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Iwona Hofman

ORCID: 0000-0002-4231-8071

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Iwona Hofman

Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (Poland)

ORCID: 0000-0003-0492-5169

e-mail: ihofman@wp.pl

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Abstract: The purpose of the article is to describe the model and method of management of the Literary Institute and “Kultura” by Jerzy Giedroyc using the categories of circles, networks, and relations, verifying in this way the editor’s legend. The analysis covered the entire period of the Institute’s operation (1946-2000), comparing the internal periodization of the activity with the changes of the authors in the “Kultura” circle, which made it possible to distinguish between the friendly and home circle and three authors’ circles. The diaries, biographies, and letters provided the grounds to emphasize the significance of the network for building the position of “Kultura” as an opinion-forming magazine and a place of help for emigrant writers. Managing “Kultura” is presented, which is focused on creating relations and being objective. Synthesis, content analysis, and comparative methods have been used. This problem has not been discussed so far in the extensive literature on the subject.

Keywords: *Jerzy Giedroyc, “Kultura” authors, the Literary Institute, letters, editors*

In September 2020, twenty years had passed since the death of Jerzy Giedroyc (1906-2000) and the publication of the last issue of the monthly magazine “Kultura”, described as the work of the editor’s life. Recently published books intensify the impression that we are ripe for a different perspective on the phenomenon of “Kultura”. The vast majority of these books deal with Giedroyc’s relations with authors or correspondents, accounts whose intensity and durability contradict the image of Giedroyc – a loner and despotic editor.

The purpose of the article is to describe Giedroyc’s model and method of management using the categories of circles, networks, and relations, verifying in this way the editor’s legend. It seems important to establish the criteria for belonging to the circles, the range of the network, and the importance of relations in building the Institute and the Centre. In

chronological terms, it can be assumed that the first circle of the Institute, founded in Rome in 1946, reflected the circle of friendships made in the Propaganda and Information Department of General Władysław Anders's Second Corps: Józef Czapski, Giedroyc, Zofia Hertz; the editorial board of "Kultura", whose first issue appeared in 1947, also included Tadeusz Siuta, Stanisław Wąchała, and Gustaw Herling-Grudziński; this circle did not survive; only Herling-Grudziński renewed his cooperation with "Kultura" in 1956 (Herling-Grudziński, 2000, p. 54). This circle could be called a friendship-home circle. Czapski, Giedroyc, Zofia Hertz, Zygmunt Hertz and Maria Czapska all lived under the same roof. Zofia Hertz and Giedroyc used to say that they were brought together by the army ("A Day at Maisons-Laffitte", 2000, p. 12).

The division of roles took place relatively quickly, amusingly described by Waclaw Zbyszewski: "Giedroyc gives a sense of the mission. Zygmunt brings the idealists to the hard ground of reality. Zosia provides the motor of furious energy and the warmth of a family nest. And Józio Czapski completes the whole with a kiss of fantasy". (Zbyszewski, 1987, p. 30). Zbyszewski portrayed Giedroyc as a "somewhat celebratory patriarch, focused, noble, dignified", believing that a lot could be changed with an effort of will, nobility of sacrifices and the intensity of patriotism, much, creating an ideological, messenger-like magazine (Zbyszewski, 1987, pp. 20-21). Furthermore, he added: "sacrifices (...) are undertaken with the conviction that you serve the Cause in this way. And this service must be associated with a sense of the mission". (Zbyszewski, 1987, p. 24). In the Institute's programme assumptions, the mission (with a small letter) was to provide Polish soldiers demobilized in Italy with books, guides, and dictionaries useful in the first stage of familiarization with the status of an emigrant. In a short time, the mission understood in this way shrank into a dramatic struggle for the Institute's survival because of the DPs' financial resources being exhausted and, above all, their decision to leave for their final (as they believed) places of settlement. The appearance of "Kultura", even for Giedroyc, did not provide a convincing argument for the need to continue the risky venture. Nevertheless, Giedroyc did have a sense of responsibility, a need for political action, and the certainty of choosing the fate of an emigrant. From the perspective of Giedroyc's half-century work, the first issue of "Kultura", published in Rome, could have heralded a new format of political journalism based on building up relations between the editorial team, authors, and readers. This particular kind of ideological commitment, which transforms into a passion and a deep belief that "words are decisive", emerges from the magazine's pages (Smolar, 1990, p. 77).

