# Articles

ARTICLES

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# THE GÓRSKI ARCHIVE (*TEKI GÓRSKIEGO*) AT THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF POLAND: A COLLECTION OF LETTERS AND OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE REIGN OF KING SIGISMUND I JAGIELLON

This article was written as part of the work on a detailed catalogue of the archive of Canon Stanisław Górski, traditionally referred to in Polish academic discourse as *Teki Górskiego* (hereafter TG) – literally, "Górski's files" or "Górski's folders". The term *teki* (plural of *teka*) in Polish almost exclusively refers to working materials, selected and structured by an individual for a specific reason and associated with a clearly defined purpose. Most often it is applied to a collection of primary source documentation relating to problems of particular interest to the collector, put together for the purpose of research or publication. The manuscripts presented in this article match this definition precisely, as will be seen from the following discussion.

The TG form part of the manuscript collection of the National Library of Poland, but in fact they constitute a separate archive, with its own rationale and complex structure, which merit detailed research. They are assigned the call number BOZ 2053/I–XXIX, meaning that they are part of the large collection of the former *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej* or Zamoys-

ki Family Library (hereafter BOZ). They comprise a collection of letters and documents which in many respects are unique among all Polish manuscripts surviving from the Jagiellonian Era. Indeed, they represent one of the richest primary sources relating to the reign of Sigismund I (1507–1548), which, together with the reign of his only son Sigismund Augustus (1548–1572), Polish historians regard as the "Golden Age" of Poland.

During this period, the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, joined together by a personal union, covered an area stretching almost to the Oder in the west, the Baltic Sea in the north, beyond the Dnieper in the east, and to the Carpathians and the Ukrainian steppe in the south – making it, at the time, one of the largest political entities in Europe. The reign of Sigismund I was marked by dynamic progress in state and society, notably the strengthening of the country's position in international politics, a long period of peace (the only wars that took place were in borderlands), the shaping of a constitution which guaranteed the nobility significant personal and political rights, an increase in the population's wealth thanks to favourable economic conditions, and a cultural revolution closely linked to Renaissance humanism and the Reformation. Many of these developments are reflected in the manuscripts of the TG.

Besides materials relating to the internal politics of Poland and relations with its neighbours, the TG contain numerous original letters from leading figures of the day, such as the Popes Leo X and Adrian VI, the Western European monarchs Francis I of France and Henry VIII of England, and the "Prince of the Humanists", Erasmus of Rotterdam. Their important role in historical research is not limited to Poland, as evidenced by the various editions published in other European countries, especially in Central Europe, based on the manuscripts. The TG have provided textual evidence in a vast number of scholarly editions, either directly[1] or through copies held elsewhere[2], and are widely cited both within Poland and abroad.

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1  E.g. *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami*, eds. P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen, vols. 7–8, Oxonii 1928–1934; vols. 9–11, eds. P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen, H.W. Garrod, Oxonii 1938–1947; S. Brodaricus, *Epistulae*, ed. P. Kasza, Budapest 2012.

2  E.g. *Documente privitóre la istoria Românilor*, vol. 2, part 1, culese de E. Hurmuzaki, Bucuresci 1891; vol. 2, parts 3–4, culese, adnotate şi publicate de N. Densuşianu,

Historians naturally view the TG as a repository of single texts giving insights into public life and explaining certain problems relating to political, and to a lesser extent cultural, history. However, they pay less attention to the archive itself as a composite whole. We would argue that the materials gathered by Górski are of fundamental importance for understanding how the Royal Chancellery, the central government institution of the time, was organised and functioned[3]. The draft documents he acquired had been written by secretaries and subsequently edited by the then supervisor of the Chancellery – either the Chancellor or the Vice-Chancellor, who had equal power and responsibilities. In this way they reflect the multi-stage production of official documents, in particular letters. The TG also contain originals of correspondence that was received. All of these materials were needed only temporarily by the Chancellery and were not as a rule officially archived. As a result, apart from the TG, virtually no such manuscripts survive from the reign of the Jagiellons.

The TG are also important for another reason. Without them it would be difficult to imagine any serious research taking place into the wide-ranging activities of Górski himself, who was the only private person among his contemporaries in Poland to make political documents available on such a large scale.

Canon Stanisław Górski (1497–1572) is a unique figure in Polish history. His unprecedented activity in collecting, arranging, adapting and disseminating documents relating to public life is described in the classic monograph by Ryszard Marciniak[4]. Marciniak proves convinc-

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Bucuresci 1892–1894; vol. 11, adunate, adnotate și publicate de N. Iorga, Bucuresci 1900; supl. 2, vol. 1, coordonate, adnotate și publicate de I. Bogdan, Bucuresti 1893; E. Joachim, *Die Politik des letzten Hochmeisters in Preussen Albrecht von Brandenburg*, Th. 3: *1521–1525*, Leipzig 1895; *Documente privatoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești*, vol. 1: *Acte și scrisori (1527–1572)*, publ. A. Veress, București 1929; I. Corfus, *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolul al XVI-lea*, București 1979.

3   See in particular: A. Wyczański, "O potrzebie badań nad kancelarią Zygmunta Starego (1506–1548)", in: *Historia i archiwistyka. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Profesora Andrzeja Tomczaka*, Toruń–Warszawa 1992, pp. 148–150.

4   R. Marciniak, *Acta Tomiciana w kulturze politycznej Polski okresu odrodzenia*, Warszawa–Poznań 1983 (*Prace Komisji Historycznej PTPN*, vol. 37).

ingly that, contrary to earlier research, Górski should not be viewed as a historian but rather as a person trying to shape the political reality of his times by the means available to him. Marciniak argues that Górski influenced public life by putting together a suitably edited dossier for the major political actors in the Kingdom, namely the King and the royal council, which at that time came to be known as the Senate. In this way he propagated his own vision of the political system, relations between the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the laity, and the division of duties between the monarch, the magnates in the Senate, and the gentry, which was emancipating itself politically at the time. He also used the TG to present his view of the major problems of the age, such as the middle nobility's struggle for the enforcement of the law (the programme for abolishing malpractices of public institutions) and the Reformation (which he saw more as a disruption to traditional authority than a religious renewal). His interpretation of facts was conservative, Catholic, and orientated towards the magnates of the time. It was also shaped by his original intention to propagate a positive image of his own favourite patron, Vice-Chancellor Piotr Tomicki (1464–1535, Bishop of Przemyśl, Poznań and then Cracow), as well as the latter's own kinsmen, friends and associates.

Marciniak changed the way we see Górski's role, and his perspective remains valid to this day. However, he does not explain – or in many cases even attempt to explain – all the problems associated with Górski's activity. Many of his findings, both specific and general, can be challenged today, particularly thanks to our improved identification of archival and library collections and better access to them, especially in digital form. Indeed, in the work on the TG carried out over several years by the present author, digital resources were essential. We plan to publish the results of that work successively. In this paper we briefly present the basic facts about the creation of the TG, their later custodial history, rearrangements, partial descriptions of them by keepers and users, and the accessibility to the public of the collection now kept in the National Library of Poland. We intentionally choose not to list all primary and secondary sources, nor to delve too deeply into questions on which our position differs considerably from that of Marciniak.

It seems fitting to begin with those elements of Górski's biography[5] that are directly connected with the resources shown in the catalogue of the TG written by the present author. Although Górski spent many years serving in the Royal Chancellery under Tomicki, his position there was by no means crucial. He was probably mainly responsible for creating fair copies of texts before they were sent or issued. As a scribe (*notarius*), he did not play a significant part in the composition of the letters and documents written on behalf of the Vice-Chancellor or the King[6]. Importantly, he never held the office of Royal Secretary[7]. As Canon, he obtained his first benefices during Tomicki's lifetime, the Płock Canonry (1534) being the most important of these. After Tomicki's death in 1535 he was offered more rewards. He was then already in the chancellery service of Queen Bona, and he certainly remained one of her secretaries until the beginning of the reign of Sigismund Augustus[8]. The most prestigious office he held, one endowed with substantial capital assets, was the Cracow Canonry, where he was installed in 1539.

It was during the reign of the last Jagiellon monarch that Górski completed his work putting together his multi-volume collections of political materials. The volumes contain documents neatly written in humanistic script by professional scribes, with some texts written

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5   Cf. W. Urban, "Stanisław Górski", in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [hereafter PSB], vol. 8, ed. K. Lepszy, Wrocław 1959/1960, pp. 452-454; W. Pociecha, "W sprawie wydawnictwa Aktów Tomicjanów", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 3, 1939-1946, pp. 15-23, where references are made to the earlier research on Górski's life.

6   Marciniak was of a different opinion, op. cit., pp. 26-27, suggesting that from 1531 onwards Górski more and more frequently created drafts of the official correspondence.

7   During the reign of King Sigismund I, Royal Secretaries were a relatively narrow group of senior clerks, responsible mainly for drawing up official documents and letters, and often serving in diplomatic missions. Through their service in Chancellery they usually progressed to the most prestigious offices in the public and ecclesiastical administration. For more information about the Polish Chancellery, see: W. Chorążyczewski, "The Crown chancery between 14th and 18th century", in: *Metryka Koronna – Pamięć państwa / The Polish and Lithuanian Metrica – Memory of the State*, ed. S. Górzyński, Warszawa 2017, pp. 20-44.

8   The Queen's last letter in his handwriting that we are aware of was written in Warsaw and is dated September 4, 1548. See: Biblioteka Czartoryskich [the Czartoryski Library, hereafter B. Czart.], мs 3465, p. 357. According to Marciniak, op. cit., p. 30, Górski left the court for good towards the end of May 1547.

in Górski's own hand. A review of the contents of these elegant collections, which relate almost exclusively to the reign of Sigismund I, reveals a number of different types of texts. The largest category is that of official and sometimes private correspondence from the leading actors on the political scene: the King, Tomicki and his predecessors and successors as keepers of the seal[9], and, more rarely, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki (1466–1532), who held the post of Vice-Chancellor (1511–1515) and later Chancellor (1515–1535).

