nowy Sącz pointed out that creation of a local Jewish militia was unjustifiable. In doing so, it argued that Jews, like Christians, could supply the

61 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 143, k. 3-4.

62 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 234, k. 9.

63 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 99, k. 2.

64 National Archives in Kraków, C.k. County offices of the starosty – collection of team remains 1862–1918 [1936], ref. 29/234/33, no pagination.

65 National Archives in Kraków, C.k. County offices of the starosty – collection of team remains 1862–1918 [1936], ref. 29/234/33, no pagination.

ranks of the already existing Polish militia⁶⁶. In the end, all discussions and actions centred on the establishment of their own police formation by the Jews proved groundless, because, following the appearance of information about the Jewish guards supporting the troops of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic in the battle against the Poles for Przemyśl, the leadership of the Polish Liquidation Commission decided to disband the existing Jewish guards and "allow their members to join the general guards or the army"⁶⁷.

The formation of law enforcement forces, supported by military units, was a key factor in stabilising the social situation in Galicia⁶⁸. However, the second half of November 1918 was a period of continuing social and political tensions, exacerbated by the difficult economic situation and the ongoing war between Poles and the West Ukrainian People's Republic over eastern Galicia, headed by Lviv and Przemyśl. In addition, violence against local Jews, often accused of supporting the Ukrainians in the east, continued to escalate in some county Galician cities and towns. Sometimes, these assaults took on a mass character, while at other times there were just individual incidents⁶⁹. Despite this, a period of slow normalisation can be observed in many county towns in Western Galicia after 15 November. A major contribution to this came from the appointed county commissioners and the Polish Liquidation Commission itself, as they began to dissolve the powerful county liquidation committees to smooth over any disputes over competences. Instead, the so-called "commissioners' subsidiary boards" were appointed with the intention to provide advisory and controlling bodies⁷⁰. According to a resolution of the liquidation commission, these were made up of existing members of the county departments and elected representatives of local

66 M. Przeniosło, *Polska Komisja Likwidacyjna*, p. 229.

67 L. Mroccka, *Galicji rozstanie z Austrią*, p. 169.

68 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 234, k. 21.

69 CDIAL, fond 212: Governing Commission for Galicia, Cieszyn Silesia and Upper Orava and Spiš, description 1: Administrative Department, case 221: Documentation concerning the decoration for county gendarmes serving at the Wadowicki County posts (reports, correspondence and etc.), k. 3–6.

For example, renewed attacks occurred in Brzozów from 25 to 26 November. CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 97, k. 23–25.

70 L. Mroccka, *Galicji rozstanie z Austrią*, pp. 150–151.

communities⁷¹. The latter were entitled to 10 seats in each county after the council was increased. In some regions, this number proved to be insufficient. The problem was particularly acute in larger urban centres. On 30 November the civic committee (known as Powiatowa Rada Narodowa that is County National Council) of Nowy Sącz passed a resolution to apply to the Polish Liquidation Commission for an increase of the local subsidiary council to 14 people. A further 4 seats were planned to be distributed among urban or railway workers, rural workers, and one representative of the “towns” within the boundaries of the then Nowosądecki County⁷². These efforts were unsuccessful, as the Administrative Department considered the additional elections to be incompatible with the existing Polish Liquidation Commission resolution⁷³.

The election of subsidiary councils was intended to lead to the “democratisation” of political life at local level. The initiators wanted to prevent the radicalisation of public sentiment (mainly among the poorer strata), which de facto led to the strengthening of temporary state bodies (Polish Liquidation Commission commissioners) in the region. The subsidiary councils, which had been meeting since December 1918, worked alongside the commissioners in a mostly non-collusive manner⁷⁴, although there were also some conflicts resulting, for example, from the unclear scope of council competences.

At the end of November, those in charge of the municipal offices in the county towns of Western Galicia drew their attention to the particular interests of the municipalities they represented. There are even known cases of rivalry between towns to take over administrative functions in the reborn state. Interestingly, there were cases whose origins went back to the years before the outbreak of the First World War. Such a situation occurred in Maków (currently Maków Podhalański) and Sucha (currently Sucha Beskidzka), the towns whose authorities initiated a campaign to establish the seat of a new county in either of these towns in November 1918. The cession to Maków was to take place at the expense of the Myślenicki County. On 26 November, the heads of the municipalities and manorial

71 L. Mroccka, *Galicji rozstanie z Austrią*, p. 151.

72 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 173: Correspondence of the county administration in Nowy Sącz on the issue of the expansion of the appurtenant council, k. 1.

73 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 173, k. 2.

74 In Nowy Sącz, the first council meeting did not take place until the 19th of December 1918. CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 173, k. 3.

estates around Maków and Sucha made an appeal to the Liquidation Commission in Kraków, in which they argued for the need to establish (“in the shortest time possible”) an outpost of the Myślenicki County Polish Liquidation Commission in Maków⁷⁵. Maków was of, not an justified, opinion that the town’s approximately seventy-kilometre distance from the county administration centre was one of the causes of the social unrest noted in this part of the Myślenicki County early in November. Moreover, the arguments intended to convince the members of the Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych [Administrative Department of the Polish People’s Party] to set up an office of the Commission, and later of the county administration, in Maków, included the claim that the Austrian Ministry of Internal Affairs had issued a rescript on the creation of a new county with its seat in Maków as far back as 2 August 1913. As indicated by the signatories of the aforementioned appeal, even the buildings intended for the new office had been adapted for this purpose⁷⁶. On 27 November, a similar initiative was taken by representatives of the local community, who wrote a letter in a rather indecorous tone to the Kraków authorities, concluding that “the Starosty in Myślenice has no purpose, its seat should be Maków or Sucha”⁷⁷. The authors of the letter were Emil Ulrich, the co-founder of the Oddział Babiogórskiego Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego [Babia Góra Branch of the Tatra Society], and Jan Matusik, the headmaster of the local school⁷⁸.

Paradoxically, initiatives like the one quoted above confirmed that social, economic and political relations in Galicia were slowly but steadily moving towards normalisation. Problems such as those that had hitherto been associated with victualling, anti-epidemic measures or the safeguarding of public peace were being replaced by matters typical of local government. These were issues that had determined their actions even before the outbreak of the First World War.

The “extension of the electoral law” for municipal councils, which was announced by the Administrative Department of the Polish Liquidation

75 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 164: Correspondence of the offices of the municipalities of the Myślenicki County on the establishment of a branch of the starosty in Maków, k. 1–2.

76 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 164, k. 1–2.

77 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 166: Complaint of a Maków citizen Ulrich against the negative work of the Myślenice starosty, k. 2.

78 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 166, k. 2.

Commission by a rescript of 11 December 1918, should be regarded as a symbolic moment defining relative stability in the Western Galician province⁷⁹. The Commission's decision was a consequence of the arrangements made at the Polish Liquidation Commission plenary meeting on 23 November when, at a proposal from the socialists, the communal system was modified by the creation of a fourth electoral circle⁸⁰. The whole process was to be based on the electoral law of 12 August 1866⁸¹. Thus, for the Galician municipalities, a period of preparation for the co-option of new councillors began in mid-December⁸². In accordance with the Commission's guidelines, it was left to the municipalities to decide how new councillors were to be elected, with elections only being allowed in exceptional circumstances. The Presidium of the Polish Liquidation Commission rather assumed that co-option would take place on the basis of resolutions of the municipal councils after prior consultation with industrial and social organisations (e.g., craft associations)⁸³. Doubts of the county commissioners and the existing municipal authorities concerned, among others, the treatment of former Russian and German citizens during the elections. The Administrative Department was asked to clarify whether they were subject to Austrian or other (Russian, German) electoral law. Enquiries were also made about the definition of the "age limit" and how to deal with the smallest municipalities that only had two electoral circles⁸⁴. Despite some loopholes, the replenishment of municipal councils in Galicia was carried out systematically from mid-December 1918 (the municipality of Balin in the Chrzanowski County)

79 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 106: Correspondence of the starosty of Wadowice on the completion of the composition of the municipal councils, k. 1.

80 L. Mroccka, *Galicji rozstanie z Austrią*, p. 164; M. Przeniosło, *Polska Komisja Likwidacyjna*, pp. 78–79.

81 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 106, k. 1.

82 Initially, the new Polish law on the functioning of communal self-government in force in Poland (by virtue of a decree of the Head of State of 4 February 1919) covered only the lands which had been part of the Russian partition before the war, hence in the case of Galicia the pre-war Austrian law was still applied. Dekret o samorządzie miejskim, "Dziennik Praw Państwa Polskiego" 1919, No. 13, item 140, pp. 161, 170–171.

83 L. Mroccka, *Galicji rozstanie z Austrią*, p. 164.

84 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 106, k. 1.

until the end of April of the following year (the town of Muszyna)⁸⁵, which in a sense crowned the period of arduous stabilisation initiated in the second half of November 1918.

Last but not least comes the activity of “non-political” associations, which is worth mentioning in the context of stabilising the social situation in Galicia after Poland regained independence. These organisations operated in Austria-Hungary on the basis of the State Act of 15 November 1867⁸⁶. The Galician society (regardless of nationality and religion) took advantage of this liberalisation of the law over the following decades, and the associations established in a grassroots effort throughout Galicia became the foundation for the formation of a modern “open” society. The assassination in Sarajevo, which resulted in the death of the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand Habsburg and his wife Sophie von Hohenberg (Chotek), put an end to the free and unrestricted activities of social organisations. On 25 July 1914, the authorities in Vienna imposed a state of emergency throughout the country⁸⁷. This among other things resulted in the suspension of the civil rights enshrined in the December Constitution of 1867, which in turn led directly to restrictions on the free operation of the aforementioned “non-political” associations⁸⁸. The establishment of new organisations of this type was also prevented, although there were exceptions to this rule⁸⁹. The situation in this respect

85 M. Przeniosło, *Polska Komisja Likwidacyjna*, pp. 83–88.

86 Ustawa o prawie stowarzyszeń z 15 listopada 1867 roku, w: *Przekłady Ustaw, Rozporządzeń i Obwieszczeń Prawa Państwa dla Królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi, tudzież Wielkiego Księstwa Krakowskiego*, Lwów 1867.

87 A few days after the declaration of the state of emergency, on 31 July 1914, by the decision of Emperor Franz Joseph I, martial law was imposed on the territory of Galicia, Bukovina and Austrian Silesia from 1 August. K. Grzybowski, *Historia państwa i prawa Polski*, t. 4: *Od uwłaszczenia do odrodzenia państwa*, Warszawa 1982, pp. 387–389.

88 „Dziennik Ustaw Państwa”, 1914, No. 186, p. 891.

89 Recent research conducted on the basis of materials preserved in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv makes it possible to conclude that there were cases when the Galician Governorship gave permission for the formation of a ‘non-political’ association after the outbreak of war. Such situations were rare, although they did occur. A case in point confirming this thesis can be found in Wilamowice, where the registration of the local Polish Gymnastic Society ‘Sokół’ took place in... October 1914. In the cited case, the Namiestnictwo’s favour was

changed only after the collapse of the monarchy and the seizure of power in Galicia by the Polish Liquidation Commission. At the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919, the social associations that had determined the phenomenon of Galician autonomy before the war began to revive. In addition, new organisations, whose legal basis reached back to Austrian legislation, were formed⁹⁰. The Administrative Department of the Polish Liquidation Commission even reached for the pre-war model statutes of selected societies⁹¹.

