

*Bronisław
Piłsudski*

Dziennik
1882–1885

Opracowanie Jolanta Żyndul



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Od Wydawcy

Z przyjemnością oddajemy w Państwa ręce wyjątkowej wartości młodzieńczy dziennik Bronisława Piłsudskiego z lat 1882–1885. To nieznane dotychczas szerszej grupie czytelników polskie źródło literackie przechowywane jest w Bibliotece Wróblewskich Litewskiej Akademii Nauk w Wilnie. Autorką opracowania i edycji dziennika, wydanego staraniem Instytutu POLONIKA, jest dr hab. Jolanta Żyndul.

Zapiski Bronisława Piłsudskiego to lektura o młodzieńczych zmaganiach autora z samym sobą i ze swoim dziennikiem. Podążając za piszącym, niemal dzień w dzień, jesteśmy świadkami kształtowania się dorastającego chłopca, uczestnikami fascynującej podróży rozwojowej – od niepogłębionej świadomości młodości do dojrzałości, tak duchowej, jak i światopoglądowej. Oczami gimnazjalisty widzimy obraz sytuacji politycznej i społecznej wraz z całym jego przygnębiającym klimatem. To osobisty konglomerat spisanych doświadczeń, poruszający kwestie przyjaźni i miłości, relacji z bratem Józefem (Ziukiem), stosunku do Żydów czy Litwinów. Diariusz nie przemilcza również problematyki wyznaniowej, ujawniając podejście Bronisława i Józefa Piłsudskich do religii katolickiej oraz księży w świetle postępowych poglądów ich matki i prześladowań wobec Kościoła katolickiego.

Bronisław Piłsudski w sposób niezwykle barwny i szczegółowy opisuje dzień powszedni ówczesnych wilnian. Otwiera się tu przed nami bardzo interesujący fragment społecznej historii polskiego życia w tym mieście. Bezcenny jest również ujawniony w dzienniku obraz styku kultur różnych narodowości – Polaków, Rosjan, Żydów oraz Litwinów i Tatarów. Gimnazjum wileńskie w ówczesnych realiach było zarazem szkołą życia pełną narodowościowych antagonizmów.

Jolanta Żyndul dołożyła wszelkich starań, by lektura dziennika była dla Państwa bardziej zrozumiała. Autorka opracowania i edycji krytycznej czytelnie zaprezentowała genealogię rodziny Piłsudskich i rodzin spokrewnionych występujących w tekście, co zdecydowanie ułatwia zrozumienie historii często niejasnych koligacji rodzinnych. Badaczka celowo pozostawiła Państwu możliwość obcowania z autentycznym językiem – bez zbędnego uwspółcześniania pisowni czy korygowania młodzieńczych błędów językowych. To wielki atut tej książki. Smakowanie dawnej północnokresowej polszczyzny sprawia samą przyjemność.

Wierzę, że publikacja ta przypadnie do gustu nie tylko badaczom zajmującym się historią rodziny Marszałka, ale również pasjonatom historii, historykom literatury, antropologom, socjologom, politologom i wszystkim, którym bliskie są dzieje Wileńszczyzny. Sumienność Autorki opracowania zaowocowała walorem topograficznym, co może być dla miłośników Wilna zachętą do odwiedzenia adresów, pod którymi niegdyś mieszkali Piłsudscy. Opublikowanie tego dziennika z pewnością będzie ważnym wydarzeniem, a samo doświadczenie lektury – pasjonującym odkrywaniem, po blisko 140 latach, zawiłych dziejów powstania i losów „zwykłej i niezwykłej zarazem” rodziny Piłsudskich.

From the publisher

It gives me great pleasure to present an extremely valuable diary written by Bronisław Piłsudski in his youth, between 1882 and 1885. This literary resource, so far unknown to the wider audience, is housed at the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius. The present edition was prepared by Dr Jolanta Żyndul and published by the POLONIKA Institute.

Bronisław Piłsudski's diaries are a record of the author's youthful struggle with himself and with his diary. As we follow the writer day-to-day we witness the process of growing up, and we become participants in a fascinating intellectual and spiritual journey from youthful inexperience to maturity. Through the eyes of a secondary school student we see a picture of the current political and social situation with all its depressing details, such as the memories of reprisals following the suppression of the January Uprising. It is a personal assemblage of recorded experiences, touching on the issues of friendship and love, relations with his brother Józef (Ziuk), attitude towards Jews or Lithuanians. The diary also includes considerations on religious issues, revealing the attitude of Bronisław and Józef Piłsudski towards the Catholic religion and priests in the light of their mother's progressive views and persecution of the Catholic Church. In a very vivid and detailed way Bronisław Piłsudski describes the ordinary life of Vilnius citizens in those days, and presents a very interesting fragment of the social history of Polish life in this city. The diary also gives a priceless picture of the contact between different cultures and nationalities – Poles, Russians, Jews, Lithuanians and Tartars. The Vilnius Gimnazjum in those days was not only an educational institution, but also a school of life, full of resentment, distance and antagonisms on the grounds of nationality.

