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The Lviv intelligentsia milieu centered around “*Dziennik Mód Paryskich*” (1840–1848)

The primary aim of this article is to attempt to present the role of *Dziennik Mód Paryskich* [Journal of Parisian fashions] in the formation process of the democratic intelligentsia of Lviv – including writers, journalists, politicians, and artists. The creators of the periodical and its main editors (Tomasz Kulczycki, August Bielowski, Jan Dobrzański, Józef and Aleksander Dunin Borkowski) had ambitions to initiate liberal modernization processes in Galicia. The role played by Kulczycki’s biweekly at that time is difficult to overestimate from today’s perspective. We owe the magazine’s program, above all, knowledge about the ideas of reviving the concept of a Slavic Commonwealth. From the Lviv intelligentsia milieu centered around *Dziennik Mód Paryskich* also emerged a generation of outstanding journalists who, after 1848, contributed their writings to many Galician periodicals.

Keywords: *Dziennik Mód Paryskich*, Lviv intelligentsia, Galicia, journalists, editors

The primary aim of this article is to attempt to present the role of “*Dziennik Mód Paryskich*” in the formation process of the democratic intelligentsia of Lviv – including writers, journalists, politicians, and artists. It is worth noting at the very outset that in post-November Uprising Galicia, the dissemination of artistic trends required “obtaining a license for such a publication. It was necessary to find a publisher whose persona would guarantee that the magazine would not have any hidden agendas and that its main aim would be nothing other than the intellectual entertainment of its readers”.¹ As a result of a clever alliance between craftsmanship and literature, a periodical seemingly dedicated to fashions was created, but in reality, it was a magazine of the noble intelligentsia, which soon

¹ W. Zawadzki, *Pamiętnik życia literackiego w Galicji*, Kraków 1961, p. 153.

faced the task of carrying out essential modernization processes in the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria.²

I. Landowners – writers – journalists

The creators of “Dziennik Mód Paryskich” and its main editors – Tomasz Kulczycki, August Bielowski, Jan Dobrzański, Józef, and Aleksander Dunin Borkowski – were Lviv residents by choice, not by birth. A shared experience among them was their background in families that could no longer ensure economic stability for successive generations. Janina Rosnowska notes that the magazine was created by writers “thrown out of the saddle” – conspirators mostly originating from minor nobility who had not remained landowners”.³ The post-partition sale of former monastic properties disrupted the system of employing officials from the impoverished nobility, and a career in the civil service was also inaccessible to them due to language barriers. Consequently, the noble youth had to redefine their place within the post-partition political conditions, leading to a fluid boundary between the nobility, intelligentsia, and bourgeoisie. It became common to see “a cultural phenomenon that can be described as the dual-environment life of part of the landowning class. Often, a landowner holding an office would leave his family on inherited estates or small holdings, which existed thanks to incomes or earnings from hired intellectual labor”.⁴

A model example of such a metamorphosis was the family of Walenty Chłędowski, whose father, Seweryn, made a living through leases. “Effort was necessary to raise three sons and two daughters and provide them with an education – Seweryn believed in reason and learning, which was not yet a common belief in the Carpathian foothills”.⁵ By managing other people’s estates, Seweryn purchased Wietrzno near Dukla from church funds, but his

² Krystyna Poklewska limited the time frame of her monograph (*Galicja romantyczna. 1816–1840*, Warszawa 1976, p. 9) with two significant events, writing: “[...] 1816 is the date of the founding of “Pamiętnik Lwowski” [Lviv Diary], the journal of Galician contemporaries of Mickiewicz; the year 1840 is the year of the establishment of “Dziennik Mód Paryskich” – the organ of romantics adapted to the bourgeois [...] demands of the reading public”. Thus, the year 1840 marks a clear caesura – the old hierarchical ontological order is replaced by bottom-up modernization efforts, which were popularized by the French Revolution.

³ J. Rosnowska, *Twórcy „Dziennika Mód Paryskich”*, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1967, no 6/2, p. 72.

⁴ J. Kita, *Z dworu ziemiańskiego na uniwersytecką katedrę. Przyczynek do genezy inteligencji polskiej*, „Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej” 2018, vol. XIX, p. 102.

⁵ K. Chłędowski, *Pamiętniki. Galicja 1843–1880*, Wrocław 1951, vol. I, p. 2.

attempt to buy another village on the Hungarian side of the Carpathians failed due to the Austrian currency crash in 1811. Deprived of hope for a landowning existence, the young Chłędowskis had to seek other sources of income. They studied books salvaged from the Krosno Jesuits' library, housed in the collection of Antoni Stadnicki in Dukla. Soon, "Adam, followed by Walenty, began to try their hand at writing independent articles. These attempts were read and revised in Dukla and became a significant subject of literary hope".⁶

However, the young Chłędowskis could not publish their texts due to the lack of appropriate periodicals at the time. It was only when Józef Dzierzkowski suggested in a letter to Antoni Stadnicki in 1816 the necessity of "finding an editor with literary inclinations, a certain critical sense, an easy pen, and the mobility needed to gather a circle of collaborators",⁷ that Adam and later Walenty began editing "Pamiętnik Lwowski" [Lviv Diary]. Their work contributed to liberating Galicia from "the shackles of Germanization" because, as Antoni Knot noted, the journal "distinguishes itself not only by careful editing but also by consistently and systematically leading 'the Polonization campaign' among the Galician intelligentsia".⁸

The example of the Chłędowski brothers is particularly important because, as a result of their subsequent publishing ventures – "Pszczola Polska" [The Polish Bee] and "Pamiętnik Galicyjski" [Galician Diary] – Walenty Chłędowski became a recognized promoter of Galician literary life. "Supported by the works of Aleksander Fredro, Jan Nepomucen Kamiński, and several younger writers, he emerged against some usurped literary authorities in the country",⁹ and in "Haliczanin", he facilitated the debut of Józef and Aleksander Dunin Borkowski, as well as August Bielowski. By 1843, young poets regarded him as the undisputed artistic authority of Galician Romanticism.

