The Polonization of Jews

Some Examples from Kraków

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Although rapid Europeanization and assimilation of Jews took place on a large scale at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Germany, the movement encountered many obstacles in Kraków, and developed very slowly. The first Austrian occupation of Kraków, from 1796 to 1809, introduced several laws to restrict Jewish rights that had been in force in Austria from the time of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. One such law was the Edict of Toleration of 1789, which, although ending the isolation of the Jewish population and granting it freedom to trade, restricted Jews to ghettos and subjected them to intensive ‘Germanization’ measures. These included forcing them to adopt German family names for educational purposes as well as in the new trade registers. ¹ Joseph II’s decrees made the Polonization of Galician Jewry more difficult in the following decades. The fact that Jewish intellectuals were attracted to Germanization, at least in part because the German liberal press seemed sympathetic to Jewish grievances, did not help. Moreover, the antisemitic attitude of much of Polish society, including the landowners and the aristocracy, tended to discourage Polonization.²

The period of the Free State of Kraków (1815–46) did not bring about the equality the Jews had hoped for, despite the increasing importance of the Jewish community in Kraków. The Jewish population grew rapidly in these years: in 1815, at the beginning of the Kraków Republic, Jews made up 20.8 per cent of the total population, but by 1847 they were 32.4 per cent.³ Traditionally they engaged in trade: in 1815, 40.5 per cent of the Jewish population of Kraków were tradesmen, 35.4 per cent were innkeepers or arendarze, 3.8 per cent were craftsmen, and

³ J. Bieniarzówna and J. M. Malecki (eds.), Dzieje Krakowa, iii: Kraków w latach 1796–1918 (Kraków, 1979), 52.
only 20.3 per cent worked in other professions (or did not work at all). In 1820, 80 per cent of the 1,441 registered businesses were Jewish.\(^4\) Other statistics indicate that at the beginning of the Free State of Kraków, 75 per cent of the town’s Jewish population were engaged in trade, two-thirds of whom were pedlars, stall-holders, or retailers.\(^5\)

The legal status of Jews in the Free State of Kraków was regulated by a special statute (Statut urządzający starozakonnych, the Statute Organizing the Jews), which imposed several restrictions on the Jewish community.\(^6\) For example, Kraków Jews could live only in the Jewish and Christian parts of Kazimierz, and were permitted to engage in unrestricted trade solely in those sections of town. Only three categories of Jews could settle outside this area. The first included those possessing at least 50,000 zlotys in cash or merchandise and who had not become debtors in the previous six years. In addition, they were required to keep their trade accounts in flawless Polish and to send their children to a Christian primary school and then to a gymnasium. The second category comprised industrialists who had maintained their businesses in Kazimierz for at least six years and sent their children to a Christian school. The third group included famous artists and inventors. Jews permitted to live outside Kazimierz were required to wear European clothing.

The statute also granted civil and political rights to those members of the Jewish community who pursued a scientific career or were artists who could read Polish or German. Moreover, ‘on the orders of the City Senate, [they] had to have already lived and behaved properly among Christians for six years’, or to have made a discovery or invention. Rich merchants and industrialists were also granted such rights.\(^7\) The Statute Organizing the Jews restricted Jewish trade as well. Jews living in Kazimierz were not permitted to trade in Kraków or in other suburbs. The only exceptions to this were for bills of exchange (weksele) and second-hand goods, which could be traded in the City Hall. Kraków Jews were permitted to sell food outside Kazimierz only on fair days, and other commodities only on the two days a year when general fairs were held.\(^8\)

These restrictions reflected the hostility of Christian merchants towards Jewish competition. The Christian merchants, who played an important role in the Free State of Kraków, also took measures against their Jewish colleagues as an association and in the Senate. The Merchants’ Association (Kongregacja Kupiecka), which was dominated by the important Kraków merchant families, would not allow anyone to trade who was not a member of the association. Under the law Jewish merchants had equal rights with Christians after 1821 and were eligible to become members of the association, but they were never accepted. The associa-