Jolanta Żyndul did her best to make the diaries as understandable for the reader as possible. She very clearly presented the genealogy of the sizable Piłsudski family and of the related families mentioned in the text, which definitely makes it easier to understand the often unclear family connections. Jolanta Żyndul deliberately gave the reader a chance to experience the authentic language of the original, without excessive modernisation of spelling or correction of youthful language mistakes. In my opinion this is a great advantage of this book. Savouring the former Northern Kresy dialect is sheer pleasure.

I believe that this publication will appeal not only to scholars studying the history of Józef Piłsudski's family, but also to history enthusiasts, literary historians, anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists and all those who are interested in the history of the Vilnius region. Thanks to the assiduousness of the author of this edition the text now has an added topographical value, which may encourage admirers of Vilnius to visit the houses where the Piłsudskis used to live. The publication of this diary will certainly be a major breakthrough, and the very experience of reading it will be an exciting adventure of discovering, after nearly 140 years, the intricate history of Vilnius in the wake of the January Uprising and the fate of the Piłsudski family, which was "ordinary and extraordinary at the same time".

Wstęp

BRONISŁAW PIOTR PIŁSUDSKI – urodzony 2 listopada 1866 r. w Zułowie, starszy brat Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego, zesłaniec syberyjski, pionier światowej etnografii, patriota marzący o wolnej Polsce. Jako kilkunastoletni uczeń gimnazjum prowadził dziennik, w którym notował codzienność rosyjskiej szkoły i licznej rodziny, dojrzewanie fizyczne i młodzieńcze wybory polityczne. W 1887 r. za udział w spisku na życie cara Aleksandra III został skazany na 15 lat zesłania na Sachalin, gdzie przez wiele lat zbierał i publikował materiały na temat kultury autochtonicznych ludów Ajnów, Oroków i Niwchów (wtedy nazywanych Gilakami) oraz działał na rzecz poprawy ich materialnego i społecznego położenia. Z Dalekiego Wschodu wrócił w 1906 r. przez Japonię i Stany Zjednoczone i osiedlił się w Galicji. Przywiózł ze sobą ogromne zbiory etnograficzne, m.in. woskowe wałki z zapisem mowy Ajnów, mając nadzieję, że będzie mógł dalej nad nimi pracować. Brak wyższego wykształcenia zamknął mu jednak drogę do polskich instytucji naukowych w Galicji. Dopiero zaangażowanie w badania nad kulturą górali Podtatrza dało mu pewną stabilizację. W 1911 r. stanął na czele Sekcji Ludoznawczej Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego. Po wybuchu I wojny światowej wyjechał do Szwajcarii. Najpierw w Rapperswilu, a potem w Lozanie współpracował z niepodległościowymi środowiskami polskimi, m.in. przygotowując hasła do encyklopedii o Polsce. W 1917 r. przeniósł się do Paryża jako pracownik Komitetu Narodowego Polskiego, na którego czele stali Roman Dmowski i Ignacy Jan Paderewski. Program Komitetu – odbudowa Polski przy wsparciu państw ententy, Francję, Anglię – był mu chyba bliższy niż polityczne i wojskowe meandry działalności jego młodszego brata. Kiedy Bronisław Piłsudski tonął 17 maja 1918 r. w nurtach Sekwany, jego życiowe cele – niepodległość



Polski i upowszechnienie badań nad kulturą Ajnów – nie zostały jeszcze osiągnięte. Przykładając do jego biografii miarę życiowego sukcesu, można uznać, że umierał niespełniony. Tego tragicznego obrazu dopełnia nieszczęśliwe życie osobiste – rozstanie z ajnuską żoną Chuhsammą i porzucenie dzieci, kiedy uciekał z Rosji, oraz przedwczesna śmierć Marii Żarnowskiej, z którą związał się po powrocie z zesłania.

Co jest więc takiego fascynującego w postaci Bronisława Piłsudskiego, że w ciągu ostatnich kilku lat rozgościł się na dobre w zbiorowej pamięci Polaków, przyciągnął uwagę pisarzy, dziennikarzy i zwykłych ludzi?

W tym czasie w prasie i serwisach internetowych ukazały się setki artykułów dotyczących Bronisława Piłsudskiego i dwie powieści biograficzne¹. Przywróceniu pamięci o Bronisławie poświęciła się prawnuczka jego młodszego brata Józefa, antropolożka Danuta Onyszkiewicz, która na początku 2019 r. anonsowała nawet, że wybiera się w podróż „Śladami Bronka”. W maju 2018 r. stanął jego pomnik przed Muzeum Miejskim w Żorach. Kilka miesięcy później, w październiku, w Krakowie na fasadzie kamienicy przy ulicy Topolowej 18, gdzie mieszkał w latach 1906–1910, odsłonięto upamiętniającą go tablicę, a w Muzeum Sztuki i Techniki Japońskiej Manggha została otwarta imponująca wystawa „Ajnowie, górale i Bronisław Piłsudski”². Te wydarzenia w oczywisty sposób związane były z setną rocznicą śmierci Bronisława Piłsudskiego, która przypadała 17 maja 2018 r.

