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## NORWID'S WORKS IN LUDWIK GOCEL'S COLLECTION

Ludwig Gocel (1889-1966), a bibliophile, was an expert on the subject of the November Uprising and the creator of a large historical collection concerning this national liberation movement. He was also interested in the biography of Cyprian Norwid and the reception of his works and had a number of Norwid's works in his collection. In this thesis, I would like to focus particularly on the unknown fate of Norwid's autograph from Gocel's collection. In addition, I will present those facts from the Gocel's biography which directly or indirectly demonstrate his interest in Norwid. The consequences of some of them can still be seen. I will also consider an important aspect of bibliophiles' cooperation on the collector's level. In a special way, this linked Gocel with Fr. Józef Jarzębowski, a history lover and Norwid expert. This cooperation helped preserve for posterity an object that is valuable to our culture.

The discussion of the issue addressed in the title of this text will be based on materials from the legacy of Ludwik Gocel who was related to the family of my wife, Krystyna (he was her uncle). Manuscripts, typescripts and documents that I quote here, and other mentioned artefacts come from the family archive (un-ordered, in my possession), I also refer to my personal knowledge. In addition, I have used Gocel's personal files and scientific studies, including dictionary and encyclopaedic biographies, as well as published and unpublished memoirs devoted to him.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ludwik Gocel's briefcase in the Archives of the Adam Mickiewicz University, ref. AUAM 126/12/226, c. 2. Major studies include: P. GRZEGORCZYK, *Z materiałów biobibliograficznych dotyczących pisarzy zmarłych w 1966 roku: Ludwik Gocel*, „Rocznik Literacki,” Warszawa 1966, pp. 704-706; A. TREPIŃSKI, *O Ludwiku Goclu i jego przygodach z książką*, „Stolica” 1966, Vol. 34, p. 13 (with the image); 1966, Vol. 50, p. 15 (with the image); K. SCHUSTER, *Gocel Ludwik*,

## THE COLLECTOR AND THE FATE OF HIS COLLECTION

A concise outline of Ludwik Gocel's biography below is presented from the perspective of his collecting activity.<sup>2</sup> Born on 25 August, 1889, in Konary near Radom, in his early childhood he learned about the history and tradition of the November Uprising and remained forever faithful to it. Already in his youth he started collecting prints, leaflets and brochures, maps, plans, magazines, musical scores, manuscripts, medals and souvenirs. Prior to World War I, he collected about 500 items, including rare prints from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries – 95% of those were destroyed in 1918. After 1914, he settled in Warsaw. During a longer stay in Paris, he returned to collecting and in 1924 decided to collect mainly items from the period of the November Uprising, the Spring of Nations and Great Emigration. In the 1920s and 1930s, his collection increased significantly. From 1937, he worked in Warsaw as an editor of cultural and educational publications, including “Nowiny Leśne” published by the Head Office of the State Forests.

At the beginning of World War II, Gocel had nearly 3.000 prints. During the war years, which he mainly spent in Warsaw, despite the threat from the occupant, he did not abandon his passion. He was expanding his collection, saving books and was a book trade broker. He was active in the underground bibliophile association in the occupied capital. He lost a large part of his collection during the

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[in:] *Słownik pracowników książki polskiej*, Warszawa 1972, p. 272; *GOCEL LUDWIK*, Wikipedia, wolna encyklopedia, [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ludwik\\_Gocel](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ludwik_Gocel) [accessed on 27 January 2017]; E. GIEMZA, *Ludwik Gocel (1889-1966), kolekcjoner – bibliofil*, MA thesis defended in 1986 at the University of Warsaw. For more recent details relating to Gocel, see: J. SERWAŃSKI, *Kustosz honorowy. Ludwik Gocel i jego dom-muzeum w Puszczykowie*, „Kronika Miasta Poznania” 2016 Vol. 3, pp. 222-222; IDEM, *Ludwik Gocel (1889-1966) – bibliofil doskonały. Szkic do portretu*, „Almanach Warszawy” 2017, Vol. XI, pp. 367-398.

For memoirs see, among others: P. STEPKIEWICZ, *Lamus moich wspomnień*, chapter entitled “Wspomnienie o Ludwiku Goclu,” [s.l.]; A. SZYDLIK, *Spotkania z bibliofilem*, Oświęcim 2005.

<sup>2</sup> The history of the collection is known from the accounts of the collector himself – cf. among others: L. GOCEL, *Dzieje moich zbiorów (Notatka dla Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki)*, Kraków, 15 August 1951 (personal signature and annotation on p. 3: Received by the National Museum in Warsaw), MS, pp. 1-3; IDEM, *Moje zbiory*, [in:] *Wystawa w 130-tą rocznicę Powstania Listopadowego (ze zbiorów Ludwika Gocla)*, Warszawa 1960, p. unnumbered (reprint in fragments, [in:] *Katalog zbiorów Ludwika Gocla. Powstanie listopadowe i Wielka Emigracja*, Vol. I: *Księgozbiór*, compiled by S. Ciepłowski, Warszawa 1975, pp. 11-14). In addition, on Gocel's collection, see J. DURKO, *Zbiory dra Ludwika Gocla w Muzeum Historycznym m. st. Warszawy*, [in:] *Katalog zbiorów*, Vol. I, pp. 5-7; I. TESSARO-KOSIMOWA, *Zbiory Ludwika Gocla w Muzeum Historycznym m. st. Warszawy*, „Muzealnictwo,” Vol. 13, Warszawa–Poznań 1966, pp. 166-169; EADEM, *Kolekcja Ludwika Gocla w Muzeum Historycznym m. st. Warszawy*, „Kronika Warszawy,” 1980, Vol. 3, pp. 111-118; E. GIEMZA, „*Ludwik Gocel*, Chapter II „Historia zbioru Ludwika Gocla,” pp. 24-39.

