

The Alpine context of the development of Polish mountaineering up to 1914

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From the very beginning, the interest of the Polish society in the Tatra Mountains was inspired by the Alpine example. The Tatra Mountains, alike the Alps, were a natural obstacle, with the difference that it was easier to get around them than to cross them. Because of this, for a long time, knowledge about them was faint, often false. Such Tatras were tackled by Stanisław Staszic. He did not get there by accident. Before he found himself in the Tatra Mountains, in 1781, he made a geological journey through the Alps and the Apennines. Thus, he was in the highest mountains of Europe when the first steps in their exploration were made, and the multi-volume work of the Geneva naturalist, geologist and initiator of conquering Mont Blanc – Horace-Bénédict de Saussure – *Voyages dans les Alpes*¹, became a popular work. He was also interested in the work published by Georges Buffon – *Les Époques de la Nature* (Theory of the Epochs)², which had impact on his interest in the Tatras:

“With frequent conversations with [Buffon] about this work, I thought of translating [sic!] the Epochs of Nature into my native language. Then, visiting the mountains of the Alps and the Apennines, and when I returned to the country, convinced me that this theory of epochs is witty, but incompatible with nature. This perception drew my attention more and more to the recognition of the ‘dirt’ of the Carpathians. In this intention, I began to collect all geological remarks, both in my own country and when revisiting Italy, the Alps, the Apennines, Vesuvius and Mount Etna. In the end, vis-

iting our native Carpathians for several years, led me to publish the work: “*O ziemiorodztwie Karpatów i ziemi dawnej Sarmacji*” [“On the Carpathian Lands and Old Sarmatia”]³”.

With this work, his readings and practical activities in the mountains, Staszic drew the attention of the Polish society to the Tatra Mountains. How strong this impact was is best demonstrated by the fact that, after many years, he was called “the father of Polish mountaineering”. In fact, mountaineering as an independent discipline developed almost a century later. Nevertheless, others followed his example. This interest of the Polish society in the Tatras was reinforced by press publications and literature as well as the cultural philosophy of the era – the Tatras began to play the role of an important place for the life of our nation. However, it was realised that in order for the upper layers of Polish society not to go to foreign waters or to go to the Alps, it was necessary to organise tourist traffic and develop the Tatra mountains. Efforts have been made to create a society to meet these tasks. And in this matter, Western European influences are visible. It is true that Polish historiography of Tatra tourism and mountaineering⁴ gives priority to the establishment of the Tatra Society to Feliks Pławicki – captain of the Austrian army, deputy to the National Sejm from the new area, in fact, there were more sources of inspiration. The first proposal is owed not to Pławicki, but to a great lover of nature, a physician of the Austrian army, Dr. Heinrich Wallmann⁵, who in the years 1867-1869, served in the 80th Infantry Regiment of the Imperial-Royal Infantry army stationed in

¹ H.B de Saussure, *Voyages dans les Alpes. Précédés d'un sur l'histoire naturelle des environs*, Vol. 1-4, Neuchatel 1779-1796.

² G. L. Leclerc comte de Buffon, *Les Époques de la Nature*, Paris 1778.

³ J. Klaczko, *Autobiografia Staszica*, “Goniec Polski” [“The Polish Messenger”], 1850, Vol. 130, 131. Given as: P. Daszkiewicz, R. Tarkowski, *Poszukiwania śladów Stanisława Staszica we Francji*, “Przegląd geologiczny” [Finding the Traces of Stanisław Staszic in France, “Przegląd geologiczny”] 2005, Vol. 53, issue 11, p. 1023.

⁴ *Sprawozdanie z czynności Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego za czas od 3 sierpnia 1873 do 28 maja 1876*, “Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego” 1876 [“Report on the Activities of the Tatra Society from 3rd August 1873 to 28th May 1876”, “Diary of the Tatra Society” 1876], pp. 4-22; J. G. Pawlikowski, W. Szajnocha, *Czterdzieści lat istnienia Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego w Krakowie 1873-1913* [“Forty Years of the Tatra Society's Existence in Krakow 1873-1913”], Kraków 1913; J. Reychnan, *Początki Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego*, „Wierchy” 1948 [“Beginnings of the “Wierchy” [“Peaks”] Tatra Society”], pp. 36-40. This issue is slightly more broadly tackled by W. H. Paryski, *Początki Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego i Zakopane*, „Wierchy” [“Beginnings of the Tatra Society and Zakopane, “Wierchy” [“Peaks”]”] R.47:1978, pp. 20-32.

⁵ Dr Heinrich Wallmann (* 1827 in Mattsee, † 1898 in Wien), alias Heinrich von der Mattig – military doctor, poet, journalist.

Košice, where he was a doctor⁶. It was then that he met the Tatras and gave into their charm. He also noted that to arouse more interest among the public, they must be managed. How much this issue was in his heart, is indicated by him taking action to promote the Carpathians, and particularly, the Tatra Mountains. In Vienna, "Der Tourist" published an article about the Tatra Mountains, at the end of which he emphasized how useful and advisable it would be to put the idea of creating an organisation surrounding the care of the Carpathians with the model *Österreichischer Alpenverein* into practice (*ÖAV*, Austrian Alpine Association) as an example. Although Pest was proposed as the headquarters of the future society, it was to cover the entire area of the Tatras and Pieniny mountains⁷. Wallmann's appeal did not bring an official response, although it cannot be ruled out that there were people interested in the proposal. That is why 2 years later – in 1871, together with Gustav Jäger, founder of *Österreichischer Touristenclub*, Wallmann issued an appeal (in German, Polish and Hungarian) calling for the establishment of such an organisation, emphasizing its international character. It appealed to the patriotic feelings of all nationalities living in the Carpathians. It presented the objectives, tasks of the future society, the means of achieving them, its structure⁸. Among the few replies, one came from Galicia. It is widely accepted that its author was Józef Stefan Szalay – the owner of Szczawnica⁹. The initiative of Wallmann and Jäger resulted mainly in Spisz – it became a direct impulse for actions to establish the Hungarian Carpathian Society¹⁰. Regardless of Sza-

lay's decision, willing to cooperate with Hungary, about the need to establish a "society connecting all lovers of the Tatras"¹¹ was discussed in 1871 by Adolf Tetmajer and Karol Rogawski¹². Although their project was not implemented, the idea was not abandoned. At the same time, they also wondered whether to create their own society or a joint venture with Hungary. Polish efforts were intensified when it turned out that the efforts of Hungarians and Spis Germans were successful in this field.

