

Elżbieta Wichrowska

University of Warsaw, Poland
e-mail: ewichrowska@poczta.fm
ORCID: 0000-0001-7151-6213

IS THE ENLIGHTENMENT WORKS' EDITORSHIP STILL NEEDED?

Abstract

The paper asks whether editing of 18th-century texts is still needed. By answering this question, she tracks the changes in editing on the example of Polish research on the Enlightenment. On the one hand, it shows how vital classical editing of the 20th century was: publishing volumes of collected works, correspondence, poetry, anthologies - types of editions whose development peaked in Poland in the communist era when cultural policy financially supported scientific editions in order to use them for ideological goals. On the other hand, the author points out how much the demand for critical editions has changed in modern times, especially in the field of humanistic themes and turns, i.e., gender studies and women's journals, in which the author of the paper specialises (intimate women's journals of the 18th and 19th centuries). The paper also deals with the digitisation of sources and scientific editions. The author recognises the advantages of this digitisation challenge and points to its rarely discussed limitations. The conclusion emphasises the importance of scientific anthologies and the editorship itself, which enables direct contact with the text and its more profound understanding, especially in order to understand tradition and the present day.

Keywords: Enlightenment, scientific editing, anthologies, women's literature, diary.

The first question concerns the relationship between editorial works and the directions of studies on the period. Does editorial labour — i.e., the complete set of research activities of an editor, beginning with source inquiries and searching for messages, through their collection, selecting the basis for an issue, adding argumentative and philological comments, and finally sharing it in the form of a publication — act as a research stimulator? Must edition be treated as an added value to “serious” reflections and studies? A supplement? A required starting point, a trampoline to delve into intellectual contemplations virtually in isolation from the source. We should also ask how much impact non-scientific mechanisms have on what we publish (what we are looking for and what we want to find): the cultural policy of institutions managing culture and

science (preferring specific topics or epochs), or — returning to scientific issues - the popularity of particular methodologies, research approaches, such as turns in research, e.g. the Annales school, a research trend that redefines the subject of a historian's interest, again related to the need to use specific analytical methods borrowed from social sciences, or genetic criticism redefining the perception of the essence of a text, and thus carried out on its research, and finally its publication.¹

Is the primary goal of the editorial staff to correctly develop, add a specialized critical apparatus, commentary and publish texts representative of the epoch, known and confirming well-researched phenomena, and thus recording and popularizing a specific canon working for one of the traditions, or rather, a reminder of forgotten, rare sources, preserved as manuscripts, sometimes as ephemeral prints? All sources? That would be absurd; so, what is the pattern according to which one should make their selection? It is worth stopping to talk about a few critical anthologies of the Polish Enlightenment poetry created in the second half of the 20th century because they illuminate the problem mentioned above, i.e., establishing a canon.

Polish People's Republic: PPR and the Enlightenment. Anthologies and the vision of the Enlightenment

Polityka historyczna realizowana przez władze PRL po II wojnie światowej (*Historical Policy Implemented by PPR Authorities After the Second World War*) "promoting a certain defined vision of history" gave the green light to studies on the Enlightenment, which was — I have to emphasise this immediately — brilliantly and scientifically usefully utilised. Within 30 years, not only essential compilations but also editions of sources, selections and collected works of specific authors, imprints and anthologies of poetry (and political writing) presenting important things, various models of depicting phenomena of the Enlightenment, had been published.

Kott's anthology, first published in 1954, is a model of choice with a thesis. In the introduction, the author presents his view on the place and role of a researcher embroiled in and stimulated by contemporary times and historical policies implemented by the state. Jan Kott states:

One of the roles of writers and historians of literature is to revive dead chapters of great traditions [...] Contemporary times dictate the choice of tradition [...]

¹ Pierre-Marc de Bias, *Genetyka tekstów*, przeł. F. Kwiatek, M. Prussak, Warszawa 2011; Zofia Mitosek, *Krytyka genetyczna*, w: Eadem, *Teorie badań literackich*, Warszawa 1995 i in.

Tradition is chosen in the same ideational battle in which contemporary literature is born. And this choice must be made with the same political, moral and epistemic passion, with the same affection and vigilance. [...] In the heritage we receive, we have to find emotions whose lyrical capacity encompasses our emotions, find conflicts that are similar to our conflicts; dig out this stream of history that gave birth to our contemporary times. [...] The Enlightenment poetry is constantly separated from the reader by a double wall: a wall of aesthetic superstition, false, misleading choices and versions, and a wall that is completely real — that of libraries and archives. The third real tradition of Polish poetry [after the tradition of the Renaissance and Romanticism — EW] is broken and lost. Until recently, it was a great unknown and its entire chapters, in fact, the most tumultuous ones, were only available to a small group of specialists.²