Warsaw Uprising in 1944. However, he saved the most valuable part of it, risking his own life to hide it in the basement of the Capuchin church in Miodowa Street. In November 1944, Ludwik Gocel brought the saved collection from the destroyed Warsaw to Częstochowa.

In 1945, he was employed at the Library of the University of Poznań. He was entrusted with rescuing, on the so-called “recovered territories,” unsupervised library book collections which were stolen by the Germans in Europe. In February 1946, he went to Paris where he also worked for Polish scientific libraries. In 1947, he moved to Kraków. Employed in Stefan Kamiński’s bookshop/antiquarian shop – he not only restored his collection, but also significantly enriched it. Among other things, in 1949, he obtained an autograph of Norwid’s poem *Italiam! Italiam!* (which will be presented in the later section) and was its (penultimate) owner until December 1957. In 1964, he transferred, based on a notarial deed, his thematic collection on the November Uprising and the Great Emigration to the State but reserved the right to keep it until his death; he was awarded the title of Custodian of Honour for life. He spent the last years of his life in Puszczykowo near Poznań, where he died on 12 October, 1966. For over half a century the collection has been owned by the Museum of Warsaw (formerly the Historical Museum of the Capital City of Warsaw), where Ludwik Gocel’s Hall (now the Cabinet) was created. The collection was inventoried and scientifically described; between 1975 and 1978, a three-volume *Katalog zbiorów Ludwika Gocla* [*Catalogue of Ludwik Gocel’s Collections*] was published in print.<sup>3</sup>

#### LUDWIK GOCEL AND JÓZEF JARZĘBOWSKI – NORWID’S ENTHUSIASTS

Before the analysis of the fate of the autograph in question, in order to contextualise the described events, I will recall the figure of Fr. Józef Jarzębowski (1897-1964), a Marian priest.<sup>4</sup> He was the last owner of the manuscript, which he received from Gocel in December 1957 and kept in his collection until his death.

Both collectors, Gocel and Jarzębowski, had a lot in common. Both were active in the same field, acted in a similar spirit, in the same place and time – in

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I see Footnote 1, Vol. II: *Grafika, ryciny, malarstwo*, Warszawa 1975; Vol. III: *Pamiętki historyczne, medale, medaliony*, Warszawa 1978.

<sup>4</sup> See the outline of the biography: I. WAWRZYŃIAK, *Ks. Józef Jarzębowski, twórca kolekcji*, [in:] *Muzeum im. ks. Józefa Jarzębowskiego w Licheniu Starym*, ed. I. Wawrzyniak, Licheń Stary 2010, pp. 21-29; *Jarzębowski Józef*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, Vol. VII, Lublin 1997; *Jarzębowski Józef*, [in:] B. KLIMASZEWSKI, E.R. NOWAKOWSKA, W. WYSKIEL, *Mały słownik pisarzy polskich na obczyźnie 1939-1980*, ed. B. Klimaszewski, Warszawa 1992, pp. 145-146.

Warsaw in the 1920s and 1930s. In both cases, their life's passion and sphere of interests clearly crystallised early on – in Gocel's case, this was the November Uprising, while in Jarzębowski's case, it was the January Uprising. Both were very fond of Norwid. Their close contacts in Warsaw during the inter-war period are clearly evidenced by the content of the dedication that the priest wrote to Gocel (“To my dear [...] Friend”) on the page of the offprint of his work, published in 1939, concerning – obviously – the January Uprising, more precisely Romuald Traugutt's Hungarian policy.<sup>5</sup> At the bottom of the back of the title page, Fr. Jarzębowski wrote the following words in neat handwriting, in blue ink:

To my Dear and Incurable/ Friend – Domino / Lodovico Gocel /  
With the wish that he would remember/ the Y.[ear] [18]63/ and forget the Y.[ear] [18]30/31  
Fr. Józef Jarzębowski  
8 February 1939

These words are cordial, but also humorous, eloquently confirming the priority of their author: “the January age” and “the January people” (such as Traugutt), whom he praised most.

Fr. Jarzębowski, fully dedicated to his priestly and educational work, was also actively engaged in collecting historical memorabilia. As a result, even before World War I, he created a unique collection concerning, in particular, the January Uprising. He was also a poet, writer and historian, an expert on Norwid's life and work. The titles of his own works feature the poet's name. Among others, he wrote about Norwid's Marian poetry (Rome 1955)<sup>6</sup> and Norwid's relationship with the Resurrectionists (London 1960).<sup>7</sup> After the years of war and post-war wandering in Japan, the United States, and Mexico, among others, in 1950, he settled in England. He worked at the Fawley Court upon Thames, where the Divine Mercy Shrine was established on the grounds of the historic estate, and next to it the College of Marian Fathers – a school for boys from Polish families and a museum. From 1953, he served as a superior and custodian. He was tirelessly educating the Polish youth and continually expanding his collection from both

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<sup>5</sup> Fr. J. JARZĘBOWSKI, *Węgierska polityka Traugutta (Na podstawie znanych i nieznanymi dokumentów)*, Warszawa 1939 (print from “Prosto z Mostu,” a copy with dedication in the author's possession).

