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Szanowni Czytelnicy,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce 124 tom „Archeionu", jak zawsze z nadzieją, że publikowane w nim prace spotkają się z Państwa uwagą i zainteresowaniem. Liczymy na to, że będą również inspiracją do refleksji oraz przyczynią się do podjęcia dialogu i polemiki. Otwarty dostęp do elektronicznej wersji artykułów opublikowanych w poszczególnych tomach znacząco ułatwia dyskusję nad zagadnieniami w nich podejmowanymi. Podkreślamy, że łamy „Archeionu" są otwarte na dyskusję i nieustająco zachęcamy do nadsyłania prac prezentujących inne podejścia i poglądy na kwestie poruszone w opublikowanych tekstach.

Zmiany wprowadzane stopniowo od kilku lat ugruntowały pozycję „Archeionu" jako czasopisma rozwijającego tradycję polskiego środowiska archiwalnego, promującego najnowszą myśl naukową w dziedzinie nauki o archiwach oraz dyskurs naukowy z polskim i międzynarodowym środowiskiem badaczy. Jesteśmy czasopismem wydawanym w trybie darmowego otwartego dostępu bez ograniczenia czasowego (tzw. diamentowego otwartego dostępu). Naszą powinnością jako redaktorów czasopisma naukowego jest określanie tematyki, stylu czasopisma oraz dbanie o jego wysoki poziom. W tym celu staramy się zapewnić odpowiednie standardy etyczne, recenzyjne, edytorskie oraz merytoryczne, publikując teksty wartościowe i ważne dla współczesnej archiwistyki. Zasady te będą determinować działalność czasopisma także w kolejnych latach, a najważniejszym kryterium oceny naszej pracy okaże się, tak jak w latach poprzednich, uznanie czytelników i – mamy nadzieję – rosnące zainteresowanie publikowanymi artykułami.

Tom 124 „Archeionu" otwiera wygłoszony 25 października 2023 r. w Szkole Głównej Handlowej w Warszawie wykład dr Laury Millar, gościni drugiej edycji otwartych wykładów Konarski Lectures, pt. *Managing "the shapeless mass" in the digital age*. Dr L. Millar jest międzynarodową, uznaną specjalistką w dziedzinie zarządzania dokumentacją i archiwami, nauczycielką akademicką i ekspertką Międzynarodowej Rady Archiwów, autorką wielu artykułów naukowych i publikacji zwartych. Jej najważniejsze prace to akademicki podręcznik *Archives:*

principles and practices, wydany w 2010 i 2017 r. (wyd. I – Londyn 2010, wyd. II – Chicago 2017), wyróżniony w 2011 r. *The Society of American Archivists' Waldo Gifford Leland Award*, oraz monografia *A matter of facts: the value of evidence in an information age* (Chicago 2019).

W dziale tematu wiodącego tomu, nazwanego przez nas Konteksty archiwalne, publikujemy 3 artykuły nawiązujące do współczesnego postrzegania archiwum i dokumentu archiwalnego w różnych kontekstach: kulturowym, społecznym, politycznym i prawnomiędzynarodowym. Prace są pokłosiem sesji panelowej pn. „Archives as cultural phenomenon", która odbyła się w ramach IV Kongresu Zagranicznych Badaczy Dziejów Polski „Spotkania kultur" w Krakowie 21 października 2022 r. Dział otwiera esej prof. Erica Ketelaara, cenionego archiwisty, wieloletniego szefa archiwów holenderskich, wykładowcy uniwersytetów w Leiden i Amsterdamie, byłego przewodniczącego Międzynarodowej Rady Archiwów (1998–2000), autora i redaktora naczelnego czasopisma „Archival Science". Prof. E. Ketelaar rozpatruje archiwum w wymiarze epistemologicznym, a nie jedynie jako zbiór źródeł dokumentalnych. Rozważa, w jaki sposób na przestrzeni XIX i XX w. ewoluowało rozumienie archiwów, zarówno jako zjawiska kulturowego, społecznego, jak i politycznego. Dzisiejsze podejście do archiwum akcentuje nie tylko jego wartość jako źródła informacji o przeszłości, lecz także historię kontekstową: opisującą dlaczego, kto, co i jak archiwizuje, a wszystko to w zmieniających się uwarunkowaniach społecznych i technologicznych. W tym dziale znajduje się także artykuł wieloletniej szefowej archiwów amerykańskich prof. Trudy Haskamp Peterson, w ostatnich latach zaangażowanej w działalność organizacji międzynarodowych. Prof. T. Peterson, w sposób niezwykle interesujący i odmienny od dominującego w Europie podejścia, rozważa kwestie ochrony prywatności jako jednego z kluczowych zagadnień podczas określania zakresu publicznego udostępniania materiałów archiwalnych. Autorka przeprowadziła analizę konwencji, umów i dokumentów międzynarodowych przyjętych po 1945 r., zawierających ograniczenia dostępu do materiałów archiwalnych ze względu na ochronę prywatności. W podsumowaniu przedstawiła najważniejsze aspekty kontekstu społeczno-kulturowego materiałów archiwalnych, które powinny być brane pod uwagę przez archiwistów w toku zarządzania materiałami zawierającymi informacje wrażliwe. Dział zamyka opracowanie dr Dietera Schlenkera, dyrektora Archiwum Historycznego Unii Europejskiej przy Europejskim Instytucie Uniwersyteckim we Florencji, poświęcone kształtowaniu zasobu

archiwalnego instytucji Wspólnot Europejskich, a następnie Unii Europejskiej, jako nowego modelu archiwum ponadnarodowego.

W dziale Studia i materiały publikujemy 6 artykułów autorów polskich i zagranicznych, poświęconych kulturowym aspektom archiwistyki: szeroko rozumianej problematyce egodokumentów, rozpatrywanej w punktu widzenia historiografii i źródłoznawstwa (Waldemar Chorążyczewski, Stanisław Roszak, *Privacy of documents – documents of privacy. Remarks on personal sources in historical and archival studies*), archiwoznawstwa (Piotr Falkowski, Kamila Siuda, *Egodocumentality of personal file: personality – mentality – world of values. On the example selected archives of the 20th century*), a także archiwizacji egodokumentów cyfrowych (Bartłomiej Konopa, Agnieszka Rosa, *Egodokumentalne ślady człowieka w Internecie i ich archiwizacja*). Prof. Wojciech Piasek w pracy *Towards a new archival science. Anthropologising the archive and the archival materials* analizuje dwudziestowieczny zwrot w archiwistyce w stronę jej kulturowego pojmowania na gruncie antropologicznego rozumienia kultury, nazywając ten kierunek zmian nową archiwistyką. Do współczesnych procesów kultury masowej, mających wpływ na działalności archiwów, nawiązuje dr Hadrian Ciechanowski, analizując zjawisko tzw. macdonaldyzacji instytucji archiwalnych (*McDonaldization of archives (an introduction to discussion)*). Dział uzupełnia archiwoznawczy artykuł ukraińskiej archiwistki (pracującej obecnie w Polsce) – prof. Iryny Matyash, poświęcony dokumentom dyplomatycznym, odnoszącym się do polsko-ukraińskich stosunków międzypaństwowych w latach 1918–1991, przechowywanych w archiwach Ukrainy.

Do działu Recenzje i omówienia zaprosiliśmy archiwistów zagranicznych i polskich, dając im możliwość zarekomendowania powstałych w ostatnich latach publikacji poświęconych archiwistyce, które w ich opinii były znaczące, zarówno ze względu na wartość naukową, jak i nowatorskie podejście do archiwów i archiwistyki. Mamy nadzieję, że nasze propozycje spotkają się z Państwa zainteresowaniem.

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KONARSKI LECTURES

Managing "the shapeless mass" in the digital age

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ABSTRACT
In his 1927 "Archeion" article, *On issues of modern Polish archival science* (*Z zagadnień nowożytnej archiwistyki polskiej*), the renowned Polish archivist Kazimierz Konarski wrote of the challenge of managing the "shapeless mass" of modern archives in the 20th century. In this presentation, Canadian archival consultant and independent scholar Laura Millar examines the records and archives management challenge of the 21st century: managing the "shapeless mass" of electronic records inundating governments and organizations in the digital age.
The "flood" of physical and textual documentation that Dr. K. Konarski faced a century ago has become a torrent of invisible, omnipresent, elusive electronic records – photographs, audio recordings, databases, AI-generated data, and more – stored in countless computer hard drives, cloud storage systems, and personal digital devices. How can the archivist manage digital sources that are both ephemeral and eternal at the same time? To ensure society has the documentary evidence it needs, L. Millar argues that archivists must our shift attention away from the care of static, "old" archives and focus more directly on the work of capturing and recording the present. The digital age may transform our methods, but our mission remains the same: to help society capture, protect, and make available for use essential sources of documentary proof.

KEY WORDS
Konarski Kazimierz, archives management, records management, mass documentation, digital records, digital archives

Zarządzanie „bezkształtna masą" w erze cyfrowej

STRESZCZENIE
W pracy *Z zagadnień współczesnej archiwistyki polskiej*, opublikowanej w 1927 r. w „Archeionie", znany polski archiwista Kazimierz Konarski pisał o wyzwaniu, jakim było zarządzanie „bezkształtną masą" współczesnych archiwów w XX w. Autorka, kanadyjska konsultantka ds. archiwów i niezależna badaczka Laura Millar analizuje wyzwania związane z zarządzaniem dokumentacją i archiwami w XXI w.: zarządzania „bezkształtną masą" zapisów elektronicznych zalewających instytucje rządowe i organizacje w erze cyfrowej.
„Zalew" fizycznej i tekstowej dokumentacji, z którą borykał się K. Konarski sto lat temu, przybrał kształt potoku niewidzialnych, wszechobecnych, nieuchwytnych zapisów elektronicznych – zdjęć, nagrań audio, baz danych, danych generowanych przez sztuczną inteligencję i nie tylko – gromadzonych na niezliczonych twardych dyskach komputerów, w systemach przechowywania w chmurze i osobistych urządzeniach cyfrowych. W jaki sposób archiwista może zarządzać źródłami cyfrowymi, które są jednocześnie efemeryczne i wieczne? L. Millar argumentuje, iż aby zapewnić społeczeństwu niezbędną do funkcjonowania dokumentację, archiwiści muszą

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE
Konarski Kazimierz, zarządzanie archiwami, zarządzanie dokumentacją, dokumentacja masowa, dokumentacja cyfrowa, archiwa cyfrowe

odwrócić uwagę od opieki nad statycznymi, „starymi" archiwami i skupić się bezpośrednio na pracy polegającej na zachowaniu i rejestrowaniu dowodów teraźniejszości. Era cyfrowa może zmienić nasze metody, jednak nasza misja pozostaje ta sama: wspierać społeczeństwo w zachowaniu, ochronie i udostępnianiu niezbędnych źródeł dokumentalnych.

Introduction[1]

I am honoured to be here in Warsaw to speak to you today, to deliver this year's Konarski Lectures. The lectures are named for your outstanding Polish archivist Kazimierz Konarski, a founding father of modern archival science and the author of the first handbook for archivists in Europe. I stand in his shadow with humility and gratitude as I take this opportunity to share some thoughts with you.

Let me start by clarifying my role. I have been an independent records and archives consultant and scholar since I finished my Master's degree in Archival Studies in 1984. Over close to 40 years, I have worked with agencies across Canada and internationally on the creation of sustainable archival programmes, including national governments, international aid agencies, the United Nations, the World

[1] The article is a transcript of a lecture by Dr. Laura Millar delivered on October 25, 2023 at the Warsaw School of Economics as part of the series of the international lectures "Konarski Lecures", organized by Polish State Archives. L. Millar has worked as a records, archives, and information management consultant and scholar for nearly 40 years, advising on records and archives programmes for governments, universities, non-governmental organizations, First Nations governments, churches, and businesses in such diverse countries as Canada, Bermuda, Trinidad and Tobago, Fiji, and Ghana. Two of her most recent consulting projects were with the World Bank in 2020, designing and writing a Records Management Roadmap and with the United Nations Secretariat in 2021, developing a strategic plan for digital records and archives management. She received her Master of Archival Studies degree from the University of British Columbia, Canada, in 1984 and her PhD in Archives from the University of London, England, in 1996. She taught for many years in the fields of records and archives management and is the author of dozens of publications and presentations. Her archival textbook *Archives. Principles and Practices*, first published in 2010 and revised in 2017, was awarded the Society of American Archivists' Waldo Gifford Leland Award in 2011. Her 2019 book, *A Matter of Facts. The Value of Evidence in an Information Age*, aims to raise public awareness of fundamental importance of evidence, including archives, to society. L. Millar has been recognized as an Honorary Senior Research Associate at University College London. In 2017, she was identified as a "Change Maker" by the British Columbia Museums Association for her contributions to the cultural field in the province. In 2021, she received the Emmett Leahy Award for contributions to international information and records management. In 2022, she was made a Fellow of the International Council on Archives in recognition of her support for international archival development, and particularly for her work on behalf of archival studies students and newcomers to the profession. She lives in the rainforests of western Canada.

Bank, and others. I am not an official representative of any Canadian archival agency, federal, provincial, territorial, municipal, university, or otherwise. I have seen the insides of dozens of archival institutions around the world, but I work independently, and my remarks today are entirely my own.

Polish and Canadian Contexts

I do not know enough about archival practice in Poland. One of the joys of encounters like this is the opportunity to learn more, and I am here to have you teach me as much as possible. What I have understand so far is this. Poland and Canada have much in common. We both have beautiful red and white flags; we both have about the same number of inhabitants; we both have complex and rich histories. But Poland's story is so different from Canada's.

Poland today stands upon the shoulders of centuries upon centuries of people living and working in the heart of central Europe: farming and trading, establishing kingdoms, commonwealths, and republics. Like a sheaf of wheat growing out of the ground, the archives that you have about Poland today came from the people and institutions of Poland across a rich and complex past.

The first and second world wars brought chaos, upheaval, and destruction to Poland. Archives were one of the many victims of the horrors of war, and the work you have undertaken since – to support reconstruction and to reconstitute and safeguard archival collections – has been monumental.

I understand your State Archives network has existed since 1919, though the oldest archive has operated consistently for over 200 years[2]. The State Archives of Poland is the primary government agency for archival management in the country. The integration of state-level archival services seems robust, and the work of the National Digital Archives – which I understand grew out of the Archives of Audiovisual Records – has resulted in an exciting online resource[3]. I was delighted to hear about your family archives initiative during a presentation by Małgorzata Grysbalska at the International Congress on

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[2] Some of the valuable online resources about Polish archival activity include the official website of the Polish State Archives. See State Archives, Homepage, 20 Feb. 2023, archiwa.gov.pl/en/, accessed 20 November 2023.

[3] Information about the National Digital Archives can be found at Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe, www.nac.gov.pl/, accessed 20 November 2023.

Archives in Abu Dhabi two weeks ago. I also understand that other archival collections across the country tell the story of churches, universities, and local communities. And I am overwhelmed by the number of different digital resources providing access to archival documentation[4].

As I discuss the situation in Canada, I remind you that we are an exceptionally large country, with a small population for our size. It would take over 100 hours to drive from the western to eastern sides of Canada. I live in the very west coast of Canada, over 4,000 kilometres from our nation's capital in Ottawa.

Canadians are active peacekeepers around the world, but we have not experienced war on our own soil for centuries. We are a country that blends – usually successfully – Indigenous people with recent immigrants and with people, like my family, who have long and complex ties to the country. I am American born of Canadian parents. My father is Canadian born of American and English parents. My mother was Canadian born of Irish parents. I have lived some of my life on different sides of the Canadian-American border. Dual or multiple citizenship is a common reality for Canadians. We embrace our diversity as part of our identity.

Overview

Let me outline my talk today, which draws on K. Konarski's idea of the "shapeless mass" of modern archives, as he wrote in his 1927 "Archeion" article, *On issues of modern Polish archival science*[5].

The "flood" of physical and textual documentation that Dr. K. Konarski faced a century ago has become a torrent of invisible and elusive electronic records – photographs, audio recordings, databases, AI-generated data, and more. These sources of evidence are stored in countless computer hard drives, cloud storage systems, and personal digital devices. How can the archivist manage digital sources that are both ephemeral and eternal at the same time?

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[4] Among the many interesting archival resources is the Polish Archives website at Archive – Polish Documents. See Archive – Polish Documents, www.polishdocuments.com/archive/, accessed 20 November 2023. See also the EuroDocs wiki page of Polish historical documents, at EuroDocs, Poland: Historical Collections, www.eudocs.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Poland:_Historical_Collections, accessed 21 November 2023.

[5] K. Konarski, *On the Issues of Modern Polish Archival Science, Translated and edited by Bartosz Nowożycki*, "American Archivist" 2017, v. 80, no. 1 (Spring/Summer), p. 217.

I will build on Dr. K. Konarski's concerns about the "shapeless mass". I have divided my remarks into three sections.

First, I reflect on the nature of records and archives management in the 19th and 20th centuries in Canada. I believe Canada's archival history, like our sociopolitical history, has been quite different from yours in Poland, and I hope you will find the contextual information of interest and value[6].

Second, I look at the impact of digital technologies on the content, form, and nature of records, archives, and evidence. I highlight the challenges archives and records professionals face in our effort to protect sources of evidence in a digital age.

Third, I present suggestions for action. How do we manage this "shapeless mass" of digital evidence? In this section, I will draw on some of the ideas I address in my 2019 book, *A Matter of Facts. The Value of Evidence in an Information Age*.

So, to begin.

Part 1: Archives in Canada

Let me offer an exceptionally brief historical overview of Canada, to place the archival story in context.

What is now Canada was home to Aboriginal people for millennia. Canada as a distinct geopolitical entity emerged as French and English missionaries and fur traders arrived in the 16th and 17th centuries. They were followed by refugees from the American Revolution. People loyal to the British Crown, loyalists like my own ancestors, were expelled from the new United States in the late 1700s, and many were given grants of land in the British colonies of Canada. My ancestors were ship builders in the Maritime provinces of eastern Canada.

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6 My review of Canadian archival history here is brief; for those who would like to know more, I direct you to two articles I wrote on Canadian archival history and development, published in the Canadian journal "Archivaria" some years ago. See: L. Millar, *Discharging Our Debt. The Evolution of the Total Archives Concept in English Canada*, "Archivaria" 1998, vol. 46, pp. 103–146, https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/12677, accessed 20 November 2023 and eadem, *The Spirit of Total Archives. Seeking a Sustainable Archival System*, "Archivaria" 1999, vol. 47, pp. 46–65, https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/12697, accessed 20 November 2023. This research was based on my doctoral studies at the University of London, England, under the title "The End of «Total Archives»?. An Analysis of Changing Acquisition Practices in Canadian Archival Repositories", completed in 1996.

Canada became a Commonwealth under the British Crown in 1867. As more immigrants came to Canada, from Europe, Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and the Pacific, the population grew more diverse. Today, Canada's population of 40 million people represents over 250 different ethnic origins. The largest diaspora communities in Canada are Chinese, with 1.7 million people, Italian, with 1.6 million people, Indian, with 1.3 million people, and Ukrainian, with 1.4 million people. Diversity is at the heart of Canadian identity.

Brymner and the Search for Archival Theory

In 1871, the government of Canada established a national archival agency – the Dominion Archives – to collect and preserve the documentary memory of the country. This is only four years after the country itself was formed. The first archivist, Douglas Brymner, who served from 1871 to 1901, was a journalist. Administratively, the archival agency was placed within the office of the Minister of Agriculture. Not a typical start to archival development.

D. Brymner was not allowed to access any Canadian government records that were still in use; all the documentation under the control of government officials were off limits to him. His remit was to collect the "old" stuff. As he said, he was given the title of archivist, along with "three empty rooms and very vague instructions"[7].

Looking for Guidance

To help him with his work, D. Brymner looked for guidance about what archives were, and where they could be found. He looked for definitions and theories to frame his work. This was all before the time of Dr. K. Konarski in Poland, Hilary Jenkinson in England, and Theodore Schellenberg in the United

[7] D. Brymner's words are quoted in many archival articles, one of the earliest of which is J. Atherton's *The Origins of the Public Archives Records Centre, 1897–1956*, "Archivaria" 1979, vol. 8, pp. 35–59, https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/10728, accessed 20 November 2023. For more information on D. Brymner's life and work, see the biographical entry for him in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography.* See:. G. Wright, *BRYMNER, DOUGLAS*, [in:] *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13, Toronto 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/brymner_douglas_13E.html, accessed 20 November 2023.

States. In the absence of written manuals, D. Brymner and his staff members travelled to the United Kingdom and France to learn from archivists there. What he learned was that most of his colleagues defined archives as the documentary evidence of actions, transactions, communications, decisions, and ideas. Government decrees, financial ledgers, and correspondence – physical, tangible sources of information and evidence. The custodial repositories he studied held documents that had been created in the past and kept for reference and research. This concept of archives, articulated in European manuals and in English and French practice, was steeped in Roman law, Greco-Roman recordkeeping traditions, and Western approaches to records and archives[8].

This, of course, is the definition we generally accept in the archival world today. It underpins the guidance provided by organizations such as the International Council on Archives, and by national archival organizations. As you will see, I see problems with that definition. D. Brymner had troubles with the definition too, but in quite different ways.

But let's imagine D. Brymner, sitting in his empty rooms, looking for the documentary evidence of the history of Canada. Even though, as I have mentioned, Indigenous people had occupied the country for millennia, they didn't produce records as defined by the likes of Samuel Muller, Johan Feith, and Robert Fruin. And the records that did fit the definition – the paper records of missionaries, traders, settlers, and colonial officials – those had all been transported back to England and Europe when the colonial representatives, military officers, and others went back home. Many of those people still living and working in Canada hadn't yet produced records old enough to fit the concept of archives.

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[8] It was long assumed that D. Brymner turned to the now-famous Dutch Manual by S. Muller, J.A. Feith, and R. Fruin (*Manual for the arrangement and description of archives. Drawn up by direction of the Netherlands Association of Archivists, translation of the second edition by Arthur H. Leavitt, with new introductions by Peter Horsman* [et al.], Chicago 2003), first published in Dutch in 1898, but this theory is unlikely, since the first English edition of that work did not appear until 1940. See E. Ketelaar, *Archival Theory and the Dutch Manual*, "Archivaria" 1996, vol. 41, pp. 31–40, https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/12123, accessed 20 November 2023.

Focus on copying

What is an archivist to do? How can you preserve original documents if you don't have access to original documents? D. Brymner met this challenge by collecting private documents from settlers and military officials, and he filled in the gaps with an active – I would say extreme – copying programme. He hired staff to live in England and France for months or years, copying colonial records and personal papers held in storage vaults in national and regional repositories. By the mid 1880s, D. Brymner's staff of copyists had transcribed thousands and thousands of pages of original documents. This copying programme was so robust, that our national archival repository still had staff in Europe actively copying when I began my archival career forty years ago.

But what about provenance, original order, custodial history, or the idea of a fonds? Those matters were not of much interest to D. Brymner. His goal was to collect anything that would help tell the story of Canadian history. Content was much more important than context.

Arthur Doughty and the Collecting Impulse

This all-encompassing definition of archives was embraced by D. Brymner's successor, Arthur Doughty, who served as Dominion Archivist from 1904 to 1935. By the time A. Doughty took on the role of Dominion Archivist, Hilary Jenkinson had written his *Manual* in England. Dr. K. Konarski was actively leading archival work in Poland. The idea that archives were defined by their content, context, and structure – that concepts of provenance and original order and the fonds were central to archival management – these were central ideas in Europe.

As Dr. K. Konarski argued, the uniqueness of the different items in a body of archives – the different documents or photographs or ledgers – was intricately connected to their placement within an aggregation of materials. The aggregation – the collection of archival materials, in their original order, became known as the "fonds". Dr. K. Konarski explained this idea in his article from 1927 – and I appreciate I am citing an English translation of his words in Polish, which is ironic and inadequate, and I beg your indulgence:

> Records… pass through all departments of the office. They cross paths many times, and merge and fuse with each other… these threads,

> crossing in all directions, create a closed consistent organic whole. This whole we will call an archival fond[9].

To provide this physical, time- and place-based service, archivists brought these aggregations of archival materials into a custodial environment, a storage repository, and then the archivist appraised, arranged and described the materials. The fonds was central to archival work, wasn't it?

A Broad Definition

Not to A. Doughty. As he wrote in a public report, "it is immaterial to the enquirer, whether a letter of a Governor has been found in a particular collection in Europe, or in Canada"[10]. The practice started by D. Brymner and continued by A. Doughty soon became a defining principle of Canadian archival work. Anything that helped explain Canadian history could be considered archival. I must add, having read some of A. Doughty's personal correspondence myself, I think he was more than a collector. He was a hoarder. "Zbieracz" in Polish. Canada's national archives was, he believed, his creation. The collections were his to shape and define. And he collected everything, from documents to paintings to clothing to military equipment. So, one of the pillars of Canadian archival theory was not the concept of the fonds; it was the idea of totality.

Canada and our Neighbour to the South

Another key pillar in Canada was the central role of government. This vision was embraced by the archival community and by the population at large. Let me explain the origins of that idea.

Canada's closest neighbour has always been the United States. We are neighbours, and we are friends. We have fought wars against each other, and we have fought wars alongside each other. We are often referred to as "children of a common mother". But we do suffer from a lot of sibling rivalry!

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9 K. Konarski, *On the Issues*..., p. 217.

10 A. Doughty's words are from his official report for 1905: see Canada, Archives, *Report on Canadian Archives* (1905), p. ix, quoted in L. Millar, *Discharging our Debt*..., p. 110.

From the creation of the American colonies in the 1600s, Americans have always believed in the separation of church, state, and citizen. Their national identity is built on the idea of limited government. After all, they created their country to kick out George III, King of England. We Canadians defined ourselves by staying in the good books of the same king and his descendants. We are a sovereign nation, but we are part of the British monarchy. King Charles III is our king. And most Canadians don't really mind.

Canadians tend to have a benevolent opinion of our government. Or governments, because we have many, including federal, provincial, regional, municipal, and First Nations. We complain about government, but mostly, I think, because we think our public sector should be doing more, not less.

In the archival realm, government was seen as directly responsible for the preservation of archives. And those archives were defined broadly, coming from all sources, public and private, copies or originals, textual, visual, or oral. Distinctions based on medium, form, or purpose were much less important than the idea that historical materials should be kept, and that the government should be responsible for this work.

Total Archives

So, you have D. Brymner responsible for archives but not having any archives in custody – he had to find some. You have A. Doughty believing that anything that crossed his threshold should be kept in the archives. And you have a population that sees the government as a central figure in our cultural lives.

This broad archival vision was entrenched in the 1970s. Celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Dominion Archives of Canada, Dominion Archivist Wilfred Smith argued that public archival institutions should be responsible "not only for the reception of government records which have historical value but also for the collection of historical material of all kinds and from any source which can help in a significant way to reveal the truth about every aspect of Canadian life"[11].

As you can imagine, sustaining a "total archives" programme of archival management is not easy for any government. Money doesn't grow on trees, as

[11] W.I.l.l. Smith, *Introduction*, [in:] *Archives: Mirror of Canada Past*, Toronto, 1972, pp. 9–10, quoted in L. Millar, *Discharging our Debt…*, p. 117.

we say in English. Collecting private archives meant diverting resources from the care of government records – how could a "total archives" repository serve two masters, the government official and the research public?

Also, in a country as large as Canada, serving a population across thousands of kilometres was a struggle. Over time, Canadians realized that having one archives in Ottawa was not terribly logical. Provinces and territories established their own archival institutions, and then universities and colleges, churches and municipalities, and community groups and historical associations.

In 1871 there was one national archival institution and a handful of local collections. By the 1970s, there were about 50 archival institutions across the country. By the 1980s there were about 200. Today there are over 1,000 archival institutions across Canada, of various sizes and shapes. Many of these institutions adhere to the "total archives" philosophy: they acquire and manage their institution's official records and they also collect and preserve non-institutional documentary evidence in all media and all forms[12].

The Canadian Archival System

Archivists invented a term for this distributed approach, which saw archival institutions scattered across the country, many of them funded directly by governments. We called it the Canadian Archival System (see Illustration 1). As part of this system, the federal government provided, and still provides, funding for a range of archival work. The government contributes about 1.5 million dollars a year to help archival institutions clear up backlogs of unprocessed archives, arrange and describe archives, and build online descriptive tools.

[12] For a discussion of the growth in archival institutions, see L. Millar, *Coming Up With Plan B. Considering the Future of Canadian Archives*, "Archivaria" 2014, vol. 77, pp. 103–140, esp p. 112, https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/13485, accessed 20 November 2023.

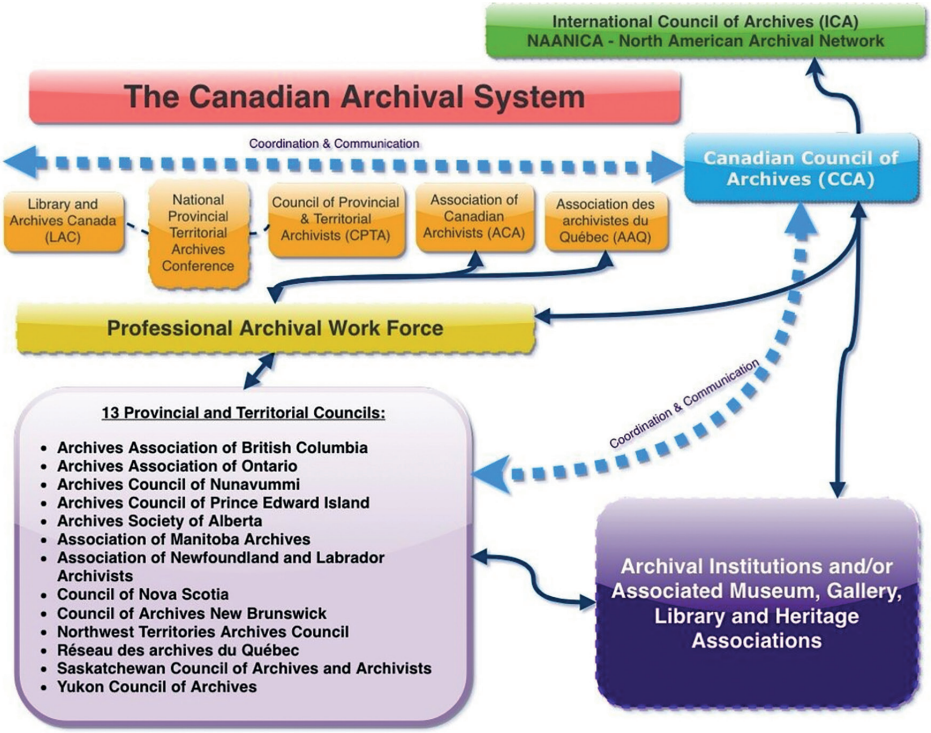

Illustration 1. The Canadian Archival System. Source: Yukon Council on Archives: https://www.yukoncouncilofarchives.ca/, accessed 21 November 2023.

The government funded the creation of our national descriptive standard *Rules for Archival Description* – a precursor to the *ISAD (G) international standard for archives*. The funds have also been used to establish an archival advisory programme, which allowed provinces and territories to hire full- or part-time archival advisors, who provide education and training, conduct site visits and provide advice for archival institutions in the region in which they are based. The success of these different initiatives has varied, and the funding is meagre: 1.5 million dollars does not go far across 1,000 institutions[13].

[13] The CCA's *Rules for Archival Description* is available online at Canadian archival standard. Rules for archival description, May 2004, https://archivescanada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/RADComplete_July2008.pdf, accessed 20 November 2023. I discussed the evolution of, and strengths and weaknesses of, the CAIN initiative in 2003, in a a web publication for the Association of Canadian Archivists: L. Millar, *Seeking Our Critical Vision: Speculations on the Past, Present, and Future of CAIN* (Web Publication No. 3), 19 May 2003.

It is also worth noting that in 2004, Canada's National Archives and National Library merged into one agency, Library and Archives Canada. This blended national library and national archives became the home of government archives, private archival collections, publications, maps and plans, documentary art, photographs, stamps and seals.

So here we are in 2023. We have one blended national archives and national library, ten provincial and three territorial archival agencies, and hundreds of municipal and regional government archival operations. We have university and college archives, art gallery archives, church archives, and special interest archives. We have an increasing number of First Nations archives, as many Indigenous groups have established legal claims to land and taken on responsibilities for economic and social development in their communities, which means they are creating physical and digital documents that need to be protected. The list of archival institutions is just about endless.

Canadian archivists are generally rather proud of the history that led to this "total archives system". We value the role of government in archival development, and we recognize that the story of society cannot be told only from government records – private archives, and materials in all media and forms, help to document our history: national, regional, or local. But the truth is, without public funding, this comprehensive approach to archival service could easily collapse. I have been a critic of this approach, which I fear is increasingly unsustainable.

Part 2: The Shapeless Mass in the Digital Age

Next we turn to the challenge of the digital, which is, I believe, is putting extraordinary pressure on archival services around the world, including in Canada. So, we arrive, at last, to the 21st-century reality of K. Konarski's "shapeless mass."

Computerization has fundamentally changed the nature of work, life, and archives from Canada to Poland and from South Africa to China. Archival institutions around the world are struggling with the challenge of acquiring and preserving digital documentation.

The impact of digital technologies is international, but I believe every society has to consider its own historical and cultural realities when deciding how to act. I began my remarks today with an overview of the social and cultural realities of archival work in Canada because I think cultural context is so very important.

Archival work in Canada is difficult in part because we have built our philosophy of archives on a custodial model and on a broad and vague definition of archives. There is more focus on collecting "old" materials and less on managing "new" evidence from the start.

With our custodial focus, records management and archives in Canada – and also in the United States – are defined as very different areas of work. We have different professional associations and different interpretations of professional roles and responsibilities. I am often rebuffed when I argue for a closer continuum of care between current records and historical archives.

But in a digital world, we will not have good archives at the end if we don't have records and evidence from the start. It is not that I don't care about culture and heritage. I began my career in archives because of my deep interest in the value of history and culture. But selling culture, heritage, and history is hard, especially to governments with extensive public responsibility and limited resources.

Today, virtually all of society's records start life in digital form. Where would we have been during the Covid-19 pandemic if we didn't have Zoom to keep us connected? How could scientists have developed Nobel-prize winning mRNA technologies without computers? How would we keep airplanes in the sky and ships crossing the sea without digital resources?

The digital products of these communications and interactions – the materials we archivists want to manage and preserve for posterity – they are born, they live, and often they die in the hands of their creators, before the ever make it into any kind of "archival" environment. How can our archives reflect that "shapeless mass"? Dr. K. Konarski saw this coming, didn't he? As he wrote in 1927:

> Twentieth-century archival science is in peril. Modern bureaucracy has rapidly undergone qualitative and quantitative changes. Gone will be the manuscripts along with their meaning when machine prints replace them. Much of the semi-official business will be absorbed by the phone. [...] [the] veritable "geological layers" of paper [...] will flood the archives with its shapeless mass [...] The tragic deliverance from this flood would be perhaps the fact that current records will disintegrate into ash long before they will reach the archives[14].

The traditional archival institution in Canada might not receive archives for ten or twenty or a hundred years after the records had been created. If we don't

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[14] K. Konarski, *On the Issues*..., p. 226.

take action from the start, current records will disintegrate into ash – or digital dust – before they make their way into our care.

The Explosion of Digital Technologies

I wonder what poor Dr. K. Konarski would think if he were with us today. According to the statistical website Statista, people send and receive close to 350 billion emails around the world. Every day[15]. Over 33 million Canadians own a cell phone. That is over 90% of the population. Statisticians are now counting the annual growth in data created and shared in zettabytes. Can one even imagine a zettabyte[16]?

What does the dramatic growth in information technologies mean for our efforts as keepers of archives? Of the small sliver of documentary memory worth keeping? Computers shatter traditional assumptions, don't they?

Here's my view of the impact of digital technologies on archival practice.

Time is an enemy

Archivists cannot wait for documentary evidence to become old before we act. We cannot wait for digital records to be created, used, stored, appraised, and then preserved in order to capture the core evidence needed for posterity. How can we extract the small portion of valuable emails from the 350 billion sent each day by waiting for a decade? We will only be able to keep documentation if we play a role from the beginning.

Traditional archival methodologies are challenged

Acquisition, arrangement, description, contextualization, access, and use are all based on the idea that archives can be defined as fonds. Every methodology

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15 See: Emails sent per day 2025, 22 Aug. 2023, https://www.statista.com/statistics/456500/daily-number-of-e-mails-worldwide, accessed 20 November 2023.

16 See: N. Blair, *Internet and Cell Phone Plans and Usage Statistics in Canada*, https://madeinca.ca/internet-and-cell-phone-plans-and-usage-canada-statistics/, accessed 20 November 2023.

we use today starts from the assumption that some "whole" body of archives will comes to us with some measure of provenance and original order as a defining feature.

Consider this. Much of the evidence essential to charging and convicting the people who attacked the United States Capitol in 2021 was not created by the American federal government. A great deal of valuable documentation was posted on Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter – now X – by the people who were there, as rioters or bystanders. Are we going to wait to acquire the whole body of archives, the fonds, of Joe or Jane or Fred who witnessed the events in person, when they decide to donate their archives to a repository twenty or thirty years from now? Are we going to collect what evidence we can from social media sources? And why are we collecting that evidence? For history? Or to help uphold justice and the rule of law?

Provenance, original order, and the fonds are all contextual elements in archives. But modern evidence comes with complex multiple provenances, with no linear original order as we understand it, and not necessarily as part of a cohesive aggregation. If we wait for the "whole" to exist before we participate in its care, we will end up deferring essential recordkeeping work until it is too late.

Sources of evidence are being created everywhere

Evidence intersects governments, organizations, and people. In a digital world, the evidence of us is not necessarily made by human hands. How do we deal with closed circuit television footage – CCTV cameras are everywhere, and the images they capture are used as evidence in law? Are they also evidence for archival and societal purposes? If so, how do we capture them? What do we capture? How do we preserve it?

What about generative artificial intelligence? The evidence created using technologies such as Chat GPT or Google Bard is evidence of something, isn't it? What is the archival role in capturing and protecting such materials? How do we shape our policies, procedures, and methodologies to accommodate these digital realities? The future is here, and we must deal with it. How?

A Closed Loop

In my country of Canada, the foundation of archival practice has been built on public service and public funding, and on an assumption that custodial care will be the norm. Our Archival System is what scientists call a "closed ecosystem" – a closed loop. Look at Illustration 1 again. Where is the public? Where is the creator of records, or the user of archives? They are not part of the scheme. How is an ecosystem sustainable if it does not invite new sources of energy? People need oxygen to breathe. Archives management needs records creators and records users to sustain our archival life.

Digital technologies shatter the assumption that the public sector can and should be a primary funder of archival work. The organizations that create sources of evidence must be encouraged, if not required, to take responsibility for protecting those sources of evidence, not just for narrow legal reasons but because our world is richer and more accountable when all sectors of society recognize the value of facts, truth, and evidence.

The foundation of archival practice in Canada also relies on archivists – a poorly recognized and poorly respected class of worker. We are underpaid and overworked, yet we carry on with the zeal of a missionary. But as my dear Canadian friend and colleague, Richard Valpy, argued in a seminal 2016 "Archivaria" article, archivists are not missionaries. As he wrote,

> Archival professionals can advise society on the "how" of archival management, and archival institutions can provide the support system for housing, protecting, and making available those archives that come into their custody. But neither professionals nor institutions can "make" society create and keep good records. We cannot make the horse drink[17].

Do you have an expression like this in Polish? You can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink. It seems to appropriate here. Archivists cannot save archives if the creators of records, and the society at large, want those archives to exist. We cannot make the horse drink. If we do not find a new approach to the archival endeavour, then Dr. K. Konarski's ashes will, indeed, turn to digital dust.

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[17] See: D.R. Valpy, *From missionaries to managers. Making the case for a Canadian Documentary Heritage Commission*, "Archivaria" 2016, vol. 82, pp. 137–163, https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/13584.162, accessed 20 November 2023.

Part 3: Taking Action

Much of my work now is advocacy. I think one of the most important actions we in the archival community can take today is to engage with the public, to raise awareness of the critical importance of evidence as a source of facts and truth. This awareness raising will help us achieve other critical results too.

Strategic action is needed in four areas. The first relates to the legal and regulatory framework in which records and other sources of evidence and information are created and managed. The second relates to the design of information technologies. The third relates to the critical task of raising public awareness of the value of records, archives, and other sources of evidence. The fourth relates to our role as archivists in society.

Action No 1: Legal and Regulatory Frameworks

First, our governments need to strengthen the legal and regulatory frameworks in which records, archives, and other sources of evidence are created, used, and managed. Societies need strong, sustainable, enforceable records and information legislation and regulations. I understand Polish requirements for records classification and retention/disposition are quite strong, and I congratulate you on this achievement. But we also need stricter controls around the design, development, and implementation of digital technologies. The European Union's General Data Protection or Regulation, or GDPR, is a valuable tool. But GDPR and similar legislative mechanisms need to include formal recognition of the enduring value of evidence. It's not "just" data. It's not "just" information. It can stand as proof.

Sebastiaan van der Lars, founder and CEO of the Trusted Web Foundation, has argued that strengthening data and information legislation is necessary to support integrity and authenticity. As he said, "Consumers should demand transparency and…accountability… If information impacts your life, as a citizen you deserve the freedom to verify how information changed over time, and who the sender is"[18].

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[18] See: S. van der Lans, *Will Europe Lead the 'trusted Web' after GDPR?, The Trusted Web*, 21 Jan. 2021, thetrustedweb.org/europe-trusted-web-gdpr/, accessed 20 November 2023.

As S. van der Lars has argued, and I agree, integrity of evidence must be a precondition of records creation, not an afterthought.

Action No 2: Evidence by Design

Second, those who design and distribute – and use – information technologies need to incorporate stronger record making and evidence protection protocols into systems. If we are going to have evidence for present and future use, we need to build "evidence by design" into computer systems. Archivists also need to insert our expertise into the development of technologies for making and keeping information and records. As I have said many times, we cannot wait to acquire "old" archives so that we can then examine their provenance and determine if they are authentic.

We can and should continue to contribute to the development of tools to capture and preserve authentic digital signatures, to blockchain or similar technologies for recordkeeping, and to the work of coding software and firmware to authenticate sources of information.

Andy Parsons, Senior Director of the Content Authenticity Initiative at the computer software company Adobe, has taken steps by developing technical standards for certifying the source and history of media content. Under the oversight of a body called the Coalition for Content Provenance and Authenticity, or C2PA, Adobe is developing content authenticity tools that sit within hardware and software.

For example, coding is being build into the software that operate digital cameras so that GPS, tracking, and descriptive data are captured the moment an image is created. The software then ensures this metadata persists when the images are exported into other repositories, from digital storage systems to news feeds.

Automation can help us here, replacing the sometimes-erratic capture of metadata by humans – which requires the creator or holder of information to remember to add contextual data – with a more consistent method of contextualizing evidence[19]. Authenticity needs to be guaranteed from the beginning.

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[19] See: The Coalition for Content Provenance and Authenticity (C2PA), C2PA Specifications, c2pa.org/specifications/specifications/1.3/index.html, accessed 21 November 2023. See also

Action No 3: Public Awareness

Third, the public needs to understand why records, archives, and other sources of evidence matter. We archivists cannot make this change in public perception happen by ourselves: we must reach out and build bridges across disciplines and across sectors of society. We must engage more widely with others in the information community and across society.

Archivists need to be advocates. The more we engage with the public about the value of archives, the more we gain their support. We need to change how we communicate. If we focus on the past, on the old, people will not understand their role in the digital archives of today.

We need to emphasize evidence and authenticity. We need to explain how documentary evidence serves as an antidote to fake news. We need to speak less about research and scholarship and more about rights, responsibilities, identity, and memory. This shift in language does not change who we are. But as the materials we work with change, and our processes change, our relationship with the public also needs to change.

Action No 4: The Archival Role

Fourth, archivists need to re-examine our role and duties in society. What is our professional identity? We can no longer think of ourselves as custodians only or custodians first. Sometimes we will need to be advisors. Sometimes we will need to be activists. We need to expand the understanding of what it means to "be an archivist". We must look not at our role in professional isolation but as part of a wider vision to support the recognition of facts and truth and evidence as antidotes to lies and disinformation. Taking a strategic approach is essential.

Our professional associations have a role to play in clarifying, or redefining, the archival role, and in implementing, stronger, more enforceable, and more relevant organizational and ethical frameworks for our work. In my presentation to the International Council on Archives in Abu Dhabi this month, I called on

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an interview between Sebastiaan van der Lans and Andy Parsons, founder of the Content Authenticity Initiative at Adobe: YouTube, Digital Content Provenance with Andy Parsons and Sebastiaan van der Lans. Content Authenticity Initiative (CAI) at Adobe, 11 Jan. 2023, www.youtube.com/watch?v=nQNTMicYu6E, accessed 21 November 2023.

the ICA to completely overhaul our international professional codes of ethics, to reflect the changes in archival responsibilities in a digital age. I have called on national and regional archival associations to do the same. I wait in hope.

Intersections and Connections

I want the public to understand the value of all types of documentary evidence: digital and analogue, public and private, creative and corporate. But archives are not just about risk and bureaucracy. Archives are about stories, memories, and connections. And archives as defined in Western law are not the only way that societies remember.

When I began my story of the development of archives in Canada, I told you about our very Western, document-focused approach to evidence. The voices of Indigenous people were silent in this approach, as were the voices of immigrants and others whose cultures and identities were not shaped through the creation of physical sources of proof.

Canadian archivists are starting to see that our foundation for archival practice – based on the idea that evidence is static, physical, and documentary – leaves out whole sections of our national story. For example, a wampum belt is a form of evidence in an Indigenous context: such textile productions were often created to mark agreements between different communities. But the context in which a wampum belt is understood is not documentary.

The belt alone does not tell the story: it is traditionally cared for by a member of the Indigenous community in question. That person interprets the belt, providing the contextual information, the "metadata," as it were. That information resides in the memory of the keeper and is passed down formally from one generation to the next. Putting a human keeper in an acid-free box isn't possible, is it? Describing that keeper's memory according to *Rules for Archival Description* and *ISAD(G)* is problematic. But that belt, and that keeper, form part of the memory of that community. This different type of memory should be acknowledged, even if – or especially if – its care involves quite different protocols from those we typically apply in archives.

CCUNESCO Symposium

I recently had the opportunity to facilitate a virtual symposium, held under the auspices of the Canadian Advisory Committee for Memory of the World and financed by the Canadian Commission for UNESCO, the International Council on Archives, Heritage Saskatchewan, and Western University in Canada. The symposium brought together a dozen experts and an audience of over 200 from around the world. Meeting over Zoom, we spend a day considering the relationships between records, archives, and other forms of cultural expression, from oral traditions, songs, and folklore to crafts and living heritage.

One of the lessons I learned from this experience was that archivists must keep redefining the concept of evidence to meet the dynamic realities of technology and society. But we must also acknowledge that physical or digital documentary evidence is only one form of cultural expression. Some of those expressions hold evidence; others less so. We should acknowledge their existence and then determine how to protect them.

Conclusion

Let me end my presentation with an articulation of my own vision for the future of records, archives, and evidence. I want to support the existence of sources of evidence – documentary and otherwise – as the foundation for societies that are enlightened, democratic, respectful, and self aware. I want to ensure archives play a central role in holding institutions and agencies – public and private – accountable for their actions, so they are transparent, effective, and democratic. I want people to be able to draw on records, archives, and evidence as a means for forming a sense of personal and collective identity, for sharing memories, and for building a sense of belonging. I want to see records and archives as a lever for helping people work together for the common good while respecting each other's autonomy and agency.

To achieve that vision for the future, my efforts now are on raising awareness of the importance of a collective consciousness, which comes with a shared understanding of "truth" and of facts and evidence. This doesn't mean one and only one truth, but it does require a recognition of the value of fact-based truth,

which depends on unfettered access to sources of evidence, including but not only documentary materials such as data, records, and archives.

I also believe in the power of artifacts and stories, art and music, and other types of tangible and intangible heritage. My specialty is documentary evidence, and I don't pretend to those other areas of knowledge, but I recognize their value, and I support their protection.

My vision speaks of diversity and inclusion, which are defining feature of Canadian culture. As a recent advertising campaign for our national broadcaster says, "It's not how Canadian you are. It's who you are in Canada". But I believe that archivists around the world share the same vision. We want the public to value evidence. We want decision makers to strengthen legislation and regulations around the creation and management of information and evidence. We want improved digital technologies that protect the evidential value of digital content. We want the world to recognize that we are ethical, trustworthy professionals, dedicated to the public good and helping to make change through our area of expertise.

There will always be a role for the archivist. Some of us will still be custodians, working in archival repositories. Others will focus less on what is in front of us and more on how we liaise with our partners in the wider ecosystem. We may be strategic planners, teachers, and advisors. We may be more activist than archivist. I still see us as evidence specialists, managing sources of documentary proof in different ways in different contexts.

Let me end on a hopeful note. K. Konarski saw a shapeless mass. I see a tangled pile of electronic wires. But perhaps we are both looking at something that can be crafted into a beautiful product. Working together, we can make it. Thank you.

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KONTEKSTY ARCHIWALNE

Archival contexts

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ABSTRACT
Discussing archives as a cultural phenomenon entails viewing archives as epistemological sites rather than as sources. In the past two decades, this "archival turn" has been made in many disciplines. Anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, philosophers, cultural and literary theorists, as well as artists, have developed various "archivologies". Historians, however, by and large upheld the primacy of documents as historical sources, maintaining the tenet "No documents, no history" coined 125 years ago, in 1897, by the French: archivist Langlois and historian Seignobos, and translated into Polish in 1912. However, understanding archives as a cultural, social and political phenomenon also entails shifting attention from the actual archival document to its contextual history, a history encompassing the why, who, what, and how of archiving, all determined by societal challenges and technologies.

KEYWORDS
archival science, agency, archivists, mediation, context, digital processes

Konteksty archiwalne

STRESZCZENIE
Rozpatrywanie archiwum jako zjawiska kulturowego pociąga za sobą postrzeganie archiwów jako miejsc o wymiarze epistemologicznym, a nie jedynie jako źródeł. W ciągu ostatnich dwóch dekad ten „archiwalny zwrot" dokonał się w wielu dyscyplinach. Antropolodzy, socjolodzy, psycholodzy, filozofowie, teoretycy kultury i literatury, a także artyści opracowali różne „archiwologie". Historycy jednak w większości popierali prymat dokumentów jako źródeł historycznych, podtrzymując zasadę, iż bez dokumentów nie ma historii, sformułowaną 125 lat temu, w 1897 r., przez francuskiego archiwistę Ch. V. Langloisa i historyka Ch. Seignobosa, a przetłumaczoną na język polski w 1912 r. Jednak rozumienie archiwów jako zjawiska kulturowego, społecznego i politycznego pociąga za sobą również przeniesienie uwagi z samego dokumentu archiwalnego na jego historię kontekstową, historię opisującą dlaczego, kto, co i jak archiwizuje, a wszystko to w kontekście zmieniających się uwarunkowań społecznych i technologicznych.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE
archiwistyka, władze archiwalne, archiwiści, mediacje, kontekst, cyfryzacja

Thousand years Poland and The Netherlands (*Polska i Niderlandy. 1000 lat kontaktów*) is the title of the book by Lucia Thijssen, published in 1992/2003[1]. The book deals with Polish-Dutch encounters in a variety of social, cultural, political, economic, maritime, military, scientific, and religious contexts, and more[2]. These stories couldn't have been written without access to archives.

The relationship between historical research and archives is the main subject of the first part of my presentation. Subsequently, I will discuss the agency of "archivers" who (co-) determine the meaning of archives. I will argue that understanding the archives as a cultural, social and political phenomenon entails shifting the attention from the actual archival document to its contextual history; that history follows the logic of archives as transactional and process-bound information. Understanding archives includes understanding the archival contexts: the why, who, what, and how of archiving, all determined by societal challenges and technologies. An archive is created and constructed by "archivers". I will discuss how such mediation affects the archive and its users. I will also say a few words about Archives (with a capital A) as a cultural phenomenon, focusing on the relationship between community archives and mainstream archival institutions.

Images

One hundred and twenty five years ago, in 1897, two manuals were written, which later would conquer the world: the *Introduction to the study of history* by two Frenchmen, archivist Charles-Vincent Langlois and historian Charles Seignobos, and the *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives* by Dutch archivists Samuel Muller, Johan Feith and Robert Fruin[3]. Both manuals were published in

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1 L. Thijssen, *Duizend jaar Polen en Nederland,* Zutphen 1992, transl. *Polska i Niderlandy. 1000 lat kontaktów*, Zutphen 2003.

2 I dealt with prince Janusz Radziwiłł (1612–1655) and his stay in The Netherlands in my *Documents as monuments*, "Archeion" 2011, vol. 112, pp. 51–63; Polish translation: *Dokumenty jako pomniki*, ibidem, pp. 37–47. Reprinted [in:] *Culture – Memory – Identities. Memory of the World Program and diversified perception of the past. Papers of the 4th International Conference of the UNESCO Memory of the World Programme, Warsaw, Poland 18–21 May 2011*, ed. W. Falkowski, Warszawa 2013, pp. 48–60.

3 S. Muller, J.A. Feith and R. Fruin, *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives. Translation of the second edition by Arthur H. Leavitt, with a new introduction by Peter Horsman, Eric Ketelaar and Theo Thomassen*, Chicago 2003.

1898 and became seminal texts for historians and archivists all over the world[4]. In 1912 Stanisław Zakrzewski (1873–1936) took the initiative and commissioned Wanda Liljen-Górkowa to create a Polish translation of the *Introduction to the study of history*. Kazimierz Konarski knew the Dutch Manual (in the French edition of 1910), and he referred to it in his seminal text of 1927 *On the issues of modern Polish archival science*[5] as well as in his *Modern Polish archivistics* (1929)[6]. Very recently (in 2021), the Dutch Manual has been analyzed thoroughly by Łukasz Nowak in "Archiwa–Kancelarie–Zbiory" (AKZ)[7].

"No documents, no history" was the adage of the *Introduction* by Langlois and Seignobos, in their "Bible" of positivist historiography, the French answer to the strictly scientific approach of 19th-century German historiography. "Nie ma dokumentów, nie ma historii"[8]. This motto confirmed the important role of documents, and thus of archives, in historical research. Langlois and Seignobos analyzed the reasonings which lead from the inspection of documents to the knowledge of facts. They warned that physical facts and human actions cannot be "observed directly, they are all *imagined*. Historians – nearly all of them unconsciously and under the impression that they are observing realities – are occupied solely with images"[9]. Every archivist and every archive user should take this warning to heart.

What is the archive an image of? Both the Dutch Manual and Kazimierz Konarski advocated the principles of provenance and respect for the original order of an archive. Konarski wrote: "The most important property of the fond is its direct relation to the office from which it derives"[10]. In the same issue of AKZ

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4 *The Introduction* was published in 1898 both in French and in English, and more translations would follow: Russian (1899), Japanese (1901), Greek (1903), Spanish (1913), Chinese (1933), Arabic (1977). The Manual appeared in 1898 in Dutch, in 1905 in German, followed by Italian (1908), French (1910), Bulgarian (1912), English (1940), Chinese (1959), Portuguese (1960) and Estonian (1998–2001).

5 CH.V. Langlois, CH. Seignobos, *Introduction to the study of history*, New York, London 1989.

6 K. Konarski, *Program prac wewnętrznych w archiwach nowożytnych*, "Archeion" 1927, vol. 1, pp. 106–124; idem, *On the issues of modern Polish archival science*, transl. and ed. B. Nowożycki, "American Archivist" 2017, vol. 80. pp. 213–229; idem, *Nowożytna archiwistyka polska i jej zadania*, Warszawa 1929.

7 Ł.P. Nowak, *Holenderski Podręcznik do porządkowania i opisu archiwów autorstwa S. Mullera, J. Feitha i R. Fruina z 1898 r. i jego późniejsze wydania*, "Archiwa – Kancelarie – Zbiory" 2021, vol. 12(14), pp. 89–109.

8 The original Polish translation said: "Niema źródeł, niema historyi".

9 CH.V. Langlois and CH. Seignobos, *The Introduction*..., London–New York 1912, p. 219.

10 Konarski, *On the issues*..., p. 218.

that carried the article on the Dutch Manual, Hadrian Ciechanowski discussed development of the principle of provenance as a component of society's gradual rationalization in the 19th century[11]. The Manual stressed that an archive will inevitably be an image (a reflection) of the administrative structure of the body that created it. The Dutch trio therefore instructed that the system of arrangement of an archive must be based on the original organization "which in the main corresponds to the organization of the administrative body that produced it"[12]. The archive as it has been handed down is not an image of a historical reality, but rather of the historical reality as perceived or constructed by the archive creator. For example, judicial archives present the world as seen by each of the parties in a lawsuit, financial records serve to make reality calculable, and government records on people serve to make people recognizable as citizen and taxpayer. As the Spanish cultural entrepreneur Jorge Blasco Gallardo warns, archiving systems "have been modelling ways of representing reality, looking at reality and, very often, have built and designed reality itself"[13].

The historian has to depart from the reality as perceived or constructed by the archive creator, and use his or her imagination to (re)construct the actual historical reality. This entails shifting emphasis "from the analysis of the properties and characteristics of individual documents to an analysis of the functions, processes, and transactions which cause documents to be created"[14].

Agency of actors

Archiving is a cultural, social and political practice, influenced by societal challenges and by technologies; not directly, but through the agency of actors who act in a certain function, executing specific work processes in line with their

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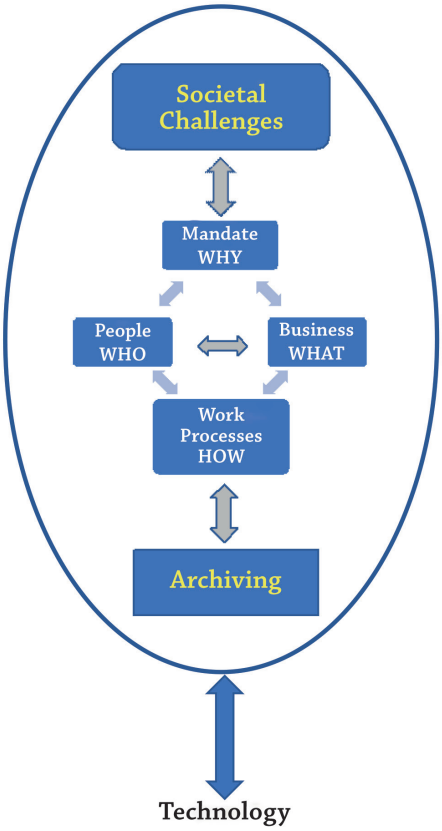
11 H. Ciechanowski, *The principle of provenance as the principle of rationalization of archives*, "Archiwa – Kancelarie – Zbiory" 2021, vol. 12, pp. 49–65.

12 S. Muller, J. Feith, R. Fruin, *Manual*..., section 16.

13 J.B. Gallardo, *Ceci n'est pas une archive*, https://revistafakta.wordpress.com/2013/12/17/ceci-nest-pas-une-archive-por-jorge-blasco-gallardo/ [originally published in: *Memorias y olvidos del archivo*, ed. F. Estévez González and N. de Santa Ana, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria 2010, pp. 11–19], accessed 1 July 2023.

14 T. Cook, *What is past is prologue. A history of archival since 1898, and the future paradigm shift*, "Archivaria" 1997, vol. 43, p. 47, repr. [in:] *All shook up. The archival legacy of Terry Cook*, ed. T. Nesmith, G. Bak and J.M. Schwartz, Chicago 2020, p. 259.

mandate and the actor's functions. In my book "Archiving people"[15] I proposed the following model of the archival context:



Source: Own elaboration.

For example, we acknowledge the need for a constitutionally anchored armed force, felt by the society (mandate: why). This results in functions (what) performed by actors (who) via specific work processes (how/where/when). All this leads to archiving. Each of these interdependent components is time- and place-bound and influenced by technology[16].

The Dutch society's changing views with regard to military service had an impact on the military's mandate and subsequently on its functions (the enlisting system), actors (governments, citizens, notaries, insurance companies) and work processes, leading to changes in archiving.

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15 E. Ketelaar, *Archiving people. A social history of Dutch archives*, 's-Gravenhage 2020, pp. 19a, 275b, https://archivistics.home.blog/2019/12/14/new-e-book/, accessed 1 July 2023.

16 Ibidem, p. 275b.

In order to use archives as sources fruitfully, one has to understand them as a cultural, social and political phenomenon. Archives "are produced from culturally embedded expectations and conventions"[17]. For example, slave registers in the Americas didn't include births; not out of carelessness, neither to keep them secret or for ideological reasons, but simply because registration only made sense when it was sufficiently clear that the child would remain alive[18]. In the New World, the colonizing powers had different cultural definitions of basic economic interests: taxing land (the English), or taxing people (the Spanish), or trading goods (the Dutch). These factors resulted in creation of different types of records: the English kept survey maps, the Spanish – censuses, the Dutch – commercial data[19]. These different record types reinforced the limited colonial gaze which focused on either land, or people, or goods. The archives are indeed not only a social and cultural, but a political phenomenon as well. For, as James Scott writes in *Seeing like a state*[20], "there are virtually no other facts for the state than those that are contained in documents"[21].

To understand archives as a social, cultural and political phenomenon, as epistemological sites, one has to know the why, what, who, and how in order to assess what reality may be reflected in the archives. In the past two or three decades many disciplines have made an "archival turn"[22]. Anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, philosophers, cultural and literary theorists, as well as artists, all have developed various "archivologies"[23]. They often give a prominent place to the document and not to the archives as a cultural, social and political phenomenon. However, one has to look up from the document, look through and beyond the document to the archiving context, or rather contexts (plural). The South African archivist Verne Harris calls this "an ever-unfolding horizon of

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17 F.X. Blouin, W.G. Rosenberg, *Processing the past. Contesting authority in history and the archives*, Oxford 2011, p. 120.

18 M.R. Trouillot, *Silencing the past. Power and the production of history*, Boston 1995, pp. 26–27, 48, 51–53.

19 P. Seed, *Ceremonies of possession in Europe's conquest of the New World, 1492–1640*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 188–189.

20 J.C. Scott, *Seeing like a state. How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*, Yale University Press 1998.

21 Ibidem, pp. 82–83.

22 E. Ketelaar, *Archival turns and returns. Studies of the archive*, [in:] *Research in the archival multiverse*, ed. A.J. Gilliland, S. McKemmish and A. J. Lau, Clayton 2016, pp. 228–268.

23 For example: K. Ćwiek-Rogalska, *Archiving in the face of erasure. The idea of the "Post-German" archive*, "Poznańskie Studia Slawistyczne" 2020, vol. 19, pp. 77–100.

context(s)", "an incessant movement of continual recontextualisation"[24]. These contexts are shaping the action of the people and institutions who made and maintained the records, the functions the records perform, the capacities of information technologies to capture and preserve information at a given time, and the custodial history of the records[25].

In the colonial archives of the Netherlands Indies, anthropologist Ann Stoler was looking for information on relationships between white children and their indigenous nursemaids[26]. She found it in numerous reports – classified as secret – concerning the political situation in the Netherlands Indies. At the time, government officials believed the colonial order to be threatened by what they labelled the "danger" of contact between white children and their nursemaids. Thus, the civil servants who created the records, and the colonial archivists who labelled and shaped contents and context of the archival documents, have at the same time labelled and shaped the relationship between children and their nursemaids. To understand the archive, one has to decode its various aspects; this requires, in Stoler's forcible expression, reading "along the archival grain", accepting even unethical, forbidden, illegal, evil or irrational recordkeeping.

The Logic of Archives

In other words, one has to decode the logic of the archives – the system or set of principles underlying the arrangement of elements[27]. Records and archives are "process-bound information", that is, information is generated by and linked to work processes[28]. The information is structured and recorded by these processes. This is different from the logic of libraries and documentation centres that acquire and preserve books and other media which are not created and kept specifically

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24 V. Harris, *Ethics and the archive. "An incessant movement of recontextualisation",* [in:] *Controlling the past. Documenting society and institutions. Essays in honor of Helen Willa Samuels*, ed. T. Cook, Chicago 2011, p. 360.

25 T. Nesmith, *Seeing archives. Postmodernism and the changing intellectual place of archives*, "American Archivist" 2002, vol. 65, p. 35.

26 A.L. Stoler, *Along the archival grain. Epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense,* Princeton 2009.

27 Following the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) "a system or set of principles underlying the arrangements of elements in a computer or electronic device so as to perform a specified task".

28 T. Thomassen, *A first introduction to archival science,* "Archival Science" 2001, vol. 1, p. 374.

as evidence of work processes. Unlike mere data, information in the archives is transactional and process-bound[29]. Consequently, we do not consider the archival document merely on its own, but within the context of the work process which created the document, and which gives each record its specific meaning within that context.

Archiving entails creating a document and linking it to a transaction, as well as other documents concerning that transaction, by some form of physical or virtual filing. The "archival bond", or the interrelatedness between the records created and received in the course of a particular transaction, is an essential characteristic of archives[30]. That applies to both public and private archives, although the Dutch Manual of 1898 stated that family archives are "a conglomerate of papers and documents", they "do not form a whole [...] and lack the organic bond of an archive [...]. The rules for ordinary archives, therefore, cannot be applied to family archives"[31]. However, archivists from younger generations than the Dutch trio considered family archives to be a combination of personal archives in which the relation between the components is determined by family relations. In such family archives, official documents may be found as well, same as in the manuscript books in Polish-Lithuanian family archives of 17th and 18th century, which often contain not only *acta publica*, but also private documents[32].

Including and Excluding

We must be aware of the fact that a family archive, like every archive, is a construction, built by including information as much as by excluding it[33]. What did the family want to keep and what did they destroy? Think of sensitive

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29 G. Yeo, *Records, information and data. Exploring the role of record-keeping in an information culture*, Cambridge 2018.

30 E. Ketelaar, *Being digital in people's archives*, "Archives and Manuscripts" 2003, vol. 31, p. 18, translated into Polish: *„Cyfrowe życie" w archiwum dla ludzi*, "Archeion" 2004, vol. 107, pp. 149–160.

31 S. Muller, J. Feith, R. Fruin, *Manual*..., section 3.

32 M. Matwijów, *Manuscript books. Collections of political life materials from the area of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries in libraries, archives and museums in Poland*, "Knygotyra" 2021, vol. 77, pp. 171–202.

33 M. Farrenkopf, A. Ludwig, A. Saupe, *Logik und Lücke. Formen der archivischen und sammelnden Konstitution authentischen Wissens*, [in:] *Logik und Lücke. Die Konstruktion des Authentischen in Archiven und Sammlungen*, ed. M. Farrenkopf, A. Ludwig, A. Saupe, Göttingen 2021, pp. 26–28;

correspondence, diaries, financial documents concerning a bankruptcy. "The archive" Peter Fritzsche writes "is the production of the heirs"[34]. The family archive reflects the image that the family wishes to project of itself. That is very normal. Through their dealings with objects – furniture, art, photos, books, musical instruments, scrapbooks and also archives – people define who they are, or were or want to become[35]. Such identification belongs to the "tacit narratives" of the family archive. "Archiving, how we archive and are archived constructs our lives, has consequences for our reality, constructs our gaze" as Jorge Blasco Gallardo writes[36]. When describing or using a personal or a family archive, account should be taken of the construction of the archive that results from the self-image not only that of the archive creators, but also that of the descendants who may purge the archive, but save the rest or donate or deposit it at an archival institution. These self-images are formed in a social context that varies depending on time and place. This applies equally to public records: they too reflect the image that the creator wants to give of his or her organization or of him- or herself.

Social Archivistics

Same applies to community archives whose collections of documents and other artefacts are determined by what the community considers of value for forming, re-creating and transmitting the sense of shared experience and therefore of shared identity[37]. I would like to refer to Magdalena Wiśniewska-Drewniak's recent book on Polish social archivistics (archiwistyka społeczna)[38].

W. Füßl, *Überlieferungslücken, ihre Motive und Auswirkungen auf das kulturelle Erbe […]*, ibidem, pp. 153–159; D. Thomas, S. Fowler, V. Johnson, *The silence of the archive*, London 2017.

34 P. Fritzsche, *The archive and the case of the German nation*, [in:] *Archive stories. Facts, fictions, and the writing of history*, ed. A. Burton, Durham and London 2005, p. 185.

35 E. Ketelaar, *Cultivating archives*, "Archival Science" 2012, vol. 12, pp. 19–33.

36 J.B. Gallardo, *Ceci n'est pas…*

37 J. Bacia, *Unsere Geschichte gehört uns! Die Archive der Neuen Socialen Bewegungen*, [in:] *Logik und Lücke. Die Konstruktion des Authentischen in Archiven und Sammlungen*, ed. M. Farrenkopf, A. Ludwig, A. Saupe, Göttingen 2021, pp. 272–274; E. Ketelaar, *Archives, memories and identities*, [in:] *Archives and recordkeeping. Theory into practice,* ed. C. Brown, London 2014, pp. 131–70. A shorter version with the same title appeared in *Records, archives and memory,* ed. M. Willer, A.J. Gilliland, M. Tomič, Zadar 2015, pp. 47–76.

38 M. Wiśniewska-Drewniak, *Inaczej to zniknie. Archiwa społeczne w Polsce – wielokrotne studium przypadku*, Toruń 2019.

Community archives are a relatively new phenomenon. Besides independent community archives ("Freie Archive", as they are called in Germany), mainstream archives are also endeavouring to connect communities to their collections. Many State and municipal archives have joined the community movement that began, some decades ago, in the United Kingdom[39]. Archival institutions encourage people to upload their stories and digitized documents, photos and other artefacts, thus broadening the Archives' societal terms of reference. This new archival practice of what chief archivist of the Open Society Archives Gabriella Ivacs calls "socialization of archives", is, according to her, "an important issue not only for those people whose story might be otherwise excluded, but also highlights the positive role that memory institutions can play in building more cohesive societies based on democratic principles"[40].

A further strategy would be, as Beth Yakel suggests, to focus on building communities and participating in them[41]. One could envisage models, where mainstream archives and communities assume distributed custody of the communities' memory texts. This might lead to a rethinking of the archival process by involving the communities as equal partners, as suggested by Shilton and Srinivasan[42]. In their model, the discussion concerning appraisal, arrangement, description and provenance, is taken to a community level. I believe that an archivist's primary contribution to such a holistic endeavour is to defend and promote the uniqueness of archives/records within the larger framework of memory texts[43]. This, however, does not preclude assigning a broadly conceptualized "archival value" to materials collected by community archives and

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39 A. Flinn, M. Stevens, E. Shepherd, *Whose memories, whose archives? Independent community archives, autonomy and the mainstream*, "Archival Science" 2009, vol. 9, pp. 71–86.

40 G. Ivacs, *The pervasiveness of archives*, "LEA – Lingue e Letterature d'Oriente e d'Occidente" 2012, vol. 1/1, p. 478. See also A. Roeschley, J. Kim, *Something that feels like a community". The role of personal stories in building community-based participatory archives,* "Archival Science" 2019, vol. 19, pp. 27–49.

41 E. Yakel, *Who represents the past? Archives, records, and the social web,* [in:]. *Controlling the past…*, pp. 257–278.

42 K. Shilton, R. Srinivasan, *Participatory appraisal and arrangement for multicultural archival collections,* "Archivaria" 2007, vol. 63, pp. 87–101.

43 J.M. O'Toole, *On the idea of uniqueness*, "American Archivist " 2007, vol. 57, pp. 632–58, repr. in *American archival studies. Readings in theory and practice*, ed. R.C. Jimerson, Chicago 2000, pp. 245–277; E. Ketelaar, *Documents as monuments…* pp. 55–56.

lacking archival uniqueness[44]. For archivists this means preparing for a paradigm shift, which Terry Cook labelled "Community", enriching "our own identity as archivists, transformed to be relevant actors out in our society's communities more than proficient professionals behind the walls of our own institutions"[45].

Mediation

Seeing archives as a phenomenon is, as I said, necessary, but it entails a certain risk. A phenomenon is "a fact or occurrence that appears or is perceived esp. one of which the cause is in question" (OED). Archives, however, do not occur naturally or happen simply. Archives are constructed by "archivers"[46]. *Archivers* are not only *archivists*, but also authors, clerks, registrars, antiquarians, record managers, keepers, curators, website builders, genealogists, and other users. In their own turn, each takes actions within cultural practices of creation, classification, filing, arrangement, etc. and, most importantly, appraisal, selection and destruction of archives. Each archiver participates in the recursive production and mediation of the archive, involving definition, selection, organisation, interpretation, representation and presentation. In other words: the production of the archive (or archive formation) throughout the continuum happens through interactions by a host of archivers. Each interaction leaves fingerprints which are attributes of the archive's infinite meaning, each interpretation, as Derrida writes, is an enrichment, an extension of the archive[47]. That is why the archive is never closed. It opens out of the future.

Until recently, archival theory, methodology and practice assumed that a record is unchangeable, that is, it retains the state in which it was created. Maintaining the original state of the document and the aggregation (file, series, fonds) to which it belongs was considered essential. Restoring the old order was

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44 M. Greene, *The power of meaning. The archival mission in the postmodern age*, "American Archivist" 2002, vol. 65, pp. 42–55.

45 T. Cook, *Evidence, memory, identity, and community. Four shifting archival paradigms*, "Archival Science" 2013, vol. 13 , p. 116, repr., [in:] *All shook up*..., p. 466. See also J. Zavala, A. Allina Migoni, M. Caswell, N. Geraci, M. Cifor, *"A process where we're all at the table". Community archives challenging dominant modes of archival practice*, "Archives and Manuscripts" 2017, vol. 45, pp. 202–215.

46 E. Ketelaar, *Tacit narratives. The meanings of archives*, "Archival Science" 2001, vol. 1, p. 133.

47 J. Derrida, *Archive fever. A Freudian impression*, The University of Chicago Press 1996, p. 68.

a basic principle of archivistics, codified in the Dutch Manual. However, the Australian records continuum model dispenses with the invariability of records and archives. A record is always in a "state of becoming". Due to the reiterative passage through the dimensions of the model, the document always acquires new meanings.

Archivers make a value judgment at every stage of a document's life, to support decisions like: which traces are to be documented, which documents would become archival documents by capture in a recordkeeping system, which archival documents cross the functional boundaries of the organization and of the self, in order to provide collective memories, which archival documents are to be selected and deemed worthy of transfer to Archives (with a capital A)?

In the digital world, value judgments underpin the decision regarding the preservation mode even before the documents are created. In fact, the appraisal process begins with the design of the recordkeeping system when one determines which documents are to be captured, that is: accepted by the system and thus becoming records. Moreover, digital records cannot be left on the shelves for years, waiting to be appraised. Therefore, at the front-end one has to decide which records have to be kept in the system, and which records can be disposed of later, either through destruction or by transferring them to another system. "Archiving by design" means that when designing the information systems that support work processes, one has to take into account the sustainability of the information resulting from the work processes. Organizational and societal requirements play a role in assessing the function and value of records for accountability, evidence and memory. This applies to paper and digital records equally.

Some people assume that in the digital age appraisal of records (what to keep, what to destroy) is no longer necessary, because of the unlimited storage capacity and searchability of digital media. That is, however, a myth. Permanent storage and permanent access require enormous resources: buildings, staff, energy, constant upgrading and migration of software and hardware, etc. Every terabyte less as a result of appraisal represents a saving on these annually recurring costs[48].

Appraisal is one of those interventions which co-determine the archive's meaning, because the archive after appraisal is not the same as the archive before

[48] Geoffrey Yeo discusses various options of keeping everything digital and minimizing appraisal of digital records: *Can we keep everything? The future of appraisal in a world of digital profusion*, [in:] *Archival futures*, ed. C. Brown, London 2018, pp. 45–63.

appraisal. Appraisal has been deemed "the fine art of destruction"[49]. Since the 1980s archivists have been debating how to perform this art. The terms of that debate about selecting archives have generally been the archivists' needs and concerns. There have been exceptions, for example in Spain, where architects, anthropologists, geographers, historians and other specialists are involved in the *evaluación*[50]. When I was the National Archivist of The Netherlands, we started – after heated debates with historians and activists concerning appraisal – submitting all draft appraisal schedules to a review by experts appointed by the Royal Dutch Historical Society. The procedure has changed slightly since then. Now, Dutch historians, sociologists, political scientists and others are involved by the National Archives in identifying the "hot spots" in recent history: events and issues which have led to a remarkable or intensive interaction between government and citizen, and which should be documented in the records. Moreover, each working group that is to draft a schedule has to include an outsider with expertise in the area of the relationship between citizen and government and the importance of public records for that relationship. Every draft schedule is put up for public notice, and comments from the public are invited.

Not only in appraisal, but in all processing of archival materials "archivists preside over what ultimately forms the archive"[51]. "Archivists continually reshape, reinterpret, and reinvent the archive. This represents enormous power over memory and identity"[52]. Indeed, the historical record is created as a result of mediation by the archivist. Whether or not the archivist works in State Archives, in local archives, special archives or community archives, he or she mediates between the archives and society, through arrangement, description, providing access and reference service, preservation and digitization[53]. Let me discuss each of these practices of mediation.

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49 W.K. Lamb, *The fine art of destruction*, [in:] *Essays in memory of Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. A.E.J. Hollaender, Chichester 1962, pp. 50–56.

50 R. Alberch Fugueras, *Los archivos entre la memoria histórica y la sociedad del conocimiento*, Barcelona 2003, p. 117.

51 F.X. Blouin, W.G. Rosenberg, *Processing the past* ..., p. 143. See also J. Bunn, *Frames and the future of archival processing*, [in:] *Archival futures*, pp. 66–77.

52 J.M. Schwarz, T. Cook, *Archives, records, and power. The making of modern memory*, "Archival Science" 2002, vol. 2, p. 2.

53 N. Bartlett, *Past imperfect (l'imparfait). Mediating meaning in archives of art*, [in:] *Archives, documentation, and institutions of social memory. Essays from the Sawyer Seminar.* ed. F.X. Blouin and W.G. Rosenberg, University of Michigan Press 2006, pp. 121–133.

Processing archives begins with the seemingly neutral operation of packaging and repackaging. In the digital world, the OAIS model allows for repackaging a Submission Information Package (SIP) into an Archival Information Package (AIP). In the paper world repacking often entails removing the documents from their original containers and putting them in acid-free archival boxes, reformatting the "stuff" from the muniment room, basement or attic[54]. No longer can the archive be read in its original state. Reading the archive involves, *inter alia*, what Peter Horsman has termed physical reading: deciphering what the little holes in documents, the folds or the pink tape, the binding and rebinding, reveal about the file's history[55]. Alas, often these traces have been removed by ordinary housekeeping procedures.

