VINETA - THE LITERARY "LOST TERRITORY" OF WESTERN SLAVS? CONSIDERATIONS BASED ON CASE STUDIES OF SELECTED TEXTS IN WESTERN SLAVONIC LITERATURES

Over the emerald Baltic waves an old settlement stood, rich in glory, majesty and power: Vineta, the miracle city. (Waleria Szalay-Groele, *Wineta*)

This article will present a selection of texts using the Vineta motif in Western Slavonic literatures. In the case of Vineta (originally written as Jumne, Jumneta), we talk about a legendary, although possibly real city (see records in the chronicles of Adam of Bremen and Helmold), luxurious and rich (Johann Gottfried Herder: "Slavic Amsterdam"); the city was most likely Slavic. One of the variations of the legend has it that the city was submerged by the sea as a punishment for the sins of its inhabitants (a travesty of the myth of Atlantis). According to a later version, to this day only people of pure heart, once every hundred years at that, can see the city and hear the toll of its bells. According to the latest research, Vineta is identified with the Island of Wolin, the settlement probably consisting of two parts: a Slavic one and a Viking town of Vikingborg, a.k.a. Jomsborg.

There is a rich body of texts about Vineta; the authors include scholars (Linkner 1982: 60–69) and popular writers (Kiersnowski) (Błahij); it has also become an attractive subject for non-Slavic cultures and literatures, primarily German. More than 250 texts have been written about Vineta, including six operas (Miciński), at least two novels, hundreds of poems and songs. The frequent occurrence of the Vineta motif in literature became an impetus for the development of several monographs, mainly in German (Koch) (Muller) (Pudor)¹, which summed up the extensive literary output on this subject.

The following reflections on the Vineta motif in Western Slavonic literatures will cover almost all the Western Slavonic literatures², i.e. Polish, Czech and Slovak. Apart from those major ones, there are also (or actually most of all) two "minor" Slavonic literatures, i.e. Kashubian and Upper Lusatian literatures and it is here that the most interesting phenomena occurred. However, the article will present only selected (subjectively: the most interesting) literary works in which significant and divergent processes of semanticising the motif under consideration has taken place in particular literatures.

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Slovak literature is (geographically) the farthest from the alleged location of Vineta (i.e. today's Wolin Island). The geographic aspect seems to have a decisive influence on the frequency of occurrence of the motif in respective literatures (a limited occurrence of the Vineta motif is also confirmed by Czech literature). Nevertheless, regardless of the problems with the unambiguous attribution of the literary works of Ján Kollár and Pavol Jozef Šafárik to Slovak or Czech literature (actually, the works we are interested in were written in Czech), it is in their works that the Vineta motif appears in areas inhabited by Western Slavs the earliest and It is from on their works that both Czech and Slovak writers would draw later.

P.J. Šafárik recalls Vineta in the third chapter of his seminal work on the history of the Slavs, *Slovanské starožitnosti* (Šafárik); a more scientific research is the text "O jménu a položení města Vinety, jinak

¹ In Polish literature, T. Linkner tried to develop the motif under discussion in numerous works (Linkner 1991: 127-144). Information about Vineta was disseminated among Kashubian readers of "Pomerania" by K. Derc (Derc) S. Gzella (Gzella).

² In this article I leave aside the smallest of the Slavonic literatures, i.e. Lower Sorbian literature, in which I have not found any literary work with the Vineta motif.

Jumina, Julina, Jomsburku", in: Časopis Českého Musea XIX, 1845, p. 3–32), in which the scholar explicitly favours the Slavic rather than the Viking character of Vineta.

The wanderings of the protagonist of J. Kollár's *Slávy dcera* (first edition in 1824) in the Slavic lands also lead him to Vineta, to which a sonnet in the second song was dedicated (*Labe, Rén, Vltava*)³. The presentation of the mythical city on the one hand emphasizes its magnificence and importance, and on the other hand – it is shown as "mořské Herkulánum", undoubtedly Slavic, but unfortunately unhappy.