Kott's anthology is, firstly, a kind of subjective anthology; secondly, it is an anthology which also selects unknown sources, handwritten codes, rare ephemeral prints and brochures³; and thirdly, this anthology is an attempt to show diversity in terms of aesthetics, genre and ideology, thanks to values such as secularism, Jacobinism, revolution and freedom. No wonder then that texts of pre-eminent poets of the Polish Enlightenment are accompanied by anonymous poems such as *Pieśń Murzynki nad kolebką swego syna, który został wolnym tak jak ona, przez wyrok Konwencji Narodowej*; *Gilotyna*; *Ca ira*, or by works written by authors who are poorly recognized or not at all, e.g. a poem by one of the inventor-artisans of the Enlightenment, Antoni Melchior Lewandowski, titled *Wiersz do najjaśniejszego Pana przy oddaniu maszyny hydraulicznej*; or students of Franciszek Bohomolec,⁴ absent from other collections, whose body of work serves as good evidence of the thesis on the modernity and democratism of the Enlightenment. There is also no shortage of poems exhibiting the intellectual anarchy of anonymous domestic poetry. In Jan Kott's opinion from the 1950s, the purpose of a researcher, and an editor as well, was not only to create a base of materials, correctly compiled for researchers or a wider audience, but also to propose its specific vision, inject into national tradition the lay,

² *Poezja polskiego oświecenia. Antologia*, oprac. Jan Kott, Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1956, s. 5–7.

³ "Of many [poets — EW] only a single poem remains, but this poem equals the most acclaimed ones and has its place in tradition. To find these poems, one needs to dig and search for them in miscellanea and manuscript codices, in collections of ephemeral prints and in forgotten brochures pressed by provincial presses." Ibid., p. 9.

⁴ Students of the Jesuit college where Franciszek Bohomolec taught; he had ties with the royal camp and was a writer, publisher, political writer, Jesuit; editor of *Monitor*, author of numerous satirical and didactic comedies in the spirit of the Enlightenment: Jan Tarnowski (*Piękność znikoma*); Nikodem Czechel (*O Rzymie teraźniejszym*); Jan Głębocki (*Żal nad utrapieniem pewnego, który, gdy mu kwinta na skrzypcach pękała, w nieutulonej zostawał żalości*).

revolutionary, democratic, libertine, anti-Sarmatist one. This first post-war anthology rigidly encapsulated Enlightenment poetry in the 18th century. We must add that many *littérateurs* printed in it remained active even in the 1830s, 40s, 50s., and even later; they often lived through the Romantic generation. Kott, as well as the authors of many other works, did not account for this biological as well as intellectual persistence of the Polish Enlightenment.

The 80s bring two subsequent anthologies, much more different in their presentation model of Polish Enlightenment poetry. The first one, 1981's *Świat poprawiać — Zuchwale rzemiosło* (Improve the World — Audacious Craft, a part of the series) by Teresa Kostkiewiczowa and Zbigniew Goliński, represents a model of anthology representative of the period's body of work; it constitutes an attempt to "depict the diversity of varieties and multidirectionality of developmental trends in the Enlightenment poetry".⁵ The authors wanted to present specific creative figures and document the "diversity of [thematic and aesthetic] poetic searches" of the Polish Enlightenment from Saxon times to the first decades of the 19th century.⁶ Zdzisław Libera's two-volume anthology from 1983–84 brings an entirely different perspective of Polish Enlightenment poetry. Like Kott's anthology, it is also based on a clear thesis, but its emphasis is different; it is a thesis that points out and exposes reformist and didactic values, a critique of defects of the Polish Enlightenment. According to the author, without any ambition to create a novel perception of 18th-century poetry, without the need to unveil unknown works, forgotten texts, or recall second-class authors.⁷ The second volume of the selection is a straightforward proposition presenting the literature of the first 30 years of the 19th century as a cultural space integral to the Enlightenment, yet separate, where the first Romantics appear parallel to the Enlightenment writers.⁸

⁵ *Świat poprawiać — zuchwale rzemiosło: antologia poezji polskiego Oświecenia*, oprac. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, Zbigniew Goliński, Warszawa PIW, s. 20.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ "The 18th century, in fact, like every century — writes Libera — does not constitute a separate period, be it ideologically or artistically, in the history of culture. [...] Comparing selected works from the Saxon period with works from the time of Stanisław II Augustus enables us to better see the difference in artistic levels, but most of all it illuminates the transformations that had taken place within several dozen years in poetry [...]. The selection of poets is based on their representative qualities. Therefore, there are not many second- or third-class poets [...]," Zdzisław Libera, *Poezja polska XVIII wieku* [Polish Poetry of the 18th Century], Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1983, s. 63.