Górski also scrupulously included documents of foreign and Polish legations, including letters of credence and plenipotentiary powers, safe conducts, instructions, orations and replies to them, and reports from envoys. Worthy of special attention among them are the copious materials relating to the long missions carried out by the humanist and Royal Secretary Jan Dantyszek (Ioannes Dantiscus, 1485–1548), mainly to the itinerant court of Charles V. There are also copies of treaties concluded by the King of Poland, of great interest with regards to the diplomatic relations of the time.

The TG also include many official materials relating to parliamentary sessions in the broadest sense, including meetings of local assemblies or *sejmiki* which took place prior to the general assembly or *Sejm Walny*. This category of texts is represented by *deliberatoria* (letters from the King to the most prominent members of the Senate asking when and where parliamentary sessions should be established), official summons to attend *sejmiki* and *Sejm* (addressed separately to all members of the upper chamber and the leaders of the landed gentry), documentation relating to local assemblies (credentials, mandates and legations or instructions for royal legates, instructions for elected representatives of the nobility, and complaints and petitions from local communities). There are also letters for royal envoys to the *Sejm* (credentials, mandates and legations or instructions) for when the monarch was absent from the general assembly, and copies of the proceedings of the general assembly (petitions to the King submitted

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9   Jan Łaski (1456–1531), Chancellor 1503–1510; Maciej Drzewicki (1467–1535), Vice-Chancellor 1501–1511, Chancellor 1511–1515; Jan Chojeński (1486–1538), Chancellor 1537–1538; Samuel Maciejowski (1499–1550), Vice-Chancellor 1539–1547, Chancellor 1547–1550.

by the chamber of envoys, the royal responses to them, and the texts of laws that were enacted). Also included are royal acts not directly associated with the general assembly, such as summons to arms (*wici*) for a *levée en masse* of the nobility (*pospolite ruszenie*) and documents on matters left to the King's discretion, such as anti-Lutheran edicts.

"Literary" texts in the traditional sense are poorly represented. Where they do appear, they are mainly connected to politics, for example poems written for court celebrations or sarcastic comments about specific events or people. Prominent examples of such poems are by Jan Dantyszek and Andrzej Krzycki (Andreas Cricius, 1482–1537), both of whom were involved and higly qualified in politics and court life.

It is also worth mentioning that Górski made his own literary contribution to the collections. He wrote a large number of short notes on what he considered to be key events, ordered chronologically and supplied with their exact dates – dates that would otherwise be unknown. These notes take the form of lists or concise narrative texts linking the different documents. Górski also wrote longer commentaries, partly based on his own experiences and partly based on contemporary chronicles, such as those of Jost Ludwik Decjusz (Iodocus Ludovicus Decius, around 1485 to 1545) and Bernard Wapowski (Bernardus Vapovius, 1450–1535)[10]. He also wrote letters addressed to various people in which both the sender's and addressee's identity were protected, being replaced by the words "amicus amico". Given the surprising directness with which he writes about sensitive issues relating to the royal court and political elite, it is sometimes doubted whether these letters were actually sent or not. Marcianiak argues that at least some passages were interpolated by Górski into the letters at a later stage and are hence are not completely "authentic"[11].

Customarily all the aforementioned materials, which were bound into volumes, are known as *Acta Tomiciana* or just *Tomiciana*. Górski himself does not use this appellation: in providing titles for individual vol-

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10  Earlier findings on the subject of Górski's historical commentaries' dependence on contemporary historiography are listed and discussed by R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 15–16.

11  Cf. ibidem, p. 85–86.

umes, he restricted himself to listing the types of documents included in each of them, for example "tomus [— —] legationum, responsionum, litterarum" or "tomus [— —] epistolarum, legationum, responsionum, actionum et rerum gestarum". The bibliographer and supervisor of the Załuski Library Jan Daniel Janocki (1720-1786) already mentions that the name *Tomiciana* was used as the customary appellation, writing as follows: "collectio haec *Tomiciana* a plerisque consuevit nuncupari"[12]. These tomes were sometimes referred to as *Acta Tomicii* when they were used for copying texts for the monumental collection assembled by the court historian Adam Naruszewicz (1733-1796) known as *Teki Naruszewicza*[13] or the "Naruszewicz Files", which were intended to serve as source material for complete official history of Poland.

The name *Acta Tomiciana* finally caught on when it was used by the publication series in which edited copies of Górski's collections appeared from 1852 onwards[14]. This series changed editors several times, along with its general concept and manuscript basis. For example, it includes several texts not in Górski's original collections[15]. As a result, the name *Acta Tomiciana*, inaccurate from the outset, becomes even more ambiguous: Górski's collections contain a much broader

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12    J.D. Janocki, *Janociana sive clarorum atque illustrium Poloniae auctorum maecenatumque memoriae miscellae*, vol. 3, ed. S.T. Linde, Varsoviae 1819, p. 142. Janocki is recognised, albeit with some hesitation, as the first person using the name "Tomiciana" by: W. Pociecha, "W sprawie...", p. 9.

13    S. Grzybowski, *Teki Naruszewicza. "Acta regum et populi Poloni"*, Wrocław 1960, p. 27.

14    *Acta Tomiciana. Epistolae, legationes, responsa, actiones, res gestae serenissimi principis Sigismundi, eius nominis primi, regis Poloniae, magni ducis Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Masoviae domini*, vols. 1-8, ed. T. Działyński, L. Koenigk, Posnaniae 1852-1860; vol. 9, editio prima, ed. L. Koenigk, Posnaniae s.d.; vols. 9-13, ed. Z. Celichowski, Posnaniae 1876-1915; vols. 14-16, ed. W. Pociecha, Wratislaviae-Cracoviae-Posnaniae 1952-1960; vol. 17, coll. W. Pociecha, ed. W. Urban, A. Wyczański, Wratislaviae-Cracoviae-Posnaniae 1966; vol. 18, coll. W. Urban, A. Wyczański, ed. R. Marciniak, Kórnik 1999 [hereafter AT].

15    The fullest information about the history of the edition up to the middle of the 20th century was gathered by Pociecha, before he assumed the position of editor: W. Pociecha, "Przedmowa", in: AT 14, pp. VI-XX. Vol. 18, the last volume published to date, has had a mixed reception among academics. See in particular: A. Skolimowska, "Wydawnictwo Acta Tomiciana na kolejnym rozdrożu? Z dylematów współczesnego edytorstwa historycznego", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 108, 2001, no. 4, pp. 111-127. Cf. reviews by: K. Baczkowski (*Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 44, 2000, pp. 191-194); H. Olszewski (*Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 52, 2000, no. 1/2, pp. 380-381); T. Ossosiński (*Studia Źródłoznawcze* 38, 2000, pp. 146-148).

scope of material in terms of subject matter and chronology than the documentation pertaining to the activity of Piotr Tomicki; and the contents of the edited version published under the same title as the manuscripts in question do not cover the same scope of materials as Górski's manuscripts. For clarity's sake, in this article we therefore always indicate whether at any given point we are referring to the handwritten volumes or the publication series.

Today we know of four original, partly preserved handwritten collections of *Tomiciana*, earlier often inaccurately called "digests", by analogy with "law digests". Marciniak divides these collections into three different versions[16]. We consider Marciniak's divisions, dating and supposed purpose of each version to be unconvincing. However, this goes beyond the scope of this article and we therefore restrict ourselves here to a general presentation of Marciniak's findings, while stressing that some of those findings at least will need to be revised.

The oldest collection, called the *Jagiellon Collection* (19 volumes), represents the first version of the work according to Marciniak. It was inscribed and presented by Górski to King Sigismund Augustus in 1558. Its chronology spans the reigns of John I Albert (1492–1501), Alexander (1501–1506) and Sigismund I (1507–1548). The second collection, known after the names of its later owners as the *Sapieha* or *Sapieha-Radziwiłł Collection* (17 volumes), is regarded as a gift for the Lithuanian Ducal Council in the 1560s. It has the same chronological scope as the Jagiellon Collection but is considered by Marciniak to be a different, second version of *Tomiciana*. The third version is made up of two collections. The first of these, known as the *Andrzej Opaliński Collection* (27 volumes), is identified by Marciniak as the collection dedicated in 1567 to the Polish Senate, and contains documents from the years 1506–1548. The second, known as the *Stanisław Karnkowski Collection* (27 volumes), is a copy of the same version, considered by Marciniak to have been prepared by Górski for his own use and kept by him until his death.

Górski enriched the individual collections with thematic supplements, often not included in the sequential numbering of the vol-

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16    R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 53–80 and table after p. 180.

umes. These supplements include, for example, *Criciana* (poems and letters written by Andrzej Krzycki), *Callimachiana* (works and letters written by Filippo Buonaccorsi, called Kallimach, Lat. Philippus Callimachus Experiens, 1437–1496) and *Orichoviana* (works and letters written by Stanisław Orzechowski, Lat. Stanislaus Orichovius Ruthenus, 1513–1566). The products of Górski's scriptorium also include several volumes of what are known as *PreTomiciana*, which have a chronological and thematic scope narrower than the *Tomiciana* proper. The *PreTomiciana* were presented in the mid-1540s to the powerful Lithuanian magnate Mikołaj Radziwiłł Czarny ("the Black", 1515–1565). In addition there are some transcriptions evidently made at Górski's request, with annotations made in his own hand. These texts are imperfect and presumably form parts of larger items that have not survived; they await further study and detailed description[17].