As for Slovak literature, mention should also be made of the idea of Vineta in the ode *Pohl'ed na Slovákov* by Ján Hollý (*Zora*, 1840, p. 39–48). The image depicted by the author coincides with the city's famous image of the Slovak writers mentioned above. Like in Kollár, this motif illustrates the power of the Slavs. Both for Kollár and Hollý, Vineta functions as a Slavic "lost space"; it recalls and highlights the ancient magnitude of the Slavic tribes.

The presence of the Vineta motif in Czech literature is rather rare. The theme of a sunken Baltic city appears first and foremost in the poetry and prose of the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, this motif was addressed by the greatest Czech authors of this period, primarily Svatopluk Čech (*Dagmar*) and Jaroslav Vrchlický (*Píseň o Vinetě*).

The Vineta motif (interchangeably as Volyň [i.e. Wołyń / Wolin]) appears in the second part of the "tale" (in essence it is an epic or a poem) *Dagmar* by S. Čech, in the extensive report of one Mr. Albert, giving a chronologic account of the city's decline to the eponymous character (historical figure, Czech princess Márketa Přemyslovna, daughter of Přemysl Otakar I). Mr. Albert's account is an apotheosis of the Pomeranian Slavs and the author interestingly introduces a narrative perspective of the Other (here Albert, a Dane), who, by reporting on past events, simultaneously reviews the history and the present day of the Slavs. In this perspective, *Dagmar* is not a work about Danes, but a story about Slavs living in a legendary city. Čech makes a "realistic" correction of the invariant of the Vineta legend: the disappearance of the Slavic flower-town ("Slávy čarokrásný

³I used the third edition of the 1862 poem (Ján Kollár's Directory. Dil prvy, Praha), where this subsection is numbered 42 (p. 97). This sonnet sometimes occurs independently as Vineta, cf. e.g W.R. Morfill, A Grammar of the Bohemian or Czech Language, Oxford 1899, p. 140.

květ") was not due to the debauchery of its inhabitants ("mythical" interpretation), but the effect of the Danish conquest, spreading Christianity in Pomerania. Simple people, loathe to believe in such a banal cause of the fall of the glorious city became the collective author of the "mythical" interpretation of the fall of Vineta. The Slavophile element, to a lesser extent a Nordic one, comes to the forefront, which is not surprising, given the overt and immanent Slavophile attitude of the author himself and of the whole generation centred around the *Ruch* magazine.

Píseň o Vinetě by J. Vrchlický, albeit not the poet's greatest accomplishment, became the most artistically mature poem of Western Slavs about Vineta. When working on it, the poet used both the findings of Slavic scholars (Šafárik, Kollár, Karel Jaromír Erben), German (Ludwig Giesebrecht, Wendische Geschichten) as well as Scandinavian records (Jomsvikinger-Saga, Knytlinger-Saga). The theme of the poem is Slavonic-Danish rivalry (between Vineta and Jomsborg). Against this background is born, comes to fruition and is brutally nipped the love of a young couple, Swana (Slavic) and Aki, son of Palnatoki (a Viking leader). Vrchlický thus decided to make a similar transformation of the Vineta legend to Čech, with the Nordic element providing the broad thematic framework. The thematic and narrative dominant of Vrchlický's work is the Slavs-Vikings antithesis, within which it is not the Slavic party but the Nordic one which is seen as positive. Vrchlický moreover significantly transforms the way the city disappeared from the earth's surface. Apparently, this did not happen because of the residents' sins or due to the intervention of the gods of the sea, as the classic version of the Vineta myth goes. Nor was it due to the betrayal of the native faith by the inhabitants of the city on the Baltic Sea. The actual perpetrators of the extermination of Vineta in the songs are the Vikings who, in an act of revenge for Aki's assassination, sink the city by opening a canal linking the city with the sea. This is the most advanced modification and demythologisation of the original Vineta motif in Western Slavic literatures. The poet's depiction of the lives and customs of the Slavs and the Vikings is also remarkable in the work.