The arrangement of an archive should, to the extent possible, respect the original order and the context in which the documents were created and used for their primary purpose. The same applies to description, that is, creating a representation of a document. However, arrangement means more than just mechanically identifying and restoring original order and a representation of a document is more than just recording the document's reflection. Both are what American Scott Cline recently called "translations" from one form to another[56]. They are interpretive and creative acts, making a finding aid a political statement[57], which effectively shapes the archive[58]. "These processes", Jennifer Meehan writes, "are not neutral or objective; rather they are situated within specific sociocultural, professional, institutional and individual contexts"[59]. Every representation is biased "because it reflects a particular world-view and is constructed to meet specific purposes"[60]. The problem is that many archivists

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54 V. Lane, J. Hill, *Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going? Situating the archive and archivists*, [in:] *The future of archives and recordkeeping. A reader*, ed. J. Hill, London 2011, pp. 10–11.

55 P. Horsman and E. Ketelaar, *Archival history*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of archival science,* ed. L. Duranti and P. C. Franks, London 2015, pp. 53–58.

56 C. Scott, *The archivist as translator. Representation and the language of context*, "American Archivist" 2022, t. 85, pp. 126–145.

57 E. Yakel, *Archival representation*, "Archival Science" 2003, vol. 3, p. 20. See also R.C. Jimerson, *Archives power. Memory, accountability, and social justice*, Chicago 2009, pp. 309–314.

58 J. Douglas, *Toward more honest description*, "American Archivist" 2016, vol. 79, pp. 26–55.

59 J. Meehan, *Arrangement and description. Between theory and practice*, [in:] *Archives and recordkeeping…*, p. 81.

60 W.M. Duff, V. Harris, *Stories and names. Archival description as narrating records and constructing meanings*, "Archival Science" 2002, vol. 2, p. 275.

do not realize this and that most users, as Elizabeth Yakel observed, are "largely unaware of the invisible archival role and responsibility behind the data they are using, particularly in a networked environment. Thus, they may see the role of the archivist as essentially preserving the data or perhaps managing the information, but not as having anything to do with knowledge creation"[61].

This is changing with the advent of Archives 2.0, an approach in which archivists use technology to become more user-centred, by inviting user contributions and their participation in describing, commenting, and reusing collections[62]. In Archives 2.0 there are multiple "archivers", but do they share the authority – traditionally vested in the archivist and the archival institution – which endows the archive with trustworthiness, reliability and authenticity? Authority, as Elisabeth Yakel writes, "is a major issue that is both at the center of, and challenged by, Archives 2.0"[63]. She envisions archives developing into "a social structure characterized by a shared approach to governance, authority, and concern for sustainability of the communities" forming around the records[64]. This may also enhance "archival autonomy", a concept recently proposed by Australian scholars. They define archival autonomy "as the ability for individuals and communities to participate in societal memory, with their own voice, becoming participatory agents in recordkeeping and archiving"[65].

I have explained how the archive is constructed through appraisal, arrangement, and description. Another form of mediation is providing access and reference service to users[66]. Both are constrained by legal, political, cultural and professional norms. Archivists cannot change the legal access rules, but they have a certain leeway in applying the rules. A 2007 study on restrictions on access to national archives in Europe found that some Archives differentiate between researchers in terms of enabling access to restricted material. In these countries,

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61 E. Yakel, *Thinking inside and outside the boxes. Archival reference services at the turn of the century*, "Archivaria" 2000, vol. 49, p. 152. See also F.X. Blouin, W.G. Rosenberg, *Processing the past…*, pp. 147–150.

62 *A different kind of web. New connections between archives and our users*, ed. K. Theimer, Chicago 2011, p. 338.

63 E. Yakel, *Balancing archival authority with encouraging authentic voices to engage with records*, [in:] *A different kind of web…*, p. 78.

64 E. Yakel, *Balancing…*, p. 95; E. Ketelaar, *Archives as spaces of memory*, "Journal of the Society of Archivists" 2008, vol. 29, pp. 9–27.

65 J. Evans, S. McKemmish, E. Daniels, G. McCarthy, *Self-determination and archival autonomy. Advocating activism*, "Archival Science" 2015, vol. 15, p. 347.

66 See R.C. Jimerson, *Archives power…*, pp. 314–319.

the director of the Archives can enable access with special conditions only to professional researchers or scientists, but not to members of the general public[67]. As the Council of Europe stated however liberal the access rules prescribed in legislation may be, the actual access to archives depends primarily on the facilities and on the human and financial resources which an archives service possesses for the preservation and the processing of its holdings[68].

Indeed, the availability, logistics and quality of the reference service to a large extent determine what the user retrieves from the archive, and that quality may differ between institutions, and even between reference archivists within the same institution[69]. There are still archival institutions where access to the finding aids is restricted or where access is only granted if the user complies with certain conditions, including paying a fee. The Principles of Access to Archives promulgated by the International Council on Archives in 2012, state "The equal right to access archival records is not simply equal treatment but also includes the equal right to benefit from the archives."[70] However, in recommending to minimize operational constraints on access, the Declaration acknowledges that such constraints do exist[71].

As with the other archival functions, Archives 2.0 is also changing our notions of access. Archival temples guarded by archontic powers are being replaced by virtual spaces of memory, maintained by communities of "archivers". Access to archives is enabled through access to the Internet and thus governed by the rules (or rather the absence of rules) of the Internet, as well as its search and retrieval practices. Archival documents are downloaded from the Internet to be copied, used, reformatted, abridged, photoshopped, etc., resulting in a (re)constructed archive.

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67 J. Valge, B. Kibal, *Restrictions on access to archives and records in Europe: A history and the current situation*, "Journal of the Society of Archivists" 2007, vol. 28, pp. 193–214.

68 Recommendation No. R (2000) 13 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on a European policy on access to archives, https://rm.coe.int/16804cea4f , accessed 1 July 2023.

69 Ćwiek-Rogalska, *Archiving*..., pp. 77–78.

70 Principles of Access to Archives, http://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/ICA_Access-principles_EN.pdf. Spanish version: http://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/ICA_Access-principles_SP.pdf, accessed 1 June 2023.

71 In Antoinette Burton's "Archive stories" researchers recount their experiences with various gatekeepers guarding the access to the archives: eadem, *Archive stories. Facts, fictions, and the writing of history*, Durham NC 2005. See also E. Ketelaar, *Archival temples, archival prisons. Modes of power and protection*, "Archival Science" 2002, vol. 2, pp. 221–238.

Reconstruction of the archive also occurs by way of preservation and digitization. These seem to be mere technical processes, but they involve appraisal and mediation. Not only appraising which documents are to be restored or digitized and which are not. Archivers must also take decisions on mediation, concerning the technologies to be used. Any restoration of a document changes its current "look and feel" and risks obliterating material traces from the past[72].

When digitizing a document, archivists have to decide on the image capture technology and settings, on image manipulation with editing software, on image export to printers, websites, etc[73]. Thus, digitization creates various layers of mediation between the original and the user or viewer of the digital representation. The decisions taken at each of these layers have to be documented so that we can answer questions like: "What are the effects of decoupling a text from its physical carrier? What does it mean for a work, a text or a book to be digital, and how are users to make sense of the many different kinds of digital offerings available?"[74]

Conclusion

I have demonstrated that understanding archives as a cultural, social and political phenomenon entails shifting the attention from the actual archival document to its contextual history. That context encompasses the why, who, what, and how of archiving, all determined by societal challenges and technologies. The mediation (agency) of "archivers" leads to the constructedness of archives. Archivists and users of archives should be aware of that constructedness[75].

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72 A. Rekrut, *Material literacy. Reading records as material culture*, "Archivaria" 2003, vol. 60, p. 36.

73 Eadem, *Reconnecting mind and matter. Materiality in archival theory and practice*, Manitoba 2009, http://hdl.handle.net/1993/3161, accessed 1 July 2023. See also C. Jeurgens, *The scent of the digital archive. Dilemmas with archive digitisation*, "BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review" 2013, vol. 128, pp. 30–54, https://doi.org/10.18352/bmgn-lchr.9348; B. Mak, *How the page matters*, Toronto 2011; eadem, *Archaeology of a digitization,* "Journal of the Association for information science and technology" 2014, vol. 65, pp. 1515–1526; A. Galey, *The Shakespearean archive*, Cambridge 2014, p. 86.

74 M. Deegan, Sutherland K., *Transferred illusions. Digital technology and the forms of print*, Farnham–Burlington 2016, p. 145.

75 A slightly different version of this paper was presented at the 4th International Congress of Polish History (session "Archives as a Cultural Phenomenon"), Kraków, 21 October 2022. Some parts of this essay (especially the section "Mediation") reproduce portions of my *A dualidade*

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Parsing privacy for archivists

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ABSTRACT
Protection of privacy is a key issue in determining the extent to which archival materials are to be made accessible to the public. But what is informational privacy; i.e., what are the elements of information found in any type of document or database that must be withheld to avoid intruding on the privacy of an individual? This essay first examines post-World War II international statements that reference privacy. Then it turns to statements referring to privacy issued by the International Council on Archives (ICA), the worldwide professional organization that represents the archival profession to UNESCO. Third is a brief look at several 21st century academic considerations of privacy, one each by a lawyer, a philosopher, and an historian. Finally, it outlines some of the contextual elements that help archivists manage sensitive materials, even without a final definition of informational privacy.

KEYWORDS
privacy protection, access to archival documents, personal data, international conventions and agreements on access to archives, UN human rights conventions, International Council on Archives, International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions

Ochrona prywatności w praktyce archiwalnej

STRESZCZENIE
Ochrona prywatności jest jednym z kluczowych zagadnień podczas ustalania zakresu publicznego udostępniania materiałów archiwalnych. Co bowiem oznacza ochrona informacji dotyczącej życia prywatnego. Przykładowo, które z elementów informacji zawartej w jakimkolwiek rodzaju dokumentu lub bazy danych powinny pozostać nieujawnione, aby uniknąć naruszenia prywatności osoby indywidualnej. W artykule w pierwszym rzędzie przeanalizowano powojenne dokumenty międzynarodowe, odnoszące się do ochrony prywatności. Następnie zwrócono uwagę na dokumenty dotyczące zagadnienia ochrony prywatności, opublikowane przez Międzynarodową Radę Archiwów (ICA), organizację reprezentującą międzynarodowe środowisko archiwalne wobec UNESCO. W części końcowej zawarto przegląd wybranych, opublikowanych w XXI w., prac naukowych, dotyczących ochrony prywatności, których autorzy reprezentują nauki prawne, filozofię i historię. W podsumowaniu Autorka podkreśliła niektóre elementy kontekstu dokumentów archiwalnych, które mogą okazać się pomocne dla archiwistów w toku zarządzania materiałami zawierającymi informacje wrażliwe[1].

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE
ochrona prywatności, dostęp do dokumentów archiwalnych, dane osobowe, międzynarodowe konwencje i umowy dotyczące dostępu do archiwów, konwencje ONZ o ochronie praw człowieka, Międzynarodowa Rada Archiwów, Międzynarodowa Federacja Stowarzyszeń i Instytucji Bibliotekarskich

[1] W tekście zachowano oryginalny, zastosowany przez Autorkę, styl cytowania i bibliografii.

In the aftermath of World War II, the new United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Its Article 12 reads:

> "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks".

This suggested that all persons reading that Article would know what privacy means. That is simply not true. While privacy as a concept is seemingly universal, what is private and under what circumstances differs widely between peoples and over time. Here are a few personal examples:

1. When I was an archivist with the United States (U.S.) National Archives appraisal project on the records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) we project archivists were absolutely barred from seeing income tax return information in the files. The agents who looked at the files before handing them to us would put a brown paper bag over any tax return in the file, and we would simply note on our review sheet that a tax document was included. In Sweden, by contrast, personal income tax information is open to the general public – immediately.
2. On a visit to South Korea, the then-director of the National Archives asked me, "Are you a Christian?". I was uncomfortable with the question and mumbled a response. Such a question is acceptable in Korean culture. But in countries and eras ranging from Nazi-period Poland to Bosnia during the 1990s, not forgetting the Inquisition in Europe, information on the religious persuasion of an individual was a private matter of the gravest consequence.
3. Some years ago, I read an article in the "American Historical Review" about Germany after the Second World War. It appeared that the author had had access to files in the German Federal archives relating to what I considered highly private matters, so I alerted a German archivist to the apparent privacy issue. He replied that the researcher was a bona fide academic and therefore was given access.
4. In the early 1990s, in anticipation of the transfer of records from U.S. to German control, the U.S. and Germany negotiated over access to the records of former Nazi party members that were held by the U.S. in the Berlin Document Center. German law required that the files with private information be closed for 30 years after the death of the individual, while

the U.S. position was that the records with private information would be available at the death of the person. The two nations resolved to treat each copy – the original in Germany and a microfilm in the U.S. – in accordance with national law. Subsequently, a steady stream of researchers came to the U.S. National Archives to use the microfilm records available in the U.S. but closed in Germany.

These examples show how differently national or ethnic groups conceive of what is private and what is not. Even countries that share many common ideas, such as the U.S. and Sweden and Germany, end up with quite different positions on privacy.

Privacy is a key issue in determining access to archives. Should the archivist of a private media company release unpublished images that show a recognizable dead person whose relatives likely are still alive? Should a government archivist release the 40-year-old report, with critical comments, of a social worker's visit to a family? What should a police archivist do with 20-year-old images from police body cameras taken during a call to a house where a domestic fight is underway? What should a university archivist do if, in the papers of a deceased medical faculty member, there are reports of what today would be unethical medical procedures carried out on pregnant women? What should an archivist in a faith-based institution release of records of adoptions from a home for unwed mothers that closed 30 years ago? What should the archivist release of the donated sizzling love letters of a man to his wife, if the man is dead but the wife is still alive and the deed of gift has no restrictions?

The application of access restrictions based on the need to protect privacy is, therefore, of great concern to historians who work on contemporary topics and want access to archives. They may –and often do – encounter materials closed for reasons of privacy. To understand those closures and the reasoning behind them requires a look into the considerations of the concept of privacy that were current in the second half of the 20th century and the early decades of the 21st[2].

Is there an international norm on privacy? This essay first examines post-World War II international statements that reference privacy. Then it turns to statements referring to privacy issued by the International Council on

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[2] This essay concerns solely information privacy, not the issues of physical intrusion into body and home.

Archives (ICA), the worldwide professional organization that represents the archival profession to UNESCO. Third is a brief look at several 21st century academic considerations of privacy, one each by a lawyer, a philosopher, and an historian. Finally, it outlines some of the contextual elements that help archivists manage sensitive materials, even without a final definition of information privacy.

I. International inter-governmental statements

A. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Covenant and Conventions

The United Nations Charter mandated the creation of a Commission on Human Rights, and the UN's Economic and Social Council created and charged the Commission to come up with a recommendation and report "regarding [...] an international bill of rights". The Commission worked for two years on a Universal Declaration, which was adopted by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly on 10 December 1948. (The Commission specifically wanted it to be a universal and not just a UN Declaration)[3].

The final version of Article 12 on privacy reflected contributions from many of the 58 countries that made up the new United Nations, but the basic language came from Latin American countries that, at the same time as the Declaration was being drafted, were writing the Organization of American States' American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, known as the Bogota Declaration. The Bogota document, adopted six months before the Universal Declaration, stated "Every person has the right to the protection of the law against abusive attacks upon his honor, his reputation, and his private and family life" and "Every person has the right to the inviolability and transmission of his correspondence"[4]. The UN drafting committee for the Universal Declaration's Article 12 used

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[3] J. Morsink, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Origins, drafting and intent,* Philadelphia 1999. See especially Chapter 4, sections 1 and 2, for discussion of Article 12. This discussion is based on Morsink's analysis.

[4] American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, O.A.S. Res. XXX, adopted by the Ninth International Conference of American States (1948), http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/oasinstr/zoas2dec.htm (accessed 2023-06-30).

draft language from the Bogota Declaration and language drawn from national constitutions. Examples of constitutional language included:

- Argentina: "The domicile is inviolable, as also epistolary correspondence and private papers".
- Bolivia: "Every house is an inviolable asylum" and "epistolary correspondence and private papers are inviolable".
- Yugoslavia: "The dwelling is inviolable" and "the privacy of letters and other means of communication is inviolable".

The drafters found similar phrases in the constitutions of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Belgium, Denmark, and Luxembourg.

As the drafting got underway, the U.S. proposed the text, "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unauthorized searches of his person, home, papers and effects or to unreasonable interference with his person, home, family, relations with others, reputation, privacy, activities or property. The secrecy of correspondence shall be respected". Panama suggested, "Freedom from unreasonable interference with his person, home, reputation, privacy, activities, and property is the right of everyone. The State has the duty to protect this freedom". The Chinese delegation offered, "No one shall be subjected to unreasonable interference with his privacy, family, home, correspondence or reputation". The Soviet Union proposed, "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home, correspondence, honor and reputation". And a delegate from the Philippines argued that reputation needed to be added to the protected elements as "[t]here were parts of the world where the former practices of Nazi Germany and Japan were being carried out. Reputations were ruined beyond repair by systematic defamation in the press and by other methods. Some safeguard against such attacks should be included".

In these draft offerings, privacy, reputation, and correspondence are all mentioned, as if they are separate but related issues. Notice, too, that in all the quotes from national constitutions and in the proposed languages, no definitions of privacy are offered. In his detailed study of the drafting of the Declaration, Johannes Morsink found no evidence of an attempt to define privacy. The drafters appear to have thought that privacy as a concept was obvious. While the Nazi *government's* intrusion into privacy clearly forms the background to the development of the attitudes reflected in Article 12, the final language does not exclude the intrusion by one *citizen* or *private entity* upon the privacy of another

and, in fact, specifically requires the state through "protection of the law" to protect citizens, one from another.

The inclusion of the word "arbitrary" in Article 12 signaled that, if legally warranted, some invasions of privacy and correspondence could be made. The delegate from Saudi Arabia explained, "The right of every individual to be free from State interference in his private life must be regarded as sacred as long as that right was not used as a cloak for activities which were essentially detrimental to the general good, or which endangered its general welfare and security". The drafters clearly understood that a government would hold at least some information that an individual would consider private, but they said nothing about a right to information about either what the government was doing or what information it had on you as an individual.

Soon after the Universal Declaration was adopted, efforts began to complement it with the "hard legal form of an international treaty" to bind State parties to respect the basic civil and political rights of individuals[5]. This culminated in the adoption and entry into force in 1976 of the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Its Article 17 reiterated the privacy statement of the Declaration, with no further explanation. In 1988 the UN Human Rights Committee published "General Comment No. 16: Article 17 (Right to Privacy)" of the Covenant, which said the right to privacy "is required to be guaranteed against all such interferences and attacks whether they emanate from State authorities or from natural or legal persons", clarifying in advance of the explosion of social media that businesses and other private entities are also to observe the privacy rights of persons. "Correspondence should be delivered to the addressee without interception and without being opened or otherwise read", it declared. And the Comment explained, "The gathering and holding of personal information on computers, databanks and other devices, whether by public authorities or private individuals or bodies, must be regulated by law", placing the burden on the State to ensure that the right is protected through "legislative and other measures"[6].

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5 Ch. Tomuschat, "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights," United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law, https://legal.un.org/avl/pdf/ha/iccpr/iccpr_e.pdf (accessed 2023-06-30).

6 The Comment also said: "Surveillance, whether electronic or otherwise, interceptions of telephonic, telegraphic and other forms of communication, wire-tapping and recording of conversations should be prohibited", never foreseeing that individuals might choose to use devices that automatically surveil them. See idem.

During the following two decades, the United Nations adopted several conventions that include a privacy element:[7]

- The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, entered into force in 1990, referenced privacy in Article 16, without further definition: "1. No child shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his or her honor and reputation. 2. The child has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks"[8].
- The International Convention on the Protection of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families entered into force in 2003. Its Article 14 says: "No migrant worker or member of his or her family shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, correspondence or other communications, or to unlawful attacks on his or her honour and reputation. Each migrant worker and members of his or her family shall have the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks"[9].
- The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, in force in 2008, said in Article 22: "1. No person with disabilities, regardless of place of residence or living arrangements, shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, home or correspondence or other types of communication or to unlawful attacks on his or her honour and reputation. Persons with disabilities have the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks. 2. States Parties shall protect

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[7] The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples curiously refers to privacy only in terms of private religious sites; Article 12(1): "Indigenous people have the right to manifest, practice, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of their human remains", https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf (accessed 2023-06-30).

[8] Convention on the Rights of the Child adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989 entry into force 2 September 1990, in accordance with article 49, https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention/convention-text# (accessed 2023-06-30).

[9] International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families Adopted 18 December 1990 by General Assembly Resolution 45/158, https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-convention-protection-rights-all-migrant-workers (accessed 2023-06-30).

the privacy of personal, health and rehabilitation information of persons with disabilities on an equal basis with others"[10].

In sum, the Universal Declaration and the subsequent Covenant and Conventions do not get us very far towards an understanding of what is information privacy. It is clear that the personal correspondence of an individual, in the possession of that individual, should generally be protected from intrusion and not be made public unless the person chooses to do so. And the 2008 Convention shows that medical information falls within the privacy penumbra, as understood by the UN nation-states.

B. International Guidelines in the 1980s

During the 1970s, the rapid adoption of computers in government agencies and private businesses led to a series of studies and recommendations on data protection. The Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) was established in 1961. By 2023 it had 38 member countries with 6 "accession candidate" countries and 5 non-member "key partner" countries and served as a major international economic think tank. In the late 1970s OECD commissioned a group of experts to develop guidelines on the transborder flow of data. The guidelines were adopted in 1980, with OECD noting in the preface "that, although national laws and policies may differ, Member countries have a common interest in protecting privacy and individual liberties and in reconciling fundamental but competing values such as privacy and the free flow of information"[11]. The Annex to the Guidelines defines "personal data" as "any information relating to an identified or identifiable individual (data subject)". And it specifies that the Guidelines apply to data in both the public and private sectors. The OECD Guidelines were enormously influential. They had a specific economic focus: they aimed to prevent domestic legislation, such as the data

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[10] Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities adopted 13 December 2006 by Sixty-first session of the General Assembly by resolution A/RES/61/106, https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-rights-persons-disabilities (accessed 2023-06-30).

[11] Guidelines Governing the Protection of Privacy and Transborder Flows of Personal Data, https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/science-and-technology/oecd-guidelines-on-the-protection-of-privacy-and-transborder-flows-of-personal-data_9789264196391-en (accessed 2023-06-30). The Guidelines were updated in 2013.

protection and privacy acts that were being developed in Europe and North America during the 1970s, from harming the flow of information necessary for commerce.

By 1981 the United Nations Human Rights Commission's sub-commission on discrimination and minorities was studying "guidelines for computerized personal files, particularly as they affected the privacy of the individual"[12]. Revised throughout the 1980s, the "guidelines for the regulation of computerized personal data files" were adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1991[13]. The guidelines do not offer a definition of privacy or private information, simply referring to "information about persons" or "personal data".

Also during the 1980s, Interpol, the International Criminal Police Organization, became involved in the question of privacy and data protection. While revising the Headquarters agreement for Interpol, the UN General Assembly mandated the creation of an independent body to monitor the implementation of Interpol's data protection practices. Interpol then adopted a formal statement of its compliance with the UN guidelines on data protection. Interpol noted, however, that the protection of the data it held that was sent to Interpol by national police authorities was the responsibility of the sender: "as it is only the custodian of the police information that it receives from member countries, Interpol is required to handle such information in accordance with the demands of those countries"[14].

In the late 1980s UNESCO funded a study by the International Council on Archives on archival appraisal of records containing personal information. In that study, personal information was defined as "any information about an identifiable individual that is recorded in any format", leaving open the question of what of that information should be accorded privacy protection and, indeed, what is privacy in an archival context[15].

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12 Report of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities on its 34th Session, Geneva, 17 August–11 September 1981, E/CN.4/1512, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/29890 (accessed 2023-06-30).

13 Guidelines for the Regulation of Computerized Personnel Data Files. Resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly 1991, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/105299 (accessed 2023-06-30).

14 S. El Zein, *Reconciling Data Protection Regulations with the requirements of judicial and police co-operation, 21st International Conference on Privacy and Personal Data Protection. Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Centre China 13–15 September 1999*, http://oigouvernance.blogspot.com/2013/11/reconciling-data-protection-regulations.html (accessed 2023-06-30).

15 T. Cook, *The Archival appraisal of records containing personal information. A Ramp Study with Guidelines*, UNESCO, April 1991, PGI-91/WS/3, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/

C. Principles for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights through Action to Combat Impunity

A major step in stating an international right to information privacy came with the publication of the Principles for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights through Action to Combat Impunity by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Distinguished French legal scholar Louis Joinet developed the principles (often called the "Joinet Principles"), which included five principles on the "preservation of and access to archives bearing witness to violations". Accepted by the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1997, they were revised by American University law professor Diane Orentlicher in 2005[16].

The Principles obligate a State "to preserve archives and other evidence concerning violations of human rights and humanitarian law and to facilitate knowledge of those violations"[17]. The Principles then address the tension between access to archives to combat impunity and privacy for victims and other individuals (Joinet/Orentlicher tacitly excludes from the "other individuals" category those persons who are implicated in human rights violations). The Principles offer a set of categories for access, based on the relationship of the person to the information sought. They are:

- Victims and their relatives get access to records that would assist them in rights claims.
- Persons implicated get access for their legal defense.
- Historical researchers gain access "subject to reasonable restrictions aimed at safeguarding the privacy and security of victims or other individuals"[18].

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pf0000090644 (accessed 2023-06-30). I was a member of the "group of experts" whose deliberation formed the basis for the study.

16 "The Administration of Justice and the Human Rights of Detainees: Questions of the impunity of perpetrators of human rights violations (civil and political). Revised final report prepared by Mr. Joinet pursuant to Sub-Commission decision 1996/119", United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, E/CN.4/Sub.2/1997/20/Rev.1,1997-10-02; updated by E/CN.4/2005/102, 18 February 2005, and E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1, 8 February 2005, https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G05/109/00/PDF/G0510900.pdf?OpenElement (accessed 2023-06-30). I reviewed the principles relating to archives for the 2005 revision.

17 Ibidem, principle 3.

18 Ibidem, principle 15.

- Courts and non-judicial commissions of inquiry, as well as investigators reporting to them" get access to "relevant archives" but "in a manner that respects applicable privacy concerns, including in particular assurances of confidentiality provided to victims and other witnesses as a precondition of their testimony"[19].
- A balancing test between access and privacy is required for access to "the files of commissions of inquiry", with access "balanced against the legitimate expectations of confidentiality of victims and other witnesses testifying on their behalf"[20].The Principles further warn that at the outset of the work of commissions of inquiry, the commissions "should clarify the conditions that will govern access to their documents, including conditions aimed at preventing disclosure of confidential information while facilitating public access to their archives"[21]. Further, "information that might identify a witness who provided testimony pursuant to a promise of confidentiality must be protected from disclosure"[22].
- Addressing "specific measures relating to archives containing names" defined as "information that makes it possible, directly or indirectly, to identify the individuals to who they relate", the Principles state that a person is entitled to know when his or her name appears "in State archives"[23].

What is not covered in the Principles is a definition of privacy. The caution about information provided with a promise of confidentiality is reasonably clear, although it is sometimes hard to identify in files exactly which statements are covered by an implied as opposed to an explicit promise. For example, does the mere appearance of someone's name in a file as someone who talked to a commission require protection?

The question of duration is also not covered. Understandably, the Principles (like the Universal Declaration) have a presentist orientation. But what happens when the records of such a commission are 30 years old? 50? 100? Here we return to the cultural distinction between a society that considers the actions of ancestors equal to the action of today's generations and a society like the United

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19 Ibidem, principle 16.

20 Ibidem, principle 17.

21 Ibidem, principle 8(f).

22 Ibidem, principle 10(d).

23 Ibidem, principle 17(b). For further information on the Principles, see F. Haldeman and T. Unger, eds., *The United Nations Principles to Combat Impunity: A Commentary,* Oxford University Press, 2018.

States where the principle of "no privacy for the dead" is generally accepted. Still, by clarifying that there are different categories of users and that they have different rights of access, the Joinet/Orentlicher Principles made a significant step forward to an international understanding of privacy, particularly in an archival context.

D. The 21st century and the UN Special Rapporteurs

During the first two decades of the 21st century a good many declarations and conventions with a privacy component were issued by regional intergovernmental groups, such as the European Union's important General Data Protection Regulation. But the next major truly international action was the 2015 decision by the UN Human Rights Council to appoint a UN Special Rapporteur (SR) on the right to privacy. The Council cited the "global and open nature of the Internet" as a driving force behind the creation of the post, noted that "certain types of metadata, when aggregated, can reveal personal information and can give an insight into an individual's behaviour, social relationships, private preferences and identity", and affirmed "that the same rights the people have offline must also be protected online, including the right to privacy". This seems to be nearing a statement of the categories of personal life that could be grouped as privacy concerns. The Special Rapporteurs have issued a series of statements and reports, ranging over such topics as health-related data, gender impacts of data release, big data analytics, and privacy for children. The first SR, Joseph Cannataci, suggested "metrics for privacy" for states to use to judge their privacy position, but these are of little help to archivists faced with specific questions of information privacy. In the summer of 2022 SR Ana Brian Nougrères issued a report analyzing seven international documents to ascertain the "principles underpinning privacy and the protection of personal data", but neither SR has specifically considered the issues of archival materials that also contain important privacy information[24].

[24] The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Special Rapporteur on the right to privacy, https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-privacy (accessed 2023-06-30).

II. International archival statements

Aware that archivists in the post-Cold War era were struggling to implement practices to identify and protect materials containing private information, the international archival community began adopting significant policy statements relating to information privacy.

First, in 1996 the International Council on Archives adopted an international archival Code of Ethics[25]. Its Principle 7 reads, "Archivists should respect both access and privacy, and act within the boundaries of relevant legislation. Archivists should take care that corporate and personal privacy as well as national security are protected without destroying information, especially in the case of electronic records where updating and erasure are common practice. They must respect the privacy of individuals who created or are the subjects of records, especially those who had no voice in the use or disposition of the materials".

Also in the early 1990s, the ICA established a group of experts to discuss problems related to archives of former regimes and make recommendations for their management. Funded by UNESCO and issued in 1997, the experts' report recognized the right to historical and scholarly research in records of repressive regimes, but warned that "[a]ccess to such documents must take into account the need to protect the victims of repression. Appropriate measure must be taken to protect third parties mentioned in the document". If "individual privacy and the right to historical investigation are opposed" in a demand for access, copies of the records with "names of victims or third parties deleted" may be provided[26]. Published the same year as the influential Joinet Principles, together the two statements focused attention on privacy issues that arose when managing the records of repressive regimes and away from the broader situations in which questions of information privacy arise.

In 2012 ICA adopted "Principles of Access to Archives". Principle 4 reads, "Institutions holding archives ensure that restrictions on access are clear and

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25 International Council on Archives, ICA Code of Ethics, https://www.ica.org/en/ica-code-ethics (accessed 2023-06-30).

26 A. Gonzalez Quintana, "Archives of the Security Services of Former Repressive Regimes: Report prepared for UNESCO on behalf of the International Council on Archives," Paris: UNESCO, 1997, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000140074 (accessed 2023-06-30).

of state duration, are based on pertinent legislation, acknowledge the right of privacy and respect the rights of owners of private materials"[27]. As the chair of the drafting committee, I can report authoritatively that we intentionally, specifically, did not attempt a definition of privacy, avoiding the contentious variations we knew existed. However, the Access Principles were supplemented in 2014 by "Technical Guidance on Managing Archives with Restrictions", which provides a sample access policy for an archival institution. The sample suggests that an archives announce that "Materials containing information, the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy of a living person", should be restricted until a specific set of conditions are met[28]. It further explains that the materials to be restricted in this category would contain "information about a living person which reveal details of a highly personal nature which if released, would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy, including but not limited to information about the physical or mental health or the medical or psychiatric care or treatment of the individual, and which personal information is not known to have been made public previously."

Next, in 2016 ICA issued as a "working document" a set of "Basic Principles on the Role of Archivists and Records Managers in Support of Human Rights". The commentary to its Principle 11 says, "Uncritical opening of archives may result in violations of the privacy of individuals and may result in retaliation

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[27] Principles of Access to Archives, Adopted by the AGM on August 24, 2012, https://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/ICA_Access-principles_EN.pdf (accessed 2023-06-30).

[28] These restrictions are that the materials may be disclosed only:

i. "To the named individual or his authorized representative, provided that access will not be granted if the records are restricted pursuant to any other general or specific restrictions; or
ii. If the individual or his legal representative agrees to its release; or
iii. To those officers and employees of the office of origin or its successor in function who have a need for the information in the performance of their official duties; or
iv. To the Donor of the materials or to the Donor's designee, pursuant to the provisions of the Donor's deed of gift; or
v. To researchers for the purpose of statistical or quantitative medical or psychiatric research when such researchers have provided the ***** Archives with written assurance that the information will be used solely for statistical research or reporting and that no individually identifiable information will be disclosed by the researcher's work".

See: Principles of Access to Archives. Technical Guidance on Managing Archives with Restrictions 2014-02-01, p. 16–17, https://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/2014-02_standards_tech-guidelines-draft_EN.pdf (accessed 2023-06-30).

against them. Archivists and records managers balance the right to truth with the need to protect the privacy of identifiable persons"[29].

Finally, in 2020 ICA with the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions issued a joint "Statement on Privacy Legislation and Archiving", commenting on "the emergence of a new, tougher, generation of privacy laws around the world". It argued that restrictions to archival materials should be "applied strictly based on the spirit and letter of any relevant law, including privacy legislation, interpreted according to professional understanding and judgment. Such restrictions clearly include situations where the information could facilitate identity theft, or where it is unfair, irrelevant, or causes unreasonable harm (for example in the context of «right to be forgotten» legislation)"[30]. The statement is not altogether clear: what could be closed as "irrelevant" information?

As a whole, these five statements make a little progress in helping to determine what information privacy interests are, but they are not wholly satisfactory as workday guidance.

III. Academic views

Lawyers, philosophers, sociologists, historians and others all have tried to define privacy. The literature is enormous, dating from the late nineteenth century and presenting distinct viewpoints. Scholars in the 21st century continue to have robust discussions on the nature of privacy.

A report by the UN Special Rapporteur on privacy quoted legal scholar Daniel Solove, a specialist in privacy law, as identifying six general conceptions of privacy among academic thinkers: "(1) The right to be let alone; (2) limited access to self – the ability to shield oneself from unwanted access by others; (3) secrecy – the concealment of certain matters from others; (4) control over personal information – the ability to exercise control over information about oneself; (5) personhood – the protection of one's personality, individuality, and dignity;

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29 Basic Principles on the role of Archivists and Records Managers in support of Human Rights, https://www.ica.org/en/basic-principles-on-the-role-of-archivists-and-records-managers-in-support-of-human-rights-0 (accessed 2023-06-30).

30 IFLA-ICA Statement on Privacy Legislation and Archiving 2020, https://www.ifla.org/publications/ifla-ica-statement-on-privacy-legislation-and-archiving/ (accessed 2023-06-30).

and (6) intimacy – control over, or limited access to, one's intimate relationships or aspects of life". Solove argued that all these conceptions were inadequate in one or more way and suggested instead that privacy "should be conceptualized contextually as it is implicated in particular problems. When we protect privacy, we protect against disruptions to certain practices"[31].

Solove's contention is supported by a concept called "contextual integrity", which argues that people do not need complete privacy; they need privacy within certain social norms. Philosopher Helen Nissenbaum posited four variables in the question of contextual integrity: the context of a flow of information, the capacities in which the individuals sending and receiving are acting, the type of information, and how the information is transmitted[32]. Historian Lawrence Cappello, agreeing with Solove, further argued that information has three stages-collected, processed and disseminated – and wrote that "in the struggle to find an appropriate privacy balance for information, the battle over collection has been lost" and information processing "is the new key battleground"[33].

The European Court of Human Rights in the 2008 case of *S. and Marper v. the United Kingdom* adopted a position similar to that of these three scholars when it wrote that "in determining whether the personal information retained by the authorities involves any [...] private-life aspects [...], the Court will have due regard to the specific context in which the information at issue has been recorded and retained, the nature of the records, the way in which these records are used and processed and the result that may be obtained"[34].

This approach – viewing privacy as a matter in context – avoids the slippery problem of definition and points toward pragmatic practice instead of dogmatic definition.

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[31] D.J. Solove, "Contextualizing Privacy," *California Law Review,* 2002, 1087–1156. Quoted in Joseph A. Cannataci, "Visit to the United States of America: Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to privacy," A/HRC/46/37/Add.4, 20 January 2021.

[32] H. Nissenbaum, "Privacy as Contextual Integrity," *Washington Law Review,* v. 79, February 4, 2004, pp. 101–139, https://crypto.stanford.edu/portia/papers/RevnissenbaumDTP31.pdf (accessed 2023-06-30).

[33] L. Cappello, *None of Your Damn Business: Privacy in the United States from the Gilded Age to the Digital Age,* University of Chicago Press, 2019, pp. 266–267.

[34] European Court Of Human Rights, Case of S. and Marper v. The United Kingdom (Applications nos. 30562/04 and 30566/04), para.67, Judgment, Strasbourg 4 December 2008, https://rm.coe.int/168067d216 (accessed 2023-06-30).

IV. Archivists and privacy information in context

Archivists deciding on release of privacy information stand within two contexts: within an employing organization, responding to the directions given them by law or internal rule (for instance, a regulation adopted by a faith-based organization, a rule created by a civil society entity) and as acting a surrogate for the person whose information is embodied in the document. In the first context, the archivist has no decision to take except to follow the law and regulation. However, in the second context, asserting a privacy interest in the document is exercising the power to decide on matters of significant personal interest on behalf of another.

A separate set of disclosure rules governs release of materials to the person who is the subject of the item or file, someone with legal responsibility for a person, or a party in litigation – each will have unique access to the information. However, when the release is to the general public, including to an historian, the archivist, standing in the shoes of the subject person, thinks not about the concept of privacy itself but whether the release of that particular information might invade the person's privacy. Here context is everything: the name of a person in a public database of telephone number is one thing, but that same name in a list of persons undergoing drug rehabilitation is quite another.

So how can archivist think through the context in which the information in embedded? By asking questions and considering context such as these:

Creator and recipient. The difference between an item in any format created by the person and the item created by another organization or individual about that person is significant, as is the identity of the immediate custodian of the document. A sexually explicit email within the personal materials donated by the person who made or received it is one context; that same email picked up by police surveillance and found within a file on suspected subversives is very different.

Age of the information. Most court cases that involve privacy questions relate to information about living persons; i.e., usually within 50 to 70 years of when the invasion of privacy occurred. In archives, items that contain information, even medical information, may be releasable after the person is dead or after a period passes after the person is dead, a period that varies by nation

and culture. Laws that seem to close archives containing personal information in perpetuity trouble this consideration.

Cultural group. Closely related is whether the information in the item is related to an individual, family, clan, or other group. Cultural differences are key here, and interests of such groups can extend the time that the information must be sequestered. For example, information about the religious and tribal rights of Indigenous people may require closure indefinitely, with exceptions only as negotiated with the group.

Cultural norms. The types of information a culture may deem sensitive include (among others) marital status, birth legitimacy, medical conditions, welfare status, religious affiliation, and personal and family financial information. Whether photographs of the dead can be released is affected by cultural sensibilities, for example. When the information relates to a person in a culture other than that of the archivist, especially careful consideration of the larger implications of release is required.

Risk to person. Whether the release of the information would put an individual at risk, mortally or through discrimination, damage, harassment, or embarrassment must be considered. For instance, the release of the name of a person who provided information to a commission investigating corruption could lead to reprisals against that person or the person's family.

Public status. If the person about whom the information applies is a living public figure, some information that would be protected for an average period might be made public because of the great public interest in the information on a celebrity.

Previous disclosure. If there has been official public disclosure (not leaked) of the information, including disclosure by the person, and especially if the person is aware that the information was made public and did not take action against the disclosing party, the further release of the information is unlikely to cause an invasion of privacy.

Conclusion

International statements that refer to privacy have not included a universally acceptable definition of privacy beyond generalities. The post-Cold War developments in human rights and archival institutions have emphasized the

rights of persons named in records, particularly those of repressive regimes, and produced some guidance on handling sensitive personal information. Other texts by international organizations have skirted the issue of definition of privacy entirely, recognizing the diversity in approaches, both across cultures and across time. Recent academic thinkers have suggested that a global definition of privacy is not necessary, that a pragmatic approach, looking at specific legal and policy problems in a specific context, will do. As Daniel Solove pithily observed, "All generalization is an imperfection"[35].

For the archivists, information privacy is not absolute. Context is key to understanding the potential harm that release of information can reasonably be expected to cause. Information carelessly disclosed about a person can lead to ruined reputations, disrupted family life, and even murder.

Answers to the questions and the decisions about access to information that has a privacy component can be exceedingly difficult to find. Sincere, competent professionals can reach different conclusions. But the crux of dealing with the information privacy concept is professional cognitive empathy, the ability to momentarily stand in the shoes of another and to decide.

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[35] D.J. Solove, op. cit.

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KONTEKSTY ARCHIWALNE

The transnational archival memory of European integration

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ABSTRACT
The European Coal and Steel Community established in 1951, the European Atomic Energy Community, and the European Economic Community, both established in 1957, built the roots of the European single market and are direct forerunners of today's European Union. The vision of a united post-War (Western) Europe went far beyond economic considerations, as can be seen in the preamble of the Rome Treaties with its concept of "ever closer union". It made the European Union a unique transnational political and cultural phenomenon based on common values and supranational decision-making processes. Archives hold the memory of the multi-levelled European integration process. European integration produced a new model of transnational archives with specific privileges, immunities and working methods. These archives preserve the legal acts, negotiations, correspondence, and documents produced by intergovernmental or non-governmental European institutions and organisations and make them available to the public. The Historical Archives of the European Union play a central role in transmitting the memory, informing the public and fostering research on these diverse types of archives.

KEYWORDS
transnational archives, European integration, European Union, cultural heritage, memory

Ponadnarodowe dziedzictwo archiwalne integracji europejskiej

STRESZCZENIE
Podstawy europejskiego wspólnego rynku zbudowali poprzednicy dzisiejszej Unii Europejskiej: powołana w 1951 r. Europejska Wspólnota Węgla i Stali oraz powstałe w 1957 r. Europejska Wspólnota Energii Atomowej i Europejska Wspólnota Gospodarcza. Wizja zjednoczonej powojennej Europy (Zachodniej) daleko wykraczała poza względy ekonomiczne, co widać w preambule traktatów rzymskich z ich koncepcją „coraz ściślejszej unii". Dzięki temu Unia Europejska stała się wyjątkowym ponadnarodowym zjawiskiem politycznym i kulturowym opartym na wspólnych wartościach i ponadnarodowych procesach decyzyjnych. Archiwa przechowują pamięć o wielopoziomowych procesach integracji europejskiej. Integracja europejska stworzyła nowy model archiwów ponadnarodowych z określonymi uprawnieniami, ochroną i metodami pracy. Archiwa te przechowują i udostępniają społeczeństwu akty prawne, dokumentację dotyczącą negocjacji, korespondencję i dokumenty wytworzone przez międzyrządowe lub pozarządowe instytucje i organizacje europejskie. Archiwa Historyczne Unii Europejskiej odgrywają kluczową rolę w przekazywaniu pamięci, informowaniu opinii publicznej i wspieraniu badań nad tymi różnymi rodzajami archiwów.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE
archiwa ponadnarodowe, integracja europejska, Unia Europejska, dziedzictwo kulturowe, pamięć

Introduction

The European Coal and Steel Community created with the Paris Treaty of 1951, the European Atomic Energy Community, and the European Economic Community, both established with the Rome Treaties of 1957, built the roots of the European single market and are direct forerunners of today's European Union. Behind these projects, we can see a strong economic impetus, but not only that. The vision of European unity in post-War Europe, particularly in the Western European parts, went far beyond economic considerations. The preamble of the Rome Treaties, speaking of an "ever closer union among the European peoples", underlined the quest for political, social, and cultural unity that would touch all fields of citizens' interactions and make the European Union a unique transnational political and cultural phenomenon[1].

Numerous archives hold the memory of this multi-levelled European integration process. They preserve the legal acts, negotiations, correspondence, and documents on the common policies in Europe and inspire current debates on perspectives for regional cooperation and integration. European integration created a new type of transnational archives with specific privileges and immunities guaranteed by international treaties and conventions. These archives, therefore, developed specific work methods beyond national traditions and practice[2].

Historical Archives of the European Union (HAEU) in Florence play a central role in transmitting this transnational memory. The archive preserves and provides public access to the internal workings of the EU institutions, bodies, and agencies. Besides the institutional papers, the collections gathered in Florence also comprise numerous archives of organisations and individuals that played a role in European integration. European integration is documented in its political, economic, social, educational, and cultural layers as living memory of the multi-faceted process of European integration[3].

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1 *Debating european identity. Bright ideas, dim prospects*, ed. B. Radeljić, Bern 2014.

2 H. Lübbe, *Archivarische Gewaltenteilung*, [in] *Handbuch Archiv. Geschichte, Aufgaben, Perspektiven*, ed. M. Lepper, U. Raulff, Stuttgart 2016, p. 13.

3 D. Schlenker, *Diverse archival memories on European integration – the role of the Historical Archives of the European Union*, [in:] *Archive und Erinnerungskulturen in Europa, Forum. Das Fachmagazin des Bundesarchivs*, Koblenz 2022, pp.143–152.

European integration: Organisations and their archives

The historical process of European cooperation and integration involved creation of numerous supranational, intergovernmental, and non-governmental organisations as institutionalised result of modern multilateralism and international diplomatic relations. The first organisation with a European scope and a dedicated administrative headquarters was actually born as early as the inter-war period – it was the International Pan-European Union, established in 1924 at the Hofburg in Vienna[4]. During World War II, and in its aftermath, numerous pro-European federalist movements emerged, such as the Union of European Federalists and the European Movement. They aimed to create a united and peaceful Europe, ensuring democracy, economic and social security, the rule of law and fundamental rights. The Hague Congress held in May 1948 became the foundation for a series of new European organisations, in particular the intergovernmental Council of Europe in Strasburg. Economic reconstruction in Europe was organised via the Marshall Plan under the Organisation of European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), with headquarters in Paris. Defence and security issues during Cold War were managed by the Western European Union (WEU), the European arm of NATO. In 1950, the European Coal and Steel Community took off as the first supranational organisation ever, with just six Western European member states. A few years later in Rome, two more Communities were added, the European Atomic Energy Community and the European Economic Community. On the other hand, Central and Eastern European countries remaining under a direct rule of the Soviet Union were grouped under the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA or COMECON) until the end of Cold War in 1989.

The post-war Western European integration also resulted in creation of a number of scientific, educational, and cultural organisations. In 1954, the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN) in Meyrin was created, and in the 1960s two European space organisations were born: the European Organisation for the Development and Construction of Space Vehicle Launchers (ELDO) and the European Space Research Organisation (ESRO), which merged into the European Space Agency (ESA) in 1975. In the field of culture, the European Centre for Culture with headquarters in Geneva emerged from the Hague Congress in 1948. Finally, cooperation in the field of education began with

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4 A.-M. Saint-Gille, *La «Paneurope». Un débat d'idées dans l'entre-deux-guerres*, Paris 2003.

the creation of the College of Bruges in 1949 and continued with founding of the intergovernmental European University Institute (EUI) in Florence[5].

These European organisations left invaluable archival resources, and many more non-governmental and governmental organisations, associations and federations with the word "Europe" in their organisation's name and scope exist or have existed[6]. The institutional aspect of European integration has been receiving growing attention by scholars of political science, law, diplomatic and international relations, and history[7]. At the same time, the emergence of the new type of European archives as an important source of insight into transnational governance, their historical development and work methods as regards appraisal, selection, description, access and preservation have received much less scholarly interest.

The European legal framework, the foundational treaties, and the contracts with host countries of transnational organisations, secure important privileges and immunities for their records and archives. These rules cover their inviolability, the protection of the physical archives, and the full control over access to these archives. Furthermore, these archives are marked by absence of a specific national archival tradition or practice. The archivists working in registries, records-keeping and archival services in European organisations are confronted with diverse work methods, languages, cultures, and archival traditions. In the absence of a predefined archival school or method, they hold a certain degree of autonomy in developing internal rules and procedures, as well as applying standards and norms[8].

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5 See *A University for Europe. Prehistory of the European University Institute in Florence (1948–1976)*, ed. J.-M. Palayret, Rome 1996.

6 More than 11,000 according to: Union of International Associations. Global Civil Society Database. Yearbook of International Organizations YBIO online, https://uia.org/ybio/, accessed 1 July 2023.

7 P. Clavin, *Defining transnationalism*, "Contemporary European History" 2005, n. 14.4, pp. 421–439; *Europeanization in the twentieth century. Historical approaches*, ed. M. Conway, K. Patel, Basingstoke 2010.

8 D. Hofman, *Extraterritoriality and international organizations*, [in:] *Recordkeeping in international organizations*, ed. J. Boel, E. Sengsavang, London 2021, pp. 91–115; D. Schlenker, *Enduring challenges, new technologies. Some reflections on recordkeeping in international organizations*, [in:] *Recordkeeping in international organizations…*, pp. 11–27.

Historical archives of European Union institutions

With the Paris Treaty of 1951, a new set of supranational institutions of the European Communities (EC) started their operations in Luxemburg and Strasburg: the European Parliament, the Council, the Court of Justice, and the High Authority. The High Authority as the executive branch of the first Community was later transformed into today's European Commission. The Rome Treaties of 1957 established two additional organisations, the Economic and Social Committee and the European Investment Bank. In the 1970s, the European Court of Auditors was added to the institutional framework, and the latest institution established was the European Central Bank in Frankfurt, in 1998. Mail registry and filing services were established as part of the administration of these institutions, to handle the documents produced and received by the respective bodies. The record-keeping responsibilities initially comprised current records and later expanded to organise also intermediate archives services. Records no longer needed for daily administration purposes were kept as intermediate archives on premise for internal consultation and usage.

In 1977, under Roy Jenkins presidency at the European Commission, potential establishment of historical archives and opening them to the public was first contemplated. Six years later, those considerations resulted in Council Regulation 354/83 of 1983 on the opening of the EU-institutional archives to the public. In line with practice of the member states of the Community, the Regulation set a 30 years closure period for the internal records of the institutions. A year later, the European Commission signed an agreement with the European University Institute in Florence to establish the Historical Archives of the European Communities in Florence as the single central preservation and access point for historical documents of EU Institutions[9].

Council Regulation 354/83 defined the mission of the Archives in the field of records preservation and access to the historical archives of EU institutions. The Regulation also gave the Archives a role with regard to communication and providing information on EU-institutional archives and European integration, while the archival responsibilities of appraising, selecting, describing, and opening of archival material to the public remained mainly with the producing

[9] D. Schlenker, *Quelle mémoire de l'Europe dans les archives européennes?,* [in:] *L'Europe. Une autre nation?*, ed. F. Demier, E. Musiani, Bologna 2020, pp. 226–232.

institutions, which retain ownership of the archival materials deposited in Florence.

The archives selected for long-term preservation and public access are those of historical and legal value, documenting establishment, mission, governance, functioning, as well as legislative and operational work of the respective institutions. Institutions may withhold documents referring to private life of individuals, touching on commercial interests of third parties, or containing confidential or secret information, for a longer period. Without interfering directly in the internal archival methods of each institution, the Archives in Florence coordinate EU institutions' common practices regarding historical archives, lend greater visibility to those institutions' archives, encourage consultation of the historical documents, and provide public access in a single, central location.

Unlike the Archives Services of EU institutions, the Historical Archives of the European Union also have the mission to collect private documents and archives of other organisations that have made an important contribution to European integration. For these, the HAEU signs bilateral deposit agreements with the organisations or individuals concerned. Many of the organisations of European integration have deposited their historical documents in Florence[10].

The academic community, in particular Western European networks of contemporary historians and political scientists, took an active interest in the opening of the historical archives of EU institutions and other European organisations in the early 1980s. The History Department at the European University Institute lobbied actively and successfully for the EU archives to be located in Florence. On the other side, the European Commission engaged with the academic community by establishing the Liaison Group of Contemporary History Professors in 1982; the group subsequently founded the "Journal of European Integration". The research topics broadened since the 1990s, moving from the initial approach of biographic studies of the founders of European integration, diplomatic history, and international relations towards the growing field of European policies, the role of federalist movements, and the economic, social, scientific and cultural aspects of European integration. In 2002, the European Commission launched an institutional history series accompanied by a broad oral history programme. So far, it comprises three volumes covering the

[10] D. Schlenker, *How Archives contribute to the formation of a common European memory and identity*, "Atlanti+ International Scientific Review for Contemporary Archival Theory and Practice" 2022, n. 32/2, pp. 9–14.

years 1958 to 2000 and 600 oral history interviews, which have been deposited at the Historical Archives in Florence for public consultation[11].

Conclusions

The archival heritage of European integration comprises rich and diverse collections that range from the first European organisations established during the reconstruction of Western Europe after World War II to an ever-growing and increasingly complex set of political, social, economic, cultural, and educational organisations. The supranational Community model, which ultimately became today's European Union, has been the most ambitious and successful project of a politically united Europe. The Fall of the Berlin Wall and the integration of Central and Eastern European countries into the Union was an immensely important milestone for today's European Union.

History of the numerous organisations that played a role in European integration is documented in their archives, which form a new type of transnational archives with specific legal setting and work methods. Historical Archives of the European Union play a central role in the preservation of EU-institutional archives and in collecting archives of organisations and individuals that played a key role in European integration.

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[11] E. Bussière, *Le projet d'histoire de la Commission européenne,* [in:] *Histoire de la construction européenne (1957–2015). Sources et itinéraires de recherche croisés*, ed. J.-M. Palayret, I. Richefort, D. Schlenker, Aubervilliers 2019, pp. 191–200; A. Becherucci, *Ricerca e Archivi storici dell'Unione europea (1986–2015)*, "Le carte e la storia" 2016, n. 1, pp. 168–173.

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STUDIA I MATERIAŁY

McDonaldization of archives (an introduction to discussion)

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ABSTRACT
The article analyzes the development of archives through the lens of the McDonaldization created by Georg Ritzer. Since archives, like libraries, are deeply rooted in society, they can be analyzed from the perspective of ongoing social change. Referring to the various dimensions of McDonaldization – predictability, efficiency, calculability, and control – the author points to selected aspects of archival reality that exhibit the characteristics identified by Ritzer. Ritzer also pointed out that rationalized systems generate irrationalities and mention contrary tendencies that go (often intentionally) against the tide of the changes taking place. These two phenomena can also be found in the archival field. The article concludes that archives have undergone at least a partial McDonaldization. Nevertheless, the degree of change that has taken place in archives varies between the analyzed aspects. The article is based on an analysis of Polish and foreign literature, as well as the author's observation of archives (mainly Polish). For this reason, the study uses a comparative, bibliographic, and observational method.

KEYWORDS
McDonaldization, archives, society, rationalization, history of archives

Macdonaldyzacja archiwów (wstęp do dyskusji)

STRESZCZENIE
Artykuł stanowi analizę archiwów przez przyzmat stworzonej przez Georga Ritzera teorii makdonaldyzacji. Biorąc pod uwagę, że archiwa, podobnie jak biblioteki, są głęboko zakorzenione w społeczeństwie, można je analizować z perspektywy zachodzących zmian społecznych. Odnosząc się do poszczególnych wymiarów makdonaldyzacji: przewidywalności, efektywności, obliczalności i kontroli, autor wskazuje na wybrane aspekty rzeczywistości archiwalnej, które wykazują cechy wskazane przez Ritzera. Ritzer zauważył również, że zracjonalizowane systemy generują irracjonalności, a także wymieniał tendencje przeciwne, które idą (często intencjonalnie) pod prąd zachodzących zmian. Tych dwóch zjawisk również można się doszukiwać w dziedzinie archiwalnej. Artykuł kończy się konkluzją, że archiwa uległy przynajmniej częściowej makdonaldyzacji. Niemniej jednak stopień zmian, jakie zaszły w archiwach, jest różny w poszczególnych analizowanych aspektach. Artykuł oparto na analizie polskiej i zagranicznej literatury oraz obserwacji przez autora samych archiwów (głównie polskich). Z tego powodu w opracowaniu wykorzystano metodę porównawczą, bibliograficzną i obserwacyjną.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE
makdonaldyzacja, archiwa, społeczeństwo, racjonaliacja, historia archiwów

Introduction

This paper looks at archives from the point of view of the sociological theory of McDonaldization. The paper's main hypothesis is that archives are (at least partly) McDonaldized, which provides multiple benefits, but has some negative aspects as well. In the article, the author will examine various fields of archival reality and attempt to demonstrate their relation to the abovementioned theory. The article also invites a discussion about how archives across the globe are McDonaldized; it is not a complete study. It is just a starting point to a broader and deeper look.

The article is based on literature as well as internal and external observation of archives, especially government archives. Although it is mainly based on observations of the Polish State Archives, the author will try to show examples related to archives in other countries.

The study utilizes methods typical for the humanities, including primarily the comparative and bibliographic method, as well as participatory observation. At this point, the author would like to explain his choice of literature. The author is aware that Polish-language sources may not be known to a large majority of readers, as well as difficult to understand. However, international literature, especially English-language sources, rarely tackle the issue of modern Polish archives in a manner useful for this article. Therefore, references to Polish-language sources were necessary. The author nonetheless makes an attempt to explain the examples he uses in detail and to compare them with similar phenomena occurring in other countries, so as to render them as understandable for the reader as possible.

The McDonaldization theory was created by Georg Ritzer and published in 1993 in his book *The McDonaldization of society*[1]. Ritzer defined McDonaldization as: "The process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as of the rest of the world"[2]. Though Ritzer's theory focuses on fast-food restaurants, the author himself also applied it to other fields such as healthcare, universities, or shopping centers. Such a broad spectrum allows for its use in research concerning other social institutions.

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1 G. Ritzer, *The McDonaldization of society*, Thousand Oaks 1993.

2 Idem, *Explorations in social theory. From metatheorizing to rationalization*, London–Thousand Oaks–New Delhi 2001, p. 198.

Ritzer points to bureaucracy as one of the predecessors of McDonaldization[3]. Ritzer is focused mainly on Weber's formal rationalization and its impact on society. In formal rationalized societies, the best way to reach a goal is chosen based on universally agreed-upon rules, regulations, and laws[4]. Weber considered bureaucracy (as well as a capitalist company) to be the most formally rationalized structure. According to Weber, it is the most efficient structure to deal with tasks based on so-called paperwork. Bureaucracy also tries to quantify as many tasks as possible, which allows to better estimate its efficiency. Because of deep-rooted rules, regulations and laws, bureaucracy also functions in a very predictable way. It is also trying to replace the people, judged by the dictate of rules, regulations, and structures[5].

Bureaucracy, which is the foundation of McDonaldization, is also the first area where Ritzer's theory can be applied to archives – particularly to state and local government archives. This stems from the simple fact that, on the one hand, archives are public institutions which operate in a bureaucratized manner, and on the other hand, their methods of handling archival materials are largely determined by principles derived from 19th century bureaucracies and transplanted in the form of e.g. the provenance principle[6].

Ritzer argues that other predecessors of McDonaldization include, among others, scientific management, assembly lines, shopping centers, and – obviously – McDonald's[7]. The aforementioned predecessors have laid the groundwork for the society's acceptance of the dimensions of McDonaldization listed below. They also provided some examples of how institutions and companies can change their operations in order to maximize their income or efficiency. In case of the archives, however, the link between McDonaldization and bureaucracy is fundamental, as they function in a robust bilateral relationship. Michael Lutzker also saw the connection between the Weberian model of bureaucracy and archives. He writes: "This Weberian model has already, in a sense, been incorporated into the professional archivist's consciousness. Does not the archivist, during the initial appraisal of records, seek to understand institutional

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3 Idem, *Makdonaldyzacja społeczeństwa*, Warszawa 2009, pp 49–54.

4 Idem, *Explorations in social theory*…, p. 181.

5 M. Weber, *Gospodarka i społeczeństwo. Zarys socjologii rozumiejącej*, Warszawa 2002, pp. 166–168.

6 H. Ciechanowski, *The principle of provenance as the principle of rationalization of archives*, "Archiwa–Kancelarie–Zbiory" 2021, vol. 12(14), pp. 46–65, https://doi.org/10.12775/AKZ.2021.003.

7 G. Ritzer, *Makdonaldyzacja społeczeństwa*.

hierarchy and the role of given administrators of agencies in decision-making?"[8]. Of course, Lutzker's statement applies to the area of archival science focused on archives belonging to such bureaucratized institutions as administrative bodies and capitalist enterprises. In the majority of cases, it will not apply to archivists who work with personal and family documentation. However, as demonstrated below, the relationship between McDonaldization and archives extends far beyond bureaucracy, its shared ancestor. Therefore, the following analyses, which are based on the McDonaldization theory, will also apply to the area of archival science dealing with family and personal archives.

Ritzer argues that there are four main aspects of McDonaldization: efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control. Efficiency means the optimum method for getting from one point to another. For customers, it means that McDonald's offers the best available way to get from being hungry to being full. Calculability regards quantitative aspects of the products sold (portion size, cost) and service offered (the time it takes to get the product). Ritzer points out that quantity has become equivalent to quality. A lot of something or the quick delivery of it means that it must be good. Predictability is the assurance that their products and services will be the same over time and in all locations. Finally, control means that nonhuman technology (the assembly line, for instance) controls people.

People who eat in fast-food restaurants are controlled, albeit (usually) subtly. Lines, limited menus, few options, and uncomfortable seats all lead diners to do what management wishes them to do: eat quickly and leave. The people who work in such a restaurant are also controlled. They are trained to do a limited number of things in precisely the way they are told to do them. The technologies used and the method the organization is set up reinforce this control[9].

Although McDonaldization offers compelling advantages, it also has a downside. The rational system inevitably spawns irrationalities. It is called the irrationality of rationality, meaning that rational systems are often unreasonable. Ritzer gave some examples of irrationalities in McDonald's. Among other things, he argues that in the most efficient restaurants, people must wait in long queues to place an order; also, cost of the food is much higher than the same thing prepared at home. The rationalized world is also disenchanted and homogenized;

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8 M. Lutzker, *Max Weber and the analysis of modern bureaucratic organization. Notes toward a theory of appraisal*, "The American Archivist" 1982, vol. 45, no. 2, p. 124.

9 G. Ritzer, *Explorations in social theory*..., p. 198–200.

this is why firms and institutions must figure out how to manage people's emotions and experiences[10]. The next aspect of irrationality is dehumanization. This means that a worker in a McDonaldized organization is not able to utilise his or her inventiveness and abilities. Just like a robot, he or she can only execute predetermined activities and perform them in a specific way. From the worker's point of view, this kind of job is irrational, unsatisfactory, and does not provide a sense of stability, resulting in enormous personnel fluctuation[11].

Finally, Ritzer mentions movements emerging in response to McDonaldization, such as rapidly-growing artisanal businesses, e.g. ice cream manufacturers. Nevertheless, he concludes his analysis by stating that even such entities, upon reaching a certain level of development, enter the path of rationalization for the purpose of maximizing profits and delivering their services to customers more efficiently.

Since the first edition of Ritzer's work was published, a great deal of research concerning the impact of McDonaldization on various areas of public life has been conducted. This research tackled, among other things, the fields of higher education[12], healthcare[13], the police[14], religion[15], family life[16], the recreation

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10 Idem, *Makdonaldyzacja społeczeństwa*, pp. 226–227.

11 Ibidem, p. 233.

12 C. Holmes, D. Lindsay, *"Do you want fries with that?". The McDonaldization of university education – some critical reflections on nursing higher education*, "SAGE Open" 2018 (July–September), pp. 1–10; M. Romanowski, H. Alkhateeb, *The McDonaldization of CAEP accreditation and teacher education programs abroad*, "Teaching and Teacher Education" 2020, vol. 90, pp. 1–9; G. Ritzer, P. Jandrić and S. Hayes, *"The velvet cage of educational con(pro)sumption"*, "Open Review of Educational Research" 2018, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 113–129; J. Halfond, D. Boyd, *The McDonaldization of higher education. A fable*, "International Journal of Value-Based Management" 1997, vol. 10, pp. 207–212; D. Hardey, *The McDonaldization of higher education. Food for thought?*, "Oxford Review of Education" 1995, vol. 21, pp. 409–423.

13 J. Archer, S. Nunn, S. de Bere, *The McDonaldization of appraisal? Doctors' views of the early impacts of medical revalidation in the United Kingdom*, "Health Policy" 2017, vol. 121, pp. 994–1000; A. Mottram,*"Like a trip to McDonalds". A grounded theory study of patient experiences of day surgery*, "International Journal of Nursing Studies" 2011, vol. 48, pp. 165–174; E. Dorsey, G. Ritzer, *The McDonaldization of medicine*, "JAMA Neurology" 2016, vol. 73, no. 1, pp. 15–16.

14 R. Heslop, *The British police service. Professionalization or "McDonaidization"?*, "International Journal of Police Science & Management" 2011, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 312–321.

15 J. Drane, *McDonaldization of the church. Consumer culture and the churches future*, Macon 2002; H. Young-Gi, *Encounter with modernity. The "McDonaldization" and "Charismatization" of Korean mega-churches*, "Internationa Review of Mission" 2009, vol. 92, pp. 239–255.

16 S. Raley, *McDonaldization and the family,* [in:] *McDonaldization the reader. 3rd edition*, ed. G. Ritzer, Thousand Okas 2010, pp. 138–149.

industry[17], agriculture and environmental protection[18], as well as libraries, e.g. university libraries[19], which is particularly interesting. The research on university libraries is of particular relevance to this paper due to the fact that archives and libraries share many similarities. Studies focused on libraries have demonstrated that their efficiency is affected by tiered reference service, self-check machines, and self-guided tours. "Just-in-time" approaches to collection development – including a greater reliance on interlibrary loan and document delivery services, which fit into a larger trend toward access over ownership – and standardized approaches to information literacy instruction also deliver greater efficiencies. Calculability is represented by focus on quantity, such as inputs (financial resources, number of staff, gate counts, number of volumes, etc) and outputs (circulation stats, online transactions), as a surrogate for quality. McDonaldization is also apparent in the growing predictability of academic libraries' collections, resulting from using approval plans and journal aggregator databases. Most libraries offer the same suite of core services. Finally, in addition to their hierarchical structure and reliance on rules and regulations – typical of bureaucratic systems, and in itself a form of social control – increasing use of technology in libraries serves as a mechanism of rationalization and control. An example of the irrationality of rationality is that McDonaldized libraries are slow to respond, simplistic, and short-sighted because they are unable to engage the heads and hearts of their employees and are out of touch with the real needs of their users[20].

It, therefore, appears that the McDonaldization theory can be applied to research on nearly all aspects of social functioning. The author believes that, as in the case of libraries, the development and operation of archives have been noticeably influenced by the above-mentioned aspects of efficiency, calculability, predictability, control and irrationality of rationality. In following sections, the

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17 A. Bryman, *The Disneyization of society,* London 2004*;* A. Weaver, *The McDonaldization thesis and cruise tourism*, "Annals of Tourism Research" 2005, vol. 32, no. 2, pp. 346–366.

18 V. Kolinjivadi, J.F. Bissonnette, A. Mendez, J. Dupras, *Would you like some fries with your ecosystem services? McDonaldization and conservation in Prince Edward Island, Canada*, "Geoforum" 2020, vol. 111, pp. 73–82.

19 B. Quinn, *The McDonaldization of academic libraries?*, "College and Research Libraries" 2015, vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 339–352, https://doi.org/10.5860/crl.76.3.339.

20 K. Nicholson, *The McDonaldization of academic libraries and the values of transformational change*, "College and Research Libraries" 2015, vol. 76, no. 3, p. 328, https://doi.org/10.5860/crl.76.3.328.

author lists those elements of archival practice which he believes to be related to the above aspects. The author also makes an effort to refer to tendencies which oppose the McDonaldization of archives, primarily the slow archives movement and rapidly growing community archives. However, state archives also act in ways which match this trend, as presented below.

Efficiency

The pressure on efficiency has never been as intense in the archives as it is today. Their history, however, contains examples of such pursuit of efficiency. Poland is an example of a country where the pursuit of efficiency has been substantial since the 20th century. The Polish Head of State Archives has been developing methodical rules and guidelines for state archives since the 1950s[21]. Guidelines, issued as acts of local law, served as the basis for archival arrangement and description for many groups of archival fonds, such as banks, courts, and Polish People's Republic administration. The purpose of such guidelines stems directly from the need to increase efficiency of archival work, and they frequently include ready-made arrangement templates and source literature compilations. While it is impossible to strictly adhere to centrally-imposed frameworks, the archivist using these guidelines must limit their individual conceptual and scholarly input. A template-based approach makes it possible to greatly expedite processing of a fond, decreasing its cost (fewer person-hours devoted to a fond lowers the cost of processing). Moreover, adhering to methodological guidelines also increases the predictability of archives, which translates into increased efficiency of searches conducted by users, who in turn gain access to more relevant information.

Attempts at increasing efficiency may also involve implementation of multilevel description. One of the major features of this type of description is the ability to transfer higher-level elements to lower-level element descriptions. In Poland, this solution has been in use since the 1990s, since databases, originally created in MS Access, were based on such standards as the General International Standard Archival Description (ISAD(G)), which preferred this type of solution. This solution, being the most effective, is also currently used by the Integrated

[21] M. Tarakanowska, E. Rosowska, *Zbiór przepisów archiwalnych wydanych przez Naczelnego Dyrektora Archiwów Państwowych w latach 1952–2000*, Warszawa 2001.

Archival Information System (ZoSIA), which is the primary method of processing and providing access to archival fonds in the state archives. The main advantage of this solution, which could only realize its full potential with the use of computer technology, is that it directly increases the efficiency of archives, as eliminating the necessity to constantly repeat identical descriptions expedites the work of archivists.

However, multilevel descriptions must also be normalized. In order to ensure effective creation process for descriptions that span multiple levels, it is necessary to develop standards of description, providing a framework for the archivist's work. Same framework ensures that the description remains consistent. This framework is set out by International standards, for example ISAD(G) and ISAAR(CPF). While predictability is discussed in detail in one of the subsequent sections of this paper, it should be noted that it, too, leads to increased efficiency. On the one hand, there are efficiency increases within the organization, as archivists are able to retrieve information quicker via queries and their own research explorations, and on the other hand, users can also search for information faster by using similar search systems and their reference tools. Of course, this is not to say that the search language and all systems used across the globe have been completely normalized. Regardless, any common framework for a specific activity will increase working speed, and in this case, the speed of preparing and providing archival information.

As can be deduced from the above statements, increased efficiency of archives is also a result of using modern technologies. First computers, then databases and now integrated systems, have made archival work more efficient[22]. Databases and systems, generally consisting of predefined fields based on standards of description[23] require that the inventiveness of an archivist should be used only to a limited extent while writing a description. Even if we assume that standards

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[22] R. Lytle, *A National Information System for Archives and Manuscript Collections*, "The American Archivist" 1980, vol. 43 (Summer), pp. 423–426; B. Wheaton, *A computer database system to store and display archival data on correspondence of historical significance*, "The American Archivist" 1982, vol. 45 (Fall), pp. 455–466.

[23] N. Sahli, *Interpretation and application of the AMC format*, "The American Archivist" 1986, vol. 49 (Winter), pp. 9–20; J. Dooley, N. Bouché, *Implementing EAD in the Yale University Library*, "The American Archivist" 1997, vol. 60 (Fall), pp. 415–416; A. Laszuk, *Standardy Międzynarodowej Rady Archiwów – od praktyki do teorii?*, [in:] *Teoria archiwalna wczoraj – dziś – jutro*, Toruńskie Konfrontacje Archiwalne, t. 2, ed. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, Toruń 2011, pp. 227–246.

only provide the frameworks within which the archivists can continue expressing themselves and apply their professional experience, such frameworks still force them to operate within their boundaries. The archivist knows in advance what type of information should be entered in a given element; but how detailed the information is remains at their discretion. Systems used in different countries and periods may be more open or less. However, they will always limit the freedom of the archivist to a varying degree, while at the same time increasing the efficiency of their work. In case of Poland, databases featuring markedly more open fields were introduced in the 1990s. The most important of these was the IZA[24] database for creating archive inventories. Currently used solutions restrict archivists to a much greater degree, as they frequently allow them to only enter information in a specific format or to select from predefined selection fields. Though this solution may be a cause for concern, and even dismay, from the point of view of archivists, it undoubtedly leads to an increase in the efficiency of their work. However, this is primarily because the archivist is no longer working entirely creatively and thus spends less time thinking about filling in the description elements. At the same time, though, this leads to irretrievable loss of information that does not fit into defined fields which are not expandable by the archivist. In the previous system, based on inventory cards and Access databases, the archivist could insert more information they deemed essential in the subsequent fields, even if it did not entirely fit the description standard. This meant that, although inventories were created at a much slower pace, they were nevertheless richer in terms of information content.

Attempts at increasing the efficiency of archival practice, in the sense nearly identical to Ritzer's original meaning of the term, are related to the proposition (or movement) of implementing the More Product, Less Process (MPLP) philosophy in archival science[25]. The movement focuses on limiting the most

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24 Inwentarze Zespołów Archiwalnych [eng. Inventories of Archival Fonds].

25 M. Greene, D. Meissner, *More Product, Less Process. Revamping traditional archival processing*, "The American Archivist" 2005, vol. 68 (Fall/Winter), pp. 208–263; M. Greene, *MPLP. It's not just for processing anymore*, ibidem, 2010, vol. 73 (Spring/Summer), pp. 175–203; A. Harling, *MPLP as intentional, not necessarily minimal, processing. The Rudolf W. Becking Collection at Humboldt State Univeristy*, ibidem, 2014, vol. 77, no. 2, pp. 489–498; Ch. Weidman, *Accessioning as processing*, ibidem, 2006, vol. 69, no. 2, pp. 274–283; D. McCrea, *Getting more for less. Testing a new processing model at the University of Montana*, ibidem, 2006, vol. 69, no. 2, pp. 284–290, C. Ness van, *Much ado about paper clips. "More product, less process" ant the modern manuscript repository*, ibidem, 2010, vol. 73, no. 1, pp. 129–145.

time- and labor-intensive actions of archivists related to describing and storing archival materials. The aim of the proposed changes is to decrease, and eventually to completely eliminate, backlogs in these areas, for the purpose of expediting availability of archival materials to users. Greene and Meissner calculated that the focus on series-level processing and description, as well as refraining from removing metal elements and repackaging archival materials, renders it possible to increase the amount of materials processed annually by archivists fourfold [26].

Proposed pruning of archival processes falls in line with the experiences of fast food restaurants as regards the organization of work. A great deal of time was spent on testing kitchen work organization solutions for the purpose of minimizing the number of steps and the time required to deliver a meal, and thus maximizing profits from sales[27]. In the case of fast food restaurants, rigid organization of work also enables maintaining consistent quality of the products offered[28]. It appears that the MPLP movement, with its rejection of such superfluous activities as the removal of metal elements, follows the path set by fast food chains.

While the MPLP movement is not popular or well known in Poland, various local initiatives were undertaken, aiming to limit the number of archival processes for the purpose of increasing efficiency. The increase in efficiency is the reason behind the archives' efforts to ensure that the public institutions deliver their files arranged in an orderly fashion and in a manner that enables granting access to files by using the finding aids provided by them. This is an important part of the activities of Polish archives, which are the main topic of this analysis. While the extent to which this goal is met is determined by the office culture of a given country, its main purpose is to incorporate file creators into the series of actions performed by archives so that they themselves provide a ready-to-use (or nearly ready) product[29]. Imposing proper work standards on file creators helps decrease the workload of archivists involved in storing files, for example. In general, Polish archivists don't have to repackage documents into boxes or acid-free folders, use

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[26] M. Greene, D. Meissner, *More Product, Less Process. Revamping*..., pp. 253–255.

[27] G. Ritzer, P. Jendrić, S. Hayes, *The velvet cage of educational*..., pp. 113–129.

[28] G. Ritzer, *Makdonaldyzacja społeczeństwa*, pp. 69–74.

[29] Rozporządzenie Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego z dnia 20 października 2015 r. w sprawie klasyfikowania i kwalifikowania dokumentacji, przekazywania materiałów archiwalnych do archiwów państwowych i brakowania dokumentacji niearchiwalnej (Dz.U. 2019 poz. 246), http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20190000246/O/D20190246.pdf, accessed 29 November 2021.

new jackets or remove metal elements, as all these actions must be performed by the archive of the client institution. A state archive may reject archival materials unless they are prepared in line with its guidelines. In public archives, there are even separate positions for checking the preparation of materials before they are placed in the archives' storage. In a sense, this is similar to restaurant kiosks via which customers themselves perform the duties of the cashier. In this case, the institution – the client – performs the majority of the work so that it can use the archival service of storing documentation which it does not need. This is also in line with the values of MPLP.

In Polish archives, principles similar to those espoused by Greene and Meissner serve as the foundation of what is known as the simplified processing methods introduced in 2002. The then-General Director of the Polish State Archives (NDAP), in paragraph one of her regulation, stipulated that:

"Powiększający się w szybkim tempie zasób archiwów państwowych, zwłaszcza zaś poszerzająca się luka między zasobem opracowanym, a nieopracowanym powodują konieczność wprowadzenia zmian w metodyce pracy archiwalnej. Celem tej modyfikacji jest usprawnienie i przyspieszenie prac nad opracowaniem zasobu archiwów państwowych, a w konsekwencji zwiększenie liczby zespołów (zbiorów) archiwalnych udostępnianych użytkownikom archiwów państwowych"[30].

These are the same reasons as those mentioned in the original MLPL article. However, Polish regulations provide for solutions slightly different to those proposed by Greene and Meissner. In order to simplify archival work (arrangement and description), these regulations divided fonds into three groups: A1, A2, and A3. Group A1 (central level administration and institutions, files created before the end of 18th century), whose fonds were considered to be of the highest value, was to be processed in the traditional manner (down to the item level), and an archival inventory was to be developed with a complete introduction. A2 fonds (i.e., provincial institutions, towns from the 19th and 20th centuries) underwent simplified processing, i.e., a shortened introduction was created for the inventory, and duplicate files were not discarded. In group A3 (registry offices and other fonds not qualified to groups A1 and A2), virtually no processing or describing

[30] The rapidly growing holdings stored by state archives, in particular the growing gap between the processed and unprocessed documents, necessitate a change in archival methodology. The purpose of this change is to facilitate and expedite the processing of holdings stored in state archives, which will lead to an increased number of archival fonds (collections) available to users of state archives.

took place. However, this was contingent upon whether the files submitted by the providing institution were in a satisfactory condition and came with proper documentation[31]. In addition, the principle of an unchangeable archival reference number was introduced for all fonds. This means that if the providing institution applied correct archival reference numbers specified by the archive, they were not to be changed by the archivists who process those files. If necessary, archival inventories were to be created using computers for the purpose of limiting unnecessary work and increasing efficiency.

