

Violetta Julkowska
University of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznan

Between Memory and History. Case Study: Family Story

A turn towards the private history

The idea of looking closer at the private lives, in their different aspects, started in mid-fifties thanks to the research of Philip Aries, and was synonymous to blazing a new trail. Aries, considered then a historiography heretic—chose the path into unknown, as private history demanded a penetrating intuition, courage and looking for extraordinary sources. Aries treated as historical sources, different types of cultural texts, not refraining from literature or various reports and stories from private lives. The result of the long-standing work of the team of French historians under the joint management of Aries and Georges Duby was the multi-volume publication, which started to be edited in mid-eighties.¹ The ambition of the authors of the publication was to reveal the changes, which for over two thousand years, affected different ideas and aspects of a private life. One of them was a constant diversification of the private sphere, which at first, was in a natural way situated in the interior of the house, gradually became the subject of a change into three independent entities: a house as a place dominated by women and children, privatized space of professional activity of men, and a place of their mutual contacts and relaxation. According to co-editor of the series, Georges Duby, the work did not only make the reader aware of the growing pace of the changes, transforming a private life but it also showed the constant tendency for destruction of the last bastions of a private life by different forms of institutional control. From the historians' observation, eventually arose the message mentioned at the beginning of this work. It

¹*Historia życia prywatnego*, ed. Ph. Ariès, G. Duby, vol. 1, Wrocław 1998, pp. 7-9.

manifested itself in the conviction of the necessity to spare no effort to protect the individuality and subjectivity of the contemporary man.

In Aries's works, the problem of memory and history as understood by contemporary discourse, does not appear, but the range of undertaken then problems and directing attention to unconventional sources brings it closer to the concepts of social frames of memory by Maurice Halbwachs.²

The family history, being a component of a private history, becomes an element of conducted contemporary research on historical memory. At the same time, as the field of historical, social and cultural research, it creates a chance to broaden its own domain by adding new problems and new methodological perspective.

As examples of family histories I used family chronicles by Maria Czapska, Dezydery Chłapowski but also historiographic work by Karol Szajnocha, written in the family chronicle convention.³ This intentional variety of sources is completed by memories of Róża Raczyńska, attached, as an integral part, to the family chronicle, written by her son Edward Raczyński, and finally, war memories of Karolina Lanckoronska.⁴ The choice of texts was made from among many known to me works, meeting the general thematic criteria of family histories.

The chosen works differ among each other a lot, not only by the method of realization of the narrative convention but also by source value. What without doubt links them together, is the high historical culture of the mentioned authors of the narration, which is reflected in taken up by them conscious deliberations on memory and history.

The mentioned above family chronicles are a very interesting case study from a few related with one another perspectives.

Firstly, the change in the treatment of historical sources seems essential, since documentation of family histories demanded acceptance, in the role of the sources, all the materials considered by historians only in the 20th century as non-standard, so apart from personal possessions, and memories and oral accounts, also all the private records, starting from diaries and private correspondence and finishing on examples of artistic expression. The type of the sources used, with majority of those referring straight to memory,

² M. Halbwachs, *Spoleczne ramy pamięci*, transl. M. Król, Warszawa 1979

³ M. Czapska, *Europa w rodzinie*, intro Ph. Ariès, epilogue K. Jeleński, Warszawa 1989; D. Chłapowski, *Chłapowscy. Kronika rodzinna*, completed and prepared for printing by K. Chłapowski, Warszawa 1998; K. Szajnocha, *Opowiadanie o królu Janie III. Mściciel*, [in:] id., *Pisma* (choice), Vol. II, Żyтомierz, 1860, pp. 5-172.

⁴ R. Raczyńska, *Pamiętnik Róży*, [in:] E. Raczyński, *Pani Róża*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 20-95; id., *Edward hr. Raczyński. Rogalin i jego mieszkańcy*, Poznań 1991; K. Lanckorońska, *Wspomnienia wojenne*, introduction L. Kalinowski i E. Orman, Kraków 2003.

and also the chronicle form types, decide about the uniqueness of the family history, which remains, to the same extent, in the fields of influence of both history and memory.

