

MARIA JUDA

ORCID: 0000-0001-7557-1850

Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej w Lublinie

POLISH RESEARCH ON PUBLISHING IN POLAND BETWEEN 1945 AND 2015: THEMES, LEGACY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH*

The importance of published sources and bibliographic registration in research on printing and publishing. Research works about various aspects of the history of publishing. Research works about printing types, typography and book graphic design

KEYWORDS: bibliography, historical bibliography, history of the book, printing, publishing, editing

Over the decades of its evolution, book science has expanded to include various research fields, methods and perspectives and developed bibliological¹ competencies encompassing the totality of the social communication process as mediated by script and preserved in any primary and secondary media used in the past, today and in the future (Migoń, 1984; 1993; 2005). While the discipline's main 'object is the book and bibliological processes: the production, circulation and reception of the book, as well as the consequences of these processes and the people and institutions involved in them,' the study only concerns the phenomena 'involving the cultural and social aspects and functions of the book' (Migoń, 1984).

Like any other discipline, book studies has developed both through a gradual expansion of its research field in order to possibly completely cover the issues

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¹ Translator's note: Throughout this paper, 'bibliology' and 'bibliological' refer to the science of books and not to the study of the Bible.

involved in how the book lives and functions and through attempts to accurately define its scope and eliminate what is not its part. Despite successful pursuits in this respect, multiple issues remain underdetermined, one reason for this undoubtedly being that bibliology comprises several research paradigms.

Multifarious and multidirectional research has resulted in the establishment of plentiful separate subdisciplines devoted to various elements of the book and various bibliological processes, which are studied in both historical and present-day contexts. Given this, a distinction can be drawn between historical and contemporary book studies, both covering an array of issues related to publishing.

Among the subdisciplines of historical book studies, there is the history of printing, which usually deals with the history of editing, the book form and the artistic paraphernalia of the book, and which studies typographic activities, their technical, economic and social factors, the operations of presses and their publishing repertoire. The contemporary book system also comprises editorship, which includes the processes of book development and production, but does not address their technical aspects. Attention is also devoted to publishing planning and forecasting, which takes into account the reading needs of the public and seeks to spark and form new interests. Other relevant issues include giving the published books a proper, reader-oriented design and outfitting. A range of theoretical and practical questions pertain to the scope and nature of the work performed on the text by the editor-publisher. The book as an artistic product is the focus of book art (Migoń, 1984). In recent years, the field of editing has expanded to include issues related to the application of modern computer and information technologies in the publishing process.

The historiography of publishing has been retrospectively surveyed, analysed and assessed time and again. Special attention has been devoted to the history of old printing. Zygmunt Mocarski (1985), Helena Więckowska (1968), Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa (1975), Henryk Bułhak (1968), Jan Pirożyński (1971) and Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa (1974) have not only shown what has been achieved in this respect but also identified shortcomings and pointed out what needs to be done and how.

Nearly every year, research in this field has yielded important findings, filling the previous gaps. Hence, it deserves a close scrutiny and a critical appraisal.

Source materials play an important, if not fundamental, role in the toolkit of the researcher of the history of printing and publishing. Inventorying, collecting, studying and critically editing source materials are requisite for the advancement of our knowledge of the developments in this field. The dynamic progress in books studies in the interwar period resulted in multiple publications of sources. Regrettably, these pursuits were not as robustly continued in the post-war years. Anna Żbikowska-Migoń was certainly right to conclude that ‘in bibliological primary

source analysis, a lot and rather little was done at the same time' (1985). The lack of sources published in free-standing editions is a particular disadvantage. Hence, the publication in 1978–1979 of the reprints of Teodor Wierzbowski's *Materiały do dziejów piśmiennictwa polskiego i biografii pisarzy polskich* [*Resources for the History of Polish Writing and Biographies of Polish Writers*] and Jan Ptaśnik's *Cracovia impressorum XV et XVI ss.*, both early-20th-century works highly appreciated by scholars, was a welcome development. A more recent important contribution in this sphere is represented by the edition of printing privileges prepared by Maria Juda in *Privilegia typographica Polonorum. Polskie przywileje drukarskie 1493–1793* [*Privilegia typographica Polonorum: Polish Printing Privileges, 1493–1793*] (Lublin 2010). Important work was accomplished under the regrettably discontinued project of continuing Kazimierz Piekarski's venture of *Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi* (vols. 1–2, Warszawa 1936–1937), whose consecutive volumes edited by Kawecka-Gryczowa (vols. 3–12, Wrocław 1959–1981, and re-edited volumes 1 and 2) document the publishing output and typographic resources of 16th-century presses. A similar study was devoted by Henryk Bułhak to Hieronim Wietor's work in Vienna. The publication of book-related 18th-century press advertisements edited by Stanisław Grzeszczuk and Danuta Hombek (vols. 1–6, Wrocław, Kraków 1992–2016) marked another accomplishment relevant to researchers of publishing. The available editions of sources for the study of the history of publishing under partitions and in reborn Poland² are very scant, and this gap is hardly redressed by a sourcebook compiled by Marian J. Lech in *Drukarze i drukarnie w Królestwie Polskim 1869–1905. Materiały ze źródeł archiwalnych* [*Printers and Printing Houses in the Kingdom of Poland, 1869–1905: Archival Materials*] (Warszawa 1979).

Generally, the complete registration of the printing production has essential part in the study of the history of printing since the book is both the object of inquiry and the source of knowledge in such research procedures. Comprehensive examination of the volume and kind of publishing production helps answer a gamut of questions relevant to research on the history of book culture, mainly those related to book production but also, to an extent, to the dissemination and use of the book as a product of material and spiritual culture and a tool of social communication. This promotes not only surveying the geography of publishing on Poland's territory, with its shifting borders and the varying political, social, economic, religious and cultural conditions, but also identifying and exploring the publishing policies of state, ecclesiastical and municipal authorities. Furthermore, this also makes it possible to establish in how far Polish publishing institutions

² Translator's note: Reborn Poland (Polish: *Polska odrodzona*) customarily refers to the interwar period between Poland's regaining sovereign statehood in 1918 and coming under the Nazi occupation in 1939.

meet the reading needs of Polish book users, to what degree the publishing stock they offer is original and receptive to foreign writing production, how popular certain publications are and a range of related aspects.