\(^4\) Friedman, ‘Dzieje Żydów w Galicji’, 401.
\(^5\) Schiper, Dzieje handlu żydowskiego, 342.
\(^6\) Bałaban, Historja Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, ii. 603–4; Statut urządzający starozakonnych w Wolnym Mieście Krakowie i jego Okręgu (Kraków, 1818).
\(^7\) Bałaban, Historja Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, ii. 603–4.
\(^8\) Ibid.
tion, backed by the Senate and its chairman, Count Stanislaw Wodzicki (who was hostile to Jews), thwarted any attempt to accept Jews into the organization.9

Barring membership of the Merchants’ Association to Jews, along with the other discriminatory policies of the authorities of the Free State, was intended to ‘persuade Jews to civilize themselves’ (i.e. to assimilate) and to ‘prevent Christian trade and industry from being swamped by the Jews, who made up one-third of the town’s population’.10 Nevertheless, despite these pressures, the Jews of Kraków remained apart from the Polish population in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the 1840s there were only about 200 ‘civilized’ Jews (1.5 per cent of the total Jewish population of 13,000).11 The bulk of the Jewish population, crowded into the tiny area of the Kazimierz ghetto, remained subject to the influence of the Orthodox rabbis. Attempts by the Jewish intelligentsia to encourage assimilation through the Association for Religion and Civilization (Stowarzyszenie Religijno-Cywilizacyjne), founded in 1840 by Abraham Gumplowicz, had little effect.12

The events of the Springtime of Nations of 1848 in Austria and Kraków encouraged the attempts of the more progressive elements in the Jewish population to gain equal rights. In April 1848 a Jewish political club was opened. It included Józef Oettinger and Jonatan Warschauer, both noted doctors in Kazimierz.13 Progressive Jews addressed several demands to the state authorities and to Orthodox kehilah authorities.14 Although it was impossible to abolish all the restrictions, some successes were achieved between 1848 and 1850.15 There was, for example, the instance of the Jewish merchants who were permitted to settle in Stradom even though they did not wear ‘European’ clothing. This came about through a more lenient interpretation of some of the principles of the constitution of 1849.16

The reactionary Austrian regime of the period of Prime Minister Bach not only crushed all hope for early equality, but also destroyed some of the achievements of 1848–50. The Imperial Patent of 25 October 1853 confirmed the old restrictions on Jewish rights, which in Kraków reinforced the prohibition against Jews settling outside the ghetto.17

It was only the profound changes in the Austrian legal system at the turn of the 1850s and the 1860s that led to equal rights for the Jews. The liberal constitution of 1867 that introduced equality for all citizens, and the Galician Sejm’s decision in 1868 to abolish the remaining restrictions as contrary to the new constitution,

10 Schiper, Dzieje handlu zydowskiego, 344.
11 Bieniarzówna and Malecki (eds.), Dzieje Krakowa, iii. 53; J. Demel, Stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne Krakowa w latach 1846–1853 (Kraków, 1951), 29.
12 J. Demel, Stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne Krakowa w latach 1853–1866 (Wrocław and Kraków, 1958), 488; Balaban, Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, ii. 665.
13 Demel, Stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne Krakowa w latach 1853–1866, 490.
14 Ibid. 490–1.
15 Ibid. 593.
16 Balaban, Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, ii. 693.
17 Demel, Stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne Krakowa w latach 1853–1866, 504.
opened a new period in the history of Galician Jewry and of the Jews of Kraków.\footnote{18} Legal equality encouraged the activities of those who advocated assimilation. One of the leaders of this movement, the eminent lawyer Szymon Samelsohn, together with Adam Sapieha, financed \textit{Kraj}, a liberal democratic daily that appeared from 1869 to 1874. It was edited by Ludwik Gumplowicz, a member of the young Jewish intelligentsia who later became a leading sociologist and university professor in Graz.\footnote{19}