<sup>6</sup> IDEM, *Maryjna poezja C. K. Norwida*, “Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą.” [Rome] 1955, Issue 2.

<sup>7</sup> IDEM, *Norwid i Zmartwychwstańcy*, London: „Veritas” 1960.

old and new Polish history<sup>8</sup> contributing greatly to the fact that Fawley Court became at that time an active centre of Polish spirit in Great Britain.<sup>9</sup>

In 1964, a large historical exhibition was held in London in the centenary of the January Uprising, with exhibits coming from Fr. Jarzębowski's collection. A copy of the *Exhibition catalogue*<sup>10</sup> issued on this occasion has been preserved in Ludwik Gocel's legacy, and in it, stored under the cover, a commemorative card showing a miniature exhibition poster (designed by Mieczysław Paszkiewicz) which was also a ticket to the London exhibition. On the back of the card, there was the handwritten address of Maria and Ludwik Gocel (Kraków, ul. Sobieskiego 16 B m. 6), with the following words underneath: Catholic Bookstore, ul. Mikołajska 9 – probably the *Catalogue* was supposed to be delivered to Gocel at one of these addresses, which also took place. I can presume that it happened on Fr. Jarzębowski's initiative (maybe he wrote the address by himself?).

(By the way, on the 130<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the outbreak of the November Uprising in 1960, a large exhibition<sup>8</sup> based on Ludwik Gocel's collection was opened in Warsaw – this fact completes a certain symmetry in the actions of the two collectors who did not keep their collections under their hats).

One more fact – in his library, L. Gocel kept a copy of the anthology *Mówią ludzie roku 1863* (London 1963), prepared by Fr. Jarzębowski in the 1960s).<sup>11</sup> I do not know how this émigré publication got into Gocel's hands (it was probably on the list of the prohibited books in the People's Republic of Poland), but – again – it probably happened on the priest's initiative.

The bond between the two collectors (after World War II, when Ludwik Gocel settled in Kraków and Józef Jarzębowski in England), their cooperation and their shared admiration for Norwid were clearly pivotal for the fate of the autograph of *Italiam! Italiam!*

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<sup>8</sup> J. SERWAŃSKI, J. SERWAŃSKI, *Fawley Court*, [in:] *Encyklopedia polskiej emigracji i Polonii*, Vol. II. Toruń 2004, p. 123. In Gocel's letter, referred to below, he asks the priest to provide illustrated folders of this institution. In the years 1970-1980, at the Department of International Polonia Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences, where I worked, I came across a colourful folder (perhaps another edition?), which I remember well.

<sup>9</sup> See *Rocznik Polonii 1956*, London 1956. There we can read about the school: "Polish Grammar School led by Marian Fathers (Independent Grammar School). 1954. It provides education in the Catholic and Polish spirit, as well as education according to the curriculum of English Grammar School up to and including the General Certificate of Education Advanced Level, supplemented with Polish subjects for Polish pupils. English boys attend the school as daily students" (p. 65).

<sup>10</sup> *Katalog wystawy historycznej w stulecie powstania styczniowego, Zbiory ks. Józefa Jarzębowskiego*, London 1964.

<sup>11</sup> *Mówią ludzie roku 1863. Antologia nieznanych i mało znanych głosów ludzi współczesnych*, compiled by Fr. J. Jarzębowski. London: "Veritas" 1963.

THE POLISH-ENGLISH EPISODE  
IN THE HISTORY OF THE AUTOGRPAH OF *ITALIAM! ITALIAM!*

Before describing the autograph's fate after 1949, I will refer to what is known about Norwid's work itself, relying mainly on the information contained in *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida*.<sup>12</sup> Little is known about the initial fate of the autograph as well as about its previous owners (we do not know all of them). The exact date of the poem's creation is also unknown; it is assumed that it was written after 1845. As Norwid Studies experts established, "in 1911 Przesmycki stated that the autograph, then in the collection of Poznań Society of the Friends of Sciences, belonged to Bronisław Dąbrowski from Winnogóra," a landowner and insurgent in 1846 and 1848. According to the authors of *Kalendarz*, "the autograph of the poem could belong to Bogusława Mańkowska, Dąbrowski's sister, who met Norwid in Belgium in 1846."<sup>13</sup> The first print of *Italiam! Italiam!*, ed. by E. Erzepki was published in 1908 in "Dodatek Literacki i Artystyczny" (Vol. 9). Further, we learn from *Kalendarz* that the book entitled *Norwid żywy*<sup>14</sup> contained a photograph of the autograph, and the autograph itself is "in the documents left by Fr. Jarzębowski"<sup>15</sup> at the Fawley Court in Great Britain. However, the information about the Fawley Court as the place where the autograph was kept is already outdated. After the liquidation of the local seat of the Marian Fathers, it is now located in Licheń Stary (this will be elaborated on below). Although the authors of *Kalendarz* do not mention it, Fr. Jarzębowski not only made his autograph available for reproduction on the pages of the book, but also participated in its creation as a co-author.