In a sense, the practice of processing archival fonds based on the documentation provided by their creator also applies to new files generated using computer technology from start to finish. This is due to the fact that in modern systems, gathering digital-born archival holdings, their creator supplies the metadata. This makes archival work more efficient because the archivists do not need to create many pieces of information about the holdings which they provide in the traditional system of archival description[32]. Of course, ability to use metadata in archival practice depends on their quality. It does, however, appear that computer systems, which partially automate their generation, require that such data be much more detailed before it can be submitted to an archive. This is not only a result of the requirements of the machines, but the needs of the institution, which, in order to navigate the tangle of data it generates, needs adequate and normalized descriptions.

In the area of modern technologies, the efficiency of archives is also strongly related to artificial intelligence (AI)[33] and optical character recognition (OCR)[34]. OCR technology expedites archival work in at least several areas. First, it enables faster digitization of traditional finding aids. Between 2016 and 2018, a statewide project was carried out in Poland, involving conversion of analogue finding aids into digital form. Over the course of the project conducted by 33 state

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31 Decyzja Nr 20 Naczelnego Dyrektora Archiwów Państwowych z dnia 10 grudnia 2002 r. w sprawie wprowadzenia wskazówek dotyczących uproszczonego opracowania zasobu archiwalnego przechowywanego w archiwach państwowych, https://www.gov.pl/web/archiwa/rok-20017, accessed 15 September 2023.

32 R. Spencer, *Binary trees? Automatically identifying the links between born-digital records*, "Archives and manuscripts" 2017, vol. 45, issue 2, pp. 77–99, https://doi.org/10.1080/01576895.2017.1330158.

33 G. Rolan, G. Humphries, L. Jeffrey, E. Samaras, T. Antsoupowa, K. Stuart, *More human than human? Artificial intelligence in the archive*, "Archives and Manuscripts" 2019, vol. 47, issue 2, pp. 179–203, https://doi.org/10.1080/01576895.2018.1502088.

34 J. Dooley, N. Bouché, *Implementing EAD*..., p. 44.

archives, it was discovered that manual conversion allowed for creation of dozens, sometimes hundreds of descriptions per day, but the use of OCR allowed for thousands. The increase in productivity was astounding, even when accounting for the necessity of proofreading by archivists. Therefore, the technology was implemented by the state archives in a relatively wide range of areas. Faster digitization of finding aids also allowed for significantly faster availability of information to users.

OCR can also be used in the research activities of archives, in particular those involving editing archival sources. Newer sources, created using typewriters or printed from a computer, can be scanned and recognized by a machine with relative ease. This greatly expedites the editing of sources when compared to copying them manually. OCR is also used to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of searching, even if the method sometimes generates results that are of poor quality, or even erroneous. Early printed newspapers are an example of a medium which OCR technology is incapable of processing. As a result, texts processed this way contain many errors, though users believe they are nonetheless able to find the information they need using this method[35]. The use of OCR in archives also involves artificial intelligence. As they learn more about the specificity of sources, computers make fewer mistakes, which eventually allows for more complex text recognition, also including relatively legible handwritten texts.

However, artificial intelligence has much more sophisticated uses than simply improving the quality of scanned texts. Most importantly, it helps navigate large sets of data. Thanks to machine learning, computers can develop neural networks, which in the future will probably expand the applications of this technology to sizeable datasets such as e-mail sets, which are impossible for humans to search through due to data's excessive size. Attempts have already been made to apply AI in the creation of digital editions and presenting finding aids. Examples include related data packages such as London Lives 1690 to 1800[36] and Digital Panopticon[37], which present the life of London convicts in Great Britain and Australia between 1780 and 1925, based on probability formulas used to

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35 J. Winters, A. Prescott, *Negotiating the born-digital. A problem of search*, "Archives and Manuscripts" 2019, vol. 47, issue 3, pp. 391–403, https://doi.org/10.1080/01576895.2019.1640753.

36 London lives 1690 to 1800 – crime, poverty and social policy in the metropolis, https://www.londonlives.org/, accessed 29 November 2021.

37 Tracing London Convicts in Britain and Australia, 1780–1925, https://www.digitalpanopticon.org/, accessed 29 November 2021.

identify individuals and suggest connections between them. Another example is the Traces through Time project of the British National Archives, which uses AI methods to identify individuals in large sets of online finding aids, providing hints as to where more references to those individuals can be found. European Holocaust Research Infrastructure also used AI technology in its dictionary-based approach to analyzing the emotions of Holocaust survivors based on their accounts of the events. With the use of generative neural networks, the project spawned a large training database of positive and negative memories, giving rise to a highly-accurate network which led to a qualitative and quantitative improvement of the original dictionary model. It bears mentioning that these early experiments were highly successful[38]. It therefore appears that, in the near future, the wide-ranging application of artificial intelligence will offer a great deal of utility for archives striving to provide their users with the most effective methods of acquiring information.

Over the last few years, one of the most important aspects of efficiency was the online availability of archival holdings. Access to archives via the Internet is the fastest and most convenient way to obtain access to holdings. At the same time, users can search in institutions across the globe and use many more items than during a personal visit in the reading room. Furthermore, it is much more inexpensive than the traditional method of doing research.

Increases in efficiency pertain also to archival websites, which are probably the most efficient way to deliver information to the user. The UK National Archives website is an excellent example of increasing efficiency; before a visit in person, users can find all the necessary information on the website, and thus obtain access to archival materials in a most efficient manner[39]. This approach to educating users is very similar, if not identical, to self-guided tours[40] implemented by libraries. In actuality, it is a step forward, considering that future users, in order to visit an archive, would not even need to physically enter it, requiring only Internet access.

Finally, insofar as efficiency is concerned, archives also make use of crowdsourcing, i.e., users themselves perform work which would normally have

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38 J. Winters, A. Prescott, *Negotiating the born-digital…*

39 H. Ciechanowski, *Warsztaty w archiwach*, [in:] *Zatrzymać przeszłość, dogonić przyszłość. Pamiętnik VI Powszechnego Zjazdu Archiwistów Polskich*, ed. W. Chorążyczewski, K. Stryjkowski, Warszawa 2013, pp. 523–536.

40 K. Nicholson, *The McDonaldization of academic…*

to be performed by archivists. This is similar to consumers placing orders using a kiosk, which eliminates the need for a cashier. An archive-related example of this is the creation of archival material indexes by users, or deciphering less legible sources in the form of CAPTCHA. Until recently, the sole responsibility for description and processing of sources was with the archivist, but extensive use of online technologies has made it possible to cede some of the workload to the public. The archivist is only required to proofread the results and apply minor corrections if necessary. This solution is used in Poland in genealogical source sharing and editing, for example[41].

The attempts at increasing efficiency described above do not cover all the solutions which have been used in archives for the purpose of expediting the delivery of their products to users. However, it appears that they do indicate the possibility of finding similar solutions for archives of other countries, including online access to sources and archival information, as well as using multilevel descriptions featuring a degree of normalization, which, even though used in different systems, impose a certain common framework on archival practice.

Calculability

The next dimension of McDonaldization is calculability. Although archives are not considered to be quantified to any significant degree, at a closer look, there are many areas where calculability is essential. Although the approach to calculability may differ between countries, it appears that common elements can still be identified. While they may not be of paramount importance, archives also constitute a part of bureaucracy, for which the ability to describe work using quantitative indicators is important. Therefore, superiors must assess the work of their subordinate archivists based on the number of queries, corporate archives assessments and descriptions in the system. This information is then used by archive network directors to assess the work of individual archive divisions or the archive as a whole. From the perspective of the bureaucracy, the number of actions performed is of greater importance than the quality of the work itself.

[41] H. Ciechanowski, *Projekt „Źródła genealogiczne mieszkańców województwa kujawsko-pomorskiego" jako przykład upowszechniania dostępu do materiałów archiwalnych przez archiwa państwowe*, "Annales Universitatis Pedagogicae Cracoviensis Studia Sociologica" 2017, vol. 9(1), pp. 115–122.

The latter remark does not always fully apply to the work performed by archives, however, as besides the amount of material processed, quality of the work should also be of importance. The author is also unable to assess and analyze the approaches to calculability of various archival services taken by other countries, especially considering that the solutions applied are beyond doubt frequently imposed on archives as parts of administrations as a whole. However, it appears that, similar to libraries, archives are required to compile statistics on the amount of materials they admit, process and store. These statistics contribute to calculability, especially considering that they include no mentions of the quality of the holdings. Therefore, the author decided to list only a few examples related to calculability.

John M. Dirks draws attention to the issue of the accountability of archives, going as far as to refer to it as one of the central issues that archives must focus on in their work[42]. Jacques Grimard, on the other hand, notes that in order to better fulfil their social and professional responsibilities, archivists must implement evaluation methods to verify the effectiveness of their own programs and activities, and assess the improvement prospects of those programs and the services they offer. This approach may focus on assessing quality, quantity, or a balance of the two[43]. Numerous grant agencies, which expect accountability and formal reporting from the projects they finance, also express demand for such information. A good example of this is the Canadian Council of Archives, which requires an efficiency measuring plan for the National Archival Development Program[44]. Similar requirements are set by institutions which grant EU funding, for which the quantitative metrics achieved as a result of a given project are of great importance.

The demand of archives, and the institutions which finance them, for sufficient statistical results is met by projects such as the Archival Metrics. The project, which involves collecting data from users, constitutes a combined methodological approach which attempts to account for both quantitative and qualitative data. Indicators used in the approach include quality and user satisfaction with various

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42 J. Dirks, *Accountability, history, and archives. Conflicting priorities or synthesized strands*, "Archiviaria" 2004, vol. 57 (Spring), pp. 29–49.

43 J. Grimard, *Program evaluation and archives. "Appraising" archival work and achievements*, ibidem, pp. 69–87.

44 W. Duff, E. Yakel, H. Tibbo, J. Cherry, A. McKay, M. Krause, R. Sheffield, *The development, testing, and evaluation of the Archival Metrics Toolkits*, "The American Archivist" 2010, vol. 73, no. 2 (Fall/Winter), p. 570.

archival services. Such a study was conducted for a number of institutions, including the archives of several US universities[45]. An in-depth discussion of this project is beyond the scope of this paper; its results can be found on the Archival Metrics website[46]. The toolkit developed in the course of the project is based on a study of users, for which both quantitative and qualitative data was collected. This enabled assessment and presentation of the calculability of archival work. This approach, which involved, among other things, assessing customer satisfaction, shares many similarities with solutions used in higher education, where quantitative indicators from student, graduate and staff satisfaction studies are frequently the measure of success[47].

Another example of an approach to assessing calculability of archives was a project carried out in Arizona from 2009–2012, the purpose of which was to assess, quantitatively and qualitatively, the state's archived materials stored in various institutions in order to arrive at a storage model that would ensure better representation of groups and subjects which were underrepresented in archival materials at the time. A poll conducted among archival institutions led to a quantitative assessment of the state's materials (total number of collections and the size of the holdings in linear feet), and allowed for their division into approx. 50 content categories of files stored in individual archives[48].

Polish archives, on the other hand, opted for a completely different approach to calculability, one more similar to that of fast food chains. During the communist period, state archives were considered cultural institutions in Poland. However, in the 1990s, they became part of the public administration. This change, though it had a profound impact on their organization, had relatively little influence on their approach to reporting. Virtually since the end of World War II, quantitative indicators have been the dominant metric used to assess the work of archives and archivists in Poland. The amount of documentation processed annually, in meters, and the number of queries conducted have been the primary metrics. For that purpose, minimal processing indicators were introduced in the People's Republic of Poland, which required archivists to process a certain minimum

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45 Ibidem.

46 Archival Metrics Toolkits, https://sites.google.com/a/umich.edu/archival-metrics/the-toolkits, accessed 15 September 2023.

47 M. Romanowski, H. Alkhateeb, *The McDonaldization of CAEP*..., pp. 1–9.

48 L. Coyner, J. Prongle, *Metrics and metrices surveying the past to create a better future*, "The American Archivist" 2014, vol. 77, pp. 459–488.

amount of material every year. This amount differed depending on whether the files had been generated by Polish or foreign administrators. It is important to note that the quality of processing was not assessed. Such an approach was actually commonplace in communist countries. Unfortunately, the processing plans themselves are currently very difficult to access as they served as internal instructions for archivists, to be destroyed after becoming obsolete. However, information about the quantity of archival materials processed under the plans is available in the form of state archival service reports. In 1967, for example, the processing goal was 237,000 units, and the final number of units processed was 250,000, i.e., 105.5%[49]. A similar approach is espoused to this day by Polish state archives, as evidenced by annual reports of the General Directorate of the Polish State Archives[50].

An extreme example of the quantitative approach typical of McDonaldization is the aforementioned finding aids retro-conversion program, carried out by Polish state archives between 2016 and 2018. Its purpose was to eliminate years of digitization backlog by rapidly copying finding aids and uploading them online. The General Director believed that it was more important to quickly copy the finding aids than to preserve their quality, let alone improve it. As a result, the main focus was put on calculability. An archivist was required to create 350 descriptions in Polish or 210 in a foreign language over the span of 7 hours. Archives were monitored for fulfillment of these quantitative requirements, and their employees could receive cash bonuses for exceeding the quotas. Unfortunately, the quality of that work was completely sub-par[51]. While the premise was that the digitized versions of the aids were to be perfectly identical to their analog versions, the focus on quantity did result in a significant amount of information being lost during the conversion process. A common practice was to omit certain fields used in paper finding aids (e.g. comments and physical descriptions) which were considered less important or thought to require more time to copy. The high pace of work also resulted in mistakes stemming from lack of diligence. Omitting information should be considered a significant loss in the long-term, considering

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49 J. Rusinek, I. Koberdowa, *Sprawozdanie z działalności Naczelnej Dyrekcji Archiwów Państwowych i podległych jej placówek w roku 1967*, „Archeion" 1968, vol. 50, pp. 215–242.

50 Until 2000, reports were published in the journal "Archeion". Since 2001, they have been available on the State Archives website, https://www.gov.pl/web/archiwa/sprawozdanie-z-dzialalnosci-archiwow-panstwowych, accessed 28 September 2023.

51 Sz. Rożyński, M. Znamirowska, *Doświadczenia Archiwum Państwowego w Zielonej Górze w realizacji retrokonwersji pomocy archiwalnych*, „Archeion" 2018, vol. 119, p. 82.

that those fields frequently contained valuable comments regarding the content of the files, made by archivists during processing. A common practice was to flag certain materials, whose presence in a given unit was not apparent from the title alone, as valuable for exhibition purposes. Yet, this approach did allow for achieving higher quantitative results.

Calculability may not be a strong focus for the archives, as archival work is not calculable. Since every fond is unique, it is impossible to develop exact, common and universal quantitative indicators, or determine beyond all doubt that the more descriptions or scans available online, the better. On the contrary, in case of archives, more is frequently worse, i.e., less accurate, which impacts the user's work quality and speed. Fortunately, archives continue to take quality aspects into account as well. The examples presented here are, of course, not completely representative. Regardless, the archival services of many countries, e.g. the former Eastern Bloc, with their greater degree of centralization, are undoubtedly faced with issues similar to those of their Polish counterparts. On the other hand, less centralized archives or archives operating in different cultures might put more emphasis on aspects other than quantity. A strong emphasis on calculability is also exhibited by university libraries, which strive to collect as much statistical data as possible on nearly all aspects of their operation[52]. A similar situation emerged in the British police force, where it was discovered that many officers, especially those hired at the turn of the 21st century, had only experienced working as part of a system which puts particular emphasis on quantitatively formulated goals[53].

Predictability

The first step on the way to rationalization of archives was probably made in the 19th century, when the two first generally accepted principles to rule the archival arrangement and description were developed. In the years 1838–1841 in the French National Archives, Natalis de Wailly formulated the *principe du respect des fonds*[54]. Even though the principle was relevant mostly for practical management of the holdings, it was also an inspiration for changes in other archives. The next milestone was the *registraturprinzip* introduced in the

52 B. Quinn, *The McDonaldization of academic libraries*…

53 R. Heslop, *The British police service*…, pp. 312–321.

54 B. Ryszewski, *Archiwistyka. Przedmiot, zakres, podział*, Warszawa–Poznań 1972, p. 22.

Kingdom of Prussia in 1881 and 1896[55]. Obviously, these are only a couple of selected points in the history of archives. In some countries such as Denmark, Italy, and Austria, these principles were known even earlier (as early as the 18th century). However, they were not applied universally or for a long time[56]. Finally, the principle of provenance was first given a theoretical justification in a Dutch manual entitled *Handleiding voor het Ordnen en Beschrijven van Archieven*, written by Muller, Feith, and Fruin in 1898[57]. In the European sense, the principle of provenance combines the principles of *respect des fonds* and *respect de l'ordre original*. In 1910, during the International Congress of Archivists and Librarians in Brussels, the principle of provenance was generally accepted by archivists[58]. The principle of provenance, based on the observation of bureaucracy, is strictly rational. The fonds arrangement must be strictly bound with its creator; which is why an archivist should analyze the structure and functions of the institution that produced the record. It also allows for greater efficiency of work because the archivist does not have to perform the complicated, difficult and often frustrating work related to dividing archives into subject groups[59].

Methods based on principles of *respect des fonds* and provenance (or *respect de l'ordre original*) have been used in almost every archive in the world for over 100 years which is why, at the base level, the structure of archives can appear similar, and thus predictable in the McDonaldization sense.

Predictability of the archives became even higher when the archives started using international standards of archival description such as ISAD(G) or ISAAR(CPF). The objective of introduction of international standards of description was uniformization of archival descriptions across the globe. While the reception of those standards may differ due to the strictness with which they are adhered to, it should be noted that they do provide a certain framework within which archivists must operate. Therefore, they contribute to increasing

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55 A. Brenneke, *Archivkunde. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Geschichte des europäischen Archivwesens*, Liepzig 1958, p. 67.

56 A. Giroux, *A theoretical and historical analysis of pertinence- and provenance-based concepts of classification of archives*, Vancouver 1998, pp. 41–42; A. Brenneke, *Archivkunde. Ein Beitrag…*, p. 66.

57 T. Schellenberg, *The management of archives*, New York–London 1965, pp. 41–42.

58 A. Bachulski, *Zastosowanie zasady proweniencji w porządkowaniu nowoczesnych zasobów archiwalnych*, [in:] *Pamiętnik IV Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Poznaniu 6–8 Grudnia 1925,* t. 1, *Referaty*, Lwów 1925, p. 1.

59 T. Schellenberg, *The management of archives*, p. 93.

the predictability of archives as such, as even though their archival information systems may be structured differently, the information layer itself will be similar. This is evident when one examines, among other things, archival information systems made available online by various archives. For this purpose, the author analyzed seventeen selected systems from different parts of the world[60]. It should be noted that beyond the obvious differences stemming from the level of technical sophistication of the sites, the graphics, or the structure of the portals, most sites provide information of similar depth and structure. A good example are portals provided by the archives of the US[61], Poland[62], South Korea[63], Australia[64], and South Africa[65] – archives from different continents, following different archival traditions.

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60 Analyzed archives sites, accessed 13 May 2020: 1. (Germany) Brandenburgischen Landeshauptarchivs Online Recherche, http://blha-recherche.brandenburg.de/suchinfo.aspx; 2. (England) The National Archives Explore the catalogue, http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/; 3. (USA) The National Archives and Records Administration, https://www.archives.gov/research/catalog; 4. (France) Archives Nationales Salle des inventaires virtuelle, https://www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/cms/content/display.action?uuid=Accueil1RootUuid&onglet=1; 5. (Hungary) Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, http://adatbazisokonline.hu/; 6. (Australia) National Archives of Australia RecordSearch, https://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRetrieve/Interface/SearchScreens/BasicSearch.aspx; 7. (Republica South Africa) National Archives and Record Services of South Africa, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.za/node/737?q=search-the-collections; 8. (South Korea) National Archives of Korea, https://www.archives.go.kr/next/viewMain.do; 9. (Sweden) Riksarkivet, https://sok.riksarkivet.se/; 10. (Estonia) Rahvosarhiv, https://www.ra.ee/vau/index.php/en; 11. (Russia) Архивный фонд Российской Федерации Центральный Фондовый Каталог, http://cfc.rusarchives.ru/CFC-search; 12. (Italy) SIAS Sistema informativo degli Archivi di Stato, https://sias.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/pagina.pl; 13. (Spain) PARES Portal de Archivos Españoles, http://pares.culturaydeporte.gob.es/inicio.html; 14. (Canada) Library and Archives Canada, https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/collectionsearch/Pages/collectionsearch.aspx; 15. (Albania) Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit të Republikës së Shqipërisë, https://arkiva.gov.al/ oraz https://katalogu.arkiva.gov.al/; 16. (Portugal) Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/; 17. (Poland) Szukaj w archiwach, www.szukajwarchiwach.gov.pl.

61 The National Archives and Records Administration, https://www.archives.gov/research/catalog, accessed 17 July 2023.

62 Szukaj w archiwach, www.szukajwarchiwach.gov.pl, accessed 17 July 2023.

63 National Archives of Korea, https://www.archives.go.kr/next/viewMain.do, accessed 17 July 2023.

64 National Archives of Australia Record Search, https://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRetrieve/Interface/SearchScreens/BasicSearch.aspx, accessed 17 July 2023.

65 National Archives and Record Services of South Africa, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.za/node/737?q=search-the-collections, accessed 17 July 2023.

To an extent, this may also give users a sense that they know how to find relevant information even if they do not know, or know only a little, of the local language or history. Technical means, such as automatic translators, which, although imperfect, can overcome certain limitations, also help in this matter. Of course, it is too early to claim that archival information has been normalized across the globe because there are still too many differences between the practices of different archives. It seems, however, that globalization will force further convergence in this direction. Nevertheless, in a more general sense, the purpose of all standards is to uniformize products or services[66], and in this sense, archival standards, too, constitute a step toward predictability.

Poland is an example of a country where the pursuit of predictability is even more pronounced, because of the aforementioned methodic rules and guidelines. In Poland, this also applies – to a certain degree – to personal and family archives, as guidelines have also been developed to facilitate and expedite their processing. These guidelines, which are based on content criteria, allow for certain deviations while providing a predictable core for the processing of personal files not only by state archives, but also university archives and libraries[67].

Predictability is also connected to the access paradigm[68]. Access granted to all users under the same rules, no matter who wants to use the archival holdings or where they want to use them, makes archives predictable. The previous approach of national and archive authorities involved making archives unavailable to various groups, primarily foreigners. In order to access the archival materials of a given country, one had to pass a series of procedures, and communicate with the archive via consuls or central archival authorities. In pre-World War II Poland, even Polish nationals were not guaranteed access to archival materials unless they obtained an appropriate recommendation (from an institution or a prominent researcher) or passed an examination administered by the director of a given archive[69]. Before the fall of communism, being able to obtain permission to peruse archival holdings in Eastern European countries depended on the policy

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66 A. Mottram, *"Like a trip to McDonalds"*..., pp. 165–174.

67 H. Dymnicka-Wołoszyńska, Z. Kolankowski, S. Chankowski, *Wytyczne opracowania spuścizn archiwalnych po uczonych*, Warszawa 1990.

68 A. Menne-Haritz, *Access – The reformulation of an archival paradigm*, "Archival Science" 2001, vol. 1, pp. 57–82.

69 A. Tomczak, *Zarys dziejów archiwów polskich*, Toruń 1982.

and international relations at the time. It was, therefore, impossible to predict if and what type of materials one could access[70].

The gradual shift toward the access paradigm and the implementation of the public principle[71] by archives has resulted in markedly higher predictability. Regardless of the procedures applicable in a given country, users can expect that they will be granted access to archival materials. In addition, they can expect that they will be treated with the respect they deserve regardless of their origin, sexual orientation or religion. In this context, the end of the 20th century as well as the 21st century constitute a significant step forward, though there are of course still exceptions. These include Russian and Belarusian archives, which frequently discriminate against their users and arbitrarily decide what materials they can peruse.

These examples show that archives have made many steps on the way to predictability. Developing common principles of organizing holdings, followed by international standards, and finally the paradigm shift and opening the archives to a wider audience have resulted in archives being perceived as more predictable. Of course, the fact that the solutions discussed in this part have been implemented and applied differently by different countries has no bearing on this, which is why it is too early to claim any degree of normalization. Nevertheless, at the most general level, archives have made steps in that direction thanks to the international exchange of experiences.

Control

Control, the fourth dimension of McDonaldization, is probably not very apparent in archives, however its examples can be found even there. Every, or almost every, archive has regulations for users, determining how they can gain access to the archival materials they are interested in, and their behavior in reading rooms. Those regulations also determine the actions and scope of the assistance provided by archivists working "at the frontline" of archives. Such rules are generally soft, but they provide archives with tools to control users and employees. The user must fill out some documents to obtain access to archival

[70] R. Techman, *Z pobytu w archiwach moskiewskich*, „Archeion" 1995, vol. 96, pp. 345–349.

[71] W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, *Is the public principle a new paradigm of archival science?*, "Archiwa–Kancelarie–Zbiory" 2014, vol. 5(7), pp. 11–22.

holdings. The archivist must, on the other hand, provide them with necessary information, check whether the user has "fulfilled the formalities" and dispense the materials the user ordered. The choice of form in which users want to use materials is also limited because archives prefer to share digital copies. In a sense, these rules are reminiscent of manuals for fast food restaurant employees, who are required to perform their work according to a strict plan. While archive rules are not as strict regarding the behavior of archivists and users, they do provide a certain framework for their interactions.

Elements of control can also be found in the aspect of accessing archival materials that are of particular importance to certain groups. A perfect example of this are the Traditional Knowledge (TK) Labels, whose purpose is to specify and inform non-community users which materials are of special significance to a given community. This applies in particular to religious/ritual materials, materials which feature gender restrictions, seasonal conditions of use and/or materials specifically designed for outreach purposes[72]. While these restrictions are introduced for cultural and ethical reasons, and often also as a result of painful experiences of the communities in question, their purpose is still to control who can peruse certain materials and how. Of course, these are not hard restrictions. The archives' approach to control is very similar to that of the tourism industry, which also makes use of soft control mechanisms to encourage tourists to behave a certain way. Unlike archives, in addition to general rules of conduct, the tourism industry also capitalizes on the possibilities offered by proper infrastructure planning[73].

Integrated systems which provide tools to control the work of archivists in real-time can also be an element of control in archives. For example, in the Polish ZoSIA[74] system, the head of a department, director, and also the General Director of State Archives have the means to control the work of every single archivist. Management not only sees the number of records created every day, but can also read and even correct them. The standards used in archives as a basis for archival descriptions grant some elements of control as well. Predictable work, bound by technical measures, can be easily controlled by supervisors. The possibilities

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72 Traditional Knowledge (TK) Labels, https://localcontexts.org/labels/traditional-knowledge-labels/, accessed 29 November 2021; K. Christen, J. Anderson, *Toward slow archives*, "Archival Science" 2019, vol. 19, pp. 87–116.

73 A. Weaver, *The McDonaldization thesis*..., pp. 346–366.

74 Zintegrowany System Informacji Archiwalnej [eng. Integrated System of Archival Information].

of controlling an archivist's work offered by the Polish ZoSIA system are very broad. However, it appears that technological progress may also lead to increased possibilities of user control, even though they are already extensive. This also applies to electronic documentation management systems, which, due to the necessity of ensuring authenticity of the documentation they generate, must also offer a high degree of control over the actions of users, so as to minimize the hazard of unauthorized tampering.

Though the approach to controlling archive users and employees may vary in terms of form and scope, it appears that this aspect of archival practice cannot be fully discarded. A certain minimum of control is necessary, if only due to the need to ensure physical integrity of archival materials, as well as protecting such rights as copyright and the right to a good name, which may be violated by improper use of archival materials.

Irrationality of rationality

Over the past 200 years, the abovementioned aspects have brought some advantages for archives. At the same time, users received tools to use archives efficiently and predictably at the time and place of their choice. Unfortunately, they also involve some irrationalities, which are the subject of the penultimate part of the article.

Dehumanization

The above-mentioned methodological guidelines, commonly used in Polish archives, aim to standardize and accelerate archival work, while simultaneously leading to dehumanization of the archivist's work. Although they are not "hard" regulations, since an individual approach to each fond is allowed, the methodological committees approving development of the fonds checked whether they were used during the archival study. This limited the options for archivists to use their skills, knowledge and ideas, imposing a specific work framework on them. Introduction of international standards leads to similar problems, although on a much smaller scale. Also, although the standards make the archivist's work more orderly and lead to greater predictability of what

information we can find, they somehow limit the archivist's inventiveness, which leads, at least partly, to dehumanization of his or her work.

Another example of dehumanization of an archivist's work are the consequences of implementation of integrated systems. The architecture of integrated systems necessitates a more coherent and rigid structure than that of traditional databases. Separate databases allowed for a much greater degree of freedom in terms of entering information, as they did not require mutual compatibility and integrity. This is not the case in the integrated systems. Their modular structure, in order to operate effectively, requires the information to be much more accurate and rigidly structured. Although they are based on international standards which impose a certain framework, even if it is a relatively broad one, the need for internal integrity leads to that framework becoming more strict. This greatly restricts the opportunities for archivists to apply their knowledge and skills, leading to a gradual dehumanization of their work as a result of using a dehumanized technology. This is particularly prominent in case of forms, which are based on predefined multiple-choice fields.

Online access to archives is the next source of irrationality. Technical measures provided to users in order to give them access to archival holdings are dehumanized. They diminish an essential aspect of archival work – contact with other people. Pieces of information obtained by talking with archivists and other users were sometimes as important as finding aids. They were also a part of the so-called "archival life," non-professional, but significant to the research information flow.

Imposition of quantitative norms, common in the bureaucracy, also contributes to dehumanization of archival work. Examples include quantitative norms of processing or digitization. In the end, what counts is not how the work was done but whether the archivist did it at the right time, the expected number of times. In a sense, this reduces the archivist to a role similar to that of an assembly line worker. It doesn't matter what his predispositions are. The only thing that matters is that he has to perform specific actions so as to produce the outcome expressed by the right amount of products (for example, scans or descriptions). In a long time, it can lead to weariness, discouragement, and eventually, to a feeling of pointlessness and leaving work.

Disenchantment

Online access is also "disenchanted". Contact with original archival materials grants users a certain type of "magical experience", coming from the living history embodied in them. Digital copies, while delivered to users faster and in much larger quantities, do not provide the same experience as they do not have that "historical dimension." Although this issue has not been thoroughly researched, the perception described above is based on the author's experiences working with users in a reading room of the archive. Many users, especially those passionate about archives, while they enjoyed easier and quicker access to a much larger volume of files, at the same time regretted losing direct access to archival materials and being able to "feel them." This does not necessarily mean that archives should cease to expand their presence online, especially considering that the above remarks have been made by a specific minority of users. Nonetheless, perhaps it would be a good idea to focus more on the emotional aspect of perusing archival materials when planning archival work.

The irrationality of calculability

The next irrationality is the consequence of calculability. Archives which focus on quantity rather than quality, such as in case of the retroconversion mentioned above, give users incomplete information, and as a result, the searched information becomes less relevant. During the retroconversion, in order to meet the numerical indicators imposed by the NDAP, it was often decided to copy only part of the information contained in paper-finding aids. As a result, while archives send users a message that they can find virtually any information concerning archive resources on the Internet, at the same time the users are often not provided with some very important information that remains available on-site in the reading room of the archive. Thus, such information is often "forgotten" (lost to the user), which results directly from the message sent by the archive[75]. This greatly inconveniences users, who must take more time to search with no guarantee of success.

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[75] H. Ciechanowski, *Archiwum jako miejsce zapomnienia*, [in:] *Nowa archiwistyka – archiwa i archiwistyka w późnonowoczesnym kontekście kulturowym*, Toruńskie Konfrontacje Archiwalne, t. 4, ed. W. Chorążyczewski, P. Piasek, A. Rosa, Toruń 2014, pp. 45–52.

The procedures posited by More Product, Less Process are, or may be, related to this issue. Making the processing more shallow, as a result of forgoing individual descriptions in lieu of describing entire series, may lead to difficulties for users who try to search for information. While in case of on-site searches this issue can be solved with relative ease, by simply contacting an archivist, the same cannot be said for online searches. Less accurate information forces users to hazard a general guess regarding which archival fonds may be of utility, and to continue their search on site. This may prolong the search process and decrease relevance of its results. The need of online users for more accurate descriptions and more points of access is also highlighted by existing research on the topic[76].

There is at least one more problem associated with the problem of the irrationality of calculability. Imposition of standards for archivists in terms of the amount of annual processing of archival materials (mentioned above)[77] often led to a situation in which an archivist could not take action for an extended period, provided he was able to meet the imposed target in a short time. These targets were not high because, despite imposition of quantitative measures, it was assumed that the archivist's work was to be qualitative and not quantitative. At the same time, meeting the target in a short time meant that the study was carried out in a very perfunctory manner, resulting in loss of a lot of information. Ultimately, however, the quality of the work was not checked, only the number of processed or, better to say, inventoried units. This had an impact on the attitude of archivists[78].

Inefficiency

The section on efficiency describes the practice of Polish archives requiring the document creator to submit it to the archive in a condition that would make it ready for sharing. However, this requirement sometimes leads to the files being held back for many months before being transferred to the archive, and consequently,

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[76] E. Benoit, *#MPLP part 1. Comparing domain expert and novice social tags in a minimally processed digital archives*, "The American Archivist" 2017, vol. 80, issue 2, p. 408, https://doi.org/10.17723/0360-9081-80.2.407.

[77] J. Rusinek, I. Koberdowa, *Sprawozdanie z działalności*....

[78] Although there is no evidence for this phenomenon in the literature, it is quite common knowledge passed on in the archival environment.

no possibility to make them available. The files are no longer physically in the institution archives, nor are they in the state archives. This is because the archivist must check the correctness of their processing before taking over the files, which leads to downtime, given the large number of transferors and a small number of archivists responsible for accepting transfers. At the same time, if the archivist decides that the archival materials have been processed incorrectly, the file creator must make corrections, which also takes time (collecting the files from the state archive, transporting them to the institution, effecting corrections, transporting files back to the archive). After the corrections have been made, the state archivist once again checks the correctness of the processing, which again takes time. Therefore, it may create a vicious circle in which the records remain in a limbo between the archive and the files' originator.

Apart from facilitating access and lowering costs, extensive online sharing can sometimes lead to a slowdown. Such a situation will occur primarily when inappropriate technical measures are used, including poorly designed servers and resulting bandwidth limitations. The waiting time, for the desired information or archival materials, extends drastically in such a situation. This can be compared to standing in a long line to place an order at a fast food restaurant. Both of these issues, when combined, run counter to the reason why archives attempt to expand their presence online. It also leads to increased user frustration, and thus has a negative impact on the image of archival institutions.

Lack of control

One important control problem is the manner in which the information in the archival materials, made available by the archives, is to be used. This problem has existed ever since the archives realized that the information contained therein could be harmful, especially to private individuals (harmfulness to the state is a separate problem). The concern about this has increased with the adoption of the General Data Protection Regulation by the European Parliament and the Council[79], which provides for high penalties for violations of personal data

[79] Regulation (EU) 2016/679 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 27 April 2016 on the protection of natural persons with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data, and repealing Directive 95/46/EC (General Data Protection Regulation), https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/2016/679/oj, accessed 22 July 2023.

processing. The fear of lack of control over information, and of the potential consequences, has led to a situation where not only some of the archival materials were made inaccessible (or access is granted reluctantly), but even finding aids are made inaccessible, on the assumption that they in themselves may pose a threat. Unfortunately, this often forces the user, including a scholar, to correspond with the archive for a long time and prove that he has special permissions and guarantees security in the processing of any information made available to him. On the other hand, in a situation where the archives give an impression that comprehensive information about the sources is available on the Internet, while at the same time withholding information that they consider "dangerous", they in effect limit users' access to public information. This opens the door to further limitations and makes it impossible for the user to conduct their search effectively. The user is not even aware that there are still more archival materials that could contain information valuable for him. Thus, the archive's fear of the consequences of lack of control leads to unethical and dangerous behaviour.

Trends against McDonaldization

The changes brought by McDonaldization with respect to functioning of community institutions have led to emergence of movements to resist its influence. A prime example is the slow movement, which encourages people to live slower and make more deliberate decisions. Interestingly, the original slow movement emerged in connection with food, being a response to the rapid expansion of fast food restaurants. Of course, now the slow movement is not only limited to food, however its origins are of particular significance to the present analysis[80].

Within the context of archives, the response to McDonaldization is the rapidly developing community archives movement. Such archives do not focus on collecting, or making available, as many files as possible. Their main purpose is to collect files which match the theme of a given archive. As a result, their actions are primarily focused not on the quantitative indicators, but rather the qualitative ones. Their primary goal is to evoke emotions and call upon the

[80] The slow movement. Making a connection, https://www.slowmovement.com/, accessed 29 November 2021; Slow movement (culture), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slow_movement_(culture), accessed 29 November 2021.

collective memory. They also allow file originators to select files more deliberately and in a less formalized fashion. This approach is necessary because, as Jeannette Bastian points out, it is impossible to document it accurately without in-depth knowledge of the rituals and events that constitute a community[81].

In a sense, community archives constitute a response to the deficiencies of state archives, which focus on administrative files, and which have gradually ceased to provide an objective picture of reality. They may also be seen as a response to the threat of large organizations, i.e., external recipients who tend to objectify smaller communities instead of perceiving them as active creators of their own histories[82].

To use a food analogy, community archives are similar to artisanal ice cream manufacturers. Mass-produced ice cream, though less expensive and more readily available, is of significantly lower quality. Artisanal ice cream, on the other hand, though less available and generally more expensive, offers a much wider variety of flavors. Its manufacturers can also change flavors more often and improve their recipes to satisfy the tastes of their customers more accurately and diligently. Similarly, community archives, thanks to their lesser degree of formalization, are able to quicker respond to the requirements of their community, both at the micro- and macroscale; they can also be more flexible with regard to how they approach collecting their holdings and granting access to them, while providing users with more exciting and closer contact with history. Community archives also find it easier to adapt to the needs of the community whose memories they keep. This is particularly true if the community has been harmed in some manner over the course of its history. Kimberly Christen and Jane Anderson describe a very interesting example of Passamaquoddy Native American tribe archive, which, by rejecting the baggage of colonization experience, was able to focus on the particular needs of a single community[83]. It appears that the entire community archives movement, aiming to decolonize previous experiences with regard to collecting historical sources, can be referred to by the term slow archives, coined by the two authors, according to whom

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[81] J. Bastian, *The records of memory, the archives of identity. Celebrations, texts and archival sensibilities*, "Archival Science" 2013, vol. 13, pp. 123–124, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-012-9184-3.

[82] L. Coyner, J. Prongle, *Metrics and metrices…, p.* 473.

[83] K. Christen, J. Anderson, *Toward slow archives*, pp. 87–116.

"the slow archive is a commitment and an obligation to undo, redo, and build again structures that embody meaningful and mutual obligations to see, hear, and enact different ways of knowing, being, and relating through multiple temporal sovereignties"[84].

As community archives, or, more broadly, slow archives are not burdened by the drive for calculability, efficiency and predictability, they can also engage in initiatives which lie outside of those trends. A perfect example of this is the initiative of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre in Canada, which contributes to decolonization by enabling the local community to speak about their perceptions of the history of residential schools. The initiative also included the Remember the Children project, which involved creating and distributing photo albums containing photographs from residential schools. Native communities and various organizations contributed to the project, and a source-collecting drive was organized. At the end of the pilot phase, every community participating in the program received a complete set of albums, to be donated to local archives and libraries so that it would always be available to all members of the local community[85].

Alternative archives, described by Jeanette Bastian, are interesting examples of archival activity that goes against the trends resulting from McDonaldization. The author's examples include archives established by the Jamaica National Trust. Their purpose was to commemorate the trauma caused by slavery as it affected ordinary people. Monuments were placed across the island, displaying data that was culled from archives (frequently in form of transcribed oral testimony concerning slavery in that particular part of the country). The purpose of this was to create virtual archives accessible to those who do not have access to the original archives. The second example comes from South Africa. It involved creation of textiles that commemorate and, at the same time, transform the painful experiences of women. Both initiatives are excellent examples of archival work focused on quality and uniqueness[86].

Nevertheless, even state archives are reacting to their increasing McDonaldization. This reaction takes the form of what has come to be known

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84 Ibidem, p. 107.

85 K. McCracken, *Community archival practice. Indigenous frassroots collaboration at the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre*, "The American Archivist" 2015, vol. 78, issue 1, pp. 181–191, https://doi.org/10.17723/0360-9081.78.1.181.

86 J. Bastian, *The records of memory*..., pp. 127–128.

as the documentation activities of archives. By way of periodical initiatives of collecting documentation focusing on a certain type of documents, most frequently related to current domestic and international events, state archives seem to be able to temporarily halt the McDonaldization process and focus on a qualitative approach to their operations. After all, the goal of collecting sources is not to collect large volumes of them, but primarily to ensure that they depict reality as accurately as possible. Their collection, processing and availability, therefore, does not have to be effective, predictable or calculable in the above sense. Collecting process is also beyond the control of archives, which are almost entirely reliant on their social partners in this matter. At the same time, this type of work requires a greater deal of involvement from the archivist, a person with a wealth of professional and life experience, which is necessary to communicate with stakeholders, understand their experiences (e.g. during the process of recording memories), build lasting relations and provide direction as to the sources they provide. Machines are currently unable to replace humans in this profession, and it is our hope that this never changes.

Examples of documentation activities can be found in Polish archives. They include projects such as the Family Archives of Independent Poland, launched in 2018 to celebrate the 100th anniversary of restoration of Poland's independence, and which involved providing individual counselling on best methods of preserving family archives, as well as collecting valuable archival materials (or at least their digital copies) from private donors if the families were unable to properly care for them[87]. Another example is the pandemic archive project launched in response to the COVID-19 threat, the purpose of which is to create archival collections which document the reality of fighting against the virus[88]. Both of these projects, implemented as side activities along with regular state archive operations, were targeted at the entire society, engaging archivists to work with archival materials taking a distinctly qualitative approach, an approach which even bears similarity to certain aspects of the slow archive movement.

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87 "Archiwa Rodzinne Niepodległej" (2020), https://archiwarodzinne.gov.pl/o-projekcie/archiwa-rodzinne-niepodleglej, accessed 29 November 2021.

88 Archiwum Pandemii A.D. 2020 (2020), https://web.archive.org/web/20211026084324/https://www.archiwa.gov.pl/pl/ucategorised/5165, accessed 15 September 2023.

Conclusions

To summarize, there are many areas in the development of archives that connect them with McDonaldization. As noted above, this process has brought multiple benefits to archives. They are more open to society, more efficient and predictable, which gives users around the world more opportunities to use archival holdings. At the same time, the changes, mortly those related to new technologies, make archives partly irrational. As a result of application of modern technologies, including the aforementioned integrated systems, which appear to restrict the freedom of archivists more and more, archival work seems to become increasingly dehumanized. At the same time, wider access to archival materials online may result in some users no longer feeling the sense of "magic" stemming from direct contact with history.

The connection between archives and McDonaldization has primarily been presented using examples from Poland and the United States, representing different archival traditions. Poland is a country with strong centralization tendencies, which also affect state archives. Since the very beginning, i.e., since Poland regained its independence in 1918, the archival services have been organised on a principle of having a strong central institution and weaker regional branches[89]. It appears that this development path might have significantly contributed to Polish archives following in the footsteps of other social institutions, including fast food chains. It is much easier to transplant solutions aimed at increasing the efficiency or predictability of a given institution if they are imposed by a supervisor interested in satisfying the need to control their subordinate institutions.

Distributed archives featuring no central institution, or whose central institution functions in an advisory rather than a control role, will find it easier to resist this trend. In such cases, gradual McDonaldization of any given institution will only be contingent upon its needs and the influences it is exposed to.

Although the issue discussed in this paper is presented using a limited number of examples, it nevertheless appears that it could constitute a promising field of broader research regarding archival services of individual countries, one which may eventually give rise to a complete overview of the McDonaldization of archives. However, this overview will have to include local specificities, differences

[89] H. Robótka, B. Ryszewski, A. Tomczak, *Archiwistyka*, Warszawa 1989.

in social development and the influence of corporations on functioning of the society. The relatively bold thesis that archives are forced to follow this path, at least in certain areas, also appears valid. This stems from the fact that their users, particularly those from younger generations, have been raised in a world which has already been McDonaldized to a certain degree. Therefore, they seek familiar methods in cultural institutions as well. A good example of this would be the rapid opening of archives in the 1990s, an effect of paradigm shift moving towards accessibility, which required that not only information, but also the files themselves be made available on the Internet, which is currently the fastest communication medium. These changes are also intensified by the archives' hiring of younger employees, who instil the existing tendencies into archives "from within". Same issue has also been identified with regard to condition of higher education[90].

As demonstrated above, gradual McDonaldization of archives is neither a positive nor a negative phenomenon. It has both benefits and drawbacks, as introducing efficiency and predictability-oriented improvements also results in irrationalities which negatively impact their application, which is a common occurrence in rationalized systems. Nevertheless, it appears that, although McDonaldization of archives renders the product "shallower" (like for example in MPLP, as well as in the case of "disenchantment" mentioned above), McDonaldization is ultimately more beneficial than detrimental, at least at this point. It also appears inevitable that archives would follow in this direction, which is why drawing attention to this issue seems to be of particular importance, as it may give rise to more deliberations concerning archives now and in the future. This article is only a quick look at archives from the McDonaldization perspective; however, numerous accounts make it a promising field of research. Even though the archives are not as McDonaldized as fast-food restaurants, being a social institution and a part of the bureaucracy they may be considered from that perspective. That's why, as it was mentioned in the introduction to the article, it is also an invitation to a broader discussion about the changes in archives stemming from societal changes across 20th and 21st centuries.

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STUDIA I MATERIAŁY

Privacy of documents – documents of privacy. Remarks on personal sources in historical and archival studies

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ABSTRACT
The authors set themselves the goal of indicating the places in the archival holdings where texts of a private nature are present. They used the ego-documentary theory developed in European science since the mid-twentieth century. It makes us pay attention to narrative sources (diaries, journals, memoires, correspondence) in the first place. It also allows you to extract privacy from official sources in which a person is forced to tell the story of his life, express his individuality and identity. Court testimony is of particular importance in this context. It is an important component of the archival holdings, and at the same time the source basis for many fundamental scientific works on the history of the mentality of all social groups, including those marginalized. They notice untapped sources such as CVs (biographies) attached to official files or petitions submitted by private individuals to the authorities. They draw attention to the fact that all archival entities, such as fonds, collections or archive holdings, may be self-documentary in nature. This applies to private archives, but to some extent also official ones. It is a difficult problem to capture the private character of archives in the archival description. The authors indicate the usefulness of creating source and archival studies characteristics of classes of archival sources in terms of the possibility of ego-documentary research.

KEY WORDS
private documents, document privacy, ego-documents, the structure of the archival holdings, archival description

Prywatność dokumentów – dokumenty życia prywatnego. Rozważania o źródłach osobowych w badaniach historycznych i archiwalnych

STRESZCZENIE
Autorzy postawili sobie za cel wskazanie miejsc w zasobie archiwalnym, w których obecne są teksty o charakterze prywatnym. Posłużyli się teorią egodokumentalną rozwijaną w nauce europejskiej od połowy XX w. Nakazuje ona w pierwszym rzędzie zwrócenie uwagi na źródła narracyjne (pamiętniki, dzienniki, korespondencja). Pozwala również na wychwycenie prywatności ze źródeł urzędowych, w których indywidualna osoba opowiada o swoim życiu, wyraża indywidualność i tożsamość w sposób wymuszony okolicznościami. W tym kontekście szczególne znaczenie mają zeznania sądowe.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE
dokumenty prywatne, prywatność dokumentów, egodokumenty, struktura zasobu archiwalnego, opis archiwalny

Źródła narracyjne są istotnym elementem zasobu archiwalnego, a jednocześnie podstawą dokumentalną wielu fundamentalnych prac naukowych dotyczących dziejów mentalności wszystkich grup społecznych, również tych marginalizowanych. Badacze dostrzegają niewykorzystane dotąd źródła, takie jak życiorysy dołączane do akt urzędowych czy supliki wnoszone przez osoby prywatne do władz. Zwracają uwagę na fakt, że wszelkie całości archiwalne, takie jak jak zespoły, zbiory czy zasoby archiwów, mogą mieć charakter egodokumentalny. Dotyczy to wytworów prywatnych, ale w pewnym stopniu również oficjalnych. Trudnym problemem jest uchwycenie prywatnego charakteru archiwaliów w opisie informacyjnym. Autorzy wskazują na pożytek z tworzenia charakterystyk źródłoznawczych i archiwoznawczych całych klas źródeł archiwalnych pod kątem możliwości badań egodokumentalnych.

Opening remarks

In the historiographical tradition, in the analysis of sources based on the classical auxiliary sciences of history, a dominant was played by the oppositions of types of sources: normative and narrative, objective and subjective, public and private. Whereas the former indicated the document's field of study and the objective reality recorded in the message, the latter was more like literature and all the consequences that accompany it – convention, style, creation, subjectivism. The discussion ongoing for several decades in the field of historiography, history of literature and sociology, has ushered in some fundamental changes in the approach to the old, dichotomous opposition. Narrative sources, diaries, memoirs, autobiographies, letters, etc. began to be read as ego-documents, self-testimonies, as the literature of a personal document, strongly linking the sources of these concepts with a restoration of historical value, with their documentary nature, with objectifying subjectivism in research[1]. The essence of the change was to acknowledge that two functions of the message – literary and historical – must be understood in order for it to be interpreted. Depending on the structure of the text, one of these functions may outweigh the other, but it is the researcher who, in the final interpretation, labels a text as a document (as a source about an epoch, author, event, phenomenon) or as a literary piece (as a work of art, reflecting a convention, style, fashion, individualism of the creator)[2]. It is worth

[1] The purpose of the article is to try to answer questions to what extent an archival resource can be treated as a source for privacy research. In the analysis of the problem, the authors adopt the term ego-document as best reflecting the essence of documents representing the subjective, private world of the source creator.

[2] R. Lubas-Bartoszyńska, *Style wypowiedzi pamiętnikarskiej*, Kraków 1983, p. 37.

emphasising, however, that the nature of the source and its features should be demonstrated during the analysis, and not indicated *a priori* on the basis of the structure of the text.

Nowadays, a new inclusive approach to various types of personal expression has been gaining traction. On the ruins of the former division between document and literary message rose statements about the need to read literary works (diaries, journals) as documents of a given historical time[3]. In turn, the concept of a personal document has gained a very broad interpretation – it can be anything that bears traits of subjectivity on the part of the creator of this document[4].

In historiography, the notion of "ego-document" introduced in 1958 by the Dutch historian Jacob Presser has gone from strength to strength. In our opinion, this concept accurately reflects the essence of tradition and changes in approach to historical sources. First of all, it emphasises the fundamental importance of the source in historical research. Secondly, it recognises the subjectivity of the creator of this source. Thirdly, it acknowledges the author's right to subjectivism, which does not preclude the documentary nature of a personal statement. And fourthly, it indicates the role of the historian as the one who discovers the individual, the one who seeks the "I", or "ego", of the hero in a document from the past.

Discovering the "I" ("Ego") in historiography

The traditional approach to narrative sources, diaries, letters and journals limited the analysis to selected cases – representative of an epoch, a social group – that historians viewed as the best and most interesting. This approach meant that historiography, while emphasising the personal statements of outstanding thinkers, commanders and rulers, did omit personal messages from other social groups. On the one hand, this phenomenon was perpetuated by the methodology of positivist (classical) historiography; on the other hand, it resulted from the objective mechanics of making inquiries in libraries and archives. Only in exceptional political or social conditions was there any interest in personal sources, messages from a family environment or from the home circle.

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3 Z. Ziątek, *Wiek dokumentu. Inspiracje dokumentarne w polskiej prozie współczesnej*, Warszawa 1999, p. 6.

4 M. Czermińska, *Autobiograficzny trójkąt. Świadectwo, wyznanie i wyzwanie*, Kraków 2000, pp. 13–14.

Publisher of an anthology of Polish diaries from the 16th century, Marian Kaczmarek, emphasised that the importance of diaries stems from the fact that they were written by great leaders, politicians and artists[5]. There historians sought to find some insight into significant events and explanations of important problems in military, political and cultural history. They paid less attention to the authors themselves and the world of their inner experiences. In turn, literary historians treated the autobiographical and diary genre of sources with great criticism, because often these texts did not represent a high artistic level and were far from the main literary styles or conventions of the era. In terms of form, such sources were hybrid in nature, the best example being the thematically and formally diverse *silva rerum* books or the French *livres de raison*[6]. The author himself was of little interest. The authors of diaries and journals were often consigned to the background. What came to the fore were the events they described.

In what circumstances did historiography begin to discover ordinary people lurking in the background of history? The earliest research on this type of domestic and autobiographical sources began in France in the second half of the 19th century. In 1885, household books – *livres de raison* – fell under the umbrella of the Historical and Scientific Research Committee, headed by Jules Ferry. At that time, scholars grew interested in the fact that numerical data on households and household expenses were kept in books. Interest was also aroused by the durability of these books in the ancestral tradition, as the manuscripts handed down from generation to generation testified to a strategy of preserving the memory of family and ancestry.

Historians' interest in household books stemmed from the growing popularity of family values, which became a strong point of reference in France in the 1870s, after the military defeat with Prussia. *Livres de raison* were a natural reservoir of these values described and passed on to successive generations. Examples of ancestral glory, testimonies of the splendor of families, and consequently of the splendor of the French nation, were extracted from archives. The renaissance of domestic writing, previously disregarded by literary scholars, led to regional historians – experts in the archival and library resources of a given region – seeking out this type of source. It is worth recalling the publishers of the first

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5 *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI wieku*, ed. M. Kaczmarek, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1966, p. 7.

6 About various forms of Old Polish literature see A. Sajkowski, *Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami*, Poznań 1964 and S. Skwarczyńska, *Wokół teatru i literatury*, Warszawa 1970.

household books: Charles de Ribbé, Philippe Tamizey de Larroque and Louis Guibert.

In the second half of the 19th century, a campaign to publish old manuscripts was also initiated in Poland, which, just as the struggle in France to restore national dignity after defeat at the hands of Prussia, resulted from the need to commemorate the great national tradition in the face of battle against the partitioning powers. Like historical painting or a didactic novel, pulling diaries, journals and letters from archives and libraries served to comfort hearts. Family values, the tradition of successive generations of the nobility became a national value. It is worth noting here another similarity to the situation in France, namely the freedom of publishing rules prevailing at that time, a kind of editorial creativity whereby the source was subordinated to the notion of commemorating ancestors rather than to the fidelity of conveying a message, which resulted in any changes in the arrangement of the content or interference in the message itself. One example of such efforts may be the edition of "Krzysztof Zawisza's Memoirs". In 1862, the publisher Julian Bartoszewicz selected fragments of the *silva rerum* book of the Zawisza family and arranged them chronologically. In this way, this *silva rerum* became the printed diary of K. Zawisza. Similarities can also be found in descriptions of this type of sources by librarians and archivists. French home economics books – *livres de raison*, often interfoliated and containing a wealth of private notes written by the owners – were classified as *miscellanea* or *varia*. A similar terminological confusion persisted in the description of noble manuscripts – *silva rerum*. The books themselves, often varied in topic as well as diverse in formal structure, were referred to by the nobility as *vorago rerum* – an abyss of things. For the author, it was more important to define the purpose of keeping private notes than worry about the formal order. Hence, the Latin additions on the title page were more important than the title – *ad subsidium memoriae* (to strengthen memory), *ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam* (for the greater glory of God) and *ad posteritatem* (for posterity). Years later, archivists and librarians preparing inventories and catalogues often entered the Polish term *zbiór różności* (miscellaneous collection) or the Latin tern *varia* or *miscellanea*, not knowing how to define the handwritten code of the nobility.

It is worth noting at this point that times of war represented a special period when ego-documentary work intensified, which in turn resulted in the deepening of historical research on this type of source. J. Presser, the creator of the term ego-document, conducted his research after World War II on the memoirs of Dutch

Jews[7]. The mass documentation of German crimes during the war was greatly influenced by the summons of Queen, who, before leaving the country, appealed to her subjects to write down all acts that must not be forgotten. Times of crisis and wars were conducive to personal confessions[8].

Subsequent anniversaries of World War I and World War II heralded returns to diary sources and personal messages in various countries. One excellent example of such publishing initiatives combining memoirs (fragments of diaries and accounts of officers and ordinary soldiers) with a photographic message may be Andrzej Nieuważny›s publication about soldiers on the Eastern Front during 1914–1918[9]. In German historiography, the records of soldiers from the time of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) sparked research on this type of communication[10].

New impulses for systematic research based on a new methodology emerged in the 1980s. Let us try to determine their main features using the example of French historiography. Due to the state of preservation of the sources, the nobility became a privileged group in these studies. As François-Joseph Ruggiu writes, the rejection of the dominant paradigms of marxism and structuralism also caused historians to abandon the stratigraphy of social groups determined by analysing the conflicts that divided them internally, which in turn directed researchers towards new areas where individuals would reveal their own ideas about themselves[11].

Fresh impetus was provided by inquiries made and meetings held by a team led by Jean-Pierre Bardet and J.F. Ruggiu from the University of Paris-Sorbonne, who were running a project entitled "les écrits du for privé de la fin du Moyen

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7 R. Dekker, *Jacques Presser's Heritage – egodocuments in the study of history*, "Memoria y Civilisation" 2002, vol. 5, p. 14.

8 See comments on Poles displaced during World War II: *Losy Polaków wysiedlonych z Kresów Wschodnich II RP (1944–1945)*, ed. B. Kubis, Opole 2011, pp. 10–35.

9 A. Nieuważny, *Zapomniana wojna 1914–1918. Front wschodni*, Warszawa 2016.

10 B. von Krusenstjern, *Was sind Selbstzeugnisse? Begriffskritische und quellenkundliche Überlegungen anhand von Beispielen aus dem 17. Jahrhundert*, "Historische Anthropologie" 1994, vol. 2, pp. 463–465.

11 F.J. Ruggiu, *L'utilisation de la notion d'identité en histoire sociale*, [in:] *Identité, appartenances, revendications identitaires, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles*, ed. M. Belissa, A. Bellavitis, M. Cottret, L. Croq, J. Duma, Paris 2005, pp. 395–406, see also earlier considerations on the interface between the personal perspective and the perspective of the community: F.J. Ruggiu, *O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint, agricolas ! ou le journal d'un gentilhomme campagnard au début du XVIIIe siècle*, [in:] *État et société en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, Mélanges offerts à Yves Durand,* Paris 2000, pp. 471–489.

Âge à 1914". The results of the work were subsequent conferences and studies laying out new research fields. The first of them showed the potential of writing produced in the private sphere for opening up the realm of private life and exploring the category of intimacy[12]. At the same time, it posed many questions about definition (introduced as basically interchangeable: writing in the private sphere and ego-document) and genre, pointing to the differences between methods of recording impressions in accounting books and diaries. Another book called *Les Écrits du for privé. Objets matériels, objets édités* heralded an attempt to analyse the state of preservation of this type of writing in France[13]. The variety of "genre", the divergence of titles, the multitude of forms, etc. resulted in the fact that to this day, in departmental archives, in collections of family manuscripts, in private libraries, there are many tomes which, albeit with the appearance of a rough draft or a collection of loose notes, turn out to be family books or diaries. This formal diversity makes it difficult not only to identify the genre, to discover the "I" of the author among the notes about personal, family and political life, but also makes it difficult to edit. Sylvie Mouysset's *Papiers de famille* was an attempt to synthesise this specific type of household book writing of a *livres de raison* nature[14]. The author analysed about 400 such books from south-western France, examining their relationship with private writing and literature.

The next stage in work on ego-documents was the introduction of a comparative perspective. It turned out that research on the nobility and the elite in many countries underwent similar changes, and the extraction of private sources made it possible to discover the hero of the story not only as a great leader, politician, artist, but also as an ordinary man, accompanied by the worries and joys of everyday life recorded in a household book, diary, or notes[15].

International cooperation initiated by studies on French ego-documents resulted in conferences and three French-German-Italian meetings at Villa Vigoni in Italy between 2013–2015, devoted to cultural transfer and identity from a series entitled *Les écrits à la première personne en Europe de la fin du XVe*

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12 *Au plus près du secret des coeurs? Nouvelles lectures historiques des écrits du for privé,* ed. J. Bardet, F.J. Ruggiu, Paris 2005, pp. 15–28.

13 *Les Écrits du for privé. Objets matériels, objets édités,* ed. M. Cassan, J.P. Bardet, F.J. Ruggiu, Limoges 2007, pp. 15–25.

14 S. Mouysset, *Papiers de famille. Introduction à l'étude des livres de raison (France, XVe–XIXe s.)*, Rennes 2007.

15 See S. Roszak, *Historia społeczna i historia kulturowa epoki nowożytnej. Doświadczenia oraz perspektywy ukrywania i odkrywania jednostki*, „Historyka" 2017, vol. 47, pp. 77–88.

siècle au XIX siècle. At subsequent meetings, some fundamental questions were raised about the direction of research on ego-documents:

- how memory and history coexist in private writing?, forms of preserving and selecting events, using memory in history, and history in different versions of memory (e.g., memory of institutions and memory of the state);
- the identity of an individual, family or group as the identity of the creators of private writing;
- transcultural spaces: juxtapositions of different types of sources and epochs, an attempt to compare and contrast messages, an indication of what individualism is – understood by Western culture as an effect of modernisation, economic changes, capitalism, an answer to the question whether the growth of individualism determines a growth in autobiographical writing.

As a consequence, studies on ego-documents found their counterparts in other countries – in Switzerland, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Spain and beyond Europe – and offered an introduction within the field of comparative research[16]. Among the many themes and trends, some common topics stand out, such as self-testimony as an expression of social and cultural practice, collective and individual identity and identification, where, when and how ego-documents circulated, memory and time perspectives recorded in "writing in the private sphere", and the stages of human life in the ego-documents.

Discovering the "I" ("Ego") in sources

The new proposals that emerged from analysis of autobiographical writing could be treated as a kind of catalyst for historiographic changes, a transition from social to cultural history and finally to the history of mentality. The traditional approach to text as a witness to history, as a source revealing facts, has been replaced by a subjective approach. Autobiography began to be treated as a document with its form and materiality, as a document revealing the person behind it, and sometimes the personality of the creator. Therefore, new terms such as "personal document", "ego-document", and "self-writing" appeared in

[16] *Anthologie franco-suisse d'écrits de l'intime (1680–1830). La vie privée au fil de la plume*, ed. M. Figeac, C. Le Mao, Paris 2020. See also the Lithuanian-Polish initiative: *Egodokumenty. Tradycje historiograficzne i perspektywy badawcze,* ed. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Pacevicius, S. Roszak, Toruń 2015.

the discussion, replacing traditional terms related to the history of literature defined as diaries, autobiographies, journals, confessions, etc[17]. Emphasising the documentary character of a personal text enhanced its status. A document was associated with objectivism, as opposed to the subjectivism of a diary, diary or autobiography. The new approach also broke with the linear perception of individualism developing, in terms of traditional historiography, from the personal messages of Teresa of Avila or Michel of Montaigne, through the intimate diaries of the 18th century and to the works of Jean Jacques Rousseau. The history of individualism ceased to be understood as a linear process of self-awareness, individualisation and secularisation, liberation of the individual from the domination of the Church and dependence on the group[18].

Questions arose about the essence of individualism and identity, about the possibility of finding them among various social groups[19] and among various categories of sources[20]. In a dimension that can be called extensive, historians chartered new territory, known previously in the history of literature as so-called hybrids or particular forms of autobiography[21].

A theme that often appears in the analysis of private writing is the body. However, while the traditional approach emphasised the perception of the body, the new approach was more concerned with the experience of the body. Classic examples of this trend include a book about the private body in the 18th century[22] and the depiction of a man with a cold from the end of the 18th century[23].

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17 See the analysis of these concepts by S. Schmolinsky, *Selbstzeugnisse im Mittelalter*, [in:] *Das dargestellte Ich. Studien zu Selbstzeugnissen des späteren Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. K. Arnold, S. Schmolinsky, U.M. Zahnd, Bochum 1999, pp. 20–25 and J. Amelang, *Saving the Self from Autobiography*, [in:] *Selbstzeugnisse in der Frühen Neuzeit. Individualisierungsweisen in interdisziplinärer Perspektive*, ed. K. von Greyerz, München 2007, pp. 131–139; compare also J. Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe 1500–1800*, Oxford 2017, pp. 18–42.

18 R. van Dülmen, *Die Entdeckung des Individuums 1500–1800*, Frankfurt am Main 1997, pp. 7–12.

19 J. Peters, *Mit Pflug und Gänsekiel. Selbstzeugnisse schreibender Bauern. Eine Anthologie*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2003. See also *Schiffbruch! Drei Selbstzeugnisse von Kaufleuten des 17./18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. O. Ulbricht, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2013.

20 E. Kormann, *Ich, Welt und Gott. Autobiographik im 17. Jahrhundert*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2004 and L. Heiligensetzer, *Getreue Kirchendiener – gefährdete Pfarrherren. Deutschschweizer Prädikanten des 17. Jahrhunderts in ihren Lebensbeschreibungen*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2006.

21 R.R. Wuthenow, *Das erinnerte Ich. Europäische Autobiographie und Selbstdarstellung im 18 Jh*, München 1974, p. 187.

22 G. Piller, *Private Körper. Spuren des Leibes in Selbstzeugnissen des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2006.

23 P. Lejeune, *Célestin Guittard, diariste malade*, [in:] *Les écrits du for privé en Europe, du Moyen Age à l'époque contemporaine*, ed. J.P. Bardet, F.J. Ruggiu, E. Arnoul, Bordeaux 2010, pp. 303–314.

An example of turning to sources absent or marginal in the autobiographical discourse, and at the same time an example of these sources being treated subjectively, was a work entitled *The Flight of Icarus*[24]. James Amelang sought out diaries, journals and personal notes of craftsmen in modern Europe. The eponymous flight of Icarus is a metaphor reflecting the effort and risk taken by the townspeople, who are not always able to cope with matters of the quill and language. J. Amelang showed the diversity of writing among this group, emphasising that the authors sometimes hide behind the third person, behind description of events, avoiding the author's "I". Direct declarations by authors, such as the entry of a young tanner's journeyman from Barcelona, were rare. On 26 March 1626, sixteen-year-old Miguel Parets began making entries in a chronicle about Barcelona, which took the form of diary entries[25]. For him, the act of writing was an act of courage, like the flight of the mythical Icarus.

The second dimension of research on ego-documents, which could be called intensive, brings questions about how individualism is expressed, with reference to the juxtapositions: individualism–community, subjectivism–objectivism, private sphere–public sphere, uniqueness–typicality. Concepts seemingly similar cannot always be equated, such as privacy and individualism in the case of confessional sources. A pietist's autobiography, although full of individual reflections and emotions, served to join the community, to socialise as part of a collective religious process rather than individualise faith. In Protestant self-testimonies, individual piety turns out to be a set of features typical of confessional piety and astrological practices. In this case, private and individual records become a typical collective message, a certain pattern reflecting a specific piety[26].

As recently pointed out by Judith Pollmann, for the modern era, the institutionalised memory of the elites was too valuable to be shared with the lower classes, which of course does not mean that these social strata did not have their own means of preserving memory[27]. The difference lay in the forms

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24 J. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus. Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe*, Stanford 1998. See more S. Roszak, *Od piśmiennictwa przestrzeni prywatnej do Villi Vigoni. Z doświadczeń europejskich zespołów badaczy egodokumentów*, [in:] *Memuarystyka w dawnej Polsce*, red. P. Borek, D. Chemperek, A. Nowicka-Struska, Kraków 2016, s. 11–12.

25 J. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus*..., p. 8.

26 K. von Greyerz, *Einfuhrung*, [in:] *Von der dargestellten Person zum erinnerten Ich. Europäische Selbstzeugnisse als historische Quellen (1500–1850)*, ed. K. von Greyerz, H. Medick, P. Veit, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2001, p. 8.

27 J. Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*..., pp. 5–7.

of presentation and promotion of this memory. The elite used writing, while the rest bequeathed material objects. However even such a distinction, which is correct in principle, of course does not explain the whole issue. A good example may be the personal notes of craftsmen from Catalonia shown in the aforementioned book by J. Amelang[28], as well as sources that mention the so-called hidden "I". This means texts produced not out of personal need and not for oneself, but out of the necessity due to an administrative, judicial or economic process. We sometimes learn about the "I" hidden in these texts indirectly, thanks to the transmission or recording of third parties. Such types of new ego-documents include court testimonies, interrogation protocols, lawsuits, applications, requests, inquisition files, visitations, and wills[29]. The research conducted by French historian Robert Muchembled on the basis of so-called *lettres de rémission* (requests for clemency) may be an example of an analysis of this type of message[30]. Criminals, in writing letters to the king asking for pardon, presented the circumstances and reasons for the crimes committed. Based on the explanations contained in the lettres de rémission, the historian witnesses how the world was understood by convicts, as well as ways of self-shaping. Similar research was conducted by Natalie Zemon Davis for the 16th century, stating that requests for clemency contain deliberate fabrications of history and self-expression, albeit via third parties – lawyers writing on behalf of their clients[31].

A similar phenomenon of "making up stories", modeling and shaping stories about oneself was discovered by Alexandra Shepard, who conducted research on witness testimonies in cases before diocesan courts in England[32]. She mainly analysed answers contained in the interrogation questionnaire given in response

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28 J. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus*..., pp. 7–8.

29 The examples discussed in this section were analysed earlier by Stanislaw Roszak in his work: idem, *Writing in a Private Space. Three Case Studies,* [in:] *Selbstzeugnisse im polnischen und deutschen Schrifttum im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit (15.–18. Jahrhundert*), ed. R. Skowrońska, H. Flachenecker, R. Czaja, S. Roszak, J. Tandecki, Toruń 2014, s. 20–22, and S. Roszak, *Historia społeczna i historia kulturowa epoki nowożytnej*, „Historyka" 2017, vol. 47, s. 77–88.

30 W. Schulze analyzes this method from the point of view of the anthropology of history, *Ego-dokumente. Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte?*, [in:] *Von Aufbruch und Utopie. Perspektiven einer neuen Gesellschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters,* ed. B. Lundt, H. Reinmoller, Köln–Weimar–Wien 1992, pp. 417–450.

31 N. Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives. Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth Century France*, Stanford 1987.

32 A. Shepard, *Poverty, Labour and the language of social description in Early modern England*, "Past and Present" 2008, vol. 201, pp. 51–95.

to the question of how much the property of the defendants was worth. Based on 14,000 testimonies, the researcher examined the issue of self-presentation, the language used to express oneself, social situation and moral attitude. She showed that the interviewees from the poorest group avoided the term poverty in relation to themselves. The term "poor" at that time means submission and dependence; hence, witnesses used a specific defence strategy before church courts – one of self-presentation, emphasising their honesty, diligence, independence, but not poverty when it came to themselves. It was different when they described others. So, in this case, the witnesses made a conscious choice to use language of internal identification ("modest, honest"), which would hide the external identification as "poor" and the social connotations associated with it. The questionnaire of interrogation drafted by third parties thus represents a personal statement.

Emma Griffin analysed 350 diaries written by workers in England from the turn of the 18th/19th century, with subsequent chapters depicting the heroes in political, educational, religious and family relationships[33]. Personal sources offered a glimpse of the situation faced by workers "from below", which turned out to be surprising, different from the traditional vision of oppression and depression in this social stratum. For many of them, the new circumstances of living in a city and working in a factory, despite the difficulties, turned out to be better than memories of childhoods spent in the countryside. Griffin's book challenged classic social history and the vision based on statistical and tax sources, in which a deteriorating economic situation goes hand in hand with an erosion of political, social and personal freedoms[34]. By bringing personal sources (diaries and journals) to the fore, a complex and diverse picture of workers is revealed, whose assessment of the world and standard of living was conditioned not only by objective economic and political factors, but also resulted from individual life experiences.

Privacy enshrined in official records

When historians of earlier eras turned to the ego-documentary theory, developed for the needs of sources from the Second World War, they noticed that if they only understood ego-documents to be private texts, they would not be able

[33] E. Griffin, *Liberty's Dawn. A people's history of the industrial revolution*, Yale 2013.

[34] E P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, New York 1963.

to say much about the micro-perspective of an individual, especially of someone outside the intellectual elite. Medieval and early modern societies were largely illiterate, and if someone could read and write, for a long time this was for pragmatic purposes only, and not for expressing one's individual vision of the world. Did such a person no have this vision? Well, he did, but articulated only with ephemeral words. Does this mean that his message disappeared completely without a trace? Well, no, but the personal experiences and views of the average man of old were not recorded in private texts, but in official, in court records. Here, a faithful account of the testimonies of witnesses or defendants always had great evidentiary value. In their time, these testimonies formed the basis for harsh sentences, often imposing the death penalty, while today they have remained a valuable source of knowledge about the views and attitudes of people from the past.

It is not surprising that historical and anthropological studies, which are classical in world historiography, were based on protocols of court hearings. Here we cite just two. The first is *The Village of Heretics* by Emmanueal Le Roy Ladurie. These heretics were the Cathars, and the village is Montaillou in southern France at the turn of 14th century. The source of information about the views and life of the Cathars (the pure ones) was the testimonies given by them before the inquisition court during the Albigensian crusades against the Cathars. The south of France returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church, and the Cathars were immortalised in court records[35]. The second is *Cheese and worms. A 16th century miller's vision of the world*. This miller, Domenico Scandella, known as Menocchio and a resident of northern Italy, built his own private theogony and cosmogony in his free time. He came to the conclusion that just as worms emerge from cheese (at that time animate matter was believed to be spontaneously generated from inanimate matter), so all beings, including angels, hatched from the original chaos. Of course, in the light of Christian doctrine, this heresy was perhaps only more bizarre and amusing than others. It is possible that such alternative theogonies and cosmogonies were created by many Christians unaware of the unorthodoxy of their ideas. However, Menocchio differed from them in that he liked to share his thoughts on various occasions. As a result, he stood twice before the inquisition tribunal, the second time as a heretic – a repeat offender

[35] E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou. Wioska heretyków 1294–1324*, transl. E.D. Żółkiewska, Czerwonak 2014.

sentenced to death. Extracted by Carl Ginzburg from the files of his court cases, it has gained considerable popularity in our times[36].

While Polish historiography lacks such spectacular works based on court ego-documents, there is no shortage of decent, reliable works with a high level of methodological awareness. For the sake of balanced exemplification, two Polish examples shall be cited here. The first is *People of the highway in the 17th–18th centuries* by Bohdan Baranowski, delving into the lives and minds of these poor, illiterate people people living outside the privileged social classes such as the clergy, nobility, bourgeoisie or peasantry in their higher stratum of serfdom. The liberty of these free-wheeling people, naturally close to the social margin and the criminal underworld, was only apparent. Not surprisingly, these people were brought to court more often than others, and this is an opportunity for researchers. B. Baranowski attempted an extensive and thorough analysis of court testimony, which is the main source base for his research. He devoted an entire chapter to them, eloquently entitled *Lives enshrined in the torture chamber*. The question of torture also arises in the second example. This is relevant when taking into account the credibility of court testimony. I will now give the floor to B. Baranowski, who wrote as follows: "Peasant memoirs apparently only have a very short pedigree. Even in the 19th century, few peasants knew how to put pen to paper to record memories from their lives. Only in the 20th century did peasant diaries become more numerous. However, those were different times, and the cultural level of the village was also different. However, one ought to remember that from the period from the 16th to the 18th century we also have a significant collection of over a thousand, and perhaps several thousand, authentic biographies of peasants, free-wheeling people, vagabonds who, although they did not have the ability to write, nevertheless gave fairly accurate accounts about the paths of their lives. Certainly, from the formal point of view, these were not memoirs, but biographical material sharing many features typical of memoir literature. In accordance with the rule in force in the judiciary of the former Republic of Poland for any criminal case, if the accused was not well known to the judiciary, he would be carefully interrogated about his origin, life history, etc."[37] Only after the scribe had recorded this sometimes meticulous biography, running from half to several pages, did the judge proceed to questions about the crime itself. This practice was generally applied by all courts of old

[36] C. Ginzburg, *Ser i robaki. Wizja świata pewnego młynarza z XVI w.*, transl. R. Kłos, Warszawa 1989.

[37] B. Baranowski, *Ludzie gościńca w XVII–XVIII w.*, Łódź 1986, p. 24.

Poland – rural, urban and municipal. So maybe there are many more of these court autobiographies than the few thousand according to Baranowski's estimation?

The problem that torture was applied during court proceedings offers historians no peace of mind. Marcin Kamler, representing a different generation of historians than B. Baranowski, explored this topic in his book entitled The criminal world in Poland of the 16th and 17th centuries. He wrote: "Judges inquired about the details of the crime itself, about companions and accomplices, about other crimes committed in the past, sometimes about motivation behind them, as well as about the origin and previous escapades of the accused, about the work or service they were engaged in. All this paints a fascinating, direct picture of these people's lives, not to be found in any other sources from this era, and most importantly – a true picture, personally drawn by its heroes. Fears that the credibility of these confessions is in doubt because some of them were extracted under torture, or given under direct threats of torture in the struggle for life, do not seem justified. Detailed analysis of hundreds of testimonies, often intersecting and confirming each other, ensures that the vast majority of the information is true. Even if sometimes the defendants testified falsely, these were just single cases – both concealment of a crime and confession under the influence of torture to an act that had not been committed"[38]. Clearly, what constitutes the strength of court testimony as ego-documents, their autobiographical narrative, should not be questioned even in the face of torture and fear thereof.

The privacy present in historical sources from later epochs until ours has not received such thorough attention, although studies devoted to biographies (*curricula vitae*) as components of personal files prove that the significant saturation of the archival holdings with self-testimony is a principle that may be applied to all historical epochs.

Ego-documents in archival holdings – the ego-documentality of archival holdings

Archival holdings contains various dispersed texts classified as ego-documents: diaries, autobiographies, memoirs, diaries, private correspondence – so, in general, personal texts of a private nature. It also contains a much larger number

[38] M. Kamler, *Świat przestępczy w Polsce XVI i XVII stulecia*, Warszawa 1991, p. 10.

of official texts, involving many situations where a government office provokes or forces a personal narrative: testaments[39], supplications, wills, biographies (*curricula vitae*) as attachments to official applications[40]. Is a testament written by a professional writer not a form of self-testimony? Is a supplication to a feudal lord, transcribed on behalf of an illiterate peasant, not our only glimpse into the worldview of said peasant? Not only do we learn a great deal about the fate of simple people, we also discover their world of values, which a professional writer would have had no business distorting, especially if the idea was to share them. Does an ego-document necessarily have to be a formally private document? This would hugely impoverish the source base and deprive many opportunities for anthropological research. There are many categories of texts where the author expresses his personality, his worldview, his values, although the circumstances surrounding the creation of these texts are official. Therefore, it is not the private or official nature of the document that is decisive, but the author's ability to break the conventions of a given category of sources, which reveals the author's personality.