The second source of inspiration came from Italy. Founded in Turin in 1863, Club Alpino Italiano (CAI), in addition to supporting the development of interest and access to the mountains, showed patriotic tendencies from the beginning. This attitude had its roots in the political history of Italy – in the struggles for independence and unification of the state. Therefore, it seems that the similarity of the political situation in Italy and Poland as well as private contacts with Poles, had impact on the interest of CAI in establishing a society to include the Carpathians. The most suitable person in the Italian environment at the time was a Neapolitan, a member of the CAI Section in Naples – Vincenzo Vittorio d'Arnese¹³. By decision of the 6th CAI Congress held in Bormio at the beginning of August 1873 – around the same time as the party was held in the Zakopane Zwierzyniec¹⁴ – Arnese was formally obliged to support activities to create the TT¹⁵. Chronologically, the Italian initiative was earlier than the idea by Feliks Pławicki¹⁶. Nevertheless, the found documents indicate that Arnese probably did not join the TT organisation process until 1874¹⁷. At

⁶ *Militär-Schematismus des Österreichischen Kaiserthumes für 1867*, Wien 1866, s. 336-337, 631; *Militär-Schematismus des Österreichischen Kaiserthumes für 1868*, Wien 1867, pp. 362-363.; *Kais.-Königl. Militär-Schematismus für 1869-1870*, Teil I, Wien 1870, p. 790; *Kais.-Königl. Militär-Schematismus für 1871*, Wien 1871, pp. 427, 799; *Kais.-Königl. Militär-Schematismus für 1869-1870*, *op. cit.*, pp. 429, 790 *Kais.-Königl. Militär-Schematismus für 1869-1870*, *op. cit.*, pp. 429, 790.

⁷ H. Wallmann, *Die Hobe Tatra*, "Der Tourist" 1869, issues 17-18, pp. 271-272.

⁸ German version of the response: *Aufruf zur Gründung des Karpathenvereins* published by T. Posewitz, *Geschichte des Ungarischen Karpathenvereins seit seinem Bestande*, part 1: *Vorläufer der Gründung eines ungarischen Karpathenvereines*, "Jahrbuch des Ungarischen Karpathenvereins" 1894, pp. 3-6 (footnote 3).

⁹ It, however, was not possible to find this letter – it is quite probable that it did not survive. Its existence is also mentioned by Hungarian materials (T. Posewitz, *Geschichte des Ungarischen Karpathenvereines ...*, *ibidem.*). There were also doubts regarding authorship: with Wallmann, in the 80th Infantry Regiment, served lieutenant Joseph Szalay; there is a supposition that this letter could have been authored by that Szalay, and not the owner of Szczawnica.

¹⁰ T. Posewitz, *ibidem.*, fragments of *Die Gründung des ungarischen Karpathenvereines* and *Die konstituierende General-Versammlung*, "Jahrbuch des Ungarischen Karpathenvereins" 1894, pp. 8–12.

¹¹ J. Reychman, *Początki Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego* [The Beginnings of the Polish Society], [in:] *Z kart "Wierchów"* [From the Pages of "Wierchy" ["The Peaks"]], part: *Powstanie i ideologia Polskiego Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego* [The Uprising and Ideology of the Polish Tatra Society], Warsaw-Kraków 1984, p. 7.

¹² J. Reychman, *Początki Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego*, "Wierchy" [The Beginnings of the Polish Tatra Society "Wierchy" ["The Peaks"]] 1948, p. 36) and W. Krygowski (*Zarys dziejów polskiej turystyki górskiej* [An Outline of the History of Polish Mountain Tourism], *op. cit.*, p. 40), in their works, they give the name J. Rogowski. Meanwhile, as shown – referring to the note by Walery Eljasz, *Początek i rozwój Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego* [The Beginning and Development of the Tatra Society] – W.H. Paryski, meaning Karol Rogawski (1819-1888), archeologist and political activist. W.H. Paryski, *Początki Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego i Zakopane*, „Wierchy” [The Beginnings of the Tatra and Zakopane Society, "Wierchy" ["The Peaks"]] 1978 (1980), p. 24, (footnote 11).

¹³ In Poland, he was known as Wincenty Arnese.

¹⁴ Polish elaborationhs assume that it was at the initiative of F. Pławicki that the TT organisation began, cf.: B. Chwaściński, *Z dziejów taternictwa. O górach i ludziach* [From the History of Mountaineering. About Mountains and People], Warsaw 1979; V. Arnese, *Avant, durant et après la révolution polonaise de l'année 1863*, Posen 1882, p. 46; Z. Radwańska-Paryska, W.H. Paryski, *Wielka Encyklopedia Tatrzańska* [The Great Tatra Encyclopedie], Poronin 1996, p. 948.

¹⁵ *Club Alpino Polacco*, "Bollettino del Club Alpino Italiano" 1875, pp. 326-327, see also "Bollettino del CAI" 1875, p. 407.

¹⁶ L. Świerż, [An Outline of the Tatra Society Activity During its First Decade (from 1874 to 1883)], "Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego" ["Diary of the Tatra Society"] 1885, Vol. 10, p. 95.

¹⁷ V. Arnese's letter to the CAI administration from April 1874, V. Arnese, *Avant, durant et après ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

that time, in April 1874, Walery Eljasz was interested in the information obtained from documents sent by the CAI, as well as the statutes of other Alpine societies. This probably caused the imperfections of the first statute, and thus, the structure of TT, to be realised and the first general assembly of members was asked to revise the existing statute¹⁸. Finally, a new statute was created, which explicitly made use of the provisions of the Italian statute and the tasks posed by the CAI. This convergence is perhaps the result of cooperation between Arnese and Eljasz, and Eljasz's in the creation of the Statute. Arnese, as the CAI official delegate¹⁹, on May 10, 1874, began the first assembly of the founders of TT, congratulating on behalf of Alpine associations²⁰.

