POLISH LIBRARIES

VOL. 6

2018

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF POLAND

ISSN 2300-9217

www.polishlibraries.pl

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Cover illustration
Library of the Zamoyski Family Fee Tail
in the Blue Palace, Warsaw

Issue: 200 copies

Printing
ARTis Poligrafia s.c., Toruń

National Library of Poland
al. Niepodległości 213
02-086 Warsaw, Poland

ISSN 2300-9217
ISBN 978-83-7009-798-1

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Warszawa 2018

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Articles

Wojciech Kordyzon
Who is the Viellator *on Folio 18r of the Sankt Florian Psalter? A Miniature From a Manuscript in the Collections of the National Library of Poland as Seen Through the Medieval Imagination* 6

Janusz Lachowski
New Research Perspectives on Franciszka and Stefan Themerson's Oeuvre. The Case of Film Output 52

Kamil Pawlicki
Genre Theory Applied: Genre and Form Terms in the Catalogue of the National Library of Poland 76

Justyna Raczkowska
Zbigniew Seifert's Collection in the Polish Jazz Archive 99

Agata Pietrzak
Fameux Amateur *Baron Philipp von Stosch and the Unknown Provenance of Lost Old-Masters' Drawings From the Collection of Count Stanisław Kostka Potocki* 115

ARTICLES

Wojciech Kordyzon

WHO IS THE *VIELLATOR* ON FOLIO 18R OF THE SANKT FLORIAN PSALTER? A MINIATURE FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF POLAND AS SEEN THROUGH THE MEDIEVAL IMAGINATION

In the Middle Ages it was rare for the graphic representation of concepts to remain static and uniform in meaning. A dog, for instance, in its perception passed down from antiquity, could be the embodiment of impurity, but in medieval iconography, with time, the dog began to assume the connotation of a noble and faithful animal. The lion in turn represented a triumph over evil, but also signified violence and duplicity.[1] The meaning of one and the same figure in an illustration could differ according to the context in which it appeared, but also retain several layers of meaning. This was especially the case in biblical texts, read in four different senses: the literal, the allegorical, the moral and the anagogical.[2] Umberto Eco tells the story of the St Albans Psalter, now in Hildesheim, in which next to the image of a fortified

1 J. Le Goff, *La Civilisation de l'Occident médiéval*, [Paris] 2008, pp. 304–309.

2 See more: H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis. The Four Senses of Scripture*, vol. 1: transl. M. Sebanc, Edinburgh 1998, vol. 2: transl. E.M. Macierowski, Edinburgh 2000.

town under siege the illuminator includes a comment about not taking his depiction solely at a literal level. His miniature is not just to be understood in its basic sense – *corporaliter*, but also in the allegorical or spiritual sense – *spiritualiter.* The scene seeks to remind the reader of their own battle to be fought when they come under siege from evil.[3]

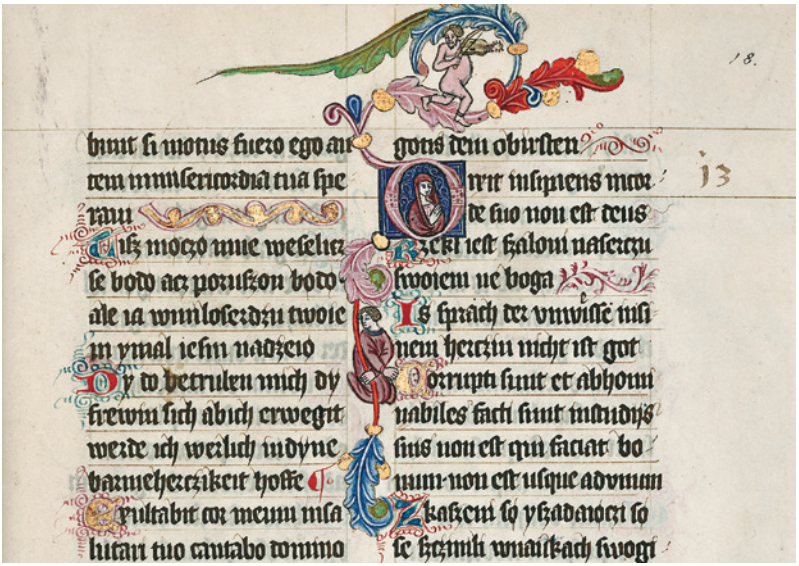

FIG. 1. Sankt Florian Psalter, folio 18r, Rps 8002 III, BN, Warsaw

Study of the iconography in the Sankt Florian Psalter (Polish: *Psałterz floriański*) in Polish National Library (8002 III) has been relatively limited hitherto. To begin with, studies were attempted of those illuminated elements, which might shed light on the artistic milieu, from which it might have originated, as well as seeking to establish who commissioned it. Hence the concentration of study on heraldry in the manuscript and the enduring mystery of the "mm" monogram, which was the subject of academic enquiry by Mieczysław Gębarowicz.[4] However, in her monograph, Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot

3 U. Eco, *Arte e bellezza nell'estetica medievale*, Milano 1987, p. 92.

4 M. Gębarowicz, *Psałterz floriański i jego geneza*, Wrocław 1965, pp. 15–84.

placed the Psalter's iconography within an astrological framework which, it was held, expressed the then royal couples' endeavours to have children.[5] While the assumptions of this academic are intriguing and wholly in keeping with medieval attitudes towards astrology, other scholars have observed that they are not totally adequate to apply to the interpretation of this historical gem.[6] It is also worth noting Andrzej Dróżdż's idea about verifying the mnemonic potential of the manuscript's decorative aspects and to review the level of awareness of the technique in Kraków.[7] Given that mnemonic associations may differ in character and assume various degrees of erudition, and in spite of applying one of the more precise systems (e.g. like those of the Preaching Order)[8], specific miniature images set in their artistic contexts may essentially always be put to mnemonic use.

The tiny image on folio 18r of the Sankt Florian Psalter depicts a naked man (fig. 1), his legs apart, as if he were either running or about to jump. Each leg carries an anklet (or perhaps the outline of some element yet to be added). He is playing a stringed instrument and his image has been set into a whimsical undulating foliate composition which is joined to the illuminated initial of Psalm 13 (14) below. The psalm opens, in Latin, with the words „Dixit insipiens in corde suo: non est Deus" and the initial incorporates the head and shoulders of a woman with her hands joined in a gesture of prayer. From the initial, the illuminator extends downwards a second foliate offshoot between two columns of the text. This is embellished with the image of a kneeling man in a long robe.

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5 Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Tajemnice dekoracji Psałterza floriańskiego*, Warszawa 1992, p .75. Polemic with Śnieżyńska-Stolot: K. Ożóg, "The Intellectual Circles in Cracow at the Turn of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and the Issue of The Creation of The Sankt Florian Psalter", *Polish Libraries*, vol. 1 (2012), (regarding the astrological attribution and competence in the astrological milieu), M. Kuźmicki, op. cit., p. 57–70 (also regarding the attribution) and A. Dróżdż, "Propozycja badawcza dekoracji Psałterza floriańskiego", *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 2003, vol. 35, pp. 207–209 (regarding the examination of the problematic and poorly argued interpretations in the light of the Christian reception of the Zodiac).

6 K. Ożóg, op. cit., pp. 93–113.

7 See A. Dróżdż, op. cit., pp. 201–210.

8 See A. Dróżdż, op. cit., p. 209.

Few interpretations exist for these depictions. In her popular science publication on the subject Zofia Rozanow calls the naked man a "biblical fool" playing a *fidel*,[9] but without detailing her reasons. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, however, describes the figure as "a man, dancing and playing the viol", at the same time stating that the image "is a depiction of Muse playing the lyre". Muse (or Moses) is meant to be the name of a man who represents an ancient Egyptian stellar constellation – the "Carrier of the Lyre."[10]

Both authors refer to the same type of musical instrument, being in all probability nothing more than an early forbear of the violin, a popular instrument in the Middle Ages known as the *vielle* in French, and in Latin as a *viella.* A performer on the *viella* might be described as a *viellator,* again from the Latin. In Anglo-Saxon literature one comes across the term *fiddle*, or its derivative the *fidel*.[11]

Psalters, given their content, usually boasted highly developed musical imagery.[12] The Psalms, intended to be sung or recited to music, were by tradition composed by the Musician-King, typically depicted carrying a harp, lyre or psaltery. And so also the Sankt Florian Psalter has King David appearing in the illuminated initial of Psalm 1 (f. 3r). Although the image remains unfinished, as does the gilding, one may assume that the latter would have outlined the shape of a musical instrument. However, musical depictions in the Sankt Florian Psalter are by no means abundant – besides the *viellator* in the margin of a folio, only a few trumpet playing figures are evident elsewhere, and their depictions would, however, require a separate commentary (ff. 3r, 16v, 23r, 28v, 50r, 53v). The purpose of the presented study is not, however, to depict the decorations of the Sankt Florian Psalter as a whole, not to discover the key to understand the entire icono-

9 Z. Rozanow, *Muzyka w miniaturze polskiej*, Kraków 1965, p. 124.

10 E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, op. cit., pp. 28–29.

11 M. Remnant, "Rebec, Fiddle and Crowd in England", *in: Instruments and their Music in the Middle Ages*, ed. T. J. McGee, Farnham 2009, pp. 326–327; T. J. McGee, "The Medieval Fiddle: Tuning, Technique, and Repertory", in: *Instruments, Ensembles, and Repertory, 1300-1600*, ed. T. J. McGee, S. Carter, Turnhout 2013, pp. 33–34, 49

12 J. Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible*, Lanham 2002, pp. 71–85.

graphic programme, but rather to reveal the literary, theological and stereotypical background of a single image included in the more complex decorated codex, that is to arrive at possible answers to questions about the meaning of the performing *viellator*.

Musicus vs. Cantor. Remarks On Musical Theory And Performance In The Middle Ages

One cannot emphasise too strongly the impact that Augustine's (354–430) and Boethius's (480–525) understanding of music had on the medieval mind. For generations their writing perpetuated an approach to music drawn from antiquity. Due to its harmony and proportionality music was regarded as akin to mathematics. Thus it became included in educational programmes, and from Martianus Capella (fl. ca. 410–420) onwards medieval theorists set it down as one of the seven liberal arts.[13] Aurelian of Réôme (Aurelianus Reomensis; fl. c. 840–850) in his ninth century treatise *Musica disciplina* wrote, altering somewhat the words of Boethius: "It is known that there are three kinds of music: the first is the music of the world, the second – the music of man, the third – music drawn from instruments."[14] According to the Frankish monk, the music of the world is present in heaven and on earth "in the diversity of the elements and seasons of the year." On the basis of the then popular *Somnium Scipionis* by Cicero, he maintained that the celestial spheres which rotate in the Ptolemaic universe emit a sweet though inaudible sound thus making for the harmonious arrangement of the cosmos. More prevalent, however, was the music of man, present in his vicinity, in the microcosm, thus in man himself. For, as Aurelian of Réôme asks rhetorically, "what else conjoins the constituent parts, body and soul", if not the music of man? And then, only beneath these

13 E.A. Lippman, "The Place of Music in the System of Liberal Arts", in: *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. J. La Rue, New York 1966, pp. 545–559.

14 Quotations: Aurelianus Reomensis, *Musica disciplina*, ed. L. Gushee, [Dallas] 1975, p. 64: "Musice genera tria noscuntur esse: prima quidem mundana, secunda humana, tertia quae quibusdam constat instrumentis."; ibidem "Mundana quippe in his maxime perspicienda est rebus quae in ipso coelo vel terra, elementorumque vel temporum varietate videntur."; ibidem pp. 65–66: „Humana denique musica in microcosmo (...) plenissime abundat. (...) Quid est aliud, quod ipsius hominis inter se partes animae corporisque iungat?".

two categories of music which remain in a cosmic relationship with each other, is there the third category, the music played on and drawn from musical instruments – organs, citharas, lyres and many others. In the hierarchy advanced by Aurelian, the very making of music appeared pale and represented but a shadow of the dazzling vastness of a harmonious world created by God.

Adam of Fulda widened the classification found in the work of Aurelian and others to include those with expertise in the various kinds of music.[15] Important issues, such as that of the tones, belonging to the world and also to man, were the respective preserve of the mathematician and the physicist, reducing instrumentalists and vocalists to mere music makers. Domingo Gundisalvo (Dominicus Gundissalinus, c. 1150–after 1181) offered a different approach – music could be practiced through composition and performance, or through theory by teaching "how it should be done in accordance with the art."[16] Also known are more robust evaluations, such as those of John Cotton (Johannes Affligemensis, fl. c. 1100), an English monk, and the author of *De musica*. He maintained that music-makers and singers belonged to completely different orders of things: "because a musician always acts appropriately as a result of his art" while the singer only occasionally finds the correct road forward, and more often than not can be aptly compared to a drunk, who is on his way home, but has absolutely no idea how he is able to reach it.[17]

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15 Adam de Fulda, *Musica*, in: M. Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra*, vol. 3: Sankt Blasien 1784, p. 333: „Musica est duplex, naturalis et artificialis. Naturalis est mundana et humana. Mundana est supercoelestium corporum ex motu sphaerarum resonantia, ubi maxime creditur fore concordia: ethoc henus considerant mathematici. Humana exstat in corpore et anima, spiritibus et membrorum complexione, nam harmonia durante vivit homo, rupta vero eius proportione moritur. Et hoc genus considerant physici. Artificialis: hoc genus tenent musici. Est vel instrumentalis vel vocalis."

16 Quotation: W. Tatarkiewicz, *Estetyka średniowieczna*, Wrocław 1960, p. 160: „Artifex practice est, qui format neumata et harmonias (...), huius officium practice est cantilenas secundum artem componere, quae humanos affectus possint movere (...). Artifex vero theorice est, qui docet haec omnia secundum artem fieri."

17 Quotation: Johannes Affligemensis, *De musica cum tonario*, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe, Rome 1950, p. 52: „Musicus et cantor non parum a se invicem discrepant; nam cum musicus semper per artem recte incedat, cantor rectam aliquotiens viam solummodo per usum tenet. Cui ergo cantorem melius comparaverim quam ebrio, qui domum quidem repetit, sed quo calle revertatur penitus ignorat?"

It can be observed that the medieval treatises on music differentiated between the theorist and the practitioner, the learned and the layman, the knowledgeable and the ignorant. These works served to compartmentalize two perceived professional yet irreconcilable aspects of music: the theoretical, which being closer to mathematics was proper to ecclesiastic intellectuals (and later also to secular specialists), and the practitioners associated with their specific way of life, generally held in low regard. The wandering poet, minstrel, actor or juggler pursued an itinerant way of life which, particularly in the late Middle Ages, was viewed negatively, especially as people's way of life was changing with the rise and consolidation of permanent settlements. The ever-larger settlements and townships generated wealth, which in turn precipitated migration towards them. All newcomers, both those who intended to settle and those who by virtue of their work circulated among the new settlements, were regarded as a threat – despite of the fact that both groups were indispensable for the growth of commerce.[18] The monk and chronicler Richard of Devizes (c. 1150–c. 1200), who held London's townspeople in low esteem, identified the city's parasites – in one breath – as actors, jesters, effeminate boys, the dark skinned, charlatans, belly dancers, witches, confidence tricksters, magicians, lunatics, mimes, and beggars.[19] Indeed Bronisław Geremek considered that street artists of the 14th century were treated worse than before: they were commonly associated with "promiscuity, debauchery and all manner of sexual licence."[20] He was able to show that in Paris, in spite of earnest attempts to institutionalize street artists, and even though performers had achieved their own guild, their prestige failed to rise in comparison to other trades, as local minstrels and others had permanent competition from a substantial influx of unincorporated itinerant performers.[21]

18 J. Rossiaud, "Le Citadin", in: *L'Homme médiéval*, ed. J. Le Goff, Paris 1989, pp. 166–168.

19 Ibidem, p. 159.

20 B. Geremek, *The margins of society in late medieval Paris*, transl. J. Birrell, Cambridge 1987 pp. 158–159.

21 Ibidem, pp. 160–161.

Cotton's comparison is not solely a vivid rhetorical flourish, but evidence of certain notions about a specific social group – music makers. In one of his works Peter the Chanter (Peter Cantor, d. 1197) described the utility of various trades, but when mentioning performers, he states with animosity, that only this activity is neither useful nor necessary, so that we may only say of it, that it was only created to do ill.[22] Not without significance is the fact that out of all these Peter the Chanter pointed to those who were „artifices instrumentorum musicorum" – these are to a certain degree useful, they dissipate boredom and discontent.[23] Even a medical compendium already in circulation in the 13th century and known under its abbreviated title *Tacuinum sanitatis*, refers to the pleasures derived from music played harmoniously together with a consonant vocal accompaniment (as opposed to non rhythmical music which could do the listener harm).[24] According to contemporary thinking, this equilibrium brought about by the playing of sweet and harmonious music evidently had a soothing effect, making for good sleep, and the regeneration of the body and senses.[25]

Although appraisals such as John Cotton's fail to describe the full picture surrounding performers of music, they serve to perpetuate stereotypes. It is also telling that despite the high "status of music as perceived within the general theory explaining the beauty of the cosmos, it is possible to hold a morally negative view of those who executed music in its most mundane form – instrumentalists or vocalists. Various assessments within the sphere of music, here we must

22 Petrus Cantus, "Verbum abbreviatum", in: *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina* (further abbreviated as *Patrologia Latina*), ed. J. P. MIgne, vol. 205: Paris 1855, col. 253: „artifices etiam instrumentorum musicorum (...) devotio non lascivia excitur (...). Illi, inquam, non necesarii sunt, quibus nisi prius arti suae abrenuntiassent, poenitentiam non iniungerem."

23 C. Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale. Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100–1300*, Berkeley 1989, p. 20.

24 See Lat. 9333, BnF, f. 101v. For English translation see: L. Cogliati Arano, *The Medieval Health Handbook – Tacuinum Sanitatis*, New York 1976, Plate 66. See also: C. Hoeniger, "The Illuminated 'Tacuinum Sanitatis' Manuscripts from Northern Italy ca. 1380–1400", in: *Visualizing Medieval Medicine and Natural History, 1200–1500*, eds. J. A. Givens et al., Aldershot 2006, pp. 51–82.

25 See Lat. 9333, BnF, f. 97r.

assume the music accessible to the human ear, are already proposed by Boethius, who writes: "the rotten person finds pleasure in wicked noises [...], a more austere person will delight the in more stirring tones or will be fortified by them."[26]

Yet the distaste for certain types of performers must have had its causes. According to Guido of Arezzo music (that is a variety of sounds) wondrously penetrated deep into the human heart as if through a window.[27] Aware of its potency, Johannes de Muris, a 14th century music theorist and writer on the *ars nova* style, emphasised that an "appropriate way of singing displays the piety of the singer and awakens devout sentiments in the listener, if he be a man of good will."[28] Yet perhaps the measure of what was right and fitting lay not only in the repertoire but also in its execution. This idea would have met with the approval of Pope John XXII, who in his papal bull of 1324 railed against counterpoint in the following words: "they introduce effeminacy through descant [...] sounds run on and do not find pause, they intoxicate the ears without healing the soul, and render piety to oblivion."[29]

For the Pope, counterpoint was new-fangled and represented a break with tradition, whose roots went back as far as the Gregorian reforms which served to unify Western Christendom.[30] Medieval theorists, however, did not abandon the judgement of their ears for the sake of mere mathematical precision. They appreciated the enjoy-

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26 Boetius, *De musica*, in: *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. MIgne, vol. 63: Paris 1847, col. 1168: „Lascivus quippe animus, vel ipse lascivioribus delectatur modis, vel saepe eosdem audiens, cito emollitur at frangitur. Rursus asperior mens vel incitatirioribus gaudet vel incitatioribus asperatur."

27 Guido Aretinus, *Micrologus*, in: *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 141: Paris 1880, col. 393: „Sic enim per fenestram corporis delectabilium rerum suavitas [=varietatis sonorum] intrat mirabiliter penetralia cordis."

28 Ionnes de Muris, *Tractatus de musica*, in: M. Gerbert, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 197: „Modus (...) canendi et ipsius cantoris devotionem ostendit, et in auditore, si bonae voluntatis est, suscitat devotionis affectum et propter hoc in ecclesia merito frequentatur humiliter ac devote."

29 Quotation: W. Tatarkiewicz, op. cit., p. 155.

30 See A.T. Nowak, *Paideia w procesie formowania europejskiej kultury muzycznej*, Nowa Wieś 2010, pp. 445–451.

ment derived from well-crafted harmonies, even stating that the better they were composed, the more pleasure in the music.[31]

This is perhaps why the Pope viewed this musical technique as leading toward temporal things. Though Johannes de Muris and Pope John XXII represented diametrically opposed positions on music, they would have agreed that the manner in which it was played might well decide on how it should be judged from a moral perspective.

The *Viellator* And Society. Was It Good Form To Play The *Viella*?

Christopher Page argues that during the 12th century, instrumentalists emancipated themselves from among the many different types of entertainers.[32] One might note that this was not necessarily synonymous with general approval – at least some instrumentalists were regarded as posing danger to the souls of believers. In the sermons of the French Benedictine Jean Raulin (1443–1514), probably from the beginning of the 16th century, we come across an interesting comparison which testifies to the endurance of the negative stereotype:

> When a sinner realises that his conscience is burdened with many and various sins, he is reluctant to visit there for four reasons. First of all because he discovers nothing of good there – like a comic actor (*histrio*) or a *viellator* for whom a solitary existence is preferable to living at home, because in his home there is nothing good. He has there no means of making a fire and no clean dishes, no fire of piety, and no vessels of the heart which can be cleansed with tears of remorse or piety. That is why he is reluctant to revisit his conscience for he finds there nothing but malice.[33]

31 R.L. Crocker, "Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 1962, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 4–5. See also E.E. Leach, "Counterpoint and Analysis in Fourteenth-Century Song", *Journal of Music Theory* 2000, vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 45–70.

32 C. Page, op. cit., pp. 8–41.

33 J. Raulin, *Itinerarium paradisi (...)*, Parisii [1512], f. C_2r: „Quoniam cum peccator videt conscientiam suam multitudine et magnitudine peccatorum oneratam, non vult redire ad conscientiam suam propter quatuor. Primo, quia nullum bonum ibi reperit: sicut histrio, vel viellator, qui invitus habitat domum suam et libentius frequentat alienam, quia in domo sua nihil est boni. Neque enim est ibi vas ad ignem, nec scutella lota, nec ignis devotionis, nec scutella cordis lota lacrymis contritionis vel devotionis. Ideo non libenter redit ad conscientiam suam, quia nihil ibi invenit nisi malitiam." English translation by Wojciech Kordyzon.

Jean Raulin is not the actual author of this passage. In the main, these words have been taken from the *Tractatus moralis de oculo,* a 13th century treatise by Peter of Limoges (Petrus Limovicensis, ca. 1240–1306). In the original text the comparison is less complex and the author writes only of itinerant players - be they jesters and mimes, be they actors and musicians. Arguably, the semantic field occupied by the word *histrio* could be filled with these professions. The *histriones* would be primarily comic actors and dancers, often accompanied by musicians, and acting in a comic and jocular convention. They would have been associated with jongleurs (*ioculatores)* and mimes.[34]

For Raulin comic actors and *viellatores* are people who rarely live in their homes, they neglect their households, they do not know how to, nor want to, settle down. It is difficult to be surprised that such a way of life is not conducive to ardent devoutness. This in turn is in keeping with the notion that beauty and goodness are not only invisibly reflected in the soul, but also tangibly perceived in external appearance and observed behaviour. And thus their inability to keep order at home and their resulting unwillingness to return there, can be carried across to their inability to retain a clear conscience.

The persistence of this specific stereotype demands consideration. First of all, the use of the figure of the itinerant entertainer in sermons, which by their nature delivered vivid and telling illustrations, testifies to such comparisons being widespread and understood by at least part of the congregation. Moreover, if Raulin made use in his own sermon of passages from a treatise some two hundred years old, it clearly signifies that the words had lost nothing of their immediacy and pertinence.

It was surely revolutionary that St Francis of Assisi should have described himself and his followers as the jugglers of God, *ioculatores Dei*.[35] In the many editions of his hagiography, St Francis's juggling

34 M. Clouzot, "Homo ludens, homo viator. Le jongleur au cœur des échanges culturels au Moyen Age", in: *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, Dunkerque 2001, pp. 295–296.

35 Ibidem, pp. 294-295.

was given musical connotations. Yet not until the 16th century do we read how St Francis was enraptured by the strains of a *violetta* played for him by an angel – its sweet sound enabled him to experience the transcendental.[36] Even earlier accounts, such as *Seconda vita* (ca. 1246) by Thomas of Celano, portrayed St Francis as longing to hear the sound of instrumental music: feeling an extraordinary need to hear music, he demanded the loan of a lyre from a fellow friar, so that he could secretly play the instrument himself. Only after the friar refused, fearful of causing a scandal, St Francis had a vision in a dream in which the most beautiful heavenly music came to him, far sweeter than anything played by an earthly being.[37] Yet Celano's and other's lives of the saint failed to secure the acceptance of the Order and were commanded to be burnt. Bonaventure's biography of St Francis, the *Legenda maior*, approved in 1266, became the canonical version.[38] The section analogous to the one in *Seconda vita* was radically diluted. The passage continues to refer to St Francis's urge to listen to earthly music, but he himself wishing to avoid scandal, decides not to ask anyone for the loan of a musical instrument. The message of the reward is then different: he is himself capable of quelling a temporal craving, and then is rewarded in his nocturnal vision sent from God, when he hears the unbelievably beautiful sounds of a lyre.[39]

Some scholars also tell of a group of preachers who referred to themselves as *viellatores Dei.* Resembling minstrels in their approach, they wished to laud the great deeds and achievements of the saints. They realized that wandering singers had a substantial influence on what was thought about certain personages, and that their songs could excite real fascination with various people.[40] It cannot be ruled out that this was in line with the thinking of the Church, to tame or change the potentially dangerous impact of the wandering singer. However,

36 A. Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy*, Berkeley 2011, p. 26.

37 Ibidem, p. 164, fn. 37 (reprinted therein). A parody of this motif may also be found in Chaucer, see J. Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire*, Cambridge 2008, pp. 44–46.

38 A. Dell'Antonio, op. cit., p. 164.

39 Ibidem, pp. 164-165, fn. 37.

40 L. Gautier, *Épopées Françaises*, Paris 1892, pp. 209–210.

there is no evidence that these preachers borrowed more – apart from the name – from the purveyors of popular songs or melodies. At the very least and in all probability, the terms *ioculatores Dei* or *viellatores Dei* contained a note of provocation. They offer no apologia for the wandering players and *viellatores* – not until the dawning of modern times could St Francis be enraptured without censure by melodies played on stringed instruments by angels[41] – but paradoxically they exploit the saint's radicalism, his postulate of poverty patterned on the lowest, and least trustworthy classes of society – indeed such people as jugglers.

Singing A New Song

Scholars still debate what would have made up the repertoire of the medieval *viellator*. Certainly the *viella* was central to performances by wandering players of all types, providing a musical accompaniment to their verses and dancing.[42] This places the *viellatores* or fiddlers as performers of primarily secular music.[43] They would have accompanied renditions of epic poetry – *chanson de geste* – as well as popular dances, of which the dynamic *estampie* or the playful *carole* with their pagan pedigrees could spark great controversies among theologians.[44]

Page has shown that some *viellatores* and other instrumentalists enhanced their prestige by offering musical accompaniment for epic poetry. In the *chanson de geste* they could praise the deeds of great men to the edification of their audiences. They were even appreciated by some members of the clergy, as was the case with the 12th century Thomas of Chobham for whom only tavern performers and their vain ditties were worthy of contempt.[45] Though these musicians still wandered from town to town their material circumstances were improv-

41 A. Dell'Antonio, op. cit., p. 26.

42 E.A. Bowles, "La hiérarchie des instruments de musique dans l'Europe féodale", *Revue de Musicologie* 1958 , vol. 42, no. 118, pp. 164–165.

43 F.L. Harrison, "Instrumental Usage 1100–1450", in: *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music*, New York 1966, pp. 324–325.

44 E.A. Bowles, op. cit., pp. 164–165.

45 C. Page, op. cit., pp. 30, 69–70.

ing. They were increasingly being asked to perform in the homes of the gentry, and lavishly endowed with fine garments and other expensive presents for their performances. These gifts were rarely retained and reasonably quickly converted to cash.[46] The best of them earned the reputation of outstanding artists, testimony of which can be found in the decorative initials of a Provençal *chansonnier* (songbook) from the second half of the 13th century, some of which can be identified as the 'portraits' of famous minstrels. In one such initial we find a depiction of a *viellator* assumed to be the Provençal troubadour Perdigone.[47] In another work, Page convincingly argues that medieval *viellatores* performing ludic dance music, as well as minstrel songs for an aristocratic audience, acquired more sophisticated technical skills, demonstrating a basic grasp of polyphony and counterpoint.[48] The treatise *De musica* by Johannes de Grocheio (ca. 1250–ca. 1320) offers a written "acknowledgement of the virtuosity a *viellator* could achieve:

> A good player of the *viella* generally performs every *cantus* and *cantilena*, [...]. The genres which are usually performed before magnates in festivities and sportive gatherings can generally be reduced to three, that is to say the *cantus coronatus* [courtly song], [and the dances] the ductia and the *stantipes* [estampie].[49]

Dance music, including the sophisticated *ductia* and *estampie* became increasingly associated with courtly culture. As is known the clergy viewed these dances with some distaste, and made them into the inglorious protagonists of many sermons, warning their con-

46 Ibidem, pp. 176–177.

47 See e.g. MS Français 12473, BnF, Paris.

48 C. Page, *Voices and Instruments in the Middle Ages*, London 1987, pp. 53–76.

49 Translation after: C. Page, "Johannes de Grocheio on secular music: a corrected text and a new translation", *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 1993, vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 31–32. *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio*, ed. E. Rohloff, Leipzig 1972, p. 134: „Bonus autem artifex in viella omnem cantum et cantilenam [...]. Illa tamen, quae coram divitibus in festis et ludis fiunt communiter, ad tria generaliter reducuntur, puta cantum coronatum, ductiam et stantipedem." The term *cantus coronatus* may for example (as in the quoted treatise) assume the broader sense of *musica vulgaris*, courtly ballads, but also often in the precise sense of "ballads which have received an award in a competition".

gregations that they could well find themselves in the snares of the devil. The *estampie* was something of a spectacle – dancing couples would execute their formations in a manner which onlookers could read.[50] Johannes de Grocheio, who better understood the musical arts, indeed viewed this dance in particular as a means of turning the wealthy away from depravity.[51] The clergy, however, were concerned that the rhythm and repetitions in the tunes would make them stick in the mind. There is a well known anecdote, in which a priest saying mass sang the refrain from one of the *carole* instead of the customary *Dominus vobiscum*.[52] So the *carole* had something of a bad press: preachers sometimes referred to the execution of these dances as akin to the black mass.[53] Albertus Magnus comes to the conclusion that in many aspects such dancing could constitute a mortal sin, though he was ready to note exemptions, such as dancing at a wedding reception, or after a military victory, or in celebration of a friend returning from a long journey. In such cases, one cannot speak of mortal sin providing the dancers show the requisite integrity.[54] Page is undoubtedly right in tracing the gradual development in the 12th century of tolerance for certain popular dances, as indeed for instrumental music in general. What is, however, important to note is that the starting point for medieval scholarly deliberation on these matters is the assumption that the practice of dancing is harmful, and acceptable only under certain conditions or in certain circumstances.

One of the most puzzling passages about a *viellator* comes from a commentary on Psalm 32 (33) by Peter de Palude (Petrus Paludanus, ca. 1275–1342), a French theologian and archbishop, who writes:

> "Sing a new song", because the new song requires a renewed man. For see, a minstrel wishing to play the fiddle takes off his outer clothing, adjusts his

50 A. Arcangeli, "Dance and Punishment", *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research*, 1992, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 30–42.

51 C. Page, *The Owl...*, p. 40.

52 Ibidem, pp. 125–126.

53 Ibidem, pp. 14–15.

54 Ibidem, pp. 130–131.

inner garments, takes off the belt of his tunic, puts down his hood, smoothes down his hair, puts a woollen cap [*feltrum*] on top of it.[55]

Page suggests that this is a unique description of a *viellator* preparing for a performance. Much indeed points to this, although the passage is not entirely clear. Page interprets *feltrum* to mean a woollen cap, but this is not the only meaning for the word – it could also denote a woollen tunic, the sort that was often worn under armour. It is thus difficult to say whether the *viellator* will perform in only his underclothes or remain half naked? Neither can it be ruled out that this preparation of his inner garments alludes not to the physical action, but to some spiritual or psychological preparation. Paradoxically, therefore, this very interesting passage – which might indeed throw light on a medieval practice – actually begs further questions without supplying too many answers.

Aside from the above, we do know something about how the human body was used by entertainers of the day. The earlier quoted Thomas of Chobham, who displayed a degree of tolerance towards instrumentalists, writes of the *histriones* in the following terms: "they transfigure their bodies and pretend to be someone else by jumping around in an unsightly manner, or by gesticulating hideously, or by revealing their bodies in a disgusting way [...] and all such are worthy of condemnation [...]."[56]

It is clear that the human body engaged for onstage entertainment was considered as morally questionable. This might go some way to explain the forbearance shown towards instrumentalists. The strictures expressed aimed at limiting the form and scope of a performance to the rendition of an epic poem or to the performance of a melody which could offer solace to the human soul. It was the acting

55 Quotation: ibidem, p. 21: "'Cantate canticum novum', quia canticum novum requirit hominem innovatum. Ecce enim mimus volens viellare exuit vestem exteriorem, parat interiorem, cincuts in tunica exuit, deponit cucusam, componit capillos, superponit feltrum."

56 Quotation: ibidem, p. 21: „Quidam enim transformant et transfigurant corpora sua per turpes saltus vel per turpes gestus, vel denudando corpora turpiter [...] et omnes tales damnabiles sunt [...]".

FIG. 2. Psalterium triplex, folio 1r; MS B.18, Saint John's College, Cambridge

dimension which the theologians took issue with, because it involved the body, and we can surmise from the passage above that this body could be naked, and often certainly "transformed": surely here meaning the actor's costume, his disguise, his pretending to be someone other than he is. Medieval attitudes towards nakedness were at the very least ambivalent: Norbert Elias has pointed out that for a considerable time it did not excite controversy.[57] Nevertheless, the *histrio*'s

57 N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process. Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, transl. E. Jephcott, eds. E. Dunning et al., Oxford 2000 , pp. 138–140.

performance was not connected with everyday nakedness, rather with its ostentatious exhibition – and here perhaps lies the source of anxiety for theologians – during the entire Middle Ages they were unable to resolve the tension between the innocence of nakedness and its sinfulness.[58]

The *Viellator* As Illustrated In Illuminated Books. A Review Of The Iconography In Various Contexts.

The 12th century *Psalterium triplex* in Cambridge contains a full page illustration (fig. 2) which offers additional clues. In its top section David is depicted playing on a harp while the bottom section shows a hairy creature beating a barrel or drum. The main figures assume differing postures in these two corresponding depictions: David's humble gaze is directed downwards as he plucks his harp, while the grimacing beast – possibly a bear[59] – bangs with its left paw at the drum hanging from his neck. The secondary figures in both sections are ranged to complement the imagined rhythm of the two melodies. The men standing to David's left have been arranged serenely: one of them appears to be blowing into a horn (though the configuration of his fingers might suggest a recorder), another is playing a syrinx, while the third is holding an open book with illegible writing on its cover. Beneath this trio a fourth man is kneeling before David, pointing towards the king. It would appear that the salient point of this ostensive gesture is to indicate the king, who can be seen as a figure worthy of imitation. The four corresponding figures in the lower section are displayed very differently. They stand in two rows, hold no instruments, and are turned towards the beast with the drum. One has his legs crossed and his arms resting on his hips – suggestive of a dancing posture. None points to the beast, they all seem to be engrossed in the music and dance. The unsavoury beast with its disconcerting features

58 See more: J. Le Goff, N. Truong, *Une histoire du corps au Moyen Age*, Paris 2003, pp. 121–123; D. Régnier-Bohler, "Fictions: exploration d'une littérature", in: *Histoire de la vie privée*, ed. G. Duby, vol.2: *De l'Europe féodale* à *la Renaissance*, Paris 1985, pp. 357–372.

59 J.C. Schmitt, *La Raison des gestes dans l'occident medieval*, Paris 1990, p. 263: dancing bears, or actors dressed in bear skins, then formed part of the jongleur's entertainment.

is perhaps directing our gaze with his outstretched right paw towards another group of figures located to its right.

Needless to say, this gesture is not directed towards anyone who might begin to resemble King David playing sweet sounds on his harp to soothe the tormented Saul. The beast is pointing towards somersaulting acrobats who bring disarray to the order of the microcosm which is man – their legs are thrown upwards, while their heads touch the ground. Behind the acrobats we can see musicians, one with a signal horn, the other with a fiddle. In the analogous location in the top section with King David, we see a musician making subtle sounds from a sequence of bells, and an organ with two men below working enormous bellows. By the late Middle Ages organs were slowly becoming an increasingly essential source of music to accompany the liturgy.[60]

The top section of the illustration offers refinement, to be associated, one may assume, with the sacred; the bottom section, vulgar and base, representing secular music. In both compositions we observe a pointing gesture – human free will allows us to make a choice between these opposites. The choice before us will play out between, on the one hand the recognition and reproduction of the music of the humble David indicated to us by a man, and on the other hand placing one's trust in the beast beating the drum who incites us to deviate from the right path, presenting its music which is most fitting to the breakneck antics of the acrobats. The two sections represent two sharply contrasting orders of things and each has, surely, been well furnished with the salient features of each. Musical instruments have been attributed to these two worlds, and allow us to suppose that it is no accident of iconography that the *viella* has been assigned to the lower, base register representing principally what is temporal and secular.

Similar observations could arise from an illuminated initial to be found in a later Latin psalter in French National Library (Lat. 10435,

60 E.A. Bowles, "The Organ in the Medieval Liturgical Service", *Revue belge de Musicologie* 1962, vol. 16, pp. 13–29.

FIG. 3. David and Bathsheba in the initial B[eatus], folio 1r, MS Lat. 10435, BnF, Paris

f. 1r), where the sexes and the interplay between them are comprehensively discussed by Michael Camille.[61] His analysis of the illustrations in the psalter places the battle of sexes in the forefront and demonstrates the ascendancy of women. In many medieval codices the illuminated initial of the first Psalm, usually very much of a type, depicts David playing a harp or psaltery. However, in the codex discussed by Camille, the illuminator plays with this visual convention in an intriguing way. Depicted in the initial are King David and his wife Bathsheba (fig. 3) who, according to Camille, is shown as dominating her husband, whereas the whole composition alludes to Eve's temptation of Adam in the Garden of Eden (the iconographic antecedent of all depictions displaying a disturbance of the hierarchy between the sexes as understood in the patriarchal Middle Ages).[62] The replacement of the harp with a fiddle, which belongs to the secular scheme of things, may strengthen Camille's thesis and complement those de-

61 M. Camille, "Bodies, Names, and Gender in a Gothic Psalter", in: *The Illuminated Psalter*, ed. F.O. Büttner, Turnhout 2004, pp. 377–386.

62 Ibidem, p. 378. Camille's argument is somewhat weakened by the fact that on the heraldic right we find David and not Bathsheba.

pictions of David in which he succumbs to sins of the flesh, such as when he spies on Bathsheba bathing. The fiddle might well have fitted in as a "stage prop" when alluding to the baseness of carnality, the disruption of harmony and deviation from the spiritual. If such was the intended meaning of the illuminated initial, then it would indeed have conveyed a serious admonition. However, it should be said that Camille's interpretation is presented only in outline, and warrants more exhaustive enquiry.

A similar hierarchy of instruments is present on one of the folios of the Bohun Psalter and Hours in the British Library (Egerton 3277,

FIG. 4. Miniature from the left margin of folio 46v, Egerton MS 3277, British Library, London

f. 46v). To the side of the initial of Psalm 69 (70), in which there are a number of scenes with King David – including the transferral of the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem – there are several figures ranged vertically (fig. 4). At the top is King David sitting on a double headed winged beast and playing the organ. It is worth noting that the beast has a practical purpose: both its mouths are pumping air through bellows into the organ pipes. Below on the vertical axis is another representation of David, this time with his characteristic attributes: his harp and his sword, denoting his monarchical power. Perhaps the most surprising of these images, however, is the lowest one, which depicts yet another creature – and it is playing precisely a fiddle. It is difficult to know its nature, but it is redolent of the grotesque figures which have faces in the place of genitalia evoking, as suggested by Camille, voyeuristic erotic content: a *dirty look*.[63] It is fair to say that it is no accident that this creature is ranged below the two depictions of King David. At the top, the King is associated with that quintessentially liturgical instrument, the organ, and then with the monarch's traditional harp, whereas the creature's instrument is the fiddle – representing what is lowest, the most base.