In the late 1870s and early 1880s, those in favour of Polonization took the lead among the Kraków assimilationists. One proponent, Albert Mendelsburg, was president of the Kraków Chamber of Commerce and Industry for many years and was elected to the Viennese parliament in 1873. Unlike other Jewish deputies from Galicia, he joined the Polish Club.\footnote{20} At the beginning of the 1880s advocates of Polonization in Kraków established Przymierze Braci – Agudat Ahim (Association of Brothers), which published \textit{Ojczyzna} (‘Fatherland’). The publication, noted for its radical views, was edited by Natan Loewenstein, leader of the assimilation movement in Galicia. An article of 1884 argued that Jews had only two choices: assimilation or emigration to Palestine.\footnote{21} Despite the growth of the assimilationist movement, until the twentieth century it remained limited to a few Jewish intellectuals and rich merchants. Conversion to Christianity was even rarer. Even by the turn of the century, only thirty Jews were converting to Christianity each year.\footnote{22} The rise of Jewish nationalism also weakened the movement. Kraków became an important centre of Zionism, and Ozjasz Thon, a leading Zionist thinker, was active there. Another factor limiting assimilationism was the attraction that socialism held for the poorer Jews.\footnote{23} The rapid growth of both Zionism and socialism was a serious obstacle to extensive Polonization of Jews in the succeeding decades.

### THE FAMILY FEINTUCH

Against this background the Polonization of one of the first Jewish families in Kraków is all the more interesting. The name of Feintuch first appears in Krakow in 1804, the year by which the Austrian court chancery decree of 16 February 1802 required that the Jews of Kraków take family names.\footnote{24} The Feintuch family owned a house near Bawół Square, and it was one of the wealthiest, most important Jewish

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{18}{Friedman, ‘Dzieje Żydów w Galicji’, 391–2.}
\item \footnote{19}{C. Lechicki, \textit{Krakowski ‘Kraj’, 1869–1874} (Wrocław, 1975); Balaban, \textit{Historja Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu}, ii. 717. Józef Oettinger, a doctor who was also a leading advocate of assimilation, was the first Jew who was able to have an official post at the Jagiellonian University. This was confirmed in 1867, despite numerous obstacles originating in Vienna, where the Austrian bureaucracy did not like his pro-Polish views.}
\item \footnote{20}{Friedman, ‘Dzieje Żydów w Galicji’, 393. }
\item \footnote{21}{Ibid. }
\item \footnote{22}{Bieniarzówna and Małecki (eds.), \textit{Dzieje Krakowa}, iii. 318.}
\item \footnote{23}{Balaban, \textit{Historja Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu}, ii. 717–18.}
\item \footnote{24}{Ibid. 577.}
\end{itemize}}
families in the Kraków ghetto. Berl Feintuch was elected one of the four Kazimierz kehilah elders in 1810. It was then, after Kraków was incorporated into the Duchy of Warsaw, that the better-educated and richer Jews began to leave the overcrowded ghetto to move to the Christian part of Kazimierz, despite the obstacles imposed by the ducal and kehilah authorities.

The Feintuchs, an old Kraków merchant family, were important examples of assimilated Jews in nineteenth-century Poland. Two branches of the family, the Szarskis and the Zawiejskis, have contributed a great deal to Polish economic, scientific, and artistic life in the past two centuries. Without their achievements, Poland would have been poorer in many areas of life.

Berl and Rywa Feintuch were among those who left the ghetto, setting the family on the road to Kraków’s Rynek Główny (Main Market Square). Marcin Feintuch (1805–66) subsequently moved the family to Stradom, where he owned a tenement at no. 27. Marcin was a banker and owned a forwarding company as well as an exchange bureau for the Free State of Kraków. That he settled in Stradom indicates that he was wealthy and assimilated. He married Salomea Dattelbaum (1805–86), and they had five children: Stanisław (1826–98), Joanna Lewicka (1830–95), Leon (1834–1905), Karolina Mayzlowa (1842–1926), and Bolesław (1845–62). In 1846 the Feintuchs were baptized in the Lutheran Church of St Martin in Kraków.

