

Zygmunt Haupt in Lviv: An excerpt from the intellectual and artistic macro- and micro-history*

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In the interwar period, Lviv was a city with a very complicated political, social, and thus also cultural history. On the one hand, it was a vibrant multicultural urban center. On the other hand, it was marked by deep national divisions which were, as it turned out, impossible to overcome. After the former eastern Galicia became part of the Polish state, the capital of the former Habsburg province experienced stagnation in the fields of art, literature, and the humanities. In the first half of the 1930s, however, the artistic and intellectual life of the city began to change, gaining in attractiveness. This article discusses Zygmunt Haupt's life in Lviv against the background of these changes. It presents the historical context of the writer's early career, especially as concerns artistic trends and ideas, and his links with a small but quite progressive literary group of *Rybałci* [Minstrels]. The article also attempts to answer the following questions: to what extent was Haupt's stay in Lviv formative in his literary career? What was the social and artistic significance of *Rybałci* for Haupt? Especially considering that he was not a leading figure of the group?

Lviv – a post-war city

After 1918, Lviv was a city which, in relation to the public sphere, could be described as a post-war city. This was noticeable not only in the infrastructure, whose reconstruction after World

War One and the Polish-Ukrainian clashes still continued in 1929;¹ it also manifested itself in the relations between the national groups living in Lviv. According to the first Polish census of 1921, 219,388 people lived in the city: 62.4% were Poles, 27.6% Jews, 9.2% Ruthenians,² and 0.8% Germans.³ Ukrainian population was certainly underestimated as Ukrainian parties called on their people to boycott the census which indeed took place.⁴ The post-war character of Lviv, which was visible in ethnic relations, meant that there were tensions between the three largest national groups in the city; these tensions led to the outbreak of violence in November 1918, i.e. fights between Poles and Ukrainians and the pogrom of Lviv Jews (November 22–24, 1918). Peace was not restored at the end of the battle for the city or even at the end of the Polish-Ukrainian War. On the contrary, these tensions persisted long after, actually until the end of the interwar period, and were additionally intensified by other factors.

The first new factor concerned differences in the collective memory of Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews. Poles won the war for eastern Galicia and thus the Polish discourse became the dominant discourse about Lviv. State authorities, the leaders of almost all Polish political movements, the Polish press, and Polish writers, regardless of their political sympathies, almost unanimously emphasized that thanks to the “defense”⁵ of Lviv and the sacrifice of its “defenders,” Eastern Małopolska⁶ was finally and forever a part of Poland, and Poles ruled these lands. The “defense” of Lviv became a symbol of the unity of the Polish nation and the Polish territory; it also quickly became one of the basic founding myths of the reborn Polish state. Such a discourse about Lviv, for obvious reasons, alienated Ukrainians, as well as a large part of the Jewish population of the city, especially the non-assimilationists. For Ukrainians the battle of Lviv was a “national uprising,” while the Jewish population saw it primarily in terms of the pogrom initiated by the “defenders” and civilians after Ukrainians had fled the city. The ideologization of the discourse surrounding the “defense” of Lviv united Poles, but it also divided the multinational population of the city and the multinational population of the entire Second Polish Republic. It sustained fears of national conflicts in the borderlands held by many Poles and also perpetuated the stereotype of the Ukrainian and the Jew as a common internal enemy against whom Poles should consolidate.

Apart from the fundamentally different versions of the events of November 1918 in Lviv which divided Poles, Ukrainians and Jews, the anti-Ukrainian and anti-Semitic policy of the Polish

¹ Andrzej Bonusiak, “«Niedemokratyczna demokracja». Rzecz o Lwowie w latach 1918–1934” [«Undemocratic democracy». Lviv in the years 1918–1934], in: *Społeczeństwo i gospodarka, Galicja i jej dziedzictwo* [Society and economy, Galicia and its heritage], vol. 2, ed. Jerzy Chłopecki, Helena Madurowicz-Urbańska (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1995), 219.

² The term “Ukrainians” was not used in the census.

³ Andrzej Bonusiak, *Lwów w latach 1918–1939* [Lviv in the years 1918–1939] (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Rzeszowie, 2000), 191.

⁴ Andrzej Bonusiak, *Lwów w latach 1918–1939* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Rzeszowie, 2000), 191.

⁵ I use terms related to a cultural, historical, and national axiological system, such as “defense,” “invasion,” “uprising,” and “occupation,” as evaluative ones, and put them in quotation marks.

⁶ The term “Eastern Małopolska” was used in the official nomenclature since the early 1920s, mainly after 1923. According to Katarzyna Hibel, it was supposed to legitimize the new territorial division of the province after the administrative reform of 1920 (into the following voivodships: Lviv, Stanyslaviv and Tarnopol), “and above all to emphasize the exclusively «Polish» character of this territory”, cf. Katarzyna Hibel, ‘Wojna na mapy’, ‘wojna na słowa’: Onomastyczne i międzykulturowe aspekty polityki językowej II Rzeczypospolitej w stosunku do mniejszości ukraińskiej w Galicji Wschodniej w okresie międzywojennym [‘War of maps’, ‘war of words’: Onomastic and intercultural aspects of the language policy of the Second Polish Republic in relation to the Ukrainian minority in Eastern Galicia in the interwar period] (Wien]–Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2014), 254.

central and local authorities further complicated ethnic relations in the city. It had its sources, firstly, in the fact that many Poles feared that the borders could be revised and Lviv could be lost and, secondly, in the reserved and hostile attitude toward Poles expressed by (respectively) a certain part of the local Jewish community and a large part of the local Ukrainian community. Regardless of these sources, the policy in question fueled, not suppressed, animosities between the three main national groups in Lviv. The tensions between Poles and Ukrainians as well as Poles and Jews were dynamic; they faded away and then intensified, at times manifesting themselves in the form of violent riots. For the reasons discussed above, November proved to be the most difficult time; for example, the tenth anniversary of the “defense” of Lviv resulted in riots, casualties, and extensive arrests.⁷ Alas, clashes between Poles and Ukrainians, as well as Poles and Jews, took place at other times as well. For example, Polish students, advocates of the right-wing *Narodowa Demokracja* [National Democracy] movement, attacked Jewish students at Lviv universities as a result of which three people, Samuel Proweller, Karol Zeller Mayer and Markus Landesberg, died (the first two in November 1938, the latter in May 1939).⁸

These conflicts were the most visible (although not the only) symptoms of the post-war character of Lviv, defined as a long-term effect of the Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Jewish conflicts, which culminated in November 1918. The war for eastern Galicia was over, but the militant atmosphere in the city’s public space and discourses persisted. Grzegorz Mazur seems to be right when he claims that interwar Lviv was a metropolis with the greatest national and political animosities in the Second Polish Republic,⁹ because acute conflicts definitely prevailed there over any attempts at reconciliation.