W Polsce wcześniej jego postać oraz syberyjska i tatrzańska działalność znane były raczej wąskiemu gronu specjalistów, etnologów, etnografów, antropologów i językoznawców, zainteresowanych kulturą Ajnów i innych ludów Dalekiego Wschodu oraz kulturą góralską. Badania nad jego biografią i etnograficzną spuścizną prowadzili japonista i językoznawca Alfred F. Majewicz³ oraz etnolog Antoni Kuczyński, zajmujący się Polakami na Syberii⁴. Wpisywały się one

1

Bronisław Piłsudski,
Sachalin

1 Jerzy Chociłowski, *Bronisława Piłsudskiego pojedynek z losem*, Warszawa 2018; Paweł Goźliński, *Akan. Powieść o Bronisławie Piłsudskim*, Warszawa 2019.

2 *Ajnowie, górale i Bronisław Piłsudski*, red. Anna Król, Kraków 2018.

3 Alfred F. Majewicz opublikował po angielsku cztery tomy dzieł zebranych Bronisława Piłsudskiego: *The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski*, Vol. 1–4, Berlin–New York 1998–2012.

4 Spośród wielu pozycji poświęconych Bronisławowi Piłsudskiemu autorstwa Antoniego Kuczyńskiego warto

wspomnieć: *Kochany Ojcie! Raz jeszcze pozwolono mi napisać do Ciebie... Listy Bronisława Piłsudskiego*, w: *Zesłaniec – etnograf – polityk. Bronisław Piłsudski*, red. idem, Wrocław 2000, s. 89–101; „Do zobaczenia w XX wieku”. *Początek drogi Bronisława Piłsudskiego ku nauce i recepcja dorobku*, w: *Bronisław Piłsudski (1866–1918). Człowiek – uczonek – patriota*, red. Anna Liscar, Magdalena Sarkowicz, Zakopane 2003, s. 45–75; *Bronisław Piłsudski (1866–1918) zesłaniec i badacz kultury ludów Dalekiego Wschodu*, „Niepodległość i Pamięć” 2015, nr 2, s. 7–93; *Kochany Wujaszku. Listy Bronisława Piłsudskiego do Stanisława Witkiewicza*, opr. idem, Zakopane 2016.



w ogólnoświatowe zainteresowanie dziedzictwem Bronisława Piłsudskiego. Przede wszystkim w Japonii – gdzie obecnie mieszkają Ajnowie oraz potomkowie Bronisława i Chuhsammy, córki ajnuskiego wodza – jest on uznawany za bohatera, który ocalił od zapomnienia kulturę zagrożonego wymarciem ludu. Na wyspie Hokkaidō, gdzie Piłsudski w 1903 r. prowadził wspólnie z Wacławem Sieroszewskim badania nad kulturą Ajnów, w miejscowości Shiraoi przed tamtejszym muzeum Ajnów postawiono jego pomnik. Również w Rosji, na Sachalinie, gdzie Bronisław spędził zesłanie, kultywowana jest pamięć o jego etnograficznych badaniach i społecznej działalności na rzecz Ajnów. W Jużnosachalińsku działa Instytut Dziedzictwa Bronisława Piłsudskiego, który w swoich rocznikach publikuje materiały jemu poświęcone⁵. Nie bez powodu więc Sapporo na wyspie Hokkaidō, Jużnosachalińsk i Kraków wspólnie z Zakopanem były miejscami, gdzie w latach 1985–1999 odbyły się trzy międzynarodowe konferencje poświęcone spuściźnie Piłsudskiego⁶. Ich kontynuacją była konferencja w październiku 2018 r. w Krakowie i Żorach.

Ostatnio daje się także zauważyć wzrost zainteresowania postacią Bronisława Piłsudskiego na Litwie. Wspominane są jego pełne przychylności dla litewskich dążeń niepodległościowych słowa z opracowania o krzyżach litewskich z 1916 r.⁷ Jednak tam, gdzie wciąż jest żywa pamięć o politycznych i wojskowych działaniach Józefa Piłsudskiego na rzecz przynależności Wileńszczyzny do państwa polskiego, stosunek do Bronisława przede wszystkim kształtuje polityka. Kiedy w kwietniu 2017 r. został odsłonięty pomnik poświęcony Bronisławowi oraz Józefowi Piłsudskim w Zułowie, miejscu ich urodzenia i dzieciństwa, inicjator i twórca tego pomnika Vytautas Musteikis musiał wyjaśnić, że jego „celem nie jest politykowanie, lecz wyłącznie pokazanie tego, jak różnymi drogami chodzą bliscy z tej samej rodziny”⁸.