It is worth noting that in the first decade after the November Uprising, the Galician press market was limited. New trends from the West were not present in the press of that time. The publishing market included a weekly supplement to "Gazeta Lwowska" called "Rozmaitości" [Varieties], which served a specific educational function. It was "a primer for children, a source of national poetry for students overwhelmed by foreign influences, an encyclopedia of knowledge and news for the rural gentry, who might not even encounter a Polish calendar

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

⁷ B. Nadolski, *Lwowskie czasopiśmiennictwo literackie w XIX wieku* [in:] *Księga referatów*, ed. L. Bernacki, issue II, Lwów 1936, p. 453.

⁸ A. Knot, *Dążenia oświatowe młodzieży galicyjskiej w latach 1815–1830*, Wrocław 1959, p. 19.

⁹ A. Bielowski, *Żywot Józefa Dunina Borkowskiego* [in:] *Album na korzyść pogorzalców*, Lwów 1844, p. 337.

every year”.¹⁰ For former insurgents, radicalizing their stance against “heraldic idlers”, this was an insignificant audience, especially since, as they wrote, the only “journalism we have are publications that are supposedly timely”.¹¹ The cliquish culture shaped by Lviv salons privileged the aristocracy that emerged from buying titles and estates. As Antoni Schnür-Peplowski wrote:

The forefront of the contemporary Galician aristocracy consisted of families who were wealthy but not recognized as aristocratic by the country, history, or the hereditary nobility. These parvenus, driven by vanity, eager for splendor at any cost, and adorned with newly acquired titles or fanciful courtly honors, took the old French nobility as their model—blindly obedient, flattering the court, and vying for trivial honors instead of boldly and persistently advocating for the rights of the nation they claimed to lead in the name of tradition. The aristocratic world of Galicia, tightly closed within its own circle, occupied itself in idle life only with boudoir scandals and boundless debauchery, while outwardly adopting, with parochial arrogance, the tones and manners of high society.¹²

The opposing camp, comprising “a select group of Lviv intellectuals”,¹³ gathered weekly at Marshal Tadeusz Wasilewski’s residence, where the idea of a fashion journal was conceived. The very concept was remarkable because “addressing a female audience aimed to broaden the circle of potential readers”.¹⁴ This clearly highlighted theme in the title defined a strategy of camouflage to conceal other content that was impossible to reveal in an era of suppressed freedom of speech”.¹⁵

II. Noble journalistic intelligentsia – Tomasz Kulczycki, August Bielowski, Jan Dobrzański

[...] [Kulczycki] was a man overly conscientious in understanding civic duties and, for a Lviv native, remarkably educated. He had a real weakness for writing and, with the help of younger Lviv writers, he composed and published a brochure on men’s fashion and a work on the local rifle fraternity. In 1840, the prematurely deceased poet Count Józef Borkowski turned to him with a proposal to establish a professional literary journal. Thus, “Dziennik Mód Paryskich”

¹⁰ K. Estreicher, *Dziennikarstwo w Galicji i Krakowie. Do roku 1861*, „Biblioteka Warszawska” 1861, vol. II, issue 4, p. 171.

¹¹ B. [Anonymous], „Słowianin”, *zebrany i wydany przez Stanisława Jaszowskiego, T. I. Lwów; 1837*, „Pamiętnik Naukowy” 1837, vol. 3, issue 8, p. 253.

¹² S. Schnür-Peplowski, *Ludzie z czterdziestego ósmego roku, cz. V. Leszek Dunin Borkowski*, „Kurier Lwowski” 1898, no 273, p. 2.

¹³ W. Zawadzki, *op. cit.*, s. 168.

¹⁴ E. Tłuczek, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich” – próba analizy zawartości (komunikat) [in:] *Kraków–Lwów: książki, czasopisma, biblioteki*, ed. J. Jarowiecki, vol. 6, part 2, Kraków 2003, p. 79.

¹⁵ Por. Z. Sokół, *Z badań nad polską prasą kobiecą w latach 1818–1939*, „Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej” 1983, no 22/3, p. 7.

was created, with its first issue, compiled by the renowned bibliographer Pauli Żegota, devoted exclusively to fashion, while subsequent issues increasingly extended into literature.¹⁶

The biography of Tomasz Kulczycki is also a classic example of the process of creating the Polish intelligentsia by adapting the nobility to the new conditions of life under the model of Viennese despotism. The founder of “*Dziennik Mód Paryskich*” originating from Kulczyce near Sambor, and his minor noble family took pride in Jerzy Kulczycki, a hero from the Battle of Vienna.¹⁷

According to Boniecki’s armorial, three hundred and ten Kulczycki individuals, both with and without surnames, legitimized their nobility in the district and town courts in the year 1772 [...]. Tomasz’s father, Jan, migrated to Lublin Land, where he likely served as an official for the Zamoycki family. It was here that Tomasz was born, in Zwierzyniec, on March 19, 1803.¹⁸

As the son of an official, after completing preparatory school in Lviv, Tomasz became an apprentice in 1818, completed his training in Kraków and Warsaw, and became a master craftsman in 1829. A municipal decree has been preserved, granting him *konsens*, i.e. a permission to establish his enterprise and awarding him the Lviv citizenship. In 1830, at Jan Milikowski’s bookstore, Kulczycki purchased a brochure from Paris on the tailoring system using a centimeter, compass, curve ruler, and square. With this knowledge, he solidified the reputation of his workshop so much that by 1835, he employed fifty apprentices on the ground floor of the building he acquired and managed a materials store sourced directly from manufacturers.¹⁹ As the later publisher of “*Dziennik Mód Paryskich*”, Kulczycki not only paid authors for their submitted articles but also took exceptional care of the magazine’s visual aspect, bringing in a renowned illustrator, Antoni Weidl, from Vienna for this purpose.²⁰

A similar path from the Galician province to Lviv was taken by the first editor, August Bielowski. He studied at the district school in Stanisławów and, after his mother moved to Buczacz in 1818–1823, attended the gymnasium of the Basilian Order. Soon after, in Lviv like all beginning students, he started his education in philosophy and later in law.²¹ During his studies, Bielowski constantly worried about meeting his daily needs. He belonged to the students “whose impoverished

¹⁶ S. Schnür-Pepłowski, *Krawiec redaktor. Notatka dziennikarska* [in:] *Sami o sobie. Książka zbiorowa na rzecz warszawskiej kasy literackiej*, Warszawa 1900, p. 180.

