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Bibliography of the Commission of National Education: Editions of bibliographies published to date and the current state of research

Summary: The aim of this article is to investigate editions of the bibliographies published to date concerning the history of the first central school authority in the history of the Commonwealth, its accomplishments in the field of educational law, publishing work (including preparation and publication of school textbooks), as well as its educational practice, school visitations and supervision. This study presents the contents and principles of the methodological assumptions taken by the authors of bibliographical compilations prepared to date in this field. It also contains proposals of a new, complementary compilation of the sources and research works which demonstrate the current state of research in Polish and international historiography.

Keywords: Commission of National Education, scholarly bibliographies, historiography

A good illustration for the development of Polish science at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was the push to create all kinds of study aids intended both for scholars and for ordinary readers seeking to explore issues they were interested in. Devising a bibliography was extremely useful in that respect.

Bibliografia polska [*Polish bibliography*], initiated by Karol Estreicher, is a huge piece of work, consisting of several dozens of volumes¹. Its significance

¹ *Bibliografia polska*, ed. K. Estreicher et al., 1—36, Kraków, 1872—2007. A part of the volumes is divided into smaller parts. Karol Estreicher prepared the first 22 books in the years 1872—1908, and his endeavours were followed up by his son Stanisław and grandson Karol.

for the Polish culture is immense, owing also to the fact that it contains works which no longer exist, as they were lost as a result of wars, fires, burglaries etc.² That bibliography includes not only scholarly works and prints but also literary works published in Poland and abroad, as well as those concerning Poland, from the years 1470—1889. Using that compilation is tedious, although efforts have been made in recent years to make its contents available to the public³. That undertaking was followed up by *Bibliografia polska 1901—1939* [*Polish bibliography 1901—1939*], published by the National Library of Poland, and that work has been continually developed to date⁴. Two other works, *Bibliografia zawartości czasopism* [*Bibliography of the contents of periodicals*]⁵ and *Indeks druków Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* [*Index of printed materials of the Republic of Poland*]⁶, possess similar characteristics in that they present publications in a general perspective. A gradual departure from paper-based publications in order to provide online access is a notable tendency in that type of publications. That effort is caused by the ever-increasing number of publications which are more and more often published solely in electronic form.

Given the ever-growing number of publications, it was more rational, from the point of view of a scholar, to focus on specialist publications. At this point, we will confine ourselves only to the issue of historical bibliographies. Of particular importance is *Bibliografia historii Polski*, encompassing the years 1454—1918, overseen by Helena Madurowicz-Urbańska⁷. The emergence of that type of discipline-specific bibliographies was necessary, especially given the intensive development of historical studies that can be observed since the late 19th century, associated with the ever-increasing number of scholarly periodicals⁸, which published 2,800 essays and articles in the years 1900—1918

² See: M. Dembowska, *Metoda „Bibliografii polskiej” Karola Estreichera*, Warsaw, 2001.

³ The electronic base of the Estreichers' *Bibliografia polska* or, more precisely, the continuation of the earlier work is being developed at the Research Centre for the Estreichers' Polish Bibliography at the Jagiellonian University.

⁴ *Bibliografia polska 1901—1939*, ed. J. Wilgat et al., Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1986—.

⁵ *Bibliografia zawartości czasopism*, 1—58, Warsaw, 1947—2004. Subsequent annual books are in electronic form.

⁶ *Przewodnik bibliograficzny. Urzędowy wykaz druków wydanych w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej i poloników zagranicznych*, 1—65, Warsaw, 1944—2009. Subsequent annual books are in electronic form.

⁷ *Bibliografia historii Polski*, ed. H. Madurowicz-Urbańska, W. Bienkowski, 1—3, Warsaw, 1965—1978.

⁸ See: A.F. Grabski, M.H. Serajski, “Historiografia polska w latach 1863—1899”, in *Historia nauki polskiej*, ed. Z. Skubała-Tokarska, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1987, 578—613; K. Ratajczak, “Dzieje średniowiecznego szkolnictwa w polskich czasopismach naukowych XIX i początku XX wieku (do 1918 r.)”, in *Czasopiśmiennictwo XIX i początków XX wieku jako źródło do historii edukacji*, ed. I. Michalska, G. Michalski, Łódź, 2010, 283 and subsequent.

according to Jerzy Maternicki⁹. That process accelerated in the course of the consolidation of universities emerging in the newly-restored Poland¹⁰. The updated bibliography of the history of Poland (*Bibliografia historii Polski*¹¹) was devised for the purpose of registering the work of Polish scholars.

