

Maria Berkan-Jabłońska*

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7137-6094>

Directions in the research of the legacy of Sabina Grzegorzewska of the Gostkowskis (based on the material of the Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Cracow)

Author

The name of Sabina, at that time completely un-Christian and approached warily by the clergy¹, was given to the future writer by her father, an enthusiast of antiquity and Roman culture. She came from a wealthy and well-established Polish landed gentry family, which she outlined shortly in her memoirs². Konstanty Gostkowski, her grandfather and the heir of Kromolów, was a lieutenant general, aide-de-camp to Frederick William II, and, later, Jan Branicki's hetman³. It must be said that Sabina Grzegorzewska was able to paint, in just a few vivid sentences, the portraits

* Ph.D. hab., Professor of University of Lodz, University of Lodz, Chair of Literature and the Traditions of the Romanticism, ul. Pomorska 171 /173, 90-236 Łódź, maria.berkan@uni.lodz.pl

1 As Grzegorzewska wrote in her memoirs, a priest refused to baptize her under that name. Officially her first name was Maria, however, no one ever called the future writer by it. Vide *Pamiętniki Sabiny* z G. G., "Biblioteka Warszawska" 1856, vol. 1, col. 4, p. 421. [English version translated from Polish]

2 S. Grzegorzewska of the Gostkowskis, *Pamiętniki*, Warsaw: Nakładem Redakcji „Kroniki Rodzinnej”, 1888, pp. 5–25.

3 Vide bibliographical notes: J. Bieniarzówna, "Grzegorzewska Sabina" (entry), in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 9, Wrocław–Kraków: Ossolineum, 1960, pp. 94–95; *Nowy Korbut*, vol. 7, pp. 439–440; Z. Lewinówna, "Wstęp", in: S. Grzegorzewska, *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wessłównie Królewiczowej Konstancji Sobieskiej*, Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1865. Several additional facts from her life, e.g. the details of the Kielce period, can be found in her unstudied manuscripts, which I discuss later in the article.

of both an “old warrior”, who found no problem belonging to the progressive Four-Year Sejm and displaying the rowdiness common for the gentry, and her small yet hot-blooded grandmother, who “could play [cards] for three days straight without leaving the table even once.”⁴ Michał, her father, was an educated man, a graduate of the Jagiellonian University, a lawyer, and a deputy for the Sejm of the Kingdom of Poland. Teofila, her mother, came from the influential Wielogłowski family. Sabina, born on 18 January 1808 in Marzęcin (Świętokrzyskie Voivodship), received an education typical for young ladies of that time. While her first readings mainly represented the world of French culture, her parents did not succumb to the trend of focusing on foreign influence, and they ensured she also received a proper patriotic upbringing, especially her education in Polish the language. Love stories were replaced by historical literature and biographies, which was why Sabina’s family soon began calling her the “little know-it-all.”⁵

Initially, Sabina lived with her parents in Marzęcin, then moved to Krakow, where the Gostkowski family settled in 1810. From there they travelled on a regular basis to Proszówki nad Rabą to grandmother Wielogłowska, and to Vienna, Dresden, and Berlin in 1817. Between 1819 and 1824 they lived in Kielce, which the writer recalled quite fondly. Three years after her mother died (1826), Sabina moved with her father to Warsaw, where she accompanied him in a rather lively social life, utilizing many family and friend contacts. It was only seven years later, after the death of Michał Gostowski, that she married Aleksander Grzegorzewski, a member of the Polish landed gentry in Sandomierz. For a decade she lived with him in a large, nearly 100-*volok* [1 *volok* equals approx. 17.955 hectares] property in Grabno in the Kozienice powiat near Zwoleń⁶. In 1845 the Grzegorzewskis leased a manor and they relocated to Krakow, where their family and friends lived⁷. A year later Aleksander became, sponsored by Jan Tyssowski and Karol Rogawski, a member of the Rząd Narodowy (National Government) in Krakow, but being a supporter of extremely radical revolutionary activities he was opposed by his colleagues, which forced him to step down. When Krakow was invaded by Russian troops, he surrendered to the authorities hoping, rather naively as it turned out, to retain the property and ensure a less severe treatment. Instead he was arrested, tortured, and sentenced first to seizure of property and death, and later, after an amnesty, to 12 years of hard labour. When Aleksander was still in the Warsaw Citadel,

4 S. Grzegorzewska of the Gostkowskis, *Pamiętniki*, p. 6. [Unless specified otherwise, English versions translated from Polish]

5 Manuscript at the PAU and PAS Library in Krakow, ref. no. 6905, vol. 3, l. 4–6.

6 M. Tyrowicz, “Grzegorzewski Aleksander” (entry), in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 9, Wrocław-Krakow: Ossolineum, 1960, p. 95. [English version translated from Polish]

7 That applied mainly to Katarzyna of the Bielińskis, Grzegorzewska’s mother. The couple lived in a mansion in today’s Kopernika St., and they later moved to Różana St.

the Grzegorzewskis' oldest son died at the age of twelve⁸. In an attempt to protect her husband, Sabina conducted false correspondence of her son with his father; the deception was revealed by accident, and, unfortunately, it thrust Aleksander deeper into melancholy and depression when he was already in forced displacement. He avoided people, and he refused to write to his family, having convinced himself they all had died. In order to save their exhausted colleague, other DPs wrote letters pretending to be Sabina, and helped him financially so that he could endure the hardships of his time in Tobolsk, Krasnoyarsk and Piotrovsk. Having spent eight years in Siberia, he returned to Warsaw in 1854, but he never regained his mental balance. After a short visit to the capital, he relocated to Czersk, leaving his wife alone with their five children⁹. He died on 13 June 1855. Grzegorzewska coped with the situation exceptionally well. First, when her husband was still a DP, she went to court to reclaim the unlawfully seized dowry and won. Secondly, she strongly focused on her literary and journalistic career. She also ran a parlour in a tenement house she bought at Leszno street, opposite the Carmelite church, where she received genuine kindness and the respect of Warsaw's literary community and intellectuals. Hence at the age of 47 she began to fulfil at least some of her intellectual needs¹⁰, though she was unable to publish much of the material she had been preparing. She died on 26 June 1872. According to Zofia Lewinówna, the most admirable was Sabina's ambitious selection of readings, which she used for excerpts that were retained in her manuscripts. They indicate a surprisingly careful and deep reflection. Lewinówna was also right in stressing the paradox the notes revealed: "That fervent opposer of emancipation was led a truly emancipated life."¹¹ Aleksandra Borowska of the Chomętowskis, the editor-in-chief of *Kronika Rodzinna*, posited shortly after Grzegorzewska's death: "she wrote only out of the need she felt towards sharing her thoughts with others, not to satisfy some literary vanity, which was best seen in the fact that apart from some snippets printed in *Biblioteka Warszawska* and fragments she gave to her friends, she left all her works in

8 In the unpublished parts of her memoirs, Grzegorzewska wrote about Michał's encephalitis (Manuscript at the PAU and PAS Library, ref. no. 6905, vol. 3, l. 3). Apart from him, she had 2 more sons: Mieczysław and Ignacy (died in 1861) and 3 daughters: Aleksandra, Maria, and Florentyna.

9 Vide M. Tyrowicz, "Grzegorzewski Aleksander", p. 95. Grzegorzewska gave a detailed account of the extremely difficult period in her life in a separate rough draft of the unpublished portion of her memoirs.