The originals for the copies that appear in all versions of Górski's *magnum opus*, as well as in other, separate volumes, were first and foremost papers from the Royal Chancellery under Tomicki, initially in his capacity as Grand Secretary and later as Vice-Chancellor. These originals included rough drafts of outgoing correspondence and documents, original letters addressed to the "keeper of the seal" and the King, and "office copies" of incoming and outgoing papers. Górski also kept for himself some original letters addressed to the Queen from his period as secretary to Queen Bona.

Górski completed the collection with copies of materials from various other sources. He based some of the copies on materials which have survived to this day, such as the record books containing official copies of outgoing Chancellery documentation (Pol. *Metryka Koronna*, Lat. *Metrica Regni Poloniae*), namely the main series of the *Books of Inscriptions* (Pol. *Księgi wpisów*, Lat. *Libri inscriptionum*) and the separate series of *Legation Books* (Pol. *Księgi poselstw*, Lat. *Libri legationum*). Other

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17  E.g. Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, hereafter AGAD], *Libri legationum* 22; ibidem, the collection of the Branickis of Sucha 22/32; Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України ім. Василя Стефаника [Vasyl Stefanyk National Science Library, hereafter Stefanyk Library], Department of Manuscripts, fond. 5, 168 = formerly Biblioteka Ossolińskich [the Library of the Ossoliński Institute, hereafter B. Oss.], мs 168.

copies were based on materials which have not survived, such as the letters of cardinal Frederick Jagiellon (1468–1503), correspondence received by the Cracow Bishop Jan Konarski (1447–1525), materials from the Royal Chancellery under Jan Chojeński[18] and collections of poetry by Andrzej Krzycki. Górski also collected original printed texts, or asked for copies of them. Copies of materials from the period before and after Tomicki's supervision of the Royal Chancellery are preserved mostly in groups of folded sheets noted and ordered chronologically by Górski in a neater hand and with less editorial interference on his part.

Before texts on loose sheets or gatherings were copied into the volumes, Górski provided them with his own annotations and often added to, corrected, shortened or rewrote them. These interferences in the text had various reasons. Often it was merely a matter of making the writing more legible, in order to make his scribes' work easier, or of correcting the style. However, equally frequently there were factual changes. Some of these can be explained by Górski's desire to get rid of parts of texts which contained information about everyday life which he considered irrelevant, such as references to people's health or gifts which had been sent, or parts of texts which referred to people who would not be widely known, such as Tomicki's servants. Some, however, bear all the marks of deliberate changes made by Górski's in accordance with his own views, for example, where he deleted fragments which might give a bad impression of the clergy or his master, or which he believed to be false[19].

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18　Yet, R. Marciniak, op. cit., p. 47, states that Górski acquired some of the original Chancellery papers of J. Chojeński. It is not clear, whether Górski copied texts from the letterbook containing rough drafts of official outgoing correspondence by M. Drzewicki, which Marciniak fails to document sufficiently thoroughly (ibidem, p. 57).

19　For instance, Górski crossed out a few sentences in Krzycki's letter dating from the time of the war between Poland and the Teutonic Order (1519–1521) containing news about the Duchy of Mazovia and Grand Master Albrecht von Hohenzollern (1490–1568) which he believed was false, describing it in a side note as "falsissimum segmentum". See Biblioteka Narodowa [the National Library of Poland, hereafter BN], MS BOZ 2053, TG IV, no. 302, f. 1. For detailed examples of different types of modifications by Górski, described by Marciniak as "licentia politica", see R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 84–89.

Górski arranged the revised manuscripts partly in chronological order and partly according to their subject matter. He then arranged them into larger groups of papers, marked to indicate their sequence usually by means of numbers or in some cases by numbers combined with letters. Fairly frequently several numbers appear on the same page, some of them crossed out, which would appear to indicate that these texts were copied more than once into the various versions of the *Tomiciana*. To help organise the work of the copyists, the sets of materials were additionally provided with covers of blank bifolia or re-used waste paper containing general descriptions of the contents of the sets, the names of the scribes responsible for creating fair copies of them, and information on the progress of their work[20].

Marciniak is wrong, we believe, where he claims that Górski organised the documents while still working in Tomicki's Chancellery. Marciniak claims that the arrangement according to subject matter (Prussia, Hungary, Gdańsk, Mazovia, Bari, Moldavia and so on) is the same as that used in the Vice-Chancellor's office, and he regards the scribes hired by Górski as subordinates of the "keeper of the seal"[21]. Górski refers to his working materials as *minutae*, irrespective of whether they were drafts from the Chancellery, fair copies, office copies or private copies. Examples of the word *minutae* being used in this sense can be found on the covers of the bundles[22]. Where necessary, Górski gives additional instructions, such as the order to omit a certain text or part

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20  Only a few such jackets have been preserved, not all of them complete: BN, ᴍs BOZ 2053, TG XII, f. 1; TG XX, ff. 1–2; TG XXII, f. 1 (apart from this a whole fascicle has been preserved, which was sewn together); TG XXIX, ff. 282–281 [!]; Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN [the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, hereafter B. Kórn.], ᴍs 221, pp. 3–4 (in addition, probably a whole fascicle has been preserved).

21  Tomicki's scribes are assumed to be Jakub, Olszyński and Żydowski: R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 43–44. For the correct identification of Olszyński, see: W. Pociecha, "W sprawie...", pp. 25–26.

22  BN, ᴍs BOZ 2053, TG XX, f. 1: "minutae anni 1541"; TG XXII, f. 1: "minutae 1540"; TG XXIX, f. 282: "minutae et negotia Bariensia in Italia et apud caesarem acta anno 1524"; B. Kórn., ᴍs 221, p. 1: "minutae litterarum regiarum anni 1546". Hence our conclusion about how we should understand Górski's notes, erroneously regarded by Marciniak as proof that the papers were arranged in Tomicki's Chancellery: "Zidowski scripsit et poni debet in fine extremo omnium minutarum Luteranismi" (TG IX, f. 129v); "fasciculus minutarum regiarum de Lut[e]ranismo Gdanensi" (TG XV, f. 248v).

of a text ("non scribatur"), or asks for the final copy of the texts to be ordered differently to the manuscripts.

The name *Teki Górskiego* applying only to the collection of working papers used as source of texts for the handwritten *Tomiciana*, was first introduced by editor and librarian Zygmunt Celichowski (1845–1923). Celichowski also provided a concise, apt description of them: "czem dzisiaj przy drukowaniu dzieł jest rękopism, tem był powyższy zbiór w układzie kodeksów Górskiego"[23] ["for Górski's volumes this collection was like a manuscript in today's printer's job"]. Another apt metaphor was used by Waldemar Chorążyczewski when he called the TG "the mother of the *Tomiciana*"[24].

Shortly after the death of Górski, the TG were divided up. A significant part of them – at least 15–20 percent of all the known elements in the collection – initially remained probably for some time in chambers of the Cracow chapter. From there the manuscripts may have been transferred to the Crown Archives, then to King Stanislaus Augustus's collection and subsequently to the Poryck Library of the antiquary Tadeusz Czacki (1765–1813). Eventually they found their way to the Czartoryski Library, first in Puławy near Lublin and then to the Library's later locations. Following the November Uprising of 1830–1831, part of Górski's papers, together with other collections belonging to the Czartoryski family, were deposited with Count Tytus Działyński (1796–1861), a collector of historical manuscripts and editor, at Kórnik near Poznań, within the territory of the Prussian Partition. In this way they avoided confiscation by the Russians. However, not all the manuscripts entrusted to Działyński later returned to the Czartoryski Library. Górski's papers are today to be found listed under at least ten different catalogue numbers in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow[25]. The rest of this part of the collection belongs to the Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN – the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences[26].

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23   AT 9, p. II.

24   W. Chorążyczewski, "Prywatne archiwa polityczne w Polsce XVI wieku", *Archiwa – Kancelarie – Zbiory* 2010, no. 1(3), p. 50.

25   B. Czart., mss 238, 239, 254, 255, 262, 276, 281, 283, 284, 307.

26   B. Kórn., mss 221, 222, 241.

The TG were thus "dispersed" in a dual sense: it was divided up between two different institutions, and materials were added to it that were unconnected with Górski's original work. In the library of the last King of Poland, codices were composed of loose sheets, the only guideline being that they should be related in terms of their subject matter and chronology, not their provenance. As a result the TG were combined and bound together with materials that were outside the scope of Górski's original project. Only the units kept at Kórnik are provided with precise catalogue descriptions which make it possible to single out those individual sheets and quires that belong to the TG[27]. The list of manuscripts which Marciniak believes belong to the TG needs to be reconsidered[28]. It is not impossible that careful research will allow us to classify other items as also belonging to this group[29]. The task is thus to take all the materials belonging to the original collection and describe them in detail so as to recreate, in an ideal sense, the entirety of the TG, including the elements kept in the National Library of Poland in Warsaw.

The National Library in Warsaw holds the largest preserved part of the TG (about 80 percent of all the identified elements in the collection). It is certainly also the most valuable part, containing as it does a larger share of rough drafts and original letters than the manuscripts held in the Czartoryski Library and in the Kórnik Library. We owe its

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27  *Katalog rękopisów staropolskich Biblioteki Kórnickiej XVI–XVIII w.*, vol. 2, ed. R. Marciniak, M. Muszyński, J. Wiesiołowski, Wrocław 1985, pp. 71–102, 169–178.

28  R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 184–185. Cf. list based on this work: W. Chorążyczewski, "Prywatne archiwa…", p. 19.

