

# Bronisław Piłsudski's heritage and Lithuania

Alfred F. Majewicz

*Adam Mickiewicz University*

**Abstract.** The paper aims at introducing the results of research on the cultures and languages of the aboriginal peoples of the island of Sakhalin, the Lower Amur Region (Priamurye), and northern Japan (Ainu, Nivhgu, Uilta, Ulcha, and Nanai) conducted at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century by Polish political exile Bronisław (Ginet) Piłsudski (1866–1918) and at presenting his ties with Lithuania: he used to introduce himself as *Samogitian* and *Lithuanian* (besides *Polish*—here the so-called nested ethnic identity is involved) and especially towards the end of his life emphasised this identity by inserting the name of his Lithuanian ancestors before his Polish family name. His seemingly long-forgotten legacy is now brought back to the attention of specialists with the appearance of the consecutive volumes of his *Collected Works*. The argumentation and conclusion of this Vilnius University anniversary article is that Piłsudski belongs to the same degree to the history of Oriental studies in both Lithuania and Poland and that both countries involved can only be proud of such a figure in the annals of their intellectual heritage.

Scholarship is conceived in such a way that at certain stages of development of individual disciplines the learned world is impatiently waiting for and expecting concrete, precisely defined results in full awareness of their fundamental importance.

---

Herewith this author would like to express due gratitude to all who in any way helped in the search for material for this paper, in particular to the deputy director of the National M.K. Čiurlionis Museum of Art (Nationalinis M. K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejus) in Kaunas, Dr Daina Kamarauskienė; the deputy director of the Lithuanian Art Museum (Lietuvos dailės muziejus) in Vilnius, Ms Laima Bialopetravičienė; the director of the Lithuanian Historical Institute (Lietuvos istorijos institutas) in Vilnius, Prof Dr Antanas Tyla; and the director of the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka), Prof Dr Juozas Marcinkevičius. Particular thanks are addressed to the consul general of the Republic of Poland in Vilnius, Professor Mieczysław Jackiewicz, for his precious help and excellent company on the way to Pajieslys in June 2001.

This author feels indebted also to his friends and fellow travelers during our field expeditions tracing Bronisław Piłsudski in Lithuania: in 1998 Prof Kōichi Inoue of Hokkaido University, Japan, and Dr Tomasz Wicherkiewicz of Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland, and in 2001 Ms Joasia Ostaszewska and Dr Wicherkiewicz and to those who so selflessly played the role of our hosts in Lithuania and in Cracow, especially Prof Dr Bonifacius Stundžia from the Chair of Baltic Philology, Vilnius University, and Mrs and Mr Mizia. Justyna Pawela, now Petit, and Joanna Ostaszewska are to be thanked for help with texts in the Lithuanian language.

The Polish State Committee for Academic Research (Komitet Badań Naukowych) is to be acknowledged for the financial support of research on the reconstruction of Bronisław Piłsudski's scholarly heritage in the form of research grant 1 H01D 013 17. As the final preparation of the text took place in Japan where this author stays as a Japan Foundation Fellow at Saitama University at the time of the tragic earthquake, tsunami, and series of nuclear accidents in March 2011, both institutions deserve particular gratitude for facilitating the task.

To meet these expectations, hundreds of thousands of scholarly publications appear throughout the world every year. Certain results introduced in these publications lead to nowhere, and others are contributions of varying value and significance, inspiring questions and thus pushing investigation further; these constitute the absolute majority in this domain of human activity. Their academic value in the absolute majority of cases diminishes with every consecutive year, and the publications themselves soon become only historical facts mostly to be soon forgotten and mentioned, if at all, in the history of particular disciplines and as bibliographical records; this is the price for progress in research. Results considered important, becoming milestones in particular disciplines or in learning in general, constitute an obvious minority, and only very few achievements remain ultimate pronouncements or solutions of critical, breakthrough importance on individual issues either at some stage of development or to last forever. Thus, extremely few scholarly publications remain forever as basic, canonical or classical sources—the best sources of information on what they concern that cannot be improved or surpassed—precisely because, with the passing of time, they turn out to constitute or include ultimate pronouncements, descriptions or solutions, and, with the passing of time, only grow in meaning and importance.

A very unimpressive looking 270-page paperback published in Cracow in 1912 under the title *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore*, without even the slightest doubt should be ranked among the works of such standing and importance in world scholarship: it is, and will continue to be, considered the ultimate source on the Sakhalin Ainu oral tradition and its language.

Three main factors contribute to its uniqueness and superiority in the discipline:

1. The material offered by the book turned out to be the richest and most competently collected of any field data accumulated in the times when the Sakhalin Ainu still cultivated their original and hardly commonly known way of living, their customs, rituals, their language, and their traditions, retained in their specific archaic tongue in the memories of individuals, who passed them on to younger generations. And the author—who married into an Ainu family and actively participated in all the ups and downs of that life, including festivals and rituals—was accepted by the entire Sakhalin Ainu community as their friend and protector in their uneasy relations with the invading authorities, was passionately interested in their folklore, and thus was well acquainted with all their story-tellers. His command of the language was expert and flawless as firsthandly testified to (e.g. by Sieroszewski, see CWBP 3: 662, 682, 691, 793; Batchelor 1926, 3; Batchelor 1938, 3);<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> 'I met this gentleman in Sapporo a few years ago, and the only language we could properly converse in was Ainu! He in Saghalian Ainu and I in Yezo [i.e., Hokkaido Ainu]'. John Batchelor

2. Its author was fortunate to work under one of the best academic supervisors available at the time of the compilation of the book—Jagiellonian University professor Jan Rozwadowski (1867–1935)—one of the best linguists of his time, author of the classical work *Wortbildung und Wortbedeutung* published in Leipzig in 1904, and supervisor of the English metalanguage of the book. Collaborating with both Piłsudski and Rozwadowski was Michał Seweryn Dziewicki,<sup>2</sup> teacher of English at Jagiellonian University and one of the pioneers of the academic study of English on Polish soil;
3. No attempt to collect data comparable in standard and in size to what the book under consideration offers was made before the Sakhalin Ainu underwent the process of complete acculturation, as people losing their language and culture and desperately striving to blend in with and finally disappear among the surrounding omnipotent, unsympathetic, ruthless, and uncompromising Japanese.

### **Bronisław Piłsudski's heritage and his place in Oriental studies**

The author of the book was Bronisław Piłsudski (1866–1918), Marshal Józef Piłsudski's elder brother, who, sentenced to death (replaced by 15 years of hard labor (*katorga*) and exile on the island of Sakhalin) for dubious involvement in an attempt on the life of Russia's Tsar Alexander the Third, extensively studied the Gilyaks, today referred to as Nivkh or, better, Nivhgu, and other aboriginal peoples of Sakhalin and the Lower Amur (*Priamurye*) Region: the Uilta (Oroks), Ulcha (Olcha ~ Manguns), Nanai (Golds), but above all the Sakhalin and Hokkaido Ainu. He managed to collect enormously rich material concerning the languages and cultures of these peoples, now extinct or drastically acculturated and on the verge of extinction, material surpassed by none, although he himself did manage during his life to publish only a fraction of what he had collected in a number of articles in languages ranging from Japanese (his *first* work *ever* concerning the Ainu to appear in print was one of 1906 in Japanese and in its introduction the fact that Piłsudski graduated from a secondary school in Vilnius is mentioned) to Russian, Polish, French, English, and German.

---

(1853–1944) was a British missionary who worked among the Ainu in 1877–1942, collected their lore, compiled a dictionary of the Ainu language published in four editions, all reprinted several times, prepared prayer books in the language, and translated various fragments of the Bible into Ainu. Considered outside Japan as the ultimate, and for a long period as actually the only, authority on the Ainu.

<sup>2</sup> 1851–1928, born in Great Britain, his mother was English.

The consecutive rediscovery, in 1976 in Poznań, actually for at least the fourth time, of the now 'famous' phonographic records of Ainu songs, stories, shamanic performances, etc., on Edison-system wax cylinders recorded by Piłsudski in 1902 and 1903 on Sakhalin and Hokkaido, and following that the combined effort of numerous scholars from various countries associated to a varying degree under the ICRAP Project (see below and CWBP 1: 1ff., 8ff.), triggered an unexpected boom of interest in his scholarly legacy, reinforced by the fact that this rediscovery coincided with trends that had started to become dominant in many disciplines of looking for ethnic roots and rushing toward the salvation of endangered languages and cultures.

All of a sudden, Piłsudski himself, as well as his heritage, seemingly long since neglected and doomed to oblivion, became a hot issue both in the media and academically. Three international conferences devoted exclusively to him and his work were convened in 1985 (Hokkaido University, Sapporo), 1991 (Sakhalin Regional Museum, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk) and 1999 (Center of Japanese Art and Technology in Cracow and the Tatra Museum in Zakopane);<sup>3</sup> the Bronisław Piłsudski Heritage Institute was founded in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk and has so far published fourteen volumes of its own academic journal (IINBP); a solid gabrodiorite monument of Piłsudski was unveiled in front of the Sakhalin Regional Museum in the center of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk on the 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his birth in 1991;<sup>4</sup> a nineteen-page reading passage on Piłsudski's cylinders and attempts at recovering their contents (Yamagishi 1990) appeared in the 'Language and Culture' section of a Japanese high school handbook of the 'national' (i.e. Japanese) language; the first volume of another series of publications devoted to Piłsudski, *Piłsudskiana de Sapporo*, was released in 1999 (six volumes have appeared so far); at least ten documentary films were produced; a number of catalogues of Piłsudski's impressive ethnographical collections were published (e.g. Latyshev, Prokofyev 1988; Shubina 1991; Kobko 1999; Ogihara, et al. 1998); and a number of exhibitions of these collections, or rather parts of these collections, took place (the collections in their majority are too big to be exhibited completely); his name was given to a mountain in southern Sakhalin and thus firmly introduced on the maps; and the tunes of Ainu songs emerging from the technological noise of the miraculously surviving phonographic cylinders even inspired a musical for children staged in Japan, a song from which praising 'splendid stories coming out of the wax cylinders of Uncle Piusutsuki' was at one time sung by school children all over Hokkaido.

The number of scholarly and other publications related to the international Piłsudski Research Project (ICRAP), which started in 1981, may by now well have

---

<sup>3</sup> The plan to convene the fourth such conference in Vilnius has so far failed to materialise.

<sup>4</sup> And that was the time when hundreds of monuments of communist idols were being overturned all over the still-existing Soviet Union.

surpassed one thousand. Volumes One and Two of *The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski*, which were published in several consecutive preprint versions between 1991 and 1995 and in their ultimate Mouton de Gruyter edition in 1998, more than 12 years behind schedule, still reflect the initial plan of the publication with their diversity of contents. Volume Three, released in 2004, contains previously unpublished materials related to the Ainu: folkloristic and liturgical (prayer) texts, usually with the original records, contents recovered from wax cylinder records, and additional texts related to Piłsudski's fieldwork expedition to Hokkaido in 1903 with Waclaw Sieroszewski and to Piłsudski's Ainu family in the early 1930s. It was prepared on the basis of manuscripts preserved in places scattered all over the world: Sakhalin, Vladivostok, Tomsk, Moscow and Leningrad/St Petersburg in the USSR/Russia; Vilnius and Druskininkai in Lithuania; Warsaw, Cracow, Zakopane, Wrocław and Poznań in Poland; Vienna in Austria; Leipzig and Köln in Germany; Neuchâtel in Switzerland; Paris; London; and New York, Pennsylvania and Washington in the USA. It is also necessary to mention that at least two biographies have been published (Latyshev 2008 and Sawada, Inoue 2010).

Without a doubt, there exist extensive and abundant records of Sakhalin Ainu ethnolects, but they were collected after the complete acculturation of the Ainu and the abandonment of the everyday use of their language. Thus, in fact what was recorded were but a few idiolects of a language not used for decades, one that had been replaced by Japanese and remembered only from childhood times by individuals advanced and very advanced in years. (Among such records worthy of special mention are above all Hattori 1964 and Murasaki 1977; 1979; 2001. Murasaki's principal informant was an Ainu lady with the Japanese name Take Asai, her Ainu name being Tahkonanna [1902–1994]. She was born south of Raychishka on the western coast of Sakhalin and was the last person to know the language as a mother tongue. Hattori's informant was a lady named Haru Fujiyama from the region of Raychishka. Her Ainu names were Esohrankemah and Husko [1900–1974]. Both were therefore speakers of the same dialect while Piłsudski in his *Materials...* included texts recorded from nine informants from four different locations, the northernmost Tarayka, Hunup, Ai, and southernmost Tunaichi, along the eastern coast of the island between January 1903 and January 1904, when Ms Asai was a baby and Ms Fujiyama was a very small child.)