10 However, she never expressed that openly.

11 Z. Lewinówna, "Wstęp", p. 30. When preparing a contemporary edition of Wesslówna's story, the researcher had the opportunity to read Grzegorzewska's manuscripts, which at that time were still retained by Grzegorzewska's family. She knew about them from Stanisław Pigoń and Karol Estreicher.

the manuscript form.”¹² That is not certain, though. Some of her fair copies indicated that her “publishing thriftiness” was not only of her own choosing. She represented a transitional generation, just like Klementyna Hoffmanowa. When her personal life finally allowed for more public activity, the specific traditionalism of her judgements clashed with the incoming pre-Positivist wave. The times were not favourable for her any more. Bieniarzówna was rather severe in her description of the situation: “G[rzegorzewska]’s views full of superficial moralising constitute in the evolution of the development of Polish women a clearly backward moment [...]”¹³ The perspective of the “long persistence” of cultural phenomena requires a literary researcher to apply a different view, where she/he may find a still important, if only momentary, presence of Grzegorzewska in Polish women’s writings of the 19th century.

Printed material

Works published while Grzegorzewska was still alive were rare, and the majority of those, constituted selected fragments of a greater whole, whether because that was what she preferred or as suggested by her editors, colleague writers or her family, I am not certain. Some works saw the light of day only several years after her death, often with the note that they were only a selection, excerpt or extract from her private archive. Below, I list them in a chronological order as they were published: 3 letters to F. B. Trentowski, Paris 1845.¹⁴

- Minor articles published in *Czas*, *Gazeta Warszawska*, and *Dziennik Warszawski*.¹⁵
- Section from memoirs entitled “Karolina z Dembińskich Lebrun” [in:] K.W. Wójcicki, *Cmentarz Powązkowski pod Warszawą*, vol. 1, Warsaw, 1855, pp. 158–160.
- “Wyjątek z rękopismu pod napisem ‘Wpływ kobiet na rozwój duchowy człowieczeństwa’”, *Biblioteka Warszawska* 1855, vol. 3, pp. 137–155, 218–249.
- “Pamiętniki Sabiny z G. G.”, *Biblioteka Warszawska* 1856, vol. 1, pp. 126–154, 220–260, 420–438; vol. 3, pp. 232–258, 528–572; vol. 4, pp. 12–37, 262–276; A separate edition published by the editorial board of *Kronika Rodzinna* at Noskowski’s printing house, Warsaw 1888.
- 2 fragments of poems: incipit “Spać, bo w snach się mary pieści...”, *Gazeta Codzienna* 1856, issue 284; incipit “A gdy tak cudna pieśni kraina”, *Gazeta Codzienna* 1856, issue 290.

¹² A. of Ch. Borkowska, “Sabina z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewska. Wspomnienie”, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1872, issue 244, p. 98.

¹³ J. Bieniarzówna, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

¹⁴ Remark inscribed by the author in the manuscript, unverified. Just as the next one, it requires further study.

¹⁵ Unverified information as per: [J. Bartoszewicz], “Pamiętniki pani Grzegorzewskiej”, *Dziennik Warszawski* 1855, issue 227, p. 2.

- “Wspomnienia rodzinne”, *Kółko Domowe* R. 1 1861/1862, R. 2 1862/63 (V, IX–XI 1861; I–VII, X–XII 1862; II–III 1863).
- “Wiedeń na początku bieżącego stulecia”, *Kółko Domowe* R. 3 1863–1864.
- “Maria Józefa z hr. Wesslów Konstantowa Sobieska, królewiczowa polska”, *Wieniec* 1862, issue 10–11; separate edition: “Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie, królewiczowej Konstantowej Sobieskiej, spisany ze wspomnień rodzinnych”, Warsaw 1886, edition II 1887¹⁶.

The commentary to Trentowski’s *Chowanna* remained completely unnoticed by Polish critics, however, when in 1855 *Biblioteka Warszawska* published a study entitled “Wyjątek z rękopismu pod napisem ‘Wpływ kobiet na rozwój duchowy człowieczeństwa’”, it gained considerable attention¹⁷. A year later the journal decided to publish selected portions of her memoirs¹⁸. Meanwhile, *Gazeta Codzienna* published two poems by Grzegorzewska heralding the imminent publication of an entire volume entitled *Wdowi grosz*. That was followed by a five-year gap, and it was only in 1861 that the author began an extremely successful cooperation with *Kółko Domowe*, which was established by Józefa Śmigiełska. For the purposes of the periodical, Grzegorzewska supplied on a regular basis between 1861 and 1863 installments of *Wspomnienia rodzinne*¹⁹, which were well received by readers, and which, in turn, increased the sales of *Kółko Domowe* considerably²⁰. In 1864, the journal also published memoir studies entitled *Wiedeń na początku bieżącego stulecia*. Several episodes regarding the wife of Prince Konstanty Sobieski, dedicated to Stanisław Jachowicz, also appeared in 1862 in *Wieniec*. In 1858, *Gazeta Warszawska* (issue 275, p. 3) stated that Grzegorzewska had just finished work on: *Niewiasta w całym rozwoju swej moralnej i umysłowej istoty*, which has actually never seen

¹⁶ Lewinówna pointed out that the 1886 and 1887 edition prepared by *Kronika Rodzinna* exposed Borkowska to criticism by *Przegląd Polski* (vide P.M., [review], *Przegląd Polski* 1887, vol. III, p. 172) on excessive modifications of the text previously known from *Kółko Domowe* and on abuses towards the family (Z. Lewinówna, “Nota wydawnicza”, in: S. Grzegorzewska, “Pamiętnik o Maryi”..., pp. 405–406; the situation was accounted for in detail by Borkowska herself, “Silva rerum”, *Kronika Rodzinna*, issue 8, p. 252).

¹⁷ Aleksander Tyszyński supposedly said that “it should be printed in gold font”. Vide [J. Bartoszewicz], “Pani Sabina Grzegorzewska”, *Dziennik Warszawski* 1855, issue 219, p. 2.

¹⁸ Family and personal memoirs spurred press commentaries, e.g. [unknown authorship], “Wspomnienia rodzinne” [review], *Gazeta Polska* 1863, issue 69, p. 1; Z. Hordyński, “Grzegorzewska Sabina, Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie” [review], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1887, vol. 1, pp. 684–687; S. G. (Godlewski), [review of “Pamiętniki”], *Niwa* 1886, vol. 30; (W. Zieliński), “Echa warszawskie”, *Przegląd Tygodniowy* 1886, issue 45, p. 500; L. T., [review], *Gazeta Lwowska* 1887, issue 86, p. 4; “Silva rerum”, *Kronika Rodzinna* 1887, issue 6, p. 188.

¹⁹ They later formed the core of *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie*.

²⁰ J. Dobieszewska (Śmigiełska), “Dopełnienie życiorysu Sabiny Grzegorzewskiej”, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1872, issue 250, pp. 181–182.

the light of day. Several works and studies were published posthumously, which constituted either compilations of texts previously released in periodicals (the case of the previously-mentioned *Pamiętniki* or *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wessłównie*) or were based on material from the family archive²¹.