Polish literature is the richest source of the Vineta motif from among all Western Slavonic literature. Vineta (Vineda) is mentioned by Hengo, a German merchant visiting old Wisz, in Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's *Old Tale*. J. Łuszczewska (Deotyma) writes in *Wyszymir*

(1860): "Not far from here there is a huge city, / by the name of Vineta; it abounds in dwellers, / The Dane was lured by the richness of the spoils. "(Łuszczewska 131–132). However, it was the literary era of Young Poland when the myth had its heyday. However, somewhat paradoxically, it was only Tadeusz Miciński who addressed it in the so-called Baltic tragedies (Sunny King [of Hel], 1912; The End of Veneta 1910–1913; Avenger of Veneta, 1916) (Linkner 1994: 12–14), (Linkner 1987). During this period we can also encounter the Vineta theme in Rhapsodies (1901) by Józef Stanisław Wierzbicki (Rhapsody II: Scary fisherman), as well as in the historical novel Sławina. A novel set in the eleventh century by Julian Baczyński (1904). The most interesting works dealing directly with Vineta theme in the interwar period include Ludwik Stasiak's text Veneda - a town at the bottom of the Polish sea (1923) and the poem by Rajmund Bergel titled The Sunken Settlement (Bergel). A significant number of publications on this subject date back to the first decades after 1945, while the most widely discussed work of the Pomeranian Slavs was a narrative documentary by Zofia Kossak-Szczucka The Troy of the North (1960, Vineta is identified with Wolin here). This article will look more closely into T. Miciński's The End of Veneda and Władyslaw Jan Grabski's The Earl Bronisz Saga.

Micinski's play long remained in the manuscript version, so his reception was (and still is) greatly limited. Veneta / Vineta was the setting of the second act, centred around the Slav temple of god Rujevit. The action is set in the twelfth century. A significant change with respect to the invariant of the legend was the location of Vineta not in the vicinity of Wolin, but on the Isle of Rügen; this identified it with Arkona and moreover took over its symbolic attributes. Veneta / Vineta (city) in Miciński's drama was thus elevated to the role of a synonym of the (Baltic) Slavs threatened by Germanization (the sea). A city on a hill and at the sea, it represents the last bastion of independent Slavs, and at the same time is the Slavic Parnassus, a token of the author's interest in aspects of paganism, native faith, and partly also Satanism. The novelty was Micinski's highlighting the aspect of the German threat⁴ to the Slavs, the main theme of the Vineta motif in Upper Sorbian literature.

⁴ A similar message is conveyed by J.S. Wierzbicki's aforementioned rhapsody *The Scary Fisherman* - one of Polish (literary) replies to the German *Drang nach Osten*. A much later literary version of the legend in Kashuby (S. Świrko, *About the Sunken Vineta*) is related to Wierzbicki's rapsod by the motif of betrayal of some inhabitants of Vineta.

The Earl Bronisz Saga by W.J. Grabski, a nearly 540-page novel, was written during the occupation (first edition 1946-47), which translated directly into Vineta's vision presented in the work. The novel consists of three parts: Betrothal in Uppsala. The Viking Trail. The Year One Thousand and depicts the story of Bronisz, a Slavic equivalent of the Nordic earl (governor). Nordic references (not Vineta, but Jomsborg is the site of the events of the first chapter of the first part of the novel) do not appear in this work by chance, but their semantics contrast with the Czech elaborations of the motif. Grabski's novel is not an expression of fascination with (Čech), nor an apotheosis of (Vrchlický) the Vikings. The rise of the saga about the earl Bronisz was determined ideologically, in a two-fold manner at that. Firstly, Grabski's novel was to prove the Slavic (Polish) roots of Western Pomerania, thus opposing the use of the general Scandinavian (Aryan) myth and the Vineta myth by German historical discourse and literature. Thus, Vineta became for the author and, on a wider scale, for Polish literature / culture a "regained territory". Secondly, the novel / saga was to be proof of the existence of an ancient, Scandinavian-like, literary tradition among Poles (Grabski). Similar attempts had earlier been made by J.S. Wierzbicki and Halina Ceysinger.