Secondly, family histories, because of the subjective character of bonds and relations described, were of interest to me, as an example of the field of occurrence of mutual influence and penetration, agreement of common stand or their rivalry for primacy: of history and memory.

Thirdly, searching for the origin of family history in the thematic field intensely exploited in the 19th century by belles-lettres and providing inspiration to the historians of the narrative trend, I reached for examples of this type of historical narration present in Karol Szajnocha works. Started by romantic historiography way of searching the individual motivation of people's activities, neglected by scientific trends in historiography, reappeared in the history of mentality, as one of the indicators of the subject matter discussed within ethical turnabout.

Considering the subject of family histories within the mentioned aspects, I referred mainly to problems of methodological and historiographic nature, which arrive in the field of mutual relations of history and memory, and which for more than two decades have been the object of the debate in progress.⁵

The Marginal Character of Family History

The family history comes up in the form of a family chronicle—a special genre of historical writing, appropriate for the given subject matter.

The main conclusion, which results from reading one is a noticeable peripheral character of the family history and syncretism of the family chronicle as historiographic genre and characteristic for this genre narrative convention. I presume that in both cases the main reason for family history and a story about it to go beyond history in the direction of oral tradition, is its initial source material, that is memories.

⁵ A few theories in the subject of presence in the historical discourse, as well as the review of the literature of the subject includes an over-viewing article by Kerwin Lee Klein "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse" (2000) reprinted in Polish version: *Pojawienie się pamięci w dyskursie historycznym* (trans. M. Bańkowski), „Polska Sztuka Ludowa. Konteksty. Antropologia Kultury. Etnografia. Sztuka”, 2003, no. 3-4, pp. 42-56. Above that synthetic descriptions of the memory/history discourse and valuable bibliographical juxtaposes is included in the work: *Pamięć zbiorowa i kulturowa. Współczesna perspektywa niemiecka*, under the red. Magdalena Saryusz-Wolska Kraków 2009; Kornela Kończal, Joanna Wawrzyniak, *Polskie badania pamięcioznawcze: Tradycje, koncepcje, (nie)ciągłości*, „Kultura i Społeczeństwo”, Year LV, no. 4, 2011, pp. 11-63.

Memories place the family chronicle in the area of influence of conventions characteristic of both oral and written history. Memories allow to discern the relationship between family history and “live history” (according to Nina Assorodobraj-Kula—understood as a form of communicative memory within 3-4 generations), but they are also the starting point for frequently conducted interdisciplinary investigation over the history of each individual family, moving in the direction of grasping the changes that occur in the national and cultural identity of these families.⁶

On the other hand the syncretism of a family chronicle is connected with the evolution of that genre.

The first signals of family chronicles, emerging from reminiscence narration, can be found in the writings of Wirydianna of Kwieciński Fiszerowa, Maria of Łubieński Górską, Antonina of Chłapowski Górską and Anna Pruszyńska.⁷ The fact that their authors were mainly women, is undoubtedly related to the cultural role played by them in the family and with their position in it.

For this reason even the personal memories of women were inseparably combined with the family history, finding support and the feeling of being rooted there.

In fact, in the sense of a genre, family chronicles started to appear in great numbers in the 20th century, especially after WWII, when men frequently, if not mainly, started to become their authors.

Accompanying these authors, deepened awareness of the irreversibility of the results brought by social and custom changes, altering the conditions of life in general, not only the family life, influenced the aim of this type of relation, which changed from recollecting into a commemorating one.

The narrative shape of family chronicles themselves was diversified, but most often chronological within individual family branches, which guaranteed the cohesion of a family history, in addition to which, the orientation in the family connections complexities and navigation through the text was facilitated by added in appendices genealogical trees. In case of families with centuries -old tradition the more often practiced narrative—composition strategy was organizing the narration around the double axis

⁶ Comp. A. Szczepaniak-Kroll, *Tożsamość poznańskich rodzin pochodzenia niemieckiego. Losy Bajerleinów i Dittrichów (XVIII–XXc)*, Series: Wielkopolska — historia — społeczeństwo — kultura, no. 32, Poznań 2010.