And thus, the process of organising people fascinated by the Tatras was given an outline of Alpine societies. The situation repeated itself at the beginning of the 20th century, when it was decided to create an organisation to support the development of mountaineering as an independent discipline, independent of tourism²¹.

For many years, synonyms for mountaineer and mountaineering were the concepts of tourist, tourism, probably adopted from Western European experiences (Tourist, *Hochtouristik*). These two terms for a person wandering in the Tatra Mountains – a tourist, mountaineer – began to diverge significantly at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. However, it was not easy to replace the mountain travel model created by Tytus Chałubiński. When he arrived in Zakopane for a longer stay in 1873, Chałubiński already had some knowledge about the mountains, mountain experience and, as it seems, a crystallised view on the importance of mountains in human life²². He wandered around the Pyrenees (1859, 1869), the Central Massif in Auvergne (1868). There, he most likely confirmed his belief that the mountains are a remedy for all human ailments – they heal not only the body, but also the soul. This idea became the leitmotiv of his Tatra activities, and its practical expression – the famous “trips without a programme”. They were dependent on a highlander guide, whose hands were entrusted with the preparation and safe conduct of the trip, so that its participants could fully devote themselves to contemplating the charm of the Tatra Mountains and experiencing unusual understand-

ing. Emphasis was also placed on the emotions one experiences under the influence of the beauty of the view from the summit. From there, peaks were chosen as the target, from which the view was the widest. The entry route was irrelevant, which is why the most common were the already known routes.

The vision of new goals for mountaineering as a specialised form of tourism was initiated by Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski. He was the first to turn towards the secondary in terms of height and irrelevant in terms of view, but technically difficult peaks. He did not, however, have successors. Ludwik Chałubiński, Karol Potkański and Władysław Kleczyński also failed. It seemed that the possibilities of developing Tatra tourism had ended. Looking for a way out of the situation around 1899-1900, it was realised that “the further development of Tatra tourism must follow a line of freeing oneself from the template of the current rules of walking in the mountains and getting closer to these slogans and methods of combating the power of Skalnemia (the Polish language from the interwar period) that prevailed then in Western European alpinism”²³.

At that time, European mountaineering began to evolve into sport. The symbol of this new orientation was turning to the difficulties of independently overcoming the terrain (*Schwierigkeitsalpinismus*) and, i.e. without the help of a guide, undertaking climbing (*Führerlose Bergsteigung*). At the root of this development of alpinism was the “exhaustion” of mountaineering problems, such as unconquered peaks, or easier accessibility of the mountains due to the opening of railway lines leading to the Alps, and even crossing their main ridge, as well as the fact that new generations entered the mountains already discovered, researched and described – there were not only accurate maps of individual regions, but also tourist guides, not to mention the specialised press, giving a number of practical tips for mountain activities. The socio-cultural and political situation of individual nations approving the search for risky and dangerous challenges was also important. On a massive scale, they began to climb the already conquered peaks by other, more difficult routes, looking for secondary alps as to height, but looking inaccessible. Winter climbing and skiing were also of interest as a form of mountain ex-

¹⁸ This regarded not only limiting the rights of the founders, but giving the company nationwide character limited by the name (Galicyjskie Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie [The Galician Tatra Society]), and the possibility of creating local circles and delegations. Apart from Arnese, Lutostański and Uznański also voted for such a conclusion, while T. Chałubiński and W. Eljasz opposed.

¹⁹ The fact that Arnese was an accredited CAI representative of the TT is also confirmed by protocol of the 7th CAI Congress, during which he performed such a role – *Verbale dell'Adunanza del VII Congresso degli alpinisti italiani, nel castello di Rivoli, il 10 agosto 1874*, “Bollettino del Club Alpino Italiano” 1875, p. 403.

²⁰ More broadly on the role of W. Arnese in creating the Tatra Society see: E. Roszkowska, *Wincenty Arnese – działalność na rzecz Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego* [Wincenty Arnese – Activity for the Tatra Society], [in:] *Z najnowszej historii kultury fizycznej w Polsce* [From the Newest History of Physical Culture in Poland]. Scientific work from the summer school of physical culture historians, Vol. VII ed. L. Nowak, Gorzów Wielkopolski 2006, pp. 233-243.

²¹ See page 8 of this article.

²² More elaborately on this topic, E. Roszkowska, *W okowach “chałubińszczyzny”* [In the Shackles of “Chałubińszczyzna”], [in:] *Spoleczno-kulturowe studia z kultury fizycznej* [Social-cultural Studies in Physical Culture], eds. K. Obodyński, P. Król, W. Bajorek, Rzeszów 2012, pp. 544-557.

²³ *W dwudziestopięciolecie Sekcji Turystycznej Polskiego Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego* [On the 25th Anniversary of The Tatra Society Polish Tourism Section], “Taternik” [“The Mountaineer”] 1928, issues 4-6, p. 78.

ploration. The precursors of such mountaineering types were Heinrich Hess, brothers Emil and Otto Zsigmonda, Ludwig Purtscheller, Hermann von Barth, Eugen Guido Lammer, Robert Hans Schmitt, Eduard Pichl, Mathias Zdarsky, Wilhelm Paulcke, Georg Bilgeri, and the apogee of the development of these new trends in alpine alpinism and Dolomites fell in the 1890s.

In the Tatras, Karol Englisch and Janusz Chmielowski began to propagate these ideas independently of each other. It can be said that the achievements of Western European mountaineering not only came to the rescue but became a “cure” for the Tatra exploration model created by Tytus Chałubiński.