Kashubian literature⁵ is the closest, in the geographical sense, to the alleged or proven location of Vineta. However, the frequency of this motif in Kashubian literature is not as high or as interesting as in other Western Slavonic literatures. Vineta does not appear in the *magnum opus* of Kashubian literature, i.e. in the novel \dot{Z} *ecé i przigòdë Remùsa* by Aleksander Majkowski (nor in any of his other works), which is a proto-text of Kashubian literature, and more broadly, of this culture.

Dagmar by Čech as well as the following piece by J. Bart-Ćišinski from Upper Lusatian literature come close to *The Scary Fisherman*, its motif of Vineta's collapse as a result of the spread of Christianity. Wierzbicki's rhapsody is an original example of a legend invariant, in which the sea consumes not only the city but also its captors.

⁵The most effective influence of the Vineta motif on other areas of Kashubian-Pomeranian culture is the opera of F. Nowowiejski *Legend of the Baltic Sea*, its libretto written by W. Szalay-Groele (world premiere 28.11. 1924, Poznań Opera). A significant change here is the location of Vineta in the lands of the Kashubs. When examining Vineta's relations with Kashubian culture, attention should be paid also to the reincarnation of its motif in relation to the construction of Gdynia; E. Kwiatkowski wrote that "the old legend of Vineta should return and become a reality, clad in the power of iron, concrete and stone, in a power of life and motion allowing it to last forever" (Samp).

Vineta was not popular, either, with other great Kashubian authors, unlike Arkona, which became the main "mythical space" for Kashubian literature. If it appears, it is to emphasize the ancient power of the (Pomeranian) Slavs. For example, the poem by Leon Heyke, *Dobrogost i Miłosława*, mentions the name Vineta as many as three times, and in the same author's *Kashubian Legends* (1931) it appears only once (Kęcińska).

The reason why geographic or even geo-cultural proximity has not translated into the popularity of Vineta in Kashubian literature seems simple: Kashubian writers have created their own myth about the sunken city, as evidenced in the Kashubian legends about the flooding of Old Hel Peninsula on the eve of Pentecost (see e.g. legends about Trzęsacz).

The most interesting realizations of the Vineta motif in the Kashubian literature are presented by S. Świrko, and probably the most interesting version is that about the sunken Vineta (Świrko) and (originally German) legend Blind Stallion from Vineta (Buczyński). Of particular note is the work by S. Świrko. In terms of using the Nordic motif, the Legend About the Sunken Vineta differs from the Czech texts by its negative Viking semantics, represented by Eryk, a Viking earl and the fiancé of a Slavonic rulers' daughter. It does not resemble the noble gentlemen Albert and Palnatoki from the works of Czech authors - Eryk is a traitor of the alliance between the Vikings and the Slavs, partly responsible for the death of the father and brother of Diwa, his fiancée. Finally, in agreement with greedy merchants and urban traders, he opens the Vineta gates to the Vikings, causing the collapse of the city. The story has an original ending: Diwa turns out to be a descendant of her namesake, fairy Donna (interesting parallels to the "mořské ženy" in the Čech epic), the patroness of the city. At the moment of the enemy's forced entry to Vineta, the maiden utters an ancient spell, through which the goddess saves the city, plunging it into the sea abyss. This is the most effective example of interpreting the Vineta motif in the "Slavonic" spirit: the bravery, nobility, courage of the Slavic inhabitants of the city take precedence over other thematic components (especially the Nordic one).

A geo-cultural position similar to Kashubian literature / culture is held by Upper Lusatian literature / culture (the term used here in the national sense), but it differs significantly in the valorisation of the Vineta motif. First, we encounter it in a much larger number of works than in Kashubian literature; secondly, it is more complex because Vineta's popularity is confirmed by both Upper Sorbian literature and the texts created after 1945; thirdly, the prestige is different as the motif was addressed by the most important Upper Lusatian authors (Handrij Zejler, Jakub Bart-Ćišinski, Angela Stachowa).