⁸ In the same year, 1984, the first attempt to describe the aesthetics of this period is published, Piotr Żbikowski's *Klasycyzm postanisławowski* [Classicism After the Time of Stanisław II August].

After editorial attempts to present the Enlightenment poetry, also through numerous individual issues of poetry and prose, problem-based anthologies had begun to appear since the 70s, depicting phenomena which were often less exposed in the anthologies mentioned above, as well as in studies, but which will become another component of historical policy. One such selection is Janusz Maciejewski's *Poezja barska* (Poetry of Bar) from 1976, collecting literary texts related to the final manifestation of the Sarmatian culture and ideology in the public space (this editorial project was taken up once more, this time in a multi-volume issue in the 21st century); another one is the anthology *Miedzy rozpaczą i nadzieją: antologia poezji porozbiorowej lat 1793–1806* (Between Despair and Hope: Anthology of Post-Partition Poetry of 1793–1806) from 2006⁹. It is a collection of texts in which the names of unknown poets and works not found in other anthologies are present, in addition to well-known outstanding poets. More importantly, this editorial proposition constitutes a fragment of a larger project by these authors, depicting Polish faces of modern patriotism. Author-editors reveal texts in which we can search for answers to questions about the origin of patriotism in poetry, a new historical and political experience for Poles, a loss of a nation, an attempt to fight for it and experiences of loss.¹⁰

Here we need to recollect another selection, and a fantastic one at that, the earliest, from the 1930s, and reissued (and improved) in 1954 in London, encompassing the period from the 16th to the 20th century; I am thinking here about the anthology of Polish lyric poetry: *Od Kochanowskiego do Staffa* [From Kochanowski to Staffa] by Waclaw Borowy.¹¹ The author of the selection decided to “collect from a certain area of Polish poetry (given in the title) samples of living things that could directly affect the souls of modern readers.” According to Borowy, “the Anthology does not have the ambition to provide the so-called images of lyric poets in their selected works. It does, however, have the ambition to provide their representation in their best works (to be precise: in works from the group of the best ones).” Elsewhere, he adds: “Thus, historical and literary criteria were not accounted for in this selection. The role played by a given author or piece of work in the history of poetry; the ‘primality’ within the scope of this or that component of artistic technique, sensi-

⁹ See: *Miedzy rozpaczą i nadzieją. Antologia poezji porozbiorowej lat 1793–1806*, wstęp P. Żbikowski, zebrał i oprac. M. Nalepa, Kraków 2006.

¹⁰ First Partition of Poland (1772: Austria, Prussia, Russia), Second Partition (1793: Russia, Prussia), Third Partition (1795: Austria, Prussia, Russia).

¹¹ Waclaw Borowy, *Od Kochanowskiego do Staffa: Antologia liryki polskiej*, Londyn: nakł. Katolickiego Ośrodka Wydawniczego „Veritas” 1954, kolejne wydanie: Warszawa, PIW, 1958.

tivity, or ideology; any and every precursory and propagandistic merits: everything was ignored.”¹² This anthology will open a new method of reading and treating selected poets as contemporary ones, of using them to search for what is relevant. As Anna Nasiłowska recalls, this path, charted out in Poland by Borowy, was followed by Jan Kott.¹³ Naturally, this was not when he called for realism and fought mythologies, and not when he worked on the anthology of the Polish Enlightenment, but in a book written much later, in *Szekspir współczesny* (Contemporary Shakespeare), which brought him true fame and in which he dared to give Shakespeare's texts a contemporary reading. In Borowy's anthology, “everyone is contemporary, even Kochanowski and Konstancja Benisławska, because their works are being read as a poetic and lyrical one.”¹⁴ NB. For Benisławska, author of the book of religious lyric poetry *Pieśni sobie śpiewane*, there was no place in Kott's anthology.

Editions and studies on the Enlightenment

Returning to the question about the impact of editorship on the explorations of historians of literature — finished, compiled sources should constitute, and often do, a basis for a history of literature-based reflection, which often again excites editorial action. Editions of Nalepa and Żbikowski; for instance, Jan Potocki's editions (and research) of *The Manuscript Found in Saragossa* by François Rosset and Dominique Triaire, serve as the best example of this. The multi-volume editions of the latter, including the reconstruction of two editions of *The Manuscript Found in Saragossa*, are a case of the utter helplessness of a “classic” editor trying to reconstruct the author's intention. On the other hand, the editors' attempts in reconstructing the author's creative process in line with genetic criticism indicate that such research stimulates historical and literary reflection on Potocki. Of course, as is often the case, the authors create some compilations (usually the most important ones). Indeed, this is an example of solid ties between editorial activities and analytical, historical and history-of-literature reflection. Another case is of a second-class writer, Stanisław Doliwa Starzyński (1784–1851), protagonist of Danuta Kowalewska's book *Poeta wśród “zdarzeń prawdziwych”*: puścizna prozatorska Stanisława Doliwy Starzyńskiego (A Poet Among “True Events”: Prosaic Legacy of Stanisław Doliwa Starzyński,

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Anna Nasiłowska, *Wacław Borowy i New Criticism*, „Teksty Drugie” 2000, 5, s. 155.