Karol Estreicher's *Bibliografia polska* [*The Polish Bibliography*] is of fundamental relevance to researchers of the history of publishing on Polish lands, the volume still being unparalleled in terms of the wealth and compass of the materials accumulated in it. Admittedly, it has some gaps and the continuation of Z-entries for its early-modern part is still missing, but these shortcomings are being gradually redressed by the growing number of editions unavailable to Estreicher, which result from the work on old-print holdings of various Polish historical book collections, for example, in Grodno and Włocławek. Documentation resources related to the production of the Warsaw-based Missionary Printing Press (Polish: Drukarnia Misjonarzy) have also been fruitfully used in this regard.

Estreicher's *Bibliografia* [*Bibliography*] has also been supplemented with bibliographical studies devoted to particular publication types, editions of works by important Polish writers and scholars, publishing houses and the printing production of individual towns and cities. Detailed surveys of such works compiled and published by Bułhak and Kawecka-Gryczowa in 1968 and 1975 have notably been complemented, among others, by studies on the publishing output of Kalisz, Elbląg, Lublin and Przemyśl and by Buchwald-Pelcowa's in-depth study of early modern editions of Jan Kochanowski's works.

The image of early modern Polish publishing production is augmented by catalogues of old products of typographic art. The inventorying of incunabula is of particular relevance to bibliological research. Such pursuits were crowned by the publication of the central catalogue of incunabula in Polish collections, developed by the National Library (*Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, vols. 1–2, Wrocław 1970–1993)³. The following years saw the publication of further catalogues edited, among others, by Jolanta M. Marszalska, Jolanta Ociepa, Wiesław Wydra, Jan Obłąk, Zoja Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew and Julian Wojtkowski, and Janusz Tondel, and concerning the collections in Tarnów, Szczyrzyc, Bydgoszcz, Poznań, Olsztyn and Pelplin, even though the scholarship of some of them was subpar. Multiple registers of this kind were also annexed to larger publications.

Important resources are provided by catalogues of old prints preserved in the holdings of multiple Polish libraries. Besides those listed in the studies of Kawecka-Gryczowa and Bułhak, there are also other registers of both the libraries renowned for their rich old-print holdings – such as the Jagiellonian Library (a cat-

³ For the list of catalogues published by 1975, see A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Dzieje drukarstwa...*, p. 15.

alogue of the 16th-century Polonica, vols. 1–3, Kraków 1991–1995), the University Library in Warsaw (catalogue of 15th- and 16th-century prints, vols. 1–5, Warszawa 1994–2015), the Public Library of the Capital City of Warsaw (a catalogue of the 17th-century Polonica, Warszawa 1976), the University Library in Wrocław (a catalogue of the 16th-century Polonica, vols. 1–2, Wrocław 1988–1991) and the Ossolineum Library (a catalogue of the 17th-century Polonica, vols. 1–9, Wrocław 1991–1997) — and those that possess more modest collections of this kind, such as the library of the Poznan Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences (Polish: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk) (a catalogue of the 16th-century Polonica, Poznań 1991) and the Regional Public Library in Nowy Sącz (a catalogue of the 16th–18th-century Polonica, Nowy Sącz 2001). Researchers also have the National Library's central catalogue of old prints at their disposal, though it requires ongoing corrections and complementation (Zychowiczowa, 2009).

Scholarly explorations of the Polonica preserved in foreign libraries have proven considerably helpful in conducting this kind of research. Important impulses in this respect were provided by library queries in Sweden, launched by the Academy of Arts and Sciences (Polish: Akademia Umiejętności) and carried out by Edward Barwiński and others at the beginning of the 20th century; the project was later continued in the studies of Czesław Pilichowski (*Nieznane polonica w zbiorach szwedzkich [Unknown Polonica in Swedish Library Collections]*, Gdańsk 1962) and above all in the work of Józef Trypućko (*Polonica vetera Upsaliensia. Catalogue des imprimés polonais ou concernant la Pologne de XV^e, XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale d'Uppsala*, vols. 1–3, Uppsala, Warszawa 1958–2007). Recent years have seen the publication of new studies of this kind that re-examine and complement the existing body of research, including Maciej Eder's study of the Skokloster castle collection and Juda and Ewa Teodorowicz-Hellman's study of the cathedral library at Strängnäs. Importantly, the research of this kind has expanded to include other, often remote, areas. In this respect, worthy contributions include Janina Wójcicka-Hoskins' work on collections in the US (1973) and Małgorzata Gołuszka and Marian Malicki's study of German-kept collections (at the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel), both widely cited in the literature, as well as Buchwald-Pelcowa's publication on the Polonica in Spanish libraries, Jacek Puchalski's explorations of German-speaking areas and Jan Linka's catalogue including the Polonica preserved at the Prague Premonstratensians' library. These works not only illumine the publications omitted in Estreicher's *Bibliography* but also identify unique specimens kept in foreign collections, access to which was hindered by the frequent belief that they no longer existed as physical objects. They also spur further explorations of this kind, which undoubtedly should be carried on and expanded to cover other countries (Tafiłowski, 2014).

The image of early-modern Polish publishing legacy would not be complete without incorporating a list of old periodicals. Publications of this kind have been inventoried by the Jagiellonian Library, the Kórnik Library and the Ossolineum Library, with their efforts superbly complemented by the bibliographic work of Konrad Zawadzki with his paramount bibliography of *Gazety ulotne polskie i Polski dotyczące XVI–XVIII wieku* [*The Polish and Poland-Related Press Ephemera, 16th–18th Centuries*] (vols. 1–3, Wrocław 1977–1984).