One of the greatest anthropologists and linguists, Franz Boas, whom Bronisław Piłsudski, seeking financial support for a fieldwork expedition to the Far East, informed about the preparation of the second volume of the *Materials...* and sent a detailed inventory of all materials in his possession related to the Ainu and their language (see Inoue 1999, 117–20 and CWBP 3: 261–3), characterised the value of

those materials in a letter of 6 June 1908 to Arthur Curtiss James, the trustee of the American Museum of Natural History, in the following words: 'I am reasonably certain from what I know about it that it is exceedingly unlikely that material of this kind could ever be duplicated'.<sup>5</sup> Seventy years later, the noted Japanologist and translator of Ainu (*yukar*), Ryukyuan (*omoro* songs), and Ancient Japanese (*Kojiki* of 712) texts into English, Donald L. Philippi 1979, 18, wrote about Piłsudski's *Materials...*: 'it is a work of primary importance in studying the Sakhalin Ainu language and folklore'.

It is not only that Piłsudski's materials on the Ainu language and culture cannot be surpassed by new research results on the grounds presented above but also that, when one is confronted with contemporary studies and with axioms and commonly accepted and repeated stereotypes in Ainu studies, the materials provoke troubling questions and bring up the much more fundamental issue of the reliability of Ainu studies in general (see Majewicz 1992; 1992a). For example, it has been firmly established and widely accepted among specialists and those who used the results of their research that Ainu epics consistently use first person narration. This has even been considered a distinctive feature of Ainu folklore. Philippi, who translated very competently a number of Ainu epics into English, admitted that he knew 'of no other example in world epic literature where almost every song is told in the first person singular' (1979, 27, n. 56). In 1984, however, Piłsudski's *Materials...* of 1912 was used as a textbook for a seminar on the Sakhalin Ainu language in which this author participated at Hokkaido University, and what astonished him was that during the analysis of subsequent Ainu-language texts from the book and their translation into Japanese not only all the forms translated by Piłsudski with the first-person pronoun 'I' into English were rendered into Japanese with the first-person *lexical* correspondents but also *all* the forms translated by Piłsudski deliberately with the English pronouns 'he' or 'she' were translated into Japanese also with the same first-person lexemes (emphatically, one should say, for the Japanese as a rule, and obsessively, avoid using words corresponding to English pronouns whenever possible). This author's curiosity 'why what Piłsudski evidently interprets as third-person forms *in contrast with* what he interprets as first-person forms is consistently being translated into Japanese *artificially* with *emphatic* first-person lexemes' met with an even more astonishing answer: that Ainu epics are narrated exclusively in the first person is firmly established and widely accepted! This author found himself confronted with an obvious vicious circle. Could Piłsudski, a man using the Ainu language for years in natural settings in everyday life, be so very much at discrepancy with the truth? As Piłsudski's own terse

---

<sup>5</sup> The letter is preserved with Franz Boas's archives in the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia (the access to the contents of the letter granted by Professor Yoshinobu Kotani from Nagoya University is duly acknowledged; the quotation here is after Inoue 2003, 159).

note (165 on p. 57 of the *Materials...*, CWBP 1: 87) clearly proves, not necessarily so. Another example of this kind constitutes the problem whether indeed 'the birth of twins, especially when both are males, is the most important and most welcome type of birth' as one otherwise quite profound study of a more recent date (Ohnuki-Thierney 1974, 55–6) postulated, or, on the contrary, 'the birth to this world of twins' is 'a phenomenon that terrifies both the Ainu and the Nivhgu' as Piłsudski (1909, 3ff.; see CWBP 1: 378ff.) insisted. Were twins really 'gifts from the deities ... treated by the family with special care' (Ohnuki-Thierney, *ibid.*), or was 'one of the twins ... definitely an offspring of the devil' that must secretly be killed (Piłsudski, *ibid.*)? Even a 66-old Ainu lady informant in the Japan of the 1960s was sufficiently law-sensitive and 'politically correct' to know that killing babies was not only a crime but also a very bad deed morally. The informant herself was a 'servant of the deities' (i.e., a girl) 'although one of her twin brothers *died shortly after birth*' (Ohnuki-Thierney 1974, 56; italics—A.F.M.). The examples not only signal the problem but also make us aware of the position of Piłsudski in Ainu studies—unshakeable and permanent.

During his prolonged 19-year (3 August 1887—3 August 1906) stay in the Far East, Piłsudski, a *katorga* convict and political criminal, later deportee, acted first in the capacity of a simple worker—carpenter, locksmith, and cattleman—later as police administration office worker, medical department clerk, and teacher, and still later as meteorological station constructor and meteorologist and only in the early 1890s started his interest and involvement in recording and studying folklore of the aboriginal population of Sakhalin. His first such records which have survived till today, Nivhgu (Gilyak) stories of the *tylgund* genre, are dated October–December 1893. It may be assumed that January 1891, the time Piłsudski got personally acquainted in Rykovskoye (today Kirovskoye, the place of his compulsory stay) with the noted ethnographer Leo Sternberg ~ Lev Yakovlevich Shternberg (Лев Яковлевич Штернберг, 1861–1927), is the date of Piłsudski's involvement in research of the folklore and language of the Sakhalin aborigines (see e.g. Inoue 1999, 135. There are opinions, however, that Piłsudski had been interested in the Sakhalin natives prior to his first encounter with Shternberg), but his formal engagement in truly academic life began when he was officially employed by the Museum of the Society for the Study of the Amur Region (Музей Общества изучения Амурского края) in Vladivostok where he arrived 9 March 1899 and was continued especially in the period between 11 July 1902 and early autumn 1905. He served at the museum in various capacities: custodian, librarian and even the museum director<sup>6</sup> (see note 86), and his stay, from 11 July 1902, and fieldwork on Sakhalin and Hokkaido and in the Amur Region was

<sup>6</sup> In Khramtsova 2000, twenty-two consecutive directors of the museum are listed, with Bronisław Piłsudski as director for 1900–2.



officially and financially supported by various institutions associated with the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences.

Piłsudski made his name and built his reputation on his unique and timely studies on the cultures and languages of the natives of Sakhalin, Hokkaido, and the Lower Amur River region, mentioned above, but the first publications signed with his name as author and known to us are two consecutive meteorological reports from weather observations in the settlement of Rykovskoye in the years 1895 and 1896 with detailed tabularised data printed in the ‘Sakhalin calendar’ in 1896 and 1897 respectively. Shostakovich 1992, 78 signaled the existence, in the archives of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius, of a manuscript signed by Piłsudski of ‘an instruction for the operation of meteorological stations prepared on orders from Mr. director of meteorological stations and Mr. agricultural inspector on the island of Sakhalin’ and there may be more unpublished materials written by Piłsudski as meteorologist. Piłsudski’s first publication directly related to the Sakhalin natives appeared in print in 1898 in Khabarovsk and concerned the ‘wants and needs of the Sakhalin Gilyaks (Nivhgu)’ (in English see CWBP 1: 105–36).

Because his fieldwork expeditions beginning in 1902 to the Ainu and Oroks were officially sponsored by learned institutions, Piłsudski was, and felt very much, obliged to send reports on his activities and expenditures to his sponsors and used to do it in the form of letters, the contents of which have been included in bulletins, either re-reported (as e.g. information on B.O. Piłsudski, on the basis of letters addressed to the Secretary of the Russian Committee for the Study of History, Archaeology, Linguistics and Ethnography of Central and Eastern Asia of 1904, in English see CWBP 1: 185) or printed *in extenso* (like a letter from Piłsudski published in 1905, in English see CWBP 1: 186–91).

Before leaving the Far East forever, Piłsudski succeeded in seeing in print a few more items he penned. The most extensive of them was the first installment of two of the documents published in 1906 in Japan in Japanese under the title ‘The situation of the Sakhalin Ainu’ (樺太アイヌの状態), actually a Japanese version adopted by a Japanese acquaintance, a journalist and Christian writer named Susumu (or Susumi) Ueda, from a Russian-language material published the following year as ‘An outline of the economic life of the Ainu on the island of Sakhalin’ (in English see CWBP 1: 271–95). The importance of the Japanese paper results from the fact that it was Piłsudski’s very first work concerning the Ainu, his specialty, and only his second work published, following the aforementioned paper on the Gilyaks’ wants and needs, which can also be classified as an anthropological article. The second installment was published a week after Piłsudski’s departure from Japan for the USA. Besides, the Vladivostok-based newspaper (‘Nature and People of the Far East’) run by



Piłsudski's close friend—poet, writer, and journalist Nikolai Pyotrovich Matveyev-Amurskiy (1865–1941), who brought Piłsudski along to Japan in 1906—published Bronisław's reports, or letters, 'From Japan' in twelve instalments (the last one was released nine days after its author's departure),<sup>7</sup> a two-instalment correspondence entitled 'Southern Sakhalin under Japanese rule', and a short article captioned 'The awakening of Mongolia'.

The last publication to be mentioned here is the text entitled 'Gilyak Maiden's Song' which appeared in Hawes 1904, 266–7 (see also CWBP 1: 175–6 and 699). Charles Henry Hawes (1867–1943), explorer and scholar, met Piłsudski personally in Vladivostok prior to his expedition to Sakhalin (he arrived at Aleksandrovsk in September 1901) and 'found [him] to be a great and true friend of the Gilyaks' (*ibid.*, 263); 'his kindness enable[d]' Hawes to quote 'one' of the Nivhgu songs from Piłsudski's collection and re-'tell the story of another' and express 'hope to have some of these Gilyak lyrics from the pen of Mr. P.' (*ibid.*, 264). It is worth citing here two more sentences from Hawes: 'If there were more friends of the Gilyaks like Mr. Pilsudsky, who was a political exile on the island, they indeed might yet be saved from extinction. He recognized that their means of livelihood, hunting and fishing, were beginning to fail them, and therefore endeavoured to induce those who dwelt near the Russian settlements to cultivate potatoes and to salt fish' (*ibid.*, 229). As Vladislav M. Latyshev (in the introduction to the 2003 Russian translation of Hawes' book, p. 9) suggests, the song might well have been the very first case of publication of pieces of Nivhgu oral traditions in English. What Hawes so tersely but accurately expressed in the sentences above, Piłsudski had in detail described in his aforementioned paper of 1898. It must be said that a few years later Piłsudski also started introducing potatoes, fish salting, and animal husbandry among the Ainu for the same reasons. As the reader can learn from further parts of the present text, Hawes' hopes to have Piłsudski's Nivhgu texts published came true as well.

In Vladivostok Piłsudski is said to have cooperated on editing a pioneering Far Eastern biweekly magazine, and since he definitely was in contact with numerous intellectuals there, it is almost certain that minor publications resulting from this involvement existed, but none reached the hands and eyes of this author.

As one can conclude from the above, during the entire period of his long stay in the Far East, Piłsudski managed to publish relatively little, even though for the most part of the period he was actually on a never-ending field expedition, exploring the aboriginal cultures on Sakhalin and Hokkaido and in other parts of Japan and also in the Maritime Territory (Primorye) and Lower Amur Region (Priamurye)

---

<sup>7</sup> The material is planned to be prepared for publication in English with Japan Foundation Grant 22RE7 support in 2011.

and persistently and systematically collecting material and intangible assets of their indigenous inhabitants.

Collections of material objects have for the most part found their way to various museums and have been documented in numerous superb and more modest catalogs (like, except for the items cited above, Kreiner, Ölschleger 1987; Latyshev, Inoue 2002; Inoue, et al. 2002; Fitzhugh, Dubreuil 1999). For instance, having arrived in Vladivostok, Piłsudski donated an ethnographical collection of over 200 objects of Nivhgu material culture to the museum; almost all of these objects were sent to the World Expo 1900 in Paris and most probably sold there after the exhibition. The exposition of the collection itself won a Silver Medal at the Expo for the Russian Imperial Geographical Society. Some of Piłsudski's ethnographic collections, however, perished in the turmoil of world wars (such as e.g. the lot of a collection preserved in the Ethnographical Department of the Museum of Agriculture and Industry in Warsaw: in September 1939 the museum building, together with its library, archives, photographic documentation, and of course collections comprising altogether over 30,000 objects, was completely destroyed by Nazi bombs).

