

FREEDOM OF PICTORIAL REPRESENTATION IN BOOKS

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For centuries freedom-of-speech issues have been dealt with by politicians and moralists, and lawyers have been busy formulating bans or fighting them. The respect for this obvious today human right to unlimited access to information has assumed different forms. But it has always aroused controversy. No wonder that researchers representing different disciplines have devoted much attention to these issues. In the context of the struggle for freedom of expression and freedom of access to information it is worth enquiring how pictures have been treated. Have they been given the same attention as text? Has the right to publish them been a subject of concern for all those who cared about freedom of speech?

One can assume that generally a work has been barred from public circulation because of its content expressed in words. But to what extent has the work's physical form – its editorial shape – been the subject of interest? It is also worth asking how have the illustrations connected with the text, and constituting a significant element for the work's reception and impact been treated?

In the light of the evidence available today, this has not been of primary concern for the authorities deciding about the dissemination of books. Information about the control of illustrations has usually been incidental to deliberations on the degree of freedom of verbal communication. This does not mean, however, that no control of pictures has existed. But its extent cannot be compared with that of the interventions in the verbal communication of content. The considerations presented below are an attempt at an outline of these undoubtedly interesting issues.

Already in the Middle Ages attempts were made to evaluate the functions of visual communication in the book. It is known that some of the illuminations created in Benedictine scriptoria sometimes stirred up scandal. And so Bernard of Clairvaux opposed the custom of richly illuminating liturgical manuscripts in which pictures unrelated to the Holy Scriptures, in his opinion, drew the soul away from true prayer. "In monasteries in the presence of reading brothers, what sense do these ridiculous monstrosities, the strange kind of beauty and the beautiful ugliness have? What are impure monkeys, wild lions and monstrous centaurs, half men, striped tigers, fighting

soldiers and hunters playing trumpets doing there” [22, 220]. In later periods pictures were assigned a special role. During the Counter-Reformation attention was drawn to the educational aspects of pictures and illustrations. In the 70s of the 16th century St. Charles Borromeo writing about what should be avoided and what should be aimed at in holy pictures emphasized the need for eliminating things which aroused so great interest that instead of stimulating the piety of the faithful dissuaded them from it and introduced confusion into their minds [23, 403].

According to the principle formulated by the Church Fathers in the Middle Ages and often quoted during the Counter-Reformation by the Jesuit Fabian Birkowski: “What writings give the readers, pictures give the simple folk who looking at them see what they ought to emulate and thus those who cannot read, read from them”. This applied to visual communication having an impact, with no words involved, on people who hardly ever read books. Hence the question arises whether other theologians and educators were concerned for the visual communication contained in the book as St. Bernard did. Sermons from the days of the Counter-Reformation indicate that priests were aware of the influence of illustrations on readers. They emphasized that illustrations should get across a pious message [9, 44–45]. The Congregation for the Index, which was an important instrument of the Counter-Reformation, issued more and more detailed guidelines which were to protect the faithful against the pernicious influence of books. In 1596 the *Rules of the Index* were supplemented with *Instructions* consisting of three chapters: *De prohibitione*, *De correctione* and *De impressione*, in which emphasis was laid on purging books of any attacks on the Church and of things offending against the standards of decency. The latter could be offended also by indecent pictures in the initials. Obviously special vigilance was required in the case of religious books. The point was that iconographic material was not to show secular and indecent things [3, 139–140; 16, 106]. Which means that to a certain degree the same concern was felt then as in the Middle Ages. The freedom to publish illustrations was restricted here by considerations labelled as *decency* which was understood very broadly. The Index of 1596, in the chapter *De correctione librorum*, ordered that “lewd and indecent pictures which may be offensive to the decencies” be removed from the dangerous, because of their content, books discussed in it. Pictures arousing the concern of censors must have been quite often inserted in the initials, following in a way the medieval tradition, since the authors of the Index warned against them in both the chapter on correcting books and in the chapter on printing: “printers must not print indecent pictures even in initials”. Printers were also reminded “not to use larger letters, i.e. initials, in which pictures showing any secular, let alone indecent, thing could be clearly seen” [8, 399; 3, 139–141; 16, 106]. *The Index of Banned Books* in its third edition published in Cracow in 1617, in chapter 51 entitled *De sacris imaginibus*, besides hints on what pictures are banned, also mentioned illustrations printed on