Conclusions

To conclude this discussion, it is worthwhile to ask the question whether it was really the case that power and independence lay in the streets of Polish cities in November 1918, and only needed to be picked up? Many contemporary historians claim that it was so. Józef Piłsudski only had to reach down for it, which he did midway through November. This claim has many apologists today. Perhaps this is due to the fact that, nowadays, researchers try to assess the events unfolding on Polish soil over a century ago from the perspective of Warsaw, the Regency Council, and such leading fathers of independence as Piłsudski, Witos, and Daszyński. A different picture of the birth of independent Poland emerges from reading archives on local and regional initiatives in Galicia in late October and early November 1918, i.e., even before Piłsudski's release from prison in Magdeburg. Particularly helpful here were the collections of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv: analysing them made it possible to conclude that not only did the Kraków Polish Liquidation

probably due to the fact that the procedure for establishing the association was initiated in July, i.e., before martial law was imposed in Galicia. M. Fic, L. Krzyżanowski, K. Meus, *Wilamowice 1818–2018: miasto i ludzie*, Wilamowice 2018, pp. 113–115.

- 90 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 109: Status of the Jewish association “Mizrachi” (Orthodox) and petition of the committee of this association to the county office in Wadowice for registration, k. 1–4.
- 91 CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 116: Case concerning the organisation of an agricultural circle in Smęgorzów in the Dąbrowa district, k. 5–14 (Statut Towarzystwa Kółek Rolniczych przyjęty do wiadomości reskryptem c.k. Namiestnictwa z dnia 8 sierpnia 1913 r., Lwów 1918); CDIAL, fond 211, description 1, case 136: Correspondence with the Union of Judges of the Kraków District concerning the approval of the statute, k. 1, 3–5.

Commission organise the structures of Polish statehood in Western Galicia at the end of 1918 successfully (even if not without problems) but also all the activities undertaken by its leadership clearly limited the negative impact of the chaos that in that post-Austrian province followed after the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy.

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Galicji i Lodomeryi, tudzież Wielkiego Księstwa Krakowskiego, Lwów
1867.

Ustawa z dnia 23 kwietnia 1937 r. o Świącie Niepodległości, Dz. U. Nr 33
poz. 255.

Abstract

Konrad Meus

When cordons broke and borders were born... Western Galicia Province in November 1918

The 19th century, referred to by historians as the “long century”, as it lasted from the beginning of the French Revolution (in the case of Poland, to the time of the Partitioning) to the collapse of the “old” European order in the wake of the Great War. For Poles living in the Austrian partition, the twilight of the old era came in November 1918, a month that can unquestionably be regarded as the “longest month” of the “long 19th century”. It was a month in which the situation in the counties of Western Galician changed like a kaleidoscope: from euphoria, through critical moments, to relative stability.

Euphoria took hold in Polish homes in late October and early November 1918, when Poles took control of the cities and towns scattered across Western Galicia. The euphoric state associated with regaining independence passed very quickly, and if it persisted, it was rather among those with a strong national and political consciousness. Nevertheless, for the majority of inhabitants of Western Galicia, November was a time of particular concern about what the following day would bring as issues of food, clothing, and energy shortages came to the fore. Food prices “skyrocketed”, reaching dizzying levels in the autumn of 1918. Common violence, affecting mainly the Jewish population, became a plague. Midway through November 1918, thanks to the actions taken by the Polish Liquidation Commission, a process of stabilising the social and political life began, which was reflected in the successive revival (or organisation) of “non-political” associations and the reorganisation of municipal (communal) self-government in the counties.

Keywords:

Galicia, November 1918, independence, Polish Liquidation Commission, Galician province, Galician Jews

Abstrakt

Konrad Meus

Gdy pękały kordony, a rodziły się granice... Prowincja zachodniogalicyska w listopadzie 1918 roku

Wiek XIX nazywany przez historyków „długim wiekiem”, sięgający swoimi korzeniami początków rewolucji francuskiej (w przypadku Polaków okresu rozbiorowego), dobiegł końca wraz z upadkiem „starego” europejskiego ładu u schyłku Wielkiej Wojny. Dla Polaków zamieszkujących ziemie zaboru austriackiego zmierzch dawnej epoki nastął w listopadzie 1918 roku – miesiącu, który bezsprzecznie można traktować jako „najdłuższy miesiąc” „długiego XIX wieku”. Miesiącu w którym sytuacja na prowincji zachodniogalicyskiej zmieniała się niczym w przysłowiowym kalejdoskopie: od stanu euforii przez momenty krytyczne po względną stabilizację.

Euforia zagościła w polskich domach na przełomie października i listopada 1918 roku, gdy Polacy przejmowali kontrolę nad miastami i miasteczkami rozszanymi w Galicji Zachodniej. Euforyczny stan związany z odzyskiwaniem niepodległości bardzo szybko minął, a jeśli się utrzymywał, to raczej wśród osób o silnej świadomości narodowej i politycznej. Niemniej dla większości mieszkańców Galicji Zachodniej listopad był czasem szczególnej troski o to, co przyniesie kolejny dzień. Na pierwszy plan wysunęły się kwestie związane z niedoborem żywności, odzieży oraz surowców energetycznych. Ceny żywności gwałtownie rosły, osiągając jesienią 1918 roku zawrotne kwoty. Plagą stała się pospolita przemoc, która dotykała przede wszystkim ludność żydowską. W drugiej dekadzie listopada 1918 roku dzięki działaniom podejmowanym przez Polską Komisję Likwidacyjną rozpoczął się proces stabilizacji życia społeczno-politycznego, a jego wyrazem było m.in. sukcesywne odradzanie się (lub organizowanie) na prowincji stowarzyszeń „niepolitycznych” oraz reorganizacja samorządu miejskiego (gminnego).

Słowa kluczowe:

Galicja, listopad 1918 roku, niepodległość, Polska Komisja Likwidacyjna, prowincja galicyjska, Żydzi galicyjscy

Joanna Ziarkowska

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8577-9014>

University of Physical Education in Krakow

Dominik Ziarkowski

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2229-5845>

Krakow University of Economics

The influence of Ludwik Krasiński and Maria Ludwika Czartoryska on Ojców architecture at the turn of the 20th century and between the two world wars¹

In the second half of the 19th century, Ojców, at the time lying in the Russian Partition despite its proximity to Kraków, began to offer spa activities. With time, Ojców developed into a fashionable resort and attracted large numbers of people from Warsaw and other cities of the Kingdom of Poland. The spa experienced its heyday early in the 20th century, and continued its operation also between the two world wars.

- 1 The article is based on a lecture delivered by the authors at the conference “The Czartoryskis and Art in the Era of Modernity”, organised by the Institute of Art History of Jagiellonian University and the National Museum in Krakow on 19–20 September 2018.

At the time the Ojców Estate was owned by Count Ludwik Krasiński (1833–1895) and, from 1901, by his daughter Maria Ludwika (1883–1958), Princess Czartoryska. Maria Ludwika owned Ojców until the nationalisation of the estate in 1945 on the wake of the decree on land reform of 6 September 1944.

The long decades of operation of the Ojców health resort have left their mark on local architecture, which developed hotels, guest houses, and other public buildings designed for patients. The spa park, an essential component of any health resort, was also built in several stages and has been preserved only partially and in a heavily transformed state. Between the two world wars, there were even plans to build a huge spa settlement on Mt Żłota Góra, above the bottom of the Prądnik Valley, but only a few villas were built there at the time. However, it should be acknowledged that the spa in Ojców changed the local landscape, while the architectural legacy of the period has significantly contributed to the current character of the place.

The heritage of the Ojców health spa has been the subject of many scholarly works, generating interest primarily among architects and landscape architects. Research into the history and spatial development of the resort, especially the spa park, was conducted by Anna Mitkowska². Zbigniew Myczkowski included the local spa architecture into his study of the architectural and landscape regionalism of the Prądnik Valley³. Jarosław Żółciak synthetically elaborated on Ojców spa buildings, providing their descriptions and paying much attention to architectural detail⁴. Also worth mentioning is a recent study by Krzysztof Lenartowicz on the Żłota Góra spa settlement and its designer and architect Józef

2 A. Mitkowska, *Zespół dawnego uzdrowisko i parku zdrojowego w Ojcowie – skrócone studium historyczno-kompozycyjne*, Zakład Architektury Krajobrazu Politechniki Krakowskiej, Kraków 1985, typescript in the Biblioteka Ojcowskiego Parku Narodowego; A. Mitkowska, *Uzdrowisko w Ojcowie i jego Park Zdrojowy*, "Prądnik. Prace Muzeum im. Prof. W. Szafera" 10 (1995), pp. 105–134.

3 Z. Myczkowski, *Regionalizm architektoniczno-krajobrazowy Doliny Prądnika*, "Prądnik. Prace Muzeum im. Prof. W. Szafera" 10 (1995), pp. 135–188.

4 J. Żółciak, *Budownictwo uzdrowiskowe na terenie Ojcowskiego Parku Narodowego. Wybrane problemy architektury*, in: *Zróżnicowanie i przemiany środowiska przyrodniczo-kulturowego Wyżyny Krakowsko-Częstochowskiej*, vol. 2: *Kultura*, ed. by J. Partyka, Ojców 2004, pp. 145–162.

Gałęzowski (1877–1963)⁵. The historical and architectural issues of the Ojców spa were presented most comprehensively by Józef Partyka and Dominik Ziarkowski, a text included in the cultural monograph of Ojców National Park⁶.

Even if this list is incomplete as it fails to include a body of works focused on subjects other than the spa architecture of Ojców, it demonstrates that the issue is relatively well discussed in the scientific literature. However, no study to date has captured the architecture of Ojców in the early 20th century and between the two world wars from the perspective of the main founders, the Krasiński and Czartoryski families. They shaped the architectural landscape of the village, and the buildings they constructed were sometimes used as a reference for others, both locals and arrivals, who built guest houses for holidaymakers and visitors. The contribution of Ludwik Krasiński and his daughter to the development of Ojców cultural landscape consisted not only in constructing new buildings, but also extended to the founding and development of the spa park, and extending care to the village's main monument, the castle ruins. There were many attempts to conserve and even rebuild the centuries-old fortress. These also deserve discussion, even if the key plans were never realised.

Ludwik Krasiński and Maria Ludwika Czartoryska: owners of Ojców

In the 19th century, Ojców, once a royal estate governed by the starosts residing in the castle, frequently changed owners. One of them was Count Aleksander Przedziecki (1814–1871), a well-known publisher of sources and researcher of the past, also distinguished for artistic historiography as the author of the work *Wzory sztuki średniowiecznej i z epoki Odrodzenia w dawnej Polsce* [Patterns of Medieval and Renaissance Art in Ancient Poland], published jointly with Edward Rastwiecki (1804–1874)⁷.

5 K. Lenartowicz, *Prof. arch. Józef Gałęzowski – Osiedle Uzdrawiskowe na Złotej Górze w Ojcowie*, „TeKa Komisji Architektury, Urbanistyki i Studiów Krajobrazowych” 13 (2017) No. 1, pp. 7–14.

6 J. Partyka, D. Ziarkowski, *Dziedzictwo uzdrowiska w Ojcowie*, in: *Monografia Ojcowskiego Parku Narodowego. Dziedzictwo kulturowe*, ed. by J. Partyka, Ojców 2016, pp. 305–338.

7 Cf. J. Kowalczyk, *Starożytnicy warszawscy połowy XIX w. i ich rola w popularyzacji zabytków ojczystych*, in: *Edukacja historyczna społeczeństwa polskiego w XIX wieku*.

Przeddziecki acquired Ojców in 1859 with the intention to develop a health resort. Its history began four years earlier, when Lucjan Kowalski opened the first hydrotherapy facility there, in the now defunct Sybilla Villa at the foot of the Panieńskie Skały Rocks. On the Count's initiative, several buildings were constructed for summer visitors and patients, notably the Pod Łokietkiem Hotel and the Wesele w Ojcowie Inn, and a spa park was established. The defeat of the January Uprising, during which the area suffered a great deal, prompted Przeddziecki to sell most of the Ojców estate, except for the castle, the adjacent land, and two caves: Jaskinia Łokietka and Jaskinia Ciemna⁸.