As for the intangible assets, leaving Sakhalin (on 11 July 1905) Piłsudski, according to his own estimation and testimony (in his report on the 1903–5 expedition to the Ainu and Oroks published in 1907, cf. also CWBP 1: 217), had with him, among other possessions, the following research data:

- ethnographical notes related to the Ainu (1,880 pages),
- ethnographical notes related to the Nivhgu (320 pages),
- ethnographical notes related to the Oroks (180 pages),
- ethnographical notes related to the Amur Region (400 pages),
- Ainu texts (in part remaining untranslated) (870 pages),
- Nivhgu texts (285 pages),
- Orok texts (13 pages),
- Ainu words (over 10,000),
- Nivhgu words (a little less),
- Orok and Ulchan words (about 2,000),
- photographs (about 300),
- wax-cylinder phonographic records of Ainu songs and fables (30 pieces).

The item 'ethnographical notes related to the Amur Region' from the list is associated with the fact that in the autumn of 1905 Piłsudski accepted a proposal from the Vladivostok-based Society for the Study of the Amur Region to organise an expedition to the region in order to collect ethnographic objects among the Ulchas residing there, with whom he had frequently met and travelled together on Sakhalin. Because of adverse weather conditions, however, he failed to reach the Ulchan

settlements and instead gathered objects for an impressive ethnographic collection, now kept in the Arsenyev Museum in Vladivostok, pertaining to the material culture of the Nanais (referred to as Golds~Goldi at that time) who lived in the vicinity of the settlement of Troitskoye and a vocabulary of their language, including 1,050 entry words as well as texts of 26 riddles, preserved in manuscript in the Archives of the Academy of Sciences in Cracow (now in CWBP 4).

Thus, Piłsudski's Sakhalin fieldwork legacy must be considered enormous, all the more so that at least some of the figures in the list quoted above seem questionable. For example, the entire collection of phonographic records Piłsudski had taken from Sakhalin was most probably the same collection he brought with him to Poland at the end of 1906, and the latter consisted of about eighty cylinders: at the time of an inspection of the collection in Poland in 1975, it comprised seventy-six items in a varying and evidently deteriorating state of preservation, in 1953 there were still eighty-three cylinders, two being broken into pieces and fourteen having surface rifts (Kaczmarek 1953, 23; Bańcerowski 1964, 94), while Sieroszewski (1914–21, xvi) reported the existence of 100 cylinders; sixty-seven of them underwent investigation and reproduction attempts at Hokkaido University between 1982 and 1986 (Asakura, Ifukube 1986), and the results of the treatment were published in Katō, Kotani 1987, 145–271 and in CWBP 3: 517, 575–645, 773–91. Besides those, there were allegedly thirty-five cylinder records of 'Ainu and Nivhgu songs and tales with Piłsudski's description' preserved in the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences (thus Swienko 1973, 111),<sup>8</sup> possibly from the 'box with phonographic records sent by Mr. Piłsudski to the [Russian] Committee [for the Study of History, Archaeology, Linguistics and Ethnography of Central and Eastern Asia]' mentioned in the 1904 'information on B.O. Piłsudski, on the basis of letters addressed to the Secretary of the Committee', and three cylinders were identified in March 2000 in the National Sound Archives of the British Library in London (in the archives of the late Charles Samuel Myers) by Tatyana Roon as doubtlessly coming from B. Piłsudski's collection (Roon 2001). Other figures in the list may have the same approximate value.

In the preface to his 1912 *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore*, Bronisław Piłsudski indicated that he was 'publishing twenty-seven *uśaškoma* [oral traditions]',<sup>9</sup> and reserving the remainder of his '350 Ainu texts for publication at

<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, no access to them was ever granted to the ICRAP Project (see below) participants, the Soviet side insisting on the 'non-existence' of the alleged collection.

<sup>9</sup> Here and in the text that follows, explanations of the Ainu names of *genres* of Ainu folklore are cited from Piłsudski 1912, xvff., CWBP 2: 17–22; the reader is also referred in this respect to e.g. Kubodera 1977; 1977a, 7–34; Kubodera 2004, 17–147; for those not reading Japanese, Tsushima 1996, 37–57(–68); Philippi 1979, (1–)21–50(–56) are recommended.

some future time' (Piłsudski 1912, xxi; CWBP 2: 23). Theoretically, this total amount of 377 texts should equal the 870 pages of all Ainu texts (those untranslated included) specified on the above-cited list of items he had taken with him when leaving Sakhalin plus the pages on which he recorded texts from Ainu informants brought to England by the Japanese to serve as a tourist attraction during 'the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition in London [in] 1910' (CWBP 2: 16). Until quite recently, however, it was not clear how many Ainu texts Piłsudski had actually collected, and subsequent recoveries of unpublished texts made the guess even more complicated.

About 1984 our attention was drawn by Michael Krauss of Alaska Native Language Center, Alaska University, Fairbanks, to Piłsudski's letters written to Franz Boas and preserved in the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Copies and a microfilm of these letters became the focus of interest of Kōichi Inoue, who published their contents in 1990 together with explanatory remarks concerning Piłsudski's relationship with Boas (Inoue 1999, 115–31). In November 1997 Inoue had a chance to inspect the entire correspondence in the original and 'had an unexpectedly lucky opportunity to come across a complete list of Piłsudski's Ainu materials prepared by himself' (Inoue 1999, 115). The document entitled 'Aino folklore collection' (in its original written with a pencil and attached to Piłsudski's letter to Boas dated 19 December 1907) was also published by Inoue (*ibid.*, 117–20) in the unchanged version of the original and was later adopted for and included in CWBP 3: 261–3.

According to that document, Piłsudski's collection of Ainu texts, prior to his 1910 London opportunity to enlarge and enrich it, contained 452 items he considered to be separate pieces of folklore. In this number, he listed 71 *učaškoma* (cf. above) texts, 142 *tuita* ('fairy tales') texts, 40 *ojna* ('legendary lays') texts, texts of two speeches at a bear killing, and at least 13 prayer texts (it remains unclear what is hidden under 'eight various other texts from the island of Hokkaido' placed on the list as a separate category Besides Hokkaido Ainu *učaškoma*, *tuita*, *ojna*, *jajkatekara* ('songs') and riddles; cf. CWBP 3: 263), Piłsudski also listed 60 riddles from Sakhalin and 60 riddles from Hokkaido. As riddles usually are very short texts, these two figures when combined and extracted from the total number of items listed could explain the difference between 350 and 452, all the more so that 'sixty' in these two cases (as well as '350') could mean 'about sixty' (and 'about 350'), were it not the fact that the number of prayer texts in Piłsudski's manuscripts recovered in Cracow was precisely 50.

One can assume that the materials enumerated above were more or less all that Piłsudski took and carried along with him when leaving Sakhalin—as it turned out, forever. One has to add, nevertheless, all that had been sent by him from Sakhalin by mail: numerous letters, field research reports simultaneously constituting academic

articles, and above all, the ethnographical collections mentioned. What he failed to either take along with him or send some other way, however, was what he wished to have with him more than anything else: his Ainu family: his Ainu wife Chuhsamma († 1936), wedded in accordance with Ainu customs and rites; their 2-year-old son who was later given the Japanese name Sukezō Kimura (1903–1971); and he did not even have a chance to ever see their daughter Kiyō, born 18 December 1905 († 1984). Chuhsamma's relatives refused consent for her departure. This family tragedy echoes on the pages of unique letters written to Bronisław Piłsudski in Japan by one of his pupils, later a teacher in the school for indigenous children founded by Bronisław in the settlement of Naibuchi on Sakhalin.<sup>10</sup>

Piłsudski carried the enormous burden of scholarly material with him all the way from Sakhalin via Japan, the United States of America, and Western Europe to finally bring it to the Polish soil so beloved and longed for by him. At that time Poland as an independent entity did not exist on political maps. It was partitioned between the empires of Russia, Prussia, and Austro–Hungary, and Piłsudski's native Lithuania was part of Tsarist Russia, from which Piłsudski had formally escaped in the messy circumstances following the Russo–Japanese war lost by Russia together with, among others, Southern Sakhalin. Fearing arrest and deportation back to Sakhalin,<sup>11</sup> he decided to settle in the Austro–Hungarian Province of Galicia, the only part of former Poland where Polish cultural and academic institutions could freely develop, and it was there, particularly in Cracow, Zakopane, and Lemberg (Lwów) that he elaborated on and prepared for publication most of what he succeeded in publishing during his lifetime. It must be sadly concluded again that before passing away he managed to publish only a fraction of the ethnographic and linguistic materials he had collected during his 19 years of stay in the Far East.

---

<sup>10</sup> The author of the letters in question was an Ainu named Taronci who accompanied Bronisław Piłsudski and Waław Sieroszewski, the ethnologist and writer mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, as interpreter of the Japanese language in their expedition to the Ainu of Hokkaido in the summer of 1903 so vividly described in Sieroszewski's belletrised account first printed in 1926; the peaks of his career were the position of the village head in Naibuchi held till 1921 and the publication of his book of reminiscences on the Sakhalin Ainu in 1929. The letters, written in the Ainu language with Russian characters, have been preserved in the Archives of the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Letters and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow (see Ogihara, *Tangiku* 2001; *Sentoku* 2000; in English CWBP 3: 700–30 and 801–4, 818; cf. also Janta-Potczyński 1936, 241–98; in English CWBP 3: 731–44 and 804–7).

<sup>11</sup> Most probably Bronisław never learned that on the force of decree no 41 of the Military Governor of Sakhalin dated 13 April 1907, based on the Tsar's decree of 21 October 1905, he had been pronounced a free person, liberated from obligatory police surveillance, having the right to freely choose his place of residence without limitations and having all his civil rights restored. Russia has always been notorious for lawlessness, and the fate of an individual was not guaranteed and protected by law but depended on an arbitrary decision of an often low-ranking administrative clerk. Piłsudski doubtlessly knew that too well to take a risk.

Piłsudski's immortal *Materials...* of 1912 figures prominently among his writings. Besides that, Piłsudski managed to publish a few dozen articles and reports concerning mainly various aspects of the everyday life and culture of the aborigines of Sakhalin, Hokkaido, and the Lower Amur Region. These articles appeared in a number of languages and were scattered through various local journals and newspapers now hardly accessible or even traceable. He used to write a number of articles on the same subject and publish them in different versions and languages, often providing in one version information in part complementary to other versions.

In the 1912 *Materials...*, Piłsudski included a bibliography (pp. xxiii–vi), the third part of which listed his own ‘papers on the Ainu’ (p. xxvi), eleven altogether, three in Russian, four in German, two in French, one in English, and one in Polish. It is interesting to mention here that the bibliography was *in extenso*, and virtually untouched, quoted in the Ainu grammar preceding the famous Ainu by John Batchelor in both the third (1926, 4–8) and fourth (1938, 3–7) editions, later reprinted several times. In 1930, Kazimiera Zawistowicz, author of the most elucidative and inspiring article on Bronisław Piłsudski and his contributions after his decease and before World War II, listed twenty-two titles of Piłsudski's works in the bibliography of her article, adding that her bibliography was not complete because of difficulties with access to minor articles printed in Polish and foreign journals. The longest and most complete list of Piłsudski's writings prior to the ICRA Project (see below) was presented in Swienko 1973, 106–16 and Swienko 1979, 93–4; the former listed thirty titles of Piłsudski's published texts with detailed bibliographical data and provided very comprehensive information on Piłsudski's unpublished and published manuscripts, phonographic records, photographs, and collections kept in various (indicated) institutions in the USSR and Poland, and the latter listed thirty-one titles.<sup>12</sup>

Other important publications prepared during the time of his stay in Galicia and related to the aboriginal population of the regions explored include works constituting invaluable contributions to medical anthropology. Here one has to mention a study on sexual life<sup>13</sup> (pregnancy, miscarriages, fertility and sterility, twins, freaks, menstruation, etc.) printed in numerous versions (Polish, German, French, and Russian, the latter being the most extensive), two original papers on leprosy among

<sup>12</sup> Swienko 1973, 113–6 and 1979, 94–7 also list ‘references to, information on, and works concerning Bronisław Piłsudski’ (‘Wzmianki, informacje i opracowania dotyczące Bronisława Piłsudskiego’).

<sup>13</sup> Piłsudski is another Bronisław, besides Bronisław Malinowski who studied ‘the sexual life of savages’ (Piłsudski decisively more empirically); they knew each other personally, but the attitude of the haughty Malinowski toward his colleague, who was older and depressed by an unimaginably hard life (hence understandably and surely not easy to deal with, despite his reputation of being a good-natured and delicate person) was hardly commendable.

the Ainu and Nivhgu, extensive information on the economic life of the Sakhalin Ainu (in Japanese, Russian, and Polish), works concerning the legendary inhabitants of pre-Ainu Sakhalin (referred to as Tonchi) (in Polish and Japanese), a book-size eye-witness description of the famous bear feast (in Russian, abbreviated versions in Polish and German), a series of works describing Ainu shamanism (in Polish and German), a unique study of Ainu propriety signs/marks in French, and articles on and translations of Ainu and Nivhgu folklore. An extensive entry entitled 'Ainu' in volume I of the Russian encyclopaedic dictionary edited by Brockhaus and Yefrem deserves special praise here. A complete(?) bibliography of Piłsudski's publications can be found in CWBP 1: 53–69, CWBP 3: 106–14, CWBP 4; English translations of these works as well as works prepared and printed earlier in Russia and Japan were published in CWBP 1, where Piłsudski's monograph on the Uilta (Oroks) recovered from a typescript discovered in 1988 in Tomsk can also be found.