paper with commentaries, published by heretics, showing different events in the life of Christ [3, 144]. There is no explicit reference to any book but since the recommendations were published in the *Index* one can surmise that illustrations were carefully controlled, that the freedom of publication was also restricted in this respect. In 1621 the Synod of Cracow specified that pictures representing scenes from the life of Christ with German songs printed on them were banned because they mostly originated from heretics [23, 430]. And illustrations included in books sometimes demonstrated the consequences of publishing works not approved by the Church. One of the Counter-Reformation texts included a title print showing books in the hands of damned, drowning heretics [3, 209].

Pictures, duplicated in different ways, were an important instrument of propaganda, both religious and political. Disseminated by some, were condemned by others. Visually suggestive illustrations were exploited on a large scale by both the heretical movement and the Counter-Reformation movement. In the polemic literature there were plenty of satirical prints, which reached also Poland. The first outstanding series of biblical illustrations associated with the manifesto of the heretical movement were the wood engravings in *Postylia* by Mikołaj Rej, published in Cracow in 1557. Sometimes such illustrations had the character of a pamphlet – as in *The Parable of the False Prophets* where the false prophets were depicted as church dignitaries with lupine faces. There were also church dignitaries with the heads of swine or donkeys. The Catholic *Leopolita Bible*, the first edition of which appeared in Cracow in 1561, was to serve as a counterbalance to the Protestant vision. It is hard to determine to what degree economic reasons, tolerance or the lack of imagination decided that the publisher used the series of original wood engravings which had been previously published in Luther's *Bible* of 1534. They were, however, so modified as not to act against the Catholic vision of the Holy Scriptures [4, 106–107]. And so, for example, in the illustrations to the *Apocalypse* the Beast and the Great Harlot in the original had been depicted with tiaras on their heads. In the *Leopolita Bible* only the upper crowns were removed from the tiaras so that the characters were not associated with the pope. In one of the illustrations the Beast with the trimmed crowns is standing before two witnesses who are holding the Book and from whose mouths tongues of flame come out, standing for the Word of God. The witnesses are Luther and Melancton. After over twenty years since the publication of the first edition in Wittenberg, this was probably hardly noticeable in Cracow, as there were strict regulations forbidding the dissemination of pictures of heretics in editions approved by the church authorities. In the 70s of the 16th century the eminent Catholic theologian J.B. Cordon subjected the *Cosmography* by Sebastian Münster, published in Basel in 1550, to a “purifying” treatment: he ordered the removal of the names of heretics and all other heretical contexts found in that work. This applied also to the portrait of Desiderius Erasmus [21, 293–294].

The freedom of pictorial representation in books was also limited by the ageless concern for the decency of illustrations. The conviction that it was necessary to protect the standards of decency, also through the elimination and barring from dissemination of harmful publications, appeared in different periods, although the extent of such protection was differently understood. Attempts to determine what could be injurious to the standards of decency, and how illustrations could contribute to it, have always aroused strong emotions. Such attempts sharply intensified in the first half of the 19th century in which illustrated editions became fashionable. The measures dictated by religious considerations were with time augmented by justifications purporting to defend the standards of decency, the family and children. In the 40s of the 19th century lists of "bad books", updated every now and then, would appear in Brussels. Among the "bad books" there were also illustrated editions condemned for their prints. Beside the particular titles it was written that there was "much wickedness" in the illustrations, that they were "bad", "indecent", "dangerous and seductive". This judgment was passed on, for example, albums of Walter Scott's or Shakespeare's heroines, a very fashionable type of edition in those days. The readers were also advised to exercise caution when choosing such popular keepsakes. The danger arising from illustrations was clearly identified: "to lure people to novels and other dangerous products of the pen the best artists are employed to illustrate them. All of this is a dishonest transaction and depravity" [13, 98, 100-102, 254-255].