Jaka jest więc tajemnica Bronisława Piłsudskiego? W końcu zesłańców i badaczy obcych kultur mamy dużo więcej, a Józef Piłsudski miał kilku braci o nietuzinkowych życiorysach. Tragizm życia, pośmiertny triumf, a może kontrast,

5 W tym periodyku opublikowano m.in. fragmenty tzw. dziennika sachalińskiego Bronisława Piłsudskiego z początku lat dziewięćdziesiątych XIX w. Notował tam informacje na temat obserwacji meteorologicznych.

6 Antoni Kuczyński, *Trzecia międzynarodowa konferencja poświęcona Bronisławowi Piłsudskiemu i jego dziedzictwu na ukowemu*, „Niepodległość i Pamięć” 2001, nr 17, s. 183–194.

7 Bronisław Piłsudski, *Les croix lithuaniennes*, „Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde. Archives suisses des traditions populaire” 1916, s. 257–258; tłum. pol.: *Krzyże litewskie*, Kraków 1922, s. 21.

8 <https://zw.lt/wilno-wilenszczyzna/w-zulowie-stanal-pierwszy-na-litwie-pomnik-braci-pilsudskich/>, dostęp: 25 VI 2020 r.

który rysuje porównanie biografii i charakterów Bronisława i Józefa? Bardziej miękki, wycofany, romantyczny prawie, a jednak skupiony na ludziach uciśnionych Bronisław *vis-à-vis* pewniejszego siebie i zmierzającego do wielkich celów, ale z czasem coraz bardziej zadufanego w sobie Józefa. Zapewne w każdej z tych odpowiedzi jest jakaś część prawdy.

Oddając w ręce czytelników naukową edycję młodzieńczego dziennika Bronisława Piłsudskiego, mam nadzieję, że zainteresowanym pomoże lepiej zrozumieć jego postać, a dotychczas nieznaną go – ukaże świat dojrzewającego chłopca, który musiał się mierzyć z dewastującymi doświadczeniami, takimi jak śmierć matki czy finansowa ruina rodziny. Wszystko to na tle codziennego życia Wilna sprzed 140 lat.

Editor's Note

BRONISŁAW PIŁSUDSKI, born on 2 November 1866 in Zułów, the elder brother of Marshal Józef Piłsudski, was a Siberian exile, a pioneer of world ethnography and a patriot dreaming about independent Poland. As a teenager, while he was in secondary school, he kept a journal in which he recorded his everyday life in a Russian school and in a large family, his physical maturation and his political choices. In 1887 he was arrested and tried for being involved in a plot to assassinate Tsar Alexander III, as a result of which he was sentenced to 15 years of exile on the Sakhalin Island. During his sentence he spent years collecting and publishing materials on the culture of indigenous peoples, Ainu, Oroch and Nivkh (called Gilyak at the time), and working towards improving their economic and social situation. He came back in 1906, having travelled through Japan and the United States, and settled in Galicia. He brought with him a huge ethnographic collection, including wax rolls with recordings of Ainu language, in the hope that he would be able to continue working on them. However, he did not have a university degree, so he could not join any of the Polish scientific institutions in Galicia. His situation improved when he got involved in research on the culture of the highlanders of the Podhale region; in 1911 he became the head of the Folk Studies Section of the Polish Tatra Society. Following the outbreak of World War I he moved to Switzerland and then to Paris. He drowned in the Seine on 17 May 1918.

Bronisław Piłsudski's diary-writing episode began when he was 13, with a small, quite exquisite leather-bound notebook, where he made notes in the years 1880–1882. That was where he wrote down his school grades, did his accounts and recorded visits of his family and friends. This form must have turned out

insufficient, because subsequently he bought a thick, hard-covered notebook with ruled pages and on 24 January 1882 he started to keep a proper journal.

For nearly four years, until the autumn of 1885, writing the diary was one of his main activities. He filled three thick notebooks. He made regular entries from 24 January to 24 March 1882, and then from 6 February 1883 to 22 January 1884. He would sometimes leave blank pages for the missing entries, but he did not always come back to them and fill them in. Afterwards he wrote less regularly. In the rest of 1884 he made only 15 entries, in 1885 – 34. The last dated entry was made on 28 September 1885. The entire journal contains nearly 300 daily entries, usually of one to two pages.

While discussing the time when the diaries were kept it is worth considering the question of the calendar. Contrary to what Józef Piłsudski's biographers write, the dates in Bronisław's diary are not given according to the Gregorian calendar, but rather to the Julian calendar. It cannot have been otherwise, because the Julian calendar was introduced in Lithuania at the beginning of the 19th century and was used until November 1916.

Young Bronisław (whom his family and friends called Broniś) wrote his diary in Vilnius, where the Piłsudski family lived from the end of 1875 or the beginning of 1876. Some entries were made in Zułów, the family estate near Podbrodzie, where he would spend his holidays. And several final entries, after 19 August 1885, were made in St. Petersburg, where Bronisław had moved to continue his education in the eighth grade.