It has been long known among researchers from the texts written by Piłsudski himself that he had collected much more material than he published, and it was also known, at least partially, what kind of material he had collected, but for decades it was patent to specialists in respective fields, certainly to the very narrow circle of those interested in Bronisław Piłsudski's biography, that his entire unpublished archives did not survive the turmoil of the two world wars and should thus be considered lost forever.

The rediscovery of Piłsudski's phonographic records led to the international research project mentioned above and to the recovery of a considerable amount of material either considered lost or completely unknown, and these recoveries created optimistic prospects of possible further findings.

The entire Piłsudski Research Project (cf. Asakura, et al. 1985; Asakura, Ifukube 1986; Katō, Kotani 1987; Sakikawa 1987; Majewicz 1987; CWBP 3: 575–645 and 773–91) was born in 1981 as an international scholarly enterprise after a description of Piłsudski's phonographic collection in the form of a short article (Majewicz 1977) marred with misprints succeeded in attracting the interest of Japanese scholars in undertaking a technological attempt at checking what Piłsudski had in fact recorded on the cylinders made of Carnauba wax and rubber. Labeled ICRAP (an acronym for International Committee for Restoration and Assessment of B. Piłsudski's Life and Work), it soon turned into a wide-scale international research project with three aims specified: (1) recovering the contents of the cylinders, (2) organising an international conference on the results of the recovery attempt, and (3) publishing the *Collected Works* of Bronisław Piłsudski.

The recovery of the contents recorded on cylinders was, of course, of prime importance for ICRAP and the *Collected Works* at that time seemed to be of but



minor importance. On the basis of the belief that probably most, if not all, of Piłsudski's materials remaining unpublished had been destroyed during World War I and II, the edition was planned to be concluded by collective effort in five volumes, some 1,000–1,500 pages altogether, by the year 1986 or 1987. It soon became clear that the amount of material that was recoverable after painstaking search was much larger than expected, and absolutely unexpected discoveries of material that no one was even slightly aware of soon followed. It also became evident that the task of translating and editing the material, working in eleven languages, often drastically different from each other in every aspect (genetic, typological, and ethnocultural included), had grown to tremendous proportions. The undertaking thus became a one-man task and the time needed for it had to be expanded indefinitely.

Volumes One and Two of *The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski*, which were published first in several consecutive preprint versions between 1991 and 1995 and in their ultimate Mouton de Gruyter edition in 1998, more than 12 years behind schedule, still reflect the initial plan of the publication with their diversity of content. Volume Three, however, released in 2004, contains previously unpublished materials related to the Ainu: folkloristic and liturgical (prayer) texts, usually also with the original records, contents recovered from the wax cylinder records, and additional texts related to Piłsudski's fieldwork expedition to Hokkaido in 1903 with Waclaw Sieroszewski and to Piłsudski's Ainu family in the early 1930s. It was prepared on the basis of manuscripts preserved in places scattered all over the world: Sakhalin, Vladivostok, Tomsk, Moscow and Leningrad/St Petersburg in the USSR/Russia; Vilnius and Druskininkai in Lithuania; Warsaw, Cracow, Zakopane, Wrocław and Poznań in Poland; Vienna in Austria; Leipzig and Köln in Germany; Neuchâtel in Switzerland; Paris; London; and New York, Pennsylvania and Washington in the USA. With the publication of Volume Three, the edition reached a volume of 2,639 pages of print.

Volume Four, now after proofreading, contains Tungusic data collected and recorded by Piłsudski in Sakhalin and the Lower Amur Region and Uilta (~Orok), Ulchan (~Olcha, Mangun), and Nanaian (~Gold) vocabularies and texts, with grammatical notes on Uilta included. Volume Five, already well underway, will include *Materials for the Study of the Nivhgu (Gilyak) Language and Folklore*,<sup>14</sup> and

---

<sup>14</sup> In 1991 the first portion of Bronisław Piłsudski's Nivhgu texts, deciphered from field notes preserved in the archives of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Leningrad and prepared for publication with introduction and commentaries by Aleksandr B. Ostrovskiy, appeared in print in Russian translation only. Another portion was published in 1995. The ultimate Russian edition of Piłsudski's Nivhgu texts under Ostrovskiy's editorship was released in book form in 2003, and in 1996 and 1999 a limited facsimile edition of Piłsudski's field notes for internal use was distributed within the ICRAP Project. The second part of the facsimile edition embraced 31 pages of notes missing in the 1966 publication and recovered only after and thanks to the release of the first (not numbered: we did

the preparation of a special volume of Piłsudski's unique observations on late Meiji Japan is planned for 2012. For details concerning the contents and background of *The Collected Works*, the reader is referred to Sawada, Inoue 2010, 2: 304–21.

### Bronisław Piłsudski and Lithuania

Bronisław Piłsudski, in Poland forgotten and neglected during his life there and after his death in exile and in Russia—and consecutively in the world—treated as a ‘Russian explorer or scholar’, considered himself a Lithuanian, a Samogitian (*Žmudzin, žemaitis*), and often declared or stressed this self-identity (*Žmudzinem jestem...* ‘I am a Lithuanian’), even by adding it to his family name: starting from about 1916 he often signed his name ‘Bronisław *Ginet*-Piłsudski’ with the aim of underlining his Lithuanian ancestry, in a reliable contemporary Lithuanian source (Vidmantas 2006, 133) traced back as early as Rimša Giniotas, father of Giniotas Stonys (at least 1528), father of Giniotas Baltramiejus Piłsudskis (or Piłsūdiškis, at least 1587, the founder of the Piłsudski family). This did not stop him from declaring at the same time affection, deep love and devotion, and fierce patriotism for Poland, which he did not consider in any way contradictory: his in fact *was* what specialists describe as a ‘nested ethnic identity’; he was at the same time *both Lithuanian and Polish*.

He was born in Lithuania in an ancient Lithuanian yeoman (*szlachta*) family originally named Giniatowicz, who later adopted the name Piłsudski from the family estate of Piłsudy (today Pilsūdai/Pilsūdas between Skaudvilė and Girdiškė),<sup>15</sup> on his parents’ estate of Zułów, today’s Zalavas, near Švenčionys (Święciany). He was baptised in the still standing green wooden church of Pavoverė (Powiewiórka) in the vicinity of Pabradė (Podbrodzie). After the destruction of the Zułów manor by fire

---

not expect to find the missing pages so quickly) part. Starting with its first volume in 1998, IINBP published in instalments (each instalment including the contents of one of Piłsudski's eight fieldwork notebooks and one file of loose sheets of paper recovered from the archives left after Yerukhim Kreynovich and purchased by the Sakhalin Regional Museum in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk) 79 texts of Nivhgu songs as deciphered and prepared for print by Vladislav Latyshev and Tatyana Roon, but above all by Yelena Sergejevna Nitkuk. A preliminary preprint version of Volume Five, including combined results of research on Piłsudski's Nivhgu texts conducted by Ekaterina Gruzdeva and Aleksandr B. Ostrovskiy, was duplicated in 2001. A small Nivhgu glossary recovered by Ostrovskiy was preprinted in 1992 and reprinted in 1996 and 2007.

<sup>15</sup> Actually, there is now confusion concerning this village and estate: maps suggest the existence of one Pilsūdai, which is some 2–3 kilometers west of Skaudvilė and which, according to road signs in the very village, turns out to be named Pilsūdas; one recent map entitled *Pietų Žemaitija 1:130000* (Vilnius: Briedis, 2001) indicated two Pilsūdai, one near Skaudvilė, which at the location turns out to be the one named Pilsūdas, and another some 7 kilometers to the north of the former named Pilsūdai and located in the vicinity of Girdiškė. No road sign marks the latter and it consists of three or four scattered farms only. The two clearly belong now to two different but neighboring administrative units introduced under Soviet rule, but it is doubtless that originally both constituted one estate now artificially divided by the administrative borderline.

in July 1875, Piłsudski and his family moved to Vilnius (Wilno) where, frequently changing apartments, they lived at several (most probably five) addresses.<sup>16</sup> It was from Vilnius that Bronisław went in September 1885 to St Petersburg to obtain a gymnasium graduation certificate, and in September of 1886 he was enrolled as a first-year student in the Faculty of Law at St Petersburg Imperial University, there to be soon (14 March 1887) arrested. He visited Vilnius for the last time most probably for the New Year in 1887, leaving it, and Lithuania—as it turned out forever—on 13 February. Bronisław's mother's remains, as well as those of some of his numerous brothers and sisters, rest in state in Vilnius in the Rasos Cemetery (Pol. *Cmentarz na Rossie*, Lith. *Rasų kapinės*, see e.g. Małachowicz 1993), and the grave of his grandmother, Teodora Piłsudska, born Butler, is still cared for in the small cemetery in Pajieslys (Pojeśl) near Kėdainiai.

Many people, among them many Lithuanians such as Adomas Varnas (1927), Juozas Purickis (1927), Martynas Yčas (1936), and numerous others, in their recollections of Bronisław Piłsudski emphasised his friendly attitude towards Lithuania and Lithuanians and his activity for the benefit of the Lithuanian nation, but at the same time one cannot neglect that Piłsudski proved with his entire life his deep humanitarianism, understanding, tolerance and love towards representatives of *all* different cultures and different nationalities everywhere he lived and came in contact with them.

Bronisław Piłsudski was a world-class specialist in the cultures and languages of the peoples of Sakhalin and the Amur region, especially the Ainu, and the most important of his writings that have been published concern the peoples, languages, and cultures investigated by him in the Far East. After returning from the Far East and arriving in Galicia in present-day south-eastern Poland, however, he became actively involved in the ethnographical study of the region of Podhale, the Tatra Mountains, and the adjacent area. As in the case of his involvement in other disciplines, he managed to publish but a fraction of what he had collected, and a considerable part of it remains in manuscript, e.g. Antoni Langer's collection of songs from the Podhale region and other texts preserved in the Tatra Museum, or undescribed, e.g. an ethnographic collection related to Tatra highlanders sent to and preserved in St Petersburg. Nevertheless, there are also publications that concern matters far from this domain of his explorations. Among those of importance here are items related to Lithuania.

---

<sup>16</sup> One of them was the backhouse of the tenement housing, now the pub *Prie universiteto*, at Dominikonų St. 9; for researchers of Piłsudski's intellectual legacy it is a thrilling experience to sit at the table in the yard there sipping beer and thinking of Bronisław once frequently passing the very same yard.

In the first place, one has to mention one of the two articles published in 1916 in the *Festschrift* volume of the official journal of the Swiss Ethnographical Society, *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde. Archives suisses des Traditions populaires*. It was dedicated to Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer (1864–1936), ethnographer, founder of the Society, and professor at Basel University and edited by his disciple and collaborator Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli (1886–1941). The article in question was in French and constituted a short monograph about ‘Lithuanian crosses’. The other one, published in German, was an equally short study about ‘mountain pasturage in the Tatra mountains’, directly resulting from his field research in the Tatra region and in fact the only result of his fieldwork there. Both articles purportedly aimed at revealing Piłsudski’s adoptive research potential in a domain and region entirely new to him: he desperately needed some job. The little work on Lithuanian crosses, at first sight perhaps the most unusual or unexpected of all his writings, had a very special significance for, and in, Bronisław’s biography.

The so-called Lithuanian crosses or, more precisely, wayside crosses and little chapels carved in wood and richly ornamented with characteristic ethnic design, constitute one of the most peculiar and interesting features of the material and spiritual culture of Lithuania. One can come across them virtually everywhere on the ethnically Lithuanian territory on both sides of the Polish–Lithuanian border: among fields, deep in primitive forests, by village houses, and even in big towns and cities. Some of them are old and decaying, with their days counted, and others stand carved and erected only yesterday. This highly exquisite art of cross and chaplet carving has been vivid all times irrespective of political developments, and it is actually impossible to even imagine the ethnic authenticity of Lithuania without these objects (cf. e.g. Galaunė 1930; Bernotienė 1993; Vaina, Birgelis 1997; Buračas, Stravinskas [s.d.]; Perkovskis 1999).