The general state of historical research with new scholarly periodicals, ever more common monographs, new forms of promulgation of scholarly work, generally available databases, repositories or e-books all beg the question whether traditional bibliographies, as mentioned above, can be fully functional. That situation can be solved by such things as specialist bibliographies that are ever more published as a part of scientific journals; in the case of the history of education, that part is played by the magazine *Biuletyn Historii Wychowania*. The problem of effectively using multi-volume bibliographies has not arisen in recent years, but the current situation gives one reasons to ponder on the future of that type of publications, similarly to subject-oriented and specialist bibliographies, to which we shall return in this article's final part.

At the start of our examination, we shall briefly present the history of the Commission of National Education in order to present the reasons why Józef Lewicki and his followers undertook their bibliographic work by demonstrating the gravity of that effort.

The idea of a comprehensive reform of Polish education originated in the milieu of the royal court of King Stanislaus II Augustus incrementally, along with the expanding programme of the state reform. Pope Clement XIV's unexpected decision to suppress the Society of Jesus that he issued in the papal brief *Dominus ac Redemptor noster* of 21 July 1773 generated a strong impulse to carry out the reform. The need was great and urgent as the Jesuits educated in their schools the majority of the Polish noble youth. The Polish authorities' endeavours resulted in the establishment of the Commission of National Education on 14 October 1773.

It is worthy of note that it was not only the Commissioners that were responsible for the education reforms. Very soon, there were also outside individuals joining in responding to the king's *Uniwersał* order of 24 October 1773 which requested submitting proposals for reforms¹². What was important was

⁹ J. Maternicki, *Historiografia polska XX wieku*, 1, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1982, 20 and subsequent.

¹⁰ See: K. Tymieniecki, *Zarys dziejów historiografii polskiej*, Kraków, 1958, *passim*.

¹¹ *Bibliografia historii polskiej za rok...*, ed. J. Baumgart et al., Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1952—.

¹² "Pierwszy uniwersał", in *Ustawodawstwo szkolne za czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Rozporządzenia, ustawy pedagogiczne i organizacyjne (1773—1793)*, ed. J. Lewicki, Kraków, 1925, 1—5.

that proposals concerning the functioning of the national educational authority and methods of education management, its purposes etc. were coming in from the neighbouring countries too.

The education reform presented an excellent opportunity to remodel the objectives of education and adjust it to the changing culture and to the current needs of the Polish society. One of the first such ideas are expressed in the *Przepis na szkoły wojewódzkie* [*Guidelines for province schools*] of 1774. The reformers' objective was to ensure that the student "was feeling fine, and that others would feel fine in his company"¹³. The focus on the study of ancient languages and "false" rhetoric and poetics was decisively rejected. In their place, such virtues were recommended as reason, sensitivity, righteousness and functionality for common good. It was observed that for man to attain this objective he had to remain healthy, be enlightened in matters of religion and be capable of recognising the good, while retaining the virtues of humanitarianism, justice, benevolence and diligence. The educational purpose was expressed most beautifully by Grzegorz Piramowicz in his *Uwagi o nowym instrukcji publicznej układzie*. Namely, we read there that one has to take account of two educational zones: the private and the public; private in terms of domestic social bonds, needs and landowning obligations and public for the purpose of holding offices in the country, lawmaking or administration. Both of the zones were to be bound by the Christian religion that would solidify in the young man his obligations as a man and a citizen¹⁴. Among others, Łukasz Kurdybacha was one to emphasise the gravity of these ideas. He indicated that the Commission of National Education discerned the tight dependence of both educational zones, which was why they were not separated from each other¹⁵.

The Commission's primary task was to deal with secondary education, the functioning of which had been directly compromised by the suppression of the Jesuit Order. The new syllabus that was taught in province and county schools operating within the newly established school departments represented a considerable revolution and was tightly linked to the objective of education presented above¹⁶. The teaching of Polish was given an eminent place in schools, the syllabus of poetics and rhetoric was considerably reduced for the sake of the teaching of morals, logic, history and geography, modern era philosophy, law of

¹³ "Przepis Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na szkoły wojewódzkie", in *Ustawodawstwo...*, 24—41.