The memoir and autobiographical writing forms certainly suited Grzegorzewska. Aleksandra Borkowska, referenced several times already, understood that well, and did much to prepare for printing new fragments of Grzegorzewska's memoirs released from her manuscripts by her children, Aleksandra Oszacka and Mieczysław Grzegorzewski in particular, and to highlight their inherent literary and factual potential. In *Dziennik Warszawski* the author was considered a witness to the epoch already in 1855²². Grzegorzewska's memoirs, which she wrote on a regular basis beginning in 1855, are certainly a vivid and genuine, if slightly chaotic, family narrative spanning the period 1814–1861. In them she discussed both the events in which she participated herself, and many stories she knew indirectly regarding well-known figures of that time. In her opinion, she strove for objectivity, she tried to portray people from different perspectives, yet, at the same time, she allowed herself personal opinions, doubts, and values. She avoided excessive moralising, and she was not easily shocked (e.g. by the anti-clergy views of some writers). Despite the traditional mindset she either stated to possess or was assigned with, she remained respectful towards all the characters in her stories, even the non-distinguished ones. She expected quite a bit from the "chosen ones" in terms of morality or national attitudes. The anecdotal nature of her accounts, a certain detachment from the stories she told, yet with a keen interest in all the mechanisms of the world of history and politics made an interesting read.

One could easily agree that it was not only personal sentiment that resonated in her daughter's Aleksandra Oszacka's words: "[...] if there was some hard-working and skilful hand that would organise and publish those scattered yet rich in content sheets, the benefit would be great as there is no other area of literature leaner than that of memoirs, and neither would be as eagerly read."²³

21 "Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828. Urywek z pamiętnika...", *Przegląd Polski* 1897, vol. 3 (127); separate copy: Krakow 1898; "Z pośmiertnych rękopisów Sabiny z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewskiej (Wspomnienia rodzinne)", *Kronika Rodzinna* 1879, vol. 7, issue 22, pp. 679–684, pp. 717–723.

22 Julian Bartoszewicz wrote on the fragments of the memoirs discussed during meetings of *Biblioteka Warszawska*: "[...] Mrs. Grzeg.[orzewska] knows what needs to be recorded, she knows how to tell a story lively, she engages the reader. Everything what we have read is a real treasure of modern history, those are additions to the history of education, to the history of our community, to the stories of persons, to the history of literature, etc., so we welcome Mrs. Grzeg.[orzewska] warmly also in the second domain of Polish literature" ("*Pamiętniki pani Grzegorzewskiej*", p. 2).

23 A. Oszacka of the Grzegorzewskis, "Wstęp", in: S. Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828...*, p. 4.

Unfortunately, even today not only the memoirs, so highly praised by Oszacka, Śmigieliska and Borkowska, but also letters, various unfinished versions of articles and studies, and short stories remain in manuscript form only. The most extensive set is held by the PAN and PAS Academic Library in Krakow, which probably acquired it thanks to Prof. Jan Oszacki, Grzegorzewska's grand-grandson.

Legacy²⁴ in the collections of the PAU and PAS Academic Library in Krakow

The PAS and PAU Academic Library in Krakow stores in its archives a considerable (over 1,500 pages), though not classified, set of manuscripts and other documents which used to belong to Grzegorzewska and her family. The physical status of the material is mostly unsatisfactory. The writings collected there, apart from the letters which belong to other catalogues specified based on their recipients, are neither microfilmed nor digitised. The manuscripts associated with Grzegorzewska cover 12 inventory units, and they include the following items:

- ref. no. 1824: 2 letters to Walery Wielogłowski²⁵ of 1842, sh. 132–135.
- ref. no. 1838: 2 letters of 1847, sh. 31–32 (in sheet 33 a letter by Florian Grzegorzewski, Grzegorzewska's brother, with her side note).
- ref. no. 715 – 4 letters to Kazimierz W. Wójcicki, data missing
- ref. no. 2185, vol. 1 – letter to Oskar Kolberg, sh. 196–197.
- ref. no. 6921 – Grzegorzewska's letter to baroness N.N., date missing, sh. 1–2.
- ref. no. 6902 – novel entitled *Dla czego...? Studium społeczno-obyczajowe / w 4-ech częściach / z pamiętnika starego bywalca przez S. z G. G.* 21x33 cm manuscript sheets, bound in four, some sheets bound as a book without covers, some loose. Many pages are in poor condition: with defects on the edges, heavy yellowing, with discolouration and creases. The hand-writing is rather legible, minor corrections are present, introduced in a different hand-writing and ink (regarding, e.g. inflection, spelling), infrequent strike outs in wavy lines, and supplements in linear entries above the text. Two-sided writing, individual parts of the manuscript seem copied in a different hand-writing and ink,

²⁴ I consider legacy as per the definition quoted by Alicja Przybyszewska: "a set of material produced by one person documenting various directions of her/his activities and creative work, displaying cognitive value and a research potential" (eadem, "Przerażasz mnie biała karto...! Rękopisy i autografy w spuściźnie literackiej Wincentego Różańskiego", in: *Archiwa i bruliony pisarzy. Odkrywanie*, M. Prussak, P. Bem, Ł. Cybulski (eds.), Warsaw: IBL PAN, 2017, p. 281).

²⁵ Walery Wielogłowski (1805–1865) – Krakow-based community activist, fought in the November Uprising, later became a bookseller (he established Księgarnia i Wydawnictwo Dzieł Katolickich, Naukowych i Rolniczych in Krakow), publisher, originator of the Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Sztuk Pięknych (Friends of Fine Arts Society), and Grzegorzewska's cousin, also brought up in Proszówki, by Józefa Wielogłowska, his grandmother, a period which he described in his autobiographical book entitled *Dom mojej babki* (Krakow 1856).

some pages heavily faded. Library numbering covers: Prologue, part I (chapters marked I–VII), sh. 1–56; part II (chapters marked 1–7), sh. 57–129; part III (chapters marked 1–V), sh. 131–189; part IV (chapters marked I–VIII), sh. 191–274 *recto*; Epilogue, sh. 275–276. Finally, an addition by the author: “Completed in Kamienna Wola on 25 May 1871.” The document seems an *avant-texte*: it is probably a fair copy corrected by an outside person (editor?) or the author herself if copying was ordered.

- Ref. no. 6903 – per unit consisting four elements:
 - (1) 21x16 cm rough draft entitled *Kwestia pracy kobiet. Studium społeczne p[rzez] S. z G. G. (d. 1868)*. Motto by A. E. Odyniec. The sheets are numbered 2–18; some glued on. A manuscript of the nature of a fair copy of a study, but with notes on the margins, deletions and corrections; indicated locations of intended transfers, references to foot/endnotes and annotations at the bottom of pages. On the inside of covers, notes from readings, e.g. James, Stark, and Dobieszewski.
 - (2) Notebook-sized rough draft entitled and dated as a rough draft (1). Sheets torn in the same place from the top at a length of 5.5 cm. Numbering continued from sheet 21 to sheet 43. Midway through sh. 42 *verso* – date: “this 2 January 1868.” Underneath, a less legible note, as if made in a hurry and in different ink: “God Almighty, I hereby swear on the Holy Bible that this flower not guilty anymore will be copied and that no other additional will I place here that would had not previously done, so help me Dear Jesus – Ave Maria, this 17 February 1869.”²⁶ Manuscript has the form of a rough draft with many deletions, sometimes entire pages struck with a vertical line; notes and corrections in other ink or in pencil.
 - (3) Rough draft without covers entitled *Jeszcze kilka uwag o stanowisku kobiet w dzisiejszym społeczeństwie, z poglądem na ideje [sic!] w tym przedmiocie nowoczesnego pozytywizmu*. 20.5 x 16.5 cm notebook format, sheets mostly bound, one (sh. 50) is loose. Library numbering continued from the previous rough draft: sh. 44–56.
 - (4) 2 rough drafts – (A) in rigid cover entitled *Wyjątki z różnych Dzieł o Kobietach*, (B), being a continuation of the first one, without cover or title. Sheets are numbered progressively 57–93; 94–114v. Notebook format (A) as in a rough draft (3), pierced through and through in the lower right section, irregular shape 5 x 7.5 cm. Both rough drafts include notes from readings in French and Polish, comments and extensive fragments of translations, e.g. extracts from the works by Florian Bochowic, François Guizot, Adolf Thiers, Jean Henri Lacordaire, Aimé Martin, Józef Przeclawski.
- Ref. no. 6904 – covers roughly organised working material, drafts, and notes from readings which consist of notes and extracts regarding philosophical, his-