FIG. 5. Melusine with *viella*, folio 42r, MS 34294. British Library, London

63 M. Camille, *Image…*, fig. 19, pp. 40–41.

FIG. 6. Musician with a fiddle from the Gorleston Psalter, folio 19v, MS 49622, British Library, London

It is clear from Lillian Randall's catalogue of iconographical motifs, that the contexts in which the fiddle appears have the realm of chaos as a common denominator. Few are the angels who play the fiddle to praise the Lord with the heavenly choirs.[64] Indeed, the margins are populated by *viellatores* who evoke many different specific associations. A large number of these *viellatores* are hares, boars, asses, lions, cats and finally monkeys, *simiae*, the latter being recognisable symbolic caricatures of human behaviour.[65] There are also many *viellatores*, like the bizarre creature in the Bohun Psalter and Hours (British Library, MS 34294, f. 42r), which are hybrid in form and represent what is disordered and bad.[66] There are also representations of mer-

64 L. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, Berkeley 1966, p. 47. In his enquiries into late medieval material, E. Bowles takes a somewhat different view: in the miniatures discussed by him predominate angelic choirs and concerts by court musicians. See E.A. Bowles, "A Checklist of Musical Instruments in Fifteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscripts at the British Museum", *Notes* 1973, vol. 29, no. 4; idem, "A Checklist of Musical Instruments in Fifteenth Century Illuminated Manuscripts at the Bibliotheque Nationale", *Notes* 1974, vol. 30, no. 3; idem, "A Checklist of Musical Instruments in Fifteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscripts at the Pierpont Morgan Library", *Notes* 1974, vol. 30, no. 4; idem, "A Checklist of Musical Instruments in Fifteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscripts at the Walters Art Gallery", *Notes* 1976, vol. 32, no. 4. However, it appears that Bowles's material does not contradict Randall's arguments, rather it widens the spectrum of possible meanings.

65 See also: R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W.R. Trask, Princeton 2013, pp. 538–540.

66 A. Wieczorkiewicz, *Monstruarium*, Gdańsk 2009, pp. 31–57.

maid *viellatores* (among them those which are reminiscent of Melusine with her double tail spread in an erotic pose)[67] (fig. 5), centaurs, and other hybrids of both sexes. A good example of such is the maiden in the Gorleston Psalter (British Library, MS 49622, f. 19v), whose legs are covered in fur and end in claws like a lion's, an impression reinforced by her tail (fig. 6).

Often, these human and hybrid figures do not use a bow, but vibrate the strings with pincers or a rake. Randall suggests that these represent caricatures of musical performance, and it is difficult to disagree with her.[68]Figures using these non-musical objects to play the fiddle appear rather as false musicians, who indeed do not offer their listeners sweet music, but dissonance and cacophony. Among them are often found clerics, whose seeming monkish exterior forms a blatant contrast not only with their instrument, but in some cases even with their hybrid forms.

Concerning these conclusions it shoud be noted that the depiction of a *viellator* in the 14th-century Maastricht Hours (British Library, Stowe MS 17). This man on the left side of folio 233v with his legs crossed as if in dance (fig. 7), most probably forms a group with the dancer or

FIG. 7. The *jongleurs* in the Maastricht Hours, folio 233v – 234r; Stowe MS 17, BL, London

67 L. Randall, op. cit., table CIV.

68 Ibidem, tables CVI-CVII.

acrobat at the bottom of the page and with the figures from the page opposite: a bagpipe player and a woman in a diadem wearing a red and white dress, accompanied by a mysterious short figure carrying a round object, that may be recognized as a fool.[69] It is striking that these colourful figures decorate that part of the codex which contains the Office for the Dead. The accompanying text is a fragment from St Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians.

> What do I gain if, humanly speaking, I fought with beasts at Ephesus? If the dead are not raised, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die." Do not be deceived: "Bad company ruins good morals." Come to your right mind, and sin no more. For some have no knowledge of God. I say this to your shame. But some one will ask, "How are the dead raised? With what kind of body do they come?" You foolish man! What you sow does not come to life unless it dies. And what you sow is not the body which is to be, but a bare kernel, perhaps of wheat or of some other grain. But God gives it a body as he has chosen, and to each kind of seed its own body.[70]

It is hard to say with all certainty how far these marginal decorations relate to these verses. Their dominating emphasis appears to be St Paul's summons to sinners to wake. The Apostle adds that he says this to shame sinners who feast, with no expectation of resurrection, corrupting their way of life with wicked talk. It cannot be ruled out, then, that the carefree dancer, bagpiper and *viellator* are the true addressees of St Paul's summons in the pages of the manuscript. It was similar in Jean Raulin's sermon – the figures of the *viellator* and the

69 Similar figure may be found i.e. in the Latin Bible kept in Lyon Bibliotèque municipale, MS 6260, f. 307v. The miniature is an initial that accompanies the Psalm 13. Half naked man carrying an unidentified orb may be a version of an inspiens, a fool. I owe this observation to one of the Reviewers of this article, and for that I would like to kindly thank.

70 1 Cor. 15:32–38. This and the following quotations from the Bible come from the English Revised Version (ESV). In the ms discussed, Stowe 17, British Library, f. 233r–234r the text has: "Si secundum hominem ad bestias pugnavi Ephesi, quid mihi prodest si mortui non resurgunt manducemus et bibamus cras enim moriemur. Nolite seduci corrumpunt enim mores bonos colloquia mala. Evigilate iuste et nolite peccare. Ignorantiam enim dei quidam habent ad reverentiam vobis loquor. Sed dicet aliquis quomodo resurgunt mortui quali autem corpore veniunt insipiens tu quod seminas non vivificatur nisi prius moriatur et quod seminas non corpus quod futurum est seminas, sed nudum granum ut puta tritici aut alicuius ceterorum. Deus autem dat illi corpus sicut voluit et unicuique seminum proprium corpus."

histrio (actor) were used by him to exemplify aptly the condition of the sinner who fears to look into his own conscience.

In some illuminations one can, albeit rarely, come across *viellatores* who are naked. One can look for an example in the Beaupré Antiphonary (Walters Art Museum, W.759, f. 99r), where we find the Benedictine antiphon *Sanctissime confessor Domini*... In the initial the illuminator has placed a meekly praying monk (fig. 8). In the context of this devout portrayal, and indeed of the religious content of the Antiphonary, the scene in the marginal illustration at the foot of the same page is therefore striking. Here are placed two naked figures: a dancer on the left and a *viellator* on the right (fig. 8). Comparison of the head of the monk in the initial with the head of the dancer from the lower margin allows us to conjecture that their hairstyles are identical – clerical tonsures. Such anticlerical depictions in religious codices are of no surprise to researchers: they often express criticism of dissolute and unworthy members of religious orders.[71] It is possible that we also have here a miniature of such an unworthy monk, who has been swept up in the dance by the sound of the fiddle, depicting a counter-example to the devotion shown in the initial.

FIG. 8. Fragment of an Initial and of the lower margin from folio 99r in the Beaupré Antiphonary, W.759, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

71 M. Camille, "Dr Witkowski's Anus: French Doctor, German Homosexuals and the Obscene in Medieval Church Art", in: *Medieval Obscenities*, ed. N. McDonald, Woodbridge 2006, pp. 17–38.

But probably the most problematic depiction comes from the Macclesfield Psalter (Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms.1-2005). In the left margin of folio 80v the illuminator of this richly ornamented manuscript has placed a naked *viellator*, making music, in a dancing pose, legs crossed in vigorous movement. This representation is almost analogous to the object of our interest – the miniature in the Sankt Florian Psalter. Jeremy Montagu does not discuss the iconographic background to the Macclesfield Psalter marginalia, therefore neither to any hypothetical connection to the Psalms.[72] However, it appears we have a trail we can follow, which is at the very least interesting. The Macclesfield *viellator* is painted in the margin alongside Psalm 55 (56), although this psalm, in distinction to the two preceding psalms, does not possess a prologue with the indication "for stringed instruments", which could have provided a good pretext. However, the fifth verse according to this manuscript reads "In Deo laudabo sermones meos, in Deo speravi. Non timebo, quid faciat mihi caro"[73]. This passage can provide a link to the naked *viellator* in the margin. If we acknowledge that the stereotypical understanding of a musician with a fiddle associates him with base carnality, with the temporal, set against spiritual, elevated piety, then the inclusion of the *viellator* near the words of the Psalm increases in significance. His nakedness undoubtedly underlines his link to carnality. As in the passage from Paludanus cited previously, quite apart from the degree of realism in the portrayal of the unclothed *viellator*, or the actual performing practices of these musicians, the very depiction of a naked performer, making use of his body for the purpose of entertainment, could in medieval times have provoked aversion. This marginal illustration would have been intended as antithetical to the text it accompanies: the psalmist now has no fear of his body mastering him, and the illumination serves as an extreme representation of this base sphere where the body and carnality dominate.

72 J. Montagu, "Musical Instruments in the Macclesfield Psalter", *Early Music* 2006, Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 189–203. Here also a reproduction of a miniature unavailable in digital libraries.

73 Ms. 1–2005, Fitzwilliam Museum, f. 80v.

On looking into Augustine's *Expositions on the Psalms*, a verse which stands out in its literal sense reveals a somewhat different meaning in exegesis. Augustine lays the accent on its first part: "In God will I praise the word", which is to signify that, above all, one is to return to God what is God's, and in one's words – given by God – to recognise His gift.[74] The deeds of the flesh do not end in debauchery, but in the physical pain which it can bring. And this suffering can lead us in the imitation of Christ: "A grape I was, wine I shall be."[75] Additionally, in his exposition of the verse on the succeeding page of the manuscript (81r), Augustine explains the words "Inhabitatunt et abscondent" in this way:

> Every man in this life is a foreigner: in which life ye see that with flesh we are covered round, through which flesh the heart cannot be seen. (...) Furthermore, those men of whom the counsels are against this man for evil, shall sojourn, and shall hide: because in this foreign abode they are, and carry flesh, they hide guile in heart; whatsoever of evil they think, they hide. Wherefore? Because as yet this life is a foreign one.
> For it is in this way that they enter a large house, but do not stay therein. (...) "Now the servant abideth not in the house for ever; but the son abideth for ever." [John 8, 34-35]. He who enters like a son shall not merely sojourn, but shall abide to the end. Beware of him who enters like a slave, devious, a sinner (...) he enters merely to sojourn, not to abide there and persevere. (...) Even if they sojourn, even if they go in, even if they feign, even if they hide, flesh they are.
> All men, therefore, that with false heart go in, sojourning and hiding, do not thou fear.[76]

The key concept here becomes the journeying life, the life of a traveller. According to Augustine, this journey has the purpose of concealing their pain. We are reminded of this deception in the statements of Peter of Limoges and Raulin, according to whom the actor and the *viellator* fear returning to their house, and also to their conscience, because they know that nothing good awaits them there. They harboured bad thoughts, for they did not allow themselves to self-reflect.

74 Augustine, *Expositions on the Book of Psalms*, vol. 3: Oxford 1849, pp. 63–64.

75 Ibidem, p. 64.

76 Ibidem, pp. 64–65.

The sinner, the captive, the wanderer, assuaging his pain with his wandering, enter – as Augustine says – into a great house, but do not stay therein, do not persevere. Perhaps the condition of the wandering musician then seemed identical. This passage does not contradict any earlier reflections on carnality: Augustine's commentary serves to underline the wandering sinners' existence solely as of the flesh, accompanied by the illusions they make use of. And illusion and the flesh are also the main tools of the actor. Maybe this is why the *viellator* here is naked – deprived of what is required to mask his corporeality, not covered by a garment: the naked body is the one attribute of the wanderer, who "hides himself" but does not have the inner spirituality which would allow him to persevere to the end.

These examples of *viellatores* appearing in medieval iconography serve solely to support the arguments set out here, and to indicate the possibility of linking the thread under discussion with society's stereotype of this occupation. However, a decided majority of the miniatures discussed call for separate and more detailed analysis – the conclusions suggested here make no claim of being any final interpretation. The examples gathered here witness to a general consensus as to the motif of the *viellator*, understood as representing the class of vagabonds, travelling *jongleurs* – which is depicted in a similar visual convention on the pages of codices from diverse parts of western Europe in the mid to late Middle Ages.

The Meaning Of Psalm 13 (14). Interpretations In The Commentaries And In Marginal Illuminations

The interpretation of the Book of Psalms, and also of many other books of the Bible, went through two important stages: the first was in the early initiatives to develop an understanding of the Psalms and providing commentaries on them, undertaken by the Church Fathers who recognised their teaching potential; the second was in the intensive studies carried out by scholars in the developing universities of western Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries. The authority of patristics was not abandoned, but biblical studies gained new tools and

methods; and it was in this time that both the status of the Book of Psalms and the general character of glosses on it were consolidated.[77]

Neither could the Florian Psalter have come into "'being in isolation from medieval theological realities, especially as the literal understanding of the psalms often varies markedly from their systematic theological exposition.[78] Philological study of the manuscript text allowed a few significant issues to be settled. Aleksander Brückner, and after him Rudolf Hanamann, drew attention to the first of the manuscript's two prologues. It resembles part of a commentary on the Psalms written by the 14th century theologian Ludolph of Saxony (ca. 1295–1377).[79] However, Mieczysław Mejor stresses that this part of Ludolph's text varies in different manuscripts, with its source being the circa 8th century fragment titled *De virtute psalmorum*,[80] and long attributed to Augustine. Brückner had realised this, but nevertheless deemed the prologue of the Sankt Florian Psalter to be closer to Ludolph than to Pseudo-Augustine.[81] Mejor on the other hand indicates yet another author, Remigius of Auxerre (ca. 841–908), and argues that his edition of the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* with its own pseudo-Augustinian pedigree, introduces something new, with his version being the closest to the Polish manuscript.[82]

Although the direct sources for the prologue of the Sankt Florian Psalter may be discussed, throughout the whole Middle Ages Augustine's *Expositions on the Psalms*[83] are the key source used in attempts to reconstruct how individual psalms were perceived in more ge-

77 T. Gałuszka, *Super Psalmum XXIII. Badania nad Biblią w XIII wieku*, Kraków 2005, pp. 27–28.

78 S. Wittekind, "'Verum etiam sub alia forma depingere'. Illuminierte Psalmenkommentare und ihr Gebrauch", in: *The Illuminated Psalter. Studies in the Content, Purpose, and Placement of Its Images*, ed. F.O. Büttner, Turnhout 2004, pp. 271–280.

79 A. Brückner, *Psałterze polskie do połowy XVI wieku (Polish Psalters up to the middle of the 16th century)*, Kraków 1902, pp. 262–263. R. Hanamann, *Der deutsche Teil des Florianer Psalters: Sprachanalyse und kulturgeschichtliche Einordnung*, Frankfurt am Main 2010, p. 144.

80 M. Mejor, "Comments on the Text of the Florian Psalter", *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 2009, vol. 14, pp. 314–315.

81 A. Brückner, op. cit., p. 262.

82 M. Mejor, op. cit., p. 315.

83 Augustine, *Exposition on the Book of Psalms*, vol. 1: Oxford 1847.

neral perspective. Then there is the inseparable connection between Psalms 13 and 52, so that whatever is said here of the former will be supplemented by interpretation of the latter.[84]

Augustine, in his commentary on Psalm 13 (14), observes that the fool has said in his heart; for that no one dares to say it, even if he has dared to think it.[85] He carries on, citing the words of the Psalm:

> "They are corrupt, and become abominable in their affections" that is, while they love this world and love not God; these are the affections which corrupt the soul, and so blind it, that the fool can even say in his heart: "There is no God." (...) And since they did not see fit to acknowledge God, God gave them up to a base mind and to improper conduct [*dedit illos Deus in reprobum sensum*].[86] (Rom. 1:28)

Augustine observes how growing an attachment" to the temporal world leads a Christian down a road of irrationality, foolishness. In a further argument he adds that this was exactly how the Jews behaved, in their foolhardy disbelief in the message of Christ - from this perspective their behaviour was irrational. *Insipiens* stands in the foreground in the interpretation of this psalm, and the linking of irrationality with corruption will be taken up subsequent exegetes. Peter Lombard (1095–1160) specifies further that this also applies to those attached to passions and emotions.[87] For Ludolph of Saxony, the *insipiens* is the one who persists in his sinfulness.[88] Remigius of Auxerre in turn illustrates this problem by comparing it to Sodom.[89] All commentators since Augustine have, with the philosopher from

84 C. C. Torrey, "The Archetype of Psalms 14 and 53", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 1927, vol. 46, pp. 186–192.

85 Augustine, op. cit., vol. 1: *Psalms 1–36,* p. 130.

86 Augustine, *Exposition on the Book of Psalms*, vol. 1: Oxford 1847, p. 106–107.

87 Petrus Lombardus, "Commentaria in Psalmos", in: *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 191: Paris 1880, col. 163: "Hoc ideo dicunt, quia corrupti sunt, id est caeci sunt, ut dicant: «Non est Deus.» (..) Et hoc, in studiis suis, vel affectionibus, ideo est quia saeculum amant, et non Deum."

88 Ludolphus de Saxonia, *In Psalterium expositio (..)*, Parisii [1514], f. C_3: "'Dixit insipiens', id est peccator in malis obstinatus."

89 Remigius Antissiodorensis, "Enarrationes in Psalmos", in: *Patrologia Latina,* vol. 131: Paris 1884, col. 209.

Hippo, identified the Jews as the most apposite embodiment of the fools who declare that there is no God. The anti-Jewish significance of this Psalm is a second predominant interpretative thread.

Augustine deemed that the Jews, by rejecting Christ, although they were the closest to the one God, became as pagans.[90] He then lists the characteristics of the ignorant, including Jews and pagans, who say "non est Deus", glossing the words of the Psalm "they are become unprofitable together" [*simul inutiles facti sunt*]: these sinners are literally voracious, or impose on others their perfidious ways, not heeding the precepts of the law. He also says of them "flattery is the companion of the greedy and of all bad men. [...]", adding "Now they devour the people, who serve their own ends out of them, not referring their ministry to the glory of God, and the salvation of those over whom they are."[91] And here one can discern a certain parallel with the way that *viellatores* were perceived, since they were recognised as worthless, of no use, not conducive to the flowering of piety.

In his commentary on the companion Psalm 52 (53) we can see rather more pointers. The theologian states there that we rarely meet the wretch who will straightforwardly deny the existence of God, although there are many who are "profligate, daring, and wicked". They had even lost a sense of shame. He then considers the essence of their characteristic corruption:

> Corruption begins with evil belief, thence it proceeds to depraved morals, thence to the most flagrant iniquities, these are the grades. But what with themselves said they, thinking not rightly? "A small thing and with tediousness is our life." From this evil belief follows that which also the Apostle has spoken of, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die."[92]

He emphasises that such a corruption of morals engenders the most heinous crimes and heresies. As in the commentary on Psalm 13 (14) he also raises the subject of the Jews, who do not recognise the Lord

90 Augustine, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 107.

91 Ibidem, pp. 107-108.

92 Augustine, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 4.

in Christ. The whole commentary sets the issue of unbelievers in the foreground, together with the corruption of morals, which leads to things significantly more dangerous to the soul. It is characteristic that Augustine invokes a passage from St Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, which sharply criticises indulging in worldly goods and comforts, which are as temporary as human life, and thereby nonsense in relation to the greater cosmic plan, for they do not bring us closer to God. This is the same passage which was included in the Office for the Dead in the Maastricht Hours, with its surrounding marginalia of a troupe of actors (fig. 7). To some degree, the medieval illuminators must have connected these figures with worldly and fleeting pleasures, devoid of any element of spirituality.

Augustine mapped out the most important themes which recur in the commentaries prepared by later exegetes. In the main they took up the thread of foolishness, of the imprudence of non-belief – and used this as the starting point for their own scholarly enquiries. Nevertheless, it appears that in addition to understanding the text of the Psalms, it is worthwhile to turn to some specific phrases, which could have some bearing on the enquiry into finding connections between the iconography of the *viellator* and its grounding in the text. Some of these are presented by Ludolph of Saxony. In his commentary on Psalm 13 (14) he says:

> We are not speaking here about all men, but about those who live according to the flesh [*sunt imitatores carnalium*], whose life is thereby corrupted. There is not one among them, who would act righteously. For if a man is evil, he cannot do good.[93]

In this sentence our attention is primarily caught by the phrase *imitatores carnalium* – for it is they who are the true object of Ludolph's strictures. Here he is undoubtedly drawing on an earlier commentary by Rufinus of Aquilea (340–410), who used this phrase when interpret-

93 Ludolphus de Saxonia, op. cit., f. C_3v: "Non intelligitur de omnibus in humano genere, sed de his, qui sunt imitatores carnalium, quorum corrupta est vita: ex quibus non est aliquis, qui faciat bonum. Quamdiu enim homo malus est, bonum facere non potest."

ing this and the previous verse of this Psalm, contrasting *imitatores carnalium* with the phrase *imitatores Dei*.[94] In using the latter phrase, Rufinus was drawing a connection – as Migne's edition also suggests – to St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, where we find this expression at the beginning of the text as a call to rendering obedience to God. In a later text by Ludolph, however, if the 16th century edition is reliable, this juxtaposition does not appear. Standing on its own, the phrase *imitatores carnalium* has no biblical provenance, but it opens up the field to new associations. The nearest New Testament connection may be a verse from the Epistle to the Romans: "For those who live according to the flesh set their minds on the things of the flesh, but those who live according to the Spirit set their minds on the things of the Spirit" (Rom. 8:5). Neither can it be ruled out that the phrase *imitatores carnalium* draws an even more direct connection with the troupes of comic actors and mimes, whose very art is based on the imitation of aspects of the human body. It cannot, however, be doubted that the phrase cited by Ludolph allows us to go beyond Augustine and interpret Psalm 13 (14) and its key character – the imprudent *insipiens* – as the figure of a man surrendering to worldly things, to the flesh. A similar analogy between the bodily and the spiritual condition is expressed also by Remigius of Auxerre, who says: "corruption in the flesh, unhappiness in the soul."[95]

Because the Jews are understood by the exegetes as unreasonable non-believers, the consolatory ending of Psalm 13 (14) also expresses the hope of conversion for the *insipientes*. Peter Lombard,[96] for example, sees it in this way, but then so do Augustine and Remigius. All invoke the prophecy of Isaiah that: "He will come to Zion as Redeemer". For no-one else can lead a Christian unto redemption except Christ. Only he will "abolish the slavery of pain and death, which keeps his

94 Rufinus Aquileiensis [ascribed], "Commentarius in LXXV Psalmos", in: *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 21: Paris 1878, col. 693.

95 Remigius Antissiodorensis, op. cit., col. 209.

96 Ibidem, col. 166.

people in bondage"[97]. Augustine says further, citing St Matthew's Gospel, that God waits even for those who have turned away from him, calling them back with these words "Take my yoke upon you (...) For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." (Matt. 11:29–30) Also too, according to Augustine, this is why near the end of the Psalm appear the words "Jacob shall rejoice, Israel shall be glad".

The Iconography Of Psalm 13 (14)

As with the commentaries on Psalms 13 (14) and 52 (53), their visual presentation is in many cases similar. Büttner draws attention to the fascination with the motif of the predilection towards evil, towards Satan, which is so often dramatically evident in the iconography of these Psalms.[98] He recognises that a common element in both psalms is the motif of the fool, and that most characteristic for Psalm 52 (53) is the depiction of stories from the Bible: these could be the suicide of Saul or Judas, also the evocation of the Devil as the *insipiens* of the Psalms, sometimes tempting Christ, sometimes juxtaposed with King David, who expelled the evil demon from Saul with his music.[99] Moreover, a similar contrast is also discernible in the title of the Psalm, which in some editions is "pro Amalek" – according to Peter Lombard the Amalekites personify the powers of the Antichrist, against whom is set the Psalmist David, *vere manu fortis*, typologically linked to the figure of Christ himself, and prophesying His coming.[100]

In the iconography of Psalm 13 (14) – as also in the exegetical texts – the motif of the imprudent *insipiens* predominates. For example, we find the fool in an illuminated initial in the 14th century Bedford Psalter and Hours (fig. 9) – a figure in a jester's cap, with a bell hanging from its tip. His features suggest a base soul: his lips parted in a somewhat unsettling smile, small, opaque eyes looking upwards, and

97 Ibidem, col. 210.

98 F. O. Büttner, "Der illuminierte Psalter im Westen", in: *The Illuminated Psalter. Studies*, ed. idem, p. 24.

99 Ibidem, pp. 25–26.

100 Petrus Lombardus, op. cit., col. 499.

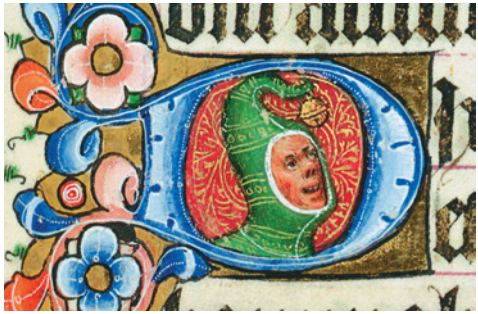

FIG. 9. D[ixit] from folio 82 r. of the Bedford Psalter; MS 42131, BL, London

FIG. 10. D[ixit] from folio 28 r. of the Luttrell Psalter; MS 42130, BL, London

FIG. 11. D[ixit] from folio 98 v. of the Luttrell Psalter; MS 42130, BL, London

an upturned nose, reminiscent of the figures depicted in the mocking of Christ in scenes of the Passion, perhaps an allusion to venereal disease, thus testifying to a dissolute life. In the almost one hundred year earlier Luttrell Psalter we find a similar depiction of a jester (fig. 10) – this allows us to suppose a certain continuity in the iconography. However, as it was observed, throughout the 14th century there had been a slow, but major change in the manner of imagining a fool: the *insipiens* was becoming a court jester (as we see it in the discussed initials) replacing a half-naked man, holding a stick (or a club) and a round object (fig. 7).[101] Initially the figure of the fool in 13th century was often juxtaposed within one initial with king David (being a clear opposition to the symbolical depiction of stupidity, foolishness).[102] Court jester, a consequent iconographical motif in 14th century, might be linked to these earlier compositions that involved a royal figure of David (implying wisdom and piety) contrasted with the fool, who was at first a general depiction with readable attributes (like a club), then shifted to the institutionalized and recognizable character of jester, well known from the courts (with a change of attributes, i.e. cap with bells) and stereotypically antithetical to the monarch.

The jester figure in the Lutrell Psalter is presented with perhaps a shade more charity: his features are not disfigured by illness, but his gaze too is unsettled, his eyes fixed somewhere to the left – as if on

101 See more: F. Garnier, "Les conceptions de la folie d'apres l'iconographie medievale du psaume 52", in: *102e Congrès national des Sociétés Savantes. Limoges, 1977. Philologie et Histoire*, vol. 2, Paris 1977, pp. 215–222; A. Gross, "L'exégèse iconographique du terme 'insipiens' du Psaume 52", *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 1989, vol. 16, No. 2–3, pp. 265–285; eadem, "L'idée de la folie en texte et en image: Sébastian Brandt et l'insipiens", *Médiévales* 1993, no. 25, 1993, pp. 71–91. Not being a rule, however, the iconography of the Psalm 13 (14) could have included motifs evoking *inspiens* in a different manner, i.e. various depictions of Antichrist, see: A. Belkin, *Antichrist as the Embodiment of the 'insipiens' in Thirteenth-Century French Psalters*, *Florilegium* 1988–91, vol. 10, pp. 65–81.

102 Broad surveys of iconography of the Psalm 52 (53), having the same incipit as in 13 (14), were provided by: G. Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich, und den Niederlanden*, [Kiel] 1938, tables 1–12, pp. 101–115 (for descriptions see: ibidem, pp. 17, 29, 32, 45, 47, 49, 52); K.G. Pfändtner, *Die Psalterillustration des 13. und beginnenden 14. Jahrhunderts in Bologna. Herkunft – Entwicklung – Auswirkung*, Neuried 1996, tables A1–7, unpaged, after p. 143 (for descriptions see: ibidem, pp. 43–45, 62, 82).

the text coming after the initial. Here again, we find precisely this attribute of the jester's cap with its bell. The marginal miniature accompanying the text on the same page – a hybrid blue creature with an almost human head, wings, and a bird's head in his crotch – may provide content to supplement the message by alluding to sexuality. A jester's image, depicted full figure and in a cap with asses' ears, can be found in the same manuscript in the initial of Psalm 52 (53) (fig. 11).

FIG. 12. D[ixit] from folio 14v of Cod. 1826* Han, Österreichische Nationalbibliotek, Vienna

FIG. 13. *Viellator* and two monkeys from folio 17 v. of the Alphonso Psalter; MS 24686, BL, London

Worthy of note is an example found in a Viennese manuscript, known as the Vienna Bohun Psalter (fig. 12). In the initial D[ixit] the fool has been depicted in his characteristic cap, to which are fixed two jester's bells. He holds a bag fixed on a stick, he may well be a vagabond. The miniature supplies an almost literal illustration of the words of the Psalm "The Lord looks down from heaven upon the children of men" (Ps. 13 (14):2): from the clouds above the human figure appears the face of Christ, gazing at the man. And the man returns the gaze, pointing with one hand to one of his jester's bells. It is interesting to speculate whether this clownish "child of men" is here presented as a general representation of the human condition, or specifically of the imprudent who say in their hearts "there is no God". We cannot rule out that the gaze exchanged by Christ and the fool expresses the hope for the conversion of the *insipientes*, of which the exegetes wrote. The whole question of the literalness of the depictions in this manuscript has been the subject of scholarly study.[103]

The hybrid figure playing the fiddle referred to earlier – with the body and head of a woman, but below the waist with lion's legs and a tail (fig. 6) – can be found on the bottom margin of the folio on which Psalm 13 (14) starts. In this case it is difficult to unambiguously declare to what degree the miniature is associated with the text – similarly formed monsters can be found on other folios of the manuscript. But it may well be that this attribute is not accidental and can be associated with a lack of reasoning, understood as leading a godless life, whose import is reinforced by the music-making monster.

A miniature on the left margin of a folio from Psalm 13 (14) in the Alphonso Psalter (fig. 13) is perhaps the most pertinent example illustrating the conjectured closeness of *viellatores* with fools. The three figures grouped there form a somewhat unlikely musical ensemble: a young man will well-coiffed hair plays on the fiddle, and with him are two monkeys – bent in convulsive movements – who play on the

103 L.F. Sandler, "Word Imagery in English Gothic Psalters. The Case of the Vienna Bohun Manuscript", in: *The Illuminated Psalter. Studies in the Content, Purpose, and Placement of Its Images*, ed. F.O. Büttner, Turnhout 2004, pp. 387–395.

bagpipes and on some sort of percussion instrument like a gong: a copper or tin cymbal and a stick to hit it with. The composition of this group demands comparison with the previously mentioned figures in the Maastricht Hours, where a *viellator* and a bagpiper also appear (fig. 7). We should recall that the miniature in the Dutch Hours appears beside a passage from St Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians. Here, among other things, the Apostle calls: "You foolish man! What you sow does not come to life unless it dies" (1 Cor. 15:36). In the Latin edition used in the manuscript, the cited phrase reads "Insipiens tu, quod seminas, non vivificatur."[104] It appears in this case that *insipiens* is a type of keyword, for it can trigger the association with the musical ensemble, in which the fiddle so often appears. *Insipiens* is after all the key concept in understanding the essence of Psalms 13 (14) and 52 (53): as pointed out above, illuminators therefore often made use of the basic motif of the jester in cap and bells. Yet it is clear that the same concept may also serve as the basis for depicting comic actors and musicians. Clearly, the nature of their calling can be associated with ignorance of faith leading to licentiousness. In the Alphonso Psalter, the very mechanical nature of what they are doing, devoid of any spiritual motivation, is underscored by the presence of the monkeys, *simiae*, the embodiment of evil arising from attachment to the physical.

An Attempt To Interpret The Miniature, And The Narrative Of Folio 18r

The various themes introduced here had the purpose of leading the reader to a deeper understanding of the cultural background, the influence of which can surely be found in the Florian Psalter. The naked *viellator* placed in the upper margin of the folio (fig. 14) on which Psalm 13 (14) begins, need not solely be written into an astrological program as proposed by Śnieżyńska-Stolot. Analysis of the commentaries on the Book of Psalms allows to state that one of the dominant threads in the exegesis of Psalm 13 (14) is the motif of the unreasoning

104 MS ref. Stowe 17, British Library, f. 233v.

insipiens. Whereas this motif is exploited iconographically in various ways to accompany this key word, one of its variants is the group of musicians, among whom appears a *viellator*.

This is not surprising, when we confront the mindset of the mid and late Middle Ages, with its prevailing assumptions about the way of life of these musicians. Their material status had grown considerably, and they themselves were invited to play in palaces, and amply remunerated. This, however, did not alter the stereotyped view of *viellatores* – in religious literature they were still associated foremost with troupes of comic actors, jugglers and acrobats. The music they played evoked rather the realm of the profane, the lower sphere, and its status remained independent of any potential artistry or aesthetic value. The iconography of the fiddle itself was exploited variously, and it was quite possible to place it in an openly negative context: through association with hybrid-creature musicians or with troupes of comic actors, the instrument could become a sign of attachment to worldly things, transient values, and in some cases not only the instrument but the *viellatores* too were held to be tainted with these characteristics. These then were set as an example of people who are not concerned with their consciences – their restless wanderings stifle the echoes of their sins.

FIG. 14–15. Details from folio 18 r. of the Florian Psalter, Rps 8002 III, BN, Warsaw

The nakedness of the *viellator* fails to have its explanation in the text of the Psalm, nor in any of the commentaries. Therefore, while interpreting it, it seems necessary to include other visual elements of the folio. Another figure on this folio, that of the kneeling man (fig. 15), also appears to have a link to Psalm 13 (14), since he appears in the second floral flourish growing out of the initial D[ixit]. It is difficult to pronounce unambiguously on what he represents. The viewer immediately remarks on the arrangement of the figure's hands, which one may find for instance in the typical image of the *Ecce Homo*, Christ shown to the people, meekly giving himself up to further torment, representing the one who has given Himself up to the will of the Father, the one who allowed His body to suffer unto death. In case of *Ecce homo*, the arrangement of the hands results from a simple physical factor – the hands are held by bonds. The body language of the analogous gesture by the kneeling man in the Sankt Florian Psalter might therefore call to mind this recognisable parallel of a man showing his bonded hands.

We can say with a high degree of probability that this is not a gesture of prayer: from about the 11th century this fixes on a kneeling position with the palms of the hands together at chest level and the fingers straight.[105] With time the repertoire of praying gestures grows as they become codified in the monasteries, and suitable gestures are adapted for various strata of society, for the sexes, and so forth – but still there is no similar position among them.[106] It is interesting, however, that we do find a similar gesture in Cistercian sign language (*signa*) used by the monks when they observed the rule of silence.[107] In some monasteries, the position of the hands of the man in the Sankt Florian Psalter signified uselessness.[108] Such signing systems, largely developed on the basis of an intuitive grasp of at least some of the gestures, and by now also functioning in secular society, can of course only be a pointer and do not constitute a fixed con-

105 J.C. Schmitt, op. cit., p. 295.

106 Ibidem, pp. 321–329.

107 Ibidem, pp. 265–270. See also: J. Umiker-Sebeok, T.A. Sebeok, *Monastic Sign Languages*, Berlin 1987, pp. 88–91.

108 Ibidem, p. 215.

clusion. However, the specific comparison of the man from folio 18r with Christ as *Ecce Homo* can make us see his gesture as one of humility, of dedication, and can perhaps be seen as a response to our understanding of the exegeses of Psalm 13 (14). As mentioned above, in his commentary Augustine cites a fragment of St Matthew's Gospel, in which the Lord calls us to take on His yoke, though it be "easy, and my burden is light." It seems that we can read the figure's submissive position – kneeling, holding out his hands as if to be tied – as his assent to taking on Christ's yoke.

Geoffrey Koziol has researched the ways in which religious and lay prayed for grace and forgiveness in the early Middle Ages, and pointed out that despite the variety of rituals serving to express this, the one dominating aspect of all these gestures is the abasement of oneself.[109] He held that efficacious penitence restored the right order of things, reinstating what might be called the *ordo rationis*.[110] And it may be precisely that this restoration of order is the key to reading the relationship between the two miniatures embellishing the text of Psalm 13 (14) in the Sankt Florian Psalter. The *viellator* then stands for all *insipientes*, enslaved by their inability to understand, though physically without a care, as in St Paul's call to us in his First Epistle to the Corinthians. He also exhibits the shameless nakedness of folly, and therefore on this reading of the marginalia, he cannot be clothed. The kneeling man is both his antithesis, and also illustrates the second part of the Psalm. Dressed in a simple garment, kneeling meekly, he holds out his hands to be tied in acceptance of God's easy yoke.

This interpretation of the miniatures opens the field to further discussion, and at the same time paves the way for the use of these proposed research methods in the examination of other marginal decorations. Above all, it demonstrates the potential for exploiting direct connections with the text they accompany, and with commentaries on that text. In use, their significance can still be twofold: on the one hand, by making a direct reference to how Psalm 13 (14) was understood, which is chiefly re-

109 G. Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France*, Ithaca 1992, pp. 181–213.

110 Ibidem, pp. 203–204.

vealed by its exegetes, and on the other hand by revealing the social reality of how the figure of the *viellator* became a set stereotype. In this sense, one can discuss the illustrations to the text as having mnemonic potential, by visually fixing a concrete understanding of the text, facilitating its subsequent recall. In another sense, the eloquence of the artistic embellishment also has a complementary resonance, and can be itself read alongside the words (though not without prior knowledge of the text).

Matters For Further Discussion

The interpretation outlined in this text was an attempt to identify and research the many elements which make up the meaning of even this modest miniature, originating from a time which is now culturally remote. Reconstruction of then current meanings and of their significance is undoubtedly – if only because of the passage of time – not wholly possible, and this interpretation was completed in the full knowledge that it may be mistaken. This section serves to set questions for further discussion and to itemise the problems which were not resolved in my text.

It cannot be ruled out, that the visual marker, the foliate extension to the Initial of Psalm 13 (14), does not at all have the meaning I have ascribed to it. It could be merely decoration, and the *viellator* does not have to be linked in meaning with this psalm. If he were to have a connection to the text, it could just as well be to the end of the previous psalm, which ends with the words: "but I have trusted in thy mercy. My heart shall rejoice in thy salvation: I will sing to the Lord, who giveth me good things: yea I will sing to the name of the Lord the most high" (Ps. 12 (13):6). In this interpretation, many of the theses established in this work would have to be reversed. The naked man would represent a rejoicing soul. It would be relatively easy to link the viellator with song – as shown also in this work – these instrumentalists often engaged in singing. But first of all it would be necessary to show that the *viellator* – a lone figure and not a member of a heavenly choir or courtly retinue – could represent a spiritually rejoicing, positive figure. I am, however, convinced that the established stereotype of the *viellator* was the opposite, was unfavourable: (both in iconography and in literature), although one should not a priori

rule out the possibility that wider research might reverse this evaluation. The arguments put forward by Page would support this; although it seems to me that his research goals were different, he was speaking of historical social reality, not of the *viellator* as a symbolic figure appearing in religious literature and iconography was used as a key to evoke the negative connotations of the profession..

Another issue requiring further review would be work on comparative visual material. Many of the examples which I called upon in my text came from the same period, but with an English and French provenance, culturally and geographically distant from Central Europe. The *viellator* might have yet more analogous figures, and also in iconography originating in the same region as the Polish manuscript. Should finding closer equivalents prove impossible, one should research the frequency with which depictions forming links in the chain between the *insipiens* and the *viellator* appear in this part of Europe, to be able to say with all certainty that such an "iconographic line of reasoning" had been carried out. While trying to reconstruct how *viellatores* were perceived as against other entertainers, I tried to avail myself of texts which, more or less, could have been known in the region. Nevertheless the conclusions represented here, even assuming the strong cohesiveness and universality of European culture in the Middle Ages, are much simplified, and it would be worth considering at a later stage how far this portrayal corresponds with the realities of this part of Europe.