The development of the spa in Ojców was stalled for a time, however, beginning with the 1880s, the health resort began to resume operations with the help of Jan Kieżgajło Zawisza (1822–1887), an amateur archaeologist and antiquarian, who acquired part of the Ojców estate from Przeddziecki's heirs. It was on his initiative that the Pod Łokietkiem Hotel was rebuilt, and another building, named Pod Kazimierzem, was constructed opposite the hotel. Its construction was completed in 1885, as evidenced by the account of the famous illustrator, Michał Elwiro Andriolli (1836–1893), who lived in Ojców at the time. According to the artist, the main reason for this investment was “an influx of people in need of housing”⁹.

A critical role in the later history of Ojców was played by Jan Zawisza, who bound the place to the Krasiński and later Czartoryski families. This was because Zawisza bequeathed his part of the Ojców estate to his just-to-be-born granddaughter Maria Ludwika [Fig. 1], daughter of Count Ludwik Krasiński and his wife Magdalena née Zawisza (1861–1945), in a will drawn up in 1883. This fact may have prompted Ludwik Krasiński to purchase the remainder of the Ojców estate at an auction in 1892. Krasiński's intention was to restore Ojców to its former glory, so he soon set about renovating

Zbiór studiów, ed. by J. Maternicki, Warszawa 1981, pp. 173–174; J. Polanowska, *Historiografia sztuki polskiej w latach 1832–1863 na ziemiach centralnych i wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej: F. M. Sobieszkański, J. I. Kraszewski, E. Rastawiecki, A. Przeddziecki*, Warszawa 1995, p. 162.

8 For more on Aleksander Przeddziecki's activities in Ojców, see: A. Biernacki, „Szczerzy w chęciach – skory w czynie”. *Aleksandra Przeddzieckiego starania i marzenia w sprawie Ojcowy*, in: *Zróżnicowanie i przemiany*, pp. 311–314.

9 E. M. Andriolli, *Listy do Adama Pługa z przejażdżki po kraju*, “Kłosy” 45 (1887) No. 1152, p. 57.



1. Portrait of Maria Ludwika Czartoryska, c. 1910. From the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Library

the two hotels and reorganising the health resort. Work began on recreating the spa park around the hotels and the castle, while a large hydrotherapy facility (Goplana) was built on the other side of the castle hill¹⁰. Completed as early as 1894, the building has not survived, as it was demolished in the late 1930s¹¹. However, the appearance of Goplana [Fig. 2] can be inferred from numerous iconographic sources and descriptions¹².

Kraśiński's death in 1895 thwarted other ambitious plans, including the reconstruction of the tower of Ojców Castle. However, as she grew up, the Count's daughter continued her father's work over time, contributing to the further development of the place. Being an only child, she was the heiress to a huge fortune, estimated at 50 million rubles, making her one of the richest ladies in the Russian Partition. In 1901, in Warsaw, Maria Ludwika married Prince Adam Ludwik Czartoryski (1872–1937), the first landowner of Sieniawa, and owner of i.a., the Hotel Lambert in Paris and a museum and library in Kraków. In her dowry, Kraśińska brought 71 estates, which, besides her ancestral home in Krasne in Mazovia, included numerous properties in Warsaw, and even factories and industrial plants in Austria and Italy, and the Ojców estate¹³.

The beginning of the 20th century was the heyday of Ojców health resort. Father Walenty Załuski noted that “hundreds of ailing people go to Ojców every year to regain their health, and those exhausted by mental labour regain peace, rest, and balance here”¹⁴. The main spa facility was the aforementioned Goplana bathing establishment, whose operations were managed by Stanisław Niedzielski (1859–1905) from 1898 to 1905. In parallel with his professional work, the doctor was involved in social activities and the popularisation of the Prądnik Valley. On his initiative and with the support of Ludwika Kraśińska, a former spa building

10 Cf. J. Nowak, *Ojców za Zawiszów, Kraśińskich i Czartoryskich 1878–1945*, in: *Zróżnicowanie i przemiany*, p. 120.

11 Cf. J. Partyka, J. Żółciak, *Dziedzictwo kulturowe Ojcowskiego Parku Narodowego*, in: *Ochrona dóbr kultury i historycznego związku człowieka z przyrodą w parkach narodowych*, ed. by J. Partyka, Ojców 2003, p. 361.

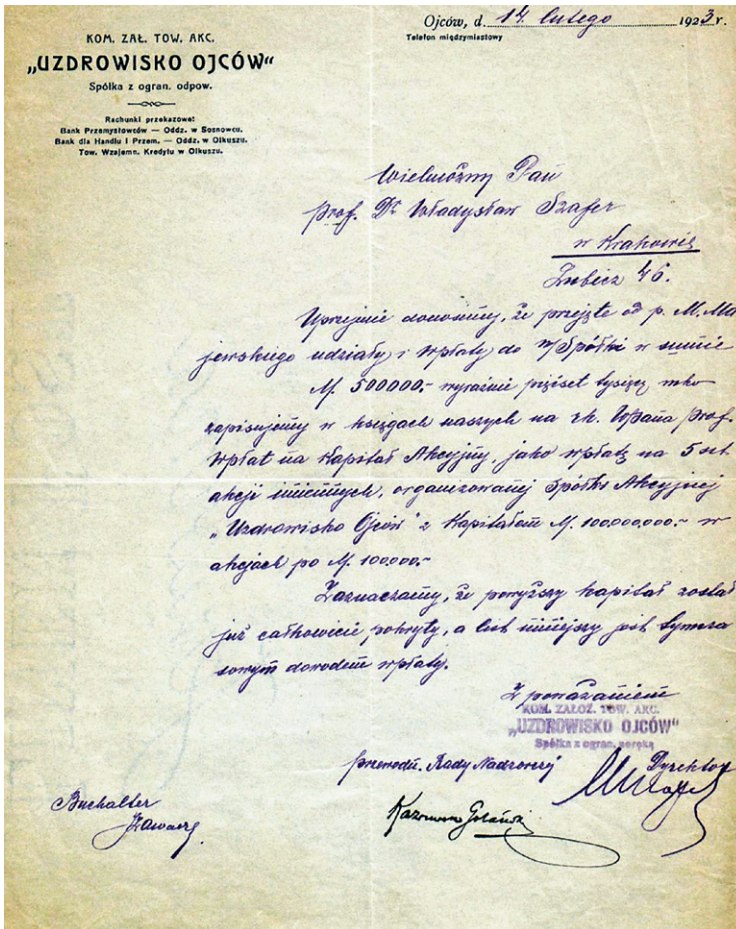
12 The most detailed description of this bathing establishment, including information on its interior furnishings, was found in a guidebook written by Dr Zdzisław Mierzyński, see: Z. Mierzyński, *Ojców. Uzdrowisko klimatyczne leśno-górskie*, Kraków 1895, pp. 14–19.

13 Cf. J. Nowak, *Ojców za Zawiszów*, p. 121.

14 W. Załuski, *Ojców. Kartka z dziejów Doliny Prądnika*, Warszawa 1903, p. 6.



2. Goplana hydrotherapy facility in Ojców, postcard, early 20th century. Collection of Ojców National Park



3. Proof of purchase of shares in the Uzdrowisko Ojców Joint Stock Company by Professor W. Szafer in 1923. Jagielloonian Library, Manuscripts Division, Papers of Władysław Szafer, sygn. Przyb. 798/76

on the Prądnik River was converted into a chapel in 1901, and later, for its unusual location, named Kaplica na Wodzie (Chapel On the Water)¹⁵. The balneologist and his wife established a library in Goplana. Only a small part of the book collection (about 30 items) survived, as in 1939 it was transferred to the Czartoryski Library in Kraków. After Niedzielski's death, the water treatment facility was acquired by Stanisław Kozłowski, a physician who also took over the lease of the local climate station. The Czartoryski princes were often absent from the country, so they appointed plenipotentiaries to conduct their business. In Kraków, their affairs were overseen by Jan Podczaski, who also managed Ojców¹⁶.

The Czartoryskis spent the First World War abroad. In Dresden, Princess Maria Ludwika looked after artworks taken from the Kraków museum to a local gallery. The prince obtained several licences to visit Warsaw and Krasne, however, due to their short term, he was unable to visit Ojców. After regaining independence, the owners of Ojców estate had high hopes for the area, counting on the further development of its spa and tourist functions, which was facilitated by its proximity to Kraków, no longer separated from the "paradise valley" by the border between partitioning states. Ojców succeeded in obtaining the official status of a health resort. In 1923, the Czartoryskis and their lessees established Uzdrowisko Ojców (Ojców Spa) Joint Stock Company, aiming to improve transportation accessibility and develop the place further¹⁷.

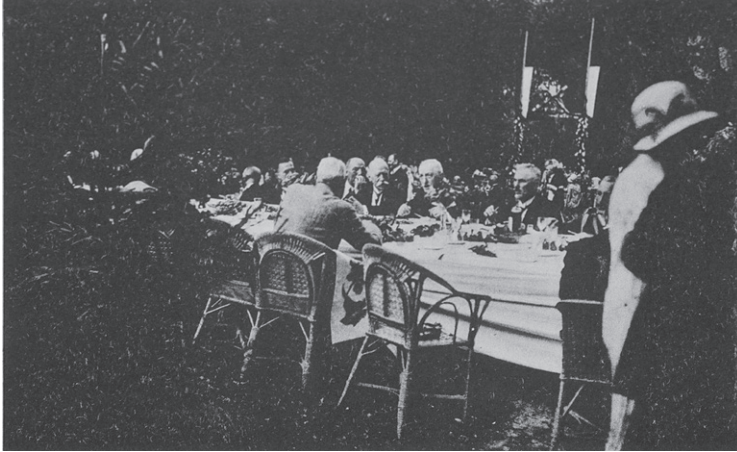
These activities met with opposition from naturalists, who pointed out the negative impact of the large numbers of tourists and visitors on the natural environment of the Prądnik Valley. Distinguished in the field of nature conservation, Professor Władysław Szafer (1886–1970) joined the company and bought registered shares [Fig. 3] only to be able to attend its general meetings and convince others¹⁸. Nevertheless, Uzdrowisko Ojców Joint Stock Company attempted to put its plans into practice. The accessibility of Ojców improved after a paved road to the village, connecting it to Kraków and Olkusz, was built. The ceremony celebrating the completion of the roadworks in 1929 was attended by the President of the

15 For more on Niedzielski and his activities in Ojców, see: *Stanisław Niedzielski i jego zasługi dla Ojcowia*, ed. by J. Partyka, Ojców 2006.

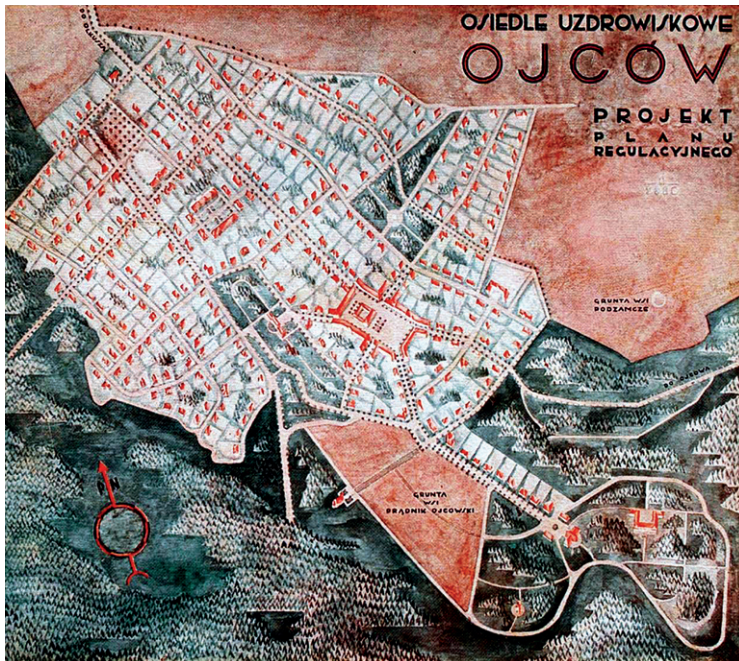
16 Cf. J. Nowak, *Ojców za Zawiszów*, pp. 121–122

17 Cf. J. Nowak, *Ojców za Zawiszów*, pp. 123–124.

18 Cf. D. Ziarkowski, *Kreacja, zmierzch, dziedzictwo uzdrowiska w Ojcowie*, in: *Turystyka uzdrowiskowa. Stan i perspektywy*, ed. by M. Boruszczak, Gdańsk 2009, p. 140.