The breach of decency through duplicated materials was already mentioned in a French law of 1791 but it applied only to the exhibition or sale of obscene pictures. The society of the ancien regime was founded on three unquestionable values: the king, the religion and the decencies. With the Empire came also the respect for social peace. Writings which, in the opinion of the censors, undermined those pillars were fought. The censors were empowered by appropriate legal articles. Repressive censorship was applied and editions found to be immoral were confiscated. In the 80s of the 19th century and later it was recommended that also illustrated books be judged in the same way. The law of 1881, with later amendments, declared the freedom of print, but with several reservations which limited it to a certain degree. The later amendments toughened the regulations. The law provided for punishments for "an outrage against morals and a public act of indecency", administered to both those who sold and exhibited drawings, prints, paintings, or obscene pictures. Also books were subject to harsh judgment. The pictures inside a book as well as on its cover and dust jacket had to be examined. This probably was due to the belief that the cheaper, printed in a large number of copies and so more easily available, illustrated books posed a greater danger to the society's moral health. With time it came to the point that pictures were painstakingly scrutinized, neglecting the text. Photographers were subject to particularly close scrutiny [2, 31, 39]. Still greater vigilance was exercised by the morals

ensorship against publications, including illustrations, in France in the interwar period as a result of the activities of associations for the defence of the family, i.e. leagues for virtue [15, 96–97, 102–103].

Sometimes the fight against the immorality contained in illustrations assumed grotesque forms. In the first half of the 19th century in Warsaw, in Tsar Alexander I's time, there was a censor who out of concern for morals banned any illustrations showing women wearing above-the knee dresses in the books which he censored [14, 61–62].

It was mainly the content of illustrations which was subject to control. But there were also institutions which cared for the aesthetic value of the published pictures. This was usually associated with the function assigned to them. An outstanding example here is canon 1399 of the *Code of Canon Law* from the days when the *Index of Banned Books* was legally binding. The so-called general index enumerated in 12 points the types of banned books; in the last point the use of books which contained "images of Christ and the Saints reproduced in a slapdash manner" was forbidden. But not only in the Catholic circles directions were drafted for publishers to take care of the technical and aesthetic side of their production. Also recommendations originating from the Protestant circles are known. For instance, the Gdańsk City Council Ordinance of 1684 very precisely specified the requirements for the printers who were to take care of the technical and aesthetic side of prints. It is unknown, however, if the content of illustrations was given special attention [3, 103].

In absolutist or totalitarian states the principle that everything which was to be disseminated should be subjected to control was rigorously observed. A failure to perform this duty exposed the publisher to repressive measures, of which the confiscation of the uncensored edition was most often applied. Censorship was an instrument frequently used in periods of increasing political repression. Everywhere censorship activities were basically very similar. Visual communications were always judged for their political, social and moral implications, although in different periods the emphasis was differently placed. It was important to take into consideration the political interests of the neighbours or the allies, chosen or imposed. And so it happened that the authorities concerned about good relations with them, intervened in the texts of publications. And not only in the texts. They also approved or not approved illustrations. This became a timeless practice. One can quote here the legal term *crimen laesae maiestatis* – the crime of lese majesté which was often invoked in modern Europe, also in Poland. Among the many perpetrators of this crime there could be painters, graphic artists or publishers. Depending on the situation, interventions were made by representatives of foreign countries, treating them as part of the political game. For example, a group of envoys of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich Romanov to John II Casimir Vasa called into question various publications. The frontispiece to *Gestorum Glorissimi ac Invictissimi*

Vladislav IV, published in Gdańsk in 1647, with a depiction of the Smolensk victory of 1634 and the caption "Muscovy humiliated" aroused particularly great indignation. Also another work including a scene of the same victory, by David Tscherning, was mentioned. The envoys demanded that the books be burned together with their authors. After negotiations an agreement was reached to burn only some pages. The profanation of pictures, also on coins and seals, always was treated harshly [5, 609–611]. Was it not for the same reasons that censorship in the Polish People's Republic barred from dissemination some photographs featuring dignitaries of the allied countries?