Lutheranism was a transitional allegiance for the Feintuchs: in the subsequent decades the entire family converted to Roman Catholicism. The baptism symbolized more than just a change in religion; it also marked assimilation with the Poles and the path to membership in the Kraków Merchants’ Association. This move allowed Marcin’s eldest son, Stanisław, to open a fine shop in ‘the city’ in 1853. The shop was located in the Szara Kamienica (Grey Tenement House), at 6 Rynek

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25 Plan miasta Krakowa Ignacego Enderle z lat (1802–1805) 1807–1808, tak zwany Senacki, ed. H. Munch (Kraków, 1959), 27, 45, and table 63, no. 12; M. Balaban, Przewodnik po żydowskich zabytkach Krakowa (Kraków, 1933), 44.
26 Balaban, Historja Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, ii. 589.
27 Ibid. 586–7. Both the kehilah and the Merchants’ Association opposed Jewish settlement in the Christian part of Kazimierz. The opposition increased after the Statute Organizing the Jews was introduced: the kehilah was afraid of losing its clients, the Merchants’ Association feared the ‘Jewish wave’ would suffocate the town. In 1829 the association and the Senate even attempted, unsuccessfully, to stop the Jewish exodus from the ghetto: Balaban, Historja Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, ii. 633–5.
28 Balaban, Przewodnik, 29.
29 J. Szczepińska, ‘Przyczynek do dziejów polskiego portretu mieszkańskiego XIX w.’, Biuletyn Historii Sztuki, 29 (1967), 551; also information from inscriptions on the Szarski family tombstone in the Rakowicki cemetery in Kraków, and information received from Professor Henryk Szarski. It has been impossible to determine their original names.
30 Salomea, Marcin Feintuch’s wife, and their children Joanna, Leon, Karolina, and Bolesław were baptized on 2 March 1846. Stanisław, the eldest son, had been baptized in the same parish a year earlier. Lutheran Community of Kraków, Index of Parish Registers (the registers themselves were destroyed during the Second World War); Balaban, Historja Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, ii. 615.
It was this establishment that enabled the Feintuchs to become one of the richest merchant families in town.\footnote{Bieniarzówna and Malecki (eds.), Dzieje Krakowa, iii. 312.}

Stanisław Feintuch was well prepared to be a merchant. He completed a business course at the Kraków Technical Institute, and before opening his own business he was employed by Helcel House, a well-known commercial firm, as well as by the Warsaw Flatau Company. The shop in the Szara Kamienica was originally a grocery, but later carried building materials. It also became an exchange bureau for money and stocks, and by the second half of the nineteenth century was one of the most reputed and largest firms in Kraków. In the 1880s the establishment sold Chinese and Russian teas, Hungarian, Austrian, Rhenish, French, Spanish, and Dalmatian wines, rum, olive oil, brushes, paints, varnishes, Portland cement, lime, and gypsum.\footnote{Kalanderz ksowski Józefa Czech na rok 1887, advertisement for the firm of Stanisław Feintuch.} Stanisław eventually purchased the Szara Kamienica, and as a symbol of his Polonization, in 1894 he changed his and his family’s name to Szarski, after the name of the house.\footnote{Sąd Wojewódzki, Kraków, ‘Rejestr handlowy: Rejestr firm pojedynczych’, i. 41–2.} Known for his honesty, respectability, and helpfulness, Stanisław Szarski held a number of offices in the Merchants’ Association, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Municipal Savings Bank, the commercial court, and charitable organizations. Moreover, he was one of the first representatives
elected to the city council in 1866, a post he held for over thirty years, until his retirement in 1896.\footnote{Kalendarz krakowski Józefa Czech na rok 1899, 116; Dziennik Rozporządzeń m. Krakowa, xix (Kraków, 1898), 98.}

Soon after opening the shop, Stanisław married Józefa Rosenzweig (1832–98), who also came from a Polonized Jewish family from the Kazimierz ghetto.

