## DZIENNIK [DIARY] BY WŁADYSŁAW KONOPCZYŃSKI ON WRITING A BIOGRAPHY OF STANISŁAW KONARSKI

## PIOTR BILIŃSKI AND ZOFIA ZIELIŃSKA

Stanisław Konarski (1700–1773) – a Piarist, playwright, poet, translator, publisher, publicist, reformer of education, and founder of the Collegium Nobilium; one of the most important personages of eighteenth-century Polish history. His earliest scientific biography was written by the Krakow historian Władysław Konopczyński in 1926. Based on Konopczyński's *Diary*, this study presents a reconstruction of work on this important book and challenges surrounding its publication.

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In Poland Piarist Stanisław Konarski (1700–1773) enjoys enormous respect, demonstrated by the title of *preceptor Poloniae* granted to him. He deserved this distinction for his contribution to the reform of education, activity in the domain of scientific editorship, and superlative publicist writings. Konarski also holds a distinct place as translator, poet, and playwright. Abroad he is recollected much more rarely. Thus before we embark upon the titular theme it seems worth our while to briefly outline a portrait of this protagonist of a biography written by Władysław Konopczyński; the second edition appeared in 2016 after an interval of ninety years. Upon this occasion it will also become possible to recognise that the diary of the Cracow-based historian comprises an invaluable thesaurus.

Konarski was born in a gentry family of little wealth. At the age of nine he was entrusted to a Piarist college in Piotrków Trybunalski, attended also by his brothers. In 1715 he joined the Piarist Order and underwent a novitiate in Podoliniec (Podolínec) in Spiš (Upper Hungary, today: Slovakia). Already here he began teaching, and from 1722 was a preceptor lecturing on rhetoric at the Piarist college in Warsaw. This was a period of his first literary and publicistic works written in Latin; in time Konarski pronounced the poetry to be of little

This article is a modified and expanded version of introduction to the new edition of monograph by Władysław Konopczyński about Stanisław Konarski (Piotr Billiński – Zofia Zielińska, Stanisław Konarski Władysława Konopczyńskiego, in: Władysław Konopczyński, Stanisław Konarski, Kraków – Warszawa 2016, p. VII–XXVII).

Namely Bibliography of the History of the Czech Lands registers two relevant positions: Václav Bartůšek, Stanislaw Hieronymus Konarski (1700–1773), Pedagogika. Časopis pro vědy o vzdělávání a výchově 40/5, 1990, s. 558–568; IDEM, Stosunek Jana Evangelisty Purkyně' go do dziela Stanislawa Hieronyma Konarskiego, in: Irena Stasiewicz Jasiukowa – Jan Janko (edd.), Z dziejów polsko-czeskich i polsko-słowackich kontaktów naukowych, Warszawa 1990, s. 163–171.

value. Due to help rendered by his uncle, Bishop of Poznań Jan Tarło, in 1725 Konarski left for Rome where he pursued further studies at Collegium Nazarenum, a recently reformed excellent Piarist academy. Here the young monk grasped the essence of the modern school system and the beauty of classical Latin, so very different from his *juvenilia*. In 1729 he continued studying in Paris and toured German lands.

Immediately upon his return in 1730 the Nazarenum alumnus, regarded as highly talented, was "bagged" by the Załuski brothers, who in 1747 opened the first public library in Poland and who envisaged him as the editor of *Volumina legum*, a collection of Polish laws. The six volumes edited by Konarski, and published in 1732–1739, serve science to this day. From 1733 Konarski was also a publicist greatly involved in politics and a supporter of Stanisław Leszczyński. Discouraged by the latter's defeat, he resumed teaching.

In 1740 Konarski established Collegium Nobilium, a modern school in Warsaw modelled on Collegium Nazarenum; owing to high fees it was intended for sons of prosperous members of the gentry and magnates – an elite that subsequently showed concern for a further propagation of education. After several years of experience Konarski reformed all Piarist schools in the Crown, fashioned after Collegium Nobilium. The fact that he thus enforced a great reform of Jesuit colleges, which offered education to a major part of gentry youth, was possibly even more important. When in 1773 Pope Clemens XIV suppressed the Society of St. Ignatius of Loyola teachers from reformed Jesuit schools became the core of staff at the Commission of National Education schools, ensuring the Commission's success – a true yardstick of Konarski's accomplishments.

The greatest role in publicistics was played by the learned Piarist's *O skutecznym rad sposobie* [On an Effective Way of Councils] (vol. 1–4, 1761–1763), a study that crushed *liberum veto* – the destroyer of Polish Sejms (Parliaments, Diets). King Stanisław II August presented Konarski with the *Sapere auso* medal (1771) for comprehensive accomplishments. Finally, Konarski became the protagonist of *Dzienniki* [Diary] by Władysław Konopczyński (1880–1952);<sup>3</sup> its successive fragment was issued recently, presenting both the motivations that inclined the Cracow-based scholar to undertake the difficult task of writing a biography and the manner in which this publication about the learned Piarist came into being. It is to this creative process that we would like to dedicate our article.

The book about Konarski met with favourable opinions of critics accentuating the author's erudition and the fact that the narration was based on extensive archival surveys. Konopczyński – from 1917 professor at the Jagiellonian University – was acclaimed in particular for his thorough search for new sources and became known among his colleagues as a "devourer of archives", a description he held in high esteem. Apart from Polish archives Konopczyński was familiar with those of Berlin, Vienna, Paris, London, Stockholm, and Copenhagen; furthermore, he managed to benefit from access to Russian archives in the wake of the Revolution of 1905. Subsequent surveys took place in St. Petersburg and Moscow. The outcome of the obtained material, research acuity, and great thoroughness produced Konopczyński's colossal historiographic achievement – 60 books, each volume

Manuscripts of the Diary of Władysław Konopczyński are kept in the family archive of the Konopczyński family in Gliwice. They consist of 167 notebooks of records from 1895–1952 and include around 7000 pages covered in small handwriting. So far, contents of the diary from 1918–1926 have been published in four volumes: Piotr Biliński – Paweł Plichta (eds.), Władysław Konopczyński, Dziennik 1918–1921, I–II, Warszawa 2016; IIDEM (eds.), Władysław Konopczyński, Dziennik 1922–1926, I–II, Warszawa 2021.

composed of 300-400 pages. Both those figures and the superior level of studies by the "devourer of archives" enjoin to distinguish him as the most outstanding Polish historian of the first half of the twentieth century. The majority of his works – including the biography of Stanisław Konarski – still remain the last word in science.