The mission of "Kultura" was to act for the sake of independent Poland, initially through high-quality journalism, then gradually through the creation of a network of co-workers susceptible to "personal interventionism", and finally through tangible assistance provided to grass-roots social movements in Poland. As Czesław Miłosz aptly observed, Giedroyc "was an ascetic of a single cause, the one that is marked with the letter P by old Rzecki in his diary in Prus's *Lalka*" (Miłosz, 1997, p. 180). The bond of the friendship and home circle trusted Giedroyc as a visionary, faith in his work (constantly fostered by him), and common values.

Józef Czapski (1896-1993) was Giedroyc's boss at the Propaganda and Information Department of General Anders's army and the "midwife" of the Literary Institute in Rome, and then the guarantor of the security of the "leap into darkness", i.e., to Paris. He successfully prevented a conflict after the publication of Aleksander Janta-Pończyński's reportage "I'm coming back from Poland" in 1948, when General Anders, dissatisfied with the meaning of the text, banned the distribution of "Kultura" in Great Britain. He successfully raised funds for "Kultura" in the countries of North and South America, collecting money for the so-called funded issues. In 1954, he encouraged his wealthy friends to provide loans to purchase the Institute's main office. He attended the Berlin Congress for Cultural Freedom in June 1950, where he drew attention to "Kultura" as a center for thinking about the post-war European order. For these reasons, Giedroyc called Czapski the magazine's "Minister of Foreign Affairs" (the other was Konstanty A. Jeleński). Józef's sister, Maria Czapska, a translator and expert on Romantic literature, also lived in the house in Maisons-Laffitte, though she remained outside the first circle of "Kultura". Since the 1960s, Czapski devoted more and more time to painting. He wrote diaries, and less frequently, art criticism reviews. With time, the Czapski "hill" in the "Kultura" house became a separate place, often visited by Polish artists who appreciated Czapski's mind and sensitivity to the world. His influential friends included General Charles de Gaulle, Jeanne Hersch, Andre Malraux, Anatol Mühlstein, Daniel Halevy, Curzio Malaparte, Aleksander Solzhenitsyn, August Zamojski, who formed a very useful network of contacts that could be used in matters of key importance for the implementation of Giedroyc's mission.

Zofia Hertz (1911-2003), family name Neuding, played fundamentally different roles in "Kultura". Miłosz, well acquainted with the domestic relations at Maisons-Laffitte, himself a bit of a household name in 1951 after deciding to flee Poland, put it this way: "Giedroyc had a person next to him who never, not even with a single word, showed that she doubted. (...) she walked as if dragged by an unknown force until she completely identified herself with "Kultura" as her own achievement" (Miłosz, 1997, p. 187). Indeed, she determined the circle of "Kultura", often guided by first impressions. She managed the network of subscribers and authors. She was pragmatic. Once she accepted the mission as her own, she found satisfaction in her work as a proofreader, accountant, and editorial secretary, keeping an eye on reviews, deadlines, correspondence, etc. She published in "Kultura" several collections of jokes about the times of the People's Republic of Poland. First and foremost, however, she was the landlady of the "Kultura" household, which was greatly appreciated by Giedroyc, who ceded all the household chores and organizational burdens to her.