Finally, the holdings of a given archive itself, as well as the archival fonds and collections that constitute it, or parts thereof that may be referred to as sections, series, classes, reflect the personality of their creators as their self-testimonies[41]. The fact that these creators, government offices, departments are institutional in character is irrelevant. They stand as testimony to a certain legal and bureaucratic organisational culture, yet the organisation is always made up of people and it is they who, despite attempts to standardise their activities, express their personality more or less strongly. Putting archival records in some kind of order (beginning with the formation of office units and ending with the arrangement of an entire registry) imprints the creator's individuality on them as much as the selection of archival records to be included in the archives. This individuality

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39 A. Rosa, *Testamenty fordońskie jako egodokumenty mieszczańskie*, „Kronika Bydgoska" 2006, vol. 28, pp. 41–44.

40 K. Siuda, Życiorysy jako *egodokumenty*, [in:] *Egodokumenty. Tradycje historiograficzne i perspektywy badawcze*..., pp. 131–166.

41 A. Rosa, *Egodokumentalność polskiego zasobu archiwalnego*, [in:] *Archiwa – archiwistyka – kultura. Antologia*, ed. W. Chorążyczewski, W. Piasek, A. Rosa, Toruń 2020, pp. 173–183; eadem, *Indywidualność twórcy archiwaliów a struktura zasobu archiwalnego*, [in:] *Archiwa – archiwistyka – kultura*..., pp. 201–211; M. Wiśniewska, *Egodokumentalność archiwów społecznych*, [in:] *Z uczniami, kolegami i przyjaciółmi w świecie nauki. Prace dedykowane Profesorowi Bohdanowi Ryszewskiemu w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Żeglińska, Olsztyn 2014, pp. 255–265.

and uniqueness of the structure of an archival fond, collection or archive is most apparent in the case of public and private archives, where there are no tendencies to standardise the archiving process to such an extent. Archival collections are worth attention and respect to a degree no less than archival fond[42]. Value is bestowed upon collections by their artificiality – i.e., they are created according to certain rules and deliberately thought out. Nothing here is left to chance, so everything stands as testimony to its creator. Archival collections as artefacts are a lauded subject of anthropological research[43].

Archival holdings can therefore be treated ego-documentarily and subjected to ego-documentary analysis in an attempt to find features indicating the individuality of the creator (firstly, as archivists, by "creator" we mean here not the direct author of the text, but the one who collected both the texts he created as well as those he received as a whole; secondly, we regard the creator as not only a single person, but also an office, institution, local government body, group or family). This individuality can be found both in terms of an archive, a group of archival fonds, an archival collection, an archival fond, a series of different levels (including subsets or classes), as well as an archival unit and document. The individuality of the archive creator can be examined by analysing the documentation itself and the links between the documents and individual objects – i.e., by the structure that the creator gave to these archives. This analysis therefore includes all the choices made by the creator: what he leaves for preservation and what he destroys[44].

Various archival entities[45] are certainly ego-documentary texts or, simply put, self-testimony. However, archival (registrative) connections are not the only type of relationships that link documentation entirely ego-documentary in character. A different genre of these relationships stems from the authorship, joint production by one institutions. These texts naturally disperse, eventually ending up in various archives and archival groups, of producers and recipients. They were never sent so that their originals might be collected in one place, in one group or archive. Letters are the property of their recipients, not their senders. In order to

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42 The archival fond consists of files from one institution, created by it as a result of its statutory tasks. An archival collection is an artificial creation, composed of objects of various origins, gathered together due to some formal or content feature.

43 W. Chorążyczewski, *Zachęta do archiwistyki*, Toruń 2022, pp. 89–113.

44 A. Rosa, *Indywidualność twórcy archiwaliów a struktura zasobu archiwalnego*…

45 By archival entities, we mean such constructions as archival fonds, archival collections and archives understood as archival holdings.

examine chanceries and offices, it is not enough to analyse the registers created by their administrators. Likewise with the documentary heritage of a chanceries, one may be tempted to define all the texts as being potentially ego-documentary in nature, produced by one person – it would be appropriate to call this an ego-documentary heritage[46]. During the course of life, a person creates a multitude of such texts, some of which he retains, but over many he loses control; these texts dissipate, are forgotten by the author, or sometimes he simply has no knowledge of their survival or destruction. Eventually, they may be rediscovered by a researcher who will recognise a given ego-documentary heritage.

Indeed, one may talk about a documentary entities that is not an archival entities, but nevertheless carries some information about the author as a whole. What does this consist of: 1) our personal archive; 2) letters that fell into the hands of others; 3) biographies dispersed around the world in the archives of all institutions with which fate has bound us; 4) our statements recorded by the police, courts, reporters of collegiate bodies; 5) children's drawings and cards, of whose survival we have no idea, and which our uncles, aunts, fathers, mothers carefully hide; 6) petitions, applications, submissions to various authorities in which we manifest ourselves; 7) marginal notes made while reading; 8) dedications in books and articles, sometimes sincere, sometimes by courtesy; 9) profiles on social networks that we do not own, but express us[47].

Concluding remarks: ego-documents from the perspective of archival institutions

To a large extent, archives are unlikely to collect ego-documents as such. Since a great variety of archival institutions, one can find archives that deliberately gather certain types of documentation that are more readily perceived as self-documentary than others. Social archives willingly accept or even produce written accounts and oral history. Diaries, memoirs and private correspondence

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46 W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, *Egodokumenty – egodokumentalność – analiza egodokumentalna – spuścizna egodokumentalna*, [in:] *Egodokumenty. Tradycje historiograficzne i perspektywy badawcze*..., pp. 11–22.

47 A. Rosa, *Human trace on the Internet – the issue of archiving the Web from the point of view of antropology-oriented archival science*, "Archiwa – Kancelarie – Zbiory" 2015, vol. 6(8), pp. 193–205; eadem, Ślad człowieka w Internecie – *zagadnienie archiwizacji Internetu od strony archiwistyki zantropologizowanej*, [in:] *Archiwa – archiwistyka – kultura*..., Toruń 2020, pp. 213–224.

occupy an important place in a heritage eagerly acquired by archives of all types, especially the archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences, university archives and manuscript departments of academic libraries. A special sphere of privacy is nurtured in family archives that remain in private hands, but also those taken over by public or community archives.

In the last quarter of a century, archives have swung towards "ordinary" people who did not participate in the events of "great" history. What was relevant was their subjective experience of historical events, the impact of macro-history on the private lives of "ordinary" people, everyday private and social life. Public archives are ready to support bottom-up initiatives aimed at creating social and family archives, and provide them with methodological and technological assistance. They work on developing archival sensitivity in society, manifested by the desire to preserve archives produced by individuals and their families, searching in the resources of institutional archives for materials concerning individuals and their families, and obtaining copies of them. Thus educated, people will not be indifferent to anything considered worthy of preservation. They will begin to collect archival materials created neither by themselves nor their relatives, nor in connection with themselves or their relatives. They will collect them for their safety and preservation. However, if they discover that some archival records that they were able to secure are supplementary to an entire collection already stored somewhere else, they will return them there so that everything may be in its right place, and not necessarily at their place.

In light of the above, archival holdings are full of ego-documents. However, how to show users that self-testimonies are present in an archival resource? Strictly speaking, this is impossible, because no text is an ego-document *per se*; only when subjected to an ego-documentary analysis, in the context of specific research, does it become such. Of course, one may think of catalogues, repertoires or guidebooks that indicate texts usually treated as ego-documents – autobiographical accounts and private correspondence. Then, registers of private letters, diaries, memoirs will be created rather than registers of ego-documents. Any such archival assistance is useful, as long as we do not believe it unconditionally, but merely treat it as a control group in relation to our own inquiries. Such aids, however, will cast to the wayside a lot of texts that could be subjected to ego-documentary analysis but without constituting "classic" self-testimony. While it would make sense to indicate places where supplications or testaments occur, the inclusion of such informants in court testimonies or biographies would mean the creation

of some records of court files or personal files in general. Such broad search characteristics would not be effective. A basic archival description based on an archival unit, or sometimes just a series, is sufficient to reach all the records that should be analysed – i.e., first extracting records from the archives that are suitable for ego-documentary analysis. Archival and source analyses of individual diplomatic forms may be of real value, showing their ego-documentary potential and referring to the types of archival collections and series in collections where the sought after texts can be found.

Finally, the ego-documentary perspective encourages archivists themselves to self-reflect[48]. What distinguishes them from other people? Is this now a specific view of the world of human society bound together by documentation? Documentation records human activities, achievements, social position and property status. Archives guarantee the durability of our identity. Therefore, the preservation of archive materials becomes the overriding goal of an archivist's work. In order to achieve this goal, in borderline circumstances, one might even enter into cooperation with an opponent of one's own social group (e.g. nation), if only in this way the security of the archives can be ensured. One can go as far as archival disobedience – i.e., acting for the good of the archival holdings in accordance with one's own conscience, even in spite of instructions from above[49]. In peaceful circumstances that do not require heroic deeds, being an archivist means solid, everyday work, performed with mindfulness, which was defined in the concept of slow archives.

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48 A. Rosa, K. Siuda, *Analiza egodokumentalna pamiętników archiwistów jako przyczynek do poznania mentalności określonej grupy zawodowej*, [in:] *Pogranicza archiwistyki*, Toruńskie Konfrontacje Archiwalne, vol. 6, ed. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, Toruń 2019, pp. 85–100; K. Siuda, *Archiwista na powstańczym Żoliborzu. Dziennik Piotra Bańkowskiego z perspektywy egodokumentalnej*, „Archiwa – Kancelarie – Zbiory" 2016, vol. 7(9), p. 212.

49 W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, Ku globalnej wspólnocie archiwistów, [in:] *Archiwa, źródła, historia. Prace ofiarowane w siedemdziesiąte urodziny Profesora Władysława Stępniaka*, ed. E. Rosowska, H. Wajs, Warszawa 2018, pp. 58–68.

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STUDIA I MATERIAŁY

Egodocumentality of personal file: personality – mentality – world of values. On the example selected archives of the 20th century

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ABSTRACT
Personal files are documents, collected by the creating agencies, which reflect the course of a career path in each workplace. The source documents from the studied records are treated as egodocuments, because their authors tell stories about themselves. Preserved documents can be used to create biographies, analyse historical facts present in the lives of individual people, provide information about the surrounding world or help explain various complex processes – economic, sociological, etc. This article attempts to analyse personal files from the perspective of anthropological research, which in a certain way helps to get to know a person, their experiences and their understanding of reality.
Archival materials were selected using the representative method. A random sample was used, which involved selecting random items from a closed general collection. The general population in the study comprised personal files of Bydgoszcz City Hall employees from the interwar period, as well as personal files of members and dependants of the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy Voivodeship Executive Board in Bydgoszcz.
The selected files were used for an in-depth analysis in the context of egodocumentality aimed at understanding the author's world of values. But does every resume or elaborate application give us enough information to precisely analyze someone in terms of their personality? Does it provide enough data to conduct research? Are the sources classified as egodocuments really what they appear to be? This article seeks to answer all these questions.

KEYWORDS
egodocument, biography, inner world, self-narrative, personal file, ZBOWiD, Bydgoszcz City Hall

Egodokumenty w pracowniczych aktach osobowych: osobowość – mentalność – świat wartości. Na przykładzie wybranych materiałów archiwalnych z XX w.

STRESZCZENIE
Akta osobowe są dokumentami, gromadzonymi przez aktotwórców, w których odbija się przede wszystkim przebieg drogi zawodowej w poszczególnych miejscach pracy. Źródła, które wystąpiły w badanych aktach, traktowane są jako egodokumenty, gdyż autor dokumentu opowiada w nich o sobie. Zachowane dokumenty mogą posłużyć do tworzenia biogramów, analizy faktów historycznych poszczególnych osób, podawać informacje o otaczającym ich świecie, czy też pomagać przy wyjaśnianiu różnych złożonych procesów ekonomicznych, socjologicznych itp. Niniejszy artykuł ma na celu spojrzenie na akta osobowe z perspektywy badań antropologicznych, które w pewien sposób pomagają w poznaniu człowieka, jego doznań i sposobie pojmowania rzeczywistości.
Materiały archiwalne zostały wytypowane przy wykorzystaniu metody reprezentacyjnej. Użyto próby losowej polegającej na wyborze przypadkowych elementów z zamkniętego zbioru generalnego. W omawianym badaniu populacją generalną były akta osobowe pracowników Magistratu Miejskiego w Bydgoszczy z okresu międzywojennego oraz akta osobowe członków i podopiecznych Związku Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację Zarząd Wojewódzki w Bydgoszczy.
Wybrane jednostki służyły pogłębionej analizie egodokumentalnej, której celem było poznanie świata wartości bohatera. Czy jednak każdy życiorys czy rozbudowane podanie daje nam podstawy do prześledzenia go właśnie pod kątem osobowości człowieka? Czy daje wystarczająco dużo materiału do przeprowadzenia badań? Czy źródła zakwalifikowane do egodokumentów rzeczywiście są nimi? Na te pytania stara się odpowiedzieć tekst artykułu.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE
egodokument, życiorys, świat wewnętrzny, samoświadectwo, akta osobowe, ZBOWiD, Magistrat Miejski w Bydgoszczy

The issue of discerning the world of values is one of the most significant dilemmas that a human being faces. The humanities are subtly hinting at opportunities to learn and analyse human mentality. This article addresses the problem of getting to know a person's personality through the analysis of egodocuments, formalized writing forms such as resumes, applications or questionnaires that appear in official records and archives of a veterans' organization.

First, the meaning of the term "personal file" is explained. Subsequently, the contents of personal records from selected fonds of the State Archives in Bydgoszcz are presented. The source documents from the studied records are treated as egodocuments, because their authors tell stories about themselves. What is unique about the sources is that they have certain intrinsic characteristics that allow the researcher to interpret the behaviour of the authors. But does every resume or elaborate application give us enough information to precisely analyze someone in terms of their personality? Does it provide enough data to

conduct research? Are the sources categorized as egodocuments really what they appear to be?

This analysis will help answer these questions. The ego-documentary/self-testimony theory has been developing since the 1950s. For some time, it has attracted the interest of Polish researchers and is an increasingly used term, although it can cause controversy in the Polish humanities[1] and be confused with, for example, oral history. Although the ego-documentary theory develops as part of the history of mentality, it would be a great mistake to identify it with oral history. The theory of ego-documentality is much closer to study of memoirs and autobiographies'[2] than to oral history, which consists in recording, archiving and interpreting the accounts of witnesses or participants of historical events[3]. The author of the analysis follows the "open understanding" of the ego-documentary theory, which is based on the researcher's approach to the source, and not on the specific features that could seemingly indicate the ego-documentary nature of the source. According to this approach, no cultural text is classified as

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1 W. Chorążyczewski, A. Pacevicius, S. Roszak, *Egodokumenty. Tradycje historiograficzne i perspektywy badawcze* [Egodocuments. Historiographic traditions and research perspectives], Toruń 2015; W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, *Samoświadectwa pracowników polskiej kancelarii królewskiej czasów nowożytnych. Przypadek Jana Piotrowskiego* [Self-certifications of employees of the Polish royal chancellery in modern times. The case of Jan Piotrowski], [in:] *Polska kancelaria królewska między władzą a społeczeństwem,* [The Polish royal chancellery between the authorities and society] vol. 4, ed. W. Chorążyczewski, W. Krawczuk, Warszawa 2011; A. Rosa, *Testamenty fordońskie jako egodokumenty mieszczańskie* [Fordon wills as bourgeois ego-documents], "Kronika Bydgoska" 2008, no. 28; A. Rosa, K. Siuda, *Analiza egodokumentalna pamiętników archiwistów jako przyczynek do poznania mentalności określonej grupy zawodowej* [Ego-documentary analysis of archivists' diaries as a contribution to understanding the mentality of a specific professional group], [in:] *Pogranicza archiwistyki*, Toruńskie Konfrontacje Archiwalne [Borderlands of archival science, Toruń Archival Confrontations], vol. 6, ed. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, Toruń 2019; S. Roszak, *Archiwa sarmackiej pamięci. Funkcje i znaczenie rękopiśmiennych ksiąg typu silva rerum w kulturze Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku* [Archives of Sarmatian memory. Functions and importance of manuscript books of the silva rerum type in the culture of the Commonwealth of the eighteenth century], Toruń 2004; *Kultura wsi w egodokumentach* [Rural culture in ego-documents], ed. H. Czachowski, V. Wróblewska, Toruń 2016; J. Zając, *Świadkowie zbrodni – druga wojna światowa w egodokumentach polskich dzieci* [Witnesses of the crime – the Second World War in the egodocuments of Polish children], "Filoteknos" 2022, no. 12.

2 M. Czermińska, *Autobiograficzny trójkąt. Świadectwo, wyznanie i wyzwani*e [The Autobiographical Triangle. Testimony, Confession and Challenge], Kraków 2000; I. Skwarek, *Dlaczego autobiografizm? Powieści autobiograficzne dwudziestolecia międzywojennego* [Why autobiographism? Autobiographical novels of the interwar period], Katowice 1986.

3 A. Niderla, *Historia mówiona a etnolingwistyka* [Oral history and ethnolinguistics], "Etnolingwistyka" 2010, vol. 22, p. 13; P. Filipkowski, *Historia mówiona i wojna*, p. 1, https://biblioteka.teatrnn.pl/Content/9618/Historia_mowiona_i_wojna.pdf, accessed 21 August 2023.

an egodocument in itself. When a researcher decides that the analysed text allows them to learn about the characteristics of the author, their personality or the way of perceiving the world, relationships with other people, emotions, passions and actions, the text can be considered as having ego-documentary features.

At the beginning of the article, the term "personal file" is characterized. The purpose of discussing the term is to present the nature of personal files in different countries (Poland, Germany and Anglo-Saxon countries). Subsequently, the content of selected personal files is presented. Through analysis of the archives, documents regarding a person and their environment have been identified.

In Polish archival literature, personal files are discussed in the context of appraisal and the possibilities of using this type of archival source[4]. Few works

[4] Examples of works on personal files, see: J. Jaros, *Problem akt personalnych do roku 1945 w przemyśle węglowym* [The problem of personnel files until 1945 in the coal industry], "Archeion" 1965, vol. 62, pp. 73–84; S. Nawrocki, *Porządkowanie i inwentaryzacja akt personalnych w archiwach zakładowych* [Classification and inventorying personnel files in archives current], "Archiwista" 1968, no. 2, pp. 1–6; T. Grygier, *Wartościowanie materiałów archiwalnych (Uwagi dla potrzeb administracji i archiwistyki kościelnej)* [Appraisal of archives (Notes for the needs of church administration and archivistics)], "Archiwa, Biblioteki, Muzea Kościelne" 1976, vol. 33, pp. 5–52; K. Pepłowska, *Dokumentacja osobowa i płacowa* [Personal and payroll documentation], [in:] *Współczesna dokumentacja urzędowa*, Biblioteka Zarządcy Dokumentacji, [Contemporary official documentation. Documentation Manager Library], vol. 2, ed. H. Robótka, Toruń 2011, pp. 115–150; K. Stryjkowski, *Dokumentacja masowa i jej wartościowanie w archiwach wybranych krajów frankofońskich (na przykładzie akt osobowych)* [Mass documentation and its appraisal in the archives of selected Francophone countries (on the example of personal files)], [in:] *Dokumentacja Masowa. Z problematyki kształtowania zasobu archiwalnego* [Mass Documentation. From the issues of shaping the archivale], ed. I. Mamczak-Gadkowska, K. Stryjkowski, Poznań 2012, pp. 79–102; Z. Krupska, *Problemy oceny akt personalnych wytworzonych w okresie Polski Ludowej* [Problems of appraisal personal files created in the period of People's Poland], "Archeion" 1983, vol. 76, pp. 5–18; K. Paterski, *Zabezpieczenie dokumentacji osobowo-płacowej zakładów pracy w II poł. XX w. oraz u progu XXI w.* [Securing personnel and payroll documentation of workplaces in the second half of the the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century], "Problemy archiwistyki" 2009, no. 1(1), pp. 50–58; A. Łosowska, *Problemy przechowywania i przetwarzania masowej dokumentacji osobowej w szkole wyższej* [Problems of storing and processing mass personal documentation at a university], "Archiwista Polski" 2001, no. 1(21), pp. 45–54; P. Falkowski, *Wartość źródłowa akt osobowych Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej na przykładzie zespołu archiwalnego KW PZPR w Bydgoszczy* [The Source Value of Personal Files from the Polish United Workers' Party Based on the Example of the Archival Fonds of the PZPR Voivodeship Committee in Bydgoszcz], "Przegląd Archiwalny IPN" 2021, vol. 14, pp. 55–74; D. Magier, *Dokumentacja personalna PZPR w praktyce metodycznej archiwów państwowych (exemplum Archiwum Państwowego w Lublinie)* [Personal documentation of the Polish United Workers' Party in the methodological practice of state archives (exemplum of the State Archives in Lublin)], [in:] *Dzieje. Wojsko. Edukacja. Księga jubileuszowa Profesora Henryka Hermanna w 70. rocznicę urodzin* [History. Army. Education. The jubilee book of Professor Henryk Hermann

offer a detailed consideration of the archives-creating processes involving personal files in individual institutions and consider the usefulness of their content for academic purposes.

German archivists focus in their deliberations on accession personal files from various institutions[5]. Different methods of appraisal are discussed in the texts[6]. There are some works in German literature that discuss possible use of the personal files for scholarly purposes[7].

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on the 70th anniversary of his birth], ed. M. Bednarzak-Libera, J. Gmitruk, Warszawa–Siedlce 2010, pp. 285–296; R. Jarosz, *Ukryty skarb. Akta osobowo-płacowe PZPR/SdRP w Archiwum Rotacyjnym „Ład" w Łubnej* [Hidden treasure. Personal and payroll fi les in Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) and the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SdRP) in the "ŁAD" Archive in Łubna], [in:] *Dzieje biurokracji* [History of Bureaucracy], vol. 4, p. 2, ed. A. Górak, K. Latawiec, D. Magier, Lublin–Siedlce 2011, pp. 802–810; R. Miłoch, T. Szafron, *Akta osobowo-płacowe byłej PZPR zgromadzone w Archiwum Państwowym w Katowicach jako przykład źródła do badań nad historią PRL* [Personal records of the Polish United Workers' Party in the State Archives in Katowice as a source for research of the history of the Polish People's Republic], "Szkice Archiwalno-Historyczne" 2010, no. 6, pp. 145–148; J. Louchin, *Masowość dokumentacji personalnej oraz jej wartościowanie na przykładzie zasobu Archiwum Państwowego Dokumentacji Osobowej i Płacowej w Milanówku* [The mass of personal documentation and its appraisal on the example of the State Archives of Personal and Payroll Documentation in Milanówku], [in:] *Dokumentacja masowa*..., pp. 177–186.

5 Examples of work: A. Martens, *Archivierung von Personalunterlagen der Beschäftigten der Bundesverwaltung – Das Archivierungsmodell des Bundesarchivs, dargestellt am Beispiel der Bundesfinanzverwaltung*, [in:] *Archivischer Umgang mit Personalakten Ergebnisse eines spartenübergreifenden Fachgesprächs im Westfälischen Archivamt*, Münster 2004, pp. 10–16.

6 Examples of works: C. Rehm, J. Treffeisen, *Perspektiven der Personalaktenbewertung – Zwischen Samplebildung und Totalüberlieferung. Erfahrungen aus Baden-Württemberg,* [in:] *Archivischer Umgang mit Personalakten*..., pp. 34–51; K. von Hochstuhl, A. Straub, *Bewertung von Personalakten das baden-württembergische Modell*, [in:] *Historische Überlieferung aus Verwaltungsunterlagen*, ed. R. Kretzschmar, Stuttgart 1997, pp. 227–233; B. Horn-Kolditz, *Modell zur Bewertung von Personalakten in einer großen Stadtverwaltung,* "Archive in Thüringen" 2005, Sonderheft, pp. 51–56.

7 Examples of works: F.W. Kersting, *Benötigt die Forschung Personalakten? Ein Erfahrungsbericht aus regional- und psychiatriegeschichtlicher Sicht*, [in:] *Archivischer Umgang mit Personalakten* ..., pp. 90–103. R. Hering, *Personalakten in der historischen Forschung: Parteimitgliedschaften Hamburger Hochschullehrer in der Weimarer Republik*, [in:] *Archivischer Umgang mit Personalakten*..., pp. 103–111; R. Herget, *Erstmals Personalakten des Landesamts für Verfassungsschutz übernommen*, "Nachrichten aus Staatlichen Archiven Bayerns" 2018, no. 75, pp. 39; N. Bruns, H.-J. Höötmann, *Grundzüge der Bewertung von Personalakten im Archiv des Landschaftsverbandes Westfalen-Lippe*, "Archivpflege in Westfalen-Lippe" 2018, no. 86, pp. 27–36; W. Bick, R. Mann, P.J. Müller, *Massenakten als Datenbasis der empirischen Sozialforschung. Methodische Voraussetzungen und institutionelle Erfordernisse*, [in:] *Sozialforschung und Verwaltungsdaten*, Stuttgart 1984, pp. 9–15; *Arbeitskreis Bewertung kommunalen Schriftguts. Überlegungen zur*

In the Anglo-Saxon countries, the subject of personal records and personal papers was discussed primarily in archival journals. Several papers related to personnel files have appeared in "The American Archivist"[8]. The "Archival Science" published articles on personal records, but in the context of personal (private) records[9]. "Archives and Manuscripts" also considered the problem of personal files in the context of private records[10].

What is a personal file?

Personal records accompany people through the various stages of life. Personal files comprise documentation showing the course of careers, the lives of individual people, as well as information about the surrounding world. Preserved documents can be used to create biographies, analyse historical facts, or explain various complex processes – economic, sociological, etc. They can also be used

Bewertung kommunaler Personalakten – Eine Handreichung, "Archivpflege in Westfalen-Lippe" 2014, no. 81, pp. 50–54.

8 Examples of works: V. Stewart, *Problems of Confidentiality in the Administration of Personal Case Records*, "The American Archivist" 1974, no. 37(3), pp. 387–398; M. Barritt, *The Appraisal of Personally Identifiable Student Records*, "The American Archivist" 1986, no. 49(3), pp. 263–275; F. Ford, *Some Legal Problems in Preserving Records for Public Use,* "The American Archivist" 1957, no. 20(1), pp. 41–47; A. Wright, *The Scholar's Interest in Personnel Records,* "The American Archivist" 1949, no. 12(3), pp. 271–279; P. Brooks, *Archival Procedures for Planned Records Retirement,* "The American Archivist" 1948, no. 11(4), pp. 308–315; P. Lewinson, *Problems of Archives Classification*, "The American Archivist" 1939, no. 2(3), pp. 179–190; U. Haller, *Processing for Access*, "The American Archivist" 1985, no. 48(4), pp. 400–415; K.R. Rimkus, B. Anderson, K.E. Germeck, C.C. Nielsen, Ch.J. Prom, T. Popp, *Preservation and Access for Born-digital Electronic Records. The Case for an Institutional Digital Content Format Registry*, "The American Archivist" 2020, no. 83(2), pp. 397–428.

9 Examples of works: J. Douglas, *A call to rethink archival creation. Exploring types of creation in personal archives,* "Archival Science" 2018, vol. 18, pp. 29–49; B. Cannelli, M. Musso, *Social media as part of personal digital archives. Exploring users' practices and service providers' policies regarding the preservation of digital memories*, "Archival Science" 2022, vol. 22, pp. 259–283; D. Sinn, S.Y. Syn, *Personal documentation on* a *social network site. Facebook,* a *collection of moments from your life?,* "Archival Science" 2014, vol. 14, 2014, pp. 95–124; J. Niu, *The need for shared personal/family archivists,* "Archival Science" 2021, vol. 21, pp. 219–241.

10 Examples of works: M. Henderson, *Archiving the feminist self. Reflections on the personal papers of Merle Thornton,* "Archives and Manuscripts" 2013, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 91–104; V. Hess, S. Ledebur, *Taking and Keeping. A Note on the Emergence and Function of Hospital Patient Records,* "Journal of the Society of Archivists" 2011, vol. 32, pp. 21–33.

for anthropological research aiming to learn about people, the world they live in, their experience and understanding of reality.

At the beginning of this discussion, definitions of the term "personal file" are presented. The cited terms have been taken from Polish and international archival terminology. No literal comparison of the terms was made, with the exception of analysing the explanations of the terms and indicating the similarities and differences. Based on the following considerations, the authors will attempt to answer the question: what is a personal file?

In Polish archival dictionaries from 1952[11], 1973[12] and 1974[13], personal files are defined as documentation created as a result of employment and concerning personal data of a person. In the 1973[14] and 1974[15] dictionaries there is also a definition of personal files as private records.

Regulation of the General Director of State Archives No. 16 of 10 November 2014 on the introduction of methodological guidelines for valuing, collecting and organizing personal records, defined a personal file as "all documentation resulting from employment relationship, starting from the moment of application/referral to work until the end of the employment relationship, as well as after its termination, collected in a personal folder or envelope". According to the above-mentioned standard, a personal file does not include recruitment documents or copies of payroll-related accounting records[16]. The provided explanation indicates that a personal file is created as a result of a person's professional activities, and besides it provides personal file with a chronological framework. This is the current standard that is used by the State Archives. This concept represents best how personal files are understood in Poland.

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11 *Polski Słownik Archiwalny* [Polish Archival Dictionary], compiled by A. Bachulski, K. Konarski, A. Wolff, Warszawa 1952, p. 4.

12 Z. Kolankowski, *Materiały do słownika terminologii archiwalnej krajów socjalistycznych* [Materials for the Dictionary of Archival Terminology of Socialist Countries],Warszawa 1973, p. 279.

13 *Polski Słownik Archiwalny* [Polish Archival Dictionary], ed. W. Maciejewska, Warszawa 1974, p. 15.

14 Ibidem, p. 292.

15 *Polski Słownik Archiwalny*, 1974, p. 29.

16 Zarządzenie Nr 16 Naczelnego Dyrektora Archiwów Państwowych z dnia 10 listopada 2014 r. w sprawie wprowadzenia wskazówek metodycznych dotyczących zasad wartościowania, gromadzenia i porządkowania akt osobowych [The Head Office of State Archives, in Order No. 16 of the Head of State Archives dated 10 November 2014 on the introduction of methodological guidelines for valuing, collecting and organizing personal records], https://www.gov.pl/attachment/d9d9c0d2-373a-44f4-8054-4ac1d38ca34b, accessed 21 August 2023.

At this juncture we should move on to a discussion about foreign definitions of personal files. The presented terms are derived from archival terminology in Germany (*Personalakten*) and Anglo-Saxon countries (personal papers, personal records, personal file). The definitions come from archival literature (textbooks and dictionaries of terminology) and websites.

In German archival science, the personal file is referred to as *Personalakten*. Adolf Brenneke, Heinrich Otto Meisner and Johannes Papritz state in their publications that initially the personal file was a collection of files that covered given categories of civil servants. In the 19th century Prussia, separate personal files for individual officials were introduced, and when an employee changed jobs the personal file followed him[17].

German archivists define personal files as documentation created as a result of an employment relationship, which contains information about the relationship between the employee and the employer[18]. German definitions indicate a great similarity with Polish terminology – the personal file comprises records that were created during the course of employment. German archival science does not define personal files as private records.

In English-speaking countries the terms: personal papers and personal file are used. Both terms refer to private records that were not created as a result of employment. The documents were collected or created by an individual[19]. One exception to such definition of personal files is found in the *Dictionary of Archival Terminology English and French* which states that these are files created as a result of employment[20].

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17 A. Brenneke, W. Leesch, *Archivkunde*, Leipzig 1953, p. 18; H.O. Meisner, *Aktenkunde*, Berlin 1935, p. 156; J. Papritz, *Archivwissenschaft*, Band 1, Nachdruck der 2. durchgesehenen Auflage von 1983, Marburg 1983, p. 353.

18 Ibidem, p. 355; A. Menne-Hartiz, *Schlüsselbegriffe der Archivterminologie: Lehrmaterialien für das Fach Archivwissenschaft*, Veröffentlichungen der Archivschule Marburg, no. 20, Marburg 1992, p. 51.

19 *Dictionary of Archival Terminology English and French. With Equivalents in Dutch, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish*, ed. P. Walne, München–New York–London–Paris 1988, p. 124; *Dictionary of Archival Terminology English and French. With Equivalents in Dutch, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish*, 2nd Revised Edition, ed. P. Walne, München, –New York–London –Paris 1988, p. 115; R. Pearce-Moses, *A Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology*, Chicago 2005, p. 292; Multilingual Archival Terminology. Personal papers, http://www.ciscra.org/mat/mat/term/263, accessed 7 September 2023; Dictionary of Archives Terminology. Personal papers, https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/personal-papers.html, accessed 7 September 2023.

20 *Dictionary of Archival Terminology English and French. With Equivalents in Dutch, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish…*, p. 124; *Dictionary of Archival Terminology English and French. With*

Based on the analysis of foreign terms, one may draw the following conclusions: First of all, the definitions of personal files in the terminology of Anglo-Saxon countries are different from those in Polish and German terminology. In Anglo-Saxon terminology, personal file is understood to contain private documents or private collections of documents. It is only in the *Dictionary of Archival Terminology English and French* (both editions) that the personal file is defined as documentation created with regard to employment. Polish and German definitions have similar meanings, as according to them personal files reflect the relationship of employment. There are minor differences, though. German terms specify the person who oversees personal files and ensures that access to personal files is guaranteed, whereas Russian terms have reference to the content.

The question whether the term "personal file" should be redefined must be answered in the negative. The term personal file is widely known in the archival community. It should be noted that the current concept of personal files has been extended to include other social/professional groups, e.g. personal files of students[21], personal files of soldiers[22], personal files of patients[23]. The above documents are not related to employment, which results in a different structure of the content of files and the process of their creation.

A distinction should be made between a personal file and personal (private) documents, as these terms refer to different types of files. The former refers to records created as a result of work, while the latter – to records collected by an

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Equivalents in Dutch, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish, 2nd Revised Edition..., p. 115.

21 P. Bunkowska, *Zarządzanie dokumentacją osobową, studencką* i *awansu naukowego* w *Archiwum Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika. Teoria* i *praktyka* [Management of personal, student and scientific promotion documentation in the Archives of the Nicolaus Copernicus University. Theory and practice], [in:] *Postępowanie* z *dokumentacją osobową. Przepisy prawa, praktyka, postulaty. Materiały* z *XI Ogólnopolskiego Seminarium Archiwalnego Sekcji Archiwa Zakładowe Stowarzyszenia Archiwistów Polskich, Oddziału* w *Koszalinie Stowarzyszenia Archiwistów Polskich* i *Archiwum Państwowego* w *Koszalinie* [Handling of personal documentation. Law, practice, postulates. Materials from the 11th National Archival Seminar of the Department Archives of the Association of Polish Archivists, the Koszalin Branch of the Association of Polish Archivists and the State Archives in Koszalin], ed. A. Jabłoński, Poznań 2016, p. 148–149.

22 Archiwum Wojskowe w Oleśnicy [Military Archive in Oleśnica] 2023. Dokumentacja osobowo-płacowa [Personnel and payroll documentation], https://wbh.wp.mil.pl/pl/pages/dokumentacja-osobowa-pacowa-2018-10-19-n8j6/, accessed 21 August 2023.

23 M. Radzimińska, *Dokumentacja medyczna – przedmiot, wykorzystanie* i *kwalifikacja archiwalna* w *praktyce archiwum zakładowego* [Medical documentation – subject, use and archival qualification in the practice of the company archive], [in:] *Postępowanie* z *dokumentacją osobową. Przepisy prawa praktyka postulaty*... [Handling of personal documentation. Law, practice, postulates...], p. 171.

individual. In the first case, a personal file is created as part of legally regulated relationships between a specific person and another entity. In the second case, it is an independent action aimed at creating a collection related to a person.

For the purposes of this text, the authors decided to propose their own definition of a personal file. Personal file will be understood as "a set of documents concerning a person and their environment created as a result of legally regulated mutual relations between said person and another entity". According to such a definition, a personal file will be understood to include documents created in the course of employment, that is, from the beginning until the end of the employment relationship, as well as documents created as part of membership in an organization which collects information about its members, such as the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy or the Polish Red Cross.

Content analysis of the personal files

Having introduced the term "personal file", we should move on to discussing the typical contents of personal files, using selected examples. Two archival fonds were selected for the study, namely, "Akta miasta Bydgoszczy" [Records of the City of Bydgoszcz] and "Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację Zarząd Wojewódzki w Bydgoszczy" [Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy Voivodeship Executive Board in Bydgoszcz]. Both fonds are preserved at the State Archives in Bydgoszcz. The choice of these particular fonds should be justified by the fact that they contain personal files with different characteristics. Archives produced by the city hall contain files related to the employment relationship, which demonstrate the mutual relationship between employees and the employer. In the case of the "Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy Voivodeship Executive Board in Bydgoszcz", the files were accumulated in the course of the society's statutory activities and collection of information about the members.

In Polish archival practice, a number of collections of city files are created. They contain archival materials concerning all aspects of the city's life. Besides the files of the city hall, documentation of municipal companies may have been preserved, e.g. gasworks, hospitals. Records of the city of Bydgoszcz comprise about 58,000 archival units from 1559–1950. The fonds has been

divided according to the chronological framework and into archival collections. It contains archival materials concerning history of the city of Bydgoszcz and the city hall records. Apart from these files, there are also photographs, maps and technical documentation[24].

The Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy was founded in 1949 and integrated various veterans' organizations into a single union. Its tasks included: verification and approval of veterans' entitlements, material support, collection of archival documents, organization of celebrations. The union ceased its activity in 1990, and the Society of Veterans of the Republic of Poland and Former Political Prisoners was established in its place[25]. The archives of the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy Voivodeship Executive Board in Bydgoszcz contain materials concerning the functioning of the association, as well as personal files and member questionnaires[26].

Personal files were examined using the representative sampling method. The study used a random sample which involved selecting random items from a closed general collection. The general population consists of an isolated set of objects that are differentiated by the values of certain characteristics[27]. The general population in the study consisted of personal files of Bydgoszcz City Hall employees from the interwar period, as well as the personal files of members and dependants of the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy Voivodeship Executive Board in Bydgoszcz. Both fonds are closed collections, as no new entries are supplied to the fonds; they are also diverse in terms of contents.

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24 State Archives in Bydgoszcz (SAB), f. 6/189/0 Akta miasta Bydgoszczy [Records of the City of Bydgoszcz] 1559–1975, Karta zespołu Akta miasta Bydgoszczy [Fonds card Records of the city of Bydgoszcz].

25 Polish History Musuem. Powstanie ZBOWiD [Foundation of the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy], https://muzhp.pl/kalendarium/powstanie-zbowid, accessed 21 August 2023.

26 SAB, f. 6/1457/0 Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację Zarząd Wojewódzki w Bydgoszczy [The Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy Voivodeship Executive Board in Bydgoszcz] 1947–1990, Karta zespołu Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację Zarząd Wojewódzki w Bydgoszczy [Fonds card Records of the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy Voivodeship Executive Board in Bydgoszcz].

27 A. Burzyński, T. Sozański, *Elementy statystyki dla historyków. Materiały do ćwiczeń, wykładów i metodyki prac badawczych* [Elements of Statistics for Historians. Materials for Tutorials, Lectures and Research Methodology], vol. 1, Kraków 1980, pp. 230–231.

The sample was calculated with a sample size calculator[28]. The size of the population was represented by the number of archival units (personal files) from the given archival fonds. For each of the criteria, following values were adopted: the confidence level was 0.95[29], the maximum error was 0.05[30], and the fraction size was set at 0.99[31]. The above values were constant for both fonds. There are 786 personal files from the interwar period – all of them kept in the "Records of the City of Bydgoszcz". In the "Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy Voivodeship Executive Board in Bydgoszcz", on the other hand, there are 196 files of members and dependants. The sample score for the "Records of the City of Bydgoszcz" was 15, and for the "Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy Voivodeship Executive Board in Bydgoszcz" it was 14. In order to select random archival reference numbers, a random number generator was used[32]. Once the reference numbers were selected, the contents of personal files were analysed using the qualitative method. When discussing the contents, a single appearance of a particular type of documentation for a particular group was highlighted.

The following items were randomly selected for each fonds:

1. Records of the City of Bydgoszcz, items: 3055, 3069, 3241, 4620, 4647, 4714, 4740, 4815, 4862, 4944, 4956, 6558, 6631, 6646;
2. The Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy Voivodeship Executive Board in Bydgoszcz, items: 376, 395, 40, 436, 443, 447, 454, 455, 459, 499, 508, 539, 548[33].

Contents of the selected personal files from archival fonds of the "Records of the City of Bydgoszcz" are presented as first. In the 15 files in question, 46 different types of documents were identified. Resumes of individual employees were included in all 15 files. 14 files contain pledges that were made prior to taking office. 13 files include: photographs with the employee's signature

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28 Sample size calculator, https://pbs.pl/dobor-proby-badawczej/, accessed 7 September 2023.

29 Sampling Calculator. Confidence level – an indicator of confidence with the obtained results, https://www.naukowiec.org/dobor.html, accessed 7 September 2023.

30 Sampling Calculator. Maximum error – tells us how much 'correction' needs to be assumed, https://www.naukowiec.org/dobor.html, accessed 7 September 2023.

31 Sampling Calculator. Fraction size – an estimation of the prevalence of a particular trait in the population, https://www.naukowiec.org/dobor.html, accessed 7 September 2023.

32 Random.org, https://www.random.org/integers/?fbclid=IwAR18OK7QbLN5r7Nph9jOUikHfzzCZbKXuqfruJxDawFW52C85sU4s2EMJCo, accessed 7 September 2023.

33 The records of members and dependants of *The Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy* are kept as a collective file, and once an individual was randomly selected, another random selection was made within a given reference code in order to select files concerning 1 person.

(the first document in the folder), lists of service status (personal questionnaire), motions with regard to various matters, such as a request for a trip to the Olympic Games in Berlin, a request for the permission of marriage or a motion for tied accommodation; contracts of employment. 12 files include: payroll records, most often related to requests for a pay rise, advance payments, etc.; opinions issued by superiors or by previous employers; requests for, and corresponding certifications of clean criminal record, (most often issued as a single document); medical records (related to issuing employees' medical certificates, or to employee check-ups). Besides those, 12 files contain records from the personnel department, related to the employment, promotions, etc. 11 files contain birth records related to the employee, their spouse or children. 10 files included holiday requests. 9 files contain certificates/statements issued by either former or the current employer. 7 files included lists of family status – these were forms that supplemented information about an employee with the status of his family; 7 of the files also included copies of school certificates and diplomas. Additionally, in 7 cases there was documentation related to termination of employment contracts. 6 files contained varied types of documentation: bank records, pertaining to the employee's liabilities; military records pertaining to call-ups for military training, service certificates from other places of employment, and citizenship certificates. 6 files contained professional training certificates. 5 files included court documentation, which in most part related to the settlement of outstanding debts. 4 files included debt payment requests and records related to employee insurance. Only 2 files contained: copies of ID cards, pay slips, excerpts from city council resolutions on lifelong tenure and approval to hire a second veterinarian, employee ID cards, letters of appointment to a higher position, and documentation produced after 1945 (certificate of employment). The files include single occurrences of: an apprenticeship certificate copy, a military draft card, request for terminating employment, income and property history, certificate of morality, service questionnaire, certificate of registered residence, letter of commendation, committee minutes, letter from the tax office, pension declaration, letter of change of address, certificate of fighting for independence, documentation of disciplinary investigation (denunciation, opinions, letter of reprimand), job offer, medical bill for wife, request for references[34].

[34] SAB, f. 6/189/0 Akta miasta Bydgoszczy [Records of the City of Bydgoszcz] 1559–1975; items: 6/189/0/4.1.1/3055, 6/189/0/4.1.1/3069, 6/189/0/4.1.1/3241, 6/189/0/4.1.1/4620, 6/189/0/4.1.1/4647, 6/189/0/4.1.1/4714, 6/189/0/4.1.1/4740, 6/189/0/4.1.1/4815,

Having completed the analysis, one may observe that personal files mainly contain documents related to employment and the course of work. They can be divided into: application documents with attachments, e.g. application for employment with a resume, documentation concerning the employee, e.g. questionnaires, documentation of the personnel department related to the maintenance of personal file, documentation related to the regulation of the employment relationship, e.g. contracts of employment, opinions of superiors, personal documentation of the employee, e.g. copies of certificates, documentation produced by other institutions and related to the employee, e.g. a call-up for military training, or remuneration charges. The following should be classified as egodocuments: resumes, applications, or questionnaire forms completed by the employee. Based on the analysis of the contents, it should be concluded that the term "personal file" fully encompasses the above presented archival files.

In the archival fonds of the "Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy Voivodeship Executive Board in Bydgoszcz", 34 different types of documents related to the members of the society were identified. 14 of the files included resumes, which in most cases were attached as a separate document, however, in some files resumes were also entered in the membership declaration. The files may include resumes of ZBOWiD members, as well as the resumes of spouses who received pensions after the death of the member. 13 files included membership declarations. 12 of the files included documentation issued by the ZBOWiD, birth records, and a criminal record inquiry. 11 files contained membership certificates. Documentation related to pensions was kept in 10 files. 9 files contained testimonies of witnesses that authenticated participation in fights for national independence. 7 files included certificates from the Central Military Archive in Warsaw of documents related to participation in fight for independence, such as confirmation of military service in insurgent units. 6 of the files contained: verification questionnaires and certificates of awarding national medals. 5 of the files included: certificates from other institutions, documentation from the Social Insurance Institution, requests for ID cards, applications for medals. 4 files contained certificates of participation in the Greater Poland Uprising, questionnaire of the Association of Greater Poland Uprising Veterans,

6/189/0/4.1.1/4862, 6/189/0/4.1.1/4944, 6/189/0/4.1.1/4956, 6/189/0/4.1.1/6558, 6/189/0/4.1.1/6631, 6/189/0/4.1.1/6646.

certificates from State Archives. In 3 cases, there were: supplementary sheets, opinions, membership cards. 2 of the files contained: rulings of the verification committee, memoirs of the Greater Poland Uprising veterans, social interviews about the member, a copy of the military service book. Single occurrences of the following were found: appointment to a committee, an appeal against a decision, a Kennkarte, a mobilization card, a decision not to double a pension, a record sheet, a member's statement about the work he performed and his record of participation in fight for independence[35].

The documentation collected in the personal files of the members of the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy differs from the personal files of the city of Bydgoszcz. First of all, the files from the Society include forms that were filled out by the member or a spouse. These files include: documentation that constitutes evidence of membership in the Society, i.e. membership declarations; documentation describing activities undertaken as part of fight for independence, e.g. memoirs, resumes; documentation related to pensions, as well as documentation of members' spouses receiving pensions for them. The following should be classified as egodocuments: forms filled out by the members, resumes, memoirs, witness accounts, and community interviews.

It is important to emphasize an important fact, namely that the personal files of the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy were not created as a result of an employment relationship, but as a result of union affiliation. The files concern specific individuals and the particular relationship occurring between the member and the institution. According to the definitions of the term "personal file" cited above, the files of members and dependants of the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy should not be included in this group. However, on the other hand, the files concern specific individuals and contain personal data along with information about activities in the society. In order to eliminate similar situations, the understanding of the term "personal file" should be expanded.

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[35] SAB, f. 6/1457/0 Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację Zarząd Wojewódzki w Bydgoszczy [The Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy Voivodeship Executive Board in Bydgoszcz] 1947–1990; items: 6/1457/0/8/376, 6/1457/0/8/395, 6/1457/0/8/400, 6/1457/0/8/436, 6/1457/0/8/443, 6/1457/0/8/447, 6/1457/0/8/454, 6/1457/0/8/455, 6/1457/0/8/459, 6/1457/0/8/499, 6/1457/0/8/508, 6/1457/0/8/539, 6/1457/0/8/548.

Analysis in the context of Egodocumentality

Researchers in the field of humanities and social sciences have long noted the new possibilities of interpreting a cultural text, in which the author shows his attitude to the world, insights or emotions through a written word. Although egodocumentality has been part of historiography for nearly seventy years, it is not a well-known term, and there can be even more confusion when the term is expanded to "self-narrative"[36]. When studying archival sources, it is important not to narrow the broad understanding of egodocuments down to autobiographical genres, but rather to expand them so as to include the concept of self-narratives, which refers to the internal criteria of the text by focusing on its content, and to extract the personality of the writer from each type of source on this basis.

Polish archival resources abound in egodocuments and microhistories, and this stems from many factors, including the very nature of self-testimonies. The process of searching for such texts in the archival resources is not a simple one, and the archival description does not offer such options. As we know, egodocuments may appear in different places of the resource, or even constitute the entire archive. The reason for this is the inability to clearly identify the source as a typical self-testimony, i.e. objectively existing, apart from the recipient, as it is the reader/researcher who subjectively evaluates the material. When making an analysis in the context of egodocumentality, the researcher does not focus on facts. So far, memory was supposed to complement other official sources in some way, possibly replacing them. When we assume the anthropological perspective in this type of research, it is not about facts, but about how facts are perceived by individuals. A personal account gives us a picture of the author's mindset, his world of values, experiences, and perception of the surrounding world[37].

The examined self-narratives are not limited to resumes, which are attachments to personal files, or a certain certification in the case of ZBOWiD files. During the examination of the documentation, all questionnaires, applications in which the author's personality left its mark, were all taken into account. In most cases the documents were written by hand, there are a few cases of signed typescripts,

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[36] The article uses the terms egodocumentality and self-narrative interchangeably.

[37] A. Rosa, *Egodokumentalność polskiego zasobu archiwalnego* [Egodocumentality of the Polish Archival Fonds], [in:] *Archiwistyka między różnorodnością a standaryzacją,* Toruńskie Konfrontacje archiwalne [Archival Science between Diversity and Standardisation, Toruń Archival Confrontations], vol. 3, ed. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, Toruń 2013, p. 61.

as well as texts written down by a third party, but signed by the person who submitted the certificate.

The main focus of the research was the text, or more precisely, the story of the people behind the reference number. But not only that. The analysis also covered the language (the wording used, style, syntheticity), the handwriting or the form (handwritten or typed, deletions, additions). The analysis in the context of egodocumentality is made up of such details. When examining texts, especially those created under a certain institutional compulsion and burdened by a certain convention, the "ego" may be concealed, which is why it is so important to look at every aspect of the document – that which occurs in the text, what is repeated, what is underlined, what is mentioned only briefly and what is omitted.

The oldest documents date back to the 1920s, whereas the most recent ones – to the 1980s. Although the format of a resume is formalized and fairly homogeneous, one can observe manifestations of individuality and a certain attempt to distinguish the "ego".

Resumes found in personal files are mostly mandatory attachments that are included with other documents pertaining to the given person/case. Occasionally, one file contains resumes of two people, this is usually the case of ZBOWiD documentation for spouses. This type of material is a standardized and abridged description of the course of the person's life so far, as a synthetic representation of the most important events. For ethical reasons, personal data of the subjects has been anonymized.

The analysis demonstrated that the most important information, or information that should not be omitted, included: date and place of birth, information about parents, marital status, education, professional path, information on military service (in case of men). The form of recording this information, on the other hand, depends on the writer's personality or his writing licence, so it can be both very formal or spontaneous. Both provide opportunities for an analysis in the context of egodocumentality, provided that the document is authentic. Usually, the nature of the writing was legible and did not obliterate interpretation of the content. Of course, the handwriting varied greatly, from highly aesthetic to careless. My research on the egodocumentality of the fonds of the Records of the City of Bydgoszcz and ZBOWiD was based on nearly 30 files. I may unequivocally state that the materials bear hallmarks of egodocumentality, although this is a purely subjective opinion.

Due to the quantitative limitations of this article, not all files will be cited. The analysis will involve 7 resumes (from the most individual to the most factual and formalized). Many of the sources had a routine form, with rather sparse information, not very helpful in making the analysis.

At the same time, I decided to cite larger, unedited excerpts from the text, in order to better understand the individuals, and to give the readers an opportunity to assess them for themselves. Some of the self-narratives could be analysed separately, so I have only provided some interpretive clues so that the reader can also decide whether they qualify as egodocuments.

Z. R., reference code 6/1457/0/8//400, G. 29/01/1984

Z. R., daughter of J. and M., née B. I was born on 1912 in the village of J., district K., formerly L. Voivodeship. I went to school there and graduated from a 4-grade school. Since my parents owned a small, 4-hectare farm of poor soil, on which they had to feed 10 people – there were eight of us, siblings, and my Parents – 10 people in total, it was hard to make a living and clothe ourselves. This is why I went to work in Pomerania, district G. in 1936 and in 1937. I got married there. In 1939 the war broke out, and the Germans displaced all those who they hadn't killed, and we had to return to my Parents, as there was nowhere else to go. In the spring of 1940, we were displaced again because the Germans made a military training ground there. One German told us to go near Warsaw, as the farms were unoccupied there, so a couple of families went there and again we settled in the village of S. G., municipality R, district W. But the estate was dilapidated and everything had to be made anew. A derelict, little wooden hut, the land was lying fallow, and we had three children to feed and no food to go around. We would go to work wherever we could to earn a few pennies to make a living and prepare the land. Our family helped us a little in order to buy a little horse, together with my husband we had to toil away to buy a little cow for the children to give them some milk, but whatever we earned the Germans took away as a quota. There was no choice at that time and the husband joined the Organization in January 1941. And then I had to take care of everything, look after the children, work at home and in the field – my husband helped only casually. And since our little hut was so inconspicuous all kinds of meetings were held in here. [...] sundry newspapers, organizational meetings, weapons were stored in our house. I had to work as

a watchman to do sentry duty. I had to take the children by their little hands and keep watching all around to see if the Germans were coming. There were so many sleepless nights, so much nerve and fear during the round-ups so that the Germans wouldn't find something and take my husband away. It went on like that until 1944. Then, as the German troops retreated, the frontline drew nearer and they displaced us for the third time and drove all the people to the head of the frontline. Then, at the railroad tracks, they took away all the younger men, my husband as well, and I was left on my own in exile with three small children, with no roof over my head. I was left only with a cart and a horse, a little food taken from home, and sheets for the children. They drove us to the village of D., across the railroad tracks, where we were supposed to take a rest. The Germans burnt everything that was left behind – all the buildings, grain left in the fields, the things left behind by the people, leaving everything in ruins, trenches, there was nothing left to harvest and in addition, the fields were mined. The following day, bullets were flying overhead, the front was getting closer. The Germans continued to drive people forward to the head of the frontline. Together with a couple of families we hid with our children in a shelter that was made in the ground and we suffered like that for 3 weeks. The village kept being conquered by German or Soviet armies. They destroyed the village completely, but a Soviet Soldier came into the shelter and told us to run because the Germans were coming back again. We legged it, and the Germans fired at us from planes – we ran from tree to tree and finally reached our village of residence, but we still had to retreat 5 km back. The Soviet troops did not let us go to our homes because the fields were mined and everything was burnt. This is when real despair started – we had no roof over our heads, there was nothing to eat, the husband was gone, and the winter was approaching. We would go to the fields and gather whatever was left, make a hole in the molehill and cook that way, the children would go to the soldiers to get a loaf of bread and I would go to milk the soldiers' cows to get some milk for the children. We lived in the field until November because any stone buildings left unburnt were occupied by Soviet Officers, and in November they went to dugouts and we had to squat in one room with 3 or 4 other families. On 15 January 1945, the offensive began and the troops moved on. At the beginning of February my husband returned – he had been gone 7 months but there was nothing to do anymore – everything had been destroyed and burnt, there was nothing to eat or wear. What could you do? The buildings had been burnt down, the land had been

mined, the army wouldn't let anyone pass, they would go around and remove mines. Many of them died there.

The government appealed to whoever was interested to go to reclaimed territories, so we went to the village of B., municipality of R., former district of K., G. Voivodeship. There, we were given a farm with an area of 13.20 hectares. Again, everything was dilapidated and had to be made anew. At that time, my husband was appointed head of the village by the Staroste, became the Chairman of the Communal Peasants' Self-Help, was a member in various committees of the National Councils, a lay judge in court. But nevertheless, he maintained the household in an exemplary manner for which he was awarded and decorated with the Silver Cross, the Gold Cross of Merit, Silver badge of honour of the Gdańsk land, and several Diplomas. I was a member of the farmers' wives' association, took part in various competitions for which I also received prizes, such as a harrow, a washing machine and an iron. The children grew up, each starting their own family. We were left on our own, but we still farmed the land for a few years. But then we got worse and health deteriorated so we decided to give away the farm in exchange for a pension with the reservation that we would get 0.5 hectare free for life, but there was no land in this municipality and we did not get it. My husband died and I do not claim it now. I broke my leg and now I am not able to work this land and I don't get any payment for it. I wrote to Bydgoszcz and they replied that the State has not provided for such a scenario and no one is interested to help, and the pension is rather small.

The resume was written down at the end of Mrs. R.'s life (she died two years after writing it). Many of the events had faded from her memory, others became indistinct, but probably those that were the source of greatest emotions during World War II, she put on paper. The memories cited above are kept in chronological order. Most of the facts from her life are from the time of the occupation, and she tries to give dates and locations so that her story is more credible. Besides, she recalls mostly unpleasant moments, when there was not enough work or the work she did was not effective despite the energy she had put into it. One could infer from her story that they had been struggling all their lives. The only positive moment came after the war, when the farm and social involvement brought some benefits to the family. For example, she mentions what exactly she had won in a competition held for the farmers' wives' association.

Unfortunately, this is not the only resume based on difficult experiences and hard work. What is characteristic of this account is surely the diminutives "little hut", "little cow", and "little hands" which soften the harsh reality and overcome the trauma that underlies the story, while "Parents" spelt with a capital letter may signify the respect she had for them.

The testimony is rather elaborate, as it contains information that is generally not included in official resumes. This may indicate a need to share her emotions with the reader, perhaps as a form of therapy, or a desire to leave a testimony behind. She uses phrases that refer to fear, danger, but also courage, in order to reinforce her message. Importantly, the authoress, although she witnessed many tragic events, does not recall them in detail or thoroughly analyse them, which could make her story even more credible. This may mean that these memories are painful for her and she is trying not to recreate them.

Apparently, the language and style of the account is simple – it contains minor errors[38]. However, given the author's education (she completed 4 grades of elementary school), it is an in-depth self-creation with multiple threads. It starts with a description of the harsh socio-economic situation in eastern Poland which forces young people to migrate for work, then continues with the crisis of war, which is the cause of an exile and wandering across the country, a change of residence after the war, and culminates with the last change of address at an old age. This is an example that shows what the fate of millions of Poles in the 20th century might have been like. This is a time when for many citizens the greatest wealth was the proverbial "little cow" that fed them, and a "little horse" that helped move from place to place. Mrs. R.'s story does not leave children out. She mentions them on several occasions, which may indicate maternal concern and bonding. The text also reveals a certain perversity of its authoress. In the last few paragraphs she mentions that she "does not claim" what the State had failed to provide (in this case land, or increased pension), but a moment later she adds that she called "Bydgoszcz" (probably one of the offices) about it, and that the application, resume, together with the questionnaire sent to ZBOWiD are supposed to improve her financial situation (through a pension credit).

There are many such stories, but not everyone chooses to put them on paper. People experienced many hardships like this, which traumatized them, leading them to suppress certain memories, and shut down their emotions. Therefore,

[38] Unfortunately, it is not possible to reproduce the original spelling in the translated text.

it is often possible to miss the "I" in the testimonies from this period and fail to categorise a given text as an egodocument. This does not mean that it is not – the austerity of the texts is just a consequence of living in austere conditions. Anyone who wanted to survive, whether in the interwar period or during World War II or in the new socialist order[39], had to adapt, which is why texts are so often heavily self-censored or even misrepresented in order to achieve a certain goal.

W. R., reference number 6/1457/0/8/400, G. 15/11/1979

I, W. R. son of J. and M. née S. was born on 1914, J. district K., formerly L. Voivodeship. My father was an owner of a small farm of 3 hectares of poor land to feed 7 people. Being the eldest son, I had to look for work all over the country since the early age, and it was hard to get any.

Today when I tell my children and the younger generation what the old days were like, they simply do not believe that one had to walk several kilometres and work at night to earn a piece of bread, and sometimes there was no work available.

One couldn't even dream about going to school. And when a peasant, maybe one in a hundred, sent a child to high school, and even though the child was an outstanding student, he still wouldn't graduate. So the peasants organised demonstrations, held various rallies and demanded Reforms to improve their lives. Being a young man at that time, I would go to those rallies together with my father and others, often walking for several kilometres to places like K., C., M., O. T.

In 1937, I went to the village of Sz. in the G. district of Pomeranian Voivodeship. I started my family there. When I had 2 small children and a third on the way, the war broke out and the escapes and displacements started.

So, together with numerous displaced families, we settled near R. – I happened to settle in the village of G. S., municipality R., district R., all after the German colonists. It was a small farm with an area of 3.5 hectares, a wooden building with 1 room and a kitchen, a byre attached to the house only with boards, a barn with heaps of soil, not well maintained, and one had to think of supporting the family. With the help of family from both sides we got a horse and a couple of piglets – it was not perfect, but we managed somehow. It was the last farm in the village

[39] I mention these periods because the analysed material is directly related to them.

of G. S., not far from the village of N. and the village of K. In all of these villages, Armia Krajowa (Home Army) was almost everywhere.

I joined this organization right at the beginning of 1941. My household was not very conspicuous, so the organization thought it was good to gather there. Meetings, as well as underground press readings were held there.

At that time there was an act of great courage on my part – I risked being ratted out, although lookouts were deployed, my wife took the children by their hands and did sentry duty for safety.

Mostly on bank holidays, we would go out into the woods to do military training. All sorts of actions took place, like the liquidation of the dairy in Wołomin 1942. The Arbeitsamt in Wołomin was liquidated in the same year. In July 1944, after the Soviet troops came, they manned various offices in Tłuszcz. The Soviet troops withdrew after two days.

In 1943, in the district of Radzymin, near Dobczyn, Germans took cows from peasants for undelivered quotas. They drove them to Wołomin, but our organization intervened. The Germans left the cows, and the peasants came to claim them.

I worked security detail for most of the actions mentioned above with a gun in my hand.

I'm sure there were more such actions but I don't remember the dates. It was difficult at times, and we had many sleepless nights because we always expected to be ratted out. I made a pledge to Poland and had to fulfil it. I obeyed orders from the Superior Authorities.

I was entrusted with the task of carrying the underground press – I was deployed as a lookout. In my farmyard guns were stored, mostly sidearms. On some occasions I was designated to distribute weapons and ammunition.

Once I was entrusted with the task of delivering a package to Wołomin. It was a distance of about 10 kilometres. The size of the package was 100x50 cm. We loaded the package and covered it with firewood as we had an order for delivery of wood to the private bakery run by Mr. Ż. It was in wintertime of 1943 and it was very slippery that year. The cart was overloaded and the horse couldn't make it to one of the streets. A unit of German soldiers was passing by and they pushed me out of the worst place. If they had taken interest in what I was carrying, I would've earned a bullet in the head. I had to keep my cool at all times. If I could find the Lieutenant (nickname Amon) he could confirm it.

When the Warsaw Uprising broke out in 1944 our Platoon Commander, G. O., teacher sergeant, called upon our Platoon to help the insurgents of Warsaw. As a father of small children, I was relieved of this duty, all those who went to Warsaw were killed.

At that time the frontline was approaching Warsaw, things were starting to boil, the enemy was almost in retreat, I was captured by the Germans and tried in the transit camp in Zgierz near Warsaw. They kept us hungry for 4 days. In the evening of the fourth day they drove us away in an unknown direction. As we later realized, they were driving us in the direction of Sochaczew. I jumped out of the moving car to escape.

Bruised, battered I couldn't feel hunger anymore. I managed to reach the first people, they gave me a slice of bread and I rested a little. Those people told me to go on my way explaining that Germans were organising repressions. Everyone had to be reported, no strangers could be kept. There was no other choice for me but go. I took the slice of bread with me – I couldn't eat it immediately because the stomach didn't tolerate food. I kept a low profile, nights were getting cold, it was an agonising experience, eating was impossible, I slept in the cold and quenched my thirst in the stream. After a few days, I came back to the village because I could not stand it any longer.

I begged these people to take care of me. If they couldn't, I asked them to put me in touch with a guerilla unit, but everyone explained to me that the guerilla unit went on to be closer to the enemy. I wandered like that until November. People fed me. What saved me was a family watch that I had – I sold it for a few pennies. Late at night I would sneak into a barn or byre without the owners' knowledge to get warm and sleep. Later, as the German repressions quieted down, I was taken care of by an old railwayman, S., in the village of M. where I stayed until 17 January 1945, when the Soviet troops came. My wife and children were on the other side because the frontline remained in the same place for more than 6 months. I returned home, but the house was no longer there as the Germans burnt it down. There was nowhere to live as our village of G. was almost entirely burnt down. My wife and children in took refuge in another village – N. 4 families lived there in one room. At that time there was no other way out but to respond to the appeal of the Government. In 1945, my family and I left for the reclaimed lands to the village of B., municipality R., district Sz., G. Voivodeship. There I received a farm of 13 hectares. At that time, the Polish Administration was being formed. By nomination of the District Staroste, I was

appointed the first head of this village. I took an active part in the organization of the Rural Cooperative. I was the Chairman of the Communal Peasants' Self-Help [...] the District Staroste even wanted me to accept the functions of the Commune Head but I refused for fear that I wasn't equal to this job.

I also sat in various committees, and in the National Councils and its Committees – I held this honourable position from 1945 until the end of 1976 until I gave up the household to the State for a pension. This period was not favourable because at that time I received a pension of PLN 2,150. If I had given up the household later, the pension would have been higher, at least about PLN 5,000.

My health deteriorated quite heavily, this had to happen. Despite community service, I ran the household in an exemplary manner, for which I received numerous Diplomas and was awarded the Silver Badge of Honour of the Gdańsk Land. My wife always wished us to be near her daughter in old age. When I was registered and living in G., I was sent a Diploma of Recognition from R. municipality. The inscription on the diploma said: To citizen W.R. for his great contribution to the proper execution of tasks of the socio-economic plan for the development of the municipality, signed by Head of the Municipality A. G. and Chairman of the Municipal National Council A. C.

I hold a grudge to R. Municipality because I was always promised higher honours, but they did not keep their word. They took the honours for themselves and forgot to whom they were rightfully due.

Nowadays, it's not so easy to live on 2,000 – we should spend our old age in better conditions. Everything I wrote in this resume is based on the truth. I wrote it in brief, but with all conscientiousness.

I finished only 4 grades of elementary school. Although I was a good student, I did not have the opportunity to educate myself further.

W. R.

I forgot to mention how many times I drove various activists to R., W., T. because at that time there was no other transportation, and the train times did not always suit them.

The story of a family member or another close person can be used to supplement a resume or give it new meanings, which in some way gives credibility to our story. The author often witnesses events in which the main character also participated, while at the same time weaving in his own perspective, undoubtedly enriching

the narrative. In this case, we are dealing with the resume of the husband of the authoress of the previous resume. This resume also constitutes an elaborate and spontaneous narrative with multiple threads. And although in some places the handwriting made it difficult to read the text, and despite occasional errors, the description is quite clear, coherent, and very personal at times. In the very first few paragraphs of his story, the author points out that what he had experienced may not seem real to the younger generation, so it is important that his experiences survive in the memory of others. A strong aspect of the author's patriotism and social commitment resounds all throughout the text. From the participation in peasant strikes, to joining the Home Army, and then acting for the good of the society. Judging from his last paragraphs, working for the sake of the society gave him a lot of satisfaction; but at the same time, he felt he was not appreciated enough. He sought to fulfil the pledge that he made to Poland (probably a military oath) even after the war. This may be related to his patriotic upbringing and the traits of his character. The author broaches several important themes, and presents them in a rather emotional and sincere way. We can observe an argumentative communication pattern that appears in several places when the author evaluates his actions and those of his wife from the current perspective (their courage, life-threatening situations, etc.) In case of his wife, describing her tasks may be intended as the additional motivation for receiving monetary gratification. The resume contains elements of compulsive storytelling (unintentional in most cases). This is the case, for example, when the author presents details (the story about transporting weapons, the exact citation of the content of the diploma/award), or refuses to describe other events due to "not remembering" the exact dates, which in his opinion may discredit the authenticity of the account. This is also connected with the need to condense and index, so he chooses what he believes to be the most important stories, cites witnesses who would authenticate his involvement in the war, resulting in achieving the purpose of the written testimony/resume – a pension supplement. All the "background" information that he incorporates into his story provides an opportunity to reconstruct the value hierarchy of the author's experiences, which in many cases are but just briefly mentioned (experiences of hunger, lack of self-confidence, complexes due to lack in education, etc.). The ending of this narrative is quite suggestive and at the same time characteristic of this type of writing: "Everything I wrote in this resume is based on the truth. I wrote it in brief, but with all conscientiousness" and I vouch for its veracity "with my whole

being". The language of the message itself, despite problems with the legibility of handwriting and occasional linguistic errors, is clear and readable.

M. D., reference code 6/189/0/4.1.1/4740 B., 21/04/1936

I, the undersigned M. D., was born on 1901 in U., district Ch. as the first son of a Polish National Railways officer J. and W. (née I.). of Roman Catholic denomination. From the age of 7, I attended a 6-grade Catholic public school in U. – on 21.10.1913 I was admitted to the first Holy Communion at the Parish Church in U. In October 1915, I graduated from the school mentioned above and stayed at my parents' home until 1 October 1917. In 1916, my father was transferred from U. to L. on the Warta River (Germany) because, as a Pole, he refused to change his Polish name. On 1/10/1917 I was accepted by the German Railway Authority as a Clerk in the L. n/W freight expediting company, where I worked until 30 September 1919. In view of the establishment of the Republic of Poland, my Father and I were transferred back to U., at my own request. On 1/10/1919 I came to be the first Polish railway switch operator at the National Railways in U., a position which I took over from a German officer. There, on 1/2/1920, I was assigned to perform the duties of a traffic officer. On 20/09/1920 I was called up for military service in the 64 Infantry Regiment in G. After two months of military training, at the request of the Railway Military Office at the Regional Directorate of National Railways in Gdańsk, I was discharged on 20/11/1920 and assigned to the National Defence – On 11/10/1921 I entered into marriage with S. S., born 14/09/1901, daughter of the deceased farmer K. S. of B., district Ch. I have three children – two daughters and one son – the eldest daughter A. born on 3/08/1922, H. born on 31/07/1923 and son H. born on 2/09/1924.

In 1926 I was delegated by the Regional Directorate of National Railway in Gdańsk to Bydgoszcz for a 10-month course for assistants, with a simultaneous attendance at a skill-improvement course at Business High School (paid by the Regional Directorate of National Railway). On 9/11/1926, I passed an exam at the Regional Directorate of National Railway in Gdańsk with a satisfactory score. On 1/1/1927, I was appointed Railway Assistant in the 11th group and transferred to P. to work as a stationmaster. Awarded a Decade of Independence medal, I was transferred to Sz. Sz. also to the position of stationmaster on 28/04/1929. On 29/02/1932 a train accident was caused by the staff of the Sz.

Sz. station, as a result of which I was suspended on 4/03/1932 as responsible for the acts of subordinate staff. On 30/05/1932 I was transferred to the Dz. station. From there I was transferred to B. at my own request on 30/03/1933. Based on the ruling of the Disciplinary Committee at the Regional Directorate of National Railway Gdańsk I was dismissed from railway service on 5/05/1933 without the right to pension. On 6/05/1933 I was employed by the company J. S. – Cegielnia Parowa (Steam Brickworks) at the post of an independent accountant. As Mr. J. K. former manager of the Steam Brickworks of the Peterson Company, promised me in May a relatively better paid position, I terminated my employment as of 30/08/1935 at the Stranz company and on 1/09/1935 I took on the position of an office cashier on a casual basis for the time being, but as a result of the termination of the employment relationship between the Peterson company and the manager in question, I was dismissed on 29/02/1936. Since then I have been without a job and my family and I live in abject poverty.

I have written the above resume with my own hand, without any assistance, which I truthfully confirm with my own signature.

Mr. D.'s story, although it adheres to formalized structures, is interesting on several levels, and its form allows us to make a more in-depth analysis in the context of egodocumentality. One of the characteristic traits of resumes of the interwar period is that they often mention religious denomination, which, on the one hand, can be regarded as an established convention and, on the other hand, as an identity factor which is far stronger here than in the other studied texts, due to mentioning the exact date of receiving First Holy Communion. This information may serve as a narrative backdrop, which the author will no longer refer to later in the text, but will make his socio-cultural affiliations clear. He uses a similar procedure when mentioning his father, who did not want to change his name to a German one. Polishis is a largely unintentional indication that he is a Pole, a Catholic, a patriot, or at least he wants to be seen as such. Yet another interesting aspect that speaks volumes about the author's personality is the detailed information about his loved ones (information about the wife, the date of marriage, her background, as well as the names and dates of birth of his children). When presenting his story, he does not leave out the reasons for being dismissed from his previous position, which he considered prestigious (he highlighted his role as the first Polish switch operator) and that he felt it to be a continuation of family

traditions. In the analysed account, the author's experiences are worth noting. Although they are presented in a selective manner, they represent the social phenomena and processes (historical macro and micro processes along with his own biographical processes) and their effects. The process starts with the war, and moves on through forced migration, social advancement, assuming a respectable position, and finally ends with losing the position and struggling with the new reality that forces the author to seek new solutions. The use of the phrase "abject poverty", while not an isolated case in the stories from the interwar period, reinforces the message and makes it more impactful.

A. W., reference number 6/1457/0/8/560[40]. The resume included in the ZBOWiD verification questionnaire.

I was born on 1886 in B., I did not know my parents because they died early. I was raised in Ch. by my grandmother until the age of 13. I attended school there and learned carpentry. After my apprenticeship exam, I set out on a mandatory journey. From 1907 to 1909, I was drafted into the German army to the 4th Guards Regiment in Berlin Rathstewart. Having completed my military service, I worked professionally in Stettin, H. until the outbreak of war in 1914. Then I was called up again to my regiment where I took part in fighting on the Western and on the Eastern Front. In March 1918, being a model craftsman, I was withdrawn from the battlefield and worked at a shipyard in H. as [...]. On 6 November, I took part in street fights during the revolution in Hamburg. On 22 November I was dismissed by the then soldier-worker council. On New Year's Day 1919, I arrived through the Bydgoszcz canal and joined the insurgents, who were then located near Potulice. I took part in the fights of Nakło, Paterek, Rynarzewo under [...]. After the uprising ended, I joined the 4th regiment of the Greater Poland Guards. Later, I moved to the 1st regiment of the Greater Poland Guards and then became a civilian in April 1920. In 1921 I emigrated to France where I worked in the reconstruction of destroyed cities, then I worked as a painter in Paris and returned to Poland in 1932. In 1939, I had to go into hiding because I was in danger of being shot by the Gestapo, for the bloody Sunday, for the Polish

[40] The files of A.W. contain 2 biographies, which are not identical, in addition, he attached "a brief description of A.W.'s participation in the fightings during the Greater Poland Uprising".

Western Society, and for fighting against the Germans in the Squadron on 4 and 5 September 1939. Until 1945, I stayed in Podlasie. I returned in January 1945.

In the case of the story of our next author, we have at least two versions of his resume and several detailed descriptions of his life left in the ZBOWiD verification questionnaire, which differ from one another at certain points. A.'s story mainly focuses on his life until 1945. It stops once the war ends. On one hand, this is quite understandable, since the ZBOWiD was interested in documenting activities from the frontlines service, not one's personal life. Nonetheless, they accepted resumes of other members, most of whom made a holistic description of their lives. In his story, A. focuses on his professional work and activities during the war. The protagonist of his story emerges as a brave man who decides to emigrate after finishing school, probably due to the need to earn a livelihood. He served in the German army during World War I, but because of his profession and the needs of the army, he returned to work in the shipyard (in his second resume, he does not mention working in Germany). In a rather synthetic account, he includes the episode of participating in the November Revolution in Germany, a revolt against the dire economic situation after World War I. However, he does not provide an exact account of what happened during these strikes. In the same way, except for some terse information, he does not go into the details and motives of his decision to join the Greater Poland Uprising (he devoted a separate description to these battles, and the testimonies of other soldiers attached to the file demonstrate that he showed great courage and experience in the fights, and was a model for other insurgents). Once Poland regains its independence, he does not choose to remain in the country, but emigrates to France in 1919, probably for financial purposes. He does not say what he had been doing in Poland since his return in 1932. In his final sentences, he mentions Bloody Sunday, fighting in the first days of September 1939 and being forced to hide from the Gestapo all throughout the war. The extended version of his resume, attached to the file, shows that he did not just hide in Podlasie, but he also took an active part in the organization of the underground state in Warsaw, where he was involved in the organization of Fridays, and then stay in Ł. (Lublin Voivodeship), where he stayed "until the liberation of Bydgoszcz by the Soviet army in January 1945". When preparing his testimony, he was focusing on information that was relevant to the ZBOWiD. He left out the issue of marriage, possible children,

and included the names of his parents only in the second resume. He mentions that he did not know his parents, and was raised by his grandmother. Self-narrative, although seemingly conventional and strongly oriented to provide the most relevant information about the activity over time, is very interesting for analysis. The author does not necessarily reveal his emotions in the text. A conscious omission of information about personal life, using certain phrases such as: "1939 was a fateful year for me", "I grabbed a rifle to maintain order", "I let myself be demobilized... to return to my homeland", "a new war with our eternal enemy", etc. leads towards a stark narrative. Undoubtedly, he is a person who would like to keep quiet about many of his experiences. Building a story from a distance can indicate a certain alienation towards oneself, which in this case is easily visible. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that resume was created at the end of his life, and yet the author chose not to open up to the reader – in this case, the ZBOWiD.

Application, R. L., reference code 6/189/0/4.1.1/4944. B., 28/12/32

I, the undersigned R. L., request that I be accepted into the service of the Fire Department as a firefighter. I am healthy, I have the ability and willingness to work. In the Polish Army, I served in the 8th Sapper Regiment in Toruń. At the time of discharge I carried the rank of platoon sergeant. By profession I am a carpenter. Please find attached a brief resume. I am convinced that I will meet all the requirements for firefighting service – and thus my lot in life will improve. I am much obliged to you for accepting my request. Yours sincerely, R. L.