⁷ W. Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne i osób postronnych. Wiązanka spraw poważnych i błahych*, trans. E. Raczyński, Świat Książki, Warszawa 1998; Maria z Łubieńskich Górską, *Gdybym mniej kochała. Dziennik z lat 1889–1895*, Twój Styl, Warszawa 1996; A. Górską, *Wspomnienia* (unpublished), BN, manuscript II. 9778; A. Pruszyńska, *Między Bohem a Słuczą*, opr. M. Pruszyński, Ossolineum, Wrocław 2001.

of place and time, namely ancestral seat (a castle, a palace, a family house or a place with which the family story is connected) and additionally giving it chronological perspective. The narrative shape of family chronicle was most frequently kept in the cohesive relation form, which consisted of collected and written down by the author of a given chronicle recollection material, and seldom from isolated relations and excerpts from diaries or letters.

Narration was accompanied by iconographic and photographic documentation, showing not only the portraits of individual family members but also picturing scenes from the family life, homes and ancestral seats. The character of a family chronicle kept changing together with the decision about publication and making its contents public. Family chronicle became then a kind of personal story- lost its original form (i.e. a manuscript with visible traces of supplements, original letters, photographs, handwritten notes prepared by family members) for conventionalized one with significant choice of materials.⁸

The case of analysed family histories of different types is also an occasion to observe the

co- productive role played by history and memory in the construction of personal history. Memories brought back in a form of reminiscence are in the family stories the main source of information about the history of Poland and the past of a family, but they also happen to be supplied or supported with materials considered nowadays historical but are seldom appreciated by historians representing classical historiography. Communicative memory ('live history') and a 'home archive'

of source materials form the main frame for a family chronicle. The paradox of a chronicle as a historiographic genre lies in the fact that 'arising' from remembered material, it moves thanks to written down narration towards the domain of history.

Family Stories as the Source of Knowledge about the Past

Memory in family stories frequently becomes the subject for reflection, especially when it is treated by the narration authors, as meta-category and the subject for independent deliberation. Then its presence confirms historical culture of the one who conducts that deliberation. Moreover, memory being the source of knowledge about the past, bequeathed

⁸ I had a chance to familiarise myself with the typescript of the original two volume family chronicles of the Chłapowscy family, written down by Dezydery Chłapowski, before its preparation for printing and issuing in the form of a book with the effort of the family.

in a narrative form by different people, sometimes different generations, undergoes frequent procedures of constructing or reconstructing of the past described.⁹

From the point of view of a historian it seems necessary, in the first place, to refer to the role of memory as the most frequently arriving source of information about the private life. Family histories are constructed mainly on the basis of collected by on writer family memories, very often handed over the generations through the channels and with the effects characteristic of oral history, so they are from the start the type of material which bears the trace of multiple construction. Therefore, the reliability of those stories might be additionally supported by preserved correspondence, notarial deeds, chance notes of various types, or other family documents such as prenuptial agreements, wills, instructions, family stories, which is proved on the example of the family chronicles by Maria Czapska, Edward Raczyński, and Dezydery Chłapowski. In the family chronicle texts there are cases of quotation of the source material, which being a valuable family souvenir, is handed down from generation to generation and in various independent memories leaves a trace, before it finds its way into the hands of the chronicle author (an example of that, is written in the beginning of the 19th century by Antonona Chłapowska daily schedule for her daughters, which found its way to Chłapowski family chronicle at the end of the 20th century in the original version, thanks to the memories of the granddaughter, also Antonina of Chłapowski Górská). There are, however, examples of anecdotes, which being a part of live history (oral) undergo, while related, subsequent transformations.