While working for "Kultura", Zygmunt Hertz (1908-1979) "made an emotional investment". He was skeptical about Giedroyc's mission, just like Czapski and Jeleński, since he assessed the reality of political changes under the influence of journalism as a pipe dream (Hertz, 1995, p. 210). Hertz did not feel at ease with the domestic situation, "being pushed aside, perfectly covered with grass." He was in charge of packing and delivering books, but for many newcomers, he, not Giedroyc, was the refuge and helper. This is how he made friends

with Miłosz, Marek Hłasko, Aleksander Weissberg-Cybulski and Michał Heller. As Miłosz said: “Zygmunt was a philanthropist by vocation, a friend of people, and nowhere was his ability to do good to people so useful as in this strange zone *between Poland and abroad*” (Miłosz, 1987, p. 44). In “Autobiography...” Giedroyc appointed Hertz the “minister for Polish affairs” (Giedroyc, 1994, p. 201), appreciating his contacts, efforts to obtain scholarships and internships, and extensive connections. Giedroyc stated: “In the history of the Literary Institute and *Kultura*, Zosia and Zygmunt Hertz played a decisive role. (...) I do not think that *Kultura* could exist and survive without them” (Giedroyc, 1994, p. 202). After Hertz’s death, a literary award named after him was established and granted in the circle of “*Kultura*”. It should also be added that Jerzy’s younger brother, Henryk Giedroyc (1922-2010), who was not involved in “*Kultura*” matters but had lived in Maisons-Laffitte since 1952, became Jerzy’s successor as the last director of the literary Institute.

The first circle can also be called editorial, assuming that its members are not journalists of “*Kultura*”. Admittedly, in the light of the analyses of the content of Giedroyc’s letters, his declaration (repeated many times) sounds somewhat problematic: “I am a non-writer”, but literally speaking, the texts signed “Editorial” or “Editor” began to appear only in the 1990s in the “Observatory” column and the series “Editor’s Notes”; before that period, the “Editor” signed only a few texts in the form of a note or letter. The first circle already had its networks, as Giedroyc, who defined editing in a specific way, started creating a broader “invisible” editorial office – consolidating a group of first-rate authors who shared his views and were ready to develop the programme assumptions of “*Kultura*”; in line with the editor’s confession: “if I have any talent, it is the director’s talent: the ability to choose topics and people” (Giedroyc, 1994, p. 215). In this context, Giedroyc’s numerous statements about his “illiteracy” make sense, “illiteracy” which is compensated by “director’s talents”, distance to matters, “the ability to attract and inspire outstanding people representing all possible directions, trends, and orientations” (Nowak, 1987, p. 77; “We are still living in this tent ...”, 2000, p. 16; “Because this is a kind of order ...”, 2000, p. 10).

Declaring “illiteracy” and being keenly interested in politics and convinced of the causative power of the Word, Giedroyc founded a magazine. In the canonical text by Jeleński, we can read that these irreconcilable properties determined the style of work, or rather the management of “*Kultura*” (Jeleński, 1995, p. 480). On the one hand, the temperament of a politician, on the other hand, probably a real (taking into account the long period of publishing the monthly magazine) need? Necessity? to delegate the duties of a programme publicist to skillful analysts and a constant search for authors, including writers ready to “take manuscripts out of the tree hollow” (*Jerzy Giedroyc and the tree hollow of Kultura*, 2006; Exhibition catalog, p. 4). In his “Autobiography...” Giedroyc spoke specifically about the “*Kultura*” team but also added: “One of the most urgent matters for me was to build a circle of *Kultura* authors. Some were at hand (...). I was looking for others using my pre-war connections. (...) Some other authors came on their own” (Giedroyc, 1994, p. 144).