Lviv – cultural province and cultural center

The cultural life of Lviv in the interwar period, especially in the memories of the city’s former residents, was much less vibrant than before World War One. In the 1920s and the 1930s, Lviv was not a “cultural desert”¹⁰ but neither did it deserve the name “Athens of the Polish Republic,”¹¹ as Julian Maślanka put it in the introduction to Marian Tyrowicz’s memoirs. Tyrowicz wrote with some degree of sadness that “the city’s wonderful cultural past under Austrian rule which influenced the furthest parts of the country” suffered a blow in the interwar period. Tyrowicz believed that the national and political conflicts, which I have

⁷ Cf. Державний архів Львівської Облaсті / Derzhavnyi arkhiv Lvivskoi Oblasti [State Archives of Lviv Region], fond (f.) 121, opis (op.) 3, sprava (s.) 460, page (p.) 189; DALO, f. 121, op. 3, spr. 796, p. 7–7 ob.; DALO, f. 110, op. 4, spr. 131, p. 1–4 ob.; DALO, f. 121, op. 3, spr. 280, p. 3–7. Cf. also Ryszard Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska w Polsce w latach 1923–1929* [The Ukrainian question in Poland in the years 1923–1929] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1989), 200–201; Grzegorz Mazur, *Życie polityczne polskiego Lwowa 1918–1939* [Political life of Polish Lviv in the years 1918–1939] (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2007), 123–124; Agnieszka Biedrzycka, *Kalendarium Lwowa 1918–1939* [History of Lviv 1918–1939] (Kraków: Universitas, 2012), 437–439.

⁸ Cf. Mazur, 263, 269–271, 274; Biedrzycka, 934, 936–938, 968–969, 971–972.

⁹ Mazur, 434.

¹⁰ Aleksander Madyda, “Posłowie” [Afterword], in: Zygmunt Haupt, *Baskijski diabeł. Opowiadania i reportaże* [Basque devil. Stories and reportages] (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 2007), 674.

¹¹ Julian Maślanka, “Lwów i jego pamiętnikarz” [Lviv and its diarist], in: Marian Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia o życiu kulturalnym i obyczajowym Lwowa 1918–1939* [Memories of the cultural and social life of Lviv 1918–1939] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1991), 10.

described above, contributed to this. Poles actively cultivated the memory and the myth of the “defense” of Lviv. As a result, “people of letters on the Poltva” who, let me add, identified with the dominant Polish discourse, “faithfully praised the battle for Lviv’s independence, the heroism of the Polish child soldiers, the Eaglets, and the historical role of the city on the frontier, as if ignoring European literary trends.”¹² In addition, apart from writers who had links to democratic and left-wing circles, they ignored even the most interesting artistic and intellectual proposals of their Ukrainian and Jewish colleagues.

Tyrowicz also pointed to an even more important source of the city’s “post-war cultural inferiority,” identified by many critics, namely the exodus of the local creative intelligentsia to the capital of the reborn Polish state. Both the people of Lviv and outsiders noticed that the city – having found itself within the borders of the Second Polish Republic – lost its status as the capital of a large and important province of the Habsburg Empire and became merely the capital of a voivodeship. As a result, the income of the inhabitants decreased, the possibilities for growth were reduced, and the feeling of provinciality (in the literal, not administrative, meaning of the word, as in the Habsburg Empire) and alienation from the (cultural) capital Warsaw intensified. In a letter to Kazimiera Żuławska, Józef Wittlin wrote: “this beautiful city was transformed into a small-minded provincial town in such a short time.”¹³ Stanisław Wasylowski, in a book devoted to Lviv from the “Cuda Polski” [Miracles of Poland] series, lamented that “[what was once] a small big city, a capital of a country, is a big small town today. [Lviv] is no longer the capital of literature, Warsaw is; the theatre and the press are not doing great either.”¹⁴ Hanna Mortkowicz, on the other hand, described her impressions of the south-east of Poland as follows: “Today Lviv is a quiet and impoverished borderland town removed from the centralized affairs of the state.”¹⁵ Many believed that to be true in the interwar period; some people were even more critical (especially after many years had passed¹⁶). Such opinions were neither biased nor hostile because they were formulated by people who loved Lviv – those people truly regretted the fact that the most creative minds had moved to Warsaw.

We can add still other reasons for the city’s cultural decline, such as the low earnings of the intelligentsia, the low earnings and hardships of journalists, and the poor condition of the printing industry in Lviv. All of these factors, although in different respects, meant that after 1918, artistic and intellectual stagnation reigned in Lviv. Local young artists and students were not inspired by new artistic trends, which proved so influential elsewhere. According to Tyrowicz, the “first attack of expressionism”¹⁷ in Lviv began in the late 1910s and the early 1920s, and, at the time, expressionism was slowly being replaced by newer trends in Poznań and Kraków. According to another resident of interwar Lviv, Lew Kaltenbergh, young Lviv writers became interested

¹²Both quotes: Tyrowicz, 95.

¹³Józef Wittlin, *Listy* [Letters], with an introduction by the editor Tadeusz Januszewski (Warszawa: Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza, 1996), 31, letter from 30 December 1929.

¹⁴Stanisław Wasylowski, *Lwów* [Lviv] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Polskie R. Wegner, [1931]), 173.

¹⁵Hanna Mortkowicz-Olczakowa, *Na drogach Polski z 50 linorytami Tadeusza Cieśliewskiego syna* [On the Polish roads with 50 lino prints by Tadeusz Cieśliewski, jr.] ([Warszawa]: Tow. Wydawnicze, 1934), 71–72.

¹⁶See, for example, Waław Lednicki’s memoirs from the interwar period, published after World War Two. Lednicki writes that Lviv belonged to the cities “from which Warsaw sucked out of everything that was outstanding, great, ambitious.” Waław Lednicki, *Pamiętniki*. T. 1 [Memoirs. Vol. 1] (Londyn: B. Swiderski, 1963), 9.