In the interpretation outlined in this work I therefore tried to choose, in the light of the material which I had collected, the more probable elements making up the world view and mode of thinking which influenced the artwork of the Sankt Florian Psalter. However, this does not change the fundamental objective of the work presented here, which is initiation of discussion about the immensely rich iconography of the manuscript in the National Library of Poland. In this sense the world of miniatures opens up a vast field, which so fascinated Michael Camille, iconography which relates to the entire spectrum of then contemporary reality: social and private, religious and lay, every-day and festive. The presumed, probable, astounding significance of these miniatures prompts us to ask successive questions about how those who lived at that time imagined

the world, how they attempted to comprehend it, find their place in it, and give it order.

translated by Jan Chodakowski and Andrzej Szkuta

SUMMARY

The article presents a possible interpretation spectrum of the miniatures, especially that of the fiddler (*viellator*), that appear on folio 18r of the Florian Psalter, containing the text of Psalm 14(13) (*Dixit insipiens...*). The methodology applied involves recognizing the roots of cultural sources of the motif. In the case of the fiddler miniature, these are i.a. changes in medieval musical culture, its conceptualization by the theologians of the time, representations of fiddlers in book illuminations, as well as iconographic and exegetical tradition of Psalm 14(13). In the context of the debate about the iconography of this work the article attempts to interpret it based on considering possible meanings of the visual material in relation to the text it accompanies.

KEYWORDS: Sankt Florian Psalter, book illumination, musical iconography, fiddler, viellator, medieval theology

Janusz Lachowski

NEW RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES ON FRANCISZKA AND STEFAN THEMERSON'S OEUVRE. THE CASE OF FILM OUTPUT

The artistic achievements of Franciszka and Stefan Themerson are becoming increasingly popular as a research subject in Poland. The oeuvre of the authors of the *Drobiazg melodyjny* [Musical Moment] has inspired an extensive academic and popular-science literature. This includes a biography,[1] a post-conference monograph,[2] several monographic issues of journals,[3] exhibition catalogues,[4] chapters in books,[5]

1 See A. Prodeus, *Themersonowie. Szkice biograficzne*, 2nd revised edition, Warszawa 2010 (*passim*). The work should not be treated as an example of a scientific biography, but rather as a book popularising knowledge about the Themersons' life and work. The endnotes and bibliography include mainly source literature, which suggests that the author did not access the materials in the London archive.

2 Świat według Themersonów. Szkice do *portretu*, ed. Z. Majchrowski, Gdańsk 1994 (*passim*).

3 See *Ha!art* 26 (2007), *Gościniec Sztuki. Magazyn Artystyczno-Literacki*, 2010, no 2/15 (*passim*); *Gościniec Sztuki. Magazyn Artystyczno-Literacki*, 2011, no. 2/17 (*passim*); *Literatura na Świecie* 2013, no. 9–10 (*passim*).

4 See *Stefan i Franciszka Themerson. Poszukiwania wizualne. Visual Researches*, ed. U. Czartoryska, Łódź 1981 (*passim*), *Themersonowie i awangarda. The Themersons and the Avant-Garde*, ed. P. Polit, Łódź 2013 (*passim*); *Dwie wystawy. Themersonowie na papierze. O potrzebie tworzenia widzeń*, ed. M. Sady, N. Wadley, Płock 2013 (*passim*).

5 See, for example, J. Franczak, "Mise en scène. Stefan Themerson – Wykład profesora Mmaa", in: idem, *Poszukiwanie realności. Światopogląd polskiej prozy modernistycznej*, Kraków 2007, pp. 457–531; A. Karpowicz, 1. "Rękodzieło. Technika Stefana Themersona – 'wklej'", in: eadem, *Kolaż. Awangardowy gest kreacji. Themerson, Buczkowski, Białoszewski*, Warszawa 2007, pp. 80–135.

numerous articles in literary, cultural and artistic publications, and two books on Stefan Themerson's writing.[6] Yet despite this, the Themersons remain artists who have not been studied in depth and many research topics connected with them have not been investigated at all. This is partly due to the wide variety of the couple's interests and their extensive artistic output, and partly because the major part of their archive remained in London until the end of 2014.[7]

In this paper[8] we examine the new research perspectives which have opened up with the relocation of the Themerson archive to Poland. The presence of the archive in Poland enables the analysis of previously unknown or under-researched areas of their life and work.

To examine these new research perspectives, we should first take a brief look at the Themersons' papers. A full description of their extensive archive transported to the National Library of Poland – 209 boxes of materials weighing a total of three and a half tonnes[9] – is

6 See E. Krasnowska [i.e. Kraskowska], *Twórczość Stefana Themersona – dwujęzyczność a literatura*, Wrocław [etc.] 1989; A. Pruszyński, *Dobre maniery Stefana Themersona*, Gdańsk 2004.

7 After the Themersons' death in 1988, the papers they left was put in the charge of Franciszka's niece, Jasia Reichardt. She deposited the archive material in her house in Belsize Park Gardens, where she started to organise it and make it available to researchers. Around ten years later she decided to hand part of the archive over to the University of Silesia in Katowice, where, on the strength of the then Vice-Chancellor's decision, *The Themerson Archive in Poland* was set up (today known as *The Stefan and Franciszka Themerson Collection*). However, the vast majority of the collection remained in London until the closing months of 2014, when almost the complete archive (excluding a selection of Franciszka's artistic works) was bought by to the National Library of Poland. Since a key part of this diverse collection is made up of manuscripts, it was put in the charge of the Department of Manuscripts, which stores the most precious collections in the library, including the personal archives of other writers, artists and intellectuals whose accomplishments are particularly important for Polish culture, including Zbigniew Herbert, Czesław Miłosz, Agnieszka Osiecka, Jerzy Turowicz, Aleksander Janta-Połczyński and Leszek Kołakowski.

8 This paper is based on two speeches given by the author during the fifth Themersons' Festival SkArPa, organised in Płock on May 22-24, 2015: a talk on the archive of the Themersons given in the Museum of Mazovian Jews and a plenary speech about new research perspectives on the Themersons' output delivered to the international conference *Common Room: the push and the pull of violence*, which accompanied the festival and was organised by the State School of Higher Professional Education in Płock.

9 The size of the archive relocated to Poland reveals not only the Themersons' meticulousness in collecting documents concerning their life and work, but also the diligence of its guardian. Jasia Reichardt took care of the collection for over twenty years, adding materials popularising knowledge about both artists as well as records showing her involvement in the process of popularisation.

beyond the scope of this paper. However, we can identify several distinct groups of related items in the archive.

The first group comprises materials dealing strictly with Stefan Themerson's work. These are typescripts and manuscripts of his novels, essayistic texts, poetic works, translations of literary texts by other writers, notebooks, diaries, drawings and press cuttings collected by the writer – including a pre-war album with press cuttings on the topic of Polish experimental cinema, called by Jasia Reichardt the "holy of holies", reflecting Stefan Themerson's sentimental attachment to it.[10]

The second, relatively small group of materials consists of items connected with Franciszka Thermerson's work. They include inter alia archive materials illustrating her cooperation with the theatre director Michael Meschke and teaching materials that she developed during a spell at the Wimbledon School of Art and the Bath Academy of Art at Corsham.

The next group consists of objects relating to joint work by the couple. Among the numerous interesting items in this group, particularly important is an album in the form of a concertina-fold booklet created in the early 1930s containing a typescript and illustrations for a children's book entitled *Żółte, zielone, czerwone, niebieskie, niezwykłe przygody* [Yellow, Green, Red, Blue, Extraordinary Adventures]. This was not published during the Themersons' lifetimes and was discovered only after their death. It has relatively recently served as a basis for two editions.[11] Equally important are items documenting the activities of Gaberbocchus Press, founded and run by the Themersons in the years 1948-1979, and materials concerning the intellectual and literary salon *Common Room*, hosted by them in 1957–1959. The latter materials include a guest book and a book of minutes.

10 See J. Reichardt, "Książka, czyli album wycinków z prasy", *Gościniec Sztuki. Magazyn Artystyczno-Literacki* Płock 2011, no 2/17, pp. 15–26.

11 See F. & S. Themerson, *Żółte, zielone, czerwone, niebieskie, niezwykłe przygody*, Fundacja Festina Lente, Warszawa 2013 and F. & S. Themerson, *Żółte, zielone, czerwone, niebieskie, niezwykłe przygody*, Correspondance des Arts, Łódź 2013.

Among the remaining archive materials are personal documents (passports, diplomas, cheque books, receipts, medical documents) and other items shedding light on the Themersons' lives (hotel receipts, aeroplane and boat tickets, maps, guidebooks to places where they travelled, and so on). The archive also contains an impressive collection of correspondence; the Themersons corresponded with at least 1,000 people. The collection includes the letters that Franciszka and Stefan wrote to each other between the early 1940s[12] and mid-1970s. There is also a separate collection of Jasia Reichardt's letters relating to the London archive.

Finally, the archive contains boxes with manuscripts by other writers, including those published by Gaberbocchus Press, as well as picture materials (photographs, posters, postcards), audio and audio-visual documents (gramophone records, films, cassettes and VHS videotapes), museum pieces (a typewriter, a pipe, a pair of glasses, a cigarette case, Stefan's cameras, decorations, works by other artists and such like) and finally an extensive collection of books – around sixty boxes – containing many works signed by the authors for the Themersons.

This huge amount of material represents a rich source of information about the Themersons. It is of great interest to researchers trying to reinterpret their artistic output, revisit former findings, analyse topics identified in existing studies and explore issues previously not investigated.

The prose manuscripts and typescripts, poetic works and copies of books with handwritten alterations by Stefan – used as the basis for later editions of his works published by Gaberbocchus Press – enable research into Stefan's literary style and how it developed over time. Over many years, the writer used three different languages: Polish, French and English (the archive material confirms that he started learning English only after his arrival in the United Kingdom in the

12 Their wartime letters formed the basis for the following book: F. & S. Themerson, *Unposted Letters. Correspondence, Diaries, Drawings, Documents 1940–1942*, ed. J. Reichardt, with a coda by N. Wadley, Gaberbocchus & De Harmonie, Amsterdam 2013 (*passim*).

first half of the 1940s). Stefan's manuscripts and typescripts can serve as material for analyses of his writing process using the approach of "genetic criticism"[13] or simply as the basis for academic editions of his works. They are highly useful material for any researcher interested in collating different variants of a text. The texts can also inspire specialists in modern languages to analyse the problem of Themerson's translations, as the archive includes his translations of Sławomir Mrożek, Adolf Rudnicki, Maria Dąbrowska, Eliza Orzeszkowa and others.

The activities of Gaberbocchus Press also merit investigation. The publishing house has been described in the literature many times, but a more thorough study would be possible by carefully analysing the archive material. Historians of commercial design might be interested in the more than 20 boxes of graphic designs and printing materials relating to the books published by Gaberbocchus Press. Researchers analysing the work of publishing houses could make use of the financial documentation relating to Gaberbocchus Press. Specialists in literature would be interested not just in Stefan's own works but in the manuscripts of the other authors whose works were published in cooperation with the Themersons.

Another area worthy of exploration is undoubtedly hitherto unknown aspects of the Themersons' biographies. No biography of the Themersons based on a thorough analysis of source materials exists at present. Potential biographers will be interested in all the materials in the archive, especially the personal documents, documentation relating to trips they made to France, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, Spain, Yugoslavia and Poland, and of course their extensive correspondence. Careful analysis of their letters would allow the reconstruction of specific biographical facts and a precise analysis of the Themersons' contacts with Polish and other artists and intellectuals. The more than 1,000 people they corresponded with include figures such as Sławomir Mrożek, Aleksander and Ola Wat, Jan

13 For more information on this research methodology, which has been developing over the past thirty or more years, see, for example, P.-M. de Biasi, *Genetyka tekstów*, transl. F. Kwiatek, M. Prussak, Warszawa 2015 (*passim*).

Brzękowski, Józef Wittlin, Antoni Słonimski and Janina Konarska-Słonimska, Maria and Jerzy Kuncewiczowie, Czesław Miłosz, Tadeusz Kotarbiński, Witold Lutosławski, Andrzej Wajda, Ewa Kuryluk, Tomasz Pobóg-Malinowski, Gaston Bachelard, Henri Chopin, Michael Horovitz, Italo Calvino and Raymond Queneau[14]. The archive also contains a variety of other materials which allow a multidimensional analysis of the Themersons' lives.[15]

The areas outlined above are just a few of the research avenues available. We now turn our attention to potential research based on one particular collection which we have so far not mentioned but which constitutes a distinct group, namely materials relating to the Themersons' film work. The archive materials broaden our knowledge of this aspect of the Themersons' work and provide a basis for future investigations of the field.

What, then, do we know about the Themersons' film output? Why is it considered by many to be as interesting a Stefan's literary work? In the 1930s, the Themersons were forerunners of Polish experimental cinema. Their achievements in this field cannot be overestimated, especially given that in inter-war Poland the avant-garde was a very weak trend in cinematography, particularly compared to France or Germany.[16]

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14 Naturally the correspondence which survives in the archive is not only representatives of the artistic and intellectual world. Equally interesting and important from a biographical perspective is the Themersons' correspondence with private individuals. Endearingly honest and straightforward letters to Franciszka from two patients – a boy and a woman – of the Institute of Rheumatology in Warsaw (today the National Institute of Geriatrics, Rheumatology and Rehabilitation) may serve as an example. Franciszka met them during her stay in Poland and treatment in the hospital in 1971.

15 The author of this paper, who considers himself a music lover, feels obliged to draw attention to a collection of about eighty albums on analogue records that survive in the archive. These would undoubtedly be of interest to any "Themersonologist" with an interest in musicology. The collection includes mainly classical records of music by composers as diverse as Bach (played by Wanda Landowska, for example) and Villa-Lobos. However, it also features light music, including albums by Polish artists such as Marek Grechuta's *Szalona Lokomotywa* [The Crazy Locomotive] (Pronit SX 1496) from 1977 and Tomasz Stańko and Edward Vesala Quartet's *Live at Remont* (Helicon HR 1002) from 1978.

16 See M. Giżycki, *Awangarda wobec kina. Film w kręgu polskiej awangardy artystycznej dwudziestolecia międzywojennego*, Warszawa 1996 (*passim*).

We know that the Themersons' entire film output consisted of seven short films: five produced in Poland and two produced in the United Kingdom during World War II for the Film Unit of the Ministry of Information and Documentation of the Polish Government in London. Of these seven films, only the last three survive.[17] The surviving films can be analysed, as they have been many times before,[18] and those that are lost can be investigated by referring to the pre-war press, which has also served as a source of information more than once in similar studies. We know that from 1935 the Themersons were among the founders of the Film Authors Cooperative, the aim of which was to produce ambitious cinema. The cooperative had its own organ, the journal "f.a.", edited by the Themersons. The only two issues appeared in 1937, the first devoted to English avant-garde film and the second to French avant-garde film.[19] We also know Stefan's views on film, as they can be reconstructed on the basis of his few articles about cinema appearing in the press,[20] in particular the essay entitled *O potrze-*

17 The seven films are *Apteka* [Pharmacy] (1930), *Europa* (1931–1932), *Drobiazg melodyjny* [Musical Moment] (1933), *Zwarcie* [Short Circuit] (1935), *Przygoda człowieka poczciwego* [The Adventure of a Good Citizen] (1937), *Calling Mr. Smith* (1943), and *The Eye and the Ear* (1944–45).

18 See, for example, texts devoted to the films: *Przygoda człowieka poczciwego* [The Adventure of a Good Citizen] and *The Eye and the Ear*: A. Taszycka, "'Przygoda człowieka poczciwego' Franciszki i Stefana Themersonów a 'Ferdydurke' Witolda Gombrowicza. Próba analizy porównawczej, *Ha!art* 2007, no. 26, p. 2–7; eadem, "Surfikcja 'Przygody człowieka poczciwego' Franciszki i Stefana Themersonów", *Kwartalnik Filmowy* 2007, no 57–58, pp. 14–22; eadem, Świat na wspak. "'Przygoda człowieka poczciwego' Franciszki i Stefana Themersonów jako film-walizka", *Kwartalnik Filmowy* 2010, no 70, pp. 15–25; B. Śniecikowska, "The Eye and the Ear (Oko i ucho)", in: eadem, *Słowo – obraz – dźwięk. Literatura i sztuki wizualne w koncepcjach polskiej awangardy 1918–1939*, Kraków 2005, pp. 373–396.

19 The source literature gives two conflicting dates for the foundation of the Film Authors Cooperative (SAF); some researchers claim it was 1935, others 1937 – the latter probably due to the publication date of the first issue of "f.a.". The archive materials indicate the correct date as 1935, however. In correspondence with Marcin Giżycki (who raised this question in one of his letters) Themerson confirms that SAF was set up in 1935 (see letter from M. Giżycki to F. and S. Themerson, Warsaw, June 21, 1983, typescript; letter from S. Themerson to M. Giżycki, July 19, 1983, carbon copy of typescript, Department of Manuscripts in the National Library of Poland, Themerson Archive [DM NLP TA]). As the archive is currently being rearranged and catalogued in line with Polish practice, most of the items in the collection that are mentioned in this paper still lack call numbers.

20 See, for example, p. Themerson, "Dialog tendencyjny", *Wiadomości Literackie* 1933, no. 17 (488), p. 16; "'Przyszłość kina'. Ankieta filmowa 'Kuriera Polskiego'. Rozmowa ze Stefanem Themersonem", *Kurier Polski* 1933, no 250, p. 5.

bie tworzenia widzeń [The Urge to Create Visions]. This was appeared in the second issue of "f.a." and, almost fifty years later, in an extended version as a book of the same title[21]. Current findings concerning the Themersons' film output essentially come down to these facts and the problems taken up in detailed analyses closely related to them.

What the manuscripts in the archive reveal is that the Themersons' genius did not end with the production of seven films. Between the second half of the 1930s and the end of 1950s they were planning to make at least five more films, which were ultimately never produced[22]. When they left for France in 1938, they were considering a film production about Paris, and in 1944 in the United Kingdom they were working on an anti-war picture *Dziecko Europy* [The Child of Europe] presenting the impact of war atrocities on the psychological development of children in occupied countries[23]. In the same year they were also working on the film *Fortepian Chopina* [Chopin's Piano], an impressionistic piece presenting the relationship between pictures and sound, featuring Chopin's piano music and compositions by Karol

21 See S. Themerson, *The Urge to Create Visions*, Amsterdam 1983 (*passim*); Polish edition: idem, *O potrzebie tworzenia widzeń*, transl. M. Sady, Warszawa 2008. Stefan's essay was analysed in detail by Wiesław Godzic; see W. Godzic, "Stefan Themerson jako teoretyk kina", in: *Polska kultura filmowa do 1939 roku*, ed. Jolanta Lemann-Zajiček, Łódź 2003, pp. 146–169.

22 We do not include here the unfinished film *Polski gotyk drewniany* [Polish Wooden Gothic], which the Themersons started working on around 1936. This is because there are very few mentions of this film in studies by Polish "Themersonologists". The first person to write about it was probably Ryszard W. Kluszczyński, who gave the title *Polski Gotyk* [Polish Gothic] and the year 1937 as the beginning date of its production; see R.W. Kluszczyński, "Kino jako sztuka totalna. Twórczość filmowa Franciszki & Stefana Themersonów", in: Świat według Themersonów. Szkice do portretu..., op. cit., p. 29. Kluszczyński only mentions it in one sentence and it is unlikely that much more will be written about it in the future. No manuscripts relating to the project have been preserved. All that exists is photocopies of the study for the film, including those that Stefan pasted into the album with press cuttings on Polish experimental cinema mentioned further above – the "holy of holies"; *Book of Cuttings*, DM NLP TA, call rps akc. 19521, pp. 50-52.

23 From the carbon copy of a typescript with a concise description and estimate of expenditures for *Dziecko Europy* [The Child of Europe] it can be deduced that the Themersons intended to work with Hanna Segal (née Poznańska) and were also considering consulting other child psychologists (e.g. Anna Freud, daughter of Sigmund Freud). Additionally, Julian Huxley is mentioned as a potential author of the preface or commentary to the film.

Szymanowski (to some extent reminiscent of the concept for *The Eye and the Ear*). It was probably also in the 1940s that the idea of a film inspired by Dante's *Divine Comedy* was born. The final project, *Claiming the Moon*, was a film inspired by a humorous paragraph published in The Times on March 7, 1959 under the same title, referring to the discussion by American politicians about the possibility of designating territorial borders in outer space.

Archive materials proving the existence of the above-mentioned projects include typescripts and handwritten notes by the Themersons, draft screenplays and shooting scripts, and drawings. Furthermore, at least one of these films is mentioned in various materials relating to the film *The Eye and the Ear*. For example, in a letter from Eugeniusz Cękalski, the head of the Film Unit of the Ministry of Information and Documentation of the Polish Government in London, to Franciszka Themerson about the author's fee for *The Eye and the Ear*, Cękalski writes that the Ministry had consented to the production of *Dziecko Europy* [The Child of Europe] and the contract would be signed after a screenplay was supplied[24].

Materials in the archive concerning the films that were not made are scarce, but represent an important starting point for further research. They are of interest to both "Themersonologists" and cinema historians, including those with an interest in counterfactual film studies[25]. At present knowledge of the Themersons' unrealised projects is not widespread because they are not mentioned in any key publication on the Themersons' film output.[26] The author of this pa-

24 See letter from Eugeniusz Cękalski to F. Themerson, London, January 13, 1944, typescript, DM NLP TA.

25 The potential interest for counterfactual film studies is demonstrated, for example, by a recently published book by Tadeusz Lubelski, who uses archive materials and artists' accounts as a basis for describing and reviewing unrealised projects by such directors as Aleksander Ford, Andrzej Wajda, Wojciech Jerzy Has and Janusz Morgenstern; see T. Lubelski, *Historia niebyła kina PRL*, Kraków 2012 (*passim*).

26 See, for example, J. Lehmann, "Filmowa twórczość Franciszki i Stefana Themersonów", in: *Z dziejów awangardy filmowej. Materiały z sesji „Awangarda filmowa lat dwudziestych", Sosnowiec, 10–12 marca 1975 roku*, eds. A. Helman, K. Lubelski, W. Banaszkiewicz, Katowice 1976, pp. 121–132; M. Giżycki, "Kino niezależne Franciszki i Stefana Themersonów", in: idem, *Awangarda wobec kina...*, op. cit. , pp. 41–75.

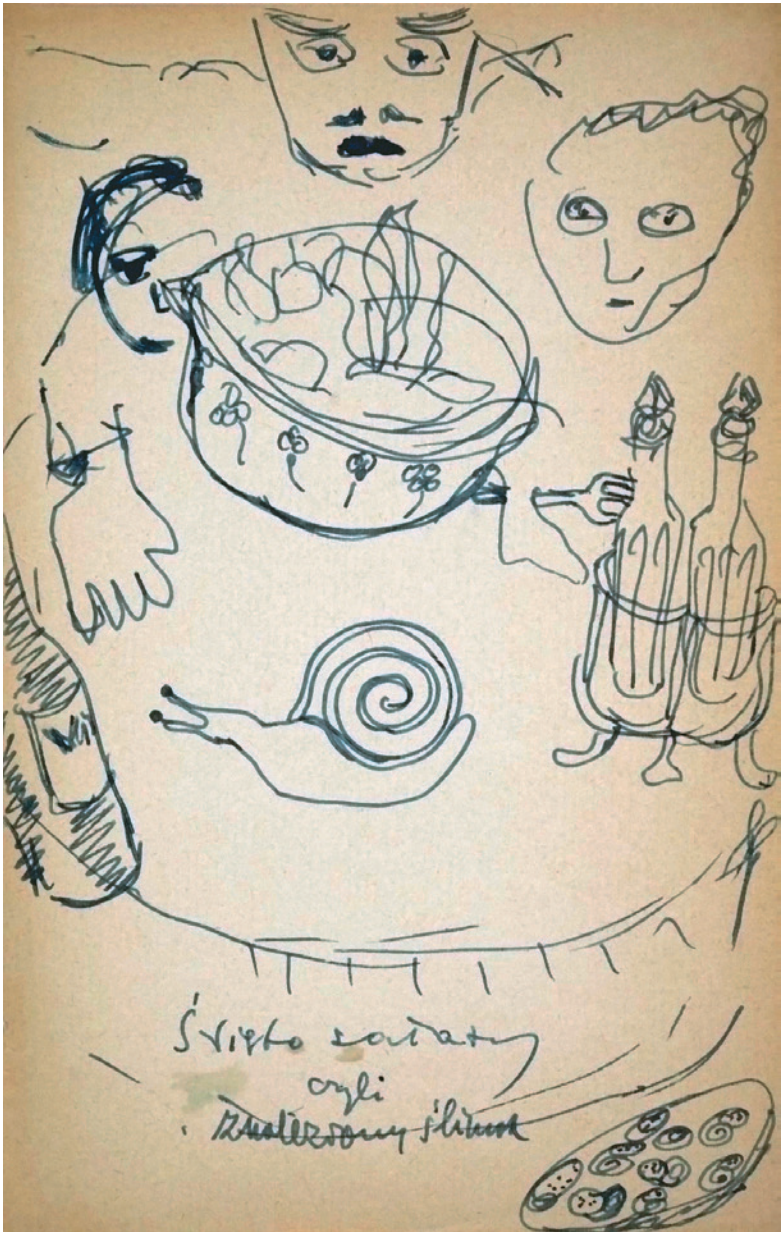
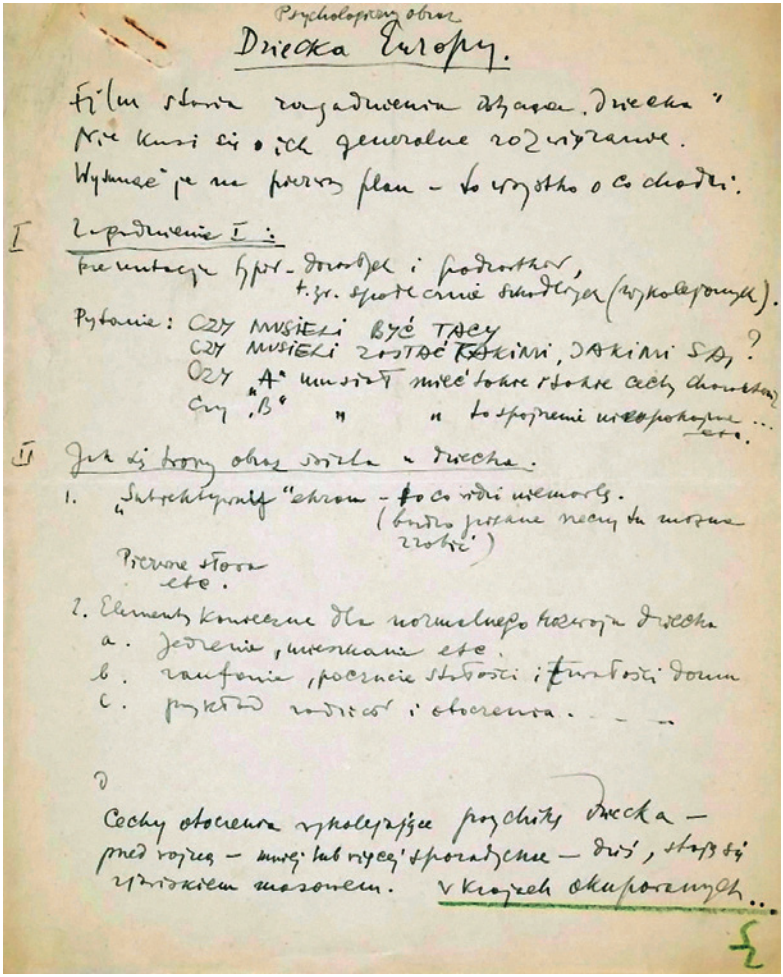


FIG. 1. One of the sketches for the unreleased Themersons' film about Paris (ca. 1938–1939)



Psychologiczny obraz
Dziecka Europy.

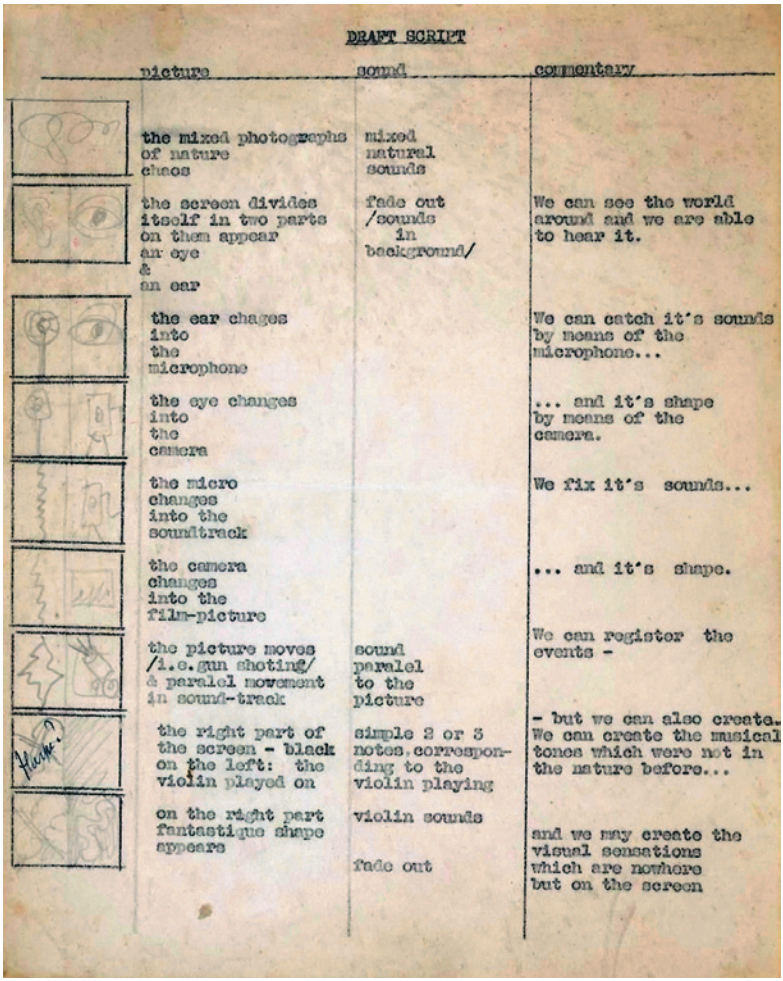
Film stawia zagadnienia „dziecka".
Nie kusi się o ich generalne rozwiązanie.
Wysuwać je na pierwszy plan – to wszystko o co chodzi.

I Zagadnienie I:
Premiera typ. – dziadek i podrostek,
t.zn. społeczne stanowiska (wykolejonych).
Pytanie: CZY MUSIELI BYĆ TACY
CZY MUSIELI ZOSTAĆ TAKIMI, JAKIMI SĄ?
Czy „A" musiały mieć takie a takie cechy charakteru
Czy „B" " " to spojrzenie wykolejone ...
etc.

II Jak się tworzy obraz świata u dziecka.
1. „Subjektywny" ekran – to co widzi niemowlę.
(bardzo proste rzeczy tu można zrobić)
Pierwsze słowa
etc.
2. Elementy konieczne dla normalnego rozwoju dziecka
a. jedzenie, mieszkanie etc.
b. zaufanie, poczucie stałości i trwałości domu
c. przykład rodziców i otoczenia. – – –

d
Cechy otoczenia wykolejające psychikę dziecka –
przed wojną – mniej lub więcej sporadyczne – dziś, stały się
wszechnim masowem. W krajach okupowanych...

FIG. 2. Notes for a script of the unreleased film *Dziecko Europy* [The Child of Europe] (1944)



DRAFT SCRIPT

picture	sound	commentary
the mixed photographs of nature chaos	mixed natural sounds	
the screen divides itself in two parts on then appear an eye & an ear	fade out /sounds in background/	We can see the world around and we are able to hear it.
the ear chages into the microphone		We can catch it's sounds by means of the microphone...
the eye changes into the camera		... and it's shape by means of the camera.
the micro changes into the soundtrack		We fix it's sounds...
the camera changes into the film-picture		... and it's shape.
the picture moves /i.e. gun shoting/ & paralel movement in sound-track	sound paralel to the picture	We can register the events -
the right part of the screen - black on the left: the violin played on	simple 2 or 3 notes, corresponding to the violin playing	- but we can also create. We can create the musical tones which were not in the nature before...
on the right part fantastique shape appears	violin sounds fade out	and we may create the visual sensations which are nowhere but on the screen

FIG. 3. An extract from a shooting script of the unreleased film *Fortepian Chopina* [Chopin's Piano] (1944)

per, for example, was not aware of their existence when he was writing an article about the Themersons' work in films which appeared in a book on communication by Polish people during World War II.[27]

Apart from materials confirming the existence of film projects that were never realised, the archive contains manuscripts concerning two films which were made: *Calling Mr. Smith* and *The Eye and the Ear*. This includes shooting scripts, storyboards, various written versions of audio commentaries used in the films, notebooks with technical notes and estimated expenditures and payments for production costs. A large part of these materials consist of correspondence with people involved in the shooting, such as letters from Ronald Biggs, the conductor of the 20-person orchestra that recorded the soundtrack to *The Eye and the Ear*, and a letter from Bruce Graeme, the author of the dialogue from *Calling Mr. Smith* and the text of the audio commentary for *The Eye and the Ear*. The documents which survive allow us to reconstruct the creative process, including modifications made to the artistic concepts. For example, handwritten calculations of film expenditures include the working titles of *Calling Mr. Smith* – namely *Poland in Figures* and *Kulturträgers*. The documents also clarify the historical context and describe some episodes from the lives of the Themersons. For example, there are demands from an official dealing with the financial matters of the liquidated Ministry of Information and Documentation for the return of a copy of *The Eye and the Ear* to which, according to said official, the Themersons were not entitled[28]. The archive materials also, of course, make it possible to check facts appearing in the existing literature on film.[29]

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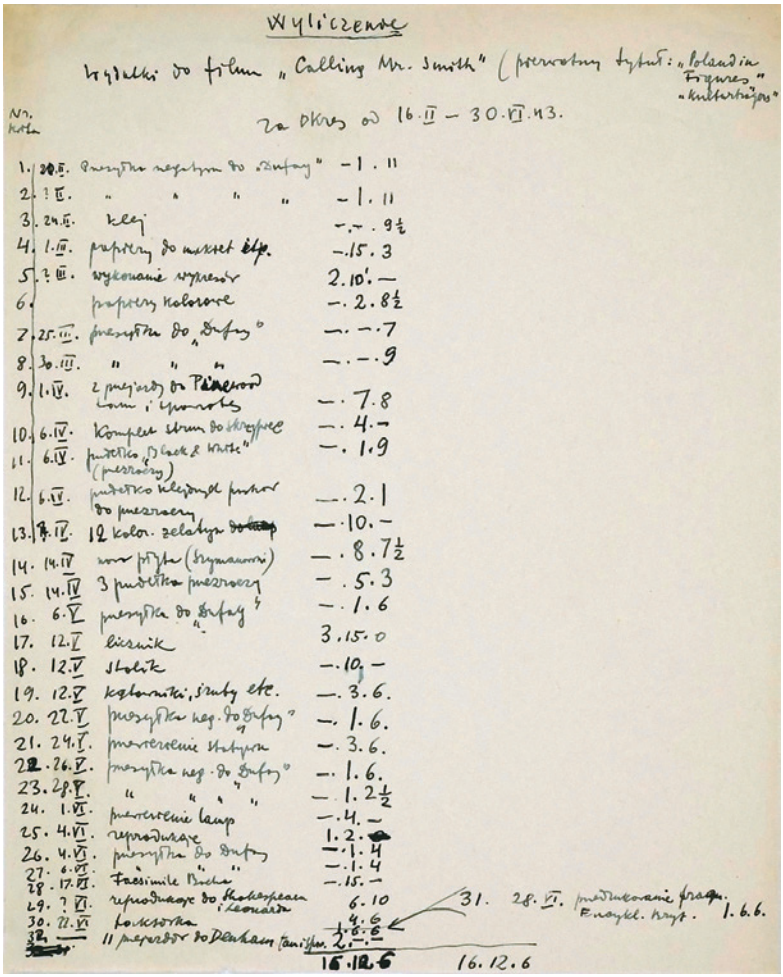
27 See J. Lachowski, "Wojenne losy polskiego kina (na przykładzie emigracyjnej twórczości Franciszki i Stefana Themersonów)", in: *Komunikowanie się Polaków w okresie II wojny światowej*, eds. K. Stępnik, M. Rajewski, Lublin 2011, pp. 221–231; a DVD with the film *Calling Mr. Smith* accompanies the book.

28 See letters from W. Detko to S. Themerson: London, August 14, 1945, typescript; London, September 4, 1945, typescript; London, September 21, 1945, typescript; letters from S. Themerson to W. Detko: London, August 30, 1945, carbon copy of typescript; London, October 5, 1945, carbon copy of typescript, DM NLP TA.

29 For example, the issue of British censors' interference in the film *Calling Mr. Smith* described by Stanisław Ozimek – see S. Ozimek, *Film polski w wojennej potrzebie*, Warszawa 1974, p. 83 – and later repeatedly mentioned in the literature on the Themersons' film



Wyliczenie

Wydatki do filmu „Calling Mr. Smith" (pierwotny tytuł: „Poland in Figures", „Kulturträgers")

Za okres od 16.II – 30.VI.43.

Nr. kolu			
1.	20.II.	Przesyłka negatywu do „Sufoy"	–1.11
2.	1.III.	" " " "	–1.11
3.	24.II.	klej	–.–.9½
4.	1.III.	papiery do maszet etc.	–.15.3
5.	2.III.	wykonanie wypresów	2.10.–
6.		papiery kolorowe	–.2.8½
7.	25.III.	przesyłka do „Sufoy"	–.–.7
8.	30.III.	" " "	–.–.9
9.	1.IV.	2 przejrzdy do Pinewood tam i spowrotem	–.7.8
10.	6.IV.	Kompet strun do skrzypiec	–.4.–
11.	6.IV.	pudełko „Black & White" (przezroczy)	–.1.9
12.	6.IV.	pudełko klejnych punkt do przezroczy	–.2.1
13.	7.IV.	12 kolor. żelatyn ~~[illegible]~~	–.10.–
14.	14.IV	nowy płyta (Szymanowski)	–.8.7½
15.	14.IV	3 pudełka przezroczy	–.5.3
16.	6.V	przesyłka do „Sufoy"	–.1.6
17.	12.V	liczniki	3.15.0
18.	12.V	stolik	–.10.–
19.	12.V	kolorowki, śruby etc.	–.3.6.
20.	22.V	przesyłka neg. do „Sufoy"	–.1.6.
21.	24.V	przerzucenie statyw	–.3.6.
22.	26.V	przesyłka neg. do „Sufoy"	–.1.6.
23.	28.V	" " " "	–.1.2½
24.	1.VI	przerzucenie lamp	–.4.–
25.	4.VI	reprodukcje	1.2.–
26.	4.VI	przesyłka do Sufoy	–.1.4
27.	6.VI	" "	–.1.4
28.	17.VI	Facsimile Biblia	–.15.–
29.	? VI	reprodukcje do Shakespeare i Leonardo	6.10
30.	22.VI	broszurka	4.6
31.	28.VI	przetłumaczenie fragm. Encykl. brytyj.	1.6.6.
32.	—	11 przejazdów do Denham tam i spow.	2.–.–
			16.12.6
			16.12.6

FIG. 4. Handwritten calculations of film expenditures, which enable us to see the working titles of *Calling Mr. Smith* – namely *Poland in Figures* and *Kulturträgers* (1943)

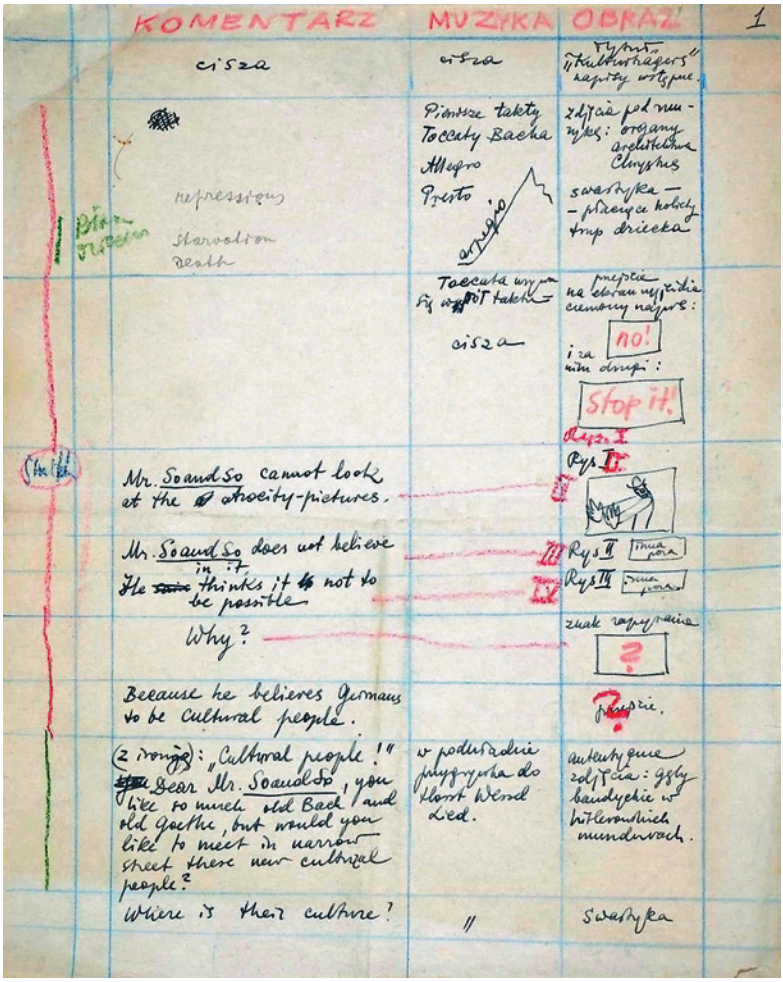
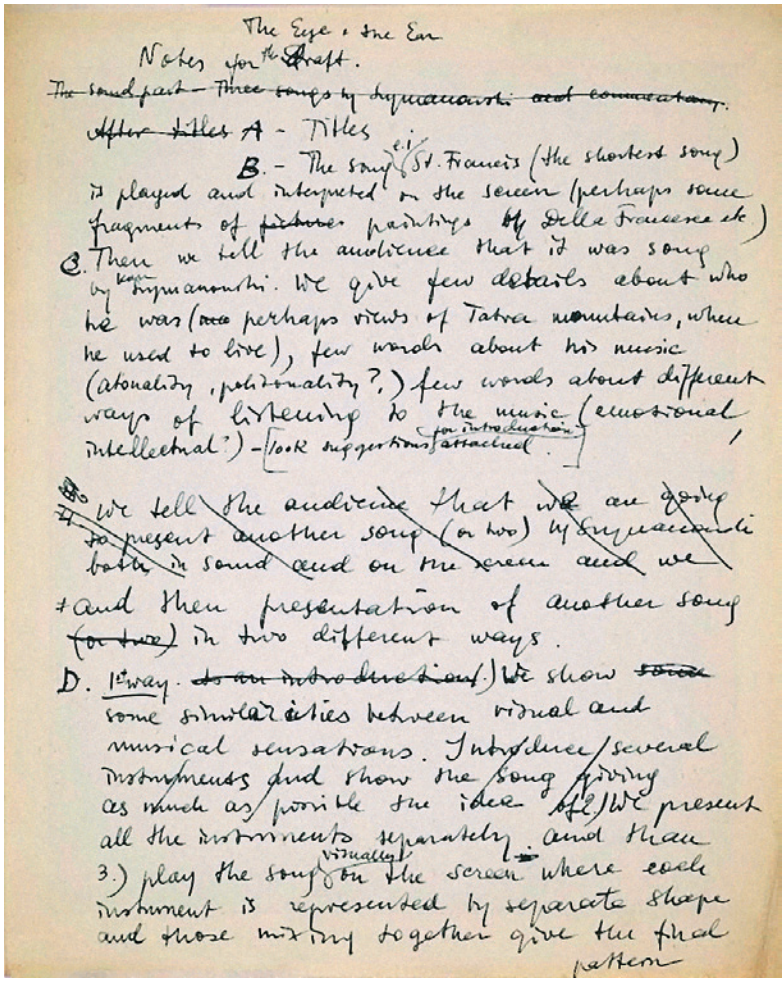


FIG. 5. An extract from a shooting script of *Calling Mr. Smith* (1943)



The Eye & the Ear

Notes for the Draft.