The data from *Kalendarz* was supplemented with documentary notes by Józef Fert in his essay entitled *Felix culpa? Nad norwidianami ze zbiorów ks. Józefa Jarzębowskiego*.<sup>16</sup> The author described the external appearance of the autograph

<sup>12</sup> Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, Z. DAMBEK, with participation of J. CZARNOMORSKA, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida*, Vol. I: 1821-1860, Poznań 2007, p. 202, Footnote 1.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., Footnote 2.

<sup>14</sup> The photograph was published after pp. 96-97, see: Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, E. LIJEWSKA, with participation of M. PLUTY, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida*, Vol. II: 1861-1883, Poznań 2007. The authors do not relate the book to Fr. Jarzębowski. It was mentioned in Jarzębowski's biography in *Mały słownik* under the heading "In more important anthologies and collections." This refers to the following publication: *Norwid żywy. Książka zbiorowa wydana staraniem Związku Pisarzy Polskich na Obczyźnie*, ed. W. Günther, London 1962.

<sup>15</sup> *Kalendarz* I, p. 202, Footnote 1.

<sup>16</sup> J.F. FERT, *Felix culpa? Nad norwidianami z zbioru Fr. Józefa Jarzębowskiego*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 64(2013), Vol. 1, pp. 27-41.

and based on it while rendering the text of the poem in modernised spelling and punctuation; moreover, he eliminated the repetition of the title in the first verse, as it had been done in the versions published beforehand.

At this point, we can move on to the discussion of the Polish-English episode as mentioned before. Already in August 1951 in Kraków, in a three-page note entitled *The history of my collections* addressed to the Ministry of Culture and Art and with a copy to the National Museum in Warsaw, Ludwik Gocel included the following information: "The collection of music scores from the era and documents saved [from World War II – J. S.] increased by about 50 valuable items, including Norwid's autograph."<sup>17</sup> In the contents of the "Note" among those "valuable items," Gocel considered it appropriate – which is quite understandable – to list the item referred to here separately: "including Norwid's autograph." However, it says nothing about the circumstances in which and from whom he obtained this valuable acquisition. And, although he did not give the title of the autograph, today we know for sure that he meant the poem *Italiam! Italiam!* In a nutshell, the future fate of the autograph can be summarised as follows: after a few years in the second half of the 1950s, owing to Gocel, the autograph was sent to England where it became part of Fr. Jarzębowski's collection, and half a century later already in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it returned permanently to Poland.

Of course, the autograph did not come into Gocel's possession accidentally. The new acquisitions to his collection, mentioned in the "Note" to the Ministry ("50 valuable items"), should be associated primarily with the period of intensive, systematic work of the respected and well-known collector in Stefan Kamiński's antiquarian shop in Kraków. At that time, Ludwik Gocel established numerous new contacts and maintained the old ones, usually with people of great merit for books and culture in general. Throughout his life, he was extremely mobile (in his family it was said that he could not stay in a place for more than a few days), he travelled constantly, dealt with many things at once, met with many people, regardless of the geographical distance separating them. The second half of the 1940s and 1950s were filled with various activities; in addition to the those areas of his activity already mentioned, at that time he also conducted archival searches (especially in France), wrote and published, co-organized museum exhibitions, lent his collections to libraries and made them available for microfilming, consulted and issued expert opinions, visited antiquarian shops and participated in antiquarian auctions, gave lectures and readings, corresponded with bibliophiles and leading cultural institutions in Poland and abroad. Particularly in his Kraków years, from approximately 1949 to around 1963, he showed an unwavering pas-

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<sup>17</sup> L. GOCEL, *Dzieje moich zbiorów*, pp. 2-3, typescript.

sion, patiently reconstructing the collection after the war losses and constantly expanding it.<sup>18</sup>

Further facts concerning Norwid's autograph allow Gocel to establish correspondence with Jarzębowski in England. In the essay mentioned above, Józef Fert published the full content (in several places marking the illegible words) of Gocel's letter to Jarzębowski, dated: Kraków, 11 December 1957. Unknown for more than half a century, this important letter, discovered by Fert presents for the first time, inter alia, the new circumstances for the fate – as Fert writes – “of such an unusually preserved manuscript, anchored in the homeland after years of dangerous wandering.”<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, here we are dealing with an unprecedented situation since Gocel, an ardent “scrap collector” who treated every old sheet with the highest respect, wrote his letter – an absolutely peculiar thing – on the blank pages of Norwid's autograph. This is what Fert writes about Gocel's astonishing “offence”:

One hundred years after the poet had written down on the front page of the sheet the fair copy of *Italiam! Italiam!*, luckily preserved [...], the penultimate autograph holder – Ludwik Gocel, a historian and collector – filled [the blank pages of the manuscript – added J.S.] with a very personal and extremely interesting letter to Fr. Jarzębowski. It is unbelievable, but that is exactly what happened: pages 3-4 of Norwid's autograph are today occupied by Ludwik Gocel's writing [...].<sup>20</sup>

Importantly, the writing contains information about the poem which was not included in the “Note.” Gocel writes about the autograph that “it was previously owned by Stanisław Wasylewski, now by me (since 1949).” Thanks to this laconic statement we find out when Gocel became the owner of the autograph (1949). We also get to know the name of its previous owner (Stanisław Wasylewski). I do not have the slightest doubt as to the identification of the latter – Stanisław Wasylewski (1885-1953), a writer, publicist and librarian,<sup>21</sup> almost Gocel's peer. The life and bibliophilic paths of Wasylewski and Gocel, both enthusiasts of books and the 19<sup>th</sup> century, probably intersected many times whether in Poznań, Kraków or Lviv. In his library, Gocel had a copy of Wasylewski's book *Klasztor i kobieta: studium z dziejów kultury polskiej w średniowieczu*, artistically published with original graphics by Władysław Skoczyła (Lviv-Poznań 1923), as well as two items from before World War II: Ludwik Jabłonowski's *Złote czasy i wywczasysy*.