In this context, it is important to recall the conclusions of Rafał Habielski, who, examining Giedroyc's pre-war editorial activity, noticed significant similarities in the style of work of "Bunt Młodych" and "Kultura": "Giedroyc reduced the sense of his presence in public life to inspiring and influencing the course of events in the direction desired from his point of view. (...) he avoided public activity" (Habielski, 2006, p. 15). And further, he continued about *Kultura*: "Giedroyc eagerly bestowed a form of a *cultural policy* on his actions, thus creating conditions for a dialogue and discussion" (Habielski, 2006, p. 242). According to Andrzej Mencwel, Giedroyc developed a model of a "composed" magazine (as opposed to "arranged" "News"), based on movable sections filled with ordered texts (Mencwel, 1996, p. 75). In this way, the observations and conclusions about the editor's stimulating role are essential: "he was interested in people, personalities, and what they were able to do for the cause" (Pomian, 2000), and "he respected not only his own opinion. He was really curious about what the others could say. That is why he could have been an explorer" (Cichy, 2000, pp. 10-12). Giedroyc invited a Poet, a Journalist, and a Critic to the "Raft of Culture" (the metaphor used in the title of Adam Kuczyński's film of 1996, particularly aptly emphasizes what Maisons-Laffitte was for the post-war survivors). In the editor's description, the first author circle included: Andrzej Bobkowski, Melchior Wańkiewicz, Stanisław Cat Mackiewicz, Aleksander Janta-Pończyński, Miłosz, Witold Gombrowicz, Stefan Kisielewski, Juliusz Mieroszewski, Herling-Grudziński, Jeleński, Jerzy Stempowski, the second circle – Wojciech Skalmowski, Leopold Unger, Michał Heller, Leszek Kołakowski, Sławomir Mrożek, Andrzej Chilecki, Adam Michnik, Sławomir Bielecki, the third circle – Tomasz Jastrun, Krzysztof Walicki (Giedroyc, 1994, p. 144–224). It is easy to notice that it is not the closeness of the relations and the frequency of publication that is decisive in organizing the circles but the time criterion. Perhaps it is necessary to distinguish between writer and friend circles. The editor also lists the names of people with whom he made episodic contacts, who remained on the list of his correspondents, or were in relations with the authors of the circles. These are, among others: Zbigniew Jordan, Zbigniew Florczak, Jan Kott, Jerzy Zagórski, Kazimierz Koźniewski, Karol Kewes, Zbigniew Brzeziński, Kazimierz Wierzyński, Stefan Kozłowski, Jan Józef Lipski, Witold Jedlicki, Adam Uziembło, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Władysław Bieńkowski, Adam Stawar, Maria and Stanisław Ossowski, Marek Hłasko, Jerzy Andrzejewski, Aleksander Wat, Leopold Tyrmand, Zdzisław Najder. Personal and professional relationships with these people are documented by individual publications in the magazine (e.g., Jordan, Florczak, Kewes, Uziembło), by publishing cooperation at the Institute (e.g., Wierzyński, Jedlicki, Bieńkowski, Stawar, Hłasko), by occasional meetings in Paris (e.g., Zagórski, Koźniewski, Maria and Stanisław Ossowski), and by letter accounts provided by the members of "Kultura" (e.g., Iwaszkiewicz, Hłasko, Andrzejewski). Based on the letters, diaries, and memories, it can be concluded that the relations in the circles and the orbit of the contacts developed into a network of supporting emigrants and natives, not necessarily sharing the same views. This network was getting denser and denser thanks to Giedroyc, who usually promoted one person to another, organized meetings, arranged an exchange of letters and books, presented

the importance of personal problems of the participants of the circles, raised awareness of the need for mutual help (material and moral), commissioned reviews, in other words – he consolidated the circles by strengthening the networks.

Differently, because only in the professional sphere, the editor called the relations with foreign authors. They were just contacts, except for Bohdan Osadczuk. His contacts, apart from the prominent relations with Czapski and Jeleński, included: James Burnham, Iwan Lewycki, Francis Bonda, Simon Weil, Raymond Aron, Manes Sperber, Andrzej Siniawski, Julij Daniel, Włodzimierz Kubijowicz, Władimir Maksimow.

Giedroyc's list lacks, among others, Józef Łobodowski and Jerzy Pomianowski, although they played a large role in "Kultura". There are not many politicians (Brzeziński, Michnik, and Bielecki with some reservations). The most important were writers and publicists interested in politics.