Closing the above introductory remarks about the author of *Dziennik* it should be added that Konopczyński, with his lifetime experience (during the German occupation he was imprisoned in 1939–1940 at Sachsenhausen together with other Jagiellonian University scholars), proved to be undeterred also at the time of communist totalitarianism, a stand for which he paid the price of losing all his research positions and premature death.

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In a manner of speaking Konopczyński "inherited" the impulse to engage in studying the great reformer. Earlier, he came across material about Konarski collected by Stanisław Krzemiński, an astute critic, man of science, as well as a great intellectual and moral authority.<sup>4</sup>

In a preface to the biography Konopczyński revealed: "The clearer it became that the honourable editor of Encyklopedia would not complete his ideal work in time the more it became necessary to prevent his toil from being lost. I understood early on that this scientific obligation is mine to bear in my capacity as a scholar whom fate permitted to examine collections abroad inaccessible to Krzemiński." Konopczyński intended to start writing about Konarski already in 1904-1908, at the onset of his archival quests, but he did not transform his plans immediately into a decision to embark upon work on a monograph. Since traces left behind by the Piarist were not always the most important topic of the surveys, much had to be supplemented when the time came for creating a complete biography of the vanquisher of liberum veto. In 1908 Konopczyński presented Stanisław Konarski jako reformator polityczny [Stanisław Konarski as a Political Reformer], his first study dedicated to Konarski.<sup>6</sup> This review of the most significant accomplishments of the Piarist's political thought accentuated two works: Rozmowa pewnego ziemianina ze swoim sąsiadem o teraźniejszych okolicznościach roku 1733 [A Conversation of a Certain Yeoman with his Neigbour on Present Circumstances of the Year 1733] (published in 1733) and the treatise O skutecznym rad sposobie, czyli o utrzymywaniu ordynaryjnych sejmów [On an Effective Way of Councils or on the Conduct of Ordinary Sejms]. The author of the pioneering study announced a more extensive study about Konarski's constitutional system, ultimately issued in 1911, based predominantly on O skutecznym rad sposobie and casting light on – apart from the titular problem – differences between the first and final version.

On Krzemiński: Konrad Górski, Krzemiński Stanisław, Polski Słownik Biograficzny (further as: PSB) vol. 15, 1970, pp. 522–524.

Władysław Konopczyński, Przedmowa to: IDEM, Stanisław Konarski, Warszawa 1926, pp. VII–VIII. It must be added that in 1902 Krzemiński was gravely ill, K. Górski, Krzemiński Stanisław, p. 523. Krzemiński included an extensive biogram of Konarski in: Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna Ilustrowana, XXXVII, Warszawa 1905, pp. 500–514).

Władysław Konopczyński, Stanisław Konarski jako reformator polityczny [Stanisław Konarski as a Political Reformer], Przegląd Narodowy 1, 1908, pp. 14–46.

Władysław Konopczyński, System konstytucyjny Stanisława Konarskiego [Constitutional System of Stanisław Konarski], Przegląd Polski 182, 1911, pp. 23–43.

Krzemiński managed to read both texts on time and welcomed them with approval.<sup>8</sup> Their author reprinted reflections on the Piarist's reformatory conception and constitutional system in the collection: *Mrok i świt* [Dusk and Dawn].<sup>9</sup>

In 1910–1912, during the second phase of surveys carried out abroad, Konopczyński once again collected material pertaining to Konarski. Regardless of further searches, he subsequently augmented his findings (perhaps in as late as 1922) with the Krzemiński collections, since heirs of the editor of *Wielka Powszechna Encyklopedia Ilustrowana* [The Great General Illustrated Encyclopedia] presented the Konarsciana collected by Krzemiński to the future author of the biography. <sup>10</sup> "Extremely copious material – Konopczyński assessed – but insufficient for solving myriad questions concerning the life of Father Stanisław." <sup>11</sup>

It follows from the chronology of Konopczyński's published works that the period succeeding his first texts about Konarski, including a compulsory stay in Sweden (from August 1914 to February 1916), was dedicated to editing Sejm diaries, studies on the Bar Confederation, a monograph on *Geneza i ustanowienie Rady Nieustającej* [The Origin and Establishment of the Constant Council] as well as a review study on *Liberum veto*. <sup>12</sup> The fact that he did not forget the defeater of *liberum veto* is evidenced by a diary entry made on 14 June 1919, at a time when Konopczyński was staying in Paris as a member of the Polish delegation to the Versailles peace conference. Here he mentioned among planned publications a biography of the Piarist, to appear in 1925, "and two volumes of his [Konarski's] letters". <sup>13</sup> A year later, on 28 May 1920, Konopczyński shared information, recorded in the diary, which was to comprise a first step towards the realisation of those intentions. "Kot<sup>14</sup> proposed that I co-operate with *Biblioteka Narodowa*: a selection of writings by Stanisław Konarski." <sup>15</sup>

Apparently, the publisher *in spe*, residing in Cracow as a Jagiellonian University professor, rapidly embarked upon this task, since already on 17 October 1920 he discussed with his typist the copying of certain "fragments" of the edition. <sup>16</sup> The fact that the latter was still not ready is evidenced by an entry made in the diary five days later when the author

- <sup>8</sup> IDEM, Stanisław Konarski, p. VIII.
- 9 IDEM, Mrok i świt. Studia historyczne [Dusk and Dawn. Historical Studies], Warszawa 1911. In an introduction to the collection (p. VII) the researcher informed about "slight corrections or supplements" in relation to the first edition. The second edition of Mrok i świt appeared in 1922, and both texts were also included in collected studies by Władysław Konopczyński, O wartość naszej spuścizny dziejowej [On the Value of our National Heritage], Warszawa 2009, with an introduction by P. Biliński.
- W. KONOPCZYŃSKI, Dziennik 1922–1926, I, p. 93, entry from 11 April 1922: "In the evening at Dr. Karłowski I packed the Krzemiński books and papers and transferred them in my suitcase to Marszałkowska [Street]."
- W. Konopczyński, Stanisław Konarski, p. VIII.
- Piotr Biliński, Władysław Konopczyński. Historyk i polityk II Rzeczypospolitej (1880–1952), Warszawa 1999, p. 144 (list of published works on the titular historian); IDEM, Władysław Konopczyński 1880–1952. Człowiek i dzieło, Kraków 2017, pp. 543–564. From those two books we gain fundamental information about Konopczyński.
- <sup>13</sup> W. KONOPCZYŃSKI, *Dziennik 1918–1921*, I, p. 417.
- Stanisław Kot (1885–1975) historian of education, public instruction, and culture, specialist in the history of reformation in Poland, professor at the Jagiellonian University, Krakow, active member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was active in politics as a high-ranking member of the Polish People's Party, served as a minister in several governments and as ambassador to Moscow and to Rome.
- <sup>15</sup> W. Konopczyński, *Dziennik 1918–1921*, II, p. 103.
- 16 Ibid., p. 179.