The first to begin transplanting new ideological trends in mountaineering was Karol Englisch de Payne. He also showed the possibilities of their implementation in practice and “exposed” new motives for undertaking mountaineering activities – he rejected the scientific and aesthetic motives for mountain climbing, exposing the danger of mountain terrain and the heroism of the mountaineers defeating it, which - while taking care of publicity and recognition of his own achievements – he consciously disseminated the publication of his accounts and descriptions of his experiences²⁴. Englisch also competed with other mountaineers and was the first to use climbing equipment: ropes, ice axes, climbing-irons (crampons) and hooks²⁵. It can be said that – he was the “ambassador” of the idea of *Schwierigkeitsalpinismus*, and using Alpine patterns, he created the foundations for sport-oriented climbing, in which the competition and difficulty of climbed peaks play an important role. The essence of climbing was the path leading to the summit and overcoming its difficulties, which appeared as a technically defined opponent.

Janusz Chmielowski was the other climber who also introduced to climbing and promoted the achievements of Western European mountaineering in the field of mountain walking techniques and climbing equipment. He also created the foundations of mountaineering ideology and terminology, developing the first Polish mountaineer guide, climbing technique and introducing rules regulating mountaineering activity (decalogue), the basis and condition

sine qua of which was independency. In this matter, the patterns came from mountaineering, specifically from the achievements and views of Emil Zsigmondy:

“As he [Emil Zsigmondy] exerted huge influence on contemporary (sic!) tourism, pointing to his own example of personal independence as a climber’s goal, emphasizing the importance of walking without guides and the value of mountain tourism as a factor shaping the nature, so also the book [Die Gefahren der Alpen] was, one could say, a catechism of young mountaineers which has already brought up more than one generation. [...] Independence is the most important and indispensable feature of real tourism. Whoever always walks under the leadership of someone else, without making his/her own observations and not focusing attention, falls into childish failure, a lack of independence, which is a serious situation, can cause, to say the least, unpleasantness”²⁶.

In the mountaineering community, discussions, often of academic nature, began on whether to walk in the mountains with or without a guide. Drawing on confirmation of the value of independent exploration of the Tatra Mountains from Alpine mountaineering, it was believed that if the alps were considered impossible to pass without the help of a guide, then it is impossible to argue over the sense of climbing undertaken without the help of guides, on the contrary, it should be supported. The risk of mountain dangers remained a problem. Chmielowski managed to deal with it, specifying the conditions that an independent mountaineer should respect. He gave the mountaineers the skills necessary to manage risk. “Let us not attack tourism – that it hides dangers, because if they were not any, it would lose its grace”²⁷ – he wrote. As an argument, he presented the thesis by Albert Frederic Mummery stating that “in danger, lies an instructive and cleansing thought that is not found in any other school”²⁸. Chmielowski believed that “like everything, so as walking in the mountains, orientation in them, searching for the right path, and not losing the one already known or marked, you need to learn – it does not come by itself, and the mountains also set their conditions: we must learn them and learn to know them”²⁹.

²⁴ He first published in “Jahrbuch des Ungarischer Alpenvereins”, and later in Polish journals: “Giewont”, “Ilustracja Polska” [The Polish Illustration], “Przegląd Zakopiański” [“The Zakopane Review”]. Zakopane’s “Giewont” became the journal of his fight for Ostry Szczyt [Sharp Peak]. After his success, he sent a telegram with information about the climb to the editorial office. A. Englisch de Payne, Śpiczasty Szczyt w Tatrach Wysokich [Śpiczasty Szczyt [Śpiczasty Szczyt [Pointed Peak] in the High Tatras], «Giewont» 1902, issue 8, pp. 13-14. A note about conquering Ostry Szczyt [Sharp Peak], entitled *Wzięcie Śpiczastego Szczytu. (2356)* [Conquering Śpiczasty Szczyt [Pointed Peak](2356)], stated that: “After many attempts, extremely difficult and dangerous, after a formal fight with this most obstinate of the Tatra peaks – he climbed to 25 b.m.p. Karol Artur Englisch de Payne, a Pole, a Cracovian, known to our readers from the description of numerous Tatra expeditions, published in Giewont”. *Ibidem*, p. 14.

²⁵ In the years 1897-1903, he conquered 30 virgin peaks – during the same period, 28 remaining mountaineers, climbed 26 peaks not yet conquered.

²⁶ H., E. Zsigmondy. *Die Gefahren der Alpen, Neugearbeitet u. ergänzt von W. Paulcke*, “Taternik” [“The Mountaineer”] 1908, issue 3, pp. 58-59.

²⁷ J. Chmielowski, *W głębi Tatr* [Deep in the Tatras], [in:] *Czarny Szczyt. Proza taternicka lat 1904-1939* [Czarny Szczyt [Black Peak], Tatra Prose in the Years 1904-1939], eds. J. Kolbuszewskiego, Kraków 1976, p. 54.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

Also, the development of winter Tatra tourism, and then mountaineering, despite the fact that it was initiated by Hungarians: Eduard Blásy, Viktor Lorenz, Franz Dénes, and especially Miklós Szontagh's³⁰ dream, developed by the Germans Robert Bartsch and Johannes Müller from Wrocław in the company of Spis guides – Jakob Horvay and Jan Mahler, the right impulse was achieved by the activity of the mountaineer Theodor Wundt. Wundt made his Tatra winter expeditions in the company of the abovementioned Spis guide Jakub Horvay in 1884 and 1891³¹. The essence of Wundt's Tatra activity was conquering the peaks in winter, not wandering the valley to its end. With his activities, Wundt also proved that it is possible to conquer the Tatra peak in winter without a guide and without a partner (alone). Without glorifying his achievements, it can be said that they became a signpost for the development of native Tatra winter tourism, although there was not really interest in it until the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries³².

On the Polish side of the Tatra Mountains, winter trips were most often organised on sleds to Kościeliska Valley and Morskie Oko³³, and in the 90s, there was a trend for visiting Czarny Staw in winter. This state, as can be inferred from the Zakopane press³⁴, continued until 1902, when Karol Englisch developed his winter activities. His conquer with K. Jordán and Johan Hunsdorfer jun. and Johan Franz of Szczyt Sław-

kowski, the ridge of the Granaty Wielickie, and especially the passage through the Polski Grzebień, which he described³⁵, made a huge impression³⁶ and initiated the systematic exploration of the Tatra Mountains in the winter, based on the achievements of Western European mountaineering and using the latest tourist and mountaineering equipment³⁷.