Less often do the writers of chronicles have a chance to take benefit of live relations and memories, prepared especially with an intention of memorizing family fortunes, which constitute the type of materials that can be described in terms of oral family history. Such was the situation in case of memories of Róża of Potocki Raczyńska, who encouraged by her son Edward, described her childhood and young days. The material was then quoted in full as an integral part of written by her son family chronicle, but was also supplied with, missing for the complete picture information, long after the mother's death. Thanks this operation, the perspective of an exceptionally subjective written narration appeared in the family chronicle, reducing the distance and

⁹An inspiration for those considerations the two texts became: K. Kaniowska, *Antropologia a problem pamięci*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa. Konteksty. Antropologia Kultury. Etnografia. Sztuka”, 2003, no. 3-4, pp. 57-63 and *eadem*, *Postpamięć indywidualna—postpamięć zbiorowa jako kategorie poznania w antropologii*, [in:] *Pamięć i polityka historyczna. Doświadczenie Polski i jej sąsiadów*, under red. S. Nowinowski, J. Pomorski, R. Stobiecki, Łódź 2008, pp. 65-76.

giving the feeling of closeness not only with the other dimension of historic time but also the sensation of intimacy with the person recollecting.

The record of Chłapowski family chronicle was supplied in a similar manner, where besides the author's narration created on the basis of materials and documents gathered for years by the main author of the chronicle—Dezydery Chłapowski (general's great grandson), one can find, in the quotation form, unpublished before fragments of memories of Antonina of Chłapowski Górska. Górska did not only commemorate her grandfather-general, in a perfectly shaped narrative picture of his everyday activities, but also presented him not like a statue, but in a way warmed by the anecdotal presentation. The testimony of the live family memory became an important part of the chronicle, which acquired through an interview method, was included in the narration in a form of fragments of memories of different family members.

On the basis of family chronicles one can make general, historical in character observation referring to inheritance over generations, mainly, that live family memory, called communicative memory lasts in the families with traditionally strong bonds for three or four generations, which is confirmed by, once pioneering on European scale, research over the collective memory conducted by the sociologists under direction of Nina Assorodobraj, and later Barbara Szacka.¹⁰

Family History versus Post-memory

Szajnocha's work 'Mściciel' ('Avenger') can be submitted for analysis in still another problem context, which is brought closer by *War Memories* of Karolina Lanckorońska. Namely, among all the analysed works, which break the convention of a typical family chronicle, *War Memories* by Karolina Lanckorońska form the most personal utterance concentrated on the experience of 1939–1945, written down right after the war. It has a source value of the testimony offered by a person, who as a University professor, experienced the Soviet and German occupation of Lwow, and later was also as an active soldier of Home Army, a member of the Red Cross Organization and finally as a prisoner of Ravensbruck Concentration Camp. In spite of the dominant feature, which in Lanckorońska's memories falls on personal experience of war times, there also appears an echo the family history through recollection of both classical in Piere Nore's presentation and also private

¹⁰ Nina Assorodobraj, „Żywa historia” Świadomość historyczna: symptomy i propozycje badawcze, „Studia Socjologiczne,” 1963, no. 2; Barbara Szacka, *Czas przeszły, pamięć, mit*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 17 i n.

history related places such as: the family house, graves of the ancestors and gravestone inscriptions.

What links so distant in time narrations of Szajnocha (referring to 17th century) and Lanckorońska (20th century) is an attempt to describe the influence of a traumatic experience on perception and realization of one's own place and role in the family history and influence of this understood family history on choices made. In case of both historiographic narration (Szajnocha) and memory one (Lanckorońska) their common characteristics was presentation of experiences connected with participation in a war and conscious engagement in a combat, as well as experience resulting from the imprisonment, suffering and life under constant threat of death. Both narrations are also connected by awareness of consequences resulting from breaking the continuity of historical and civilization inheritance, being the consequence of war and loss of continuity of family tradition and history, because of lack of natural inheritors. In case of Żółkiewski and Daniłowicz families—direct ancestors of Jan Sobieski, as well as in case of Karolin Lanckorońska—we deal with passing away of the last representatives of the families of a rich, centuries-old tradition and undertaken in that situation trial to bequeath the heritage of memory, which has a specific historical and ethical dimension.