¹⁴ Ibid.

2001). It is an essential compilation because of the exceedingly exciting biography of Starzyński, a late-Enlightenment libertine, irreconcilable anticlerical, and anti-Semite, also because of his cultural and political contacts, but primarily because of his body of work, spanning multiple genres, autobiographical forms, and themes (8 manuscript volumes), constituting an excellent source of knowledge about the period.¹⁵ However, the monograph was not accompanied by a publication project, and Starzyński's fascinating late-Enlightenment work remains mainly outside scientific circulation. Furthermore, we need to add that this is the case for many other writers of this period.

The Polish Enlightenment did not produce prominent litterateurs or philosophers such as Racine, Molière, Voltaire, Locke, or even Pope, names very well-known in Europe. It did, however, produce prominent intellectuals who initiated most modernisation processes with which — notably — a person, a Pole, a European of the 20th and 21st centuries can identify; moreover, sometimes without being aware of the Enlightenment source. Signs of modernisation include institutions such as schools,¹⁶ theatres,¹⁷ libraries, societies, the salon. Most of these modernization projects have been well described, as exemplified by the multi-volume series published at the turn of the 1960s, edited by Jan Kott, presenting the theatrical achievements of the Polish Enlightenment, intended to “show everything that belongs to the national tradition of the Enlightenment theater or is of particular importance for the history of literature. and theater development”, as described in the series' plan.¹⁸ We should note the publications of Polish Enlightenment political writings¹⁹ and correspondence of the pre-eminent Polish litterateurs.²⁰ It was continued

¹⁵ Danuta Kowalewska, *Poeta wśród „zdarzeń prawdziwych”. Puścizna prozatorska Stanisława Doliwy Starzyńskiego*, Toruń, 2001.

¹⁶ The School of Chivalry, the first Polish lay state school founded in 1765 in Warsaw by the king Stanisław II August, financed by the state treasury; The Commission of National Education: a central educational authority, accountable to the king alone, established in 1773 upon his and the Sejm's request.

¹⁷ National Theatre, i.e., the public national stage, founded in 1765 by the king Stanisław II August.

¹⁸ As cited in: Zbigniew Goliński, *„Teatr polskiego Oświecenia”, pod redakcją Jana Kotta. Polska Akademia Nauk — Instytut Badań Literackich. „Komedia”, Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, opracowała Zofia Zahrajówna...: [recenzja] „Pamiętnik Literacki” 1/1957, s. 175.*

¹⁹ *Abyśmy o ojczyźnie naszej radzili. Antologia publicystyki doby stanisławowskiej*, oprac. Zbigniew Goliński, Warszawa 1984. Też wydania pism np.: Stanisława Konarskiego (1700–1773) z lat 50.; Stanisława Staszica (1750–1826) z lat 40.-50.; Hugo Kołłątaja (1750–1812) z lat 50., Franciszka Salezego Jezierskiego (1740–1791) z lat 50.

²⁰ Among other things: z lat 50. Ignacego Krasickiego (1734–1801) i Stanisława Trembeckiego (1739–1812).

in the 1980s by an exciting editorial project²¹ *Zapomniani poeci Oświecenia* (Forgotten Poets of the Enlightenment), which spanned only three volumes. Importantly these editions were accompanied by numerous analytical and synthetic works.

A turn towards the woman

On the other hand, Enlightenment topics that require further studies include the reconstruction of the history of women, and women in the history of the Republic of Poland during the second half of the 18th century, i.e., during the time of Stanisław II August, identified with the first modernising turn in the country (education, institutions of culture, publishing houses), also in the early 19th century (the so-called Late Enlightenment).

Nowy Korbut, one of the most important bibliographies of the broadly defined literature of the Polish Enlightenment, known perfectly well to Polish researchers, old (published in 1966–72),²² full of gaps, but still irreplaceable, encompassing nearly 500 names of authors, *littérateurs*, political writers, diarists, philosophers, of which only 15 are women. It is a tiny number, especially since the activity of most of these women took place in the 19th century (Late Enlightenment). Do these numbers mean that women did not participate in the modernising turn? How to understand this absence of cultural activity?