The most impressive accumulation of such crosses is the ‘Hill of Crosses’ (*Kryžių kalnas*) or ‘The Hill of Sorrow and Hope’ (*Skausmo ir vilties kalnas*). This famous place in Lithuania is located some 12 kilometers from Šiauliai, near the highway from Šiauliai to Riga in Latvia, (see e.g. Ostašenkovas 1993, Smilgys 1999), but they can also be seen in the centres of the capital city of Vilnius (near the Seimas, or Parliament, building) and in the city of Kaunas.

Besides the art of crosses carved in wood, there also exists the artistic smithery of two kinds of iron crosses (*geležiniai kryžiai*): either those that constitute complete artistic and religious objects to be erected and left as such or those that are to serve as complementary decorations, usually the upper parts (crowns) of wooden crosses. Abundant collections of these crosses can be inspected in museums, e.g. in the private Museum of Lithuanian Culture (*Lietuvių kultūros namai Punske, Etnografinis*

*muziejus*) founded and run by Juozas Vaina in Puńsk (Punskas) in Poland, but also in cemeteries, in churches, and on the roof tops of ordinary houses. This unique art form focussed on crosses long ago attracted the attention of ethnographers, artists, intellectuals, art collectors, etc. Although there is no space or aim to present here the history and results of this interest, in the biographical context of Bronisław Piłsudski it seems reasonable to point to certain works in this domain.

The first of them to be mentioned here is the 1912 work *Lithuanian Crosses* by Antanas Jaroševičius with the preface—in Lithuanian and French—written by none other than Jonas Basanavičius (1851–1927, one of the most influential figures in modern Lithuanian history) in which details on cross collectors preceding Jaroševičius can be read. Jaroševičius's collection was the first complete and rich material concerning Lithuanian crosses, and more importantly in this context, it initiated in this author's opinion that direction in the study of the crosses that Bronisław Piłsudski was soon to join. In this stream, one should also see Česlovas Kontimas's 1991 book *Lithuanian Iron Crosses* (Kontrimas 1991) providing details<sup>17</sup> about research on the crosses and, from among more recent (1998)<sup>18</sup> publications, the monumental monograph and photo album in one on the *Sacred Arts in Lithuania* by Antanas Buračas and Antanas Stravinskas.

The work most important in the said stream is, doubtlessly in this author's opinion, the two-volume photo album *Lithuanian Crosses* released in only one hundred copies, each of them hand-made by the noted Lithuanian painter Adomas Varnas (1879–1979) in 1926 in Kaunas.<sup>19</sup>

Adomas Varnas was one of the most prominent Lithuanian painters. He studied in St Petersburg (1899–1902), Cracow (1903–6) and Geneva (1907, where he graduated from a university level art school); in 1944 he moved to Chicago, USA, where he passed away at the age of 100 years.

During the period of his studies at Cracow Art Academy, Varnas practically every day met other outstanding Lithuanian artists: Cracow at that time was a Mecca for the Lithuanian intelligentsia and it was there that the artistic circle *Rūta* was founded on the initiative of Varnas, Kazimieras Staneika, Ignas Šlapelis, and others. The circle played an important role in the foundation in Vilnius in 1907–8 of a number of academic and artistic associations and societies, the Society of Lithuanian Art included. Varnas also revisited Cracow and Zakopane later.

<sup>17</sup> In its foreword (pp. 7–13) and its bibliography (pp. 42–5, with 141 items listed).

<sup>18</sup> Or 1999; no date of publication indicated.

<sup>19</sup> In early 1998, this author, in the company of Prof. Kōichi Inoue of Hokkaido University and Tomasz Wicherkiewicz, was able to inspect the copy bearing number 1 dedicated to Lithuanian President Aleksandras Stulginskis at the M.K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art in Kaunas thanks to the cooperative understanding of Deputy Director Daina Kamarauskienė.

The Lithuanians there made friends not only among themselves but also with colleagues of other nations, among them of course Poles, many of whom were prominent personages in scholarship or culture, e.g. the novelist Stefan Żeromski and Bronisław Piłsudski.

Between December 1997 and May 1998, an important exhibition labeled 'Lithuanian art 1907–1914' (Lietuvių dailė 1907–1914) was held at the Lithuanian Art Museum in Vilnius. The period 1907–14 was particularly important for the development of modern Lithuanian art, the revival of the spiritual life of the nation, and the birth of truly independent Lithuanian statehood.

Prominently on display at that prestigious exhibition were numerous pictures by Varnas, as well as the aforementioned 1912 album of crosses by Jaroševičius together with the latter's own graphic designs of crosses. Side by side with these works by Jaroševičius, in the very same glass case, one could see a black-and-white *photograph* of one of Varnas's paintings, a portrait of none other than Bronisław Piłsudski in Ainu attire.

According to information acquired from Dr Kamarauskienė and after some consultation with the director of the museum and Ms Laima Bialopetravičienė, deputy director of the Lithuanian Art Museum and creator of both the exhibition and its catalog, the author of this article learned that the original of the painting shown on the photograph has not been found in Lithuania, and its fate and present whereabouts remain unknown.

The same photograph was printed (also black-and-white) in 1927 in the Lithuanian periodical *Iliustruotoji Lietuva* (No 19 (72), p. 1555), accompanying a short, warm memoir on Bronisław Piłsudski by Adomas Varnas. Both the photo and the memoir were reprinted in the 9–10 (1992) issue of the periodical *Švyturys* together with an additional text on Bronisław Piłsudski by Witold Kowalski.

In the memoir, which is not free from inaccuracies but at the same time remains fairly informative, Varnas wrote; 'on 29 and 30 April [1927], all our newspapers published notes on Bronisław Piłsudski in relation to his portrait shown at the exhibition of my works'. The 1927 exhibition of Varnas's paintings took place in Kaunas but this author has not been able to establish whether the original painting or its photo or still something else was exhibited at that time. From Varnas's memoir one also learns that Varnas had met Piłsudski in Zakopane and painted his portrait in 1912 in the house that was owned by the novelist Stefan Żeromski and was 'where Piłsudski lived'.

The photo of a detail (or a detail of the photo) of Varnas's portrait of B. Piłsudski also appears as an illustration for the entry '[the] Piłsudskis, (1) Bronislavas' in Volume 22 of the *Lithuanian encyclopedia* (Mažiulis, Vytautas [s.d.]) published in the 1970s in Boston (USA).

The original of the portrait, if it at all survived, can thus be in any of the countries mentioned in this context or still elsewhere. Varnas's individual exhibitions took place in Zakopane (1912), Poznań (1913), Klaipėda (1926), Kaunas (1927 and 1938), Ravensburg (1948), and Chicago (1945 and 1959). Initial efforts to find respective information concerning the 1913 Poznań exhibition proved futile: according to this author's informants, any record of artistic events at the exhibition seems nonexistent.

Doubtlessly, the source of Piłsudski's motivation to undertake the subject of Lithuanian crosses was deeply rooted in his passionate love for his Lithuania. It is very likely that he also wished to present to the academic world the widest possible offer (proposal) of his research skill and possibilities: one has to remember that all the time after his return to Europe he put much effort into finding his place in academic circles. It is also beyond any doubt that he remembered well from his childhood the wayside chaplets and crosses of the country of his birth. In a relatively recently revealed letter published by Kuczyński (1999), dated 26 October 1912 in Prague, addressed to his uncle Stanisław Witkiewicz, and evidently written at a moment of depression caused by some experience of lack of understanding and injustice, Piłsudski bitterly characterised Poles (always so loved) as barbarians he had to hate, mentioned the necessity to seek a hideout far away from them, and wrote that it was far easier for him to forgive 'the katorga convicts, the savages, even the *Moscals*—the Russian oppressors who kept him unjustly imprisoned—than those who should be regarded as equal' (p. 64), his compatriots, 'and now I am so dreaming about Lithuania, its beautiful landscapes, about its quiet and tender life, a little lazy and passive, but just this hurts me far less than the over-activity accompanied by deceit, cunning, and hate' (ibid.), thus dramatically showing how powerful were his images of and his nostalgia for Lithuania.

It seems that Lithuania had been with him, in his mind's eye and in his heart ever since he had had to leave it. Otherwise, it would be difficult to understand the following words written in his 1911 work on the 'poetry of the Gilyaks' (Nivhgu):

And to you, my dear compatriots of beloved Lithuania, after whom I hankered with my young loving heart and still hanker after more than twenty years—I dedicate this contribution of mine. (cf. CWBP 1: 145)<sup>20</sup>

The fact that Piłsudski dedicated one of his publications about a small miserable people living their miserable lives in one of the most remote places of the world and its sorrowful songs to his 'dear compatriots of beloved Lithuania' should not be a surprise in view of what has been written above. It is not out of place here to

---

<sup>20</sup> Piłsudski 1998, 1: 145; in the original: 'A Wam, drodzy rodacy z ukochanej Litwy, za którymi tęskniłem swem młodem kochającym sercem, i tęsknię jeszcze i teraz, po latach dwudziestu kilku, —tę moją pracę poświęcam' (Piłsudski 1911, 5).



add that in his youth 'Bronisław himself zealously began to study the Lithuanian language' when he and his brother Józef 'ran the risk of Siberian exile by organising underground Polish lectures for the Vilnius [Lithuanian] artisans who could neither read nor write in Polish' (thus Inoue in Asakura, et al. 1985, 3, following Sieroszewski 1914–21, xii, cf. Zawistowicz 1930, 26–7).

In Switzerland Bronisław Piłsudski served as a very effective president of the Comité Général de Secours pour les Victimes de la Guerre en Lithuanie based in Fribourg/Freiburg im Üchtland; the Committee managed to collect and send to Lithuania about (or at least) 10,000 Swiss francs. He was also one of the seven signatories of the *Statuts de l'Association 'Comité Général de Secours pour les Victimes de la Guerre en Lithuanie'* (cf. Yčas 1936, 12–5 and the bibliography of the works by Piłsudski in CWBP 3: 107).

All these facts are undoubtedly sources of inspiration for Piłsudski to write his study on Lithuanian crosses, rather unusual in his entire intellectual output. But—is that all? Is it possible that Adomas Varnas painted Piłsudski just *accidentally*? And, 4 years later, while on Swiss soil Piłsudski chose Lithuanian crosses as a subject for his contribution to a Swiss academic journal also just *accidentally*? And still a decade later, Varnas presented his handmade photo album of crosses—again *accidentally*? Was it not so that during their Zakopane encounters Varnas and Piłsudski became close to each other while recalling Lithuania, speaking about the beauty of the crosses, and inspiring each other on that matter? No one sensitive to beauty and art can remain indifferent to Lithuanian crosses and chaplets, and this very feature allows answers both positive and negative to the questions posed above. Piłsudski's portrait by Varnas is not the only link between the biographies of the two personages in question. It is this author's conviction that the Lithuanian motif in Piłsudski's works is a hot subject deserving urgent research and waiting for its researcher.<sup>21</sup>

Adomas Varnas was a master renowned for his landscapes, many of which depict the beauty of Zakopane and the Tatras, and for his portraits: among others the aforementioned Basanavičius, the philosopher and writer Vydūnas, and the linguist Jonas Jablonskis. Specialists characterise Varnas's portraits as psychological, romanticised, and dramatised. All these features can be easily detected in the portrait of Piłsudski. It is planned that if neither the original nor a color reproduction is found, the black-and-white photograph of the portrait will enter CWBP 4.

The 'Crosses' article from the Hoffmann-Krayer Festschrift was also published as a separatum, in a special dark blue cover. 'Crosses' was illustrated with two photographs

---

<sup>21</sup> It is shocking that although Varnas spent the time of his artistic formation on Polish soil and painted so many landscapes (now so genuinely Polish) of the Tatras, he is practically completely unknown in Poland. The same, however, can unfortunately be said about the complete ignorance in Lithuania about Bronisław Piłsudski, who could and should be the pride of Lithuania.

and with original drawings by ‘M.K. Zwigrodzki from Rapperswil’, in all probability Konstanty Żmigrodzki, sculptor and medalist, at that time (1913–36) director of the Polish Museum in Rapperswil, who designed a medal commemorating Bronisław Piłsudski released in 1919 in Switzerland. The face (obverse) portrays Piłsudski with his name (Bronisław Ginet-Piłsudski) written over his head; the reverse shows an eagle (Poland’s national emblem) over the island of Sakhalin and the inscription ‘king of the Ainu, born in Lithuania 1866, † in Paris 1918’ (minted bronze, diameter 30 mm; one such medal, photographed for CWBP 4, is preserved in the Museum of Medalist Art (Muzeum Sztuki Medalierskiej), branch of the City Museum of Wrocław). A Polish translation of the article on Lithuanian crosses was published, together with an article on wayside chaplets written by Jan Wiktor (1890–1967), a novelist and politician whose prose focused on regions close and similar to Podhale, and with a biography of Bronisław Piłsudski by Talko-Hryncewicz, in a separate booklet in 1922. A Russian translation of the article was printed in 2002.