²⁶ I intentionally retained the original spelling and punctuation.

torical, historical-literary, and sociological notions. In total, it consists of 13 components:

- (1) Working notes regarding Gabriela Puzynina: 4 loose, non-numbered pages; sheets are yellowed, damaged, with defects on the edges. Working rough drafts with deletions, additions, and corrections.
- (2) Study entitled *Rzut myśli co do reformy w sztuce tworzenia powieści. Ułomek z niedrukowanego rękopismu przez Sabinę z G. G.* (date missing). 4 sheets unnumbered, yellowed, with defects. Manuscript in the form of a rough draft with many corrections, deletions, and additions.
- (3) 20.5x16.5 cm rough draft in thin cover, marked as 4 (no copies with lower numbers) entitled *Kwestie filozoficzne wypisy*. Sheets unnumbered, probably 42, inside some sheets cut out. Rough draft created over time (other incline of handwriting, pace, different ink). Manuscript includes extracts from ancient and modern philosophical works, and commentaries to press releases – in Polish and French, e.g. extracts in French from works by François de Sales, excerpts from works: *Chrześcijańska filozofia w porównaniu z filozofią panteistyczną naszego wieku* by Maksymilian Jakubowicz²⁷, excerpts from *List Józefa Gołuchowskiego do J. M. z okazji prelekcji Szellinga w Berlinie r. 1842 rozpoczętych*²⁸, commentary to *Wykład systematyczny filozofii* and *Listy z Krakowa* by Józef Kremer²⁹; commentaries to the image of Cicero according to Theodor Mommsen³⁰, excerpts from works by Plato (dated 12 September 1871 in Kamienna Wola)³¹, fragments of the Bible “co do niewiasty według Wujka”, extracts from *Godziny przepędzonych z mistykami* by Robert Alfred Vaughan³². At several locations, there are also references to current Polish literature; Grzegorzewska discussed the works by Wincenty Pol, Władysław Syrokomla, Aleksander Groza, Seweryna Pruszkowa, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, Deotyma.

²⁷ The correct title of the work by Jakubowicz: *Chrześcijańska filozofia życia w porównaniu z filozofią naszego wieku panteistyczną* (vol. 1–3), Vilnius: nakład i druk Teofila Glücksberga, 1853.

²⁸ Correct title: “List Józefa Gołuchowskiego do p. J.M.”, *Biblioteka Warszawska* 1842, vol. 2, pp. 637–664. The letter included a very loose reference to Schelling’s Berlin lectures, which began in 1841, rather constituting the discussion of the Polish philosopher’s own views.

²⁹ Correct title: *Wykład systematyczny filozofii obejmujący wszystkie jej części w zarysie: Rzecz o naturze i o duchu ludzkim*, vol. I–II, Vilnius: wyd. J. Zawadzki, 1852; *Listy z Krakowa*, edition 1, vol. I, Krakow 1843; vol. II–III, Vilnius: nakł. i druk J. Zawadzki, 1855.

³⁰ Applies to fragments either of vol. 1 of *Historia rzymska* by Theodor Mommsen published in 1863 (vol. 2 was published in 1879 after Grzegorzewska had died) or *Res gestae divi Augusti* of 1865.

³¹ *Dzieła Platona* as translated by Felicjan Kozłowski were announced in 1845.

³² The first two-volume edition entitled *Hours With the Mystics* was published in 1856, the second extended edition in 1860. It is difficult to unequivocally state which version Grzegorzewska came into contact with, or if it was indirectly, through someone else’s account.

Additionally, she separated a mini-chapter entitled: *Moje rozmyślenia*, which included philosophical and religious quotes, and her own views on life goals. Different handwriting was used for recording a section entitled *Pani Risconi* (probably it was included in *Pamiętniki* published in 1888), and the copied draft (without any direct indication of its source) entitled *Tragedia i klasyczność*.

- (4) Rough draft without a cover, yellowed, sheets with defective edges; 39 sheets bound with red thread, 9 loose in poor condition (48 in total). Many corrections, notes, and deletions visible, including entire pages struck with one vertical line or fragments crossed out; some notes in a different handwriting or a different attention for calligraphy, different inks, portions illegible. The rough draft is clearly of a working nature – it is a kind of a sequence of entries probably prepared for *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie*. It includes passages entitled, e.g.: *Notatki do dzieła Rulièra*³³, *O Kajetanie Sołtyku*, *O Biskupie Kamienieckim*, *O Sewerynie Rzewuskim*, *O Białym, Dyplomacja Europy w czasie Konfederacji*, *O Dumourierze*³⁴, etc.
- (5) 8 bound sheets, by the author, untitled and undated; library title *Notaty na temat Chowanny [...] Bronisława Trentowskiego*. Sheets recorded 1–7r.; quite damaged, stained, edges torn. Working rough draft with commentary to Trentowski's work, opinions of others and her own.
- (6) Manuscript of the novel entitled *Pogrzeb wędrowca (zdarzenie prawdziwe)*, undated. Sheets 1–12, 8 partly bound, 4 loose; torn upper edge on the left-hand side, creased corners, stains, and yellowing. The document has the form of a working rough draft with numerous deletions and corrections.
- (7) Manuscript of a story entitled *Rozum na księżycu*. Some of the 18 sheets in the form of a bound rough draft, with a thin blank cover; some in the form of loose sheets. Sheet edges damaged, creased or torn, the first 12 sheets and the cover pierced through and through at the bottom, hole measuring 2.5 x 2 / 1.5 cm. As above, it is a preliminary draft with numerous deletions and corrections. Hasty, almost illegible handwriting.
- (8) *Wyciąg z uwag filozofii pozytywnej mianowicie co do kobiet [Franciszka Salezego] Krupińskiego w zeszycie Biblioteki War[szawskiej] za wrzesień r. 1868 umieszczony*³⁵ in two variants: (A) Unfinished fair copy of unknown intention in book with a rigid blue cover, well-preserved; handwriting not of the author; inscriptions on sheets 1–13 *recto*; (B) Working rough draft of *Wyciąg...* on poorly

³³ In parenthesis, Grzegorzewska stated the complete title of the work and its author: *Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne et du démembrement de cette république*, Claude Carloman de Ruhlière, 1807.

³⁴ Charles-François du Périer Dumouriez (1739–1823) – a French general during the French Revolution, author of the famous memoirs first published in 1794 and in an extended version in 1823.