~~The sound part – Three songs by Szymanowski and commentary.~~

~~After titles~~ A – Titles

B. – The song of St. Francis (the shortest song) is played and interpreted on the screen (perhaps some fragments of ~~pictures~~ paintings ~~of~~ Della Francesca etc)

C. Then we tell the audience that it was song by Szymanowski. We give few details about who he was (~~and~~ perhaps views of Tatra mountains, where he used to live), few words about his music (atonality, polytonality?,) few words about different ways of listening to the music (emotional, intellectual?) – [look suggestions for introduction attached.]

~~So we tell the audience that we are going to present another song (or two) by Szymanowski both in sound and on the screen and we~~

+ and then presentation of another song ~~(or two)~~ in two different ways.

D. 1st way. ~~(as an introduction)~~ We show ~~some~~ some similarities between visual and musical sensations. Introduce several instruments and show the song giving as much as possible the idea ~~of~~. We present all the instruments separately and then 3.) play the song visually on the screen where each instrument is represented by separate shape and those mixing together give the final pattern

FIG. 6. An extract from handwritten notes for a script of *The Eye and the Ear* (1944)

The archive further contains technical materials (a screenplay, storyboard, dubbing sheet and other items) relating to other propaganda war films shot in the United Kingdom, namely *This is Poland* (1941), *Diary of a Polish Airman* (1942) and *Unfinished Journey* (1943). All three films were directed by Eugeniusz Cękalski, a writer with whom Stefan and Franciszka collaborated not only during the war but also earlier, during the period of the Film Authors Cooperative.

One particularly interesting item for research into the Themersons is a letter addressed to Stefan from C. Wong.[30]It concerns the issue of the Chinese translation of an audiocommentary for the film *This is Poland* and is evidence that Stefan was involved in its production. Equally intriguing is a paste-up of the credits of *Unfinished Journey*, a film about General Władysław Sikorski. According to Jasia Reichardt, who was in charge of the archive in London, the paste-up was probably designed by Franciszka. It is worth noting that although *This is Poland and Unfinished Journey* are mentioned in studies of Cękalski's output[31] and major studies of the experiences of Polish filmmakers during World War II[32], neither these studies nor any other important publications on the Themersons make any mention of their possible involvement in these two projects.

Other documents in the archive add to our knowledge of the Themersons' film work. For example, there is an employment contract for a cameraman signed by Stefan and Adam Römer, the Director of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers Bureau. There are also photocopies, the originals of which are in The Polish Institute and the Sikorski

output. Ozimek writes that the censors demanded that the scene with a girl hanged on the gallows was cut, but he does not provide a source for this information. Although the exact source of this claim therefore remains unknown, one document from the archive confirms its credibility, namely a British Board of Film Censors' notification from January 25, 1944 addressed to the Film Unit in the Ministry of Information and Documentation with a note on the reverse: "Delete shot of man hanging on gallows."

30 See letter from C. Wong to S. Themerson, October 6, 1943, manuscript, DM NLP TA.

31 See S. Janicki, *Eugeniusz Cękalski. (Monografia)*, Warszawa 1958, pp. 44–55, 93 (the author mentions only the film *Unfinished Journey*); J. Lemann, *Eugeniusz Cękalski*, Łódź 1996, pp. 98–110, 180–181.

32 See W. Jewsiewicki, *Polscy filmowcy na frontach drugiej wojny światowej*, Warszawa 1972, pp. 32–74, 219–220; S. Ozimek, *Film polski...*, op. cit. , pp. 71–99, 262–265.

Museum. In addition, the archives contain filled-out military status forms for both of the Themersons, and correspondence between the Ministry of Information and Documentation and the Themersons.

Researchers working on other aspects of the Themersons' film work or investigating the context in which it arose will be particularly interested in the correspondence, which forms a distinct group of materials in the archive. Here, we should mention two further possible avenues of research. The first is the question of the Themersons' film interests after shooting *The Eye and the Ear* – a matter that has received almost no attention. The letters from the late 1940s tell us that the Themersons applied for jobs in an animation studio and in television.[33] In the light of these documents, there is no doubt that after shooting what turned out to be their last film, and a spell working in the Ministry, they still wanted to create films and were trying to earn a living from this.[34]

The second possible avenue of research relates to the Themersons' correspondence with Polish directors and representatives of film studios in the Polish People's Republic. Information in the archive allows us to identify and outline film adaptations of Stefan's literary works.

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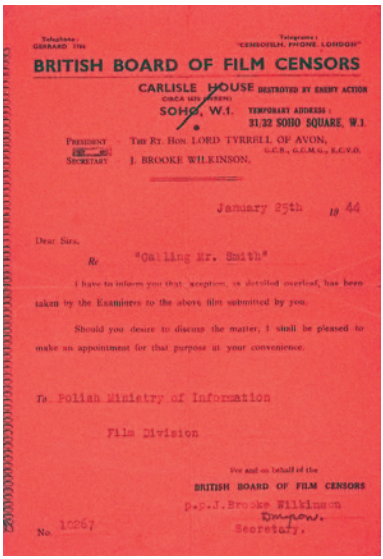
33 See letter from S. Themerson to David Hand (Managing Director of Gaumont British Animation Limited), September 14, 1947, carbon copy of typescript; letter form D. Hand to S. Themerson, October 16, 1947, typescript; letter from S. Themerson to the Director of Television Service [British Broadcasting Corporation], October 14, 1947, carbon copy of typescript; letter from G. del Strother (Film Manager) [BBC] to S. Themerson, October 28, 1947, typescript; letter from S. Themerson to G. del Strother, November 2, 1947, carbon copy of typescript, DM NLP TA.

34 In the context of post-war film motifs in the Themersons' biography, it is worth reading their correspondence with Ernest Lindgren, the curator of the National Film Archive. The correspondence mentions Stefan's idea for the construction of a device called a "Synaesthetic sight and sound co-ordinator", the construction of which was supposed to be crowned with a finished film. Stefan's letter of November 30, 1957 with a description of the concept for the device was copied and published together with its Polish translation in a booklet attached to the DVD with the Themersons' films (see *The films of Franciszka and Stefan Themerson*, a DVD, Warszawa–Londyn 2007). Furthermore, the remaining part of the correspondence with Lindgren provides information about another equally interesting although unknown episode: the Themersons' request to the British film archive for the return of copies of *Calling Mr. Smith* and *The Eye and the Ear* as a protest against the lecture by Leni Riefenstahl in the early 1960s in the National Film Theatre; see letter from S. and F. Themerson to E. Lindgren, January 6, 1960, carbon copy of typescript, and typescript [two versions of the text]; letter from E. Lindgren to S. and F. Themerson, January 12, 1960, typescript; letter from S. Themerson to E. Lindgren, undated, manuscript, DM NLP TA.



Telephone: GERRARD 3146

Telegrams: "CENSOFILM, PHONE, LONDON"

BRITISH BOARD OF FILM CENSORS

CARLISLE HOUSE DESTROYED BY ENEMY ACTION

(OPPOSITE SOHO SQUARE)

SOHO, W.1.

TEMPORARY ADDRESS: 31/32 SOHO SQUARE, W.1

PRESIDENT: THE RT. HON. LORD TYRRELL OF AVON, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.

SECRETARY: J. BROOKE WILKINSON.

January 25th 19 44

Dear Sirs,

Re "Calling Mr. Smith"

I have to inform you that exception, as detailed overleaf, has been taken by the Examiners to the above film submitted by you.

Should you desire to discuss the matter, I shall be pleased to make an appointment for that purpose at your convenience.

To Polish Ministry of Information

Film Division

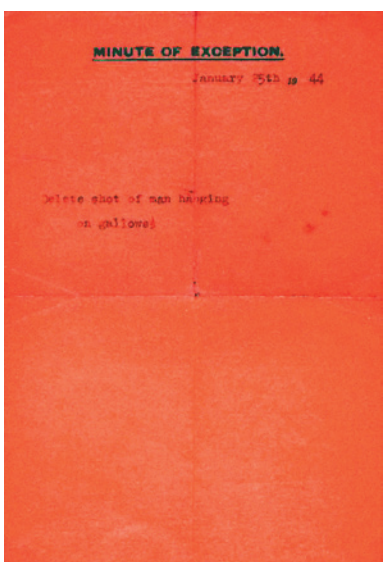
We and on behalf of the

BRITISH BOARD OF FILM CENSORS

p.p. J. Brooke Wilkinson

Secretary.

No. 10267



MINUTE OF EXCEPTION.

January 25th 19 44

Delete shot of man hanging on gallows

FIG. 7–8. A British Board of Film Censors' notification concerning *Calling Mr. Smith* from January 25, 1944 addressed to the Film Unit in the Ministry of Information and Documentation with a note on the reverse: "Delete shot of man hanging on gallows"

-:- U M O W A O P R A C E -:-

Zawarta pomiędzy P. Adamem ROMEREM
Dyrektorem Biura Prezydialnego Rady Ministrów
działającym w imieniu Skarbu Państwa, a P. T H E M E R S O N E M Stefanem
na następujących warunkach:

1/ P. THEMERSONEM Stefanem przyjmuje od dnia 1 stycznia 1943 na czas nieokreślony obowiązki pracownika umysłowego w służbie państwowej.

2/ Pracownik, zawierający niniejszą umowę będzie pełnił obowiązki służbowe w: Ministerstwie Informacji i Dokumentacji
w charakterze Operatora filmowego w Dziale Filmu

3/ W okresie pierwszych trzech miesięcy, licząc od daty, wymienionej w pkt.1/, uważa się umowę za zawartą na okres próbny. Na poczet tego okresu zalicza się jednak czas, przebyty w służbie państwowej po dniu 30 września 1939r., a przed zawarciem niniejszej umowy.

4/ Pracownik, zawierający niniejszą umowę będzie otrzymywał tytułem wynagrodzenia miesięcznego kwotę: L. 25.-/dwadzieścia pięć funtów/ za każdy miesiąc kalendarzowy, ~~oraz dodatek rodzinny według norm ustalonych osobnymi przepisami.~~
Wynagrodzenie wypłacane będzie z góry. Dz. 2 § 1. budżetu M.I.D.

5/ W razie podróży służbowych będą przysługiwały pracownikowi, zawierającemu niniejszą umowę, diety oraz zwrot kosztów podróży według norm ustalonych zarządzeniem Ministra Skarbu.

6/ W razie niemożności pełnienia obowiązków służbowych wskutek choroby lub nieszczęśliwego wypadku, a także w razie wykluczenia od zajęć przez władzę sanitarną, pracownik zawierający niniejszą umowę, zachowuje przez okres trzech miesięcy prawo do wynagrodzenia.

7/ Pracownikowi, zawierającemu niniejszą umowę przysługuje prawo do urlopu wypoczynkowego w wymiarze . P . . . tygodni rocznie.

8/ Pracownik, zawierający niniejszą umowę przyjmuje na siebie obowiązki takie same jak określone w art.21-27, art.28 ust.1 i 2, art.29, art.31 oraz art.32 ust. 1 i 3, Ustawy z dnia 17 lutego 1922 r. o państwowej służbie cywilnej /Dz.U.R.P. Nr.21 poz.164/ z późniejszymi zmianami, a ponadto zobowiązuje się stosować ściśle do wszelkich zarządzeń i instrukcji, wydanych przez władze przełożone.

9/ Rozwiązanie niniejszej umowy następuje:
a/ w okresie próbnym, to jest w ciągu pierwszych trzech miesięcy służby: - po uprzednim dwutygodniowym wypowiedzeniu, które powinno nastąpić na piśmie za dowodem doręczenia najpóźniej 1-go lub 16-go dnia miesiąca kalendarzowego,

b/ po zakończeniu okresu próbnego okres wypowiedzenia wynosić ma trzy miesiące kalendarzowe i kończyć się zawsze musi ostatniego dnia miesiąca kalendarzowego, wypowiedzenie nastąpić ma na piśmie za dowodem doręczenia, najpóźniej w ostatnim dniu miesiąca kalendarzowego, poprzedzającego okres wypowiedzenia,

./.

FIG. 9-10. An employment contract for a cameraman from January 1, 1943 signed by Stefan Themerson and Adam Römer, the Director of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers Bureau

- 2 -

c/ w razie wzajemnego porozumienia stron, zawierających niniejszą umowę,

d/ w przypadkach i na zasadach, przewidzianych w art.28,29 31-33 i 36-42 rozporządzenia Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 16 marca 1928 r. o umowie o pracę pracowników umysłowych /Dz.U.R.P. Nr.35 poz.323/.

10/ Po upływie trzech miesięcy niepełnienia obowiązków z powodu choroby lub nieszczęśliwego wypadku umowa może być uznana za rozwiązaną, o czym pracownika należy zawiadomić pisemnie: W razie nierozwiązania niniejszej umowy, prawo do wynagrodzenia gaśnie a stosunek umowy trwa, przywrócenie prawa do wynagrodzenia następuje z dniem zgłoszenia się do pracy.

11/ W razie rozwiązania umowy niniejszej pracownik zawierający tę umowę obowiązany będzie zwrócić otrzymane zaliczki i uregulować zaciągnięte względem: Ministerstwa Informacji i Dokumentacji zobowiązania pieniężno i służbowe.

Londyn, dnia 1 stycznia 1943r.

Stefan Themerson
/podpis pracownika zawierającego umowę/

PREZYDIUM RADY MINISTRÓW

/podpis przedstawiciela Skarbu Państwa/

This information may also be useful for research into "counterfactual history". For example, the archive reveals that Janusz Majewski thought about writing a screenplay based on the short story *General Piesc or the Case of the Forgotten Mission*. Danuta and Witold Stok, living in the United Kingdom, intended to make a film based on the novel *The Mystery of the Sardine*. Maria and Andrzej Waśko were planning to adapt the novel *Tom Harris* for the screen. Studio Miniatur Filmowych [the Studio of Film Miniatures] was trying to get permission to adapt the poem *O stole, który uciekł do lasu* [*The Table that Ran Away to the Woods*]. There may have been other projects of this type.

The letters exchanged with Juliusz Burski, literary director of the Zespół Filmowy "Perspektywa" [Film Studio "Perspective"] and with film director Janusz Majewski do not reveal why the adaptation was not made. Nevertheless the letters, albeit few in number, serve as motivation for further research. What the materials do reveal is that Majewski paid Stefan a visit in London which convinced him that the writer was well-disposed towards his proposal[35].

Stefan's letter to Burski from April 13, 1981 tells us more about the marriage of Danuta and Witold Stok. The couple were also interested in Stefan's text, which is mentioned by Stefan in the postscript to his letter. Stefan's correspondence with the Stoks contains his idea for a film with the working title *The Mystery of the Sardine*, which is also thematically related to *General Piesc* and the novel *Cardinal Pölatüö*. The film's producer was to be Rebecca O'Brian, who was later responsible for producing Ken Loach's films, including *The Wind That Shakes the Barley* (2006). In 1988 she was also involved in collecting funds for the Stoks' project. The archive includes a nine-page treatment for a film script written in English by the Stoks, enclosed with one of the letters,[36] over two hundred-page film script by the Stoks with com-

35 See letter from J. Burski to S. Themerson, Warsaw, March 25, 1981, typescript; letter from S. Themerson to J. Burski, April 13, 1981, carbon copy of typescript; letter from S. Themerson to J. Majewski, April 24, 1981, carbon copy of typescript; letter from J. Majewski to S. Themerson, Warsaw July 22, 1981, typescript, DM NLP TA.

36 See letter from Danuta and Witold Stok to S. Themerson, March 20, 1988, typescript; letter from S. Themerson to W. Stok, April 21, 1988, carbon copy of typescript; letter

ments and amendments introduced by Themerson (one of the sheets includes the text rewritten by Stefan on a typewriter),[37] and his notebook with seven pages of handwritten comments on the film, which all prove that a detailed consultation took place with him. The project may have failed due to a lack of funds, although it is difficult to say with any certainty.

In Stefan's correspondence with Maria and Ryszard Waśko we find a 17-page screenplay for a film adaptation of *Tom Harris*. It is quite possible that this project failed because of Stefan's attitude to it: the archive contains a copy of a letter to the Waśkos in which Stefan tactfully suggests that he was not satisfied with the concept for the screenplay.[38]

Another intriguing question concerns the fate of the animated film based on the work *O stole, który uciekł do lasu* [The Table that Ran Away to the Woods]. The adaptation was to be directed by Zofia Ołdak. However, production was hindered by the requirements of Studio Miniatur Filmowych, which, apart from asking for permission for adaptation, insisted on Stefan transferring the copyright for the original work to them. Negotiations were conducted, the studio sent draft contracts to Stefan who returned them with his alterations, but ultimately, due to lack of agreement on this crucial issue, the film was not produced.[39]

---

from D. and W. Stok to S. Themerson, July 29, 1988 [an enclosure to the letter: D. Stok, W. Stok, *The Mystery of the Sardine (working title). A Treatment for a Film Script based on the novel by: Stefan Themerson*, copy of a computer printout], DM NLP TA.

37 D. Stok, W. Stok: *Comedy of Manners (working title)*, copy of a computer printout, typescript, DM NLP TA.

38 See letter from M. and R. Waśko to S. Themerson, July 4, 1981, typescript (enclosure to the letter: M. Waśko, R. Waśko, *"Tom Harris" – scenariusz filmowy na podstawie książki St. Themersona* [Tom Harris – a screenplay based on St. Themerson's book], typescript); letter from S. Themerson to M. and R. Waśko, October 15, 1981, carbon copy of typescript, DM NLP TA.

39 See letters from Jerzy Świerczyński (the director of Studio Miniatur Filmowych) to S. Themerson: Warsaw, October 10, 1975, Warsaw, January 11, 1976, Warsaw, March 24, 1976, Warsaw, June 11, 1976, Warsaw, July 12, 1976, typescripts; letters from S. Themerson to J. Świerczyński: London, October 17, 1975, London, March 7, 1976, June 20, 1976; copies of typescripts; letter from Zofia Ołdak to S. Themerson, Warsaw, October 14, 1975, typescript, DM NLP TA. In addition, the correspondence between J. Świerczyński and Themerson includes enclosures which are typescript copies of two versions of the contract that was the subject of the dispute, with crossings-out and corrections by Themerson.

"I grant quite a lot of similar permissions, but I have never met with a condition such as that," he wrote in one of the letters to the studio director. "Forty-something years ago I myself made a film based on Anatol Stern's poem *Europa*. It would have never crossed my mind to claim the copyright for the poem and its ownership."[40]

There is no doubt that many more interesting facts about the Themersons' film work lie buried in the archive. The archive material is currently being rearranged and catalogued in line with Polish practice, so it will be soon be possible to bring these facts to light. A full exploration of the archive will only be feasible after this process is complete and the materials are available to researchers.

translated by Małgorzata Lachowska

SUMMARY

The artistic achievements of Franciszka and Stefan Themerson are becoming increasingly popular as a research subject in Poland. Although their oeuvre has inspired an extensive academic literature, the Themersons' work have not been studied in depth and many research topics connected with them have not been investigated at all. This is partly due to the couple's wide variety of interests and extensive artistic output, and partly because the major part of their archive remained in the United Kingdom until the end of 2014. In this paper we examine the new research perspectives, especially those connected with the Themersons' film output, which have opened up with the relocation of their archive to Poland.

KEYWORDS: Franciszka Themerson, Stefan Themerson, Themerson Archive, National Library of Poland, manuscripts, film studies, film output

40 Letter from S. Themerson to J. Świerczyński, June 20, 1976. The cited excerpt from the letter is translated from Polish: "Zezwoleń podobnych dość dużo udzielam, ale nigdy się jeszcze z warunkiem podobnym nie spotkałem. Lat temu czterdzieści kilka sam zrobiłem film oparty na poemacie Anatola Sterna *Europa*. Nigdy by mi na myśl nie przyszło, by sobie rościć prawa autorskie do poematu i jego własności."

Kamil Pawlicki

GENRE THEORY APPLIED: GENRE AND FORM TERMS IN THE CATALOGUE OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF POLAND[1]

Introduction

Genre/form access is an area of increasing interest to the library world, as shown by the creation of the IFLA Genre/Form Working Group in 2013[2] and the gradual addition of genre/form indexes or facets to library catalogues. In this paper, we consider some theoretical and practical aspects of the possible use of genre and form terms in a library catalogue on basis of the new solution introduced by the National Library of Poland in January 2017.

Genre and Form in Libraries

The possibilities of using form and genre terms in library catalogues have been growing gradually over time – as has awareness of the potential benefits of doing so. In the past, card catalogues rarely recorded form and genre terms, or did so on a basic level only.[3] With

1 This publication is an extended version of the paper presented at IFLA WLIC 2017: http://library.ifla.org/1644/ [2019.03.04]

2 IFLA Genre/Form Working Group: <https://www.ifla.org/node/8526> [2017.05.27]

3 Libraries Linking Idaho. <http://lili.org/forlibs/ce/sable/course4/sec3-subject-headings-9.htm> [2017.05.27]; Folgerpedia: Genre and form. <http://folgerpedia.folger.edu/Genre_and_form> [2017.05.27]

the arrival of computer catalogues and the MARC standard, librarians could expand their descriptions. The original MARC specification did not include a specific field for form or genre terms, but this was added to bibliographic description in the 1980s (655 – Index Term – Genre/Form)[4] and authority description in the 1990s (X55 – Genre/Form Terms).[5] Libraries using MARC formats gradually began using genre/form as another access point. Some of the libraries with OPAC search interfaces adopted genre/form as an additional search index, while others began using the subject index, albeit with special genre/form subdivisions (for example, the National Library of Poland, which we will describe later).

New access points such as genre/form are especially useful in faceted search interfaces. Nowadays, most libraries using such interfaces have some kind of form/format facet, usually called "Type" or "Format" rather than "Form".[6] Here, "type/format/form" sometimes means physical form (with categories such as "Book", "DVD", "Software", "Blu-Ray") and sometimes both physical and intellectual forms (with categories such as "Reviews", "Dissertations", "Conference Proceedings" alongside "Book", "DVD", and so on).

While form/format/type is frequent, genre (or genre/form) facet in library catalogues with faceted search interfaces appears to be rare. Where it is found, it is usually called "Genre", or sometimes "Form/Genre" or "Subject: Genre".[7]

4 Discussion Paper No. 82. <http://www.loc.gov/marc/marbi/dp/dp82.html> [2017.05.27]

5 Discussion Paper No. 83. <http://www.loc.gov/marc/marbi/dp/dp83.html> [2017.05.27]

6 "Type", "Format", "Type of Document", "Material Type" or "Resource Type" (or some equivalents in other languages) are employed e.g. in the British Library, University College London Library, Plymouth University Library, Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale, Southampton Solent University Library, Thrift Library, University of Southern Mississippi, Leiden University Library, University of Almeria Library, University of Guelph Library, University of Waterloo Library, WorldCat.

7 "Genre" is used by the University of Waterloo Library, University of Guelph Library, Laurier Library, Thrift Library and others. "Subject: Genre" is used by Princeton University Library, Yale University Library and others. "Form/Genre" is used by the British Library, Harvard Library and others.

Definitions

The basic and the most widespread definition of genre/form terms in the context of library catalogues is that they are words describing what a work *is* (what class or category it belongs to), rather than what it is *about*. In the FRSAD model, this is called "isness" versus "aboutness".[8] This definition emphasises how genre/form terms are of a different nature to subject terms, although it is often added that they may be closely related.[9]

It is difficult to draw a precise distinction between "form" and "genre". Roughly speaking, "genre" corresponds to a greater extent to the content, style, technique, purpose or intended audience of what is being described, while "form" corresponds to a greater extent to the physical characteristics of the object, the type of data it contains, and the arrangement of information within it. Genre and form terms often combine to create fixed phrases in natural language, such as *horror films*, where "horror" is the genre and "film" is the form.[10] For these reasons, libraries often treat form and genre jointly.

Significantly, the attitude of the USMARC community to genre, form and physical characteristics has changed several times in the past. Initially, they were treated together and the first proposal of a separate field for physical characteristics was rejected (in 1979). In 1983, however, the community was persuaded that physical characteristics involve an aspect that is sufficiently different from form and genre, which resulted in the addition of the 755 field (Added Entry – Physical Characteristics). In 1991, discussions at American Library Association (ALA) conferences led to a new definition of form being drawn up which included both intellectual content (of the 655 field

8 *Functional Requirements for Subject Authority Data (FRSAD): A Conceptual Model*. ed. by Marcia Lei Zeng, Maja Žumer, Athena Salaba (cop. 2011). Berlin; New York. p. 10.

9 H. Zinkham, Cloud, Patricia D., Mayo, Hope. "Providing Access by Form of Material, Genre, and Physical Characteristics: Benefits and Techniques." *American Archivist*, 1989, Vol. 52. pp. 303.

10 *Frequently Asked Questions about Library of Congress Genre/Form Terms for Library and Archival Materials (LCGFT)*. <https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/genre_form_faq.pdf> [2017.05.27]

type) and physical characteristics (755 field) information.[11] The new definition marked a preference for removing the distinction between intellectual and physical form from the USMARC bibliographic format, which in 1995 finally resulted in making the 755 field obsolete in favour of the 655 field.[12]

The modern MARC description still treats form and genre together but defines them separately. In the description for the 655 field, "genre" is defined primarily by "the style or technique of the intellectual content". "Form", on the other hand, is defined primarily by "physical character" and "order of information", as well as by the "subject of the intellectual content" (the last factor shows some confusion with genre). The third category, "physical characteristics", is defined in almost the same way as "form". Furthermore, there are only two sets of examples, one for "genre" and another for both "form" and "physical characteristics", essentially merging the last two categories completely. The 380 field is entitled "Form of Work" but defined as "a class or genre to which a work belongs", which confuses form and genre completely.

In some other descriptions, by contrast, these categories are divided more clearly. For example, the Moving Image Genre-Form Guide (MIGFG) clearly distinguishes the "form" of a film (e.g. feature, short, serial) from its "format" (e.g. video, videodisc).[13]

Why Do We Need Genres?

Genre theory, inspired by theoretical reflections in Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Poetry*, is born of the human need to classify the world. Bundling works into groups with similar characteristics and labelling them helps us say something about them. Genres became convenient

11 Prepared for USMARC by the Subcommitee on the Nature and Use of Form Data of ALA's Subject Analysis Committee in 1991; see: Discussion Paper No. 82. <http://www.loc.gov/marc/marbi/dp/dp82.html> [2017.05.27]

12 Ibidem.

13 Moving Image Genre-Form Guide. <https://www.loc.gov/rr/mopic/migintro.html> [2017.05.27]

analytical terms for the scholars who developed genre theory.[14] Over time, genres also became useful categories for other groups. Thus audiences use genre labels to identify the sort of work they are looking for. Authors, thanks to their awareness of genres, can refer to them by following genre conventions and audience expectations, or break them by mixing them up creatively. The current popularity of a genre may influence a publisher or producer's decision about which book or film to support. Genre labels are used for marketing purposes as the fastest and easiest way to characterise a work. And critics refer to genre categories because audiences understand them and the labels allow the critics to refer to the work in a specific context.

Genres represent a type of tacit agreement between creators, reviewers and audiences.[15] They serve not only to organise and structure works, but also in a way to define relationships between the work and the audience. A genre is to some extent recognisable by a recipient, sometimes unconsciously. It can be seen as the "horizon of expectation", to use H.R. Jauss's terminology,[16] signalling to recipients what they may expect from a work and guiding their reception, understanding and interpretation[17]. Today, many genres are so deeply ingrained in the audience's consciousness that there are organised groups of admirers of a genre who create and read dedicated magazines and internet sites, organise get-togethers, and so on.

For all these parties, genres are therefore important access points in library catalogues. Genre access supplements subject access – indeed, it can be even more important than subject access as it covers aspects of works "that would be otherwise neglected, addressing the storytell-

14 The term "genre" is used here in the traditional sense, based on literary genres. This term is used in a different sense in M.M. Bakhtin's concept of speech genres; see: Simmons, Michelle H. "Librarians as Disciplinary Discourse Mediators: Using Genre Theory to Move Toward Critical Information Literacy." *Libraries and the Academy*, 2005, 5.3. p. 301.

15 D. Bordwell, K. Thompson, *Film art: an introduction*. New York 2008. p. 320.

16 Jauss, Hans Robert, Benzinger, Elizabeth. "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory." *New Literary History, Vol. 2, No. 1, A Symposium on Literary History*, 1970, pp. 7-37.

17 M. Głowiński, "O gatunkach literackich – po latach". *Tradycja i przyszłość genologii*, ed. Dariusz Kulesza, Białystok, 2013, pp. 19-21.

ing or narrative strategy and formula that is seldom accounted for in subject headings".[18]

Interestingly, many public and school libraries are currently moving from alphabetic shelving to genre shelving, or at least combining the two systems like in bookshops. Moreover, libraries are increasingly breaking with the tradition of shelving children's titles under a generic "children" or "young adult" section and shelving them in the same way as adult fiction, by genre.[19] It is claimed that shelving by genre helps students find "the right book" on their own, which saves them having to ask the librarian, who can then focus on more complex enquiries. Moreover, a system that helps students to find books on the basis of their own reading preferences can encourage them to read more voraciously and make them understand and articulate what they like to read and why. In a way, it develops their sense of themselves as readers.[20]

Genre/form Headings in the National Library of Poland

Up until the end of 2016 the National Library of Poland used a subject headings system called National Library Subject Headings (Język Haseł Przedmiotowych Biblioteki Narodowej).[21] The system was precoordinated and built on the basis of MARC |x, |y and |z subdivisions, which were added to the main portion of a heading[22]. Subject terms

18 Moving Image Genre-Form Guide. <www.loc.gov/rr/mopic/migintro.html> [2017.05.27]

19 B. Eichholzer, (2016) *Taking the guesswork out of genre.* <http://www2.curriculum.edu.au/scis/connections/issue_91/articles/taking_the_guesswork_out_of_genre.html> [2017.05.27]

20 *Arranging library fiction by genre.* <https://natlib.govt.nz/schools/reading-engagement/libraries-supporting-readers/arranging-library-fiction-by-genre>; Neltner, Heidi, *Project Genre-fy the Fiction Section!* <http://learninprogress.blogspot.com/2014/07/project-genre-fy-fiction-section.html>; Whitehead, Tiffany. *Genre Shelving!*: <http://www.mightylittlelibrarian.com/?p=582> [2017.05.27]

21 B. Włodarczyk, J. Woźniak-Kasperek, (2017) *Język Haseł Przedmiotowych Biblioteki Narodowej: od analizy dokumentu do opisu przedmiotowego*. Warszawa.

22 Form subdivision (subfield |v) was not in use – as opposed to another subject description system used in Polish libraries, called Academic Library Automated Catalogues Subject Headings (Język Haseł Przedmiotowych Katalogów Automatycznych Bibliotek Akademickich - JHP KABA); see: G. Kwaśnik, M. Nasiłowska, A. Nowak-Drzymała,

were coded in bibliographic records as 650 MARC fields (150 field in the authority record), while genre/form terms were coded as 655 fields (155 field in the authority record). Thus, in a way, they were separated from each other already at the field tag level. However, this formal separation had no influence on the search interface as both subject and genre/form terms were searchable by the same subject index and there was no possibility of filtering the results by excluding results from either 650 or 655 field.

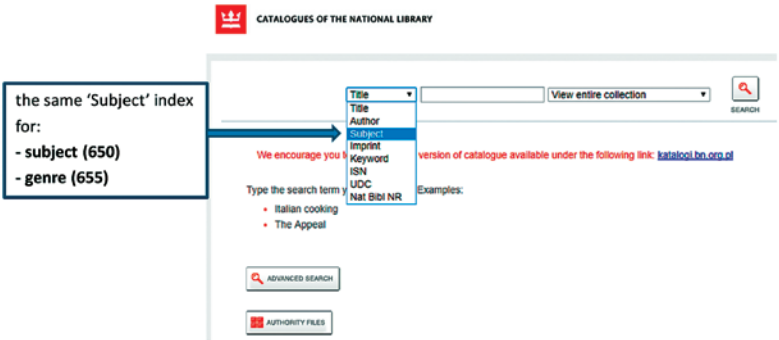


FIG. 1. 'Subject' index in the older version of the National Library of Poland catalogue

The genre/form term was always coded in a 655 field, regardless of whether it indicated that a work *belonged* to that genre/form or was *about* that genre/form. It was thus necessary to find an additional way to separate these two indications. This was achieved by using the MARC |x subject subdivision. Works that *belonged* to a genre/form were assigned no |x subdivision (although they might be assigned |y chronological subdivision) while works *about* that genre/form had to contain at least one |x subdivision, for example, "|xhistory", "|xtranslations", "|xreception", "|xstylistics", etc.[23]

(2018 – forthcoming) "Transformacja JHP KABA na Deskryptory Biblioteki Narodowej. Część I. Forma." *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, t. XLIX; Nasiłowska, Maria, "KABA Subject Headings - The Current Situation and Prospects for the Future." *Polish Libraries Today*, 2007, v. 7, pp. 55–59.

23 The National Library of Poland Subject Headings, like the National Library of Poland Descriptors, are in Polish only. They have been translated for the purposes of this paper.

245 10 |aDeath in Breslau /|cMarek Krajewski ; transl. by Danusia Stok.
655 _4 |aPowieść polska|y20 w.
(Polish novel|y20 w.)

245 14 |aPolish novel in the 20th century /|cAgnieszka Izdebska ;
Department of Theory of Literature. University of Łódź.
655 _4 |aPowieść polska|xhistoria|y20 w.
(Polish novel|xhistory|y20 cent.)

In the search results for "Polish novel", the first example was displayed on the list as "Polish novel -- 20th cent.", the second example as "Polish novel -- history -- 20th cent." This solution was logical at a time when library catalogues were presented in the form of indexes, but it required users to work out first what the principle was.

Moreover, as the examples above show, the National Library Subject Headings genre/form terms also indicated the cultural area (language, ethnic or national) to which the work belonged, such as "Polish" or "English", as well as audience indications (such as "children's" or "youth"). This information was coded in the main portion of the heading, not in a subdivision. Thus the genre/form headings expressed two or even three characteristics of a work at the same time within the main portion, not counting subdivisions (e.g. "Polish novel", "Polish children's novel").

Finally, there was another restriction. In one group of 155 terms, which we may call "form terms", the terms were used both as subject terms (with an |x subdivision) and as genre/form terms (with no |x subdivision). However, in another group of 155 terms, which we may call "genre terms", all of the terms could be used as subject terms but only a few as genre/form terms. For example, the 155 term "English poetry" could be used both as a subject or genre/form heading but the 155 term "English sonnet" could be used only as a subject term, describing a work *about* English sonnets. If the work *was* a sonnet (or consisted of sonnets, contained sonnets, etc.) it could only be described with the broader term "English poetry".

100 1_ |aLeishman, J. B.|d(1902-1963)
245 10 |aThemes and variations in Shakespeare's sonnets /|cJ. B. Leishman.
655 _4 |aSonet angielski|xhistoria|y16-17 w.
[English sonnet|xhistory|y16-17 cent.]

100 1_ |aShakespeare, William|d(1564-1616)
245 10 |aShakespeare's sonnets /|cwith pref., glossary etc. by Israel Gollancz
655 _4 |aPoezja angielska|y17 w.
[English poetry|y17 cent.]

The genre of a work could thus only be described generally, even if it was quite obvious, as in the example above. The terms admitted were often, in fact, form terms (e.g. "Literature", "Film", "Photography") or, in the case of literature, major forms/genres ("Poetry", "Novel", "Short story").

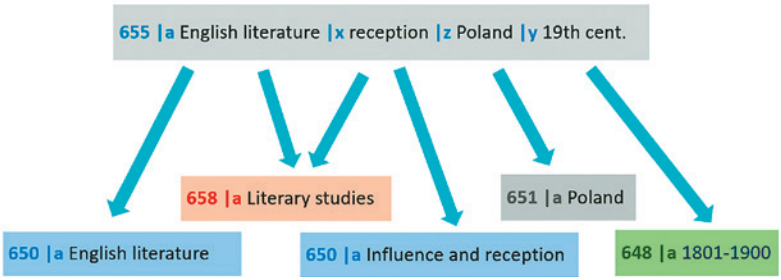


FIG. 2. Transition from the National Library of Poland Subject Headings to National Library of Poland Descriptors by cessation of use of |x, |y and |z subdivisions

In January 2017 the National Library of Poland introduced a new subject description system called National Library Descriptors (Deskryptory Biblioteki Narodowej), the goal of which was to improve the use of the faceted search interface[24]. The system is post-coordinat-

24 M. Cichoń, *National Library of Poland Descriptors model as an attempt of opening library data for reuse*, http://library.ifla.org/1617/1/114-cichon-en.pdf, 2017 [3.03.2019]; J. Cieloch-Niewiadomska, (2019 – forthcoming) "Introducing the National Library of Poland Descriptors to the Polish National Bibliography." *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly*, vol. 57, nr 1;

ed and no longer uses MARC |x, |y and |z subdivisions. The change of system allowed major changes to be made to the structure of genre/form headings.

New Genre Facet

Firstly, in the new faceted catalogue of the National Library of Poland (katalogi.bn.org.pl) most of the genre terms – coded in 655 field – formed a new 'Genre' facet, while subject terms – coded in 650 field – formed the 'Subject' facet. Thus, they are clearly separated at the presentation level.