¹⁷Tyrowicz, 150.

in the “avant-garde” only as late as in 1929. And futurism, Peiper, and his followers associated with the avant-garde magazine *Zwrotnica* [The Switch] were not even on their radar. “We heard some echoes of Young Poland, experienced faint reverberations of expressionist thrills, apparently taken straight from the avant-garde magazine *Zdrój* [Spring] published in Poznań, and witnessed some timid and not very helpful attempts at something original, modeled on the group Skamander,”¹⁸ Kaltenbergh recalls. What’s more, there was stagnation in the field of literary studies in Lviv. In Warsaw, Vilnius, and Poznań, the still fluid academic hierarchies and mobility of the academic staff which hailed from different academic centers meant that subversive collectives were formed relatively quickly and easily. Young literary scholars called this trend an “academic revolution;” it laid the foundations for modern Polish literary studies.¹⁹ Meanwhile, at Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv, the 19th-century tradition of schools and masters was still cultivated. As evidenced by student works written under the direction of Juliusz Kleiner and preserved in his archives, university circles focused on run-of-the-mill seminar work.²⁰ The Lviv Polish Studies Circle was all the weaker because its board, unlike in Warsaw, Vilnius, and Poznań, was dominated by the extreme right-wing *Młodzież Wszechpolska* [All-Polish Youth], which often focused solely on material and organizational issues. The conditions for artistic and intellectual growth were thus unfavorable in Lviv, at least until the mid 1930s.

Despite this stagnation, in the first half of the 1930s, the city’s cultural life began to change – it was significantly revived by several events. The Lviv Polish Studies Circle organized a meeting devoted to the issue of *Wiadomości Literackie* [Literary News] from October 1933 devoted to Soviet culture, which attracted participants also from outside the academia. In 1934, Marian Naszkowski (chairman of the Young Intelligentsia Club in Lviv) delivered a lecture entitled ‘*Kordian*’ i ‘*cham*’ na tle współczesnej choromańszczyzny [Kordian and a boor against the backdrop of the contemporary obsession with the degenerate], which “again sparked a fierce discussion.”²¹ Since 1931, Lviv’s theater scene began to change from mediocre to outstanding, mainly thanks to Wilam Horzyca, who became the director of the Municipal Theatres. Together with Leon Schiller and Edmund Wierciński, he invited eminent set designers (Andrzej Pronaszka and Władysław Daszewski) to Lviv and produced plays (such as *Kordian*, *Krzyczenie*, *Chiny* [Shout out, China] or *Sprawa Dantona* [The Danton Case]) which triggered fierce discussions in the press and among university students. Intellectual and social groups were formed which were on the same level as the groups formed by young writers and literary scholars from Warsaw or Vilnius. Writers, actors, democratic political activists, and progressive university professors would meet in private homes, for example at Stanisław Loewenstein’s house, as well as at Jan Kazimierz University (for example, to listen to Leon Chwistek’s lectures on contemporary aesthetics, which often ended with walks along the Lviv Corso, that is Akademicka Street)). Roman Ingarden’s seminars held at Lviv University in the years 1934–1937 also played a very important role in this process. They were attended both by Lviv intellectual elite (Władysław

¹⁸Lew Kaltenbergh, *Ułamki stłuczonego lustra. Dzieciństwo na Kresach. Tamten Lwów* [Fragments of a broken mirror. Childhood in the Polish Borderlands. The old Lviv] (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1991), 122.

¹⁹Cf. Danuta Ulicka, *Rzut oka na nowoczesne polskie literaturoznawstwo teoretyczne* [A Glimpse at Modern Polish Theory of Literature], in: *Wiek teorii. Sto lat nowoczesnego literaturoznawstwa polskiego* [The Age of Theory. One hundred years of modern Polish literary studies], ed. Danuta Ulicka (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IBL, 2020).

²⁰Cf. Juliusz Kleiner, *Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені В. Стефаника / Lvivska natsionalna naukova biblioteka Ukrainy imeni W. Stefanyka* [Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine], f. 147, p. 11.

²¹Kaltenbergh, 117.

Witwicki, Ostap Ortwin, Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, Juliusz Kleiner) and the few avant-garde artists who lived in the city (Ludwik Lille, the co-founder of the Artes group established at the turn of 1929 and 1930, and the creators associated with the magazine *Sygnaty* [Signals]). Even the director of the Eastern Fairs, Henryk Grosman, attended Ingarden's classes. Traditional philosophy practiced at Lviv University thus transformed into a modern, semiotic-oriented anthropology of culture.²² The establishment of *Sygnaty* in 1933, an anti-fascist and anti-nationalist magazine edited by Karol Kuryluk, which after 1936 had a clearly left-wing profile was of particular importance to young Lviv writers. New literary groups, Zespół Przedmieście [The Suburbs] with Halina Górka, Jan Brzoza, Anna and Jerzy Kowalski, and a small but thriving club of Rybałci, which will be discussed in more detail below, also proved important.

All these initiatives animated Lviv's artistic and intellectual life. Given the cultural stagnation which had dominated the city, this change was sensational and revolutionary at the same time. When these initiatives were undertaken, Zygmunt Haupt was already living in Lviv. As we know, the writer moved to Lviv after he completed his military service in 1933, although he had lived in the city for at least three years in the 1910s and the 1920s – he was a student at Nicolaus Copernicus State Realschule and, later, a student at Lviv Polytechnic.²³ Notwithstanding his stays in the estate of Zygmunt and Amelia Łączyński in Zabór, Haupt lived in Lviv until the outbreak of World War Two. Lviv was neither the biggest nor – arguably – the most fascinating city he had ever lived in. After all, in the early 1930s Haupt lived in Paris. But it was Lviv's *genius loci* that shaped him, especially at the time when the city began to transform from a cultural periphery into a cultural center, and he began to grow as a painter and a writer.

Rybałci and Haupt

In Haupt's early years in Lviv, described in detail by Aleksander Madyda,²⁴ a particularly important, perhaps the most important, role was played by Rybałci and people associated with this group. They introduced Haupt to the world of literature.

Artistic and literary circles, and not, strictly speaking, an organized group, at least at the beginning, which later consolidated under the name Rybałci, began to form in the early 1930s. Zbigniew Troczewski was their first mentor. This teacher and Polish philologist managed the dormitory at Mochnackiego 32 and organized literary soirées there, attended by young artists, members of Lviv Polish Studies Circle and Kleiner's students.²⁵ The second important figure was Emil Tennenbaum, an amateur Polish-Jewish writer²⁶ and a pharmacist by profession

²²Danuta Ulicka, *Wieczory czwartkowe* [Thursday soirées], in: *Lwowskie czwartki Romana W. Ingardena 1934–1937. W kręgu problemów estetyki i filozofii literatury* [Roman W. Ingarden's Thursday soirées in Lviv 1934–1937. Questions of aesthetics and philosophy of literature], with an introduction by the editor Danuta Ulicka (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 2020), 10.