Researchers also attend to almanacs as one of the most popular publication type in early modern Poland. In doing so, they can avail themselves of the bibliographies and catalogues of almanacs, which list items published in and outside Poland (*Bibliografia kalendarzy wydanych w języku polskim poza granicami Polski od roku 1716. Mazury, Śląsk Górny i Dolny oraz Śląsk Cieszyński* [*Almanacs Published in Polish outside Poland from 1716 on: Masuria, Upper and Lower Silesia and Teschen Silesia. A Bibliography*], Wrocław 1986), but they mainly rely on the holdings of the libraries that possess extensive collections of such publications, including the Kórnik Library, the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław and the Czartoryski Library in Cracow.

Early modern Polish printing houses pressed texts using not only Latin types but also Cyrillic fonts. The sizeable body of documentation work including small and big collections has been enriched by a catalogue comprising Poland's largest collection of Cyrillic prints from the 15th–18th centuries in the National Library in Warsaw. The Judaica form a similarly important field, which has been inventoried and investigated by Krzysztof Pilarczyk, whose studies have greatly refined our image of the book culture of the Jewish community in the old Commonwealth (e.g. *Judaika polskie z XVI–XVIII wieku: materiały do bibliografii* [*The Polish Judaica of the 16th–18th Centuries: Resources for a Bibliography*], Kraków 1995, and *Leksykon drukarzy ksiąg hebrajskich w Polsce z bibliografią polono-judaików w językach żydowskich (XVI–XVIII wiek)* [*A Lexicon of the Printers of Hebrew Books in Poland with a Bibliography of Polono-Judaica in Jewish Languages (16th–18th Centuries)*], Kraków 2004).

Researchers of the history of publishing in the early modern period have a relatively complete inventory of old publications at their disposal, though the register requires further studies. The data are admittedly dispersed, but the advent of modern technologies in bibliographic and cataloguing work and the systematic expansion of databases and digital libraries facilitate access to and the use of bibliographic resources requisite for research. An important contribution in this respect was made by a research project of the Estreicher Centre for the Study of Polish Bibliography at the Jagiellonian University, which made the monumental *Bibliografia polska* [*Polish Bibliography*] accessible remotely online (www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl), simplified its use and helped to update it on an ongoing basis.

The situation regarding the inventorying of the publishing output on Polish territory between the beginning of the 19th century and the end of the Second World War is very different. Parts one and four of the first edition of the *Bibliografia polska* [*Polish Bibliography*] (a total of 11 volumes published between 1872 and 1916) did not include a bulk of this production. Given this, the decision was made to develop a second edition titled *Bibliografia polska XIX stulecia* [*The Polish Bibliography of the 19th Century*], with twenty two volumes having been released so far (Warszawa 1959–2021). *Bibliografia polska 1901–1939* [*The Polish Bibliography, 1901–1939*], another continuation of Estreicher's work, is still unfinished, as of today having 18 volumes up to the letter K (Warszawa 1986–2018). Another source of information is represented by *Przewodnik Bibliograficzny* [*A Bibliographical Guide*], edited by Władysław Wisłocki and published from 1878 on, and by the like inventories preceding the *Urzędowy Wykaz Druków wydanych w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* [*The Official Index of Printed Matter Published in the Republic of Poland*], that is, Poland's current national bibliography. Efforts to register the publishing output of the period in question were also launched in individual cities, such as Łódź. The post-war publishing production has been documented in the *Przewodnik Bibliograficzny* [*Bibliographic Guide*] (Korpała, 1986). The political situation and state censorship under the Polish People's Republic prompted the rise of samizdat publications (literally called the second publishing circuit in Poland). First attempts at inventorying independent publications were undertaken in exile, with the work continued in Poland after the transition of 1989 (e.g. *Bibliografia niezależnych wydawnictw ciągłych z lat 1976–1990* [*Independent Periodical Publications, 1976–1990: A Bibliography*], Warszawa 2001).

Long years of research that is often conducted on the basis of collaborative projects yield reference works, which make room for the history of publishing as their important component. Seminal publications of this kind include the *Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce* [*The Encyclopaedia of the Knowledge of the Book*] (Wrocław 1971) and the *Słownik pracowników książki polskiej* [*The Dictionary of the Polish Book Personnel*] (Warszawa 1972 and later supplements). Obviously, such works reflect the state of research at the time of publication, but they are nevertheless an important and useful source of information. Given this, a considerable interest was aroused in the scholarly community by the *Encyklopedia książki* [*The Encyclopaedia of the Book*] (Wrocław 2017), which replaced its deserving but also partly obsolete predecessor. The monumental *Polski słownik biograficzny* [*Polish Bibliographical Dictionary*] (Kraków, Wrocław 1935–) contains biographical notes of both distinguished and middle-ranked printers and publishers, which are underpinned by meticulous archival research and provide information that users would find in the above-listed reference works only with difficulty, if at all. A similar function is fulfilled by the biographical dictionaries of regions and cities, such

as *Słownik biograficzny Warmii, Prus Książęcych i Ziemi Malborskiej od połowy XV do końca XVIII wieku* [*The Biographical Dictionary of Warmia, Ducal Prussia and the Marienburg Region from the mid-15th Century until the End of the 18th Century*] (Olsztyn 1984), *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny* [*The Biographical Dictionary of Greater Poland*] (Warszawa 1981), *Śląski słownik biograficzny* [*The Silesian Biographical Dictionary*] (vols. 1–3, Katowice 1977–1981, and its new series, vol. 1, Katowice 1999) and *Słownik biograficzny miasta Lublina* [*The Biographical Dictionary of the City of Lublin*] (vols. 1–4, Lublin 1993–2014). Relevant information can also be found in *Literatura polska. Przewodnik encyklopedyczny* [*Polish Literature: An Encyclopaedic Guide*] (vols. 1–2, Warszawa 1984) and *Encyklopedia katolicka* [*A Catholic Encyclopaedia*] (vols. 1–20, Lublin 1995–2014).