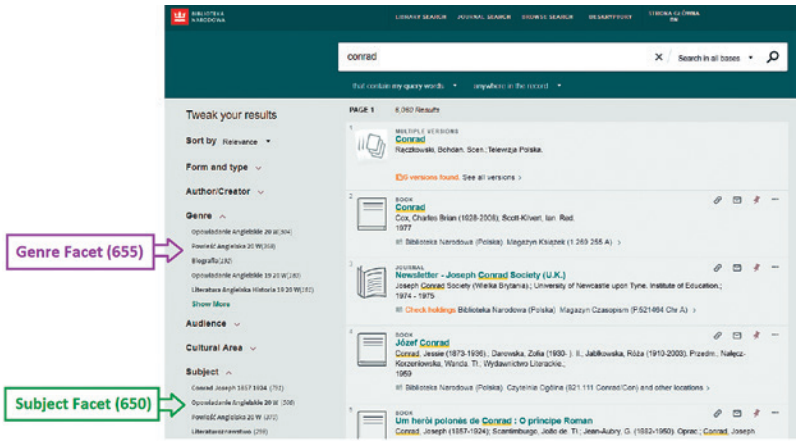


FIG. 3. Separation of genre and subject terms in the new catalogue of the National Library of Poland (katalogi.bn.org.pl)

Extending the Scope of Genre Terms

The application of genre terms was expanded to publications belonging to that genre. Users were provided with many new genre headings. Access to "living" or contemporary genres – genres that are being created today, especially popular and widely recognised genres – are very useful for users as they allow them to choose works accord-

K. Mituś, "Deskryptory Biblioteki Narodowej – geneza, tło teoretyczne i krótkie omówienie nowego sposobu opisu rzeczowego." *Fides. Biuletyn Bibliotek Kościelnych*, 23 nr 1 (44), 2017, pp. 121-144.

ing to their preferences. Access to "dead" or historical genres – those that are no longer (or to a large degree no longer) being created, such as idyll, epyllion or epistolary novel, are of great importance for academic research.

This expansion of genre terms also had practical consequences for cataloguers. Previously, in their daily work, cataloguers had been limited to a narrow set of very general genre headings such as "Polish novel", and could not use their knowledge of subject matter and understanding of specific fields of literature, for instance. Now, they began specifying genres more fully. This requires more time and effort but allows them to use their existing skills, as well as increasing their familiarity with contemporary genres.

While genre terms are still coded in 655 field, when they indicate a work that *belongs* to a genre/form, they are now coded in 650 field – without any subdivisions – when they indicate a work that is *about* a genre form. Consequently, a genre term can appear in two different facets, so a user can clearly distinguish between the two different usages of that term.

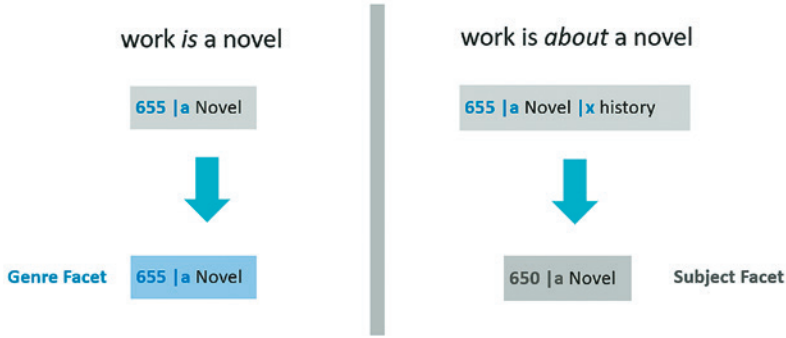


FIG. 4. Placing of genre terms in two different fields and facets

Separation of Cultural Area and Intended Audience

Second, the new system involves removing the designations of cultural areas and intended audiences from genre/form terms. The former are now coded in the 386 field (Creator/Contributor Charac-

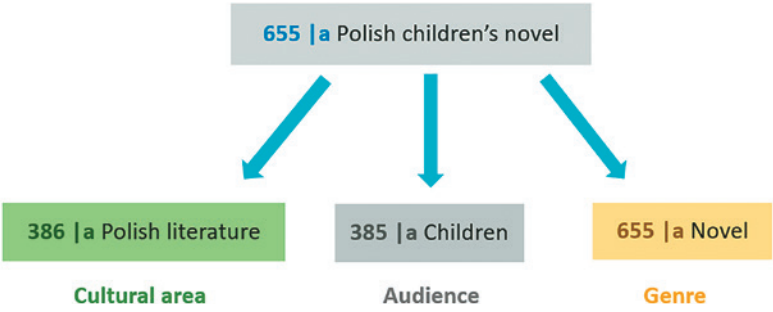


FIG. 5. Separation of Cultural Area and Intended Audience

teristics), where they are combined with general form items (e.g. "Polish literature", "English film", "German photography"). The latter are coded in the 385 field (Audience Characteristics) of bibliographic records (e.g. "Children", "Youth"). Designations of cultural areas and intended audiences are no longer coded in the authority record, so the total number of 155 headings has fallen greatly. Each genre/form, except for general form items such as "Polish literature", is now assigned to a single authority record.

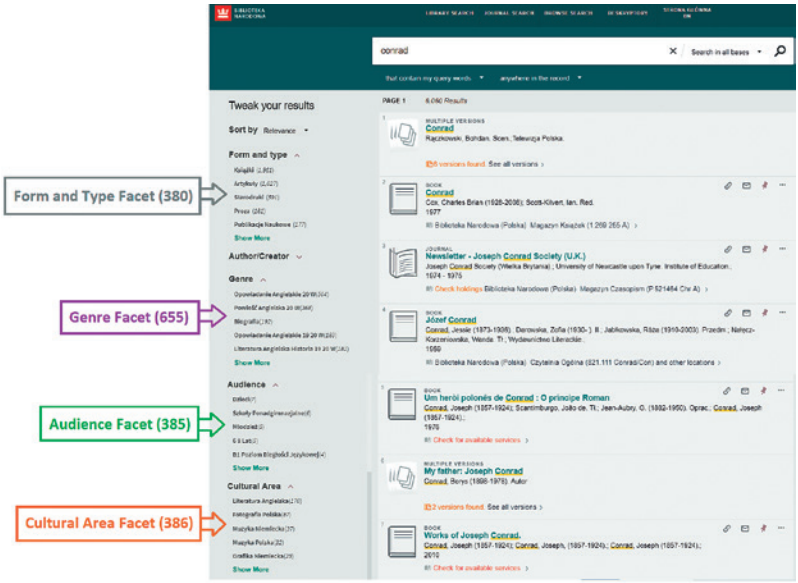


FIG. 6. New facets in the new catalogue of the National Library of Poland (katalogi.bn.org.pl)

This division had a direct impact on the faceted search interface. Terms from each of the abstracted designations formed two new facets: "Cultural area" and "Audience", which created two more access points.

Two Genre/Form Facets

Finally, parts of the headings that had previously been displayed in the 655 field in bibliographic records were moved to the 380 field (Form of Work) and formed a new 'Form and type' facet.

In the new system, genre/form descriptors intended to be used in the 380 field form a finite list, which is not meant to be expanded. We can group them into two main categories:

1. Form/physical characteristics:
   a. Form/physical characteristics of writing: "Articles", "Audiobooks", "Journals", "Leaflets", "E-books", "Books", "Braille publications", "Manuscripts", "Antique prints"
   b. Form/physical characteristics of non-writing: "Films and serials", "Photographs", "Graphics", "Games and toys", "Computer games", "Maps", "Music", "Musical notation", "Audio and video recordings", "Three-dimensional objects", "Files and databases", "Computer programmes", "Radio and television programmes", "Drawings"
2. Major forms of writing:
   a. Major forms of literary writing: "Prose", "Poetry", "Drama", "Non-fiction, essays, journalism", "Comics"
   b. Major forms of non-literary writing: "Albums and art. books", "Guides", "Didactic publications", "Professional publications", "Information publications", "Scholarly publications", "Popular science publications", "Promotional publications", "Religious publications", "Official publications and legal acts"

Each bibliographic record must be assigned at least one descriptor of form/physical characteristics (point 1). If a bibliographic record is assigned a descriptor of the form/physical characteristics of writing (point 1a), it must also be assigned at least one descriptor of a major form of writing (point 2).

Genre/form descriptors intended to be used in the 655 field do not form a finite list and are being constantly expanded. We may group these descriptors into five categories:

1. Writing genres/forms:
   a. Literary writing genres (e.g. "Novel", "Historical novel", "Sonnet")
   b. Non-literary writing genres/forms (e.g. "Monograph", "Research report", "Review", "Dictionary", "Encyclopaedia", "Scholarly journal", "Film magazine")
2. Film genres (e.g. "Western", "Musical", "Film noir")
3. Music genres/forms (e.g. "Bourrée", "Flamenco", "Blues")
4. Art genres/forms (e.g. "Photography", "Etching", "Woodcut")
5. Radio/television genres/forms (e.g. "Radio programme", "Reality show", "Sitcom")

Major Forms

The division into 380 and 655 merits closer attention. The distinction between form/physical characteristics (here, field 380 point 1) and genre/form (field 655) is typical for libraries with faceted search interfaces. If they have a "genre/form" facet, it is normally separated from the "form/physical characteristics" facet[25].

However, the National Library of Poland has come up with an original idea. It divides writing genres into two groups – "major forms" (field 380 point 2), and ordinary "genres" or "minor forms" (field 655). Libraries with a "genre/form" facet include all the terms on a single level, in one facet. For example, the Genre facet of the University of Waterloo Library catalogue covers both major forms – "Poetry", "Fiction", "Drama" – and genres – "Dystopian fiction", "Psychological fiction", "Domestic novels", and so on.

The idea of distinguishing between major and minor forms in the National Library of Poland catalogue was partly motivated by the Polish tradition of literary theory. Stefania Skwarczyńska, a leading Polish researcher in the field of genre theory, points out that research

25 E.g. British Library, University of Guelph Library, Laurier Library, Thrift Library, University of Waterloo Library.

into the theory of literature is so deeply rooted in the cultural area in which it flourishes that its statements tend not to become universal as often as in other humanities. This is especially true of genre studies, where it results in a certain terminological incompatibility.

All Western traditions have at least two-tiered classifications of literature, but individual traditions differ to a large degree with regard to how they see these two levels. In the Anglo-American cultural area, literature is normally divided into "major forms" (or "major genres"), which are further divided into "genres" (or "minor genres") and "subgenres". However, there is no fixed, commonly accepted list of "major forms": they include "prose", "poetry" and "drama" but may also include "novel", "short story", "novella" (sometimes considered genres of prose), "comedy", "tragedy" (sometimes considered genres of drama) and others. The relationship between "major genres" and the division of literature into "fiction" and "non-fiction" is also problematic, as they can be either super-categories or forms of prose. While the word "forms" is applied to the first layer of the division, the word "genre" is used for both layers. In the Anglo-American tradition, genres tend to relate more to specific forms than to universals.[26]

In the Polish, German and Russian traditions, the first layer of division is fixed and contains three categories: "epic", "lyric" and "drama". This derives from the approach of Hellenistic critics, who misread the Socratic triad in Plato's *Republic* and transformed the three modes of presentation of speech (authorial, figural and mixed) into three genres, adding the "lyric" genre to Aristotle's "epic" and "dramatic" genres. This form of the triad was particularly popularised by Goethe, who wrote about the three "natural forms", the *Naturformen der Dichtung*.[27] In the Anglo-American and French traditions the "natural forms" are barely used or treated more narrowly as genres of poetry, but in the German and Slavic traditions they are still the basic mode used to classify literary writing.

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26 D. Chandler, *An Introduction to Genre Theory* 1997, <http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/intgenre/chandler_genre_theory.pdf> [2017.05.27]

27 J. W. von Goethe, *West-östlichen Divan: mit allen Noten und Abhandlungen*, 2nd edition, Berlin, 2016, p. 192.

Significantly, in the Anglo-American and French traditions the separation between the first and the second layer is often blurred. This is accompanied by a tendency to describe literary genres in terms of formal technical categories. By contrast, in the Central and Eastern European traditions, literary genres are described in terms of the typology of attitudes towards the world,[28] and the separation is more explicit. The "natural forms" are treated as essential, universal and everlasting in opposition to historically variable "genres".[29]

In the Polish tradition, the separation appears to be even stronger than in other Central and Eastern European traditions. The Polish term *rodzaj* "kind, type" is used for the first layer only, and the term *gatunek* "genre" for the second layer only. In German, both terms – *attung* and *Dichtart* – can refer to the first or second layer. In Russian, the term род "kind, type" is used only for the first layer, while the term жанр "genre" may refer to both layers.[30]

The new system used in the National Library of Poland follows the Polish tradition of firmly separating the two layers of genre by putting the "major forms" in a separate facet. However, traditional major forms – "lyric", "epic", "drama" – appear to be somewhat inadequate for today's works of literary fiction, where almost all epic is prose and almost all lyric is poetry. For example, modern bookshops tend to prefer the term "poetry" over the term "lyric" and the term "prose" over "epic". For this reason, the National Library of Poland catalogue changed the triad to "prose", "poetry" and "drama" as a sort of compromise between literary tradition and the modern literary situation.

The National Library of Poland catalogue adds two more major forms. The first is "Non-fiction literature, essays, journalism", where "non-fiction" is understood narrowly as literary non-fiction only. The second is "comics", whose specific character – somewhere between literature and visual arts – puts them in a distinct category. The Polish system thus changes the triad into a pentad, while retaining the basic

28 S. Skwarczyńska, *Wstęp do nauki o literaturze. Tom III*. Warszawa. pp. 69-71.

29 J. Frow, *Genre*. New York. p. 58-62.

30 S. Skwarczyńska, op. cit., p. 69-71.

concept of "universals". Moreover, it extends the distinction of major forms to non-literary writing works (field 380 point 2b). It groups these into nine categories based on the purpose for which they were written. The categories are therefore sometimes known as "functional" terms.

The decision by the National Library of Poland to distinguish major forms of writing was both significant and original. It allows users to filter search results not only by genre but in fact by two different degrees of genre, creating an additional access point. It was natural enough for Polish users, who are accustomed to two levels of genre division, to have these two levels separated and presented in two different facets. It was only a question of where to include these major forms. One possibility was to create another "Major Forms" facet. This would be logically and theoretically more accurate since it would not require in the insertion of terms from two different areas into the same facet. However, adding one more facet to an already large set would create a risk of information noise, which might confuse users. The model of two genre/form facets chosen is in fact potentially perceived by users as quite simple as it reflects the first layer and the second layer without going into details about those layers (note that the above-mentioned division of the 380 facet into groups and subgroups is not directly visible to users). Putting major forms together with form and physical characteristics is thus less perfect in theory, but potentially more functional in practice.

FRBR

The terms used in the 380 field in the FRBR model also require further attention. Among the above-mentioned groups of terms, major forms of writing (point 2), such as prose, poetry and scholarly publications, are clearly attributes of a work. They determine the intellectual content, which is constant, and thus refer to all expressions, manifestations and parts of a work. In the case of form/physical characteristics (point 1), some terms can also be treated as invariable attributes of the work (e.g. articles, journals, music) while others, which perhaps should be called "format" rather than "form" (e.g. audiobooks,

e-books, manuscripts), should be treated as attributes of the manifestation (or expression/manifestation). Differentiating between the last two entities is often difficult. For example, "Audiobooks" can be understood as an attribute of the realisation of a work in sound (*expression*) or an attribute of the physical embodiment of that realisation (*manifestation*).[31] In any case, they are clearly not attributes of the work, which is a broadening of the 380 MARC field definition "Form of work".

A fundamental incompatibility appears to exist between the MARC genre/form terms and the FRBR model. The FRBR model puts "form of *work*" on the list of attributes of a *work* and defines it as a "class to which the work belongs (e.g. novel, play, poem, essay, biography, symphony, concerto, sonata, map, drawing, painting, photograph)".[32] The Library of Congress states that its Genre/Form terms "describe the expression, not the manifestation or item. In other words, the terms refer to the intellectual or artistic expression of a work, not to the physical carrier". The first inconsistency perhaps results from the problematic category *expression.* The descriptions in both FRBR and LCGFT are in fact similar, emphasising that genre/forms are attributes of an intellectual rather than physical nature. In a way, genre/form is thus attributed to work/expression rather than manifestation/item. However, a second inconsistency also exists. The Library of Congress allows some exceptions: the terms "Video recordings for the hearing impaired" and "Video recordings for people with visual disabilities" – terms principally referring to manifestation – were added to LCGFT

31 For this description, the BIBFRAME model would be more suitable than the FRBR model as the former distinguishes only three, not four, core elements of abstraction: *Work, Instance* and *Item.* Problematic cases mentioned here could be neatly treated as formats of *Instance*; see: *Bibliographic Framework Initiative*. <http://www.loc.gov/bibframe/> [2017.05.27]

32 *Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records: Final Report.* IFLA Study Group on the Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records (1998). Munich. In the FRBR-LRM, "form of *work*" is renamed "category" and defined as "A type to which the work belongs" – see Riva, Pat, Le Bœuf, Patrick, Žumer, Maja (2016) *Transition Mappings: User Tasks, Entities, Attributes, and Relationships in FRBR, FRAD, and FRSAD mapped to their equivalents in the FRBR-Library Reference Model.* <https://www.ifla.org/files/assets/cataloguing/frbr-lrm/transitionmapping_20160225.pdf> [2017.05.27]

because "it is useful to collocate all such works under one term"[33]. In the new National Library of Poland system, the situation is similar. Most of the genre/form headings are attributed to work/expression, albeit with some exceptions for the practical purpose of grouping all form/physical characteristic terms in one facet.

Universal Genres

The new National Library of Poland system drops not only the cultural area and intended audience indications form some genre headings but also form information, making them "universal genres". In the previous system, many genre/form terms consisted of a form substantive and a genre adjective, such as "Adventure film", as such phrases also exist in the Polish language. However, some genres consisted of a genre substantive with form information in brackets, such as "Horror (film)" or "Horror (lit.)", as phrases such as "Horror film" and "Horror literature" do not exist in Polish. In the new system, these genre descriptors were made independent: they now consist of the genre on its own, such as "Horror", and can be combined in searches either with one or more of 380 terms such as "Books", "Films and serials" and "Comics", or with one of more of 655 other terms such as "Novel", "Short story" or "Musical". In this way the new system makes greater use of Polish language habits to increase the number of access points and provide more search options.

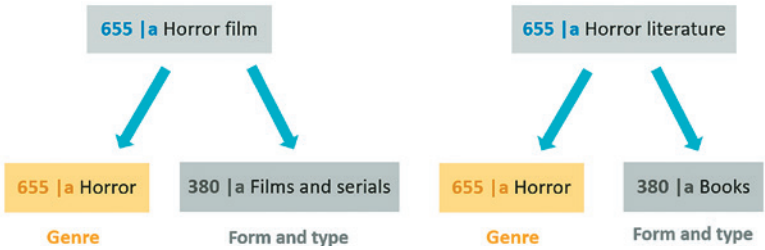


FIG. 7. Separation of some genre/form terms and creation of universal genres

33 *Frequently Asked Questions about Library of Congress Genre/Form Terms for Library and Archival Materials (LCGFT).* <https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/genre_form_faq.pdf> [2017.05.27]. p. 4.

New Genres

Genres are usually more difficult to distinguish and define than forms as they refer to content and style rather than physical characteristics. Differences between forms are often immediately visible (e.g. the difference between a book and a film), whereas differences between genres are often much more subtle and open to interpretation (e.g. the difference between a short story and a novella). It is difficult to make clear-cut distinctions between one genre and another, as genres overlap and there can be "mixed genres" and works that belong to more than one genre[34]. Genres are also much more inconstant, historically and culturally conditioned, and subject to evolution[35]. Thus the way the audience perceives a genre varies over space and time: "the same text can belong to different genres in different countries or times"[36]. Genres usually have cycles of growth and decline of interest[37]; they are constantly emerging, transforming and mixing.

For the reasons outlined above, it is usually difficult to name and classify genres, especially new ones. In a way, genres are not so much a tacit agreement between scholars and audiences as a compromise between them. Both scholars and audiences forge genre categories: audiences try to describe and categorise as many existing and emerging works as possible, while scholars try to describe and categorise them in the most consistent way possible. Each party also uses categories forged by the other, but a certain amount of time is required for scholars to accept the categories forged by the audience.

The National Library of Poland's approach to genre terms is essentially academic. Genres are treated as established, universally recognisable and quite stable categories. This means that great care must be taken when adding new genre terms to the catalogue; they are primarily added on basis of information from genre dictionaries. Some

34 D. Chandler (1997) *An Introduction to Genre Theory.* <http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/intgenre/chandler_genre_theory.pdf> [2017.05.27]

35 M. Głowiński, op. cit., p. 18.

36 O'Sullivan, Tim, Hartley, John, Saunders, Danny, Montgomery, Martin, Fiske, John. *Key Concepts in Communication and Cultural Studies*. London 1994, p. 129.

37 D. Bordwell, K. Thompson, op. cit., p. 325.

online catalogues of bookshops (e.g. Amazon) include new terms such as "Paranormal Romance". In the National Library of Poland catalogue, such works would be assigned the "Romance" genre term and a "Paranormal activities" subject term – at least until such time as the term "Paranormal Romance" establishes itself in the academic world and literary tradition. Amazon treats both genre and subject terms as somewhat flexible tags, while the National Library of Poland treats genre terms more strictly and subject terms more flexibly.

Genres and Subjects

With the introduction of subject access to literary works in the National Library of Poland in January 2017, it was also necessary to establish the relationship between genre terms and subject terms. As mentioned above, genre can cover many aspects of a work, including its subject. Some genres are strictly connected to particular subjects: romance novels are always about love and very often about passion or betrayal; science fiction movies are always about the future and science; crime stories are almost always about murder, detectives and investigations, and so on. The question therefore arose of whether such genre terms should be accompanied by their "inherent" subject terms in the catalogue. On the one hand, such a solution would add new access points: the user could start a search either by selecting the "Romance" or the "Love" filter, and the "Love" subject term would allow the system to display all works about love, not just romance novels but also psychological and sociological publications, say. On the other hand, this would necessitate re-recording features that had already been recorded by a descriptor of genre, and the subject terms would not add any new content to the work's description.

Moreover, genre terms are generally more established, fixed and rooted in people's consciousness than subject terms. Each genre is perceived as a number of specific features, including subjects. Therefore users are more likely to use genre terms as the first access point rather than subject terms, at least in the case of general genre terms such as "Love". In the most probable search scenario, the user first filters by genre (e.g. "Romance") and then, if necessary, by certain sub-

jects – subjects that do not so much confirm that a work belongs to the genre (e.g. "Love") but rather distinguish it from other works belonging to the same genre (e.g. "Millionaires", "Emigration", "Cooking"). For these reasons the decision was made not to provide subject terms that are inherently covered by genre terms. Nevertheless, further research is necessary to identify actual user strategies.

Conclusion

The new system introduced in the National Library of Poland indicates some potential responses to the need for genre/form access in library catalogues, as well as some potential dilemmas regarding the introduction of genre.

First, a library which decides to add genre access to its catalogue has to take into account terminological problems and the overlapping nature of "form", "genre" and "physical characteristics". It must decide if and how these three categories should be divided and presented to users. The National Library of Poland decided to create two layers of genre/form access, the first covering form/physical characteristics and major forms of writing and the second covering "minor" forms/genres. This division may appear difficult in theory, but is functional in practice.

Second, a compromise must be found between providing the maximum number of access points and avoiding redundancy. Such redundancy is of no benefit to users, and may actually hinder them in their searches. In the system described in this paper, genre access consists of four facets: "Genre" (655), "Form and type" (380), "Audience" (385) and "Cultural area" (386). This multiplies the possible search strategies. However, adding even more facets could potentially be both redundant and confusing.

Finally, a library that wants to add genre access to its catalogue must choose between, on the one hand, a strict attitude based on systematic classification and the tradition of academic genre theory, and, on the other, a flexible attitude based on tags and gathering all terms that appear on the internet or in bookshops, not necessarily in a systematic way. The National Library of Poland genre access takes

the first approach, or at least tries to, albeit with some exceptions. It is worth noting that academic tradition does not necessarily diverge from popular perception; the latter may be shaped by the former, as in case of two layers of genre. Therefore the stricter academic approach, which would in any case appear to be appropriate for a national bibliographic agency, may also be favourable for users.

SUMMARY

This paper considers the possible uses of genre and form terms in a library catalogue on the basis of a new solution introduced by the National Library of Poland in January 2017. It begins with a brief look at the modern use of genre and form terms in catalogues, some definitional problems and some reasons behind the need for genre access in libraries. Against this background, the author presents the previous model of genre/form access in place in the National Library of Poland, where genre/form terms were only used to a limited extent. The author then introduces the new model, which has a number of distinct features: genre terms are applied not only to publications about genres but also to publications belonging to specific genres; designations of cultural area and of intended audience are separated from genre terms; and some of the genre terms ("major forms") are separated from others and combined with form/physical characteristic terms. Certain elements of the new "Form and type" facet are then compared to the FRBR model. Finally, the author considers practical aspects of the new system: "universal" genres which can be combined with more than one genre/form, problems with creating new genre terms, and the relationship between genres and subjects in literary fiction.

KEYWORDS: genre, form, physical characteristics, major forms, faceted search, bibliographic record, subject heading, descriptors

Justyna Raczkowska

ZBIGNIEW SEIFERT'S COLLECTION IN THE POLISH JAZZ ARCHIVE

The aim of creating the Polish Jazz Archive, established at the Manuscript Department at the National Library in Warsaw, is the collection and compilation of documents pertaining to the jazz scene in Poland. The archive includes materials both from musicians and journalists, and from those taking active part in jazz life in Poland. The collection of Krzysztof Komeda (1931–1969) is the major part of the collection to date. This text is devoted to Zbigniew Seifert's archive, acquired in 2014 from the musician's wife, Irena (Agnieszka) Seifert, and from Małgorzata Seifert, his sister.

Zbigniew Seifert (1946–1979) was among the greatest Polish jazz violinists, and among the first Polish jazzmen to make it big in the United States, the home of jazz. Seifert was born in Cracow, where he began his music education at the Primary Music School under the supervision of Maria Maksysiowa. He continued his studies at the Chopin Secondary Music School and the Academy of Music, also in Cracow, where his teacher was Prof. Stanisław Tawroszewicz (1906–1978). He was a promising violin virtuoso.[1] His musical experi-

1 He mentioned that he faced no technical problems. See: J.E. Berendt, "Zbigniew Seifert – romantyk na tropach Coltrane'a", *Jazz Forum*, 1977, no. 4 (48), p. 24 [reprinted from *Jazz Podium*, 1977, no. 4].

ence from that period would influence his later work; he approached classical music with great attentiveness and sensitivity.[2] During his high school studies, under the influence of John Coltrane's recordings, he began to learn to play saxophone, which changed his career. In 1962, with pianist Jan Jarczyk (1947–2014), drummer Janusz Stefański (1946–2016) and bassist Jan Gonciarczyk (b. 1947), then learning to play viola,[3] Seifert became a student in the experimental jazz class run by Alojzy Thomys (1929–2005), saxophonist in the Melomani Band.[4] They made their debut as the Zbigniew Seifert Quartet at the All Souls' Day Jazz Festival in 1965, then performed in 1968 and 1969 at the Jazz on the Odra Festival in Wrocław,[5] where they received awards (as a band and Seifert as an instrumentalist). Earlier, like many young musicians, Seifert had performed at dances at the Feniks club in Cracow and at student events.[6] The awards received during the Wrocław festival allowed the band members to establish themselves as jazz musicians.

In 1968 Seifert and Stefański began working with trumpeter Tomasz Stańko (1942–2018), along with Janusz Muniak (1941–2016) and Bronisław Suchanek (b. 1948). They created a quintet playing in a modern style, both for Poland and for Europe, as evidenced by a series of concerts from 1969 to 1973, mostly abroad, and by the recording of three important albums: *Music for K.* (1970), *Jazzmessage from Poland* (1972) and *Purple Sun* (1973). From the outset of performing with the Stańko quintet, Seifert played alto saxophone, but he took up violin again at the suggestion of his bandmates.[7] Through practice and determination, he had developed his own distinct style, derived from his experience of playing such a typical jazz wind instrument as saxo-

2 P. Brodowski, "Pasja życia", *Jazz Forum* 1979, no. 3 (59), p. 23.

3 A. Norek-Skrycka, *Man of the Light. Życie i twórczość Zbigniewa Seiferta*, Warsaw 2016, p. 24.

4 Among the first jazz bands in Poland, operating from 1952 to 1958 (from 1956 under the name Hot Club Melomani). See: K. Brodacki, *Historia Jazzu w Polsce*, Warsaw 2010.

5 Among the oldest jazz festivals in Poland, founded in 1964. See: K. Brodacki, *Historia jazzu w Polsce*, Warsaw 2010.

6 Ibidem, p. 27.

7 Ibidem, p. 78.

phone. The first results of Seifert's work as a jazz violinist were recorded on the album *Five Hits in a Row*, 1971, by flautist Jiří Stivín. It appears that, due to the fact that both his instrument and his playing technique were rare in jazz, Seifert was regularly invited to work with other musicians once he moved to West Germany, in 1973. The many acquaintance he had made while performing with Stańko were significant. Seifert worked with Hans Koller in the band Free Sound, with Volker Kriegel, Joachim Kühn, Wolfgang Dauner, Jasper van 't Hof, Philip Catherine, Charlie Mariano and others. Their musical encounters resulted in numerous concerts in West Germany, France, Switzerland, Belgium and in radio and TV recordings (including for Norddeutsche Rundfunk, Deutsche Demokratische Rundfunk and Belgische Radio en Televisie), and in recording sessions for albums. Seifert appeared on van 't Hof's *Eyeball* (1974), Kühn's *Cinemascope* (1974) and *Springfever* (1976), and on Mariano's *Helen 12 Trees* (1976). Seifert also founded his own band Variouspheres, which worked (with various line-ups) from 1975 to 1976.[8] In 1977, Seifert released his first studio album, *Man of the Light*.[9] In 1976, he left for the first time for the United States, where he performed at the Monterey Jazz Festival. That same year, he learned that he was ill with cancer – he would struggle with the disease through the final years of his life. Despite difficulties playing the violin that were related to cancer, this was a creative period in his life. It resulted in recording two albums for the Capitol label, *Zbigniew Seifert* (1977) and *Passion* (1979), and in many concerts. Seifert did not live to see the release of his second album (which he finished recording in December 1978),[10] as he died following post-surgery complications on 15 February 1979 in a hospital in Buffalo, New York.

8 In 2017, the Zbigniew Seifert Foundation released the Variospheres bootleg *Live in Solothurn* from 1976. This is the first record by the band.

9 Roman Kowal describes the circumstances of the album's creation in detail. See: R. Kowal, *Polski jazz. Wczesna historia i trzy biografie zamknięte Komeda – Kosz – Seifert*, Kraków 1995, p. 189.

10 Ibidem, p. 203.

The Zbigniew Seifert's collection presently included in the the Polish Jazz Archive consists of various materials. Biographical ones documenting his life and career prevail. Correspondence is a very interesting part, especially the largest part, consisting of letters written by Seifert to his parents and sister. This also consists of his writings and compositions, mostly works in progress. The archive consists of sixteen manuscript units; there are also photos, jazz periodicals mentioning Seifert, and three-dimensional objects such as strings, violin chinrests and saxophone reeds.

The most important part, due to the area of his artistic activity, consists of sheet music. These testify to how special jazz composition is. This part consists mostly of drafts and works in progress. There are seven A4 notebooks, with sheet notes including jazz standards and songs popular inthe 1960s written down by Seifert. The first group of pieces includes such compositions as "Ain't Misbehavin" by Fats Waller, "Stella by Starlight" by Victor Young, and pieces by Cole Porter and George Gershwin. This is basic repertoire for jazz musicians, used

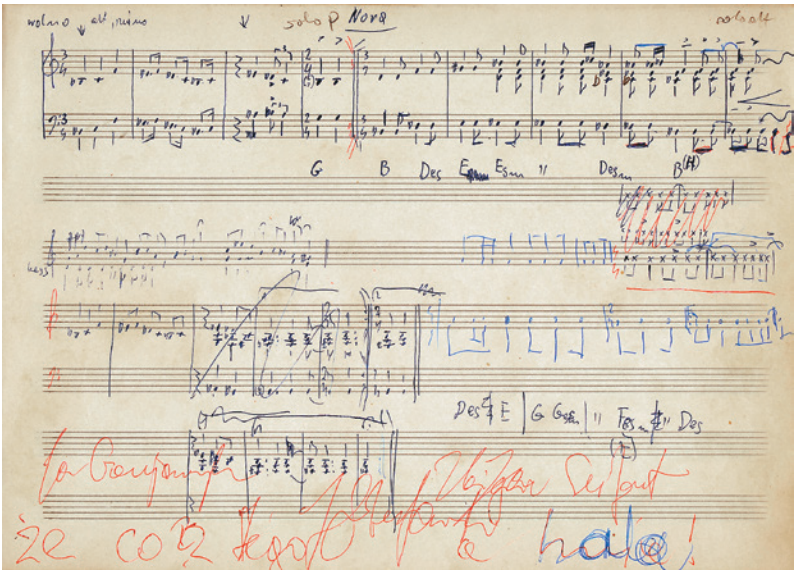


FIG. 1. Notebooks with pieces and sketches, p. 70

to practise their improvisatorial skills as well as to learn the rules of composition. As swing hits, they can also be performed as dance music. The notebooks also contain works created in the post-war years, for example themes by Thelonious Monk ("Bolivar Blues", "Round Midnight"), John Coltrane ("Lazy Bird"), Wayne Shorter ("Seeds of Sin") and Krzysztof Komeda ("Crazy Girl", "Repetition"), as well as early compositions by Seifert: "Aga" and „Nora".[11] Among the popular non-jazz pieces composed by Seifert, we find various kinds of songs: Polish pre-war songs ("Rebeka", "Czy tutaj mieszka panna Agnieszka") and post-war songs ("Wala-twist", "Czarny Ali Baba", "Żółte kalendarze"), Soviet songs ("Подмосковные вечера" [*Podmoskovnye vechera*]) as well as a large collection of Western songs like "Georgia on My Mind", popularised by Ray Charles, "The Ballad of Bonnie and Clyde", "Sous le ciel de Paris" from the repertoire of Juliette Gréco, Édith Piaf and Yves Montand, and the Beatles' songs. A large number of notations remain unidentified or illegible. This is mostly due to the fact that these are drafts, sometimes just a few bars without annotation, while sometimes they are too enigmatic, and sometimes – as in notebook 3 – there are only dots on the staves for the sound pitches. In many cases, notation in the form of harmonic functions that Seifert used makes it difficult to identify an untitled piece.[12] None of the notebooks are dated, but dates can be determined based on the relation between the repertoire each contains and our knowledge of Seifert's life and career. His first notations can be traced back to the beginnings of his jazz studies in music high school. The notation of Komeda's "Repetition" is most probably the latest one. It appears on the album *We'll Remember Komeda* – which was recorded with Tomasz Stańko Quintet

11 A piece performed in 1969 at the Jazz on the Oder Festival. See: K. Sadowski, "Jazz nad Odrą 69", *Jazz* 1969, no. 5.

12 Notation of harmonic functions in the form of letters and numbers provides no place for notation of melodic information, though the melody would help us in recognising a song. Jazz standards and popular songs are easy material to transpose and, as a result, the connection between a particular melody and its original tones diminishes in listeners' reception. In such a situation, it is still possible to identify a song based on interval relations between successive functions, but here we face many possible alternative notations when it comes to jazz and popular melodies.

in 1972 (with Seifert playing alto saxophone). The presence of popular music can be explained in turn by the fact that Seifert, like many other jazz musicians in high school and student days, earned money performing in bars and cafes in Cracow and at the Baltic seaside, for example with the band the Lessers.

In another file, we find Seifert's compositions and arrangements from the 1960s and 1970s. The piece titled "Ad Libitum" is preserved as a complete score for alto saxophone, piano, bass and drums. This was the instrumental lineup of Seifert's quartet from 1963 to 1970. Two other pieces, "Liczyrzepa"[13] and "Taniec garbusa" are notated on one stave in form of themes for improvisation. There is also one unnamed piece in the form of a coloured score (fig. 2). We can see here, as in the case of the piece "Ad Libitum", unconventional notation in the form of dots and lines. Only separate parts, such as piano, bass or drums remain from Seifert's arrangements of jazz standards. A separate section of materials consists of unidentified drafts.

Jazz-Konzert für Geige, Symfonische Orchester und Rhytmusgruppe is the most extensive piece by Seifert. The collection acquired by the National Library preserves a photocopy of the score manuscript. The original remains in the archives of Norddeutsche Rundfunk (NDR), which commissioned it in 1974. The piece was recorded that year by the composer with Joachim Kühn (piano), Eberhard Weber (bass), Daniel Humair (drums) and the Norddeutsche Rundfunk symphony

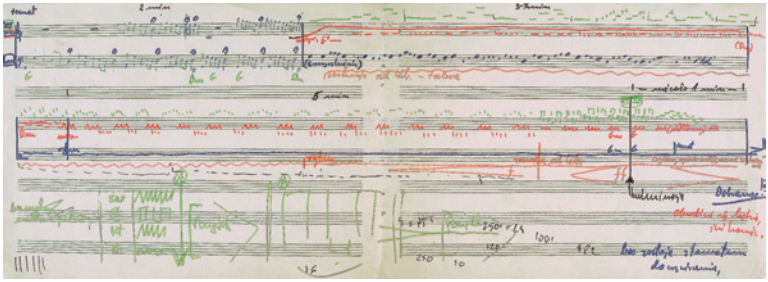


FIG. 2. Zbigniew Seifert's compositions, p. 6-7

13 According to Aneta Norek-Skrycka, the piece was recorded around 1967 with the Organ Band of Polish Radio Broadcasting in Cracow. See: A. Norek-Skrycka, op. cit., p. 43.

orchestra in Hanover conducted by Mladen Gutesha.[14] According to Seifert himself, it was broadcast by NDR.[15] Excerpts of this piece can be found in new arrangements on the final Seifert album, *Passion*.[16]

In addition to Seifert's music materials, the collections include pieces written by unidentified people, such as the alto-saxophone part and the piece "Chrząśnik" by Witold Robotycki (b. 1945), with whom Seifert performed at the Feniks club.[17] It may have been written by Robotycki, but a lack of comparative material makes identification impossible.