Taking care of the monopoly of the work of the writers working with him, Giedroyc was very concerned about their everyday life. Unable to pay high salaries, he styled his writing for "Kultura" as the privilege and honor of the few, but he cared for scholarships, internships, payments from other sources (foundations, private funds, Radio Free Europe, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, magazines and publishers). As he claimed, "the role of an editor is not only to get to know someone's talent – it is primarily a caring role" (Jerzy Giedroyc i Dżupla Kultury [Jerzy Giedroyc and the Tree-Hollow of Culture, 2006; Exhibition catalog, p. 4). He did not tolerate, or hardly tolerated, borrowings and replicas of texts commissioned for "Kultura" in other media. Initially, he was ready to break the cooperation even with Herling-Grudziński and Mieroszewski, who also published in "Wiadomości" ["the News"]. Then, concerning Unger, who also wrote for "Le Soir" and "Gazeta Wyborcza" (after 1989), he limited himself to exhortations and funny prohibitions (Giedroyc & Unger, 2016). He better tolerated the presence of authors from the circles of the Polish Broadcasting Station Radia Free Europa, as long as they indicated their affiliation to the circle of "Kultura".

Zofia Danielewicz also included other authors in the circle of "Kultura", who were not mentioned by Giedroyc: Włodzimierz Bączkowski, Jan Bielatowicz, Janusz Jasieńczyk, Hermina Naglerowa, Wit Tarnowski, Ryszard Wraga, Tymon Terlecki, Wiktor Weintraub, Władysław Pobóg-Malinowski, Artur Piotr Guzy, Stanisław Wygodzki, Henryk Grynberg, Włodzimierz Odojewski, Kazimierz Orłos and Bogdan Madej. Another proposal to organize the circles of authors was suggested by the exhibition "Jerzy Giedroyc and Dżupla Kultury", combining the friendship-home circle and the author first circle (the boards describe the work and connections with the writings of Hertz, Czapski, Herling-Grudziński, Bobkowski, Jeleński, Stempowski, Miłosz, Gombrowicz, Hłaski, Mroźek, Kisielewski, Orłos, M. Nowakowski; what is understandable in the context of the exhibition's slogan, the list did not include Mieroszewski). The circles of "Kultura" are also reflected in a series of letters (published by "Czytelnik", and presently by "Więź"), imposing another lead in research on the problem. So far, 26 volumes of letters to 23 authors have been published. The advantage of this correspondence is two-sidedness: a system securing the correct interpretation of

matters and topics covered in the letters and an analysis of the variable relations between the sender and the recipient. The letters contribute to the microworld of Giedroyc, and their recipients are: Bobkowski, the representatives of the Ukrainian emigration, Gombrowicz, Jeleński, Kołakowski, Lipski, Jewhen Małaniuk, Miłosz, Mieroszewski, Teodor Parnicki, Stempowski, Czesław Straszewicz, Wańkiewicz, Zbyszewski, Jedlicki, Józef Wittlin, Unger, Nowak-Jeziorański, Zbigniew Siemaszko, Najder, Osadczuk, George Gomori. The published correspondence is a small attempt to identify the editor's relations and contacts, because the collection at Maisons-Laffitte includes blocks of letters to 134 persons. It can be noted that the ones published so far basically include the circle of authors indicated by Giedroyc as a team.

