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Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay Ehrenkreutz-Jędrzejewiczowa – Scholar and organizer[1]

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Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay laid the foundations for the development of the ethnographic academic community at the Universities of Vilnius and Warsaw during the interwar period. She initiated and co-organized numerous scientific and cultural societies and associations that provided support for her research. During World War II, she was forced to leave Poland and used every opportunity to document culture, collecting testimonies of Polish army soldiers about their native traditions and conducting her own research along wartime routes. In the Middle East she co-founded a center for cultural research in Jerusalem, and after the end of the war, having decided to remain in exile, she was the founder and co-organizer of the Scientific Society in Exile and, later, the Polish University Abroad in London.

She was an original cultural researcher, ahead of the theoretical thought of her time by many years (Sokolewicz, 2016), but she also expressed the belief that research would only yield any benefits if research work was supported by broadly defined intellectual circles. Organizational work, although not necessarily called that in those times, became the other side of her research work. Her contemporaries appreciated this aspect of her activities. Jan Czekanowski, in his opinion written during the process of awarding her a full professorship, stated that "she is the most educated person of all our ethnographers, and she has also demonstrated outstanding organizational skills" (AAN, MWRiOP, l. 3142).

Her actions were not derived from any theories of management or organization. She was guided by intuition in the pursuit of her dream to do research work. In the past, scientists and university professors were said to have a "vocation", which probably harkened back to a time when scientists were primarily clergy. There is no doubt, however, that scientific work was Cezaria's calling. The memoirs of her sister, Ewelina Małachowska, reveal that, as a 10-year-old girl, Cezaria had decided to follow the "path of learning" (Małachowska, 1973, p. 99). Her fate, and particularly the dramatic events of her later years like leaving Poland in 1939 and remaining

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in exile in Great Britain, has resulted in her legacy being scattered. Her granddaughter, Marta Ehrenkreutz Jasińska, is now working intensively on consolidating it, striving to reconstruct the history of the distinguished Baudouin de Courtenay and Ehrenkreutz family and its significant contributions to Poland.

In writing this text, I delved into Cezaria's publications and surviving archival documents. However, I relied at core on her wonderful letters. I drew from two collections, largely preserved. The first consists of letters to Kazimierz Nitsch, a professor at the Jagiellonian University, outstanding linguist and the husband of her dear friend from the Krakow classical gymnasium, Aniela Gruszecka; these cover the period from 1909 to 1957, i.e. until Nitsch's death. The second are letters to her student, Maria Znamierowska-Pruefferowa from 1928–1967 (i.e. until Cezaria's death), who brought her professor's letters with her when she was resettled from Vilnius to Toruń in 1945. Both collections have a very personal character. Their contents not only include information about events, trips, or health, but also opinions. They are descriptions, occasionally very emotional ones, of her state of mind, and are interspersed with research questions and work projects that interest her. Perhaps the most important letter, dated 17 December 1922 is the only source describing the course of her habilitation (APP III – 51, l. 191). No documents regarding this matter have been preserved at the University of Warsaw! It is confirmed only by the letters of the MWRiOP approving the habilitation and awarding her the title of assistant professor (Central Historical Archives of Lithuania, F.175). The importance of letters in the creation of scientific communities in the 19th and first half of the 20th century and in the exchange of scientific information should be emphasized. Caesaria's letters are a clear testament to this.

In the following article I quote, sometimes at length, excerpts from letters. It seems to me that no summary will capture their form and content. They express her emotionality, the expressiveness of her speech, while remaining simultaneously logical and rational, clear, and straight to the point. These letters form a kind of narrative, a narrative about becoming a researcher, about building one's own field of research, about maturing as a researcher, about combining the roles of wife, mother and researcher, as well as a woman who does not give up on the love of her life. They typically contain three strands of Cezaria's interests: political matters related to Poland's independence and the question of education, which Cezaria associated with independence; research issues which interested her; and family matters. The latter fade into the background in the 1930s, when her children grew up, leaving more room for opinions about political events. These letters show an identity changing over time, but also the pursuit of self-understanding. The narrative that unfolds in the letters is not a simple sequence of events, but a description of the process of becoming. With access to such material, I turned to *narrativism*, or more precisely, to one of its sources, specifically the works of Edmund Husserl, and especially his concept of being-in-the-world (*Dasein*). Husserl, we now believe (we do not know the full extent of her reading list), may not have influenced Cezaria's own research directly, but rather came to her as a source of theoretical inspiration by means of the works of Kazimierz Twardowski, whom she quotes in 1922 (Baudouin de Courtenay, 1923, p. 26; Zadrożyńska-Barącz, 1968, p. 20).