Józefa’s grandfather, Becalel, had owned a house on Józef Street, close to the Old Synagogue and near Berl Feintuch’s house.\footnote{Balaban, Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, ii. 577; Plan miasta Krakowa Ignacego Enderle, ed. Münch, 27, and table 63, no. 27.} In 1804 Becalel adopted the more German name of Rosenzweig.\footnote{Balaban lists the name Rosenzweig among those which were accepted by Kazimierz Jews: it was not connected with any trade, sounded fine, and thus served well. Balaban, Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, ii. 577.} In 1803, 1806, and 1807 Becalel was elected Vorsteher of the Kazimierz kehilah, an office held only by wealthy, respectable Jews.\footnote{Ibid. 567.}

Józefa’s father, Henryk Rosenzweig, was one of the few Polonized members of the Jewish intelligentsia. He later moved to Stradom, where, in 1831, he became head of the Jewish hospital, and in 1848 he was made a member of the electoral committee for the Viennese parliament for the district that included Stradom and part of Kazimierz.\footnote{Ibid. 617, 683.} Rosenzweig and his wife Joanna (Schlezinger) had twelve children, all of whom were thoroughly Polonized.\footnote{Anna Szarska, née Gwiazdomorska, ‘Wspomnienia Anny Adamowej’, manuscript owned by...}
Stanisław and Józefa Szarski had six children: three girls and three boys (one boy, Romek died in childhood). The eldest son, Henryk (1855–1921), obtained a degree in law, and then went on to study business in England. He was chosen by his father to continue the family business. From 1882 it was administered jointly by father and son, and after 1894 the firm was officially named ‘Szarski and Son’. Like his father, Henryk took an active part in civic life, becoming a city councillor and an elder of the Merchants’ Association. His abilities, diligence, and honesty won him wide respect, and led to his becoming first deputy mayor of Kraków, a post he filled for several years. Henryk played an important role in the history of Kraków during the first years of the twentieth century, when the town entered into its new ‘metropolitan’ phase of development.

Professor Henryk Szarski, part ‘Rosenzweigowie’. Henryk Rosenzweig’s daughters were married to Mendelsburg and Lazarus, leading assimilationists.

Figure 5. Henryk Szarski (1855–1921), deputy mayor of Kraków; painted by Kazimierz Pochwalski in 1914

Figure 6. Helena, née Ciechanowska, Henryk Szarski’s wife; painted by Kazimierz Pochwalski in 1914

41 Sąd Wojewódzki, ‘Rejestr handlowy: Rejestr firm pojedynczych’, i, 42. Information about the change of name is in Professor Henryk Szarski’s possession: J. Szarski, ‘Szarski i syn’, undated manuscript.
42 C. Bąk, ‘Rok przełomu w życiu politycznym Krakowa (1907/1908)’, Studia Historyczne, 23 (1980), 215. For example, Klemens Bąkowski, in notes about the lives of various citizens of Kraków, wrote favourably about Henryk Szarski: Jagiellonian University Library, Kraków, MS 7300 III, 119.
Marcin (1868–1941), Stanisław’s second son, was a leading financier. After studying at the Jagiellonian University, he held an executive post in the Viennese Ministry of Finance for many years. In 1910 he returned to Galicia to become chairman of the Lviv Industrial Bank. In the inter-war period, Marcin wrote about bank credit and became a senator of the Polish Republic, and president of the Confederation of Banks, the Lviv Stock Exchange, and the Lviv Chamber of Industry and Commerce. He also lectured on economics at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. Marcin died in Jerusalem in 1941.

Zofia, his twin sister, was Stanisław and Józefa’s favourite child. In 1887 she married Kazimierz Pochwalski (1855–1940), who was one of the most famous Polish portrait painters at the turn of the century. From 1893 the Pochwalski family lived in Vienna, close to Schwarzenberg Square, where they presided over a famous salon whose guests included members of the imperial court and other famous Poles passing through. Henryk Sienkiewicz, a friend of the painter, was one of the visitors. Pochwalski was a professor of painting at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts at that time, and enjoyed wide popularity as a portraitist. Among those he painted were the Emperor Franz Joseph and members of the imperial family.

Stefania, another daughter, married Władysław Kluger (1849–84), a leading engineer and traveller, who died in his mid-thirties. She accompanied her husband to South America, where he became famous for designing and implementing several bold engineering ventures. In addition, Kluger offered his rich Peruvian anthropological, ethnographic, and archaeological collection to the Kraków Academy of Sciences and Letters.