As a result of Russian repressions after the January Uprising, in the early 1880s Vilnius was a city deprived of Polish intellectual and cultural life and subjected to intense Russification. Bronisław spent his time primarily within the Polish community, but at the time the population of Vilnius was a mixture of nationalities and religions. In 1880 it had almost 90 thousand inhabitants; in terms of religious faith, half of the population were Jewish, 37% were Catholic, 9.5% were Russian Orthodox. The census in 1897 showed that by that time the population of Vilnius had already grown to 155,000 inhabitants (excluding the military); in terms of nationality, Jews constituted 40% of the city's population, Poles 30.9%, Russians 20.1%, Belarusians 4.2% and Lithuanians 2.1%.

That was the Vilnius where Bronisław Piłsudski lived and started writing his diary. He did not write specifically about the Russification policy of the authorities or the national structure of Vilnius, but individual minor events described in the diary depicted the experience of Russian rule and the separation

between the Polish, Russian and Jewish communities. The Piłsudskis did not receive Russians at home; for Bronisław the main area of the Polish-Russian confrontation was the school. He and his younger brother Józef, called Ziuk, both attended the elite Vilnius Gymnasium № 1, where the obligatory language of tuition was Russian. After the January Uprising the students were forbidden to speak Polish even during the breaks. They were constantly supervised not only by teachers and tutors, but also by janitors, who eavesdropped on their conversations in the cloakrooms. These tensions were also transferred to relations between students. The Russian students, who were children of the Russian military, officials and landowners, held the same views as their parents, and the Polish students made sure to stay away from anything Russian.

When Bronisław and Ziuk were in the fifth grade, i.e. in the school year 1882/1883, their class consisted of 47 students. According to the list of students which was preserved, Poles made up the majority, while Jews and Russians – 20% each. It is worth mentioning here that the Piłsudski brothers were in class together with several people who later made Polish, Jewish and Russian history: Aleksandr Oznobishin, brother of a member of the Fourth Duma Aleksey, Leo Jogiches – one of the leaders of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, partner of Rosa Luxemburg, or Aleksander Achmatowicz, leader of the Tatars in the Second Polish Republic.

Bronisław Piłsudski made no reference to Leo Jogiches in his diary, but mentioned other Jewish students, children of the assimilated Russian-speaking Jewish bourgeoisie. The brothers did not make closer acquaintances, nor did they sit with them at the same desks. But sometimes student solidarity prevailed over the divisions, e.g. when Ziuk and two Jewish students exchanged their copybooks to get a better grade. During the exams Bronisław was equally interested in the results obtained by Polish and Jewish students, and he carefully noted down who had passed the particular subject and who had failed. One of those who failed the exams after the sixth grade in the summer of 1883 was Bronisław Piłsudski himself. He had to leave the Gymnasium and repeat the sixth grade in a different school. After two years in this school he again had trouble finishing the year and in order to avoid repeating the seventh grade in summer 1885 he moved to the Classical Gymnasium № 5 in St. Petersburg. There, a year later, he passed his final examination (*matura*).

However, the Russian-speaking Jewish community, with whom Bronisław was in contact at school and from whom he distanced himself as much as from

the Russians, was not representative of the Vilnius or, more broadly, Lithuanian Jews. Due to business contacts the traditional Jewish community was familiar to Bronisław's father, about whom he wrote that he "had a liking for Jews". While the relations with Russians were unequivocally bad, the relations with Jews were more ambivalent. The positive attitude of his father, based on the traditional economic cooperation between the Polish nobility and Jews, was questioned by Bronisław as a result of new phenomena, such as the Russification of a part of the Jewish community in Vilnius or the anti-Semitic trends which appeared in the Kingdom of Poland at the beginning of the 1880s. However, when Bronisław got involved in anti-tsarist socialist activity not much later, he cooperated both with Jews and with Russians.

Overshadowed by these primary national tensions, there was also the Polish-Lithuanian conflict. There were not many Lithuanians living in Vilnius itself at the time, but the farther northwards the more intense Lithuanian settlement was, and the more frequently the Lithuanian language, used mainly by peasants, could be heard. Bronisław decided to learn Lithuanian from their servant Antoni, because he wanted to be able to communicate. He was annoyed by the negative comments about Lithuanians and by the acceptance of the Russian slogans that "Lithuanians were Orthodox in the first place". This attempt to reconstruct the formation process of Bronisław's youthful attitude to the national diversity of Lithuania shows how much can be derived from casual, passing remarks hidden among the seemingly trivial descriptions of the commonplace, repetitive activities and events of his family, school and social life. Rarely can we find here direct references to matters discussed in newspapers. It is evident, however, that he was well informed about Polish and international affairs. He regularly read Polish newspapers from Warsaw and St. Petersburg.

What Bronisław called in his last diary entry "facts of almost no consequence", the trivia that depicted "nothing out of the ordinary", has great historical value to the reader of his text almost 140 years later. Firstly, because it presents a piece of social history of the Polish life in Vilnius, and secondly, because it concerns the Piłsudski family, which was both ordinary and unusual at the same time. It was ordinary, because it was one of the many landed gentry families subjected to considerable political and social pressure at the end of the 19th century, and in the sense that it was affected by painful experiences, such as the death of the mother. On the other hand, it was an extraordinary family, as it produced outstanding individuals who made an impact on history, even though in very

different ways: the well-known Józef and Bronisław, but also their younger brothers Jan and Adam.