As a by-product of the ICRAP Project, Adomas Varnas’s hand-made photo album of 1926 was prepared for publication and, with an essay on the relations between Varnas and Piłsudski included as special introductory material, was for the first time published in 2005 in Poznań.

Staying in Rapperswil, Freiburg im Üchtland, and Lausanne, and extensively traveling (Bronisław is said to have visited Vevey, Clarens, Zurich, and Geneva), Piłsudski also lectured. According to Kowalski 1995, 17 and Florkowska-Frančić 2003, 195, he delivered lectures on ‘Poles in Siberia’ in Lausanne and Geneva in February of 1917, and his lecture at Freiburg on ‘Japan’ illustrated with some picture show<sup>22</sup> was announced for 14 March 1916. The text on the ‘Poles in Siberia’ was printed in twelve instalments from 9 May to 25 July 1918 in the Polish-language weekly *Jeniec Polak* (‘Polish POW’, literally, ‘a prisoner of war of Polish nationality’) published in a POW camp in Le Puy, Département de la Haute Loire, in France, and also as a separate booklet also issued by the *Jeniec Polak* publishing office. It is not out of place here to observe that, again (cf. above), the entrance fee for the talk on the Poles in Siberia was collected to support ‘Henryk Sienkiewicz orphanages (*Ochronki im. H. Sienkiewicza*) founded in Irkutsk by the Polish–Lithuanian Society’.<sup>23</sup>

Piłsudski also co-worked in Switzerland on an enormous project labeled *Encyclopédie Polonaise*, allegedly writing many contributions to consecutive fascicles published. The background for this activity has been described by Kowalski 1992, 15f., Florkowska-Frančić 2003, 189ff. The concept and possibilities (financing,

<sup>22</sup> In Polish *obrazy świetlne* (slides [?]), on a leaflet providing information about Polish lectures at Freiburg University cited by Florkowska-Frančić (*ibid.*).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. note concluding the text in the booklet publication of *Polacy w Syberji* (1918, 36).

availability of authors, political developments, and interpersonal conflicts) were constantly changing, but five volumes, in seventeen books, of the *Encyclopédie* were ultimately published (cf. Fedorowicz, et al. 2006, 40–2 and Wilgat-Olszewska 1986, 336–7).

It is neither obvious nor clear what exactly Bronisław's genuine contribution was to the project because the authorship of particular portions of consecutive fascicles and volumes is in principle not indicated. Kowalski 1995, 17 wrote that '[a]fter his death Piłsudski was unofficially credited with having edited a substantial part of the endeavour: an article on ethnography and another one on archeology, an overview of the educational system as well as the entire chapters devoted to the economy of the Lithuanian and Ukrainian parts of the Russian Empire. He was also the author of a chapter on mineral water resources and resorts'. Sieroszewski 1914–21, xxix quoted a letter from Edouard Cros (cf. below) according to which Piłsudski prepared for the encyclopaedia the following material: '1) article on ethnography, 2) article on archaeology, 3) the entire part on the economic life in Lithuania and Ukraine, 4) monograph on schools in Lithuania and Ukraine'.

In part four of volume three ('Economic Life of Poland') of the *Encyclopédie* published as a separate book entitled *Vie économique de la Lithuanie et de la Ruthénie* extending over 142 pages of very dense print, with numerous statistical tables, maps, etc., released in 1919, the authorship has not been indicated, but in the integrated volume 3 of the encyclopaedia released in the same year the very same text in the same type setting is reproduced under the title 'Quatrième partie: Lithuanie et Ruthénie' and the table of contents (p. xxv) clarifies that the text was prepared entirely by 'Bronislas Ginet-Piłsudski' (sic!) and only checked/reviewed and complemented by Constantin Skirmunt and Count Jan Żółtowski. As far as volume two is concerned, in a note at the beginning of its 1920 'tentative edition', *Territoire et population de la Pologne*, one reads that the edition 'constituting a part of volume two of our Encyclopaedia comes from the pen of Mr. Mr. [Edouard W.] Janczewski, [Stanislas] Dobrzycki, Br[onisław] Piłsudski [sic!], [Stefan L.] Zaleski, [Włodzimierz] Waker, and [Adam] Skiro. The fourth and last part of the present volume (emigration and Polish colonies abroad, by Count [Jean] Żółtowski [President of the Editorial Board], Br[onisław] Piłsudski, Prince [Joseph] Puzyna and Dr. E[douard] Cros [Secretary to Editorial Board]), is in press. Fribourg, March 1920'. The authorship of chapter 2 of the volume entitled 'Inhabitants. 1. archaeology, 2. ethnography and anthropology, 3. dialects' (pp. 22–57) is clearly indicated as attributed to 'Bronislas Ginet-Piłsudski [sic!] and Dr. Stanislas Dobrzycki'. The name Bronislas Ginet-Piłsudski is listed also in vol. 1 fasc. 3 among twenty-six names of authors of 'the first volume of the Encyclopaedia' (pp. xi–xii, 'Avis de la Rédaction' dated

April 1917) and in vol. 1 fasc. 6 also among twenty-six names of authors of ‘the first fascicles of the Encyclopaedia’ (pp. xi–xii, ‘Avis...’ dated September 1917).<sup>24</sup> Many of the authors listed were well known members of the Polish aristocracy, politicians, and scholars (among them Jan Rozwadowski, the academic supervisor of Bronisław’s 1912 *Materials...*, cf. above).

### Conclusions

As can easily be seen from the facts and argumentation presented in this paper, Bronisław Piłsudski manifested and demonstrated his genuine *Lithuanian* roots, ties, and patriotism not only through mere declarations, but also through his political and social involvement and activities for the sake of his *Lithuanian* compatriots and in his writings as well. His contribution to scholarship is now considered unchallenged and of prime importance on a global scale. As far as his ethnic and national identity is concerned, he himself not only declared but proved to be both Polish and Lithuanian at the same time. Thus, he unquestionably deserves the same high position in Polish as well as in Lithuanian annals of Oriental studies. He also belongs to Lithuania—and Lithuania can and should be proud of him.

Bronisław’s ties with Vilnius University were at the same time nonexistent (the university did not exist as such between 1832 and 1919) and very close: in 1877–85 he attended the state First Vilna Gymnasium located in the university buildings.

### References and selected bibliography

- Asakura Toshimitsu, et al. (eds) 1985. *Proceedings of the International Symposium on B. Piłsudski’s Phonographic Records and the Ainu Culture. September 1620, 1985*, Sapporo: Hokkaido University.
- Asakura Toshimitsu 朝倉利光, Ifukube Tōru 伊福部達編集 (eds) 1986. *Piusutsuki rokuon rōkan kenkyū-no ayumi—Shōwa 58nen—Shōwa 61nen* ピウスツキ録音蠟管研究の歩み、昭和 58 年—昭和61 年 [Documentation of research on a reconstruction of B. Piłsudski’s wax-cylinder phonographic records], Sapporo: Hokkaido University Institute of Applied Electricity 北海道大学応用電気研究所.
- Bajor, Alwida Antonina 1995. *Piorun, jezioro czerwone—Zulów wczoraj i dziś* [Perunas, the red lake—the past and present of Zulów/Zalavas in Lithuania (the birthplace of the Piłsudskis)], [Vilnius]: Wydawnictwo Polskie w Wilnie.
- Bañcerowski, Jerzy 1964. ‘Zapisy fonograficzne Ajnów’ [Phonographic records of the Ainu language], *Biuletyn Fonograficzny* 6: 91–6.
- Basanavičius, J[onas] 1912. ‘Lietuvių kryžiai archaiologijos šviesoje—Essai archéologique sur les Croix lithuaniennes’, in Jaroševičius 1912, 5–30.

<sup>24</sup> The lists differ by two names only.

- Batchelor, John 1926. *An Ainu-English-Japanese dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Tokyo: Kyobunkan, London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner, Co.
- ジン バチラー 1938. *An Ainu-English-Japanese dictionary* アイヌ 英 和辭典, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店 [the copy used was Iwanami Shoten 3<sup>rd</sup> printing of 1995].
- Bernotienė, Stasė, et al. (ed.) 1993. *Lietuvių liaudies menas. Lithuanian Folk Art. Литовское народное искусство: rinktinis tomas: albumas*, vol. 1, Vilnius: Vaga.
- Bialopetravičienė, Laima 1997. *Lietuvių dailė 1907–1914. Paroda skirta lietuvių dailės draugijos devyniasdešimtmečiui. Katalogas* [Lithuanian art, 1907–14. Exhibition catalogue], Vilnius: Lietuvos dailės muziejus.
- Buračas, Antanas, Antanas Stravinskas 1998. *Kryždirbystė Lietuvoje—Sacral Arts in Lithuania*, Vilnius: Valstybės žinios.
- CWBP 1 — see Majewicz 1998.
- CWBP 2 — see Majewicz 1998.
- CWBP 3 — see Majewicz 2004.
- CWBP 4 — see Majewicz 2007.
- Fitzhugh, William W., Chisato O. Dubreuil (eds) 1999. *Ainu. Spirit of a Northern People*, Washington: National Museum of Natural History (Smithsonian Institution) and University of Washington Press.
- Florkowska-Frančić, Halina 2000. 'Bronisław Piłsudski—ostatnie lata życia w Szwajcarii i Paryżu (1915–1918)' [B. Piłsudski's last years in Switzerland and Paris], Paper presented at the Symposium 'Bronisław Piłsudski (1866–1918), człowiek—uczony—patriota', Zakopane, October 20–21, 2000. [Published in Liscar, Sarkowicz 2003, 185–210.]
- Frączak, Witold 1987. 'Józef Vaina z Puńska i jego zbiory etnograficzne' [Juozas Vajna from Puńsk and his ethnographical collections], in Zygmunt J. Przychodzień (ed.), *Kultura wsi puńskiej: materiały konferencyjne. Punsko kaimo kultūra: konferencijos medžiaga*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo ZSL, 62–72.
- Galaunė, Paulius 1930. *Lietuvių liaudies menas: jo meninių formų plėtojimosi pagrindai* [Lithuanian folk art], Kaunas: L. U. Humanitarinių mokslų fakultetas.
- Hattori Shirō 服部 四郎編 (ed.) 1964. *Ainugo hōgen jiten. An Ainu Dialect Dictionary, with Ainu, Japanese and English Indexes* アイヌ語方言辞典, Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店.
- Hawes, Charles H. 1904. *In the Uttermost East, Being an Account of Investigations among the Natives and Russian Convicts of the Island of Sakhalin, with Notes of Travel in Korea, Siberia, and Manchuria*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. (Reprint: New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1970. Russian translation: Чарльз Хоуз 2003. *На восточной окраине*, Южно-Сахалинск: Сахалинское книжное издательство.)
- IINBP — *Известия Института наследия Бронислава Пилсудского* [Bulletin of the Bronisław Piłsudski Heritage Institute] 1 (1998), 2 (1999), 3 (1999), 4 (2000), 5 (2001), 6 (2002), 7(2004), 8 (2004), 9 (2005), 10 (2006), 11 (2007), 12 (2008), 13 (2009), 14 (2010).
- Inoue Koichi (ed.) 1999. 'Dear Father!'—a collection of B. Piłsudski's letters, et alii, edited, compiled, translated, annotated and written by Inoue Koichi [preprint], Pilsudskiana de Sapporo 1, Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University.
- 2003 [1999]. 'F. Boas and an "Unfinished Jesup" on Sakhalin Island. Shedding New Light on Bertold Laufer and Bronisław Piłsudski', in *Constructing Cultures Then and Now: Celebrating Franz Boas and the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, ed. Laurel Kendall and