Cezaria Jadwiga Anna Baudouin de Courtenay was born in Dorpat (today Tartu) on 2 August 1885. She was the firstborn daughter of Jan Baudouin de Courtenay, the great linguist and one of the founders of structuralism. Raised in a home open to Dorpat intellectuals, she was an involuntary (or perhaps not necessarily involuntary) witness to the discussions taking place

there, often hiding under the table, as we learn from the previously cited memoirs of her younger sister, Ewelina (Małachowska, 1973, p. 99).

There is no doubt that her father and his environment served as role models for her. But her interests were also sustained by her mother, Romualda née Bagińska. She was a very well-educated person, at least in view of the limited access women had to education in those times. She held the so-called "men's high school diploma", she was a graduate of a four-year course of higher studies for women, the so-called Bestuzhevsk studies (named after Konstantin Nikolayevich Bestuzhev – Ryumin, their creator) established in St. Petersburg in 1878. This course of studies did not have the status of university studies (Ehrenkreutz, 1993, p. 54 *et seq.*). Cezaria would later follow in her footsteps.

Cezaria owes her thorough home education to both her parents. Thanks to them, when the family arrived in Krakow, she was admitted to a classical junior gymnasium for girls – a school which it might be noted came into being in part thanks to her mother's efforts (Zamojska, 1996, p. 158). However, when Jan Baudouin de Courtenay lost his fight for social justice against the Krakow community (Ehrenkreutz, 1993, p. 56; Zamojska, 1996, p. 160), the family found themselves in St. Petersburg, where he took over the Department of Linguistics. Cezaria, following her mother's example, began her studies at Bestuzhevsk, and in 1906, when more liberal winds were blowing at the University of St. Petersburg after the events of 1905, she entered the University as a "free" (non-matriculated) student. Cezaria developed her interests in linguistics and classical culture there.

However, she expected more from the university than just to implement the policy of the tsarist government. She expresses this in a letter to Kazimierz Nitsch, written during a vacation in the village of Istalsno in 1909.

> *He – the enemy of all Russian youth and of the 'free students' in particular, the darkest of the Shwartzes*[3] *– introduced 8 more exams in addition to the 3 that I was supposed to take. During these 3 months, I was examined 7 times in various subjects, most of which had nothing to do with linguistics (e.g. Russian history, two huge volumes of disgusting horrors). In addition, I wrote a large paper at the classical seminar at Żebielow (Solar Deities – a little Wörter – und – Sachen). My friends and many of my colleagues are supposed to stay at the university for two more years and slowly make sacrifices to the whims of the Schwartz, but I preferred to throw this yoke off in one fell swoop. In the fall I will submit 3 and finita la comedia.* (APP III – 51 l.185)

It is the first instance of Cezaria deciding to increase efforts to achieve a goal, made after a quick assessment of her situation. Cezaria will make many such clear decisions in her life. For example, when she chooses to start a family and take on related responsibilities, but also, and above all, when she makes decisions leading to fulfilling her dream of devoting herself to research. There will also be a personal decision about another divorce and a relationship with the love of her life. This ability to make decisions will prove to be very important in achieving her research goals, as well as creating an intellectual and cultural support network for them in the form of research associations and societies.

[3] Translator's note: The reference may be to A.N. Schwartz, a noted anti-revolutionist in the Russian Ministry of Education who had in 1908 set out a ten-point proposal for aggressive Russification. The author plays on the name "Schwartz", which means black in German, by referring to her examiner as the darkest/blackest of the Schwartzes.

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She finishes her studies in 1910 and in the same year she marries her father's student, Maximilian Vassmer, who later became a great authority in linguistics, the successor of Alexander Brueckner at the department of Slavic studies in Berlin. The marriage is short-lived. In 1913, Cezaria decides to divorce. They part on friendly terms and their relationship remains friendly until the end of his life (she died in 1962), as was confirmed to me by her student, Professor Witold Dynowski, and was evidenced by more than correspondence: Vassmer was actively interested in Cezaria's fate. In 1940, when the Germans confiscated the book collections of scientific institutions located in the Staszic Palace in Warsaw, the small book collection of the Department was spared and remains part of the library of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the University of Warsaw. It survived thanks to Vassmer's intervention, as related to Professor Dynowski (then assistant professor at the Department of Polish Ethnography at the University of Warsaw) by the German officer supervising the confiscations. The Professor later shared the story with his students, including myself.