The diary records everyday situations and shows the repetitiveness and rhythms of life, providing the reader with a comprehensive insight into the life of this large family, comprising the parents, Józef Wincenty Piłsudski and his wife Maria, and their twelve children, as well as their numerous relatives, servants, tenants and close and casual acquaintances. In total about five hundred people are mentioned in the diary, and with most of them Bronisław maintained regular personal contacts.

The parents had a happy marriage, despite the differences between them: the father was a rather reluctant and unsuccessful manager of the family's assets, while the mother was very active despite her deteriorating health. Maria nee Billewicz brought a substantial dowry (Zulów, Suginty, Tenenie and Adamów), which placed the Piłsudski family among the wealthy nobility. Her husband was 11 years older and came from a poorer noble family from Samogitia; he seemed to be very well qualified to manage the estate, as he had graduated from an agricultural college. After the wedding, which took place in April 1863, the young couple settled in Zulów.

The Zulów estate had been quite neglected. Józef Wincenty Piłsudski started to modernize the farms and build a new manor house. Their seven oldest children were born there – Helena (1864), Zofia called Zula (1865), Bronisław (1866), Józef (1867), Adam (1869), Kazimierz (1871) and Maria (1873). Much later Bronisław wrote about his childhood in one of his letters as “full of happiness, cheerfulness, love of the people around, in a family of a good marriage, closer and further relatives, living in the great manor house, servants of old”.

During the first years of managing Zulów, Bronisław's father improved the estate and paid off part of the old debt. However, in July 1875 there was a fire which destroyed most of the farm buildings and the old and new manor houses. The family never managed to recover from this misfortune. At the end of 1875 the Piłsudskis moved to Vilnius, where they lived in rented apartments, constantly moving house. There, Maria Piłsudska gave birth to five more children – Jan (1876), Ludwika (1877), Kacper (1879) and twins Teodora and Piotr (1882).

In January 1876 the two eldest sons, Bronisław and Józef (Ziuk), were enrolled in the preparatory class of the Vilnius Gymnasium № 1. In autumn they started the first grade, with Bronisław being the same age as most of the pupils in the class, while Ziuk was younger. Both, like all Polish children who

did not know Russian, had very big problems in the early years of schooling and had to repeat the third grade. Later Ziuk did better than Bronisław.

Day-to-day school life, tests, examinations, grades and homework are, understandably, one of the main topics of the diary. No less space is devoted to family and social life. Every day a multitude of people – colleagues, relatives, family friends, clients – passed through the Piłsudskis' home. Bronisław eagerly learnt how to play the piano. The daily routine included walks in the streets of Vilnius and in the surrounding area, as well as visits to the closest family. At such meetings tea was customary, brewed by a maid in a samovar three times a day and served in glass tumblers, in the Russian way. At larger meetings people played cards, and during Carnival dances were organized.

This stability of Bronisław's life and that of the whole Piłsudski family was disturbed by two factors: the mother's illness and progressive impoverishment. The 1882 entries in the journal depicted a mother who was very active, travelled, made plans, etc. Starting from the spring of 1883, Bronisław more and more often mentioned that his mother was not feeling well. We do not know the date of birth of the twins, Teodora and Piotr, but it seems that they were born in the second half of 1882, so it is possible that the deterioration of Maria's health was connected with her eleventh pregnancy being with twins. It is not clear what she actually suffered from, although in her memoirs the wife of Marshal Józef Piłsudski Aleksandra indicated bone tuberculosis. Throughout the fall of 1883 Bronisław wrote about his mother's severe pains in the leg and the ineffectiveness of the treatments prescribed by local doctors. In November Professor Julian Kosiński from Warsaw performed an operation, but it did not result in any improvement. We do not know the details of the last months of Maria Piłsudska's life and the circumstances of her death on 20 August (1 September) 1884. Bronisław virtually stopped writing his diary in January 1884, and he did not record the death of the twins in April 1884.

The situation of the family was made more difficult by the fact that from the beginning of 1883 the father also complained of a pain in his leg and paid less and less attention to securing the means of support for the family. Although the family still maintained a high standard of living, renting a large apartment, sending the children to expensive schools and employing numerous servants including a butler, Bronisław was increasingly confronted with a shortage of money. As the eldest son he participated in running a hackney carriage company in Vilnius. Jewish money lenders started to come to the house to demand money,

and they were not the only ones that Józef Wincenty Piłsudski had borrowed from. At the beginning of 1886 all his debts were catalogued and it turned out that he owed 103 200 rubles to the Vilnius Land Bank and about 150 thousand rubles to a hundred lenders.