was browsing through "Konarski's lesser writings, brought from the library". 17 On 24 October he was compelled to declare: "work on Konarski is not making much progress", because Konopczyński's eightvear-old daughter was ill with an infectious childhood disease and he was taking care of her. True, on 26 October he found time to transcribe certain "pieces by Konarski" and on the following day to translate Epistolae familiares sub tempus interregni (while complaining that "this is hard work without a Latin dictionary"), but ultimately he interrupted further effort at the time of the "quarantine"18 and resumed it a fortnight later, when the young patient had recuperated.

On 10 November 1920 Konopczyński recorded in his diary: "I am starting to write a preface to Konarski's selected political works", and two days later already "perfected" the text (probably the preface), while on 28 November and 9 and 12 December he was still at work on Konarski's selected texts. 19 Nonetheless, on the last of the aforementioned days Konopczyński foresaw that printing would start soon, and on 5 January was disturbed by the fact that "Kot is



1. Władysław Konopczyński in the 1920s

holding onto the proofs of Konarski's texts for somewhat long".<sup>20</sup> On 26 January 1921 Konopczyński already felt overwhelmed by the proofreading, on 30 January he "caught up on" reading the proofs, and on 2 February noted: "together with Duś [his wife] we are still collating fragments by Konarski". Little progress was made since the typist rewriting the texts made errors, which had to be confronted with the manuscripts (this could have signified handwritten copies)<sup>21</sup>. We do not know the cause of the accusation made by Kot and Sinko<sup>22</sup> against Konopczyński, namely, "that I ruined the Publishing Company by my proofs of Konarski" and may only assume that the editor introduced a number of changes already after the typescript was completed. At any rate, on 21 February Konopczyński returned the proofs to the printers, but did not finish working on them since he noted in the diary: "I supplemented the footnotes in the library."<sup>23</sup> He must have received the text soon

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 182, entry from 22 October 1920.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 183–185, entries from 24, 26, 27 and 28 October 1920.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 191–206, entries from 10, 12 and 28 November, 2 and 9 December 1920.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 237, entry from 13 February 1921.

Tadeusz Sinko (1877–1966) – classical philologist, professor at Jan Kazimierz University in Lvov and at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, active member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> W. Konopczyński, *Dziennik 1918–1921*, II, p. 241.

after the layout (conducted probably for the second time), since on 13 March he wrote: "the proofs of Konarski (...) are nearing their end", and on 8 April announced in the diary: "I received the final version of the Konarski proofs." On 13 May Konopczyński was pleased that the book was already completed. <sup>25</sup>

The publication contained predominantly a selection of printed works by Konarski and began with *Rozmowy pewnego ziemianina ze swoim sąsiadem*, followed by the aforementioned Polish translation of the key fragment of *Listy poufne podczas bezkrólewia* [Confidential Letters from the Times of Interregnum], with most space dedicated to excerpts from its author's main work: *O skutecznym rad sposobie*. The last part, given the title: *Pisma pomniejsze z czasów Stanisława Augusta* [Lesser Works from the Times of Stanisław August], included: *Uwagi szlachcica polskiego nad usposobieniem sąsiednich mocarstw względem naszych sejmów* [Comments of a Polish Nobleman on the Relation of Neigbouring Powers to our Sejms] (written at the end of 1763), the first edition of *List pewnego Polaka do J. W. Duranda*... [A Letter of Certain Pole to J. W. Durand...] (written in September or October 1770), containing postulates of the Polish state facing the anticipated peace congress, and, finally, a pro-royalist text proclaimed after the failed attempt at assassinating King Stanisław II August in November 1771: *Boskiej Opatrzności dowód oczywisty*... [The Evident Proof of the Divine Providence...].

Half a year after issuing *Pisma polityczne* [Political Works] the publisher was informed that his introduction to Konarski's texts was to be translated into Italian (for the Piarist Order).<sup>26</sup> This announcement was probably never realised, but it is proof that Konopczyński's editorial work won recognition. Earlier, on 18 October 1921, he took part in a meeting held by a voluntary committee involved in celebrating anniversaries commemorating Konarski and the Commission of National Education, to be held in 1923. Konopczyński was asked to supervise popular publications planned to mark the occasion. The historian, however, refused: "what do I have in common with popularisation" – he wrote in his diary.<sup>27</sup> Participation in a debate on ways of honouring the learned Piarist, however, did produce a certain effect: "Yesterday's session inclines towards a reflection that in 1923 I must write a book about Konarski since no one else will do this better" – thus Konopczyński took upon himself the commitment.<sup>28</sup> Five weeks later, pleased with having refused a proposal to supervise popular publications, he confirmed the idea of writing a monograph: "with copious material at my disposal I would prefer – if I manage to do it in time – to swiftly produce a decent biography of Konarski rather than to urge someone else to write popular texts".<sup>29</sup>

In the introduction the author of the biography provided much information concerning his preparations for a monograph about a scholar from two centuries ago. It is worth following them since they disclose the workshop of the "devourer of archives". On 18 February 1922 the historian added the following remark in his diary: "I am beginning (...) to gather

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 263.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 283. "14 May [1921]. Saturday. [...] Stanisław Konarski's 'Wybór pism politycznych' has been published (yesterday I received my two copies)". This is item no. 35 issued by the National Library, Series 1. In 2005 Ossolineum published a second edition.