An apparent turn towards the woman in Polish research took place at the turn of the 90s, which resulted in a significant surge in publications, especially at the turn and during the first years of the 21st century. Nevertheless, its impact on the Polish Enlightenment has been negligible. The attention of Polish historians in this regard has focused

²¹ Second-class [minorum gentium] poets were brought up earlier in the 50s by Juliusz Wiktor Gomulicki in his article *Blaski i nędze Poezji polskiego Oświecenia* [Brilliances and Miseries of the Polish Enlightenment Poetry]. "Przegląd Humanistyczny," 1957, issue 1. *Zapomniani poeci Oświecenia* was thus a series that involved editorial consumption of source studies (including attributive investigations), widely conducted during the postwar period, and a recollection of often interesting bodies of work of unknown poets, existing almost exclusively as unique ephemeral prints or manuscripts, which revealed poorly known literary phenomena (e.g., decadent domestic poetry or patriotic poetry of 1773–1775).

²² *Bibliografia literatury polskiej „Nowy Korbut”*, oprac. Elżbieta Aleksandrowska, t. 4–6 *, Warszawa PIW 1966–72 uzupełniona po latach przez *Dawni pisarze Polscy: od początków piśmiennictwa do Młodej Polski: przewodnik biograficzny i bibliograficzny*, koordynacja całości Roman Loth, t. 1–5, Warszawa, 2000–2004.

on later periods, beginning with the second half of the 19th century.²³ Many questions about the place and role of women in the Enlightenment remain unanswered, like the ones about women's strategies for entering the public stage (often forced by the political situation, taking specific — e.g. economic or even political — actions as a consequence of a lack of men due to wars, insurrections, and political repressions like forced displacement), or about types of activities women engaged in (private and public space). The final and the most critical question concerns sources they left, such as literary works, personal documents, ego-documents (i.e., letters, diaries, sketchbooks), or economic writings.

The description of the woman's situation as a co-creator of culture, constructed using sources, must account for several factors: poor urban infrastructure²⁴ and marginal bourgeois (and thus bourgeois culture) representation in Poland. Geographical ties of women to the province ("extraurbanism"), being limited to nobility (aristocracy), and late literary start compared to Western Europe.²⁵ As a side note, these socio-political circumstances of female intellectuals in Poland can perhaps explain the lack of radical programmes similar to those proposed in France by Jodin and Gouges or in England by Wollstonecraft, to name better-known ones.

²³ One example is the multi-volume series *Kobieta i...* (The Woman and...), edited by Andrzej Szwarz and Anna Żarnowska and devoted to various aspect of female functioning (politics, education, marriage, etc.), the first volume of which (*Kobieta i świat polityki* [The Woman and the World of Politics], parts 1–2, Warsaw, 1994–1996), has played a stimulating role for studies on women in Poland. This series practically does not cover the 18th century. The Women's Archive (operating since 2013) at the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences has made significant strides with respect to these studies; however, so far, inquiries and studies conducted by the Archive have focused on the 19th and 20th centuries. We must also take note of works by, among others, Krystyna Stasiewicz, Bożena Popiolek, Iwona Maciejewska; particularly valuable are editorial projects undertaken by female researchers about, among others, Elżbieta Sieniawska née Lubomirska (correspondence), Magdalena Radziwiłłowa née Czapska.

²⁴ A separate issue is that of a very marginal urban infrastructure and a small number of cities; the largest city in Poland, i.e., Warsaw, had nearly 40,000 residents in 1700 and slightly over 60,000 in 1800. During the period of the Great Sejm (1788–1792), there was the largest increase to 120,000 residents, after which — after the Third Partition — their number dropped again. The weak position of people living in cities, quantitatively and politically, was also related to the negligible significance of the bourgeois culture in Poland.

²⁵ Female authors of literary works were also present in the previous period. It was primarily Anna Stanisławska and her *Transakcja albo opisanie całego życia jednej sieroty przez żalosne treny od tejże samej pisane roku 1685*, but we have to tie the phenomenon of women writing literature to the second half of the 18th and the early 19th century.

Studies on the activity or activities of women in the 18th century and early 19th century require, today, on the one hand, synthetic approaches. On the other hand, we still lack inquiry-based source research, which, as a sum of experiences, not a set of individual cases (and many advances have been made in this field), can help us construct a synthesis, marking varieties for the studied period (middle, late century), origins (aristocrat-noble), or even region (Lithuania, the Crown). My experience with one "second-class" female figure, an outsider to the historical, scientific discourse, indicates the necessity of leaving the group of pre-eminent figures. Born in the 1790s, connected with Warsaw, married three times, Marianna Severo, Dembińska, finally, Schell Viettinghoff née Żeglińska, a somewhat crazy revolutionist, an active participant in the Polish November Uprising, and later an emigrant in France and England, did not fit in any way to the classical model of a woman that was in force at the time. She left behind the unique correspondence, perhaps even literary texts which we have not yet managed to find but which she mentions in her letter. Her activity, fully encompassing the public space, demonstrates that sometimes it is beneficial to leave the group of well-known names. Her letters (other preserved sources) cast much light on the "other history" of women and Polish emigrants after the November Uprising and the issue of the 19th-century anti-Semitism and participation of women in the emigration life. Were there more such women, also in the 18th century?²⁶ How many messages did they leave behind, such as letters, literary texts, diaries, or journals? Only far-reaching projects intended to find, register, describe, and analyse such sources, and finally to publish them whole or in selections, with appropriate commentaries, will enable us to answer this and many other questions concerning the woman's place, her activity, dailiness, emotions, needs, aspirations, and awareness (or a lack thereof) of the need to "call for women's rights".