R. L., Resume, Bydgoszcz, 28/12/32

My name is R. L., son of A. and A. L., born on 1905 in G. (Germany). My father was a labourer, I finished 7 classes of the elementary school in B.. I served in the army from 13 October 1929 to 19 September 1928 in the 8th Sapper Regiment, and left with the rank of platoon sergeant. I am a carpenter by profession and I worked in [...] for 7 years where I was made redundant due to lack of work. I am married with 1 child. I am now 27 years old, with physique at its best, and height of 1.72. I have 3 brothers and one sister. The elder brother is [...] at the Telegraph

branch in G. the second brother is a shoemaker and works at the military academy in G., the third brother is a sculptor, currently without employment, the sister stays at home.

Yours sincerely, R. L.

Applications with resumes were common recruitment practice; however, not every personal file retains such materials. An application is a short form that contains basic data about a job applicant and a short description to justify the application. In the case of Mr. L.'s story, we have a very clear and consistent message that shows his high motivation, self-confidence, need for new challenges (despite his experience and qualifications as a carpenter, he feels the need to change his profession) and improved material status. He resorts to underlining the text only once, at the mention of his wife and child, which is meant to draw the committee's attention to the need for financial stability in the family, which they are lacking. Providing information about siblings and detailing their professions is not a common occurrence, so it may be indicative of certain traits of character. It may demonstrate his close ties to his loved ones or serve to show himself in a broader context that enables a moral evaluation of the candidate for a firefighter. In his short description, the author operates language in such a way as to maximize his chances of being given the desired position, e.g. "...physique at its best...", "I am convinced that I will meet all requirements...", which shows determination and belief in his own abilities.

H. W., reference code 6/1457/0/8/436 I. 08/04/1982

I, H. W., née K., was born on 1906 in G., district Ż., father I. and mother A., née B. My parents owned a farm. I graduated from elementary school and departmental school in G. After World War I, I completed an economic course in Poznań. Until 1929, I worked with my parents on their farm. In 1929, I married S. W., an elementary school teacher in P.

From 1932 until the beginning of the war, I lived in G., district I. where my husband was the head of the school. In the 1930s, I gave birth to three children, two of whom are alive: – daughter A. W., currently married to E. W., a teacher residing in L., and son L. W. also a teacher, currently residing in T.

With the outbreak of the war, my husband S., being a teacher, was arrested and imprisoned in I. prison where [...] the Nazis' crackdown on the city's intelligentsia.

In late 1939, my husband was deported to the General Government where he managed to escape from prison. At the beginning of 1940, I was deported together with my children to the Government where, in the town of D. near S., I worked in a fruit preserves factory for the duration of the war.

After the war in 1945, we returned to Góra near Inowrocław where my husband was head of the school until 1963. In 1963, my husband was elected president of the branch of Polish Teachers' Union and, as a result, we moved to Inowrocław where we have lived ever since. My husband, S. W., a ZBOWiD member, died this year.

J. W., reference code 6/1457/0/8/459

I was born on 1922 in the village of J., district I.. I graduated from an elementary school in B. In 1945, I got married and was dependent on my husband.

By citing the last two examples, I wanted to draw attention to the general problem of how women in biographical texts are positioned in relation to the world (in this case, husbands). Arguably, this constitutes a broader aspect of biographical research, however, in these descriptions we can notice some strategies for creating an "ego" that is only complete when referring to people with whom a certain relationship is maintained. In the first story there is only one passage in which the authoress talks exclusively about herself "...where, in the town of D. near S., I worked in a fruit preserves factory for the duration of the war". The rest of the text focuses on family life, with special attention to her husband: "...where my husband was...", "...my husband was elected...", "My husband S. W. ...", etc. From H.'s short resume, we learn more about her husband's life than her own. In the last source we deal with an extreme situation, which on the one hand is not very revealing, but at the same time it is very expressive: "I graduated from an elementary school, [...] I got married and was dependent on my husband". J.'s example says a lot about how women perceived themselves and, above all, about their unspoken ego.

Researchers of resumes emphasize that overly brief and general nature of the narratives results from the authors' inexperience in facing their own identity, or them not being used to sharing their own past[41]. I think there may be more reasons for short resumes in personal files, especially when the authors are subjected to some external coercion. Nevertheless, I tried to demonstrate that in both open and brief forms of self-narrative, a resume can highlight the personality of its author, given that this is the author's self-creation.

And while for the researcher of self-narratives the individual and their mental construction always play the central role, the picture of the world the authors present to us can be used for further analysis. Just a handful of resumes provided at least several new interesting themes for deeper analysis, for example, war traumas, migration, sense of identity and national belonging, social status of women, social exclusions.

Based on the analysis of the personal files from selected archival fonds, it can be concluded that the term "personal file" is appropriate. It does not need to be reformulated. A personal file contains important information about a particular person. Based on the personal file one may obtain biographical, sociological, ethnographic, anthropological, economic and other information.

A personal file depicts only a fragment of a person's life. It will include information about the person from the moment they start work or activity in an organisation, until it ends. Besides, it may contain additional data on education, family, previous employment, etc. Information about a person can be found in resumes, questionnaires, or applications. It should be pointed out that resumes, questionnaires or applications were created by a person who expressed themselves, described their world, reality or their own experiences, which are invaluable research material.

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[41] F. Schütze, *Analiza biograficzna ugruntowana empirycznie w autobiograficznym wywiadzie narracyjnym. Jak analizować autobiograficzne wywiady narracyjne* [Biography Analysis on the Empirical Base of Autobiographical Narratives. How to Analyse Autobiographical Narrative Interviews], [in:] *Metoda biograficzna w socjologii. Antologia tekstów* [Biographical Method in Sociology. Anthology of Texts], ed. K. Kaźmierska, Kraków 2012, p. 253.

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STUDIA I MATERIAŁY

Egodokumentalne ślady człowieka w Internecie i ich archiwizacja

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STRESZCZENIE
Nadrzędnym celem artykułu jest charakterystyka cyfrowych źródeł born digital, które mają cechy gatunkowych egodokumentów, oraz problematyki ich archiwizacji. Źródła te zawierają ślady związane z obecnością i działaniami człowieka w postaci tekstu, lub tekstu z obrazem, i dają badaczowi możliwość poznania emocji, doświadczeń, wrażliwości czy życia osobistego ich twórcy. Autorzy artykułu poszukują odpowiedzi na pytania, czy człowiek zostawia w Sieci w postaci swoich śladów/wytworów egodokumenty, a także jakiego typu są to źródła. Czy możliwa jest, i jak przebiega, ich archiwizacja, czy zarchiwizowane źródła dostępne są dla badaczy, a następnie, czy możliwe jest ich wykorzystanie w badaniach egodokumentalnych. Ze względu na przyczynkowy charakter artykułu, autorzy podjęli decyzję, że pod uwagę wzięte zostaną dwa rodzaje wytworów człowieka w Internecie, tj. osobiste witryny domowe i blogi. Wskazano na ich egodokumentalny charakter. Zwrócono także uwagę na procesy archiwizacji tej części Webu i problemy z nimi związane, w szczególności metody i strategie archiwizacji, ograniczenia prawne, techniczne czy etyczne. Następnie omówiono kwestie związane z dostępem do zarchiwizowanych zasobów, gdzie znaczącą rolę odgrywają dwa zagadnienia: otwartość archiwum oraz metody przeszukiwania jego zasobu. Autorzy przywołali także wyniki wybranych badań naukowych, mając na celu ukazanie możliwości wykorzystania zarchiwizowanych egodokumentów Webowych w dalszych badaniach. W artykule wykorzystano analizę tekstów i badań dotyczących teorii egodokumentu oraz archiwizacji Webu, przede wszystkim jednak metodę porównawczą, rekonceptualizację definicji egodokumentu, a także definicji śladów cyfrowych dookreślonych jako całości egodokumentalne – czyli źródła born digital, które zarchiwizowane umożliwiają badaczom przeszłości za pomocą analizy tekstu (a nie kodów binarnych) poznanie osobowości i życia twórcy.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE
egodokument, egodokumentalność, archiwizacja Webu, blog, blogosfera, osobista witryna domowa, cyfrowe źródła historyczne, materiały archiwalne, internetowy pamiętnik, ślad człowieka w Internecie

Ego-documentary human traces on the Internet and their archiving

ABSTRACT
The primary goal of the article is to present the issues of born digital sources, which have the characteristics of generic egodocuments, and the issues of their archiving. These sources contain traces related to human

KEY WORDS
egodocument, egodocumentality, Web archiving,

presence and actions in the form of text or text with images and give the researcher the opportunity to learn about the emotions, experiences, sensitivity, and personal life of their creator. The authors of the article are therefore looking for answers to the questions of whether people leave ego-documents on the Internet in the form of their traces or products, what type of sources they are, whether their archiving is possible and how it is carried out, whether archived sources are available to researchers, and then whether it is possible to use them in egodocumentary research. Ultimately, the authors decided that, due to the contributing nature of the article, two types of human creations on the Internet would be taken into account, i.e., personal home websites and blogs. Their ego-documentary nature was pointed out. Attention was also paid to the archiving processes of this part of the Web and the problems associated with them, in particular archiving methods and strategies and legal, technical, and ethical limitations. Then, issues related to access to archived resources were discussed, where two issues play a significant role: the openness of the archive and methods of searching its resources. The authors also cited selected scientific research, aiming to show the possibility of using archived Web egodocuments in research. The article uses the analysis of texts and research on the theory of egodocument and Web archiving, but above all, the comparative method, reconceptualization of the definition of egodocument, as well as the definition of digital traces defined as egodocumentary wholes — that is, born digital sources that, when archived, enable researchers of the past using text analysis (and not binary codes) to learn about the creator's personality and life.

blog, blogosphere, personal webpage, digital historical sources, archival materials, online diary, human trace on the Internet

Wstęp

Autorzy artykułu prowadzą na co dzień badania naukowe mieszczące się w zakresie nauk historycznych, jednak odległe od siebie tematycznie. Pierwsze dotyczą teorii egodokumentu, jej ewolucji i badań nad egodokumentalnością źródeł – nie tylko ich określonych gatunków, takich jak pamiętniki czy testamenty, ale także zarchiwizowanych całości dokumentacyjnych na różnym poziomie opisu archiwalnego[1] (np. jednostek archiwalnych, serii akt, zespołów archiwalnych, spuścizn itp.). Drugie to badania nad archiwizacją Webu: metodami jego archiwizacji[2], projektami archiwizacyjnymi, ale także zasobami archiwów Webowych[3], możliwościami ich przeszukiwania i wykorzystania w badaniach przez history-

[1] A. Rosa, *Egodokumentalność polskiego zasobu archiwalnego*, [w:] *Archiwistyka między różnorodnością a standaryzacją*, Toruńskie Konfrontacje Archiwalne, t. 3, red. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, Toruń 2013, s. 103–112; eadem, *Egodokumenty a działalność archiwów*, [w:] *Zatrzymać przeszłość, dogonić przyszłość. Pamiętnik VI Powszechnego Zjazdu Archiwistów Polskich, Wrocław, 5–7 września 2012 r.*, red. W. Chorążyczewski, K. Stryjkowski, Toruń 2013, s. 271–275.

[2] B. Konopa, *Strategia selektywna jako narzędzie w archiwizacji Webu. Analiza wybranych przykładów*, „Archiwa – Kancelarie – Zbiory" 2020, nr 11(13), s. 97–118.

[3] Idem, *Archiwizacja Webu w Europie–narodowe archiwa Sieci*, „Archeion" 2020, t. 121, DOI: 10.4467/26581264ARC.20.016.12973, s. 445–465.

ków i badaczy innych dziedzin. Podjęta w artykule tematyka – egodokumenty born digital i proces ich archiwizacji – wymagała współpracy specjalistów zajmujących się dwoma wyżej wymienionymi zagadnieniami.

Połączenie badań egodokumentalnych i nad archiwizacją webową dały interesujące wyniki i nowe koncepcje. Nie ulega wątpliwości, że Internet i jego zasoby wymagają archiwizacji. Archiwizacja ta jest przeprowadzana przez różne instytucje, organizacje i stowarzyszenia. Tak jak i w przypadku dokumentacji analogowej, nie obejmuje ona jednak całego spektrum zasobów webowych. Autorzy artykułu pragną zwrócić uwagę na tę ich część, którą można określać i badać jako egodokumenty oraz na proces ich archiwizacji. Archiwizacja w tym przypadku rozumiana jest zgodnie z teorią archiwalną jako cały proces zarządzania zarchiwizowanymi zasobami, włączając w to zarówno ich gromadzenie, opis i przechowywanie, jak i udostępnianie oraz możliwości wykorzystania[4].

Nadrzędnym celem artykułu jest ukazanie problematyki występowania w Sieci cyfrowych źródeł born digital, zawierających ślady związane z obecnością i działaniami człowieka w Internecie, utrwalonych w postaci tekstu lub tekstu z obrazem, mających cechy gatunkowych egodokumentów. Pozwalają one badaczom na poznanie emocji, doświadczeń, wrażliwości czy życia osobistego twórcy. Celem opracowania jest także przedstawienie zagadnienia ich archiwizacji i możliwości wykorzystania w badaniach. Autorzy artykułu poszukują odpowiedzi na pytania, czy człowiek tworzy w Sieci – w postaci swoich śladów (wytworów) – egodokumenty; jakiego typu są to źródła; czy możliwa jest i jak przebiega ich archiwizacja; czy zarchiwizowane źródła dostępne są dla badaczy, a także czy możliwe jest ich wykorzystanie w badaniach egodokumentalnych, i nie tylko.

Główną tezą artykułu jest założenie, że w Sieci powstają egodokumenty, które warto archiwizować i przechowywać wieczyście. Pisząc o egodokumentach, autorzy odwołują się do definicji przedstawionej przez Jacoba Pressera[5], rozszerzonej następnie przez Winfrieda Schulze'a (Selbstzeugnis)[6]. Wskazuje ona na określone teksty źródłowe, z których badacz może czerpać informacje o ich autorze (w przy-

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[4] W ten sposób archiwizację Webu rozumie m.in. International Internet Preservation Consortium zrzeszające instytucje archiwizujące zasoby WWW: International Internet Preservation Consortium. Web Archiving, https://netpreserve.org/web-archiving/ [dostęp: 20.08.2023].

[5] R.M. Dekker, *Ego-Documents in the Netherlands 1500-1814*, „Dutch Crossing" 1989, vol. 39, s. 61–72.

[6] W. Schulze, *Ego-Dokumente. Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte? Vorüberlegungen für die Tagung „Ego-Dokumente"*, [w:] *Ego-Dokumente. Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte*, ed. W. Schulze, Berlin 1996, s. 11–30.

padku np. listów, dzienników, wspomnień) lub bohaterze (w przypadku np. testamentów urzędowych, suplik chłopskich, podań i życiorysów). Informacje te to dane dotyczące osobowości, doświadczeń, światopoglądu, emocji czy przeżyć autora lub bohatera tego źródła.

Do analizy i opisu wytypowano dwa rodzaje śladów, rozumianych jako wytwory człowieka w Internecie, tj. osobiste witryny domowe i blogi, przyjmując je za najbardziej reprezentatywne dla tej grupy źródeł, i określając jako egodokumentalne wytwory/ślady człowieka w Internecie. Zgłębiając problematykę działalności człowieka w Sieci, autorzy natrafili na koncepcję „cyfrowych śladów człowieka" stosowaną w badaniach psychometrycznych i kryminalistycznych, popularyzowaną i rozwijaną zwłaszcza przez psychologa Michała Kosińskiego[7], specjalistę z zakresu kryminologii Wojciecha Kasprzaka[8] oraz informatologów[9]. Ślady te, w postaci kodów binarnych, dzielone są ze względu na informacje, które niosą, na cztery grupy: demograficzne, geograficzne, technologiczne i behawioralne[10].

Koncepcja ta odbiega jednak od rozumienia cyfrowych śladów człowieka przyjętych na potrzeby tego artykułu. Pojmujemy je jako webowe wytwory człowieka w postaci tekstu lub tekstu z obrazem albo inną treścią, które można poddać analizie egodokumentalnej[11], a nie wyłącznie jako kody binarne będące odzwierciedleniem aktywności człowieka w Sieci, na podstawie których można poznać preferencje użytkownika lub jego aktywność.

Psychometryczna koncepcja cyfrowych śladów człowieka i możliwości jej wykorzystania w badaniach są jednak w pewnym zakresie bliskie koncepcji badań egodokumentalnych. Obie pragną poznać człowieka, jego osobowość, emocje czy preferencje. Odróżnia je jednak cel badań. W przeciwieństwie do badań psycho-

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7 M. Kosinski, D.J. Stillwell, T. Graepel, *Private traits and attributes are predictable from digital records of human behavior*, „Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America" 2013, vol. 110(15), DOI: 10.1073/pnas.1218772110, s. 5802–5805.

8 W.A. Kasprzak, *Ślady cyfrowe. Studium prawno-kryminalistyczne*, Warszawa 2015.

9 M. Żytomirski, *Określanie osobowości użytkowników Internetu poprzez analizowanie ich cyfrowych śladów w świetle wybranych badań dr. Michała Kosińskiego*, „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis Folia Librorum" 2012, t. 1(32), DOI: 10.18778/0860-7435.32.05, s. 99–113.

10 Idem, R. Żulicki, *Cyfrowe ślady a bańki filtrujące – prezentacja informacyjna*, 15 August 2020, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/343678108_Cyfrowe_slady_a_banki_filtrujace_-_prezentacja_informacyjna [dostęp: 6.08. 2023].

11 A. Rosa, K. Siuda, *Analiza egodokumentalna pamiętników archiwistów jako przyczynek do poznania mentalności określonej grupy zawodowej*, [w:] *Pogranicza archiwistyki*, Toruńskie Konfrontacje Archiwalne, t. 6, red. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, Toruń 2019, s. 85–100.

metrycznych, badania egodokumentalne poprzez analizę tekstu mają na celu poznanie człowieka – takiego, jakim on sam się kreuje, jego subiektywnego oglądu świata. Nie skupia się zatem ona na tym, co można za pomocą analiz ilościowych odczytać o człowieku z jego śladów cyfrowych pozostawionych w postaci kodów binarnych, lecz zakłada możliwość analizy śladów człowieka pozostawionych w postaci tekstów (też z obrazem lub inną treścią), obojętnie w jakim środowisku (cyfrowym lub niecyfrowym) autor sam o sobie opowiada. Na podstawie tych śladów badacz przeszłości, za pomocą analizy egodokumentalnej, może poznawać osobowość i świat wartości ludzi, którzy te teksty tworzyli lub są ich bohaterami. Zbadać to, co sami o sobie piszą, jak się postrzegają i jak chcą być postrzegani oraz co nimi kieruje. Nie zawsze przedstawione fakty będą zgodne z obiektywną prawdą. Celem badań egodokumentalnych nie jest jednak dążenie do prawdy obiektywnej o człowieku, lecz poznanie jego subiektywnego świata.

Dane do artykułu zebrano za pomocą analizy tekstów i badań dotyczących teorii egodokumentu oraz archiwizacji Webu. Zastosowano także metodę porównawczą, rekonceptualizację definicji egodokumentu (jej rozszerzenie na wybrane źródła webowe), a także definicji śladów cyfrowych (dookreślonych jako całości egodokumentalne – czyli źródła born digital, które zarchiwizowane umożliwiają badaczom, za pomocą analizy tych wytworów, poznanie subiektywnego świata, osobowości i życia twórcy).

Ostatecznie autorzy podjęli decyzję, że ze względu na przyczynkowy charakter artykułu – dotyczy on bowiem kwestii archiwizacji specyficznych zasobów webowych, dotychczas nie badanych w kategoriach egodokumentu – pod uwagę wzięte zostaną dwa rodzaje wytworów człowieka w Internecie, tj. osobiste witryny domowe i blogi. W tekście wskazano na ich egodokumentalny charakter. Zwrócono także uwagę na procesy archiwizacji tej części Webu i problemy z nimi związane, w szczególności metody i strategie archiwizacji, ograniczenia prawne, techniczne czy etyczne. Następnie omówiono kwestie związane z dostępem do zarchiwizowanych zasobów, gdzie znaczącą rolę odgrywają dwa zagadnienia: otwartość archiwum oraz metody przeszukiwania jego zasobu. Autorzy, mając na celu ukazanie możliwości wykorzystania zarchiwizowanych egodokumentów Webowych w badaniach, przywołali także wybrane prace naukowe z tego zakresu.

W artykule odwołano się do szeregu opracowań z zakresu teorii egodokumentu oraz dotyczących badań przeszłości prowadzonych w oparciu o te źródła. Istotne dla autorów artykułu były zwłaszcza prace badaczy wywodzących się z toruńskiego ośrodka badań nad egodokumentami: Waldemara Chorążyczewskiego,

Agnieszki Rosy czy Stanisława Roszaka. Odniesiono się także do literatury prezentującej badania poświęcone osobistym witrynom domowym i blogom, w tym powodom ich zakładania oraz charakterystyce publikowanych na nich treści, a także do ogólnych opracowań dotyczących archiwizacji zasobów WWW.

Egodokumentalność zasobów WWW

Internet umożliwia komunikację, publikację treści, udostępnianie usług, oferuje wiele form rozrywki, daje możliwość dokonywania zakupów oraz wykonywania operacji finansowych, a przez to znacząco wpływa na zachowania ludzi i wybory przez nich dokonywane. Pozwala użytkownikom na kreowanie swojej tożsamości i daje możliwość wyrażania siebie, ukazania swoich spraw, doświadczeń, problemów czy zainteresowań. Człowiek, w zależności od przyjętej roli, aktywnie wpływa na kształt Sieci, tworząc lub korzystając z różnych witryn, aplikacji i usług. Poprzez swoje działania buduje jej zasoby, czasem mniej, czasem bardziej świadome, pozostawia też w Sieci swoje ślady (wytwory)[12]. Te z kolei – nie tylko współcześnie, ale też w przyszłości – mogą być wykorzystywane jako źródła[13], których analiza przybliży badacza i czytelników do subiektywnego świata twórcy i społeczności, w której funkcjonował: jego spraw, działań, być może także upodobań, problemów, życia osobistego, emocji czy doświadczeń. Wyzwaniem teraźniejszości jest zatem odpowiednie zabezpieczenie tego typu śladów.

Sieć jest archiwizowana od 1996 r., w różnej skali i natężeniu, z różną dokładnością i skutkiem[14]. Zarchiwizowane materiały gromadzone są w archiwach webowych, a trafiające do nich zasoby to nie tylko rządowe czy oficjalne witryny, ale także treści osobiste, tworzone przez osoby prywatne, w tym także te, które badacz tych źródeł może wykorzystać jako egodokumenty[15]. Są to teksty oraz inne

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[12] Zob. A. Rosa, *Human trace on the Internet – the issue of archiving the Web from the point of view of anthropology-oriented archival science*, „Archiwa – Kancelarie – Zbiory" 2015, nr 6(8), DOI: 10.12775/AKZ.2015.006, s. 193–205.

[13] Zob. M. Wilkowski, *Strona internetowa jako źródło historyczne*, „Historyka. Studia Metodologiczne" 2021, t. 51, DOI: 10.24425/hsm.2021.138366, s. 83–110.

[14] B. Konopa, *Periodyzacja archiwizacji Webu*, https://webarch.uw.edu.pl/zasoby/periodyzacja-archiwizacji-webu/ [dostep: 28.08.2021]; idem, *Archiwizacja Webu w Europie*....

[15] Na potrzeby artykułu przyjmujemy definicję egodokumentu podającą, iż jest to każdy dokument poświadczający życie osobiste i doświadczenie osoby, który został wykorzystany przez badacza w celu odnalezienia umysłowości i tożsamości autora, za: W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, *Egodokumenty – egodokumentalność – analiza egodokumentalna – spuścizna egodokumentalna*, [w:]

treści, głównie o charakterze autobiograficznym, mające jednak inną formę niż te zgromadzone w tradycyjnych archiwach i bibliotekach. Ich cyfrowość sprawia, że archiwizuje się je w odmienny sposób, inaczej też zabezpiecza i udostępnia. Badacz ponadto musi być wyposażony w umiejętności (także w zakresie krytyki źródeł) korzystania z tego typu archiwów i zgromadzonych w nich źródeł[16].

Sama problematyka egodokumentów znajdujących się w zasobach tradycyjnych archiwów i bibliotek jest niezbyt często podejmowana w rozważaniach naukowych. Zazwyczaj są to dociekania osób zajmujących się badaniem przeszłości. Ponadto, z uwagi na specyfikę danych, które wzbudzają zainteresowanie badaczy egodokumentów, zagadnienie to nadal bywa dyskusyjne[17]. To, co dla badaczy egodokumentów jest ich istotą – afektywność, dla innych staje się często elementem pozwalającym na podważenie wiarygodności źródła i jego odrzucenie, w części lub w całości, w badaniach.

Zdając sobie sprawę ze specyfiki badań egodokumentalnych, pragniemy zwrócić uwagę na zasoby znajdujące się w Sieci, które – choć bardziej efemeryczne – często są następcami/odpowiednikami/nowymi formami tradycyjnych pamiętników, dzienników i innych tekstów autobiograficznych. Egodokumentalna perspektywa badawcza pozwala na odmienne od dotychczasowego spojrzenie na internetowe źródła oraz traktowanie ich jako swoistych śladów pozostawionych przez współczesnego człowieka, które mogą dać możliwość poznania subiektywnych doświadczeń zarówno pojedynczego człowieka, jak i zbiorowego obrazu umysłowości współczesnych grup, pokolenia czy – w przyszłości – kultury.

Rozważając problematykę zachowania śladów człowieka w Sieci, jak już zapowiedzieliśmy, szczegółowo zajmiemy się jego dwiema konkretnymi formami, które do tej pory udało się w różnej skali, lecz skutecznie, archiwizować, i których przykłady możemy już znaleźć w zasobie inicjatyw gromadzących zasoby Webu[18]. W odróżnieniu od pojedynczych komentarzy (np. tweet), uwagę skupiliśmy na

Egodokumenty, tradycje historiograficzne i perspektywy badawcze, red. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Pacevicius, S. Roszak, Toruń 2015, s. 11–22.

16 I. Milligan, *History in the Age of Abundance? How the web is transforming historical research*, Montreal 2021, s. 106–142.

17 Zob. np. *Egodokumenty, tradycje historiograficzne*...; S. Roszak, *Egodokumenty – kilka uwag o polskich i europejskich doświadczeniach historiograficznych oraz metodologicznych*, „Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej" 2013, t. 8, DOI: 10.12775/BPMH.2013.001, s. 27–42.

18 Kolekcja blogów prawniczych w zasobie Biblioteki Kongresu USA: Library of Congress. Legal Blawgs Web Archive, https://www.loc.gov/collections/legal-blawgs-web-archive/about-this-collection/ [dostęp: 28.05.2021]; Kolekcja brytyjskich blogów w zasobie UK Web Archive: UK Web Archive. Blogs, https://www.webarchive.org.uk/en/ukwa/collection/44 [dostęp:

cyfrowych wytworach człowieka, często budowanych latami, które zazwyczaj są odpowiednikami tradycyjnych form, takich jak pamiętniki, dzienniki czy życiorysy. Niejako intencjonalnie mają one charakter egodokumentów. Ludzie tworzą je, żeby moc wyrazić siebie, być zapamiętanym, zrozumianym, odkrytym, pozostawić po sobie ślad czy opowiedzieć swoją historię. Jest to ich celowe i świadome działanie, raczej nie poparte jedynie chwilowym impulsem. Prywatne witryny domowe (ang. *homepage*) oraz blogi, zwłaszcza te o charakterze pamiętnikarskim, są często źródłami informacji na temat drugiego człowieka mającymi bardzo bezpośredni i osobisty charakter. Oba te rodzaje witryn internetowych można potraktować jako egodokumenty, czego przesłanki zostaną zaprezentowane w następnych akapitach.

Z omówienia zostały włączone media społecznościowe, które również są oczywistym, bardziej współczesnym i mocno osobistym, zbiorem egodokumentalnych śladów człowieka w Sieci. Zdecydowano tak, ponieważ ich archiwizacja jest utrudniona ze względu na kwestie techniczne, etyczne, prawne, a także politykę właścicieli i administratorów tych zasobów. Pomimo trudności, próby ich zabezpieczenia są podejmowane przez różne instytucje[19].

Egodokumentalność witryn domowych

Jako pierwsze zdecydowaliśmy się omówić witryny domowe, ponieważ są chronologicznie wcześniejsze od blogów i funkcjonują niemalże od samego początku rozpowszechnienia się World Wide Web (były to lata 1994–1999). Przykładem może być tu serwis GeoCities, którego początki sięgają końca 1994 r., pozwalający użytkownikom Sieci na łatwe i darmowe prowadzenie własnej witryny internetowej[20]. Witryna domowa lub witryna osobista jest prowadzona przez jed-

28.05.2021]; O archiwizacji GeoCities przez ArchiveTeam: GeoCities, https://wiki.archiveteam.org/index.php/GeoCities [dostęp: 28.05.2021].

19 Zob.: C.C. Marshall, F.M. Shipman, *On the Institutional Archiving of Social Media*, [w:] *JCDL '12: Proceedings of the 12th ACM/IEEE-CS joint conference on Digital Libraries*, New York 2012, DOI: 10.1145/2232817.2232819, s. 1–10; H. Hockx-Yu, Archiving Social Media in the Context of Non-print Legal Deposit, presented at IFLA WLIC 2014 in Lyon, France, 16–22 August 2014, http://library.ifla.org/id/eprint/999 [dostęp: 6.07.2021].

20 Na temat historii GeoCities zob.: I. Milligan, *Welcome to the web. The online community of GeoCities during the early years of the World Wide Web*, [w:] *The Web as History. Using Web Archives to Understand the Past and the Present*, ed. N. Brügger, R. Schroeder, UCL Press 2017, DOI: 10.2307/j.ctt1mtz55k.13, s. 137–140.

ną osobę (rzadziej grupę, np. rodzinę) oraz wypełniana treścią, którą postanowi ona tam zamieścić[21]. Taką witrynę można rozumieć jako pewnego rodzaju wyraz autoekspresji i autopromocji, stanowiący hipertekstowy amalgamat życiorysu, CV, wizytówki, albumu z fotografiami, wpisami i podobnych form. Wytwory te można też traktować jako sieciowy odpowiednik *silva rerum*[22]. Dzięki udostępnieniu łatwych w obsłudze edytorów stron internetowych oraz systemów zarządzania treścią (*content management system* – CMS), Internauci zyskali nie tylko możliwość multimedialnego wyrażania siebie, ale także sposobność łatwego publikowania swoich treści z pominięciem wysoce selektywnego procesu wydawniczego[23]. Warto zauważyć, że do kreowanego w ten sposób wizerunku, używają często ustrukturyzowanych informacji[24].

Obecnie, w czasie dominacji mediów społecznościowych, popularność witryn domowych spadła, ale w pierwszych dwóch dekadach istnienia WWW były one dość popularne. Dowodem tego może być przywoływane już GeoCities, które w 1997 liczyło około miliona użytkowników i było jednym z popularniejszych miejsc w Sieci[25]. Przeprowadzony przez Nicolę Döring przegląd badań naukowych dotyczących prywatnych witryn domowych wykazał, że dotychczas analizowane były one z perspektyw teorii tożsamości oraz autoprezentacji. Właściciele osobistych witryn internetowych często wykorzystują je jako narzędzie do tworzenia i rozpowszechniania własnego wizerunku[26], m.in. poprzez zamieszczanie na nich danych na swój temat, przez co możliwe jest ich autobiograficzne odczytanie[27]. Poza treścią, za istotną można uznać warstwę wizualną witryny, zarówno jej część widoczną (układ elementów, zastosowane kolory i czcionki) jak i niewidoczną (kod źródłowy)[28]. Informacje na temat autora witryny mogą zdradzać również

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21 N. Döring, *Personal Home Pages on the Web. A Review of Research*, „Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication" 2002, vol. 7, no 3, DOI:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2002.tb00152.x.

22 Zob. np. S. Roszak, *Archiwa sarmackiej pamięci. Funkcje i znaczenie rękopiśmiennych ksiąg typu silva rerum w kulturze Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku*, Toruń 2004.

23 J.D. Bolter, *Przestrzeń pisma. Komputery, hipertekst i remediacja druku*, tłum. A. Małecka, M. Tabaczyński, Kraków–Bydgoszcz 2014, s. 152–154.

24 T. Erickson, *The World-Wide-Web as social hypertext*, „Communications of the ACM" 1996, vol. 39, no 1, DOI:10.1145/234173.234174, s. 16.

25 I. Milligan, *Welcome to the web*, s. 138–139.

26 N. Döring, *Personal Home Pages*.

27 L. Warley, *Reading the autobiographical in personal home pages*, [w:] *Tracing the autobiographical*, red. M. Kadar, S. Egan, L. Warley, J. Perreault, Ontario 2005, s. 26–28.

28 R. Dopierała, *Internetowe manifestacje prywatności*, „Media – Kultura – Społeczeństwo" 2008, t. 1(3), s. 112.

zamieszczane na niej hiperłącza, które wskazują na treści przez niego lubiane lub takie, z którymi się identyfikuje lub interesuje[29]. W badaniach egodokumentalnych istotne jest zarówno to, co autor chce przekazać, jak i to, w jaki sposób planuje to zrobić. Liczy się zatem nie tylko sama treść, ale również forma i przekaz, a także to, czego nie ma, co autor ukrywa, pomija i przemilcza. W przypadku witryn domowych można zwrócić uwagę również na to, na ile autor korzystał z gotowych rozwiązań oraz jak bardzo chciał podkreślić, choćby poprzez formę, swój indywidualizm. Interesujące jest także to, w jakich sytuacjach, dlaczego, co i po co publikował, a także czy umożliwiał czytelnikom wchodzenie w interakcję poprzez dodanie opcji komentowania lub zadawania pytań za pomocą dostępnych narzędzi cyfrowych.

W celu pokazania możliwości egodokumentalnego odczytania witryny domowej postanowiliśmy poddać uproszczonej analizie witrynę należącą do Dragana Espenschieda[30], artysty nowych mediów i badacza kultury cyfrowej, a także muzyka. Wraz z Olią Lialiną jest on współtwórcą projektu „One Terabyte of Kilobyte Age" oraz kierownikiem Programu Konserwacji Cyfrowej w Rhizome. Pierwszą rzeczą, która rzuca się w oczy, jest bardzo prosty design witryny, na który składają się białe tło, czarny kolor fontu i brak rozbudowanych elementów graficznych, co można odebrać jako odwołanie do witryn z początków WWW. Koresponduje to z zainteresowaniami D. Espenchieda i może stanowić sposób na ich wyrażenie. Zawartość strony głównej to niekompletny wykaz jego prac z lat 1991–2013 opatrzonych linkami – zarówno wewnętrznym, jaki i zewnętrznymi – odsyłającymi do miejsc, gdzie można się z nimi zapoznać. Oprócz krótkich opisów dołączono do nich słowa kluczowe, pośród których mocno wyróżnia się nazwisko O. Lialiny, ponieważ zostało ono podkreślone tęczowym gradientem. Taki zabieg może wskazywać na bliskie relacje i współpracę pomiędzy obojgiem artystów. Ponadto pod nagłówkiem znajduje się link do poprzedniego bloga artysty, który również zawiera informacje o jego projektach, archiwum krótkich wiadomości oraz inne informacje z nim związane. W sekcji „About", oprócz danych kontaktowych, umieszczono biogram D. Espenschieda w dwóch postaciach, zapisanych za pomocą 222 i 91 słów, w których podkreśla on swoją działalność artystyczną oraz współpracę z O. Lialianą, w tym ich wspólny projekt „One Terabyte of Kilo-

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29 J.R. Dominick, *Who Do You Think You Are? Personal Home Pages and Self-Presentation on the World Wide Web,* „Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly" 1999, vol. 76, no 4, DOI: 10.1177/107769909907600403, s. 646–647.

30 Dragan Espenschied, http://1x-upon.com/~despens/ [dostep: 22.09.2023].

byte Age". Na stronie znajduje się również funkcja pozwalająca na zmianę imienia oraz nazwiska artysty (np. na Dragon Espenbaum), co pokazuje świadomość ich obcego brzmienia oraz swobodne podejście do wynikających z tego trudności. Zamieszczono też na niej odnośnik do wykazu wydarzeń, w których D. Espenschied występował. Ujęto w nim m.in. wystawy, wykłady oraz koncerty z lat 1999–2014. Podsumowując charakterystykę witryny prowadzonej przez D. Espenschieda, zauważyć można, że jest to jego artystyczne portfolio, swoisty pamiętnik, podkreślający zainteresowanie sztuką wykorzystującą komputery (zwłaszcza sztuką Internetu), pozwalający poznać przebieg jego kariery i relacje z osobami, z którymi współpracował, jego stylistykę, umiejętności, sposób, w jaki chce być odbierany przez widownię, w jaki się kreuje, co mu się podoba, jak chce być zapamiętany. Co ciekawe, mimo, iż stworzył nową witrynę domową, nadal utrzymuje starą i umożliwia korzystanie z niej, traktując ją jako jedno ze swoich dzieł.

Egodokumentalność blogów

Drugą formą osobistych cyfrowych śladów internautów są blogi, zwłaszcza te, które pełniły rolę internetowego pamiętnika. Podobnie jak prywatne witryny domowe wyłoniły się one w pierwszych latach istnienia Sieci, jednak częściej są utożsamiane z epoką Webu 2.0. Weblog, od którego pochodzi skrócona nazwa blog, to witryna WWW poddawana częstym aktualizacjom ze względu na dodawanie do niej nowych treści, które podzielone są na ułożone chronologicznie posty. Dzięki istnieniu łatwych w obsłudze narzędzi i serwisów, takich jak WordPress czy Blogger, powstały prawdopodobnie setki milionów blogów, dające internautom możliwość podzielenia się własnymi doświadczeniami, opiniami i przemyśleniami. Same blogi są bardzo zróżnicowane: obejmują zarówno amatorskie i intymne dzienniki, jak i profesjonalne blogi naukowe[31]. Można zaryzykować hipotezę, że większość z nich znajduje się bliżej pierwszego końca tego spektrum.

Tak jak w przypadku witryn domowych, blogi stworzyły przestrzeń do łatwego publikowania swoich spostrzeżeń, dając tym możliwość wypowiedzenia się

[31] M. Jones, I. Alony, *Blogs – The New Source of Data Analysis*, „Issues in Informing Science and Information Technology" 2008, vol. 5, DOI: 10.28945/1019, s. 433–435.

grupom wcześniej w źródłach historycznych raczej nieobecnym, np. młodzieży[32] czy przedstawicielom różnych mniejszości. Ponadto, pomimo tego, że na pierwszy rzut oka Internet wolny jest od granic państwowych, sieciowe pamiętniki często przedstawiają różne wydarzenia i zjawiska z bardziej lokalnej perspektywy[33]. Osobiste blogi można traktować również jako indywidualny ślad człowieka pozostawiony w Sieci. Badaczka komunikacji komputerowej Erin E. Hollenbaugh w swoim badaniu dotyczącym motywów prowadzenia internetowego dziennika wyłoniła 7 głównych czynników, wśród których znalazły się: relacje społeczne, ekshibicjonizm, organizowanie własnych przemyśleń oraz otrzymywanie opinii[34]. Wydaje się, że do listy należałoby dodać również charakter terapeutyczny prowadzenia bloga[35]. Może stanowić on miejsce, w którym jego autor prezentuje własne zainteresowania, ale przede wszystkim przemyślenia i odczucia. Robi to, aby je zachować i uporządkować, a także podzielić się nimi z szerszą publiką. Poza elementami wskazanymi w przypadku witryn domowych (treść, wygląd, hiperłącza), na blogach bogate w informacje mogą być także takie elementy jak sekcja komentarzy oraz księga gości, umożliwiające wchodzenie w interakcję z czytelnikami. Oba komponenty umożliwiają poznanie i określenie relacji autora z odbiorcami jego dziennika. W pierwszym możemy spodziewać się dyskusji z nimi, w drugim zaś listy osób, u których wzbudził on zainteresowanie[36].

Biorąc pod uwagę przedstawioną powyżej charakterystykę osobistych witryn domowych oraz blogów, a także ich popularność w Sieci, należy zaznaczyć że, poza mediami społecznościowymi, zasoby te wydają się posiadać najbardziej egodokumetnalny charakter i – w przeciwieństwie do tych pierwszych – łatwiej jest je zachować. Częściej można też je znaleźć w zasobie inicjatyw archiwizujących WWW.

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32 D. Huffaker, *Teen Blogs Exposed: The Private Lives of Teens Made Public*, Presented at the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) in St. Louis, MO., February 16–19, 2006, s. 2–4, https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.556.1504&rep=rep1&type=pdf, [dostęp: 6.06. 2021].

33 Y. Ibrahim, *Weblogs as Personal Narratives. Displacing History and Temporality*, „M/C Journal" 2006, vol. 9, no 6, DOI:10.5204/mcj.2690.

34 E.E. Hollenbaugh, *Motives for Maintaining Personal Journal Blogs*, „Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking" 2011, vol. 14, no 1–2, DOI:10.1089/cyber.2009.0403, s. 16–18.

35 J. Lent, *Journaling Enters the 21st Century. The Use of Therapeutic Blogs in Counseling*, „Journal of Creativity in Mental Health" 2009, vol. 4, s. 68–73.

36 M. Olcoń, *Blog jako dokument osobisty. Specyfika dziennika prowadzonego w Internecie*, „Kultura i Społeczeństwo" 2003, t. 47, nr 2, s. 126–127.

Na koniec tej części należy zwrócić uwagę na pewien wspólny problem witryn domowych i blogów, który wynika z zatarcia się granic pomiędzy tym co prywatne i publiczne. Treści na nich publikowane mają wysoce subiektywny charakter i powstają na styku tego, co autor chce przekazać, oraz tego, czego mogą oczekiwać jego odbiorcy. Demarkacja pomiędzy tym, co autentyczne, a tym, co stworzone na potrzeby publiki, zawsze jest trudna do przeprowadzenia i raczej pozostaje poza możliwościami badacza[37]. Jest to znana badaczom egodokumentów specyfika tego typu źródeł. Egodokumentalna perspektywa badawcza nie służy porządkowaniu faktów i odkrywaniu prawdy obiektywnej, umożliwia poznanie subiektywnego świata twórcy. Bazuje na emocjach, ukazuje doświadczenia i umysłowość osoby, grupy, pokolenia czy epoki. Jej celem jest przywracanie pamięci[38].

Podobnie jak w przypadku witryn domowych, również w tym przypadku poddaliśmy analizie egodokumentalnej, w ograniczonym zakresie, przykładowy blog. W tym celu wybraliśmy blog Webstory[39] należący do Petera Webstera, historyka zajmującego się dziejami chrześcijaństwa w dwudziestowiecznej Brytanii oraz historią cyfrową, w tym archiwizacją Webu. Omawiana witryna ma skromną szatę graficzną i została przygotowana z pomocą oprogramowania WordPress, a więc rozpowszechnionego i popularnego narzędzia CMS. Posty publikowane na blogu bardzo rzadko opatrzone są grafikami lub zdjęciami, widać więc, że autor skupia się na komunikowaniu się z odbiorcami za pomocą tekstu. Witryna ma charakterystyczną dla blogów budowę opartą o dwie kolumny: lewą – szerszą – zawierającą treść postów oraz prawą – z linkami do postów o powiązanej tematyce lub do zewnętrznych witryn, np. bazy ORCID. W górnej belce znajdują się zakładki prowadzące do 4 zasadniczych części: strony głównej bloga, sekcji o mnie, informacji o doradztwie oferowanym przez firmę autora oraz wykazu jego prac naukowych. Odnosząc się do samych treści publikowanych na blogu przez Webstera, należy zaznaczyć, że mają one ścisły związek z jego zainteresowaniami badawczymi. Znajdziemy tam fragmenty lub abstrakty jego prac naukowych, komentarze do ich recenzji czy nagrania z konferencji. Nie brakuje wśród nich także refleksji nad warsztatem historyka, archiwizacją Webu czy cyfrową humanistyką. Reasumując tę skróconą charakterystykę, zauważyć można, że blog prowadzony przez Webstera traktowany jest przez niego samego jak jego wizytówka, której celem jest umożliwienie poznania go jako profesjonalnego i zaangażowanego w swoją

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37 Ibidem, s. 141–143.

38 Zob. S. Roszak, *Egodokumenty – kilka uwag o polskich*…, s. 27–42.

39 Webstory. Peter Webster's blog, https://peterwebster.me/ [dostęp: 27.10.2023].

pracę badawczą historyka. Chcąc być tak postrzeganym, dba o relacje z czytelnikami, na bieżąco komentuje różne sprawy i doniesienia. Witryna nieprzypadkowo jest przejrzysta, schludna, nowoczesna i aktualna.

Archiwizacja witryn domowych i blogów

Zasoby WWW, w tym omówione powyżej witryny domowe i blogi, uznane za pozostawiony w cyberprzestrzeni ślad człowieka, który wymaga udokumentowania i zachowania (co ma już miejsce[40]), potrzebują rozwiązań to umożliwiających. Proces ten, a więc ich celowe gromadzenie i zabezpieczanie, nazwany jest archiwizacją Webu, zgodnie z rozumieniem terminu zaproponowanym przez Nielsa Brüggera[41]. Badacz wskazał na konkretne metody, które mogą być w tym celu zastosowane. Zaliczył do nich m.in. wykonywanie zrzutów i nagrań ekranu oraz pobierania stron WWW, a także metodę crawlingu oraz wykorzystywanie API udostępnianych przez media społecznościowe. Wymienione sposoby na zachowywanie zasobów sieciowych znacząco się między sobą różnią i generują odmienne jakościowo i ilościowo rezultaty, a w związku z tym, mogą być wykorzystywane w zależności od potrzeb badaczy lub archiwistów. Najbardziej rozpowszechnioną obecnie metodą, zwłaszcza pośród inicjatyw określanych jako archiwa Webu, jest gromadzenie z wykorzystaniem specjalnych robotów indeksujących nazywanych crawlerami[42]. Bazuje na niej wiele projektów, które – zależnie od swoich celów i możliwości – gromadzą różne fragmenty WWW[43], w tym blogi, witryn domowe oraz pozostałe wytwory i ślady obecności i aktywności człowieka w Sieci.

Archiwizacja WWW z wykorzystaniem robotów indeksujących umożliwia prowadzenie tego zadania w sposób bardzo elastyczny. Crawling pozwala na gromadzenie pojedynczych stron (zawartość jednego adresu URL), witryn internetowych (zespół połączonych ze sobą stron), grupy witryn powiązanych tematycznie, a nawet całych domen krajowych najwyższego poziomu (ccTDL). Działanie robota polega na pobieraniu kodu źródłowego wskazanej strony oraz potrzeb-

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40 Zob. Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage, UNESCO 15.10.2003, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=17721&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html [dostęp: 20.08.2021].

41 N. Brügger, *The Archived Web. Doing History in the Digital Age*, Cambridge MA 2018, s. 79–80.

42 Ibidem, s. 81–82.

43 Wikipedia. List of Web archiving initiatives, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Web_archiving_initiatives [dostęp: 20.08.2021].

nych do jego działania plików, np. arkuszy stylu CSS czy osadzonych zdjęć lub grafik. Umożliwia to archiwizację nie tylko jej zawartości, ale też takich elementów jak hiperłącza prowadzące do innych obiektów w WWW. Ponadto możliwa jest archiwizacja wielu wersji jednej strony internetowej. Należy jednak podkreślić, iż wykonane w ten sposób kopie (snapshots) ulegają pewnym zmianom lub mogą być wykonane niepoprawnie. Dlatego też nie można traktować ich dokładnego odwzorowania jako tego, co znajdowało się kiedyś w Webie, a raczej jako nowe twory, które przywoływany wcześniej N. Brügger określa jako re-born digital[44]. Ponadto trzeba pamiętać, że ze względu na ograniczenia techniczne i prawne, a także kwestie merytoryczne, archiwa WWW nie są w stanie zachować każdej treści oraz wszystkich zmian w niej zachodzących.

Wpływ na zachowanie webowych źródeł, oprócz metody, posiada również zastosowana strategia. W kontekście działalności archiwów WWW najczęściej mówi się o dwóch podejściach: archiwizacji masowej oraz selektywnej, które mogą być również ze sobą łączone[45]. Największe nadzieje na zachowanie szeroko rozumianych egodokumentów rozproszonych w Webie (czyli takich jak wspomniane blogi i osobiste witryny domowe) wiązać można z gromadzeniem masowym. Jego zakres najczęściej obejmuje całą ccTDL lub, jak ma to miejsce w przypadku Internet Archive, całość dostępnych dla crawlerów zasobów WWW. Archiwizacja szeroka przeprowadzona jest przeważnie od jednego do czterech razy w roku, co pozwala zachować przekrojowy obraz Webu, obejmujący konkretny wycinek czasu, na który mogą składać się setki tysięcy stron internetowych, w tym właśnie witryny domowe i blogi.

Gromadzenie selektywne przynosi zdecydowanie mniej liczne zasoby i ma zdecydowanie bardziej dokumentacyjny charakter. Ze względu na swoje ograniczenia, wykorzystywane jest do archiwizowania źródeł powiązanych z konkretnym wydarzeniem (tzw. event harvesting), problemem[46] lub tematyką. Istotną cechą tej strategii jest dokonywanie przez archiwistę wyboru zasobów do zachowania

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44 N. Brügger, *When the present web is later the past. Web historiography, digital history and internet studies*, „Historical Social Research" 2012, vol. 37, no 4, DOI: 10.12759/hsr.37.2012.4.102-117, s. 107–109.

45 F. Thouvenin, P. Hettich, H. Burkert, U. Gasser, *4 Web Archives*, [w:] *Remembering and Forgetting in the Digital Age*, ed. F. Thouvenin, P. Hettich, H. Burkert, U. Gasser, Cham 2018, DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-90230-2_6, s. 94–96.

46 Zob. UK Web Archive. Topics and Themes, https://www.webarchive.org.uk/en/ukwa/collection [dostęp: 20.08.2021]; Library of Congress. Web Archives, https://www.loc.gov/programs/web-archiving/web-archives/ [dostęp: 20.08.2021].

na podstawie wcześniej obranych kryteriów, co obarcza ją znacznym subiektywizmem. Ważną rolę pełnią same kryteria, które zwracają uwagę na takie cechy jak popularność, reputacja autora lub znacząca wartość treści[47]. Mogą one sprawić, że w procesie selekcji zostaną pominięte egodokumenty dotyczące partykularnej codzienności, mniej popularne blogi czy portfolia nieznanych artystów.

W omawianym kontekście warto zwrócić uwagę także na inicjatywy o charakterze oddolnym i społecznym, których wrażliwość jest odmienna od ich zinstytucjonalizowanych odpowiedników. Różnica ta wyraża się m.in. w filozofii oraz działaniach podejmowanych np. przez niezależny kolektyw „łobuzerskich archiwistów" ArchiveTeam. Ich głównym obiektem zainteresowania jest zawartość serwisów i portali wytworzona przez ich własnych użytkowników[48], co widoczne jest chociażby na przykładzie zabezpieczenia przez nich serwisu GeoCities[49] oraz Google+[50]. Inną, wartą odnotowania inicjatywą jest grupa Documenting the Now, która przygotowała narzędzia pozwalające na archiwizowanie zasobów z Twittera z pominięciem ograniczeń nałożonych na API oraz podejmująca kwestie ich etycznego wykorzystania[51].

Korzystanie z zarchiwizowanych witryn domowych i blogów

Niezwykle ważną kwestią, na którą chcemy zwrócić uwagę, jest dostęp do zgromadzonych już źródeł, a przez nie – do śladów człowieka pozostawionych w Sieci i możliwości prowadzenia badań egodokumentalnych w oparciu o te zasoby. Na to zagadnienie składają się zwłaszcza dwa czynniki: otwartość archiwum Webowego oraz metody przeszukiwania jego zasobu, czyli też pośrednio zasto-

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47 Na temat stosowanych kryteriów zob.: S. Schostag, E. Fønss-Jørgensen, *Web Archiving. Legal Deposit of Internet in Denmark. A Curatorial Perspective*, „Microform & Digitization Review" 2012, vol. 41, no 3–4, DOI: 10.1515/mir-2012-0018, s. 110–115; K. Holub, I. Rudomino, *A decade of web archiving in the National and University Library in Zagreb*, paper presented at IFLA WLIC 2015 – Cape Town, South Africa, s. 3–5, http://library.ifla.org/id/eprint/1092 [dostęp: 23.08.2021]; Library Of Congress Collections Policy Statements Supplementary Guidelines. Web Archiving, Library of Congress 2017, https://www.loc.gov/acq/devpol/webarchive.pdf [dostęp: 23.08.2021].

48 J. Scott, *Philosophy*, ArchiveTeam, https://wiki.archiveteam.org/index.php/Philosophy [dostęp; 20.08.2021].

49 ArchiveTeam. GeoCities.

50 ArchiveTeam. Google+, https://wiki.archiveteam.org/index.php/Google%2B [dostęp: 20.08.2021].

51 Documenting the Now, https://www.docnow.io/ [dostęp: 20.08.2021].

sowany opis zarchiwizowanych materiałów oraz przygotowanie badacza do tych poszukiwań. Wszystkie te czynniki znacząco wpływają na możliwość dotarcia do poszukiwanych informacji. Problem ten jest istotny, ponieważ pomimo zachowania dużej liczby materiałów pochodzących z WWW, sposób dostępu do nich znacząco wpływa na ich widoczność i późniejsze wykorzystanie.

Jako pierwsze należy poruszyć zagadnienie otwartości. Dostęp do zachowanej części dawnego Webu może być otwarty (np. dostępny dla wszystkich, najczęściej poprzez witrynę internetową), ograniczony (np. dostęp wyłącznie stacjonarny ze stanowisk na terenie biblioteki) lub zamknięty (zgromadzone zasoby nie są udostępnianie)[52]. Stopień otwartości najczęściej zależy od ograniczeń prawnych i może być różny dla poszczególnych części zasobów, czego przykładem jest choćby UK Web Archive[53]. Oczywiście z perspektywy badaczy najbardziej korzystny jest swobodny dostęp do źródeł, jednak nie zawsze w tym modelu uwzględnione zostają kwestie etyczne, które mogą towarzyszyć wykorzystaniu śladów człowieka w Sieci[54].

Druga kwestia to metody przeszukiwania i odnajdywania informacji (*information retrival*) w zasobach zarchiwizowanego WWW. Możliwe jest ono za pomocą dwóch metod wyszukiwania informacji w Internecie: wyszukiwania (*searching*) i przeszukiwania (*browsing*). Podstawowa i najstarsza metoda – wyszukiwanie (*searching*) jest w tym przypadku oparta o adresy URL, co wymaga ich wcześniejszego ustalenia i pozyskania z zewnętrznych źródeł, także analogowych. Pokazują to choćby badania opublikowane przez Anat Ben-David[55] czy Marcina Wilkowskiego[56]. Obecnie metoda ta jest uzupełniana przez wyszukiwanie pełnotekstowe z opcją wykorzystania dodatkowych filtrów, zapewniających możliwość doprecyzowania uzyskanych wyników. Korzystanie z tego rozwiązania może przysparzać

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52 F. Thouvenin i in., *4 Web Archives*, s. 96–97.

53 British Library. Collection guides. UK Web Archive, https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/uk-web-archive [dostęp: 20.08.2021].

54 Zob. J. Lin, I. Milligan, D.W. Oard, N. Ruest, K. Shilton, *We Could, but Should We? Ethical Considerations for Providing Access to GeoCities and Other Historical Digital Collections*, [w:] *CHIIR '20. Proceedings of the 2020 Conference on Human Information Interaction and Retrieval*, ed. H. O'Brien, L. Freund, New York 2020, DOI: 10.1145/3343413.3377980, s. 134–144.

55 A. Ben-David, *What does the Web remember of its deleted past? An archival reconstruction of the former Yugoslav top-level domain*, „New Media & Society" 2016, vol. 18, no 7, DOI: 10.1177/1461444816643790, s. 1103–1119.

56 M. Wilkowski, *Polish Web resources described in the "Polish World" directory (1997). Characteristics of domains and their conservation state*, „Archiwa – Kancelarie – Zbiory" 2020, nr 11(13), DOI: 10.12775/AKZ.2020.005, s. 119–140.

jednak trudności. Badaczka Alison Key, poszukując wspomnień jeńców wojennych, miała na przykład ogromne problemy ze stworzeniem wartościowego korpusu, pomimo stosowania rozbudowanych fraz wyszukiwawczych[57].

Inną formą odnajdywania informacji w zarchiwizowanym WWW jest przeszukiwanie (*browsing*), które może odbywać się poprzez kilkustopniowe katalogi oraz kolekcje tematyczne. Ich zaletą jest ustrukturyzowanie treści oraz głębia informacyjna, jednak obejmują one wyłącznie zasoby zgromadzone selektywnie, które są mniej liczne i mogą być uboższe w teksty uznane za egodokumenty lub pod tym kątem badane. Warto ponadto zwrócić uwagę na fakt, iż w archiwach Webu często nie ma informacji o proweniencji zasobu lub innych jego cechach. Są one też trudno dostępne, przez co znacznie utrudnione jest lepsze ich zrozumienie.

Podsumowując tę część, należy stwierdzić, że korzystanie ze śladów człowieka zachowanych w dawnym WWW wymagać będzie od badacza nie tylko zrozumienia omówionej wcześniej natury tych źródeł oraz etycznego ich wykorzystania. Równie ważna będzie umiejętność ich zlokalizowania i zidentyfikowania w ogromie informacji, jaki stanowi zasób archiwów Webu. Konieczna w tym celu może być nie tylko nauka posługiwania się wyszukiwarką pełnotekstową, ale także bardziej zaawanasowanymi narzędziami informatycznymi, np. specjalistycznymi językami programowania lub API. To samo będzie się odnosić do ich późniejszego badania, m.in. do tworzenia wizualizacji sieci łączących ich hiperłączy lub analizy korpusu tekstów. Ten wysoki próg wejścia nie sprawia jednak, że badania dawnych witryn domowych, blogów oraz innych Webowych egodokumentów jest nieosiągalne i niemożliwe z wykorzystaniem bardziej tradycyjnych rozwiązań.

Zakres pytań badawczych, jakie można postawić tego rodzaju źródłom, jest – o ile nie nieskończony – to na pewno niezwykle szeroki. Lepsze zrozumienie współczesnego człowieka będzie wymagało od badaczy skonfrontowania się z zasobami pochodzącymi z dawnego Webu. Internet oraz WWW stanowią dla niego ważną przestrzeń aktywności, a w związku z tym cyberprzestrzeń jest pełna pozostawionych przez niego śladów[58], również tych egodokumentalnych. Trudne do przewidzenia jest to, jak uczeni, nie tylko badacze przeszłości, będą

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[57] A.C. Kay, *Capture, commemoration and the citizen historian. Digital shoebox archives relating to PoWs in the Second World War*, [w:] *Web Archives as Big Data*, 03.12.2014, Institute of Historical Research (Unpublished), https://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/6248/ [dostęp: 22.08.2021].

[58] N. Brügger, *The Archived Web*, s. 1–10; R. Schroeder, N. Brügger, *Introduction. The web as history*, [w:] *The Web as History. Using Web Archives to Understand the Past and the Present*, ed. R. Schroeder, N. Brügger, London 2017, DOI: 10.2307/j.ctt1mtz55k.6, s. 1–20.

w przyszłości korzystać z archiwów Webu. Wstępne obserwacje w tym zakresie są możliwe dzięki już opublikowanym badaniom. Zaliczyć można do nich choćby artykuł Marty Więckiewicz-Archackiej. Autorka omawia pierwsze polskie, niekomercyjne platformy blogowe oraz ich wpływ na powstanie lokalnej blogosfery. Zwraca uwagę na komunikację oraz relacje pomiędzy użytkownikami, a także na treść publikowanych postów, które często miały charakter intymny[59]. Natomiast Esther Weltevrede oraz Anne Helmond, w oparciu o zasoby Internet Archive, przeprowadziły zbliżone badanie, w którym analizowały rozwój niderlandzkiej blogosfery w latach 2001–2009. Ma ono jednak ilościowy oraz strukturalny charakter i opiera się o takie elementy jak domena najwyższego poziomu, hiperłącza oraz stosowane przez autorów blogów oprogramowanie[60]. Nawet jeśli przywołane przykłady badań nie maja *stricte* egodokumentalnego charakteru, mogą stanowić punkt wyjścia do dalszych rozważań oraz pogłębionych analiz. Badanie przeprowadzone przez Saskię Huc-Hepher pokazuje natomiast, że możliwe jest zejście w głąb zasobów, do mniejszej skali, i skupienie się na konkretnym zagadnieniu. Autorka przeprowadzała wielopoziomową analizę wybranych zawartości blogów francuskich londyńczyków, zwłaszcza ich elementów wizualnych. W powiązaniu z jej wcześniejszymi badaniami pozwoliło to dostrzec, jak wyglądała aklimatyzacja mieszkańców Londynu i jak zmieniał się ich stosunek do miasta[61].

Podsumowanie

Sieć jest pełna egodokumentów, i to nie tylko tych scharakteryzowanych w powyższych rozważaniach. Oprócz blogów i witryn domowych, znamiona egodokumentów widzimy zarówno w tak oczywistych źródłach jak media społecznościowe, jak i tych nieoczywistych – witrynach urzędowych. Za decyzjami twórców dotyczącymi choćby szaty graficznej, ucieczki od konwencji lub uleganiu jej, sposobu zarządzania treścią, często stoi chęć wyrażenia siebie. Tym samym

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59 M. Więckiewicz-Archacka, *Nlog, Prawda.org, Blog.art.pl. The First Non-profit Blogging Platforms in Poland and Their Influence on the Network of Blogs' Development*, „Studia Medioznawcze" 2019, t. 20, nr 1 (76), DOI: 10.33077/uw.24511617.ms.2019.1.88, s. 70–81.

60 E. Weltevrede, A. Helmond, *Where do bloggers blog? Platform transitions within the historical Dutch blogosphere*, „First Monday" 2012, vol. 17, no 2, DOI: 10.5210/fm.v17i2.3775.

61 S. Huc-Hepher, *Searching for Home in the Historic Web. An Ethnosemiotic Study of London-French Habitus as Displayed in Blogs*, [w:] *Web Archives as Big Data,* 03.12.2014, Institute of Historical Research (Unpublished), https://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/6252/ [dostęp: 22.08.2021].

materiały, które są w Sieci, bardzo często przedstawiają umysłowość i doświadczenia pojedynczych osób, ale też grupy, pokolenia, narodu, kultury. Możliwość egodokumentalnego odczytywania oraz potencjał badawczy tych zasobów pokazują przytoczone w materiale studia przypadku. Pozwalają one nie tylko prześledzić czyjąś karierę artystyczną czy pracę badawczą, ale także ukazać upodobania tej osoby, odpowiadając na pytania: z jakich gotowych narzędzi korzystała, i czy w ogóle; jak często aktualizowała swoją witrynę; jaką kolorystykę, układ graficzny, animacje lub inne dodatki uznała za odpowiednie; czy próbowała się w jakiś sposób kreować, podkreślać swoje dokonania, czy raczej je kamuflować lub ukrywać, itp.

Niezwykle ważnym zadaniem jest dążenie do zachowania zasobów sieci dla kolejnych pokoleń, w tym badaczy, którzy w oparciu o te źródła będą mogli odkrywać przeszłość i poznawać przejawy życia jej uczestników. Sieć jako całość jest obrazem kultury umysłowej naszej epoki. Jej poszczególne części są natomiast śladami pozostawionymi przez różne, partykularne osoby i grupy. Słusznie podejmowane są działania dążące do zachowania jak największej części tych zasobów i umożliwienia korzystania z nich. Wykorzystywane obecnie metody i narzędzia pozwalają na skuteczną archiwizację zasobów Webu, w tym licznie występujących w nich egodokumentów. Dzięki temu możliwe jest historyczne spojrzenie na te efemeryczne i zmienne źródła. Istotne jest m.in. zapisywanie ich różnych wersji, co pozwoli przyszłym badaczom na ich porównywanie i śledzenie wprowadzanych zmian. Nie są to jednak, co staraliśmy się pokazać, zadania łatwe – z uwagi na wiele ograniczeń prawnych, technicznych i innych. Z perspektywy potencjalnego badacza, jednym z istotniejszych w tym zakresie problemów jest dostęp i korzystanie ze zarchiwizowanych zasobów. Wymagać ono może odpowiednio przygotowanego warsztatu, w tym zaadaptowania bardziej zaawansowanych metod cyfrowych, które umożliwią właściwą analizę źródeł. Jednak – jak pokazują przytoczone w badaniach przykłady – już teraz możliwe jest wykorzystanie potencjału, który posiadają zachowane przez archiwa Webowe ślady człowieka.

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STUDIA I MATERIAŁY

Diplomatic archives: the Polish segment (1918–1991) in the Ukrainian archives

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ABSTRACT
The purpose of the article is to comprehend the essence of the concept of "diplomatic archive" and to review documents, which were created in the activities of Polish diplomatic and consular institutions and/or are related to the development of Polish-Ukrainian interstate relations, preserved in state archives in Ukraine. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, determinism, and special scientific methods of scientific heuristics, information analysis, and source criticism. The scientific novelty of the study is determined by a comprehensive analysis of the composition and content of the Polish segment in "the Ukrainian diplomatic archive" – documents generated in the activities of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates in UNR/UkrSSR and materials on surveillance of Polish diplomats in the UkrSSR during 1918–1991. Conclusions. The Polish segment in the Ukrainian diplomatic archive is not a complete set. These are documents related to contacts of the Polish mission with the authorities and institutions of the host country: drafts and texts of treaties and conventions; authorization documents of the heads of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates; official correspondence of the highest state level; documents generated in the course of activities of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates in the host country; documents related to the implementation of consular functions; audiovisual documents; materials of special services' supervision and materials of party control over the activities of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates. It seems important to create a common archival and information base on the composition and content of Polish and Ukrainian diplomatic archives.

KEYWORDS
Ukrainian diplomatic archives, Polish diplomatic documents, history of Ukrainian-Polish diplomatic relations

Archiwum dyplomatyczne: dokumenty polskie (1918–1991) w archiwach ukraińskich

STRESZCZENIE
Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie najważniejszych założeń idei „archiwum dyplomatycznego" oraz dokonanie przeglądu dokumentów, przechowywanych w archiwach państwowych Ukrainy, które pochodzą z polskich placówek dyplomatycznych i konsularnych i dotyczą polsko-ukraińskich relacji międzypaństwowych. W badaniu zastosowano podejście historyczne oraz metody heurystyki naukowej, analizy informacji i krytyki źródłowej. W artykule po raz pierwszy podjęto wszechstronną ocenę zawartości i treści dokumentów wchodzących w skład Archiwum Dyplomacji Ukrainy,

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE
Archiwum Dyplomacji Ukrainy, polskie dokumenty dyplomatyczne, historia stosunków polsko-ukraińskich

wytworzonych przez polskie placówki działające w URL i USRR, a także materiały służb USRR z lat 1918–1991, dotyczące polskich dyplomatów. W podsumowaniu zwrócono uwagę, że polska część Archiwum Dyplomacji Ukrainy nie jest kompletna. Stanowią ją dokumenty dotyczące kontaktów placówek polskich z władzami i instytucjami kraju gospodarza: projekty i teksty traktatów i konwencji; dokumentacja listów uwierzytelniających, składanych przez kierowników polskich placówek dyplomatycznych i konsulatów, oficjalna korespondencja na szczeblu naczelnych władz obu państw, dokumentacja wytworzona przez polskie placówki dyplomatyczne i konsulaty w kraju gospodarza, materiały związane z wykonywaniem funkcji konsularnych, dokumentacja audiowizualna, materiały służb specjalnych i organów partyjnych dotyczące działalności polskich placówek dyplomatycznych i konsularnych. Autorka zwraca uwagę na potrzebę opracowania wspólnych pomocy informacyjnych, obejmujących polskie i ukraińskie archiwa dyplomatyczne.

Introduction

Cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian archivists has a long history[1]. With the restoration of Ukraine's state independence on August 24, 1991, recognized by Poland as the first country in the world on December 2, 1991, it gained legal ground. Already in the Treaty between Ukraine and Poland on Good Neighborliness, Friendly Relations and Cooperation signed on May 18, 1992 in Warsaw (Article 13, paragraph 4) and the Preliminary Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Poland on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation (Article 5)[2] emphasized mutual respect for cultural values, taking measures for proper legal and material protection of archival documents and library materials, as well as their assistance in "identifying, inventorying, restoring collections, preserving, restoration, reconstructing and opening access to them"[3]. Therefore, Polish-Ukrainian cooperation in the field of archival affairs developed in various directions: mutual exchange of information on relevant legislation and archival literature, instructions and rules; mutual participation in professional trainings, seminars, scientific conferences (in particular, Ukrainian archivists became regular participants in the International Conferences of Archives

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2 Договір між Україною і Республікою Польщею про добросусідство, дружні відносини і співробітництво, https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616_172#Text, accessed 25 August 2023.

3 Попередня Угода між Урядом України і УрядомРеспубліки Польщі з питань культурного і наукового співробітництва, https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616_182#Text, accessed 25 August 2023.

of Central and Eastern Europe, launched by the Polish side in 1995); expanding access to open archival documents and reference apparatus of archives; preparing for publication of joint collections of documents on the history of relations between Ukraine and Poland, organizing joint exhibitions of documents on the subject, searching, recording and researching Ukrainica (documents related to the historical past of Ukraine) in Polish archives and Polonica (documents related to the historical past of Poland) in Ukrainian archives. For Ukrainian archivists in this field, the activities of Polish colleagues, who launched the first measures for centralized search, registration, and preservation of Polonica in 1989, and in 1997 introduced a state program to identify, organize, and prepare for the return of Polish archives from abroad, were exemplary[4].

Expanding access to documents of mutual interest to Ukrainian and Polish researchers, in turn, contributed to the intensification of scientific research based on archival findings. The first attempt at a periodical archival publication summarizing the research of scholars and archivists was a special issue of the scientific and practical journal "Archives of Ukraine" № 4 (257) of 2005 with the subtitle "Ukraine – Poland: Common Fate of Two Nations". The publication contained, in particular, an annotated register of documents of the Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Art of Ukraine "Ukrainian-Polish Cultural Relations"[5] and a review of film and photographic documents[6] on Ukrainian-Polish scientific and cultural relations in the Central State Film and Photo Archive of Ukraine named after Hordiy Semenovyvh Pshenychnyi[7]. Within the framework of the UNESCO Participation Program in 2008–2009, the project "Documentary Heritage of the Commonwealth of Poland" was implemented, which provided for the creation of an integrated register and manuscript collections of the Commonwealth of Poland (1569–1795) from the archives and libraries of Belarus, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine[8].

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4 *Polskie instytucje za granicą. Przewodnik po zbiorach archiwalnych*, ed. A. Krochmal, Warszawa 2004; А. Крохмаль, *Документи з історії України і польсько-українських відносин у зібраннях полоністичних інституцій*, "Архіви України" 2005, № 4, pp. 60–75.

5 В. Шепелюк, *Анотований реєстр документів ЦДАМЛМ України «Українсько-польські культурні зв'язки»*, "Архіви України" 2005, № 4(257), pp. 180–191.

6 Т. Ємельянова, *Кінофотодокументи ЦДКФФА України ім. Г.С. Пшеничного про українсько--польські наукові та культурні зв'язки*, "Архіви України" 2005, № 4 (257), pp. 227 –236.

7 From 2022 – the Central State Archives of Audiovisual and Electronic Documents.

8 *Документальное наследие Речи Посполитой*, https://cdiak.archives.gov.ua/baza_rech_pol/intro.html, accessed 27 August 2023.

On October 17, 2008, the Polish-Ukrainian cooperation of archivists was enshrined in the specialized Agreement on cooperation between the State Committee on Archives of Ukraine and the General Directorate of State Archives of Poland[9]. In particular, Art. 7 defined the principles of cooperation between the parties on the project "Joint Polish-Ukrainian Archival Heritage" and declared mutual exchange of information about archival documents and other materials discovered within the project; ensuring maintenance of joint records of such documents; the right to take free pictures of discovered archival documents with their digital equipment for research and cultural purposes and provide a backup copy of the footage; the possibility of creating indexes and other search tools, as well as access to them through public access networks, subject to a written agreement between the parties, permission from the other contracting party that keeps the originals of these documents. As a result of the project, creation of a database "Joint Polish-Ukrainian Archival Heritage" was planned.

One important component of this database should be information on documents related to the activities of Polish diplomatic and consular institutions in the Ukrainian State/Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) and the diplomatic missions and consulates of the UNR in Poland, the history of the preparation and signing of the Treaty of Warsaw (the Polish-Ukrainian or Petliura-Piłsudski Agreement) 1920, contacts between the leaders Symon Petliura (Симон Петлюра) and Yuzef Pilsudski (Józef Klemens Piłsudski), Polish-Ukrainian military diplomacy, Polish diplomatic presence in the UkrSSR, and the personalities of Polish and Ukrainian diplomats. However, at first, information about sources for researching the history of Ukrainian-Polish contacts at the state level began to appear in the scholarly works of Jan Jacek Bruski[10], Robert Kuśnierz[11],

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9 Угода про співробітництво між Державним комітетом архівів України і Генеральною Дирекцією державних архівів Республіки Польща в галузі архівної справи, https://cdiak.archives.gov.ua/baza_rech_pol/intro.html , accessed 24 August 2023.

10 J.J. Bruski, *Między prometeizmem a Realpolitik. II Rzeczpospolita wobec Ukrainy Sowieckiej 1921–1926*, Kraków 2010, s. 126–130; idem, *Na Ukrainie Rakowskiego. Polskie placówki dyplomatyczne i konsularne na terenie USRR 1921–1924*, [in:] *Polska dyplomacja na Wschodzie w XX – początkach XXI wieku*, ed. H. Stroński i G. Seroczyński, Olsztyn–Charków 2010, pp. 148–149; idem, *Hołodomor 1932–1933. Wielki Głód na Ukrainie w dokumentach polskiej dyplomacji i wywiadu*, Warszawa 2008.

11 R. Kuśnierz, *Obraz głodującej wsi ukraińskiej w latach trzydziestych XX w. w dokumentach polskich przedstawicielstw dyplomatycznych w ZSRR i polskiego wywiadu*, [in:] *Polska i jej Wschodni Sąsiedzi*, Rzeszów 2009, s. 64–75; idem, *Голод в Україні 1932–1933 (за документами польських дипломатів)*, "Архіви України" 2008, № 3–4, pp. 46–52.

Oleksandr and Natalia Rublevy[12], Stanisław Stępień[13], Tomasz Ciesielski[14], Mirosław Szumilo[15], other researchers, and in collective monographs on Ukrainian-Polish relations[16], the authors of which studied documents stored in Polish and Ukrainian archives as part of their research. Analysis of completeness of coverage of the availability of documents of Polish origin on this topic in Ukrainian archives in scientific works is not the subject of this publication, but rather the emphasis on the important role of Polish and Ukrainian scholars in developing the source base of the history of Ukrainian-Polish diplomatic relations in 1918–1991.

The purpose of this article is to comprehend the essence of the concept of "diplomatic archive" and its derivative concept of "Ukrainian diplomatic archive" and to review documents of Polish origin, which were created as part of activities of Polish diplomatic and consular institutions and/or are related to the development of Polish-Ukrainian interstate relations, stored in state archives in Ukraine, and to outline, taking into account international experience, the possibilities of expanding researchers' access to such documents.

The subject of the study is the composition and content of a set of documents created in the course of activities of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates on the territory of Ukraine (UNR/Ukrainian State, UkrSSR) and materials on surveillance over Polish diplomats in the UkrSSR, in terms of their source value for the study of Polish-Ukrainian diplomatic relations in 1918–1921 and Polish diplomatic presence in Ukraine during its time as part of the Soviet Union. The study is based on the principles of objectivity, historicism, determinism, and a systematic approach[17], relevant general scientific methods as well as special

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12 *Україна і Польща 1920–1939 рр. З історії дипломатичних відносин УССР з Другою Річчю Посполитою. Документи і матеріали,* упоряд., коментарі, вступна стаття: Н. Рубльова, О. Рубльов, Київ 2012.

13 St. Stępień, *Józef Piłsudski i Symon Petlura. Umowa Symona Petlury z Towarzystwem Naukowym im. Szewczenki we Lwowie*, "Warszawskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze" 2004, № 17–18, pp. 294–313.

14 T. Ciesielski, *Konsulat polski w Odessie 1919–1920*, [in:] *Polska dyplomacja na Wschodzie…*, pp. 81–101; idem, *Консульство Польщі в Одесі в 1918–1920 рр. та його архів*, "Зовнішні справи" 2017, № 12, pp. 18–21.

15 M. Szumilo, *Polsko-ukraińska współpraca wojskowa w roku 1920 jako praktyczny wyraz polityki wschodniej Józefa Piłsudskiego*, [in:] *Żar niepodległości. Międzynarodowe aspekty życia i działalności Józefa Piłsudskiego*, ed. L. Maliszewski, Lublin 2004, pp. 123–134.

16 *Polska dyplomacja na Wschodzie…*; *Українсько-польські відносини. Новітня доба*, [відп. ред. Микола Литвин], Львів 2017.

17 B. Ryszewski, *Problemy i metody badawcze archiwistyki*, Toruń 1985.

scientific methods of scientific heuristics, information analysis, and source criticism, taking into account territorial and chronological principles.

The essence of the concept of a "diplomatic archive"

Scholars do not have a unanimous opinion on the essence of the concept of a "diplomatic archive". In particular, the question of its nature and composition is debatable. Meredith B. Colket, Jr., an archivist and genealogy specialist at the National Archives of the United States, the first director of the National Institute for Genealogical Research in Washington, called the diplomatic archive a "written evidence of negotiations", including other documents that were deposited in the activities of diplomatic representatives and are under the protection of diplomatic officials[18]. He emphasized the official nature of diplomatic archives as a collection of originals and copies of diplomatic documents (reports and requests to the government, instructions, notes to the foreign ministry of the host state, letters and notes received, and copies of correspondence sent)[19], not including the concept of "personal documents of a diplomat, such as family letters, which differ from his official file"[20]. According to M.B. Colket, the important characteristics of a diplomatic archive are its value for a diplomat as a repository of information about historical development of the policy of his government with regard to the government of the host country and the obligations of this government, a source of reference to his country, citizens and business interests in a foreign country; the presence of documents of a strictly confidential nature (for example, instructions defining the powers of a diplomat when concluding a contract); evidentiary value in international relations and absolute inviolability[21].

Yevhen Slabchenko (Eugène Deslaw), a French filmmaker of Ukrainian descent, former attaché of the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UNR to the United States, and collector of Ukrainian archival collections, had a broader understanding of the diplomatic archive. According to him, the diplomatic archives

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18 M. Colket, *The Inviolability of Diplomatic Archives*, "The American Archivist" 1945, January, v. 8, № 1, p. 26.