29  We would suggest that the following manuscripts should be the first in line for research in this respect. First, other codices from the Czartoryski Library whose subject matter encompasses the reign of Sigismund I; here, similar research is needed to that carried out on codices that have already been proven to contain parts of the TG. Second, items from the Kórnik Library which are not been mentioned in the printed catalogue, including those that found their way to Kórnik via a partially different route from the above-mentioned manuscripts belonging to the Czartoryskis. One volume in the Kórnik Library, ms 1461, acquired in the 1870s from the Potockis' Wilanów library (W. Semkowicz, *Przewodnik po zbiorze rękopisów wilanowskich*, updated and prepared for publication by P. Bańkowski, Warszawa 1961, pp. 26–27, footnote 22), was created in Stanislaus Augustus' library from loose leaves from Górski's papers. This seems to be a rough copy, given the large number of corrections, crossings out, comments and additions in Górski's hand. Some handwritten texts are complementary with B. Kórn. ms 222 (cf. B. Kórn., ms 1461, p. 71 and B. Kórn., ms 222, pp. 277–280). Other scraps from the TG also found their way into B. Kórn., ms 1535.

separation from the full collection of Górski to Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), a powerful politician and the founder of the BOZ.

Was the separation of this portion from the remaining documents justified, and was it intentional or simply mechanical? Without comparing all the extant dispersed elements of the TG it is difficult to reach a strong conclusion on these points. However, we try to answer the question on the basis of an analysis of the material we have seen. In terms of chronology and contents, the scope of the TG in the BOZ, when compared to that of the entire collection, appears at first sight haphazard, with many gaps and clusters. The number of materials as divided into individual years is as follows. The year 1512 cannot be treated as a logical starting point as Zamoyski acquired only a few items from the period 1512–1513. Slightly more material dates from 1514 and much more from 1515–1536. However, the ratio of material from 1535 to that from 1536 is close to three to one. The following years yielded much less material: there is none from 1537, 1538, 1544 or 1546, while 1545 and 1547 are very poorly represented. It is true that there are a few more items from 1538–1541 and 1543, but only in 1542 is the number of items comparable to the average for 1515–1535. From the above we can see that the more complete materials relate almost exclusively to Tomicki's period as Vice-Chancellor (1515–1535). Hence we may conclude that Zamoyski was particularly interested in original papers of the Chancellery.

The order of items in the TG may have been disturbed even before the division of the whole collection. This would explain why Zamoyski maybe failed to take all the rough drafts and originals he wanted. As a result, the chronological scope of materials partly coincides in both parts of the collection. Cases where the texts in the BOZ and the Czartoryski Library complement each other are also evidence of an early disturbance of the sequence introduced by Górski[30].

It is possible young Zamoyski learnt more about Górski's papers as early as 1569, when he met Górski at the commission set up for creat-

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30  Cf. B. Czart., ms 281, pp. 465–488 to BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XXIII, no. 2825; B. Czart., ms 281, p. 508 to BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XXIII, no. 2799a); B. Czart., ms 238, f. 118v to BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XXIII, no. 2826.

ing an inventory of the Crown archives[31]. Górski died on March 12, 1572, which doubtless is the *terminus post quem* for the change of owner of part of the collection. Marciniak tries to identify the circumstances under which Zamoyski acquired his part of the collection, concluding that this took place several weeks after Górski's death. He bases his conclusions on his interpretation of a note – probably someone testing out a quill – which he discerns on the back of one item from the TG[32] [see fig. 1]. He reads the note as follows: "Wielmożnej Paniey Paniey [sic] Annie Zorzechowcza [sic] Zamoyskiey Castellancze [chełm]skiey Moiey M[iłościwej] Paniey a Mał[żon]cze"[33] [To the Honourable Lady Anna, née Orzechowska Zamoyska, wife of the Castellan of Chełm, My Beloved Lady and Wife]. According to Marciniak, this is the address from a letter by Stanisław Zamoyski (1519-1572), Castellan of Chełm, the father of Jan Zamoyski, to his wife Anna, née Orzechowska Zamoyska. That would mean that prior to April 4, 1572 the TG must have been taken to Zamch, where the Castellan of Chełm spent the last months of his life and where he ultimately died.
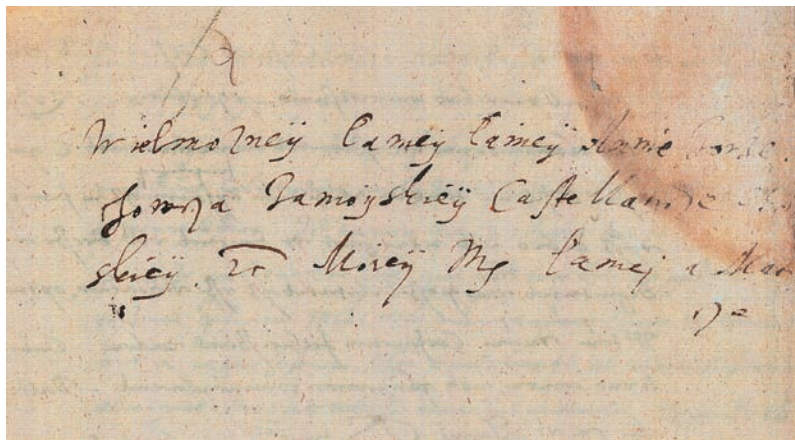


**FIG. 1.** Detail, top of the page, address of Anna née Orzechowska Zamoyska. BN, ᴍꜱ BOZ 2053, TG I, f. 59v.

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31   A. Kłodziński, "O Archiwum Skarbca Koronnego na Zamku Królewskim", *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej* ser. 2, vol. 1, Kraków 1923, pp. 206-207.

32   BN, ᴍꜱ BOZ 2053, TG I, f. 59v.

33   R. Marciniak, op. cit., p. 182.

However, we believe that Marciniak's conclusions, which have since become an accepted part of the literature on the subject[34], are erroneous. Doubts arise first of all from the handwriting of the note, which following palaeographic analysis seems to suggest the hand of a younger person than Stanisław Zamoyski. A comparison of the note with his Stanisław Zamoyski's autograph unambiguously rules out that it is in his hand[35]. On its own, this is not enough to prove that the Castellan was not responsible for the note: theoretically it could have been written by his secretary. Nonetheless, Marciniak's conclusion must be rejected, primarily because he deciphers the note erroneously. The correct reading is as follows: "Wielmozney Paniey Paniey [sic] Annie Zorzechowcza Zamoyskiey Castellancze **Chelm**skiey **etc.** Moiey M[iłościwei] Pani**ej** a **Mat**cze" (bold print indicates differences compared to Marciniak's reading) [To Honourable Lady Anna née Orzechowska Zamoyska, wife of the Castellan of Chełm etc., My Beloved Lady and **Mother**]. It is possible that this is how Jan Zamoyski used to address his father's second wife. The stepmother of the founder of the entail (Ordynacja Zamojska) died in 1588[36], which gives the doubtless *terminus ante quem* for the acquisition of the TG.

We believe that the earliest possible date for the acquisition of the collection should be brought forward to the moment when Jan Zamoyski became Vice-Chancellor. The rapid rise to power of the ambitious young nobleman began during the first interregnum period following Sigismund Augustus's death on July 7, 1572. This was mainly due to Zamoyski's active participation in key events of the time, such

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34  K. Muszyńska, "Wstęp", in: *Biblioteka Narodowa. Katalog rękopisów*, ser. III: *Zbiory Biblioteki Ordynacji Zamojskiej*, vol. 2: *Rękopisy od XVI do XIX wieku (sygn. BOZ do 1050)*, ed. B. Smoleńska in cooperation with K. Muszyńska, Warszawa 1991, p. 11; W. Chorążyczewski, "Prywatne archiwa…", p. 49; T. Makowski, "Siedziba i organizacja biblioteki Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego", *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 43, 2012, p. 353.

35  Cf. AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich [hereafter AZ] 24, p. 4.

36  *Genealogia. Tablice*, ed. W. Dworzaczek, Warszawa 1959, table 135. The date given by Dworzaczek can be specified more closely: Anna died before July 27, 1588, when she was mentioned as deceased in a document of the King Sigismund III (*Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego*, vol. 4, ed. K. Lepszy, Kraków 1948, p. 439, no. III 44).

as the particular and national diets, the commission for the review of the law, royal elections, the mission to France as a convoy for the king-elect, Henry of Valois. Here, he combined unquestionable competence with an effective positioning of himself as the "champion of the noble people". He finally consolidated his position during the reign of Stephen Báthory (1576–1586), thanks to whom he became the second most important person in the political community. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor on May 5, 1576, several days after Stephen Báthory's coronation. As the "keeper of the seal" he had unrestricted access to all the resources on the premises occupied by the Chancellery and scattered across other chambers in Wawel Castle.

Marciniak's statement that the TG were acquired "during the retrieval of public documents"[37] does not sound convincing for the period of the interregnum, when Zamoyski was merely the Starost of Bełz and a former royal secretary (during the reign of Sigismund August, the office evolved and partially lost its previous importance), albeit an exceptionally active and committed one. It is true that during the interregnum there may have been a slackening of discipline among Chancellery staff, creating favourable conditions for appropriating semi-private materials such as the TG. But as the "keeper of the seal", Zamoyski could create the semblance of an official seizure and set his subordinates to carrying it out. We therefore believe that it was after Zamoyski's appointment as Vice-Chancellor that the collection "was again privatised", as Chorążyczewski aptly describes the acquisition[38].

It is worth considering whether Zamoyski acquired the TG the same way he took possession of books from the well-stocked library of Sigismund Augustus, which contained as many as 4,000 works. After the King's death his collection of books was dispersed. It is certain that Zamoyski acquired at least 170 works in 115 volumes from it[39]. So far no one has succeeded in explaining exactly how and when these books became Zamoyski's property. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, author of

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37  R. Marciniak, op. cit., p. 182.