Journals

The journal is a particular autobiographical text, a documentary of mentality, daily life, an irreplaceable tool for the researcher to learn about a given period, which has been very attractive to historians, including editors, for a long time. However, we still do not know much about the number of preserved journals, especially those kept by

²⁶ A separate problem is the functioning of Jewish women in Poland with ties to the city, active in the economic field, often holding exposed positions in the world of finance, in the second half of the 18th and early 19th century.

women. Singular journals are being published, but we are still far from a synthetic approach to this phenomenon and outline accounting for the types of diaries, their functions, thematic scope, keeping strategies. Thus, the appearance of the intimate diary in the Polish practice tended to be tied to the second half of the 19th century or even the turn of the 20th century. Meanwhile, Antoni Ostrowski's journals he kept in 1813, just after the death of his wife, and found in archives, meet all criteria of an intimate diary; furthermore, the author was aware of many functions described over 150 years later by the historian and theoretician of this literary form Philippe Lejeune, and in Poland by Paweł Rodak,²⁷ from memory, through identity, to self-therapy. Ostrowski's journals are not, as it turns out, the only example of such diarism, which means that the appearance of the intimate diary in the Polish space should be linked (at the latest) with the turn of the 19th century, which brings the Polish diaristic reality closer to the West European standards and chronology.²⁸ We know very little about 18th-century journals kept by women, about their number, language, type, functions. They are typically linked to travel journals. Emilia Kolinko lists over a hundred 19th-century women's diaries she encountered during archival searches in her doctoral dissertation²⁹. Approximately 40 had been written before 1830, the majority being journals preserved as manuscripts, which is undoubtedly just a fragment of what remains to be found. Even these studies complement and change our perception of the size of this phenomenon; and it is not just about numbers, one or two more journals, but about the fact that these unearthed materials are very telling of their diversity in the sense of applied strategies for keeping diaries and their functions. How many 18th or early 19th century journals have survived? What journal type do they represent? Even a cursory inquiry around collections of several families, e.g., the Radziwiłłs, the Łubieńskis, the Ostrowskis, re-

²⁷ Philippe Lejeune, "Drogi zeszycie...", "drogi ekranie...": o dziennikach osobistych ["Dear Diary—", "Dear Screen—": On Personal Journals], translated by Agnieszka Karpowicz, Magda and Paweł Rodak; selection, introduction and editing by Paweł Rodak, Warszawa, WUW, 2010; Paweł Rodak, *Między zapisem a literaturą: dziennik polskiego pisarza w XX wieku* (Żeromski, Nałkowska, Dąbrowska, Gombrowicz, Herling-Grudziński) [Between Text and Literature: Journal of a Polish Writer in the 20th Century], Warszawa, WUW, 2011.

²⁸ For the origins of the intimate journal, see Elżbieta Wichrowska, *Twoja śmierć. Początki dziennika intymnego w Polsce* [Your Death. Origins of the Intimate Journal in Poland], along with the edition of two journals by Antoni Ostrowski, Warszawa, 2012.

²⁹ Emilia Kolinko, doctoral dissertation written under my supervision, *Dzienniki generałowej Heleny z Wolskich Krukowieckiej w perspektywie diarystyki kobiecej* [Journals of Helena Krukowiecka née Wolska, a General's Wife, from the Perspective of Women's Diary Studies], defended in 2019. Book is published, the address.

veals a range of such autobiographical documents, journals written in various forms: a travelogue, health diary, in the form of letters. Diaries were kept by entire families, fathers, brothers, sons, mothers, and sisters. Moreover, if we know the diaries of men of a given family, we should keep searching because it is very probable that we will also find diaries of women — their mothers or sisters. There are many signs that the observed features of 19th-century journals should be treated as a perpetuation of changes initiated in the 18th century; one might find here the increasingly articulated emergence of privacy, intimacy, a sense of the essence of personal expression, and functions — including therapeutic ones — of its application.