The history of censorship in Poland is peculiar because of the political situation in the 19th century. In the country remaining under foreign rule the partitioners' laws of censorship were binding. In all kinds of censorship, regardless of whether it was preventive or repressive censorship, a sharp eye was kept on all iconic communications. Both their duplication and dissemination required permission from the proper authorities. But book illustrations as such received little attention.

The occupation authorities ruthlessly eradicated all manifestations of patriotic thought and sentiments. There is the well-known example of censors' action taken in Cracow in the early 30s of the 19th century against the album *24 Widoki miasta Krakowa i okolic* (24 Views of Cracow and the Surrounding Countryside) by the publisher D.E. Friedlein and the illustrator J.N. G³owacki. Already after the edition came out the police confiscated, having previously given permission for dissemination, the descriptions of three views because of their patriotic and national elements associated with the recent Polish November Insurrection. The starting point for the texts were monuments of the Polish culture, but the commentary made them dangerous for the occupying powers. Once the descriptions were revised, the sale of the album containing lithographs highly valued by connoisseurs could be resumed [1, 76–77]. The troubles had begun earlier when the Censorship Committee had decided "to verbally admonish Mr Friedlein, the bookseller, for keeping on sale prints relating to the period after 1830". Later he was advised to remove all such writings and prints from his warehouses [1, 38].

Also under Russian rule the principle that everything should be controlled was rigorously observed. The collected and systematized by Novosilov in the 20s of the 19th century principles of censorship covered everything what was printed and lithographed in the country and works imported from abroad as well as prints and pictures to be put on display. In 1833 all writings, prints and other works which had not received the censor's permission were barred from being put up for auction. Three years later this governmental control was extended to "medals, drawings, engravings, lithographs, sculptures, all emblematic representations manufactured in the country or imported from abroad" [19, 147, 153–154]. It goes without saying that that included pictures. Without permission from the office of censor a text or a picture, even devoid of any dissident content, could not be duplicated [24, 27].

The authorities were convinced that a picture could be dangerous – as evidenced by the increasingly more detailed and gradually toughened censorship regulations. They applied to the dissemination of both domestically created and imported prints or paintings, even those kept at homes. Illustrations in books did not have to be mentioned in the above regulations since books and magazines were very strictly controlled and the freedom of publishing pictures was out of the question. After the Polish January Insurrection the repression was increased, e.g. police censors even visited private homes and examined the interior decoration. In 1867 the chief of police issued a circular letter listing 73 historical pictures, landscapes, plans and portraits which were not allowed to be kept on private premises and in public establishments. These included, for example, the Defence of the Shrine of Jasna Góra by the Monks, John III in the Battle of Vienna, Napoleon I Granting the Grand Duchy of Warsaw a Constitution, A View of the Palace in Puławy, the Monument to Juliusz Słowacki in Paris and so on [19, 164–166].

Book dealers who tried to import art publications also faced difficulties. S. Tarnowski's works on Matejko, *Sto lat dziejów malarstwa w Polsce* (One Hundred Years of Painting in Poland) by J. Mycielski and the catalogue of Jan Styka's Paris exhibition, among others, were barred from sale. Publications in which pictures with not approved of titles, such as *Pochód na Sybir* (Procession of Deportees to Siberia), were reproduced were also blocked. In the case of some painters and graphic artists, as "not respecting the majesty of Russia", there was a ban on mentioning even their names [20, 90–91].