In both analysed cases, the initial material which is based on family history sources, is consciously processed into the substitute material. In Szajnocha's works there is a substitute transformation of tradition connected with the heroic manner of the 17th century borderland families, presented as defenders of their country, but it takes place in the historical and interpretive context of the 19th century, so in the situation of the hazard of losing the whole of the historical and cultural heritage through the experience connected with life under the partitions. Thanks to the historical narration of the 19th century historian, who feels morally responsible for preservation of this heritage, described family history gains, in reality, the dimension of cultural memory. With the passage of several dozen years, historiographic narration of Szajnocha would become the basis for rework in a form of a few themes in Henryk Sienkiewicz's historical novel and this way commemoration would receive a new widespread dimension. Preparation of the family history by Szajnocha was an example of sensitizing of the romantic historiographic narration to ethical dimension of memorizing of the past as the main aim of handed down in narration historiographic family history. That one, not ceasing to be a private history becomes thanks to the historian's activity a great history of nationwide character.

On the other hand, the pictures of live memory of Karolina Lanckorońska were first noted down by her in a form of a report about the condition of

Ravensbruck women prisoners, just after the camp liberation, and as the evidence submitted to the Head of the Red Cross Organisation, professor Bruckhardt, and next published by Swiss and German press. Only in 1946 Lanckorońska started to write down the exact memories from the times of both occupations, preparing the holistic description of remembered war experiences, which for a long time could not find a publisher and eventually came out in 2001, shortly before the author's death. It is a completely new situation, close in its ethical dimension to what in her reflections on the subject of post-memory mentions Marianne Hirsch, reflecting not only on the course of transfer of the processes between generations, but also on who is entitled to take care of the traumatic past of a generation and individuals with which we keep 'live bonds' and which in front of the eyes of witnesses becomes history. The problem of that inherited memory is defined by Hirsch as post-memory.¹¹

The common feature of all the analysed texts is then the presence of the memory of the authors of the narration, but besides them also the presence of a lot of other people, memory which gains the common record in the form of reflections processed eventually into a form of narration about the past. It is the type of knowledge passing the experience of the past, which justifies and sanctions the subjective character of that knowledge.

That memory record as a source and also testimony of the knowledge of the past is a very specific material undergoing multiple interpretations. It is true especially about the family histories, which include quoted from the live memory stories or refer to the stories written down in a given moment.

Family stories are then, a narrative construction in a form of palimpsest, conveying by its multidimensional record a complex character of memory as the source of knowledge of the past in general.

Romantic Anticipations of Family Histories

Family history appeared in the research spectrum of the historians together with the investigations started by, mentioned in the introduction, representatives of New History. It should be stressed, however, that the pioneers of the new treatment of an individual were the historians of romantic times, therefore, in search of the origin of that phenomenon, one cannot omit the historiographic context in which it appeared for the first time.

¹¹ M. Hirsch, *Pokolenie postpamięci*, transl. M. Borowski, M. Sugiera, „Didaskalia. Gazeta teatralna”, 2011, no. 10, pp. 28-36.

The 19th century brought, for the first time, a change in the approach to history heroes, as a result of the abrupt democratization of political life and social and moral changes which could hardly be ignored by historians. Paradoxically, the interest in a private dimension of history began from the change of the historical perspective, as a result of civilization changes and their influence on social life. The change of the perspective allowed to notice other, apart from political, aspects of history and other participants of the events. Naturally, it was a gradual change and moreover, frequently held back by historians themselves, who hardly accepted the need of reference to non-standard sources of information and the necessity of creation of non-standard methods of description of reality in a form of an overall picture of the past. When at the beginning of the 19th century, competition in a form of historical novel appeared on the reader's market, it was at the same time a great positive impulse for historians, who in longer perspective in a meaningful way contributed to development of historiography. That impulse had a form of narrative techniques worked out in the first part of the 19th century, on the basis of developing then realistic novel. A group of historians was formed, who making use of the inspiration coming from literature, worked out a new narrative model of describing the past. Those were in the first place French historians of the Romantic era: Augustin Thierry, Paul de Barante, Jean-Charles Sismondi and Jules Michelet.