³⁵ F. Krupiński, "Szkola pozytywna", *Biblioteka Warszawska* 1868, vol. 2, pp. 65–85.

bound notebook sheets 1–12; inscribed sheets 1–11 *recto* and 1 half-notebook format sheet, loose. Condition of sheets unsatisfactory, heavily yellowed, many stains, damaged edges. Extract supplemented with author's notes, e.g.: "Focus on this section for the comparison of people to animals when copying for printing in *Wpływ kobiet*" (sh. 5 *recto*).

- (9) Notepad-sized notebook, undefined either by the author or the library, in green cover. 8 sheets and inscribed back sides of both covers; evidence than at least 10 sheets were torn out. On a preliminary basis, the notebook may be considered as a working rough draft with notes, extracts, and fragments in relation to *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie* and the author's own recollections, e.g. extracts from Franciszek Duchiniński's work, i.e. *Polska i Ruś. Rodowody Słowian*, recollections from the parlour of Mrs. Voivode Gutakowska, anecdotes on Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, and general Kicki and his wife Natalia.
- (10) Undefined rough draft, untitled and undated; 2 groups of bound sheets (12 and 9) and a few loose ones. Form of a rough draft – many visible stains, deletions, and corrections. The collection includes fragments of memoirs in working versions concerning the period 1814–1830, e.g. references to the Congress of Vienna, Napoleon's return from Elba, the establishment of the Kingdom of Poland, the governance of Gen. Zajączek, the figure of Konstantin Pavlovich from before 1830, etc.
- (11) Undefined rough draft, illegible title in French on the cover; 33 sheets bound from the outside, a few sheets inside, loose. Many visible deletions, stains, creases, yellowing, places with considerably faded ink, and hardly legible passages. The manuscript was a type of a draft related to *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie*.
- (12) Loose manuscript notes (15 sheets; including e.g. fragments of notes for the novel *Dla czego?*) and 2 torn out press releases.
- (13) The speech of Aleksander Oszański at the funeral of H[enryk] Jordan; draft, handwriting of a third person.
- Ref. no. 6905, vol. 1–3.

Volume 1 covers 3 rough drafts marked 2, 3, 4 with a title of *Puławy* and a note "printed in Przegląd Polski, Przegląd Biblioteki Polskiej".

Notebooks 2 and 3 formatted 18.5 x 16 cm, notebook 4 formatted 20 x 16.5 cm; notebook 2 includes 15 sheets; inside, there are some loose pages; notebook 3 completely bound, 17 sheets; notebook 4 – sheets bound, glued on in some locations, 24 in total. The manuscripts served as working rough drafts with corrections over the line, additions, underlining, and deletions. Notebook 3 starts mid-sentence which suggests a continuation of the content from notebook 2, however, no such direct correlation exists. Notebooks 3 and 4 are completely related.

Volume 2 covers 10 elements:

- (1) Manuscript *Słów kilka do czytelnika* (in relation to a re-release of the 1st edition of *Pamiętniki*)³⁶, 4 connected rough draft sheets, fair copy.
- (2) Navy blue notebook entitled: *Pamiętniki współczesne. Pamiętniki, Wspomnienia i Opowiadania Sabiny z G...G...* Sheet 38. The manuscript has the form of a fair copy copied in a different handwriting (or very carefully by the author). Minor corrections, deletions, and supplements above the text can be found, the rare notes on the margin, and underlines. The rough draft covers the first three chapters of the memoirs.
- (3) Notebook includes 44 sheets; also, the *recto* of the back cover inscribed (text interrupted mid-sentence). On the front cover, there is the Roman numeral I. Bound notebook, but inside there are a few loose sheets. The manuscript has the form of a rough draft: many deletions, notes above the text, on the margin and at the bottom of the page, additions and corrections, some ink stains. On sheet 1, a note preceding the beginning of the memoirs struck with four diagonal lines: “Children, for my daughters – I shall inform them on the events and people I have observed, whom I knew, I shall open to them my experience for which I paid with grave worries. May they be wary of fervent emotions even if the goal is noble because they seldom go hand in hand with internal peace.”³⁷
- (4) Rough draft without a rigid cover. Inscription on the front page: *Pamiętniki i wspomnienia rodzinne Sabiny z G. G.* Library numbering 1–19. Sheets in poor condition, pages are yellowed, edges are torn and creased; many deletions and corrections. Changes in handwriting indicate the manuscript was written in stages, and at various paces.
- (5) Rough draft in rigid brown cover, untitled. Sheet 1 features the Roman numeral V, the *verso* page of the previous cover features a pencil note: “Printed in *Biblioteka Warszawska*”. Pages partly bound and glued on. Form of a rough draft, with deletions, additions, and corrections.
- (6) Rough draft in brown cover (stone-type pattern) entitled: *Zeszyt 4ty moich pamiętników. Cz. V.* 32 sheets; inside chapter numbering: IV–VII. A pencil inscription on the *verso* side of the front cover: “Printed in *Biblioteka Warszawska*”. The manuscript covers recollections from the period of 1814–1826.
- (7) Rough draft in a pink and green cover entitled *Pamiętniki mojego życia*. Underneath, there is an inscription “Already printed I”. 42 sheets. The manuscript is of a working rough draft nature: numerous deletions, additions, supplements;

³⁶ It was never re-released in a book form nor in *Biblioteka Warszawska* during the writer's lifetime. In this surviving manuscript, Grzegorzewska responded to the accusations made towards the memoirs published earlier in the press.

³⁷ Original spelling and punctuation were retained in the Polish version.

visible changes in the quality of handwriting, ink colour, writing pace, etc. It begins with an introduction, which in the printed version was omitted.

- (8) Rough draft in a navy blue cover (water drop pattern), bottom right-hand corner of cover torn off. Title inscription on the cover: *Zeszyt II moich pamiętników*, with a note “printed”. 35 sheets. The manuscript written with more care than (6), possibly another copied version, onto which corrections, notes on the margins were copied, and where sentences and fragments of the document were deleted.
- (9) Rough draft in brown and pink cover (stone-type pattern) with an inscription on the cover: *Zeszyt 5ty moich pamiętników* and a note: “Historia p. Morland już drukowana”. Sheets 1–39 *recto*, manuscript condition as in (7).
- (10) 7 severely damaged loose sheets, the final sheet is a torn off, navy blue back cover with inscriptions on the inside. Manuscript is undefined and unorganised.

Volume 3 covers 9 elements:

- (1) Rough draft without a bound cover entitled: *Cz. III o pobycie męża w cytadeli i wypadkach 1846 r.* Additional vertical inscription: “During my Father’s detainment in the Citadel.”³⁸ 14 sheets, part entitled *Moja znajomość z Odyńcem (1865)* starts with sheet 12. Rough draft manuscript with deletions, additions, corrections, no margins; sheets are damaged on the edges and creased.
- (2) 10 sheets of a rough draft entitled *Ustęp z moich pamiętników*. In parenthesis, a pencil note “(II cz.)”. Clear continuation of the previously created document.
- (3) Brown rough draft marked “No. 5”, untitled. 22 sheets, bound; another version of the rough draft, to be reviewed and prepared for printing; applies to memoirs spanning the period from 1818 to just before 1830.
- (4) Numerous rough drafts, some bound, some including loose pages; some sheets are damaged; undefined manuscript, untitled. 103 sheets in total. The collection covers rough drafts of family memoirs and *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie*.
- (5) Brown notebook, the *verso* side of the front cover includes a recipient: “Pani Eufemia Borowska” and a note: “May Femcia never make mistakes, always remember about her dots and commas.” 32 sheets, form of a rough draft intended for copying; hardly legible handwriting, many deletions, corrections, and additions. Covers fragments of *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie*.
- (6) Rough draft without a cover, untitled, and undefined. 81 sheets; damaged edges, stains. Most probably a working rough draft with numerous corrections and deletions. Includes notes on recollections and anecdotes related to family memoirs, e.g.: *Ostatnie chwile Hof[f]manowej, Jeszcze o Puławach, O Niemcewiczu, Brodzińskim, Pacu itp., O Klaudynie Potockiej, O Kielcach*.