In the 80s, in Tsar Alexander III's time, extremely detailed censorship regulations were issued. Subject to censorial examination was all printed matter, including, among others, playing cards, visiting cards, advertisements in newspapers and also illustrations. Drawings on the covers of books were mentioned separately. This singling out is an interesting detail in the development of the book's layout and the functions of its particular components. In subsequent years further recommendations on what and why should be banned were produced. And not always political or moralistic reasons decided. For example, it was forbidden for religious reasons to put images of Christ on the covers of books and brochures [14, 150, 167–169]. The moral element became more and more important. The cover as such – this most noticeable part of the book, performing both information and advertising functions, was subject to rigorous scrutiny. And so the colourful cover of the brochure series novel *Krwawa Pani na Czachcicach* (The Bloody Lady of Czachcice), published in Cracow in around 1935, was subjected to moral censorship. The naked heroin of the first fascicles was "dressed" in the next instalments [7, 37].

The necessity of obtaining the censor's permission for publishing a book, and illustrations in it, was so obvious that it was mentioned only in passing in the book

trade's manual, in the chapter entitled *Wewnętrzny układ książki* (The Book's Internal Layout), and not in the previous one devoted to technical and artistic problems relating to illustrations. It was stated merely that after a decision to publish a manuscript "a neatly rewritten copy of it is submitted to censorship, together with the drawings, which must be attached to it". Only after the censorship formalities had been completed a decision was made about the book's final external form [18, 113]. And what the consequences of ignoring this law could be illustrates the case of the edition of Adam Mickiewicz's *Sonety* (Sonnets) published in Warsaw in 1895. It turns out that the entire edition was burnt (about 20 copies survived as the note on the copy kept in the Museum of Literature in Warsaw informs us) because the illustrations had not been censored. It is worth noting that the pictures themselves did not carry any dangerous content. They were traditional landscapes and schematically drawn pairs of young people [12]. This means that the content of the illustration was not unprintable but the fact that they had not been subjected to censorship was dangerous. Such practice had also been followed by bishop's courts in the previous centuries: certain books had been confiscated not for their content but because they had not been subjected to censorship.

There are few distinct traces of the intervention of censorship into illustrations. But an analysis of some editions indicates that probably because of censorship the illustrations had the peculiar character. It was probably censorship that influenced the form of the album supplement to *Potop* (Swedish Deluge) since it is otherwise hard to explain the lack of scenes referring to the defence of Częstochowa, the recapture of Warsaw from the Swedes, the meeting between the returning from exile John Casimir and Hetman Lubomirski and so on. Also Stefan Czarniecki, such an important hero for that story, was missing in the album [11, 326].

The censorship in the days of the Polish People's Republic was equally strict. Its cardinal feature was preventive control over all forms of social communication. The decree of 1946 specified that subject to control was the dissemination of all works through print, pictures and live words. Since the end of the 1940s to the middle of the 1950s the only criterion for the appraisal of art was the degree of commitment to the building of communism. But under such general assumptions, in that period and later the greatest difficulty for artists was the lack of clear-cut criteria. As today one can relatively easily examine the censorship internal instructions concerning texts, it is interesting to note that the information on illustrations is fragmentary. It is known that besides subjecting to control the texts themselves, publishing houses would apply for permission to print the cover, the inserts with illustrations or the information on the dust jacket's leaves [17, 105]. Censorship offices would initiate certain types of publications in which illustrations or fine artwork were to serve propaganda. And so in 1976 in the *Tasks for the Publishing Movement* it was stated that "it is necessary to prepare album publications devoted to the progressive traditions of the nation and the

traditions of the labour movement and publications depicting the achievements of the Polish People's Republic". It was also proposed to publish "a mass de luxe edition of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and its special edition for the needs of the state ceremonial" [6, 60].