¹⁴ G. Piramowicz, "Uwagi o nowym instrukcji publicznej układzie", in *Pierwiastkowe przepisy pedagogiczne Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773—1776*, ed. Z. Kukulski, Lublin, 1923, 143.

¹⁵ Ł. Kurdybacha, *Staropolski ideał wychowawczy*, Lviv, 1938, 136 and subsequent. See: T. Mizia, *O Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*, Warsaw, 1972, 70 and subsequent.

¹⁶ A. Jobert, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej w Polsce (1773—1794). Jej dzieło wychowania obywatelskiego*, transl. M. Chamcówna, pref. H. Barycz, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1979, 32ff.

nations and natural and pure science subjects, such as natural history, botany, zoology, anatomy, physics, mineralogy and several others.

The changes in the syllabus of those schools the public were keeping a close look at without the necessary preparation of teachers and without adequate provision of books led to criticism of this initiative and to decreased numbers of students whose parents sought to ensure “traditional” education¹⁷.

Looking at the issues of education, it is worthy of note that a considerable number of former Jesuits were employed in the reformed schools who embarked on the difficult task of putting the principles of the reform into school practice¹⁸. Of course, there were various outcomes. There are, however, numerous examples of teachers quite swiftly adjusting to the teaching of the new subjects. Certainly, the Jesuits’ excellent didactic qualifications were of considerable importance, which derived from the Jesuit Order’s old pedagogical practice in taking advantage of teacher training seminaries and devoting serious attention to teacher qualifications¹⁹.

The first period of the reform encountered a certain degree of resistance of the academic community. The Kraków University’s school-colonies refused to comply with the orders of the Commission of National Education owing to their tight relation with their university where they were employed and from which they were despatched to the particular schools. These teachers took on a waiting stance and continued to work in the old way²⁰. The huge financial problems connected with difficulties in attaining control over the properties of the suppressed Jesuit Order had no mean bearing on the Commission’s work. Problems of an economic nature forced the KEN to verify its plans of public education development, especially with regard to the parochial school system, but this problem also caused ramifications in many other areas of the Commission’s involvement, including its publishing activity, especially concerning the new textbooks.

It was the Society for Elementary Books, established in 1775, that was intended to provide school textbooks²¹. Given that it was necessary to prepare detailed guidelines for the authors to write new textbooks, one of the key responsibilities of this body was to specify the syllabi for each school subject.

¹⁷ A. Jobert, *Komisja...*, 38.

¹⁸ J. Poplatek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Udział byłych jezuitów w pracach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*, ed. J. Paszenda, Kraków, 1974.

¹⁹ L. Piechnik, “Początki seminariów nauczycielskich w Polsce w wieku XVI”, *Nasza Przeszłość* 10, 1959, 159—175.

²⁰ Z. Ruta, *Szkoły tarnowskie w XV—XVIII w.*, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1968, 169.

²¹ “Ustanowienie Towarzystwa do Ksiąg Elementarnych”, in *Pierwiastkowe...*, 52—56; J. Lubieńska, *Towarzystwo do Ksiąg Elementarnych*, Warsaw, 1960.

Moreover, it supervised the entire process of textbook creation and dealt with the publishing and distribution. The Society worked extremely laboriously, which allowed creating very valuable books that continued to be used in schools for a long time in the 19th century. The downside was, however, the small number of the new books²².

As it turned out, the first reforms required certain corrections and additions, which occurred in the years 1776—1783, and the main decisions were taken with regard to the founding of the academic estate and creating teacher training seminaries²³.

As a result, two Main Schools were established in the Commonwealth, one in Kraków for the Crown and the other in Vilnius for Lithuania. These were the schools that assumed supervision over the new school structure, based on school departments with department and sub-department schools, which in turn supervised parochial schools. While the former were closely bound with the Main Schools and the Commission of National Education itself, the situation of parochial schools was quite complicated. Under concordats executed with the bishop of each diocese, in return for certain benefits, church authorities committed themselves to maintain parochial schools in their area and subject the syllabus to the Commission's recommendations.