<sup>18</sup> For more details, see J. SERWAŃSKI, *Ludwik Gocel (1889-1966) – bibliofil doskonały. Szkic do portretu*, „Almanach Warszawy” 2017, Vol. XI, pp. 367-398.

<sup>19</sup> For further findings, see J.F. FERT, *Felix culpa?*, pp. 27-41.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>21</sup> M. TURALSKA, *Wasylewski Stanisław*, [in:] *Słownik pracowników*, p. 939.



*Pamiętnik szlachcica z pierwszej połowy XIX stulecia* (Poznań, s.a.), with Wasylewski's preface and Julian Wołoszynowski's novel about Słowacki (Poznań 1929), with Wasylewski's introduction.

The further fate of Norwid's autograph, as we already know, is permanently connected with Fr. Jarzębowski, his next and *de facto* last owner (private owner as a natural person). Ludwik Gocel sent Norwid's manuscript to England in December 1957 – as he described it in his letter – as a “modest Christmas gift,” along with the wishes: “May this little piece of paper please the heart of my Friend.” Fr. Jarzębowski enjoyed it until his death in 1964, and later the manuscript was kept, as it has been mentioned earlier, “in the documents left by the priest.”

When the Marian Fathers' establishment at Fawley Court was definitively closed down, the museum exhibits, including the unique items such as the autograph of *Italiam! Italiam!*, were transferred to Poland. After 2010, in Licheń Stary near Konin at the Basilica of Our Lady of Licheń, Fr. Józef Jarzębowski Museum was established,<sup>22</sup> housing a modern exhibition located in rooms on two floors above the basilica. Among Norwid's works kept at the museum, Józef Fert considers the autograph of *Italiam! Italiam!* the most valuable item. It was transported here from England and inserted between the pages of one of the old prints.<sup>23</sup> It is currently on permanent exhibition, placed in a showcase under glass as Item no. 2, according to the list of exhibits displayed there. Visitors can see the first page of the bifolium – a fair copy of the handwritten poem by the poet in small, legible writing, with now faded ink. At the top, in a separate line, the poet wrote the title and underneath it six four-line stanzas signed: Cyprjan K. Norwid; the poem is undated. However, we cannot see the letter from Ludwik Gocel, as the bifolium must be taken out of the display case in order to see the next pages of the autograph. Therefore, if it had not been for the essay, perhaps we still would not know anything about the letter.

At this point, I will return again to J. Fert's publication. In its title, the phrase “*Felix culpa?*” is puzzling: Why “happy guilt”? Józef Fert guesses that the author of the letter decided to mislead the censorship of the Polish People's Republic. Thus, the bibliophile's fault, consisting of writing on the autograph, can be called a “favourable” event and Ludwik Gocel can be attributed with “happy guilt” because he in fact saved Norwid's manuscript. Paradoxically and perversely, one

<sup>22</sup> I would like to thank Mr Patryk Kazusi for the opportunity to visit the museum exhibition individually on 6 September 2016. I also learned from him that while in Fawley Court the exhibition was visited by about 600 people a year, in Licheń so many people sometimes visit the Museum on one summer weekend.

<sup>23</sup> I would like to thank Dr Edyta Chlebowska and Prof. Piotr Chlebowski for this and other information provided to me in a conversation in Poznań in November 2016 and for the encouragement to write this text.

could probably say that by writing on Norwid's autograph, Gocel went down in history, but he also unintentionally and unconsciously wrote a beautiful page in the history of the unique work.

Here comes a reflection on a significant aspect of the bibliophile passion, i.e. the full involvement and cooperation of the bibliophile brothers in the service of books and culture. In this case, Gocel-Jarzębowski's contacts were very fruitful. From the content of Gocel's letter we can see, according to Fert, "[...] how much attention Gocel paid here precisely to the issues concerning the legacy of the author of *Vade-mecum*. Without a doubt, the excellent collector was the most devoted associate and partner of Fr. Jarzębowski."<sup>24</sup> This accurate assessment is confirmed by further findings concerning Gocel's role. The information given in the guide to the archival collections of Polish institutions abroad, although laconic, is significant: "In Poland, [Fr. Jarzębowski – added J. S.] made purchases through an intermediary – Ludwik Gocel from Kraków."<sup>25</sup> He was also mentioned among collectors from Rome, Paris, London or New York, thanks to whom the priest's collection, including the collection of works by Polish poets, grew. Wojciech Luchowski, the curator from Licheń, writes:

The priest's numerous contacts with private collectors and antiquarians (e.g. Emeryk Hutten-Czapski in Rome, Leon Drogosław Truszkowski in Paris, Colonel Tadeusz Rudnicki and Dr Kilian in New York and London, and Ludwik Gocel from Kraków) translated into the constantly growing number of exhibits, especially those related to Poland.<sup>26</sup>

I also found out that Gocel's participation in expanding the collection is even greater: "[...] in the Museum collection there are gifts and purchases of documents from Mr Ludwik Gocel. It is not only the autograph of *Italiam! Italiam!* by Norwid."<sup>27</sup> I think the – probably preserved – correspondence between Gocel and Jarzębowski could contribute a lot to this knowledge.<sup>28</sup>

It is also worth noting that Ludwik Gocel's letter, factual in its content, is captivating in the dimension of personal cordiality resembling even 19<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>24</sup> J. FERT, *Felix culpa*, p. 36.