19 Ibidem.

20 Ibidem, p. 27.

21 Ibidem.

also included personal documents of diplomats, their documentary collections, maps, printed materials, publications, photographs, and photo collections on the topics of international relations and diplomacy[22]. Forced into exile due to the Bolshevik takeover of his homeland, Ye. Slabchenko attached fundamental importance to the historical value of the diplomatic archives. It was important for him to collect various documents that attested to the existence of Ukrainian diplomatic and consular service in 1918–1921, as a sign of statehood. This idea was not new. From 1925 to 1948, the Museum of the Liberation Struggle of Ukraine existed in Prague, preserving documents of Ukrainian diplomatic missions that ceased to exist and had no prospects of returning to their native land, where the Bolsheviks were establishing their power in all spheres[23]. In his theoretical reflections, Ye. Slabchenko deepened his understanding of the concept of a "diplomatic archive", and in practice, he was the first to establish a private "Diplomatic Archive" in Nice (20 and 20 bis Avenue Mont-Rabeau)[24].

In diplomatic activities, the concept of "diplomatic archive" was regulated by the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of April 18, 1961, ratified in Kyiv on March 21, 1964, and in Warsaw on February 26, 1965[25]. According to this act, in international practice, diplomatic archives are understood as a set of documented information generated in the course of activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its foreign missions[26]. The Convention also defines the legal status of diplomatic archives, which are "inviolable at all times, regardless of their location" (Article 24), as well as official diplomatic correspondence related to carrying out diplomatic missions (paragraph 2, Article 27), and documents and correspondence of diplomatic agents (paragraph 2, Article 30) in the field of their activities.

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22 І. Матяш, *Доля «Дипломатичної історії України» французького українця Євгена Слабченка*, "Міжнародні зв'язки України: наукові пошуки та знахідки" 2015, v. 24, pp. 391–410.

23 М. Мушинка, *Музей визвольної боротьби України в Празі та доля його фондів. Історико-архівні нариси*, Київ 2005; Т. Боряк, *Документальна спадщина української еміграції в Європі. Празький архів (1945–2010)*, Ніжин 2011; М. Палієнко, *Архівні центри української еміграції (створення, функціонування, доля документальних колекцій)*, Київ 2008.

24 І. Матяш, *Доля дипломатичного архіву Євгена Слабченка*, "Україна дипломатична" 2015, v. 16, pp. 715–731.

25 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961, https://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf, accessed 25 August 2023.

26 See: https://sip.lex.pl/akty-prawne/dzu-dziennik-ustaw/konwencja-wiedenska-o-stosunkach--dyplomatycznych-wieden-1961-04-18-16786459, accessed 25 August 2023.

According to these requirements, diplomatic archives as integral sets of documents should be stored in their country of origin. Foreign diplomatic missions organize their documents, arrange them in accordance with the requirements adopted in their country, and transfer them for further storage to specialized units of foreign ministries or specialized archival institutions. It is known that the first special units for storing diplomatic documents were created in France at the end of the XVII century. Such units/institutions are also called diplomatic archives. Archives in foreign ministries keep historical and modern collections or only modern ones (including those from the second half of the XX century), publish (or participate in publication projects) diplomatic documents, and conduct specialized research. Thus, we can distinguish two meanings of the term "diplomatic archive" (subdivisions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its foreign missions; or a set of materials that have been accumulated as a result of their activities). Both meanings are listed in the *Ukrainian Diplomatic Encyclopedia* [27]. At the same time, the personal files of diplomats are mentioned as part of the diplomatic archive.

The source value of diplomatic documents is emphasized in the series "Polish Diplomatic Documents" (PDD) of the Polish International Institute: "written sources pertaining to Poland's relations with foreign countries, created by the Polish authorities, state institutions, the press, political parties, and other public organizations, as well as documents stored in the archives of these institutions"[28]. An important aspect of this definition is that it includes diplomatic documents of the press, political parties, and public organizations in the field of international contacts, which broadens the understanding of the composition of the diplomatic archive.

Thus, from the point of view of the importance of the diplomatic archive as a source for studying the development of the diplomatic and consular service, there are grounds to take a wider view of the composition of the diplomatic archive than in its understanding in the context of international law. Given the value of documents of personal origin for the institutional history of diplomacy, a diplomatic archive can be considered a collection of documents of official origin created in the course of activities of the main body in the system of central

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[27] В. Матвієнко, Л., Гайдуков, *Архіви дипломатичні*, [in:] *Українська дипломатична енциклопедія*, v. 1, Київ 2004, pp. 81–82.

[28] Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne, https://www.pism.pl/publikacje/Polskie_Dokumenty_Dyplomatyczne, accessed 25 August 2023.

executive authorities for the formation and implementation of state policy in the field of foreign relations, which exercises its powers directly and through other bodies of the diplomatic service (foreign diplomatic missions, consular offices, permanent missions to international organizations) and other state bodies engaged in the formation and implementation of state policy in the field of foreign relations, political parties and public organizations, as well as personal documents of diplomatic and consular service employees, spouses of diplomats who represented the state at different times in foreign countries, and foreign representatives who worked in this state.

Peculiarities of the composition of the Ukrainian Diplomatic Archive

The term "Ukrainian diplomatic archive" is understood as a collective term derived from the concept of "diplomatic archive" in its two meanings: resource (documents created in the activities of state entities related to the implementation of diplomatic functions) and institutional (special institutions for storing such documents). The first mentions of Ukrainian diplomatic archives date back to the period of Ukraine-Rus. It is believed that the Grand Ducal Archive and Library, founded by Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise of Kyiv, preserved kept diplomatic acts in St. Sophia Cathedral along with important state documents. Many works have been devoted to the reconstruction of the Grand Ducal Archives[29]. Formation of the diplomatic archive as a place of storage for specialized documents took real shape during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–1921 when the Ukrainian diplomatic and consular service was created in the forms closest to the modern one. In March 1918, the archival and literary department was established within the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR)[30], during the era of the Ukrainian State (April 29 – December 14, 1918) and with the restoration of the UNR, the archives department

[29] М. Брайчевський, *Київський великокнязівський архів X–XIII ст.*, [in:] *Українська археографія. Сучасний стан та перспективи розвитку. Тези доповідей республіканської наради, грудень 1988*, Київ 1988, p. 104; Н. Солонська, *Літописні джерела до історії формування бібліотеки Ярослава Мудрого*, "Архівознавство. Археографія. Джерелознавство. Міжвідомчий збірник наукових праць" 2001, v. 3, pp. 211–212.

[30] *Історія української дипломатії. Перші кроки на міжнародній арені (1917–1924 рр.). Документи і матеріали*, [авт. передм., упоряд.: І. Б. Матяш et al.], Київ 2010, p. 107.

functioned as part of the general department, with the historical committee as a separate structural segment[31]. When Ukraine was a part of the USSR, with the restoration of the UkrSSR's powers in the field of foreign relations on February 1, 1944, the diplomatic archive within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR first operated as part of the political department, and since 1951 – as the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs[32]. Diplomatic documents created after February 1, 1944, were accumulated there.

The Ukrainian diplomatic archive is represented by state acts in the sphere of international relations and functioning of diplomatic and consular service, drafts and original texts of international treaties, statutes, and conventions; official documents on the establishment of diplomatic missions, staff lists, minutes of meetings, diplomatic correspondence, internal documents, financial documents of diplomatic institutions; lists of employees of Ukrainian missions and foreign missions, their passports and certificates, security certificates; documents on official activities and correspondence of persons who were officially in the diplomatic service, diplomatic staff, photographic documents, newsletters, reports, certificates prepared by diplomatic mission staff regarding the host country.

The Ukrainian diplomatic archive as an information resource can be divided into Ukrainian and foreign fonds. The existence of the "foreign fond" is connected with the forced emigration of statesmen and diplomats of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–1921 due to the seizure of Ukraine by the Bolsheviks. These figures often took with them the archives of state bodies as their most valuable treasure to ensure their preservation and kept archives of diplomatic missions or minutes of diplomatic meetings and correspondence in their collections. Subsequently, the documents generated by the Ukrainian diplomatic service and foreign missions in the early stages of its formation, as well as some private collections of diplomats, were transferred to the Museum of the Liberation Struggle of Ukraine in Prague ("taking over the archives of the UNR foreign missions and preserving these archives" by the motion initiated by Foreign Minister Andriy Nikovsky (Андрій Ніковський) on May 23, 1924.

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31 Ibidem.

32 І. Матяш, *Галузевий державний архів МЗС України як осередок інституційної пам'яті дипломатичної та консульської служби*, [in:] *Історико-культурна спадщина. Збереження, доступ, використання. Збірник наукових праць*, ед. І. Тюрменко, Тернопіль 2017, pp. 135–138.

The Council of People's Ministers of the UNR entrusted to Oleksandr Shulgin (Олександр Шульгин)[33]), or ended up in the archives of countries where the owners of the archives ended their earthly journey.

Access to the source base of the history of Ukrainian diplomacy and the activities of foreign diplomatic missions in Ukraine during the Soviet era was severely limited. The documents of the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR were intended primarily for official use. Researchers did not have access to the archives of the diplomatic missions of the UNR and the Ukrainian State, which were partially returned from Prague at the request of the Soviet government in August 1945 as part of the Ukrainian part of the so-called "Prague Russian Archive", due to a long time of "technical processing" and complete classification. According to the Czechoslovakian government's "gift deed" of August 30, 1945, with a condition, the returned documentary fond was to be «stored in Kyiv in the Ukrainian central archive as an independent department called the "Prague Ukrainian Archive"[34]. The difficulty of access to the "foreign fond" for researchers and archivists was caused by the difficulty of traveling outside the Soviet Union, insufficient knowledge of foreign languages, and lack of funds for research trips.

After the restoration of Ukraine's state independence, the fonds of the Prague Ukrainian Archives were among the first documents to be declassified. They are stored at the Central State Archives of Higher Authorities and Governments of Ukraine and the Central State Archives of Public Associations and Ucrainica and were transferred to general storage and opened for research in 1992. At that time, the study of the history of the Ukrainian diplomatic service and foreign diplomatic missions in Ukraine began based on declassified documents[35], but no systematic identification and publication of diplomatic documents was initiated. Specialized documents were published in separate thematic editions (*History of Ukrainian Diplomacy. First Steps in the International Arena (1917–1924)*)[36]

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33 Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України (ЦДАВО України), f. 3696, op. 2, spr. 171, ark. 84.

34 Л. Лозенко, *Празький український архів. Історія і сьогодення*, "Архіви України" 1996, № 1–6, p. 24.

35 Д. Веденєєв, *На захисті прав українства. З історії консульської служби України*, "Розбудови держави", 1994. № 4, pp. 33–38; Л. Гайдуков, Д. Вєдєнєєв, *Служба повного профілю. Розбудова зовнішньополітичної служби Української Держави гетьмана Павла Скоропадського*, "Політика і час", 1998, № 6, pp. 71–78.

36 *Історія української дипломатії…*

or corpus editions (*Ukrainian Central Rada*[37], *Ukrainian State (April – December 1918)*[38], *Directorate, Council of People's Ministers of the Ukrainian People's Republic, November 1919 – November 1920*[39]). A comprehensive study of the Ukrainian diplomatic archive began in 2016 with the creation of the Scientific Society for the History of Diplomacy and International Relations[40].

Polish segment in the Ukrainian Diplomatic Archive

Ukrainian archives preserve documents that contain information on development of Ukrainian-Polish relations and the activities of Polish consular offices in Kyiv, Odesa, and Kharkiv in 1917–1921; the preparation and implementation of the Treaty of Warsaw of 1920; and the diplomatic presence of the Polish Republic/Polish National Republic in the UkrSSR in 1921–1937 and 1947–1991. They can be considered the Polish segment of the Ukrainian diplomatic archive. Taking into account the regularity of formation and established practice of keeping diplomatic documents created in the course of activities of diplomatic and consular institutions, the Polish segment of the Ukrainian diplomatic archive does not constitute integral archives of diplomatic missions or consulates. Such fonds are stored mainly in the Archives of New Records, the National Digital Archives, the National Library (since 1918), and those created after the end of World War II – in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland[41].

The Ukrainian archives contain materials sent by the Polish side to the Ukrainian diplomatic mission or other state bodies (authorization documents of official representatives, lists of mission members, submissions on the

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37 *Українська Центральна Рада. Документи і матеріали*, упоряд. В. Верстюк et al., v. 1, Київ 1996, v. 2, Київ 1997.

38 *Українська Держава (квітень – грудень 1918). Документи і матеріали, упоряд.*: Р. Пиріг (керівник) et al., Київ 2015.

39 *Директорія, Рада Народних Міністрів Української Народної Республіки, листопад 1919 – листопад 1920 р. Документи і матеріали, упоряд.* В. Верстюк et al., Київ 2006.

40 Наукове товариство історії дипломатії та міжнародних відносин, https://sshdir.org.ua/, accessed 25 August 2023.

41 Wykaz zespołów opracowanych w archiwum MSZ (AMSZ), https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Farchiwum.msz.gov.pl%2Fwyszukiwarka%2FData%2FHtmlEditor%2FLink%2Fdb23c880-8a21-4570-868d-61fccfef09cd.doc&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK, accessed 25 August 2023.

location of the institution or provision of housing for employees; diplomatic correspondence, including verbal notes, notes of protest, consular requests), party documents and materials of surveillance cases against Polish diplomats by agents of the security agencies of the UkrSSR and USSR, materials of consular support for the departure of Polish citizens to Poland. These are originals in Polish and Russian; documents from the period 1918–1921 often have Ukrainian translations.

Such documents are kept in the central state archives: The Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine, Central State Archive of Public Associations and Ukrainian Studies, The Central State Audiovisual and Electronic Archive; regional state archives: State Archives of Kyiv, state archives of Vinnytsia, Kyiv, Odesa regions; state sectoral archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Security Service of Ukraine.

The Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine

The documents of the "Polish segment" of the Ukrainian diplomatic archive for 1918–1921 and 1922–1924 are preserved in the Central State Archive of Higher Bodies of Power and Administration of Ukraine. In fond 3766 "Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian State, 1918", fond 3696 "Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vinnytsia; Tarnów (Poland)" and fond 4 "Office of the Plenipotentiary of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the USSR in Ukraine, Kharkiv" contain originals and copies of authorization documents of Polish representatives, official correspondence on the appointment of consular officers, staff lists, minutes of meetings, lists of employees of embassies, representative offices, consulates, security certificates, etc.

In particular, fond 3766 contains information about the appointment of Stanisław Wańkowicz (1860–1937), Extraordinary Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Council of the Regency of the Kingdom of Poland to the Ukrainian State[42]. Credentials documents and documents with information about

[42] ЦДАВО України, f. 3766, op. 1, spr. 284, ark. 6.

his arrival in Kyiv on October 12, 1918, and his first visits have been preserved[43]. According to the documents of this fond, S. Wańkowicz was delegated to deal with the issues of guardianship over Polish citizens (including refugees) and the settlement of the problem of Polish military formations on Ukrainian territories[44]. There is information that the Ukrainian government provided S. Wańkowicz with an interest-free loan of 1 million karb to help Polish refugees[45].

A message from the Polish government to the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry dated October 18, 1918, regarding the appointment of representatives of the Council of the Regency of the Kingdom of Poland to the Ukrainian State to diplomatic posts gives grounds for identifying the composition of the first mission: Bohdan Kutyłowski – counselor, Edmund Sobolewski – first secretary, count Czesław Pruszyński – second secretary, Piotr Ziemowit Marian Choynowski – consular counselor[46]. The latter was responsible for issuing national passports to Polish citizens, which was expected by the Polish community in Kyiv in connection with the adoption of the Law of the Ukrainian State "On Citizenship" of July 2, 1918. According to this act, all residents who were on the territory of the Ukrainian state at the time of the promulgation of the law and did not submit a statement that they did not wish to accept citizenship within the time limit specified in the law were considered Ukrainian citizens. Therefore, the Polish Executive Committee of Kyiv requested an extension of the deadline for Poles to become Ukrainian citizens and the appointment of a consul[47].

The documents show that S. Wańkowicz presented his credentials to Hetman of the Ukrainian State Pavlo Skoropadskyi (Павло Скоропадський) on November 5, 1918, and received confirmation of his authority on a very symbolic day – November 11, 1918[48]. For the world, it was the day the First World War ended, and for Poland, it was the day of the restoration of its statehood. Files 137 and 138 contain documents on changes in the structure and personnel of the mission and identity cards: in early December 1918, the registration department at the consular section of the embassy was headed by Roman Bniński, Major Klesberg became the military attaché, and Captain Zykhovski was his deputy[49]. The fonds

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43 Ibidem, ark. 4.

44 Ibidem, ark. 6.

45 Ibidem, f. 3766, op. 3, spr. 8, ark. 60 v.

46 Ibidem, f. 3766, op. 1, spr. 137, ark. 2, 10.

47 *Прием у гетьмана*, "Киевская Мысль" 1918, 4 октября, № 176, p. 1.

48 ЦДАВО України, f. 3766, op. 1, spr. 138, ark. 4–5.

49 Ibidem, ark. 15.

contain diplomatic correspondence, which demonstrates the willingness of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine to recognize the powers of the Polish consulates general in Kyiv, Odesa, Kharkiv, and Yelisavetgrad[50] and the refusal of the Polish side's request to open a Kyiv branch of the Polish Ministry of the Interior, which the Ukrainian side saw as a threat to the sovereignty of the Ukrainian state[51].

Documents preserved in fond 3696 show that the consulate continued to operate after Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi abdicated power on December 14, 1918, and the restoration of the UNR. File 31 contains correspondence between the consulate and the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UNR from December 18, 1918, to January 24, 1919, on the staff and its needs. On January 28, 1919, the consulate left Kyiv due to the Red Army offensive, taking advantage of the evacuation of foreign diplomats organized by the Ukrainian government (file 45). Polish representatives left by diplomatic train via Koziatyn to Vinnytsia. There, together with representatives of Georgia, Don, Germany, and Finland, they held a meeting, which resulted in a decision to leave the territory of the UNR as soon as possible. The report on this decision, submitted to the Directorate on February 7, 1919, stated the need to temporarily change the location of the missions "until peace comes to Ukraine", rather than to break off diplomatic relations[52].

Fond 3696 also contains an array of documents related to the preparation and implementation of the Treaty of Warsaw of 1920. Since there was no longer an official Polish representative to the UNR Government at this time, it consists mainly of correspondence between the Ukrainian diplomatic mission in Warsaw and the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UNR on relations with Poland, reports by the head of the mission, Andriy Livytski (Андрій Лівицький) on the progress of negotiations, notes from the UNR Government to the Polish government (file 124).

From the perspective of the history of Ukrainian-Polish relations and the history of Polish diplomacy, information on negotiations on this issue, the meeting between J. Piłsudski and A. Livytski, correspondence, draft treaties, etc., are all of interest. The documents contain information about the beginning of Ukrainian-Polish negotiations, changes in the composition of participants,

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50 ЦДАВО України, f. 3766, op. 1, spr. 137, ark. 24.

51 Ibidem, ark. 11.

52 І. Нагаєвський, *Історія Української держави в двадцятому столітті*, Київ 1993, pp. 281–282.

the search for compromises, and the result of the negotiations – the texts of the Political and Military Conventions[53]. According to the reports of the head of the mission, the delegation consisted of four people. The key point of the negotiations was the publication of the declaration of the Ukrainian mission, which contained issues that required the approval of both sides. At first, no agreement was reached. On December 2, 1919, a second declaration was submitted, the content of which formed the basis of the text of the Treaty of Warsaw of 1920[54].

Documents on the activities of Polish missions in Kharkiv after the signing of the Riga Peace Treaty are preserved in fond 4. The city became the political and administrative center of Soviet Ukraine in December 1919. In January 1920, the government and state bodies of the UkrSSR moved here and the activities of foreign missions were concentrated. The terms of the Riga Peace Treaty established a Polish mission with the status of an embassy. An additional protocol to the articles of the peace treaty and numerous notes on violations of the treaty's articles are preserved in file 29.

File 64 contains information about a meeting between the head of the Polish diplomatic mission, Count Franciszek Jan Pułaski (1875–1956), and the plenipotentiary representative of the UkrSSR, Oleksandr Shumsky (Олександр Шумський, 1890–1946)[55] in Zdolbuniv, at the border station of the Shepetivka–Rivne railway, October 6, 1921[56]. It took place on the decision of the head of the government and at the same time the National Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR, Khrystian Rakovsky (Християн Раковський), as a symbolic act. During a joint lunch at the station restaurant for the staff of the Polish embassy and the Ukrainian mission, organized by the Polish side, the ambassadors' protocol speeches emphasized their hope for the positive development of Ukrainian-Polish relations and outlined plans to sign a consular bilateral convention[57]. However, the documents show extremely difficult conditions for the functioning of the Polish representative office in Kharkiv.

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53 ЦДАВО України, f. 3696, op. 2, spr. 277, ark. 30–34, 132–139.

54 Ibidem, f. 3696, op. 2, spr. 326, ark. 26–27 v.

55 Ibidem, f. 4, op. 1, spr. 64, ark. 102.

56 *Нота Голови РНК і Народного комісара ЗС УРСР Міністрові Закордонних справ Польщі Скірмунту відносно призначення дипломатичного представника*, [in:] *Українська РСР на міжнародній арені*... p. 365.

57 *О. Бетлій, Діяльність польського дипломатичного представництва в Україні (1921–1923 рр.)*, "Науковий вісник Дипломатичної академії України" 2003, v. 8: Зовнішня політика та дипломатія: витоки, традиції, новації, p. 471.

Fond 3, Permanent Representation of the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Moscow, contains information about the arrival of the Polish mission in Kharkiv. To protect the train from attacks by "kurkuls[58] and counterrevolutionary gangs", the Bolsheviks sent armored vehicles in front and behind it[59]. The Polish diplomats were to travel from the meeting point in Zdolbuniv to Kharkiv by an armored train, in which members of the UkrSSR's representative office arrived under the protection of cadets from the school of red officers named after the All-Union Central Executive Committee in wagons decorated with golden state emblems.

The documents show that they were met in Kharkiv by Andriy Zhdan-Pushkin (Андрій Ждан-Пушкін), an adviser to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR, with whom F. Pułaski exchanged remarks in French. During the first audience with Kh. Rakovsk, the Polish representative planned to deliver a welcoming speech in Ukrainian. However, before the meeting, he was asked to speak the "commonly understood" Russian. This "trifle" gave the Polish embassy staff grounds to conclude that "the independence of Soviet Ukraine is a complete fiction"[60].

The information contained in fond 4 shows that the Polish embassy was the largest foreign diplomatic mission in terms of the number of employees, with a staff of 67 employees[61]. From the very beginning of its activities, the UkrSSR authorities created obstacles to its work: guards and a military commandant were stationed at the mission's premises, and attempts were made to introduce passes. File 32 contains correspondence between the embassy and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, in particular, on the issue of violation of diplomatic immunity of Polish representatives by Soviet authorities. Verbal notes on organizational issues have also been preserved: On November 4, 1921, the embassy appealed to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR to issue 8 diplomatic cards and 3 letters of protection for Ambassador F. Pułaski and the embassy staff[62]. However, the ambassador went to Warsaw in early November 1921 and did not return, and the embassy was headed for some

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58 This is how the wealthy peasants who were considered opponents of the new order established by the Bolsheviks were contemptuously called in the Soviet Union.

59 ЦДАВО України, f. 3, op. 1, spr. 146, ark. 64–64 v.

60 Ibidem, ark. 64 v.

61 Ibidem, f. 4. op. 1, spr. 78, ark. 71–73.

62 Ibidem, f. 4, op. 2. spr. 2, ark. 369.

time by Leon Berenson. He continued to respond to notes of protest from the government of the UkrSSR demanding that it stop supporting the Petliurists and disseminate information about the crossing of the Polish border by Ukrainian Soviet troops[63].

Tensions in relations with the Bolshevik authorities are evidenced by personal documents. File 670 contains information about the "indecent behavior" of Polish diplomats during the opening of the VI session of the Congress of Soviets of the UkrSSR in November 1921. In the tone of the congress chairman, the diplomats felt that he did not seem to take into account the presence of foreign guests. They stood up several times when the anthem, Taras Shevchenko's "Testament", and the revolutionary song "You have fallen as a victim" were sung in honor of the UkrSSR. However, during greetings to the Communist Party and the Communist Internationale, which went beyond national etiquette, the Poles did not stand up[64]. The newspaper "Communist" published an article about this incident, which forced Attorney General L. Berenson to write a note of protest to Kh. Rakovsky warning that the newspaper attack would not contribute to strengthening good neighborly relations[65].

At this time, the embassy's activities, as documents show, focused on organizing the option, although according to Article VI of the Riga Peace Treaty, the option was to be carried out by consular representatives[66]. There are numerous files with embassy correspondence regarding passports of citizens traveling to Poland, lists of Polish citizens, questionnaires, applications, registration logs, documents submitted for visas, complaints, certificates, and passports (description 1: files 84, 150, 166, 207–209, 434–435, etc.), notes of protest about violations of the rights of national minorities (file 536), about the search and arrest of Polish citizens (files 819, 822, 888, etc.). These documents provide grounds for analyzing the activities of the consular section of the embassy and at the same time constitute an extremely important but little-studied source of genealogical research. The last head of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Kharkiv from August 26 to December 31, 1923, was Marceli Szarota (1876–1951) as Charge d'Affaires of the Polish Republic. File 889 contains a report by

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63 *Нота Народного комісара закордонних справ тимчасово керуючому справами польського посольства в Харкові Л. Беренсону*, [in:] *Українська РСР на міжнародній арені*… p. 382.

64 ЦДАВО України, f. 4, op. 1, spr. 670, ark. 190.

65 Ibidem.

66 Ibidem, ark. 159.

the head of the economic and legal department of the People's to the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR in the UkrSSR Oleksandr Schlichter (Олександр Шліхтер) informing the secretary of the Embassy of the Polish Republic Stefan Litauer that he had informed him that the Embassy of the Polish Republic did not consider the Polish mission to be an embassy, and therefore did not allow the department to issue diplomatic passports. S. Litauer, that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the USSR did not consider the Polish mission in Kharkiv to be an embassy, and therefore did not allow the office to endorse it[67]. This case also included a report from the secretary of the consular department on the theft of clothing and food from the diplomatic premises on the night of October 13–14, 1923, a request for permission to export M. Szarota's personal belongings (12 large and small carpets, including 4 Ukrainian ones, 3 icons of the eighteenth century, a painting by Wilhelm Kotarbiński, a sketch by Viktor Vasnetsov, two watercolors by unknown artists, a box of tableware (several plates and saucers, mostly from Ukrainian factories), 1 Saxon statuette, a box of Soviet books and newspapers)[68], a notice of M. Szarota's recall from January 1, 1924[69]. Since then, the embassy operated under a changed name as the Representation of the Republic of Poland in Kharkiv under the leadership of Trade Counselor Ignacy Rużycki and has been working on restoring the option of Polish citizenship. In case 892, the consideration of documents regarding Leon Zabłocki, an employee of the options department, who is accused of insulting "an official of the Ukrainian government", was postponed[70]. The diplomat's demand that a policeman who came to the home of L. Zabłocki's mother ask her to remove her headdress was interpreted as an insult to the official and resulted in his deportation[71]. The activities of the representative office ceased on March 1, 1924, and I. Rużycki immediately left Kharkiv[72]. The same file contains the exequatur of the Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Kharkiv Michał Świrski, his petition regarding the unjustified imprisonment of Polish citizen Michał Węglinski, accused of spying for Poland, a note to the Commissioner of the USSR People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs under the Government of the UkrSSR

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67 Ibidem, f. 4, op. 1, spr. 891, ark. 1.
68 Ibidem, ark. 259, 290, 292–293.
69 Ibidem, ark. 288.
70 Ibidem, f. 4, op. 1, spr. 892, ark. 29.
71 Ibidem, ark. 37, 38.
72 Ibidem, ark. 128–129.

regarding the burning of the Polish flag by demonstrators near the consulate and the police's non-interference in these actions, and other documents generated in the activities of the consular office[73]. The consul's diplomatic correspondence reveals the tensions between Poland and the Soviet Union and the difficulties of diplomats' stay in Kharkiv during this period.

Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine

Information on the personnel of Polish missions and the activities of their heads is also preserved in the fonds of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. These fonds contain supervisory files, archival and investigative files, court cases, rehabilitation files on foreign missions and their employees, reports of secret service agents who exercised external supervision over consulate staff and agents embedded in the missions' staff, and instructions from the governing bodies of the Emergency Committee – the State Political Directorate – the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs – the State Security Committee regarding their actions[74]. These documents can be conditionally attributed to the diplomatic archive as a specific group, the formation of which was influenced by the unfriendly Soviet policy toward foreign representatives. They show the constant surveillance over the staff of the Polish embassy in Kharkiv, and since 1924, the representative office, and consulate, and since 1926, the consulate in Kyiv. In particular, fonds 13 and 16 contain multi-volume agent files that documented the external surveillance of the Polish consulate by the secret services in the 1920s and 1930s and after the consulate was restored in 1947, memos on the case of the "Polish Military Organization", and others. Among these documents are information collected by agents about the life of diplomats M. Szarota[75], Mieczysław Babiński[76], Paweł Włoński, who was forced to resign due to suspicion of spying for foreign intelligence[77], reports on the activities of "agents" in the diplomatic staff of the

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73 Ibidem, ark. 145, 156–157, 161, 229.

74 Галузевий державний архів СБУ. путівник, автори-упоряд.: В. Даниленко (відп. упоряд.) et al., Харків 2009.

75 Галузевий державний архів Служби безпеки України (ГДА СБУ), f. 13, spr. 162, t. 2, ark. 1–93.

76 Ibidem, f. 13, spr. 162, t. 4, ark. 1.

77 Ibidem, f. 16, op. 1, spr. 646, ark. 25–32.

diplomatic institution, and documents collected by the agents about the staff of Polish consulates.

Central State Archive of Public Associations and Ucrainica

Information confirming that foreign missions were not only under the constant supervision of the Emergency Committee – the State Political Directorate – the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs – and the State Security Committee but also controlled by party bodies is contained in f. 1 "Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine" of the Central State Archive of Public Associations and Ucrainica. Reports of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the activities of the Consulate General to the Commissioner of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the USSR under the government of the UkrSSR, memos of party leaders on meetings with the Consulate General's staff and visits by Polish diplomats, as well as minutes of the Politburo meetings, contain important details about the conditions of the Polish mission in Kharkiv and Kyiv.

A separate set of documents concerns the Consul General of the Polish Republic in Kharkiv in 1924–1928, Konstanty Zaremba-Skrzyński. File 123, item 6 contains materials from the May 9, 1927 meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine, regarding his professional activities which aroused the suspicion of agents of the State Political Directorate of the UkrSSR, and the decision of the meeting instructing the State Political Directorate to collect materials compromising the Polish consul[78]. In file 2484, item 20, there is a record of a conversation with him by Ivan Kulyk, Deputy Commissioner of the USSR People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs under the Government of the UkrSSR[79]. The "conversation" took place in connection with the arrest of the head of the Bureau for Foreigners' Services, Hryhoriy Petrenko (Григорій Петренко), and his fiancée, diplomat Nadiya Surovtsova (Надія Суровцова), who were charged with espionage, in particular, in favor of Poland through contacts with the Consul General. They were both sentenced on May 28, 1928, respectively to ten and five years in

[78] ЦДАВО України , f. 1, op. 6, spr. 123, ark. 76–78.
[79] ЦДАГОУ, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 2484, ark. 96 – 98.

camps[80], and K. Zaremba-Skrzyński was recalled from Kharkiv on June 18, 1928.

Documents from file 6435, item 20 confirm the activity of Consul General Jan Karszo-Siedlewski in 1932–1936 in the development of cultural relations. He tried to organize an exhibition of Polish graphics in Kharkiv, a tour of Polish violinist and composer Grzegorz Fitelberg in Kyiv and Kharkiv, and participated in T. Shevchenko's celebrations in 1934, laid a wreath from the Polish mission during the laying of the monument to T. Shevchenko and took part in the opening ceremony of the exhibition of Kobzar's artworks[81].

Archival fonds 23 and 25 contain correspondence from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs / Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR, reports and communications from the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the activities of foreign consulates in the UkrSSR, meetings with foreign consuls, copies of outgoing letters to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and information from the Central Committee and regional committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the establishment and development of friendly relations, and the twinning of Ukrainian and foreign cities; on the development of cooperation with socialist countries, participation in the celebration of anniversaries of socialist countries, etc. Preserved in file 1431, item 25 is the correspondence of the Polish Consul General in 1974–1978, Leon Tomaszewski, regarding the arrangement of everyday life and the purchase of a new consulate building at 12 Yaroslaviv Val Street, built according to an individual project and put into operation in March 1975[82]. This file also contains documents pertaining to the visit to Kyiv intended to familiarize himself with the activities of the Consulates General of the Polish People's Republic in the Soviet Union in the field of cultural cooperation of Ryszard Patsirkowski, Senior Advisor to the Department of Polish-Soviet Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PNR[83]. The report on the meeting records the information provided by the guest about the increase in the number of Ukrainian-Polish publications

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80 *П. Синицький, «Справа Суровцевої – Петренка 1927–1928 рр.». Опрацювання моделей масових репресій проти вітчизняної інтелігенції кінця 1920*-х – початку *1930*-х рр., "Історія України: Маловідомі імена, факти, події", Київ 2006, v. 33, pp. 166–185.

81 ЦДАГОУ, f. 1, op. 20, spr. 6435, ark. 8–9.

82 Ibidem, f. 1, op. 25, spr. 1431, ark. 153.

83 Ibidem, ark. 65.

prepared by the Lublin Publishing House; plans to expand information and exhibition activities in the UkrSSR about Poland, its historical past and present[84].

File 1772, folder 25 contains information about a visit to Kyiv by another official – the Deputy Minister of Culture of the PNR[85], who took part in an official meeting held by Consul General L. Tomaszewski on April 7, 1978, at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Polish students' studies in the USSR and the UkrSSR. At that time, about 900 Polish students were studying in the UkrSSR, including 390 in Kyiv, 125 in Lviv, 111 in Kharkiv, and 90 in Odesa. 12 universities had ties with Polish ones, and their graduates (many of whom became well-known specialists and business leaders) maintained contact with their alma mater. Universities maintaining ties with foreign graduates was a kind of instrument of influence of Soviet propaganda, which allowed them to broadcast their values abroad and create centers of supporters of the USSR. Therefore, foreign students received as much assistance as possible during their studies. The file also contains information about the meeting of the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine I. Sokolov in early September 1978 with Władysław Nowak in connection with his appointment as Consul General of Poland in Kyiv. This information shows the systematic party control over the activities of foreign representatives[86].

The documents of file 1968, folder 25, show the Consulate General's participation in the preparation and holding of the Days of Krakow in Kyiv. On this occasion, a special train of friendship was organized in Kyiv with the leaders of production, workers, engineers, and technicians of industrial enterprises in Krakow who cooperated with Kyiv enterprises. Artists from Julisz Słowacki's theater, musical, choral, and dance groups from Krakow toured Kyiv, and photo exhibitions about Krakow were prepared[87].

A selection of documents from fond 4 "People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR" of the Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine, fond 1 "Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine" of the Central State Archive of Public Associations and Ucrainica and from the fonds of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine and its regional subdivisions, which illustrate the activities of Polish diplomatic

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84 Ibidem, ark. 67.

85 Ibidem, f. 1, op. 25, spr. 1772, ark. 62.

86 Ibidem, ark. 178.

87 Ibidem, f. 1, op. 25, spr. 1968, ark. 59.

and consular missions in Ukraine in Soviet times, was published by Ukrainian historians Natalia and Oleksandr Rublev in the collection "Ukraine and Poland 1920–1939: From the History of Diplomatic Relations between the UkrSSR and the Second Polish Commonwealth" (2012). Of the 133 documents published in their original languages, the following are of interest in terms of covering the "Polish segment" in the Ukrainian diplomatic archive: a complaint by Polish repatriate P. Yosem to the Russian-Ukrainian-Polish Mixed Commission for Repatriation about the illegal confiscation of his property on October 10, 1921; a complaint by Polish repatriate J. Szafran against the actions of a "gang of chekists" who searched his home on June 24, 1922; an extract from the report of the Office of the Plenipotentiary Representative of the Main Political Directorate on the Right Bank of Ukraine on the "espionage activities" of the Polish delegation in Kyiv on February 5, 1923; Report of the Foreign Department of the Main Political Directorate of the UkrSSR on the staff of the II Division of the Polish General Staff in the Polish missions in Odesa and Kyiv; information from the Counterintelligence Department of the Kyiv Provincial Department of the Main Political Directorate of the UkrSSR on the Polish mission in Kyiv of July 12, 1923, and September 15, 1923; an extract from the minutes of the closed meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine "On Polish Affairs" of May 9, 1927, with instructions to collect "dirt" on the Polish Consul General K. Zaremba-Skrzyński; and testimony of former employees of the staff of the Commissioner of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs under the Government of the Ukr SSR Hr. Petrenko and N. Surovtseva about their acquaintance with the Polish diplomat; a record of conversations between the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs under the Government of the UkrSSR I. Kulyk and the Consul General dated December 27, 1927.

Regional state archives

Documents related to the Polish diplomatic presence in Ukraine have also been deposited in the state archives of Ukraine's regions (in particular, Vinnytsia, Kyiv, Odesa, and Kharkiv). The State Archives of the Vinnytsia region in f. P-207 "Podillia Provincial Revolutionary Tribunal" has preserved the "Case of Members of the Agents of the Dutch Consulate General (On the Incident of the Dutch

Consulate General)", which contains materials about a Bolshevik-fabricated case against employees of the Polish department of the Dutch Consulate General. It was headed by Jan Ostromenski. The archival file contains correspondence, protocols, and petitions from relatives for the release of the arrested. The documents show that the local Extraordinary Commission opened the "Dutchmen" agent case in 1919 to monitor consulate employees on suspicion of counterrevolutionary activity and intelligence in favor of the Polish Republic. On May 5 of the same year, J. Ostromenski and four employees of the department (Dlugalenski, Erigiy Kumanovski, Polkovski, Bygalke) were arrested. Workers Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage (usually know by its Russian initials as Cheka) broke down the door to the department and confiscated documents that they thought were material evidence, including military topographic maps of Galicia, Podillia, Volyn, and other provinces. The file contains reports on the fate of the arrested to the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the UkrSSR, Kh. Rakovsky. On June 25, 1919, at the request of the ideologue of the Red Terror and the head of the UkrSSR's Commissariat of People's Commissars, Martyn Latsis (Janis Sudrabs), they were sent to Kyiv. The prisoners were later released and exchanged for Polish communists[88].

The State Archives of the Kyiv Oblast contains fond 4205 "Office of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs in the Kyiv District", which was transferred from the Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine as a result of the redistribution of fonds in 1948 and declassified in 1992. There are lists of foreign missions; correspondence with personnel, certificates of foreign mission workers, Michał Świersk's exequatur[89], copies of certificates, mandates, powers of attorney, materials on the activities of the bilateral repatriation commission, and the Polish consulate, information on the location in Kyiv of the Delegation of the Polish Republic for Repatriation, which arrived by the Agreement on Repatriation of February 24, 1921, and the commission on options[90].

In a separate file, the foundation collected documents about repressions against members of the Polish delegation for options. The Soviet secret service immediately put them under surveillance. The secretary of the delegation,

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88 Держархів Вінницької обл., f. 207, op. 6c, spr. 62, ark. 14.

89 Ibidem, f. 4205, op. 1, spr. 162, ark. 2.

90 Ibidem, f. 4205, op. 1, cpr. 102, ark. 86 v.

Stanisław Pawłowski (a cover name for Lieutenant Stanisław Łaniewski, an intelligence officer of the II Division of the General Staff of the Polish Republic in Chisinau) [91] and the economic consultant Michał Węgliński[92] were suspected of creating a "spy organization" and collecting information about the state of the Red Army, copying restricted documents. The searches and arrests in this case began on the night of August 8–9, 1922: Franciszka Zurachowska, Andrzej Moliak, Adam Endras, and an employee of the repatriation commission, Mrs. Janiewicz. The court of these individuals in Kyiv was the first trial involving foreign representatives. Subsequently, Wanda Linsenbort, the secretary of the option commission, was arrested on suspicion of espionage. The case documents show that she was sent to Kharkiv for investigation[93].

The collection also contains documents from the Department of Visas and Passports, questionnaires, lists, and documents of Polish citizens who lived in the UkrSSR and applied for permission to leave the UkrSSR for Poland.

Documents on the activities of the Consulate of the Polish Republic in Odesa in 1918–1920 are partially preserved in fond R-3827 "Office of the Authorized People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR in Odesa" of the State Archives of Odesa Oblast, transferred from the Central State Archives of Higher Authorities and Governments of Ukraine in 1956. These are mainly correspondence with foreign consulates, reports, applications from citizens, requests to use ships to transport refugees, and the organization of Polish citizens' departure for their homeland. Information about the work of the Polish Re-emigration Committee at the Polish Consulate on the evacuation of Poles from Odesa is preserved in fond P-65 "Office of the Special Commissioner for the Evacuation of Prisoners and Refugees of the Odesa District under the Commander-in-Chief (Denikin) of all the Armed Forces of Southern Russia, Odesa, 23.08.1919 – 07.02.1920" and fond P-1915 "Odesa Provincial Administrative Department of the Odesa Provincial Executive Committee".

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91 J.J. Bruski, *Między prometeizmem*..., pp. 126–130.

92 *Польське шпигунство на Україні (Розмова з тов. Балицьким)*, "Вісті ВУЦВК" 1924, 29 жовтня, № 247 (1240), p. 1.

93 Держархів Київської обл., f. 4205, op. 1, spr. 102, ark. 86.

Sectoral State Archive of the Diplomatic Service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

Polish diplomatic presence in Kyiv from 1947–1990 is evidenced by documents preserved in the Sectoral State Archive of the Diplomatic Service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. Diplomatic documents are organized into the main fond, personal fond of the Ministry's employees, fond of treaties and agreements of Ukraine with foreign states, international treaties registered in the United Nations, conventions, agreements, and other acts concerning Ukraine, documents of the United Nations General Assembly, its bodies and specialized agencies, documents and materials of liquidated international organizations, and fond of photographic documents. Documents on the main activities are concentrated in fond 1, the first four records of which contain information on the Soviet period. In particular, there are valuable documents, which are practically not included in scientific circulation, created in the course of activities of the Consulate General of the Polish Republic/Polish National's Republic in Kyiv. Note correspondence between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR and the Embassy of the Polish Republic in the USSR and the Consulate General, information on the participation of Polish diplomats in events organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other consulates, information on the personalities of consuls general and consulate staff, meetings of foreign representatives with the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR, appeals of Ukrainian citizens with regard to the consulate's activities, information on the consulate general's activities in the field of cultural relations, information on organization of everyday life of the Polish mission and location of the institution, the consulate general's care for Polish students in Ukraine, etc. provide grounds for reconstructing the consulate's activities, recreating the process of negotiations on the preparation of premises for the consulate general, organization of security, etc., household support of employees, etc., constitute an important part of the source base of the history of the Polish diplomatic service.

It is known from the documents that the Soviet side gave consent to opening of a Polish consular institution in Kyiv in the second half of May 1946, but the consulate began working only in September 1947, headed by 36-year-old Aleksander Chłond. His explanation of the motivation for choosing a destination has been preserved. Knowing that Moscow allowed members of the ruling party loyal to its ideology to work in diplomatic and consular

institutions on its territory, the consul general said that he refused to be sent to London for his appointment to the Soviet Republic because he wanted to "work among friends, not where enemies would surround him"[94]. This motivation was convincing to official circles. The fonds contain information on the following heads of the Consulate General (A. Chłond, P. Włoński, Marian Cieślik, Henryk Gordon, Piotr Kiergiet, Wanda Michalewska, L. Tomaszewski, and W. Nowak, Kazimierz Dera, Leon Kotarba, Józef Nowotny, Władysław Kruk, Ryszard Polkowski, Jerzy Kozakiewicz) and other consular officers, and the activities of diplomats (Fonds 3, file 3700, page 6341, etc.). Of particular interest is information about G. Gordon's organization[95] of informational and cultural work, attempts to start publishing photographs of Poland in the magazine "Ukraine", about the awarding the first Polish diplomat, L. Tomaszewski, with the Honorary Diploma of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the UkrSSR (the highest award of the republic) for his contribution to the development of Soviet-Polish relations, about the Consulate General's correspondence in the field of protecting the interests of Polish citizens with the Protocol and Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR[96], on the Consulate General's monitoring of the construction of facilities, restoration, and renovation of ancient monuments in Kyiv with the participation of Polish specialists. By the beginning of 1987, 6868 Polish specialists were working in the UkrSSR. They constructed gas pipelines in Kharkiv, Sumy, and Cherkasy regions, worked on the construction of the Khmelnytsky Nuclear Power Plant, a hotel complex in Kyiv, a recreation center in Alushta, and a vegetable storage facility commissioned by the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry in Donbas. By the end of the year, the number of employees was expected to grow to 13000[97]. The increase in the number of employees raised the issue of providing them with housing, necessities, organization of everyday life, and free time. The Consulate General facilitated the solution of these problems and contacts with local authorities. Most of the issues related to the organization of recreation arose at the Khmelnytsky Nuclear Power Plant. To solve them, it was decided to rent a cinema, invite Polish artists to perform, etc. The Consulate General studied

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94 Галузевий державний архів дипломатичної служби МЗС України (ГДА МЗС), f. 1, op. 1, spr. 145, ark. 47.

95 Ibidem, f. 1, op.1, spr. 283, ark. 28.

96 Ibidem, f. 1, op. 1, spr. 223, ark. 2.

97 Ibidem, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 6342, ark. 8.

the issue of opening consular offices at some construction sites: Khmelnytsky Nuclear Power Plant, in Kharkiv and Sumy regions[98].

The documents of the fond testify to the active search (search for the graves of Polish soldiers) and commemorative activities of the Consulate General (marking the place in Lviv where the Janowska forced labor camp was located during the occupation with a memorial sign, arranging the grave of the prominent Polish playwright Aleksander Fredro, buried in Rudky, Sambir district, Lviv region) and the reaction of the Soviet side to it[99]. To answer the question of perpetuating the memory of the soldiers buried in 1944–1945 on the territory of the UkrSSR, the Polish Consulate General provided lists of the dead, but the Soviet "competent authorities" demanded more detailed information (names and numbers of military units, military ranks, names of commanders)[100].

There is information about the establishment by the Consulate General of a consular post in Lviv to promptly resolve issues related to the movement of Polish citizens through the territory of the UkrSSR[101]. The consular post was headed by Włodzimiesz Woskowski. He managed to establish working relations with the party and Soviet authorities of the Lviv region, the Department of Visas and Registrations, and the State Automobile Inspectorate of Lviv and the region, but he had to work with a heavy workload due to the increase in transit through Lviv in the summer months (if in the first quarter 13 thousand cars passed through, in August – 56 thousand, in total for the first half of the year – 132 thousand cars, 763 thousand citizens of the Polish People's Republic)[102]. Motorists committed violations (speeding, stopping in the wrong places, leaving the highway at a place not indicated in the route) and changed the route, entering Ukrainian territory as transiters. There were differences in the work of customs: the Polish customs did not confiscate things, collecting customs tax, while the Soviet customs did, limiting the importation of things that did not bring profit to the state (Polish customs officers received 4–5 million zlotys in profit for the 1987 tax year)[103]. The opening of a consular post in Lviv has greatly facilitated the work of the Consulate General in Kyiv[104].

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98 Ibidem, ark.10.
99 Ibidem, f. 1., op. 3, spr. 6342, ark. 3.
100 Ibidem, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 6341, ark. 13.
101 Ibidem, ark. 15.
102 Ibidem, ark. 16.
103 Ibidem.
104 Ibidem, ark. 15.

Central State Archive of Audiovisual and Electronic Documents

Film and photographic documents illustrating the activities of the Polish Consulate General in Kyiv in the second half of the 20th century are kept in the Central State Archive of Audiovisual and Electronic Documents. The films documented events involving the leaders and staff of the Consulate General related to the realization of its tasks in deepening "Soviet-Polish cultural cooperation". After the end of World War II, this mission was monitored by Soviet authorities, who used propaganda to reinforce myths about the greatness of the Soviet victory in the war and the special qualities of the Soviet person. To familiarize Kyivans with Polish art, the Consulate General introduced film screenings and concerts of Polish music. In 1948, the Soviet-Polish documentary "Poland" appeared on Soviet screens, directed by Leonid Varlamov at the Central Documentary Film Studio in cooperation with the Film Polski studio[105]. A three-time winner of the Stalin Prize (1942, 1943, 1947), and Oscar winner (1943) for his documentary "The Defeat of German Troops Near Moscow" the frontline documentarian L. Varlamov specialized in propaganda films and enjoyed the favor of Józef Stalin. Such a biography was required for admission to international projects. The film "Poland" was a propaganda card that showed footage of military chronicles about the beginning of World War II in Poland, the occupation regime, the deportation of Poles to forced labor in Germany, concentration camps; joint combat operations of the Soviet Army and the Polish Army to liberate the Polish land; a meeting of the liberators in Lublin and Warsaw; the Polish government delegation's visit to J. Stalin and the signing of the Soviet-Polish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. The plot of the film corresponded to the ideological concept of the USSR and was intended to form the historical memory needed by Soviet leaders in Russia and Poland through documentary cinema.

There are also films about the Consulate General's celebrations of anniversaries and memorable dates of prominent figures. For example, the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the birth of poet Adam Mickiewicz in December 1948 in the Mykola Lysenko Column Hall of the Kyiv State Philharmonic. The celebratory evening was opened by Vice Consul P. Włoński, and speeches were delivered by Ukrainian poets titled by the Soviet authorities Pavlo Tychyna (Павло Тичина),

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[105] *Кінолітопис. Анотований каталог кіножурналів, документальних фільмів і кіносюжетів (червень 1945–1955)*, ed. Н. Слончак, О. Селіфонов, Н. Слончак, Н. Топішко, Київ 2001, pp. 132–133.

Maksym Rylsky (Максим Рильський), and Mykola Bazhan (Микола Бажан), but party leaders ignored the event because it somewhat violated propaganda canons[106].

Films about events organized by the Consulate General during the "Khrushchev Thaw" are very interesting[107]. At the beginning of his rule, the new Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (Нікіта Хрущов) demonstrated the fight against the consequences of the "cult of personality" and the curtailment of political persecution declared the extension of the rights of national republics, and showed sentiment for Ukrainians and attention to cultural cooperation as an "inseparable part" of economic and political cooperation. This prompted the Polish mission to search for new forms of activity. One innovation was the 1954 Polish-Soviet Friendship Month organized by the Consulate General, which included meetings of scholars, concerts by artists, and book and art exhibitions. Tours of creative groups (in particular, the Polish Army Song and Dance Ensemble), scientific and creative exchanges, Polish film festivals, and exhibitions of Polish artists continued to be organized[108].

A reliable guide to archival film footage exists – the annotated catalog of film magazines, documentaries, and film and television clips, Kinolitopys, which has been published by the archive since 2009[109].

The latest addition to the Central State Archive of Audiovisual and Electronic Documents with photo and video documents related to the activities of the Embassy of Poland in Ukraine was the ceremonious transfer by the Center for Eastern European Studies of the University of Warsaw, at the initiative of the author of this publication, of photos and recordings of interviews with Polish Ambassadors to Ukraine (Henryk Lytvyn, Marek Żółkiewski, Jan Piekło, and Jacek Kluczkowski) during the scientific conference "Ukraine-Poland 105 (31): Diplomatic Relations and the Common Defense of European Values" held on May 30, 2023 at the University of Warsaw. However, these interviews cover a different period of activity of Polish diplomatic missions in Ukraine.

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[106] Ibidem, p. 137.

[107] This is the name given to the period in the history of the USSR from the death of Joseph Stalin on March 5, 1953 to the beginning of the 1960s.

[108] Кінолітопис…, p. 353.

[109] Кінолітописи – Центральний державний аудіовізуальний та електронний архів, https://tsdaea.archives.gov.ua/kinolitopysy-3/, accessed 24 August 2023.

Conclusions

In general, the Polish segment of the Ukrainian diplomatic archive complex as a collective concept is quite powerful, but not sufficiently studied. The understanding of the concept of "diplomatic archive" in this publication is based on a comprehensive approach and includes documents of official origin created in the course of activities of diplomatic and consular institutions and institutions directly related to ensuring the implementation of their functions, as well as documents of personal origin, relating to key figures of the diplomatic and consular service.

The peculiarity of the "Polish segment" in the Ukrainian diplomatic archive (a collective concept) is that it is not a coherent collection, including documents related to the realization of contacts between the Polish mission and the authorities and institutions of the host country. Based on time and conditions of creation of these documents, several thematic blocks can be distinguished: 1) drafts and texts of treaties and conventions; 2) authorization documents of heads of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates; 3) official correspondence of the highest state level; 4) documents (originals and copies) generated in the course of activities of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates in the host country; 5) documents related to implementation of consular functions; 6) audiovisual documents. In addition, given that Ukraine was part of the totalitarian state of the Soviet Union from 1922 to 1991, two more thematic blocks can be added: materials of surveillance by special services and materials of party control over the activities of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates. As in the Republic of Poland, in Ukraine, historical diplomatic archives are kept in "non-specialized" state archives (central, local, and sectoral), while diplomatic documents after 1944 ("modern") are kept in the Sectoral State Archive of the Diplomatic Service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

Given the mutual interest of Polish and Ukrainian historians and archivists in common history and the incompleteness of the project "Common Polish-Ukrainian Archival Heritage" declared in the 2008 agreement, it seems important to create a common archival and information base concerning the composition and content of Polish and Ukrainian diplomatic archives and a common database of electronic document images available to users from different countries. Resolving organizational (negotiations, signing of agreements) and practical issues of digitizing archival documents and creating a virtual archive, making it

available to researchers, will allow for continuity of work of scholars and students of our countries interested in the history of diplomacy and Polish-Ukrainian interstate relations.

An equally important area of such work could be the preparation of a joint volume(s) of diplomatic documents of Poland and Ukraine from 1918 to the present, taking into account international experience (Foreign Relations of the United States, Documents Diplomatiques Français, Documents on British Foreign Policy, Diplomatische Dokumente der Schweiz, Polskie dokumenty dyplomatyczne, etc.) and discussing new topics of publications (issues related to electronic publications and so-called oral history projects) in this area during the XVI International Conference of Diplomatic Documents Publishers, held at the Polish Institute of International Affairs in Warsaw on June 8–11, 2022.

Such a database and publication will not only help to expand access to archival information in the context of the war waged by Russia against Ukraine but also to summarize specialized information holistically.

Legislation

Dohovor mizh Ukrainoiu i Respublikoiu Polshcheiu pro dobrosusidstvo, druzhni vidnosyny i spivrobitnytstvo, https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616_172#Text, accessed 25 August 2023.

Konwencja Wiedeńska o stosunkach dyplomatycznych, sporządzona w Wiedniu dnia 18 kwietnia 1961 r., https://sip.lex.pl/akty-prawne/dzu-dziennik-ustaw/konwencja-wiedenska-o-stosunkach-dyplomatycznych-wieden-1961-04-18-16786459, accessed 24 August 2023.

Poperednia Uhoda mizh Uriadom Ukrainy i Uriadom Respubliky Polshchi z pytan kulturnoho i naukovoho spivrobitnytstva, https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616_182#Text, accessed 25 August 2023.

Uhoda pro spivrobitnytstvo mizh Derzhavnym komitetom arkhiviv Ukrainy i Heneralnoiu Dyrektsiieiu derzhavnykh arkhiviv Respubliky Polshcha v haluzi arkhivnoi spravy, https://cdiak.archives.gov.ua/baza_rech_pol/intro.html, accessed 24 August 2023.

Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961, https://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf, accessed 24 August 2023.

Archives

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady ta upravlinnia Ukrainy:

f. 3696 Ministerstvo zakordonnykh sprav Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky, m. Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vinnytsia; m. Tarniv (Polshcha): op. 1, spr. 30 Lystuvannia z departamentom chuzhozemnykh sprav pro dyplomatychni vidnoshennia z Polshcheiu. Dopovidi, noty i inshi dokumenty uriadu UNR pro politychni i viiskovi vzaiemovidnosyny, kordony, povodzhennia poliakiv z ukrainskym naselenniam i v inshykh derzhavnykh spravakh, 17 hrudnia 1918 r. – hruden 1919 r., spr. 31 Lystuvannia z departamentom chuzhozemnykh sprav pro personalnyi sklad polskoho posolstva na Ukraini i yoho potreby ta v spravakh okremykh polskykh hromadian, 13 hrudnia 1918 r. – 24 sichnia 1919 r., spr. 124 Lystuvannia z departamentom chuzhozemnykh sprav pro dyplomatychni vidnosyny z Polshcheiu, dopovidi holovy ukrainskoi misii, noty uriadu UNR, pohodzhennia vid 25 kvitnia 1920 roku, sichen – lypen 1020 r.; op. 2, spr. 171 Lystuvannia z Holovoiu Dyrektorii Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Rrespubliky, Radoiu narodnykh ministriv UNR, ministerstvamy finansiv, presy i propahandy Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky pro oblik ukrainskykh emihrantiv za kordonom, zminy v personalnomu skladi dyplomatychnykh misii ta materialne zabezpechennia spivrobitnykiv misii za kordonom ta inshykh orhanizatsiinykh i finansovykh pytan, 10 travnia 1920 r. – 23 travnia 1924 r., spr. 183 Ankety, zaiavy, raporty ta sluzhbovi posvidchennia spivrobitnykiv ministerstv, 25 liutoho – 15 hrudnia 1921 r., spr. 277 Politychna konventsiia mizh Polshcheiu i Ukrainoiu, viiskova konventsiia mizh uriadom UNR i rosiiskym politychnym komitetom u Polshchi, konventsiia mizh uriadom UNR, Donskoiu demokratychnoiu hrupoiu pro mizhnarodne pravove soiuzne obiednannia ta lystuvannia z pryvodu tsoho, 26 zhovtnia 1918 r. – 23 lystopada 1921 r., spr. 326 Kopiia memorandumu Uriadu UNR Uriadu Rechi Pospolytii-Polskii pro myrni perehovory z radianskoiu Rosiieiu na myrovii konferentsii v Ryzi, vytiahy z polskykh chasopysiv pro robotu misiiakh UNR u Varshavi, 17 chervnia – 30 lystopada 1920 r.

f. 3766 Ministerstvo zakordonnykh sprav Ukrayins'koyi Derzhavy, 1918 r.: op. 1, spr. 137 Pro dyplomatychni znosyny z Polshcheiu. Chast. 5, parahraf 9. Pro pryznachennia predstavnykiv Polshchi na Ukraini i yikhni dokumenty, noty protestu polskoho posla proty porushennia prav poliakiv, 16 zhovtnia – 14 hrudnia 1918 r.), spr. 138 Pro dyplomatychni znosyny z Polshcheiu. Chast.

6 i 7. Pro ekonomichni i poshtovi znosyny, po spravam okremykh ukrainskykh i polskykh hromadian, 3 serpnia – 13 hrudnia 1918 r.), spr. 284 Hrupovi prokhannia z rezoliutsiiamy pro vydachu viz na vyizd za mezhi Ukrainy (deiaki na vizd) – do batkivshchyny po sluzhbovym i pryvatnym spravam, 28 travnia – 28 hrudnia 1918 r.; op. 3, spr. 8 Protokoly zasedanyia Soveta Mynystrov Ukraynskoho Hosudarstva, 2 travnia – 13 hrudnia 1918 r.

f. 3 Postiine predstavnytstvo Rady Ministriv URSR pry Radi Ministriv SRSR, m. Moskva, op. 1, spr. 146 Biuleteni pres-biuro Ukrainskoho radianskoho posolstva v Polshchi, t. 1, 21 sichnia – 16 liutoho 1922 r.

f. 4 Upravlinnia upovnovazhenoho Narodnoho Komisariatu Zakordonnykh sprav SRSR na Ukraini, m. Kharkiv, op. 1, spr. 29 Dopolnytelnыi protokol k statiam myrnoho dohovora, notы y telehrafnaia perepyska ob otnoshenyiakh Polshy y Ukraynы (perepechatkya), 14 noiabria 1920 h. – 20 yanvaria 1922 h., spr. 64 Perepyska s Hosudarstvennыm polytycheskym upravlenyem (HPU) ob arestakh ynostrantsev, 26 yanvaria – 28 dekabria 1922 h, spr. 78 Spysky ynostrannыkh myssyi v Kharkove; kharakterystyka dyplomatycheskykh kurerov y perepyska o vыdache dyplomatycheskykh pasportov y o poluchenyy korrespondentsyy, 1 yiunia – 31 dekabria 1922 h., spr. 84 Perepyska s Polskym posolstvom v Kharkove o vyzyrovanyy pasportov hrazhdan vыezzhaiushchykh v Polshu. 26 dekabria 1921 h. – 19 sentiabria 1922 h., spr. 591 Soobshchenye ynostrannoho otdela HPU USSR o sotrudnykakh II otdela Henshtaba Polshy v polskykh myssyiakh v Odesse y Kyeve, 17 marta 1923 h., spr. 592 Kharakterystyky polskykh obshchestvennыkh y polytycheskykh deiatelei (kopyy), dekabr 1922 h. – 23 noiabria 1923 h., spr. 665 Materyalы o vzaymootnoshenyy s Polshei; soobshchenye o ratyfykatsyy myrnoho dohovora mezhdu Rossyei, Ukraynoi y Polshei; pochtovo-telehrafnaia konfentsyia mezhdu RSFSR, USSR, BSSR s odnoi storonы y Polshei s druhoi (perepechatka); perepyska s NKYD RSFSR narushenyy Polshei statei myrnoho dohovora, 9 marta – 15 oktiabria 1921 h., spr. 667 Materyaly o vzaymootnoshenyy s Polshei; razghovory po priamomu provodu, noty, telehramy y perepyska s NKYD RSFSR y Ukraynskoi dyplomatycheskoi myssyei v RSFSR; noty NKYD USSR Polskomu pravytelstvu o sushchestvovanyy na terrytoryy Polshy kontrrevoliutsynnыkh ukraynskykh orhanyzatsyi, 20 avhusta – 15 oktiabria 1921 h., spr. 668 Noty Polshy y USSR po povodu narushenyia uslovyi Ryzhskoho myrnoho dohovora, 1 yiunia – 22 dekabria 1921 h., spr. 669 Verbalnye noty Polshy, 3 noiabria – 21 dekabria 1921 h., spr. 670 Razghovory po priamomu provodu, notы, telehramy y perepyska

s NKYD RSFSR, predstavytelstvom USSR v Polshe y dr. O razreshenyy spornykh voprosov v polsko-ukraynskykh otnoshenyiakh, 27 marta – 24 dekabria 1921 h., spr. 890 Perepyska s konsulskym otdelom Polskoho posolstva na Ukrayne, 26 fevralia 1923 h., spr. 891 Konsulskye poruchenyia y perepyska s konsulskym otdelom Polskoho posolstva na Ukrayne po delam arestovannыkh polskykh poddanыkh, 16 yanvaria – 24 dekabria 1923 h., spr. 892 Konsulskye poruchenyia y perepyska s konsulskym otdelom Polskoho posolstva na Ukrayne po delam arestovannыkh polskykh poddanыkh, 16 yanvaria – 24 dekabria 1923 h.; op. 2, spr. 2 Udostoverenyya, telehrammы y perepyska o lychnom sostave, 12 fevralya – 29 dekabrya 1921 h.

f. 67 Ukrainske radianske posolstvo u Polshchi, m. Varshava, op. 1, spr. 1 Dokumenty o zakliuchenyy myrnoho dohovora s Polshei v Ryhe (protokoly zasedanyi fynansovo-ekonoomycheskoi y pravno-polytycheskoi, terrytoryalnoi, zheleznodorozhnoi y druhykh komyssyi, sohlashenye o repatryatsyy s toi y druhoi storony, 18 noiabria 1920 h. – 6 yiunia 1921 h.

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromadskykh obiednan i ukrainiky:

f. 1 Tsentral'nyy komitet Komunistychnoyi partiyi Ukrayiny, op. 6 Protokoly zasidan Politbiuro TsK i materialy do nykh, spr. 123 Protokoly zakrytykh i spilnykh zasidan Politbiuro TsK KP(b)U ta Prezydii TsKK KP(b)U ta dokumenty do nykh; op. 20 Dokumenty viddiliv TsK KP(b)U (1918 – 1941 rr.), spr. 2484 Soobshchenyia, biulleteny, pysma Upolnomochennoho NKYD SSSR pry Pravytelstve USSR, o polozhenyy del y raskole v «Selrobe» (Ukraynskoe raboche-krestianskoe obъkdynenye), ukraynskykh hruppyrovkakh v Polshe, predvыbornыkh nastroenyiakh v Zapadnoi Ukrayne, ukraynskoi emyhratsyy v Chekhoslovakyy y dr. voprosam, napravlennыe v TsK KP(b)U. V dele est kopyia pysma chlena kollehyy NKYD na ymia Y.V.Stalyna o vrazhdebnыkh hruppyrovkakh sozdavaemykh v Polshe po otnoshenyiu k Ukrayne, 31 maia – 30 dekabria 1927 h., spr. 6435 Pysma sovetnyka Polpredstva, Upolnomochennoho NKYD SSSR pry Pravytelstve USSR y TsK KP(b)U o polytycheskom polozhenyy v Zapadnoi Ukrayne, polsko-sovetskykh otnoshenyiakh y dr. voprosakh. Obzor zapadno-ukraynskykh burzhuaznыkh hazet o holode na Ukrayne, 11 yanvaria – avhust 1934 h.; op. 25 Dokumenty zahalnoho viddilu TsK kompartii Ukrainy (sekretna chastyna) (1968 – 1991 rr.), spr. 1431 Spravky Otdela zarubezhnykh sviazei TsK Kompartyy Ukrayny, otdelov TsK, nekotorykh obkomov partyy, Mynysterstva ynostrannykh del Ukraynskoi SSR o pryeme Heneralnykh

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URSR ta SRSR pro: rozshuk ta aresht ahentiv inozemnykh rozvidorhaniv, zradnykiv, kolaborantiv, avtoriv anonimnykh lystivok.

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STUDIA I MATERIAŁY

Towards a new archival science. Anthropologising the archive and the archival materials

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ABSTRACT
The article puts forward a proposal of new archival science – anthropologised archival science. The new archival science is discussed in the context of changes in the understanding of archives as the practice of collecting, storing and providing access to archival collections. The modern understanding of the archives has been grounded in the naturalistic approach to thinking about the world and people. The key factor shaping the naturalistic understanding of archives was the socio-cultural context, specifically the emergence of nation states and bureaucracy. In the 19th century, the archive, just like other elements of bureaucracy, came to be understood as free from context, discussion, ideology, or in a broader sense, culture. The 20th century has changed but little in such an approach to archival science. Only slight adjustments were made. The proposal for a new archival science goes beyond these adjustments. It is a shift towards its cultural understanding, on the grounds of anthropological understanding of culture.

KEYWORDS
new archival science, anthropologised archival science, cultural anthropology, archive and archival materials, 19th and 20th centuries

W stronę nowej archiwistyki. Antropologizowanie archiwum i archiwaliów

STRESZCZENIE
W artykule przedstawiono propozycję nowej archiwistyki – archiwistyki zantropologizowanej. Dyskusję nad nią zapoczątkowano pod wpływem zmian zachodzących w postrzeganiu archiwum jako instytucji zajmującej się gromadzeniem, przechowywaniem i udostępnianiem zbiorów archiwalnych. Współczesne znaczenie terminu archiwum oparto na naturalistycznym myśleniu o świecie i człowieku. Kluczowym czynnikiem go kształtującym był kontekst społeczno-kulturowy, a konkretnie powstawanie państw narodowych i rozwój biurokracji. W XIX w. archiwum, podobnie jak inne organy biurokracji, zaczęto postrzegać jako wolne od kontekstu, dyskusji, ideologii, szerzej – kultury. Wiek XX niewiele w tym rozumieniu archiwistyki zmienił. Pojawiły się jedynie niewielkie korekty. Propozycja nowej archiwistyki wykracza poza nie. Jest to zwrot w kierunku jej kulturowego pojmowania na gruncie antropologicznego rozumienia kultury.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE
nowa archiwistyka, archiwistyka zantropologizowana, antropologia kulturowa, archiwum i archiwalia, XIX i XX wiek

The archives and archival materials collected therein have become an important topic in contemporary reflection on the humanities. Interest taken in them has become so significant that they have come to see their own "archival turn", chief patrons of which are considered to be such philosophers as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida[1]. Therefore, it may sound paradoxical to say that the archives, i.e. an institution engaged in collecting, storing, and compiling archival collections, as well as making them available, are absent from reflections concerning contemporary humanities. Such a statement is supported by the fact that in contemporary reflection on humanities the archives are treated "instrumentally". They serve as a metaphor for capturing some of the issues that plague contemporary humanities. They are used to express issues currently considered important, but are not an object of interest in themselves. Archives are a synonym for memory, power, or serve as an "argument" in the discussion focusing on the status of historiography and the images of the past that they epistemologically create[2]. It is worth emphasizing right away that it is not my intention to subject this reflection to criticism. It is related to the one I propose in my article and constitutes an introduction to it. Yet, I would like to emphasise that this reflection is different in nature to the one I am offering in this article.

My article presents the reader with an empirical archive, i.e. the cultural practice of gathering and preserving archival collections and making them available. Here, the archive is not an excuse for reflections on memory or oblivion, power or the construction of the past. My deliberations are rooted in the field of archival science and the problems it poses – a scientific discipline that deals with the study of archives and archival materials. The aim is to offer a new understanding of archival reflection on the archives and archival materials.

There is a consensus among the archivists that the modern archives and scholarly archival reflection date back to the 19th century. Studies explicitly show that the 19th century was marked by outstanding scholarly results in archival science. Coming from the modest output of 18th-century theorists, archival

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1 M. Foucault, *Archaeology of knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith, London–New York 2002 [M. Foucalt, *Archeologia wiedzy*, trans. A. Siemek, Warszawa 1977]; J. Derrida, *Archive fever. A freudian impression*, trans. E. Prenowitz, Chicago–London 1998 [J. Derrida, *Gorączka archiwum. Impresja freudowska*, trans. J. Momro, Warszawa 2016].

2 M. Foucault, *Archaeology*; J. Derrida, *Archive fever*...; P. Ricoeur, *Memory, history, forgetting,* trans. K. Blamey, D. Pellauer, Chicago 2004 [P. Ricoeur, *Pamięć, historia, zapomnienie,* trans. J. Margański, Kraków 2006]; A. Assmann, *Cultural memory and western civilization. Functions, media, archives*, New York 2011.

science has managed to establish a theoretical and methodological foundation that remains largely relevant today. The basis for these advances was the formation of modern archives – separate institutions that fulfil highly developed functions: collecting, storing and processing archival records and making them available for administrative and scholarly purposes[3].

Subsequent decades are considered to be a period when the archival reflection developed during 19th century was merely refined.

It is well known that the 19th century was an age of dispute over the identity of human sciences. As a result, ideas in the humanities were formulated depending on how unique the object of cognition was – and it was not so much the world of things, as in the case of natural sciences, but rather the world of spiritual experiences. The uniqueness of the object determined the uniqueness of scientific methods used in the humanities. Archivists did not participate in this dispute. According to Samuel Muller, Johan A. Feith and Robert Fruin, authors of the 1898 "bible of archivists", an archive is an organism that grows, takes shape, and undergoes change according to established rules. The rules for this natural entity cannot be determined by the archivist. He can only study the organism and determine the natural principles on which it was formed[4].

The understanding of archives and archival science has been grounded in naturalistic thinking about the human world. Central to this, I believe, was the socio-cultural context in which the archives and scholarly reflection on them were born, and more precisely – how it was conceptualized at the time. Perhaps if the understanding of the archives had been developed through critical discussion, it would not have persisted to this day. And the fact that this occurred through "objective observation" of reality made it appear as something obvious, a piece of the so-called common sense that is difficult to argue with.

Before I propose a new understanding of archival reflection on the archives and archival materials, let me begin by pointing out not only the fundamental error made in comprehending them, which is to view them from a naturalistic perspective, but also to question the obviousness of the basis of this belief.

The 19th century is a time when modern archives and modern nations are formed. We find the understanding of this phenomenon at that time in

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3 B. Ryszewski, *Archiwistyka. Przedmiot, zakres, podział (studia nad problemem),* Warszawa 1972, p. 28.

4 S. Muller, J.A. Feith, R. Fruin, *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives*, New York 1940.

the thought of Max Weber. For him, as for others of the time, the nation was a political category both in a general sense – a power-based community, and in a specific sense – an autonomous community institutionalized within a sovereign, territorial state organism[5]. Weber wrote "The nation is a community of sentiments which adequately expresses itself in its own state; hence the nation constitutes a community which under normal conditions strives for the formation of its own state"[6].

Let us now look at how the institutions of the state, whose creation is synonymous with the formation of the nation, were perceived in the 19th century, and what influenced the understanding of the archive. This is perfectly evident Weber's concept of authority structures. In a modern state we have legal power and the rule of law, whose purest manifestation is bureaucracy. The basic units of bureaucracy are bodies "organised according to a hierarchy, with their rules, functions, written documents, and means of coercion"[7]. The main features of the ideal type bureaucracy and its organs are, according to Weber, as follows:

1. Continuous organization of official functions (bodies) committed to observe the rules. 2. Each authority has a specific scope of competences, which means a range of duties and powers to perform various functions and permissible means of coercion. 3. The bodies are organized in a hierarchical manner; 4. The rules that govern the way in which the bodies act may be technical rules, which requires expert training of those employed in bureaucracy[8].

In such an understanding, developed in the 19th century, the archive is defined by being a state institution – an organ of bureaucracy. Let us note in passing that an archive is an organ of bureaucracy with a very specific function. Besides being organized along the lines of every other bureaucratic body that Weber writes about, its function is to collect and store documents produced by other authorities and make them available for administrative purposes.

The 19th century is also the time when archives become academic institutions that conduct independent historical research or otherwise work in support of historical scholarship. In order to shed light on this aspect of understanding

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5 A.D. Smith, *The cultural foundations of nations. Hierarchy, covenant and republic*, Oxford 2008, pp. 25–26 [*Kulturowe podstawy narodów. Hierarchia, przymierze i republika,* trans. W. Usakiewicz, Kraków 2009].

6 A.D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations*..., pp. 25–26.

7 G. Ritzer, *Sociological theory*, New York 2010, p. 130 [*Klasyczna teoria socjologiczna,* trans. H. Jankowska, Poznań 2004].

8 G. Ritzer, *Sociological theory*, pp. 130–131.

of the archives, let us return to the understanding of the nation and the state prevalent at that time, and add the understanding of history as it was then. This time, let us refer to the German philosopher Georg W. Hegel. According to him, history begins with the creation of the state. According to him, historical reality is political reality, transformation of statehood, political and legal systems. The emergence of the state is in consequence synonymous with the emergence of historical reflection[9].

The archive seamlessly combines, or at least did at the time, the function of a bureaucratic organ, collecting the documents the bureaucracy produces, essential to the smooth functioning of the state, with the function of a "repository" of documents used for the reflection on the past of this state.

To sum up the previous considerations: in the context of conceptualizing the phenomenon of formation of national states that took place in the 19th century; and the identification of the nation with the state, the state with a form of legal rule, rule with a bureaucratic organization, and history with the state, the archive is defined by being a state institution – an organ of bureaucracy, organized according to the bureaucratic model, collecting documents necessary for the functioning of the state and for writing its history.

Before we completely expose the cultural beliefs underlying the 19th century understanding of the archive, and thus question the obviousness of its naturalistic underpinnings, let us stay with bureaucracy for a moment. In Weber's work, the concept of bureaucracy does not refer to the state apparatus alone. It also includes rational organization of any human activity. Its application to various aspects of the state is determined by the fact that it is based on the most important among the types of rationality that Weber distinguishes – formal rationality. This type of rationality involves calculating ends and means with reference to universally applicable, impersonal (objective) rules, laws, and regulations. Commentators of the German sociologist's work distinguish a number of features of this rationality, presented below. By not referring to texts from the "era", we transcend the context of the 19th century, but we also gain insight into the evolution of this understanding:

1. Formally rational structures and institutions emphasize calculability, i.e. things that can be counted or represented in numerical form. 2. They attach particular importance to efficiency – determining the best means that lead to

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9 T. Kroński, *Hegel*, Warszawa 1966, pp. 22–67.

achieving a particular goal. 3. It is very important to ensure predictability – the idea is that everything should happen in the same way, regardless of place or time. 4. The formally rational system gradually eliminates technology based on human labour, eventually replacing it with non-human technology. Such technologies (e.g. computerized systems) are considered to be more calculable, efficient, and predictable than those based on human labour. 5. Formally rational systems seek to gain control over various kinds of unknowns, especially those posed by people who work in or are served by these systems[10].

The archive as an organ of bureaucracy, therefore, has not only its organizational and formal features, but this organization is based on bureaucratic formal rationality. Under such a way of thinking, the archive exists in a space of bare facts, the above-mentioned impersonal, i.e. objective rules, laws, and regulations derived from "what the world is like" and the mechanisms that govern it. There is no room for re-evaluating and assigning meanings, for subjective interpretations, for feelings, for everything that culture is made up of.

The self-evident understanding of the archive outlined above translates into scholarly reflections on archives. For archival science, the archives and archival materials represent a space that is free from context, discussion, ideology, and culture in a broader sense; they are a passive organ of state administration and history in itself. Consequently, the problems addressed are technological in nature and are being considered in that technological context. The desirable features of the proposed solutions and manner of their implementation are those which ensure highest possible utilisation of human and material resources, speed, consistency, unambiguity. The degree of dehumanization determines the sophistication of the proposed solutions.

At the beginning of my remarks I pointed out that in the 20th century the understanding of the archives born in the previous century was revised. One such revision was, or is, a change in the spirit of scientistically oriented human sciences which viewed the archive as concerned with collecting, compiling and preserving information, and making it available. In line with the general trend of modernist times, a systemic and functional thinking about the archive emerged from the spirit of natural science, modelled on the relationship between organisms, groups of organisms, species and their environment. The broader context for this revision involved the general changes in post-war culture and

[10] G. Ritzer, *Sociological theory*, p. 139.

theories about reorganizing socio-political life, such as proclaimed replacement of previous forms of organization of society by the rule of technocracy and the primacy of people endowed with special scientific knowledge of economic, sociological and psychological research (technocrats)[11].