4. Reception of Polish President Ignacy Mościcki in Ojców in 1928, postcard, ed. E. Chmielewski. Collection of Ojcowski National Park



5. Design of a health resort settlement on Złota Góra in Ojców, 1927, architect J. Gałęzowski. Collection of Ojców National Park

Republic of Poland Ignacy Mościcki, the Mayor of Kraków Karol Rolle, and many other well-known personalities [Fig. 4]. The princes, absent from the ceremony, were represented by their plenipotentiary, Jan Podczaski. In 1927, an urban plan was drafted to build a large spa estate on Złota Góra, with about 600 villas [Fig. 5]. Although plots of land were allocated for the investments and a paved road was built to the estate, these intentions hardly left the draughtboards¹⁹ even if several buildings such as Lenartówka, Sokołówka, Gołębiówka, Rój, and Zosia were completed²⁰.

Problems with raising funds for the construction of the planned resort settlement on Złota Góra, and the general economic crisis of the 1930s made Uzdrowisko Ojców Joint Stock Company go into liquidation in 1937. In the same year, Prince Adam Ludwik Czartoryski died, and his son Augustyn became his successor and main heir. His mother handed the affairs of the family's fee tail, including the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Kraków, almost entirely over to him, yet remained interested in Ojców until the end of her life. Augustyn Czartoryski also liked to spend time in Ojców as, in the last pre-war years, he found it a welcome refuge and even lived with his wife in the Serdeczna Villa in the first months of the war²¹.

In 1945, the Ojców estate was nationalised as a result of the Land Reform Act. It became part of the Ojców Forestry District, and in 1956 it was included into the then-created Ojców National Park. Princess Maria Ludwika Czartoryska left the country and settled in Switzerland, where she died in 1958²².

Spa architecture and spa park

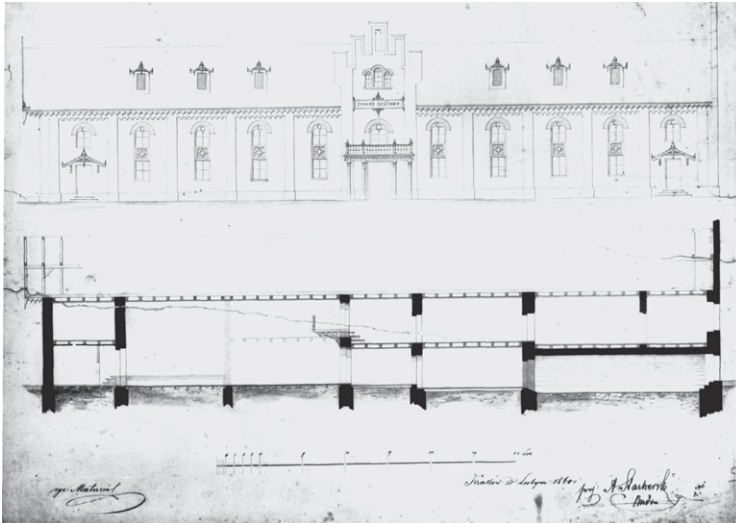
When the Krasiński and Czartoryski families owned Ojców, many buildings were constructed, a vast majority of them related to the local spa. The most important ones were constructed at the behest of Ludwik Krasiński and Maria Ludwika themselves, while some were built by other people associated with the resort, and by local people building guest houses for patients. Besides large buildings, such as the Goplana spa house, smaller villas and guest houses were built together with public utility

19 Cf. J. Nowak, *Ojców za Zawiszów*, pp. 124, 126–127.

20 Cf. J. Partyka, *Uzdrowiskowa przeszłość Ojcowa. Funkcja terapeutyczna naturalnego obszaru na przykładzie Ojcowskiego Parku Narodowego*, in: *Środowisko a zdrowie psychiczne człowieka*, ed. by J. Berlińska, ks. J. Klimek, Kraków 2015, pp. 117–118.

21 Cf. J. Nowak, *Ojców za Zawiszów*, pp. 130–131.

22 Cf. J. Nowak, *Ojców za Zawiszów*, p. 132.



6. Design of the façade of the Pod Łokietkiem Hotel in Ojców, 1860, architect Antoni Stachurski. National Archives in Kraków, sygn. Zb. Kart. VI-173



7. The building of the former Pod Łokietkiem Hotel in Ojców, c. 1860, rebuilt at the end of the 19th century. Photo by D. Ziarkowski

buildings (e.g., Bazar Warszawski and the Na Postoju bus station) and small architectural objects such as gazebos in the spa park and wooden chapels. Most buildings were made of wood. Early in the 20th century, the post-and-plank design was dominant, although log and mixed techniques were also employed. A change came between the two world wars, and the villas-mansions of the time were almost exclusively built in the log technique. There were few brick buildings, including the Pod Łokietkiem Hotel, which was built for Przewdziecki, and Jadwiga Villa, already a Czartoryskis initiative.

The earliest spa buildings in Ojców were constructed long before it went into the hands of the Krasińskis. An important role was played by the aforementioned oldest hotel (Pod Łokietkiem), located south of the castle hill. It was fashioned in 1860 from a former brewery to a design by a Kraków architect Antoni Stacherski (1831–1861), who devised a historicising building, with the front and northern elevations decorated with crenellated battlements [Fig. 6]. Destroyed during the January Uprising, the hotel was not rebuilt until the 1880s, when its decoration and exterior were extensively changed [Fig. 7]²³.

With the reconstruction of the Pod Łokietkiem Hotel, a period associated with the Krasińskis began, since the owner of the castle area and the initiator of the reconstruction of the aforementioned hotel was Jan Zawisza, father-in-law of Ludwik Krasiński and grandfather of Maria Ludwika, later Princess Czartoryska. He also made the decision to build a second facility to accommodate visitors, the Pod Kazimierzem hotel [Fig. 8], which was completed around 1885 opposite the Pod Łokietkiem Hotel. Its classicising body is characterised by compactness (except for the lower northern part, which is a remnant of an earlier building) and has a relatively formal character. The façade received a wide and projecting avant-corps, preceded by a wooden porch. The roof is enlivened by two symmetrically placed dormers. Decorative elements include ornamental volutes in the gables of the roof and porch, as well as roof ridge decoration pin and balcony railings. Spa villas built by other founders in the lower reaches of the Prądnik River, such as Pod Koroną and Pod Berłem, were also built around the same time. The latter was commissioned by the then owner of part of the Ojców estate, Huntley Gordon²⁴.

23 Cf. J. Partyka, D. Ziarkowski, *Dziedzictwo uzdrowiska*, pp. 321–322.

24 Cf. J. Partyka, D. Ziarkowski, *Dziedzictwo uzdrowiska*, p. 324.



8. Building of the former Pod Kazimierzem Hotel in Ojców, c. 1885. Photo by D. Ziarkowski



9. Pod Berłem Villa in Ojców, c. 1885. Photo by D. Ziarkowski

The villas mentioned above and, to some extent in terms of architectural detail, the Pod Kazimierzem Hotel, exhibit features of the Swiss chalet style, described as a “global ‘resort style’ that had its source in Tyrolean architecture”²⁵. Indeed, this health resort style had a universal character and its peculiarities were comprehended, as evidenced by the definitions included in the architecture and construction guides of the time. One example is that by Teofil Żebrawski, an architect and conservationist, who included, in the Swiss chalet style, “residential buildings, usually built of wood, roofs with large eaves, rafter limbs, while other parts of the exterior are carved; around the floors, or at least in the front wall, there are porches covered by the eaves, standing on the end of the beams protruding from the walls, with no columns to support them. Roof covered with slate or shingle; doors and windows surrounded by carved outside framing; the floors can be accessed by the external stairs with a balustrade made of carved boards”²⁶.

These features are most evident in the Pod Berłem Villa [Fig. 9], characterised by an irregular body with a turret, porches, and a bay window, as well as rich decorative detailing, which includes varied boarding forming geometric patterns in places (in the rear elevation), a frieze of latticed edges, a rather fanciful ornamentation of balustrades (negative tulip motif), and decorative bands adorning some windows and entrance doors. It is worth mentioning that similar buildings were constructed at that time in the spas in the Carpathian Mountains. Analogous examples can be found, among others, in Rymanów (Pod Matką Boską Villa, c. 1885) and Krynica (Dr Skórczewski’s establishment, 1889)²⁷.

There had been quite a few spa buildings by the early 1890s, when Ludwik Krasieński managed to unite the whole Ojców estate. The Count launched further projects following the Swiss chalet construction style transferred to Ojców earlier. It was probably from his foundation that the Uroczna Villa, generally dated to the end of the century and referred to in its contemporary guidebooks as “the villa of Count Krasieński” was built near

25 T. Chrzanowski, *Krynica*, Warszawa 1980, p. 10.

26 T. Żebrawski, *Słownik wyrazów technicznych dotyczących się budownictwa*, Kraków 1883, pp. 294–295.

27 Cf. D. Ziarkowski, *Ojców as a retreat for Warsaw’s dwellers in the period of the Kingdom of Poland*, in: *Stadtfluchten – Ucieczki z miasta*, ed. by M. Omilanowska, B. Störtkuhl, Warszawa 2011, p. 110 (Das Gemeinsame Kulturerbe – Wspólne Dziedzictwo, 7).



10. Uroczą Villa in Ojców, late 19th century. Photo by J. Partyka



11. Kaplica na Wodzie (Chapel on the Water) in Ojców, 1901. Photo by D. Ziarkowski

the castle²⁸. Compared with other buildings in Ojców, the villa stands out thanks to its compact body (as it was built on a near-square plan), high stone wall base, and a porch on the first floor overhung on decorative corbels, encircling three elevations [Fig. 10].

However, the most important spa building in Ojców was the Goplana hydrotherapy facility, also commissioned by Ludwik Krasiński [Fig. 2]. It was built in 1894, and Jastrzębowski, an engineer responsible for some works on the castle ruins at the time, is recorded as its builder²⁹. Goplana was the most imposing spa building, housing hydrotherapy and services on the ground floor, and rooms for patients on the higher floors. The exterior body of the bathing establishment received two unevenly-sized avant-corps on the sides and balconies along the two upper floors. The whole was covered by a steep, gabled roof. A veranda on the ground floor, separated by light columns and arcades supporting the balconies of the first floor, was a typical functional solution. These supports and some of the spaces between them were richly decorated. Decorative elements in the form of trussed planks were also placed in the gables of the roofs, topped with distinctive decorative elements.

The Goplana building showed a close affinity with the architecture of spa houses, springing in large numbers in Carpathian spas from the beginning of the second half of the 19th century. Built slightly earlier, the buildings in Zakopane and Rymanów Zdrój can be considered very similar, although less monumental. Neither of the aforementioned spa houses nor the Goplana bathing establishment have survived. Located in the immediate vicinity of the Prądnik River, the building bore a particularly strong resemblance to Dworzec Tatrzański (Tatra Manor) in Zakopane, immortalised in a drawing by Walery Eljasz Radzikowski, built a decade earlier to a design by Karol Zaremba, and later extended in 1892–1893³⁰. Many related formal elements, such as porches, verandas, and balconies supported by thin pillars, and ornamental elements (boards with rich carved decorations) can be observed in the gracious villas built in the last quarter of the 19th century on Bulwary Dietla in Krynica (including

28 Cf. K. Wróblewski, *Nad Prądnikiem. Przewodnik po Ojcowie i jego okolicy*, wydanie drugie ilustrowane, Warszawa 1907, p. 21.