¹⁷ See: Z. Abrahamowicz, *Kulczycki Jerzy Franciszek* [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*. vol. XVI, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1971, p. 128–129.

¹⁸ J. Rosnowska, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁹ See *ibidem*, p. 63–64.

²⁰ See: E. Tłuczek, *Lwów w korespondencji Januarego Poźniaka* [in:] *Kraków – Lwów: książki – czasopisma – biblioteki*, ed. H. Kosętko, vol. 7, Kraków 2005, p. 417.

²¹ See: A. Goriaczko-Borkowska, *Twórczość poetycka Augusta Bielowskiego*, Wrocław 1965, p. 9.

parents could not provide any help. He sustained himself through tutoring and had to pay school fees with the small amounts earned".²² Like the Dunin Borkowski brothers, he did not complete his studies because Viennese despotism prohibited former insurgents from being admitted to schools and scientific institutions.²³

August Bielowski, as he himself recalled, happened to meet Józef Dunin Borkowski during a walk on the Hetman's Ramparts, which initiated their close collaboration. Together, they organized a literary group that published two volumes of the annual "Ziewonia" (1834 and 1839) and the volume "Prace Literackie" [Literary Works] (1838).²⁴ Thanks to them, a group of outstanding writers and journalists appeared on the Lviv market, including Józef Dzierzkowski, Dominik Magnuszewski, Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki, Karol Szajnocha, Żegota Pauli, Jan Dobrzański, and Jan Wągilewicz. They "attracted numerous collaborators who shared democratic and freedom-loving views and maintained a distance from salon culture".²⁵

From the preserved correspondence of the imperial chamberlain Stanisław Dunin Borkowski, we know that Bielowski was employed as an official in the sub-Lviv area of Winniczki,²⁶ managed on behalf of his uncle, Aleksander Dunin Borkowski. The Galician poet, persecuted for his conspiracies, finally obtained certification in accounting in 1842 and later became a scribe at the Ossolineum, eventually gaining the position of a distinguished historian-archivist.²⁷

Jan Dobrzański, "a newcomer from Łemkowszczyzna",²⁸ the son of a forester from Czarna in the Bieszczady Mountains and a graduate of the gymnasium in Przemyśl, followed a similar path. Thanks to Tadeusz Wasilewski's patronage, he studied philosophy in Lviv and began studying law.²⁹ Like Bielowski, Dobrzański

²² *Ibidem*, p. 16.

²³ See *ibidem*, p. 17.

²⁴ Bielowski, in the *Album na korzyść pogorzalców* (Lwów 1844, p. 331), wrote: "I became acquainted with him on one of the walks and soon we were spending several hours together every day, for several years."

²⁵ E. Tłuczek, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich”..., *op. cit.*, p. 83.

²⁶ When Leszek hired his friend and writer, who was listed as the publisher of the first volume of the romantic almanac "Ziewonia" (1834), to work in Winniczki, his uncle wrote to him in a letter dated December 27, 1834: "Keep Bielowski, [...], but make sure he tends to the land as diligently as the steward in Dmitrowice [a village belonging to the Winniczki estate – T.P.]". (*Listy Stanisława Borkowskiego do Aleksandra Leszka Borkowskiego* [in:] *Korespondencja Borkowskich i innych*, Rkps Ossol., sygn. 13117/III, p. 71).

²⁷ See: B. Czarnik, *Mianowanie Augusta Bielowskiego skryptorem w Zakładzie Ossolińskich*, „Pamiętnik Literacki” 1912, vol. 11, p. 322–328.

²⁸ See: M. Mudrij, *Przybysze z Łemkowszczyzny we Lwowie w 1848. Przykłady postaw gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* [in:] *Łemkowie, Bojkowie, Rusini – historia, współczesność, kultura materialna i duchowa*, ed. B. Halczak, S. Dudra, R. Drozd i innych, vol. V, Słupsk–Zielona Góra–Svidnik 2015, p. 246–247.

²⁹ See: M. Stolarczyk, *Tadeusz Wasilewski (1795–1850) i jego rola w życiu kulturalnym i społecznym Galicji*, Rzeszów 1977, p. 92.

engaged in various forms of work—he was a contributor to “Gazeta Lwowska”, a tutor for Adam Sapieha, and from 1841 a collaborator, and from 1845 a co-editor of “Dziennik Mód Paryskich”, which became “a true guardian of the national spirit”.³⁰ According to Krystyna Poklewska, Dobrzański transformed the literary journal into a political one and “will undertake, albeit within the limited possibilities of that time, the program of articles from “Tygodnik Literacki” [Literary Weekly]; an attempt to influence society and educate it”.³¹

The Lviv editor intuited that the process initiated by the Russian takeover of Tarnopol in 1809, revealing the hidden hostility of the Greek Catholic clergy towards “the Philo-French orientation” of the Poles, would soon turn into an open conflict over the civilizational future of the Ruthenian lands.³²

Dobrzański, thanks to “Dziennik Mód Paryskich”, especially during the Lviv Spring of Nations, gained valuable experience in influencing media on political crisis management processes. In a review of a theatrical performance about Hamlet’s dilemmas, he foresaw his role: “He was to be the leader of the fight, the helmsman of a new direction of spirit, but he became a simple tool of providence, which was indifferent to whom it used for its intended purposes. Thus, reason, which did not allow the hero to act until everything was thoroughly thought out and anticipated, deprived him ultimately of merit, the fruits of action, turning a mighty spirit into a dwarf, and from a reformer into an instrument of fate”.³³ Therefore, he began his independent political journey.