Returning to the project of editing sources evidencing various women's activities, especially of editing journals, correspondence, as well as diaries, sketchbooks (those with features of an autobiographical document): such a project would — on the one hand — enable us to explore better not just the place of the woman in the 18th-century Poland, but also their daily lives, thoughts, attitudes. These sources should be placed in the European context of comparable French, German, and English "documents" to extract their universal features that follow the spirit of the Enlightenment and their features that result from the socio-political context of a given region.

Digitisation — not just benefits

Nowadays, editors spend more and more time, not in the archives but in front of a computer, surfing the internet and digitised libraries and archival collections encompassing both published materials and manuscripts, growing almost every day. We do not need to mention the benefits of extensive digitisation campaigns — they are apparent. However, digitisation is not just excellent facilitation but also a threat; yielding to the temptation of shortcuts, editorial works prepared solely based on online scans, with erroneous "quick" reading, often the automatic conversion of scanned text to word without confronting the original. The raw source text without appropriate editorial commentary will often be understandable only to the professional researcher and not the average reader, even if well prepared. Therefore, digitisation will not replace classical editions with a critical apparatus and appropriate commentary.

Perhaps we should ask a question here: what should a modern editor publish? Should they dig out everything in the archives? Let us recall the voice of Zbigniew Goliński from the review of the Polish Theatre series mentioned a moment ago, who asked while praising the editorial idea itself whether we should place every item proposed for publication in the

series? Would it not be better to propose only those that remain valid, still “legible”, and touch the reader aesthetically and problematically? Furthermore, the internet and digitisation can help us solve this issue, the need to record and share all sources we find, in contrast to their compilation and publication.

Nevertheless, it is also time for an attempt to create databases; there is a project in conjunction with sources concerning the Countess Helena Radziwiłłowa, Arkadia, and Nieborów, which would collect and arrange sources, and which would be intended only for specialists. Sources devoid of historical and editorial commentary are illegible to non-professionals. Some texts, literary, political, philosophical ones, personal documents and other texts, should be compiled, editorially and historically, and published (in the paper or electronic form), and the editor-historian should select them. Such texts should contain sources testifying to what is called here the project of the modernization of the Enlightenment, defined very broadly, including in the sphere of politics (including both the idea of political freedom and the nation-state), religion (the idea of religious freedom and tolerance), education (the idea of universality), science and culture, but also customs, emotions, changes, interpersonal relations, both in private and public spheres. Everything that contained an element of fascination, reflection on the idea of progress and modernity, and the cult of reason. Everything that meant a significant change. Today, we can compare (albeit with certain reservations) these 18th-century boundaries of modernisation, thresholds, or even fortifications of modernity founded on rationalism, the idea of progress, and accompanying slogans to the Maginot Line, the greatest fortification in history whose attributes have not been, as is well known, utilised in 1940.

There are two problems here: one concerns the remarkable transformation that took place from within, inside the sociocultural structures (in Poland, schematically shown as a conflict between the Enlightenment (the new) and Sarmatism (the old), which was successful in the sense that it permanently implanted new ideas, principles, styles, and models of organisation, for example, the most well-known ones, identified with the Enlightenment, like the idea of the separation of powers). It should be remembered, however, that the 18th century, the Enlightenment, the starting point, or — according to Teresa Kostkiewiczowa — the threshold of our modernity,³⁰ are not only statements made by Kollontai or Staszic referring to the Polish reality of the Stanisław August era, not only the glorious idea of the Knight School in Warsaw or establishing the National Theatre (1765) but also, for example, the approval of witch

³⁰ Teresa Kostkiewiczowa. *Oświecenie próg Nowoczesności* [The Enlightenment: The Threshold of Modernity] Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe “Semper”, 1994.

burning. In France, the last such judgment was executed in 1745,³¹ in Germany, in 1775; in Switzerland, Anna Göldi was burned in 1782; and in Poland, the last witch was burned in 1793,³² which is perhaps the last witch burned in the world.³³ In Italy, the Inquisition continued to use torture. In the 18th century, slavery and the slave trade still existed in European port cities such as Nantes, la Havre and Bordeaux (the latter had a prominent position in this trade). This situation continued as if nothing changed throughout the 18th century and even, despite the prohibitions, until the mid-nineteenth century.³⁴ Finally, the 18th century is also a complete abandonment of women's rights (in both public and private spaces), including total subordination to the husband's authority, lack of legal protection against violence, the husband's aggression, if one could not count on the support of one's father or brother. We know many such cases. It is the case of Marta Radziwiłłowa née Trębicka, Lithuanian wife of *structor mensae* held with her children in inhumane conditions by her mentally ill husband Marcin Radziwiłł, a cruel man famous for his abhorrent excesses. He was taken into the custody of his family when his actions began threatening their financial condition. It is also the case of Cecylia Zofia Sapieha and Michał Tyzenhauz, and of many others.