In 1909, Cezaria made an important trip to the Kingdom of Poland. There she meets left-wing youth, the independence movement, and comes into direct contact with the issue of education in its broadest sense, including the education of rural youth and its connection with independence, to which she will attach great importance for the rest of her life (Zamojska, 1996, p. 162). She also develops a great admiration for Piłsudski, to whom she devotes her last work (Baudouin de Courtenay, 1958/59). In 1913, she decided to become independent, taking up a job as a teacher of Russian and Latin in junior gymnasiums for girls in Warsaw (Ehrenkreutz, 1993, p. 57; Zamojska, 1996, p. 163 *et seq.*). She remains in contact with left-wing circles, with PPS (the Polish Socialist Party), where she meets her two future husbands: Stefan Ehrenkreutz and Janusz Jędrzejewicz. The meeting at the *Wiedza i Praca* editorial office is an opportunity to emphasize her lasting interest in the situation of the countryside and the rural intelligentsia. She writes:

> *[the term] Rural youth refers to the generation of peasants who have graduated from agricultural schools in the Kingdom or abroad, yet do not want to connect with the urban intelligentsia, but remain on the land, striving to create a type of intellectual farmer in our country. They require the magazine to be scientific and popular, as well as non-partisan. Their main goal is not to lose touch with education after completing school* (21/06/1914 PPN: III-51 p.185).

Undoubtedly, this sensitivity to rural problems later influenced her planned field research in the countryside, the documentation of folk culture and the organization of related educational activities.

In 1916, she marries for the second time, this time Stefan Ehrenkreutz, a lecturer at the Free Polish University and the University of Warsaw. She is determined to play the role of wife and mother. Three children are born of this union: Krystyna (1917–1926), Tadeusz 1919–1976) and Andrzej (1922–2008). From then on, her letters to friends include not only family topics, political opinions, and information about scientific projects, but also mention her husband and children. She expresses her concern about her husband, who fought as a volunteer in the Bolshevik war of 1920, and discusses her children – when they start walking, talking, and how they argue about toys. An example is a letter to Kazimierz Nitsch from 19 January 1921:

> *Krzysia got a few dolls for Christmas, Tadzik got two blackface dolls, one in a red tailcoat and checkered trousers, the other a beautiful cacique – made by Zosia, the pinnacle of beauty. But*

above all, Tadzik has a passion for pots. So, he started feeding the reddoll from Krzysia's serving dish (but he is deferential towards the cacique: when he emerged from under the Christmas tree wearing gold, beads and holding a scepter, Tadzik walked towards him holding a wonderfully decorated stick, bowing low and in a humble, slightly trembling voice he said bye-bye, bye-bye and saluted. The black doll was grinning…) The next day, however, Tadzik started courting Krysia and her dolls and did not want to have the black ones. After a few days, he accepted his fate and adopted the blackface dolls as his children. Unfortunately, Krzysia loved them too. I hear the following exchange: Tadzik, give Krzysia back the black dolls, gentlemen (!) don't have children. All Krzysia's children. "Tadzik, you have two horses and the strollers." Screaming, screaming, violence against the weaker. I call Krysia: Krzyśka says stupid things, gentlemen have such… [end missing] (APP III-51 p. 185).

Cezaria's path to research work is long and difficult. After the birth of her second child, her son Tadeusz, she writes:

I'm now cut off from the world, fighting on two fronts – I'm becoming a complete child, and I don't even have time to read newspapers. I only see my family briefly, or rather I see them, but I don't have time to talk. […] Family life and children, especially those that are small and completely dependent on me, are my lifeblood, and at the same time I do not lose hope that I won't give up my studies completely, that it will remain a luxury in my life. I need 10 two-hour evenings to finish my work on "Danube" (III-51, unit 185).

This letter and subsequent ones indicate desperate attempts to find time for scientific work. And how much persistence it takes not to give it up. Her motivation is probably twofold: she has ideas for new work and also feels how hopeless teaching is. Cezaria will later turn out to be an excellent teacher, but at the university, as a guide for creative minds like hers. Years later, this is how Lucjan Turkowski remembers her:

At the same time, she had an extraordinary gift for connecting with people and her lectures held a special charm, especially her seminars, of which the "privatissima", as her father used to call her, offered the most inspired concepts and intuitive solutions to difficult issues. Like Socrates, she preferred to teach in direct contact, and not in the impersonal form of published printed materials (Turkowski, 1968, p. 357).

This was her calling. However, before she could answer it, she had to endure the monotonous routine of a high school teacher. No wonder she writes critically about it. In a letter from January 18, 1921, we read that at school:

Again, student notebooks – now up to 100 translations from Latin into Polish per week – it's draining and exhausting, lessons are stupid. Sewing and notebooks are really boring, but in the evenings, I can work for a few hours. I sew and correct the notebooks before 7 p.m., when the children are still around. At 7 o'clock they go to sleep and then my day begins. […] I'm glad I have a little time for Cecylia because I thought I wouldn't have any, and I'm quite pleased with the result. However, the element of folk studies appeared entirely of its own accord, I wasn't planning on it!

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! I want to expand [my work on] the Danube significantly, but it will be easy because I already have the material (AP-P, as above)

From the moment she got married, Cezaria had to count the hours that could be devoted to research work. After all, it is a woman's responsibility to organize the house, divide the work between the servants (cook, maids and, above all, nannies) and supervise this work. She must plan her expenses – budgeting is her duty, just as it was once the duty of her mother, whom she probably tries to imitate. The term "housewife", which was common in the interwar period, (there was also a women's magazine with this title) describes the entire sphere of duties of a middle-class woman who could not afford to employ a housekeeper. This work is certainly that of a manager.