³⁸ Most probably a note by Aleksandra Oszacka, who did an initial ordering of Grzegorzewska’s personal archive.

- (7) 6 21 x 33 cm bound double sheets. Manuscript of a memoir entitled *Z pośmiertnych rękopisów S. z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewskiej*; handwriting different from the author's handwriting, but also includes corrections.
- (8) Rough draft without rigid cover entitled *Ciąg dalszy moich pamiętników w kwietniu i maju r. 1872*, pencil note: "For printing." Sheets 1–23 *recto*. Copied manuscript, possibly fair copy; covers recollections spanning the period since 1819 on the family's time spent in Kielce.
- (9) Rough draft in a green cover (stone pattern) entitled: *Zeszyt 6sty moich pamiętników (drukowane w „Bibliotece Warszawskiej”)*. Sheets 1 r.–34 v. The rough draft includes a rough draft of a letter in French dated: 15 Janvier 1856 and addressed to: à Monsieur Jules Lecomte³⁹.
- Ref. no. 6906 – large brown rough draft, bound. Sheets numbered 1–69 (sheets 63v.–69v. blank). The manuscript has the form of a rough draft, but most probably it was its second copied version; still includes corrections, and deletions; some paragraphs are illegible, ink is faded in some instances; different qualities of handwriting and ink – the manuscript was surely created over time. Sheet 3 includes a title: *Wiadomości Stowarzyszeniu Dam Miłosierdzia Ś-go Wincentego à Paulo w Warszawie przez Sabinę z G. G.* A motto from Matthew 25:40. The back side of the front cover bears an incorrect note: "Puławy printed."
 - Ref. no. 6907 – covers:
- (1) Large notebook in rigid cover; title inscription on the cover blurred, only the author's name and surname are visible. Sheet 2 *recto* includes a title: *Ćwiczenia moralne i umysłowe*, sheet 2 *verso* – a dedication *Pamięci Rodziców moich – Autorka*, sheet 3 *recto* struck title: *O wpływie kobiet na duchowy rozwój człowieczeństwa* vol. 1 *Ćwiczenia moralne i umysłowe*. Underneath the title, there is a note: "Chomentowski⁴⁰ said that the title on the influence of women on the spiritual development of man is most appropriate." Sheet 3 *verso* – includes the print approval clause by the censors. The manuscript has the form of a pre-final copy with minor corrections by the author or editors. Part 1 of vol. 1 was most certainly written by a third person; part 2 begins on sheet 45 *recto*, which includes the title in capital letters: *Postęp* and mottoes. 93 sheets in total.
- (2) Large notebook in rigid cover marked as volume 2; continuation of study *O wpływie kobiet na duchowy rozwój człowieczeństwa* book 1, ch. III (*Charakter i dzieje kobiety w zarysie*). Numbered sheets 1–87; sheet 87 *verso* marked: "End of volume 1". The manuscript is of a fair copy nature with minor corrections and deletions (by editors?)

³⁹ Jules Lecomte (1810–1864) – a French novelist, playwright, and a journalist. It is unclear whether, and when, Grzegorzewska sent the letter, and whether she received a reply.

⁴⁰ That most probably refers to Władysław Chomętowski (1829–1876) – publisher and writer, brother of Aleksandra Borkowska.

- (3) Loose manuscript sheets entitled *Spis treści i zarys rozdziałów książki „O wpływie kobiet na duchowy rozwój człowieczeństwa”*. Numbered sheets 84–100 (library's error in numbering the beginning).
- (4) Thin rough draft in a red cover. Includes chapter 2 of book III on the literature to the work *O wpływie kobiet na duchowy rozwój człowieczeństwa*. On the verso side of the front cover, there is a commentary to a speech by Wincenty Pol on literature delivered in 1870 in Krakow. Sheets numbered 101–122. Fair copy with minor corrections.
- Ref. no. 6908 – unit includes:
- (1) Rough draft without a cover entitled: *Pamiętniki i wspomnienia mojego żywota obejmujące okres czasu od r. 1826 do 1861, tj. ostatnie lata panowania Wielkiego Księcia Konstantego w Polsce, Rewolucję Listopadową, Rewolucję r. 1846, Rzeź Galicyjską i Wielki Ruch Narodowy r. 1861 przez S z G. G.* Unnumbered sheets (41), loose, some previously bound and falling apart now, severely damaged. Rough draft with numerous corrections, deletions, and stains.
- (2) 7 double sheets entitled *Wyjątki z Pamiętników Sabiny z G. G.*; sheets are yellowed, damaged, and creased on the edges, some edges torn. The manuscript is of the nature of a fair copy for printing copied by the author, but with corrections and deletions introduced later. On the margins, there are suggestions and notes by the editorial board/ editor (?) regarding, e.g. censorship.
- (3) Typescript of fragments of memoirs.
- (4) Notebook from book XIX / early 20th c., lines without a front cover entitled *Słowo wstępne autorstwa córki, Aleksandry Oszackiej*; continued by excerpts copied by her from previously unprinted memoirs (regarding the period 1817–1826).

During my survey I did not find among the above-mentioned manuscripts the study referenced in the press entitled *Niewiasta w całym rozwoju swej moralnej i umysłowej istoty*. Neither did I find the manuscripts of poems which supposedly later formed the volume announced in 1856 entitled *Wdowi grosz*.

Stages of processing Grzegorzewska's legacy

Any work on the material left by Grzegorzewska needs to begin with detailed fact checking of the contents of the indicated collection, i.e. a careful reading of the material, in particular of the undefined rough drafts and notes, and inspecting the layout proposed by the library personnel. It would be necessary to reconstruct the *dossier* we possess in relation to family memoirs, Wesslówna's history, novels, academic studies, etc. respectively. In the case of at least some units, the organisation of documents does not consider the chronology of their publication, their mutual relations, or their relation to the printed text. The analysis of the relationships between the extracts, loose notes, working rough drafts, and fair copies, if any, would enable one to discuss the directions of the author's decisions, the manner in which

Grzegorzewska's views formed, and the degree to which her writings reflected the books she had read, when compared to the final publication, if available⁴¹. The analysis of various versions, corrections, deletions, transformations, omissions, and supplements within *avant-textes* sometimes occurring over time (not necessarily on a linear evolution basis) out of her own will or under external suggestions, might also say something interesting about the creative psychology (and, indirectly, on the motifs and choices) of the woman-writer, or about her situation in the publishing market of that time⁴². I am convinced that the 19th-century contexts fully justified the combination of genetic research and psychological methods proposed by Olga Dawidowicz-Chymkowska. She posited that:

Rough draft versions containing consecutive stages of the texts, when connected as points forming a line, can indicate the direction of a writer's work, enabling one to see not only the final outcome, but also the path that the writer took to reach it. [...] we may learn the dynamics of creating a text with all its difficulties, inconsistencies, and doubts, but also moments of insight when solutions to aggregated problems emerge⁴³.