The family's financial problems were well known in Vilnius and became a source of shame for Bronisław. Writing in his diary he repeatedly blamed his father for indecisiveness and ineptitude. It seems, however, that the situation was brought about by several factors. Some of the estates – and certainly Zułów, which was the largest – were already in debt when the Piłsudskis took them over. Undoubtedly, in the first years Józef Wincenty Piłsudski overinvested while modernizing the estate. As a result of the fire of 1875 the investments did not bring profits and there was no way to repay the loans. Later on there was the vicious downward spiral, exacerbated by the costs incurred by the treatment of the mother's illness. Eventually, all the estates were seized and auctioned off in the early 1890s.

However, Bronisław's diary is primarily an account of growing up, physically, mentally and socially, as we follow the life of a boy between the ages of 15 and 19. The interest in girls from his sphere, the first infatuations, with Stefcia Masłowska and later with Zosia Baniewicz, are described in meticulous detail, sometimes even tediously. Other aspects of physical maturation can only be guessed from casual mentions in various entries in the diary. It is equally fascinating to observe the young man's socio-political growth as he confronts the views of his parents' generation and the development of new social and political ideas.

In the spring of 1882 Bronisław, Ziuk and a group of their schoolmates founded a secret self-education organization, much like the many others which were then active in Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. The members would read and collect Polish books, learn about Polish history, especially the January Uprising, and buy subscriptions of Warsaw newspapers from the common fund created out of their modest fees. Over time their activity began to attract more interest and they started to lend the books they had collected to friends and relatives. Originally, the organization was pro-independence and patriotic in nature; however, soon they got acquainted with new social and political trends, first positivist and then socialist. The discussions about the nobility and peasants which his older sister Zula would bring over from Warsaw initially sounded too liberal to Bronisław; only with time did he start to treat socialism as "a great ethical principle of the new life". His colleagues studying at Russian

universities provided him with the works of socialist and positivist writers, such as Alexander Herzen, Dmitry Pisarev, Mikhail Bakunin, but also with illegal Russian pamphlets, news of political trials, and news of the struggle against the government that various organizations had taken up. At the end of 1883 more and more information about socialist discussions and readings started to appear in the journal.

This evolution of Bronisław's worldview had an impact on his attitude to religion and religious practices. He had religious education at school, and the Piłsudski family observed the disciplines of fasting and abstinence and attended Sunday masses, although it is difficult to say that this was done with particular zeal, perhaps with the exception of his eldest sister Helena. Over time Bronisław distanced himself more and more from religion, questioned the value of prayer and stopped going to confession. He only briefly returned to prayer during his mother's illness.

However, while writing the diary it was by no means the author's goal to record everyday life and all that can be now used to reconstruct the life of Poles in Lithuania and of the Piłsudski family itself. Nor was the diary ever intended to be published or shared. Instead, it was a self-work tool, through which the author gained insight into his own thoughts and experiences. Although Bronisław repeatedly expressed his dissatisfaction with what he had written, the journal served the purpose of reflecting on his own development. In his final, undated entry, probably from the autumn of 1885, he could honestly admit that he had spent the previous two years of his life on self improvement.

In a sense, the goal that Bronisław had set himself when writing his journal was achieved: he grew up. And that is why the diary, even though abruptly abandoned, constitutes a meaningful whole: it is a record of the process of building an extremely strong personality and character, thanks to which he later survived the difficult experiences of his twenty-year stay on Sakhalin, where he did not only avoid mental collapse or limiting himself to pure physical survival, but he also provided support to the people he met there and thus contributed a lot to world science.

The fact that Bronisław had kept a diary became important in the late 1920s. The dizzying career of Józef Piłsudski, who only a few months after Bronisław's death became the head of the emerging Polish state and until his death in 1935 was the most important figure on the Polish political scene, made his private life, origin and family subject to widespread interest and meticulous research.

After Marshal Józef Piłsudski's coup in May 1926 the Military Historical Bureau began working on a monograph on his family. Initially there was even an idea to write a separate biography of Bronisław Piłsudski. The head of the Bureau, General Julian Stachiewicz, obtained the three notebooks of Bronisław Piłsudski's diary from Vilnius. Chronologically, he borrowed the second book from the Wróblewski Library, while the first and the third were given to him by Marshal Piłsudski's younger brother, Jan Piłsudski. When the original diary arrived at the Military Historical Bureau in Warsaw, its contents – and above all the fragments concerning the relationship between Ziuk and his aunt Stefka (Stefania Lippmanówna) – caused great sensation in the political circles connected with Piłsudski. Unfortunately, the case of “Aunt Stefka” had serious consequences for the fate of the diary. It was probably Bronisław and Józef Piłsudski's older sister Zofia Kadenacowa who cut out and kept secret the most inconvenient entries before the diaries were handed over to the Bureau. Besides, as it has already been mentioned, Bronisław sometimes left empty spaces in the hope that he would complete the entries later on, but he did not always do it, leaving the pages blank. On top of that, there was an attempt to rid the last notebook of mentions of socialist activity by blurring or erasing words or even tearing off parts of pages, which was probably done by Bronisław himself in St. Petersburg, for fear of being arrested. As a result the typescript prepared by the Bureau contained many gaps marked with points of ellipsis. Later the readers of the typescript, not knowing what the ellipses actually stood for, had the impression that the text sported more holes than Swiss cheese.