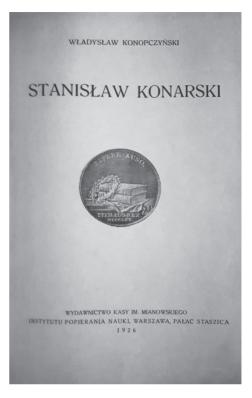
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 371, entry from 5 November 1921.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 362, entry from 18 October 1921.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 362, entry from 19 October 1921.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 380–381, entry from 24 November 1921.

books for writing about Konarski."30 An entry made a month later mentions the biographer's visit paid at the Piarist monastery in Cracow. "A modest archive of little promise – complained the disappointed scholar. (...) – At any rate, they have some old papers and a few portraits."31 Even greater disappointment was evoked by the collections of the Society of Friends of Science in Poznań. Already in 1912, upon the occasion of browsing through the Sułkowski papers in Rydzyń, Konopczyński came across information about at least more than ten letters by Konarski in the Society's resources. "Doctor Bolesław Erzepki<sup>32</sup> confirmed this fact" – we read in the preface to the life of Konarski – "but he warned that these letters are being prepared for publication by another historian. Patient requests, persuasions. and even journeys to Poznań mainly for the purpose of studying those sources proved to be to no avail; Dr Erzepki supposedly either lost or found Konarski's letters, until finally, having waited for 12 years, he did not present the Piarist's letters and ceased replying to those by the historian."33 The Konopczyński diaries make it possible to establish the date of the researcher's trip to



2. Title page of the first edition of Konopczyński's monograph on S. Konarski

Poznań (possibly one of many voyages) as June 1922.<sup>34</sup> From Erzepski's biogram in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* one may assume that copies of letters by Konarski belonged to that part of the collections of the philologist-archivist which during the Second World War was transported away by the Germans and vanished without a trace.<sup>35</sup>

The future author of a monograph about Konarski also failed to locate the Piarist's letters in the Sanguszko archive in Sławuta: "we pounded on the door of the board of this archive asking for copies, but to no effect; meanwhile, war and the pogrom of Sławuta

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> W. Konopczyński, *Dziennik 1922–1926*, I, р. 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 83, entry from 24 March 1922.

<sup>32</sup> Bolesław Erzepki (1852–1932) – historian of culture, professor at the Poznań University, director of the State Archives in Poznań, and librarian of the Poznań Society of Friends of Science.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> W. Konopczyński, *Stanisław Konarski*, p. X.

W. Konopczyński, *Dziennik 1922–1926*, I, p. 132, entry from 10 June 1922: "In the TPN [Society of Friends of Science] library I heard from Erzepki that he could not find Konarski's letters. He pretended to promise to lend their copies and I made a suitable face." Ibid., p. 196, entry from 6 October 1922: "In true Erzepski style Erzepski kept his word about sending those letters by Konarski."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Tadeusz Ziółkowski, *Erzepki Bolesław*, PSB VI, 1948, p. 295.

took place."<sup>36</sup> Other potential private archives in which one could come across traces of Konarski included the Potocki "Pod Baranami Palace" collections, part of the Stanisław II August archive – property of the Popiel family, and, finally, the Podhorec Archive of the Rzewuskis; all turned out to be inaccessible.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, Konopczyński could not make use of collections in Rome – neither at the local central Piarist archive in San Pantaleo (where his request for copies was also refused) nor at the Vatican archives.<sup>38</sup>

"Nevertheless, the first step had to be taken – to fulfil Krzemiński's unwritten last will, i.e. to write Konarski's biography and to issue at least his unpublished letters" – the historian assured himself as to the correctness of his decision.<sup>39</sup> On 3 and 5 October he noted in his diary: "I am writing the first chapter of a book about Konarski", counting on the fact that anniversary celebrations will facilitate finding a publisher. 40 Simultaneously, from 13 October he studied the Tarlo correspondence at the Czartoryski Library, discovering numerous new facts of use for the biography. The survey delayed the process of writing<sup>41</sup> but proved to be profitable: "I continue to go through the correspondence of [Jan] Tarło at the Czartoryskis and have already more or less detected Konarski's turnovers in 1733–4."42 An entry made on 29 October 1922 informs about a continuation of the biography to 1732. Two days later the historian was already pleased with the rate of writing but started worrying whether he would find a publisher. 43 This problem was soon successfully resolved; on 1 December 1922 he noted: "I met Stanisław Michalski and settled the publication of a book about Konarski."44 Earlier, Konopczyński finished his survey of the Tarło correspondence and began writing the next fragment: "In the morning I worked at the Czartoryskis on the Tarło correspondence. I have not dealt with such laborious but pleasant rummaging for a long time. The material is depleted. A biography of one sort or another will be ready by springtime. Now I am writing a chapter about the years 1736–1760 (external life and the struggle for a monastic-school reform)."45

The election of Konopczyński to the Sejm on 5 November 1922 and the duties of a parliamentary deputy, which required stays in Warsaw, probably caused an interval in work on the Konarski biography. It follows from diary notes that not until the second half of April 1923 did the Professor start to slowly return to the biography, and by May and June was in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> W. Konopczyński, *Stanisław Konarski*, p. XI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ibid. Below we write about several letters to the Rzewuskis Archive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> W. Konopczyński, *Stanisław Konarski*, p. XI.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> W. Konopczyński, *Dziennik 1922–1926*, I, p. 194.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 199, entry from 14 October 1922: "I am continuing to lecture about Konarski. I am unable to keep up with the writing. This is bad. But things will improve."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 203, entry from 20 October 1922; ibid., p. 203, entry from 21 October 1922: "Subsequently, I worked at the Jagiellonian Library checking Konarski's authorship of assorted appeals and printed matter dealing with the penultimate interregnum." 23 October 1922: "I worked at the Czartoryskis on the Tarło correspondence. I have quite a lot of new contributions about Konarski."

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 209, entry from 1 November 1922: "I am writing about Konarski after a fashion. But when will Karol [Lutostański] finally settle the question of my unfortunate book at the Mianowski Fund [i.e. the Mianowski Fund Publishing House]."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 226. Michalski was head of the Science Department at the Mianowski Fund and editor of "Nauka Polska", a periodical published by the Fund, Jan Hulewicz, *Michalski Stanisław*, PSB XX, 1975, p. 599.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> W. Konopczyński, *Dziennik 1922–1926*, I, p. 218, entry from 17 November 1922.