A preliminary overview of library documents indicates that it will be also difficult to unequivocally differentiate original handwriting from passages written by others (it is unclear whether the author's preliminary notes were always copied by Eufemia Borowska, whom, in fact, Grzegorzewska accused of often making mistakes), let alone to evaluate the actual influence of the persons who triggered editorial changes. In the case of those manuscripts which are missing a strictly textual reference, the study of the *dossier* consisting of, e.g. technical notes, working rough drafts with various levels of completion, possibly unpublished fair copies, what is important is not only the graphic analysis of the handwriting, but mainly a careful analysis of the author's mode of writing, and the mechanisms shaping specific parts intended for publishing⁴⁴, even though they had never reached that outcome.

41 A. Borkowska thus described Grzegorzewska's writing skills: "Devoted to the type of work she chose, Mrs. G. eagerly sifted through family archives gathering the findings she needed for the vault of her collections. She never ignored a story of an old house servant [...]" (eadem, *Sabina z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewska...*, p. 97).

42 The reviewers of Grzegorzewska's memoirs often accused her of structural chaos, which was a result of, e.g. a considerable segmentation of the memories. That might have partly been caused by her writing inefficiencies, but one should also include other considerations, e.g. censorship and biographical considerations.

43 O. Dawidowicz-Chymkowska, *Przez kreślenie do kreacji. Analiza procesu twórczego zapisanego w brulionach dzieł literackich*, Warsaw: IBL PAN, 2007, pp. 22–23.

44 It would be helpful to use the methods for studying working manuscripts proposed by de Biasi considering horizontal and vertical study organisations (vide idem, *Genetyka tekstów*, trans. F. Kwiatek, M. Prussak, Warsaw: IBL PAN, 2015, pp. 86–102).

Possible directions for the interpretation of Sabina Grzegorzewska's manuscript legacy

The first approach includes a traditional interpretation, the purpose of which is to enrich the *minorum gentium* literary history knowledge on the author. The analysis of Grzegorzewska's manuscripts indicates the *silva rerum* and multi-genre nature of her legacy. It enables one to achieve the fullest possible view of her output, recreate and interpret her works which were not released during her lifetime due to a lack of their structural completeness, the author's lack of time, and publishing, money or social limitations, or other unfavourable family circumstances of which she most certainly experienced her fair share.

Another interpretative approach would be closer to the proposals of genetic criticism, as it is based on the conviction that the merit of such an organisation and reading of manuscripts would enable a greater reconstruction of the "becoming of a text" itself, in Pierre-Marc de Biasi's words⁴⁵ e.g. through the analysis of the sources Grzegorzewska used, the manner in which she processed them for artistic purposes, the repeatability of certain notions, themes or stylistic inclinations, the evolutions or the persistence of views expressed at various stages of writing, her writing skills and how they changed, and, finally, the concept of literature expressed emphatically or only derivable from the content of writings, etc. Such an approach is more interesting and surely better suited for the majority of the notebook characters preserved in the manuscript archives. It is used for studying the "personal area of writing"⁴⁶, and reproducing the difficulty of transforming thoughts into words, and words into text. It extracts the heterogenic dimension of literature.

The third direction of interpretation is defined (and indicated by de Biasi, Henri Mitterrand, and Pierre Bourdieu) by the possible relations between the findings of genetic criticism and the study of cultural processes. In the cultural genetics approach, the specific aspects of Grzegorzewska's output (including the values her output conveyed) would not be eliminated, rather the *dossier* would receive a broader dimension. Mitterrand in *Krytyka genetyczna i historia kultury* wrote on the temptation "to seize at one go [...] over the individualised monologue, the manifestations of the transformation of common ideals and tastes, the first traces of a cultural transformation in which a text forms."⁴⁷ Let me refer to a specific example which, possibly, could justify such a perspective in the reading of Grzegorzewska's manuscript legacy. Her memoirs constitute the starting point, both due to the fact that they were extremely important for the author herself (her personal recollections were intertwined with family traditions and historical knowledge),

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 15.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 12.

⁴⁷ Quoted after P-M. de Biasi, *op.cit.*, p. 157.

and because it was the material forming the core of her memoir manuscripts that was used to select the majority of the fragments published both during her lifetime, and soon after she died. Therefore, that area offers the best illustration of the dynamics in *avant-texte* and text relations. It is interesting to compare the excerpts from *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie* used for printing with the notes regarding the process of preparing the novel kept in the PAU and PAS archive. That was first highlighted by Zofia Lewinówna, who indicated that although the image of Konstancy Sobieski's wife in the printed version remains in line with the idealisation of the role of women which Grzegorzewska outlined in the study *Wpływ kobiety na rozwój duchowy społeczeństwa*, rough drafts offer quite different private opinions on Wesslówna. Grzegorzewska wrote, e.g. that she was "greedy for majesty", and she displayed "a weak, cowardly nature which could be easily swayed."⁴⁸

One should consider to what extent the discrepancy was intentional. What caused it? Was it a compromise with the world? Was it an attempt to adjust to, in the author's views, the publicly expected view of women? Or maybe, since the presence of the "gentle sex" in the world was spreading gradually, was it related to her compliance with tradition and the strong figures in her family, in comparison to whom her own opinion seemed less important to her? Was it a case of censorship or self-censorship? Without a closer examination of the entire *dossier* nothing can be said for certain.

Similarly, it would be worth comparing quotations from religious and philosophical books and Grzegorzewska's official opinions on women's destinies with the vivid descriptions of "strong" female characters from her family history or with her rebellion as a female author, reacting in self-defence:

But let us put an end to criticism, it is so easy for it to fight women, such fights have recently become fashionable, and how are they not supposed to be sought for when they are bloodless, and they require no moral courage from the critic⁴⁹.

Finally, the interpretation of her legacy from the socio-genetic perspective would be supported by the presence in the *dossier* of excerpts from books and her comments to those excerpts. The analysis of the language, style or specific abstract notions recorded in those drafts gains in that context additional meaning, as that which is conscious and one's own is laid onto unconsciously accepted patterns of public discourse, at the same time documenting the possible intersections in the individual and collective mind paths.

⁴⁸ Z. Lewinówna, "Wstęp", p. 38.

⁴⁹ Manuscript at the PAU and PAS Academic Library in Krakow, ref. no. 6905, vol. 2, *Słów kilka do czytelnika*, sh. 3.

Thus, the rough drafts of the memoirs (as well as other material) studied in terms of said similarities and dissimilarities may prove part of the cultural landscape of the epoch, and a large part of how women operated in the community, and artistic and intellectual life.