Political fascinations, awareness of the importance of educational work on the path to the country's independence, as well as the small degree of independence that teaching gave her – all this did not satisfy her intellectual needs. This intellectual craving is already clear during her studies in St. Petersburg. We find confirmation in a letter from 1909 to her friend, Aniela Gruszecka (later Nitsch) quoted earlier, that "… the path of learning" she chose "unconsciously, completely instinctively." (APPAN, III – 51, p. 360). Her subsequent, especially adolescent, letters reinforce the belief in readers that, regardless of the influence her father had on her, and the role models provided by his academic environment, she had the innate curiosity of a true researcher from an early age. While on vacation in the village of Istalsno (Vitebsk Governorate) in 1909, she writes to Kazimierz Nitsch: "I am rapidly organizing my Latvian and Belarusian notes […] I am still struggling with the Latvian accent […] I have been working a little on the Polish declension […] I have been learning the comparative grammar of Slavic languages and Greek […]" (APP-III-51, p. 185). She can also comment critically on her readings. She recalls her impressions from reading Łoś with the sentence:

I don't like it, I started reading it with great curiosity, and then it was such a painful disappointment. Confusion of the historical-genetic method with the psychological one (ibid.).

Her future path is still undetermined. In the same letter we read:

[I] wonder what will become of my mythological and linguistic work. I have a few things floating around in my brain that are terribly interesting to me, but they haven't completely crystallized yet. Meanwhile, this combination excites me to the point of dreaming about it sometimes even at night (ibid.).

This curiosity about the world was probably one of the reasons for the acceleration of her studies at the University of St. Petersburg.

Her first works date back to 1913 and 1914. Her trip with Vassmer to Greece (in 1910) yielded the work *Albania and Albanians* (1913). Then linguistic interests and the search for meanings take over. During her stay in Warsaw, she was probably collecting material for a thesis on the Danube – Russian *byliny* (which would become the basis for awarding her *veniam legendi* in the habilitation process) and is also working on a later habilitation thesis about Saint Cecilia. At the same time, she tries to maintain contact with the academic community. From the letter of May 14, 1918 we learn that she gave a lecture at the Warsaw Scientific Society on "Traces of

Polish-Russian relations in *byliny*." She notes the discussion, lists current scholars, she tries to establish ties with the community that may have an impact on her habilitation in the future, and to maintain contacts with the community she knows largely because of her father. However, she also wants to establish her own community and contacts. In her letters we find both reflections from her conversation with Jan Stanisław Bystroń and delight after Jan Czekanowski's lecture (APP: III – 51.138).

The transfer of Stefan Ehrenkreutz to Vilnius in 1921 seems to have been the spark that helped Cezaria to apply for habilitation. She becomes increasingly aware that teaching Latin at school does not give her satisfaction. Therefore, she continues her correspondence with the professors she knows, including Witold Klinger, about the choice of a university where a habilitation process would be adequate and possible, while remaining aware of the reluctance of certain academic circles, such as the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv, towards women's academic aspirations (Letter of 19 xi.1921.)

In a letter dated 13 February 1921, she reports on her negotiations to Kazimierz Nitsch, while also characterizing the ethnographer community (Bystroń, Frankowski).

> *We need to organize the ethnology of the Frankowski family! I'm working through Polish ethnological material (I have great specimens from Łomża at home (I will tell you in person) and I have a lot of ideas for work that has already started and is quite far advanced, and many sheets of paper from old times. I want to get a habilitation to have better working conditions. And yes, I know, I feel that I have sown my oats and that it is finally time for my research and mother's life, and that Stefek also does not want to throw himself into the arms of other muses anymore. [this is probably about my husband's participation in the Bolshevik war]. I want to create the conditions to be able to live like this, but Latin notebooks and inspectors are a nightmare! That's why I'm banging on the doors of the university. Being a habilitated doctor, I can lecture on some courses, or at least have some lectures in Vilnius… I dream about habilitation, because I'm brimming with ideas and have a lot of my own material. I know that once I get started, I will achieve something* (APP – III-51 p. 185).

These are the words of a woman keenly aware of her calling in life, building a field of research, curious about the world, asking questions beginning with something she knows – language. It is from her and Bystroń that the trend of changes in ethnography/ethnology begins, perhaps even without them being aware of it, the trend of moving away from cultural products seen as things to culture as a system of meanings. She was pushed to do this by some overwhelming force that did not allow her to be satisfied with the independence offered by the teaching profession. It was undoubtedly a creative force supported by well-thought-out actions to achieve her goal.