The mid-20th century was marked by the vigorous development of university education and training in book, library and information sciences. Expanded teaching programmes called for surveys and overviews, which undoubtedly propelled research ventures focused on producing historical outlines of the printed book, such as Helena Szwejkowska's *Książka drukowana XV–XVIII wieku. Zarys historyczny* [*The Printed Book of the 15th–18th Centuries: A Historical Survey*] (Warszawa 1961, and later editions) and *Wybrane zagadnienia z dziejów książki XIX–XX wieku* [*The History of the Book in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Selected Issues*] (Warszawa 1972, and later editions). The following works of this kind also served as teaching aids, notably including studies by Kazimiera Maleczyńska and Żbikowska-Migoń, who paid less attention to the history of printing and publishing, rather focusing on other facets of the book. Important role in this respect has been played by Barbara Bieńkowska's publications, such as *Zarys dziejów książki* [*The History of the Book: An Outline*] (co-authored with Halina Chamerska, Warszawa 1987) and *Książka na przestrzeni dziejów* [*The Book across the Ages*] (Warszawa 2005). Though not designed as textbooks or coursebooks, studies by Buchwald-Pelcowa ('*Drukowi winniśmy oświecenie naszego wieku...*' *Rola książki w drodze ku Oświeceniu* [*It Is to Print that We Owe the Enlightenment of Our Age...*: *The Role of the Book in the Transition to the Enlightenment*], Warszawa 2003) and by Krystyna Bednarska-Ruszajowa (*Uczyć — bawić — wychowywać. Książka i jej funkcja społeczna w Polsce w okresie Oświecenia* [*Teaching, Entertaining and Educating: The Book and Its Social Function in Poland in the Enlightenment*], Kraków 2004) can be helpful in coursework as well. A similar function is also fulfilled by Janusz Sowiński's *Polskie drukarstwo. Historia drukowania typograficznego i sztuki typograficznej w Polsce w latach 1473–1939* [*Polish Printing: A History of Typographic Printing and Typographic Art in Poland, 1473–1939*] (Wrocław 1988 and 1996). Regrettably, these important and useful publications no longer fully reflect our current knowledge, and it is certainly a matter of some urgency to develop a textbook of the history of the printed book in Poland for the students of bibliography and information science, as well as of related disciplines.

One hotly discussed issue was the origin of printing art in Poland. The discussion was sketched and its findings were critically assessed by Kawecka-Gryczowa in 1975 (1975). The debate revolved not only around where the first press was located and what it produced, but also around the printers involved. By scholarly consensus, Cracow was considered to have been the cradle of Polish printing, and the research on Kasper Straube as the first printer and a pioneer of printing art in Poland (though not an uncontested one) was encapsulated in a paper published in the first volume of *Drukarze dawnej Polski* [*Printers in Poland of Old*] (Wrocław 1983). A competing account was proposed by Eliza Szandorowska, who claimed that the Cracow printing house had had a predecessor or a contemporary counterpart in the workshop of the ‘Typographer of Pope Leo I’s sermons,’ in all likelihood located in Chełmno and run by the Brethren of the Common Life, who had arrived there from the Low Countries. Despite a criticism of this hypothesis offered by Anna Lewicka-Kamińska, who herself picked Wrocław, Szandorowska restated her position and provided further arguments to substantiate it (Szandorowska, 1993). Nevertheless, until new sources concerning this issue appear, it will continue to stir doubt and perhaps spark further hypotheses.

The beginnings and achievements of 15th-century printing in Silesia were exhaustively described in the studies of Bronisław Kocowski and Marta Burbianka, whereas printing houses situated in Pomerania were extensively researched by Zbigniew Nowak, who first presented his findings in an in-depth study on the inception and first fruits of typographic art in the region, which he re-published in a revised and extended form as part of a collection of essays on the history of book culture in Ducal Prussia years later.

The beginnings of Cyrillic printing in Cracow have also attracted interest from Polish and international scholars. The work of Polish and Soviet researchers in this field was analysed by Kawecka-Gryczowa, and her work was complemented by Szczepan Karol Zimmer’s study (*The Beginning of Cyrillic Printing, Cracow, 1491*, New York 1983) and its critical discussion by Jan Pirożyński.

The history of printing is to a large extent the history of typographic houses. Undoubtedly, a collected volume titled *Drukarze dawnej Polski* [*Printers in Poland of Old*] (vols. 1, 3–4, nos. 5–6, Wrocław, Kraków, Warszawa 1959–2001) stands out as one of the paramount achievements in this respect. The project was initiated by Kawecka-Gryczowa, whose idea behind it was to present ‘as fully as possible the kind of writing that came off the printing presses, the circle of authors, the publishing dependence or autonomy of the press owners and even, in a long-term perspective, the readers of the books produced’ (Kawecka-Gryczowa, 1962). The project appears to have been concluded, even though the volume designed to discuss printing houses in Silesia is missing. Given that the territory was long outside the borders of the Polish state, this reasoning seems well-grounded. However, because of the mutual contacts and interactions of the book, its people and its institutions

in adjacent areas, it would make a lot of sense to develop a volume corresponding to the others in the series, all the more so because the presence of the Polish book in Silesia has been relatively comprehensively researched. Some findings in this respect until the mid-1970s were compiled in conference proceedings following the event held to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the Polish printed word in this area (Wrocław 1978). The issue was also addressed in studies by Aleksandra Mendykowa (*Kornowie [The Korn Family]*) (Wrocław 1980), *Dzieje książki polskiej na Śląsku [The History of the Polish Book in Silesia]* (Wrocław 1991) and a series of works dedicated to printing art in various towns and to respective printing houses.

The historiographic literature on the printing workshops that operated on the territory of the old Commonwealth is relatively extensive. Some of the printing hubs (e.g. Torun and Cracow) have been described in separate studies, but most of the available publications examine the entirety or selected aspects of the typographic work of individual presses. Many of them call for in-depth monograph studies, and a valuable point of reference in this respect is provided by the research carried out by Janina Dobrzyniecka and Józef Szczepaniec on the printing press of the Jagiellonian University and Jan Potocki's Warsaw-based Free Printing House (Polish: *Drukarnia Wolna*). The study of the latter particularly stands out as it not only relates the workshop's activities, but also contains a bibliography of its publications, documents its technical equipment and the kinds of paper it used along with the watermarks and includes a source annex.