Lack of interest in winter exploration of the mountains was probably also associated with the inability to overcome the snow-ice area. Unlike the Alps³⁸, in the Tatras, in the summer there was no need to learn how to navigate in such conditions. Glaciated patches of snow, which cover the northern slopes or nooks and crannies in summer, where the sun does not shine even in summer, have been avoided confirming the belief that snow is "a treacherous element, completely mysterious and unknown, forever closing the winter Tatra Mountains from human invasion"³⁹.

As earlier mentioned, Western European influences were also visible when organising the mountain-climbing movement. Following the Alpine pattern, it was thought that a club with strictly mountainous attitude should be created. It was considered whether such an association should be independent and hermetic because of the qualifications of its members, e.g. Akademischer Alpenverein München (1892), Akademischer Alpenclub Innsbruck (1893)⁴⁰, or rather formed in the bosom of TT, similarly as in Western Europe, where inside nation-

³⁰ J. A. Szczepański, *Początki taternictwa zimowego* [The Beginnings of Winter Mountaineering], "Szczyty" nie ma takiego pisma, są "Wierchy" i tak powinno pozostać!!!! ["Peaks"] 1933, p. 31.

³¹ During the first, in April 1884, he climbed Rysy, Krywań, Sławkowski Peak (the 3rd climb in general), passed through Przełęcz pod Kopą and Polski Grzebień; during the second – in December 1891 – first time i n d e p e n d e n t l y!, he reached Skrajna and Pośrednia Baszta, later, along with Horvay, he reached Łomnica (December 27) and Lodowy Szczyt (December 28) – T. Wundt, *Ich und die Berge*, Berlin 1917, pp. 57-73.

³² At that time, as Wundt climbed the high peaks and passes of the Tatra Mountains in winter, on the Polish side in 1890, as can be deduced from the article that appeared in "Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Tatrzńskiego" ["Diary of the Tatra Society"], it was only then "planned to visit Zakopane in full winter to get to know it in a different coat of snow and ice, to assess the winter Tatra scenery and take a look at the climate and local relations in the winter season" – S.P., *Zakopane w pełnej zimie* [Zakopane During Full Winter], "Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Tatrzńskiego" ["Diary of the Tatra Society"] 1892, p. 13.

³³ List of trips, see: L. Birkenmajer, *O stosunkach temperatury głębokich jezior tatrzańskich w różnych głębokościach i różnych porach roku* [On the Relations of Temperature of Tatra Deep Lakes at Different Depths and Different Seasons], R.4. *Zimowa fizjonomia Rybiego i innych jezior tatrzańskich* [Winter Physiognomy of the Rybie [Fish Lake] and Other Tatra Lakes], Kraków 1901, pp. 79-93.

³⁴ *Wycieczki w Tatry* [Trips to the Tatras], "Przegląd Zakopiański" ["The Zakopane Review"] 1902, issue 2, p. 16.

³⁵ K. A. de Englisch Payne, *W zimie przez Tatry* [Through the Tatras in Winter], "Przegląd Zakopiański" ["The Zakopane Review"] 1902, issue 25, pp. 220-222;

³⁶ This trek, considered extremely bold, was reported by "Przegląd Zakopiański" – *Zimowa wycieczka w Tatry* ["The Zakopane Review" – A Winter Trip to the Tatras], „Przegląd Zakopiański” [”The Zakopane Review”] 1902, issue 2, pp. 15-16.

³⁷ In his winter activities, Englisch used ice-axes, crampons, snow shoes, ropes.

³⁸ Both the Eastern and Western Alps, for tourism-related reasons, were already visited in the winter of the first half of the 19th c. In 1809, Valentin Stanig – on December 15th, independently climbed Untersberg (1851 m). In 1832, Hugi made his first winter expedition to the glaciers in the Grindelwald region, during which the participants climbed, among others Strahleggpass (3,351 m) – on the 4th of January, an attempt was made to reach Mönchjoch and Finsteraarjoch (16th and 18th January). In 1847, Prof. Friedrich von Simony climbed Dachstein three times (2,996 m). On the 13th of January, father F. Francisci from Heiligenblut climbed Kleinglockner; on the 26th of December 1861, Johannes Conz, along with three companions, reached Staesserhorn (2,579 m); on the 7th of January 1862, Thomas Stuart Kennedy with Peter Perren and Peter Taugwalder attempted a winter climb of Matterhorn (they reached 3,400 m) William Coolidge and Miss. Brevoort, along with guides Christia and Ulrich Almerami, climbed: Wetterhorn – 14th January 1874, Jungfrau – 22nd January 1874 and Mönch – 24th January 1874, Großglockner – 1st–2nd January 1875. On the 31st of January 1875, Chamonix Izabella Straton climbed Mont Blanc with guides – see W. Schmidkunz, *Alpine Geschichte in Einzeldaten*, "Alpines Handbuch". Vol. 1., Leipzig 1931, pp. 354, 359, 381, 382, 383; W. Schmidkunz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Wintertouristik in Einzeldaten*, "Winter" 1926-27, pp. 58, 59.

³⁹ J. A. Szczepański, *Początki taternictwa zimowego* [The Beginnings of Winter Mountaineering], *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁴⁰ *Nasza ankieta turystyczna* [Our Tourism Survey], "Przegląd Zakopiański" ["The Zakopane Review"] 1902, issue 29, p. 261.

al associations, there were also elite academic sections, to which only active climbers were admitted, and according to the rules specified in the statute⁴¹. Ultimately, because of TT's well-established position in society, the latter option was chosen.