Her artistic sensibilities may also be important. She is a talented pianist and mentions many times in her letters that she played in difficult times and "this was her training for life" (Istalsno, 1909). She is also sensitive to poetry – she finds solace in reading Ovid (APP-III-51 p. 185). In the letter describing her habilitation, she mentions the declamation lessons she took in her youth. This helps her use her voice correctly, a skill she displays during her habilitation lecture, a fact underscored by her students later: "she spoke very clearly, modulating her voice and thus establishing good contact with the listeners". While assessing her habilitation lecture, she mentions that:

They were surprised that I had a strong voice. I always speak in a low voice, but I once had declamation lessons and I can easily raise my voice to full volume when necessary […] Przychocki emphasized that what caught their attention was how comfortable I looked at the podium. I feel good when I can talk about something I like, and I was amused that instead of students there sat and listened Porzeziński, Szober, Przychocki and other kind and polite people. I was afraid of logicians who criticize all lectures, but they apparently found that mine was well-constructed. (III-51 p. 185).

This opinion is also echoed by others, including Stefan Ehrenkreutz, who emphasized in one of his letters to Kazimierz Nitsch that she wrote concisely, without diluting the content, and that her texts were relatively short.

In my opinion, she narrowed the scope of the work too much, because others would make something much bigger of it, but that's Cezia's way (APP-III-51 p. 188).

All subsequent steps taken by Cezaria towards obtaining her habilitation were well planned out, there is nothing accidental about them. She demonstrates a good understanding of the situation at various universities, of attitudes towards women, as well as the position of ethnology and folkloristics as fields in which it was possible to obtain habilitation.

Cezaria doesn't limit herself to thinking about that. She realizes that she should have a plan ready for the day when she will have to prove her value as a researcher and as a lecturer. Her first priority is therefore to prepare a course of lectures. Then, she lays out carefully detailed plans for ethnological research in the Vilnius region. This requires familiarizing herself with the existing state of research, with the vast corpus of extant literature and ethnological collections. She is also aware that her planned research will require support from the ethnological community. She therefore plans meetings and talks both at courses for teachers and for the intelligentsia. In addition to this educational part, she prepares for a general assembly of the Ethnological Society (not reactivated after 1945) and the establishment of a scientific committee that will manage joint research in Lithuania. This is the first large-scale interdisciplinary research plan that takes into account a specific time frame. In pursuit of her plans, she appeals to various social groups, using each according to their competencies. She lays out a specific time required to complete individual tasks. She outlines whom exactly she should contact and about what.

In the academic year 1923/24, she lectured at the Stefan Batory University as an assistant professor. The following year, the Ethnological Laboratory was established, and then the Department of Ethnology and Ethnography, positioned higher in the university structure, was established, where she was appointed to the position of deputy professor. By 1925, she had organized the Scientific Club of Ethnography students and was encouraging them to cooperate in collecting monuments for the future Ethnographic University Museum, for which she planned an important place from the very beginning. For them, she develops the Guidelines for Collecting Objects for the Museum. She will do the same after she finds herself in the Middle East during WWII: she will encourage soldiers of the Second Corps to write down folk traditions from their places of origin. When giving a task, she always ensures that the right tools will be available to complete it.

She explains the need to create the Museum as a humanistic laboratory in accordance with her thoughts on the relationship between man and things. She believes that when educating

students and developing their sense of observation, one cannot stop at the instructions regarding meticulous description. In her opinion, the student should touch the artefact, feel the type of material, establish closer contact with the object (Baudouin de Courtenay, 1933, p. 77–78). The lecturer's words alone are not enough. After all, there are people who "look and do not see" (Baudouin de Courtenay, 1933, p. 83). They need to touch.

The concept of the Laboratory Museum is related to the belief that there must be empathy between the researcher and the fragments of reality being studied. The researcher should not remain a cold observer. She herself is enthusiastic about the phenomena she describes which, surprisingly, does not contradict the extremely logical approach she applies to thinking about them.

In 1927, the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius applied to the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education to reactivate the Department of Ethnology and Ethnography, which was considered "extremely important in light of local conditions" (Central Historical Archives of Lithuania, F.175) and entrust it to Cezaria as a deputy professor. She is appointed extraordinary professor in 1929. This means further intensive development of research into the Vilnius region. It should be noted, however, that Cezaria's affiliation with a specific centre does not mean that her interests are limited solely to local research. From the first preparations for her habilitation, she thought comprehensively about the problems of ethnography throughout Poland, as evidenced by her works (especially 1923, 1929). The Vilnius period of Cezaria's life was extremely intense, if we consider not only her research activities, but also, foremost, her organizational activities.