Bibliography⁵⁰

- [affiliation missing], “Wspomnienia rodzinne” [review], *Gazeta Polska* 1863, issue 69, pp. 1–2.
- [A. Borkowska], “Silva rerum”, *Kronika Rodzinna* 1887, issue 6, p. 188.
- [A. Borkowska], “Silva rerum”, *Kronika Rodzinna*, issue 8, p. 252.
- [J. Bartoszewicz], “Pamiętniki pani Grzegorzewskiej”, *Dziennik Warszawski* 1855, issue 227, pp. 1–2.
- [J. Bartoszewicz], “Pani Sabina Grzegorzewska”, *Dziennik Warszawski* 1855, issue 219, pp. 1–2.
- [W. Zieliński], “Echa warszawskie”, *Przegląd Tygodniowy* 1886, issue 45, p. 500.
- Archiwa i bruliony pisarzy. Odkrywanie*, Maria Prussak, Paweł Bem, Łukasz Cybulski (eds.), Warsaw: IBL PAN, 2017.
- Biasi de Pierre-Marc, *Genetyka tekstów*, trans. Filip Kwiatek, Maria Prussak, Warsaw: IBL PAN, 2015.
- Bieniarzówna Janina, “Grzegorzewska Sabina” (entry), in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 9, Wrocław–Kraków: Ossolineum, 1960, pp. 94–95.
- Borkowska of the Chomętowskis Aleksandra, “Sabina z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewska. Wspomnienie”, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1872, issue 244, pp. 97–98.
- Dawidowicz-Chymkowska Olga, *Przez kreślenie do kreacji. Analiza procesu twórczego zapisanego w brulionach dzieł literackich*, Warsaw: IBL PAN, 2007.
- Dobieszewska (Śmigiełska) Józefa, “Dopełnienie życiorysu Sabiny Grzegorzewskiej”, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1872, issue 250, pp. 181–182.
- Grzegorzewska of the Gostkowskis Sabina, *Pamiętniki*, Warsaw: Nakładem Redakcji „Kroniki Rodzinnej”, 1888.
- Hordyński Zdzisław, “Grzegorzewska Sabina, Pamiętnik o Maryi Wessłównie” [review], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1887, vol. 1, pp. 684–687.
- L. T., [review], *Gazeta Lwowska* 1887, issue 86, p. 4.

⁵⁰ In the bibliography, I omitted the manuscripts discussed in the article and the works referenced therein only to define Grzegorzewska's printed manuscripts and works which do not, at this point, constitute the object of a separate analysis.

Lewinówna Zofia, "Wstęp" and "Nota wydawnicza", in: Sabina Grzegorzewska, *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie Królewiczowej Konstantowej Sobieskiej*, introduction and editing Z. Lewinówna, Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1865.

Oszacka Aleksandra, "Wstęp", in: S. Grzegorzewska, "Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828. Urywek z pamiętnika...", Krakow: Drukarnia „Czasu” Pr. Kluczyckiego i Spółki, 1898.

P.M., [rec.], *Przegląd Polski* 1887, vol. III, p. 172.

S. G. (Godlewski), [review of "Pamiętniki"], *Niwa* 1886, vol. 30.

Tyrowicz M., "Grzegorzewski Aleksander" (entry), in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Wrocław–Krakow: Ossolineum, 1960, vol. 9, p. 95.

Wójcicki Kazimierz Władysław, *Cmentarz Powązkowski pod Warszawą*, vol. 1, Warsaw: S. Orgelbrand, 1855.

Maria Berkan-Jabłońska

Kierunki opracowywania spuścizny Sabiny z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewskiej (na podstawie materiałów Biblioteki PAU i PAN w Krakowie)

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest prezentacja dokumentów rękopiśmiennych stanowiących spuściznę dziewiętnastowiecznej pisarki, Sabiny Grzegorzewskiej. Zespół materiałów, na który składają się listy, notatki z lektur, brudnopisy i czystopisy rozpraw, powieści oraz pamiętników, znajduje się aktualnie w zbiorach Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie. Artykuł przedstawia wstępnie ich zawartość, stan materialny, związki z wersjami drukowanymi za życia autorki i tuż po jej śmierci, a także omawia perspektywy dalszych etapów opracowywania tej spuścizny. Ważną kwestią jest pytanie o znaczenie podjętego zadania dla historii polskiego piśmiennictwa XIX wieku, zwłaszcza w odniesieniu do twórcy *minorum gentium*. Zdaniem autora artykułu, zasadne byłoby powiązanie metod analizy przedtekstów, przyjętych w badaniach genetycznych, z propozycjami tzw. genetyki kulturowej.

Słowa kluczowe: Grzegorzewska, pamiętniki polskie XIX wieku, archiwum osobiste, spuścizna, krytyka genetyczna

Directions in the research of the legacy of Sabina Grzegorzewska of the Gostkowskis (based on the material of the Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Cracow)

Summary

The aim of the article was to describe the collection of manuscripts preserved in the family archives as a memorial to Sabina Grzegorzewska née Gostkowska, a 19th-century writer, which are currently in the possession of The Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Cracow. That analysed archival legacy consists of various documents, which include a few letters, several rough drafts with notes and quotations on Grzegorzewska's philosophical and religious lectures, excerpts from her dissertations, and drafts and fair copies of novels and memoirs. The article presented their content and material condition. The prospects for further processing of that legacy were also discussed. An important issue is the question on the importance of the task for the history of Polish literature of the 19th century, especially with regard to the creator of *minorum gentium*. According to the author of the article, it would be reasonable to link the methods of the analysis of avant-textes, adopted in genetic research, with the proposals of the so-called cultural genetics.

Keywords: Grzegorzewska, 19th century Polish diaries, personal archives, literary legacy, genetic criticism

Maria Berkan-Jabłońska, dr hab., prof. UŁ, pracownik Zakładu Literatury i Tradycji Romantyzmu Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Zajmuje się literaturą XIX w. Obecnie interesują ją przede wszystkim zagadnienia romantycznej korespondencji sztuk, twórczość kobieca okresu międzypowstaniowego, dziewiętnastowieczne dzieje literatury popularnej, w tym kryminału, a także kwestie recepcji polskiego piśmiennictwa XIX w. za granicą. Autorka książek pt.: *Wizje sztuki w twórczości Zbigniewa Herberta* (Łódź 2008), *Arystokratka i biedermeier. Rzecz o Gabrieli z Günterów Puzyninie (1815–1869)* (Łódź 2015), *Weredyczki, sawantki, marzycielki, damy... W kręgu kobiecego romantyzmu. Studia i szkice z kultury literackiej kobiet okresu międzypowstaniowego* (Łódź 2019); współredaktor tomów *Mickiewicz wielu pokoleń twórców, badaczy i czytelników* (Łódź 2008), *Przygody romantycznego „ja”*. *Idee – strategie twórcze – rezonanse* (Poznań 2012).

Maria Berkan-Jabłońska, Ph.D., professor of the University of Lodz, she works at the Department of Literature and the Traditions of the Romanticism, University of Lodz. Her focus is 19th-century literature. Currently, her research mainly centres around the notions of Romantic correspondence of the arts, works by women in the inter-uprising period (between the 1830s and 60s), 19th-century popular literature (including crime stories), and the issues of the reception of Polish 19th-century writings abroad. She is the author of: *Wizje sztuki w twórczości Zbigniewa Herberta* (Łódź 2008), *Arystokratka i biedermeier. Rzecz o Gabrieli z Günterów Puzyńnie (1815–1869)* (Łódź 2015), *Weredyczki, sawantki, marzycielki, damy... W kręgu kobiecego romantyzmu. Studia i szkice z kultury literackiej kobiet okresu między-powstaniowego* (Łódź 2019); she was the co-editor of: *Mickiewicz wielu pokoleń twórców, badaczy i czytelników* (Łódź 2008), *Przygody romantycznego „ja”. Idee – strategie twórcze – rezonanse* (Poznań 2012).