It is hard to find, however, censorship instructions concerning illustrations intended for books. Such illustrations would probably be rejected without any elaborate justifications and it was difficult to establish any general procedures for this process. During training courses the censors' attention was drawn to the necessity of thorough examination of illustrative materials [6, 42]. The published censorship materials include reproductions of drawings, political in nature, "removed" from periodicals. Also morals censorship was active. A copy of *Instructional Materials* has survived, in which attention is drawn to illustrations and texts bordering on pornography. It was suggested that it was necessary to report to the proper office on any such materials which "clearly overstep the bounds of decency" [6, 163]. A lot of weight was attached to censoring photographs. The latter were published in periodicals, but also in book editions. The censorship of photographs was not based on such detailed instructions as in the case of texts, but on arbitrary principles, on very fluid picture evaluation criteria. But the censor had to be very careful not to fall into disfavour with the authorities since he/she, unlike the text censors, had no instructions to help him [25, 3–4]. But there were certain suggestions concerning the censorship of photographs. For example, an instruction from 1976 stated that "any photographs of the First Secretary of the Central Committee and other members of the Party's leadership, prior to their publication have to be approved by the Department of the Press, Radio and Television..." [6, 23]. This special attitude towards photographs was based on the conviction that their documentary nature has an extraordinary power of influence. But the conviction about the photographic picture's objectivity must also be called into question. The propaganda of the totalitarian states manipulated also photographs by retouching and doctoring them. One of the notorious examples of such allegedly objective records of reality is the photograph of the capture of the Winter Palace by the Bolsheviks in October of 1917. Featured in countless history textbooks, booklets about the Revolution, works published all over the world, the photograph was actually taken in 1920 during the demonstration organized to commemorate this event [10, 39–41].

If the impact of the picture is so powerful, how can one explain the fact that in regulatory writings, the picture censorship practice and the acceptability of pictures for publication in books received less attention? The pictures functioning outside the book were subject to strict control and were covered by censorship regulations. They could not be disseminated without permission. All what was needed was to extend the control to prints in books, but such prints were not distinguished in any way. This means that after all more weight was attached to words. If illustrations were barred from circu-

lation for some reason, the reason was usually the accompanying text. But sometimes pictures were banned when the text was merely a commentary but was injurious to morality or to the state's political alliances.

Finally, it is worth asking the question whether the fact that the censorship of the pictures contained in books (such censorship was certainly practiced but was not described in detail) is less documented is due to verbocentrism and the conviction that it is easier to control the written word than the underspecified picture? After all there was an awareness of the picture's persuasiveness. Perhaps it was assumed that if the words contained in the book were permitted to be disseminated, then the accompanying pictures stemming from them could not be harmful?

Illustrated magazines received much harsher treatment. Their key feature was considered to be their topicality. Political messages, but also ones relating to morality, were regarded to be central to them. One can assume that illustrated magazines were treated similarly as formerly fliers, including propaganda leaflets. No wonder then that the censorship of the illustrations in magazines was considerable already in the 19th century, i.e. since the beginning of their mass production.

It appears that the freedom of pictorial representation in books needs to be investigated further. Besides adding to the knowledge of the censorship mechanisms, such research may significantly contribute to the knowledge of the functioning of illustrations and their reception over the ages.

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MAŁGORZATA KOMZA

Abstract

In the context of the struggle for freedom of expression and freedom of access to information it is worth enquiring how pictures have been treated. Have they been given the same attention as text? Has the right to publish them been a subject of concern for all those who cared