the throes of writing, i.a. in the course of Sejm sessions. 46 By the beginning of July 1923 the last chapter of the book was tentatively finished. 47 When one compares the above-cited fragments of the diary with the table of contents of the monograph on Konarski it becomes evident that the chapters were not written successively. True, the author began with a more general background and a description of Konarski's childhood and youth (chapter one). This was followed by the political events of 1730–1732, i.e. the second chapter, initially finished at the end of October 1922. As we know, an account of the penultimate interregnum and the unfortunate election of Leszczyński as well as battles waged for the sake of its retention (chapter three) was to a great degree assisted by material obtained from the Tarlo correspondence. Here, owing to Konarski's diplomatic mission to France, archive material from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs proved to be of importance. Mid-November 1922 marks the beginning of chapter IV about the school reform. It is dubious, however, whether the author completed it and it seems that he had only started work, interrupted again by his duties as a Sejm deputy. Once it became possible to return to the book Konopczyński inaugurated work by writing a chapter about the last decade of Konarski's life (1763–1773). Having more or less finished it during the first days of July 1923 he once again embarked upon "writing about the Konarski school reform". 48 The diary became a confidant of the difficulties Konopczyński encountered: "I am writing about the education reform. It is unpleasant to follow in someone else's footsteps."49 The problem consisted of the fact that in 1923, upon the occasion of the anniversary, Stanisław Kot published a fundamental book about the Konarski school reform, adding significant remarks on the history of education and the edition of the Piarist's school acts; Konopczyński was compelled to repeat the findings made by his predecessor.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, he made extensive use of every edition of Konarski's school regulations. 51 "I continued to write about Konarski – he noted in his diary. – This will certainly be the worst chapter since it is entirely Kocio's and not mine."52 Although in the first half of August 1923 Konopczyński began to supplement footnotes

47 Ibid., p. 351, entry from 30 June 1923: "In the attic pink room I set up a studio (a table made of long boards) and sat down to finish the last chapter about Konarski"; ibid., p. 351, entry from 1 July 1923: "I finished outlining the last chapter about Konarski. Now I shall return to the school reform and the post-1744 political campaign".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 310, entry from 18 April 1923: "I shall try returning to work on Konarski"; ibid., p. 315, entry from 26 June: "I attempt to write something about Konarski, but apart from focusing my thoughts I lack a lot of material left behind in Cracow"; ibid., p. 334, entry from 31 May: "I am writing a review and life of Konarski"; ibid., p. 337, entry from 6 June: "I am still writing fragments of the last chapter about Konarski; it will be sizeable"; ibid., p. 338, entry from 8 June: "I continue to write about Konarski (composed of material obtained after my last stay in Cracow)"; ibid., p. 346, entry from 22 June: "More about Konarski at Sejm sessions".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 353, entry from 5 July 1923.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 354, entry from 7 July 1923.

Stanisław Kot, Reforma szkolna S. Konarskiego, Kraków 1923; IDEM, Historia wychowania, Warszawa 1924; IDEM, introduction to Ustawy szkolne, see: following footnote.

Upon numerous occasions Konopczyński cited in his book the publication of school acts, dating its issue as 1923 (W. Konopczyński, *Stanisław Konarski*, p. 130), although the date was given as two years later (Stanisław Konarski, *Ustawy szkolne*, publ. S. Kot, translated by W. Germain, Kraków 1925). We assume that Konarski's biographer used the typescript of Kot's study.

W. Konopczyński, Dziennik 1922–1926, I, p. 359, entry from 14 July 1923. "Little by little I am working on Konarski's school reform, for which I do not have the flair", ibid., p. 360, entry from 19 July 1923. The following remark from 3 August 1923 also probably refers to this chapter: "Work on Konarski carried on in the attic is making slow headway. I feel that this will be a highly middling masterpiece and am writing out of necessity or duty", ibid., pp. 367–368.

for the entire opening part of the book<sup>53</sup> he probably did not finish the chapter on school reform. On 3 October he asked himself a rhetorical question: "I am keen to see when I shall finish dawdling with this Konarski";<sup>54</sup> at the time, in November 1923 he transcribed the first chapter of the book (i.a. during plenary Sejm debates),<sup>55</sup> and then for several months did not mention the Piarist. We cannot exclude the possibility that Konopczyński made use of his attendance at parliamentary debates for final work on editing a monograph on Polish-Swedish and Polish-Danish relations, which appeared in print in 1924.<sup>56</sup> He returned to the Piarist's biography in April of the same year and continued writing "pedagogical" chapter IV.<sup>57</sup> On 19 April 1924 Konopczyński shared a comment with his confidant: "I am finishing chapter IV, but its second half is oddly incomplete."<sup>58</sup> He probably turned that half – in accordance with chronology – into a separate, sixth chapter and returned to it once again in mid-May 1924, since reading Konarski's *De arte bene cogitandi*, which he regarded as "an insufficiently appreciated contribution to becoming acquainted with the author's views (...) made it admirably possible to expand ch[apter] VI".<sup>59</sup>

Having completed on 9 or 10 April work on the part played by the Piarist as a reformer of the school system Konopczyński – according to an intention he expressed in the summer of the previous year – embarked on recreating the participation of his protagonist in "the post-1744 political campaign", and thus on chapter V. Part of this chapter might have been written already earlier, since on 22 April 1924 Konopczyński noted down in his diary: "I am still transcribing chapter V", and on the next day expressed pleasure: "I wrote chapter V to the end". The last days of April were dedicated to chapter VII, i.e. issues discussed in an article from 1908 about Konarski as a political reformer. "I am correcting and rewriting chapter VII on Konarski. A 15 years long interval is a great deal of time and one's style changes" – the historian confirmed the fact of basing himself on an earlier study.<sup>60</sup> This distance of time inclined him to conduct supplementary surveys – on 28 April 1924 he recorded: "I searched at the Czartoryskis for Konarsciana." At the beginning of May Konopczyński once again complained, this time about chapter VIII on the reformer's constitutional system ("I am working on rather tedious chapters VII and VIII about Konarski", 4 May 1924),62 and immediately after completing them undertook finishing chapter IX. On 13 May 1924 he joyfully stated that "chapter IX will be decidedly divided into IX and X since it grows rapidly despite scarce information about Konarski": on 17 May Konopczyński

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 399, entry from 3 October 1923.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 427, entry from 29 November and p. 430, entry from 4 December 1923.

Władysław Konopczyński, Polska a Szwecja od pokoju oliwskiego do upadku Rzeczypospolitej 1660–1795 [Poland and Sweden from the Treaty of Oliva to the Fall of Rzeczpospolita 1660–1795], Warszawa 1924.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 501, entry from 19 April 1924.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 371, entry from 10 August 1923: "Since morning (...) I have been sitting over footnotes to Konarski. This is the first time that I am using the method of first finishing the footnotes and then the text"; ibid., p. 378, entry from 24 August 1923: "Up to now footnotes to Konarski cover chapters II, III and a major part of IV".