Let us return here to the question about tasks of the Enlightenment editorship, treated not just as a tool for sharing individual sources — great texts of the period have their good or excellent editions — but also as a stimulator of activities that generate studies on the Enlightenment. It is not about discovering or publishing another source but revealing sources that particularly enable us to see new or better understand old conflicts of the 18th century, move chronological boundaries of certain phenomena (like in the described case of the intimate journal), or notice them. It often results from expanding research with the new types of sources (what has been the point of the Annales school). It has been going on for many years with journals and various types of economic

³¹ Louis XIV issued the edict forbidding these activities in 1682.

³² Despite the campaign (in the literature, press, e.g., in *Monitor*) of figures of the Enlightenment and enactment of a separate constitution at the Sejm of 1776 upon the request of Wojciech Kruszewski, Castellan of Biecz, which prohibited investigations of witchcraft using tortures and death penalty. A commemorative medal was also struck.

³³ Cf. Jesús Callejo, *Historia Czarów i Czarownic* [Brief History of Witchcraft], Warszawa, Bellona, 2011, s. 194.

³⁴ About this topic: Michel Figeac, *Destins de la noblesse bordelaise*, (1770–1830), Paris, 2016, Éditions Mimésis, vol. 1–2. Jacques-Alexandre Laffon de Ladebat, son of a banker and Bordeaux slave trader, presented his *Discours sur la nécessité et les moyens de détruire l'esclavage dans les colonies* (published in Bordeaux, 1788) at the Bordeaux Academy in 1788.

texts, last wills and others, allowing the identification of social groups, professions or individuals, which in other sources may be difficult to capture (e.g., wives, sisters, maids). We need large editorial projects that would enable us to direct searches, compilations, and finally publications of the most “legible” and important ones. Moreover, this should include anti-Enlightenment trends (many strides have been made here, for example, for studies on the Bar Confederation (1768–1772),³⁵ the last “total” manifestation of the Sarmatian culture and ideology with its chief idea of noble freedom, prophetism, types of protagonists and patterns of behaviour). Projects directed genealogically and problematically, e.g. toward the female journal, which has been mentioned here, or of the sketchbook as not just a tool of a painter’s labour, but as an autobiographical document, which can constitute a new source for studying the turn toward privacy, which took place, with the participation of women, at the turn of the 19th century.³⁶ Moreover, such studies should be conducted from the European perspective because only then will they enable us to perceive and describe the dynamism of changes. The time has also come for publishing such figures as Doliwa Starzyński; it would be perfect for publishing his entire work, but reason tells us that a selection would be a better choice for sources amounting to thousands of pages.

Finally, is it not the time for a new anthology of the Polish Enlightenment’s poetry (and prose)? Perhaps even several ones? Covering various sources, prepared in parallel with works on extensive and programmatic digitisation of materials. We should remember that selections and anthologies shape the period’s popular — and perhaps not just popular — consciousness, names, topics, and aesthetics. They determine the canon of literature of a given period, and we must remember that the Enlightenment is currently absent from Polish school curricula. It is about the anthology created for its users, students, pupils.

Furthermore, the anthology intended to stimulate further research on the period. Moreover, notably, an attractive one, presenting the Enlightenment as a project of modernity in the perspective of long duration up to our times, but also in a broader sense, the 18th century as a period of confrontation, formation of various attitudes — political, cultural, and ideational — from the ultra-Catholic Bar confederate to lay Starzyński, a world of a male culture where women want to have a larger and larger say; a world of projects intending to reform Jews and

³⁵ Military association of nobles in Poland, formed in Bar in Podolia on 29 February 1768 to protect Catholic faith and independence of the Republic of Poland against the supervision of the Russian Empire, and against the king Stanisław II August.

³⁶ Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, *Oświecenie. Próg naszej współczesności*. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe “Semper”, 1994.

anti-Semitic speeches. Anthologies, perhaps, an effect of collaboration of Polish, French, British, German researchers, depicting texts, authors, phenomena in a broader context, indeed the European one. Anthologies mentioned before, written by Borowy, Kott, Kostkiewiczowa, Goliński, Libera, Żbikowski and Nalepa, have played their role, stimulated further research, and presented various strategies for choosing a tradition. It is time for a new attempt to create an anthology in the 21st century, in a new situation. Once more, we only must quote Kott: "Contemporary times dictate the choice of tradition. [...] Tradition is chosen in the same ideational battle in which contemporary literature is born. And this choice must be made with the same political, moral and epistemic passion, with the same affection and vigilance." Vigilance mandated by the challenges of times, the need to make choices, which Poland, Europe and the world must make.

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