At this stage of the attempt to identify the circles of "Kultura", it is already possible to define the chronological parameters as the factor shaping them: the home-friendly circle was established immediately after World War II, somehow on the grounds of a "common military tent"; the first author circle, quite flexible, usually denoting short-term relations, included the authors known to Giedroyc before the war or those whose exile he heard about (e.g., Straszewicz, Bobkowski, Zbyszewski, Gombrowicz, Stempowski), the second circle included the authors from the emigration of March '68 (e.g. Unger) and the third one – independence activists, journalists, creators of the second circulation of literature, a relatively small group, and treating "Kultura" as a natural base for political thought, and at the same time a place that replaced the national forum for the exchange of independent views (it should be added that "Kultura", always focused on the Nation, assumed such a function after 1976). It is also easy to notice the division of the internal circles into political writers (Mieroszewski, Unger, Osadczuk) and literary writers (Bobkowski, Miłosz, Gombrowicz), as well as distinguish such authors whose writings overlap with the Giedroyc's mission (e.g., Herling-Grudziński, Stempowski). There is a clear emigration and national trend in the circles. Apart from the classification, foreign authors are either treated instrumentally (the circle of Czapski and Jeleński's professional contacts) or promoters (writers and columnists from Eastern Europe introduced to the European market).

I do not think that Giedroyc was consciously building such an editorial management strategy. He was too focused on overcoming the day-to-day inconveniences resulting from very limited financial resources, the small number of the team members (i.e., members of the household), the repetition of editorial work, and on designing the roles in which he embedded the authors in order to present their talents and potentials in the most favorable way, soliciting scholarships, refunded trips, awards. He had a remarkable ability "to use everyone in such a position that is most suitable, but in the way and in the direction that the cause requires" ("Linia podziału..." ["The Division Line ..."], 1994, p. 3). So, if we can talk about any strategy, it is only about the one that consists in linking the circles with the mission. Already in the famous letter of July 18, 1943, positioning Giedroyc as the future prime minister, Adolf Bocheński assessed: "His [Giedroyc's, I.H.'s note] the main virtues are the art of dealing with people, the art of organizing and being objective" (Ciechanowski, 1984,

p. 234). Looking through the prism of the editor's popular images, it is surprising to point out the "art of dealing with people" because it undermines the image of the monumental Prince, who regains confidence in his office, reluctantly receiving visitors disturbing the rhythm of his work (Berberyusz, 1995, p. 54; Kossowska, 1999, p. 285). Giedroyc must have had the ability to get on with people. Otherwise, "Kultura" and the Institute would not have functioned for over half a century. Without the relations resulting from the networking of circles, he would have had no chance to create and develop the magazine into a center of political thought and no tools to carry out the mission. He mastered the art of organization to the highest degree, and the matter-of-factness had its counterpart also written commissions addressed to the authors of the circle or influential people, e.g., the press editors-in-chief. In this correspondence, Giedroyc recommended reaching various people with help, delivering food or medical parcels, transferring money, intervening with decision-makers, building alliances. For example, such letters concerned aid for the editorial office of "Tygodnik Powszechny", which was closed in 1953, the organization of a strike by Belgian shipyard workers as a sign of solidarity with the workers in Poland, printing prayer books in Belarusian, the reconstruction of schools for national minorities in the areas along the eastern border of Poland. In a sense, he set up these networks before the war, engaging in "Polityka" such persons as Zbyszewski, brothers Adolf and Aleksander Bocheński, brothers Mieczysław and Ksawery Pruszyński, and Kisielewski, to mention only those with whom he was later in touch.

Giedroyc himself summarized the discussions about the work of the editorial staff in the following way: "The popular opinion about me is that I am a despot and that the *Kultura* team has never existed unless we assume that it was always composed of only one person, that is me. Contrary to this opinion, I am open to suggestions and criticism and often change my mind after a discussion. And the *Kultura* team undoubtedly has existed. It consists of people whose opinions I value and take into account. For me, editing *Kultura* was moving among these people and arbitrating between the views I expressed, sometimes different from each other and sometimes even incompatible. But although the *Kultura* team was something completely real to me, it did not exist for its members, not only because the team did not have any meetings. First of all, because it was a set of individuals who could only coexist with each other at a distance. Stempowski hated Mieroszewski (...). Józef [Czapski, I.H.'s note] and Mieroszewski had almost no contact. The same was between Mieroszewski and Kot [Jeleński, I.H.'s note]. Gustaw [Herling-Grudziński, I.H.'s note] had a warm relationship with Józio and Kot, a correct one with Mieroszewski and not the best with Stempowski. As a matter of fact, no one was close to Mieroszewski, apart from me, because he was a recluse. Except for me, only Zosia and Zygmunt [Hertz, I.H.'s note] got on well with everybody" (Giedroyc, 1994, pp. 214-215).