Created based on the model of the specialised sections of Deutscher und Österreichischer Alpenverein, the Tourist Section of TT took the Alpine experiences in its activities into account⁴². This is largely due to Janusz Chmielowski, who with his organisational commitment⁴³, his own systematic mountain activities, assimilation and propagation of technical achievements in mountaineering⁴⁴, laid the foundations for the development of guideless mountaineering. The Alpine direction of the Section's development had strong support in 1906, when Lvivans, creators of the Tatarnik Circle (later the Himalaya Club) were accepted as its members. They "came to its forehead the following year, transforming it into a strictly mountaineering club meeting the need of time"⁴⁵. Their independent mountain experience⁴⁶, transferring Western patterns to Poland (Maślanka was in the Alps in 1905), resulted in the increase of independent climbing activity and the flourishing of the Section⁴⁷ as well as a clear distinction between the concepts of a mountaineer and a tourist. This was also reflected in the title of the journal published since 1907 by the – "Taternik" ["The Mountaineer"] Section. Its editorial pages and internal structure were modelled on the "Österreichische Alpenzeitung" – the Austrian Österreichischer Touristenklub organ, and "Taternik" ["The Mountaineer"] "was

aimed at promoting mountain sport and serving Polish mountaineering"⁴⁸.

In 1907, Janusz Chmielowski and Adam Kroebel also left for the Dolomites and Wilder Kaiser. For the first time, they had the opportunity to confront the theoretical notion of alpine activity in practice and compare it with the achievements of mountain climbing.

"And this direction in Alpine tourism, consisting in conquering the most inaccessible walls, gaining only sporting interest awoken by denigrating the peaks and deliberately searching for difficult paths – is only with us at the beginning of its development. [...] It follows that the most difficult Tatra expeditions do not match the most difficult expeditions in the Dolomites and Kaisergebirge"⁴⁹.

– Chmielowski wrote in "Taternik" ["The Mountaineer"]. This comparison disadvantageous to mountaineers and the experience gained in the Alps became an impulse for the flourishing of Polish climbing activity in the Tatras and the Alps. It also helped to understand the organisation's proper goals to serve mountaineers, not tourists. This did not mean that the Section unanimously advocated such a direction of development. In ST TT, there were representatives of various ideological currents in mountaineering: aesthetic, social and sport-related. Before the protaternic (pro-sport) oriented programme was adopted, there was a conflict between representatives of the social and sport ideology of mountaineering⁵⁰. Ultimately, the programme supporting the

⁴¹ Up to 1900, the academic sections were created in almost all Alpine countries.

⁴² The Tatra Mountains Museum in Zakopane – Archives (hereafter: MT-ZA), Ref. AR/NO/227/13 – *Regulations and fees for Polish Tatra guides (effective from 1 July 1907). Circulation and ownership of the Tatra Society, Kraków 1907 – manuscript; MT-ZA, Ref. AR/NO/225/12 – Letter from the Board of the Tourist Section of the Tatra Society to the Faculty of the Tatra Society from October 7, 1907.*

⁴³ Chmielowski put the good of the Section above his own successes. He pursued, for example, the model of Alpine societies to insure the members of the Section against accidents, or at least guides, about which he wrote in a letter to Krygowski: "Having read in the Alpine newspapers that the Austrian and Swiss Clubs entered into relations with the insurance company and obtained % for their members, I wrote to the Viennese Society "Providentia" to send me a prospectus, [...] who knows if it would not be good if the Faculty decided to insure (for example) the 5 best Zakopane guides. [...] SAC spends several thousands of francs a year for this purpose. That is why only the top 5 so the cost is little and encourages others. Anyways, only these Tatra guides are worth insuring, those who take on the difficult trips. Well – and there are only a few of them". – Quote from Janusz Chmielowski's Letter to Stanisław Krygowski written on June 17, 1905, in the collections of the PTTK Central Mountain Library in Kraków (uncataloged material).

⁴⁴ Chmielowski not only brought from the West - hobnailed shoes, soft climbing ankle boots and ropes (1902), ice axes (1903), crampons (1904), later hooks - but he also promoted the use of climbing equipment. This equipment was not truly adopted until 1907.

⁴⁵ St. K. Zaremba, *Wspomnienie o Zygmuncie Klemensiewicz* [Memories of Zygmunt Klemensiewicz], "Taternik" [The Mountaineer] 1966, issues 1-2, pp. 3-6.

⁴⁶ In 1906, the slogan "without a guide" had its peak, implemented sporadically in the years 1902–1905 (in this period, a few people – Chmielowski, Kroebel, Łopuszański, Lustgarten, dared to independently climb only known peaks, most often already discovered routes, while avoiding the creation of new, long trails). This happened thanks to Klemensiewicz, Maślanka, and Kordys, who started the programme of guideless climbing (initially for prosaic reasons - they had no money to hire a guide). They also published descriptions of independent Tatra climbs in "Pamiętnik TT" ["The TT Diary"], and later in "Taternik" ["The Mountaineer"], thereby promoting this form of Tatra activity.

⁴⁷ In 1907, the mountain activities of the Section's members intensified, followed by its numerous growth (an increase in the number of members from 22 to 59).

⁴⁸ R. Kordys, *Do współpracowników i przyjaciół Taternika* [To the Colleagues and Friends of "Taternik" ["The Mountaineer"], "Taternik" ["The Mountaineer"] 1911, issue 2, p. 44.

⁴⁹ J. Chmielowski, *Z wycieczki po Alpach Tyrolskich* [From Trips to the Tyrolean Alps], "Taternik" [The Mountaineer] 1907, issue 6, p. 96.

⁵⁰ More broadly on the topic of mountaineering ideology, see E. Roszkowska, *Taternictwo polskie. Geneza i rozwój do 1914 r* [Polish Mountaineering. The Origin and Development up to 1914], Kraków 2013.

development of mountain climbing won. This happened thanks to the support of the Smoluchowski brothers: Tadeusz and Marian⁵¹, who grew up on alpinism, and in the years 1890–1894 were counted among the best Viennese climbers. The Smoluchówskis practiced mountaineering without the help of guides, being pioneers of this direction next to Zsigmondi, Purtscheller⁵². Climbing and organisational experience meant that Marian was elected chairman of the ST TT⁵³.