A characteristic feature of the development of the Vineta motif in Upper Sorbian literature is the generic and thematic diversity and the presence of the motif on a much broader, cultural level. This is a process, the most interesting in the Western Slavonic literatures, of semantising the motif: here Vineta itself, a Baltic city and as depicted in the other Slavonic literatures, was identified with the whole nation and its fate. The most interesting literary works taking up the Vineta motif from Upper Sorbian literature are: Korla Awgust Fiedler's poems *Vineta*, H. Zejler *Što je Serbow wótcny kraj?*, J. Bart-Ćišinski's *Vineta*, a story by A. Stachowa titled *Vineta*, and a manga by Katrin Beserec titled *Vineta*. *Město wuhnatych* or *Vineta*. *Město wugnańcow*.

In Zejler's poem Što je Serbow wótcny kraj? (1839) Vineta was presented as one of the limits of the "Upper Sorbs' home country." The Lusatian Serbs' homeland coincides with the area occupied by the Slavic tribes, spreading, according to the poet, on the one hand from the Black Sea to the Ice Sea and on the other - from the Baltic Sea to Kamchatka. Vineta is therefore thoroughly Slavic, an important frontier point of the territory occupied by the Slavic family. In this respect, all Upper Sorbs works oppose diametrically Czech and, partly, Polish (Grabski) texts since the Nordic element does not appear in any of the works in which Vineta appears. Zejler's poem was based on (an unspecified) German prototype derived probably from the so-called Lyrik der Befreiungskriege (1813-1815), in which the nationalist pride and the emergent German nationalism and expansionism strongly resonated. Irrespective of the intertextual context of the work of the "father" of Upper Sorbian literature, the text became an unquestionable indication of the Sorbian's involvement in the cultural circle of Slavs.

Unlike Zejler, the Vineta motif was used by K.A. Fiedler in a love poem of the same title (originally in Łužičan 1868), for the sole purpose of presenting the love theme. Vineta, and especially the secret word, which according to one of the variants of the legend can yank it out of the sea, was identified with the will to arouse love in a woman. Fiedler's poem, instead of national and Slavophile function, uses the Vineta theme for the purpose of conveying a universal message.

The most important application of the Vineta motif in the Upper Sorbs poetry is presented by J. Bart-Ćišinski's Vineta (originally in: Łužica 1899). It opposes earlier versions not only because it is definitely the best artistic achievement (written by the greatest Upper-Sorbs poet). Here Vineta in the poet's version is not a "defensive settlement" of the Pomeranian Slavic tribes, but rather a "god" of the Sorbs themselves, and is sunk by the sea not for the sin of debauchery (which is a travesty of the biblical motif of Sodom in the classic motif), but because the Sorbs had rejected the faith of their fathers and adopted - under the influence of Germans - Christianity, which is a partial convergence with Čech's Dagmar tragedy. The influence of the Slav element in the Upper Sorbian studies of the Vineta motif is confirmed by the fact that the destruction of the Upper Sorbs, i.e. pagan Slavs as a result of the rejection of native beliefs, was presented by the ultra-dogmatic Catholic priest Bart-Ćišinski. The sea, which floods the Lusatians' Vineta is the Germanic sea, hostile to the Slavs, which in turn binds the poem by the classics of Upper Sorbs literature with Miciński's drama in question.

The short story Vineta (1983) by A. Stachowa tackles the love of two teenagers in a village in Upper Lusatia, destined for liquidation for the sake of an open-pit lignite mine. Unlike the overwhelming majority of Upper Sorbian prose (Derlatka 2004), the story is negative: the ending of the story confirms the state of affairs - the narrator (a car driver) cannot get to the village he visited a few weeks before because no one lived in it. Due to the construction of the lignite mine, the residents were forced to leave their family homes. As in *Vineta* by Bart-Ćišinski, Stachowa's Vineta identifies with the legendary city the entire Sorbian minority (the village functions as a pars pro toto for the minority). Apart from the different generic form, the two works differently semanticise the sea that flooded the Vineta of Upper Sorbs. In the text by Stachowa this is not a Germanic sea, but a sea of socialist industry, which forever changed the landscape of Slavic Lusatia. It is a very bitter re-valuation: it is socialism, the system that was to guarantee to the Upper Sorbs smooth development (the new socio-political configuration after 1945 was described in the native discourse as "jutry Serbow") caused the shrinking of their living space, then its planned destruction and consequently - the de-nationalisation.