38  W. Chorążyczewski, "Prywatne archiwa...", p. 49.

39  The estimated number of books from Sigismund Augustus' library preserved prior to 1939 in the BOZ; see catalogue note by M. Brynda in: *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej. Od Jana do Jana. Katalog wystawy*, ed. T. Makowski, Warszawa 2005, p. 44 [CD-ROM].

a monograph on the King's library and responsible for a catalogue of its contents, suspected that this took place after 1586, with the permission of the monarch's sister, Anna Jagiellon, who was overseeing the execution of her brother's will and the property left by him[40]. Kawecka-Gryczowa conjectures that, in selecting volumes, Zamoyski was helped by his friend, Łukasz Górnicki (1527–1603), a man of letters, former royal librarian and Starost of Tykocin, who was in charge of Tykocin Castle, where from 1565 onwards the book collection was to be stored. She also draws attention to the fact that Zamoyski obtained an estate at Knyszyn near Tykocin. We do not know whether Zamoyski took all the volumes he was interested in at once or enriched his own library in stages. It is also possible that he acquired some volumes from the royal collection earlier than Kawecka-Gryczowa believes. He took possession of Knyszyn in May 1574 and did not let go of the estate, despite a dispute with its previous tenant, Stefan Bielawski (d. 1596), for several years[41]. Although Zamoyski did not live permanently there, as he was busy with public affairs, he could easily have acquired books from the Tykocin collection thanks to the kindness of a friendly neighbour, for example.

The acquisition of the King's books and the TG, taken together, offer strong evidence of Zamoyski's determination to appropriate materials which he found important. It seems that his main aim was always to gather sources of knowledge on public life and consequently build up his own position in national politics. However, the acquisitions were different in nature. Unlike with the TG, acquiring the King's books could be motivated either by seeking prestige – bound volumes were very valuable both in terms of their aesthetics and their price – or more utilitarian objectives, although this appears much less likely, such as

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40   A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Biblioteka ostatniego Jagiellona. Pomnik kultury renesansowej*, Wrocław 1988, pp. 83, 85. On the subject of Jan Zamoyski appropriating books from the Royal Library, see T. Makowski, "Zarys dziejów biblioteki Jana Zamoyskiego", *Zamojsko-Wołyńskie Zeszyty Muzealne* 3, 2005, p. 97; id., "A brief history of Jan Zamoyski's library", in: *I lag medböcker. Festskrift till Ulf Göranson*, ugt. P. Cullhed, ed. K. Östlund, Uppsala 2012, p. 249; id., "Siedziba i organizacja...", p. 359.

41   A. Jabłonowski, "Jan Zamoyski na Podlasiu. Spór o starostwo knyszyńskie", in: *Z wieku Mikołaja Reja. Księga jubileuszowa*, Warszawa 1905, pp. 128–131, 136–149.

gathering books for the library of the Zamość Academy, which was not established until 1594[42]. Moreover, the King's books differed from the TG in terms of their provenance (provincial Tykocin as opposed to the capital city, Cracow), the conditions in which they were kept (under the supervision of the sympathetic Górnicki as opposed to in the Royal Chancellery/Cracow chapter) and their formal legal status (the monarch's private property as opposed to papers documenting the activity of public institutions). For these reasons we do not believe that the King's books which Zamoyski included in his collection are particularly helpful when it comes to establishing the time and circumstances of the acquisition of the TG.

On the other hand, it is surely no coincidence that in the same period other important elements of Górski's oeuvre changed hands, namely two collections of the final, most extensive version of the *Tomiciana*. Andrzej Opaliński (1540-1593), a powerful magnate from Greater Poland, took over the collection that Marciniak regards as the Senate collection in 1578/1579 at the latest, as demonstrated by the fact that it was then that the manuscripts were provided with bindings with his supralibros[43]. According to Marciniak, probably during the first interregnum period after the death of Sigismund Augustus (July 1572–February 1574), Opaliński removed the manuscripts from Wawel Castle, which he had easy access to as the Court Marshal[44]. This hypothesis should be verified by means of a more detailed analysis of Opaliński's itinerary.

The second set of the third version of the *Tomiciana* found its way to Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski (1520-1603) via a somewhat roundabout

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42  It was only Jan Zamoyski's grandson, Jan "Sobiepan" Zamoyski (1627-1665), who bequeathed the books from the King's library to the Zamość Academy, although the instructions in his will were not complied. See A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, op. cit., p. 86.

43  For a dating and analysis of the bindings of the Opaliński's *Tomiciana* collection, see: R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 200–203; *Katalog rękopisów staropolskich Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, vol. 2, pp. 23-24; A. Wagner, "Oprawy ksiąg Andrzeja Opalińskiego", in: *Księgozbiór wielkopolskiego magnata Andrzeja Opalińskiego (1540–1593)*, ed. A. Wagner, Poznań 2011, pp. 164–171.

44  R. Marciniak, op. cit., p. 200.

route[45]. After Górski's death, manuscripts from this collection ended up, perhaps on the strength of the author's last will, with the Castellan of Gniezno. This was Jan Tomicki, the nephew of Piotr Tomicki, that is, the closest relative of Górski's beloved patron. From Jan Tomicki (d. 1575) the codices passed on to his sons Andrzej and Mikołaj, both of whom left their ownership inscriptions on the manuscripts. According to Marciniak, Karnkowski received the books from the elder brother, Mikołaj, who was Canon of Poznań and Cracow. Karnakowski writes that exploring the *Tomiciana* helped him understand the political reality of the period of the two interregna and inspired him to promote solutions that would be salutary for the Republic[46]. However, Marciniak assumes – we believe, incorrectly – that the above-mentioned commendation refers to a different collection at Karnkowski's disposal, namely the Senate collection, identical, according to Marciniak, with Opaliński's collection[47]. Later, Karnkowski, this time beyond any doubt on the basis of the *Tomiciana* collection named after him, drew up a historical compendium, in the heading of which he bears the title of "Bishop of Kuyavia"[48]. Thus it is clear that the undisputable *terminus ad quem* for the acquisition of the codices was when Karnkowski was promoted to Archbishop of Gniezno in 1581. Slightly later, by now Primate of Poland, he marked the *Tomiciana* owned by him with his ex-libris.

All three acquisitions have common features. Zamoyski, Opaliński and Karnkowski had risen in influence thanks to their cooperation with Stephen Báthory, as the monarch's major adherents. During his reign the three magnates could be viewed, with certain reservations, as something of a group of allies[49]. There is no escaping the following com-

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45   Ibidem, pp. 224–225.

46   S. Karnkowski, *Epistolae illustrium virorum in tres libros digestae*, Cracoviae: [A. Petricovius], 1578, ff. )(3v–)(4.

47   R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 111–112.

48   The latest discussion on the origins of the compendium and a list of its preserved seventeenth and eighteenth-century copies, in: W. Chorążyczewski, "Prywatne archiwa…", p. 39.

49   Karnkowski and Opaliński are described as Zamoyski's allies by: W. Tygielski, *Listy, ludzie, władza. Patronat Jana Zamoyskiego w świetle korespondencji*, Warszawa 2007,

parison: the same way that they partitioned among themselves various spheres of influence and advantages coming from their privileged positions at the King's side, they also divided up for their private purposes Górski's most valuable manuscripts. In the 1570s and 1580s, owning the works of the Canon was a reflection of the highest status in the political community, as they provided an insight into the *arcana imperii*, inaccessible to the majority of participants in public life. The research initiated by Marciniak into the use of knowledge gained from the Górski's materials – mainly *Tomiciana*[50] – should be continued and extended[51], especially with respect to Zamoyski. The "Grand Chancellor" was a figure who in terms of the breadth of his power was far superior to all the noble politicians of his epoch, and his activity left incredibly rich documentation relating to the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries.

What was the role played in Zamoyski's activity by texts often concerning events that took place half a century earlier? It hardly seems likely that as Vice-Chancellor and later Chancellor he looked to the texts for guidelines – formal or stylistic – for drawing up official correspondence and other documents. After all, he had at his disposal many other materials such as the public records in *Metryka Koronna* (*Metrica Regni Poloniae*) which were of more recent date and, as such, were more in line with current Chancellery norms. Moreover, since

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pp. 89–92. For a more nuanced picture of the magnates' relationship with each other and King Stephan Báthory from a diachronic perspective, see: E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, *O nowy kształt Rzeczypospolitej. Kryzys polityczny w państwie w latach 1576–1586*, Warszawa 2013, *passim* (with references to earlier writings on the same subject).

50  R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 108–114, 116–118.

51  More recent studies do not deal with the problem, either repeating Marciniak's findings on the Opaliński collection (J. Pietrowicz, "*Acta Tomiciana* i inne rękopisy z księgozbioru marszałka wielkiego koronnego Andrzeja Opalińskiego", in: *Księgozbiór wielkopolskiego magnata…*, pp. 105–127) or focusing solely on analytical research into Karnkowski's library in terms of the provenance and thematic selection of books (see especially: S. Rybandt, "Księgozbiór prymasa Stanisława Karnkowskiego, źródło badań nad kulturą umysłową dostojnika kościelnego XVI w.", *Z Badań nad Polskimi Księgozbiorami Historycznymi* 13, 1992, pp. 117–129; M. Bartoszak, "Pozostałości księgozbioru prymasa Stanisława Karnkowskiego w Archiwum Archidiecezjalnym w Gnieźnie", *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 61, 2017, pp. 35–65). Only Chorążyczewski, inspired by Marciniak's approach, tries to combine bibliology and archival studies with research into Polish political culture of the 16th century, albeit on a limited scale, cf. W. Chorążyczewski, "Prywatne archiwa…", pp. 13–67.

Sigismund Augustus a large part of official documents had been written in Polish, and not in Latin as had been the case during Sigismund I's reign. Zamoyski may therefore have been more interested in finding precedents in internal and international relations which could serve to support his own arguments in public debates. It would require careful research to trace the connections between the argumentation in Zamoyski's speeches, correspondence and other documents and the contents of the TG; here, we limit ourselves to presenting conclusions from our analysis of physical traces of the use of the archive in the period when its owner was Zamoyski.