²³Cf. Aleksander Madyda, *Haupt. Monografia* [Haupt. Monograph] (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2012), 47–52.

²⁴Aleksander Madyda, *Zygmunt Haupt. Życie i twórczość literacka* [Zygmunt Haupt. Life and works] (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1998), especially 17–28; Madyda, *Haupt. Monografia*, 49–81.

²⁵Madyda, *Zygmunt Haupt. Życie i twórczość literacka*, 18.

²⁶Cf. Eugenia Prokop-Janiec, *Międzywojenna literatura polsko-żydowska jako zjawisko kulturowe i artystyczne* [Interwar Polish-Jewish literature as a cultural and artistic phenomenon] (Kraków: Universitas, 1992), 319.

who ran the “Pod Węgierską Koroną” [Under the Hungarian Crown] pharmacy on St. Benedict Square. It was he who gave the artists who gathered mainly at Troczewski’s place the name of Rybałci and, importantly, he allowed them to use a small room behind the pharmacy as an alternative meeting place. Kaltenbergh recalled that these meetings, which were more often social than academic, were attended by Tadeusz Hollender, Stanisław Rogowski, Aleksander Baumgardten, Zdzisław Kunstmann, Maciej Freudman, Tadeusz Banaś, and Wilhelm Wind (known under the pseudonym Jerzy Korabiowski). There were also others: Teodor Parnicki, Karol Kuryluk, Maksymilian Geppert, Jerzy Turowicz, Przemysław Zwoliński, Olgierd Reiss... and Haupt.²⁷ In 1975, Stefan Legeżyński wrote in his memoirs, referring briefly to Lviv artistic circles and the recently deceased Haupt, that the writer “was everywhere, he attended literary soirées, student meetings, especially of Polish studies students, he met with filmmakers.”²⁸ Both Legeżyński and Kaltenbergh thus confirm that Haupt attended the meetings of Rybałci.

The first public poetry soirée of Rybałci took place on December 1, 1933 in the hall of the Society of the Folk School at Czarniecki Street. It was attended by Rogowski, Baumgardten, Kunstmann, Freudman, Kaltenbergh, Wind, as well as Beata Obertyńska, Włodzimiera Paszkowska, Maruta Stobiecka and Jan W. Fedyk.²⁹ The next soirée, which took place on June 3, 1934, was even bigger. It was advertised in the press as “The Second Literary Recital under the name ‘Gospoda Rybałtów’ [Rybałci’s inn].”³⁰ It took place at the Variété Theatre, and Ortwin, then president of the Lviv branch of the Polish Writers’ Union, was invited to open the meeting. Works by Hollender, Rogowski, Baumgardten, Kunstmann, Freudman, Wind, Paszkowska, Stobiecka, Fedyk, and Józef Radziwiński were read.³¹ Moreover, in the mid 1930s, Rybałci took part in numerous meetings organized by other groups, most importantly “Young Lviv.” For example, Henryk Zbierzchowski delivered a short opening lecture at a poetry soirée at Jagiellonian University’s Collegium Maximum on October 20, 1934.³² We can also list two other poetry meetings at the Variété Theatre on September 14, 1935³³ and on March 15, 1936³⁴ respectively (the latter meeting was called “Recital of Poetry, Prose and Satire”). If we do not see Haupt’s name among the names of active participants, it is certainly not because he was not present. The explanation is simple: Haupt was at that time known as a painter and not as a man of letters. Indeed, Kaltenbergh described him as a “joyful graphic artist.”³⁵ This is also how he was described in the first issue of *Kolumna Rybałtów* [Rybałci’s Column], that is a literary supplement which young artists established at the end of 1936.

Rybałci did not have their own magazine in which they could publish their works; so, they published – literally – wherever they could. Hollender tried to create a forum for them in *Wczoraj – Dziś – Jutro* [Yesterday – Today – Tomorrow], which he edited, but the magazine was soon taken over by Tadeusz Zaderecki, a representative of the extreme national and

²⁷Kaltenbergh, 128–143.

²⁸Stefan Legeżyński, “Haupt-cygan” [Haupt – a gypsy], *Wiadomości* 37 (1975): 4.

²⁹Biedrzycka, 693.

³⁰[Author not given], “Gospoda Rybałtów” [Rybałci’s inn], *Chwila* 5458 (1934): 17.

³¹Biedrzycka, 714.

³²Biedrzycka, 726.

³³Biedrzycka, 759–760.

³⁴Biedrzycka, 783.

³⁵Kaltenbergh, 141.

anti-Semitic right. Some Rybałci published in *Sygnaty*. Hollender is listed in the first five issues as editor-in-chief; starting from the sixth issue, he and Kuryluk co-edited the magazine, and beginning with the tenth Kuryluk took over. However, Hollender remained on the editorial board. Baumgardten and Banaś also appeared in the first series of the magazine and also Rogowski was in the first issue.³⁶ The list of texts published in both series of *Sygnaty* (1933–1934, 1936–1939) prepared by Jadwiga Czachowska allows us to conclude that the authors which were associated with Rybałci had been publishing there for quite a long time; some, including Baumgardten and Rogowski, until 1936; some, having broken with Rybałci, especially Hollender and Banaś, almost until the magazine was discontinued in 1939.³⁷ There is no doubt, however, that artists who remained in the Rybałci group or those who joined it at some later stage moved away from *Sygnaty* and joined *Dziennik Polski* [Polish Daily] in the last quarter of 1936.