One of the reform's greatest achievements was the founding of the academic estate, comprising in particular young reform-oriented and capable of reform implementation teachers²⁴.

Supervision exercised by the education authority (later the Main Schools) through the delegated school inspectors was an important element of the KEN's education system.

The optimistic assumptions concerning the inclusion of parochial schools in the KEN's education system were cruelly verified by the permanent lack of financial resources. Eventually, the Commission confined itself to visitations, sometimes on an ad hoc basis, to existing schools and to closing those schools that would not implement the syllabus in the spirit imposed by the KEN. Officially, the education authority never relinquished its supervision over the parochial schools.

Looking at the visitation reports, one can say that as early as in the 1780s the situation in the Polish education system had begun stabilising. Thanks to the new textbooks gradually appearing in schools, teachers had the opportunity to better realise the syllabi in full capacity, and some of them received praise

²² C. Majorek, *Książki szkolne Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*, Warsaw, 1975.

²³ A. Jobert, *Komisja...*, 79 and subsequent.

²⁴ K. Mrozowska, *Walka o nauczycieli świeckich w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na terenie Korony*, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1956, 13 and subsequent.

from the school inspectors. The work at particular schools was gaining a steady rhythm. School showings saw a big attendance of the parents and invited guests. Schools had begun being more broadly accepted by the public, but during the entire period of the Commission of National Education, the youth was being dragged away by so-called marginal schools that continued to express the voices of the conservative part of the society²⁵.

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The first specialist bibliography of the Commission of National Education was prepared by Józef Lewicki in 1907²⁶. As the author wrote himself, his work originated *pro publico bono*, and it took him several years of work to prepare it. He noted that it should play the role of a specific guidebook for researching the KEN history, and the need for it was “extraordinary”. He observed by the way that Estreicher’s *Bibliografia polska* should be the starting point for each historian²⁷. In the introduction, Lewicki underlined that studying the history of the first Polish educational institution should be started with the books that awakened the spirit of the education reform, such as John Locke’s *Some thoughts concerning education* or Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Émile*. Additionally, he recommended familiarising oneself with the “schools and works of Basedow, Campe, Salzmann and Pestalozzi”²⁸. Among his achievements, Lewicki published a large number of publications on various aspects of the KEN’s work, as well as source texts²⁹.

His bibliography starts with a list of contemporary works, i.e. printed papers from the era of the Commission of National Education. The texts represent a great diversity of genres. The books in foreign languages that in different ways relate to the KEN history are accompanied by pedagogical journals, textbooks, different kinds of school supplies, source texts, scripts of school showings, copies of letters, Sejm speeches, acts, official documents etc. Although it is not in order, this collection has a considerable research value. Part of these materials represent supplementary literature that referred to the reform and its ideals,

²⁵ K. Mrozowska, *Funkcjonowanie systemu szkolnego Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na terenie Korony w latach 1783—1793*, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1985, 293.

²⁶ *Bibliografia druków odnoszących się do Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*, ed. J. Lewicki, Lviv, 1907.

²⁷ *Bibliografia druków...*, 3.

²⁸ *Bibliografia druków...*, 3.

²⁹ See: *Ustawodawstwo...; Materiały źródłowe do dziejów wychowania i szkolnictwa w Polsce*, ed. J. Lewicki, Lviv—Warsaw, 1927; J. Lewicki, *O rozwoju pomysłu państwowej władzy wychowawczej przed Komisją Edukacji Narodowej*, Warsaw, 1922; J. Lewicki, *Geneza Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Studium historyczne*, Warsaw, 1923; J. Lewicki, “O Towarzystwie do Ksiąg Elementarnych (1775—1782)”, *Przegląd Wydawnictw Książnicy Polskiej* 3, 1922, 98—102.

but there are also items that seem to have been included only because their date coincides with the period of the Commission's activity and they have an educational character.

The further part of the bibliography presents a list of textbooks used by particular teachers in schools which they indicated in the semester reports they submitted to the educational authorities. In his selection spanning several pages, Józef Lewicki made a great effort to identify the titles or names of the authors, often mentioned enigmatically or in a distorted way in the reports.