W. Konopczyński, *Dziennik 1922–1926*, I, p. 496, entry from 7 April 1924: "I returned to Konarski"; ibid., p. 497, entry from 10 April 1924: "I transcribed a further fragment of Konarski"; ibid., p. 498, entry from 12 April 1924: "I brought from Cracow a major part of Konarsciana, a task that I expect will make great headway"; ibid., p. 499, entry from 14 April 1924: "I busily sat down to write about Konarski. I continue writing chapter IV, rather difficult to put into order".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Ibid., pp. 513–515, entries from 13 and 17 May 1924.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 504, entry from 25 April 1924.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 505.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 509.

informed about writing chapter X (on the reign of Stanisław II August; the preceding chapter dealt with the last interregnum), and concluded by acclaiming: "generally speaking, I have made energetic progress with my work".<sup>63</sup>

The last decade of May 1924 was spent on transcribing the book (once again at, i.a. plenary sessions of the Seim), although the author made the reservation that "before completing my work, reading it to Duś, and mulling over the whole text I shall not embark upon printing it".64 The transcription was continued in June, together with the introduction of certain corrections and, occasionally, the prolongation of archival research.<sup>65</sup> On 14 June Konopczyński once again complained while transcribing chapter VI that "it will differ unfavourably from the others as something peculiar"; furthermore, he was disappointed with the survey conducted at the Krasiński Library and with papers entrusted by Andrzej Mokronowski, the Piarist's friend: "they contain next to nothing about Konarski; what a friendship bereft of writings". 66 At the beginning of May the transcription came to an end; "now corrections, additions, improvements, and finishing touches will follow" – the author predicted. 67 The additions in particular took up much time – the whole of September and probably a large part of October 1924. Only then did the author write about Konarski's funeral, add a final summary, i.e. a general assessment of his protagonist, and once again browsed through Krzemiński's excerpts. 68 Apart from disapproval of chapters about Konarski-the pedagogue Konopczyński was aware that he had not been able to reach many important sources: "I am studying Konarski diligently – he wrote while introducing the final supplementations. – This will include some acceptable parts, while the whole text involves the great effort of intensely examining insufficient sources."69 Despite the fact that November 1924 marked the beginning of making typewritten copies of the book, followed by printing it (by 29 December "it reached the fourth sheet"), on 7 December Konopczyński noted in his diary: "in the evening I endlessly put finishing touches to Konarski", 70 and on 7 February 1925 added: "in the afternoon I completed outlining an end to Konarski - 'man and works' ".

Work on indices and a search for book illustrations were conducted sporadically (pertinent entries in the diary come from December 1924 and January, March, and April 1925),<sup>71</sup> but source addenda absorbed a considerable part of the effort. Konopczyński began

63 Ibid., p. 515.

66 Ibid., p. 14.

67 Ibid., pp. 21–22, entry from 27 June 1924.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ibid., pp. 517–518, entries from 20 and 22 May (quotation), W. Konopczyński, *Dziennik 1922–1926*, II, p. 5, entry from 28 May 1924.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 9, 14, 16, entries from 3, 14 and 18 June 1924.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 60, entry from 16 September 1924: "I am supplementing Konarski with new details"; ibid., pp. 61–62, entry from 20 September: "I am still supplementing my Konarski with details from old papers, but an end (about the funeral) and a conclusion (man and works), which I am devising little by little, are missing"; ibid., pp. 62–63, entry from 23 September: "A stack of supplementary Konarsciana is still lying on my table [...]. I will have to once again bike to the Piarist monastery to find out more details about Collegium Nazarenum and browse through Ricci's book with which I am unfamiliar" (footnotes confirm that ultimately the book was used for the biography of Konarski); ibid., p 64, entry from 26 September: "I endlessly pore over footnotes to Konarski"; ibid., p. 65, entry from 29 September: "I supplement Konarski according to the Krzemiński papers"; ibid., p. 80, entry from 29 October: "In the evening I wrote a characteristic of Konarski so as to calm down".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 64, entry from 25 September 1924.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 103, entry from 16 December 1924; ibid., p. 126, entry from 25 January; ibid., p. 152, entry from 12 March; ibid., p. 153, entry from 16 March; ibid., p. 161, entry from 30 March; ibid., p. 175, entry from 28 April 1925.

preparing them late on – first mention made in the diary originates from the last decade of March 1925; at the same time, the biographer was coming to an end of collecting illustrations and only then became involved in adding an epilogue.<sup>72</sup> Transcribing and collating appendices went on until the beginning of July 1925,<sup>73</sup> Nonetheless, it was not Konopczyński's tardiness but problems with printing the illustrations that caused the work to go on longer than was planned.<sup>74</sup> In September, the author, assisted by his brother, Zygmunt, collated the indices, and as late as 30 October 1925 complained that "printing Konarski is delayed".<sup>75</sup>

Not until the middle of December 1925 was Konopczyński actually presented with copies of the book, whose title page displayed the printing date as 1926.<sup>76</sup>

Although Konopczyński used almost the entire preface for enumerating sources that he had not managed to discover, he found space for specifying that, which he considered to be the book's greatest merit, i.e. a complete biography of "a person who dared to be wise". This laconic indication of the book's worth was accompanied by an awareness of its limitations: "No one has comprehensively recreated the entire activity of a single man from sources. If we attempt to do this today (...) then our endeavour calls for justification. No one notices the deficiencies of this book better than its author; this is not the sort of monument, which 'sapere ausus' deserved. Nonetheless, the first step had to be taken." We are already familiar with the further part of this quotation.

A contemporary historian reacts to the author's pronouncements with disbelief. True, the enumeration of collections and fonds that had not been taken into consideration was precise, but that which had been achieved, as well as the manner in which Konarski's biography was presented, cause sincere admiration. Its validity is proven by the fact that ninety years after publication the book still has the last word. The 130 pages long appendix, permanently rendering available important fragments of the biography of the titular protagonist, is also of essential significance.