Dziennik Polski was a magazine established and run by a group similar to Związek Młodych Narodowców [Union of Young Nationalists]. They held right-wing views and sympathized with Narodowa Demokracja but distanced themselves from Stronictwo Narodowe [The National Party], as they manifested pro-government sympathies. The editor-in-chief of *Dziennik Polski* was Klaudiusz Hrabyk; Zdzisław Stahl, Stanisław Starzewski and Mieczysław Piszczkowski (as head of the literary department)³⁸ were also on the editorial board. Hrabyk writes in his memoirs that in October 1936 he was approached by a group of young artists who offered him their services. Some of them had previously collaborated with *Sygnaty*, others had not, but all of them were against the radical left-wing sympathies that the magazine began to promote, especially since 1936. The group was encouraged to approach Hrabyk because they had briefly worked with him before – in 1934, Hrabyk published their works in one issue of *Akcja Narodowa* [National Action] without any interreference on his side; even Kuryluk could publish there. Rybałci were finally convinced when, during a meeting in October, the editor promised them self-reliance and independence, although – as he admitted years later – he had to fight for them with Stahl and Piszczkowski.³⁹ Young artists were given two pages (second and third) of *Kultura i Życie* [Culture and Life], a Sunday supplement to *Dziennik Polski*; together they formed *Kolumna Rybałtów*, where the group could publish their works. On November 8, 1936, Hrabyk's magazine announced the creation of *Kolumna Rybałtów* and ... the group itself,⁴⁰ although in the case of the latter we should rather talk about reconstruction. On November 15, the first *Kolumna Rybałtów* was published, with poems by Rogowski (*Wyjazd Parsifala* [Parsifal's Departure]), Władysław Jan Turzański (*Ziemia obiecana* [Promised Land]), Mirosław Żuławski (*Droga do Emaus* [Road to Emmaus]), Baumgardten (*Wtedy* [Then]), and

³⁶After the publication of the first issue, Rogowski resigned as editor. Cf. the editorial, “[Stanisław Rogowski, at his own request, is no longer on the editorial board ...],” *Sygnaty* 2 (1933): 8.

³⁷Cf. Jadwiga Czachowska, “Teksty” [Texts], in: *Sygnaty 1933–1939* [Signals 1933–1939], ed. Jadwiga Czachowska (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1952), 111–182.

³⁸Jerzy Jarowiecki writes more on this topic in *Dzieje prasy polskiej we Lwowie do 1945 roku* [The history of the Polish press in Lviv until 1945] (Kraków–Wrocław: Księgarnia Akademicka – Wyższa Szkoła Zarządzania Edukacja, 2008), 238–242.

³⁹Klaudiusz Hrabyk, “Wspomnienia, cz. VI” [Memories, pt. VI], *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego* 10, 4 (1971): 515–516.

⁴⁰The editorial board of *Dziennik Polski*, “Nowa grupa literacka «Rybałci»” [The new literary group Rybałci], *Kultura i Życie* 45, supplement to *Dziennik Polski* 311 (1936): 15.

Freudman (*Elegia na śmierć Wganowskiego* [Elegy on the death of Wganowski]), and short stories by Baumgardten and Freudman (respectively, *Sprawa niczyja* [No Man's Affair] and *Najazd ptaków śpiewających* [Invasion of Singing Birds]).⁴¹ In addition, a graphic logo/header with the name and ornaments surrounding it was published in *Kolumna...* The caption read: "The title vignette of *Kolumna Rybaltów* was made by the artist Zygmunt Haupt."⁴² Thus, Haupt, as a "joyful graphic artist," was de facto presented as the sixth member of *Rybałci*.

Hrabyk's memoirs shed more light on *Rybałci*'s break-up with *Sygnaly*, revealing that ideological issues played an important role. This is a convincing explanation, because writers and artists associated with *Rybałci* never formed a united front in terms of socio-political views. On the contrary, Hollander or Banaś, who leaned towards the left, differed from Freudman, who openly expressed his National Democratic and anti-Semitic sympathies (and carefully concealed his Jewish origin) among the circles of "Young Lwów."⁴³ However, this does not explain everything, or more precisely it does not prove that the break-up in question was only motivated by the group's wish to move to a more right-wing magazine in which young people could be given their own column. After all, this move led to the disintegration of the group in its original form, as established in the early 1930s. Two other events, which Hrabyk either failed to mention or described in a biased way, contributed to this.

The first event was related to the review of Antoni Gronowicz's poetry soirée, published in mid-December 1936 in *Dziennik Polski*. It was written by Freudman who signed it with his initials only ("mf"). The review was critical; it mocked the young left-wing poet, accusing him of subversiveness and communism. The reviewer asked "state authorities" to stop the poet's "pseudo poetical screams."⁴⁴ Hollander and Banaś, who used to be Freudman's friends, responded, not only in writing. Banaś condemned the review for its (undoubtedly) anti-Semitic and denunciatory undertones, suggesting that the case be referred to the tribunal of the Polish Writers' Trade Union (which actually happened).⁴⁵ The conflict was further incited by a secession in the Syndicate of Lviv Journalists; the Syndicate issued a statement in which it accused *Dziennik Polski* of supporting the restrictions imposed on the freedom of the press and of being viciously anti-communist (to the point of reporting writers to state authorities).⁴⁶ Interestingly, Gronowicz occasionally published in *Dziennik Polski* (which Hrabyk, who did not comment on this incident at the time, proudly mentioned in his memoirs published after World War Two⁴⁷).

⁴¹ Cf. *Kolumna Rybaltów* [Rybałci's Column] *Kultura i Życie* 46, supplement to *Dziennik Polski* 318 (1936): 16–17.

⁴² *Kolumna Rybaltów*, 17.

⁴³ Cf. Kaltenbergh, 142.

⁴⁴ mf. [Maciej Freudman], "Niepotrzebny recital" [Unnecessary poetry soirée], *Dziennik Polski* 349 (1936): 8. Cf. a different account in Madyda, Zygmunt Haupt. *Życie i twórczość literacka*, 21–22.

⁴⁵ Tadeusz Banaś, "Dzieło mistrza chwali" [Work of art praises the artist], *Sygnaly* 25 (1937): 14.

⁴⁶ The dispute took place on December 7, 1936. Secessionists and pro-governmental journalists of *Dziennik Polski* and *Goniec Wieczorny* [Evening News] accused the Syndicate of "political agitation" aimed at "undermining the authority of the only purely Polish newspaper in Lviv", Tadeusz Ulanowski, "Rozłam w Syndykacie Dziennikarzy Lwowskich" [Divisions in the Syndicate of Lviv Journalists], *Dziennik Polski* 341 (1936): 1. Cf. Biedrzycka, 832.

⁴⁷ Hrabyk, 510, 512.