<sup>25</sup> A compendium of the Head Office of the State Archives, entitled *Polskie instytucje za granicą. Przewodnik po zbiorach archiwalnych*, compiled by A. Krochmal, Warszawa 2004, p. 226.

<sup>26</sup> W. LUCHOWSKI, *Kolekcja Muzeum*, [in:] *Muzeum im. ks. Józefa Jarzębowskiego*, p. 37.

<sup>27</sup> I. Wawrzyniak to J. Serwański, an e-mail of 2 August 2016. I would like to thank Mrs Irena Wawrzyniak, who is responsible of the museum collection, for the information she provided to me.

<sup>28</sup> I asked the Congregation of Marian Fathers for an opportunity to read the correspondence of Gocel-Jarzębowski from the 1950s and early 1960s, which most probably survived in their archives, I also asked whether there is an inventory, and if so, whether the name of Ludwik Gocel from Kraków appears in it. Unfortunately, my letter, sent again in June 2017, remained unanswered.

gallantry towards the addressee, whom he addresses as “Dear Friend” (as Fr. Jarzębowski did in the dedication quoted earlier), and he signed it: “Yours truly, Ludwik.”) This tone reflects sincere friendship and respect. Based on a family account, I know that Ludwik Gocel, an erudite and polyglot, was a man of high personal culture – today we would say “old-fashioned in the best sense of the word.

I mentioned that the museum’s exhibition in Licheń includes more than a dozen of Norwid’s works – both manuscripts and prints, as well as art works (including the etching *Męczennik* [*Martyr*], the pencil drawing *Grupa bawiących się dzieci* [*The Group of Children Playing*], and *Plakieta z profilem Krasieńskiego* [*The Plaque with Krasieński’s Profile*) are all collected in one display case. My attention was drawn to the fact that under Item no. 1 on the list of exhibits there are fragments of the poem *Rzecz o wolności słowa* [*On the Freedom of Speech*], which will be explained below.

*Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida*, which has been published in 2007, registers the state before the liquidation of the Fawley Court and the establishment of the Museum in Licheń. Hence, of course, in that work we find now outdated information about the place where several autographs of both works and letters by Norwid are kept, as mentioned above: “in the documents / in the collection left after the priest.” This is the case, for example, with *Odezwa do Rosyjskich Mężów Stanu* [*An Appeal to the Russian Statesmen*] which can be seen in the museum. The autograph

[...] According to J.W. Gomulicki, should be in J. Jarzębowski’s collection at the Marian Fathers’ Centre at Fawley Court near Henley on Thames (Great Britain) [...].

Finally, as far as the reception of the poem *Italiam! Italiam!* is concerned, it should be mentioned that it unexpectedly gained wider publicity in the early 1970s thanks to Czesław Niemen, who sang Norwid’s work to the music he composed.<sup>29</sup> The poem is invariably included in anthologies and in the current curricula and school textbooks and is recited during poetry competitions for high school students.

#### THE ACQUAINTANCE BETWEEN LUDWIK GOCEL AND WŁADYSŁAW MICKIEWICZ – PARIS

Quite importantly, Ludwik Gocel personally knew Władysław Mickiewicz (1838-1926), Adam Mickiewicz’s son, and was visiting him in his Paris apart-

<sup>29</sup> The recording was released in 1971 on Niemen’s album *Człowiek jam niewdzięczny*.

ment. He wrote about this acquaintance in the 1958 volume of “Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej,” dedicated to Adam Mickiewicz, in the memory of the poet’s “remnants of the Parisian library.”<sup>30</sup> He wrote that throughout the years 1924 and 1925 he visited Władysław Mickiewicz several times; they obviously talked about books – mainly about the few that remained from the great poet’s library. Gocel looked at them and remembered them well. When he was in Paris in 1946, in an antiquarian shop of Chmieliuk, Ukraine, he was shown five books that had been brought for sale from the remains of Władysław’s library by Maria, Władysław’s daughter. Without a shadow of a doubt, Gocel recognised one of them – a copy of *Konrad Wallenrod*’s translation into English, which he had had in his hand years before during his visit at Władysław Mickiewicz’s house. He purchased all five books, “paying dearly for them.”<sup>31</sup> After 20 years, they were transferred to his book collection.