Relying on the activity of the alpine societies, Roman Kordys and Marian Smoluchowski showed what the Section should do to promote the development of mountaineering:

“The nature and direction of the Sekcyja is similar to foreign organisations such as the Alpine Club or Oest. Alpenklub, the programme of which is not to promote tourism, build shelters, etc. “,

but

“Climbing is not suitable for collective exercise. [...] Alpine societies do not organise collective tours, but teach tourist principles by introducing units to the mountains. The Tourist Sekcyja fulfils its tasks in a similar way”⁵⁴.

Thus, the discussion, threatening to change the tasks of the Section, thanks to the example flowing from the Alpine environment adopted a turn favourable for mountaineering, which was considered a sport activity. This was reflected in the change in the statute of the ST TT and a clear definition of the purpose of its existence and activities for the development of climbing. The ST TT Statute from 1912 can be defined by a document formally confirming the existing practical separation between mountaineering and tourist activities. The key task became to articulate the essence of this “new” mountain climbing. And here the help of the publications of Western European mountaineers came to the rescue. Adam Lewicki, recalling the thoughts of the Austrian mountaineer, the captor of all Alpine four-thousanders – Karl Blodig (1859-1956), recognised that three elements: intellectual, aesthetic and biological, relate to the three stages a mountaineer climber’s development. It all starts with the “desire to know”. If it is cultivated, it will turn into admiration for the beauty of the world of the mountains. This stage is a prelude to the need for “stronger impressions and greater efforts” in which

“manual labour, the hardship of tackling the mountain, has become no longer a means to an end, but the very goal: *labor ipse voluptas*. This last phase of passion that accompanies the whole of human life is already, in a way, the perfect moment of its development. This type of tourism concept has only been known recently, both as a phenomenon of life and as a literary definition. Mountain sport is an almost contemporary product, and referring to its significance in today’s relations of life, it could be called a »substitute« product, because it gives way to the eternal need of unleashing forces and the need for »gambling«, which in ancient times, was met in war or at bold parties and rowdy adventures”⁵⁵.

„Taternik” [“The Mountaineer”], as a journal involved in the dissemination of information about new phenomena in mountain sport (this is how extreme mountaineering was termed), recommended journalistic and literary news in the field of mountaineering, but provided it with its own commentary. When in 1907 the book by Erich König “Empor!” *Georg Winklers Tagebuch*, the polemical statements that appeared after its publication in the climbing environment were presented. This publication also became the starting point for the first discussion in Poland on the aspirations of modern mountaineering. At the time, mountaineering appeared to the editors of “Taternik” [“The Mountaineer”] as the result of “some pure mad drive” ordering mountaineers “no longer to fight the inevitable difficulties, but to search for them where they can be easily avoided”⁵⁶. The author of the text – Adam Lewicki, identified with the view of Ernst Enzensperger – the main adversary of the book by König, believing that this new direction is too weak to “create a new school in alpinism”, but can affect the youngest generation “by corrupting the healthy and noble idea of alpinism”⁵⁷. At the same time, Lewicki presented the views of Eugen Guido Lammer, radically different from those presented by Enzensperger, defending the “young and energetic idea of the” alpinist »act«. In the perils of the mountains, Lammer saw a factor attracting action. A year later, the work of Erwin Keller appeared on the pages of “Taternik” [“The Mountaineer”], in which the author highlighted the essence of independent mountain activity, paying special attention to the impoverishment of the venture and handing it over to the guide. The consequence of this decision – Keller argued – is the release from the obligation to prepare

⁵¹ Both brothers: Tadeusz and Marian reported their success to ST TT in 1907 and 1908.

⁵² See more elaborately E. Roszkowska, *Alpejska działalność Mariana Smoluchowskiego* [Alpinist Activity of Marian Smoluchowski], “Folia Turistica” 2012, issue 26, pp. 213-238.

⁵³ He performed this function in the term 1911-1912.

⁵⁴ See protocols from the General Assembly of members of the Section published in “Taternik” [“The Mountaineer”] 1910, issue 5, pp. 116-117; 1911, issue 3, pp. 52-54; 1912, issue 4, pp. 67-69.

⁵⁵ A. Lewicki, *Alpinizm i taternictwo* [Alpinism and Mountaineering], “Gazeta Lwowska” [“The Lviv Newspaper”] 1906, issue 181, p. 5.

⁵⁶ A.[dam] L.[ewicki], “Empor!” *Georg Winklers Tagebuch*. Von E. König, “Taternik” [“The Mountaineer”] 1907, issue 3, p. 45.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

for the theoretical preparation for climbing and its organisation (exploring the area, calculating the time needed for the transition, organising accommodation) and depriving it of the character of “playing with fate”, and thus, what makes it attractive in reality⁵⁸. Dense publications were also of great popularity, among which, the most-read was the fourth edition of *Die Gefahren der Alpen*⁵⁹. At the same time, “Taternik” [“The Mountaineer”] published a review of the work by Heinrich Steinitzer titled *Zur Psychologie des Alpinisten*⁶⁰. It is possible that under the influence of this publication, attempts were made to outline human attitudes towards the mountains and the activities conducted in them. People began to wonder why a man voluntarily searches for dangers and exposes his and others’ lives to experience only a transient state of supreme happiness, why does he provoke death? Nietzsche gave the answer: “A real man wants two things: danger and games”⁶¹.

It was recognised that mountain climbing makes sense when one is consciously looking for dangers. The foundation of a mountaineer’s existence is the will of power, because it translates into the will of action and success, which triggers an active attitude, forces one to overcome the resistance of the forces of nature. Focus on physical effort, the fight against nature, rocks, snow, firns – these are the goals of mountain climbing that the lowland people will not understand. In order for the mountaineer to win this fight, s/he must come to the mountains prepared (e.g. in rocks, ruins of buildings, trees).