about freedom of speech? One can assume that generally a work has been barred from public circulation because of its content expressed in words. But to what extent has the work's physical form – its editorial shape – been the subject of interest? It is also worth asking how have the illustrations connected with the text, and constituting a significant element for the work's reception and impact been treated? Already in the Middle Ages attempts were made to evaluate the functions of visual communication in the book. It is known that some of the illuminations created in Benedictine scriptoria sometimes stirred up scandal. Sermons from the days of the Counter-Reformation indicate that priests were aware of the influence of illustrations on readers. They emphasized that illustrations should get across a pious message. The Congregation for the Index, which was an important instrument of the Counter-Reformation, issued more and more detailed guidelines which were to protect the faithful against the pernicious influence of books. Pictures, duplicated in different ways, were an important instrument of propaganda, both religious and political. Disseminated by some, were condemned by others. Visually suggestive illustrations were exploited on a large scale by both the heretical movement and the Counter-Reformation movement. In the polemic literature there were plenty of satirical prints, which reached also Poland. The freedom of pictorial representation in books was also limited by the ageless concern for the decency of illustrations. The conviction that it was necessary to protect the standards of decency, also through the elimination and barring from dissemination of harmful publications, appeared in different periods, although the extent of such protection was differently understood. In absolutist or totalitarian states the principle that everything which was to be disseminated should be subjected to control was rigorously observed. A failure to perform this duty exposed the publisher to repressive measures, of which the confiscation of the uncensored edition was most often applied. Visual communications were always judged for their political, social and moral implications, although in different periods the emphasis was differently placed. It was important to take into consideration the political interests of the neighbours or the allies, chosen or imposed. The history of censorship in Poland is peculiar because of the political situation in the 19th century. In the country remaining under foreign rule the partitioners' laws of censorship were binding. In all kinds of censorship, regardless of whether it was preventive or repressive censorship, a sharp eye was kept on all iconic communications. Both their duplication and dissemination required permission from the proper authorities. But book illustrations as such received little attention. The necessity of obtaining the censor's permission for publishing a book, and illustrations in it, was so obvious that it was mentioned only in passing in the book trade's manual, in the chapter entitled *The Book's Internal Layout*, and not in the previous one devoted to technical and artistic problems relating to illustrations. The censorship in the days of the Polish People's Republic was equally strict. Its cardinal feature was preventive control over all forms of social communication. It is hard to find, however, censorship instructions concerning illustrations intended for books. Such illustrations would probably be rejected without any elaborate justifications and it was difficult to establish any general procedures for this process. During training courses the censors' attention was drawn to the necessity of thorough examination of illustrative materials. The pictures functioning outside the book were subject to strict control and were covered by censorship regulations. They could not be disseminated without permission. All that was needed was to extend the control to prints in books, but such prints were not distinguished in any way. This means that after all more weight was attached to words. If illustrations were barred from circulation for some reason, the reason was usually the accompanying text. But sometimes pictures were banned when the text was merely a commentary but was injurious to morality or to the state's political alliances. It appears that the freedom of pictorial representation in books needs to be investigated further. Besides adding to the knowledge of the censorship mechanisms, such research may significantly contribute to the knowledge of the functioning of illustrations and their reception over the ages.