In another place, in his book *Przypadki Jej Królewskiej Mości Książki*, Gocel recalls that in 1925 in Paris, Władysław Mickiewicz told him about the unusual fate of the French translation of *Księgi narodu i pielgrzymstwa polskiego*, published by Count Montalmebert. This book and its author were listed by the Roman church authorities on... the index of forbidden books! Władysław Mickiewicz stated that “Montalmebert’s troubles made his father laugh thoroughly.”<sup>32</sup>

These episodes and Adam Mickiewicz’s library have an indirect relation with Norwid. Owing to Gocel’s acquaintance with Władysław Mickiewicz (as a matter of fact, Norwid was not a person close to him) we know about the fate of Norwid’s *Rzecz o wolności słowa* [*On the Freedom of Speech*], because the edition of this work printed in Paris somehow disappeared without any trace. Owing to the information Ludwik Gocel and Leon Płoszewski passed on to Juliusz W. Gomulicki, we managed to dispel our doubts on this matter.<sup>33</sup> Ludwik Gocel found out from Władysław Mickiewicz that it was him who stopped Norwid’s work from making it onto the bookshelves. This is what we read about it in *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida*:

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<sup>30</sup> In Volume VI of “Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej,” ed. Stanisława Jasińska in 1958, Gocel published: *Resztki biblioteki Adama Mickiewicza przy ul. Guenegaud w Paryżu*, pp. 374-376; and *Dwa listy z lat 1841 i 1842 odnoszące się do Adama Mickiewicza*, pp. 376-381.

<sup>31</sup> L. GOCEL, *Resztki biblioteki*, p. 376.

<sup>32</sup> IDEM, *Przypadki Jej Królewskiej Mości Książki*, Wrocław 1963, pp. 205-206. It appeared in the series “Książki o Książce” published by “Ossolineum,” the editor of the volume is J.W. Gomulicki.

<sup>33</sup> Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, E. LIJEWSKA, with participation of M. PLUTA, *Kalendarz*, Vol. II, p. 432 – under the date 22 November 1869, Monday.

According to Gomulicki, Władysław Mickiewicz placed the entire edition of *Rzecz o wolności słowa* in a basement and thus generally withdrew it from book circulation. Ludwik Goceł and Leon Płoszewski informed Gomulicki about depositing the books “in the basement,” referring to personal conversations with Władysław Mickiewicz. However, some copies were distributed [...].<sup>34</sup>

Two excellent bibliophiles, Gomulicki and Płoszewski, were mentioned. Juliusz Wiktor Gomulicki (1909-2006), an enthusiast and researcher of Norwid, editor of the poet's works, from an early period belonged to the circle of people close to Ludwik Goceł and remembered him as an outstanding collector.<sup>35</sup> Professor Leon Płoszewski (1890-1970), a historian of Polish literature and editor of Adam Mickiewicz's works, among others, a lover of the French language and culture, knew Goceł from Kraków, but probably also from his stays in the French capital which was particularly important to Goceł. We also know that he visited Norwid's grave in the Montmorency cemetery. He writes that while walking to the cobblestone in Paris:

Memories of the November people came back to me when I visited the Polish Library at the quai d'Orléans [...] or when, having taken part in the national pilgrimage to Montmorency, I visited the graves of the Mickiewicz and Norwid families and those of Barzykowski and several dozen soldiers from 1831, buried in this Polish necropolis [...].<sup>36</sup>

#### NORWID IN THE CIRCLE OF INTEREST OF LUDWIK GOCEL

We know from the bibliophile himself that already before World War II he had had Cyprian Norwid's works in his collection and his artworks. When writing what was lost from it in the Warsaw Uprising, he listed, inter alia, “all paintings and drawings, including several drawings by Norwid.”<sup>37</sup> However, what survived in his legacy were four drawings attributed to Norwid, which were likely Krakowski's drawings. They are on paper and in characteristic frames from that period. The collector probably collected them because they were useful for comparative purposes or investigating the authorship of works.

The fact that Norwid has invariably remained in the circle of Goceł's interests is further demonstrated by other facts. In his book *Przypadki Jej Królewskiej*

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> J.W. GOMULICKI, *Zygazkiem. Szkice – wspomnienia – przekłady*, Warszawa 1981, pp. 24, 248.

<sup>36</sup> L. GOCEL, *Moje zbiory*, Vol. I, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> L. GOCEL, *Dzieje moich zbiorów*, p. 2.

*Mości Książki*, in the chapter on royalties, Gocel states that some authors, such as Mickiewicz, Kraszewski or Rzewuski, were paid large royalties by publishers while simultaneously he notices with sadness: “At the same time, the underestimated and even forgotten Norwid was starving in Paris and died there in the Polish St. Casimir Facility.”<sup>38</sup> In turn, in the chapter on prices and book auctions, Gocel traced the antiquarian prices of various well-known works in different epochs. Here too, he did not forget about Norwid:

During the last 40 years, i.e. since Przesmycki “discovered” Norwid and brought him for us for good, the first editions of this acquainted poet have been sought after and relatively highly paid for. *Promethidion* was sold for 550 zloty after the war [WWII - J. S.], and his dissertation about Słowacki for 150 zloty.<sup>39</sup>

Gocel continuously collected editions of Norwid’s works; of these, we know today that 15 are rare and valuable items – namely those that he bequeathed to the Museum of Warsaw; they are included in the catalogue of his collection. There are 19<sup>th</sup> century, first editions of the poet’s works (from St. Petersburg, Paris, Leipzig, Poznań). It is noteworthy that a copy of *Pieśni społecznej cztery stron* [*Four Pages of a Social Song*] (ed. W. Stefański, Poznań 1849) belonged to the poet himself (“Prov.: 1. Norwid Cyprian”). There are also later editions from the 20<sup>th</sup> century: *Testament literacki...* [*Literary Testament...*], edited by Tadeusz Przymkowski (Kraków 1935) and the emigration work *Pisma polityczne i filozoficzne...* [*Political and Philosophical Writings...*] published by Poets’ and Painters’ Press, established by Jan and Krystyna Bednarczyk (London 1957).