29 Cf. J. Nowak, *Ojców za Zawiszów*, pp. 120–121.

30 Cf. J. Ross, *Architektura drewniana w polskich uzdrowiskach karpackich (1835–1914)*, in: *Sztuka 2 poł. XIX wieku. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Łódź, Listopad 1971*, Warszawa 1973, pp. 159 and 164.



12. Jadwiga
Villa in
Ojców, c. 1900.
Photo by
D. Ziarkowski



13. Maciejówka
and Zacisze
guesthouses
in Ojców, late
19th centu-
ry. Photo by
D. Ziarkowski

Wisła, Biały Orzeł, Tatrzańska, Biała Róża, Witoldówka, and Dr Skórczewski's dietary establishment)³¹. Very similar buildings were also built in Szczawnica at the time³².

The architectural development of the Ojców health resort was continued by Ludwik Krasiński's daughter. The first initiative requiring her approval, modest in terms of volume albeit of great symbolic importance, was the conversion of the former spa bath building into a chapel [Fig. 11]. The refurbishment was carried out in 1901, its main initiator being Dr Stanisław Niedzielski, who applied for permits from both the Office of the Kielce Bishop and the government of the Kingdom of Poland. An official document issued by the Ministry of the Interior on 31 October 1901³³ disproves the popular belief that the chapel was built "on the water to circumvent the tsar's ban on the construction of religious buildings in Ojców". The character of the chapel was greatly determined by the architecture of the earlier spa building. Therefore, Grażyna Ruszczyk is right that the building itself should be considered in the context of the trends in spa construction at the time³⁴.

During the reconstruction, led by a local carpenter Ignacy Chmielowski, the tripartite layout was preserved, with the widened central part (aisle) also being provided with side walls replacing the previous pillars. The former lantern was expanded, making it a two-storey ridge turret with openwork forms. Regularly spaced narrow and tall windows with wooden trusses were added in the side elevations, and a kind of circular decorative frieze formed of trussed intersecting boards adorned the upper part of the building. Also worth noting is the decoration of the entrance portal, made of jigsawn boards and vertically hammered pegs. This "pegging" motif originated from highlander art (portals of wooden houses were decorated in a similar way), and was popularised by Stanisław Witkiewicz (1851–1915),

31 Cf. J. Partyka, D. Ziarkowski, *Dziedzictwo uzdrowiska*, pp. 325–326.

32 Cf. T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, *Sztuka ziemi krakowskiej*, Kraków 1982, p. 684.

33 Letter of 2 November, Archives of the Diocesan Curia in Kielce, General Curial Files. Chapels in Parishes 1897–1939, sygn. OL – 1/3, k. 115. For more on the circumstances of creating the Chapel On the Water and its subsequent fortunes, see: D. Ziarkowski, *Dzieje kaplicy pw. św. Józefa Rzemieślnika w Ojcowie w świetle zachowanych źródeł*, "Prądnik. Prace i Materiały Muzeum im. Prof. W. Szafera" 25 (2015), pp. 191–220.

34 G. Ruszczyk, *Drewniane kościoły w Polsce 1918–1939. Tradycja i nowoczesność*, Warszawa 2001, p. 75.



14. Słoneczna
Villa in Ojców,
c. 1903.
Photo by
D. Ziarkowski



15. Bazar War-
szawski in
Ojców, late
19th, early
20th century
and c. 1920.
Photo by
D. Ziarkowski

who used analogous decorations in the Zakopane-style villas he designed. These are the earliest yet not the only influences of Zakopane architecture on Ojców, in this case remaining in the shadow of the Swiss chalet style. Their appearance can probably be linked to the fact that the works on the chapel's decoration were carried out, among others, by Czepiel, a sculptor and a former student of the Zakopane school residing in Ojców³⁵.

A building probably even more directly linked to Ludwika Krasieńska is the Jadwiga Villa, built around 1900. It once housed the administrative headquarters of the Czartoryski estate³⁶. The brick villa is a unique phenomenon in Ojców spa architecture, not only in terms of materials used but also in formal terms, as it acted as a particular harbinger of Art Nouveau and modernism. Located on a hill, almost opposite the castle, it is distinguished by its irregular body with an asymmetrical tower in the south-western corner and decoration with stone cladding, forming corner lesenes and elaborate window lintels [Fig. 12]. Unfortunately, the name of the architect of this building, now serving the management of the Ojców National Park as the headquarters, is unknown.

Analysing the influence of Ojców's owners on its architectural form, it is worth noting the interesting fact that the external forms of the numerous peasant guest houses built early in the 20th century were more modest versions of the buildings administered by the Ojców health resort, such as the Pod Koroną Villa. Their characteristic elements include an elongated body accommodating two storeys in the centre, gabled roofs, and façades usually accentuated by a central avant-corps in the form of a two-storey porch. Among the most interesting examples are the Zawiszówki complex, the Zacisze and Maciejówka guest houses [Fig. 13], and Dulewiczówka. However, the interior layout of these peasant guest houses, with a hallway across the entire width of the building, remains faithful to the traditional solutions used in the nearby cottages³⁷.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Ojców had a dense and formally and functionally diverse spa development. Therefore, far fewer buildings were built in the following decades. This, however, does not mean that they do not deserve attention, especially since some of them featured new stylistic tendencies, for instance the Słoneczna Villa [Fig. 14], built for

35 According to information in the "Wędrowiec" magazine, Czepiel's woodcarving shop was located in the building of "Bazar Warszawski". See: *Kaplica przy zakładzie leczniczym w Ojcowie*, "Wędrowiec" 22 (1902), p. 425.

36 Cf. J. Żółciak, *Budownictwo uzdrowiskowe*, p. 145.

37 Cf. J. Żółciak, *Budownictwo uzdrowiskowe*, pp. 148–149.



16. Building of the former Na Postoju bus station in Ojców, 1930. Photo by D. Ziarkowski



17. Lenartówka Villa on Złota Góra in Ojców, 1934, arch. Józef Gałęzowski. Photo by D. Ziarkowski

Dr Niedzielski in 1903³⁸. This small building boasts interesting decorations, which include, besides the Swiss-chalet-style decorated balustrades, wavy window headers, and a rich gable decorations with vine motifs, treated in a distinctly Art Nouveau manner.

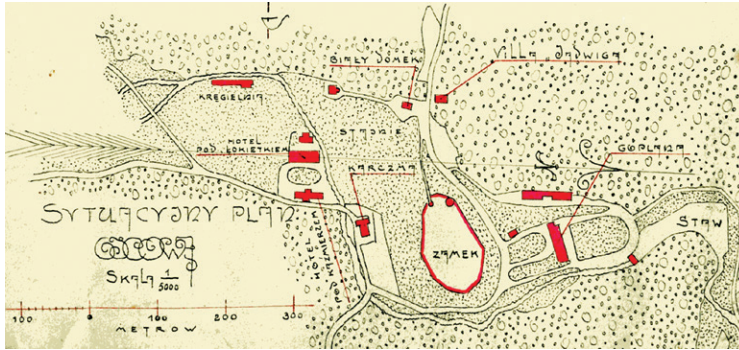
A very interesting phenomenon that deserves a broader discussion is the influence of the Zakopane style on Ojców, with some still not-too-evident features already appearing in the decoration of the portal of the Chapel On the Water. In a more pronounced way, the influence of the Witkiewicz style was marked in the building of Bazar Warszawski [Fig. 15], and a small bus station (Na Postoju). The first example mentioned is a sizeable post-and-plank commercial building with a stone wall base. It was built on the southern outskirts of the spa park in the early 20th century, but underwent extensive reconstruction around 1920. The result was a building with a rather disjointed body, in which one can distinguish the central part and two unequal-width avant-corps. Adding to the building's picturesque character is its varied roofline, as the aforementioned side sections have ridge lines parallel to the central section. It is worth mentioning that the building burnt down in 1978, and its current form results from its reconstruction in 1983–1987³⁹.

The bus station building was constructed as part of Princess Ludwika Czartoryska's efforts to improve accessibility of Ojców, which also resulted in the construction of a hard-surface road from Kraków, completed in 1928. Shortly thereafter, the management of the Ojców Spa decided to construct the bus station, employing workers from Skała supervised by carpenter Kostruń. Completed in 1930, the station building served as a waiting room and a buffet where hot meals were served⁴⁰. Its body, built of wood on a stone wall base, is symmetrical and consists of two small buildings connected to each other by a glazed connecting passageway [Fig. 16]. The steep roofs crowning the side sections, with their gables showing slats arranged in motifs of sunbeams are characteristic of the Zakopane style. Characteristic sun-shaped decorations were

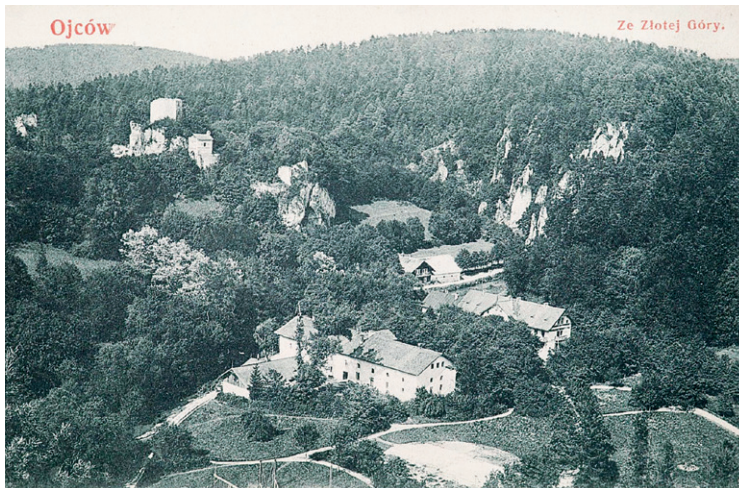
38 According to the information provided in the object's inventory card, completed in 1990 by E. Sadowska and J. Żółciak.

39 Cf. J. Partyka, *Ojcowski Park Narodowy*, Warszawa 2018, p. 113.

40 Information about the construction of the "Na Postoju" station was provided for the record card (completed in 1990 by E. Sadowska and J. Żółciak) by Władysław Filipowski, who was employed at the station and later became a guide in Ojców (died in 2004).



18. Plan of the spa park in Ojców, 1917. Collection of Ojców National Park



19. Ruins of Ojców Castle and the southern part of the spa park, postcard, early 20th century. Collection of Ojców National Park

also used in small pediments placed on the axes of the building's wider façades (above the entrances) and as decorations above some windows. A local peculiarity, however, is the linden tree growing in the middle of the station, stretching its branches above the roof of the small building.

The planned development on Złota Góra, whose construction was suggested by Princess Maria Ludwika Czartoryska herself, could have made larger-scale use of new solutions in spa architecture. The Princess donated 100 hectares of land to the Committee for the Extension of the Ojców Spa Estate established for that purpose. The estate was designed in the form of a garden city by architect Józef Gałęzowski in 1927 [Fig. 5]⁴¹. A year later, the construction of a sewage and water supply system began. By the outbreak of the Second World War, almost half of the 367 plots of land delineated by Gałęzowski had been sold, but only a few buildings had been built. After the war, the concept was not continued due to the post-war ownership changes, the protection of the nature in the Prądnik Valley Reserve, and the subsequent establishment of Ojców National Park⁴². However, the idea itself was very interesting in terms of urban planning and functionality. A rectangular marketplace, school, green areas, and sports and recreational facilities were envisaged. Princess Czartoryska even tried to move the historic 16th-century wooden church from nearby Smardzowice, where a new brick one was being built at the time⁴³, to the planned estate. Eventually, however, the plans and the construction of the entire estate were abandoned.