Among the individualities of "Kultura", the leading role was played by Mieroszewski (1906-1976), a "Londoner", the creator of the concept of good unneighborly relations of independent Poland with Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belarus (ULB eastern concept). He accepted

the situation of a kind of subordination to the editor, thanks to the trust and friendship he had experienced in the form of support in the inevitable – due to the political significance of the articles – disputes in the emigration community and touching care for his health. Giedroyc used to say: "In my private history of *Kultura*, the three most dramatic events were the illness and death of Juliusz Mieroszewski, the illness, and death of Zygmunt Hertz and the death of Józio Czapski. (...) Mieroszewski was the most important dialogue partner for me. The only one I was so open with. Not only because I knew he understood me but also because I was sure of his absolute loyalty. Nobody replaced him. After his death, in a sense, I was left alone" (Giedroyc, 1994, p. 199; Mieroszewski, 1975, p. 3).

An important person, especially in the first period of the Institute's existence, was Stempowski (1894-1969), who, thanks to his father, Stanisław Stempowski, had numerous domestic contacts and was considered to be the grey eminence of emigration. He was an interesting partner in political discussions conducted in letters but opted for the literary formula of "Kultura".

Herling-Grudziński (1919-2000), approved by General Anders, a "literary advisor" and co-editor of "Kultura", shared Stempowski's opinion. He believed that the strength of writing lay in reprints of literature, review materials, and journals. He resisted Giedroyc's requests and rarely engaged in political tasks, feeling that an emigrant's status obligated him to at least support Giedroyc in his pro-independence activities (Wójcik, 1999, pp. 179-180).

As can be seen, the "Kultura" team was symmetrically divided into supporters of the political and literary character of the magazine. Jeleński (1922-1987), an outstanding critic, essayist, translator, and promoter of Gombrowicz's writings in Europe was close to Czapski and Herling. Jeleński departed from "Kultura" after 1956, as he did not accept the magazine's politicization. He did not understand the editor's ambitions to influence the country. He considered Mieroszewski's far-reaching visions to be a fantasy. However, he exchanged letters with Giedroyc, who appreciated his opinions about art, loyalty, and patriotism.

In the light of the "Autobiografia..." ["Autobiography ..."], the "Kultura" team consisted of a home-friendly circle as well as Mieroszewski, Stempowski, Herling-Grudziński, Jeleński. Therefore, the approach to the circles and networks can be modified, assuming that for Giedroyc, the existence of the team was the basis for the safe functioning of the Institute; therefore, there were various and dense threads to the social and professional circles of the team members, gradually forming a network structure characterized by: mediated, multi-level communication, flexible roles of the sender and recipient, specific culture and style of expression, relevance and timeliness of the information provided. Outside the team, there are authors of the three circles previously described on the timeline; for instance, despite close relations, Giedroyc does not mention Gombrowicz, Bobkowski, Miłosz, Unger, Kisielewski, Osadczuk, and without their participation, it is difficult to imagine "Kultura" as a discussed and opinion-forming magazine. I can notice that being in a circle is determined by: the degree of trust and the assessment of the quality of the writing talent, which influence the frequency of publications (Mieroszewski, Unger, Osadczuk) and the recognition of the

need for a literary component (Gombrowicz, Herling-Grudziński, Jeleński, Miłosz). Similar regularities can be observed when comparing the statistics of letters – the most extensive correspondence is with Miłosz, Herling-Grudziński, Mieroszewski, then: Gombrowicz and Stempowski. However, the letters complemented the reports and cannot be treated as a determinant of belonging to a circle; moreover, over time, the letters gave way to phone calls and face-to-face meetings.