The TG contain no direct indication that they were read by the Chancellor; we find no underlined passages or notes in his hand. The only evidence that the collection was used is ten notes or "scriptae" from the last decades of the 16th century, written by a scribe who copied selected texts for Zamoyski's needs. All the texts with these notes are related to each other in terms of chronology and subject matter: they date from June 1515 and concern Sigismund I's prolonged wait in Pressburg (today's Bratislava) for the planned meeting with Emperor Maximilian I[52]. We do not believe it was coincidental that the abovementioned address of Anna Zamoyska was written on the blank back page of one of the letters marked as copied. The notes appear to be in a different hand from that which wrote the address, but the timing is similar. The appearance of one of them on the same leaf explains why the testing of the quill – the only one in the TG dating from Zamoyski's time – is there rather than anywhere else. It is our hypothesis that the sheets taken out of the collection to be copied lay for some time among other materials used by secretaries, and an empty page simply served to test a formulation of the address which was to be used in correspondence.

One case which is definitely *not* a deliberate use of the TG is a cursive note in the hand of another of Zamoyski's secretaries, which reads as

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52  Letters of King Sigismund I to his first wife, Queen Barbara Zápolya (BN, MS BOZ 2053, TG I, Nos. 36, 42), M. Lang (TG I, Nos. 38, 41; TG XXVII, no. 3547) and to L. Pieczychowski (TG I, no. 45); Sigismund I's correspondence with Emperor Maximilian I (TG I, Nos. 43, 44, 47).

follows: "nie myśl WM o tem, aby WM zbiegowie skodzić mieli, o poga-nach teraz WM myślić pilniej"[53] [do not think My Lord about fugitives who can do harm to My Lord, it is more urgent My Lord to think about pagans]. This is found on what was originally a small piece of paper, which during conservation work was incorporated in a larger, modern leaf *in folio*. This piece of paper was not included in the pre-War folia-tion, so it is possible that it was added to the archive only in the second half of the 20th century. The content of the note is not connected with the letter which it accompanies today. It must therefore be a wrongly placed script, originally attached to some other letter.

After Jan Zamoyski's death in 1605, the TG formed part of the Zamoyski family archive. The following two centuries did not leave any significant mark on them. We know that some loose bifolia of thick paper, only partly covered with writing, were used for organ-ising estate papers. The paper from the TG was used to register the circulation of documents about the Kutno estate dating from 1732[54]. Another example of this practice can be dated to the 17th or 18th cen-tury, when Górski's covers were used for wrapping a number of papers about the Ruthenian voivodship[55].

Work on sorting out the TG began in the early 19th century, when the twelfth Zamość *Ordynat*, Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski (1775–1856), decided to draw up an inventory of the historical part of the family ar-chive and incorporate it into the BOZ. This is unambiguous evidence of a profound change in how Górski's manuscripts were perceived. The TG were obsolete from a legal and political point of view, but now they were considered irreplaceable as a source of knowledge about the distant past. History was a focal point in the development of a modern national identity, so keeping and studying historical texts was con-sidered both important and a matter of prestige. Stanisław Kostka, like many of his contemporaries from a similar milieu, was well edu-cated and keen to recall the country's former glory. He understood the

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53    BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XVIII, f. 95a.

54    Ibidem, TG XXIX, f. 23v.

55    Ibidem, TG XX, ff. 2–1[!].

relevance of the papers inherited from his ancestors. We may assume that his zeal for organising the archive was motivated in equal parts by his curiosity about its contents and his sense of duty towards his family and the nation.

Stanisław Kostka wrote as follows about his work sorting out the documents: "w rok czyli we dwa lata po śmierci brata [— —] w Zamościu zatrudniłem się przejrzeniem archiwum jurydycznego, w którym znalazłszy kilka szaf i kufrów ze starymi papierami, na których było napisane «niepotrzebne» lub «curiositates», kazałem one do sieni przynieść i strawiłem ze trzy miesiące czasu nad ułożeniem i spisaniem ogólnym onych" [56] ["one or two years after the death of my brother[57] [— —] in Zamość I occupied myself with looking through the muniment room, where I found several cabinets and chests full of old papers with 'useless' or 'curiositates' written on them; I had them transferred to the vestibule and spent at least three months putting them in order and generally registering them"]. He recalled the same work later, in his remarks on the history of the BOZ: "rękopisma, gdzie tylko spodziewać się można było znaleźć jakie, do swojego pokoju kazawszy zanieść, prawie wszystkie karty, listy, pisma swoją ręką ponumerowawszy" [58] ["I had the manuscripts, wherever they were to be found, brought to my room, having first numbered almost all the sheets, letters and scripts myself"].

The full significance of the two quotes above is clear when we look at the few surviving traces of the initial work putting the archive in order undertaken by Stanisław Kostka. One of them is the bifolium which he used for the cover of a file of papers from the TG, on which the following heading appears in large script: "litterae et copiae var[iar]um litte[ra]rum, legationum, instructionum et aliarum transactionum publicarum"[59]. Under this heading we find the number "15", Stanisław Kostka's signature and the year 1801, which agrees with the chronology given in the quotes above.

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56    AGAD, AZ 14, p. 33.

57    Aleksander August Zamoyski, 11th *Ordynat*, d. December 6, 1800.

58    BN, ms BOZ 1483, f. 2v.

59    BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG X, ff. 127v–128.

Stanisław Kostka certainly created more files of papers, but how many we do not know. Neither do we know whether he carried out an initial segregation of the entire historical archive into different categories of documents. One indirect source of information about what he did is a note in the hand of an archivist who was employed later, Mikołaj Stworzyński, who on one of Górski's covers wrote as follows: "Plik 83. Fragmenta stare różnych papierów podartych, pogniłych i do żadnej kategorii aplikować się niemogących, bez początku i końca. Poprzednicze tych papierów napisy ręką JW. Pana numerowane niektóre" [60] ["File 83. Old fragments of various torn, damp-stained papers which cannot be ascribed to any category, without beginnings and ends. Earlier inscriptions on these papers by the Most Honourable Lord's hand, some numbered"]. We are of the opinion that this is another case of the use of Górski's covers for ordering archive materials that did not belong to the TG, as it seems that the collection did not at that time contain manuscripts in such a bad condition as suggested by the description of the contents of the fascicle.

More complete data on the above-mentioned "numbering" by Stanisław Kostka would be available if any later files created by him were found. This stage of sorting out the documents is not mentioned by Teresa Zielińska, who was responsible for establishing the Zamoyski Archive fonds in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw] after the Second World War[61]. This means that searching for more files created by the owner of the BOZ has a very slim chance of success. What remained of Stanisław Kostka's efforts became almost completely blurred during the subsequent proper inventorying operation. Ultimately, Stanisław Kostka did not play any significant role in the way the TG are arranged today; having started this tedious job, he left it to his archivist Stworzyński.

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60   Ibidem, TG XII, f. 1v.

61   Cf. T. Zielińska, "Archiwum Zamoyskich w dawnej Bibliotece Ordynacji Zamojskiej w Warszawie", in: *Zamość i Zamojszczyzna w dziejach i kulturze polskiej*, ed. K. Myśliwski, Zamość 1969, p. 468; ead., "Zasługi bibliotekarzy i archiwistów z Biblioteki Ordynacji Zamojskiej w badaniach dziejów Zamościa, Ordynacji Zamojskiej i jej właścicieli", in: *Zamoyscy, Zamość i Ordynacja Zamojska w badaniach końca XIX i XX w.*, ed. R. Szczygieł, Zamość 2005, p. 42.

When Stworzyński took up the position of archivist in Zamość in 1803, one of his first tasks was to deal with the papers discovered by his master, a task which he describes as follows: "ułożenie porządne tych pism i spisanie inwentarza z wyrażaniem treści" [62] ["putting these papers in proper order and drawing up an inventory of their contents"]. Over the following three years he mainly sorted out and summarised the Zamoyskis' abundant correspondence[63]. In this period he also devised a new arrangement of the TG: 29 boxes in chronological order, each provided with a label bearing an appropriate title, for instance *Akta publiczne Królestwa Polskiego różne interesa tak krajowe jako i zagraniczne obejmujące* ["Public papers of the Kingdom of Poland pertaining to internal and external affairs"] or similar, and the time span each of them covered [see fig. 2]. However, he was unable to stick consistently to this chronological arrangement due to the fact that many documents had no date. In fact, it would seem that he failed to stick to his



**FIG. 2.** Boxes made for the Górski's archive, early 19th cent.
BN, MS BOZ 2053, TG I–XXIX.

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62    AGAD, AZ 14, p. 33.

63    AGAD, AZ 8–12. Cf. T. Zielińska, "Zasługi...", pp. 42–43.

original plan in any case: from Box XXIV onwards he left documents from different years together, some of them dated and others not.

The approach taken by Stworzyński can be seen not just from the effects of his work still visible on the manuscripts today but also from his inventory of the Zamoyski Archive in Zamość, covering loose correspondence and some literary and historical manuscripts bound into volumes. This inventory has survived to this day. It reflects a slightly earlier stage of his work on the TG, and thus also a slightly different arrangement of the boxes than today's[64]. The inventory includes a working division into 30 boxes. Only Boxes I to XVIII agree with their present labels. Boxes XIX and XXVI are simply described as "późniejsze" ["subsequent years"], while Boxes XXVII to XXX are marked only as "bez daty" ["no date"]. In his note to the inventory[65], Stworzyński explains that he had not yet established dates for the manuscripts from Boxes XXVII to XXX and would redistribute them to the correct boxes once he had prepared a descriptive list of all the boxes' contents. He also writes that, at that point in time, he does not know whether he would stick to the division into 30 boxes or whether, as a result of the redistribution, the number of boxes would ultimately be fewer than originally planned - which, in fact, turned out to be the case.