The fall of the Polish state at the end of the 18th century and the onset of an entirely new political, social and cultural conjuncture for publishing operations as determined by the partitioning empires profoundly affected this aspect of production. New inventions were another change factor as they greatly ameliorated publication processes. These developments became even more pronounced after Poland regained independent statehood and, later, in the wake of political transformations after the end of the Second World War. The general tendencies in publishing in various timeframes were presented, among others, by Maleczyńska, Henryk Hollender, Janusz Kostecki, Witold Adamiec and Janet Zamroczek. Elżbieta Słodkowska focused on identifying and investigating the conditions for the production and distribution of publications in the Kingdom of Poland⁴ between 1815 and 1830. Changes of Warsaw's publishing market in the period of partitions and the rise of publishers as a new occupational and social group were examined by Marianna Mlekicka (*Wydawcy książek w Warszawie w okresie zaborów [Book Publishers in Warsaw under the Partitions]*, Warszawa 1987). Research was also devoted to organisational and technical changes in printing companies (e.g. Stefan Lewandowski's *Poligrafia warszawska 1870–1914 [Printing in Warsaw, 1870–1914]*, Warszawa 1982).

⁴ Translator's note: Also known as the Congress Kingdom.

Publications by Artur Jazdon (*Polski ruch wydawniczy w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim w latach 1831–1862* [*Polish Publishing in the Grand Duchy of Poznan, 1831–1862*], Warszawa 1990; *Wydawcy poznańscy 1815–1914: kształtowanie środowiska i repertuaru wydawniczego* [*Poznan-based Publishers, 1815–1914: The Development of the Publishing Community and Repertoire*], Poznań 2012) have provided a relatively thorough inquiry into and a picture of a variety of developments in publishing in the Grand Duchy of Poznan and the city of Poznan itself in the partition period. Various aspects of the history of the book and publishing in Silesia under Prussian rule have been addressed in the works of Elżbieta Gondek (e.g. *Rynek książki na Śląsku pod panowaniem pruskim w XIX w.* [*The Book Market in Silesia under Prussian Rule in the 19th Century*], Katowice 2001). Multiple scholars have studied related issues in the Austrian part of the Polish territory and in doing so paid attention not only to the development of the publishing repertoire and the contribution of writers-publishers to it, but also to the technical aspects of printing activities (in particular Maria Kocójowa, *Krakowski świat książki doby autonomii galicyjskiej (kształtowanie nowego modelu w latach 1867–1882)* [*The Cracow World of the Book in the Age of Galician Autonomy (the Development of a New Model between 1867 and 1882)*], Kraków 1990; Anna Aleksiewicz, *Drukarstwo w Rzeczypospolitej Krakowskiej i Galicji Zachodniej w latach 1815–1860* [*Printing in the Republic of Cracow and West Galicia, 1815–1860*], Wrocław 1976, and *Historia drukarstwa Galicji Wschodniej w latach 1815–1860* [*Printing in Eastern Galicia, 1815–1860: A History*], Wrocław 1992; Anna Gruca, *Nakładem własnym... Autorzy jako wydawcy swoich prac w Krakowie w dobie autonomii galicyjskiej* [*Self-Published by... Writers as Publishers of their Works in the Times of Galician Autonomy*], Kraków 2007).

The landscape of Polish publishing would not be complete without explorations of the activities of printers and publishers in exile. This issue has been extensively studied by Andrzej Kłossowski (e.g. *Na obczyźnie. Ludzie polskiej książki* [*In Exile: Polish Book People*], Wrocław 1984). This research has also been taken up by Hanna Batorowska (*Jan Nepomucen Bobrowicz: polski wydawca i księgarz w Saksonii w czasach Wielkiej Emigracji* [*Jan Nepomucen Bobrowicz: A Polish Publisher and Bookseller in Saxony in the Age of Great Emigration*], Kraków 1992) and Jacek Kuszłejko (*Książka polska w Rosji na przełomie XIX i XX wieku* [*The Polish Book at the Turn of the 19th Century*], Warszawa 1993).

Scholarly attention has also been attracted by the development of Cyrillic printing. Projects were launched to inventory prints pressed with Cyrillic type, and more in-depth studies on the book for Orthodox and Uniate readers were undertaken. Paramount contributions in this respect were made by Maria Błońska's research (1993) and Zoja Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, who investigated the typographic output of printing houses operating in the Great Duchy of Lithuania be-

tween the 16th and the 18th century. The papers devoted to printing houses that catered to the needs of the Ruthenian community included in volumes five and six of *Drukarze dawnej Polski* [*Printers in Poland of Old*] were importantly complemented by a collection of studies on Orthodox publishing houses. Research into Greek printing was carried out by Janina Czerniatowicz ('Rola drukarstwa greckiego w rozwoju piśmiennictwa naukowego w Polsce do połowy XVII wieku. Kraków, Zamość' ['The Role of Greek Printing in the Development of Research Writing in Poland until the mid-17th Century: Cracow and Zamość'], Wrocław 1976).

Jewish community enjoyed more favourable conditions for printing pursuits on the Polish territory than was the case in many other countries. Numerous more or less efficient workshops pressed prints in Hebrew and Jewish languages. The earlier legacy of the historiography of Jewish printing was used in the volumes of *Drukarze dawnej Polski* [*Printers in Poland of Old*]. However, the papers on this theme published in the volumes at the turn of the 1950s no longer reflect the current status of research. Gaps have been filled by the studies of Krzysztof Pilarczyk, who not only added much to the register of these prints, but also explored their functions and uses (*Talmud i jego drukarze w Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej* [*The Talmud and Its Printers under the First Republic*], Kraków 1998). Many research questions concerning this phenomenon in the 19th and 20th centuries still remain unanswered. As yet, no complete and integrated picture has emerged from partial studies that covered regions or cities (such as Silesia and Lublin) and individual workshops. If some attempts have been made to inventory Jewish prints in library holdings, they have been rather few.