She adopted the principle that the largest possible number of people should participate in and support the Vilnius research. This she achieved through exhibitions such as the one held in 1928 at the Northeast Fair in Vilnius and by partnering with the Society for the Promotion of Folk Industry. At the same time, in 1930, she establishes a collaboration with the Scientific and Research Institute of Eastern Europe, where she chairs the ethnographic and geographical section, and lectures at the School of Political Sciences associated with it (Konrat, 2000). She is a member of the editorial board of the *Balticoslavica* magazine, as well as the president of the Vilnius Academic Women Association (an organization of women with higher education). She also chairs the Folk Culture section of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. In 1932, she received the award of the Central Office of Intellectual Cooperation at the League of Nations (Central Archives of Lithuania, F.175,IA-312) for her work *Fundamental issues of folk art and its relationship to contemporary life*. She also devotes time to popularizing folk culture through performances. In her memoirs, Maria Znamierowska Pruefferowa describes such a performance organized in cooperation with the guild of St. Luke entitled *Killing the Dragon* (Znamierowska-Pruefferowa, 1997).

The list of organizations she either founded or co-organized, and then actively participated in, demonstrates that she had to attach importance to working in various environments and at various levels. This also shows the breadth of her interests, including political interests, and perhaps even proves her political involvement. There is no doubt that, apart from her innate research curiosity, Cezaria was keenly interested in politics, at least from the time of her first trip to the Congress Kingdom. Almost all her letters contain at least one-sentence references to the current political situation. We also know indirectly from Maria Ossowska's letter that she signed a protest letter regarding the bench ghetto (Zamojska, 2011, p. 10).

The Vilnius region of the interwar period is a valuable field of research for people interested in multiculturalism and the complexity of the social structure, while at the same time it poses

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a challenge due to the political situation. Multiculturalism was everyday life for Cezaria, born in Dorpat and studying in St. Petersburg. Let us sketch the Dorpat community: German-speaking academics, Russian officials, Estonian servants, Jewish merchants, Belarusian nannies. And Polish at home. Notwithstanding, this is coupled with a sense of patriotism that causes her to get involved in the work of the Institute of Eastern Europe and the School of Political Sciences.

However, she leaves Vilnius and her well-organized field of research to pursue personal happiness, which was in the background for many years. She chooses to divorce one more time, leaving Ehrenkreutz, to marry Janusz Jędrzejewicz (Prime Minister, Minister of Public Education). She does not consider the moral scandal and criticism coming even from the Piłsudski circle (Żongołłowicz, National Library in Warsaw, manuscript 10687, vol. I, c.115). Professor Dynowski, her student and successor at the Department in Warsaw, emphasized many times that Jędrzejewicz was the love of her life.

In 1934, she becomes a full professor at the University of Warsaw and begins again to organize her field of research. Moreover, she feels obliged to ensure that the Vilnius centre continues to develop. These actions are accompanied by further correspondence and more conversations. Ultimately, the department in Vilnius is taken over by Kazimierz Moszyński, while Cezaria's pupils (Turkowski, Dynowski) follow her to Warsaw. Her faithful student, Maria Znamierowska Pruefferowa, remains in Vilnius and takes over the future development of the university museum. During the war and Soviet occupation, when the university museum was incorporated into the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Maria Znamierowska Pruefferowa continued working there under the name of Maria Pruferenie (Lithuanian form) together with another student of Cezaria, Franciszka Stukienasówna, later known as Dunduliene.

In Warsaw, Cezaria relies on lessons she learned in Vilnius, but modifies them significantly. She is now more mature and academically experienced. Moreover, Warsaw is a different intellectual environment. There is the University of Warsaw, which is younger than the one in Vilnius, but stronger through its fight for independence from tsarism, and there are institutions that were established by social efforts during the partition period, which offer lectures at the higher level: Wszechnica Polska (which will become officially an instution of higher education in 1935), the Warsaw Scientific Society with its Institute of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, the Ethnographic Museum – part of the Agricultural Society, an institution which greatly benefitted the field of higher education (the tsarist authorities did not consent to the ethnographic museum, hence its secret affiliation with the Agricultural Society), and many cultural and political institutions established because of the functioning of Warsaw as the capital of the state.

Cezaria enters this environment as the wife of the Prime Minister, who implemented the controversial (so-called Jedrzejewicz) higher education reform. However, apart from isolated voices and whispered gossip, it does not seem that this was an obstacle to her being accepted into the academic community.

The University of Warsaw gained two departments in 1934. The Department of Polish Ethnography, to which Cezaria was appointed full professor, and the Department of Ethnology and General Ethnography, to which Stanisław Poniatowski was appointed as an associate professor. Poniatowski had an established position as a lecturer at the University (first with the organization of the University Library in 1916–1920, later commissioned lectures) and the Free Polish University. Cezaria was therefore entering an already established field and had to adapt to the existing status quo. However, this doesn't seem to have caused any difficulties. Poniatowski

and Cezaria's interests were markedly different, each of them already having their own achievements and students. Poniatowski's position here is probably strengthened by the fact that the Chair and Department of Polish Ethnography will be located on the premises of the Institute of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences TNW (of which he was the director), i.e. in the Staszic Palace. It should also be emphasized that Cezaria had little interest in primitive peoples and was extremely far from the methodological position of Poniatowski associated with the cultural-historical school. As can be seen from Cezaria's further letters and Professor Dynowski's stories, the cooperation between the two professors was good and there were no grounds for talk.