Dobrzański, himself of Ukrainian origin, a Ruthenian as they were called at the time, immediately sided with the Ruthenians; he recognized their growing national consciousness as important for the Polish cause.³⁴

In this spirit, after the lifting of censorship in 1848, as the editor of “Gazeta Narodowa” [National Gazette], Dobrzański wrote: “[...] we welcome with heartfelt joy the awakening political life in our brotherly Ruthenia [...]. We welcome it warmly, despite artificially induced manifestations unfriendly to our nationality. May the political life of Ruthenia develop as quickly and as

³⁰ See: *Jan Dobrzański, nekrolog*, Dodatek „Kuriera Lwowskiego” 1886, no 151, no page numbers.

³¹ K. Poklewska, *Jan Dobrzański (1820–1886). Szkic biograficzny*, „Prace Polonistyczne” 1962, ser. XVIII, p. 146.

³² See: A. Świątek, *Nieznaną pracą o historii stosunków polsko-ukraińskich w Galicji autorstwa Mariana Tyrowicza w zbiorach Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU w Krakowie*, „Krakowskie Pismo Kresowe” 2019, nr 11, s. 104.

³³ J. D., *Hamlet*, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich” 1845, no 6, p. 48.

³⁴ J. Rosnowska, *Jan Dobrzański, redaktor „Gazety Narodowej” w 1848 roku*, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1970, no 9/3, p. 325.

strongly as possible”.³⁵ This marked a departure from the line of “Dziennik Mód Paryskich”, which advocated “faithfully standing by our historical mission of spreading [...] education”.³⁶ The forward-thinking editor raised the demand not only for land reform but also for the political empowerment of the people. “An ‘indivisible’, republican Poland in which the people would have full rights – this was Dobrzański’s maximal program”.³⁷

Soon after, in the revived “Gazeta Narodowa” in 1862, he intensified the cultural dispute and made the breakup of the Polish-Russian reconciliation program the main topic of Galician media discourse.³⁸ Conflicted with the romantics, he became a character in Józef Ignacy Kraszewski’s satirical novel, who wrote: “He saved himself with the name of the fatherland, of the nationality... with those clichés that used to work so excellently... today they seemed like an insult in his mouth”.³⁹

Regarding the long journalistic activity of ‘King John IV’ – as the revolutionary Lviv called Dobrzański in 1848 – Kazimierz Chłędowski recalled years later that there was not “a broken window in the manor offices patched with an old newspaper that did not contain Mr. John’s name as editor. He published various journals with us: once and twice a week [...] he lived through many wars as an editor, many constitutions, he was under the wagon and on the wagon – it varied [...]”.⁴⁰

In summary, the presented intellectuals from the minor noble environment, who began their editorial careers in “Dziennik Mód Paryskich”, eventually played a leading role in the cultural life of Lviv. Undoubtedly, their apprenticeship in Kulczycki’s romantic journal allowed them to gain experience and editorial skills, which they utilized in their further professional work, especially during the period when Galicia gained autonomy.

III. The modernising ideas of Józef and Aleksander Dunin Borkowski

The nobleman likes to live in general, he cannot stand books, dresses decently, loves the outward appearance of wealth – but beyond that, he doesn’t see or rather doesn’t want to see... He loved his homeland out of tradition until the last painful sacrifices for it; now he begins to ponder

³⁵ *Wiadomości w sprawie krajowej*, „Gazeta Narodowa” 1848, no 30, p. 115.

³⁶ Anonymous, *Pierwszy akt*, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich” 1848, no 24, p. 190.

³⁷ J. Rosnowska, *Jan Dobrzański, redaktor...*, p. 324.

³⁸ See: *Hr. Leszek Borkowski*, „Gazeta Narodowa” 1867, no 21, p. 3.

³⁹ J. I. Kraszewski, *W mętnej wodzie*, Poznań 1870, p. 89.

⁴⁰ K. Chłędowski, *Album fotograficzne*, Wrocław 1951, p. 178.

that it may be a dream of immature minds, that he was somewhat exploited for the sake of the homeland, and that as it is... it's almost bearable.⁴¹

The above reflection characterizes the dilemmas that the publishers of “Dziennik Mód Paryskich” had to grapple with. Bolesław Czarnik believed that the program of the magazine was set by the most important proponent of republicanism in romantic Lviv – Józef Dunin Borkowski: “a poet and scholar, an explorer of Greek culture in old Poland and a connoisseur of the language and literature of modern Greece, co-creator and editor together with Bielowski of the well-known in the history of Galician education “Dziennik Mód Paryskich”, in a word, one of the most significant forces in the local literary movement [...]”.⁴²

Educated at a Warsaw high school, on the demand of Austrian authorities, he returned to Galicia and began popularizing Philomath ideas, becoming, along with his younger brother Alexander, the leader of an avant-garde literary group. It's difficult within the confines of a short article to provide a clear diagnosis of the reasons for spreading democratization by both aristocrats in Lviv. Their domestic environment and family wealth position suggest that the idea of democratization stemmed from scholarly inquiries and the belief that perpetuating “aristocratic prejudices”⁴³ was the most significant tool of enslavement. Contacts with Greek refugees in Chernivtsi,⁴⁴ as well as studies on the history of the southern borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, contributed to the conviction that only civic freedom ideals allow for the continuity of statehood, and their absence sanctions slavery. A specific type of family code of the Dunin Borkowski family has been preserved in the Stefanyk Library collections, in which the “parochial” acquisition of dignities by “servility” was condemned, and the need to cultivate a chivalrous ethos was emphasized.⁴⁵ Therefore, in his account referring to the history of his family's town of Gródek, “Obrona Trembowli” [Defense of Trembowla], Aleksander Dunin Borkowski wrote about the new responsibilities of the aristocracy:

⁴¹ B. Bolesławita [J. I. Kraszewski], *Z roku 1867. Rachunki. Rok drugi, cz. I*, Poznań 1868, p. 492.

⁴² B. Czarnik, *List Józefa hr. Dunina Borkowskiego i słowo o jego literackiej spuściźnie*, „Pamiętnik Literacki” 1916, vol. I-II, p. 3–7.