Issues concerning the history of music printing have been relatively well researched and described, particularly regarding the early modern period. Seminal work in this respect was done by Maria Przywecka-Samecka, whose research investigated the relevant production of typographic workshops both in Poland and abroad (e.g. *Drukarstwo muzyczne w Europie do końca XVIII wieku* [*Music Printing in Europe until the End of the 18th Century*], Wrocław 1987; *Rozwój drukarstwa muzycznego w Niderlandach (XVI–XVIII w.)* [*The Development of Music Printing in the Low Countries (16th–18th Centuries)*], Wrocław 1989; *Dzieje drukarstwa muzycznego w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku* [*The History of Music Printing in Poland until the End of the 18th Century*], Wrocław 1993). Developments in 16th-century European music culture in conjunction with Johannes Gutenberg's invention of movable-type printing were explored in-depth in a study by Paweł Gancarczyk (*Muzyka wobec rewolucji w druku. Przemiany w kulturze muzycznej XVI wieku* [*Music and the Revolution in Print: Transformations in 16th-Century Musical Culture*], Toruń 2011).

Music publishing in the Kingdom of Poland until the fall of the January Uprising has been equally extensively studied, with Wojciech Tomaszewski being

the major researcher in this field. His historical investigations of music editing between the last quarter of the 18th century and 1865 yielded multiple papers and a book titled *Warszawskie edytorstwo muzyczne w latach 1772–1865* [*Music Editorship in Warsaw, 1772–1865*] (Warszawa 1992), in which he discussed both the production and the distribution of printed music. His studies also encompassed these practices beyond the capital city. As his other accomplishment, he produced an inventory of printed music of the first half of the 19th century (*Bibliografia druków muzycznych 1800–1850* [*Printed Music: A Bibliography, 1800–1850*], Warszawa 1992).

Research has also been conducted on political, social, religious and economic developments and factors that formatively affected the structure and nature of publishing production. One such factor was censorship, whose scope and degree of restrictiveness were determined by the policies of governments and ecclesiastical authorities of various religions and denominations. Censorship in early modern Poland was primarily studied by Buchwald-Pelcowa, whose erudite works, underpinned by extensive sources and the literature, basically have not left much to study in this respect, with her central book being *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce. Między prasą drukarską a stosem* [*Censorship in Early Modern Poland: Between the Printing Press and the Stake*] (Warszawa 1997). The issues of control, rights to release certain publications and securing optimal conditions for printing activities also comprise printing privileges, which have been studied in particular by Maria Juda in *Przywileje drukarskie w Polsce* [*The Printing Privileges in Poland*] (Lublin 1992).

The legal systems of the partitioning empires (Prussia, Russia and Austria), which came in force on the Polish territories after the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, radically changed the situation of publishing institutions. Each of the states used different forms of censorship, and their strictness varied as well. The policies implemented by the Prussian state in this respect in Greater Poland have been portrayed by Grzegorz Kucharczyk in *Cenzura pruska w Wielkopolsce w czasach zaborów 1815–1914* [*Prussian Censorship in Great Poland in the Partition Period, 1815–1914*] (Poznań 2001), where attention is paid both to the international facet of censorship and to censorship that targeted Polish aspirations for independence and Polish symbols, as well as focusing on religious issues, including anti-Judaic and anti-Semitic publications. These themes have also been addressed by other authors, for example, Bronisława Woźniczka-Paruzel ('Pruska cenzura wobec problematyki politycznej i społecznej w polskim piśmiennictwie Prus Zachodnich 1848–1914' ['Prussian Censorship vis-à-vis Political and Social Themes in Polish Writings in West Prussia, 1848–1914'], Toruń 1992).

Censorship in the Russia-ruled part of Poland has been examined in multiple studies by Janusz Kostecki. His research focused on the imports and circulation

of Polish-language publications in this area between 1865 and 1904 (e.g. *Granice wolności słowa w zaborze rosyjskim w latach 1865–1904. Wykaz publikacji polskojęzycznych zakwestionowanych oraz dopuszczonych do obiegu przez carską cenzurę zagraniczną* [*Limits to the Freedom of Expression in the Russian Partition, 1865–1904: A List of Polish-Language Publications Questioned and Allowed into Distribution by the Tsarist Foreign Censorship*], vols. 1–3, co-authored with Małgorzata Rowicka, Warszawa 2006; *Trudny proces przenikania. Carska cenzura zagraniczna wobec importu publikacji w języku polskim w latach 1865–1904* [*The Difficult Process of Infiltration: The Tsarist Foreign Censorship of Imported Publications in Polish, 1865–1904*], Warszawa 2011). Kostecki's research has also resulted in editions of source materials, particularly those related to newspapers (*Prasa Królestwa Polskiego w opinii władz cenzury rosyjskiej: dokumenty* [*Russian Censorship's Views on Newspapers in the Kingdom of Poland: Collected Acts and Records*], co-authored with Marek Tobera, Warszawa 2013). The censorship activities of the Tsarist regime have also been explored by Henryk Bałabuch (*Nie tylko cenzura: prasa prowincjonalna Królestwa Polskiego w rosyjskim systemie prasowym w latach 1865–1915* [*Not Only Censorship: Provincial Newspapers of the Kingdom of Poland in the Russian Press System, 1865–1915*], Lublin 2001).

Related issues in the Austria-ruled part of Poland have been analysed in the studies of Aleksiewicz, whose research mainly focused on Lviv (2000, 2005). She also included the themes of censorship in her above-cited books on the history of printing in Galicia. The related issues have been touched by the authors of more general studies on book culture in this area.