An inspection of the footnotes makes it possible to state which collections provided the monograph with the most significant material. Apart from the Jan Tarło papers from the Czartoryski Library they included fragments of Tarło's archive in the Krasiński Library and the Jagiellonian Library, material collected by Stanisław Krzemiński, manuscripts from the Ossoliński and Baworowski libraries in Lwów, sources from Rapperswil, the Roskie Archive, and the collections of Rev. Andrzej Moszyński from Pińsk (part of the sources amassed by Krzemiński) and Mieleszko-Maliszkiewicz from Łuck, copies by Rev. Gustaw Kalman from the Piarist San Pantaleo in Rome, and *Historia domus Varsaviensis* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 158, entry from 22 March 1925: "I am preparing an addendum – Konarski's letters – for print"; ibid., p. 162, entry from 2 April 1925: "I continued transcribing the 'closing' of the book about Konarski"; ibid., p. 166, entry from 11 April 1925: "I am hurriedly completing the 'closing' of the book about Konarski".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 178, entry from 4 May 1925: "I am transcribing missing appendices to Konarski"; ibid., p. 179, entry from 6 May: "In the evening I collated Konarski's letters"; ibid., p. 186, entry from 14 April 1925: "I am hurriedly preparing addenda to 'Konarski' for publication"; ibid., p. 213, entry from 8 July 1925: "We collated Konarski's letters".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 240, entry from 24 August, p. 243, entry from 31 August ("Printing stalled due to illustrations").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 246, entry from 6 September, p. 249, entry from 12 September, p. 274, entry from 30 October 1925.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 297, entry from 1 December 1925 in which Konopczyński offered copies of the book to his colleagues in the Sejm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> W. Konopczyński, *Stanisław Konarski*, pp. X–XI.

Scholarum Piarum by an identified author.<sup>78</sup> Pride of place among findings made abroad goes to archival material from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Correspondance Politique, Pologne department). The author also drew on myriad facts from printed sources, first and foremost those from the eighteenth century, including the works of Konarski. Among older presentations of the Piarist's biography the greatest contribution was made by studies by the bibliologue and historian Jan Daniel Janocki as well as biographies of Piarists written by Szymon Bielski and published in 1812. Use was also made of noteworthy retrogressive printed matter from the first quarter and even the first half of the nineteenth century, naturally together with scientific editions. Respect is due to an extraordinarily meticulous use made of writings. Take the example of a footnote in chapter VI mentioning works "worthy of emphasis" and pertaining to the Konarski school reform; the oldest, written by Mauro Ricci, was published in 1860 and the last comes from 1923.<sup>79</sup> Konopczyński made late acquaintance with Ricci's book at a time when he was introducing supplements to the already written monograph, but it is obvious that he used the Ricci publication.

It would be difficult to enumerate novelties introduced by Konopczyński into our knowledge about Konarski. Almost everything is new in this book and, with the exception of the "Kocio" domain, the author established a fundamental framework of facts referring to the titular protagonist and augmented (frequently set right) those, which he owed to previous researchers, by placing them against an extensive background. The whole narrative is presented in a clear, precise, and ostensibly detached fashion – facts spoke for themselves. Nonetheless, the biography of the Piarist contains fragments speaking volumes about Konopczyński's attitude towards the eighteenth-century reformer. We shall not deny ourselves several examples.

Thus the chapter about the educational ideals which Konarski wished to install into young people ends with a manifestation of their contents, presented by students in the course of school dietines. The vision proposed by Konopczyński is outright theatrical:

"Those fresh voices were heeded by morose gentry brethren, lords, ladies and families (...). On the side sat an inconspicuous monk of medium height and girth, with a hoary head, dressed in black, and wearing a skull cap. A slight smile danced on his lips. His dark eyes seemed to bless the debating youth or else were misted over pensively. Already then, this good shepherd, joyful sower speaking to old, ossified heads through the lips of youths held in his hand a concealed lightning bolt, with which he was to strike the hydra of anarchy just as twenty years ago he struck the nest of ignorance."80

The last sentence announced the contents of the subsequent chapter, whose major part dealt with *O skutecznym rad sposobie*. The portrait of Konarski in the above quotation probably constituted a synthesis of all four likenesses contained in the book.

Another example of the researcher's legible emotions is a summary of the contents of *De arte bene cogitandi* (published in 1767), a treatise, as we well remember, that Konopczyński recognised as "an insufficiently appreciated contribution to learning about the development of the author's views".

The latter work, already after the original was burnt during the Second World War, was published by Ludwik Chmaj in 1959 upon the basis of a copy in his possession.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> W. Konopczyński, *Stanisław Konarski*, p. 153.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., pp. 183–184.

"Here we have an answer to (Krzemiński's) question about the way in which the emotional and sensitive personality of Konarski reacted to the controversial issues of the Radom era – the historian summed up. – When some with savage fury set fire to the scaffolding of the first reforms of the Stanisław August era, and others, numb with fear and despair, wrung their hands – he trickled into the minds of beloved youth, drop by drop, the gospel of true democracy and most noble patriotism."81

Finally, the author's affinities show through that, in accordance with historical truth, he was compelled to write about Konarski's attitude towards the Bar Confederation, to which the researcher was strongly attached.

"Konarski, just as Zamoyski, did not share those feelings [i.e. a grudge towards the Bar confederates for questioning the legality of the election of Stanisław August], but from the political point of view regarded the whole disturbance as new 'misfortune insufficiently expressed by words', leading towards further, more ferocious defeats. (...) We are forbidden to write about the public circumstances – he confided to Giuseppe Maria Giuria, Father General of the Piarist Order – and it is fitting to solely groan that this untimely and feeble confederation brought misfortune upon Poland."82

Summing up the presentation of the brochure written by Konarski after an attempt on the life of Stanisław II August, the author supplemented the presentation of Konarski's attitude towards Bar with a comment intent on diminishing the impression made by a negative assessment of the Confederation by the learned Piarist:

"Nowhere does Konarski condemn the confederates, mention the interregnum act, nor berate the Polish nation, and in all remains so different from the attitude of the author of the *Suum cuique* brochure (incorrectly attributed to Konarski), who at the same time most harshly condemned Old Polish anarchy." 83

Let us add for form's sake that, as we already know today, the author of *Suum cuique*, the most outstanding political text from the time of the Bar Confederation, was Stanisław II August, <sup>84</sup> and that Konarski denounced "Old Polish anarchy" upon many earlier occasions. Finally, let us supplement the historian's harsh verdict by adding that while writing *Suum cuique* immediately after the assassination attempt the author of the brochure, whose intention was to unify the nation for the sake of standing up against the Bar Confederation, not only condemned "Old Polish anarchy" but also recognised the validity of society's outcry, which resulted in support for Bar, as well as the sincere patriotism of the rank-and-file members of the Confederation, unaware of the immoral aims of its leaders. Presumably, Konarski, who must have been cognizant as regards the plans of Stanisław August, saw no reason for reproaching the nation for its sins at that precise time.