After Henryk Szarski died the firm located in Szara Kamienica was managed by his two sons, Adam (1886–1947) and Antoni (1891–1946). Stanisław, Henryk’s third son, had received a doctorate in philosophy and was a member of the Polish Legion established by Piłsudski. He was reported missing after the battle of Kostiuchnówka of July 1916. The firm still specialized in retail and wholesale groceries, and was renowned in Kraków for Szarski tea (whose trade mark included a tower, as on the visiting card of the shop). The tea was imported from Ceylon through a permanent agent there. After Adam and Antoni died, their sons, Stanisław and Jan, took over the firm. In 1950, after almost a hundred years of trading, the firm of Szarski shared the fate of all private commercial enterprises in Poland: communist pressure forced it to close.
Leon August, the youngest son of Marcin and Salomea Feintuch, although somewhat less successful, carried on the commercial tradition of the family. He opened his own business in the 1850s in a house he had purchased at 14 Rynek Glówny. His establishment carried a wide range of haberdashery articles, lingerie, cosmetics, and children’s toys. Many of the items were imported from Paris, London, and other European cities. In 1853 Leon married Regina Gluck at St Martin’s Lutheran church in Kraków. A year later their son Jan (1854–1922) was born. They had three more children: Mieczysław (1856–1933), Wanda (1859–83), and Olga (1866–1910).

In 1882, when both his sons were abroad, Leon Feintuch, inspired by patriotic motives, decided to change the family name to a Polish one, Zawiejski. The contemporary press noted:

Mr Leon Zawiejski is a well-known citizen and merchant of Kraków. Because both his sons have devoted their lives to art and live abroad . . . Mr Feintuch desires that their name should prove their devotion to Poland. He has therefore asked to change his name in a proper legal way, and his rational and noble aim can only be praised. If Mr Feintuch’s sons had remained in this country, they would always have remained Poles, whether they had this or any other name, but abroad it is better that they prove their nationality and deep devotion to it by the sound of their name.

Jan, the elder of Leon’s sons, was one of the most eminent Polish architects at the turn of the century, and is remembered as the architect of the Municipal Theatre in Kraków (today the Słowacki Theatre), which was built from 1891 to 1893. Zawiejski studied with Heinrich von Ferstel, an important Viennese architect. After he completed the course at the Vienna Polytechnic in 1878, he worked for Ferstel, helping to complete several projects, including the university’s new main building there. He spent several years abroad in Berlin and northern Italy, and then returned to Galicia to practise his profession in Lviv, Krynica, and Kraków.

In the late 1880s and early 1890s, Zawiejski completed the Spa House (now the Old Spa House), with Julian Niedzielski, as well as the parish church and a number of villas in Krynica. He also did several designs for competitions, and won the competition for the Kraków theatre, which brought him international fame. Between 1895 and 1899 Zawiejski travelled to Germany, Austria, and Paris. In this period he also worked on the Château d’Eau for the Paris World Exhibition in


49 Lutheran Community in Kraków, Index of Parish Registers.

1900, which attracted great interest. Upon his return to Kraków, Zawiejski became municipal architect from 1900 to 1922, and was active in local architectural circles. A number of his projects date from this period, and some of these are outstanding, showing the influence of the modern style. The Palace of Peace in The Hague, built in 1905, is one of the projects from this period.

Mieczysław Zawiejski, like his brother, devoted his life to art. He studied sculpture at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts under Professor Hellmer, and then under Augusto Rivalto, a well-known Italian sculptor at the academy in Florence. Mieczysław settled abroad after he finished his studies, maintaining studios in Florence, New York, and, from 1901, Venice, where he eventually died.