Stworzyński also mentions that if the number of boxes changed, the reference codes of the successive items in the Zamoyski Archive would have to be adjusted downwards correspondingly. The preserved boxes

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64    AGAD, AZ 14, pp. 14–15. There is no additional information on creating an inventory of the TG in another description of the Zamoyskis' manuscript holdings, which dates from the same period: *Konsygnacja papierów w manuskryptach, listach i innych rzeczach pod względem starożytności pisanych i drukowanych* [List of papers in manuscripts, letters and other handwritten or printed antiquities], which only mentions Box I (B. Oss., MS 2419, f. 61). This list, which requires closer study, forms part of the collection of materials about the BOZ (for a description of its contents, see: W. Jabłońska, "Inwentarze i katalogi biblioteczne w zbiorach rękopiśmiennych Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich", *Ze Skarbca Kultury* 20, 1969, pp. 159–161). At least part of this collection appears to relate to plans to organise the Ossoliński Institute (Ossolineum) in Zamość (another list from the collection is mentioned in this context by B. Horodyski, "Straty działu rękopisów Biblioteki Ordynacji Zamojskiej w latach 1939–1944", in: *Straty bibliotek i archiwów warszawskich w zakresie rękopiśmiennych źródeł historycznych*, ed. P. Bańkowski, vol. 3: *Biblioteki*, Warszawa 1955, p. 324). On the subject of the failed plans of S.K. Zamoyski and J.M. Ossoliński to create a common public library, see B. Horodyski, "Jak miało powstać Ossolineum w Zamościu", *Teka Zamojska* 1(5), 1938, pp. 84–96.

65    AGAD, AZ 14, p. 15.

bear the reference codes 52-80, visible on the labels on them, above the number within the TG. These depart slightly from the reference codes they should have according to the inventory, where they begin with 51 rather than 52. It is impossible to say whether Stworzyński provided numbers for all the items in every box in the TG, but he definitely began numbering them in the descriptive list and introducing corresponding marks on the manuscripts. He wrote the numbers in ink on a small number of items, generally in early sections of the TG. We also find dates written in his hand, mostly in the margins, which usually correspond to a date that appears in the text itself.

The descriptive list of the contents of the TG drawn up by Stworzyński has survived[66], albeit in incomplete form. The final version of this list, according to the additional information that appears on the title page, was completed on September 1, 1806. The surviving fragment covers slightly over a tenth of the contents of the TG. It ends abruptly in the middle of the description of item no. 508. In addition, descriptions of Nos. 169-236 are lacking, and the leaves with descriptions of nos. 237-261 are sewed in the wrong place. When cataloguing the TG, we used the work carried out by Stworzyński as a source of important information about the historical arrangement of the TG and as an aid to identifying missing or displaced items.

The conditions under which the Zamoyski archive and library in Zamość were run were disturbed by unrest during Napoleonic times. The city was at the time a fortress of vital strategic importance and its siege and capture by the troops of the Duchy of Warsaw are regarded as an important episode in the campaign of 1809[67]. The collections

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66  *Wypis aktów publicznych Królestwa Polskiego tyczących się interesów tak wewnętrznych, jako i zewnętrznych częścią w oryginałach, częścią w kopiach starożytnych ręką urzędników koronnych pisanych, zachowanych w Archiwum Zamojskim z rozkazu Jaśnie Wielmożnego hrabiego na Zamościu ordynata Zamoyskiego* [List of public documents of the Kingdom of Poland concerning internal and external affairs, originals and early copies written by statesmen, preserved in the Zamoyski Archive], Stefanyk Library, Department of Manuscripts, fond 4: Zbiór rękopisów Biblioteki Baworowskich [the collection of the former Baworowski Library], dz. 1, 1069, Teka IV: Zamoysciana, I, ff. 4-37v.

67  J. Feduszka, "Twierdza zamojska w Księstwie Warszawskim (1809-1813)", *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 55, 2007, issue 2, pp. 207-226, which includes a discussion of the primary sources and extensive research on the siege and its consequences for the town.

were moved to the vaults of the Zamość palace[68]. It was expected that sooner or later the strongly fortified city, which was of considerable military interest, would be purchased by the state, so it was a logical move to transfer the family collections to a safer place. Rooms within the Pałac Błękitny [Blue Palace] in Warsaw, bought by Stanisław Kostka in 1811, were chosen as the new storage location.

Following this transfer, no further rearrangements or descriptions of the TG were made. It is possible that it was at this point that the individual items were given numbers written in pencil, this time covering the contents of all 29 boxes. The ordering introduced by Stworzyński was preserved with slight, possibly accidental variations caused by the fact that some items may have been put in a different place and some others may have been lost. The fact that such slight modifications took place is confirmed by a comparison of the present numbering of the manuscripts with the preserved numbers in Stworzyński's hand and with Stworzyński's descriptive list.

Unfortunately the ceiling of the library collapsed in 1846, after which the manuscripts were housed inadequately. This created an objective obstacle to any detailed examination of the TG by the library staff or accessibility of the manuscripts by scholars. The BOZ collections were packed into storage trunks and move to the Orangery, where they remained until 1868 when the restoration of the building was completed and its interior adapted to the needs of the library[69]. Transferring and arranging the collections anew, checking their contents and at least provisionally describing them took many years. For the staff of the BOZ, the work was particularly demanding in the case of loose manuscripts and archival documents, of which the TG were part[70]. It was perhaps at this time that the TG were converted

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68   B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów Biblioteki Ordynacji Zamojskiej", in: *Studia nad książką poświęcone pamięci Kazimierza Piekarskiego*, Wrocław 1951, p. 312.

69   B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów...", pp. 326–328; K. Ajewski, *Zbiory artystyczne i galeria muzealna Ordynacji Zamojskiej w Warszawie*, Kozłówka 1997, p. 31.

70   Leopold Hubert, one of the librarians in 1868–1870 (see: B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów...", pp. 328–329; D. Gądko, "Hubert Leopold", in: *Słownik pracowników książki polskiej* [hereafter SPKP], ed. I. Treichel, Warszawa–Łódź 1972, p. 342), planned unsuccessfully in 1868 to arrange the collections and create an inventory of them.

into a separate unit, with no reference code within the Zamoyski Archive.

We can glean some knowledge about the condition of the collection following its transfer to the renewed premises from the account provided by Gustaw Ehrenberg (1818–1895, BOZ librarian 1868–1870[71]) dating from late 1869[72]. According to Ehrenberg, "względy praktyczne nakazywały rozpocząć prace porządkowe od ksiąg, cała zaś część archiwalna w opłakanym nieładzie do przechowania przyjęta" ["due to practical considerations, putting the collection in order had to begin with the volumes, and the entire archival part taken over for storage was in a pitiful condition"]. For this reason, he continues, the only information about the TG came "z powierzchownego przeglądu tek i kartonów" ["from a superficial review of the folders and boxes"].

It is worth quoting at length what Ehrenberg writes about the TG, as it reflects what was known about them at the BOZ at the time: "mamy za to teki (tych jest 29) z napisami na grzbietach charakterem XVIII wieku «Akta publiczne Królestwa Polskiego», mieszczące w sobie luźne arkusze i karty, na których skoropisem XVI wieku, z pokreśleniami i poprawkami, znajdują się przedmioty widocznie z Tomicianami jednorodne. Luźne te arkusze i karty były kiedyś (zdaje się także w XVII wieku) ołówkiem ponumerowane i zapewne uporządkowane, ale porządek ten został naruszony, tak że dziś nie tylko że są przerzucone, ale nawet zdarza się spotykać po innych zupełnie kartonach dokumenta do tej kolekcji niezawodnie należące" ["On the other hand we have boxes (29 of them) with the inscription on their spines in an eighteenth-century hand 'Public Papers of the Kingdom of Poland'. These contain loose sheets and leaves written in sixteenth-century cursive,

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He concentrated on books and paid relatively little attention to manuscripts but he distinguished the following categories: "manuscripts proper" (manuscript books), "diplomata", "letters and autographs" and "family papers". He may have included the TG in the third group. Cf. "Projekt urządzenia biblioteki" ["The project of an arrangement of the library"] (BN, MS BOZ 2010, ff. 9v–11v).

71   B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów…", p. 328, was doubtful about Ehrenberg's suitability for the position of librarian.

72   Letter from G. Ehrenberg to W. Kętrzyński, Warsaw, December 16, 1869 (B. Kórn., MS AB 111, ff. 1b–1bv).

with underlinings and corrections, content probably congruent with the *Tomiciana*. These loose sheets and leaves were once (apparently also in the 18th century) numbered in pencil and possibly arranged tidily, but this order has been disturbed, so that today not only is the previous sequence of items disrupted but you also sometimes come across documents certainly belonging to this collection in completely different boxes"].

Such observations clearly imply that Stworzyński's earlier work had been forgotten about and no use was made of his inventory of the Zamoyski Archive and his descriptive list of the TG. It seems probable, then, that the surviving copy of his descriptive list of the contents of the TG was the only copy that ever existed and that it had already been removed from the BOZ. Another important fact stressed by Ehrenberg is the disorder in which the collection was found, quite natural considering that the manuscripts had been kept for lengthy periods in temporary conditions, lacked permanent professional care and had been moved twice to different locations during just a quarter of a century.