The second event was related to a literary soirée scheduled for January 8, 1937 as a “great poetry recital,”⁴⁸ to which Hollender, Józef Nacht, Bruno Schulz and those Rybałci who published in *Dziennik Polski* were all invited. A jury was to give an award for the best writer funded by the City Council. On January 7, 1937, Henryk Balk accused the organizers of misleading the invited literary critics, as a result of which Ortwin and Eugeniusz Kucharski stepped down as members of the jury. To make matters worse, Rogowski and Freudman (who were joined by several other poets) refused to attend the soirée because they did not want to perform alongside Nacht, and Baumgardten did not want to perform alongside Nacht and Hollender, “since he did not consider Mr. Nacht [...] to be a good poet (yet), and he no longer considered Mr. Hollender to be a good man.”⁴⁹ As a result, two soirées were organized. One, with Rogowski, Freudman, Baumgardten, Turzański, Żuławski, and Obertyńska, was organized on January 7. It was advertised in *Dziennik Polski*. A “great poetry recital,” with a limited number of participants, alas with Schulz, took place on January 8. It was Schulz’s first public appearance in Lviv, which is why *Gazeta Lwowska* [Lviv Gazette] wrote that it was shameful that it took place in such an unpleasant atmosphere.⁵⁰ However, the unpleasanties did not end there, at least for local writers. The incident eventually led to Hollender’s falling out with young writers who did not attend the soirée on January 8. Hollender even managed to publish an open letter in *Chwila* [Moment] on January 8 eloquently titled *Do byłych kolegów i byłych poetów!* [To Former Colleagues and Former Poets!]. He accused Rybałci of hypocrisy, and he further accused Freudman of anti-Semitism and insulting Nacht, a writer of Jewish descent. Hollender also pointed out that Freudman, who criticized Nacht’s poems, was himself criticized by “Young Lviv.” Some jokingly said that Freudman’s poetry collection was given for free when somebody purchased Rogowski’s or Hollender’s books.⁵¹ Others joked that the difference between Freud and Freudman was like the difference between a genie and a genius.⁵² Hollender’s open letter effectively ended his relations with his former colleagues.

The described events help understand the complexities of cultural life in Lviv and further explain why a group of young artists moved to *Dziennik Polski*. A group which had originally been formed in Troczewski’s dormitory and in the back room of Tennenbaum’s pharmacy became deeply divided. Shortly after Hrabyk’s magazine announced the creation of *Kolumna Rybałtów* and the group itself, two former Rybałci, Banaś and Hollender, distanced themselves from their former colleagues, and Hollender also called them outdated, “has-been” poets. This was not true in January 1937, but the statement proved almost prophetic because the reconstructed group was only active for a year. The paradox of Haupt’s career was that just when Rybałci, unknowingly, were slowly leaving Lviv’s literary Parnassus, Haupt reinvented himself as a writer; he was no longer a “satellite” nor a painter (the author of the vignette) but also, and perhaps above all, a man of letters.

⁴⁸[Author not given], “Wielki recital poezji” [Great poetry recital], *Chwila* 6395 (1937): 10.

⁴⁹Cf. Hrabyk, 517–518; a quote from a statement issued by Baumgardten: 518. Cf. the interpretation of the incident in: Madyda, Zygmunt Haupt. *Życie i twórczość literacka*, 23–24.

⁵⁰K., “«Wieczór literacki» w Teatrze żołnierza” [‘Literary soirée’ at the Soldier’s Theatre], *Gazeta Lwowska* 7 (1937): 3.

⁵¹Tadeusz Hollender, “Do byłych kolegów i byłych poetów!” [To Former Colleagues and Former Poets!], *Chwila* 6395 (1937): 4.

⁵²Kaltenbergh, 143.

Haupt as a writer, Haupt as a member of Rybałci

In the mid-1930s, Haupt lived in the attic of a tenement house at Zimorowicza 15.⁵³ The editorial office of *Słowo Polskie* [Polish Word] had been located there for many years (it was closed in 1934). Then, the editorial office of *Gazeta Lwowska* was housed in the building (briefly), and since December 1935 it was the seat of *Dziennik Polski*. Thus, when Hrabyk moved into the former office of Stanisław Grabski, in which the editors of *Słowo Polskie* Roman Kordys, Waclaw Mejbaum and Wojciech Baranowski had worked, Haupt became his “upstairs neighbor.” Legeżyński recalled that Haupt “was short of money,”⁵⁴ which is why he made illustrations on the side. His works were published in *Kuryer Literacko-Naukowy* [Literary and Scientific Courier] and *As* [Ace], supplements to *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny* [Illustrated Daily Courier], a very popular daily newspaper published in Kraków which paid contributors well. On May 12, 1935, Haupt published his first literary text in *As*: it was a short story entitled *Cel* [Goal], written together with Turzański. In 1935 and 1936, he published five other texts there,⁵⁵ and on February 7, 1937, he made his debut as a writer in *Dziennik Polski*: he published a full-page reportage, *Aspekt Śląska* [Aspect of Silesia], in *Kolumna Rybałców*.⁵⁶ At the time, a large group of both up-and-coming and established writers was associated with *Kolumna Rybałców*. In addition to the five “core” members of Rybałci and Haupt (who reinvented himself as a writer), Kazimierz Brończyk, Józef Czechowicz, Władysław Floryan, Stefan Grabowski, Bolesław Włodzimierz Lewicki, Józef Słotwiński, Stanisław Teisseyre, Maria Wrześniewska, Tadeusz Żakiej, Zdzisław Żygulski, as well as Parnicki, Obertyńska and Horzyca also published in *Kolumna Rybałców*. Hrabyk, who did not have a high opinion of *Krytyka i Życie* [Critique and Life] prior to the publication of *Kolumna Rybałców*, was very proud of this success. Encouraged by the success of the column, he began to consider publishing an independent literary magazine at *Dziennik Polski*. Of course, plans to create an independent magazine shared by the editor-in-chief with young artists during confidential meetings were met with great enthusiasm. The editor-in-chief and Rybałci formed a true connection. Hrabyk wrote that as a result of such discussions some members of Rybałci – Rogowski, Freudman, Turzański and ... Haupt (as an “upstairs neighbor”) – “became very fond of him.”⁵⁷ A separate magazine was never established but *Kolumna Rybałców* flourished, and Haupt, a friend of the editor-in-chief, published in it more and more often. In total, in the years 1937–1938, he published sixteen texts in *Dziennik Polski*: short stories, reportages, essays, and reviews (including three two-part texts).⁵⁸ Aleksander Madyda estimated that this was a “one-of-a-kind achievement” in Haupt’s career.⁵⁹ As regards the sheer number of published texts, he was certainly right. As for their quality, it is fair to say that Haupt’s early literary works were not on a par with his later masterpieces. Some, such as *Moi przyjaciele* [My Friends], however, proved that Haupt was a talented writer – they

⁵³Madyda, Haupt. Monografia, 77.

⁵⁴Legeżyński, 4.