Personal documents assembled in the collection reveal the official side of Seifert's life during Communism in Poland. Membership cards indicating his enrolment in the Polish Students' Association (Zrzeszenie Studentów Polskich, ZSP), the Trade Union of Arts and Culture Workers (Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Kultury i Sztuki) and the Association of Polish Musical Artists (Stowarzyszenie Polskich Artystów Muzyków, SPAM) show how minimally engaged he was. One can assume that membership in such organisations was necessary to receive a passport and travel abroad. This is particularly likely as regards the Association of Polish Musical Artists membership card issued in 1976 – when Seifert lived in West Germany. The most important document seems to be the card issued in 1968 by the Cracow Helikon Jazz Club (fig. 3), a branch of the Polish Jazz Federa-

POLSKA FEDERACJA JAZZOWA
WARSZAWA, UL. NOWOGRODZKA 49 CENTR. TEL. 28-70-75
NAZWISKO Seifert
IMIE Zbigniew
ADRES Zwierzyniecka 11/6
ZAWÓD art. muzyk
NR DOW. OSOB. ZY 2412480
podpis posiadacza legitymacji

LEGITYMACJA CZŁONKA KLUBU NR 1309
ZAREJESTROWANE STOWARZYSTWO MUZYCZNE
HELIKON
Nazwa klubu macierzystego KRAKOWSKI JAZZ - KLUB
Kraków, 1, ul. św. Marka 15. Skr. Poczt. 842
Adres, telefon klubu
Nr Klubu
Zbigniew Seifert
Imię i nazwisko
Jest członkiem Rzeczywistym Klubu od dnia 65 roku
Rzeczywistym
Kraków, dnia 3.III. 1968 r.
Prezes Klubu Helikon
Legitymacja ważna po uiszczeniu wszystkich należnych składek.
m. p.
Podpis Prezesa Klubu
Wojciech Salamon

FIG. 3. Personal documents of Zbigniew Seifert, p. 25-26

14 Ibidem, pp. 121–122.

15 R. Kowal, "Zbigniew Seifert: droga do sukcesu", *Jazz Forum* 1975, no. 2 (13), p. 8.

16 P.W. Hinley, "Ostatnia sesja Seiferta", *Jazz Forum* 1981, no. 2 (70), p. 34.

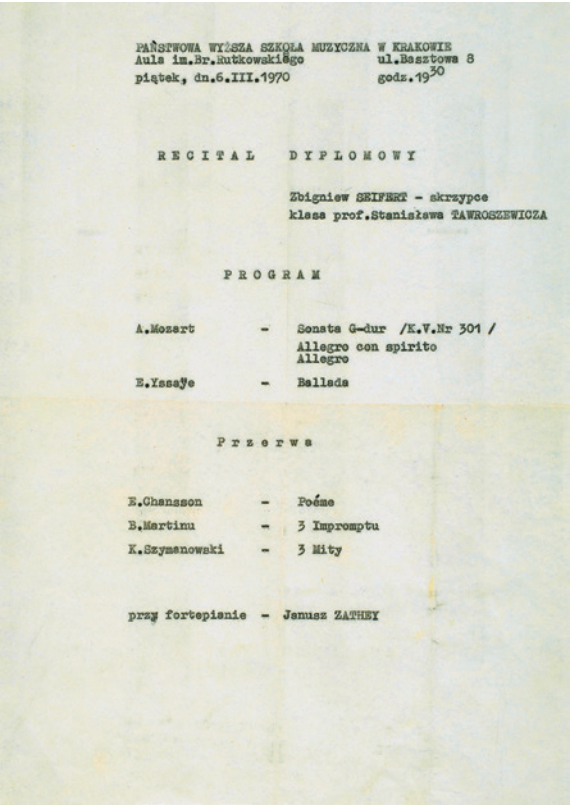
17 A. Norek-Skrycka, op. cit., p. 27.

tion (PJF); this, at the same time, provided admission to the club.[18] It is not the first document confirming his PJF membership – there is an annotation indicating Seifert as a member since 1965. Among other documents is a noteworthy certification of identity issued in 1978 by the Strahlenklinik Janker in Bonn. Seifert went through exhausting chemotherapy there, which markedly altered the features of his face, and the document was necessary when crossing the Polish border.[19] There is also a collection of documents related to Seifert's death and transporting the body to Poland. These include the doctor's statement of death, a photocopy of a certificate of death issued by the State of New York along with a certified translation to Polish, and a copy of the Polish death certificate issued on that basis. It also shows what formalities the widow had to fulfill. Seifert's funeral took place on 15 March 1979 in Cracow, a month after his death.

Other personal documents include those related to Seifert's education. Among these are a collection of certificates from the Primary Music School and the Chopin Secondary Music School in Cracow, and a student ID, transcript and diploma from the Music Academy in Cracow. There are also programs from Seifert's school performances, including high school and academy graduation recitals (fig. 4), which are typical in music education: from a score for solo violin with piano accompaniment from the Baroque period (required to be by J.S. Bach) to contemporary pieces, with an emphasis on 19th-century virtuoso pieces. In the same file are materials for his master's thesis, "Metrorhythmic issues and associated performance problems in selected works of Bohuslav Martinů for violin and piano". Seifert discusses *Intermezzo* in it, as well as *Rhythmic Etudes* and *Impromptu*; he performed this last cycle during a graduation recital. The file includes four typescript versions and a handwritten draft. The thesis is very casual and

18 This is mentioned by Jan Byrczek, then president of the Helikon, in *Krakowski Jazz-Klub „Helikon" 1956–1969: wspomnienia, impresje i relacje*, cf. G. Tusiewicz, Kraków 2006, p. 133.

19 A. Norek-Skrycka, op. cit., p. 154.



PAŃSTWOWA WYŻSZA SZKOŁA MUZYCZNA W KRAKOWIE
Aula im.Br.Rutkowskiego ul.Basztowa 8
piątek, dn.6.III.1970 godz.19[30]

RECITAL DYPLOMOWY

Zbigniew SEIFERT - skrzypce
klasa prof.Stanisława TAWROSZEWICZA

PROGRAM

A.Mozart - Sonata G-dur /K.V.Nr 301 /
Allegro con spirito
Allegro

E.Ysaÿe - Ballada

Przerwa

E.Chausson - Poème
B.Martinu - 3 Impromptu
K.Szymanowski - 3 Mity

przy fortepianie - Janusz ZATHEY

FIG. 4. Zbigniew Seifert's documents concerning education, p. 88

laconic (its lengthiest version has seventeen pages), as emphasised by Prof. Eugenia Umińska (1910–1980) in her review.[20] The thesis was mainly required in order to receive a diploma and a master's degree in arts, and is included in biographical materials.

Materials documenting Seifert's artistic activity are collected in three files. The first and most extensive includes contracts and bills for studio and radio recordings and concerts, with Seifert's notes and materials from festivals and concerts. It also contains documents related to travel, including customs documents, a certificate authorizing

20 Quotation in: ibidem, p. 64.

transportation of violin, and a Pagart[21] manual for musicians travelling abroad.[22] There are also notes with information about the Seifert's quartet and its members (in typescript and handwritten draft), as well as manuscripts about the Stańko's quintet and about Seifert after the band broke up, and advertising leaflets for the Stańko's quintet. Those materials were probably prepared for the Polish Jazz Federation unit cooperating with Pagart on organising concerts (a letter to Seifert on this matter is included). His career is also documented by materials related to concerts and festivals in which Seifert took part: entry passes, rehearsal schedules and programs. Among the Polish festivals are the Jazz Jamboree (1969, 1970), Jazz on the Odra (1970), as well as the fourteenth edition of the Cracow Jazz Festival ("All Souls' Day Jazz Festival") and the first Festival of Cracow Music Bands, in 1969. Slightly more material comes from international performances, including the jazz festival in Nagykőrös, Hungary, in 1969 (the first foreign trip by Seifert's quartet). Other materials come from 1972 and 1973, from concerts with Tomasz Stańko Quintet in Sweden, Switzerland and West Germany. Relatively little material documents Seifert's solo career after 1973. There is only one leaflet about summer jazz courses in Remschied, West Germany, in 1974, where Seifert was teaching violin. Fragments from programs of the Donaueschinger Musiktage festival and the Monterey Jazz Festival have survived (both from 1976). A curiosity is a notebook with a list of concerts performed in 1972 and three pieces of A5 paper with notes about jazz albums: *Sorcerer* (1967), *Nefertiti* (1967), *In a Silent Way* (1969) and *Bitches Brew* (1970) by Miles Davis, and *Bells* (1965) by Albert Ayler, and about the first album of Michael Gibbs (1970). It is difficult to accurately date these notes; the date of release of the records indicate the second half of the 1960s.

21 The state institution dealing from 1972 to 1992 with the organisation of concerts, the promotion of Polish artists and cultural exchange with foreign countries. Pagart supervised foreign trips of Polish performers and organised the arrival to Poland of artists from other countries.

22 Among the guidelines are an instruction to leave an ID card when collecting a passport, the obligation to check in at a Polish diplomatic office upon arrival, and the necessity of negotiating the extension of a foreign contract through an agency.

Based on the fact that they were made with a single felt-tip pen,[23] we can assume that they were created in a short space of time, which allows us to assume that they were made at the end of the 1960s. They indicate that Seifert was interested in recordings made in the United States. The list of concerts may indicate that the composer wanted to keep a record of his career but probably had to give up due to a large number of responsibilities.

Materials documenting Seifert's musical activity are collected in the second folder. Noteworthy are certificates displaying early successes at the Jazz on the Odra Festival and a copy of the certificate posthumously awarded to Seifert by the Union Deutscher Jazzmusiker for winning second place in the album survey in 1980, with his recording *Solo Violin*.

Materials mentioned above are complemented by press clippings gathered in the third folder. These come from Cracow newspapers, and from *Jazz*, the Polish edition of *Jazz Forum*, and from newspapers and periodicals from abroad, including *Music Joker*, *Jazz Podium* and *Swing Journal*. In addition to these clippings, there are full issues of magazines: *Jazz* and *Down Beat* from the US (both from 1979), as well as posters – the oldest, from 1965, announces Seifert's graduation recital at the Higher State School of Music.

An important part of the archive is correspondence, divided into two separate folders. The first includes thirty-five letters, most of which are related to professional matters. They come from institutions Seifert cooperated with (concert agencies, festival offices, radio stations) as well as musicians he was friends with, including Boško Petrovič, Jiří Stivín and Janusz Stefański. In most cases, these are single let-

23 Most of the notes in the notebooks are made by pen, and due to their content and character we can assume they were made in the 1960s. The same applies to musical notes. There are also notes made with color felt-tip pens, like those for Komeda's 'Repetition' recorded with Stańko's quintet in 1972 and the score for an unidentified piece in unconventional notation (instead of traditional notes on staves, there are colourful dots and wavy lines). Felt-tip pens are also used for letters to his wife, Agnieszka, from the 1970s, to his parents and sister in 1971 and 1972, and an unposted postcard with greetings in German written by Seifert on behalf of Stańko's quintet. One can therefore link Seifert's use of felt-tip pens with the period 1970–1972.

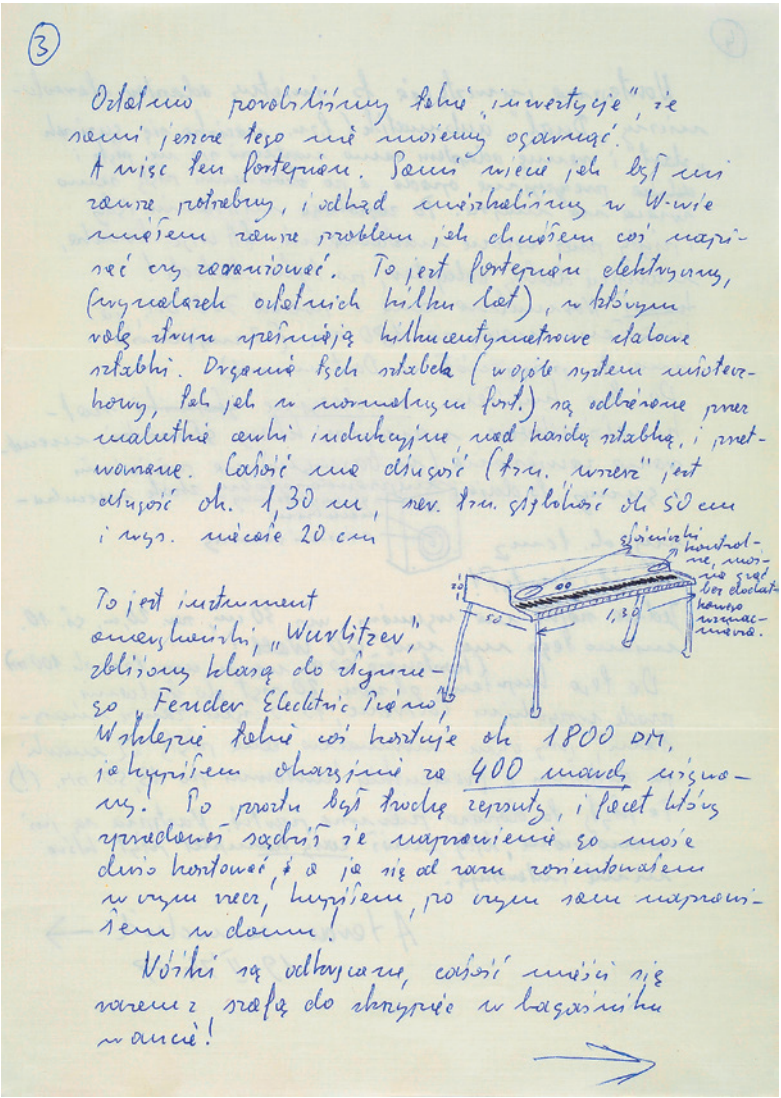
ters, except for the Polish Jazz Federation – five letters. Two letters remain from Petrovič, Stivín and Herwig Pöschl related to Ensemble Schallmomente[24] and the artist Dieter Meyer, who was a friend of Seifert during his stay in the West. A curiosity is a collection of letters from Selmer, the Paris-based instrument maker, from 1971, regarding the purchase of a saxophone; in addition to these, drafts of letters remain, in the original and in translation, written by Seifert to Selmer. They show how difficult it was to import an instrument from abroad, especially from countries beyond the iron curtain. Another curiosity is the invitation from the US Embassy in Warsaw to a meeting with the Dave Brubeck Trio and with saxophonist Gerry Mulligan on the occasion of their performing at Jazz Jamboree in 1970,[25] which we can take to be at once a distinction and the confirmation of Seifert's inclusion among the top Polish jazzmen. In addition to letters addressed to Seifert, the folder contains letters from bands with which he performed: his own quartet and Tomasz Stańko Quintet. Drafts and copies of Seifert letters are also interesting, including one addressed to Jan Ptaszyn Wróblewski (b. 1936), asking about accepting delivery of Selmer's saxophone from Czechoslovakia, and the photocopy of a letter sent by Seifert to Pagart concerning the extension of his passport, as he was to travel to the US to record an album for the Capitol label.

The second folder contains sixty-four letters sent by Seifert and his wife, Agnieszka, to their family. The large part is written by Seifert and begins with headings addressed to family members living on Zwierzyniecka Street in Cracow, to his parents and younger sister Małgorzata. A few letters addressed to his mother, Antonina, or his sister are included in chronological order, many also signed by Agnieszka Seifert. The earliest letter, from 1963, was written during Seifert's sojourn in Poland's Tatra Mountains; the final letter is dated 10 January 1979, more than a month before his death. Most letters come from the

24 Ensemble Schallmomente operated in Austria as an avant-garde composer-improviser group in 1968–1974 under the direction of Werner Raditschnik. See: Music Information Center Austria, http://db.musicaustria.at/en/node/45633 [accessed: 20/11/2017].

25 K. Brodacki, *Historia jazzu w Polsce*, Kraków 2010, p. 336.

period of his life in the West. Seifert describes his life in detail: flats, cars, concert tours and recordings. He often responds to requests to send various things to Poland for close and for extended family mem-



(3)

Ostatnio powdobijamy takie „inwestycje", że sami jeszcze tego nie możemy ogarnąć. A więc ten fortepian. Sami wiemy jak był nam zawsze potrzebny, i odkąd mieszkaliśmy w W-wie mieliśmy zawsze problem jak chcieliśmy coś napisać czy zaaranżować. To jest fortepian elektryczny, (wynalazek ostatnich kilku lat), w którym rolę strun spełniają kilkucentymetrowe stalowe sztabki. Drgania tych sztabek (wogóle system mistrzowski, tak jak w normalnym fort.) są odbierane przez malutkie cewki indukcyjne nad każdą sztabką, i przetwarzane. Całość ma długość (tzn. szerz) jest długości ok. 1,30 m, rev. tzn. głębokość ok 50 cm i wys. mieści 20 cm

To jest instrument amerykański, „Wurlitzer", zbliżony klasą do słynnego „Fender Electric Piano". Wszędzie takie coś kosztuje ok 1800 DM, ja kupiłem okazyjnie za 400 marek niemieckich. Po prostu był trochę zepsuty, i facet który sprzedawał sądził że naprawienie go może dużo kosztować, a ja się od razu zorientowałem w czym rzecz, kupiłem, po czym sam naprawiłem w domu!

Nóżki są odkręcane, całość mieści się razem z szafą do zbrzyć w bagażniku w aucie!

FIG. 5. Zbigniew Seifert's family correspondence, p. 34

bers. He asks as well for items to be sent to him – food products, in large part. There are also five letters from Seifert to Agnieszka, mostly from before their wedding, held in 1972. Two letters from Agnieszka Seifert addressed to her husband's family complement the collection of Seifert's letters. There is also one letter from Antonina Seifert to her husband, which she wrote while she was visiting their son in 1974.

In addition to this collection of letters gathered during his lifetime are materials related to events commemorating Seifert, including *We'll Remember Zbiggy*, an album released posthumously in 1979 at the initiative of Joachim Ernst Berendt, as well as programs and entrance passes for concerts in Poland and abroad, as well as press clippings.

The collection also contains several dozen photos and an album of family photographs (mostly from the inter-war period). Photos loosely document Seifert's life from his early childhood to the beginning of his music career, with most of them private. A photo series of Seifert's quartet by Jacek Stokłosa, and photos from club performances (probably from the late 1960s), also remain. There are also a few colour photos from performances with Stańko's quintet in 1972, probably in West Germany, as well as photos from a concert with the band Free Sound. There are also portraits of Seifert with his wife and sister from November 1978, taken in Cracow by Maciej Sochor. In addition to photos, there are copies of unused cover designs for the album *Passion* made by Seifert. A calendar for 1978 with photos of popular jazzmen, made by Joachim E. Berendt, is also interesting. Along with major names such as Dizzy Gillespie, John McLaughlin and Jaco Pastorius are Zbigniew Seifert and vocalist Urszula Dudziak.

The collection includes some exhibits: violin strings and chinrests, saxophone reeds, as well as school badges – probably from his high school period, as only the treble clef and the word "Kraków" are depicted on them, so this cannot be ascertained.

Materials and documents that remain in Zbigniew Seifert's collection are diverse but incomplete, and depict only selected aspects of the life and activities of an outstanding violinist. Given an overview of the "collection", we can specify two original storage locations. Letters

addressed to the family, personal documents, photos and most notes are related to his initial period of activity. Materials and documents connected to that period (contracts, bills, posters, diplomas) were kept in a family home in Cracow, with Seifert leaving them there before leaving for West Germany. This information is certain, for all letters, personal documents and festival materials are dated. The family remained an important point of reference after Seifert moved to the West, as formally he was professionally connected to Pagart. Even after 1973, letters addressed to Seifert came to his parent's place, especially those from Polish institutions: the Higher State School of Music and the Polish Music Publishing House (PWM). An important part of the archives that come from Cracow are letters addressed to his family, who also collected press clippings about Seifert. Fewer materials remain from his stay in the West. This can be easily explained by Seifert's busy lifestyle; the plan of moving to the United States held a bearing on the fate of documents, as they may have been dispersed due to preparations for departure. From that period, letters about concerts and recordings in various places in Europe and a few US travel certificates have survived. Many documents from this period remain only in photocopies (the score of the Jazz-Konzert, foreign press clippings, fragments from festival programs). It is possible that press information about Seifert was transferred to the archives in the form of photocopies, but one may assume that some photocopies were made in connection with transferring the archives to the National Library.

Much indicates that Seifert's family had a significant influence on the form of the archives: his parents and sister kept materials from the pre-1973 period at home in Cracow, while his wife, Agnieszka, kept some documents from the period of his life abroad as well as those related to his death. This is where materials documenting events that commemorate the outstanding violinist come from.

The collection of Zbigniew Seifert, although not very extensive, is very significant, as Seifert is among the preeminent jazz musicians from Poland. It is a valuable addition to the recordings that Seifert left to us.

translated by Alicja Rosé

SUMMARY

Zbigniew Seifert was one of the most eminent jazz violinists in history and one of the first Polish jazzmen to achieve success in the United States. Seifert learnt to play the violin in Cracow. Owing to John Coltrane's music he discovered jazz and become interested in the alto saxophone. "In 1968 and 1969" together with his quartet he won several prizes at the Jazz on the Oder Festival. He co-operated with Tomasz Stańko, in whose band he played both the saxophone and the violin. In the 1970s Seifert gave more and more concerts in Western countries, where he gained recognition and career opportunities. He recorded with Joachim Kühn, Charlie Mariano and the Oregon music group. He managed to release two albums in the US, but his further career was stopped by severe illness and death in 1979.

Seifert's collection, donated to the Polish Jazz Archive, National Library of Poland, comprises different types of materials. Most of them are biographical sources documenting Seifert's life and career, i. a. his school reports and papers dating back to his studies at the Academy of Music (PWSM). An interesting part of it is Seifert's correspondence with musicians, activists and institutions he worked with, as well as letters to his family. The collection also contains musical scores by Seifert, albeit mainly drafts and working notes, together with a considerable number of photographs and clippings from Polish and foreign newspapers, presenting different fields of Seifert's musical activity.

Not only is Zbigniew Seifert's archive an interesting testimony to the life of the great musician, but it also shows certain aspects of how the jazz environment behind the Iron Curtain worked.

KEYWORDS: Zbigniew Seifert, Polish Jazz Archive, violin, jazz

Agata Pietrzak

FAMEUX AMATEUR BARON PHILIPP VON STOSCH AND THE UNKNOWN PROVENANCE OF LOST OLD-MASTERS' DRAWINGS FROM THE COLLECTION OF COUNT STANISŁAW KOSTKA POTOCKI

Although a rich literature exists that is dedicated to activities of the collector Stanisław Kostka Potocki, the history of the shaping of his collection of drawings has not yet been analyzed, and in specific the origins of individual copies that entered his collection remain unstudied.[1] Relations between the count's collection and that of Baron Philipp von Stosch remain even less known to this day.[2] The lat-

1 Very general information on this subject can be found in the work by Zygmunt Batowski *Zbiór graficzny w Uniwersytecie Warszawskim*, Warsaw 1928, p. 42. Even in exhibition catalogues, it is rare to mention where individual drawings originate from, for example: *Le siècle français : francuskie malarstwo i rysunek XVIII wieku ze zbiorów polskich*, eds. Iwona Danielewicz and Justyna Guze, Warsaw 2009, p. 421, item 125.

2 To date, this has been mentioned only once, by Elżbieta Skierkowska, who, however, provided inaccurate information (see: *Polskie kolekcjonerstwo grafiki i rysunku*, Warsaw 1980, pp. 103, 110). Currently, we have been able to refine and correct data on the origin of some of these drawings, which will be discussed later in this article.

est archival research carried out at the National Library of Poland in Warsaw's department of engravings and drawings, followed by work on the catalogue of the graphic-art collection of the Wilanów Library, have shown that twenty-six valuable drawings, originally belonging to Philipp von Stosch's collection, were among purchases made by Potocki, including works by Raphael, Michelangelo, Correggio, Parmigianino, Annibale and Lodovico Carracci and Rubens. We do not know what has happened to these drawings (with a single exception). It is worth drawing together here all information we have about them to date. This will allow us to shed new light both on the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki, and on the scattered part of the von Stosch collection, regarded in the eighteenth century as one of the largest and most valuable in Europe.

Stanisław Kostka Potocki needs no introduction to the Polish reader.[3] Potocki is widely known as among the preeminent figures of the Enlightenment. Along with his substantial library of books, Potocki also collected ancient vases, medallions and gems, paintings, sculptures, engravings and drawings. Baron Philipp von Stosch, though, remains almost completely unknown in Poland. The only association would be as creator of the famous album *Gemmae antiquae caelatae*[4] with engravings by Bernard Picart, and as owner of a huge collection of ancient gems, popularized thanks to the catalogue compiled by Johann Joachim Winckelmann.[5] The baron's name is only mentioned in publications by Polish researchers specializing in the history of collections of ancient artifacts.[6] Von Stosch is among the great European

3 Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755–1821) was a Polish nobleman, politician, writer, commentator, collector and patron of art.

4 *Gemmae antiquae celatae, scalptorum nominibus insignitae,* Amsterdam 1724. A copy is in the Department of Iconography, National Library of Poland (BN ZZI A.845).

5 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Description des pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch: dediée à son eminence Monseigneur le cardinal Aléxandre Albani*, Florence 1760. There is a copy in the Early Printed Books Department , National Library of Poland (BN SD W.3.667).

6 Among others: Małgorzata Gizińska, "Elbląski zbiór gipsowych odlewów gemm z kolekcji barona Philipa von Stosch", *Elbląskie Studia Muzealne*, 2009, no. 1, pp. 177–186; Bogna Arnold-Rutkiewicz, "O kolekcji odlewów gemm w Zamku Królewskim w Warszawie", *Kronika Zamkowa,* 2005, nos. 1–2, pp. 45–65, http://mazowsze.hist.pl/16/Kronika_Zamkowa/374/2005/11845/ [accessed on 22.09.2017]; Krzysztof Pomian, "Mariette et

personalities of the first half of the eighteenth century, and deserves special attention. He was an extremely colorful, unusual and ambiguous figure: an expert on ancient art, a bibliophile and freemason, diplomat and a British spy in Rome (aka John Walton). He was referred to as a *veramente barone anci baronissimo*, a sybarite and an admired *arbiter elegantiae*[7], collector, antiquarian and... trickster and thief.[8] Coming as he did from an impoverished noble family, von Stosch acquired property and collections through various means. He earned his living at royal and papal courts, but also by revealing political secrets, trading in antiquities, selling copies of ancient erotic paintings to tourists, and by taking part in counterfeiting "ancient" artifacts. Above all, however, Philipp von Stosch left behind a huge, diverse collection of tens of thousands of artworks. It is now scattered all over the world, from London to Cambridge, to the Vatican, Paris, Vienna and Berlin, and to Moscow and St. Petersburg, and it remains the most valuable resource of numerous esteemed museums and libraries. A few pieces of this collection are to be found also in Poland, thanks to Stanisław Kostka Potocki and his passion for collecting art.

Baron Philipp von Stosch

Philipp von Stosch was born on 22 March 1691 in what is now Kostrzyn nad Odrą (then Küstrin), where his father Philipp Sigismund was a doctor and the mayor.[9] In 1706, he began theological studies in

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Wincklemann", *Revue germanique internationale* 2000, no. 13, pp. 11–38, https://journals.openedition.org/rgi/766 [accessed on 22.09.2017].

7 The term originated with the painter Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674–1755), who created popular caricatures of von Stosch. To his earliest portrait from 1717, Ghezzi added the description: "Uomo Erudito. Ma è un peccato che sia eretico!" ("A man of knowledge. What a pity he is a heretic!"); later, on one of his drawings, it is also written: "Fu esiliato da Roma per sua irreligiosità" ("Exiled from Rome because of his impiety"). Both drawings are kept in the Vatican Library.

8 Whereas his adventures are described by Dorothy MacKay Quynn in her article "Philipp von Stosch: Collector, Bibliophile, Spy, Thief (1611–1757)", *The Catholic Historical Review*, 1941, vol. 27, no. 3, p. 339 [in the title, 1611 should be 1691], https://www.jstor.org/stable/25014047?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents [accessed on 23.02.2017], Krzysztof Pomian aptly compared the baron's biography to a picaresque novel, *op. cit.*, p. 14

9 The genealogy of the family and the biography of the baron are discussed in *Des Neuen Gelehrten Europa. Fünfter Theil*, Wolfenbüttel 1754, pp. 1–6, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.

Frankfurt an der Oder. Three years later, he left school, setting out on a journey around Europe. At that time, in order to gain prestige and admission to more powerful courts, he began to call himself a baron, although in the impoverished Stosch family this title had not been used since the sixteenth century.[10] While in the Netherlands in 1710, he came under the protection of his cousin, Baron Wolfgang von Schmettau, the Prussian ambassador in The Hague.[11] Thanks to von Schmettau, he met his longtime protector Franz Fagel, a Dutch statesman, *greffier* of the Estates General and a passionate collector and admirer of antiquities. Fagel was the first to advise Stosch on creating his own collection of art, and he provided him with his first ancient medallions. Their rich correspondence lasted from 1712 until 1746. Fagel introduced von Stosch to the world of diplomacy, entrusting him with certain political missions in England.[12] Von Stosch then took the role of agent, helping to acquire items for his patron's collection. Thanks to von Stosch, in 1717 a significant collection of drawings by old masters (from Dürer and Cranach to Raphael and Titian, including Rubens and van Dyck) collected by Joachim von Sandrart came into Fagel's collection.[13]

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de/diglit/neue_gelehrte_europa1754a/0009/image [accessed on 1.05.2018], and by Johann Gottlob Wilhelm Dunkels, *Historisch-critische nachrichten von verstorbenen gelehrten und deren schriften*, vol. 3, Cöthen 1757, p. 849 passim. One of the first biographies of von Stosch was written by Carl Justi, "Philipp von Stosch und seine Zeit," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, VII (1872), pp. 293–308, 332–346, http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11030593_00005.html [accessed on 23.09.2017]. Two years later, Polish readers became more familiar with the baron thanks to Kazimierz Chłędowski (who used information gathered mostly by Justi). A series of Chłędowski's articles devoted to Italian antiquarians, including the baron, appeared in *Gazeta Lwowska* 1875, nos. 45–51, then appeared in the posthumously published collection *Z przeszłości naszej i obcej*, Lwów 1934, pp. 656–679, http://www.kbc.krosno.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=154 [accessed on 12.10.2017].

10 C. Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 295. Only in 1717 was it officially confirmed that von Stosch was granted the title of baron. See: Ingrid Weber, "Stosch, Philipp Freiherr von," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 2013, vol. 25, pp. 452–454, https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd117673870.html#ndbcontent [accessed on 16.08.2017].

11 I. Weber, *op. cit*. on-line version.

12 C. Justi, *op. cit*., p. 296.

13 J. Heringa, "Philipp von Stosch als Vermittler bei Kunstankäufen François Fagels," *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 1981, vol. 32, pp. 69–82, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43888533?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents [accessed on 25.07.2017]; Michèle-Caroline Heck, *Théorie et pratique de la peinture: Sandrart et la 'Teutsche Academie,'* Paris 2006, p. 14.

In France, where von Stosch stayed in 1712, as well as in the Netherlands and England, he tried to make friends, mainly among distinguished scholars. Thanks to letters of introduction received from them, he was welcomed at houses and courts of influential and powerful people throughout Europe. For example, during his sojourn at Cambridge, he made close friends with Richard Bentley, who headed Trinity College.[14] While he was on secret diplomatic missions, he always acted as a collector, expert and art lover. Connections established with the scientific community proved very useful and, while accompanying von Schmettau on a trip to Italy in 1714, he decided to become independent and remain in Rome permanently. He was already well known in academic circles and thanks to Bernard de Montfaucon (paleographer, a founder of modern archeology) and Giusto Fontanini (the papal chamberlain), he was introduced at the papal court and presented to Clement XI, who gave him a fixed salary and a letter of introduction to all papal nuncios.[15] During his two-year stay in Rome, von Stosch established personal contacts and kept correspondence with many distinguished Italian scholars, from the librarian and philologist Matteo Egizio to Francesco Valetta, whose family had at that time a magnificent library and a huge collection of ancient vases. He also knew Emanuele Maurizio di Lorena, the prince of the Elbeuf, in whose mansion the ruins of Herculaneum were discovered. He saw initial excavations taking place there, before the authorities halted further work in 1716.[16] The following year, von Stosch left Rome, called home by his family due to the death of his brother Ludwik. He traveled through Florence, Venice, Vienna and Prague.[17] Later he enjoyed himself in Dresden where, thanks to the protection of Jacob Heinrich von Flemming, he was taken to the court of the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, Augustus II the Strong, who made him Royal Antiquarian,

14 C. Justi, op. cit., p. 295.
15 C. Justi, op. cit., p. 297.
16 C. Justi, op. cit., p. 297.
17 K. Pomian, op. cit., p. 15.

refusing however to pay him a fixed salary.[18] For years, von Stosch had been patiently establishing his position, doing various favours thanks to which he gained the reputation of a person with influence and broad-ranging acquaintances. The King of Prussia, Frederick William I, for example, received from him the famous geographical atlas of Guillaume Delisle, containing the most accurate maps of the day of the world and continents, which the king had long sought in vain among antiquarian book dealers. Von Stosch also helped the French regent, Philippe II, the Duke of Orléans), to regain valuable manuscripts stolen from the Bibliothèque Royale by Jean Aymon in 1707. Or, to put it more precisely, in 1720 von Stosch returned books to the royal collection from the antiquarian market that had been stolen – due to which he received a payment of one thousand francs.[19]

During this period, von Stosch stayed again in The Hague and enjoyed the hospitality of Franz Fagel. Probably thanks to Fagel's connections, he established relations with British politicians and, through Lord Carteret, was entrusted with a confidential mission for the government of King George I.[20] Thanks to contacts at the papal court (for example, his acquaintance with Cardinal Melchior de Polignac, who was also a collector and lover of ancient art), the baron seemed an ideal person to serve as a Roman resident able to discreetly inform about the atmosphere and situation in the circle of the pretender James Stuart. Especially after the birth of the son of James and his wife, Maria Klementyna née Sobieski (in 1720), this became one of the key political issues for George I, as their son, Charles Edward, could become another contender for the throne of England and Scotland. Thanks to this, from 1721 von Stosch, once he had settled again in Rome, received a salary from the British government for his services. He received this for the rest of his life, though principal figures often questioned the

18 C. Justi, op. cit., pp. 297–298.

19 H. Omont, "Le Vol d'Aymon à la Bibliothèque du Roi et le baron de Stosch", *Revue des Bibliothèques* 1891, no. 1, pp. 468–469.

20 About the spy's career, see: Lesley Lewis, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, London, 1961.

quality and reliability of his reports, even suspecting that he was working for both sides.[21]

With a guaranteed income, the baron could devote himself to his passion in the Eternal City, which meant building and expanding his collection. Thanks to one of his powerful patrons, Cardinal Alessandro Albani, nephew of Pope Clement XI, another famous collector and connoisseur of ancient art, von Stosch found himself at the center of the Roman milieu of amateur excavators and seekers of ancient artifacts. He maintained a network of personal contacts and a lively correspondence with many of the famed scholars of that period.[22] He passionately collected ancient gems, coins, medallions and sculptures, as well as medieval manuscripts, early engravings and drawings by great modern masters. He acquired further items for the collection by means that were not always transparent. The appropriation of valuable manuscripts from the Vatican Library, which, after his death, were purchased by the Vatican Library (represented by Cardinal Domenico Passionei) from his heir, Heinrich Wilhelm Muzell, for a considerable amount, is well documented.[23] There are also numerous anecdotes that indicate serious doubts about a crystal-clear character for von Stosch.[24] Perhaps, however, there was plenty of envy in those stories, motivated by the baron's strong social position. His collection was built and expanded, growing in various ways, and its owner wanted to share his

21 D. MacKay Quynn, op.cit., p. 339.

22 The network of von Stosch connections within the scholarly and antiquarian community was analyzed by Jörn Lang in his article "Netzwerke von Gelehrten. Eine Skizze antiquarischer Interaktion im 18. Jh.am Beispiel des Philipp von Stosch (1691–1757)", https://www.academia.edu/1534269/Netzwerke_von_Gelehrten._Eine_Skizze_Antiquarischer_Interaktion_im_18._Jh._am_Beispiel_des_Philipp_von_Stosch_1691_1757_ [accessed on 12.01.2018].

23 The case of theft came to light only a century and a half after von Stosch's death. Of more than two thousand medieval Greek and Latin manuscripts, more than fifty volumes were taken under unexplained circumstances from the Vatican Library by von Stosch. The story of the theft and of von Stosch was described by Dorothy MacKay Quynn, *op. cit*, pp. 332–344.

24 One of them tells of the accusation against von Stosch: when visiting Versailles, he is said to have swallowed a priceless jewel from the royal collections, as Baron de Brosses states in his letters. Charles de Brosses, *Le président de Brosses en Italie: lettres familières écrites d'Italie en 1739 et 1740*, Paris 1858, vol. 1, p. 290. This anecdote is repeated by K. Chłędowski, op. cit, p. 670.

successes and his accumulated knowledge. Publication of *Gemmae antiquae caelatae* – the album containing descriptions of ancient gems – in 1724 confirmed his position as an erudite, elite-level specialist and connoisseur. In his album, he also provided other collectors with information about artists' signatures hidden on gemstones, and pointers on how to distinguish original ancient gems from later copies and imitations, made by many Roman craftsmen at that time.[25] Von Stosch also allegedly employed many of them for unspecified tasks, although he was never accused of forgery. However, it was widely known that he derived huge profit from dealing in artworks. Copying ancient artifacts at that time became a very lucrative business, due to the insatiable demand of various collectors, connoisseurs and amateurs of classical antiquity, while dishonest antiquarians often sold imitations of ancient stones as originals.[26] Von Stosch, striving himself to have, if not originals, at least a copy of each known ancient gem, also collected impressions and casts.[27] Nevertheless, after the publication of the al-

25 C. Justi, op. cit., pp. 333–334.

26 One known victim of such a procedure was the nephew of the Polish king, Prince Stanisław Poniatowski, see Bogna Arnold-Rutkiewicz, op. cit., pp. 45–65. It should also be noted that in the eighteenth century, various types of "preservation" of and "repairs" on ancient artifacts were common practice. Worthy of mention, for example, is the famous ancient relief of Alexander and Diogenes found in 1724 at Monte Testaccio (now in the collection of the Villa Albani), purchased by von Stosch for his own collection, followed by a renovation consisting in large part of freely replenishing missing elements: Diogenes' head and Alexander's figure. Those additions have survived to this day, while the original appearance of the relief is known from Ghezzi's drawing; see Cristiano Giometti, "'Per Accompagnare L'antico': the Restoration of Ancient Sculpture in Early Eighteenth-Century Rome," *Journal of the History of Collections* 2012, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 219–230, https://academic.oup.com/jhc/article-abstract/24/2/219/680935?redirectedFrom=fulltext [accessed on 30.06.2017]. In this context, the story of the "restoration" of ancient sculptures is also mentioned, which enriched the collection of Cardinal Melchior de Polignac (the so-called Lycomedes group, now in the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin). Heads were also added to excavated figures of Achilles and the daughters of King of Scyros, who lacked them, and von Stosch was a model for the image of Lycomedes; see Konrad Levezow, Über die Familie des Lykomedes in der Königlichen Preussischen Antikensammlung: eine archäologische Untersuchung, Berlin 1804, pp. 3, 42, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/levezow1804 [accessed on 12.05.2018]; J. Heringa, op. cit., pp. 67–68; and Astrid Dostert, *Die Antikensammlung des Kardinals Melchior de Polignac* [doctoral thesis], p. 61, *passim*, http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/FUDISS_derivate_000000019567/Dostert_Sammlung_Polignac.pdf [accessed on 01.09.2017].

27 *Choix des principales pierres gravées de la collection qui appartenait autrefois au baron de Stosch et qui se trouve maintenant dans le cabinet du Roi de Prusse,* Nuremberg 1798, p. 4, https://bild-

bum, some friends began to avoid him, including Cardinal Passionei, or simply call him a fraudster and swindler, as did Francesco Ficoroni, a well-known collector of ancient artifacts. However, the Florentine archaeologist Giovanni Gaetano Bottari simply sneered that he would like first of all to see a list of books von Stosch had promised to write, then a list of objects he announced he had discovered, and finally a list of items he had stolen.[28] In 1725, von Stosch complained about his situation in letters to Richard Bentley.[29] A year later, his situation became even more complicated and he was threatened with the loss of his British salary, due to James Stuart's departure for Bologna, and from there to Lorraine and Avignon. The pope then called for the pretender to return to Rome, claiming to disapprove of his separation from Maria Klementyna. There were rumors, however, that von Stosch played a key role in James returning to Rome, in order to continue observing him closely and to report scrupulously on his activities.[30] Nevertheless, this was one of the last successes for von Stosch at the papal court. His confidential mission for the British throne quickly became an open secret. Already in 1729, Montesquieu wrote: "Baron von Stosch stays in Rome, spy of King George."[31] In 1731, von Stosch was finally exposed and had to leave Rome abruptly.[32] He sought shelter in Florence, at the court of

suche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00075372&pimage=7&v=100&nav=&l=en [accessed on 23.08.2018]. Von Stosch was able to make gem castings in glass pastes himself. He acquired this skill in Paris around 1715, studying the collection of Philip II, the Duke of Orléans, and learning the craft thanks to his physician, Wilhelm Homberg (1652–1715); see B. Arnold-Rutkiewicz, op. cit., p. 47.

28 C. Justi, op. cit., p. 337.

29 C. Justi, op. cit., p. 338.

30 C. Justi, op. cit., p. 300.

31 Taken from: K. Pomian, op.cit., p.15.

32 He was prompted by a nocturnal attack by four masked men, who halted his carriage and beat the coachman. They did not take valuables, but only informed the terrified baron that if he did not leave the city in eight days, he would not leave with his life. Von Stosch understood that he had been "warned" by James Stuart's supporters, even sending a letter to the prince with the assurance that he did not believe that the prince was personally responsible. A comprehensive account of this subject was presented by the Saxon deputy in Rome, Graf Joseph Wackerbarth-Salmour, in his report to King August the Strong; see Carl Justi, *Antiquarische Briefe des Baron Philipp von Sosch gesammelt und erläutert von…*, Marburg 1871, pp. 14–15. Memory of the events was long retained, as a description of the assault was found in letters written ten years later by

the Medici, where the great Prince Jan Gaston in the official audience assured him that he could place his collection in Florence with assurance.[33] The baron had numerous scientific contacts there. He maintained close relations, for example, with the well-known antiquarian and author of the *Museum Florentinum*, Antonio Francesco Gori, with whom he had corresponded since 1720.[34] He was greeted like a prince among the local environment. Having rented the Palazzo Ramirez de Montalvo at Borgo degli Albizi 26, he deposited treasures from his collection there.[35] His house became the seat of a local Masonic lodge and a destination of pilgrimage for distinguished travelers and art lovers, gaining great repute under the name Museo Stoschiano.[36] From this time, the baron became less devoted to politics, and more so to dealing artworks and granting smaller and larger favors, especially to representatives of the English aristocracy.[37] By sharing his collection with others, he gained increased publicity and a heightened reputation as an erudite and connoisseur. However, there were also critical opinions. The great expert on classical art and widely acclaimed collector and antiquarian Pierre Jean Mariette, in his 1750 work *Traité des pierres gravées*, referred critically to *Gemmae antiquae caelatae*, making biting remarks

French writer and historian Charles de Brosses while on a trip in Italy, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 289. To this day, however, it is not known which parts of the story are true and which von Stosch made up; see K. Pomian, op. cit., p. 15.