The socio-political changes in Poland in the aftermath of the Second World War resulted in considerable restrictions on the freedom of expression. The policies and the extent of interventions of the state authorities in the operations of the publishing market in the period of the formation of the new system are presented in Stanisław Adam Kondek's studies: *Władza i wydawcy: polityczne uwarunkowania produkcji książek w Polsce w latach 1944–1949* [*Government and Publishers: Political Factors in Book Production in Poland, 1944–1949*] (Warszawa 1993) and *Papierowa rewolucja. Oficjalny obieg książek w Polsce w latach 1948–1955* [*The Paper Revolution: The Official Book Circuit in Poland, 1948–1955*] (Warszawa 1999). The usefulness of the reports issued by the Main Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances (Polish: Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk) for research is borne out by Dariusz Jarosz's study of the report for 1968. Collections of sources have also been published, documenting censorship focused not so much on the publication of new titles as on withdrawing some existing works from circulation (*Cenzura w PRL. Wykaz książek podlegających niezwłocznemu wycofaniu 1 X 1951 r.* [*Censorship in the Polish People's Republic: A List of Books to Be Immediately Withdrawn, 1 October 1951*],

Wrocław 2002). Researchers have also attended to censorship in various groups interested in publishing their works.

Restrictions on the freedom of the printed word triggered the emergence of independent publishing. Its invaluable role in offering access to publications prohibited by the political authorities has repeatedly been underscored in multiple studies, including those that appeared in the challenging times of martial law. The anti-communist standpoint of independent publishing has been highlighted along with its importance in promoting a fuller understanding of the writing culture in the decline period of popular sovereignty in Poland (e.g. studies by Stanisław Siekierski and Jan Golec).

The history of printing and publishing comprises the history of the book itself as a product of the work of the printer and the publisher, especially regarding the book's editorial and typographic aspects. Researchers have attended both to editorial features of the book and to its various types, as well as to an array of elements that make up the so-called archaeology of the book. The development of the compositional features of the 15th-century printed book was studied by Juda, and the literary peritexts (Polish: *rama wydawnicza*) of old prints were researched by Renarda Ocieczek. By introducing this concept to scholarly discourse, she made front and back matter an object of interest to both the historians of book culture and literary scholars. The editorial and typographic design of the literary book in the 19th and 20th centuries has been thoroughly studied by Janusz Dunin (*Rozwój cech wydawniczych polskiej książki literackiej XIX–XX wieku [The Development of Editorial Aspects of the Polish Literary Book in the 19th and 20th Centuries]*, Łódź 1982), and Alicja Matczuk has examined Polish humanities and social-scientific bibliographies in this respect (*Polskie bibliografie nauk humanistycznych i społecznych do roku 1989. Historia i metodyka [Polish Bibliographies of the Human and Social Sciences until 1989: The History and Methodology]*, Lublin 2014).

Research has also been carried out to examine elements that make up the archaeology of the old book, in particular those that arose after the invention of movable-type printing. One such element that entered the book structure in the age of incunabula was the title page, a theme investigated by Juda. A printer's mark represents another component unique to the printed form of the book. Reprint editions of printers' and booksellers' marks were supported by the research of Katarzyna Krzak-Weiss, who revealed their remarkable potential for scholarly study (*Polskie sygnety drukarskie od połowy XV do połowy XVII wieku [Polish Printers' Marks from the mid-15th to the mid-17th Century]*, Poznań 2006). Stemmata, that is, verbal-cum-visual compositions with heraldic motifs at the centre, were another characteristic feature of early modern Polish printed books. Given their composite structure, place and role in the old book, they have attracted interest not only from bibliologists but also from historians and literature scholars

(e.g. Franciszek Pilarczyk, *Stemmata w drukach polskich XVI wieku* [*Stemmata in Polish Prints of the 16th Century*], Zielona Góra 1982; Bartłomiej Czarski, *Stemmata w staropolskich książkach, czyli Rzecz o poezji heraldycznej* [*Stemmata in Early Modern Polish Books: Or, on Heraldic Poems*], Warszawa 2012).

Script is an inseparable part of typography. The very invention of Johannes Gutenberg and improvements in the techniques for producing printing types are the focus of various studies, for example of Jan Pirożyński (*Johannes Gutenberg i początki ery druku* [*Johannes Gutenberg and the Beginnings of the Age of Printing*], Warszawa 2002). This branch of research encompasses inquiry into the typographic resources of 16th-century presses that operated in Poland, included in the already mentioned study *Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi*. Using the typographic method, researchers not only identify the products of these printing workshops but also explore the provenance of script and its characteristic features in respective typographies. Importantly, script is not only a certain set of graphic characters and a system of using them to convey human speech and thought with a view to preserving and transmitting them in time and space; script is also a historical fact. As such, it is subject to a variety of changes prompted by cultural, artistic, social and religious developments and by political, economic and technical factors. It is the context and perspective taken up by Juda in her study of typefaces in early modern Poland (*Pismo drukowane w Polsce XV–XVIII wieku* [*Typefaces in Poland from the 15th to the 18th Century*], Lublin 2001).

The production of Polish printing from the turn of the 19th century to the outbreak of the Second World War was discussed in many studies by Janusz Sowiński. In analysing and assessing this output, Sowiński also examined developments in script. One of the noteworthy issues he explored was the designing of Polish types to reflect the features and attributes of native writing and spelling (especially in *Sztuka typograficzna Młodej Polski* [*The Typographic Art of Young Poland*], Wrocław 1982; Adam Póltawski, *Typograf artysta* [*Adam Póltawski: An Artist and a Typographer*], Wrocław 1988; *Typografia wytworna w Polsce 1919–1939* [*Urbane Typography in Poland, 1919–1939*], Wrocław 1995). Multiple studies on the script authored by Roman and Andrzej Tomaszewski are helpful not only to the theorists but also to the practitioners of printing art (e.g. *Pismo drukarskie* [*Typographic Fonts*], Wrocław 1989; *Leksykon pism drukarskich* [*A Lexicon of Typographic Fonts*], Warszawa 1996). Given the technological changes in the last decades, the collaboratively developed encyclopaedic publication *Współczesne polskie drukarstwo i grafika książki* [*Contemporary Polish Printing and Graphic Book Design*] (Wrocław 1982) has only a historical value today.