⁴³ See: L. Bobrowska *Mysli*, “Dziennik Mód Paryskich” 1843, no 16, p. 128. The journalist wrote here, among other things, that the author, “who with pen in hand battles with public opinion, with the prejudices of his age, and moreover with his society, his caste, gives evidence of greater courage and dedication than a knight who risks his life on the field of glory”.

⁴⁴ *Leszka hr. Dunina Borkowskiego autobiografia*, „Dziennik Polski” 1897, no 133, p. 1.

⁴⁵ Kodeks papierowy [Paper version] no 79 (*Excerpt zebranych y de origine familii J. W. hrabiów na Wielkim Skrzywnie w województwie sandomierskim leżącym Duninów, zacząwszy od pierwszego w Polszcze Piotra Swena Dunina wypisane ku dalszej pamięci i wiadomości synom moim odnotowane die 28 octobris 1772 anno*, p. 559–572).

But what good is a long line of ancestors
 If the descendant neglects their glory?
 The merits of fathers are a debt for sons to carry forward.⁴⁶

Undoubtedly, a significant factor in shaping the romantic antinomy of Józef and Aleksander was the cosmopolitanism of their aforementioned uncle, Stanisław Dunin Borkowski, who insisted that the future author of *Parafiańszczyzny* [Parochialism] constantly strive to obtain resources to be “fashionable” at the Viennese court.⁴⁷ Their youthful opposition to this notion of “servility” meant that the Borkowskis “in the most unfavorable times for our literature, had the courage to awaken the intellectual life of the country, in the entire nation, they had the courage to be writers when every Polish writer was considered a suspicious person by the government”.⁴⁸

Through the power of talent and hard work alongside fearless perseverance, these individuals were the first to earn respect and significant influence on social relations for Polish writers in our country. From the modest “Dziennik Mód” founded by the tailor Tomasz Kulczycki, both Borkowski brothers (Józef and Leszek) along with August Bielowski, Dominik Magnuszewski, and others transformed it into a publication that, despite censorship constraints, gained importance as the leading periodical throughout Poland.⁴⁹

The Borkowskis’ democratic ideals were influenced by their interactions with post-November emigration and the example of Edward Dembowski, for whom, as he wrote, “Dziennik Mód Paryskich” was “the alpha and omega of Galician literature and, given the circumstances there, is very good [...], but above all, it stands out for its sections on the education of women as mothers, thoughtfully and perhaps not entirely radically, but well; as well as the respectable articles by Leszek Dunin Borkowski. These latter ones are the ornament of “Dziennik Mód” and Galician literature, for ultimately “Dziennik Mód” constitutes Galician literature [...]”.⁵⁰ Borkowski served as a model writer and editor for Dembowski, especially in his ridicule of the aristocracy – both

⁴⁶ *Wyjątek z powieści „Obrona Trembowli” napisanej przez Aleksandra hrabiego Dunina Borkowskiego*, Rkps Ossol., sygn. 1021/II, p. 61.

⁴⁷ See: T. Półchłopek, *Dwór Dunin Borkowskich w Winniczkach 1833–1896. Kultura – literatura – ekonomia* [in:] *Dworski szlacheckie jako miejsce rozwoju kultury i sztuki. Przeszłość – teraźniejszość – przyszłość*, ed. Ł. Kupiec and L. Salawa, Kraków 2013, p. 35. Kilka lat trwały prace nad wydaniem zabytku piśmiennictwa polskiego – *Psalterz Królowej Małgorzaty*, [...]. *Najstarszy dotąd znany pomnik piśmiennictwa polskiego. Wydany staraniem Stanisława hr. Dunina Borkowskiego*, Wiedeń (1834). The letters to Winniczki express the intentions of the editor, who, by publishing the book, aimed to find a place in the pantheon of Polish culture.

⁴⁸ K. Widman, *Leszek Dunin Borkowski*, „Tygodnik Lwowski” 1867, no. 4, p. 25.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁰ E. Dembowski, *Sprawozdanie z piśmienności polskiej w roku 1843*, „Rok” 1844, vol. 1, p. 66.

in social commentary columns and in reviews transformed into tales (“[...] managing to touch upon some absurdity of the aristocracy in every subject, chastising it, while also displaying a wealth of comprehensive knowledge and education, so that his sections are very enjoyable to read, [...] they provide great pleasure, as Galician literature begins to desire socializing away from the big social scum which goes by the name of ‘the world’”⁵¹).

The discursive stance of the collaborators of “*Dziennik Mód Paryskich*” was accompanied by the need for rationalization of both communal history, which “secures against the variability of strong winds and does not allow them to be tossed in directions diverging from the main goal”,⁵² as well as – which is one of the phenotypes of Aleksander Dunin Borkowski’s cultural project – for the reconstruction of the republican tradition of harmonizing directions and goals of community functioning. Borkowski recognized the legal basis for such republican education in the Constitution of May 3, 1791, in which:

...the nobility granted the privilege of ruling to the whole nation, but retained a bit of the education developed over centuries in our history; hence, this nobility began to be called the national intelligentsia and was instructed to work around the national spirit, around lifting the masses of intelligence. However, the nobility from the Oder to the Dnieper is still mostly dark and wild and of coarse manners. It began to acknowledge its new duties and in seeking enlightenment, it searched for wisdom throughout the world, forgetting about its old books – it let in foreign influences of both bad and good, in intellect, in dress, in customs, and in honesty.⁵³

To conclude these considerations, it must be added that with the premature death of Józef Dunin Borkowski in 1843, the active collaboration with the periodical of his brother Aleksander also ceased. However, it cannot be forgotten that it was thanks to their activity around the publication of “*Dziennik Mód Paryskich*” that the Galician aristocracy was learning about romantic patriotism.⁵⁴

IV. The projected model of the reader of the Lviv journal

The fashion magazine, while discussing Parisian trends, promoted designs accessible not only to the aristocracy but also to subscribers. In this way, it promoted local craftsmanship and encouraged lowering production costs and material purchases. From the early issues of “*Dziennik Mód Paryskich*”, the

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 67.