One of the most distinct indications, in which individual subjectivity was manifested was the definition of the awareness of one's own past and additionally presentation of the relation between one's own past and the past of the community one belongs to. The awareness of historical roots of one's own identity through interlinking it with both great history thread and family history, appeared and retained in European culture already in the 19th century. That awareness was a manifestation of, being under the influence of Romanticism, historical culture of the writers, and not only the willingness to commemorate oneself and one's own times.

Evidence of that type can be found both at the beginning and at the end of a long 19th century, and these are the memories of Róża Raczyńska, referring to the half of the 19th century and the book by Maria Czapska, relating the events from the turn of the twentieth century, remembered by the author. In both cases, the main assumption of the authors, writing after years their memories was the search of their own subjectivity and individuality with ever present awareness of shaping cultural influence, exerted by the past of multi-generation and multicultural (as in case of Maria Czapska) families, to which they belonged.

The memories of Róża of Potocki Raczyńska reach into the 19th century, to the times of events of 1848 in her home city, Kraków, and only when we

study her biography in detail, the post-memory character of those preserved in her memory pictures becomes clear. They are connected with her parents : Adam Potocki and Katarzyna of Braniewski and the grandfather, Artur Potocki. Indelible over many years in the memory of Potocki family, dramatic recall of unrest in Kraków, under the influence of the Spring of Nations, Austrian guns on the Wawel Hill aimed at the Market and the order of general Chłopiński given from the window of Róża's family house- the palace 'Pod Baranami', are the constantly recalled memories of the participants of those events, which after years became a part of personal memories of Róża Raczyńska. Only the traumatic recollection of the father's arrest and his imprisonment in the Kraków Castle, and next being put in prison in Vienna and taken to court threatening him with death sentence—were her own memories and a long-lasting picture, which accompanied her from the earliest days. Róża's diary written in the eighty first year of her life was, as the author stated herself, "looking for pictures which remained in memory."¹² To the most permanent belonged, kept in bright colours, picture of the family house in Krzeszowice and of everyday life filled with numerous duties, a modern children home upbringing in the English style, and first of all the picture of the nearest and their influence—strongly shaping Raczyńska's personality. Róża mentions the feeling of obligation and debt to the country, which after the partitions were shared by her consecutive ancestors from Potocki and Braniewski families, blamed by common national memory for the fall of the country. That memory was still a burden for her farther, engaged in the political life in Galicia. From her childhood and youth Róża Raczyńska gained based on her personal experience responsibility for the nearest and also people under her care. Her words depict the heroic and rebellious character characteristic of contemporary romantic scale of feelings, contradictory and at the same time in agreement with the spirit of upbringing, in which she was raised, in addition showing the dynamic developments of the conditions of the period in which she lived:

For many years I lived in a constant struggle with the death taking my beloved away, and I fought so fiercely that my soul hardened, and instead of humility and submission to God's will, which was my parent's strength, not once did I feel rebellion and futility of despondency.¹³

Róża's diary was interwoven with Raczyński family chronicle, while Maria Czapska's family history goes beyond the frame of a chronicle on account of a wide historical panorama of Europe, in which it is firmly set. Czapska's family history combines the richness of historical content with

¹² R. Raczyńska, *Pamiętnik Róży*, p. 22.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

unusual, hybrid blend of a diary, family chronicle and a historical book. Its narrative plot was carefully woven from the memories, which were written down, but also those related over and over by various people. Moreover, it consists of family documents partly quoted and constantly analysed on the pages of the chronicle, and at the same time it does not stop being a live certificate of the times, people and places.