Many of Giedroyc's correspondents formed a network supporting "Kultura" on the rising tide, precisely because the editor cared first of all for building a sense of community, responsibility, and empathy that while helping, he did not demand anything (Wolny-Zmorzyński et al., 2010a; Wolny-Zmorzyński et al., 2010b). Only after ensuring safety and support did he stimulate, inspire and encourage. As Unger wittily put it: "the polyphonic procedure of stimulating, trapping and seducing authors whom Giedroyc soft-soaped, valued, adulated, ironized, occupied with a sentimental note" (Grochowska, 2011, p. 42), brought some results. According to Kisielewski, Giedroyc "had the ambition to be the father of forgotten or unlucky writers" (Kisielewski, 1987, p. 64), which he transferred to the circle of authors of "Kultura" engaged in, among other things, reviewing. In this way, he made the post-war debut of, for example, Gombrowicz, Straszewicz, Bobkowski, Leo Lipski, Wańkowicz, Parnicki, or contributed to the literary fulfillment of, for example, Miłosz, Tyrmand, Mrożek, Hłasko after leaving Poland. Reading all the letters confirms Giedroyc's strategy toward the authors (support and stimulation) and the network (building relationships through joint actions, peer review, and commenting). Due to this fact, it is worth looking for common references in the letters, within the circles, e.g., Mieroszewski in the letters written by Stempowski, Miłosz about Gombrowicz, Jeleński, Herling-Grudziński, Wojciech Skalmowski about almost all the authors published in the Literary Institute. Giedroyc had a few favorite phrases, often used in letters: I am really afraid, I am concerned about – usually the fate, the condition of various people, even those not related to "Kultura" and emigration. Sometimes, the letters were a kind of a duel, a game, a pretext, a clash, a conversation, a prop, a story, a portrait. Generally concise and specific, they contained instructions, encouragements, reminders, and exhortations, but – underneath their forceful tone – Giedroyc was present as a "great editor" with a strong sense of responsibility for and toward the authors.

A separate group included letters to the editor, usually concerning political statements or even of such nature, for example, a letter from Rev. Józef Majewski from "Kultura" No. 61 of 1952, postulating a symbolic renunciation of the rights to Vilnius and Lviv as a sign of readiness to cooperate in the conditions of independent Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belarus. Readers' letters constituted a separate network of relations since they confirmed the impact of "Kultura" and documented the range and scope of this impact. In this respect, they complemented the emigration chronicles, appearing in the magazine from 1950, with varying frequency and authors. These chronicles illustrated the life of Poles, for instance, in the USA, Canada, Australia, France, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, and at the same time gave an overview of the events

important from the point of view of emigrants. The authors writing for "Kultura" included a "Londoner" (Mieroszewski), "Berliner" (Osadczyk), "Brusselian" (Unger) specializing in such genres of journalism as letters, chronicles, calendars and being able to use their "political" potential. Letters from readers and chronicles are also the network's eyes, with a very pragmatic meaning – see the numbers funded and a fundraiser to buy a house in Maisons-Laffitte in 1954. There are also subscribers in this network, disciplined by Zofia Hertz.

It can be assumed that the "Kultura" networks consist of two collections based on the accounts of Giedroyc and other authors (letters) and the editorial staff and readers (letters, chronicles, subscriptions). The category of relations is crucial. It connects circles and networks in the sense of common views and work ethos. In a sense, there were relations deprived of closeness, understanding, or cordiality, but significant for creating the "Kultura" programme, e.g., with donors, politicians, readers. Distinguishing relations as a binder of circles and networks allows attempting to define an editorial and management style model based on responsibility for and toward the authors and for the quality of the journalistic message, the value of the Word, ethical and moral obligations toward the community. Giedroyc's circles, networks, accounts provoke skepticism toward the popular image of a "separate" editor.

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