Most of the villas built in the Złota Góra area belonged to private investors who purchased plots of land there. Some of these structures are also linked to Gałęzowski. The most interesting example is Lenartówka [Fig. 17] demonstrating the diffusion of several trends found in the architecture of the period before the two world wars. Of particular interest are the reminiscences of the Zakopane style, revealed in the high limestone wall base, the varied body of the building with a terrace and dormers, and rather complex forms of the roof (especially on the eastern side)⁴⁴.

41 Cf. K. Lenartowicz, *Prof. arch. Józef Gałęzowski*, p. 8.

42 Cf. K. Lenartowicz, *Prof. arch. Józef Gałęzowski*, p. 10.

43 For more on this topic, see: D. Ziarkowski, *Drewniany kościół ze Smardzowic i sprawa jego przeniesienia do Ojcowa*, "Prądnik. Prace i Materiały Muzeum im. Prof. W. Szafera" 27 (2017), pp. 193–204.

44 Late influences of the Zakopane style in Ojców certainly deserve to be noticed, but at the same time it must be admitted that they do not constitute a phenomenon

Inspired by Zakopane-style, modernist elements appear in Lenartówka (corner windows characteristic of Functionalism, an interesting example of adaptation of a solution used in brick buildings), and the manor style born from the interest in vernacular architecture, triggered by the success of the Zakopane style⁴⁵. An example of the use of manor forms in wooden spa architecture is the Rój Villa, also built in the 1930s in Żłota Góra, and recently restored. Rój's twin built next to it was named Estreicherówka after it had been bought by Professor Karol Estreicher and moved to Wola Justowska in Kraków, after the war⁴⁶.

Ludwik Krasiński and later his daughter made their mark on the Ojców landscape not only through buildings, as they attached great importance to the spa park. Its origins are connected to Count Przewdziecki, but the January Uprising obliterated its earliest form. Work on creating the park from scratch began in the 1880s, first on the initiative of Jan Zawisza and later of his son-in-law and granddaughter. The final composition of the park developed in several phases, leading to a rather extensive complex consisting of three parts: the castle hill with the ruins, constituting a clear architectural dominant, and the areas to the south and north of the castle [Fig. 18].

The earliest developed area was that to the south of the castle, around the two hotels: Pod Łokietkiem and Pod Kazimierzem. In this first phase, a typical landscape park was created at the foot of the castle, with wide freely styled alleys adapted to the terrain [Fig. 19]. The historicising tendency was already visible even in this early phase, as it imbued the

unique to the architecture of the period. The solutions popularised by Stanisław Witkiewicz were used at the time in various regions of the country, including the Lublin and Mazovia regions, where Stanisław Witkiewicz's nephew, Jan Koszczyk-Witkiewicz, worked. See more on this topic in: M. Pszczółkowski, *Architektura użyteczności publicznej II Rzeczypospolitej 1918–1939*, Łódź 2014, pp. 11 and 97.

45 Cf. A. K. Olszewski, *Nowa forma w architekturze polskiej 1900–1925. Teoria i praktyka*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1967, pp. 120–123. It is worth adding that elements of the manor style were sometimes used in spa buildings, the best example being the Nowe Łazienki Mineralne in Krynica, erected between 1924 and 1926 according to a design by Władysław Klimczak. See: M. Wiśniewski, *Architektura uzdrowisk Beskidu Sądeckiego*, in: *Modernizmy. Architektura nowoczesności w II Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 1: *Kraków i województwo krakowskie*, ed. by A. Szczerski, Kraków 2013, p. 313.

46 It now houses the Museum of the Estreicher Family, Cultural Losses and Revindication.

medieval ruins with a strong ideological message⁴⁷. After the construction of the Goplana bathing establishment, the park was expanded to include the area north of the castle hill. Further works on the park were carried out by Ludwik Krasiński's daughter, who added many new elements to it early in the 20th century. They include a lake in the northern part, and recreational and entertainment facilities (shooting range, sports fields, gazebos) in the southern part. In addition to the castle ruins, the role of the Goplana bathing establishment was also highlighted, with a geometric layout of paths around it. The other areas of the park, on the other hand, had a typical landscape character⁴⁸.

No major changes were made to the area of the park complex and its composition in the next phase, dated by Mitkowska to 1925–1945. The most important element introduced at that time was a straight compositional axis, running from the area between the hotels Pod Łokietkiem and Pod Kazimierzem towards the castle ruins. In addition, in line with the modernist approach to composed greenery, efforts were made to “straighten the park paths, which were previously characterised by a more calligraphic course”⁴⁹. Only the layout of alleys between the hotels located in the southern part of the former park and the incomplete axis leading toward the castle have been preserved from the time between the two world wars. Other compositional details of this section of the park have been obliterated, and the northern part of the establishment has been completely degraded.

Works on Ojców Castle

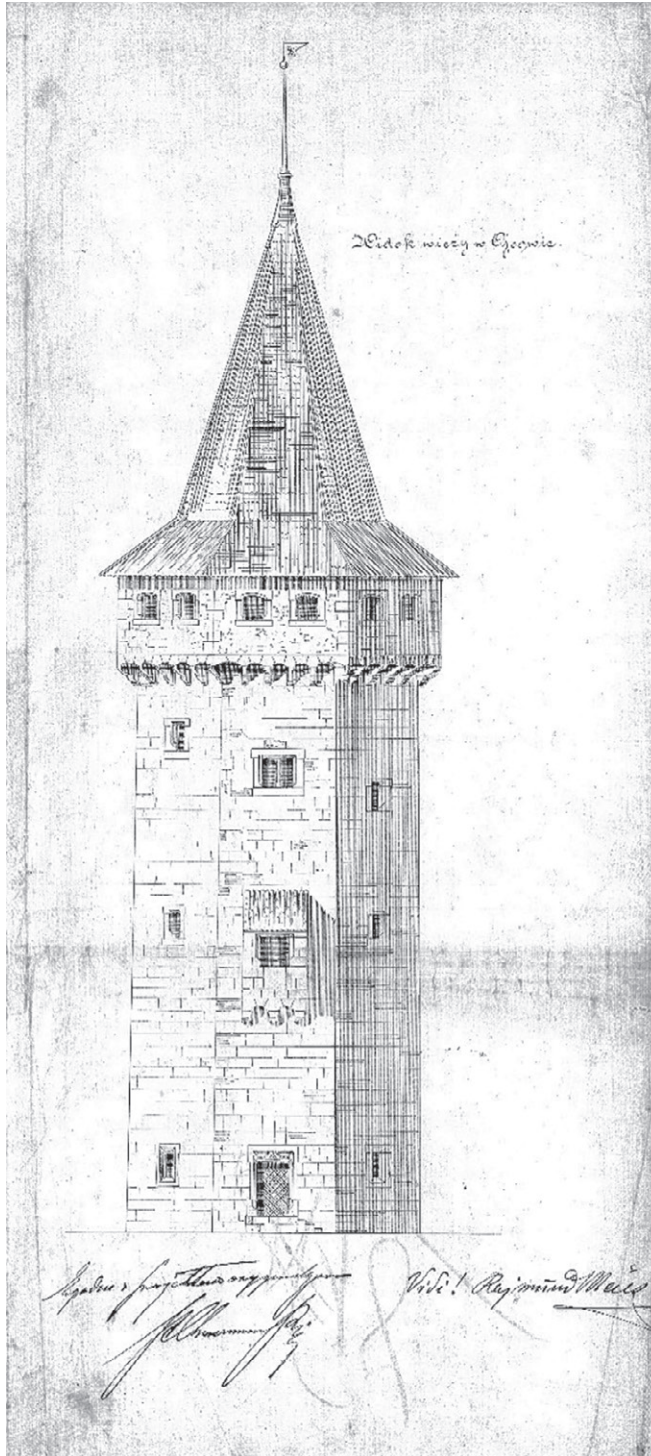
Ludwik Krasiński, and later his daughter Maria Ludwika with her husband Prince Adam Ludwik Czartoryski, made attempts to preserve and restore the ruins of Ojców Castle. Their activity also had a critical impact on the appearance of the spa, especially since, as mentioned before, the castle ruins played an important ideological role and were a landscape dominant within the spa park.

Some work on the ruins was carried out soon after Count Krasiński became the owner of Ojców. It was his initiative to have the entrance bridge removed, the moat filled in, and the entrance gate renovated. The Count also ordered the demolition of the upper floor of the medieval

47 Cf. A. Mitkowska, *Uzdrowisko w Ojcowie*, p. 124.

48 Cf. D. Ziarkowski, *Ojców as a retreat*, p. 107.

49 See A. Mitkowska, *Uzdrowisko w Ojcowie*, p. 128.



20. Ojców Castle
Design tower
restoration
project: view
of exterior
architecture,
1895, architect
Tomasz Pryliński. Collection
of Ojców
National Park

defence tower, due to the threat of collapsing. He planned a major reconstruction of the castle for purposes of a museum of local flora and fauna⁵⁰. To this end, Krasiński made contact with well-known architects: Tadeusz Stryjeński (1849–1943) and Tomasz Pryliński (1847–1895), whom he commissioned to design the reconstruction of the castle tower. The letters exchanged by the Count and the administrators of the Ojców estates acting on his behalf and the aforementioned architects, and their designs for the castle tower, are preserved in the Archives of Ojców National Park⁵¹.

Stryjeński's design from early 1893 envisaged extending the tower by nearly 11 metres and transforming it into a five-storey construction with a prominent porch suspended on machicolations, which was to support a soaring pyramid roof. Pryliński's later design envisaged a different organisation of the tower's interior, while the exterior was similar to Stryjeński's earlier proposal [Fig. 20]. His concept was scheduled for implementation, as evidenced by the cost estimate drawn up, but the death of Ludwik Krasiński put an end to the project. Although, in subsequent years, the General Board of the Krasiński Estate attempted to reconstruct the tower, they lacked sufficient determination to do so after the Count's death.

The concept of the castle tower was revived in 1912. By the outbreak of the First World War, a more conservative (compared to earlier plans) version of restoration had been carried out. It comprised of raising the walls by 6 metres, using the rubble from the inside of the tower, the restoration of the shingled roof, the repair of the lower parts of the building, and cementing of the joints. The work was directed by a Warsaw architect Stanisław Grochowicz (1858–1938). The surviving letters indicate that the designers planned to arrange a museum containing "Ojców collections" in the tower secured in this way, and that the initiative was approved by Prince Czartoryski during his stay in Ojców⁵². Yet the plans were never executed. The collections, originally displayed in the Goplana bathing establishment and, since 1908, in a chamber above the castle's entrance

50 Cf. A. Falniowska-Gradowska, *Dzieje zamku ojcowskiego*, Ojców 1999, p. 80.

51 These issues are discussed in detail in the paper: D. Ziarkowski, *Próby restauracji wieży zamku w Ojcowie w końcu XIX wieku oraz w latach 1912–1914*, "Prądnik. Prace i Materiały Muzeum im. Prof. W. Szafera" 25 (2015), pp. 221–240.

52 Cf. D. Ziarkowski, *Próby restauracji wieży zamku*, pp. 233–234.

gate, remained in the latter location. They were looted during the First World War, but the museum reopened later⁵³.

Between the two world wars, Princess Czartoryska ordered the removal of war damage to the castle. The upper part of the castle tower had to be rebuilt again, and its walls and the sections located by the entrance gate had to be strengthened⁵⁴. Later, works also extended to the entrance gate. It is worth noting that the date 1935 engraved on the surviving ceiling beam in the room above the gate apparently informs that this is when a new ceiling, and probably also a roof, were installed.