Against the background of the great European history Czapska included the history of three families, from which her ancestors originated.. Those were the families of: Meyendorff (her mother's paternal family) coming from Magdeburgh, and settled in Livonia—its members were in service of the Swedish kings and later Russian tzars; Thun family (her mother's maternal family) coming from Tyrol, settled on the grounds of Czech, in service of Habsburgs; finally Czapski (her father's paternal family) coming from Royal Prussia and settled in Belorussia, of merit for the Republic of Poland and faithful to the Polish kings.

Maria Czapska's life illustrated the complex relationships and relations in the family: she was born in the Czech property of Thuns on Elbe and spent her childhood at the side of her Polish father, Austrian mother, grandmother from Livonia and the servants consisting of Bialorussian peasants. Thanks to family history, which she described perfectly at the end of her life—we understand better the cosmopolitan character of the cultural surrounding in which she was brought up. It was not the Russian culture, but partly Polish, partly German, but first and the foremost French, because of the prevailing character of French, which was the language of communication for multinational Maria's family used for mutual contacts. Thanks to this book there was there was created a very vivid portrait of multicultural family, engaged for a few centuries in European history. There is a clearly marked dimension of the private history, because besides historical personalities of statesmen, being the members of the family, there appeared pictures of everyday family life, mainly with an active participation of women, for which one common trait was care for careful education of children. Strong family bonds and common the passion for travel caused that a family, in spite of considerable distance, remained in constant direct contact. Czapska's family chronicle is also the record of the mental transformation, which took place with the participation of the young generation of Czapski family. The tradition of this multicultural family surely contributed to forming their feeling of belonging and their ideological choices.

Different, strictly connected with the region of Great Poland, character has a family chronicle written by Dezydery Chłapowski, being the result of years of search and studies over the history of Chłapowski family, settled

in Great Poland and bound up with it for a few generations.¹⁴ The author of the chronicle, a grandson and namesake of the known from the history of the 19th century struggle for independence, general Dezydery Chłapowski, the precursor of various forms of organic work in great Poland. The figure of the general takes the central position in the chronicle, but is perceived from a different, family perspective—through the eyes of his family. Chłapowski revives in everyday work and household activities, appears thanks to the memories of his sons, daughters and grandchildren, becomes the main character of family anecdotes. The presentation of the scenes from the family life over the period of 200 years, frequently dramatic and tragic, was possible thanks to the materials gathered by the author. As he stresses in the introduction, he was inspired mainly by the letters, diaries and photographs, which were saved from the ravages of the WWII. It is them that contribute to the climate of the book, which despite the private character of historical sources can be treated a responsible work about the history of the landowning family in great Poland in the 19th and 20th century.

A special role of the place of memory is played in that chronicle by family seats, castles, palaces, houses, around which the story about individual branches of the family concentrates. In case of Chłapowski family, most attention is devoted to two places: Turwia—connected with general Dezydery Chłapowski and the author's family seat Kopaszew. The palace and park in Kopaszew evoke the memory of a tragic story of general's daughter—Zofia, Jan Koźmiński's wife, and the fire in the palace, in turn, connected with remembered by Mieczysław Chłapowski—the father of the author of the family chronicle—dramatic experience from the early childhood. Mieczysław, similar to previously general Dezydery Chłapowski, remained in the memory of many people as a perfect farmer, initiator of many economical, social and charity procedures, undertaken together with his wife, Wanda of Potworowski.

The family chronicle of Chłapowski family is also a specific cultural journey, which in search of traces of memories was made by its author, to the places connected with his family history: he visited all the family seats, saw the houses, parks, churches and cemeteries. It was a journey in search, not so much, of family historical documents, as rather places of memory connected with the family history. It was recorded on photographs, which refer, in turn, to the pictures coming from earlier days, supplementing the record of the authors memory.

¹⁴D. Chłapowski, *Chłapowscy. Kronika rodzinna*, completed and prepared for printing by K. Chłapowski, Warszawa 1998, pp. 11-12.