- Igor Krupnik, Washington: Arctic Studies Center, American Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 135–63.
- [Inoue Kōichi, et al.] Karafuto Ainu Kyōkai 樺太アイヌ協会 (eds) 2002. *Karafuto ainu-no dentō bunka. Piusutsuki korekushon-yori* 樺太アイヌの伝統文化。ピウスツキ・コレクションより [Folklore and culture of the Sakhalin Ainu—as reflected in Bronisław Piłsudski's collections], Sapporo: Hokkaidō Shuppan Kikaku Sentā 北海道出版企画センター.
- Janta-Połczyński, Aleksander 1936. *Ziemia jest okrągła* [The earth is round, reminiscences of a journey around the world, with description of a visit to the Polish community in Sakhalin and an encounter with Bronisław Piłsudski's Ainu family and friends in the winter of 1933], Warszawa: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze 'Rój'.
- Jaroševičius, Antanas 1912. *Lietuvių kryžiai* [Lithuanian crosses], Vilnius: J. Zavadzki spaustuvė.
- Kaczmarek, Leon 1953. 'Fonograf na usługach dialektologii i etnografii muzycznej w Polsce' [Phonograph in the service of dialectology and ethnomusicology in Poland], *Biuletyn Fonograficzny* 1: 19–54.
- Kargaudienė, Aušra 1999. 'Adomo Varno kryžių istorija' [The story of Adomas Varnas's crosses], *Literatūra ir menas*, sausio 30 d., Nr. 5 (2729): 9.
- 1999a. 'Adamo Varno rinkinys Nacionaliniame M.K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejuje' [Adomas Varnas' collection in the National M.K. Čiurlionis Museum of Art in Kaunas], in *Lietuvių etnografijos ikonografija. I konferencija, 1998: straipsnių rinkinys*, sud. Birutė Kulnytė, Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, 35–9.
- Katō Kyūzō 加藤九祚, Kotani Yoshinobu 小谷凱宣編 (eds) 1987. *Piusutsuki shiryō-to hoppō shominzoku bunka-no kenkyū* ピウスツキ資料と北方諸民族文化の研究 [Studies on B. Piłsudski's materials related to Northern peoples], Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology 民族学博物館.
- Khramtsova 2000 — Храмова, А.Т. *Завещано: сохранить и приумножить. 110 лет со дня открытия, 55 лет с именем В. К. Арсеньева* ['Preserve and enrich': 110 years since the opening, 55 years with the name of V. K. Arsenyev. The Festschrift of the Vladivostok State Museum], Владивосток: Приморский государственный объединенный музей имени В.К. Арсеньева.
- Kobko 1999 — Кобко, Вера В. 'Каталог коллекций Б.О. Пилсудского в Приморском государственном объединенном музее им. В. К. Арсеньева' [Catalogue of B. Piłsudski's collections preserved in the Vladimir Arsenyev Integrated Maritime Region State Museum in Vladivostok], *Известия Института наследия Бронислава Пилсудского* 2: 3–152.
- Kontrimas, Česlovas 1991. *Lietuvos geležiniai kryžiai* [Lithuanian iron crosses], Vilnius: Mintis.
- Kovalskis, Vitoldas Aleksandras [Witold Kowalski] 1992. 'Bronislavas Ginetas Pilsudskis (1866–1918)', *Švyturys* 9–10: 10–2.
- Kowalski, Witold 1995. 'The European Calendarium (Bronisław Ginet-Piłsudski in Europe 1906–1918)', *Linguistic and Oriental Studies from Poznań* 2: 7–19.
- 2009. *The Price of Conscience. A Commentary on Bronisław Piłsudski's My Curriculum Vitae*, ed. Koichi Inoue and Kazuhiko Sawada, *Pilsudskiana de Sapporo* 3, Saitama: Kazuhiko Sawada.
- Kreiner, Josef, Hans-Dieter Ölschleger 1987. *Ainu. Jäger, Fischer und Sammler in Japans Norden. Ein Bestandskatalog der Sammlung des Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museums*, *Ethnologica. Neue Folge* 12, Köln: Das Museum. (Dutch edition: *De Ainoe. Jagers, vissers en plukkers*



- uit Noord-Japan, Brussel: Gemeentekrediet. Japanese edition: *Ainu. Nihon-no hokuhennō shuryō, gyo, saishū-no tami*(~ min) アイヌ。日本の北辺の狩猟、漁、採集の民, Urakawa.)
- Kubodera Itsuhiko 久保寺逸彦著 1977. *Ainu-no bungaku* アイヌの文学 [Ainu literature], Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店.
- (comp. and ed.) 1977a. *Ainu jojishi: shin'yō, seiden-no kenkyū* アイヌ叙事詩 神謡・聖伝の研究 [Studies in the Ainu oral tradition], Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店.
- 2004. *Kubodera Itsuhiko chosakushū 2. Ainu minzoku-no bungaku-to seikatsu* 久保寺逸彦著作集2。アイヌ民族の文学と生活 [Collected Works of Itsuhiko Kubodera, vol. 2: Literature and life of the Ainu people], Tōkyō: Sōfūkan 草風館.
- Kuczyński, Antoni 1999. “Kochany i drogi Wujaszku”. *Listy Bronisława Piłsudskiego do Stanisława Witkiewicza* [B. Piłsudski's letters to his uncle Stanisław Witkiewicz], *Literatura Ludowa* 43, 1: 55–66.
- Langer, Antoni [manuscript]. *Pieśni ludowe z Podhala... Zbiór K. Tetmajera, B. Piłsudskiego, pani Giżyckiej* [Folksongs from Podhale region as collected by Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer, Bronisław Piłsudski, Ms. Bronisława Giżycka], Mss. preserved in the Tatra Museum in Zakopane.
- Latyshev 2008 — Латышев, Владислав Михайлович. *Сахалинская жизнь Бронислава Пилсудского. Прологомена к биографии* [Sakhalin period in the life of Bronisław Piłsudski—Prolegomena to a biography], Южно-Сахалинск: Сахалинское книжное издательство.
- Latyshev, Vladisav Mikhailovich, Inoue Kōichi 井上宏一 2002. *Народное искусство сахалинских айнов. Sakhalin Ainu Folk Craft — Karafuto ainu-no mingū* 樺太アイヌの民具, Sapporo: Hokkaidō Shuppan Kikaku Sentā 北海道出版企画センター.
- Latyshev, Prokofiev 1988 — Латышев, Владислав Михайлович, Михайл Михайлович Прокофьев. *Каталог этнографических коллекций Б.О. Пилсудского в Сахалинском областном краеведческом музее* [Catalogue of B. Piłsudski's collections preserved in the Sakhalin Regional Museum], Южно-Сахалинск: Сахалинский областной краеведческий музей.
- 2006. *Каталог этнографических коллекций Б.О. Пилсудского в Сахалинском государственном областном краеведческом музее (1898–1899, 1903–1905 гг.)* [Catalogue of B. Piłsudski's ethnographic collections of 1898–1899 and 1903–1905 preserved in the Sakhalin Regional Museum], Южно-Сахалинск: Сахалинский областной краеведческий музей, Институт наследия Бронислава Пилсудского.
- Liscar, Anna, Magdalena Sarkowicz (eds) 2003. *Bronisław Piłsudski (1966–1918). Człowiek–Uczony–Patriota* [Man. Scholar. Patriot], Zakopane: Towarzystwo Muzeum Tatrzańskiego, Muzeum Tatrzańskie im. Dra Tytusa Chałubińskiego.
- Majewicz, Alfred F 1987 [1985]. ‘The ICRAP Project Concerning B. Piłsudski's Work on Peoples and Languages of Sakhalin and Lower Amur’, *Lingua Posnaniensis* 28: 109–15.
- 1992. ‘Twins, or the problem of reliability in Ainu studies’, in *Nenrin-Jahresringe. Festgabe für Hans A. Dettmer*, ed. Klaus Müller, Wolfram Naumann, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 103–5.
- 1992a. ‘Grammatical person in Ainu folkloristic narratives’, in *Pan-Asiatic Linguistics. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Language and Linguistics*, vol. 1, ed. Sudaporn Luksaneeyanawin, et al., Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 198–204. (Re-published in *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego. Bulletin de la Société Polonaise de Linguistique* 49 (1993): 77–82.)



- 1998. *The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski*, vol. 1: The Aborigines of Sakhalin [CWBP 1], vol. 2: Ainu Language and Folklore Materials [CWBP 2], Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter, xvii+792, xv+872.
- 1999. ‘Загадка одного портрета и одной дружбы. Адомас Варнас и Бронислав Пилсудский’, *Известия Института наследия Бронислава Пилсудского* 3: 151–5.
- 2001. ‘Bronisław Piłsudski, Adomas Varnas, and the Lithuanian Crosses’, in Majewicz, Wicherkiewicz 2001, 75–81.
- (ed.) 2004. *The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski*, vol. 3: Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore (pt. 2) [CWBP 3], reconstructed, transl. and ed. by Alfred F. Majewicz, with the assistance of Elżbieta Majewicz, Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2004.
- 2007. *The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski*, vol. 4: Materials for the Study of Tungusic Languages and Folklore [CWBP 4], ed. Alfred F. Majewicz, with the assistance of Larisa V. Ozoliņa, Mikhail D. Simonov, Tatyana Bulkhakova, Elżbieta Majewicz, Tatyana Roon, Tomasz Wicherkiewicz, and Werner Winter, IEOS Preprint 42, Szeged: International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies.
- Majewicz, Alfred F., Tomasz Wicherkiewicz (eds) 2001. *Bronisław Piłsudski and Futabatei Shimēi—an Excellent Charter in the History of Polish–Japanese Relations. Materials of the Third International Conference on Bronisław Piłsudski and His Scholarly Heritage, Kraków–Zakopane 29/8–7/9 1999*, Linguistic and Oriental Studies from Poznań Monograph Supplement 7, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Małachowicz, Edmund 1993. *Cmentarz na Rossie w Wilnie* [Rasos cemetery in Vilnius], Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- M.[a]ž[iulis], A., A. V[y]t[autas] [s.d.]. ‘Piłsudskiai ..., 1. Bronislovas’, in *Lietuvių enciklopedija*, 22 t.: Pareiškimas–pinay, Boston: Lietuvių enciklopedijos leidykla, 537.
- Murasaki Kyōko 村崎恭子 1976. *Karafuto ainugo* カラ村フトアイヌ語 [Sakhalin Ainu language—texts], Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会.
- 1979. *Karafuto ainugo bumpō-hen* カラ村フトアイヌ語 – 文法篇 [Sakhalin Ainu grammar], Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会.
- (trans., ed.) 2001. *Asai Take kōjutsu Karafuto ainu-no mukashibanashi tuytah* 浅井タケ口述樺太アイヌの昔話 [Sakhalin Ainu traditions as told by the late Ms. Take Asai], Tōkyō: Sōfūkan 草風館.
- [Ogihara Shinko 荻原真子, Chuner M. Taksami] SPb-Ainu Project Group SPb アイヌプロジェクト調査団 (eds) 1998. *Айнские коллекции Музея антропологии и этнографии им. Петра Великого (Кунсткамера) Российской академии наук—каталог / Ainu collections of Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Russian Academy of Sciences—catalogue / Roshia kagaku akademii jinrui-gaku minzokugaku hakubutsukan shozō ainu shiryō mokuroku* ロシア科学アカデミー人類民族学博物館所蔵アイヌ資料目録, Tōkyō: Sōfūkan 草風館.
- Ogihara Shinko 荻原真子解説, Tangiku Itsuji 丹菊逸治翻刻 (eds) 2001. ‘Sentoku Tarōji-no Piusutsuki-ate shokan—niśpa-e-no kiriru-moji-no tegami’ 千徳太郎治のピウスツキ宛書簡, ニシパへのキリル文字の手紙 [Sentoku Tarōji’s letters to Mr. Piłsudski written in Russian characters], *Chiba Daigaku Yūrashia Gengo Bunka Ronshū* 千葉大学ユーラシア言語文化論集 4: 187–226.
- Ohnuki-Thierney, Emiko 1974. *The Ainu of the northwest coast of southern Sakhalin*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Wilson (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Prospect Hills, IL: Waveland Press, 1984).
- Ostašenkovas, Aleksandras 1993. *Kryžiu kalnas* [Hill of the Crosses], Šiauliai: Interstatyba.