33 As he earned his living by dealing in artifacts, von Stosch took great care for his image as an outstanding expert in classical art. He ordered his representative portraits made, such as the classical bust by Edmé Bouchardon in 1727 (now in the Staatliche Museen Preussicher Kulturbesitz in Berlin). He commissioned copies of works from his collection. One example is the classical relief of Diogenes and Alexander, recommended by von Stosch for the verso of his portrait medallion ordered in 1727 from François Marteau, see Jason M. Kelly, *Stosch, Ghezzi, and an Eighteenth-century Sculpture Restoration*, http://www.jasonmkelly.com/2015/11/19/stosch-ghezzi-and-an-eighteenth-century-sculpture-restoration/#_edn8 [accessed on 01.05.2018].

34 K. Pomian, op. cit., p. 16.

35 He was accompanied by his brother Friedrich Siegmund, the painters Marcus Tuscher and Johann Justin Preissler (employed in making graphic copies of works from the baron's collection) and the butler Cristiano; see Fabia Borroni Salvadori, "Tra la fine del granducato e la reggenza: Filippo Stosch a Firenze," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, 1978, no. 8, p. 568, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/24304993.pdf?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents [accessed on 15.08.2017].

36 C. Justi, op. cit., p. 300.

37 D. MacKay Quynn, op. cit, p. 340.

both about von Stosch and about the engravings by Picart.[38] Von Stosch sought revenge by initiating attacks on the publication by Mariette.[39]

At the end of his life, von Stosch corresponded with Johann Joachim Winckelmann to compile a catalogue of his collection of ancient gemstones. This establishing of contact and of cooperation took place at Winckelmann's initiative. In June 1756, he sent the baron his first book: *Gedanken über die Nachahmung…*[40] It was enthusiastically received by von Stosch, who recognized in Winckelmann his "spiritual heir."[41] From then on, both made plans for the arrival of the German scholar in Florence, to compile a catalogue of gems collected by von Stosch, as the latter probably assumed this would ensure that he would be remembered as the greatest of gem collectors and experts. The idea was not accomplished during the baron's lifetime, and the album was not released until 1760.[42] However, that work quickly and lastingly gained acclaim and recognition. In 1797, forty years later, the Winckelmann catalogue was described loftily: "Von Stosch resembles an Achilles who has found his Homer"[43]

In 1756, von Stosch brought his nephew, Heinrich Wilhelm Muzell, to Florence, adopting him, making him sole heir and entrusting him with the protection of the collection. Soon after, he died of apoplexy and was buried in Livorno. *Des Neuen Gelehrten Europa* reported: "This great scholar ended his glorious life on 6 November 1757."[44]

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38 P. Mariette, *Traité des pierres gravées*, vol. 1. Paris 1750, pp. 330–333, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k311112h.image [accessed on 14.09.2017].

39 Interesting relations and antagonistic attitudes of Mariette, von Stosch and Winckelmann are outlined by Pomian in his article; see K. Pomian, *op. cit*, pp. 29–30.

40 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechieschen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, Dresden 1755.

41 C. Justi, *op. cit*., p. 283.

42 J. J. Winckelmann, *Description…, op. cit.*

43 *Auswahl vorzüglicher gemmen aus derjenigen sammlung die ehmals der baron Philipp von Stosch besass, die sich jetzt aber in dem Kön. preussischem cabinette befindet. Mit mythologischen und artistischen erlaeuterungen begleitet von Friedrich Schlichtegroll*, vol. 1. Nürnberg 1797, p. 5.

44 *Des Neuen Gelehrten Europa. Drenzehnter Theil*, Wolfenbüttel 1758, p. 242, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_gelehrte_europa1758/0005/image [accessed on 04.03.2018].

The Fate of the Baron Philipp von Stosch Collection

We do not have detailed information on how Baron Philipp von Stosch's collection grew, by what means he acquired items and exhibits, or when and from whom he purchased individual items. It has already been mentioned that he gained new items in ways that were not always transparent. Perhaps he often placed priority on expanding his collection while setting aside commitments to powerful principals as to whom he was entrusting with mediating the purchase of artworks. Franz Fagel's statement may suggest this, as evidently he guessed that the collection of Joachim von Sandrart, bought by von Stosch, had then been delivered to him rather thin and "depleted."

In 1717, Fagel wrote about this, disappointedly, to the baron:

> However, I can see that there are many of them [drawings] that bear the names of old masters who would be ashamed to acknowledge them and that these are probably the ugliest copies ever made by untalented students. The number of drawings that we can consider to be original and good does not seem to be very large. I cannot believe that von Sandrart created the collection as it is today but, according to my opinion, some drawings were removed from where von Sandrart had previously placed them, as indicated by assembly marks on many cards, and replaced by others that do not represent any value, especially in the first volume, which should contain drawings of the famous Italian masters. I have not shown them to anyone, yet when I have the opportunity, I will see what they tell me about them.[45]

It is true that von Stosch gathered one of the largest art collections of that time. At the time of his death, it was made public that the value of the artistic collections and the library left by the baron was estimated at 100,000 ducats, which was a dizzying sum.[46] A fairly extensive description of the entire von Stosch collection was made during

45 J. Heringa, op. cit., p. 71.

46 *Des Neuen Gelehrten Europa. Drenzehnter Theil, op.cit*, p. 242. For comparison, it is worth mentioning that Stanisław Kostka Potocki valued one of his most valuable paintings at 300 ducats: this was his own equestrian portrait painted by David.

the baron's lifetime, on 24 July 1756.[47] According to that account, the collection of the Museo Stoschiano in Florence was divided into eleven sections:

I. Cabinet of Antiquities
II. Cabinet of Medals
III. Cabinet of Coins
IV. Cabinet of Gems (engraved stones)
V. Collection of Various Original Works by Famous Painters
VI. Collection of Copper Engravings and Woodcuts
VII. Manuscripts
VIII. Library
IX. Cabinet of curiosities (Naturalienkabinett)
X. Armory
XI. Topographical Atlas[48]

As a presentation of all eleven sections would greatly exceed the scope of this article, it would be more appropriate to present just one short description, of the fifth section: *Sammlung verschiedener Original Stucke von beruhmten Malern.* From the enigmatic description in *Des Neuen Gelehrten Europa*, we learn that in this section, drawings including works by Michelangelo and his pupils were kept. There were also Raphael sketches and engravings based on them, and works by Perino del Vaga and Giulio Romano and other students of the Master of Urbino and contemporaneous artists. These were adjacent to sketch-

47 *Des Neuen Gelehrten Europa. Zehenter Theil,* Wolfenbüttel 1757, pp. 257–300, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_gelehrte_europa1756a/0001/image [accessed on 04.03.2018].

48 The description of this Atlas comes from Winckelmann, who dedicated a chapter in *Description des pierres gravées* to it: "Catalogue abregé l'Athlas du feu baron de Stosch en 324 tomes in fol." The creation of the Atlas was begun by the baron during his stay in the Netherlands, inspired by Fagel and according to his instructions, and was continued until his death. He collected maps and engravings during all his journeys, with many objects sent to him and offered by scholars and antique dealers from across Europe. The Atlas began with general maps, followed by increasingly detailed maps – of countries, regions and cities. City maps were accompanied by engravings depicting key buildings and monuments, as well as famous events such as battles and celebrations. Engravings were sometimes supplemented with drawings. It is worth noting that Volume CCLXXII, *Le Royaume de Pologne. Les Duchés de Lithuanie & de Courlande, le Royaume de Prusse & la Livonie*, contained 145 maps. See: J. J. Winckelmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 573–575, 593.

es of ancient arabesques and bas-reliefs used by Raphael as sources of inspiration for his own works. There was also a group of works by famous Florentine artists including Giorgio Vasari, Santi di Tito, Antonio Tempesta and Jean de St. Jean, Pietro da Cortona, Livio Mehus, Volterrano. Certainly among the most interesting drawings were by Giulio Parigi and Baccio del Bianco, presenting masquerades and ceremonies at the Medici court. The description also mentions drawings by Stefano della Bella, Guido Reni, Joseph d'Arpino, Ciro Ferri, Carlo Maratta and Salvator Rosa. Work by von Stosch's friend Pier Leone Ghezzi could not be missed, as well. In addition to numerous Italian artists, a group of Dutch artists including Lucas van Leyden is also mentioned. Among German masters, Albrecht Dürer holds the eminent position. French painters included Claude de Lorraine, Jacques Callot, Simon de Vouet, Nicolas Poussin, Charles Le Brun. The collection concluded with architectural drawings as well as coats of arms, theater set design and drawings of occasional buildings. In the context of research on the provenance of drawings from the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki, most interesting is the fact that among the many artists are Agostino, Ludovico and Annibale Carracci, Correggio, Titian, Parmigianino, Gaspard Poussin, Edmé Bouchardon and Ottavio Leoni.

After the death of von Stosch, Wilhelm Muzell-Stosch took charge of his legacy and also took the name of his uncle. The heir's intention was to sell the collection as soon as possible. Thus he immediately began publishing the catalogues, hoping that this would increase the value of the collection he had inherited. In 1758, he published the catalogue *Bibliotheca Stoschiana*, with the Winckelmann catalogue coming out a year later (its author worked on it from September 1758, with publication already in February 1760).[49] At first, in January 1759, a library of over six thousand volumes was sold, including more than two thousand Greek and Latin manuscripts. Some manuscripts collected there were purchased, as we know, by the Vatican Library. In

49 *Bibliotheca Stoschiana sive catalogus librorum bibliothecae Philippi baron de Stosch quorum auctio habebitur Florentiae die 16. Januarii 1759. & sequentibus diebus*, Lucae 1758.

1760, Muzell-Stosch traveled to England, hoping to find a proper buyer for the entire artistic collection. Unfortunately, this task proved impossible to accomplish, and eventually the collection was dispersed. Müzell-Stosch tried to draw the attention of collectors he knew, and some of the collection was exhibited at an auction organized in March 1760.[50] The auction catalogue was compiled in a very brief fashion, and descriptions of individual items were extremely scarce. It should be noted, however, that among painters of exhibited works, Michelangelo, Guercino, Ventura Salimbeni, Rubens and Salviati were mentioned, whose drawings can also be found in the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki. A small part of von Stosch's collection was again auctioned at the London auction house Mr. Langford and Son in March 1764.[51] The auction was accompanied by a two-part catalogue. The first part contained mainly sculptures, with the second part also containing paintings and drawings (including sketches of Roman buildings by Raphael, and a drawing by Andrea del Sarto with the baron's handwritten annotation).[52]

At the same time, Muzell-Stosch managed to sell the gem collection. The entire collection (originals, copies, impressions and casts) collected by von Stosch numbered over twenty thousand items. At that time,

50 C. Justi, op. cit., pp. 314–318.

51 *A catalogue of the Genuine and Choice Collection of Pictures, of that Eminent Collector Baron Stosch of Italy, Lately Deceased; amongst which are the Works of the following Masters, viz. Carlo Dolci, Carlo Marratti, Luca Giordano, Tintoretto, Spagnolo di Bologna, Guercino, Bronzino, Gia. Brandi, Rubens, Brueghell, Jordaens, Zuccarelli* [...] *which will be sold, by auction by Mr. Langford, being consign'd to Him by the executor, at his house in the Great Piazza, Covent Garden, on Wednesday, the 12th of this Instant March 1760, http://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/collection/item/17669-catalogue-of-the-genuine-and-choice-collection-of-pictures-of-that-eminent-collector-baron-stosch-vente-du-12-mars-1760* [accessed on 30.08.2017].

52 The first part: *A catalogue of the entire collection of bronzes, of the Palazzo Gaddi, Palazzo Marucelli, and the late eminent antiquary Baron Stosch : Consisting of great variety of groupses* [sic], *statues, busts, priapi, animals, basso and alto relievos, sacrificing vessels, instruments, &c. of Roman, Grecian, Etruscan and Egyptian workmanship: with some few modern bronzes of mich. angelo, benv. cellini, tacca, giov. di bologna, fiamingo, algardi, and other celebrated masters*, London 1764 and the second part: *A catalogue of the remainder of the bronzes, of the Palazzo Gaddi, Palazzo Marucelli, and the Late Eminent Antiquary Baron Stosch, which had been mislaid; and which, with several Egyptian and other curious antiquities; some valuable paintings in crayons and in oil; and a book of drawings in architecture, for public buildings, by Raphael*, London 1764.

it was the largest collection of its type in Europe. There were works with representations of ancient ceremonies and events, as well as portraits of great historical personages and images of figures and mythological scenes: Egyptians, Etruscans, Greeks, Romans. In 1764, most of the collection was purchased for the enormous amount of thirty thousand thalers by the Prussian king, Frederick the Great, ultimately finding a museum home in Berlin.[53] Some of the glass castings went to Moscow and St. Petersburg.[54] A small part of this gem collection, or more precisely their casts, most probably appeared before 1939 in the collections of the Museum of Archeology and History in Elbląg, Poland (at that time, the Städtische Museum). Partially legible on a casket containing nine hundred pastes stored within is: "[Ges]*c*hnittene Steine / in dem / Könignchen Museum der Altertümer zu Berlin / Ehemalige von Stosch'sche Gemmensammlung." It is not certain, however, whether these castings belonged to the baron, or are copies of original gems from his collection made when it was already in Berlin.[55] Another collection of gem castings linked with von Stosch's collection is stored at the Royal Castle in Warsaw. It was described by Bogna Arnold-Rutkiewicz in her article.[56] This gem collection has more recently found its way to the Royal Castle collection, thanks to the Ciechanowiecki Foundation Collections.

In 1768, Müzell-Stosch offered the imperial library in Vienna the sale of cartographic collections from the collection of von Stosch (the Topographical Atlas). A year later, Maria Teresa approved the purchase for the agreed-upon price of three thousand ducats.[57] To date, over 2,700 maps from this collection are stored at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.[58] Drawings from the Atlas are kept in the Alberti-

53 B. Arnold-Rutkiewicz, op. cit., pp. 52–54.

54 I. Weber, op. cit., on-line version.

55 M. Gizińska, op. cit., p. 181.

56 B. Arnold-Rutkiewicz, op. cit., pp. 45–65.

57 See *Ankauf der geographischen Sammlung des Baron Philipp von Stosch* rps ÖNB, Hofbibliothek 58a/1768.

58 Rudolf Kinauer, *Der Atlas des Freiherrn Philipp von Stosch der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: ein Beitrag zu seiner Rekonstruktion und zur Geschichte der Atlanten*, Bad Godesberg 1968.

na in Vienna (including, for example, sketches by Carl Rainaldi, Domenichino, Gianmaria Pomedello, Gianlorenzo Bernini and Francesco Borromini).[59]

The last auction offering von Stosch's collection took place almost twenty years later. The remains of the von Stosch collection that had not been sold in London, already diminished, were put up for sale at a public auction in 1783 in Berlin.[60] A dozen or so exceptionally valuable engravings were bought by Ernst Peter Otto, an antiquarian from Leipzig. Today, most of those works from the von Stosch collection that were purchased by Peter Otto are in the British Museum,[61] the Harvard Art Museums (the Fogg Museum)[62] and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.[63]

The most recent event in the history of the dispersed collection of Philipp von Stosch was the appearance in 2005 of an antiquarian offer of a collection of twenty-four drawings known as the Codex Stosch, until then considered lost. During the baron's lifetime (as described by Winckelmann in 1760), the codex was considered a series of drawings by Raphael. Today, it is recognized to be the work of one of his disciples, Giovanni Battista da Sangallo. Drawings made around 1520 show key buildings of ancient Rome. In 2007, the volume was purchased by the RIBA Library for over £274,000.[64]

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59 See Albertina Sammlungen Online, http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/.

60 In the catalogue of the auction, to be discussed in more detail further on (see footnote 74), it was noted that some drawings were damaged.

61 Sixteen allegorical depictions in the niello technique, attributed to Baccio Baldini, ca. 1465–1480 (reference 1852,0424.1 –1852,0424.7; 1852,0301.1 – 1852,0301.6; 1866.1013,900; 1852,1211.1; 1852,1211.2) and presenting two putti drawing by Johann Rottenhammer, 1579–1623 (reference number A.17.52). The history of these engravings is included in: Louis Thies, *Catalog of the Collection of Engravings Bequeathed to Harvard College by Francis Calley Gray*, Cambridge 1869, pp. 53–55, https://archive.org/details/cataloguecollec00graygoog [accessed on 23.06.2018].

62 Author unknown, allegorical composition, niello, ca. 1470. Reference number G2936.

63 Gisèle Lambert, *Les premières gravures italiennes: Quattrocento-début du cinquecento. Inventaire de la collection du département des Estampes et de la Photographie*, Paris 1999, p. 41.

64 Ian Campbell, Arnold Nesselrath, "The Codex Stosch: Surveys of Ancient Buildings by Giovanni Battista da Sangallo," *Pegasus. Berliner Beiträge zum Nachleben der Antike*, no. 8, 2006, pp. 9–90, https://www.academia.edu/2551057/The_Codex_Stosch_surveys_of_ancient_buildings_by_Giovanni_Battista_da_Sangallo?auto=download [accessed on 05.03.2018].

We shall now resume with the most interesting issue: the small part of the collection of drawings of von Stosch acquired by Stanisław Kostka Potocki.

Acquisitions Of Stanisław Kostka Potocki From The Collection Of Baron von Stosch

When Philipp von Stosch died, in 1757, Stanisław Kostka Potocki was only two years old. Unfortunately, it is not known when and under what circumstances the count would later discover the famous Florentine collector. Archival sources are silent about this. Perhaps that information had been provided by a foreign correspondent; perhaps Potocki learned it in a publication or during one of his many foreign trips. His source of knowledge was not from reports by an older brother, Ignacy, who visited Florence before 1770.[65] Stanisław Kostka Potocki visited Italy four times, and Florence at least twice (first in 1774–1775).[66] So he could not have visited the Museo Stoschiano, as since 1759 the baron's nephew had been reselling the collection. From 1760 to 1764, when a significant part of the von Stosch collection was in London, Potocki was just beginning his education at the Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw. As no guidebook to Italy[67] available at that time mentioned the Florentine residence of von Stosch and the collection stored there it is impressive that Potocki came to learn

65 Journeys to Florence by both Potocki brothers are described by Małgorzata Wrześniak, *Florencja –muzeum: miasto i jego sztuka w oczach polskich podróżników*, Kraków 2013, *passim*. It should be emphasized that Stanisław Kostka did not accompany Ignacy in his trip to Italy in 1765–1770.

66 *Grand Tour. Narodziny kolekcji Stanisława Kostki Potockiego*, Warsaw 2006, p. 23, *passim*.

67 For instance, *Swiat We Wszystkich Swoich Częsciach Większych y Mnieyszych : To Iest W Europie, Azyi, Affryce y Ameryce*, a guide based on the authors impressions from a 1725 journey and published in Wrocław, 1740, by Władysław Łubieński, future primate of Poland, contains only a short, concise description of Florence (p. 67) and Rome (pp. 94–97). A similar guide, *Droga Rzymska z nawrotem do swoiey Oyczyzny nie bez goscinca nazad powroconego Xiędza Kazimierza Kognowickiego Nauk wyzwolonych i Filozofii Doktora* (Warsaw 1783), provides a slightly longer description (pp. 95–107), which, however, omits the famous museum and its owner. Among popular foreign guides in Potocki's library, it is worth mentioning a three-volume publication by Nicolas Chochin, *Voyage en Italie*, Paris 1769 (volume 2 being dedicated to Florence and containing the count's handwritten notes) and a nine-volume work by Joseph Lalande, *Voyage d'un François en Italie*, Venice 1769.

about this collection.[68] It can be said that his passion for collecting reflected the breadth of his knowledge. The count had two publications related to Philipp von Stosch in his collection. It is surprising that the archival catalogues of Potocki's collection do not show the important position of the *Gemmae antiquae celatae* album from 1724, which would seem a very important source for an avid collector of ancient gems. Instead, he had an album in his library, published later, with engravings by Georg Martin Preisler based on drawings by Edmé Bouchardon that depicted ancient sculptures from the baron's collection.[69] It is not known when and from whom Potocki acquired this publication. However, we know exactly when he bought the catalogue of the gems belonging to von Stosch, prepared by Winckelmann.[70] This happened quite late, not until 1787, when he traveled to London with Princess Lubomirska and Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz.[71] That purchase is confirmed both by archival lists of books bought and packed in chests, among which is mentioned "Winckelmann Cabinet De Stosch," and by an archival catalogue of the collection: "Describing of Engraved Stones by Baron de Stosch Flonence 1760."[72] However, we

68 Worthy of note is the fact that the Museo Stoschiano, among the main attractions in the city and attracting crowds of foreign travelers (mainly English), seems to have remained completely unknown to Poles visiting Florence. Luca Bernardini, in the cross-sectional work *A Firenze con i viaggiatori e i residenti polacchi* (Firenze 2005), does not mention the Museo Stoschiano at all. It is also noteworthy that in the first half of the eighteenth century there is a clear gap in this study when it comes to certificates of stays of Poles in Florence. Perhaps, then, the period from 1731 to 1757, when von Stosch was active in Florence, was a time when the city was not visited by Poles. It was not until the second half of the century that, along with the figures of August Moszyński, Stanisław Poniatowski, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Franciszek Bieliński, Stanisław Staszic and of course Ignacy and Stanisław Kostka Potocki, interest in the capital of Tuscany was revived.

69 *Philippo L Baroni de Stosch antiqvitatis amatori bonarvmqve artivm cvltori statvas hasce antiqvas ab Edmvndo Bovchardon gallo scvlptore egregio Romae delieatas Io. Ivstinvs Preisler noricvs pictor a* se *in aes incisas favtori svo optime merito* ..., Norimbergae, 1732. Preserved copy BN ZZI A.727.

70 Preserved copy BN SD W.3667.

71 Potocki arrived in London on 18 May 1878, returning to Paris on 16 July of the same year. See *Grand Tour,* op. cit., pp. 177, 181.

72 *Note des livres qui sont dans la Caisse N° I appartenant à S. E. Mr. le Comte Stanislas Potocki à Londres 1787,* rps BN akc. 2189/66/1, k.103v, and *Gemmy i kamienie* [excerpt from the catalogue of the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki], rps BN akc. 2189/66/1, k.119v.

are certain that at least several years earlier, Potocki had extensive knowledge of the baron and his collection. This happened at the latest in mid-1783, while he was in Germany. Potocki set off in May 1783 on his journey through Sochaczew and Poznań to Berlin. Visiting places including Potsdam and Sanssouci, Potocki saw the collection of antique sculptures of Cardinal Melchior de Polignac, kept at the Neues Palais (including the famous Lycomedes group, mentioned above), as well as the collection of medals and gems of von Stosch that had been acquired in 1764 by Frederick the Great. The palace, famed for the splendor of its decor, did not make a good impression on the count, who appreciated classical art for its modesty and moderation, above all. The collection of von Stosch, known to him from the Winckelmann publication, Potocki saw only briefly. He wrote:

"Engraved stones of Baron von Stosch belong to this cabinet [*Antikentempel*], among them many beautiful ones, but in truth the most beautiful remained in his hands [Muzell-Stosch], and Prince Henry [of Prussia] bought them after his death. The description of stones from the von Stosch collection is known to everyone [from Winckelmann], and in any case we didn't have much time and saw them briefly. However, there is one cabinet of coins and medals that seemed remarkable to us. The stones from von Stosch collection cost the king [Frederick the Great] over thirty thousand thalers."[73]

Worth noting is that this trip and viewing of the collection took place a year after the death of Muzell-Stosch and a few weeks after the von Stosch collection had been auctioned in Berlin, on 22 April 1783 at the Böhme auction house. The rather indifferent tone of the commentary regarding the collection does not indicate that Potocki intended to purchase anything from the von Stosch collection at that time. There is no evidence that he had even known about the auction of the baron's drawings in Berlin (he had no copy of that auction catalogue in his library). Yet here begins the history of drawings the count later bought as works from the von Stosch collections and described several

73 Rps AGAD, Archiwum Publiczne Potockich 256, *Voyage en Italie et en Allemagne – dzieło oryginalne Hr. Stanisława Potockiego, prezesa Senatu*, pp. 32–33.

years later in the catalogue of his own collection. Despite enigmatic descriptions of individual items in the Berlin catalogue, it is possible to identify some drawings now in the Potocki collection. It is worthwhile to discuss that auction catalogue here.[74] A portion of the baron's collection, left unsold in London, was auctioned in Berlin: books in Italian, French and English, maps, a collection of coins and medals, as well as impressions of gems, ancient gems and a small collection of paintings. Sixteen files containing drawings and engravings by old masters are listed in the catalogue, on pages 47–74. Portfolio files I to VI contain drawings, while files VII to XVI hold engravings, with a total of 1,080 catalogue items. Drawings and engravings each had separate numbers of catalogue items, but were described in groups, with each group containing several works by different artists affixed to one board. From auction number 933 on, each item listed in the catalogue contained a group of engravings – from several to several dozen (up to fifty), and beginning from number 1,074, engravings in a single frame are listed. A separate group consisted of 9,832 graphic portraits of famous persons arranged alphabetically (each alphabet letter was a separate catalogue item, with works among the engravings by Goltzius, Hollar, Sadeler, Bolswert, Vorsterman, Visscher Edelinck, Melan, Bartolozzi, Stefano della Bella, Nanteuil, Larmessin and other known engravers). Files I–VI contained 918 catalogue items referring to almost 4,000 drawings (including over 2,200 drawings depicting gems from the baron's collection).[75] Among these were works by Andrea del

74 *Verzeichniss einer Sammlung hauptsächlich zu den Alterthümen, der Historie, den schönen Künsten u. Wissenschaften gehöriger mehrentheils italienischer, englisher und französischer Bücher : auch Landcharten, Zeichnungen, und Kupferstiche von berühmten Meistern, auch einiger Gemählde, imgl. einer Sammlung Schwefel-Abdrücke von antiken Gemmen &c. welche der verstorbene Herr Heinrich Wilhelm Muzel genamt Stosch Walton hinterlassen und am 22sten April 1783 und folgende Tage Nachnmittags von 2 bis 4 Uhr in der Wohnung des Verstorbenen an der Ecke der Linden-Allee und Kirchgasse, im Bastideschen Hause dem Meistbiethenden in öffentlicher Auction gegen baare Bezahlüngzugeschlagen werden sollen. Das Verzeichniss wird im Wachsmurhischen Hause bey dem Königl. Auctions Commissarius Herrn Böhme, Vormittags von 9 bis 11 Uhr gratis ausgegeben*, Berlin 1783. The catalogue is not listed on the Getty Provenance Index Databases. The only copy known to this author is in the collections of the UCLA Library Special Collections.

75 As a curiosity, it can be added that nearly thirty works by artist contemporaries of the baron like Pompeo Batoni, Edmé Bouchardon, François Boucher, Louis-Michel Vanloo,

Sarto, Edmé Bouchardon, François Duquesnoy, Ludovico Leoni, Ottavio Leoni, Michelangelo, Parmigianino and Francesco Salviati, which seem to be identical with the drawings in the catalogue described by Potocki. Perhaps the other drawings belonging to the count were hidden in a few of the aforementioned auction items, bearing in mind that not all names of artists of works on offer were listed.

Identifications for some drawings are uncertain. For example, a sketch showing a battle-scene frieze (cat. 7) was registered by Potocki under the name Polidoro da Caravaggio. It is clear from the count's note that he acquired the work as an original work by that master, but he believed it must have been by a later artist. The Berlin catalogue records six compositions depicting unspecified bas-reliefs "nach Polidoro, Ghisi, etc.," thus being copies of compositions by Caravaggio, Ghisi and others.

In some cases, the description made by Potocki excludes identifying it with any item in the auction catalogue from 1783. For example, the Berlin catalogue contains only one item in regards to Annibale Carracci, while including as many as forty-eight Palazzo Farnese painting-decoration projects. It is rather difficult to assume that among several dozen sketches of hands, feet and heads sold as no. 883, a two-sided drawing depicting Susanna and the Elders (cat. 5) was hiding there, described by Potocki. The Berlin auction catalogue lists two drawings at no. 740 and no. 741, showing the Holy Family and Christ on the Mount of Olives. One was by Correggio, but cannot be combined with the drawing described by Potocki (cat. 8). Among the few works by Guercino put up for sale in Berlin, we see only landscapes in the catalogue. Potocki, on the other hand, had two sketches of heads by those artists, which once belonged to the collection of von Stosch

Charles-André Van Loo, Charles-Joseph Natoire, Pietro Leone Ghezzi presented the owl, a bird that came second only to the monocle as a characteristic attribute of von Stosch. K. Chłędowski (op cit., p. 658) wrote about the baron: "he dressed with sophisticated elegance, with a colorful scarf around his neck, a lace jabot, silk stockings, with a cane in his hand, with gold buttons on his coat, and a small golden owl, which he added anywhere he could; and when he was asked about the meaning of this emblem, he replied that, being prone to melancholy, a bit of a hypochondriac, he sometimes looks at the owl, seemingly in an even worse mood, and that it gives him relief … ."

(cat. 12, 13). The count had a portrait of Francis I (Francesco de' Medici, cat. 21) which he acquired from von Stosch as a work by Titian, although he considered it to be by Rubens. He also had a portrait of Philip II of Spain (cat. 26). Unfortunately, only two Titian landscapes are listed in the catalogue published in Berlin. None of the descriptions among the catalogue items seems to be a drawing depicting *Christ of Caprarola,* a copy of which Potocki mentions in his catalogue (cat. 22). The Berlin catalogue does not mention the names Sébastien Bourdon, Lodovico Carracci, Gaspard Dughet (also known as Gaspard Poussin), Raymond Lafage, Laurent de La Hyre.

As has been mentioned, there is no suggestion that Potocki bought any drawings at the Berlin auction. Again, we do not know the circumstances of the acquisition of items coming from the von Stosch collection. The only source of information is the catalogue compiled by Potocki, in 1796 at the earliest, in which he explicitly cites the provenance of some drawings.[76] This is mentioned directly in twenty-six descriptions: *de la collection de Stoche*, *du Cabinet de Stoche* and *venant de la collection du fameux Amateur Baron de Stoche*. Unfortunately, the count does not provide information from whom he bought the drawings directly. In only four cases, he adds: *a été acheté à Leipzig*. This topic was taken up first by Elżbieta Skierkowska: "It is known that a significant number of drawings acquired before 1795, like Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo (study of two [sic] heads to the Last Judgment and others), Potocki bought from Carl Rost[77] in Leipzig and they came from the collection of the prominent collector J. [sic] Stosch."[78] However, this information

76 The catalogue consists of four parts: *Catalogue des Dessins de la Collection du Comte Stanislas Potockie. Ecole Italienne. Ecole Française. Ecoles Flamande, Holendoise et Allemande. Notte des dessins achetés en Italie en 1795 et 1796,* BN Rps akc. 2189/66/a.

77 Carl (Karl) Christian Heinrich Rost (1742–1798), antiquarian, art expert. See Sächsische Biografie online: http://saebi.isgv.de/biografie/Carl_Christian_Heinrich_Rost_%281742-1798%29 [accessed on 17.01.2019].

78 Skierkowska's information, however, is very imprecise. Indeed, Potocki wrote that he purchased the study of the head by Michelangelo (cat. 4) from the von Stosch collection in Leipzig, although he did not specify from whom (in the manuscript of his catalogue the count never referred to Carl Rost). In the case of Leonardo, however, Potocki clearly noted that all three drawings were purchased in Italy. See *Polskie kolekcjonerstwo...,* op. cit., pp. 103, 110.

is not only imprecise, but also uncertain. Potocki clearly noted that he bought all three Leonardo drawings in Italy. However, in the case of Michelangelo's *Head Study* (cat. 4), he indeed indicated that he had acquired the sketch in Leipzig, but did not specify from whom. In none of the descriptions of the twenty-six drawings from the von Stosch collection did the count reveal the seller; the name of Rost is never mentioned. The annotation *Acheté chez Mr Rost à Leipzig* appears three times, in fact, in the count's catalogue, but this did not apply to drawings from the von Stosch collection.[79] Yet there is evidence that Potocki worked together with Rost very often. At least two sources indicate the purchase of artworks made from the Leipzig antiquarian. Potocki bought a large number of engravings (perhaps through an intermediary) at Rostische Kunsthandlung in January 1794. A manuscript of the count's letter to an unidentified person (perhaps to Rost) has been preserved, asking him to buy three hundered engravings for him, because health prevented him from traveling in bad weather and making the purchase himself.[80] In this letter, Potocki refers to descriptions of graphics contained in one of the auction catalogues published by Rost.[81]

Most likely, the count's request was fulfilled and the purchase of the prints was completed, although after the transaction the collections were deposited in the antiquarian bookshop in Leipzig for a few years then arrived in Lviv only in January 1799. In the Diary of Potocki's businesses and affairs, we find notes regarding importing chests of copper engravings from Leipzig. In August 1798, the count wrote:

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79 It is possible that in addition to participating in Rostische Kunstchandlung auctions, Potocki also made purchases from the private collection of Carl Rost. The three purchased drawings are landscapes by German artists. Rost's preference for the work of eighteenth-century German landscape painters is described by Sabine Peinelt-Schmitd, whom I thank very much for her consultations. See S. Peinelt-Schmitd, "Selling Antiquity and Collecting Nature: The Art Dealer Carl Christian Heinrich Rost and Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn's Conception of Art," in: *Collecting Prints and Drawings*, Cambridge 2018.

80 *List hr: Stanisława Potockiego wraz ze Spisem Rycin o których zakupienie tymże listem obligował Osobę w Lipsku*, BN rps akc. 2189/66/1, f. 43–52.

81 *Anzeige einer ansehnlichen Kupferstich-Sammlung alter, neuer und seltener Blätter berühmter Meister, nebst einigen Handzeichnungen, Gemählden und Kupferstichwerken : den 20sten Januar 1794 wird der Verkauf davon gehalten…*, T. XIII, Lipsk, 1793. A copy of this catalogue belonging to Potocki has been preserved. BN SD W. 1.0566.

> Bringing my things from Leipzig
> I notified the Governor of Galicia[82] asking for permission to bring six packages of No. 1 and No. 2 with Paintings No. 3 with Books and Things No. 4 with Copper Engravings No. 5 with Copper Engravings and Things of Mr. Jan[83] No. 6 with Lamps. The latter two are at Mr. Redon in Dresden. First four at Rost in Leipzig. I wrote to both of them asking to take care of these packages, requesting Roost [sic] to send to Lviv carters returning from the fair in Leipzig at the address of Mr. Burhart, who took full responsibility to take good care of them further on upon himself.[84]
> On behalf of Mr. Jan, I wrote to Redon to sell his package. I sent these letters from Przeworsk on 17 August, I notified on 10 August once in Lviv. The Governor took full responsibility on himself. There is a specification of parcels and books besides [?] Mr. Jan, who did not have it.[85]

It should be noted here that while Carl Rost died in March 1798, Potocki's note comes from that August. Apparently the count, while writing those words, did not know about the death of the antiquarian at whose establishment he had deposited his engravings. Perhaps Rost's death caused a delay in delivering the parcel to Lviv. It was not until January 1799 that the count noted that the banker Burhart had issued him a bill for bringing back two packages of copper engravings from Leipzig. In both notes, Potocki clearly writes about them, thus meaning copper engravings, not drawings.[86]

We already know that Potocki and Rost did business together. We know that he also bought paintings in Leipzig (we can find them listed in the Diary of Purchases). Did he then also purchase drawings there from the von Stosch collection? Unfortunately, in just one cat-

82 Johann Jacob, Count von Gaisruck (1739–1801), governor of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria from 1795. See Stanisław Nicieja, *Cmentarz Łyczakowski we Lwowie w latach 1786-1986*, Wrocław 1989, p. 18.

83 Jan Nepomucen Eryk Potocki (died after 1815), brother of Stanisław Kostka Potocki. See Internetowy Polski Słownik Biograficzny, http://ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/jan-nepomucen-eryk-potocki [accessed on 22.08.2018].

84 Burkart or Burhart, banker from Lviv.

85 *Pamiętnik interesów samego (...) hrabiego Potockiego senatora wojewody*, rps AGAD, Archiwum Gospodarcze Wilanowskie, Anteriora, no. 302, p. 43.

86 *Pamiętnik interesów..., op. cit.*, p. 55.

alogue of Rostische Kunsthandlung published in the 1890s, we find in the description of the engravings only the single note: *aus des Baron von Stosch Cabinet*.[87] It must be emphasized, however, that in the catalogues of this company, provenance of items was given only in exceptional cases, so it cannot be an argument for the fact that the remaining drawings from the baron's collection did not pass through Rost's house of antiquities. Especially as it is certain that one of the drawings described by Potocki as coming from the von Stosch collection was there for sale in 1792. That drawing, depicting the Adoration of the Magi (cat. 1), has miraculously survived and is stored in the collection of the University of Warsaw Library Print Room. Unfortunately, this is the only drawing described by Potocki that has proved identifiable in the catalogues of Carl Rost published in 1788–1798 in Leipzig. How the count acquired those drawings for his collection remains a mystery, but perhaps further archival research will shed new light on this issue. The main and basic source of information about their existence is, so far, the catalogue compiled by Potocki around 1796. In a few cases, it is the only source of information.

However, in most cases, later archival sources have allowed us to determine the further fate of the works listed in the catalogue. Unfortunately, we lose track of what happened around 1840 (regarding the part of the collection that, along with the Wilanów Library, was not acquired by the National Library of Poland), or in 1923 (regarding the part of the collection acquired by the count and later by the University of Warsaw that was not returned from St. Petersburg), or in 1945 (regarding the part acquired by the University of Warsaw that then went missing during the Second World War).[88] One picture has bare-

87 *Anzeige einer ansehnlichen Kupferstich-Sammlung alter, neuer und seltener Blätter berühmter Meister) … nebst einigen Handzeichnungen, Gemählden, und Kupferstichwerken: Den 20sten Januar 1794. wird der Verkauf davon gehalten … von dem verpflichteten Universitäts-Proclamator Herrn Weigel, im rothen Collegio zu Leipzig …*, Leipzig 1793, vol. XIII, p. 216, item 2508, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kupferstichsammlung1793 [accessed on 17.01.2019].

88 Elżbieta Skierkowska wrote: "A valuable collection of drawings of former foreign masters, belonging to St. K. Potocki, raising him to the rank of a collector known worldwide, was not transferred in 1932 to the Polish state; the history of this collection after

ly survived, perhaps as irrefutable proof that the others also existed, although they have been lost for almost two centuries. The following catalogue describes, for the first time and as precisely as possible, the drawings by old masters from the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki, which had originally belonged to Philipp von Stosch. Of course, it is not known if the attributions given by the count could withstand scientific criticism today.[89] The issue of uncertain authorship of individual drawings is a major obstacle in trying to find them, even in the catalogues raisonnées of individual artists. Research on the fate of these works is further complicated by the fact that neither von Stosch nor Potocki marked their drawings as their owners.[90] Certainly, however, the descriptions of lost drawings can be an important source of information about the aspirations of the count as a collector, as well as about the original shape of his collections.

Catalogue Of Drawings Purchased By Stanisław Kostka Potocki Around 1796, Originally Coming From The Baron Philipp von Stosch Collection

Spelling of artists' names and dates of their lives according to the Union List of Artists Names Online.[91]

Dimensions (height by width) of the lost drawings are given in Old Polish units of measure used by Stanisław Kostka Potocki: 1 elbow = 2 feet = 24 inches; 1 inch = 12 lines. Approximately 1 Old Polish inch = 2.4 cm; 1 old Polish line = 2 mm. Prices of the lost drawings were given

1845 (date of the death of Aleksander Potocki) is not known." See *Rysunki szkół obcych*, op. cit., Warsaw 1976, p. 104.