Family Histories versus Types of memory—Instead of the Conclusion

The main problem, which arises during the text analysis is the necessity of distinction of the types of arriving in the family histories memories. Besides the private memory of the authors of the memories, being the written accounts of their remembered experiences there is also a memory being their knowledge of the past, that is to say, their historical awareness. On the one hand the supra individual dimension of the memory allowed within the modernistic paradigm for reconstruction of collective memory and building the global picture of culture, on the other hand individual memory is in the contemporary research treated as the evidence of isolated and subjective perception of the world. Memory as the subject of the past is also strictly related with the identity of the subject for which (through cumulating of experience) it is the source of knowledge about itself. Analysed family stories were written down with the great input of the subjective memories of the authors of the narration, but are not limited to these, touching upon the sphere of communicative memory, including live memory passed on within a few generations This case is best presented in the family history by Maria Czapska, Edward Raczyński, and Dezydery Chłapowski.

According to Aries, writing down the works devoted to family history makes us rethink our awareness of the past, our own past, which is hidden in the depth of recollections or was noted in the documents of our ancestors.

The sense of identity, connected with the knowledge of one's own historical roots was in the 19th century still limited almost exclusively to political a social elites.

From the point of view of historical sources the basic material for the history of those families were the documents certifying the titles, rights and charters supplemented with oral report of a family history. In case of great families, the ones kept in public memory, were mainly those who performed high civil functions, made the name for themselves by taking part historical events, or carried out a mission. However, in private circles, very seldom written versions of the events were in practice, as they were more likely to be repeated orally which led to continuous modifications of the story. The conscious work on the history of one's own family started with the fashion for memoirs, reports, memories and diaries. They were written in great numbers in the 17th century by educated in Jesuit colleges representatives of nobility and what in a meaningful way widened the circle of people and the scale and variety of events described in the contemporary memoir writing narration.

The official historiography till the end of the 18th century was interested mainly in political history, limiting itself to the history of monarchs, outstanding leaders, and statesmen. Historiography maintained then and retained memory of the cultural and public dimension, whereas the reminiscent literature, mostly not published, managed to preserve till the 19th century the memory of individual private history dimension, family one included. The signal of changes, which in the first half of the 19th century started to take place, in the history of historiography, especially in its narrative trend, were the works of Karol Szajnocha.

Thanks to his historical narrations, the readers got acquainted with the multidimensional picture of everyday life, filled with both complicated family relations, as well as, connections among the individual families. Szajnocha interwove private history of noble families with the grand history of the Polish Republic. What was new, was the method he used to build these relations, creating psychological characteristics of historical figures, based on the description of their deeds. Those descriptions allowed to show the sources of motivation, which guided those figures in action, and what follows, they served understanding the decisions made.

The Lwow historian was interested in everyday household activity and responsibilities of different family members, customs and rituals being an integral part of life and upbringing style, spiritual needs, appreciated values and ideals. The history presenting Jan Sobieski III and his road to power, described in a short story 'M ściciel' (Avenger), was based on an extremely popular, taken from the contemporary novel motif of revenge, which held together, on imitation of a novel the traditional political history, but—what is more important widened the frame of historical narration in the direction of a family chronicle. Szajnocha—in search of grounds for heroic deeds, undertaken by historical figures, was trying to show them against the complex political situation of Polish south-east regions in the 17th century, so he presented the history of three related with one another borderland families from the new, so to say, anthropological perspective. It referred with its title to a very interesting historiosophical conception and at the same time referred to composition axis of that family chronicle. It's a rare example of historiographic work, whose author—a professional historian, having at his disposal, discovered in the archive, non-standard then source material of the private family history (letters, memories, a will, a diary written in the Caesarian style) and indirect historical documents (other memoirs of the era, reports from journeys)—constructed a story in a form of a family chronicle and not a classical biography of a given person (as an example, the author of written on the family order biography of Dezydery Chłapowski) was Walerian Kalinka. With his elaborate narrative method Szajnocha consciously builds

the broadened historically identity of Jan Sobieski, not only by placing him in the developed in the shape of a genealogical tree family history but also by 'fictionalized' presentation of entanglement of Sobieski himself in the history of the doom hanging over the family and the family mission of the fight for the country handed down by hetman Stefan Żółkiewski to the next generations.