For decades, Gocel had been collecting an archive of press clippings that largely concerned the November Uprising. However, they also include articles on Norwid. For example: A. Czartkowski, *Cyprian Norwid a Marceli Lubomirski* (“Kurier Warszawski” 1931, Issue 307), as well as several titles that appeared in May 1933 on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the poet’s death: Tadeusz Sinko, *Poeta trudny* (“Kuryer Literacko-Naukowy. Supplement to Issue 140 of “Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny” of 22 May 1933, pp. 1-2); Stanisław Cywiński, *Norwid w Paryżu*; E.P. *Norwidiana*; anonymous: *Nekrolog Norwida* and *O pismach Norwida* (“Gazeta Warszawska” of 21 May 1933, Issue 153, p. 5).

Gocel’s interest in Norwid’s reception is also attested by the fact that he preserved a copy of the guide to the exhibition organised in 1946 on the 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Cyprian Kamil Norwid’s birth and a commemorative publication which

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<sup>38</sup> IDEM, *Przypadki*, p. 240.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

was published the following year on the occasion of the exhibition opening in Wielkopolskie Museum in Poznań.<sup>40</sup>

Gocel was receiving invitations to exhibitions and cultural events. His invitation to the ceremony dedicated to Norwid, which took place at the Polish embassy in Paris in 1958, has been preserved: "On Sunday, 19 October 1958, at 3 p.m., under the leadership of Ambassador Kajetan Morawski, a solemn celebration in commemoration of Cyprian Norwid will take place [...]" (currently the copy is in the possession of the National Library in Warsaw).

### CONCLUSION

In 1949, Ludwik Gocel happily expanded his collection with the valuable manuscript by Norwid which he sent to England in 1957 to enrich Fr. Józef Jarzębowski's collection at the Polish Centre at the Fawley Court. In 1959, Gocel was visited by Peter Brock (b. 1920, d. 2006), an eminent English historian of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in his Krakow apartment/studio. He saw Gocel's collection, evaluated it professionally and wrote about it to London's "Wiadomości" [News], in a correspondence sent from Edmonton.<sup>41</sup> In conclusion, Professor Brock wrote: "Without publicity, over a long period of time, Gocel has done valuable work, contributing to the preservation of Polish cultural heritage. He deserves our thanks and encouragement for this."

This overall assessment could be made more specific – the two owners of the autograph of Norwid's poem, Ludwik Gocel and Fr. Józef Jarzębowski, contributed to preserving this treasure for posterity. The significant event was Gocel obtaining the autograph. After a period of time in England, the autograph is now again in Poland and is available to visitors in the excellent Museum of Licheń.

There was a gap in the knowledge about the fate of this autograph because after 1911 (Przesmycki) – as it might have seemed – it went missing until 1962. To some extent we manage to fill this gap. The Polish-English episode from the 1950s is permanently connected with the names of Ludwik Gocel and Józef Jarzębowski. We owe these findings to the outstanding Norwid expert Józef Fert, but this was possible after the collections were brought to Poland. I think that this

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<sup>40</sup> *Cyprian Norwid. Wystawa w 125. rocznicę urodzin. Przewodnik*, National Museum, Warszawa 1946; *Cyprian Norwid. 1821-1883. W 125. rocznicę urodzin. Wystawa objazdowa Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie (Muzeum Wielkopolskie w Poznaniu, 9 czerwca-6 lipca 1947 roku)*.

<sup>41</sup> P. BROCK, *Ludwik Gocel – cierpliwy zbieracz*, „Wiadomości” 1960, Issue 35, p. 6. (Correspondence: To the Editor of “Wiadomości” in London).

could be a justification to learn more about the biography of Ludwik Gocel and his merits as a collector.

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## NORWID'S WORKS IN LUDWIK GOCEL'S COLLECTION

## S u m m a r y

Ludwik Goceł (1889-1966) was an expert on the November Uprising and the creator of a large historical collection documenting this national liberation movement. He was also interested in

the biography of Cyprian Norwid and the reception of the poet's works, some of which were part of his collection. Based, inter alia, on the materials from Gocel's archive and his legacy, and the content of his letter of December 1957, this sketch discusses a fragment of the history of Norwid's autograph of the poem *Italiam! Italiam!* The sketch outlines the circumstances in which Gocel obtained the poem for his collection in 1949, which after a few years, in 1957, he handed over to Fawley Court in England, where it supplemented the collection of Father Józef Jarzębowski, a Marian, an expert on Norwid and a collector of national memorabilia. The text also takes into account an important aspect of the cooperation between the two bibliophiles – Gocel and Jarzębowski, owing to which Norwid's manuscript has been preserved and today it is exhibited in the Museum in Licheń Stary. In addition, the article presents several other manifestations of Gocel's interest in Norwid.

**Key words:** Norwid; *Italiam! Italiam!*; autograph; Ludwik Gocel; Józef Jarzębowski.

*Translated by Rafał Augustyn*

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