The biography of Konarski written by Konopczyński demonstrated in an extremely evocative way how much a single person gifted with talent and will and stirred by a conviction

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., pp. 277-278.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 285.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Ibid., pp. 301–302. The brochure: Suum cuique has recently been granted a critical edition: Piotr Skowroński (ed.), «Suum cuique» jako próba zjednoczenia narodowego [«Suum cuique» as an Attempt of the National Unification], in: idem, Królewskie diagnozy. Pisma publicystyczne Stanisława Augusta, Warszawa 2019, pp. 93–135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Jerzy Michalski, O rzekomych i rzeczywistych pismach Andrzeja Zamoyskiego [On Alleged and Genuine Works of Andrzej Zamoyski], in: idem, Studia i szkice historyczne z XVIII i XIX wieku, I, Warszawa 2007, pp. 135–146 (first edition from 1970).

about the need to work for the sake of common good is capable of doing. The discussed book also teaches us that even in the worst situation one should not surrender and resign from waging a battle for the sake of reform. At this point, the message of the biography corresponds to that which Konarski proclaimed while referring to Seneca:

"It is a heavy, (...) inadmissible sin for distinguished and great people to despair about the Commonwealth. 'It is not because things are difficult that we do not dare; it is because we do not dare that things are difficult'." 185

While declaring that Konopczyński's work about Konarski still remains a foundation of our knowledge about the learned Piarist we omit to enumerate publications and, in particular, source editions of his texts, which appeared already in the wake of the book by the "devourer of archives". Let us end our remarks by expressing hope that the 250th anniversary of the death of the "teacher of Poland" will be commemorated with a significant publication on Konarski's *O religii poczciwych ludzi* [On the Religion of Good People] (1769). Prof. Father Paweł Zając, OMI, discovered among the documents of The *Congregation* for the Doctrine of the Faith (Sanctum Officium), recently made available, a theological analysis of this work. Konopczyński described in detail the author's problems with this polemic but left behind significant queries. Today, we already know that the brochure was analysed in Rome by experts on theology, and that Konarski received their assessment containing certain postulates. Without disclosing the manner in which he reacted we may only say that also in this case he had not failed.<sup>86</sup>

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PIOTR BILIŃSKI – ZOFIA ZIELIŃSKA

## Dziennik [Deník] Władysława Konopczyńského jako pramen ke vzniku biografie Stanisława Konarského

RESUMÉ

Osobnost piaristy Stanisława Konarského (1700–1773) je v Polsku všeobecně známá, učí se o něm i děti na základní škole. V zahraničí je ale připomínán jen zřídka, a to především v církevních kruzích, ačkoli byl významným pedagogickým činovníkem a autorem. Kromě reforem školství působil jako editor pramenů (mj. série *Volumina Legum*), překladatel, básník, dramatik a populární politický publicista.

Pocházel ze šlechtické rodiny a ve věku devíti let byl poslán do piaristické koleje ve městě Piotrków Trybunalski. V roce 1715 vstoupil do řádu piaristů a noviciát absolvoval v Podolínci v horních Uhrách (nyní na Slovensku).

<sup>85</sup> Stanisław Konarski, O skutecznym rad sposobie, I, Warszawa 1760 [anastatic publication from 1923], p. 158.

Raweł Zając, «O religii poczciwych ludzi» Stanisława Konarskiego – między historiografią a nowymi ustaleniami na podstawie akt Kongregacji Świętego Oficjum [«On the Religion of Good People» by Stanisław Konarski – between Historiography and New Findings on the basis of the Act of the Congregation of Divine Officium], Kwartalnik Historyczny 128/4, 2021, pp. 913–936.

V roce 1722 odjel do Varšavy, kde pracoval jako učitel rétoriky v piaristické koleji. V této době vznikly jeho první literární a publicistické práce. Díky pomoci strýce mohl odjet na další studie do Říma, poté následovaly ještě studijní cesty do Francie a Německa. Po návratu do Varšavy zde v roce 1740 založil *Collegium Nobilium* – školu vyššího typu určenou pro výchovu vyšší šlechty. Hlavním Konarského dílem byl čtyřdílný politický traktát *O skutecznym rad sposobie* [O účinném působení rad] (1760–1763), v němž představil zároveň chyby ve správě státu i návrhy na její zlepšení. Za své zásluhy byl nedlouho před smrtí králem Stanislavem Augustem dekorován řádem *Sapere auso*, tedy "Tomu, který se odvážil být moudrým" (1771).

Osobnost tohoto významného řádového kněze byla široké veřejnosti poprvé představena krakovským historikem Władysławem Konopczyńským (1880–1952), který ve své průkopnické monografii zpracoval jeho osudy a dílo. Vznik této knihy, jež představuje jednu z nejlepších historických biografií v rámci polské historiografie, je v předkládané studii sledován především na základě deníků Konopczyńského, které si vedl od mládí až do své smrti. Právě pasáže zachycující první polovinu 20. let byly nedávno ve čtyřech svazcích zpřístupněny v kritické edici.

Kniha o Konarském byla vydána v roce 1926 a setkala se s příznivými názory kritiků. Zdůrazňovali erudici autora a rozsáhlou heuristiku, vycházející z dlouholetých cest krakovského historika za novými prameny, zahrnujícími mimo jiné archivy v Moskvě, Petersburgu, Berlíně, Vídni, Paříži, Londýně, Stockholmu a Kodani. Shromážděný materiál Konopczyński využil při psaní svého nejdůležitějšího díla *Konfederacja barska I–II* (1936–1938), jemuž předcházely biografie Stanisława Konarského (1926) a Kazimierze Pułaského (1931).

Sám Konopczyński byl spojen s krakovským akademickým prostředím od habilitace v roce 1911, od roku 1917 pak vedl katedru polských dějin na Filozofické fakultě Jagellonské univerzity. Během své aktivní odborné kariéry publikoval více než 600 textů, z toho 60 ve formě samostatné publikace, což jej řadí mezi nejplodnější polské historiky. Na konci života byl pronásledován komunistickým režimem a zemřel v nouzi a osamění. Svými odbornými i občanskými postoji z té doby představuje dodnes příklad, jak si vědec mohl zachovat tvář vůči totalitnímu režimu.

Český překlad Marek Ďurčanský

Prof. dr hab. Piotr Biliński Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków piotr:bilinski@ui.edu.pl

Prof. dr hab. Zofia Zielińska Wydział Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego z.zielinska@uw.edu.pl