Cezaria carefully prepared to take up the new post. For the lecture inaugurating the new department, she chose a topic close to her heart, "Two Cultures – Two Sciences", devoted to the sciences that were close to her, i.e. philology and ethnology, oral culture, and written culture. With this analysis, she anticipated the seminal book of Jacek Goody (1986), considered the first anthropological work on this topic (Sokolewicz, 2016). This lecture is an expression of her excellent classical education and knowledge of new directions in ethnography, which was gradually liberating itself from its ethnogenetic interests. It shows what the author was like – a humanist who moved freely between several disciplines.

Organizing work in a new environment requires both locating premises, which, as we know, was possible thanks to Cezaria's good relationship with Poniatowski and INAE-TNW, but also purchasing a book collection and establishing ties with other disciplines of the Faculty of Humanities. With these, a program of ethnological studies could come into being, which comprised apart from ethnology, other sciences representing the cultures and languages of neighboring peoples, and took into account world cultures as a certain civilizational perspective enabling a better understanding of the character of Polish culture. This interesting new program was created thanks to the smooth cooperation between Cezaria and Poniatowski. It can be assumed that the substantive content of the new department attracted excellent lecturers and, in turn, students (University of Warsaw Lecture List for 1934/1935).

Field research was considered the basis for student education and resulted in the need for organizing trips and collecting material. Like in Vilnius, Cezaria establishes the Ethnography Students' Scientific Circle. She develops a plan for field research in Mazovia and Podlasie. All master's theses are based on field material. However, she maintains the belief gained from Vilnius (Baudouin de Courtenay, 1933, p. 77–78) that a student should have access to an item of tangible cultural heritage – a cultural artefact – not only in the field, but also during pre-seminar classes at the university. Only such close contact will encourage the student not only to describe artefacts well, but to properly read them as a source.

Therefore, immediately after arriving in Warsaw, she begins talks with the management of the National Museum about transferring the ethnographic collection to the University. These talks are held both with the management of the National Museum, whose vice-director since 1935 is Stanisław Lorenz, known to her from Vilnius, as well as with the authorities of the city to which the Museum is subordinate, and mainly with its vice-president, engineer Jan Pohoski. To win over the museum, Cezaria proposes a similar agreement to the one the Museum signed with the University of Warsaw, placing ancient Egyptian collections under the supervision of Professor Kazimierz Michałowski. At some point, the conversation becomes more difficult when joined by a representative of the Ethnographic Museum who asks for the ethnographic collection to be transferred there instead. The talks continued until 1939 without reaching conclusion.

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The ethnographic collections of the National Museum were burned during a fire in the building at Podwale 15 (AMN, folder 314). The Ethnographic Museum also burned down in 1939.

However, Cezaria's cooperation with the National Museum is not limited to conversation, it takes specific shape in the form of the "Polish Folk Clothing" exhibition prepared from the museum's collections under the direction of Cezaria by Lucjan Turkowski (Polish Folk Clothing 1937 exhibition guide, National Museum).

Cezaria presents her theoretical interests in museology at the State Museum Council, of which she is appointed a member, where she shares a fundamental theoretical paper known only from fragments of the discussion held on this forum (AAN.MWRiOP. z.7001). These prove that she is already a recognized authority among museum professionals.

As a result of international cooperation, Cezaria takes part in a conference on folk dance organized in London in 1935, and then works on an exhibition of Polish folk dances prepared for the International Art Exhibition in Paris in 1937. It is a collection of beautiful figures of dancing couples shown in movement, illustrating the basic steps of a given dance, in folk costumes designed by Zofia Stryjeńska, and part of the exhibition of European folk dances. Due to a series of serendipitous accidents, the collection was preserved in the attic of the Paris Opera and brought back to Poland by Dr. Grażyna Dąbrowska in 1960 and donated to the State Ethnographic Museum. On the occasion of the exhibition, Cezaria publishes an article in *Teatr Ludowy* (1937), edited by Jędrzej Cierniak, and in *Arkady* (1937) and *Archives Internationales de la Danse*. Here again we encounter Cezaria's wide-ranging approach to the issue: her academic analysis is accompanied by an art exhibition and a popular text addressed to amateur folk theaters, as well as an article popularizing Polish folk culture around the world. Cezaria maintains the cooperation with Musée de l'Homme established on this occasion thanks to her donation of a small collection of Polish artefacts to the European department of this museum, provided by the Polish embassy. Professor Dynowski refers to this gift in the 1960s. As a result, the Musée's curator, Monique de Fontanes, visits Poland and takes part in the Intercollegiate Ethnographic Camp, receiving more artefacts to expand the French collection in return for founding a scholarship for the future director of the State Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw, Dr. Krzysztof Makulski. Cezaria also takes to writing, publishing in the Vilnius press (*Kurier wileński*), while not avoiding smaller communities such as Stanisławów (*Złoty Szlak*) or the Sanacja group (*Pion*, *Zrąb*), rightly believing that the results of her research should be immediately communicated to a wider audience.