Graphic design is an essential component of the editorial design of the book. Research on this issue in the 16th century produced by the mid-1970s was surveyed by Ewa Chojecka, who depicted the style of graphic design, the degree of

its subservience to the printed word, its foreign inspirations and its local solutions. Later studies have basically been minor contributions, somewhat complementing the earlier findings. No such comprehensive study is available for the book in the 17th century, with the existing publications focused either on individual printing hubs or on certain publication kinds, or on respective elements of the book (works by Anna Treiderowa, Alicja Kurkowa and Małgorzata Komza). An analysis and assessment of the aesthetic aspect, including embellishments and illustration materials, of 18th-century prints was offered by Zdzisław Staniszewski.

Studies by Andrzej Banach (*Polska książka ilustrowana 1800–1900* [*The Polish Illustrated Book, 1800–1900*], Kraków 1959) and Janina Wiercińska (e.g. *Sztuka i książka* [*Art and the Book*], Warszawa 1986) have illuminated several aspects of decorative book art in the 19th century, but much more research is needed to fully fathom this issue. Researchers have been greatly engrossed by turn-of-the-19th-century decorative art both in books and in literary and artistic periodicals. In this respect, editions of texts by particular authors or the work of particular artists have been studied, for example, by Katarzyna Kulpińska (*Szata graficzna młodopolskich czasopism literacko-artystycznych* [*The Graphic Design of Young Poland's Literary and Artistic Magazines*], Warszawa 2005), Elżbieta Skierkowska (*Wypiański, artysta książki* [*Wypiański: A Book Artist*], Wrocław 1960) and Komza (*Mickiewicz ilustrowany* [*The Illustrated Mickiewicz*], Wrocław 1987).

An important place in the study of the history and contemporary facets of typographic art and the book as its product belongs to the issue of its proper editorial design. The competent and suitable editorial production of a written work not only affects the aesthetic form of the book but also enhances its informational and communicative value. These issues were studied, among others, by Teodor Zbiński (*Semiotyka książki* [*Semiotics of the Book*], Wrocław 1978) and Karol Głombiowski (*Książka w procesie komunikacji społecznej* [*The Book in the Social Communication Process*], Wrocław 1980). The importance of theoretical and practical issues related to book art in the context of traditional editorship and new electronic technologies is showcased by the collected volume of conference proceedings *Sztuka książki* [*The Art of the Book*], which followed a conference on the art of the book held in Wrocław (Wrocław 2003).

Noteworthy studies have also dealt with the printer's and the publisher's professions.⁵ Occupational organisations of typographers in the second half of the 18th century were explored by Barbara Bogusławska and Józef Szczepaniec, and publishers in reborn Poland were examined by Leon Marszałek. The professional engagement of this occupational group is reflected, among other ways, in the specialised journals. Such journals were studied as an important bibliological

⁵ On the urgent need for such research, see Gondek, 2015.

resource by Hanna Tadeusiewicz (e.g. *Drukarstwo polskie drugiej połowy XIX wieku w świetle fachowych czasopism drukarzy z lat 1872–1900. Problematyka zawodowa i społeczna* [Polish Printing in the Second Half of the 19th Century in the Light of Printers' Specialised Journals, 1872–1900: Occupational and Social Issues], Łódź 1982).

Works examining the editing process of particular publication types have both a practical and a theoretical dimension to them. The needs and demands related in this respect to the science book were pointed out by Czesław Dejnarrowicz (*Literatura naukowa — Uczeni — Wydawcy* [Scholarly Literature, Scholars and Publishers], Warszawa 1980). A collaborative project yielded a study on the school book (Warszawa 1980).

This survey of research on the history of publishing in Poland does not cover all the issues this field involves. Nevertheless, it helps identify tasks ahead of the bibliological community.⁶ There is still a need to inventory Polish publishing production, especially between the beginning of the 19th century and 1939. Like any other discipline, the development of bibliological research hinges on editions of sources for the history of publishing in Poland. Encouragement should definitely be given to further work on the processes of book creation and production, on book producers as a social and occupational group and on publishing planning and forecasting in the context of political, social, cultural, religious, technological and other changes. Bibliological research should explore the historical and contemporary scope and nature of the work performed by the book editor-publisher. It appears that studies on the typographic resources of individual workshops, book graphic design and publishing production of written works should seek to establish an aesthetic canon of the Polish printed book at various stages of its development. To develop a comprehensive survey of the history of publishing in Poland is a major goal certainly worth pursuing.

Translated by Patrycja Poniatowska

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MARIA JUDA

**POLISH RESEARCH ON PUBLISHING IN POLAND
BETWEEN 1945 AND 2015: THEMES, LEGACY
AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

Summary

The history of publishing in Poland encompasses many issues associated with the emergence and dissemination of printed books. Of fundamental significance to the study of these issues are the records of the publishing output: while we have nearly complete, though still underexamined, records of this output for the period from the 15th to the 18th century, documented in bibliographies and catalogues, the situation is worse when it comes to the 19th and 20th centuries, until the outbreak of the Second World War. In this respect, what we need is not only a continuation, but a radical intensification of bibliographic work. This concerns works published in the Latin, Cyrillic, Hebrew and Greek scripts, as well as musical notation. Polish book scholars have devoted a lot of attention to the beginnings of printing in Poland. The historiography concerning various typographic workshops located in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is rich; however, it still requires further extensive studies. Scholars have also been interested in phenomena influencing the content structure of printed publications, such as publishing privileges (in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), censorship and restrictions imposed by the partitioning powers and later by Poland's communist authorities, as a result of which Polish publications had to be printed abroad and an independent publishing movement emerged. The scholars' research interests have also focused on books as products of printers and publishers and on the publication of written works. Scholars have examined both the various components of the book (title page, printer's signet, stemmata, etc.) and its editorial composition as a whole. Their undoubted achievements in the studies of the history of publishing in Poland are significant, yet in many areas they need to be continued and expanded (one important task is the edition of sources for the study of the history of Polish publishing) and to investigate the phenomena that stem from developmental tendencies in modern book studies.