The most recent literary work in Upper Sorbian Literature which uses the Vineta theme is the manga *Vineta*. *Město wuhnatych* (2008) by

K. Beserec. This work exemplifies the changes taking place before our very eyes within the (broadly understood) Upper Sorbs culture. In the song about the love of young people, Jumne and Varro, inhabitants of unfriendly islands who for the sake of love overcome mutual prejudices, we should indicate a complete lack of references to the Slavic element, apart from the name of Jumne. This reflects the cultural process that took place in the Upper Sorbs culture since 1945, which culminated, it seems, after 1989. This is the process of the disappearing Slavic identity, which in the nineteenth century was the basis of identity, and in the first half of the 20th century served as a guarantee of survival in the face of nationalism (Derlatka 2007, 2009). After 1989, the declarative Slavophile attitude on the part of Upper Sorbs disappeared and is maintained only privately and in the family.

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The Vineta motif, the legendary or real Baltic Sea city of the Slavs ("Slavic Atlantis"), appeared in most Western Slavonic literatures. Its highest frequency was undoubtedly in Polish literature, and the lowest in Slovak literature, with particular emphasis on the "minor" literatures of Western Slavs, i.e. Upper Sorbs and Kashubian, where phenomena on the literary and cultural level were most prominent.

One can discern substantial differences between the above literary works applying the Vineta motif in Western Slavonic literatures. For example, Czech literature highlighted, in addition to the Slavonic element, the dominant feature of other Western Slavonic literatures, the Nordic feature, positively valorised, especially in Vrchlický. In turn, in Polish literature, the Nordic Vineta motif, unambiguously identified with German expansionism, becomes negatively valorised. In Upper Lusatian literature, the element of the legend of the sunken Vineta city does not appear at all.

The most numerous, most varied (as to genre and them) representations of the Vineta motif can be found in Polish literature. Literary reasons for the interest of Polish authors in the motif of a sunken city on the Baltic resulted, especially in the first period, from the interest of representatives of Young Poland in Slavonic mythology. The ideological emphasis of the Slavic identity of the sunken city, as attested in Polish literature, had a two-pronged tangible objective. Firstly, to politically offset German claims to Jomsborg (literary works until 1945), depicted by literary works; secondly, it was to legitimise Po-

land's rights to the regained territories of Western Pomerania (successive literary and popular works after 1945).

Kashubian literature was the only Western Slavonic literature which created a mythopeia about sunken cities, whose main motif was the destruction of the "Kashubian Sodom", i.e. Old Hel Peninsula by the Baltic (a variant of a legend about the fate of the church in Trzęsacz).

By far the most interesting travesty of the Vineta motif in Western Slavic literatures is one of the variants found in Upper Sorbs literature (J. Bart-Ćišinski, *Vineta*; A. Stachowa, *Vineta*), where Vineta encapsulates the entire Sorbian minority. A. Stachowa's story moreover provides a bitter re-evaluation of the nationalist Sorbian ideology – of an "island on the German sea": the sea that finally flooded Vineta – a minority was not an eternally hostile Germanic sea, but a sea of socialist industry.

Of all the Slavonic literatures, aside from the initial texts by Kollár and Hollý, Slovak writers, only in Upper Sorbian literature does Vineta become a full-fledged "lost space". In Polish literature, in turn, the sunken Slavic city became a specific "reclaimed space", especially in literary and popular literary works created after 1945. The common denominator of all Slavonic literatures is the subordination of Vineta to another significant *locus* of Western Slavs, i.e. Arkona.

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