One could protest against such an image of archival science or point to its collapse, e.g. by referring to the reflection on ethics in archives. Do they really violate the belief adopted from the bureaucracy that the bureaucracy is axiologically neutral? In my opinion, they do not. The effect of archival activity has not ceased to be seen as external to its performer – the archivist – and to the autotelic functioning of the institution – the archive. Technocratic accountability, for which only efficiency and effectiveness of actions matter, still takes place of moral responsibility. It is only supported by values that are supposed to reinforce these natural effects[12].

Dariusz Magier's recent proposal of archivosophy in Poland is similar in nature. Although he emphasizes the importance of reflection on culture, which we do not find in the earlier revision, from my point of view it does not actually change anything. One may infer from Magier's remarks that the revision is a response to the gap that appeared between archival science and the cultural context in which it came to function in Poland in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The gap through which post-modern culture seeps into archival science is the scientific function of the archive. A changing history, with new expectations for archives, is putting pressure on archival science. The latter, in turn, in order to satisfy these expectations, begins to notice and take into account the importance of culture.

Magier's understanding of archives remains essentially the same; it is still a "typical bureaucratic system". The archive is an organ of bureaucracy, but it is conceptualized in the fashion of scientistically oriented human sciences. We could reiterate that under this way of thinking, the archive still exists in a space of bare facts, impersonal (objective) rules, where there is no room for all the things that make up culture. Re-evaluations, assigning meanings, subjective

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11 Cf.T. Cook, *What is past is prologue. A history of archival ideas since 1898, and the future paradigm shift*, http://www.mybestdocs.com/cook-t-pastprologue-ar43fnl.htm, accessed 20 February 2019.

12 ICA. Code of Ethics, https://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/ICA_1996-09-06_code%20of%20ethics_PL.pdf, accessed 28 August 2023. In the 20th and 21st centuries, technocratic thinking about archives also determines the type of education for archivists. It focuses on producing technical experts, people acting like specialists – specialists without spirit, romantics without heart – as bureaucrats were characterized by Weber.

interpretations, feelings – these are all beyond it. In order to operate smoothly, the archive, as a purely bureaucratic system, must take into account that there is "something beyond the biologicality of the «human beast»", to quote the author of the concept of archivosophy[13].

The hard bureaucratic core, in its "modern" form, redefined at one point by reference to scientistically oriented human sciences, remains unchanged. The archivosophy proposed by Magier and its cultural reflection stand, as it were, alongside archival science.

The arsenal of archival science – he continues – has traditionally encompassed archival theory, archival methodology, and archival studies. Each of these fields has a well-defined scope, and no change seems warranted in this regard. However, the opening of archives to the entirety of human culture and living environment [...] raises the need for science that would turn its interests in this direction. My proposal is to try to define a new science that falls under the term "archival science" to the three branches of archival science that are known and have been previously mentioned, and to add a fourth one – archivosophy[14].

Elsewhere, he states that archivosophy, with the addition of a cultural perspective, goes beyond the research scope of archival theory, and defines it as a science detached from current archival problems and issues that fire the minds of archivists[15].

In my opinion, archival science does not need any more revisions because, as I have pointed out, they do not result in any consistent breakthroughs against the naturalistic understanding of the archive and archival science formed back in the 19th century. What is needed now is simply a "new archival science" that, firstly, would once and for all reject the naturalistic thinking about archives and archival materials, and secondly, would present a coherent concept of archival science as a scholarly reflection on archives and archival materials approached from a cultural perspective.

When looking at the proposals formulated within the field of Polish archival science, I see the potential for building such a new archival science in, for

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13 D. Magier, *Czas archiwozofii*, [in:] *Teoria archiwalna. Wczoraj – dziś i jutro*, Toruńskie Konfrontacje Archiwalne, vol. 2, ed. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, Toruń 2011, p. 19. Elsewhere we read: "the archive as an information centre, or a repository of information, is a typical bureaucratic system that has to react to every signal from the environment, otherwise more and more of its elements will be dysfunctional, or work increasingly worse". Ibidem, p. 15.

14 Ibidem, p. 16.

15 Ibidem, p. 17.

example, the cultural studies approach proposed by Waldemar Chorążyczewski, who focuses on the relationship between man and archive and archival materials, as well as Agnieszka Rosa's proposal to anthropologise archival science. They treat archives as a cultural phenomenon, demand human presence in the archive, denaturalize the archive and archival materials. Thus, they propose not so much a revision of approach but rather a shift towards their cultural understanding. Unfortunately, it seems to me that having taken this crucial step, they did not choose to consistently follow it up, i.e. to redefine the subject matter, scope, and division of archival science in the context of their cultural character.

Chorążyczewski places his cultural studies approach to the archives within the framework of the proposals of integral archival science and refers to it as the anthropology of archives. He builds his views by taking into account the proposal of archivosophy, which, by the way, is his own interpretation of his idea of treating the archive as a "cultural phenomenon"[16]. For an archivosophist, according to Chorążyczewski, "the archive is a cultural phenomenon. He is fascinated by such issues as: the realization of the need to remember through the creation of archives, the archive as a carrier of memory, access to archives as a degree of democratization of the political system, destruction of archival materials as erasure of memory. He sees the theoretical principles of archival science as products of their time and place, so he sets them in a cultural context"[17]. This reflection, in his view, should be anthropological rather than philosophical.

Where exactly does Chorążyczewski place the anthropology of the archive within the structure of integral archival science? It would be part of one of its aspects, which he refers to as pure archival science, and contrasts it with an aspect called applied archival science. Let us emphasize that this division is not based on presence or absence of theoretical reflection, but rather refers to dealing with problems from different levels. The anthropology of archives, together with the theory of archival science, would jointly constitute a reflection from the level of meta-archival science. Chorążyczewski writes:

"[…] archivosophy is thus something more than just theory of archival science as taught by Bohdan Ryszewski, by which he meant a branch of science studies, a discipline external to archival science, meta-archival science, which defined its subject, division, scope and research methods. Certainly, archivosophy is related

[16] W. Chorążyczewski, *Archiwista – teoretyk? Archiwozof? Archiwistyk?*, „Problemy Archiwistyki" 2009, issue 13, pp. 11–16.

[17] Ibidem, p. 13.

to the scientific theory of archival science, to meta-archival science, provided that a cultural perspective is added (...)[18].

This addition means complementing the reflections made within the framework of scientific studies. In Chorążyczewski's approach, the anthropology of archives is not a "non-archival" reflection, which is supposed to deal with the hitherto unnoticed area of the archive's "life" and its "presence" in social and cultural life. Within the framework of integral archival science, it constitutes an aspect of it and harbours the reflection for its own sake. Chorążyczewski has brought the issues of culture to the centre of archival science, which he sees as integral archival science.

This would seem to be a slight modification of Magier's concept of archivosophy. Here, too, archivosophy is "beside" – in this case, "beside" applied archival science. Unlike Magier's proposal, however, it represents an aspect of integral archival science. This change is actually very significant. As I have mentioned before, this is Chorążyczewski's way to denaturalize the archive and archival materials. Whether he sees and draws all the resulting conclusions is another matter. If we were to accept his theoretical reflection, we must conclude that his cultural vision of the archive and archival materials stops at halfway point. Cultural perspective is extended to the archival theory only partially. Most significantly, however, while adding anthropology of archival science, he left its object, scope, and division in its previous non-cultural context. For him, their nature is not cultural.

If Chorążyczewski, rather than adding a new aspect to the theory of the archive, placed it in its entirety within the framework of cultural reflection, the matter would have been clear. Otherwise, the archive is a cultural phenomenon, but the object of archival science is not, just as the scope and division of archival science do not address cultural issues. As a consequence, archival theory, archival methodology, and archival studies do not address cultural phenomena. Thus, reflection within their framework, which is part of integral archival science and should, in my view, refer to culture, does not do that. It is difficult to determine its nature, but it is certainly not cultural. Chorążyczewski writes in very general terms:

An archivist should be an archivosopher, but not only that – he or she should describe archival reality, analyse the efficiency of archival activities, build models that could potentially serve to improve these activities. Thus, he not only reflects

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[18] Ibidem, p. 10.

on the archival reality, but also shapes this reality by proposing specific solutions. His models are waiting to be implemented. He combines the practice of archival science as an applied science and archival science as a pure science. He sees archival science as an integral whole[19].

The project of integral archival science should, in my opinion, evolve towards a firm definition of the cultural status of the subject matter, scope, and problems of archival science. As proposed by Chorążyczewski, integration is only formal in nature. It is joined by a reflection, which, as he points out, refers to: "a relationship between humans and society, and archives and archival materials"[20]. Meanwhile, elsewhere he aptly notes that integral archival science "records" the findings of its various aspects in order to fuse them "into a single system of knowledge"[21]. I believe this can only be guaranteed by seeing the archive and archival materials together. Otherwise, it is difficult to justify that reflection coming from the level of pure archival science should be used in any way for applied archival science (and it should, because otherwise what would be its point?). After all, practical reflection is captured in a different way – I'm not sure how, but certainly not culturally. Only the unified understanding of the subject in cultural terms would "force" not only its application, but above all, the aforementioned fusion into a single system of knowledge.

Referring to Chorążyczewski's reflection and his idea of integral archival science, Rosa proposes anthropologisation of archival science. This project is similar to Chorążyczewski's proposal also in that the author postulates that cultural reflection should be a part of integral archival science, that it should be related to pure archival science. By anthropologising, she means the need to realize "why archivists act the way they do and not in any other way"[22]. Elsewhere we read: "anthropologising archival science thus equals humanizing it"[23]. According to Rosa, when looking from the side, it can prove to be "very invigorating, […] the results of the observation may find some application – stimulate reflection […]"[24].

In my view, the weakness of this approach, as in case of Chorążyczewski's ideas, is in the failure to take the subsequent step. The author took the first

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19 Ibidem, p. 14.

20 W. Chorążyczewski, *O archiwistykę integralną*, „Klio" 2003, no. 3, p. 151.

21 Ibidem, p. 157.

22 A. Rosa, *Archiwa między historią i pamięcią. Antropologizowanie archiwistyki*, „Archiwa – Kancelarie – Zbiory" 2008, vol. 2, p. 10.

23 Ibidem, p. 10.

24 Ibidem.

step of recognising the archive as an institution of the humanities rather than of nature, but, like Chorążyczewski, she stopped halfway because she did not see all the implications that follow. Again, archival science in its theoretical and practical aspects remains outside the world of culture. Rosa's reasoning is similar – it is not entirely clear what the nature of archival science is supposed to be. In any case, the researcher emphasizes that this is an area where the findings of anthropologised pure archival science may or may not be used.

At this point, it would be worthwhile to take a closer look at how the notion of culture is understood on the grounds of cultural anthropology, to which both Chorążyczewski and Rosa refer. In terms of anthropology, culture is a way of life; it is global and holistic in nature. It cannot be narrowed down to any one area of human activity. Culture encompasses all types of human activity, constituting a contextual, systemic, and particularistic whole, which consists of the rules that organize it and the phenomena manifested within it[25]. Therefore, it is not possible to conclude that apart from the issues that are archival *sensu stricto*, there are phenomena that are archival *sensu largo*, and to limit the perception of the archive as a cultural phenomenon to those only. Culture encompasses the entirety of human activity. Phenomena regarded as archival *sensu stricto* are as much cultural as archival phenomena *sensu largo*.

I believe that the proposals by Chorążyczewski and Rosa, cited as examples of the ferment rising in discussions within archival science community, which denaturalise the classical understanding of the archive, lead irrevocably towards the "new archival science". The entity that is going to determine the issues taken up by the "new archival science", consolidated through relationship with cultural anthropology and anthropological understanding of culture, will continue to be the archive, performing its historically shaped functions, and archival materials within the scope of functions performed with regard to them by the archives[26]. We can still consistently consider that the aforementioned tasks include collecting, preserving and compiling archival materials, as well as making them available. One reservation should be made, namely that for the "new archival science" its subject is cultural in nature. The cultural take on the subject of archival science effectively means giving it a new status. This entails considering the issues addressed thus far in their entirety as pertaining to culture and the way it functions.

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25 W.J. Burszta, *Wymiary antropologicznego poznania kultury*, Poznań 1992.

26 B. Ryszewski, *Archiwistyka*..., pp. 68–70.

The new archival science, anthropologised – which is to mean founded on culture understood anthropologically, would combine, as per Chorążyczewski's proposal, pure archival science, i.e. the theory of archival science as a meta-cultural reflection on its subject, scope and branches, with applied archival science, in which archival theory would be a cultural theory of collecting, storing, compiling archival materials and making them available. In addition, archival science conceived in this way would analyse archival cultural practices, not just as one aspect of culture in itself, but would establish connections between them and the practices present in the entire culture.

The face of the new archival science may be shaped by the notion of culture in its various theoretical versions, borrowed from cultural anthropology and placed in the centre of its analytical language[27]. I am personally interested in those that focus on the individual[28]. As for the issues related to the status of archival science as a discipline of knowledge, as the study of archives and archival materials in a cultural context, I would see it as moving in a world of culture in which a human being says "I". There is no room here to describe "the fate of the scientific puzzle", as Rafał Nahirny named the problem of human individuality in anthropology – the relationship between "culture and the individual"[29]. Let us note, however, the influence of Clifford Geerzt in grappling with this puzzle and his opening the way for the deliberations, in anthropology as well as in history, over human individuality. The analysis of Geertz' interpretive anthropology leads him to the following conclusions: "By considering individual action, the relationship between the individual and culture, or field research as a confrontation with life, he [Geertz – W.P.] reached the limits of the anthropological knowledge paradigm of the time. In doing so, however, he opened the door for historians to study the ambiguity of action and the individuality of man"[30].

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27 A. Barnardt, *History and theory in anthropology*, Cambridge 2000 [A. Barnardt, *Antropologia. Zarys teorii i historii,* trans. S. Szymański]; A. Kuper, *The anthropologists' account*, Harvard University Press 2000 [A. Kuper, *Kultura, Model antropologiczny,* trans. I. Kołbon, Kraków 2005].

28 W. Piasek, *Anthropologising history. A historiographic and methodological case study of Witold Kula*, Toruń 2018; idem, *The ethnography of historiography developed in the Polish People's Republic. A historiographic and methodological case study of Karol Górski*, Toruń 2021.

29 R. Nahirny, *Losy naukowej łamigłówki. Clifford Geertz, mikrohistorie i podmiotowość*, Wrocław 2011, p. 10.

30 Ibidem, p. 83.

Of course, the reaction of both anthropologists and archivists to the new archival science may be sceptical. In their introduction to Mieke Bal's book *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities. A rough guide* Wojciech Burszta and Anna Zeidler-Janiszewska wrote: "the concept of «culture» travels today in an almost unbridled way and beyond any disciplinary control"[31]. Referring to Bal's idea of "travelling concepts" and to linguistics, the attitude of potential sceptical anthropologists and archivists can be described as a matter of "conceptual purism". Let us bear in mind that linguists understand purism as a position taken on linguistic matters that focuses on variously understood purity of language, including vocabulary.

Anthropological purists might point out, for example, that the concept of culture which defines archival reflection is far removed from the one they believe cultural anthropology should and does use. They may also consider the references to be vague, not so much anthropological as, for example, humanistic in general. Referring to Bal, the author of the idea of travelling concepts, we can respond that concepts travel "between disciplines, individual scholars [...] they are never unambiguous and understood canonically, but always fluid in their meaning, and their value and richness of meanings sometimes differ fundamentally".[32] Furthermore, when applied to different "objects of study" they enter into "new constellations which are sometimes unexpected at first glance"[33].

Apart from the trivial statement that archival science has always been concerned with the individual, archival purists may also claim that anthropologised archival science is not archival science, because, as we know, since the 19th century, when its scientific and disciplinary shape was forged, it has only ever been improving. Its conceptual foundation is well known and defined. Any changes that may occur are additions resulting from evolutionary improvement, not breakaways and emergence of new archival sciences[34].

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[31] W.J. Burszta, A. Zeidler-Janiszewska, *Poza akademickimi podziałami. Wędrowanie z Mieke Bal*, [in:] M. Bal, *Wędrujące pojęcia w naukach humanistycznych. Krótki przewodnik*, trans. M. Bucholc, Warszawa 2012, p. 20.

[32] W.J. Burszta, A. Zeidler-Janiszewska, *Poza akademickimi podziałami*..., p. 19.

[33] Ibidem p. 18.

[34] W. Piasek, *„Archiwistyka – jedna czy wiele dyscyplin naukowych? Uwagi z perspektywy nowej archiwistyki*, [in:] *Pogranicza archiwistyki,* Toruńskie konfrontacje archiwalne, vol. 6, ed. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, Toruń 2019, pp. 25–32.

The proposal for a new archival science may raise doubts. It is certain, however, that if the problems and phenomena identified and described today by archival practitioners and theoreticians are to be fully diagnosed, and appropriate actions taken in the field of archival science, a cultural reflection is required.

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OMÓWIENIA I RECENZJE

O źródłach inspiracji archiwistyką w książce, która nie stała się podręcznikiem. Refleksje na marginesie publikacji W. Chorążyczewskiego *Zachęta do archiwistyki*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, Toruń 2022, ss. 360

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STRESZCZENIE
Recenzowana publikacja jest w dorobku piśmienniczym polskiej archiwistyki ostatnich trzech dekad pozycją wyjątkową. Ukazuje bowiem trzy perspektywy dziedziny archiwalnej: podbudowę teoretyczną archiwistyki, spojrzenie z punktu widzenia praktyki archiwalnej oraz pochwałę amatorstwa jako pobudki podejmowania wszelkich działań archiwalnych. Autor przybliżył nie tylko dotychczasowy dorobek archiwistyki, wyjaśnił jej naukowy charakter, zakres i wewnętrzny podział, używaną przez nią terminologię, ale – jak przystało na monografię – zaprezentował również pewną nowatorską koncepcję, refleksję na temat poszukiwania w archiwistyce nowych idei i ich praktycznych zastosowań. Taką prekursorską rolę odgrywają w książce fragmenty dotyczące redefinicji i odtworzenia modelu procesu archiwotwórczego zbioru archiwalnego, a także teorii zbiorów, której istotą jest zasada poszanowania naturalnie wytworzonych przez ustrojowo odrębnych twórców całości, złożonych nie tylko z archiwaliów, ale również obiektów bibliotecznych i muzealnych.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE
archiwistyka, terminologia archiwalna, paradygmaty archiwalne, teoria zbiorów

On the sources of inspiration for archival science in a book that did not became a textbook. Reflections on the margins of a publication W. Chorążyczewski *Encouragement to archivism*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, Toruń 2022, pp. 360

ABSTRACT
The reviewed paper is a unique position in the literary works of the Polish archives of the last three decades, since it presents the three perspectives of the archival field: its theoretical basis, standpoint of the archival practice, and praise of amateurishness as an inducement to undertake any archival activities. Not only did the author discuss the current achievements of the archival science and explain its scientific character, scope, internal division and terminology used by the archivists, but he also presented an innovative concept, a reflection on seeking new ideas in the archival science and their practical applications, as befits a monograph. In the book, this pioneering role is played by the passages concerning the redefinition and restoration of the process model of forming archival collection, as well as theory of collections, the essence of which is the principle of respecting the entirety, created naturally by creators, systemically separated from each other, which comprises not only archives, but also library and museum objects.

KEYWORDS
archival science, archival terminology, archival paradigms, theory of collections

Dla śledzących karierę naukową Waldemara Chorążyczewskiego *Zachęta do archiwistyki* jest zaskoczeniem. Warto przypomnieć, że autor wywodzi się ze szkoły Bohdana Ryszewskiego – jako jego najwybitniejszy uczeń jest też głównym interpretatorem jego myśli archiwalnej. To z inspiracji promotora prac magisterskiej i doktorskiej w głównym nurcie naukowych dociekań Chorążyczewskiego pojawiła się problematyka archiwów prywatnych i publicznych doby staropolskiej, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem badań nad polską kancelarią królewską, uzupełniona następnie o zagadnienia teorii archiwalnej i kształcenia archiwistów. Z czasem pojawiły się pola badawcze wykraczające poza rejony zainteresowań naukowych twórcy wspomnianej szkoły, obejmujące problematykę antropologizowania archiwistyki, analizę egodokumentalną oraz klimatologię historyczną[1]. Można było zatem się spodziewać, że po 33 latach od opublikowania *Archiwistyki* ukaże się nowy podręcznik, dorównujący sławie poprzednikowi. Ten trop sugeruje zresztą sam autor. Geneza recenzowanej monografii wywodzi się od napisanego przez niego skryptu *Archiwistyka dla początkujących*, którego zadaniem było wsparcie procesu kształcenia w ramach wstępu do archiwistyki[2]. Inny cel przyświecał kolejnemu opracowaniu pt. *Teoria archiwalna*. *Skrypt dla studentów archiwistyki i zarządzania dokumentacją w roku akademickim 2020/2021*. Przedstawia on teorię archiwalną z trzech perspektyw: 1) archiwistyki stosowanej, dążącej do wszechstronnego wpływu na dziedzinę archiwalną i mającej praktyczne zastosowania; 2) kulturowej, reprezentowanej przez zantropologizowaną archiwistykę,

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1 Zob. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, *Szkoła naukowa Bohdana Ryszewskiego*, [w:] *Z uczniami, kolegami i przyjaciółmi w świecie nauki. Prace dedykowane profesorowi Bohdanowi Ryszewskiemu w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, red. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Żeglińska, Olsztyn 2014, s. 30–33.

2 Skrypt ma przejrzysty układ, odpowiadający kolejności zagadnień poruszanych w trakcie zajęć akademickich. Kolejno są to: omówienie przedmiotu, zakresu i podziału archiwistyki, używanej terminologii, następnie prezentacja zagadnień kształtowania zasobu archiwalnego (nadzór nad narastającym zasobem, selekcja materiałów archiwalnych, działalność dokumentacyjna) oraz jego rozmieszczenia, co staje się pretekstem do przedstawienia zasad pertynencji terytorialnej, poszanowania historycznie ukształtowanego zasobu archiwalnego i wspólnego dziedzictwa. Po nich zostały wskazane kwestie dla – jak to określono – archiwistów klauzurowych, czyli odnoszące się do przechowywania, reguł kierujących opracowaniem (porządkowaniem i opisem) archiwaliów, w tym zasady proweniencji. Oddzielny blok zagadnień dotyczy udostępniania zasobu, w ramach którego zaprezentowano zasadę publiczności archiwów oraz działalność informacyjną i promocyjną archiwów. Całość kończy wykład na temat istniejących w Polsce sieci archiwalnych. Zob. W. Chorążyczewski, *Archiwistyka dla początkujących (wersja 1)*, Toruń 2012, ss. 59, https://repozytorium.umk.pl/bitstream/handle/item/2191/Archiwistyka_dla_poczatkujacych_wersja_1.pdf?sequence=1 [dostęp: 1.12.2022].

zwaną również archiwozofią; 3) archiwistki niestosowanej, *stricte* naukowej, czyli raczkującej dopiero archiwologii[3].

Z czasem Chorążyczewski dostrzegł potencjał swoich skryptów, które z zasady są tymczasową syntezą naukową, i uznał, że mogą one stać się fundamentem podręcznika. Projekt przygotowywanego kompendium wiedzy z zakresu archiwistyki prezentował zresztą na dwóch konferencjach w 2009 i 2011 r.[4] Nie ma w tym podejściu nic odkrywczego, bo jest to naturalna droga rozwoju uczelnianej kariery naukowej i dydaktycznej. Długoletnia praktyka wykładowcy owocuje często najpierw skryptem, czasami aktualizowanym i uzupełnianym zgodnie z obowiązującym stanem wiedzy, a następnie, często po osiągnięciu pełnej dojrzałości i rozkwitu kariery, podręcznikiem akademickim, w tym konkretnym przypadku w ramach studiów na kierunku archiwistyka i zarządzanie dokumentacją na Uniwersytecie Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu. W ośrodku toruńskim tego rodzaju podejście ma zresztą pewną tradycję. Tak było chociażby z opracowaniem Andrzeja Tomczaka dotyczącym dziejów archiwów polskich[5] oraz podręcznikiem *Archi-*

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[3] Wykład Chorążyczewskiego rozpoczyna się od wyjaśnienia, czym jest teoria archiwalna oraz prezentacji funkcji archiwów. Potem następuje omówienie twierdzeń ogólnych (zasad) na gruncie archiwistyki stosowanej, a także nauki o dziedzinie archiwalnej w okresach dominacji funkcji prawno-administracyjnej i historii krytycznej, w dobie archiwistyki pozytywistycznej, modernistycznej, marksistowskiej i postmodernistycznej. Końcowa część skryptu poświęcona jest zagadnieniom terytorialności archiwaliów i jej aspektowi informacyjnemu, wartościowaniu archiwalnemu oraz teorii zbiorów, którą zaprezentowano jako „szkic propozycji" nowego podejścia do nauk o rzeczach gromadzonych przez człowieka, przygotowany z punktu widzenia archiwistyki. Zob. W. Chorążyczewski, *Teoria archiwalna. Skrypt dla studentów archiwistyki i zarządzania dokumentacją w roku akademickim 2020/2021*, Toruń 2020, https://repozytorium.umk.pl/bitstream/handle/item/6398/Teoria%20archiwalna%20wersja%204.pdf?sequence=1 [dostęp: 1.12.2022].

[4] W. Chorążyczewski, *Projekt podręcznika „Archiwistyka dla początkujących"*, [w:] *Kształcenie archiwistów i zarządców dokumentacji. Model kompetencji zawodowych. Materiały z konferencji Sekcji Edukacji Archiwalnej Stowarzyszenia Archiwistów Polskich, Instytutu Historii i Archiwistyki UMK i Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń, 2 grudnia 2009* r., Studia. Materiały. Konferencje Stowarzyszenia Archiwistów Polskich, t. 5, red. W. Kwiatkowska, Poznań 2010, s. 121–124; idem, *Projekt podręcznika „Archiwistyka dla początkujących" (wersja druga czyli konspekt)*, [w:] *Podręczniki archiwalne od koncepcji do realizacji*, Studia. Materiały Stowarzyszenia Archiwistów Polskich, t. 6, red. W. Kwiatkowska, A. Rosa, Poznań 2012, s. 99–103. Sylabusy zajęć ze wstępu do archiwistyki i teorii archiwalnej na UMK wskazują, że „Zachęta do archiwistyki", jest jedną z podstawowych pozycji literatury zalecanej studentom w procesie zdobywania wiedzy.

[5] A. Tomczak, *Zarys dziejów archiwów polskich*, wyd. 2, Toruń 1982. Pierwsze wydanie tej publikacji ukazało się w dwóch częściach: *Zarys dziejów archiwów polskich*, cz. 1, *Do wybuchu I wojny światowej*, Toruń 1974; *Zarys dziejów archiwów polskich*, cz. 2, *Od wybuchu I wojny światowej do roku 1978,* Toruń 1980.

wistyka Bohdana Ryszewskiego, Haliny Robótki i Andrzeja Tomczaka z 1989 r., porządkującym i syntetyzującym wiedzę z dziedziny archiwalnej, w którym pojawił się podział na teorię i metodykę archiwalną oraz część archiwoznawczą[6]. W 2002 r. ukazał się skrypt Robótki *Wprowadzenie do archiwistyki*, mający na celu wyposażenie studentów w podstawową wiedzę na temat dyscypliny, którą studiują[7]. Wydany z kolei osiem lat później podręcznik tej samej autorki *Opracowanie i opis archiwaliów* ograniczył się do wycinka metodyki archiwalnej dotyczącej tylko opracowywania akt i redagowania ich opisu informacyjnego[8]. Podobną uwagę można wnieść do wydanej w 2016 r. książki Wiesławy Kwiatkowskiej, *Metodyka opracowania zasobu archiwalnego ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem akt spraw*, w której zawarty jest wykład metodyki opracowania w ujęciu klasycznej archiwistyki teoretycznej i praktycznej[9].

Wychodząc z takiego porównania podręczników i skryptów toruńskich z ostatnich dwóch dekad, zakres zagadnień poruszanych w publikacji Chorążyczewskiego jest zdecydowanie szerszy. Autor wybrał drogę przybliżenia nie tylko dotychczasowego dorobku archiwistyki, opisu sprawdzonych paradygmatów, ale – jak przystało na monografię – zaprezentował również pewną nowatorską koncepcję, refleksję na temat poszukiwania w archiwistyce nowych idei i ich praktycznych zastosowań[10]. W efekcie powstała książka, z podziałem na rozdziały i podrozdziały, będąca autorskim spojrzeniem na archiwistykę, niepodważającym jednak zasadniczych ustaleń wymienionych wyżej toruńskich publikacji. Odniesienia do skryptów Chorążyczewskiego nie są dziełem przypadku. W nich bowiem tkwi zamysł oraz baza tekstowa całej publikacji. Dodatkowo 8 podrozdziałów zostało opartych na 10 wcześniej opublikowanych, częściowo zmodyfikowanych pracach, w tym w seriach wydawniczych Toruńskich Konfrontacji Archiwalnych (3) i Sym-

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6 H. Robótka, B. Ryszewski, A. Tomczak, *Archiwistyka*, Warszawa 1989.

7 H. Robótka, *Wprowadzenie do archiwistyki*, Toruń 2002.

8 Eadem, *Opracowanie i opis archiwaliów. Podręcznik akademicki*, Toruń 2010.

9 W. Kwiatkowska, *Metodyka opracowania zasobu archiwalnego ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem akt spraw*, Toruń 2016. Zob. też M. Wnuk, *Podręczniki w akademickim nauczaniu archiwistyki*, [w:] *Kształcenie archiwistów*..., s. 61–96; eadem, *Polskie podręczniki do nauczania archiwistyki na wybranych uniwersytetach – przegląd i zestawienie*, [w:] *Podręczniki archiwalne*..., s. 49–86.

10 Zobacz dwugłos na temat formuły podręcznika archiwalnego – podsumowanie dorobku czy nowatorskie ujęcie zagadnienia: W. Kwiatkowska, *Udział Sekcji Edukacji Archiwalnej SAP* w *opracowaniu serii podręczników do nauczania archiwistyki*, [w:] *Podręczniki archiwalne*..., s. 163; A. Kulecka, *Udział Sekcji Edukacji Archiwalnej SAP* w *opracowaniu serii podręczników do nauczania archiwistyki. Głos* w *dyskusji*, [w:] ibidem, s. 167–168.

posia Archivistica (2), czego zresztą autor nie ukrywa, zamieszczając szczegółowe noty bibliograficzne – odsyłacze do pierwotnych publikacji.

Warto zatem zastanowić się, jak doszło do tego, że *Zachęta do archiwistyki* nie stała się podręcznikiem? Gdyby był to podręcznik służący – jak planował sam Chorążyczewski – do nauczania przedmiotu wstęp do archiwistyki, odwoływałby się zapewne już we wprowadzeniu do skromnych polskich osiągnięć w zakresie tworzenia kompendiów wiedzy archiwalnej. Zgodnie z wolą autora zostałby również wyposażony w indeks rzeczowy i marginalia ułatwiające odszukiwanie pożądanych fragmentów oraz ułatwiający lekturę bogaty zestaw ilustracji, a tak się w przypadku *Zachęty do archiwistyki* nie stało[11]. Chorążyczewski tworzy w tej kwestii „zasłonę dymną", którą stanowi jego specyficzna wrażliwość archiwalna, postrzeganie rzeczywistości przez pryzmat dokumentów i archiwów, tak jakby nie istniał poza nimi inny, ciekawy poznawczo świat. Struktura wewnętrzna monografii nie odpowiada podziałowi zastosowanemu w dwóch wcześniejszych skryptach autora. Książka ukazuje bowiem trzy perspektywy dziedziny archiwalnej: podbudowę teoretyczną archiwistyki, spojrzenie z punktu widzenia praktyki archiwalnej oraz pochwałę amatorstwa jako pobudki podejmowania wszelkich działań archiwalnych. W tym ostatnim przypadku amatorstwo (miłośnictwo) rozumiane jest jako zjawisko jakościowo różne od pracy, powstające w sytuacji, kiedy człowiek kierujący się pozytywnymi emocjami wybiera świadomie i dobrowolnie przedmiot swojej aktywności[12]. W kontekście przedstawionych spostrzeżeń wprowadzenie do publikacji rozczarowuje, bo nie wyjaśnia jej myśli przewodniej, nie wtajemnicza w zagadnienia poruszane w poszczególnych rozdziałach. Stanowi raczej dosyć swobodny wywód dotyczący traktowania przez autora zagadnień archiwalnych i nie zawiera odwołań do literatury, będącej inspiracją do przygotowania *Zachęty do archiwistyki*.

Monografię otwiera rozdział I poświęcony teorii archiwistyki, prezentujący – jak w klasycznym już toruńskim podręczniku z 1989 r. – pojęcie, przedmiot i podział archiwistyki, a także zarys rozwoju teorii archiwalnej[13]. Trudno nie zauważyć, że od pewnego czasu problemem dla archiwistyki, jako stosunkowo mło-

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[11] W. Chorążyczewski, *Projekt podręcznika…*, s. 121; idem, *Projekt podręcznika… (wersja druga czyli konspekt)*, s. 103.

[12] Etymologia terminu amatorstwo wywodzi się z języka łacińskiego: *amor* – miłość; *amare* – miłować. Przyjmuje się, że amatorstwo to miłośnictwo, a amator to miłośnik. T. Dyrda, *Amatorstwo a praca i zabawa*, „Kieleckie Studia Pedagogiczne i Psychologiczne" 1992, t. 6, s. 60, 62.

[13] Różnica między omawianą publikacją a podręcznikiem z 1989 r. polega na odstąpieniu w tej części książki od omówienia pojęć, terminów specyficznych dla języka archiwistów.

dej dyscypliny naukowej, staje się zdefiniowanie osoby zajmującej się naukowo archiwistyką, odróżnienie jej od osoby zatrudnionej w charakterze archiwisty. Jest to zagadnienie wyolbrzymione, ale autor powraca do niego w kilku miejscach w książce (wprowadzenie, rozdział I, zakończenie)[14]. Status archiwistyka, moim zdaniem, nie różni się niczym od statusu historyka, z którym to terminem utożsamiają się zarówno osoby prowadzące badania i posiadające cenzus naukowy, jak i absolwenci kierunkowych studiów oraz „twórczo pasywni" miłośnicy Klio. Doprecyzowaniu, w jakim charakterze się występuje, służy dookreślenie – archiwista-praktyk prowadzi działalność archiwalną, archiwista-naukowiec zajmuje się natomiast archiwistyką, czyli nauką o dziedzinie archiwalnej, niezależnie od tego, jaką w danym momencie przyjmuje ona odsłonę: archiwistyki stosowanej, archiwozofii, czy archiwologii. W recenzowanej pracy dostrzegalna jest fascynacja Chorążyczewskiego antropologizującym prądem w humanistyce, podejściem kulturowym do badania zagadnień archiwalnych. Prowadzi to do postawienia w centrum badań człowieka wytwarzającego, archiwizującego i wykorzystującego archiwalia, czyli wchodzącego z nimi w jakiś kontakt, co skutkuje rozwojem archiwozofii, przeciwstawianej klasycznej archiwistyce skoncentrowanej na archiwaliach i tym, co się z nimi dzieje. Na szczęście autor książki, zwolennik archiwistyki integralnej, łączącej aspekty nauki stosowanej i nauki czystej, zatrzymuje się „w swoim kulturowym widzeniu archiwum i archiwaliów" w pół drogi. Dodając do teorii antropologię archiwistyki – jak słusznie zauważył Wojciech Piasek – „pozostawia jej przedmiot, zakres i podział w dotychczasowym pozakulturowym kontekście"[15]. Jako archiwista klasyczny jestem mu za to wdzięczny!

Tematem przewodnim kolejnego rozdziału jest zakres archiwistyki, obejmujący w konwencjonalnej wersji cztery podstawowe funkcje realizowane przez archiwa: gromadzenie, przechowywanie, opracowanie i udostępnianie. Chorążyczewski przedstawia też inny podział, dokonany z punktu widzenia społecznych ról wyznaczonych archiwom z zewnątrz, wyróżniając urzędowe (prawno-administracyjne), naukowe i kulturowe (publiczne) zakresy działalności. Dodatkowo charakteryzuje funkcje informacyjną, edukacyjną, promocyjną, ideologiczną i pamięciotwórczą archiwów, podkreśla łączące je relacje oraz rozważa wyodrębnienie wykraczającej poza działalność informacyjną funkcji politycznej. Wyodrębnianie

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[14] W. Chorążyczewski, *Zachęta do archiwistyki*, Toruń 2022, s. 8, 34–35, 309.

[15] W. Piasek, *„Nowa archiwistyka" – w stronę kulturowej teorii archiwum i archiwaliów*, [w:] *Nowa archiwistyka – archiwa i archiwistyka* w *ponowoczesnym kontekście kulturowym*, Toruńskie Konfrontacje Archiwalne, t. 4, red. W. Chorążyczewski, W. Piasek i A. Rosa, Toruń 2014, s. 20.

zakresów działalności, które doskonale mieszczą się w trzech podstawowych funkcjach społecznych – moim zdaniem – wydaje się zbędne. Takie działanie można rozumieć jako próbę odkrywania dla młodej dyscypliny naukowej nowych pól badawczych, ale jest to tylko złudzenie. Rozszczepianie funkcji nie powoduje rozszerzenia zakresu zagadnień, którymi zajmuje się archiwistyka; jej przedmiot badań przesuwa się tylko z centrum na pogranicza.

Nie jestem też entuzjastą nakładania na archiwa zadań edukacyjnych, których celem jest kształcenie, wychowywanie obecnego i przyszłego użytkownika, a co za tym idzie wkraczania na grunt szeroko pojętej pedagogiki oraz jednego z jej działów – dydaktyki[16]. Skoro edukację konstytuują procesy nauczania i uczenia się, to warto zastanowić się, gdzie należy postawić granicę pomiędzy wiedzą przekazywaną w sposób popularny potencjalnym użytkownikom, a podjęciem przez nich pewnego wysiłku intelektualnego związanego z pozyskaniem elementarnej wiedzy historycznej i zrozumieniem metodyki prowadzenia kwerend archiwalnych. Rzecz nie w tym, by termin popularyzacja zastąpić bardziej pojemnym – edukacja, ale by doprecyzować, jak rozumieć tę formę działalności. Dla mnie edukacja archiwalna jest upowszechnianiem (popularyzacją) wiedzy o archiwaliach i archiwum, prowadzonych przez nie badaniach naukowych z zakresu archiwistyki, połączonym z kształceniem umiejętności korzystania ze zgromadzonego zasobu, realizowanym z własnej inicjatywy archiwum lub we współpracy ze szkołami, uczelniami, innymi instytucjami oświatowymi lub kulturalnymi. Na pewno nie jest jedynie znaną z działań promocyjnych ekspozycją „ciekawostek" archiwalnych. Wydaje się, że takie spojrzenie nie jest obce Chorążyczewskiemu, o czym świadczy jego przekonanie, z którym się całkowicie zgadzam, że „rzetelna edukacja budowana jest na badaniach naukowych, jest ich popularyzacją"[17]. O tym, że zbytnie zaufanie w moc działań edukacyjnych może zaprowadzić w niebezpieczne rejony dyskryminacji archiwalnej świadczą rzucone mimochodem spostrzeżenia autora na temat zwracania szczególnej uwagi na atrakcyjność pozyskiwanych przez archiwa materiałów oraz dokładniejszy opis obiektów „o większym poten-

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[16] Zob. A. Rosa, *Funkcja edukacyjna archiwów*, Warszawa 2012, s. 72–88; H. Mazur, *Między archiwistyką a dydaktyką historii, czyli co archiwista o lekcjach archiwalnych wiedzieć powinien*, [w:] *Zatrzymać przeszłość, dogonić przyszłość. Pamiętnik VI Powszechnego Zjazdu Archiwistów Polskich, Wrocław 5–7 września 2012 r.*, red. W. Chorążyczewski, K. Stryjkowski, Warszawa 2013, s. 523–536.

[17] W. Chorążyczewski, *Zachęta…*, s. 46. Chorążyczewski proponuje rozwiązać sprzeczność terminologiczną poprzez rozróżnienie prowadzące do traktowania popularyzacji jako upowszechniania wiedzy, a edukacji jako przekazywania wiedzy i umiejętności (s. 52).

cjale edukacyjnym i promocyjnym"[18]. Nie w taki sposób powinno się tworzyć hierarchię priorytetów w zakresie gromadzenia i opracowania zasobu.

Na koniec tej części rozważań Chorążyczewski dokonuje periodyzacji paradygmatów działalności archiwalnej, wynikającej z przewagi jednej z trzech realizowanych przez archiwa funkcji społecznych. Ten podział nie budzi kontrowersji, tym bardziej, że przyjęcie określonych ram chronologicznych dla okresów dominacji wzorców postępowania: urzędowego, naukowego czy też publicznego, nie oznacza, nie świadczy o tym, że zostają one bezpowrotnie rozłączone bądź którykolwiek z nich zanika.

Trzeci rozdział stanowi esencję całej rozprawy. To w tym miejscu, w ramach tłumaczenia znaczenia siedmiu podstawowych dla archiwistyki terminów, Chorążyczewski ukazuje swój kunszt naukowy, nawet w przypadku prezentacji tez kontrowersyjnych[19]. Należy zgodzić się z autorem, że terminologia fachowa musi służyć nie tylko wewnętrznej komunikacji przedstawicieli świata nauki i grupy zawodowej archiwistów, ale również porozumiewaniu się z otoczeniem, wyjaśnianiu rzeczywistości archiwalnej w sposób możliwie najprostszy, bez niepotrzebnego mnożenia bytów. Stąd wynika też trafny postulat, by język naukowej dyskusji nie podążał za zmianami słownictwa w opisywanych realiach. Trafne są przeprowadzone przez Chorążyczewskiego analizy terminów posiadających wiele znaczeń (wielopojęciowość), takich jak materiały archiwalne (archiwalia, dokumentacja archiwalna), kancelaria, registratura, archiwum, zasób archiwalny czy też zespół archiwalny, choć w tym przypadku pojęciu zarchiwizowanej całości archiwaliów pochodzących od jednego, odrębnego ustrojowo twórcy odpowiada również termin archiwum (wieloterminowość).

Wątpliwości nasuwają się dopiero przy omawianiu terminu zbiór archiwalny. Nie dotyczą one zaproponowanej przez autora poprawnej i niewzbudzającej kontrowersji definicji zbioru, ale zastosowanej retoryki. Cały wysiłek Chorążyczewskiego w tej części książki jest bowiem skierowany na udowodnienie, że zbiór

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[18] Ibidem, s. 46.

[19] Wpływ promotora na uczniów, jego myśl przewodnią w zakresie rozważań terminologicznych, widać w rozprawie jednej z doktorantek prof. Chorążyczewskiego. Dziwnym trafem Monika Płuciennik wymienia wśród najważniejszych pojęć archiwalnych również siedem terminów określających przedmiot archiwistyki. Z autorem recenzowanej publikacji różnią się w podejściu do jednego terminu. Płuciennik do klasycznych terminów nie zaliczyła „zbioru archiwalnego", natomiast Chorążyczewski, wbrew zapowiedziom z początku rozdziału, omówił dodatkowo „proces archiwotwórczy". Zob. M. Płuciennik, *Polska terminologia archiwalna w źródłach prawa*, Warszawa 2020, s. 262.

archiwalny nie jest czymś gorszym od zespołu archiwalnego. Jego argumentacja utwierdza mnie jednak w przekonaniu, że tak właśnie jest. Różnica między zespołem a zbiorem jest taka, jak między naturą a sztucznością, organicznym a abiotycznym, żywym organem a wszczepionym implantem, krótko mówiąc – zasadnicza. O przewadze zespołów nad zbiorami świadczy bogactwo ich odmian oraz możliwość tworzenia na ich bazie form ponadzespołowych – jak to ujął Józef Siemieński – zespołów wyższego rzędu. Do dzisiaj istnieją grupy zespołów, natomiast o ich odpowiedniku dla zbiorów nikt nie słyszał. W przypadku zespołów istnieje ponadto kilka metod ich porządkowania, podczas gdy w odniesieniu do zbiorów jedna – schematyczno-rzeczowa. Zespołowość jest podstawą organizacji wewnętrznej zasobu archiwalnego (zbioru informacyjnego), zapewnia jego przejrzystość, tłumaczy historyczny kontekst powstania akt oraz sprzyja poprawnej i pełnej krytyce źródeł, czyli ocenie ich autentyczności i wiarygodności. Tych naturalnych zalet nie podważyła komputeryzacja archiwów i zmiana profilu użytkowników poszukujących szybkiej informacji i – mówiąc dyplomatycznie – nieprzygotowujących własnych instrukcji wyszukiwawczych.

Pomijając w tym miejscu kwestie zbiorów ukształtowanych celowo przez osoby i instytucje prywatne, warto przypominać „wybryki" archiwów związane z tworzeniem, zgodnie z fakultatywnymi zwyczajami metodycznymi, zbiorów w celu ułatwienia wyszukiwania informacji, prowadzenia kwerend lub według kryterium rodzajów archiwaliów, np. dokumentów pergaminowych i papierowych (w części wyodrębnionych z zespołów), kartograficznych, ikonograficznych itp., których pochodzenie w wielu przypadkach można w prosty sposób ustalić[20]. Są one typowym odstępstwem od zasady proweniencji. Uzasadnione jest bowiem formowanie zbiorów archiwalnych jedynie w związku z niemożnością lub trudnością ustalenia przynależności zespołowej materiałów. To dlatego tworzono np. zbiory odciętych, luźnych pieczęci i tłoków pieczętnych (typariuszy), będące wyrazem potrzeby ich ewidencyjnego i fizycznego zabezpieczenia. Powstanie zbiorów pism i druków ulotnych w archiwach było i jest z kolei wynikiem celowego prowadzenia działalności dokumentacyjnej (kolekcjonowania tego rodzaju materiałów), z tym że trzeba odróżnić tę czynność od znanych w przeszłości działań polegających na włączaniu do zbioru druków materiałów wyodrębnionych z ze-

[20] Przykładów wspomnianych „wybryków" dostarczają m.in.: A. Laszuk, *Zasada zespołowości w praktyce archiwów państwowych*, [w:] *Zasada zespołowości w praktyce archiwów państwowych. Studia i materiały*, red. E. Rosowska, Warszawa 2017, s. 65–70; K. Stryjkowski, *Zespoły i zbiory. Kształtowanie zasobu i jego opracowanie w archiwach*, [w:] ibidem, s. 56–58.

społów archiwalnych. Proweniencyjnego podejścia wymaga nie tylko warsztat naukowy, ale i Kodeks Etyczny Archiwisty uchwalony na XIII Międzynarodowym Kongresie Archiwów w Pekinie, w którym za regułę uznano kwestię utrzymywania archiwaliów w ich „historycznym, prawnym i administracyjnym kontekście, przestrzegając tym samym zasadę pochodzenia oraz zabezpieczając i uwidaczniając pierwotne powiązania między dokumentami"[21].

Trudno zgodzić się również z założeniem, że wszystko, co sztuczne, tworzy się tylko w sposób celowy, bo inaczej nie miałoby szansy zaistnieć. Zdaniem Chorążyczewskiego zbiory, nie będąc całością naturalną, są tworem ludzkiego umysłu i pracy, dzięki czemu powstają zgodnie z pewnym pomysłem, koncepcją. To idealistyczna wersja wydarzeń, abstrahująca od kondycji psychofizycznej twórcy zbioru, który może być wyrazem (samoświadectwem) szaleństwa lub obłędu gromadzenia, a nie rzeczywistym obrazem jego działalności lub kolekcjonerskiej pasji. Czy nadal będzie to zbiór powstający celowo i czy poza specjalistami z zakresu medycyny ktoś jeszcze będzie w stanie zinterpretować zamysł twórcy?

Nobilitacja archiwalna zbioru sięga jednak dalej, gdyż zdaniem autora „przypadkowe może być to, co jest naturalne, co rodzi się samo z siebie, a więc właśnie zespół archiwalny, będący przecież skutkiem ubocznym, niezamierzonym, działania instytucji"[22]. Powyższą uwagę można odnieś zarówno do przedsiębiorstw, jak i urzędów. Nieco inaczej przedstawia się sytuacja ze spuściznami, które zdaniem Chorążyczewskiego mogą przybrać postać zespołu archiwalnego, gdy powstaje on przypadkowo, na marginesie działalności osoby prywatnej lub zbioru, gdy wspomniana osoba gromadzi świadomie i celowo akta niewytworzone przez siebie[23]. To prawda, że w przypadku zakładów przemysłowych głównym celem ich istnienia jest produkcja i to w jej efekcie pojawia się dopiero potrzeba zapisania procesu technologicznego, stworzenia wzorników, przyj-

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[21] Pkt 2 Kodeksu Etycznego Archiwisty uchwalonego na XIII Międzynarodowym Kongresie Archiwów w Pekinie, 1996, https://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/ICA_1996-09-06_code%20of%20ethics_PL.pdf [dostęp: 10.12.2022].

[22] W. Chorążyczewski, *Zachęta…*, s. 92.

[23] Ibidem, s. 93. Nierzadki jest *casus* Paula Feyerabenda „zacierającego" ślady własnej działalności przed nastawioną na sensację publicznością, a z drugiej strony ratującego ze względów sentymentalnych pamiątki po swoich przodkach (s. 191, 193–194). Ludzie dokonują w swoim życiu subiektywnych wyborów, opartych na intencjach, co w przypadku dokumentowania własnej działalności może przybierać wyraz potrzeby stworzenia warsztatu pracy, zabezpieczenia stanu majątkowego, uwiecznienia dokonań twórczych, pasji badawczych, albo stanowić materialny wyraz megalomanii oraz zaplanowanych przedsięwzięć marketingowych.

mowania zamówień, fakturowania itp., czyli tworzenia dokumentów. Podobnie dzieje się z urzędami, których podstawowym zadaniem jest administrowanie w imieniu organów państwowych i samorządowych. Dokonuje się ono obecnie nie poprzez wysłuchanie obywatela i werbalne ogłoszenie werdyktu władzy, ale w ścisłym związku z przyjmowaniem dowodów (dokumentów), wydawaniem na piśmie decyzji, postanowień związanych np. z przyznaniem koncesji, zezwoleń, wpisami do rejestrów, ewidencji w ramach toczących się postępowań. Ostatecznie prowadzi to do powstania dokumentacji (akt sprawy), co jest naturalnym i nieprzypadkowym efektem działalności urzędów (administrowania), a obywatel, jako strona w postępowaniu, ma prawo wystąpić o wgląd w nią, korzystając z przepisów kodeksu postępowania administracyjnego, cywilnego lub karnego. W tym kontekście warto przypomnieć, że to praktyka pisemnej formy wszelkich czynności (wszystko musi być oficjalnie zarejestrowane i udokumentowane), bez której niemożliwa byłaby kontrola hierarchiczna i przepływ informacji w urzędzie, zrodziła dysfunkcje biurokratyczne, a dokumentacja będąca efektem działalności „ubocznej" stała się i jest nadal celem samym w sobie[24]. Jak twierdził Platon, nic się nie dzieje przypadkowo, zawsze jest jakaś przyczyna i konieczność. Nie można zatem w imię redefinicji i rehabilitacji zbioru archiwalnego umniejszać wagi naturalności oraz celowości powstawania zespołu archiwalnego. Widać w tym zabiegu pewną niespójność. Walka o słuszne skądinąd wykluczenie przypadkowości z zestawu cech charakteryzujących zbiór nie może prowadzić do wnioskowania a *contrario* i stawać się argumentem umniejszającym naturalność, organiczność zespołu.

Pewnym zaskoczeniem jest omówienie, wbrew deklaracjom wyrażonym we wstępie do rozdziału, dodatkowego terminu proces archiwotwórczy. Ten fragment jest niewątpliwie hołdem złożonym przez autora publikacji swojemu mistrzowi. Widać to zwłaszcza w podkreślaniu znaczenia rekonstrukcji procesów archiwotwórczych jako jednego z dwóch, obok analizy systemowej, podstawowych modeli badawczych stosowanych w archiwistyce, która w przypadku źródeł masowych ułatwia badanie ich autentyczności i jest wręcz genetycznie powiązana z analizą dyplomatyczną. Kontynuując swoją misję zrównania rangi i znaczenia zespołu i zbioru archiwalnego, Chorążyczewski przedstawia model odtworzenia procesu archiwotwórczego tego ostatniego, który obejmuje poznanie twórcy

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[24] E. Sokalska, *Biurokracja jako metoda funkcjonowania nowoczesnej administracji* w *ujęciu Maksa Webera*, „Studia Prawnoustrojowe" 2003, nr 2, s. 121.

zbioru i zakresu jego działalności, badanie genetyki zbioru (idei jego powstania, nadawania mu porządku, wyposażania w pomoce informacyjne), jego historii po zamknięciu, a także formalną i treściową analizę zawartości. Ale jest i w tym podrozdziale zamysł „wybicia się na niepodległość", poprzez nową interpretację modelu badawczego, którego przedmiotem stał się proces archiwotwórczy. Zdaniem autora wszelkie całości archiwalne (zbiór, archiwum) podlegają prawom cyklu życiowego, będącego naturalnym procesem przemian. Archiwa nie tylko powstają i trwają, ale również znikają, ulegają przeobrażeniom i rozkładowi, co prowadzi do pojawienia się ich fragmentów w nowych konfiguracjach i całościach. Archiwistyka staje się w tej sytuacji dla Chorążyczewskiego nauką o cyklu życiowym archiwum, a przed adeptami tej dyscypliny naukowej jako główne zadanie rysuje się poszukiwanie ginących lub zaginionych archiwów, czyli zwrot – tym razem – w kierunku antropologii historycznej.

Postępowaniem człowieka w dziedzinie archiwalnej kierują pryncypia, które wywodzą się z systemu twierdzeń ogólnych, stanowiących obok pojęć i terminów podwaliny teorii. Właśnie im poświęcony został kolejny rozdział książki. Autor przedstawia w nim własne interpretacje oraz recepcję części zasad stosowanych w polskiej archiwistyce. Swój wywód rozpoczyna od omówienia reguł rządzących opracowaniem zasobu archiwalnego, czyli zasad: pertynencji rzeczowej, poszanowania zespołu archiwalnego (francuska), a następnie proweniencji (holenderska). Ta ostatnia była w polskich warunkach określana również terminami zasada przynależności kancelaryjnej i zasada przynależności zespołowej oraz została twórczo uzupełniona zgodnie z koncepcją Ryszarda Przelaskowskiego zasadą dziedziczenia. Wykład Chorążyczewskiego zamyka prezentacja opartej na rozumowaniu indukcyjnym wolnej zasady proweniencji.

W kolejnej części rozdziału autor odwołuje się do podstaw rozmieszczenia zasobu archiwalnego, które opierają się na zasadzie pertynencji terytorialnej. Od przełomu lat 70. i 80. ub. w. była ona stopniowo zastępowana przez zasadę proweniencji terytorialnej, określającą sposób postępowania z materiałami tworzonymi na danym terytorium, i zasadę pertynencji (proweniencji) funkcjonalnej, odnoszącą się do archiwaliów powstałych poza danym terytorium (osłabiającą związek registratur z obszarem ich narastania). Fuzją tych reguł jest zaproponowana w pracy autorska definicja zasady pertynencji terytorialnej, zgodnie z którą „zespoły archiwalne mają być archiwizowane i definitywnie przechowywane w archiwach odpowiednich terytorialnie dla miejsc ich powstania, registratur zaś dotyczyłoby to o tyle, o ile ich przemieszczenie poza terytorium powstania nie

jest uzasadnione potrzebami ciągłości administrowania"[25]. Dyslokacja zasobu archiwalnego była i jest przedmiotem międzynarodowych sporów, a z prób ich zażegnania zrodziła się koncepcja – póki co nie zasada – wspólnego dziedzictwa archiwalnego, zakładająca pozostawienie materiałów, których pertynencja terytorialna nie może być jednoznacznie określona, w miejscu ich zarchiwizowania, przy jednoczesnym zapewnieniu możliwości dostępu do nich i ich kopiowania wszystkim zainteresowanym stronom (współdziedzicom). Autor *Zachęty do archiwistyki* słusznie zauważył, że to właśnie zasada pertynencji zmusza do wyznaczenia każdemu archiwum właściwości terytorialnej, a rolę zapory zapobiegającej przemieszczaniu archiwaliów w związku z przekształceniami tej właściwości odgrywa zasada poszanowania historycznie ukształtowanego zasobu archiwalnego, która stanowi doprecyzowanie zasady pertynencji.

W ramach zagadnień związanych z dostępem do archiwaliów Chorążyczewski przedstawia zasadę publiczności archiwów, której – moim zdaniem – nadaje się zdecydowanie na wyrost rangę paradygmatu. Efekt jej wprowadzenia najlepiej podsumowuje konstatacja autora, że „elitarna uczoność schodzi na dalszy plan wobec egalitarnego amatorstwa"[26]. Podporządkowanie reguł gromadzenia, przechowywania i opracowania jednemu celowi, jakim jest zagwarantowanie szerokiego dostępu do archiwów, nie stanowi jeszcze dowodu na istnienie nowego systemu pojęć i teorii, które można określić mianem paradygmatu. Wydaje się, że z tego faktu zdaje sobie sprawę sam autor. W jego bardzo szerokiej interpretacji reguła publiczności archiwów polega na umożliwieniu każdemu człowiekowi korzystania „w równej mierze ze wszystkich archiwów na świecie z jakiegokolwiek powodu", z jednoczesnym nałożeniem na archiwa obowiązku uświadomienia mu takich uprawnień i zachęcania go do ich realizacji. Zdefiniowana w ten sposób zasada jest dla niego raczej ogólnym wskazaniem metodycznym, nie ma natomiast cech reguły uniwersalnej czy też teoretycznej[27]. Szeroki dostęp do archiwaliów nie oznacza bowiem automatycznego włączenia do wspólnoty erudytów potrafiących wykorzystać potencjał informacji w nich zawartych, a naszkicowany w tym

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[25] W. Chorążyczewski, *Zachęta*..., s. 168.

[26] Ibidem, s. 174.

[27] Ibidem, s. 175, 178. Sam autor zresztą przyznał w jednym ze swoich artykułów, że w czasach dominacji w archiwach paradygmatu naukowego w zakresie udostępniania istotna była koncepcja nieograniczonego dostępu do zasobu dla potrzeb naukowych, natomiast koncepcję publiczności archiwów uznawano za szkodliwą dla realizacji wspomnianego celu. Zob. W. Chorążyczewski, P. Gut, *Historia* w *archiwach i archiwa w historii. Udział archiwów państwowych w rozwoju historiografii polskiej*, „Archeion" 2019, t. 120, s. 62.

podrozdziale obraz wykluczenia i braku kompetencji większości użytkowników zasobu jest bardzo sugestywny.

Ostatni fragment rozdziału o zasadach archiwalnych Chorążyczewski poświęca zagadnieniom wartościowania dokumentacji, jego zakresowi, kryteriom i wypracowanym naukowo metodom selekcjonowania. Omawia je z dwojakiego punktu widzenia: obiektywnego, opierającego się na procesie selekcji wymagającej standaryzacji i prowadzącej do gromadzenia monotonnych materiałów syntetycznych – tracącego w epoce postmodernizmu rację bytu – oraz subiektywnego, w którym selekcja daje szansę na stosowanie odmiennych kryteriów, a dzięki temu możliwe jest zachowanie akt jednostkowych dotyczących konkretnych osób i spraw. Wartościowanie nie dotyczy tylko zagadnień związanych z kształtowaniem zasobu. Autor książki przykłady jego stosowania dostrzega w wielu innych przedsięwzięciach podejmowanych przez ludzi w dziedzinie archiwalnej. Dotyczy to np. rozmieszczania, przechowywania i opracowania zasobu, wyboru materiałów do konserwacji i kopiowania (mikrofilmowania i digitalizacji), a także ustalania kolejności ich ewakuacji i zabezpieczania w sytuacji klęsk elementarnych.

W piątym rozdziale publikacji Chorążyczewski przechodzi do praktyki działalności archiwalnej. Swoje rozważania rozpoczyna od zagadnień kształtowania zasobu. Przedstawia aktywność archiwów na tzw. przedpolu archiwalnym, wyróżniając zarówno problematykę nadzoru nad narastającym zasobem archiwalnym, jak i selekcję materiałów archiwalnych. Zgodnie z ogólną zasadą selekcji należy zachować część dokumentacji zawierającą informacje o wartości historycznej, „w której odbija się obiektywny obraz rzeczywistości”[28]. Rozważania dotyczące zasady selekcji uzupełniają szczegółowe kryteria, przedstawione w układzie zaproponowanym przez Ryszewskiego, oraz metody selekcji. Autor książki porusza także kwestię coraz większego znaczenia działalności dokumentacyjnej archiwów, która pozostaje sferą kondominium wspomnianych placówek oraz bibliotek i muzeów. Aktywność w tym względzie obejmuje nie tylko rejestrowanie przekazu ustnego, ale również gromadzenie dokumentów życia społecznego (materiałów ulotnych) i rozproszonych materiałów proweniencji prywatnej.

Gromadzone zasoby archiwalne wymagają odpowiedniego rozmieszczenia. Chorążyczewski wskazuje, że początkowo następowało ono w sposób naturalny, przypadkowy, a koncepcje przemyślanej dyslokacji zasobu wyłaniały się stopniowo w epoce nowożytnej, kiedy zaczęły powstawać sieci archiwów. Dalszą część

[28] W. Chorążyczewski, *Zachęta…*, s. 208.

wywodu stanowi omówienie takich sieci na przykładzie Polski. Autor dostrzega również istnienie pewnego fragmentu rzeczywistości archiwalnej, niezagospodarowanego przez archiwa państwowe, który odwołuje się do społecznej potrzeby utrwalenia historii z perspektywy pojedynczego człowieka lub grupy ludzi. Lukę w tym względzie wypełniają archiwa społeczne i archiwa prywatne, których rozwojowi sprzyjają nowoczesne trendy historiograficzne, odwołujące się do badań mikrohistorycznych, wspomaganych antropologią i naukami o kulturze. Konsekwencją rozmieszczenia zasobu jest dbałość o warunki jego przechowywania, co wiąże się z omówionymi w odrębnym podrozdziale zagadnieniami budownictwa archiwalnego, oraz zminimalizowania i spowolnienia procesu niszczenia przejętych materiałów (konserwacja).

Odgórnie zaprojektowanemu rozmieszczaniu zasobu wymykają się archiwa prywatne, bo w ich przypadku to twórca lub dysponent podejmuje decyzję, czy właściwym miejscem ich ulokowania będzie archiwum publiczne, prywatne, biblioteka czy też muzeum. Między tymi instytucjami pamięci istnieje, oprócz podobieństw, sporo różnic, które – zdaniem Chorążyczewskiego – nie powinny maskować konieczności współpracy i wymiany doświadczeń. W tym kontekście wykłada on swoją teorię zbiorów, czyli naturalnie wytworzonych przez ustrojowo odrębnych twórców całości, złożonych nie tylko z archiwaliów, ale również obiektów bibliotecznych i muzealnych. Istotą tej teorii jest zasada poszanowania tych całości (niepodzielności zbiorów), zarówno w aspekcie wyznaczenia granic, jak i ich układu wewnętrznego. Jest to zatem podniesiona na poziom ponadarchiwalny zasada proweniencji, która nakazuje nie dzielić niczego, co było całością na etapie życia przedarchiwalnego, przedbibliotecznego i przedmuzealnego[29]. Autor ogłasza swoją koncepcję, ale jej nie rozwija, bo jego zdaniem teoria zbiorów „wymaga dopiero namysłu i kreatywnego studium teorii archiwalnej, najbliższej nam, a także teoretycznej warstwy bibliologii, muzeologii, historii sztuki, archeologii i antropologii"[30]. Pozostawia zatem czytelnika z pytaniami, np. jak nazwać całość ponadarchiwalną, ponadbiblioteczną i ponadmuzealną wytworzoną przez jedną osobę – zbiorem wyższego rzędu, zbiorem różnoobiektowym, gabinetem, pracownią? Chorążyczewski pozostaje w tej kwestii idealistą. Patrzy na dziedzinę archiwalną z punktu widzenia swojej wrażliwości oraz zainteresowań naukowych. W czasach, kiedy trudno zachęcić osoby odwiedzające instytucje pamięci

[29] Ibidem, s. 237–241.
[30] Ibidem, s. 243.

do studiowania archiwaliów, a co dopiero do analizy dedykacji, not w książkach i badawczej kontemplacji eksponatów muzealnych, jego argumenty nie brzmią przekonywująco. Na pewno każda istniejąca już w instytucjach pamięci całość archiwalno-biblioteczno-muzealna (zbiór pamięci) zasługuje na kompleksowe potraktowanie i opis zawartości odzwierciedlający jej całą złożoną strukturę, bo tylko wtedy przedstawia dla potencjalnego użytkownika jakąś wartość – można ją wyszukać i udostępnić. Tylko czy tak jest w rzeczywistości? Księgozbiory proweniencji prywatnej są włączane w archiwach przecież nie do ich zasobu historycznego, ale do funkcjonujących w nich bibliotek o charakterze naukowym (podręcznych), gdzie podlegają skatalogowaniu. Podobnie jest z muzealiami. Jeśli docierają one do archiwum, to nie powinny być one wydzielane w odrębny zbiór, ale stanowić integralną część zespołów. Muszą posiadać również opis w inwentarzu archiwalnym, a nie w odrębnych środkach ewidencyjnych dostępnych w pracowniach naukowych. Rozwiązaniem problemu związanego z zachowania wiedzy o całym zbiorze, podzielonym według kryterium rzeczowego pomiędzy instytucje pamięci, jest – i na pewno będzie – ich informacyjne scalenie. Można zatem rzec: powiedz, gdzie przekazałeś zbiory, a powiem ci nie tyle kim jesteś, ale co i w jaki sposób gromadziłeś.

Odpowiednio zabezpieczony zasób wymaga opracowania, na które składają się dwie sekwencje działań: porządkowanie i sporządzenie opisu informacyjnego archiwaliów. Chorążyczewski, uznając za obowiązującą tradycyjną metodykę opracowania, prezentuje najpierw klasyczne etapy porządkowania archiwaliów. Zwraca przy tym uwagę na fakt, że komputeryzacja opracowania archiwalnego doprowadziła do rezygnacji z konieczności utrzymywania zgodności układu fizycznego z informacyjnym, a kolejnym krokiem powinno być odstąpienie od nadawania układu informacyjnego według jednego, przyjętego dla całego zespołu schematu. Aby dotrzeć do archiwaliów, uzyskać w nie wgląd, niezbędny jest opis archiwalny, realizowany na wielu poziomach struktury zasobu. Zgodnie z tym założeniem autor analizuje, tworzone w zależności od wyboru zakresu, przedmiotu i elementów opisu, pomoce informacyjne w postaci przewodników, inwentarzy, katalogów, skorowidzów (sumariusze, repertoria, indeksy).

Do sprawnej wymiany informacji potrzebna jest jednak standaryzacja. Chorążyczewski przypomina, że punktem wyjścia dla niej stał się znormalizowany opis informacyjny pochodzący z kart inwentarzowych, który został uzupełniony, zgodnie z ideą inwentarza analitycznego, o regest (zwięzłe dane o treści), a także rzeczowe, osobowe i geograficzne słowa kluczowe. Standard umożliwiać miał

wielopoziomowy i zintegrowany w jednym formacie opis informacyjny, uwzględniający nie tylko całą strukturę zasobu, ale także różne rodzaje archiwaliów. Tak rodziła się idea opisu uniwersalnego, której odzwierciedleniem stał się nieco później model zaprezentowany w standardzie FOPAR (Format Opisu Archiwaliów). Kolejnym krokiem było uznanie, że deskrypcji archiwaliów najlepiej służy język swobodnych słów kluczowych, a ujednoliceniu znaczeń wybranych nazw i terminów – hasła wzorcowe, dla tworzenia których powstał standard FOPAR-HW. W skali międzynarodowej normalizowanie opisu archiwalnego przełożyło się na 4 standardy: ISAD(G) – ustalający zestaw jednolitych elementów, ale nie metodykę opisu, ISAAR (CPF) – dostarczający informacji historyczno-ustrojowej o aktotwórcach oraz ISDIAH i ISDF odnoszące się do opisu instytucji z zasobem archiwalnym oraz funkcji twórców archiwaliów.

Użytkownik zasobu występujący o wgląd w archiwalia musi najpierw odnaleźć interesujące go dane w zbiorze informacyjnym, który tworzy zasób archiwalny wraz z jego opisem. W ten sposób następuje konfrontacja wyrażonych w tym samym języku informacyjno-wyszukiwawczym charakterystyk wyszukiwawczych, czyli opisu zasobu dostępnego w pomocach archiwalnych z instrukcjami wyszukiwawczymi tworzonymi przez użytkowników i umożliwiającymi im sformułowanie swoich potrzeb poprzez zapytania informacyjne[31]. Chorążyczewski charakteryzuje trzy sposoby wyszukiwania informacji, zróżnicowane z uwagi na cel ich prowadzenia. W pierwszym, urzędowym, użytkownik ma konkretne, najczęściej jednorazowe zapotrzebowanie i w procesie odkrywania informacji często zastępuje go archiwista. W drugim tylko naukowiec jest władny decydować, czy odnalezione w wyniku żmudnych strukturalnych poszukiwań materiały dotyczą jego tematu i dają odpowiedź na postawione pytania badawcze. W trzecim – publicznym – realizowanym w dobie liberalizacji dostępu do archiwów, potencjalny użytkownik prowadzi zazwyczaj wyszukiwanie poprzez wpisanie hasła do multiwyszukiwarki systemu informatycznego. Godny wzmianki jest poruszony przez autora problem nagannego zjawiska przymusowego zastępstwa wyszukiwawczego (np. zastępowania użytkownika przez archiwistę), typowego dla państw au-

[31] M. Gołembiowski, *Wprowadzenie do informacji naukowej dla archiwistów*, Toruń 1991, s. 58; A. Rosa, *Użytkownik w systemie informacji archiwalnej. Kontekst stosowanych języków informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych*, [w:] *Standaryzacja opisu archiwalnego*, Symposia Archivistica, t. 3, red. J. Bednarek, P. Perzyna, Warszawa–Łódź 2016, s. 46; eadem, *Języki informacyjno-wyszukiwawcze jako podstawa budowania charakterystyk wyszukiwawczych całości archiwalnych*, [w:] *Problemy archiwalnego opisu informacyjnego*, Symposia Archivistica, t. 4, red. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, Warszawa 2017, s. 31–32.

tokratycznych, ale również wykorzystywanego we współczesnych demokracjach i przybierającego formę nierzetelnie prowadzonych badań naukowych.

Kolejny rozdział przenosi czytelnika w sferę postrzegania dziedziny archiwalnej z punktu widzenia pasjonata odkrywającego archiwa i archiwalia w swoim otoczeniu, wrażliwca dostrzegającego w obiektach dziedzictwa archiwalnego, ich wszechobecności, powiązania teraźniejszości z przeszłością. Chorążyczewski udowadnia, że żaden z istniejących w przeszłości w Polsce systemów kancelaryjnych, który zdominował najpierw funkcjonowanie kancelarii, by następnie ulec pod wpływem nowych rozwiązań organizacyjnych marginalizacji, nie zniknął całkowicie. Wszystkie formy kancelaryjne wytworzone w ramach tych systemów przed wiekami trwają w magazynach archiwów jako pamiątki przeszłości, ale można je spotkać w nowych, współczesnych postaciach wykorzystujących stare wzorce. Tak było i jest z dokumentem traktowanym jako samoistny akt potwierdzający stan prawny (np. współczesny dyplom doktorski), a także z jego specyficzną postacią – dokumentem ludycznym, księgą wpisów (np. sztambuchy, księgi gości, zeszyty szkolne), aktami czynności (np. materiały wytwarzane przez ciała kolegialne) czy dominującymi obecnie aktami spraw. Co w tym kontekście może świadczyć o postawie już nie tylko naukowej, ale przede wszystkim pewnej duchowej żarliwości archiwalnej samego autora? Na pewno jego apele o przekazywanie mu informacji o ciekawych przykładach dokumentów ludycznych oraz wymianę doświadczeń w kwestii kontaktów ze współczesnymi rodzajami księgi wpisów.

Zakończenie *Zachęty do archiwistyki* wprawia w zdumienie, bo nie jest typowym podsumowaniem rozważań podjętych przez autora w książce. Górują w nim emocje i wzniosłe ideały, odwołania do wrażliwości archiwalnej i tworzącego ją zespołu wartości, zachęty do podejmowania działalności archiwalnej i pielęgnowania poczucia przynależności do globalnej wspólnoty nazywanej Republiką Archiwistów. Zdaniem Chorążyczewskiego archiwistą można stać się z tytułu zawodu wykonywanego lub zawodu wyuczonego oraz realnie posiadanych kompetencji. W takim ujęciu archiwistą może stać się każdy, kto zaczyna gromadzić archiwalia i dostrzega je tam, gdzie nikt ich nie zauważa. To piękna, ale utopijna wizja nowego porządku świata archiwalnego, w którym ludzie doceniają wartość swoich spuścizn, a do archiwów na nisko uposażone stanowiska trafiają wysoko wykwalifikowani specjaliści, nierzadko z zacięciem naukowym. W rzeczywistości do konkretnego zawodu przyciągają dzisiaj programy stypendialne dla najzdolniejszych studentów, niejednokrotnie profilujące ich przygotowanie specjalistyczne, zarob-

ki i jasny system awansu służbowego czy też rozwoju kariery naukowej. Za tym podąża wzrost rangi i poziomu zaufania społecznego do danej profesji. Mimochodem zaczyna ona interesować coraz szersze grono amatorów i pasjonatów.

Bardzo dobrze prezentują się te fragmenty podsumowania, które przez pryzmat analizy zasad kierujących postępowaniem człowieka w dziedzinie archiwalnej pokazują kolejne etapy tworzenia Republiki Archiwistów. Trudno zgodzić się jednak z wzywaniem do nieposłuszeństwa, bojkotu zaleceń władz stwarzających zagrożenie dla zasobu archiwalnego, współpracy z okupacyjnymi służbami archiwalnymi w celu ratowania zagrożonych archiwaliów. To nie są kwestie łatwe do ustalenia, bo dotyczą sfery moralności, etyki zawodowej. Bohaterstwo konkretnego archiwisty jest godne pochwały, bo wynika z jego indywidualnej decyzji. Jego przeciwieństwem, wyrazem skrajnej nieodpowiedzialności, okazała się zaprezentowana w książce postawa dyrektora archiwum związana z narażaniem życia pracowników wchodzących do budynku grożącego zawaleniem. To w moim przekonaniu przykład godny napiętnowania. Stanowisko Chorążyczewskiego dziwi w kontekście jego wcześniejszej opinii o wyższości szacunku dla życia ludzkiego nad dobrem (ratowaniem) zasobu archiwalnego w przypadku pożaru[32], bo to właśnie w niej dostrzegam racjonalne podejście do rozwiązywania problemów, które rozumiem i popieram. Dla mnie członkiem Republiki Archiwistów jest przede wszystkim człowiek korzystający z wolnej woli, nieskrępowany imperatywem gromadzenia i ocalenia wszystkiego i za wszelką cenę, mający swobodę w zakresie podjęcia decyzji o scaleniu, podziale lub zagładzie swojej spuścizny archiwalnej po to, by w dobie ekspansji kapitalizmu inwigilacji pozostawiać po sobie tylko taki ślad informacyjny – jeśli w ogóle chce go pozostawić – na jaki daje przyzwolenie[33].

Przechodząc do konkluzji, należy zauważyć, że publikacja Chorążyczewskiego jest w dorobku piśmienniczym polskiej archiwistyki ostatnich trzech dekad pozycją wyjątkową. Daje ona bowiem impuls do refleksji nad archiwistyką, porządkuje i przewartościowuje spojrzenie na pewne zagadnienia, stwarza okazję do polemi-

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32 W. Chorążyczewski, *Zachęta*..., s. 200.

33 Zob. S. Zuboff, *Wiek kapitalizmu inwigilacji. Walka* o *przyszłość ludzkości na nowej granicy władzy*, Poznań 2020, s. 19–32. Europejską odpowiedzią na praktyki łamania prawa do niezależności i prywatności każdego człowieka przez podmioty gospodarcze (w tym serwisy społecznościowe) jest RODO – rozporządzenie Parlamentu Europejskiego i Rady (UE) 2016/679 z dnia 27 kwietnia 2016 r. w sprawie ochrony osób fizycznych w związku z przetwarzaniem danych osobowych i w sprawie swobodnego przepływu takich danych oraz uchylenia dyrektywy 95/46/WE (ogólne rozporządzenie o ochronie danych).

ki z ustaleniami autora, a jednocześnie umacnia, być może w sposób nie do końca zamierzony, wcześniejsze przekonania. Wbrew zapowiedziom *Zachęta do archiwistyki* nie jest przeznaczona dla osób rozpoczynających przygodę z archiwami i archiwaliami, ale raczej dla rozszerzających horyzonty archiwalne z racji wyboru profilu kształcenia lub wykonywanego zawodu. Lektura tej publikacji wymaga merytorycznego przygotowania. W tym też tkwi, moim zdaniem, jej siła. Książka nie jest nudnym akademickim wykładem wiedzy o archiwach i archiwaliach, lecz stanowi ciekawie przygotowany zbiór studiów, rozpraw naukowych, będących interesująca próbą jak najszerszego oświetlenia i wyjaśnienia naukowego charakteru archiwistyki, jej zakresu i wewnętrznego podziału, używanej przez nią terminologii. Pewne fragmenty tekstu, zwłaszcza odnoszące się rozważań natury filozoficznej, przybierają również charakter eseju o miłości do archiwistyki dla mniej wtajemniczonych akolitów tej dyscypliny. Trzeba przyznać, że to nieszablonowe podejście do syntezy naukowej – nie tylko na tle polskiego piśmiennictwa archiwalnego, ale również zagranicznego ostatnich trzech dekad[34]. Szczególnie

[34] W kontrze do *Zachęty do archiwistyki*, jako przykład typowego podręcznika archiwalnego, można wymienić włoską publikację Paola Franzese'a *Manuale di archivistica italiana*, stanowiącą pomoc dydaktyczną w procesie kształcenia archiwisty. Składa się on z dwóch części. Pierwsza obejmuje zagadnienia z zakresu teorii i metodyki archiwalnej, druga kwestie archiwoznawcze związane z organizacją i funkcjonowaniem archiwów włoskich. Bliska podejściu kulturowemu Chorążyczewskiego do zagadnień archiwalnych jest z kolei książka Dietmara Schenka *Kleine Theorie des Archivs*, w której analizowane są różne przejawy działalności archiwum i powiązań archiwistyki z innymi dyscyplinami naukowymi. Autor postrzega bowiem pracę archiwalną jako jeden z aspektów kultury pamięci. Zob. P. Franzese, *Manuale di archivistica italiana*, wyd. 2, Perugia 2018; D. Schenk, *Kleine Theorie des Archivs*, Stuttgart 2008. Autorski charakter spojrzenia Chorążyczewskiego na archiwistykę jest szczególnie widoczny na tle prac (podręczników) zbiorowych. Opublikowana w 1993 r. *La pratique archivistique française* została pomyślana jako vademecum przeznaczone dla personelu francuskich archiwów (niezależnie od ich statusu). Największym walorem tej książki, przygotowanej przez grono specjalistów zebranych przez Jeana Faviera, ówczesnego dyrektora archiwów Francji, jest dążenie do porównania podejścia francuskiego do podejścia innych krajów europejskich czy amerykańskich. *Archivistica. Teorie, metodi, pratiche* pod red. Lindy Giuvy i Marii Guercio stanowi z kolei zbiór studiów 17 włoskich specjalistów związanych ze szkołami archiwistyki i paleografii, łączących refleksję teoretyczną z praktycznymi wskazówkami dla wykonujących zawód archiwisty. W jeszcze innym kierunku – autorskiego umiędzynarodowienia – podążył podręcznik pod red. Patricii C. Franks, *The handbook of archival practice*, w którym przedstawiono współczesną praktykę archiwalną w zakresie zarządzania materiałami analogowymi i cyfrowymi. Treść książki, składającej się z 10 rozdziałów (111 wątków tematycznych), to efekt wkładu merytorycznego 105 ekspertów dziedzinowych. 79 autorów pochodzi z USA, 12 z Kanady, 7 z Wielkiej Brytanii, 3 z Australii, po 1 z Niemiec, Jamajki, Nowej Zelandii i Federacji Rosyjskiej. Zob. *La pratique archivistique française*, sous la dir. de J. Favier, assisté de D. Neirinck, Paris 1993; *Archivistica. Teorie,*

doceniam teoretyczną część wywodu Chorążyczewskiego, jego rozważania w duchu klasycznej archiwistyki. Postmodernistyczne kierunki uprawiania tej dyscypliny zdradzają erudycyjne wysmakowanie, ale jednocześnie zawahania autora co do zerwania z naturalistycznym myśleniem o archiwum i archiwaliach i wdrażaniem archiwistyki integralnej ufundowanej na „antropologicznie rozumianej kulturze"[35]. Słabiej wypadają partie książki, w których autor wychodzi poza naukowy sztafaż, używa swoich kompetencji i erudycji do przekonywania każdej osoby do podejmowania działań archiwalnych na potrzeby własne, rodzin lub środowisk, w których funkcjonuje. A to przecież w czystej formie edukacja (w wersji popularnonaukowej), rozumiana przez autora jako przekazywanie wiedzy i umiejętności prowadzących do zmiany i wychowywania ludzi w duchu szacunku do dziedzictwa archiwalnego współcześnie żyjących i ich przodków.