⁵² L. Borkowski, *Wstęp do odczytów we Lwowie z powodu pięćdziesiątej rocznicy Powstania Listopadowego*, Rapperswil 1882, p. 4.

⁵³ J. Aleksander [L. Dunin Borkowski], *List drugi. Przegląd literatury pięknej (list drugi)*, „*Gazeta Polska*” 1850, no 27, p. 118.

⁵⁴ See: Anonymous, *Echa*, „*Słowo Polskie*” 1896, no 286, p. 1.

editorial staff instilled the belief that in the capital of France during the time of Louis Philippe, there was a specific kind of egalitarianism – “we increasingly perceive more elegant outfits, but little is seen of dresses richly embroidered with gold or silver”.⁵⁵

By proposing a uniformity in dressing, they also smuggled in patriotism and attachment to inherited identity, suggesting that “clothing, if it is to serve the sanctification and elevation of innate grace, should be adapted to the special qualities of the local nature... Polish ladies never submitted slavishly to the dictates of Parisian fashion, for they feel that their own taste and education give them the right to independently appear in this profession”.⁵⁶ This didacticism stemmed from the conviction of post-November poets studying Polish history that the partitions were not only the decision of the occupiers but also a consequence of the breakdown of national ideas, especially neglecting the education of women and mindless imitation of Parisian fashion. Lucjan Siemieński, from the perspective of studying the Ziewonia circle, wrote that Polish women “most densely visiting Paris, brought from there the lightness of manners, the frenzy of amusements and costumes, and a soul cooled from these sanctities instilled in them by religious upbringing”.⁵⁷

In “Dziennik Mód Paryskich” there was a popularization of the need to involve women in freedom ideas and to educate them in a sense of respect for the noblest, humanistic values. Examples of such attitudes were articles like the story of an unhappily in love only daughter, whose parents did not allow her to marry a poor notary’s assistant. The change of decision allowed the author to smuggle in a patriotic confession – “in her own and free country, for a young and pretty woman to travel to good parents, with her beloved husband and first child, seems to be the ideal of happiness to me.”⁵⁸ However, the death of her husband and subsequent remarriage allowed the author of the sketch to raise questions about the meaning of love:

Gentlemen, if this story (unfortunately true to the word) falls into your hands, please do not draw from it any conclusions or make hurtful assumptions about my kindness in describing it. Adela is a rare exception; after all, she is French – not all Polish women are like that.⁵⁹

On the pages of “Dziennik Mód Paryskich” education for women was also conducted through theater reviews by Aleksander Dunin Borkowski starting from

⁵⁵ *Mody, Dziennik Mód Paryskich* 1840, no 5, p. 20.

⁵⁶ *O estetyczności stroju*, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich” 1840, no 5, p. 21.

⁵⁷ L. Siemieński, *Stanisław Trembecki* [in:] *Dzieła Lucjana Siemieńskiego. Portrety literackie*, Warszawa 1881, p. 214.

⁵⁸ D. D., *Cztery spotkania*, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich” 1840, no 7, p. 30.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

1840. In 1842, he initiated a new form of articles called ‘claptrap’ without literary ambitions – essays aimed at reconstructing the forgotten ‘republican identity’ of Galicia.⁶⁰ By lulling the censorship with dialogical ‘claptrap’, it became easier to include satire on the aristocratic salons of Lviv – *Parafiańszczyzna. Wizyta pierwsza* [Parochialism. First visit],⁶¹ after its publication, made the despised head of the police, responsible for censorship, “Sacher, appear too liberal in certain circles”.⁶²

Similar works smuggling democratization included the column “Bertold” by Walenty Chłędowski, which used allegorical figures to mock “the censor as a coachman who lets himself be guided by a horse adorned in red gauze”.⁶³ Walenty Chłędowski, as the author of “Organista” [Organist], became a precursor of opposition to the Habsburg state ideology, suggesting that religious skepticism could be socially acceptable and that a village owner could rationalize the role of religion in modern society.⁶⁴

Interesting mythologizing techniques were used in portraying the fallen Commonwealth in relation to the lands annexed by Moscow. Due to censorship reasons, the newspaper depicted the former Poland, developing its typical cultural codes. Travel descriptions to lands annexed by Russia were often used to reinforce the communal identity of the former Commonwealth (e.g., “the town of Korsuń, once the property of Prince Stanisław Poniatowski and now of Prince Łopuchin, is situated in a very interesting location”⁶⁵). Despite censorship, efforts were made to affirm the cultural closeness of separated Polish communities, as seen in the description of the estate near Winnica:

Kalinówka belongs to the Sienkiewicz family. The eighty-year-old lady, mother of the famous poet Karol Sienkiewicz and translator of “Lady of the Lake” by Walter Scott, welcomed us with old Polish hospitality. Her daughter Róża, a very pleasant person, received guests in the house, and her son Leon, known for his beautiful translations of historical works, a man around 40 years old, pale and cold but very engaging in conversation, contributed significantly to making our stay enjoyable.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ See: *Dialog o miłości przez Leszka Dunina Borkowskiego*, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich” 1842, no 1, p. 5. In his lengthy text, Borkowski smuggled in his characteristic system of values – each participant in ‘the dialogue’ embodies a different set of goals. The German represents a love of truth, the Italian a love of art, the Englishman – industry, the Russian – tea, and the Pole – ‘a love of country, for which all sacrifices are nothing’.

⁶¹ L. Dunin Borkowski, „*Parafiańszczyzna*”. *Wizyta pierwsza*, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich” 1842, no 5, p. 34–40.

⁶² K. Widman, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁶³ J. Rosnowska, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁶⁴ W. Ch., *Organista*, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich” 1840, no 2, p. 15–16.

⁶⁵ B. Smolska, *Kilka rysów z podróży na Ukrainę*, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich” 1842, no 6, p. 46.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 46.