Despite his international successes, Mieczysław maintained contact with his native land. He was a member of the Kraków Society of Friends of the Arts, and presented his sculpture at exhibitions in Kraków and in Warsaw’s Zachęta. In Lviv he participated in competitions to build monuments to Fredro and Mickiewicz, and he was awarded second prize on two occasions. Dozens of Zawiejski’s works still exist in Kraków, Lviv, and Krynica. In addition, he was also responsible for Cardinal Albin Dunajewski’s tomb in Wawel Cathedral and for the group on the façade of the Słowacki Theatre in Kraków, which had been built by his brother. Mieczysław’s style owes much to Viennese Academicism and to Italian Naturalism, which began to go out of fashion at the beginning of the twentieth century. His style did not change with the revolutionary developments in sculpture at the turn of the century, and this is why his popularity later declined. Nevertheless, his works, like those of many Academic sculptors, are valuable for their very fine craftsmanship.

Wanda, the elder of the Zawiejski sisters, married August Sokołowski, a teacher at St Anna’s Gymnasium in Kraków and a noted historian and social reformer.

By the 1880s, the business was beginning to fail, and it eventually closed. It was removed from the official trade register in 1896. When Jan and Mieczysław died without any male heirs, the Zawiejski family came to an end, but this did not spell the end of Feintuch/Szarski influence in Poland, for the descendants of Marcin and Salomea continued to participate in Polish academic life.

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51 J. Purchla, Jan Zawiejski — architekt przełomu XIX i XX wieku (Warsaw, 1986).
54 Sąd Wojewódzki, ‘Rejestr handlowy: Rejestr firm pojedynczych’, i. 65–6. Leon Zawiejski, who was running the business at the time of its closure, was well known in Kraków society as a colourful personality; see Glos Narodu, 1905, no. 110.
Marcin Szarski was an economist; and Stanisław Szarski, his nephew, although he died young, completed a thesis on classical mythology in Jan Kochanowski’s poetry, which was published to critical approval in 1913.\textsuperscript{55} Marcin Szarski’s younger son, Kazimierz Witalis (1904–60), was a leading Polish biologist. He graduated from Jan Kazimierz University in 1928, and remained associated with that institution until it closed in 1941. During the Second World War, Witalis moved to Warsaw, where he was one of the teachers in the underground. He went to Wroclaw after 1945 to become a professor of comparative anatomy at the university there. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, his primary research area was comparative anatomy, and he helped found the centre for ornithological research in Wroclaw, which gained European-wide recognition. Professor Witalis Szarski was an environmental pioneer in Lower Silesia, and helped establish the Karkonosze National Park. He was also the first chairman of its scientific council and held important administrative posts at Wroclaw University, where he became rector from 1956 to 1959. His premature death brought several of his scientific projects to an abrupt end.\textsuperscript{56}

Professor Jacek Szarski (1921–80) was another important Polish scientist from this famous family. The grandson of Henryk and the son of Antoni Szarski (owners of the shop at 6 Rynek Główny), Jacek specialized in mathematics. In October 1938 he began to study mathematics at the philosphical faculty of the Jagiellonian University, and during the war he continued his studies with Professor Tadeusz Ważewski. He received an M.Sc. in 1945, and passed the examination for the doctorate six months later. In 1947, when only 26, he was accepted as a professional scientist and delivered his inaugural address at the university. In addition he published a number of important scientific works, and subsequently became director of the mathematics section at the university. In 1947 he founded the Institute of Mathematics and remained its director for many years. He was active in numerous other scientific institutions as well, including the Polish Academy of Sciences. Jacek Szarski’s research was wide-ranging, but his principal work was on the theory of differential inequalities, on which he wrote the first monograph. He was an almost legendary figure, and is remembered as an impressive lecturer and a respected teacher.\textsuperscript{57}

The Polonization of the Feintuch family, which happened in the first half of the nineteenth century, included more than just business and professional activities; the family also participated in political events as early as the 1860s. Stanisław Feintuch, a well-known patriot (as Maria Estreichörówna described him), became famous for his bravery during the nationalistic demonstrations in Kraków on 2 September

\textsuperscript{55} S. Szarski, \textit{Mitologia klasyczna w poezji Kochanowskiego} (Kraków, 1913); cf. T. Sinko, ‘Stanislaw Szarski: Mitologia klasyczna w poezji Kochanowskiego’, \textit{Książka}, 1914, nos. 1–2.
Two years later, when Kraków was an important supply base for the uprising in the Russian part of Poland, the merchants Stanisław and Leon Feintuch were suspected of having helped the rebels, and the police searched their shops. But it was Karolina Mayzlowa, Stanislaw and Leon’s sister, who was most involved in the uprising. Her husband, Karol Mayzel (1832–1905), owned the village of Grochowiska across the border in Russian Poland, the site of a battle in which Langiewicz’s troops participated. Karol, sentenced to death for helping the rebels, fled with his wife and children to Galicia.