This active period of Caesaria's life was interrupted by World War II and forced emigration when she followed the Polish government in exile. However, it is striking that during her wanderings she never stopped observing the environments she encountered along the way. They say that an ethnographer cannot stop being an ethnographer, they always remain an ethnographer, in every circumstance. Cezaria never stops encouraging and even organizing others to do fieldwork. We owe her the materials prepared by the soldiers of the II Corps about their native culture and small homelands of origin (PAN Archives in Warsaw). She is active in the Society for Iranian Studies in Tehran (1942). During her slightly longer stay in Jerusalem, she undertakes her own research on the figure of Saint George, and also co-organizes and, after the departure of the director, Stanisław Swianiewicz, heads the Office of Near and Middle Eastern Studies. She also initiates the establishment of the Polish Humanities Scientific Institute in Jerusalem (in 1945) (Zamojska, 2011, p. 23 *et seq*.).

After the war, the Jędrzejewicz family decided to settle in London. Cezaria immediately joined the self-organizing activities of the Polish refugee community, primarily in the work of the Polish Scientific Society in Exile, and then actively participated in the organization of the Polish University Abroad, of which she became dean in 1958, subsequently honorary dean until her death (Lange, 2005). She worked and published until the end.

In 1957, in response to Maria Znamierowska Pruefferowa's letter from Polish ethnographers calling on her to return, she wrote about her plans:

> *I immersed myself a bit in culturology and I am writing a textbook, or rather an introduction to the ethnography of Poland based on this background. It includes the concept of nation (it is not sociology).* (Letter of January 17, 1957, quoted in: Muzalewska, 2007, p. 135)

The death of Janusz Jędrzejewicz in 1951 is a blow. She devotes her last major work to him, the already mentioned *Patriotism of Piłsudski*, which is better understood as the patriotism of Piłsudski's supporters.

Over the course of a dozen or so years, Cezaria managed to establish two well-functioning centers of academic ethnography. Both Vilnius and Warsaw were well prepared by her, with every step carefully thought out: research programs, teaching programs, training and empowering staff, premises, library and museum facilities, including students in the work of the Scientific Club, care for intellectual resources, cooperation with local cultural institutions, international cooperation. One also should not forget her educational activities, which were marked by impressive efforts and impressive results. The uninterrupted course of her organizational activities also while abroad – when it was unclear whether this was really the way back to the country, although she and everyone around her probably believed it. An energy whose flow was only interrupted by the death of her beloved husband. But even then, there remained a sense of duty towards the emigrant community, towards the students who are awarded doctorates and habilitated in London (Lange, 2005).

Question: what still remains?

While getting to know Cezaria's work and following her activities, I realized how much Professor Dynowski, her student and successor at the Department, followed her instructions. However, the censorship of Jędrzejewicz's name meant that she was largely absent from the student consciousness. The only evidence of her existence was a work about Saint Cecilia included in the reading list. However, she was absent from the history of the Faculty and the University. Nevertheless, she was a source of inspiration for many in the 1970s and 1980s as a possible choice in the dispute between structuralism and phenomenology. In the 1990s, globalization and European integration changed the shape of the Department, and then the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the University of Warsaw, but some of the principles she insisted on were maintained, such as the primacy of field research.

The center in Vilnius is functioning well. Her place was taken by her student Franciszka Stukienasówna, later Prane Dunduliene (Lietuvos Etnologija, 1991), who is considered by contemporary Lithuanian ethnographers to be the founding mother of ethnography in Vilnius. And although her textbook is based largely on the research of Cezaria and her students, as honestly demonstrated in the bibliography, the name Baudouin de Courtenay is not known. Similarly, the name of Maria Znamierowska Pruefferowa, the main creator of the university museum collection which is now the core of the ethnographic collection of the National Museum in Vilnius,

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is unknown. This continuity was broken to such an extent that at an international conference, an employee of the National Museum in Vilnius informed Professor Prueffer about some objects in this collection she was interested in, not realizing at all that she was talking to the person who collected these objects in the field.

PUNO London enjoys a good reputation, especially among new wave emigrants, and it is still functioning!

And yet – it is only a historian of science who uncovers how important a step for Polish ethnography was taken by Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay, Vassmer, Ehrenkreutz Jędrzejewiczowa. Both through her thoughts and actions.

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