Conclusion

Ludwik Krasiński and Maria Ludwika Czartoryska were the owners of Ojców at a time very important for the place. Early in the 20th century, a fashionable health resort operated here, attracting patients and summer visitors with its picturesque landscape, patriotic monuments (castles in Ojców and nearby Pieskowa Skała), and proximity to Kraków – the spiritual capital of Poland. Between the two world wars, further development of Ojców was possible, yet required more investment to ensure better accessibility, expanding the spa, and providing sightseeing and recreational opportunities.

The owners of Ojców set the course for its transformation, which was closely linked to architecture. Ludwik Krasiński followed the Swiss-chalet-style model of spa construction used in Ojców earlier, with the best example being the lost Goplana bathing establishment. The spa bath building that functioned next to it was converted into a chapel, a peculiar sacred building retaining resort-like architectural forms, thanks to the approval of his daughter Maria Ludwika. Later, as Princess Czartoryska, she launched numerous initiatives to have new, both public utility (Bazar Warszawski and Na Postoju bus station) and residential (villas on Żłota Góra) buildings constructed in Ojców. Thanks to this, Ojców architecture was enriched among others with buildings inspired by the Zakopane style and Modernism.

The influence of Ludwik Krasiński and Maria Ludwika Czartoryska on the architecture of Ojców manifested itself in various ways. Of particular importance were their foundations, enriching the place with buildings

53 See more on this topic: J. Partyka, J. B. Twaróg, *Krajoznawstwo w Dolinie Prądnika*, in: *Monografia Ojcowskiego Parku Narodowego*, p. 443.

54 Cf. A. Falniowska-Gradowska, *Dzieje zamku*, p. 81.

that were important also for their artistic values, e.g., Goplana, and the Uroczna and Jadwiga villas. This influence did not always take such direct forms, as sometimes the initiative came from representatives of the resort administration, e.g., Dr Niedzielski who proposed the concepts for the Chapel On the Water and Słoneczna Villa. There was another important dimension to influence and imitation, as, building their guest houses, the locals modelled them on the buildings that were property of the spa owners. The concept of building the Ojców spa settlement, developing between the two world wars and strongly supported by Princess Czartoryska, enabled the construction of several interesting villas. In this case, the influence of the owner of Ojców was indirect, as these were private investors who bought the plots and raised their buildings on them. However, without her proposal, there would have been no buildings on Złota Góra that are a very valuable part of the cultural heritage of today's Prądnik Valley.

The work undertaken by the Krasiński and Czartoryski families on the ruins of Ojców Castle should also be appreciated. Although only some of the most ambitious plans were carried out, the monument was saved from further decline, which made it possible to have it protected and adapted for tourist visits after the Second World War.

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Abstract

Joanna Ziarkowska, Dominik Ziarkowski

The influence of Ludwik Krasiński and Maria Ludwika Czartoryska on Ojców architecture at the turn of the 20th century and between the two world wars

In the second half of the 19th century, a spa was set up in Ojców, a village at the time situated by the southern border of the Kingdom of Poland. With time, it became a fashionable destination for visitors from Warsaw, and from other towns and cities located in the territory of the Russian sector of partitioned Poland. Ojców experienced its heyday early in the 19th and 20th centuries and its spa activities continued also between the two world wars. The Ojców demesne was then owned by Count Ludwik Krasiński and his daughter Maria Ludwika, from 1901 Princess Czartoryska. The latter remained the owner of Ojców until the nationalisation of the estate in the wake of the agrarian reform of 1944.

The article attempts to discuss the contribution of Ludwik Krasiński and his daughter Maria Ludwika to the architectural heritage of Ojców. It was their idea to have many buildings, particularly those that catered to the needs of the local spa, built. Their number includes the Jadwiga and Uroczka villas, and the non-extant Goplana hydrotherapy establishment. Moreover, Ludwik Krasiński and later Maria Ludwika Czartoryska ordered works on the ruins of Ojców Castle and development of the Ojców spa park. It was chiefly thanks to their efforts that certain elements of the Swiss spa architecture and subsequently also the Zakopane (Polish highland) style were introduced in Ojców. There are also certain unrealised and partially realised goals worth mentioning, for instance an attempt to restore the castle tower, the initiative to move the historical wooden church from Smardzowice to Ojców (ultimately, it was transferred to Mostek, a village in Miechowski County), and the concept of building an immense spa estate reminiscent of a garden city in Złota Góra initiated between the two world wars.

Keywords:

Ludwik Krasiński, Maria Ludwika Czartoryska, Ojców, spa architecture, cultural heritage

Abstrakt

Joanna Ziarkowska, Dominik Ziarkowski

Wpływ Ludwika Krasińskiego i Marii Ludwiki Czartoryskiej na kształtowanie architektury Ojcowa na przełomie XIX i XX wieku oraz w okresie międzywojennym

W drugiej połowie XIX wieku w Ojcowie, miejscowości położonej ówczesnie przy południowej granicy Królestwa Polskiego, urządzone zostało uzdrowisko, które z czasem stało się modnym miejscem przyjazdów dla mieszkańców Warszawy i innych miast zaboru rosyjskiego. Największy swój rozkwit miejscowość przeżywała na przełomie XIX i XX wieku, a działalność uzdrowskowa była kontynuowana także w okresie międzywojennym. Dobra ojcowskie były wówczas w posiadaniu hrabiego Ludwika Krasińskiego i jego córki Marii Ludwiki, od 1901 roku księżnej Czartoryskiej. Maria Ludwika była właścicielką Ojcowa aż do nacjonalizacji majątku w wyniku reformy rolnej z roku 1944.

W artykule podjęto próbę omówienia wkładu Ludwika Krasińskiego i jego córki w dziedzictwo architektoniczne Ojcowa. Z ich inicjatywy powstało wiele budowli, wznoszonych zwłaszcza na potrzeby uzdrowska (m.in. wille „Jadwiga” i „Uroczą”, niezachowany zakład hydropatyczny „Goplana”). Ludwik Krasiński, a potem Maria Ludwika Czartoryska podejmowali ponadto prace przy ruinach zamku ojcowskiego, a także kształtowali charakter parku zdrojowego. W dużej mierze ich zasługą było rozpropagowanie w Ojcowie form tzw. architektury szwajcarskiej, a potem wprowadzenie do niektórych budowli elementów stylu zakopiańskiego. Warto wspomnieć też o zamierzeniach niezrealizowanych, czy też zrealizowanych jedynie częściowo, takich jak: próba odbudowy wieży zamkowej, inicjatywa przeniesienia do Ojcowa zabytkowego, drewnianego kościoła ze Smardzowic (ostatecznie trafił do wsi Mostek w powiecie miechowskim) czy międzywojenny projekt budowy ogromnego osiedla uzdrowskiego w typie miasta-ogrodu na Złotej Górze.

Słowa kluczowe:

Ludwik Krasiński, Maria Ludwika Czartoryska, Ojców, architektura uzdrowskowa, dziedzictwo kulturowe

Recensiones

Łukasz Kościółek
The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow

Listy z Woldenbergu. Korespondencja jeńca wojennego Majora Feliksa Chmielewskiego z Oflagu IIC Woldenberg, ed. by M. Koziński, Białystok 2021, pp. 120

The Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War signed in Geneva on 27 July 1929 defines strictly how detained soldiers should be treated, and what they must be provided with during their stay in POW (prisoner of war) camps. Among the many guidelines therein, Section IV with articles 35–41 deserves special attention as it refers to POWs' relationships with the external world. According to its provisions, every party to a conflict defines the number of letters and cards that the POWs will have the right to send every month, and is obliged to inform the other side of the conflict about it without any undue delay. Moreover, the letters and cards should be in the prisoner's native tongue, and censorship should be conducted in the shortest possible time so as not to make any significant impact on the delivery of the letters to the addressee¹. With the legal grounds thus explained, the POW epistolography, next to the POW diaries and memoirs, as the only testimony to the actual events taking place behind the barbed wires of Oflags seems to be an extremely

1 Dz. U. 1932 No. 103 item 866.

significant contribution to understanding the everyday fate of the thousands of soldiers imprisoned in the stalags and oflags on the area covered by the military hostilities of the Second World War.

That is why, in this light, the publication by the Army Museum in Białystok (Muzeum Wojska w Białymstoku, henceforth MWB), entitled *Listy z Woldenbergu. Korespondencja jeńca wojennego Majora Feliksa Chmielewskiego z Oflagu IIC Woldenberg*, which can be translated into “Letters from Woldenberg. Letters and cards of Major Feliks Chmielewski, a prisoner of war from Oflag II-C Woldenberg”, edited by Marcin Koziński. It draws from the documents that can be found in the museum’s collection purchased from the major’s daughter, Danuta Chmielewska, in 2002. The collection consists of 66 letters and cards written by major Feliks Chmielewski accompanied by numerous souvenirs, notably the cups commemorating his service in the 96th Omsk Infantry Regiment, and the 85th Vilnius Rifles Regiment, the memorial ring of the Border Protection Corps (KOP), a passport from 1915, identity cards, documents proving his military career, and numerous photographs and albums from 1913–1940².

The publication contains two basic parts: the introduction, letters and cards. What strikes is the lack of table of contents, which would make navigating around the book easier, and the title page with information about the author of research and main editor. In return, we only receive brief information on the editor (Marcin Koziński), proofreader (Natalia Filipowicz), publisher, and printing house.

The introduction consists of two parts, formally assigned to two, yet actually written by three different authors. The first and the shortest comes from Robert Sadowski, director of the MWB. It informs the reader briefly who Feliks Chmielewski was, and in what circumstances he wrote and sent letters and cards to his loved ones. There is also information that

2 Koziński’s introduction speaks of a period from 1913 to 1939, however, the photographs from the MWB collection in the book span the time from 1913 to 1941, and there are only two photographs taken after 1939. The first, from 1940, shows Chmielewski in Oflag XVIII-A Lienz, and the other, from 1941, features Danuta Chmielewska in Życzyna and her house in the background. See: M. Koziński, *Wstęp*, in: *Listy z Woldenbergu. Korespondencja jeńca wojennego Majora Feliksa Chmielewskiego z Oflagu IIC Woldenberg*, ed. by M. Koziński, Białystok 2021, p. 8; for the full list of objects in the MWB collection, see: U. Kraśnicka, *Mjr Feliks Ksawery Chmielewski, oficer KOP, zastępca dowódcy 42 pułku piechoty*, “Zeszyty Muzeum Wojska” 17 (2004), pp. 213–219.

the publication is second in the series that is based on the documents of Polish soldiers that can be found in the MWB collection³. It is a pity that the persons responsible for the publication of both did not name the series, as that would help in the identification of the published volumes. Perhaps this could be amended in the following volumes, as I assume there will be a follow-up.

The second part of Koziński's introduction, by contains four subchapters. The first informs about the archival and museum collections related to Feliks Chmielewski that provided a starting point for the work on the publication. It is the pity that the author failed to inform why the collection is incomplete and where the reader can look for the remaining parts of the collection of Chmielewski's letters and cards.

The second subchapter is Chmielewski's bio covering his military service in the Russian armed forces and in the Polish Army. The reader can follow the development of his military career and, albeit briefly, trace his private life. The author primarily draws from the collection of the Central Military Archive⁴ and complements his findings with a vast collection of photographs of the major, his relatives, and his brothers in arms. These help to make the person of Feliks Chmielewski closer to the reader, and his biography fuller. After all, it is the latest and the most detailed biography of Feliks Chmielewski to have as yet been published⁵, an achievement that the author should be applauded for. I hope that he will not stop at that and that, in the coming years, we will be presented with a work describing the history of life of that outstanding soldier in detail.