Of a different kind is the work prepared by Wiktor Hahn, published in *Rocznik Pedagogiczny* under the title "Bibliografia prac ogłoszonych z powodu 150. rocznicy ustanowienia Komisji Edukacji Narodowej i zgonu St. Konarskiego"³⁰. The bibliography was divided into three principal parts, of which the first one discusses the literature on Stanisław Konarski, the second part considers the history of the Commission of National Education, while the third one concentrates on the 150th anniversary of Stanisław Konarski's death and the establishment of the Commission.

It is the second and third parts that are interesting for our study. The second part starts with an outline of the jubilee literature which contains compilations of various works on the Commission of National Education. Hahn lists only three items there. Next, he discusses sources and materials relevant for the history of the Commission, but only several items are listed here too. Likewise, the unit "wydawnictwa zbiorowe" contains several titles, but with itemised content. Much more comprehensive is the part discussing studies conducted to date. This part consists of several dozens of items, including those works that have not been yet completed. There is a separate part containing a list of poetic works dedicated to the Commission of National Education and a list of visual materials (including portraits, medals and post stamps). The third part of Hahn's bibliography includes publications associated directly with the jubilee, including speeches or descriptions of ceremonies, categorised by origin. The final part of the study contains a personal, geographic and item index.

Since it looks at a big number of publications which appeared on the occasion of the 200th jubilee of the establishment of the Commission of National Education, Krystyna Podlaszewska's bibliography has a special value. It is also important that this publication has been prepared by a team of scholars, including Stefan Czaja, Barbara Karamać, Wiesław Mincer and Izabela Pszczółkowska. The work was divided into several parts discussing the existing bibliographies, general issues and the jubilee celebration, the establishment and activity of the

³⁰ W. Hahn, "Bibliografia prac ogłoszonych z powodu 150. rocznicy ustanowienia Komisji Edukacji Narodowej i zgonu St. Konarskiego", *Rocznik Pedagogiczny* 2, 1924, 403—422.

Commission of National Education, the Society for Elementary Books, organisation of schools and teaching and persons of interest. The entire publication starts with a fairly modest preface, where Podlaszewska explains the reasons for the new selection and discusses the previous bibliographies, looking also at the ones that were put together after Józef Lewicki's publication³¹.

The new publication was prepared as a response to the genuine demand for this kind of scientific work, that had been requested in several other works. It is of a subject-oriented nature and encompasses the entire period from the Commission of National Education to the date of the publication (1975) with single works from the following two years. This bibliography includes a number of publications published after Lewicki's selection, including Wiktor Hahn's jubilee bibliography³², amended and supplemented, as well as some foreign publications which the authors had managed to reach. As the author remarks, the selection had originally been to be published before the KEN 200th jubilee as an aid for this occasion, but the project was eventually extended to include numerous valuable publications.

Podlaszewska's bibliography takes account of not only the books' first editions but also the subsequent ones, as well as their reviews and bibliographical fragments. It mentions monographs, journal articles, chapters from collective works and some encyclopedic publications. Like Lewicki's, the work also lists 18th-century prints. They include the king's orders, Sejm constitutions, ordinances, projects, instructions, reports and various speeches, as well as articles that were printed in the journals *Gazeta Warszawska* and *Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne*. A special attitude was applied towards the jubilee publications. Hahn's work mentioned above was verified and supplemented using the major publications, whereas the works connected with the 200th jubilee, given their big number, were considerably reduced, taking out short news items on jubilee celebrations at schools, cultural institutions or youth organisations. The applied method of selection was the one used in *Bibliografia zawartości czasopism*, whereas the daily press was represented by major news items from *Trybuna Ludu* and *Życie Warszawy*. Podlaszewska's work ignored manuscripts completely, in line, as the author says, with the rules applicable for special bibliographies. To get them, readers were referred to catalogues and library inventories.

That bibliography applied a different model of material selection than Lewicki's work. While the latter dealt with works not only directly linked with the Commission of National Education but also with education and the intellectual culture of the Enlightenment in general, the former set itself a clear

³¹ K. Podlaszewska, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Bibliografia przedmiotowa*, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1979, VII.