- Perkovskis, Juzefas 1999. *Žemaičių liaudies meno ornamentas: forma ir simbolika* [Samogitian folk ornamentation: forms and symbols], Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla.
- Philippi, Donald L. 1979. *Songs of Gods, Songs of Humans. The Epic Tradition of the Ainu*, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- Piłsudski, Bronisław 1896. 'Обзоръ погоды въ селеніи Рыковскомъ на острове Сахалинь въ 1895 г.—(по новому стилю)' [Weather survey in the settlement of Rykovskoye on the island of Sakhalin in the year 1895], in *Сахалинскій календарь и матеріалы къ изученію Сахалина 1896*, [Александровск:] Печатано въ Типографіи на о-ве Сахалинь, 101–6.<sup>25</sup>
- 1897. 'Обзоръ погоды въ селеніи Рыковскомъ Тымвкаго округа въ 1896 году (по новому стилю)' [Weather survey in the settlement of Rykovskoye in the Tym Region in the year 1896], *Сахалинскій календарь и матеріалы къ изученію Сахалина 1897*, [Александровск:] Печатано въ Типографіи на о-ве Сахалинь, 160–73.
- 1898. 'Нужды и потребности сахалинскихъ гиляковъ' [Wants and needs of the Sakhalin Nivhgu], *Записки Приамурскаго отдела Императорскаго русскаго географическаго общества*, т. 4, вып. 4, Хабаровск: Типографія Канцеляріи Приамурскаго Генерал-Губернатора, 1–38. (Re-edition as *Аборигены Сахалина*, 1992, 13–74; English translation in CWBP 1: 105–36 and 691.)
- 1906. 'Karafuto ainu-no jōtai' 樺太アイヌの狀態 [The situation of the Sakhalin Ainu], *Sekai* 世界 25: 8–13 [introductory material]; 26: 57–66; 27: 42–9. (Reprinted in Wicherkiewicz 1993, 61–90; Polish translation *ibid.*, 91–117; cf. also CWBP 1: 271–95.)
- 1909. 'Poród, ciąża i poronienia u tubylców wyspy Sachalinu, część II' [Delivery, pregnancy and miscarriages among the aboriginal inhabitants of Sakhalin, Part two], *Głos Lekarzy*, Lwów: 1–13; also separatum (for English translation see CWBP 1: 362–90).
- 1911. *Poezja Gilaków* [Nivhgu poetry], Lwów: Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze (separatum from *Lud* 17, 2–3: 95–123; for English translation see CWBP 1: 143–82 and 691–701).
- 1912. *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore*, Cracow: Spółka Wydawnicza Polska, Imperial Academy of Sciences. (Reprinted in CWBP 2: 1–272.)
- 1918. *Polacy w Syberji* [Poles in Siberia], Le Puy: Jeniec Polak (also in instalments in the weekly *Jeniec Polak* nos 32–43 (1918): [always pp.] 2–3).
- 1922. 'Krzyże litewskie' [Lithuanian crosses], in Piłsudski, Wiktor 1922, 1–21.
- 1992. *Bronisław Piłsudski's Sakhalin Nivhgu Glossary*, prepared for print and edited by Aleksandr B. Ostrovskiy and Alfred F. Majewicz, ПЕОС Preprint 2, Stęszew: International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies. (Re-editions: Iam Thongdee, et al. (eds), *Pan-Asiatic Linguistics. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium on Language and Linguistics, January 8–10, 1996*, vol. 4, Salaya: Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development, Mahidol University, 1996, 1554–78; in Russian as 'Словарь сахалинских нивхов Бронислава Пилсудского', *Известия Института наследия Бронислава Пилсудского* 11 (2007): 3–19.)

<sup>25</sup> Bibliographical verification of the publication 'О климате Тымовского округа' [Climate in Tymovskiy Region] allegedly authored by B. Piłsudski and printed in 1886 in Khabarovsk *Записки Приамурскаго отдела Императорскаго Русскаго географическаго общества*, vol. 1, (cf. Katō Kotani 1987, 101) proved for this author negative: in fascicle (выпускъ) 4, 1–66 one finds the work 'Сводъ метеорологическихъ наблюдений въ сел. Рыковскомъ на о. Сахалинь' [Tabularized summary of meteorological observation results in the settlement of Rykovskoye on Sakhalin] by [Ivan Pavlovich] Yuvachov (1860–1940), Bronisław's work companion at meteorological stations, and no trace of any text by Piłsudski.

- 1996. *Materials for the study of the Nivhgu (Gilyak) language and folklore (Manuscript Facsimile)*, prefaced by Koichi Inoue and Alfred F. Majewicz, IIEOS Preprint 12, Sapporo: Hokkaido University Slavic Research Center, Stęszew: International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies.
- 1999. *Materials for the study of the Nivhgu (Gilyak) language and folklore (manuscript facsimile) II*, prefaced by Alfred F. Majewicz, IIEOS Preprint 12a, Stęszew: International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies.
- 2003. *Фольклор сахалинских нивхов* [Sakhalin Nivhgu folklore], Южно-Сахалинск: Сахалинское книжное издательство, Институт наследия Бронислава Пилсудского (Aleksandr Ostrovskiy's introduction, pp. 3–12).
- [s.d.]. *Dziennik 1982–1985* [Diary 1982–1985] [unpublished], Typescript copy as preserved in the PAU-PAN Academic Library in Cracow, copied from the typescript kept with the Pilsudski Institute Archives in New York, pp. 403.
- Pilsudski, Bronisław Ginet- 1916. 'Almen-Vieh-zucht im Tatra-Gebirge in Polen', *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 20 (Festschrift für Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer): 1–12.
- 1916a. 'Les croix Lithuanienes', *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 20 (Festschrift für Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer): 246–58 (Polish translation: Piłsudski 1922; Russian translation: 'Литовские кресты', *Известия Института наследия Бронислава Пилсудского* 2 (2003): 103–11).
- 1919. 'Vie économique de la Lithuanie et de la Ruthénie', in *Encyclopédie Polonaise*, vol. 3, pt. 4: Vie économique de la Pologne, Fribourg, Lausanne: [Comité des publications encyclopédiques sur la Pologne, Imprimeries Réunies S.A. à Lausanne], xvi+142. (Printed also as 'Lithuanie et Ruthénie', in *Encyclopédie Polonaise*, vol. 3: Vie économique de la Pologne, Lausanne, Paris: Librairie Payot, 1919, 607–750.)
- Piłsudski, Bronisław, Jan Wiktor 1922. *Kapliczki i krzyże przydrożne jako dzieło sztuki ludowej i potrzeba ich ochrony* [Wayside crosses and shrines], Kraków: Orli Lot.
- Piłsudski, Bronisław Ginet-, Staniśław Dobrzycki 1920. 'Habitants – 1. Archéologie – 2. Ethnographie et Anthropologie – 3. Dialects', in *Encyclopédie Polonaise*, vol. 2, pts 1–3: Territoire et population de la Pologne, Fribourg, Lausanne: Imprimeries Réunies S. A., 22–57+maps.
- [Purickis, Juozas] Vygandas 1927. 'Iš atsiminimų apie Bronių Piłsudskį' [From recollections on Bronisław Piłsudski], *Ilustruotoji Lietuva* 19 (72): 154–5. (Reprinted in *Švyturys* 9–10 (1992): 10.)
- Roon 2001 — Рoon, Татьяна Петровна. 'Фонографические записи Бронислава Пилсудского' [Bronisław Piłsudski's phonographic records], *Известия Института наследия Бронислава Пилсудского* 5: 154–61.
- Sakikawa Shin'ichirō 先川信一郎 1987. *Rōkan-no uta. Aru Karafuto ryūkeisha-no ashiato* ロウ管の歌。ある樺太流刑者の足跡 [A wax cylinder song—tracing a Sakhalin exile], Sapporo: Hokkaidō Shimbunsha 北海道新聞社.
- Sawada Kazuhiko, Koichi Inoue (eds) 2010. *A Critical Biography of Bronisław Piłsudski*, vols 1–2, Saitama: Saitama University.
- Sentoku Tarōji 千徳太郎治 1929. *Karafuto ainu sōwa* 樺太アイヌ叢話 [Stories about Sakhalin Ainu], Tōkyō: Ichikōdō 市光堂市川商店.
- 2000. Сэнтoku Тародзи. 'Письма Брониславу Пилсудскому' [Letters to Bronisław Piłsudski], *Известия Института наследия Бронислава Пилсудского* 4: 89–97.
- Shostakovich 1992 — Шостакович, Болеслав Сергеевич. 'Малоизвестные источники о жизни и деятельности на Сахалине Бронислава Пилсудского' [Little-known sources

- on the life and activities of Bronisław Piłsudski], in *Б.О. Пилсудский—исследователь народов Сахалина (Материалы международной научной конференции, 31 октября–2 ноября 1991 г. Южно-Сахалинск)* [Bronisław Piłsudski—explorer of the peoples of Sakhalin, proceedings of the 1991 Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk Second International Conference on B. Piłsudski], ред. Владислав Михайлович Латышев, Марина Ивановна Ищенко, т. 1–2, Южно-Сахалинск: Сахалинский областной краеведческий музей, 76–83.
- Shubina — Шубина, Ольга 1991. *Каталог выставки посвященной 125-летию со дня рождения Б.О. Пилсудского в Сахалинском областном краеведческом музее* [Catalogue of an exhibition to mark the 125<sup>th</sup> birthday of B. Piłsudski], Южно-Сахалинск: Сахалинский областной краеведческий музей.
- Sieroszewski, Wacław 1914–21. 'Bronisław Piłsudski, urodził się w Zułowie w pow. Świeciańskim, zmarł w roku 1918 w Paryżu' [Bronisław Piłsudski, born in 1866 in Zułów in the district of Świeciany, deceased 1918 in Paris; an obituary and remembrance], *Rocznik Podhalański* [1]: iii–xxx.
- Smilgys, Hubertas 1999. *Kryžių kalnas* [The Hill of the Crosses], Šiauliai: Saulės deltos.
- Swienko, Henryk 1973. 'Antropologia społeczna Bronisława Piłsudskiego' [Bronisław Piłsudski's social anthropology], *Prace Instytutu Nauk Ekonomiczno-Społecznych Politechniki Warszawskiej* 4: 85–117.
- 1979. 'Wkład Bronisława Piłsudskiego do etnografii religioznawczej' [Bronisław Piłsudski's contribution to the ethnography of religion], *Studia Religioznawcze* 14: 77–98.
- Tsushima Yuko (ed.) 1996. *Tombent, tombent les gouttes d'argent. Chants du peuple aïnou*, [Paris]: Gallimard.
- Vaina, Juozas, Sigitas Birgelis 1997. 'Kryžiai' [Crosses], in *Punsko ir Seinų krašto materialinė kultūra* [Lithuanian material culture of the Puńsk and Sejny regions], Puńsk: Aušra, 203–41.
- Varnas, Adomas 1926. *Lietuvos kryžiai—194ios fotografiškaï atliktos nuotraukos 1–2* [Lithuanian crosses on 194 photographs], Kaunas: Autoriaus leidinys.
- 1927. 'Bronius Piłsudskis', *Ilustruoti Lietuva* 19 (72): 160. (Reprinted in *Švyturys* 9–10 (1992): 10.)
- 1996. 'Adomo Varno korespondencija (1904–1909 metai)' [Adomas Varnas's correspondence, years 1904–1909], parengė Asta Giniūnienė, in *Asmuo: tarp tautos ir valstybės: Mykolo Römerio 120-osios metų metinėms*, Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos 8, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 386–406.
- 2005. *Krzyże litewskie* [Lithuanian crosses], prepared for publication and edited by Joanna Ostaszewska-Nowicka, with the participation of Alfred F. Majewicz and Zita Žemaitytė, Poznań: Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha.
- Vidmantas, Edvardas, et al. (eds) 2006. *Šilalės kraštas*, 7 t.: Šilalės valsčius [Šilalė county in the Šilalė (Polish Szytele) region], Vilnius: Margi raštai.
- Wicherkiewicz, Tomasz 1993. 'Краткий очерк экономического быта айнов на о. Сахалинъ' 「樺太アイヌの状態」 *Bronisława Piłsudskiego. Komparatywna analiza tekstów z ustaleniem ich genezy i chronologii* [Comparative analysis of B. Piłsudski's Japanese- and Russian-language articles on the economic life of the Sakhalin Ainu aiming at the establishment of their genesis and chronology], ПЕОС Monograph Series 5, Sęszew: International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies.
- Yamagishi Takashi 山岸嵩 1990. 'Yomigaeta rōkan' よみがえった《ロウ管》 [Reborn wax-cylinders], in *Shimpan, chūgaku kokugo* 新版中学国語 [Newly edited handbook of the national [i.e., Japanese] language for junior high schools, 2nd grade], ed. Kinoshita Junji

木下順二, Matsumura Akira 松村明, Shibata Takeshi 柴田武, Tōkyō: Kyōiku Shuppan 教育出版, 196–212.

Yčas, Martynas 1936. *Atsiminimai, nepriklausomybės kelias*, t. 3 [Recollections—the road to freedom, vol. 3], Kaunas: Netolimos praeities mėgėjai.

Zawistowicz, Kazimiera 1930. 'Bronisław Piłsudski 21.X.1866–17.V.1918', *Wiedza i Życie* 5, 1: 25–40.

Žemaitytė, Zita 1998. *Adomas Varnas. Gyvenimas ir kūryba* [Life and creative work of Adomas Varnas], Vilnius: Baltos lankos.

Alfred F MAJEWICZ, Habil. Dr. (majewicz@amu.edu.pl), professor at the Chair of Oriental Studies, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, and Copernicus University, Torun; director of the International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies (IIEOS), Stęszew, Poland

✉: International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies (IIEOS), PL-62-060 Stęszew, Poland