In the context of the division of Ruthenian lands between two states, the newspaper published travel reports in which Moscow’s Ukraine appeared as a pantheon of the past, where “graves stand, green memorials of ancient bloody raids of Turkish and Tatar hordes that happened on this land”.⁶⁷

Before 1848, the newspaper omitted mentioning the antagonism between the two religions and facilitated access to its pages for poets from the Triunity of Ruthenia – such as Jan Wagilewicz, who debuted in 1842 with the poem “Spotkanie” [Encounter].⁶⁸ However, an unsettling signal anticipating discord was the information about Wagilewicz’s grammar of the Ruthenian language, emphasizing that Ruthenians always wrote in Polish, as exemplified by the specific instruction for the governorate, “Kronika miasta Lwowa” [Chronicle of the City of Lviv] published in the stauropiegial printing house.⁶⁹

It was only in the last year of the publication that it became apparent that the program of “embracing the Ruthenian brothers” met with a reaction from the Austrian authorities, who used mutual accusations to destroy the age-old community. When the chance for the revival of the pre-partition Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was squandered in mutual accusations, “Dziennik Mód Paryskich” wrote that the lack of education facilitated the “Slavic” renovation of despotism by “moral chieftains, archpriests of holy jurisprudence, creators of Austro-Muscovite-Ruthenian nationality... stinging them with their infallibility, secret conferences, government circulars against the ‘guaranteed’ constitution of Polish nationality”.⁷⁰

Kulczycki’s periodical aimed to shape an educated reader who would take responsibility for the welfare of the entire community, regardless of religion, nationality, or the policies of the occupying powers. Writers and publicists of “Dziennik Mód Paryskich” envisioned a future Poland as a country of free, equal people spreading the ideals of democracy.

V. Dispute with the programmatic line

The ideological program of the post-November uprising intelligentsia, centered around “Dziennik Mód Paryskich”, was threatening both to pro-Russian sentiments and Viennese despotism. The first attacks on the journal came from the pen of Ludwik Zieliński, a “marketplace publisher”, who, presumably not without prompting from the occupiers, discredited the role of the periodical:

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 45–47.

⁶⁸ J. Wagilewicz, *Spotkanie*, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich” 1842, no 4, p. 29.

⁶⁹ L. D. B., *Gramatyka języka matoruskiego w Galicji, przełożona przez Jana Wagilewicza. Lwów w drukarni stauropigiańskiej*, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich” 1845, no 18, p. 144.

⁷⁰ Anonim, *Pierwszy akt*, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich” 1848, no 24, p. 189.

Quite a meager publication under the coat of arms of aristocracy. I do not envy its fame, not from real knowledge, but perhaps more from its name. I foresee its insignificance because, published in the form of a leaflet, it also has the same value. The most esteemed in this publication, and this comes from our idle talkers, are articles describing fashion, along with other trifles like poems and philosophical musings. They lack the depth of age or literary value.⁷¹

The author of the letter also characterized the publishers very critically, mocking Józef Dunin Borkowski and Bielowski – one “wrapped in a gaberdine, guards the muses and gaberdines, sometimes in contemplation moves to the Archipelago, singing a modern Greek song. [...] The other figure, thin, scruffy, sitting in a corner with stork-like legs, is looming in the steppes in the bent grass; today’s Journal of [Parisian] Fashions is made up of these two atoms”.⁷²

In 1843 – after the death of Józef Dunin Borkowski – Walenty Chłędowski also opposed the editorial line of the periodical, attacking those “convinced of the urgent need to enlighten the darkness of our age with the torch of their geniuses, find themselves forced to depart from the ancient principle *nonun prematur in annum* [keep nine years in the drawer – a note by T.P.] and whatever they drop, they immediately present it to us in print for the common good”.⁷³ The critic did not accept the excessive subjectivity of the editors’ statements, who sit “on a literary tripod, passing judgment [...] on things and people without the slightest consideration that one must respect others’ merit and name”.⁷⁴ Chłędowski considered the mentioned educational essays on theater to be devoid of any value,⁷⁵ thereby leading to Borkowski’s withdrawal from active cooperation with “Dziennik Mód Paryskich”.⁷⁶ This was also the result of literary competition over the publication of “Album na korzyść pogorzalców” [Album in favor of the fire victims], to which the old literati – Chłędowski and Jan Nepomucen Kamiński – opposed by publishing in favor of the fire victims of Nowy Żmigród “Gołąb pożaru” [Dove of Fire].⁷⁷ In the satire on the conservative Lviv environment from “Gazeta Lwowska”, Chłędowski became

⁷¹ *Nowinki literackie ze Lwowa*, „Tygodnik Literacki” 1842, no 9, p. 71.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p.72.

⁷³ *Wiadomości handlowe i przemysłowe. Od Dukli – w połowie listopada*, „Gazeta Lwowska” 1843, no 146, p. 969.

⁷⁴ Anonymous [W. Chłędowski], *Od Dukli – w połowie listopada*, „Gazeta Lwowska” 1843, no 150, p. 996.

⁷⁵ The discussed article (*Od Dukli – w połowie listopada*, „Gazeta Lwowska” 1843, no 150, p. 996) contained accusations: “[...] wouldn’t it be better if these gentlemen, [...] instead of playing Don Quixote with the pen, prancing about on the skinny nag of easy wit, or on the fat horse of arrogance; instead of finally writing barren, self-serving theatrical critiques, and malicious reviews of everything that appears outside their own circle”.

⁷⁶ After 1843, he only produced a review of Friedrich Schiller’s drama – *Fiesko z Genui* (L. D.-B., *Teatr*, „Dziennik Mód Paryskich” 1845, no 3, p. 22–23).