The historical monographs planned by Stachiewicz were ultimately never written, but the diary was used by Władysław Pobóg-Malinowski, a historian associated with the Military Historical Bureau, in a biography of Marshal Piłsudski published in 1935. In the meantime the notebooks were returned to Vilnius.

After the outbreak of World War II the typescript was taken away from Warsaw along with the contents of the Military Archives and the Bureau's archives. Through Romania, the Middle East, France and Lisbon it reached the Polish Embassy in Washington in 1943 and was handed over to the Józef Piłsudski Institute of America, established in New York at the time.

The archive group which contains the 403-page typescript bears the description: *Bronisław Piłsudski's diary from 1882–1884, typescript made in 1918*. The date of making the typescript is incorrect. It could not have been made before 1928,

because it includes all the notebooks, and, as we know, they were in different places at that time. The opinion that the copy was made in Warsaw soon after 1928, and not in Vilnius before that date or later, is also supported by the fact that it was evidently made by a person unfamiliar with the Vilnius reality and unrelated to the Piłsudski family, as it contains many errors in the spelling of Vilnius street names and of the names of people mentioned in the diary.

After World War II the typescript of the diary deposited in New York was used by Polish émigré historians. Some even thought that the Vilnius original had been lost. Large fragments of the diary, mainly concerning Ziuk, were quoted in the book “Kronika życia Józefa Piłsudskiego” (*Piłsudski Chronicles*) by one of the founders of the Józef Piłsudski Institute of America, Waław Jędrzejewicz. However, stored overseas, the typescript was unavailable to historians from Poland for several decades. The only Polish researchers who knew the New York typescript were Włodzimierz Suleja, who visited the Piłsudski Institute of America in the early 1990s while collecting materials for Józef Piłsudski’s biography, and Antoni Kuczyński, researcher of Bronisław Piłsudski’s ethnographic legacy, who received a Xerox copy of the typescript from the director of the Institute, Janusz Cisek.

The publication of the scans of the typescript on the Institute’s website in the early 2010s made it accessible to a wider range of readers. It coincided with an increase of interest in Bronisław Piłsudski, his ethnographic research into the culture of the Ainu people and his commitment to improving their situation. The typescript was carefully studied by writers and was used by Jerzy Chociłowski in his biographical narrative “Bronisława Piłsudskiego pojedynek z losem” (*Bronisław Piłsudski’s Duel with Fate*) and by Paweł Goźlinski in his book “Akan. Powieść o Bronisławie Piłsudskim” (*Akan. A Novel about Bronisław Piłsudski*). In fact, the journal then started to be appreciated as an autobiographical, personal source concerning Bronisław Piłsudski rather than Józef.

My own path to Bronisław’s diary, like that of many other historians, led through Józef. In the autumn of 2017 I began research into Józef Piłsudski’s attitude towards Jews, and while looking for historical sources on the basis of which I could describe what in his attitude towards Jews had originated from his family home, I came across the typescript of his brother’s diary on the website of the Piłsudski Institute of America. When I started reading I did not only discover the fragments I was interested in at that time, but page after page I got more and more involved in the complex network of characters, places and events

emerging from the descriptions of the teenage Broniś Piłsudski. I was surprised why such an exciting text had not been published yet, mostly because without the critical apparatus in the form of indexes and footnotes which would identify particular people using this historical source in research was very difficult and time-consuming. On the other hand, I was increasingly concerned about the ellipses which often interrupted the narrative. Not knowing what was behind them: deliberate omissions or inability to read the manuscript, the historian in me wanted to study the autograph.

In the summer of 2018 I obtained the original notebooks at the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius. After browsing through all three notebooks, the notes attached to them, single sheets of paper cut out of the manuscript and various notes and comments, I realized that I was holding in my hands not only everything that was in the typescript, but also fragments not included there. During the first cursory reading of the diary I saw that the typescript contained many mistakes and I understood what was hidden behind the ellipses. It became absolutely clear that the correct reading of the original would explain many ambiguities resulting from how the interwar typescript had been made.

The National Institute of Polish Heritage Abroad POLONIKA expressed interest in publishing the diary from the Vilnius autograph. Our request to make scans of the diary available and to agree to the publication was quickly met by the Director of the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Dr Sigitas Narbutas. The editorial task that faced me was to read the text properly, organize and include the fragments preserved on separate sheets of paper, identify the people mentioned in the journal and determine the extent of editorial interference.

The most difficult task was editing the original. Bronisław Piłsudski did not use the Polish literary language, but the Northern Kresy dialect which was widespread in historical Lithuania. In the diary one can find many linguistic phenomena characteristic of this variety of Polish, which mainly emerged under the influence of the Russian language. While editing the diary I tried to keep the original spelling as faithfully as possible to show not only how people lived, but also how they spoke and wrote in the 19th century Vilnius.