³² W. Hahn, "Bibliografia...".

criterion of a link with the educational authority and its activity. “The authors believe that the establishment, activity and ideology of the Commission were impacted by so many different factors that taking all of them into account would require special research; it would extend the bibliography by too big a number of items which would blur its primary subject”³³. In the case of the education system, the selected materials are meant to present the functioning of the KEN-run schools as well. This paper does not take account of textbooks prepared by the Society for Elementary Books, because the second part of the bibliography has been planned that would contain “the entirety of the materials concerning the Polish education system in the KEN era, as well as publications put out by the Commission”³⁴. However, the selection includes a bibliography of people connected with the work of the Commission of National Education — not only its members but also people cooperating either with the KEN directly or indirectly, through the Society for Elementary Books.

The latest bibliography of scholarly publications dedicated to the Commission of National Education, prepared by the authors of this article³⁵, is different in several aspects from those discussed above. Quite naturally, it takes into account the latest state of research and may serve scholars preparing their papers on the occasion of the KEN’s jubilee. It is also a kind of crowning achievement of a group of scholars under the leadership of Professor Kalina Bartnicka, which has resulted in more than a dozen volumes discussing the functioning of the Main Schools and the Commission’s school departments. The authors have made a thorough inventory in Polish and foreign archives, bringing into scientific circulation (also in the form of source attachments placed in the particular volumes) a considerable amount of largely unknown source materials. This fact made us include in the bibliography also the archived materials of the above-mentioned research team. It is worthy of note that further archive inventories are set to bring in new sources, whereas we confine ourselves to the archived sources and manuscripts that have been used in the latest publications, of which this paper is part. Therefore, this part of the bibliography may be treated as an archive guidebook and a reference point for further exploration of the archives for future KEN researchers.

In our opinion, the section “Textbooks” is a valuable supplement to the bibliographies published to date. As noted above, it was supposed to be included in the planned second volume of the 1979 bibliography, but this publication was never put out. Textbooks represented one of the biggest accomplishments

³³ K. Podlaszewska, *Komisja...*, VIII.

³⁴ K. Podlaszewska, *Komisja...*, IX.

³⁵ K. Ratajczak, M. Nowicki, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej 1773—1794. Bibliografia* (in print).

of the Commission of National Education thanks to the considerable involvement of the Society for Elementary Books, presented above. Although the textbooks were prepared very slowly owing to the extraordinary meticulousness of the Society members, they had a high didactic value, which was reflected in the number of reprints. In line with the assumptions we have taken, this bibliography presents books and study aids published by the KEN.

Another important change in relation to Podlaszewska's bibliography is that the considerable but scientifically insignificant record of publications connected with the KEN's 200th jubilee, i.e. reports from various school ceremonies, cultural institutions etc., has been omitted. We wish to refer the reader to the above-mentioned bibliography and *Bibliografia zawartości czasopism*, which is already available online. We do take note, however, of the scientific publications that are the results of the subsequent anniversary celebrations. We do not list the press cuts provided by Podlaszewska, especially from the daily press. They naturally have a value for the researchers of the jubilee itself, but this bibliography puts together solely scholarly works concerning the Commission. For the same reason, we do not mention negligible commentaries available on the numerous websites concerning the KEN, discussions on internet forums, blogs etc., as most of them are not of a scholarly nature. Owing to their generally opinion journalist nature, we do not mention the activity of other electronic media, radio and television. Given the growing trend in scientific journals of placing electronic versions online, we consider the written version as the original one, but if an e-book is the only available version or if we deal with an online journal, we provide the appropriate hyperlink.

Lastly, we would like to familiarise the reader with the layout of this publication. Part 1 starts with a list of the most important general bibliographies and the KEN bibliographies published to date. The next part contains sources divided into archived sources, old prints and editions containing visitation reports and minutes of sessions, KEN acts and regulations concerning education, textbooks, occasion and official speeches, economic matters and other various texts. This collection of archives, as we noted before, is first and foremost meant to present the sources of the entire publication series that resulted of the team of scholars' work under the guidance of Professor Kalina Bartnicka. We provide a list of archived materials from the state and church archives in Poland and abroad. Part of these materials have been practically brought into scientific circulation only now, and some printed as part of this series will be listed in the section of published sources. We are aware that further work will contribute to obtaining new materials. Old prints, visitation reports and school acts are listed in accordance with the existing bibliographies which are supplemented by lists of new publications. The section on textbooks includes also publications that

are direct results of the work of the Commission of National Education and the Society for Elementary Books.