Stanisław’s grandson Stanisław continued the family tradition by serving in the Polish Legion; as noted earlier, he was reported missing in Volhynia at the age of only 28. Stanisław’s cousin,Marcin Szarski’s eldest son Andrzej, was recruited into the Austrian army in 1917. He took part in the defence of Lviv and in the Polish–Bolshevik war, for which he received the Order Virtuti Militari. In the Second World War he was an officer in the intelligence service, stationed in England.

The history of the Feintuch family is illustrative of the changes taking place in Polish society in the nineteenth century. The discrimination against Jews, which lasted in Austria and Kraków until 1868, along with the growing militancy of religious Orthodoxy, led many to become ‘Europeanised’. The young Progressive Jewish intelligentsia and the rich Kazimierz bankers and merchants, whose material interests were affected by the many restrictions on their activities, became advocates of Polonization. This movement seemed to guarantee them full civil rights as well as identification with those around them in Kraków. It also opened the way to their becoming members of the municipal patriciate and made full participation in public life possible for those who were assimilated. At the same time, it gave Poland many notable patriotic citizens.

The portraits of many of the distinguished members of the Feintuch, Szarski, and Zawiejski families graphically show the importance of these families. For example,

58 M. Estreicherówna, Życie towarzyskie i obyczajowe Krakowa w latach 1848–1863 (Kraków, 1968), 209–10. 59 Czas, 1863, no. 84. 60 Kalendarz krakowski Józefa Czechana roku 1906, 88. 61 Inscription on the Szarski tombstone in the Rakowicki cemetery in Kraków. 62 Łoza (ed.), Czy wiecz kto to jest?, ii. 300 (a communication by Professor Henryk Szarski). 63 Several interesting women of the Feintuch family were omitted from the present essay. These women married into various leading burgher and aristocratic families, and their husbands were also notable representatives of Polish cultural and scientific life. Besides Pochwalski and Kluger, there was the husband of Zofia Sokolowska (daughter of Wanda Zawiejska), Tadeusz Cybulski, who was a famous painter, and the husband of Maria Pochwalska (daughter of Zofia Szarska), Ludwik Bernacki, a notable literary critic and for many years director of Lviv’s Ossolineum.
the Gallery of Polish Painting in the Sukiennice (the Cloth Hall of Kraków) displays a fine portrait of the young Jan Feintuch-Zawiejski, which was painted by Aleksander Kotsis in Munich.  

The Historical Museum of Kraków recently received twelve portraits from Jan Szarski, one of the last owners of the Szarski firm. The collection illustrates a ‘family tree’, beginning with the portraits of Marcin and Salomea Feintuch and Henryk and Joanna Rosenzweig. These works were executed by such painters as Jan Nepomucen Glowacki, Kazimierz Pochwalski, and Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz. The impressive collection, an important addition to the museum’s other portraits of Kraków burghers, also shows an especially interesting aspect of Kraków life at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Translated from the Polish by Anna Zaranko

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64 It is an oil painting signed ‘A. Kotsis 73 Monachium’: Muzeum Narodowe, Kraków, Sukiennice branch, no. 310825.

65 The portraits of Stanislaw and Józefa (Rosenzweig) Szarski, Henryk and Helena (Ciechanowska) Szarski, and Adam and Anna (Gwiazdomorska) Szarski are also part of the collection. See Szczepińska, ‘Przyczynek do dziejów polskiego portretu mieszczańskiego’, 551–5. On 15 June 1985 an exhibition, ‘Szarski Family Portraits’, was held in the Krzysztofory branch of the Muzeum Historyczny in Kraków; it included all the portraits in the collection.