In 1910, a study by Heinrich Stenitzer *Sport und Kultur. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Bergsports* was published in Munich⁶². It met with great interest throughout the mountaineering world and with an even greater wave of criticism. “Taternik” [“The Mountaineer”] devoted a lot of space to it, which may indicate the need to deal with problems in the field of sport theory and emerging mountaineering theory. This work also became an impulse to manifest issues of cardinal importance at the time, because they talk about the nature of mountaineering as a sport. What was discussed in the hermetic Tatra environment, and what was hidden from the world, even exploded and was noticed by large crowds of society. It also showed typical motivations for dealing with sport and mountaineering as a sport. Anyway, looking for justification for the existence of a sport current in mountaineering in the innate inclinations seemed the only right way in the face of allegations. Mountaineering, as a concept and form of activity, was subjected to multidirectional analyses, the purpose of which was to determine the ideal of mountaineering and determine

its value, an ideal in which there is room for sports elements, because they cannot be rejected, because they result from human nature. Since the attraction to mountaineering is innate, it has biological justification. Thus, the acceptance or rejection of the idea of mountaineering as a sport was not determined by logical or substantive decisions, but subjective arguments, identified with innate dispositions of man.

As a consequence of the above, the Tatra Wall, or more precisely its difficulties, became the criterion for assessing the skills of a mountaineer, and the activities undertaken on it – a source of pleasure and a prelude to experiencing victory.

To sum up, the evolution of mountaineering until 1914 was conditioned by close contact of mountaineers with Western European mountaineering. It manifested itself in three dimensions:

1. The theoretical basis for which was mountaineers’ knowledge of mountaineering literature. Systematic study of articles describing the then mountaineering and books by Steinitzer, König (showing the thoughts of Winkler), Zsigmondy, or even catalogues with climbing equipment, became an impulse to manifest the issues about the essence of alpinism as a sport and provoked the comparison of mountaineering with mountaineering. Therefore, he provoked discussions on the directions of further development of mountain climbing. It also had practical significance – climbing guides popularised in “Taternik” [“The Mountaineer”] (among them, some were recognised as the best guides of the Eastern Alps, i.e. by L. Purtscheller, H. Hess, *Der Hochtourist in den Ostalpen*, as well as 2-volume *(Club-) Führer durch die Urner-Alpen*, created by the Akademischer Alpen-Club Zürich, and published by the Schweizer Alpen-Club in 1905). They were a model for the development of Polish mountaineering guides. Also, the structure of “Taternik” [“The Mountaineer”] (valid until modern times) adopted “Österreichische Alpenzeitung” as a model.

2. Direct contact of mountaineers with alpinism taking place during individual trips to the Dolomites and the Alps. Independent climbs on rock routes, joint climbing with the best mountaineers at the time: including, Tita Piaż, Robert Jäger, a were a great opportunity to confront mountaineering skills in the alpine terrain. Its effect was the transplantation of alpinism achievements in the Tatra region in the field of climbing approaches, techniques of movement in the mountain area, and in particular, the awareness of the need for comprehensive preparation for climbing, systematic improvement of skills, using modern mountaineering equipment.

⁵⁸ E. Keller, *Kilka wskazówek dla chodzących bez przewodnika*, “Taternik” [A Few Tips for Those Wandering Without a Guide, “The Mountaineer”] 1908, issue 1, pp. 12-14.

⁵⁹ E. Zsigmondy, *Die Gefahren der Alpen. Erfahrungen und Ratschläge*, Neubearbeitet und ergänzt von W. Paulcke, IV Auflage, Innsbruck 1908.

⁶⁰ H. Stenitzer, *Zur Psychologie des Alpinisten*, „Graphologische Monatshefte” 1907/08, Vol. IX, No. 9-12 and Vol. 10, issues 3-4.

⁶¹ F. Nietzsche, *Tako rzecze Zaratustra. Książka dla wszystkich i dla nikogo* [Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for All and None], transl. W. Berent, <http://wolnelektury.pl/katalog/lektura/tako-rzecze-zaratustra.html>.

⁶² H. Steinitzer, *Sport und Kultur. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Bergsports*, Munich 1910.

3. Practical support from mountaineers in the Tatras - Theodor Wundt, Ludwig Darmstädter, Hans Stabeller, Robert Bartsch, Johannes Müller, August Otto, Katherine Bröske, Simon Häberlein, the Smoluchowski brothers raised in the Vienna climbing atmosphere and the ideology of alpinism professed by E. Zsigmondy, to increase the level of difficulty of routes crossed in the Tatras, to open the Tatras in the winter season and to arouse interest in sport mountaineering,

The consequence of Alpine influences on mountaineering was its separation from Tatra tourism in the years 1902-1912 and the transformation into a separate, independent sport discipline. It was then considered that:

- the essence of mountain climbing is a fight with “adversities and dangers of the Tatra world; in the final conclusion – fighting yourself (alpinism makes sense when you are consciously looking for dangers), but also experiencing happiness, even ecstasy from overcoming difficulties, and thus, experiencing non-standard emotions that are conditioned by risk. This was where the game began, in extreme cases, the players were all in (life at stake). The mountaineer, being on the verge of his existence, realised himself most, his personal existence;
- this fight is to be fought alone, without the help of a guide
- the will of power is the foundation of a mountaineer’s existence because it translates into the will of action and success, which triggers an active attitude, forcing one to overcome the resistance of the forces of nature. Focus on physical effort, fight with nature, rocks, snow, firs – these are the goals of mountain climbing
- the wall, or more precisely its difficulties, became the criterion for assessing the skills of a mountaineer, and the activities undertaken on it – a source of pleasure and a prelude to experiencing victory
- it was necessary to use climbing equipment as an element guaranteeing safety in mountaineering.

Thus, in the words of Zygmunt Klemensiewicz, it can be assumed that: “*the evolution of modern mountain climbing consists {...}, above all, in shifting the centre of gravity of all activities covered by the name mountain climbing into one branch, for which we do not yet have a Polish name, which the Germans call “Klettersport”.*

This model of mountain climbing, although strongly marked by the cultural situation of the era, has not been lost, but still creates the basic framework for the development of modern climbing sports.

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