The next part of the bibliography contains research papers. We begin our review with general studies concerning Poland and Lithuania but taking account also of the European context, especially the Enlightenment. The next chapter presents an outline of source research that has recently progressed considerably as a result of the research work discussed above.

The following section examines the establishment of the Commission, circumstances of the Jesuit Order's suppression, works of committees established to make an inventory of and acquire the property of the suppressed Jesuit Order and the shaping of the KEN organisational structure. Given that many former Jesuits agreed to cooperate with the newly appointed authorities, we discuss the literature concerning this issue. The next section concerns the central institutions of the Commission of National Education, presents publications discussing the Commission itself, its cooperation with King Stanislaus II Augustus and the parliament. We include here also publications concerning disposal committees and order committees etc. that assisted the KEN.

The following section talks about the Society for Elementary Books, with a list of publications presenting different aspects of its work, such as competitions for syllabi and textbooks or its members' opinion-writing activities.

Commission researchers have been keenly interested in its Main Schools — the old universities in Kraków and Vilnius. The books and articles present the scale of transformation carried out at both universities by Hugo Kołłątaj and Marcin Poczubut-Odlanicki working on the KEN's behalf, as well as control and pedagogical activities of the Main Schools in the Commission's framework. This part of the bibliography allows for general understanding of the major directions of the studies conducted so far into the evolution of both universities.

The following part is dedicated to the functioning of school departments according to their final layout of 1783. The following territorial layout has been adopted: the Lesser Poland, Greater Poland, Mazovian, Volhynian and Ukrainian Departments in the Crown and the Lithuanian, Ruthenian, Samogitian, Navahrudak and Polesian Departments in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The bibliography of the Piarist Department comes at the end.

The subsequent part of the bibliography concerns the Commission of National Education's public schools (department, sub-department, monastic, parochial). Girls' schools have also been listed, as well as the so-called marginal schools (*pokątne*), which the Commission combatted but which were immensely popular. The following sections, or more precisely, their publication numbers, present the research areas that have been thoroughly examined by specialists and which still seek an interest of scholars.

The next chapter is of a bibliographical nature, as it contains literature on the persons involved in the creation of the Commission of National Education. It starts with a list of works on the central level activists, followed by department activists and, separately, school teachers.

The KEN's educational activity has been separated and divided into general research papers, syllabi and the issues of school supervision. There are also works discussing the publishing activity, the functioning of individual libraries, the activity and organisation of teacher training seminaries and the problem of girls' education. This part of the bibliography also allows observing the urgent need to research certain aspects of the Commission's work.

The following parts of the bibliography contain lists of works on the Commission of National Education's legislation, education authorities' finances and schools' construction. The next point presents works on the final period of the KEN's activity in the years 1793—1794. An important supplement to the bibliography includes works discussing the relations between the Commission and the Society and KEN traditions, showing how the educational authority's heritage was used in subsequent years. We also provide research papers on the propaganda activity of the Commission of National Education at home and abroad. The bibliography ends with works discussing the scientific record and the history of jubilees of the establishment of the Commission of National Education.

Taking into consideration the enormity of the Commission of National Education's achievements and the continual interest in it shared by historians of various specialisations, it is necessary to continue the effort initiated early last century to catalogue the written work of the Commission creators, activists, as well as scholars investigating it. And it is not only due to new historical studies coming in on an ongoing basis. One needs to remember that the necessity persists to continue complementing bibliographies by source materials stored in multiple archives, libraries and museums. A great scholarly effort is essential to pursue that purpose. That applies in particular to church archives, as well as foreign, especially Russian, archives. It is also important to take into consideration foreign language historiography which the above-mentioned bibliographies considered to an insufficient extent. It is particularly vital if we were to explore how the endeavour by the Commission of National Education was received in other countries. Given the availability of modern technology, it might also be worth considering the option of making available a new bibliography of Polish and foreign sources and scholarly work in the form of a comprehensive online database. It appears very likely that such a database might become a good incentive for the work to be intensified on examining the rich and still inspiring legacy of the Commission of National Education.

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