⁵⁵Cf. Madyda, Haupt. Monografia, 307.

⁵⁶Zygmunt Haupt, “Aspekt Śląska” [Aspect of Silesia], *Kultura i Życie* 6, supplement to *Dziennik Polski* 38 (1937): 17.

⁵⁷Hrabyk, 517.

⁵⁸Cf. Madyda, Zygmunt Haupt. *Życie i twórczość literacka*, 26; Madyda, Haupt. Monografia, 307–308.

⁵⁹Aleksander Madyda, “Lwowskie lata Zygmunta Haupta” [Zygmunt Haupt’s life in Lviv], *Kresy* 2 (1996): 102; cf. Madyda, Zygmunt Haupt. *Życie i twórczość literacka*, 26.

were indicators of his future, more mature, style and skills. These texts, together with texts published in *As*, were also enough for Haupt to be accepted as a member of the Polish Writers' Trade Union in the late 1930s.

When Haupt was publishing in *Dziennik Polski*, he and his colleagues also appeared as guests on *Studio Młodych* [Young Studio] broadcasted by the Polish Radio. The first broadcast took place on July 12, the second one exactly a month later. The reviewer who discussed these auditions in Hrabyk's magazine considered them "a kind of experiment, and a successful one, especially when it comes to talking about the most important literary matters, such as technique." The audition broadcasted on July 12 was praised for its effortlessness. The audition broadcasted on August 12 was more hermetic, but such a way of talking about literature could "be considered interesting by the listener."⁶⁰ The reviews of both broadcasts indicate that they enjoyed some degree of success and were positively assessed by listeners.⁶¹ The reviewer also, almost incidentally, reveals that Haupt was now regarded a member of *Rybałci* not only by his colleagues from *Kolumna Rybałtów* and the editor-in-chief of *Dziennik Polski* but also the general public. The reviewer names Haupt as one of the members of *Rybałci* next to Baumgardten, Rogowski, Freudman and Żuławski. Despite the success of the first two broadcasts, the third, scheduled for September 12, to the regret of a different reviewer,⁶² did not take place. No other broadcasts were made. It was a sign that the group of young artists associated with *Dziennik Polski* began to drift apart. The group ceased to exist in the fall, and its members left Hrabyk's magazine. On October 10, 1937, the last issue of *Kultura i Życie* and the last *Kolumna Rybałtów* were published; however, the authors who started the column did not publish their texts in the final installment.⁶³ When *Kolumna Rybałtów* was discontinued, Hrabyk began to publish *Dział Literacki* [Literary Supplement] instead; this supplement was published in the Monday edition of the newspaper, and former members of *Rybałci* began to publish their texts in other magazines, both in Lviv and outside of Lviv.

My friends

In February 1937, in issues 45 and 52 of *Dziennik Polski*, Haupt published two parts of *Moi przyjaciele* [My Friends],⁶⁴ an autobiographical short story à clef. He described his friends and

⁶⁰All quotes are from Bordan [sic!], "Biesiady «Rybałtów» przed mikrofonem P.R." [Rybałci in the Polish radio], *Dziennik Polski* 225 (1937): 7.

⁶¹Cf. a different interpretation of these broadcasts in: Madyda, Haupt. *Monografia*, 80–81.

⁶²Cf.: "«Studio młodych» [...] provided a platform for the literary group *Rybałci*; two broadcasts were met with interest. Listeners looked forward to the next episode which was to be broadcasted later this month on September 12. Unfortunately, the general public who is quite interested in the concerns and creative problems of the young generation of writers instead could listen to a radio essay about Asnyk delivered by a young Polish philologist-student at local university. Either the radio has had enough of *Rybałci* or *Rybałci* this time... screwed up. The latter is more likely. We'll see, or rather hear, next month." Mart. [sic!], "Na lwowskiej antenie" [On Lviv Radio], *Dziennik Polski* 257 (1937): 7.

⁶³In the final *Kolumna Rybałtów*, *Krytyka i Życie* 41, supplement to *Dziennik Polski* 279 (1937) Włodzimierz Podwyszyński and Wrześniewska's prose texts were published as well as a fragment of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* entitled *Niobe* translated by Artur Ćwikowski.

⁶⁴Zygmunt Haupt, "Moi przyjaciele" [My friends], *Krytyka i Życie* 7, supplement to *Dziennik Polski* 45 (1937): 17; idem, "Moi przyjaciele (dokończenie)" [My friends: continuation], *Krytyka i Życie* 8, supplement to *Dziennik Polski* 52 (1937): 17. Reprinted in: Haupt, "Moi przyjaciele", in: Haupt, *Baskijski diabeł*, 578–583. I quote this edition hereinbelow.

colleagues, other members of Rybałci, who were referred to in the story as “Truwerzy” [Trouvères]. Although Haupt used pseudonyms, it is not difficult to connect the characters with their prototypes from Lviv’s literary scene in the 1930s. The charismatic teacher, Ryszard Brandsteter, is Troczewski, that is the manager of the dormitory at Mochnackiego 32. Juliusz Włoch, who expresses communist sympathies, is Hollender, and his “inseparable satellite,”⁶⁵ Narcyz Briquet, is Banaś. The “true poet”⁶⁶ Zdzisław Modrzewski is Rogowski, and the funny Kurt Föhn-Żagielski is Wind. Rafał Breitman, as if taken straight from “Thackeray’s *The Book of Snobs*,”⁶⁷ is the temperamental Freudman. And Alojzy Zamsz, the fictional editor of *Zastrzały*, is Kuryluk, the editor of *Sygnaty*.⁶⁸

The paragraph cited below, although not as masterful as Haupt’s post-war stories, is interesting for at least two reasons. The first one is the style. The paragraph reads: “Noszę w sobie zimne ostrza wspomnień, faktów, zdarzeń. W plątaniu swych dróg, przyjaciele, będziecie przechodzić koło mnie. Będziecie wyciągać ze mnie swe noże, będziecie patrzeć w lustro ich kling i wróżyć z plam krwi. To tylko moja krew... przyjaciele” [I carry inside me the cold blades of memories, facts, events. In your complex ways, my friends, you will pass me by. You will pull your knives out of me; you will look at their mirror blades and read the blood stains. It’s just my blood... friends].⁶⁹ The melancholic “I” that may be found in the writer’s mature works also appears in this text. The “I,” although not yet alienated from his friends and colleagues, predicts the loss of his, as Haupt put it, “worlds” in the future.⁷⁰ Still, the “I” is not nostalgic when it comes to the past. On the contrary, his body is filled with “cold blades of memories,” which may be read as a commentary on the theme of melancholic incorporation. These blades hurt but when you try to remove them, they cause more serious injuries. The “I” loses blood, an ancient carrier of vital forces, whose element (air) according to Aristotle,⁷¹ helped cope with melancholy and illuminated its darkness with a clarity of vision. As if in the last flash of clarity, the “I” foretells, and since Aristotle and Theophrastus melancholy has been associated with prophetic visions, that his will be the same fate as befell brothers in a fairy tale quoted in the story – death. And his loved ones will learn about it from the bloody marks on an old dagger.