Niewątpliwą zaletą monografii jest niepodręcznikowy, wartki język, w pewnych partiach zbliżony do ciepłych powiewów prozy iberoamerykańskiej, znanej ze skryptu i licznych artykułów Chorążyczewskiego, a we fragmentach dotyczących teorii archiwalnej odkrywający mroczne pomruki prozy skandynawskiej, z natury bliższej precyzyjnej stylistyce naukowej. W *Zachęcie do archiwistyki* widoczny jest toruniocentryzm w doborze literatury[36]. To z jednej strony uznanie dla dorobku miejscowego środowiska akademickiego i najpoważniejszego po II wojnie światowej ośrodka kształcenia archiwistów w Polsce, a z drugiej – z uwagi na promocję uczniów i doktorantów – marketingowy zabieg wskazujący na budowę przez autora książki własnej szkoły naukowej. Odwołań do wspólnych przedsięwzięć z doktorantami i ich indywidualnych osiągnieć naukowych jest w recenzowanej publikacji całkiem sporo. To dobrze świadczy o autorze jako nauczycielu i wychowawcy. Wynikają z tego jednak dwojakiego rodzaju implikacje.

Charakter książki, synteza wiedzy o archiwistyce, wpływa na zawartość bibliografii. W przeciwieństwie do prac analitycznych, nie powinna zawierać odsyłaczy do wszystkich istotnych tekstów opublikowanych na dany temat, ale skupiać się tylko na tych, które są inspiracją do tworzenia uogólnień i przedstawiania autorskich koncepcji. Wtedy jednak klucz doboru źródeł archiwalnych, wydawnictw zwartych i artykułów jest widoczny w układzie bibliografii lub znany z wprowa-

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metodi, pratiche, a cura di L. Giuva e M. Guercio, Roma 2014; *The handbook of archival practice*, ed. P.C. Franks, London 2021.

35 W. Piasek, *„Nowa archiwistyka"*..., s. 23.

36 Bogaty dorobek naukowy Chorążyczewskiego stanowi 20 proc. literatury wymienionej w bibliografii.

dzenia do monografii. Jak już wspominałem na wstępie, ja takiego klucza w *Zachęcie do archiwistyki* nie znalazłem, dlatego wywołuje u mnie pewnego rodzaju zdumienie pominięcie w niej kilku publikacji z ostatnich lat, np. encyklopedii archiwistyki[37] oraz prac dotyczących problemów kształtowania[38], opracowania[39] i udostępniania zasobu[40]. Drugi paradoks wiąże się z tworzeniem nowej toruńskiej szkoły archiwalnej skupionej wokół Chorążyczewskiego. Wydaje się, że w przekonaniu młodych badaczy dziedziny archiwalnej wszystko już zostało w archiwistyce rozstrzygnięte, powiedziane, dlatego zachęcani przez swojego mentora poszukują oni własnych ścieżek badawczych na pograniczach archiwistyki, które niebezpiecznie się rozszerzają, otaczając jądro dyscypliny naukowej nieprzejrzystą błoną postmodernistycznego subiektywizmu. Zasadne w tej sytuacji wydaje się retoryczne pytanie, czy w perspektywie dwóch, trzech dekad powstanie w tym środowisku kolejne kompendium wiedzy o archiwistyce?

Ten być może niezbyt optymistyczny wydźwięk toruniocentryzmu w bibliografii nie powinien jednak przesłaniać ogólnej wysokiej oceny całej publikacji, pomimo nielicznych moich uwag i polemik zamieszczonych podczas omawiania poszczególnych rozdziałów. Źle by się jednak stało, gdyby profesorska *Zachęta do archiwistyki* stała się swoistym *opus magnum*, przedwczesnym ukoronowaniem kariery naukowej autora w wymiarze pisarskim. Za dużo bowiem w niej pytań i rozrzuconych nowych tropów badawczych. Dlatego uważam, że od Chorążyczewskiego należy oczekiwać np. rozwinięcia teorii zbiorów oraz wskazania propozycji rozwiązań współczesnych problemów archiwów ze strony kulturowo zorientowanej archiwistyki nieklasycznej. Czy nastąpi to w kolejnych uzupełnionych lub zmienionych wydaniach, czy też zostanie wkomponowane w formę i strukturę nowej książki, zależy już od samego autora.

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37 *Encyclopedia of archival science*, ed. L. Duranti, P.C. Franks, Lanham 2015. Autor odwołuje się natomiast do drugiego wydania słownika z 1984 r.: *Dictionary of archival terminology. English and French, with equivalents in Dutch, German, Italian, Russian, and Spanish*, ed. P. Walne, München–New York–London–Paris 1988.

38 *Dokumentacja masowa. Z problematyki kształtowania zasobu archiwalnego*, red. I. Mamczak-Gadkowska, K. Stryjkowski, Poznań 2012.

39 *Zasada zespołowości…; Metodyka i standardy opracowania archiwalnego. Rzeczywistość i potrzeby,* red. I. Mamczak-Gadkowska, K. Stryjkowski, Poznań 2019.

40 D. Grot, *Ku przeszłości otwartej. Dostępność archiwów państwowych w Polsce w latach 1918–2014*, Warszawa 2015.

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Katja Müller, *Digital archives and collections. Creating online access to cultural heritage*, series Anthropology of Media, v. 11, ISBN 978-1-80073-185-1, Berghahn Books, New York 2021, pp. 250, DOI.org/10.2307/j.ctv29sfzfx

Katja Müller is a Visiting Professor at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Technology, Sydney, and Privatdozentin for Social Anthropology at Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg. Her 2021 book, *Digital archives and collections. Creating online access to cultural heritage*[1], provides readers an in-depth introduction to the contexts and practices of digitization processes in ethnographic collections and archives of Indian cultural heritage. Muller's clear and accessible writing style and extensive use of excerpts from interviews and personal communications with case study participants; as well as reflections on her own experiences working with the archives under examination make it easy for archival and digital humanities scholars along with cultural heritage and information professionals to engage with the topic, which K. Müller broadly defines as "a novel account of what archives in digital times entail" (p. 9). However, if readers are looking for a best practices manual for digitisation they should look elsewhere. The book is based on extensive anthropological fieldwork and digital ethnography, conducted by K. Müller between 2015 and 2019, in which she "investigates selected [digitisation] examples in depth, conceptualizes these as part of digital archival practices, and thus assists in building a more profound understanding of digital archives, portrayed as a means of encoding culture in digital form" (p. 19). The latter concept referring to the cultural practices within and behind the digitization process (i.e., attitudes, preconceptions, politics etc.).

The book consists of an introduction, six chapters and a conclusion. The introduction situates Müller's research in a postcolonial framework, in which she identifies the colonial dominance of traditional museum and archival

[1] Open access version see: https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv29sfzfx.

organization of knowledge and discusses the selected online archives in terms of postcolonial practices. "With a focus on archives from India and born-digital, community-based archives, it broadens a view of digital archives that has far too long been centred on North America, Europe or a few remarkable examples in societies with strong Indigenous communities" (p. 19). K. Müller also establishes the scope of her analysis as the practices of digital archives, which includes understanding the actors and processes involved in their creation, infrastructure, curation, and use. Her approach acknowledges the sociocultural and sociopolitical forces that shape online archives, exploring both access to them and what is contained within them.

Astute readers will notice that K. Müller does not include preservation in her initial analysis. Yet, in the first chapter she points out that the resources for digitisation as a tool for preservation are time and labour intensive and the infrastructure to sustain digital archives is expensive. Furthermore, despite the fluidity of online information, K. Müller observes that digital archives have a structure that reveals an intention to preserve despite the impermanence of the internet as a platform. In contrast to the stability of physical archives, online archives can be re-arranged according to search terms and information retrieval architecture. By analyzing the dynamics of order and access in both physical and digital archives in the first chapter, K. Müller demonstrates how online archives can potentially disrupt and challenge established archival economies of scarcity and power. Sources for this first chapter include canonical texts by Hilary Jenkinson, Theodore Schellenberg, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, along with contemporary archival scholars exploring postmodernism (Terry Cook, Joan Schwartz), continuum theory (Frank Upward and Sue McKemmish), the digital turn (Luciana Duranti), and trauma-informed practice (Michelle Caswell). As a result, this chapter presents a concise overview of the archival theory relevant to an exploration of digital archives and is strongly recommended as a primer for graduate students wishing to dig deeper into the theoretical construct of digital archives.

In chapter two, K. Müller discusses content management systems (CMS) for museums and archives, demonstrating the influence that stakeholders, political processes, and ideas of cultural heritage and archives have on selecting and/or developing databases for online archives. Of interest in this chapter is her analysis of the politics of improvement and how notions of modernization and efficiency drive digitisation and the development of CMS within institutions. It is revealed

through in-depth interviews that technical advancements must be intertwined with sociocultural factors when programming CMS to acknowledge existing internal stakeholders and provide affordances for expertise (p. 91). In the current climate of experimental application of artificial intelligence (AI) to online cultural heritage collections to increase discovery and improve curation within and across institutional holdings[2], Müller's lens of improvement politics offers a critical tool for archival and digital humanities scholars to better understand the gains and losses. The introduction of AI within CMS-driven online archives is not simply an additional technological layer, but the addition of a decision-making actor performing digital curation activities that are most likely independent of and invisible to the end user.

Chapters three, four and five draw on several case studies providing a deeper understanding of Indian digital archives and demonstrating key issues with practical examples. In particular, the Indian Memory Project (IMP) an online archives comprised of personal images and narratives tracing the history and identity of the India subcontinent[3]; and the 1947 Partition Archive (1947PA) a non-profit non-governmental organization dedicated to institutionalizing the people's history of Partition through digital documentation (e.g., oral histories) and digitisation of personal images and objects for inclusion in an online archives[4]. Themes explored in these chapters are applicable to community-driven and participatory archives, social media collecting and crowdsourcing projects, trauma-informed archival practice, and cultivating a sense of belonging through online engagement. As a result, K. Müller contributes valuable insight from a sociocultural perspective that is relatively absent in existing literature on these topic areas. Published in 2021, this book arrived during the COVID-19 pandemic, a time in which many museums and archives had shuttered their physical sites and pivoted towards providing virtual reference services, online exhibitions, and the creation of pandemic collections based on social media engagement, digital video oral histories, and online journaling portals. A closer reading of Müller's

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2 *Archives, access and artificial intelligence. Working with born-digital and digitized archival collections,* ed. L. Jaillant, Bielefeld 2022, https://www.bielefeld-university-press.org/978-3-8376-5584-1/archives-access-and-artificial-intelligence/, accessed 1 September 2023.

3 Indian Memory Project, https://www.indianmemoryproject.com/, accessed 1 September 2023.

4 1947 Partition Archive. Mission & Activities, https://www.1947partitionarchive.org/mission, accessed 1 September 2023.

manuscript in light of pandemic-driven online initiatives led by cultural heritage institutions and reports by UNESCO: Turning the threat of COVID-19 into an opportunity for greater support to documentary heritage (2020)[5] and Living heritage in the face of COVID-19 (2021)[6] could provide an opportunity to analyze a variety of digital archives as sites of memory-making and commemorative culture.

The final chapter examines the legal questions of digitisation and online dissemination. K. Müller addresses the key issues of copyright, licensing, traditional knowledge in the context of digitisation and born-digital objects. The concepts of original and copy, as well as the materiality of physical and digital objects are visited in this chapter. Drawing on material culture studies, K. Müller highlights the permeability of traditional distinctions between physical and digital objects, recognizing that in some cases digital archives may be migrated to new formats to ensure their longevity (potentially reformatting digitized media into physical objects). "The movements between human-computer interfaces and novel materializations with digital objects also lead to new or extended considerations and valuations, bringing a softening of the original-copy binary" (p. 220). Much of what K. Müller has to say in this chapter is more thought-provoking than prescriptive, which makes sense considering an international audience that will ultimately rely on more specific interpretations of legal and regulatory environments for sharing and disseminating their archives.

Digital archives and collections. Creating online access to cultural heritage is an impressive achievement on many levels: the calibre of writing and rigour of analysis throughout are consistently high; the case studies are richly detailed and evocative, especially as the reader can access the online archives for an immersive experience; the personal insights drawn from Müller's lived experience as an intern and her personal conversations with project participants are thoughtful and revealing; and the organization of the chapters and subtopics within each chapter produce a coherent and compelling whole. *Digital archives and collections. Creating online access to cultural heritage* is a valuable contribution to the

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[5] Turning the threat of COVID-19 into an opportunity for greater support to documentary heritage, UNESCO, Paris 2020, https://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/dhe-covid-19-unesco_statement_en2.pdf, accessed 1 September 2023.

[6] UNESCO CLT/CCE/2021/RP/3 Living Heritage in the face of COVID-19, UNESCO, Paris 2021, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000377671.locale=en, accessed 1 September 2023.

cultural heritage field and should be required reading for archival scholars and practitioners seeking a more in-depth understanding of online archives.

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Scott Cline, *Archival virtue. Relationship, obligation, and the just archives*, ISBN 978-1-945246-73-9, Society of American Archivists, Chicago 2021, pp. 212

In his thought-provoking book *Archival virtue. Relationship, obligation, and the just archives*, Scott Cline challenges the profession to seriously examine what it means to be an archivist? In answering this question, he calls on archivists and the archival community to move beyond such quotidian concerns as educational requirements and the mundane description of archival tasks. Instead, S. Cline invites the reader to explore whether there are essential qualities of being an archivist (p. 19). By dividing his book into three parts, each with a specific focus, and eight chapters, he aids archivists in launching their analysis (p. 12).

In part one: *Archival Being*, S. Cline begins with a tale that speaks to the virtue and authenticity of one's occupation. This parable from the Chassidim, an 18th-century eastern European mystical revival movement in Judaism, recounts a follower of Shmelke of Nikolsburg, who requested his rabbi demonstrate to him the mystery of serving God. His teacher told him to go to Rabbi Abraham Hayyim, who was also an innkeeper. After several weeks, the student observed that Rabbi A. Hayyim seemed only to attend to business and did not exhibit any holiness (p. 19). In frustration, the pupil asked the owner what he did all day. "My most important job – A. Hayyim asserted – is to make sure the dishes are cleaned properly" (p. 20). Upon returning home, he reported back to his rebbe, who replied that now you know everything you need to know.

S. Cline asserts that this account is relevant to archivists, because it provides an applicable example for professional archival behavior. As A. Hayyim the proprietor, archivists must possess a sense of obligation and be authentically present in all their work (p. 20). He defines the interworking of these preceding characteristics as archival being. S. Cline claims that archival being is typified by authenticity, which requires archivists to embrace their archival labor as a central distinguishing element in their lives (p. 21). In addition to authenticity, archival

being also necessitates the adoption of archival faith, which recognizes the "equal and incalculable" value of every human being and the acceptance of the "other" (p. 24). Through following the virtues of radical self-understanding, intention, and integrity, he states that archivists will be able to perform their vocation in an authentic manner (p. 25). And in embodying these qualities, archivists will join in an archival covenant based on genuine encounter, sacred obligation and piety of service to their communities.

In the second section, S. Cline further expands his idea of the archival covenant through a cogent discussion of his philosophical model of "archival citizenship" (p. 61). Archival citizenship embodies a state of being, which is guided by an inherent sense of the common good and directed both individually and collectively through a belief in the sacred duty to our polity. This community, in turn, is both broad and deep, because it encompasses all archival approaches and institutions (p. 61). He also asks archivists to demonstrate archival citizenship to their diverse publics by adopting four related responsibilities: trustworthiness, professionalism, difference, and care (p. 62). In theory, these commitments seem simple to implement. In practice, however, real world application proves difficult. Regarding the obligation of difference, for example, S. Cline cites the American academic Michelle Caswell, who warns: "difference is messy; working through difference is even messier" (p. 67). Our mission, he contends, is not to simplify this duty, but instead recognize its inherent complexities. Drawing on the ethics of care approach or feminist ethics developed by such archivists as M. Caswell, Marika Cifor and Hillel Arnold, S. Cline challenges the profession to think of archival labor as care work, where our relationships to each other, our community and their stories take precedence (p. 70). He states further that this structure of care is intricately supported by the concepts of "memory as justice" and "archival validity".

S. Cline claims that archives and memory are not the same, but share important connections (p. 76). To illustrate, both concepts are critical to creating and nurturing social and cultural identity, but both furnish incomplete, imperfect and fragmentary understandings of our world. These ideas, he argues, remain fundamentally flawed as sources of the truth (p. 76). Therefore, S. Cline maintains it is important to show how archives and memory are intricately interrelated to the archival endeavor and justice (p. 77). He asserts that this interrelationship is especially important when it comes to the battles over contested narratives and

historical accountability. S. Cline insists that the archivist's role in this struggle is to act with care, obligation, and honesty. He supports his argument by turning to American archivist Jessica Tei, who stresses that archivists have a responsibility to help fill the silences within their institutional collections. She emphasizes further that the profession has a principal obligation to portray the silenced in a way that not only honors them, but also acknowledges their historical and cultural contributions (p. 85).

S. Cline contends that archivists in their daily work serve as mediators of the record, walking a delicate middle path by making choices about whose voices will be heeded, what will be remembered and what will be forgotten (p. 86). His analysis places great importance on archival appraisal as the proper evaluative tool to preserve society's most important functions, processes, and events (p. 86). In combination with a total archives approach appraisal will achieve what S. Cline defines as archival validity. Archival validity, he maintains, encourages archivists to employ practical and moral wisdom in order to achieve truth, beauty, and justice (p. 13). Respectfully, S. Cline's line of reasoning, however, is missing one key element: archival processing. In this writer's professional experience processing human rights collections, it is in the hard labor of processing that the silenced are heard, the forsaken are memorialized, and the persecuted are liberated. In my estimation, it is archival processing that provides the bedrock for the achievement of true justice and the establishment of the just archive.

In the third part: *Archival Spirituality*, S. Cline investigates the intersection of archival being with our practical role in the world, by viewing the profession through a spiritual lens (p. 13). He strongly believes that there is self-transcendence in the daily toil of archivists (p. 122). S. Cline asserts that this transcendence plays out in our experience of history and culture (p. 135). He posits that archivists are time travelers, who live in the past, yet talk in the future tense. S. Cline declares further that archivists visit the lives of institutions and individuals, who have come before us with the hope of understanding some portion of their lives and dreams. Archivists, in turn, commit themselves to transmitting that obtained knowledge, in some ordered way, to the future (p. 136). In the concluding chapter, he proposes that the concepts expressed throughout the book be directed toward the search for moral order in the archival world. S. Cline asks archivists to become more comfortable with engaging in discourse and actions that incorporate the language of justice, truth, and faith in the archives (p. 13).

Returning to another story of a wise innkeeper, the great American hotelier Conrad Hilton revealed the secret to his success: "Live with enthusiasm"[1]. C. Hilton exhorted his readers to never give up their goals in the face of hardship[2]. Although he faced some obstacles along the way, S. Cline took up his task with great intellectual rigor and joy (pp. xv–xvi). Through a diversity of voices from a multiplicity of disciplines, he has been successful in challenging archivists to seriously examine what it means to be an archivist. For these reasons, his book should be read by all archivists everywhere, because it will remind you why we do what we do and will restore your passion for our beautiful profession. S. Cline has truly written a book that is destined to become a classic in the archival literature.

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1 C.N. Hilton, *Be My Guest*, 3rd print., Prentice-Hall, Hoboken, New Jersey 1962, p. 349.
2 Ibidem, pp. 349–350.

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OMÓWIENIA I RECENZJE

Jen Hoyer, Nora Almeida, *The Social Movement Archive*, ISBN: 978-1-63400-089-5, Litwin Books, Sacramento 2021, pp. 244

The Social Movement Archive by Jen Hoyer and Nora Almeida is not a book that focuses on traditional archival theory, nor is it a book that is meant to provide practical information for working with archival material related to activism. Instead, the goal of the authors is to explore "what archives mean to and for activists who are involved in producing cultural ephemera… [and] tensions the archive produces and how archivists working in spaces that collect social movement materials navigate that tension"[1]. There is no discussion about strategies for outreach, connection making, or community building, or even mentions of resources available to archivists to address some of the discussion points that come up in the text. Instead, *The Social Movement Archive* is a book that presents conversations and perspectives. Following the introduction, J. Hoyer and N. Almeida offer fifteen interviews with a wide variety of North American based activist organizations who vary in their age, race, gender identity, sexuality, the age and mission of their organization, and their previous experience with archives. The interviews are semi-structured to allow for the subjects to explain and critically engage with their own work, as well as share their perspective regarding basic archival realities such as stewardship, attribution, and access. Threaded throughout the text are full color images of the graphics, photographs, and other ephemera associated with each interview subject. This not only demonstrates the importance of the material itself but creates a beautiful book. Tension is the key theme of *The Social Movement Archive*, and it begins with the conflict between the reader and the text itself. In reading through the interviews, an archivist may have defensive moments. When speaking about archives and archival practice, the interview subjects vary in their prior experience with

[1] J. Hoyer, N. Almeida, *The Social Movement Archive*, Litwin Books, Sacramento 2021, p. 1.

archives, opinions, and knowledge about existing resources that are meant to address some of their questions. Some raise concerns about how archives-as-institutions reinforce the problems or systemic structures that their activism is meant to confront. More than once I found myself wanting to defend the archives and the immense amount of time and effort archival workers dedicate to making material accessible and providing welcoming environments. When I felt this defensive reaction, I paused and asked myself "why is this my reaction?" Finding the answer helped me to critically engage with the concern or problem expressed by the interview subjects and points to underlying divisions between what an archivist understands about their own work and the understanding of the public.

Because of the diversity of the interview subjects and their organizations, there was a wide variety of responses during the interviews, even to seemingly straightforward questions. For example, one of the questions asked across all interviews is related to attribution, and is typically phrased as some variation of: "Archives will often ascribe authorship to material and try to ascertain who owns the rights... [How do you feel about authorship and attribution?]" Many interview subjects come from highly collaborative organizations that place a value on a sense of collective work. Susan Simensky Bietila, who began her activism career in the 1960s with an emphasis on design and illustration for underground newspapers in New York City, including "RAT"[2], notes that for her, the work is collective because the "ideas were not plucked from [individual writer's] brains. They came out of the group process"[3]. However, S. Bietila believes that when artists are named in a work or newspaper masthead, archivists should notify them that their material is going on display[4]. Two interview subjects associated with Decolonize This Place[5] suggest that the better way to consider attribution is to ask "who organized the action, who are the people who came out, who brought their energies, what happened"[6]. Other answers such as Terry Forman's reflect group discussions of the implications of authorial attribution. Her organization, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, "began to sign with both collective and main artist names because it was requested of us for archival purposes. We also

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2 "Rat Subterranean News", New York's underground newspaper created in March 1968.

3 Ibidem, p. 24.

4 Ibidem, p. 24.

5 Decolonize This Place – a movement based in New York City, organized in 2016 around Indigenous rights, black liberation, Palestinian nationalism, de-gentrification, and economic inequality.

6 Ibidem, p. 41.

recognized, over time, that people often wanted to know who the main artist was to follow their work"[7]. A similar response comes from two members of Pink Bloque, a feminist dance troupe organization that arose out of the September 11, 2001, attacks. Two members comment that often times individual names are listed as "a conscious effort to validate everyone's intellectual labor" but for other material created collectively by the group, "those things should just be credited to the Pink Bloque"[8]. All of these answers reflect activists' understanding that action and creation are collective and fluid.

Questions and concerns about access occur frequently in the interviews, often unprompted by the interviewers. Filmmaker Fivel Rothberg addresses access directly, as well as the harsh reality of archival labor that complicates access. When asked about what grassroots community films contribute to the historic record, F. Rothberg begins by stating the plain fact that all types of media must be collected and made accessible, before noting that "some archives don't take video and I think it really just comes down to money. Yes, it's technically more complicated to archive, but the only hindrance there is money, because you just need to pay someone to do the work of film preservation"[9]. The question of funding picks up later in his interview, as he astutely observes that in the United States, funding archives in public institutions is not a priority. He recounted his experience doing research in an archive and finding that it "was missing so much, there's so much that could've ended up there, and it's obvious that it's all about finances. What is accessible to a broader public is really important"[10]. On the other hand, the interview with two members of Nodutdol, a New York City based group inspired by similar movements in South Korea that focus on Korean unity and self-determination, approaches access from a different angle. There is a genuine interest in preserving organizational history, but there are worries about access expressed by certain members, such as academics, who have concerns "about being featured in our images because they don't want it to hurt their tenure possibilities", or for their actions to be viewed through a specific political lens that could then bring them into contact with laws such as the South Korean National Security Act. This measured and considered response underscores the need for sensitive considerations that can lead to restrictions being placed on collections.

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7 Ibidem, p. 49.
8 Ibidem, p. 206.
9 Ibidem, p. 91–92.
10 Ibidem, p. 93.

Amid the multiplicity of perspectives on attribution and access, there are some universal responses the vast majority of activists share. When asked who they think the ideal person to care for the collections would be, the consistent reply is that it should be someone who knows the material, has the subject matter expertise, may be engaged with the cause or organization itself, or is otherwise genuinely knowledgeable about the group the material represents, so that the intent of the creators is clearly expressed and preserved. Likewise, when asked about the ideal institution to care for the material, the term "living archive" is frequently mentioned. Most interview subjects were concerned that if material went to an archival institution, it might never be used again or ever see the light of day, or otherwise the audience for the collection would only be academics rather than the public. As activism means engaging the public, providing counter-narratives, and offering education, these concerns are understandable. An unspoken implication in these responses regarding subject matter expertise and providing public access is a sense that each item of ephemera (posters, newspapers, banners, etc.) be worked on at the item level, with additional context provided in the description to fully center the meaning and intent of the piece. This creates an immediate tension with the realities of archival labor, which often precludes detailed item-level description.

The frequent mention of a "living archive" points to one of the additional themes that is less explicitly discussed in the interviews – that of archives as an institution, often connected to existing power structures. Given that many of the organizations highlighted in the book are working to expose the issues of existing power structures, provide counter narratives, and advocate for change, it is surprising that this theme does not have a question about it unto itself. It is left for the interview subjects to approach, such as the individuals speaking from the perspective of Decolonize This Place. In being asked if it is important for the material created by the organization to be placed in an archive, the response includes the observation that "there's so much with archives, the history of archives, and the colonial roots of classification. Movement-based material can get stranded in history and I wonder how that can not be the case"[11], before the discussion contemplates a vaguely defined counter- or non-linear archive, as well as other means of passing down history such as through

[11] Ibidem, p. 36.

oral tradition. This response aligns with Decolonize This Place's perspective, and the previously addressed notion of a living archive where access and frequent use are prioritized. Another articulation of archives-as-an-institution comes from Catherine Tedford, whose activism frequently comes in the form of publicly posted stickers, who observes that "putting stickers into an archive takes them out of their original context, which means that the stickers become somewhat disembodied from time and place"[12]. Tedford goes on to observe that the resources of an academic institution are useful, but they are not the only thing to be relied upon. The reoccurring remarks regarding time and place are intriguing as they appear in connection with questions of institutions, but the observation has no follow up. This is a disappointment, as this question of power structure is important for so many of those being interviewed in their work.

One of the greatest strengths of *The Social Movement Archive* is the selection of interview subjects. The organizations range from well-established to fairly new, many active but a few now disbanded, with causes that run from environmental concerns to Black liberation to decolonization to the peace movement, and everything in between. The activists also vary in age, the mediums they work in, and the end goals of the material they create. In several cases, the older activists have either had the luxury of time to think about the lifespan of their material after those materials have served their immediate purpose, have donated material to archives, or have otherwise seen their material exhibited in gallery settings, and have formed opinions about how they wish the public to engage with their material when presented in an exhibition context. Speaking regarding her own work and that of her RAT colleagues, Susan Simensky Bietila suggests an exhibition should focus on those involved with creating the original work and providing information about their current work as well[13], encouraging dialogue and sustained connection but not touching on any specific archival relationship she has developed. This contrasts with the individuals at the War Resisters League, founded in 1923. The organization has some of their material at the Swarthmore Peace Collection at Swarthmore College and have developed relationships with the staff there. In their interview, the staff members speak positively of the relationship with and access to the Peace Collection, as well as pointing out that

[12] Ibidem, p. 154–155.
[13] Ibidem, p. 25.

"we've got to take archiving seriously because our history is going to be written by whoever decides to write it with whatever material they have"[14].

The nature of the book and its structure does create some issues. Because *The Social Movement Archive* is focused on conversations rather than the practical work of archiving, there is no engagement with archivists who have worked on activism related collections and been able address the concerns of the activists. In the introduction, J. Hoyer and N. Almeida mention discussions had with Shawn(ta) Smith-Cruz at the Lesbian Herstory Archive and Zakiya Collier at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, as well as the staff at the Swarthmore Peace Collection[15]. Including those conversations would have defeated the purpose of the text as outlined in the introduction but would have been informative. The lack of archivist perspective is a drawback, but a justifiable one given Hoyer's and Almeida's aims.

At several points in the interviews, the activists express the knowledge that their material does have historic value. I would have liked to see a question or two about what self-stewardship or post-custodial arrangements might look like, to provide not only access and information about the organization each activist represents, but to ensure that their voices are heard in the historic record. Many of these groups are focused on looking at history or our current moment and correcting mistakes, and several have conducted historical research only to find minimal information – if there is anything at all – leaving them frustrated. Having worked in a local history archive housed within a public library, I have often shared that feeling when finding that there was no material associated with local causes that are integral to community history. Of course, this feeling is one such example of the tension between the book and the reader, as the immediate archivist response is most likely "how can we provide access to material if it is never given to the archive in the first place, or we otherwise do not know about its existence?". Likewise, a question regarding how organizations would want their digital material saved would have been insightful and provided further moments for reflection.

What the authors of *The Social Movement Archive* have created is a book that offers a critical perspective and moments for archivists to reflect on their work. The themes expressed by the activists interviewed – questions about self-archiving,

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[14] Ibidem, p. 139.

[15] Ibidem, p. 8–13.

about decolonization, about who can access their material, about making sure their material is placed in a living archive – mean that archivists need to continue to think about outreach and provide clarity about the nature of their work. There is a strong undercurrent in the book regarding how archives as an institution are viewed as a means of perpetuating existing systemic issues. Archives-as-an-authority is a problem for organizations that represent marginalized perspectives and have no reason to trust places that, for them, represent the same inequities that they are fighting against. The question becomes how do we support and work with others, not as an authority but in a facilitative role? How do we provide resources so that groups can care for their history in the way *they* wish to do so? There are projects in the United States that are already working on this question such as Archives for Black Lives in Philadelphia[16], the Texas After Violence Project[17], and the Community Archives Lab[18]. However, the fact that such projects are not known to the interview subjects makes it clear that there is more work to be done.

In reading *The Social Movement Archive*, one should walk away with points of conversation to have with co-workers, with donors, within institutions, and at the regional and national level. The topics addressed by *The Social Movement Archive* are rich, of the moment, and critical to the archival profession.

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[16] Archives For Black Lives. Archivists responding to Black Lives Matter, https://archivesforblacklives.wordpress.com/, accessed 26 September 2023.

[17] After Violence Archive, https://www.afterviolencearchive.org/, accessed 26 September 2023.

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Marcin Smoczyński, *Walczmy o usprawnienie administracji! Komisje dla usprawnienia administracji publicznej i ich rola w racjonalizacji polskiej biurowości do roku 1956*, ISBN: 978-83-231-5070-1, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, Toruń 2023, ss. 472

Słownikowa definicja słowa „usprawnienie" (względnie „usprawnianie") wskazuje, iż ma ono w swym finalnym efekcie doprowadzić do tego, aby jakieś działania, procesy czy urządzenia stały się wydajniejsze bądź skuteczniejsze. Z kolei definicja słowa „racjonalizacja" oznacza zastosowanie środków zmierzających do usprawnienia (usprawniania) czegoś. Oba te pojęcia kojarzą się chyba najbardziej z szeroko rozumianymi dziedzinami techniki, jednak okazuje się, iż mogą odnosić się także do dziedziny administracji publicznej i obowiązującego w niej systemu pracy kancelaryjnej. Temu właśnie zagadnieniu – czyli próbom usprawnienia administracji publicznej w Polsce w latach 1918–1939 oraz 1945–1956, a szczególnie próbom usprawnienia jej biurowości – poświęcił swoją najnowszą monograficzną pracę Marcin Smoczyński, adiunkt Katedry Archiwistyki i Zarządzania Dokumentacją Instytutu Historii i Archiwistyki Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, zatytułowaną *Walczmy o usprawnienie administracji! Komisje dla usprawnienia administracji publicznej i ich rola w racjonalizacji polskiej biurowości do roku 1956*.

We wstępie – przybliżając genezę opisywanego zjawiska – autor stwierdza, iż zarówno „[...] w interesie rządzących i rządzonych od zawsze leżało utrzymywanie jak najwyższej wydajności organizmu administracyjnego" (s. 10). Szczególnego znaczenia kwestia ta nabrała w XX wieku, który był „[...] dla wielu aparatów publicznych okresem wzmożonego rozwoju, ale wraz z postępującą – jako naturalna konsekwencja przenikania państwa do coraz liczniejszych stref życia swoich obywateli – rozbudową struktur zanotowano [jednocześnie] rozwój cech ujemnych: rozrost przybrał wymiar niekontrolowany, dostrzeżono centralizację utrudniającą sprawne urzędowanie wobec rosnących oczekiwań społeczeństw,

problemem okazała się niewystarczająca wydajność urzędów i urzędników. Wyraźnie zauważano już kapitalne znaczenie kwestii związanych z biurowością i zarządzaniem dokumentacją dla efektywności pracy [danej] instytucji" (s. 10).

Analizując jednakże dalej tytuł omawianej publikacji, odnajdujemy słowo „walczmy" (w bezokoliczniku „walczyć"), którego odczasownikowy rzeczownik – „walka" – może być zdefiniowany na kilka sposobów: od rozumianego łagodnie (jako ścieranie się sprzecznych poglądów czy interesów), do wręcz drastycznego – działanie mające na celu pokonanie przeciwnika. I w tym drugim właśnie znaczeniu autor użył słowa „walka", opisując próby reformowania polskiej administracji i usprawniania jej biurowości. Zauważa już we wstępie, iż „[...] administrację w Polsce usprawniano bowiem, właśnie walcząc. Zmagania były częste, nierówne, a «przeciwnicy» – wewnętrzni i zewnętrzni – zróżnicowani: oporni decydenci, przeciwne zmianom i wpływowe lobby zachowawcze, niewykwalifikowani urzędnicy, trudności techniczne i aprowizacyjne, wreszcie – sytuacja ekonomiczna oraz polityczna" (s. 9).

Zasadnicza część publikacji została podzielona na pięć rozdziałów tematycznych, które są uzupełnione przez wstęp, zakończenie, wykaz źródeł i opracowań, wykaz tabel, schematów i wykresów oraz aneks – 22 grafiki (4 fotografie i 18 rysunków) urządzeń i rozwiązań technicznych czy sposobów mechanicznego usprawnienia pracy biurowej urzędu. Opisową zawartość publikacji – obok wspomnianego aneksu – dopełnia 31 tabel, 15 schematów, 17 wykresów. Brak jednak wykazu skrótów.

We wstępie autor prezentuje cel badawczy swojej pracy, którym była „[...] analiza przejawów zarządzania dokumentacją występujących w działalności polskich komisji dla usprawnienia administracji" (s. 11), które w tym miejscu kolejno wymienia: Komisja Urzędnicza Państwa Polskiego (działała krótko jeszcze w 1918 r.), Międzyministerialna Komisja Kwalifikacyjna (1919), Komisja dla Spraw Oszczędności Państwowych (1920), Komisja dla Reformy Administracji (1923), Państwowa Rada Oszczędnościowa (1923–1926), Komisja dla Reformy Administracji (1926), Komisja dla Reorganizacji Biurowości (1926), Komisja dla Reorganizacji Administracji (1926), Komisja dla Usprawnienia Administracji Publicznej (1928–1933), Komisja dla zbadania celowości organizacji i stanu etatów osobowych w administracji (1945–1948), Zespół do opracowania instrukcji kancelaryjnej (1947), Komisja Organizacji Administracji Publicznej (1948–1949), Centralna Komisja Projektów Usprawnienia Administracji Publicznej (1949–1950), Centralna Komisja Usprawnienia Administracji Publicznej (1951–1956).

Chronologia recenzowanej publikacji to lata 1918–1939 oraz 1945–1956, zdeterminowana jest więc latami działania powyższych gremiów, ze zrozumiałą przerwą na lata II wojny światowej. W dalszych częściach wstępu omówiona jest pokrótce zawartość poszczególnych rozdziałów, wykorzystana baza źródłowa (archiwalia, publikatory, wreszcie publikacje o charakterze sprawozdawczym i informacyjnym, relacjonujące prace komisji nad tytułowym zagadnieniem reformy administracji i jej biurowości) oraz literatura naukowa (monografie i artykuły przyczynkowe).

Rozdział pierwszy (*Komisje dla usprawnienia administracji na świecie do 1956 r.*) przybliża działalność organów kolegialnych, powoływanych z zadaniem reformowania urzędów i struktur państwowej administracji (w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, Wielkiej Brytanii, Francji, Austrii, Belgii, Niemczech, Włoszech), w których w drugiej poł. XIX w. upowszechniły się poglądy o potrzebie reformy ich administracji. I tak niewątpliwie przodującym na tym polu państwem były Stany Zjednoczone Ameryki[1], gdzie pierwsza komisja o zadaniu zreformowania administracji na szczeblu federalnym powołana została w 1869 r. (głównie dla usprawniania funkcjonowania aparatu skarbowego), zaś pierwsza komisja do spraw usprawnienia całej administracji rządowej – w 1887 r. W Wielkiej Brytanii z kolei pierwsze rozwiązania – w tym w zakresie rekrutacji na stanowiska w administracji – to lata 1855 i 1870, kompleksowe zaś regulacje datuje się na początek XX w. Administracja państwowa we Francji funkcjonowała przez prawie cały XIX w. według rozwiązań wdrożonych w dobie napoleońskiej (jeszcze na przełomie XVIII i XIX w.) i dopiero pod koniec XIX w. zapoczątkowano prace nad reformą administracji, a pierwsze ciało kolegialne dla reformy administracji powołane zostało w 1894 r. Na początku XX w. specjalne komisje powstały w Belgii, we Włoszech (w ramach ujednolicenia systemu administracyjnego państwa po zjednoczeniu) oraz w Austrii[2] (tu specjalny komitet utworzony został w 1911 r.). W Niemczech stabilność państwowości tradycyjnie oparta była na sprawnej administracji, prace nad jej reformą i reorganizacją zintensyfikowane zostały w drugiej poł. XIX w., po zjednoczeniu państwa.

Rozdział drugi – *Komisje dla usprawnienia administracji w Polsce do roku 1939* – charakteryzuje organizację i działalność oraz składy osobowe kolegialnych gre-

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1 Autor konsekwentnie używa nazwy Stany Zjednoczone, która jakkolwiek jest powszechnie zrozumiała, to jest określeniem potocznym, właściwsza nazwa to Stany Zjednoczone Ameryki.

2 W tym przypadku (dla lat 1867–1918, czyli po zawarciu ugody przez Cesarstwo Austrii i Królestwo Węgier) właściwa nazwa to Austro-Węgry.

miów, stawiających sobie za cel usprawnienie administracji państwa polskiego w okresie Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. Kwestia ta nabierała bowiem szczególnego znaczenia w sytuacji Polski, która – po odzyskaniu niepodległości jesienią 1918 r. – stanęła przed zadaniem budowy od podstaw aparatu administracyjnego szczebla centralnego i lokalnego. W okresie Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej funkcjonowało dziewięć takich organów, powoływanych do życia przez najwyższe władze państwowe. W ramach czterech z nich wyłoniono specjalne podkomisje do spraw reform metod pracy w urzędach, w tym pracy biurowej. Autor zauważa, iż większość z owych komisji istniała przed przewrotem majowym 1926 r. (łącznie osiem), zaś po przewrocie – tylko jedna, co tłumaczy ówczesną sytuacją polityczną państwa, czyli przejęciem i utrzymywaniem steru rządów przez jeden obóz polityczny.

Najbardziej widocznymi efektami prac tych gremiów były niewątpliwie rozporządzenie Rady Ministrów z dnia 28 października 1920 r. w sprawie biurowości ministerstw oraz uchwała Rady Ministrów z dnia 24 sierpnia 1931 r. o przepisach kancelaryjnych w administracji publicznej. Były to przepisy o charakterze ramowym, na bazie których urzędy miały opracować i wdrożyć własne regulacje szczegółowe. Niejako uzupełnieniem powyższych normatywów była inna uchwała Rady Ministrów – z dnia 21 grudnia 1931 r. o przechowywaniu akt w urzędach administracji publicznej.

Kolejny rozdział (*Racjonalizacja biurowości w pracach międzywojennych komisji dla usprawnienia administracji*) analizuje biurowość polskich urzędów administracji państwowej w latach 1918–1939: jej początki, typowe instrukcje kancelaryjne, instrukcje dedykowane referentom merytorycznym (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem elementów obsługi kancelaryjnej urzędów), ówczesne publikacje instruktażowe czy kursy szkoleniowe. Warto zaznaczyć, iż opisane zostały również przepisy kancelaryjne dla urzędów wojewódzkich i starostw powiatowych, opracowywane w Ministerstwie Spraw Wewnętrznych. Jako materiał ilustracyjny posłużyły schematy obiegu pism w urzędach poszczególnych szczebli administracji państwowej. W dalszej części rozdziału autor omawia także funkcjonowanie składnic akt w urzędach – zapisy instrukcji archiwalnych, podział dokumentacji na kategorie, kwestie brakowania oraz wyposażenia lokalu składnicy akt. W podsumowaniu autor wyróżnia dwa wyraźne okresy w pracach nad racjonalizacją polskiej biurowości: 1918–1926 jako lata akceptowania powszechnie stosowanego dziennikowego systemu kancelaryjnego, oraz lata 1928–1932 jako okres intensywnych prac nad zmianą tego systemu.

Komisje dla usprawnienia administracji w latach 1945–1956 to tytuł rozdziału czwartego. W omawianym przedziale czasu funkcjonowało pięć ciał kolegialnych, pracujących nad usprawnieniem polskiego aparatu urzędniczego, z których jedno otrzymało zadanie opracowania projektu instrukcji kancelaryjnej dla ministerstw i innych urzędów centralnych, zaś dwa inne w ogóle nie podjęły prac w kierunku racjonalizacji biurowości, koncentrując się na zupełnie odrębnych zagadnieniach. Jednak i tym razem komisje te musiały pracować w warunkach równie trudnych, co część ich poprzedników w okresie po 1918 r. – w warunkach zniszczeń materialnych kraju i strat osobowych, zmienionych radykalnie granic państwa, politycznej (i zbrojnej) walki o władzę, zakończonej zwycięstwem komunistów, co skutkowało gwałtowną przebudową ustroju politycznego, gospodarczego i społecznego państwa polskiego. W efekcie administracja państwowa szczebla centralnego i lokalnego musiała w dużym stopniu zostać zbudowana od podstaw. Autor w tej części swej publikacji poddaje analizie zadania, składy osobowe (choć w jednym przypadku nie zachowały się źródła pozwalające to ustalić), formy i efekty ich działalności, wzbogacając opis narracyjny wieloma schematami graficznymi. Co ciekawe – w odróżnieniu od okresu międzywojennego – tym razem działania nie ograniczyły się do wąskiego grona członków komisji, poszerzonego doraźnie o zapraszanych do współpracy ekspertów. Popularyzacja idei usprawnienia administracji – m.in. poprzez umiejętne wykorzystanie środków masowego przekazu (prasa codzienna, radio) – zaowocowała licznymi oddolnymi projektami, nadsyłanymi kolejnym komisjom do rozpatrzenia. Przykładowo, na adres Centralnej Komisji Usprawnienia Administracji Publicznej w latach 1951–1956 wpłynęło około 1950 projektów usprawnieniowych.

Piąty – ostatni – rozdział (*Racjonalizacja biurowości w pracach komisji dla usprawnienia administracji w latach 1945–1956*) prezentuje systemy pracy kancelaryjnej przyjęte w centralnych urzędach administracji państwowej, organach partii politycznych (wpływ jednej z tych partii na procesy decyzyjne w najróżniejszych aspektach funkcjonowania państwa polskiego, począwszy już od 1944 r., jest wszak ogólnie znany), terenowych urzędach administracji, w kancelariach miejskich tego okresu, wreszcie w organach rad narodowych. I tak opisany został początkowy okres funkcjonowania biurowości administracji państwowej (czyli lata 1945–1947). Charakteryzował się on – w większości analizowanych urzędów – powrotem do dziennikowego systemu kancelaryjnego, który zalecano „[...] nawet na łamach literatury branżowej jako prostszy do stosowania w nadzwyczajnych warunkach powojennej odbudowy aparatu administracyjnego" (s. 342).

Dalej autor recenzowanej publikacji opisał przebieg prac nad dwoma projektami ramowych normatywów kancelaryjnych dla centralnych urzędów (ostateczne ich wersje ogłoszone zostały odpowiednio w 1948 i 1952 r.), a następnie tryb wdrażania ich postanowień do praktycznego zastosowania w bieżącej pracy biurowej. Ponadto przedstawił metody pracy biurowej i próby jej mechanizacji, zasady stosowania druków i formularzy, organizację i wyposażenie lokalu biurowego, wreszcie funkcjonowanie składnic akt w urzędach. I tutaj opis wsparty został szeregiem wykresów i schematów – w tym graficznymi analizami kształtu obiegu dokumentacji w urzędach różnego szczebla.

Monografia M. Smoczyńskiego stanowi kompleksowe opracowanie omawiające genezę tworzenia, organizację i skład osobowy, przebieg działalności, rezultaty pracy komisji, mających za zadanie przygotowywanie podstaw pod usprawnienie funkcjonowania organów administracji publicznej państwa polskiego w latach 1918–1939 oraz 1945–1956, ze szczególnym naciskiem na usprawnienie systemu jej obsługi kancelaryjnej. Tytułowe zagadnienie zostało poprzedzone omówieniem metod pracy i rezultatów działalności analogicznych gremiów w innych państwach oraz przedstawione na szerokim tle skomplikowanej sytuacji (politycznej, społecznej i ekonomicznej) państwa polskiego, w jakiej musiało ono najpierw – po odzyskaniu niepodległości w 1918 r. – budować swoją administrację, a potem – po 1945 r., po wyzwoleniu spod niemieckiej okupacji – ją odbudowywać. Jest to niewątpliwie dodatkowym atutem recenzowanego opracowania. Narracja – spisana przystępnym językiem – została wzbogacona szeregiem tabel, wykresów, schematów i ilustracji, ułatwiających zrozumienie tytułowego zagadnienia, a wykaz źródeł i literatury umożliwia zainteresowanym czytelnikom poszerzenie wiedzy o informacje zawarte w przytoczonych opracowaniach. I choć w pracach większości usprawniających administrację komisji kwestie kancelaryjne zajmowały dalszorzędne miejsce (albo wręcz nie były na ich obradach poruszane), publikacja wydaje się obowiązkową pozycją dla badaczy dziejów kancelarii polskiej XX w., a także badaczy ustroju administracyjnego ziem polskich, pomimo ukazania tego zagadnienia z innego punktu widzenia – zarządzania dokumentacją w urzędach państwowych.

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KRONIKA NAUKOWA

InterPARES Summer School
San Benedetto (Włochy), 7–11 lipca 2023 r.

InterPARES (International Research on Permanent Authentic Records in Electronic Systems)[1] to międzynarodowy program badawczy, zainicjowany w 1998 r. przez prof. Lucianę Duranti – specjalistkę w dziedzinie archiwistyki, dyplomatyki i dokumentu elektronicznego z Uniwersytetu Kolumbii Brytyjskiej w Vancouver[2]. Program prowadzony jest dzięki zaangażowaniu wielu instytucji badawczych, włączając w to ponad 50 uniwersytetów, oraz organizacji publicznych (w tym archiwów) i prywatnych w Ameryce Północnej, Łacińskiej, Europie Zachodniej, Afryce, Australii i Azji. Jego główny cel stanowi wypracowanie teoretycznych i metodologicznych ram dla procedur zapewniających wiarygodność i dostępność archiwów elektronicznych oraz wysoką jakość zarządzania informacją, a tym samym trwałą pamięć cyfrową. Cztery pierwsze edycje poświęcono interdyscyplinarnym badaniom, prowadzonym na styku archiwistyki, zarządzania dokumentacją, prawa, technologii informatycznych, inżynierii komputerowej i nauki o informacji. Dotyczyły one trwałej archiwizacji dokumentów elektronicznych, a więc zachowania przez długi czas ich wiarygodności, autentyczności i integralności oraz dostępności (w kontekście technologicznym i fizycznym) w środowiskach cyfrowych.

Piąta edycja InterPARES, realizowana w latach 2021–2026 pod nazwą InterPARES Trust AI, skupiała się na zagadnieniach zastosowania sztucznej inteligen-

[1] Strona internetowa projektu, zob. The InterPARES Project, http://www.interpares.org [dostęp: 1.10.2023].

[2] Prof. Luciana Duranti była gościem archiwów państwowych w 2022 r. Podczas pierwszego z cyklu międzynarodowych spotkań archiwalnych pn. „Konarski Lectures" wygłosiła wykład „Why a world gone digital needs archival theory more than ever before". Zob. L. Duranti, *Why a world gone digital needs archival theory more than ever before*, „Archeion" 2022, t. 123, s. 10–30, DOI.10.4467/26581264ARC.22.015.16668.

cji (*artificial intelligence*, AI) w celu zapewnienia cyfrowej dostępności dokumentacji elektronicznej[3].

Wyniki dotychczasowych studiów teoretycznych InterPARES Trust AI zaprezentowano uczestnikom Szkoły Letniej odbywającej się w San Benedetto del Tronto we Włoszech od 7 do 11 lipca 2023 r. Wzięło w niej udział 35 młodych archiwistów, zarządców dokumentacji i badaczy, a także przedstawicieli innych dziedzin związanych z rozwojem nowoczesnych technologii cyfrowych, takich jak informatyka, prawo i biznes[4].

InterPARES Summer School otworzyło sympozjum pn. „Artificial Intelligence to support the ongoing availability and accessibility of trustworthy public records – an overview of InterPARES Trust AI". Podzielono je na 10 sesji wykładowych, prezentujących najważniejsze problemy badawcze podejmowane w ramach InterPARES Trust AI, a także metodologie badań i oczekiwane rezultaty, które miałyby w sposób systemowy objąć wszystkie aspekty archiwizacji cyfrowej. W wykładzie inauguracyjnym prof. L. Duranti podkreśliła, że obecna edycja InterPARES różni się od poprzednich podejściem do zagadnienia procesów archiwizacji. Jej tematyka nie dotyczy – jak poprzednio – poszczególnych typów dokumentów wytworzonych w określonych technologiach, lecz zastosowania sztucznej inteligencji w celu długoterminowego zachowania wszelkich dokumentów cyfrowych, utrwalonych na dowolnych nośnikach i pochodzących z dowolnego okresu, w taki sposób, aby zagwarantować ich wiarygodność i autentyczność. Zadanie to wymaga zapewnienia odpowiednich narzędzi. Powinny być one przejrzyste, w otwartym dostępie, zintegrowane, interoperacyjne i trwałe.

W InterPARES Trust AI zidentyfikowano i wyodrębniono siedem obszarów tematycznych, obejmujących wszystkie aspekty dotyczące zastosowania technologii AI w archiwizacji. Istotnym elementem metody badawczej jest odwołanie do procesów aktotwórczych, wpływających na wytwarzanie, zarządzanie i wykorzystanie (także ponowne) dokumentacji elektronicznej. W założeniu te trzy wymiary stanowią punkt wyjścia do określenia miejsca praktycznego zastosowania sztucznej inteligencji w archiwach. Przyjęty model koncepcyjny zakłada zatem kształtowanie przestrzeni za pomocą nowoczesnej technologii i wypełnienie jej

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[3] Strona internetowa projektu, zob. InterPARES Trust AI (2021–2026), https://interparestrustai.org/ [dostęp: 1.10.2023].

[4] Informacje o Szkole Letniej, zob. InterPARES Trust. InterPARES Summer School – July 2023 – San Benedetto del Tronto (AP), https://interparestrustai.org/trust/article/interpares-summer-school-july-2023 [dostęp: 1.10.2023].

bogatą i różnorodną treścią cyfrowego dziedzictwa kulturowego. Należy podkreślić, że to ostatnie obejmuje zarówno odzwierciedlone cyfrowo wersje analogowych archiwaliów, jak i dokumentację wytwarzaną w formacie binarnym.

Nakreślone powyżej cele badawcze są realizowane przez 33 projekty naukowe, z których większość wiąże się bezpośrednio z rozwojem archiwistyki cyfrowej. Ich praktyczne wykorzystanie ma doprowadzić w przyszłości do przemodelowania koncepcji archiwum rozumianego jako zbiór akt i dokumentów w archiwum pojmowane jako zbiór danych. To nowe podejście oznacza, między innymi, że tradycyjne metody archiwalnej oceny dokumentów staną się nieadekwatne. Potrzebne będą zarówno nowe narzędzia, oparte na relacjach człowiek-maszyna, jak i nowe metody wykorzystania i eksploracji archiwów – nowoczesnych składnic (miejsc przechowywania) informacji. Zakłada się, że efektem końcowym projektu InterPARES AI będzie raport prezentujący najważniejsze osiągnięcia w zakresie zastosowania AI w archiwach, problemy wymagające rozwiązania i bariery. Taka diagnoza przyczyni się do rozwoju badań nad opracowaniem praktycznych rozwiązań dotyczących przeniesienia najnowszych technologii AI na grunt archiwalny.

Podczas sesji plenarnej omówiono szczegółowo założenia kilku projektów badawczych, zwracając szczególną uwagę na fazę koncepcyjną badań. W latach 2022–2023 prace studyjne grup roboczych InterPARES skupiły się na określeniu zarówno korzyści, jak i ryzyk związanych z wykorzystaniem technologii AI w zarządzaniu dokumentami i archiwami, opracowaniu rekomendacji w zakresie zmiany prawa, identyfikacji ograniczeń zastosowania poszczególnych rozwiązań AI, analizie kierunków rozwoju tej technologii oraz badaniu rynku i potrzeb użytkowników w zakresie wdrożenia nowych rozwiązań.

Sztuczna inteligencja znajduje obecnie zastosowanie przede wszystkim w rozpoznawaniu tekstu dokumentów historycznych; coraz częściej badacze wykorzystują ją także jako złożone narzędzie wnioskowania statystycznego. Celem studium pn. „AI in the Middle ages – Arrangement of ancient documents via appearance-based recognition”[5] jest analiza funkcjonalności głębokich sieci neuronowych, mogących mieć zastosowanie w pracy archiwistów. W założeniach badania przyjęto, iż analiza komputerowa źródeł historycznych zapewnia obiektywną metodę oceny treści dokumentów, niezależną od interpretacji subiektywnej, a jednocześnie charakteryzującą się większą dokładnością, czułością i spoisto-

[5] Opis badań prowadzonych w ramach projektu, zob. InterPARES Trust AI. Research Studies, https://interparestrustai.org/trust/about_research/studies [dostęp 1.09.2023].

ścią. W badaniu testowano narzędzia AI do rozpoznawania pergaminów i dokumentów średniowiecznych. W pierwszym etapie dokonywano ręcznego tagowania dużych zbiorów danych, służących następnie do uczenia się maszynowego (Machine Learning, ML). W drugim etapie głęboka sieć neuronowa pozwalała na automatyczne wykonywanie czynności rozpoznawania tekstów.

Koncepcja kolejnego badania – „Intensional logic-based AI for the Records in Contexts Conceptual Model (RiC-CM) and Ontology (RiC-O)" – jest przykładem próby nawiązania porozumienia pomiędzy archiwistyką a sztuczną inteligencją w obszarze metodyki archiwalnej. Polega na identyfikacji konkretnych technologii AI, które mogą mieć zastosowanie do analizy i rozszerzenia ontologii Records in Context (RiC-O), tworzącej terminologię i zasady uporządkowanego opisu dowolnego typu zasobu archiwalnego w oparciu o szeroki kontekst jego powstawania (twórca-agent i jego działalność). Należy przy tym podkreślić, że ontologie są nowym elementem sztucznej inteligencji, który wykazał swoją przydatność jako narzędzie konceptualne służące modelowaniu wiedzy. RiC i AI tworzą spójną podstawę budowy opisów archiwalnych i relacji pomiędzy nimi w formie ujednoliconego słownika pojęciowego. Ontologia RiC ma więc pełnić rolę wspólnego, powszechnie rozumianego języka światowej archiwistyki.

W projekcie InterPARES skupiono się także na relacji pomiędzy sztuczną inteligencją i językoznawstwem w kontekście zastosowań AI do wyodrębnienia i analizy metadanych dotyczących zasobów cyfrowych. Wskazuje się, że w sytuacji rosnącej lawinowo ilości informacji w zbiorach danych oraz wynikających stąd coraz większych wymagań wobec technologii ich przechowywania, automatyczna klasyfikacja dokumentów elektronicznych jest niezbędna. Z tego względu wiele uwagi poświęcono technikom przetwarzania języka naturalnego (Natural Language Processing, NPL). Model funkcjonalny, zapewniający autentyczność, wiarygodność, integralność i dostępność danych cyfrowych, pozwala na tworzenie schematów określających funkcje poszczególnych elementów tekstu oraz systematyzację jednostek nazewniczych według zdefiniowanych klas i typów. Umożliwia także analizę wątków tematycznych opisujących dokumenty tekstowe. W ramach badania „Records Classification using Natural Language Processing Techniques to Support Trustworthy Public Digital Record" porównano wydajność tradycyjnych technik klasyfikacji tekstów dokumentów z najnowszymi technologiami przetwarzania języka naturalnego.

Dostępność zaawansowanych technologicznie narzędzi sztucznej inteligencji i uczenia maszynowego stanowi wyzwanie dla tych profesji, które tradycyjnie zaj-

mują się dokumentowaniem ludzkiej działalności, nie zaś obcych im procesów zachodzących w świecie cyfrowym. Wstępne prace projektu „Preserving AI Techniques as Paradata" oparto na koncepcji paradanych, jako danych opisujących kontekst (w tym środowisko technologiczne) wykorzystania narzędzi AI w działalności archiwalnej. Zachowanie takich paradanych jest niezbędne do zrozumienia procesów archiwizacyjnych, w których użyto technologii AI, podobnie jak zachowanie metadanych jest niezbędne do zrozumienia procesów powstawania dokumentacji elektronicznej. Rozwój AI otwiera przed archiwistyką nowe możliwości. Sprawia, że granice dotychczasowej praktyki archiwalnej ulegają przesunięciu i wymagają opracowania nowych pojęć i słowników.

Analiza interakcji zachodzących między sztuczną inteligencją a dokumentacją we wszystkich aspektach jej cyklu życia (od wytworzenia, poprzez zarządzanie, wykorzystanie i archiwizację) otwiera dyskusję dotyczącą etycznych granic cyfrowej dostępności. Dotyka ona kwestii zaufania, odpowiedzialności, kontroli i obiektywizmu. Celem projektu pn. „Comparative assessment of ethical codes of the archival/records management and artificial intelligence communities" jest opracowanie katalogu dobrych praktyk, mających zastosowanie do etycznej oceny działalności archiwalnej w świecie nowych technologii. Wstępne założenie, zgodnie z którym dokumentacja powinna być autentycznym (wiarygodnym) dowodem działalności człowieka, rozszerzono o podejście multidyscyplinarne, uwzględniające komponent AI. Badanie zostanie uzupełnione analizą porównawczą kodeksów etycznych zawodu archiwisty/zarządcy dokumentacji i etyki dotyczącej godnej zaufania sztucznej inteligencji.

W ramach badań pn. „Users' approaches and behaviors in accessing records and archives in the perspective of AI: a global user study" opublikowano pierwszy, wstępny raport krajowy obejmujący badania użytkowników archiwów państwowych w Mediolanie, Turynie, Wenecji i Ascoli Piceno[6]. Dokument, oparty o analizę danych badania ankietowego przeprowadzonego online w 2022 r., dostarcza interesujących informacji na temat doświadczeń i oczekiwań użytkowników włoskich w zakresie dostępu do cyfrowych usług archiwalnych oraz ich stosunku do rozwiązań opartych na sztucznej inteligencji. Jak wynika z ankiety, respondenci oczekują od nowoczesnych technologii zwiększenia dostępności zdigitalizowa-

[6] P. Feliciati, G. Di Marcantonio, *Users' approaches and behaviors in accessing records and archives in the perspective of AI: a global user study Phase 1 – Italian study. April 2023*, https://interparestrustai.org/assets/public/dissemination/RA05Users_AI_firstreport-april2023.pdf [dostęp: 1.09.2023].

nych zasobów i ogólnej poprawy jakości wyszukiwania informacji. Pozytywnie oceniono zastosowanie sztucznej inteligencji do mechanizmów wyszukiwania, choć jednocześnie wskazano na potrzebę uzyskania dodatkowych informacji na temat zalet i wad użytkowania tego narzędzia w systemach informacji archiwalnej (ok. 65% badanych). W podsumowaniu raportu autorzy porównali uzyskane dane z wynikami sondażu IPSOS z 2022 r. dotyczącego wad i zalet produktów i usług wykorzystujących sztuczną inteligencję[7].

Tematyka projektu pn. „Increasing Access to Photos, Videos and Social Media records through AI-generated Descriptive Metadata" dotyczy możliwości zastosowania sztucznej inteligencji i uczenia maszynowego do rozpoznania i klasyfikowania dokumentacji nietekstowej, głównie fotografii cyfrowych, filmów i nagrań. Automatyczne rozpoznawanie mowy, maszynowe tłumaczenie dialogów filmowych i kodowanie czasowe scen wskazują na możliwość poprawy dostępu do cyfrowego dziedzictwa kulturowego. Takie narzędzia mogą znacznie przyspieszyć tworzenie metadanych na poziomie jednostki archiwalnej oraz pomóc archiwistom porządkować i opracowywać duże zbiory fotografii, filmów i nagrań dźwiękowych.

Główną częścią programu InterPARES Summer School było podsumowanie wyników projektów realizowanych we wcześniejszych edycjach. Nawiązanie do problematyki badań nad sztuczną inteligencją stanowiło uzupełnienie treści wykładów i pozostawiło pewien niedosyt wśród uczestników spotkania. Zaprezentowany dorobek studiów zrealizowanych w poprzednich edycjach skłania do refleksji, iż nowoczesne technologie wymagają opracowania nowej, posługującej się narzędziami cyfrowymi, metodyki archiwalnej. Istotna przy tym jest rola archiwów jako podmiotu wytwarzającego i skutecznie wdrażającego nowe rozwiązania, a nie jedynie wykorzystującego powszechnie dostępne narzędzia i technologie. Koncepcje zaprezentowane w poszczególnych projektach mogą stanowić dobry punkt wyjściowy do kontynuacji i rozwijania dalszych badań.

Na dokładniejsze omówienie zasługują następujące, zaprezentowane podczas Szkoły Letniej, sesje i wykłady:

Corinne Rogers, „Authenticity and Authentication". Zgodnie z teorią archiwistyki autentyczność określana jest na podstawie pochodzenia i kontekstu dokumentu oraz nośnika, na którym został zapisany. W środowisku cyfrowym treść, struktura

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[7] Zob. N. Maslej, L. Fattorini, E. Brynjolfsson, J. Etchemendy, K. Ligett, T. Lyons, J. Manyika, H. Ngo, J.C. Niebles, V. Parli, Y. Shoham, R. Wald, J. Clark, R. Perrault, *The AI Index 2023 Annual Report, Stanford, April 2023*, https://aiindex.stanford.edu/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/HAI_AI-Index-Report_2023.pdf [dostęp: 1.09.2023].

i forma nie są już ze sobą nierozerwalnie związane, a domniemanie autentyczności opiera się na badaniu elementów tożsamości i integralności zapisu cyfrowego. Profesor Uniwersytetu Kolumbii Brytyjskiej w Vancouver zaprezentowała ustalenia InterPARES dotyczące autentyczności i uwierzytelniania dokumentu w środowisku cyfrowym oraz ontologii wiarygodności, do której należy autentyczność.

Hrvoje Stancic, „Technological Authentication". Era cyfrowa postawiła przed archiwami nowe wyzwania. Choć podstawowe teorie i koncepcje archiwalne powinny być takie same zarówno dla dokumentów analogowych, jak i cyfrowych, to jednak techniczna manifestacja dokumentów cyfrowych, ich różnorodność, szybkość tworzenia, objętość i zmienność wymagają nowoczesnych podejść obliczeniowych. Wykładowca Uniwersytetu w Zagrzebiu przedstawił model blockchain i technologii rozproszonych rejestrów w kontekście wsparcia integralności zapisów świata cyfrowego i możliwości ich wykorzystania w archiwistyce.

Tracey P. Lauriault, „Data as artifacts and as records". Wykład poświęcony był związkowi między metrologią a danymi oraz rodzajami danych i ich cechami ontologicznymi. Wykładowczyni, profesor z Uniwersytetu Carleton w Ottawie, przybliżyła koncepcje współczesnych systemów, takich jak inteligentne miasta i cyfrowe bliźniaki. Przede wszystkim jednak słuchacze starali się znaleźć odpowiedzi na pytania o kwestie etyczne i zagadnienia sprawiedliwości społecznej, związane bezpośrednio z wykorzystaniem sztucznej inteligencji, a także dokonać oceny społecznych i kulturowych rezultatów działalności człowieka w środowisku cyfrowym.

Erik Borglund, „Records in the Cloud". Nowoczesna usługa w chmurze została uruchomiona przez Amazon w 2002 r. w ramach infrastruktury wewnętrznej. Cztery lata później, w 2006 r. „chmurę" wprowadzono na rynek zewnętrzny, tworząc nowoczesną technologię przetwarzania oraz przechowywania danych, które nie są magazynowane na dyskach komputerowych, ale w wirtualnej przestrzeni serwerowej. Pojawienie się dostawców tego typu usług stanowiło wyzwanie dla archiwistów i zarządców dokumentacji. Przedstawiciel Uniwersytetu Środkowej Szwecji (Mittuniversitetet) w Sundsvall skupił się na założeniach projektu InterPARES „Rekordy w chmurze", ale także na wyzwaniach związanych z tą technologią.

Kenneth Thibodeau, „Proteus Bound: Trustworthy Digital Preservation". Zachowanie wiarygodności zasobów cyfrowych w długim czasie wydaje się być niemożliwe. Jak można zachować coś w nienaruszonym stanie, gdy zależy to całkowicie od zbioru luźno połączonych i różnorodnych czynników, które zmieniają się w różnym tempie i w sposób nieprzewidywalny? Jest to pytanie, którym InterPARES zajmuje się od samego początku. Pierwsze dwa projekty sformułowały

i opracowały koncepcję łańcucha ochrony, który nie jest sposobem na zachowanie dokumentów cyfrowych, ale sposobem dokumentowania tego, w jaki sposób zostały one zachowane. Podczas wykładu dokonano przeglądu badań InterPARES w zakresie ochrony zasobów cyfrowych, ich wyników, a także zaprezentowano problem badań dokumentacji cyfrowej powstającej współcześnie w dynamicznych systemach nowoczesnej technologii.

Pierluigi Feliciati, „Trusted and easy access to records and archives". Profesor Uniwersytetu w Maceracie skupił się na zależności zachodzącej między dokumentami cyfrowymi a użytkownikami, służącej zaprojektowaniu, wdrożeniu i podtrzymaniu cyfrowych usług archiwalnych. Podczas wykładu zaprezentowano wyniki badania InterPARES Trust AI „Users' approaches and behaviors in accessing records and archives in the perspective of AI: a global user study". Częścią zajęć szkoleniowych było ponadto omówienie i ocena współczesnych możliwości dostępu do archiwów cyfrowych oraz podstawowych mierników jakościowej oceny ich dostępności.

Jessica Bushey, „Managing and Preserving Digital Images Collections". Podczas tej sesji profesor Uniwersytetu Stanowego w San José w Kalifornii przedstawiła wyniki badań dotyczących zarządzania fotografiami cyfrowymi. Ukazała rolę metadanych w odnajdywaniu informacji przyczyniających się do potwierdzenia autentyczności i wiarygodności obrazu oraz zapoznała uczestników ze standardami i najlepszymi praktykami dotyczącymi metadanych i formatów w zakresie dostępu i przechowywania. Omówiła ponadto archiwizację fotografii publikowanych w mediach społecznościowych. Sesja zakończyła się dyskusją na temat możliwości i potencjalnych przeszkód w wykorzystaniu sztucznej inteligencji do zarządzania i ochrony obrazów cyfrowych.

InterPARES Summer School było wydarzeniem rozwijającym, szczególnie w odniesieniu do poznania stanu wiedzy i badań prowadzonych w obszarze nowoczesnej archiwistyki cyfrowej. Sztuczna inteligencja daje szerokie perspektywy zastosowania i w przyszłości stanowić może ważne narzędzie pracy archiwalnej. Otwarte pozostają pytania o granice technologiczne, etyczne i społeczne jej wykorzystania oraz konsekwencje powierzenia dziedzictwa kulturowego systemom-maszynom opartym na analizie obliczeniowej.

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IN MEMORIAM

Aniela Przywuska
(28 marca 1937 – 30 marca 2022)

Urodziła się w Starej Jani w powiecie starogardzkim w rodzinie Piotra i Jadwigi Wąsików. Do szkoły podstawowej uczęszczała w Kościelnej Jani (6 klas) oraz w Mirotkach (7 klasa). Po jej ukończeniu w 1951 r. kontynuowała naukę w Liceum Ogólnokształcącym im. Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie w Starogardzie Gdańskim. Po uzyskaniu matury, w 1956 r. rozpoczęła studia na Uniwersytecie Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu (dalej: UMK) na kierunku historia – specjalizacja archiwistyczna, którego absolwentką została w 1961 r.

Po ukończeniu studiów podjęła pracę w Wojewódzkim Archiwum Państwowym w Olsztynie jako archiwistka. W 1964 r. powierzono jej stanowisko starszego asystenta naukowo-badawczego oraz funkcję kierownika Działu Akt Podworskich. Z powodów rodzinnych, pod koniec 1964 r. wystąpiła z prośbą do Naczelnego Dyrektora Archiwów Państwowych o przeniesienie do pracy w Wojewódzkim Archiwum Państwowym w Gdańsku (dalej: WAP w Gdańsku). Od 1 stycznia 1965 r. była kierownikiem Powiatowego Archiwum Państwowego w Tczewie. Placówką tą kierowała do końca sierpnia 1973 r. Dnia 1 września 1973 r. rozpoczęła pracę w Oddziale Informacji i Ewidencji w siedzibie WAP w Gdańsku. W 1974 r. otrzymała nominację na stanowisko adiunkta naukowo–badawczego oraz awansowała na kierownika Oddziału Konserwacji i Reprografii. W 1979 r. powierzono jej kierownictwo Oddziału Ewidencji, Informacji i Udostępniania Materiałów Archiwalnych, a 18 listopada 1991 r. została mianowana dyrektorem Archiwum Państwowego w Gdańsku (dalej: AP w Gdańsku).

Podczas swojej długoletniej aktywności zawodowej wykonywała zadania zarówno w zakresie podstawowej działalności archiwalnej, jak i naukowej. W 1978 r. na podstawie przedłożonej rozprawy doktorskiej pt. „Kancelaria gdańskich władz wojewódzkich w latach 1945–1958", uchwałą Rady Wydziału Humanistycznego UMK uzyskała tytuł doktora nauk humanistycznych.

Specjalizowała się głównie w opracowaniu zasobu archiwalnego okresu Polski Ludowej, a w szczególności akt terenowych organów władzy i administracji państwowej. Ewidencjonowała także zasób przedwojenny. Była autorką licznych inwentarzy archiwalnych (m.in. starostw powiatowych w Starogardzie Gdańskim, Tczewie i Kościerzynie, miejskich rad narodowych i zarządów miejskich w Tczewie i Gniewie, gminnych rad narodowych powiatu tczewskiego i starogardzkiego). Opracowała także inwentarz zespołu archiwalnego *Akta miasta Tczewa z lat [1260] 1826–1945 [1946–1950]*. Ważną pozycję w dorobku naukowym A. Przywuskiej stanowią badania nad dziejami wsi kociewskich, w tym jej rodzinnej Jani, którym poświęciła cykl artykułów w „Archiwiście Polskim" i rocznikach muzealnych „Rydwan".

Zajmowała się również popularyzacją archiwów i ich zasobu. Była współautorką i współorganizatorką wielu wystaw archiwalnych. Współpracowała w tym obszarze z lokalnymi władzami oraz instytucjami nauki i kultury. Jednym z największych przedsięwzięć logistycznych w tym zakresie było zorganizowanie przez nią w 2001 r. konferencji oraz wystawy jubileuszowej z okazji 100-lecia AP w Gdańsku (w 1901 r. Königliche Staatsarchiv für Westpreussen). Swoją wiedzą i doświadczeniem dzieliła się ze studentami Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, prowadząc w latach 1975–1979 ćwiczenia z archiwistyki. Była wieloletnim członkiem Centralnej Komisji Metodycznej, a w latach 1995–1997 członkiem Rady Archiwalnej przy Naczelnym Dyrektorze Archiwów Państwowych. Brała udział w pracach zespołów naukowych i współpracowała przy opracowywaniu przepisów i wskazówek metodycznych, w tym dotyczących postępowania z dokumentacją terenowych organów władzy i administracji państwowej oraz opracowania akt z wyborów do Sejmu Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej i rad narodowych.

Sprawując funkcję dyrektora AP w Gdańsku, podjęła się wielu zadań związanych m.in. z poprawą warunków pracy oraz przechowywania materiałów archiwalnych. Wielkim wyzwaniem dla jej umiejętności organizacyjnych okazał się remont generalny gmachu gdańskiego archiwum oraz adaptacja budynku magazynowego na siedzibę oddziału w Gdyni. Dzięki jej staraniom zakupiono komorę próżniową do odkażania akt, która przez wiele lat służyła także innym instytucjom. W czasie swojej kadencji podjęła się ponadto informatyzacji archiwum, co w znacznym stopniu wpłynęło na przyśpieszenie prac związanych z ewidencjonowaniem zasobu oraz na sprawność udzielania informacji interesantom, szczególnie tym, którzy w latach 90. XX w. masowo poszukiwali informacji o zlikwidowanych zakładach pracy.

W 2001 r. z wielkim zaangażowaniem włączyła się w ratowanie akt zniszczonych podczas powodzi w Gdańsku. Dzięki jej determinacji ocalono przed całkowitym zniszczeniem większość ksiąg stanu cywilnego pochodzących z zalanych pomieszczeń Urzędu Miejskiego.

A. Przywuska była członkiem Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego oraz Stowarzyszenia Archiwistów Polskich.

Za zasługi dla archiwistyki odznaczona została Złotym Krzyżem Zasługi (1989) oraz Krzyżem Kawalerskim Orderu Odrodzenia Polski (1999).

1 stycznia 2004 r. przeszła na emeryturę.

Praca archiwalna była jej pasją, której poświęciła także niemałą część swojego życia prywatnego. Podejmowała się wielu trudnych zadań zawodowych i naukowych. Dociekliwość, rzetelność, niezwykła pracowitość, a także wysokie wymagania, które stawiała przede wszystkim sobie, zaowocowały rozwojem wielu obszarów działalności gdańskiego archiwum. Jej wrażliwość na potrzeby drugiego człowieka, skromność i oddanie pracy archiwalnej budziły podziw i powszechny szacunek. W duchu odpowiedzialności i poczucia misji kształciła kolejne pokolenia archiwistów, dając im przykład pracowitości oraz badawczej wnikliwości. Bez rozgłosu i z wielką delikatnością angażowała się w pomoc charytatywną. Kochała przyrodę, zwierzęta i góry, po których regularnie, przez kilkadziesiąt lat, wędrowała z grupą przyjaciół.

W życiu prywatnym była żoną Stanisława Przywuskiego i oddaną matką Anny.

Zmarła w dniu 30 marca 2022 r. Pochowana została 8 kwietnia w Gdańsku-Wrzeszczu na Cmentarzu Centralnym Srebrzysko przy ulicy Srebrniki 2.

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