Koziński devotes the third subchapter to the largest POW camp for Polish officers, Oflag II-C Woldenberg, its history, structure, everyday life

- 3 The first was J. Kowalczyk, *Wspomnienia żołnierza 3. Dywizji Strzelców Karpackich*, ed. by M. Koziński, Białystok 2020.
- 4 Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe Wojskowego Biura Historycznego [hereafter: CAW], Kolekcja Akt Personalnych i Odznaczeniowych [hereafter: AP], Chmielewski Feliks Ksawery, sygn. 1.481.C.1394; CAW, AP, Chmielewski Feliks Ksawery, sygn. odrzuciono 25.06.1938.
- 5 By now only three notes on Chmielewski have been published. One is part of the reviewed book, while the other two are U. Kraśnicka, *Mjr Feliks Ksawery Chmielewski*, pp. 213–219; *Major Feliks Ksawery Chmielewski*, in: *Aparat bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego wobec żołnierzy Korpusu Obrony Pogranicza i funkcjonariuszy Służby Granicznej*, eds. A. Chrzanowska, S. Koller, W. Kujawa, K. Langowski, S. Pilarska, P. Skubisz, D. Wolska, Warszawa 2013, p. 341.

in the camp, and the formal issues concerning the exchange of letters and cards between the prisoners and the outside world. Here, the author only refers to three publications⁶. This is no flaw, yet an insightful historical analysis would help to edit the material that Koziński embraced, especially if one considers the large number of works on POW life in Woldenberg⁷. The fourth subchapter is a psychographic analysis performed by Karolina Gorzkowska, a lawyer, graphologist, psychographologist, forensic linguist, expert in handwriting and documents. Its content was supervised by the Polish General Writing Board (Naczelna Rada Pismoznawcza). Rather than the full text of the analysis, the publication includes its wide fragments intended to complement the image of Chmielewski gleaned from the bio and the content of his letters and cards. The author presents her assessment based on a sample of 20 letters and cards from 1939–1940, which she conducted in March and April 2021. Such dates are given in Koziński's short introduction to the psychographic analysis. However, the content of her analysis proves that Gorzkowska also worked on letters dating to later years. That is evident from the following passage: “[Chmielewski] uplifts the spirits of the addressees, writing that everything will be all right. That is especially visible in the letters from 1939–1942, while a gradual loss of physical strength and psyche is noticeable in the letters from the later years. The officer has concerns about the future, and becomes ever more locked within himself. Just like optimism and hope were visible in the letters from the first years of detention, the feelings predominantly present in the letters from 1944 are sadness, scepticism, detachment, seriousness, and the deteriorating emotional condition of the author”⁸. Unfortunately, lack of access to the full contents of the analysis makes it impossible to verify the correctness of the dates provided in the text. However, bearing in mind the earlier inaccuracies in the text, it must be assumed that

6 *Oflag II C Woldenberg. To brzmi jak tajemnica*, ed. by W. Dembek, Dobiegniew 2017; *Oflag II C Woldenberg. Wczoraj i dziś*. Muzeum Woldenberczyków w Dobiegniewie, ed. by A. Pazdan, Dobiegniew 2014; J. Olesik, *Oflag II C Woldenberg*, Warszawa 1988.

7 A detailed bibliography on Oflag II C Woldenberg can be found on the website of the Stowarzyszenie Woldenberczyków Association: http://woldenberczycy.pl/?-page_id=6, last accessed on 6.01.2023.

8 K. Gorzkowska, *Opinia psychograficzna – portret osobowościowy na podstawie analizy pisma ręcznego*. Badania przeprowadzone na zlecenie Muzeum Wojska w Białymstoku, Warszawa 2021, pp. 4–6, quoted from M. Koziński, *Wstęp*, p. 35.

the above is an editorial mistake and the sample of Chmielewski's letters and cards Gorzkowska studied goes beyond 1940.

The psychographic analysis referred to above enriches the publication and casts a new light of the person of Feliks Chmielewski. What every reader could decode studying the letters and cards penned by Chmielewski is provided here, before the presentation of the letters themselves. The researcher remarks on the change of the major's handwriting with the passage of years, and infers conclusions concerning his psychological state. However, she may be mistaken in assessing his personality and character on the grounds of the material she studied. That results from the fact that her research on the works of Feliks Chmielewski glosses over the social, and even more importantly, historical aspects. Obviously, the researcher knows that the author of the letters was a POW and was detained in a German camp but does not know precisely the period in which individual letters were written. Consequently, she cannot fully know what the joy or sadness evident from the successive texts resulted from. Similar conclusions can be drawn in respect of Chmielewski's stiffness and a slightly formal writing style. The researcher makes a reference to camp censorship, yet without a more in-depth knowledge of the spectrum in which the letters were written. Therefore, the appraisal provided in the analysis presented may be far from a proper assessment of the situation. For POWs primarily used the words, phrases, and even whole sentences that the censors could understand for letters with those were likely to be allowed to leave the walls of the camp. That is why one should be cautious while approaching the psychographic analysis and provide it with an appropriate historical background.

The major part of the publication in question are the letters that Chmielewski wrote to his closest relatives. His 66 letters and cards written in 1939–1944 in Stalag I-A Stablack⁹ (one letter), Oflag XVIII-A

9 Stalag I A Stablak, the largest POW camp in Eastern Prussia, was established in 1939 in the northern section of former German military training grounds Stablack spread over the premises of today's Stablawki and Kamięnsk in Górowo Haweckie commune in Bartoszycki County in Warmińsko-Mazurski Region, with a section near the town of Dolgorukovo in Kaliningrad Region. Details on the camp, and its prisoners and history, see: Z. Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie w Prusach Wschodnich*, Warszawa 1982; B. Koziełło-Poklewski, *Obozy jenieckie w Prusach Wschodnich (na marginesie książki Zygmunta Lienza)*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1983) No. 4, pp. 517–536; J. Necio, *Stalag I A Stablack. Próby upamiętnienia*, "Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny" 2011, pp. 53–66; A. Kruglov, J. Lusek, *Mannschaftammlager (Stalag) I A*,

Lienz¹⁰ (one card), and Oflag II-C Woldenberg (34 letters, 30 cards) with eight of those also being included as scans. It is a pity that not all letters were showed in this form, as that would have allowed the reader to obtain some more details concerning the quoted content of the individual letters. What the reader is therefore given is just a dry text with brief information concerning the addressee and the sender in a footnote. Unfortunately, the editors of the book also omitted other detail, as the bio only informs that Chmielewski was a prisoner in successive camps, however fails to place those events on the time axis¹¹. Such a chronology can nevertheless be deduced from the published letters. Complementing that information with the knowledge on the aforementioned POW camps allows recreation of an approximate chronology of events that took place during the Second World War.

The emergency mobilisation of the 42nd Jan Henryk Dąbrowski Infantry Regiment started on 24 August 1939. The 1st Battalion completed it in the evening of the same day, the 2nd Battalion – by the morning of 25 August, and the 3rd Battalion commanded by Chmielewski – on 26 August. It took them several hours to reach Ostrołęka, from where they moved to Łodziska, where they awaited further orders. During the September campaign, they participated in the clashes along the Ostrołęka–Łodziska line, and around Dylewo and Kadzidło. On the night of 12/13 September, Chmielewski's battalion was caught in a trap in a forest near Czerwony Bór and all its soldiers became German POWs¹². Chmielewski was first taken to Stalag I-A Stalback (letter of 10 October 1939)¹³, and

transl. by K. Luft, in: *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. 5: *Camps and Other Detention Facilities Under the German Armed Forces*, ed. by G. P. Megehee, Bloomington 2022, pp. 287–390.

10 Oflag XVIII-A Lienz, was a POW camp in East Tirol established in the northern part of Lienz in Austria in 1939. For details on the camp, and its prisoners and history, see: D. Michelbacher, *Offizierlager (Oflag) XVIII A*, in: *The United States Holocaust Memorial*, vol. 5, pp. 609–611.

11 See: M. Koziński, *Wstęp*, pp. 28–29.

12 See: A. Dobroński, K. Filipow, *42 pułk piechoty im. gen. Jana Henryka Dąbrowskiego*, Białystok 1996, pp. 26–49; M. Koziński, *Wstęp*, pp. 28–29.

13 MWB, korespondencja obozowa F. Chmielewskiego ze Stalagu 1A Stalback, Oflagu XVIII A Lienz i Oflagu IIC Woldenberg, lata 1939–1944 [camp letters and cards by F. Chmielewski from Stalag I-A Stalback, Oflag XVIII-A Lienz, and Oflag II-C

later to Oflag XVIII-A Lienz (card of 11 December 1939)¹⁴, where he was given the camp number 5680/XVIII A, and finally to Oflag II-C Woldenberg (card of 7 February 1941 and successive ones)¹⁵. There he was billeted to Barrack 3B which belonged to the 1st Battalion of the Camp East and later to Barrack 23B, being part of the 5th Battalion of Camp West (letters of 9 December 1941 and ff)¹⁶. He remained in the camps for officers until 25 January 1945. Then, as part of the German evacuation of the POW camp II-C Woldenberg he moved westwards with other POWs. During the march, many prisoners died of exhaustion while others were murdered by the camp guards. The journey of the 5th Battalion lasted until 8 December 1945. That was when the last 300 POWs were transported by the British Armed Forces to Szczecin¹⁷.

The care for the the editorial and visual aspects deserves special attention. The book is highly aesthetic. The minimalist design of the cover stands out against similar publications. It does encourage a potential reader to grab the book and learn its content. When opened, the book presents a clear and legible layout of the pages, with photographs and scans of the letters carefully prepared for printing. The manner of presentation of the published letters and cards brings to mind the layout popular in volumes of poetry: one page – one poem, in this case – one letter. This makes it easier for the reader to browse through the successive records of life in the camp that the author sent to his loved ones. Additionally, the comments provided in the form of footnotes for every successive letter and card help in navigation while not dominating the text proper.

The publication by the MWB is an exceedingly valuable work that will certainly help many aficionados and researchers of the history of the Second World War in discovering new facts from the POW life of the Polish soldiers taken captives by Germans, and will help not only historians in learning the reasons and symptoms of what is known as “the barbed wires malady” also known as the KZ-Syndrome. Koziński

Woldenberg, 1939–1941], No. inw. MBW/D/3556, quoted from: *Listy z Woldenbergu*, p. 39.

14 MBW/D/3557, quoted from: *Listy z Woldenbergu*, p. 40.

15 MBW/D/3558/1, quoted from: *Listy z Woldenbergu*, p. 42.

16 MBW/D/3558/4, quoted from: *Listy z Woldenbergu*, p. 45; W. Dębek, *Organizacja obozu*, in: *Oflag II C Woldenberg. To brzmi jak tajemnica*, pp. 12–13.

17 Z. Izydorczyk, *Ewakuacja i wyzwolenie*, in: *Oflag II C Woldenberg. To brzmi jak tajemnica*, pp. 90–96.

deserves special recognition as the editor responsible for the book. Minor errors aside, he made a huge effort that produced a very good book. I hope that further publications in the series based on the documents of Polish soldiers in the collection of the WB will soon be released. They will allow a better insight into the individual and collective stories of Poles fighting on various fronts of the war not only to historians but also to all readers.

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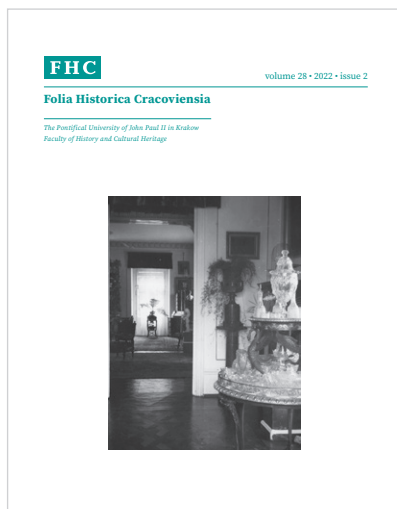
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