The second reason is related to the author’s personal experiences. Although the story is not a documentary, it clearly shows how important Rybałci were to Haupt in the 1930s. Haupt was a member of the group; he was recognized as one of them by other Rybałci, critics, and readers alike. Also, the writer considered Rybałci his friends. He spent time with them and shared his concerns, modest resources, thoughts, and creative achievements. Rybałci – first as a rather informal artistic and literary group, then as a fairly big group of people associated

⁶⁵Haupt, “Moi przyjaciele”, 580.

⁶⁶Haupt, “Moi przyjaciele”, 580.

⁶⁷Haupt, “Moi przyjaciele”, 582.

⁶⁸Cf. the autobiographical interpretation of the story in: Madyda, Zygmunt Haupt. *Życie i twórczość literacka*, 97–98.

⁶⁹Haupt, “Moi przyjaciele”, 583.

⁷⁰Cf. Zygmunt Haupt, “«Światy»” [Worlds], in: Haupt, *Baskijski diabeł*, 361–364.

⁷¹Cf. Aristotle, *Zagadnienia przyrodnicze* [Natural Philosophy], transl., introduction and commentary by Leopold Renger, in: Aristotle, *Dzieła wszystkie*. T. IV [Collected works. Vol. 4] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1993), 475–731.

with “Young Lviv,” and finally a small group of authors writing for *Dziennik Polski* – played a formative role in Haupt’s, both private (Rybałci were Haupt’s friends) and professional (Haupt became and developed as a writer among them, only to become one of the masters of contemporary Polish literature), life.

While in literature and legends Lviv was a “city of blurred borders”⁷² that was “always smiling,”⁷³ the city was a difficult place to live in the interwar period. Torn by national and political conflicts and provincialized, it did not provide its residents with a sense of security or stability. Undoubtedly, it was also not the most inspirational place for the development of innovative tendencies in art and literature. For this reason, cultural phenomena which in other centers, such as Warsaw, Vilnius or Poznań, might seem unimportant and peripheral acquired a special meaning in Lviv, becoming at first individual, then more and more popular and bold, traces of Lviv’s unique “style” in modern art, literature, and cultural literary studies. The Rybałci group was one such phenomenon. Even if in the early 1930s Rybałci somewhat pretentiously called themselves “the poets of ‘Young Lviv,’” they soon became such poets, creating an avant-garde center and one of the most interesting points on the literary map of the city. They were Haupt’s friends and colleagues; they shaped him as a young man. Sometimes they supported him financially. More importantly, however, they constantly inspired him and directed him towards literature, thus making an unprecedented contribution to the writer’s biography and the history of literature. This earliest Lviv period in Haupt’s life cannot, of course, be regarded as the most prolific or important. However, if it failed to give us a masterpiece, it was only because it was so brief and soon interrupted by World War Two. Haupt had his whole life and many outstanding works ahead of him.

translated by Małgorzata Olsza

⁷²Joseph Roth, “Lemberg, die Stadt” (1924), in: Roth, Werke 2. Das journalistische Werk 1924–1928 (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1990), 285–289, here: 288.

⁷³Kornel Makuszyński, *Uśmiech Lwowa [Lviv’s smile]* (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1934). Similarly, in *Listy ze Lwowa [Letters from Lviv]*, the author wrote that Lviv “is always smiling”, Makuszyński, *Listy ze Lwowa [Letters from Lviv]*, preface by Ireneusz Kasprzysiak (Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Lwowa i Kresów Południowo-Wschodnich, 1998), 26.

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KEYWORDS

S y g n a ł y

Zygmunt Haupt

ABSTRACT:

The article is a critical reconstruction of the early period of Zygmunt Haupt's artistic life against the background of the intellectual and artistic life of Lviv in the 1930s. Lviv's political, social, and cultural situation in the 1930s was very complicated. It was a multinational and vibrant urban center, but it was marked by probably the most serious national animosities in the Second Polish Republic. Literature and the study of literature in the city were rather conservative. In the mid-1930s, however, the intellectual and artistic life of the city began to change. Against the background of these changes, the article discusses the nature of Haupt's early career and his connections with the literary group called Rybałci. At the same time, it attempts to answer the questions to what extent the Lviv period turned out to be formative in Haupt's artistic life and what artistic and social significance Rybałci had for Haupt, among whom he was not a leading figure.

„Dziennik Polski”

LVIV

RYBAŁCI

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Jagoda Wierzejska – literary historian and literary critic. She earned her Ph.D. in 2011 at the Department of 20th and 21st Century Literature at the Faculty of Polish Studies at the University of Warsaw. She is the author of the book *Retoryczna interpretacja autobiograficzna. Na przykładzie pisarstwa Andrzeja Bobkowskiego, Zygmunta Haupta i Leo Lipskiego* [Rhetorical autobiographical interpretation in the works of Andrzej Bobkowski, Zygmunt Haupt and Leo Lipski] (2012). Her doctoral dissertation, which was the basis for the book, was awarded the Emigration Archive Award for the best doctoral dissertation on emigration. A graduate of postgraduate studies in the field of culture marketing at the Faculty of Journalism and Political Science at the University of Warsaw. She is on the editorial board of “Przegląd Humanistyczny” and a regular contributor to “Nowe Książki”. Awarded scholarships by the Center for Urban History of Central and Eastern Europe in Lviv (2016) and the University of Vienna (2017). Awarded the Ministry of Science and Higher Education scholarship for the most outstanding young scientists (2018). The PI in the completed research grant financed by the National Science Center *The idea of multinational and transnational Galicia in the interwar Polish discourse (with particular emphasis on the discourse on the civilian experience of the Polish-Ukrainian War and the space of the Eastern Carpathians)* (2018). She is currently the PI in the research grant financed by the National Science Center *(Multi)national Eastern Galicia in the interwar Polish discourse (and in its selected counter-discourses)* (2019–2024).