Siekiant saviraiškos ir informacijos pricigos laisvės verta pasidomėti, kaip buvo traktuojami pavciksłai. Ar jiems skirtas toks pat dėmesys kaip ir tekstui? Ar icisė juos skelbti jaudino tuos, kurie rūpinosi kalbos laisvė? Galima daryti priclaidą, kad dažniausiai kūrinio neleidavo viešai platinti dėl turinio. Tačiau kick domėtasi kūrinio fizine forma – jo leidybine išvaizda? Taip pat verta paklausti, kaip buvo suvokiamos su tekstu susijusios iliustracijos, sudarančios reikšmingą kūrinio suvokimo ir poveikio elementą? Jau viduramžiais mėginta įvertinti vaizdinių knygos komunikacijos elementų funkcijas. Žinoma, jog kartais bendiktinų vienuolyno skriptoriumuose sukurtos iliuminacijos sukeldavo skandalą. Kontrreformacijos laikų pamokslai rodo, kad dvasininkai suvokė iliustracijų įtaką skaitytojams. Jie pabrėždavo, kad iliustracijos turi pertikti nuolankumo (*pious*) prasme. Indekso kongregacija (*Congregation for the Index*) – svarbus kontrreformacijos įrankis – leido vis detalesnes instrukcijas, kurios turėjo apsaugoti tikinčiuosius nuo nuodėmingos (*pernicious*) knygų įtakos. Įvairiais būdais dauginėti pavciksłai tapo svarbia religinės ir politinės propagandos priemone. Vieni juos platino, kiti smerkė. Vaizdingas iliustracijas plačiai naudojo ir ercezijos, ir kontrreformacijos atstovai. Poleminėje literatūroje naudoti satyriniai atspaudai pasickdavo Lenkiją. Vaizdinių knygos elementų laisvę taip pat ribojo nuolatinis rūpestis iliustracijų padorumu. Įsitikinimas, kad doros standartus būtina apsaugoti, kartu naikinant ar draudžiant žalingus spaudinius, vis reikiamas įvairiais laikotarpiais, nors tokios apsaugos mastas suprantamas skirtingai. Absoliutinėse monarchijose ar totalitarinėse valstybėse griežtai laikomasi principo, kad viskas, kas yra platinama, turi būti kontroliuojama. Jei leidėjai nevykdavo šios pricigos, buvo imamasi represijų, o dažniausiai konfiskuojami necenzūruoti leidiniai. Vaizdiniai elementai buvo vertinami pagal slapta politines, socialines ar moralines prasmes, nors skirtingais laikotarpiais jų reikšmė buvo nevienoda. Taip pat buvo svarbu atsižvelgti į pasirinktų ar primestų kaimynų ar sąjungininkų politinius interesus. Lenkijos cenzūros istorija yra ypatinga dėl jos politinės padėties XIX amžiuje. Šalyje, kurią valdė ją pasidalijusios valstybės, galiojo valdovų cenzūros taisyklės. Visų rūšių cenzūra – nesvarbu, prevencinė ar represinė, akylai stebėjo vaizdinę komunikaciją. Ir jos dauginimui, ir platinimui reikėjo gauti tam tikrus valdžios leidimus. Tačiau į knygų iliustracijas daug dėmesio nekreipta. Būtinybė gauti cenzoriaus leidimą leisti knygą kartu su iliustracijomis buvo tokia akivaizdi, kad ji tik tarp kitko minima knygos prekybos vadove. „Knygos vidinio maketo“ skyriuje, o ne anksesnėje dalyje apie technines ir menines iliustracijų problemas. Lenkijos Liaudies Respublikos cenzūra buvo tokia pat griežta. Jos esminis bruožas buvo prevencinė visų socialinės komunikacijos formų kontrolė, tačiau sunku rasti cenzūros instrukcijas, skirtas knygų iliustracijoms. Jos tikriausiai buvo atmetamos be ypatingų paaiškinimų, todėl nelengva nustatyti tam tikras šio proceso procedūras. Specialiuose cenzorių mokymo kursuose buvo nurodoma, kad būtina nuodugniai ištyrinėti iliustracinę medžiagą. Ne knygose spausdinami pavciksłai buvo griežtai kontroliuojami ir cenzūruojami. Jų nebuvo galima platinti be leidimo, todėl beliko perkelti šią kontrolę ir taikyti knygų pavciksłams, tačiau knygų vaizdinę medžiagą niekaip nebuvo išskiriama. Vadinasi, labiausiai buvo vertinami žodžiai. Jei iliustracijos būdavo draudžiamos, tai dažniausiai dėl jas aiškinančio teksto. Kartais drasuti ir tokie pavciksłai, kai tekstas buvo tik pastaba, bet žeidė moralę arba valstybės politinius sąjungininkus. Vaizdinių knygos elementų laisvės problemą reikia tyrinėti toliau. Tokie tyrimai gali papildyti žinias ne tik apie cenzūros veikimą, bet ir apie iliustracijų funkcijas, jų suvokimą įvairiais amžiais.