89 It suffices to mention serious doubts about the authenticity of some of the drawings from the Potocki collection, which was offered in part to the University of Warsaw, as has already been reported by Zygmunt Batowski (*Zbiór graficzny*, op. cit., p. 42). Although, on the other hand, some of Rembrandt's drawings purchased by the count are regarded by contemporary researchers as original works by the Grand Dutchman. See Talbierska, *Rembrandt. Ryciny i rysunki ze zbiorów Gabinetu Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, Warsaw 2004; *Rembrandt. Rysunki i ryciny w zbiorach polskich*, ed. Anna Kozak, Warsaw 2009).

90 See Frits Lugt, *Les Marques de Collections de Dessins & d'Estampes*, online version: http://www.marquesdecollections.fr/ [accessed on 22.07.2018]. In rare cases only, we find annotations made by hand by both collectors on the preserved drawings.

91 http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/ulan/ [accessed on 17.01.2019].

FIG. 1. Jost Amman, *Adoration of the Magi*, adoration scene among ruins with a camel caravan in the background, Inw.zb.d. 4265, Print Room of the University of Warsaw Library

in accordance with the value set by Potocki, who estimated these in ducats and Polish zlotys (florins): 1 ducat = 18 Polish zlotys (florins). Quotations from the manuscript of the catalogues of the collections preserve the original spelling.

1. Author unknown, *Adoration of the Magi*, pen, ink, lavage, ribbed paper, tondo with a diameter of 212–214 mm. Print Room of the University of Warsaw Library, item no 4265.

Drawing displayed at the auction in the house of antiquities of Carl Rost in Leipzig in February 1792. Listed in the auction catalogue under item number 4588: *Die Könige bringen dem Jesuskinde Geschenke; von A. Gloocker mit der Feder gezeichnet. rund gr. 4*^{to}.[92] Purchased by Stanisław

92 *Anzeige einer ansehnlichen Kupferstich-Sammlung alter, neuer und seltener Blätter berühmter Meister (Band 11): ... nebst einigen Handzeichnungen, Gemählden, Kupferstichwerken und vielen Kufperstichen unter Glas und Rahm: Den 1ten Febr. 1792 wird der Verkauf davon gehalten ... von*

Kostka Potocki and described in a catalogue compiled by the count around 1796, drawings of the Flemish, Dutch and German schools under item number 1: A. Glocker. Ancien peintre Allemand, sa maniere tient beaucuop du Gothique, comme on le voit sur le dessin de l'adoration des trois rois fait a la plume. Il est rond, son diametre est de 7 p. [puces] *10 l.* [lignes] *Il vient de la Collection de Stoche. Prix 1#*.[93] In 1818, the drawing was donated by Potocki to the University of Warsaw. It then shared the fate of the university collections and in 1832 was taken by the tsarist authorities to St. Petersburg. There, in the years 1848–1849, it was described in a catalogue compiled by Nikolai Utkin, under item number 56 (in the portfolio 1157): *Adoration des Rois (1500 en rond)*" [in 4°] *A. Glocker*.[94] In 1923, the collection of the Print Room returned to the University of Warsaw, restored under the Treaty of Riga. Among works that returned to Warsaw was this drawing, which then luckily survived the Second World War and remains in the collection of the University of Warsaw Library.

Unfortunately, attribution to A. Glocker, based on archival sources is not confirmed in contemporary professional literature.[95] According to the annotation in the copy of the Utkin's catalogue (probably written by Zygmunt Batowski), the drawing was also attributed to Jost Amman.[96] At present, however, it is considered to be the work of an

dem verpflichteten Universitäts-Proclamator Herrn Weigel, im rothen Collegio zu Leipzig ..., Leipzig 1791, p. 352, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kupferstichsammlung1791 [accessed on 17.01.2019].

93 *Catalogue... Ecoles Flamande, Holendoise et Allemande, op. cit.*, f. 7r.

94 *Catalogue raisonné des estampes composant la collection du Cabinet d'Alexandre de Varsovie*, portfolio 1157 : *Portefeuille in folio contenant 72 pieces dessins originaux par differents maitres en feuilles separées. Vol. III*, University of Warsaw Library, manuscript, p. 38.

95 In contemporary dictionaries of artists (for example, the most comprehensive, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*), there is no record of a painter or graphic artist at the start of the sixteenth century named A. Gloocker or Glocker.

96 It is worth noting here that the Utkin's catalogue mentions another drawing, lost today, belonging previously to Stanisław Kostka Potocki, by A. Glocker, which the count does not mention in his catalogue: *Allégorie sur l'apparition d'une comête en 1460. Le Prince de Milan embrasant le Pape (sur parchemin)* " [in 4°] *idem* [A. Glocker] (*Catalogue raisonné*, op. cit. p. 38). Under that same name, A. Glocker, the drawing was mentioned among the war losses of the Print Room (Sawicka, op. cit, s. 40).

anonymous Antwerp mannerist.[97] The drawing has historical mounting, characteristic of the graphic collections of the Print Room, with the pencil annotation: *Glocker*, and indications referring to the Utkin's catalogue: *56* and *1157*.

2. Edmé Bouchardon (1698–1762), *Female Figure*, sanguine, 15 inches, 4 lines x 8 inches, 6 lines. Price: 1 ducat.

Drawing exhibited at the auction in Berlin in 1783 along with part of the collection of Philipp von Stosch. In the auction catalogue, described under item number 483: *1 Eine Vestale – Bouchardon*.[98] Around 1796, it was purchased by Stanisław Kostka Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of the French school under item number 19, just after another drawing by the same artist: *Une figure de femme drapé dessiné à la Sanguine par le même* [Edmé Bouchardon]. *Elle vient de la Collection de Stoche. H. 15 p. 4 l. – L.8 p. 6 l. Prix 1 #*.[99] Not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

3. Sébastien Bourdon (1616–1671), *Marriage of Rebecca*, pen, bistre wash, 7 inches, 8 lines x 18 inches, 5 lines. Price: 3 ducats.

Drawing purchased by Potocki around 1796 and described in the catalogue of drawings of the French school under the item number 6: *Sebastien Bourdon. Le marriage de Rebecca à la plume lavé de Bistre. L.18 p. 5 l. – h 7 p. 8 l. Venant de la Collection de Stoche 3 #*.[100] The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

4. Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564), *Study for the Head of a Figure from* The Last Judgment *in the Sistine Chapel*, black pencil, about 13 inches x 10 inches. Price: 6 ducats.

This drawing may have been auctioned in Berlin in 1783 along with part of the von Stosch collection. However, this cannot be confirmed

97 For sharing the catalogue data of the unpublished drawing with me, I would like to thank Mrs. Urszula Dragońska of the Print Room of the University of Warsaw Library.

98 *Verzeichniss…*, op. cit., p. 56.

99 *Catalogue…. Ecole Française*, op. cit., f. 6r.

100 Ibidem, f. 5r.

due to laconic descriptions in the catalogue (several catalogue items contained drawings by Michelangelo).[101] The sketch was purchased by Potocki in Leipzig before 1796 and is described in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school under the item number 2: *Michel Ange Bonarroti – Une Des têtes du dernier Jugement, peinte à Rome dans la chapelle Sixtine. Dessiné avec beaucoup de Soin à la pierre noire. La partie des Cheveux n'est qu'indiqué. Dessin venant de la collection du fameux Amateur Baron de Stoche, a peu pres 13 p. de h. sur 10 de L. Achete a Leipzig. Prix 6#.*[102] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It was kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio II. Branch II of Michelangelo Buonarroti 3* [pcs] *and two engravings demonstrating authenticity.*"[103] According to a catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was in a portfolio containing five drawings by Michelangelo and two prints based on them. It was described under the item number 2: *Figure du dernier Jugement, craye noire, en noir, dessinateur: id* [Michelangelo]. The drawing was accompanied by the engraving described under the item number 3: *Gravure du même dessin, menière noire*.[104] The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

5. Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), *Susanna and the Elders*, double sided sketch, heightened with white, 11 inches, 7 lines x 8 inches, 2 lines. Price: 3 ducats.

This drawing could have been auctioned in Berlin in 1783 along with part of the von Stosch collection. However, this cannot be confirmed due to laconic descriptions in the catalogue (two items in the catalogue contained undefined drawings by Annibale Carracci).[105] The

101 *Verzeichniss…*, op. cit., pp. 47, 50, 57.

102 *Catalogue…. Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1r.

103 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków Na Szkoły podzielony do Gabinetu Sztuk pięknych należących a w Pałacu Willanowskiem znayduiących się*, BN rps. akc. 2189/66/b, f. 2.

104 *Brulion… Spis Oryginalny*, BN rps. akc. 2189/66/c/2, f. 15r.

105 *Verzeichniss…*, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

sketch was purchased by Potocki before 1796 and is described in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school under the item number 20: *Annibal Carrache. Susanne avec les Vieillards. Première idée du peintre qui n'est que croqué et relevé de blanc. L'on voit de l'autre cote de la feuille la meme idée ebauché d'une autre maniere et encore moins acheve le dessin vient du Cabinet de Stoche – 11 p. 7. L de h. sur 8 p 2 l. de L. – Prix 3 #.*[106] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio I. Branch 4 Annibale Carracci 13* [pcs] *with three engravings demonstrating authenticity.*[107] According to the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was in the portfolio containing fifteen drawings by Carracci and four engravings based on them. It was described under the item number 13: *Susanne entre les deux Viellards, craye noire et blanche, en noir, dessinateur: id* [Annibale Carracci]. The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) See also item number 22.

6. Lodovico Carracci (1555–1619), *Holy Family*, pen, heightened with white, 11 inches, 8 lines x 9 inches, 4 lines. Price: 3 ducats.

The drawing was purchased by Potocki in 1796 and described in the catalogue of drawings of Italian school under the item number 21: *Louis Carrache La Vierge l'enfant Jesus et S. Joseph. Dessin dont le contour est entierement arrete à la plume. La tête de la Vierge qui est du plus grand Caractere est entierement acheve, dans quelque partis les claires sont mis en blanc de Grecque et les places laisses pour les ombres – 11 p. 8 l. de h. sur 9 p. 4 l. de L. Ce Dessin singulier vient du Cabinet de Stoche. Prix 3 #.*[108] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio I. Branch 6 Ludovico Carracci 5* [pcs] *and*

106 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 2r.

107 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 22r.

108 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 2r.

one engraving.[109] According to the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was in a portfolio containing seven drawings by artists of the Bologna School and one engraving. It was described as item number 7: *La Vierge et l'enfant Jesus, craye blanche et bistre, en bistre, dessinateur: Ludovico Carraci*.[110] The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

7. Polidoro da Caravaggio (ca. 1499–ca. 1543), a copy?, frieze with a battle scene, ink, pen, 15 inches, 5 lines x 9 inches, 3 lines. Price: 2 ducats, 9 Polish zlotys (florins).

The drawing was auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, described as item number 154–159: *6 Bas reliefs nach Polidoro, Ghisi etc.*[111] The sketch was purchased by Potocki before 1796 in unknown circumstances. The count assumed that this was a later copy, not the original work of Caravaggio. He described it in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school as item number 12: *Polidore Caldara de Carravage Eleve de Raphael. Frise representant des combats d'hommes a cheval et a pied en deux bandes. La partie superieur de ce Dessin est Ombre a l'Encre de la Chine celle d'en bas est croqué a la plume. – 15 p. 5 l. de L. sur 9 p: 3l. de H. Ce dessin aussi que le Nr. 13 passaient pour originaux dans la Collection de Stoche. Cependant je le crois faits par quelque bon peintre plus moderne sur les peintures de ce maitre. Prix...2# 9 fl.*[112] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It was kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school [and others]. Portfolio VIII. Branch 2 Polidoro da Caravaggio 1* [pc].[113] According to the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was most probably in the portfolio containing nine drawings by Caravaggio. Unfortunately, the lack of precise descriptions do not make it

109 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 3r.

110 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 26r.

111 *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 50, see also items 54–58, 74–76, 140–141.

112 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1v.

113 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 7r.

possible to decide which drawing from this portfolio is identical to the drawing from the von Stosch collection, because as many as five drawings depicted battle scenes.[114] The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

8. Correggio (ca. 1489–1534), *Christ Bearing His Cross*, sanguine, 6 inches x 4 inches, 9 lines. Price: 4 ducats.

The drawing was purchased by Potocki in 1796 and described in the catalogue of drawings of Italian school as item number 6: *Antoine de Allegris dit le Correge. – Jesus Christ portant la Croix trois quarts de Figure. Dessin achevé a la Sanguine. Un bon connaisseur a pretendu que ce Dessin est de la main d'un certain Bernard Lovino Artiste peux connu. Cependant il a passé pour etre du Correge dans la Collection de Stoche, et il est certain que tout y indique la touche moelleuse et les graces de ce grand maitre. A peu pres 6 p de H. sur 4 p. 9 l. de L. Prix 4#*.[115] The drawing is not recorded in later sources. Aleksander Kokular, in the catalogue of drawings left after the death of Potocki, describes the portfolio *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio I Branch 1*[116] where four drawings by Correggio were kept, but in the catalogue compiled six years later by Aleksander Potocki, none of the four works by Correggio were described as made with sanguine.[117] The fate of the drawing after 1800 remains unknown.

9. Gaspard Dughet, called Poussin (1615–1675), *Mountain Landscape*, red crayon, 10 inches, 3.5 lines x 13 inches. Price: 4 ducats.

The drawing was purchased by Potocki in 1796 and described in the catalogue of drawings of French school as item number 4: *Gaspre Dughet dit Poussin, fameux paisagiste. Un paisage montueux dessiné a la pierre rouge L.13 p. – H. 10 p. 3 l. et ½. Il vient du Cabinet de Stoche 4#*.[118] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It

114 *Brulion… Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 33r. i v.

115 *Catalogue…. Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1r.

116 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków…*, op. cit., f. 3r.

117 *Brulion… Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 12.

118 *Catalogue…. Ecole Française*, op. cit., f. 5r.

was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the French school. Portfolio IX. Branch IX Gaspare Poussin 3* [pcs].[119] According to a catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was in the portfolio containing drawings of various masters and was described as item number 9: *Paysage – Site d'Italie, crayé rouge, colorié, dessinateur: Gaspar Poussin*.[120] The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

10. François Duquesnoy, called Il Fiammingo (ca. 1594–1643), *Four Children*, black pencil, 8 inches, 6 lines x almost 13 inches, 3 lines. Price: 2 ducats.

The drawing was auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, described along with other three sketches as item numbers 86–89: *4 Kinder – Algardi, Pomerancio und Fiamingo*.[121] Around 1796, it was purchased by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of the Flemish, Dutch and German schools as item number 14: *Francois Quesnoy dit Flamand fameux sculpteur qui excella surtout a representer des grouppes d'enfans. Quatre enfans dessin a la pierre noire pour un bas-relief. L. 13 p. et 3 l. a p. p. H. 8 p. 6 l. Il vient de la Collection de Stoche. Prix 2#*.[122] In 1818, the drawing was donated by Potocki to the University of Warsaw. It then shared the fate of the university collections, and in 1832 was taken by the tsarist authorities to St. Petersburg. There, in the years 1848–1849, it was described in a catalogue compiled by Nikolai Utkin, under item number 24 (Portfolio 1155): *Figure d'enfants. Etude au crayon noir, en travers "* [in 4°] *Franc. Flamand*.[123] In 1923, the collection of the Print Room along with a part of the Potocki collection and the described drawing were returned to the

119 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków…*, op. cit., f. 9r.

120 *Brulion… Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 54r.

121 *Verzeichniss…*, op. cit., p. 49.

122 *Catalogue…. Ecoles Flamande, Holendoise et Allemande*, op. cit., f. 7v.

123 *Catalogue raisonné des estampes composant la collection du Cabinet d'Alexandre de Varsovie*, portfolio 1155 : *Portefeuille in folio contenant dessins originaux par differents maitres en feuilles separées* University of Warsaw Library, manuscript, p. 29. The next item by Duquesnoy, also presenting children, was a composition in a vertical format.

University of Warsaw. Unfortunately, during the Second World War, the sketch was lost, and since 1945 its fate is unknown.[124]

11. François Duquesnoy, called Il Fiammingo (ca. 1594–1643), *Angels Bearing the Cross*, sanguine, 15 inches x 9 inches, 9 lines, Price: 1 ducat.

The drawing was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of the Flemish, Dutch and German schools as item number 15 (just above the work by the same artist discussed above): *Autre à la Sanguine du même maitre. C'est une esquisse representant trois anges qui tiennent la croix sur des nouages. L'on en voit deux autres en bas. H. 15 p. L. 9 p. 9 l. Ce dessin vient egalement de la Collection de Stoche. Prix 1#*.[125] The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

12. Guercino (1591–1666), *Sketch of a Head*, pen, 6 inches, 5 lines x 5 inches, 8 lines, affixed on one board with item number 13. Price, including the next item: 3 ducats, 3 Polish zlotys (florins).

The drawing was bought by Potocki around 1796 along with another work by the same artist (see below). The count described both sketches in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school under item numbers 25 and 26: *Francesco Barbieri dit Guercino da Cento. Deux tetes colles sur la meme feuille, l'une dessine a la plume l'autre croque a la plume et relevée au bistre. La premiere h. 6 p. 5 l. – L. 5 p 8 l. La seconde h. 7 p 2.l – L. 6 p. 2 l. Toutes deux venantes de la Collection du Baron de Stoche. Prix 3# 3fl*.[126] After the death of Potocki, the drawings were inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketches were probably kept in one portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *"Drawings of the Italian School. Portfolio III. Branch 2 Guercino 13* [pcs]" or: *"Portfolio V. Branch 5: Guercino 3* [pcs]", or: *"Portfolio VIII. Branch 4. Guercino 1* [pc]."[127] According to the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, both sketches were in

124 Ibidem.

125 *Catalogue…. Ecoles Flamande, Holendoise et Allemande*, op. cit., f. 7v.

126 *Catalogue…. Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 2v.

127 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków…*, op. cit., f. 2v; f. 4v; k.3v.

the portfolio containing nineteen Guercino's drawings and were described as item number 1 (two drawings on one card): *Têtes de Viellards, en noir, en bistre, dessinateur: Guercino*.[128] The drawings are not listed in later sources, and their subsequent fate is unknown.

13. Guercino (1591–1666), *Sketch of a Head*, pen, bistre wash, 7 inches, 2 lines x 6 inches, 2 lines. Affixed on one board with item 12. Price, including the previous item: 3 ducats, 3 Polish zlotys (florins).

Description see above.

14. Raymond Lafage (1656–1684), *Joshua Commanding the Sun to Stand Still*, pen, bistre shading, 10 inches, 10 lines x 7 inches, 10 lines. Price: 5 ducats.

The drawing was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of French school as item number 11: *Raymond la Fage. Josué qui arete le Soleil fait a la plume et légerement ombre de bistre. Ce dessin est gravé dans son oeuvre c'est un des meilleurs de ce dessinateur hardi. Il vient de la Collection de Stoche* [...] *– h. 10 p. 10 l. L.7 p. 10 l. Prix 5#*.[129] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It was probably kept in the portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the French school. Portfolio IX. Branch VI of Raymund de la Fache* [!] *17* [pcs].[130] In the catalogue compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was probably in the portfolio containing ten drawings by Lafage and was described as item number 3: *Bataille, id* [à la plume], *en bistre, dessinateur: id* [Raymond Lafage].[131] The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

A drawing depicting this biblical scene by Raymond Lafage and kept in the Albertina may shed light on what the sketch looked like.[132] The

128 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 23.

129 *Catalogue.... Ecole Française*, op. cit., f. 5v.

130 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 9r.

131 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 51r.

132 Inventory no. 15245, http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=[15245]&showtype=record [accessed on 17.01.2019].

copy belonging to Potocki could be a smaller version of that composition, or its initial sketch. It is known that the artist made several different versions.[133] The count mentions an engraving of this recurring composition, from the drawing he bought. The drawing from the Viennese collection was also engraved. The etching of Gérard Audran was published twice: first in Paris by Jan van der Bruggen, then in Amsterdam by Gérard Valck.[134] Perhaps this is the engraving Potocki wrote about in his catalogue: *ce dessin est gravé dans son oeuvre*, probably referring to an album published in Paris with graphic reproductions of the best drawings by Lafage.[135]

15. Laurent de La Hyre (1606–1656), *Throne of Grace (Holy Trinity)*, black crayon, bistre wash , 12 inches, 3 lines x 8 inches, 3 lines. Price: 2 ducats.

The drawing was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of French school as item number 9: *Laurent La Hyre. Le pere Eternelle qui soutient le Corps de Jesus Christ accompagnes de plusieurs anges, ou plus tot la Trinite dessin a la pierre noir, legerement lavé de bistre. Il est cintré par en haut et parait avoir été fait pour un tableau d'Autel. h. 12. p. 3. l. – L. 8p. 3 l. Il vient de la Collection de Stoche. Prix 2 #*.[136] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *"Drawings of the French school. Portfolio IX. Branch III: De la Hyre 4* [pcs]."[137] Importantly, kept in the same place were also four drawings by Le Sueur and one by Sebastien Bourdon. This had consequences, because a few years later, Aleksander Potocki, while compiling the catalogue of drawings, mistakenly attributed the works. As he was not able to describe them properly, he used a group of names "Le Sueur de la

133 Jean Arvengas, *Raymond Lafage: dessinateur*, Paris 1965, p. 36.

134 Printed copies are stored, including at the Musée des Beaux Arts in Orléans, no. inv. 2008.0.1301, http://webmuseo.com/ws/mbao/app/collection/record/969 [accessed on 17.01.2019].

135 *Recueil des meilleurs desseins de Raimond La Fage, gravé par cinq des plus habiles Graveurs et mis en lumière par les soins de Vander-Bruggen*, Paris 1689, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52505191m/f7.item [accessed on 17.01.2019].

136 *Catalogue…. Ecole Française*, op. cit., f. 5v.

137 Ogólny Spis Rysunków…, op. cit., f. 9r.

Hyre," denoting all nine drawings from portfolio IX. In the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840, the sketch of the Holy Trinity was probably in the portfolio *Le Sueur de la Hyre* containing nine drawings, of which probably four were by de La Hyre.[138] Specifying the subject was probably as difficult as specifying the authorship. Most probably, the drawing in question was listed in the portfolio as item number 3: *Sujet de l'ecriture Sainte, crayé noire, en noir, dessinateur: id* [Le Sueur ? de La Hyre?].[139] Unfortunately, the drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

16. Ludovico Leoni (1541–1612), *Portrait of a Woman*, black pencil, heightened with white, 7 inches, 5 lines x 4 inches, 9 lines. Affixed on one board with item number 17. Price, including the following item: 1 ducat, 5 Polish zlotys (florins).

The drawing was auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, it is described as item numbers 335–339: *5 Dergleichen* [portraite] – *Paduanino il Vecchio*.[140] The drawing, along with another drawing by the same artist, was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of Italian school as item numbers 35 and 36: *Paduanino Vecchio. Deux portraits de femmes dessines a la pierre noire et releves d'un peux de blanc, dans le gout de Titien et colées sur la meme feuille. Le premier h. 7 p 5 l – L. 4 p. 9 l. – Le second 6 p. 9 l. de h. sur 4 p. 10 l. de L. Venants de la Collection de Stoche. 1# 5fl.*[141] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketches were affixed together on one board and were probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *"Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio IV. Branch VII: Paduanino 1* [pc]."[142] In the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander

138 Under the annotation to *Le Sueur de la Hyre*, there is also a drawing by Sebastien Bourdon: *Marriage of Rebecca*.

139 *Brulion… Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 49r.

140 *Verzeichniss…*, op. cit. p. 52, see also p. 60 items 831–840.

141 *Catalogue…. Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 3r.

142 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków…*, op. cit., f. 5r.

Potocki, the sketches were probably in the portfolio containing eleven drawings by masters of the Venetian school, and were described as item number 1: *Jeune femme, à la crayé noire, en noir, dessinateur: Paduanino*.[143] Unfortunately, Potocki did not indicate whether these were two drawings affixed on one card. The drawings are not listed in later sources, and their subsequent fate is unknown.

17. Ludovico Leoni (1541–1612), *Portrait of a Woman*, black crayon, heightened with white, 6 inches, 9 lines x 4 inches, 10 lines. Affixed on one board along with item number 16. Price, including the previous item: 1 ducat, 5 Polish zlotys (florins).

Description above.

Ludovico Leoni (1541–1612), see also item 18

18. Ottavio Leoni (1578–1630), *Self Portrait*, black crayon?, 5 inches, 9 lines x 4 inches, 10 lines. Price: 1 ducat.

The drawing was auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, it is described along with other three sketches as items number 331–333: *4 Portraite – Ottavio Leoni*.[144] The sketch purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of Italian school as item number 37: *Ottavio Leoni peintre. C'est son portrait, ce dessin dans le gout des precedens peut etre de Lui ou du Padouan. H. 5 p. 9 l. – L. 4. p. 10 l. Il vient egalement de la Collection de Stoche* 1#.[145] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketches were affixed together on one board and were probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio IV. Branch VII: Paduanino 2* [pcs].[146] In the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketches were probably in the portfolio con-

143 *Brulion… Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 9r.

144 *Verzeichniss…*, op. cit., p. 52, see also p. 60 items 828–831.

145 *Catalogue…. Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 3r.

146 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków…*, op. cit., f. 5r.

taining ten drawings by masters of the Venetian school, and were described along with another drawing as item number 2: *Portraits d'homme et femme, à la craye noire, 2* [pieces] *en noir, dessinateur: Octavio Leoni.*[147] In this case, we are dealing with two drawings affixed to one card, although earlier Potocki does not mention that the Leoni self-portrait was of co-authorship. Considering that he had doubts about the author of the self-portrait, it can be assumed that there was a mistake in the descriptions in this place. Compare item numbers 16–17. The drawing is not recorded in later sources, and its subsequent fate is unknown.

Bernardino Luini (ca. 1480–ca. 1532), see item number 8.

19. Parmigianino (1503–1540), *Visitation*, ink pen, undercoat of bistre, 8 inches, 4 lines x 7 inches, 5 lines. Price: 4 ducats.

The drawing was auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, it is described along with other three sketches as item numbers 17–19: *3 Die Abnehmung vom kreuze etc. – Parmegiano.*[148] The sketch was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of Italian school as item number 11: *Francois Mazzuola dit le Parmesan. La visitation dessine a la plume et legerement releve de Bistre. Composition de plusieurs figures. – 8 p. 4.l. de h. sur 7 p. 5 l. L. de la Collection de Stoche 4#.*[149] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. Sketches were affixed together on one board and were probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio I. Branch III: Parmigianino 10* [pcs].[150] In the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketches were probably in the portfolio containing ten drawings by masters of the Parma school, and were described as item 5: *Visite de la Ste Vierge à Ste Elis-*

147 *Brulion… Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 9r.

148 *Verzeichniss…*, op. cit., p. 47, see also p. 58 items 625–631.

149 *Catalogue…. Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1v.

150 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków…*, op. cit., f. 3.

abeth, countours à la plume, colorié, dessinateur: le Parmesan.[151] The drawing is not recorded in later sources, and its subsequent fate is unknown.

20. Raphael (1483–1520), *Caryatid*, bistre wash, 8 inches, 9 lines x 4 inches, 10 lines. Price: 4 ducats.

It is difficult to say whether this drawing could have been auctioned in Berlin in 1783, along with part of the von Stosch collection, because descriptions of the Raphael works are too enigmatic in the Berlin catalogue.[152] The sketch was bought by Potocki in Leipzig around 1796 and described in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school under item number 3: *Raphael d'Urbino. – Une femme au pied vue par le dos soutenant une corniche en guise de Cariatide. Dessin lavé en bistre, venant de la Collection du Baron de Stoche. 8 p. 9 l. de h. sur 4 p. 10. l. de large. Acheté à Leipzig. Prix 4#.*[153] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketches were affixed together on one board and were probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio VII. Branch I: Rafael 13* [pcs].[154] In the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketches were probably in the portfolio containing eight drawings by Raphael, and were described as item number 1: *Cariatide, Contours à la plume, en bistre, dessinateur: Raphael d'Urbino.*[155] The drawing is not recorded in later sources, and its subsequent fate is unknown.

21. Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), *Portrait of Francesco I de' Medici*, black pencil, ink or charcoal, 12 inches, 6 lines x 8 inches, 2 lines. Price: 9 ducats

Potocki bought the sketch around 1796, and it is described in the catalogue of drawings of Flemish, Dutch and German schools as item

151 *Brulion… Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 13r.

152 *Verzeichniss…*, op. cit., compare items 139, 592–594, 879–882.

153 *Catalogue…. Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1r.

154 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków…*, op. cit., p. 6.

155 *Brulion… Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 13r.

number 10 (giving a wrong name to the portrayed prince): *Pierre Paule Rubens. Portrait de Ferdinand II* [sic] *Grand Duc de Florence Pere de Marie de Medicis. La meme que ce grand peintre a peint a la Gallerie du Luxembourg et qui est grave par Edelinck. Ce dessin fait sur papier huile au craion noir et relevé dans quelque endroits d'encre ou de noir de fumée est de la plus grande force, il passait dans la Collection du Baron de Stoche pour etre du Titien, mais il est impossible de s'y meprendre.* [Illegible word] *il se peut que Rubens l'ait fait d'apres un tableau ou un dessin de ce maitre don't le nom se voit ecrit en bas. H. 12 p. 6 l. – L. 8 p. 2 l. Prix 8#.*[156] The count's mistake as to the portrayed person is surprising as he had in his library a copy of the album *La Gallerie du Palais du Luxembourg peinte par Rubens*, from which he probably took information about the Edelinck's engraving.[157] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketches were affixed together on one board and were probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Flemish school. Portfolio X. Branch I: Rubens 12* [pcs].[158] Unfortunately, in the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, there is no description of this drawing; moreover, in the portfolio of drawings entitled: "P. P. Rubens," the count mentions thirteen drawings by Anton van Dyck [sic].[159] The drawing is not recorded in later sources, and its subsequent fate is unknown.

The original canvas by Rubens, currently stored in the Louvre, and the reproduction of the Edelinck's engraving published in the aforementioned Nattier's album can give an idea of what the composition looked like.[160] Perhaps the drawing belonging to Potocki was a sketch for this well-known portrait.

156 *Catalogue…. Ecoles Flamande, Holendoise et Allemande,* op. cit., f. 7r.

157 Jean Baptiste Nattier, Jean-Marc Nattier, *La Gallerie du Palais du Luxembourg peinte par Rubens*, Paris 1710. ZZI BN nr inw. A.132, https://polona.pl/item/la-gallerie-du-palais-du-luxemborg-peinte-par-rubens,ODUyMDA0/4/#info:metadata [accessed on 17.01.2019].

158 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków…,* op. cit., p. 10.

159 *Brulion… Spis Oryginalny,* op. cit, f. 48.

160 Département des Peintures INV. 1790, http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=25708&langue=fr [accessed on 17.01.2019].

22. Ventura Salimbeni (1568–after 1613), after Annibale Carracci, *Christ of Caprarola*, pen, 4 inches, 9 lines x 6 inches, 1 line. Price: 1 ducat, 9 Polish zlotys (florins).

The drawing was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of the French school as item number 18: *Ventura Sallimbeni. Le Christ de Caprarole peint par Annibale Carrache dans le chateau de Caprarole executé a la plume par Salimbeni. Ce tableau a été plusieurs fois gravé entre autres par le fameux Vorsterman – 6 p. 1 l. de L. sur 4 p. 9. l. de H. Ce dessin vient de la Collection de Stoche.1# 9fl.*[161] It should be noted here that Potocki was wrong when he wrote that Vorsterman made an engraving from this piece. The only drawing by Annibale Carracci that Vorsterman later engraved was *Christ in the Olive Garden*.[162] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketches were affixed together on one board and were probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio II. Branch XI: Solimbeni 2* [pcs].[163] Unfortunately, in the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, there is no description of the Salimbeni analogical drawing. It is worth noting, however, that in the portfolio containing fifteen drawings by Annibale Carracci, Aleksander Potocki gave a description referring to the famous pietà *Descente de la Croix, à la plume, en bistre, dessinateur: id* [Annibale Caracci] and to the reproduction of its engraving, *La gravure du même Dessin, au burin, graveur: Nico Van Aelst, 1597.*[164] The engraving published by Nicolaus van Aelst is de facto the sixth state of Carracci's etching *Christ from Caprarola* from 1595.[165] This is probably what was depicted in the drawing described as *Descente de la Croix*. Potocki in his *Catalogue des dessins*... does not mention any other drawing, except for

161 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 2r.

162 Henri Simon Hymans, *Lucas Vorsterman: catalogue raisonné de son oeuvre, précédé d'une notice sur la vie et les ouvrages du maître*, Bruxelles 1896, https://archive.org/details/lucasvorstermanc00hyma [accessed on 17.01.2019].

163 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., p. 4.

164 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit, f. 22r.

165 Compare the copy from the British Museum collection, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1466289&partId=1&searchText=carracci%2C+magdalene&page=1[accessed on 17.01.2019].

the Salimbeni sketch, which depicts *Christ from Caprarola*. It is possible, then, that the drawing acquired by Potocki as the work of Ventura Salimbeni, depicting the Pietà di Caprarola, was incorporated by Aleksander Potocki into the portfolio containing works considered to be original drawings by Annibale Carracci. It is hard to know if it was an original sketch from which an engraving was made, or rather a drawing made from Carracci's engraving. After 1840, the work is not listed in archival sources, and its subsequent fate is unknown.

23. Francesco Salviati (1510–1563), *The Blind Carrying the Lame*, bistre wash, 12 inches, 3 lines x almost 7 inches. Price: 1 ducat, 9 Polish zlotys (florins).

The drawing was auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, it is described along with the drawing by Santi di Tito as item numbers 20–23: *4 Studien von Salviati*.[166] The sketch was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and is described in the catalogue of drawings of Italian school as item number 9 : *François Rossi dit Cechin Salviati – Un avengle qui porte un boiteux, lavé en bistre. – 12 p. 3 l. de h. sur a peu pres 7. p. de L. Il vient de la Collection de Stoche. Prix 1#. 9fl*[167] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketch was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio II. Branch V: Salviati 2* [pcs].[168] Unfortunately, the drawing is not recorded in later sources, and Aleksander Potocki does not mention it among four drawings he owned by the same artist.[169] Its subsequent fate is unknown.

24. Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530), *Madonna and Saints*, sanguine, 11 inches, 7 lines x 10 inches, 1 line. Price: 6 ducats.

The drawing was probably auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with a part of

166 *Verzeichniss…*, op. cit., p. 47, see also the items 6–9, 201–203.

167 *Catalogue…. Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1v.

168 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków…*, op. cit., p. 3.

169 *Brulion… Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit. f. 14.

the von Stosch collection and described in the auction catalogue along with a drawing by Santi di Tito under item numbers 72–73: *2 geistliche Geschichten nach And. Del Sarto und Santi di Tito*.[170] The sketch was bought by Potocki around 1796 and is described in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school under item number 4: *André Vanucchi dit del Sarto – Dessin a la Sanguine, Ou l'on voit plusieurs Saints aux pieds de la Vierge assise dans une niche. Il parait que c'est une de ses compositions de tableau d'autel enfanté par les reves de quelque moine ou de quelque religieuse, ou bien dans l'idée d'y rassambler les patrons du lieu pour le quel ce tableau a été executé – 11p 7 l. de h. – 10 p.1 l. de L. Il vient de la Collection de Stoche et a été achete a Leipzig. Prix 6#*.[171] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketch was probably kept in the portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio II. Branch II: Andrea del Sarto 7* [pcs].[172] Unfortunately, the drawing is not recorded in later sources, and it is not mentioned by Aleksander Potocki among his own four drawings by this artist.[173] The subsequent fate of the work is unknown.

It is also difficult to know how this drawing depicting a group of saints at the feet of Mary was similar to two known paintings by Sarto, kept in the Pallatina Gallery in Florence: *Assunta Passerini* and *Assunta Panciatichi*.

25. Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530), *Visitation*, black pencil, 10.5 inches x 11 inches. Price: 6 ducats.

The drawing was probably auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, it is described along with the drawing by Santi di Tito as item numbers 72–73: *2 geistliche Geschichten nach And. Del Sarto und Santi di Tito*.[174] Potocki bought it in Leipzig before 1800 and described it in the catalogue

170 *Verzeichniss…*, op. cit., p. 49, compare also the items 10–11, 15, 724–725.

171 *Catalogue…. Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1r.

172 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków…*, op. cit., p. 3.

173 *Brulion… Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit.

174 *Verzeichniss…*, op. cit., p. 49, compare also the items 10–11, 15, 724–725.

of drawings of the Italian school under item number 5: *Autre Dessin achevé du meme maitre* [Andrea del Sarto] *a la pierre noire, representant la visitation. Il a été gravé, et parait avoir été execute a fresque ou a l'huile par le maitre. – 10 p et ½ de h. 11 p. de L. Il vient aussi de la Collection de Stoche et a été achete a Leipzig – prix 6#.*[175] The sketch was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio II. Branch II: Andrea del Sarto 7* [pcs].[176] In the catalogue compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was probably in the portfolio containing drawings of various masters of the Florentine school and described as item 7: *Sujèt Sacré, id* [black crayon], *en noir, dessinateur: id* [Andrea del Sarto].[177] Unfortunately, the drawing is not recorded in later archival sources. The subsequent fate of the work is unknown.

26. Titian (ca. 1488–1576), *Portrait of Philip II, King of Spain*, black pencil, heightened with white, 14 inches x 8 inches, 3 lines. Price: 1 ducat, 9 Polish zlotys (florins).

The drawing was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school as item number 18: *Portrait en pied de Philippe II Roi d'Espagne. C'est un Dessin a la pierre noir relevé de blanc, de tableau qui le Titien a peint en grand d'après Nature. Il passait pour etre de la Main du Maitre dans la Collection de Stoche – 14 p. de h: sur 8 p. et 3 l. de L: prix... 1# 9fl.*[178] After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketch was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio IV. Branch I:* Titian *7* [pcs].[179] The drawing is not recorded in later sources, it is difficult to identify it with one of the ten drawings by Titian described by Aleksander Potocki in his manuscript (though

175 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1r.
176 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., p. 3.
177 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 17r.
178 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1v.
179 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., p. 4.

the three sketches were portraits).[180] Its subsequent fate is unknown.

It is known that Titian painted Philip II twice. The first time was during a meeting in Milan in late 1548 and early 1549, and then a year later in Augsburg. The first work depicts Prince Philip, in a rich caftan lined with ermine, while the other shows him in armor. Both canvases then had many replicas made for the needs of relatives and heads of other noble houses. Both paintings can be now admired in the Museo del Prado.[181] Perhaps, therefore, the drawing purchased by Potocki was a sketch for one of those two portraits.

Titian (ca. 1488–1576), see also item 21.

translated by Alicja Rosé

SUMMARY

The article discusses the unknown provenance of old-masters drawings from the collection of count Stanisław Kostka Potocki. The latest archival research carried out at the Department of Iconography, National Library of Poland, followed by work on the catalogue of the graphic-art collection of the Wilanów Library, have shown that valuable drawings, originally belonging to Philipp von Stosch's collection, were purchased by Potocki. Baron von Stosch is among the great European personalities of the first half of the 18th century, and deserves special attention, all the more that he remains almost completely unknown in Poland. The author presents the biography of Philipp von Stosch and the history of his collection. The small part of the baron's collection is to be found also in Poland, thanks to Stanisław Kostka Potocki and his passion for collecting art. The author attempts at describing the history of acquisitions made by the

180 Aleksander Potocki mentions three portraits by Titian: *Portrait d'un Doge Venitien Costume du 15 Siecle*, in black crayon ; *Esquise de Portrait*, in red and black crayon; *Portrait costume du 15 Siecle*, in black crayon. *Brulion… Spis Oryginalny,* op. cit, f. 11-12.

181 See information available on the Prado website: https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/philip-ii/7249afc2-e80c-4e47-8dba-0dda1758a9aa and https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/philip-ii/d12e683b-7a51-41db-b7a8-725244206e21 [accessed on 17.01.2019]..

count and determines which way the drawings got into his hands. The most important part of the article is the catalogue of 26 drawings, including works by Raphael, Michelangelo, Correggio, Parmigianino, Annibale and Lodovico Carracci, Titian, Rubens and others. On the basis of archival sources the catalogue describes these resources for the first time and as precisely as possible. Just one of those drawings has barely survived, perhaps as irrefutable proof that the others also did exist although they have been lost for almost two centuries. Even taking into account some doubts as to the attribution of the works, their descriptions can be an important source of information about the aspirations of the count as a collector, as well as about the original shape of his collections.

KEYWORDS: Stanisław Kostka Potocki, Philipp von Stosch, old-masters' drawings, provenance, Raphael, Michelangelo, Correggio, Parmigianino, Annibale Carracci, Lodovico Carracci, Titian, Rubens, catalogue

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