⁷⁷ See: *Gołąb pożaru*, Lwów 1843.

a negative leader because in an allusive essay about a domestic donkey,⁷⁸ he parodied the process of writing “literary texts on demand”:⁷⁹

That a donkey is naturally inclined not only to exact sciences but to all kinds of cleverness, I convinced myself firsthand in Switzerland, where I had the opportunity to see a donkey exhibited by an Italian from Bergamo for money. This donkey could count, recognize colors, sing, dance to the clarinet, and at the same time play devilishly well with his master, just like any of the gentlemen in Lviv, the noble supporters of this cleverness.⁸⁰

Borkowski was greatly offended by this disagreement regarding new – subjective – methods of art evaluation,⁸¹ and the dispute with Chłędowski resulted in a heroicomic poem called “Cymbalada”, in which “the little donkey led the criticism”⁸² of the democratization of literature and became an opponent of modernization processes.⁸³ Justifying his disagreement with Chłędowski’s program, Aleksander Dunin Borkowski wrote that “all announcements, notifications, and demands of Mr. Chłędowski, written, printed, and spoken, do not bind me to anything. I wanted to publish this revelation in the new paper, but the censorship did not allow it, suspecting its ‘Jacobin’ tendency”.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ W. Chłędowski (*Osiol. Rys historyczno-psychologiczny* [in:] *Album na korzyść pogorzalców*, Lwów 1844, p. 187) wrote that the call ‘to contribute’ to a periodical requires a decision: “some historical outline? ...And that’s not it. For that, again, you’d need folios bound in pigskin, memoirs, chronicles, and here the Ossoliński Library is far away, and rummaging through Bernardine records is futile since ‘Lwówianin’ is engaged in the library query. So, landscapes then, as our land abounds in natural beauty. Therefore, take a trip to the Carpathians [...] But the harvest? To leave home, to waste time on walks?”

⁷⁹ Aleksander Józef Lisowski (*Rozmyślenia spleenisty nad 68 numerem „Gazety Lwowskiej”*, „Przyjacieci Ludu” 1843, no 8, p. 62) ironized: “after drinking a couple of cups of black coffee, or punch, they light a pipe, rest their head on both elbows on the table, and, properly bristling their hair, moustache, and beard, they happily begin a song, a story, or a legend.”

⁸⁰ W. Chłędowski, *Osiol. Rys historyczno-psychologiczny*, p. 195–196.

⁸¹ In the correspondence (*List L. Dunina Borkowskiego do K. W. Wójcickiego*, Rkps Bibl. PAU i PAN w Krakowie, sygn. 714, p. 412) he complained to his friend: “In a humorous piece, there should be a didactic message tailored to the needs of the nation and the interests of the readers; the author’s intention should be clearly manifested. Perhaps Mr. Chłędowski appeared as an advocate for donkeys, wanting to shield them from human persecution and ridicule. [...] However, our Polish donkeys not only do not suffer from persecution but often themselves persecute cattle and people, and frequently write works, most often poetry”.

⁸² [L. Dunin Borkowski], *Cymbalada. Poema heroiczne z wypadków naszego czasu*, Wrocław 1845, p. 59.

⁸³ In Borkowski’s heroicomic work (ibidem, p. 61) Chłędowski was known as Osiółek, Hąspirant, Duklanin, the chief commander of the forces combating *Parafiańszczyzna*. In the revised version (*Cymbalada. Poema heroiczne na cały tydzień*, second edition, Wrocław 1848), which included a polemical response to *Zemsta Wandy* (Poznań 1846), his publisher visited a village near Dukla (p. 155) and stumbled upon the funeral of a chief (p. 158).

⁸⁴ The letter from Leszek Dunin Borkowski to Aleksander Krasicki in Dubiecko, dated February 20, 1844. Quotation after: *Papiery Krasickich. Korespondencja Aleksandra Krasickiego*, Rkps Ossol., sygn. 6243/II, p. 85.

It should be noted that the idea of educating the aristocracy and satirizing its loyal representatives divided the Romantic intelligentsia into two opposing camps. “The old guard”, like Chłędowski, limited the influence of Romanticism only to literature, while “the young” (Dobrzański, Borkowski, Bielowski) saw Romanticism as a life model defined by democratic ideals. Therefore, during the Spring of Nations period, the Galician intelligentsia established various, often ideologically conflicting publications that reflected their views. “Dziennik Mód Paryskich” transformed in the second half of 1848 into “Tygodnik Polski”, which was ultimately closed by censorship on February 17, 1849.

* * *

The financial balance of “Dziennik Mód Paryskich” was in deficit for years, at best just breaking even. Kulczycki not only lost enormous amounts of money on this periodical – 10 000 Rhenish zlotys – but also the reputation of his establishment, as aristocratic clients abandoned his tailoring workshop offended by the pamphlet-like satirical portraits published by Aleksander Borkowski in *Parafiańszczyzna*.

However, the role played by Kulczycki’s biweekly publication is difficult to overestimate from today’s perspective. We owe much of our knowledge about the ideas of resurrecting the concept of a Slavic Commonwealth to the program of this periodical. From the milieu of the Lviv intelligentsia gathered around “Dziennik Mód Paryskich” also emerged a generation of outstanding journalists, who after 1848 contributed their writings to the pages of many Galician periodicals.

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Środowisko lwowskiej inteligencji skupione wokół „Dziennika Mód Paryskich” (1840–1848)

Streszczenie

Zasadniczym celem artykułu jest próba zaprezentowania roli „Dziennika Mód Paryskich” w procesie formowania się demokratycznej inteligencji lwowskiej – pisarzy, dziennikarzy, polityków i artystów. Twórcy periodyku i jego główni redaktorzy (Tomasz Kulczycki, August Bielow-

ski, Jan Dobrzański, Józef i Aleksander Dunin Borkowscy) mieli ambicje zainicjowania w Galicji wolnościowych procesów modernizacyjnych. Rola, jaką swego czasu odegrał dwutygodnik Kulczyckiego, jest z dzisiejszej perspektywy trudna do przecenienia. Programowi pisma zawdzięczamy przede wszystkim wiedzę o ideach wskrzeszenia koncepcji słowiańskiej Rzeczypospolitej. Ze środowiska lwowskiej inteligencji skupionej wokół „Dziennika Mód Paryskich” wyszło także pokolenie znakomitych dziennikarzy, którzy po roku 1848 swoimi tekstami zasilali szpalty wielu galicyjskich czasopism.

Słowa kluczowe: „Dziennik Mód Paryskich”, inteligencja lwowska, Galicja, dziennikarze, redaktorzy