Once the BOZ had been installed in Warsaw, the TG could be made available for users. Access to manuscripts was in fact limited, however, to privileged upper-class scholars who were well connected and knew the owners of the library. It is likely that even before the collapse of the ceiling in the 1840s the TG were inspected by historian and archaeologist Mikołaj Malinowski (1799–1865) based in Wilno (today's Vilnius), who mentions several letters from them in his book published some years later, in the mid-1860s[73]. Since he refers to very few of the large number of items found in the TG and makes no com-

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73   *Stanisława Łaskiego wojewody sieradzkiego prace naukowe i dyplomatyczne wydane z rękopisów Muzeum Wileńskiego z przedmową Mikołaja Malinowskiego oraz z dodatkiem dzieł Jana Tarnowskiego z jedynego egzemplarza Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, Wilno 1864, pp. XII, LXXXV. Towards the end of his life, Malinowski struggled with weakening sight and poor health in general. The BOZ collections were inaccessible during the period directly preceding the publication. It is therefore most likely that he became acquainted with the TG during his earlier visits to the Zamoyski Library mentioned in, for example: *Pamiętniki o dawnej Polsce z czasów Zygmunta Augusta obejmujące listy Jana Franciszka Commendoni do Karola Boromeusza*, collected by J. Albertrandi, transl. by J. Krzeczkowski, commentary by M. Malinowski, vol. 1, Wilno 1847, p. 170, footnote 1.

ment on the rest of the collection, it is not certain whether he was aware of the nature of the TG and their relation to the *Tomiciana*.

The next user of the collection that we can identify by name is Aleksander Przezdziecki (1814–1871), one of the most eminent historians, archaeologists and editors of the mid-19th century. Przezdziecki was also a renowned philanthropist and founder of the Przezdziecki Family Library in Warsaw, comparable to the BOZ. Shortly after the reopening of the BOZ in 1868, Przezdziecki used the TG in a similar way to Malinowski before him, consulting only certain texts that were of interest to him[74]. Both historians write simply that the resources which they used were kept in the Zamoyski collections.

However, we should stress that revealing the contents of private manuscript collections which shed light on Polish national history was not always an obvious thing to do at the time of the Partitions (1795–1918), especially in the initial years following the January Uprising of 1863–1864. After putting down the Uprising, the Russian authorities introduced repressive measures aimed at limiting not only Poland's political but also its cultural autonomy. The hard-line policies of the regime caused anxiety about possible negative effects on institutions such as libraries which had been established to protect the national heritage in the "Kingdom of Poland" – the remnant of the central territories of the former Kingdom of Poland, with Warsaw as its capital, placed under Russian sovereignty after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and effectively autonomous in the initial years after its creation.

This widespread fear was shared by Ehernberg. He writes that the BOZ was among the Polish institutions that were "niepewne egzystencji swojej, której jawność nie sprzyja"[75] ["uncertain of their existence, which is not favoured by overtness"]. It is known that the fourteenth *Ordynat*, Tomasz Franciszek Zamoyski (1832–1889), did not

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74  A. Przezdziecki, *Jagiellonki polskie w XVI wieku*, vol. 5: *Uzupełnienia, rozprawy, materiały głównie z Ces. Tajnego Archiwum Wiedeńskiego czerpane*, expanded and published by J. Szujski, Kraków 1878, p. XI, footnote 1; p. XIV, footnote 1; p. XVI, footnote 1; pp. 4–8, no. 2; pp. 12–13, no. 6; pp. 13–14, no. 7 (posthumous work).

75  Letter from G. Ehrenberg to W. Kętrzyński, Warsaw, December 16, 1869 (B. Kórn., MS AB 111, f. 1b).

wish the whereabouts of the TG to be disclosed. This caution in sharing information was justified given the very real threat of repressive measures against Polish academic and cultural institutions. However, Tomasz Franciszek Zamoyski's cautious approach did not mean the definitive closure of the collection to scholars.

Between the 1820s and the early 1870s, in circumstances that are currently unknown, a significant number of items disappeared from the TG. The earliest possible date for the losses is when the library hall in the Blue Palace was completed and the collection arranged on the shelves, making it accessible to the first visitors[76]. A considerable part of the manuscripts that disappeared from the collection concerns the Łaski family, and also Polish-Hungarian and Polish-Habsburg relations. The losses no doubt had something to do with data being gathered for historical studies. The names of those responsible for the losses should probably be sought among the authors of works on these subjects – a task that would require considerable effort, however, as such problems were relatively popular among historians in the mid- to late 19th century. The losses were not recorded until 1875, when they were registered by Józef Przyborowski (1823-1896, head of the BOZ 1872-1896[77]) on small cards loosely inserted in the TG boxes. Parts of these notes have survived[78].

The majority of the TG manuscripts taken from the BOZ later came into the hands of the ethnographer, archaeologist, historian and collector Zygmunt Gloger (1845-1910). Today they form part of his collection, which belongs to the Archiwum Narodowe [National Archives], formerly known as the Archiwum Państwowe [State Archive], in Cracow[79]. We found there the following items from the TG: from Box I –

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76  J. Lelewel, *Bibliograficznych ksiąg dwoje*, vol. 2, Wilno 1826, pp. 163-164. Cf. B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów...", pp. 316-318.

77  B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów...", pp. 329-335; W. Motz, "Przyborowski Józef", in: SPKP, p. 725.

78  BN, MS BOZ 2053, TG X, f. 198a; TG XI, f. I; TG XXIV, f. I; TG XV, f. I; TG XIX, f. I.

79  Archiwum Narodowe, Zygmunt Gloger Collection, no. 750. Unfortunately there are no studies on how Gloger assembled his manuscripts, despite the fact that the collection attracts a lively interest among researchers. Gloger's endeavours to gather various categories of objects are described briefly by: A. Antoniuk, "Z działalności kolekcjonerskiej Zygmunta Glogera", in: *Zygmunt Gloger – badacz przeszłości ziemi*

Nos. 16, 22, 23, 26, 80, 85, 88, 98, 100; from Box II – nos. 162, 169; from Box III – nos. 196, 210, 250; from Box IV – Nos. 350, 396; from Box V – no. 483; from Box VII – no. 802; from Box VIII – no. 883; from Box XI – nos. 1238, 1344; from Box XVIII – Nos. 2111, 2112; from Box XXI – nos. 2541, 2544; from Box XXIV – no. 3021; from Box XXVII – no. 3539; from Box XXIX – no. 3678. In all, 28 items.

The second half of the 19th century saw a remarkable development of Polish historiography, despite the lack of institutional and financial support, intentionally limited by the partitioning nation-states. Historians were no longer simply amateurs from the upper class, people with enough time and money to devote themselves to travelling in search of old manuscripts, usually stored in the residences of their relatives and friends. After the failed uprisings, a new generation of professional historians emerged from a slightly more diverse social background, trained at universities and employed by intuitions which rewarded formal research. With this increasing "professionalisation" came better methodology and the desire for more objective, scientific findings. Unsurprisingly, providing reliable data from original texts became one of the main concerns of these new historians, leading to significant progress in manuscript studies and the editing of primary sources. It was only a matter of time before the TG attracted the closer attention of scholars, who were increasingly eager to explore and publish such a large body of historical texts.

When it came to the TG, one of those leading the way here was Prince Jan Tadeusz Lubomirski (1826–1908), historian, philanthropist and humanitarian. Lubomirski appears to be the first person to understand accurately the nature of the collection and the significance of

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*ojczystej*, Warszawa 1978, pp. 37–50. The authors of more recent works on the Gloger Collection usually rely on general findings from the introduction to the unpublished archival inventory by F. Zacny dating from 1994, available in the National Archive Reading Room. Cf. W. Wilczewski, "Zasób tzw. Archiwum Zygmunta Glogera w Oddziale Wawelskim Archiwum Państwowego w Krakowie", *Białostocczyzna* 1993, no. 2 (30), p. 30; S. Radoń, "Zbiór Zygmunta Glogera w Archiwum Państwowym w Krakowie", in: *Spotkania z Glogerem. Studia i materiały z łomżyńskiej sesji i konkursów glogerowskich 1985–1995*, Łomża 1995, p. 129; A. Perłakowski, "Źródła do dziejów rodziny Zamojskich [!] w Zbiorze Zygmunta Glogera w Archiwum Państwowym w Krakowie", *Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny* 15, 2009, pp. 77–79.

its manuscripts. Unlike previous users, he views the collection as an organic whole. Equally importantly, he is also the first to inform the reading public about his findings. He first mentions the TG *en passant* in a work about royal finances under King Sigismund I, published in 1868. It is probably no coincidence that this was also the date that the BOZ reopened after its restoration. In a footnote he compares the value of three different primary sources (*Volumina legum* – an eighteenth-century edition of Polish statutory law, an edition of *Acta Tomiciana* and *Metrica Regni Poloniae*) for research into his subject, and suggests that it would be useful to collate the information provided by each of them. He aptly notes: "Akta Tomickiego układano w duchu tendencyjnym (mówię nie o oryginale, którym się posługiwałem, lecz o kopiach, z których drukował śp. Tytus hr. Działyński") [80] ["Tomicki's Acts were arranged in a tendentious spirit (I do not refer to the original which I used, but to copies which were used in the edition by the late Count Tytus Działyński)"]. To support this observation he quotes, after citing the rough draft of the tax decision by the General Seym of 1527/1528, a paragraph which was deleted during the final proof and is thus absent from the final version[81]. He specifically refers to the TG – although, as was Tomasz Franciszek Zamoyski's wish, he does not mention exactly which institution held the manuscripts he examined.

Although guarded, Lubomirski's observations did not escape the notice of readers of his paper and it was not long before they met with criticism. Ksawery Liske (1838–1891), one of the most active and influential members of the Polish academic community in Galicia, which was under the Austrian Partition, took Lubomirski's statement about Działyński basing the *Tomiciana* on tendentious copies as an accusa-

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80 [J.T.] L[ubomirski], *Trzy rozdziały z historii skarbowości w Polsce 1507–1532*, Kraków 1868, p. 64, footnote 1.

81 Ibidem, p. 92 (quoted from BN, MS BOZ 2053, TG IX, no. 1057, ff. 165v-166). It should be noted that no critical edition exists as yet showing how the text was modified as a result of conflicts of interests (cf. *Volumina constitutionum*, vol. 2, eds. W. Uruszczak, S. Grodziski, I. Dwornicka, Warszawa 2000, pp. 34–38; AT 10, pp. 69–73, no. 72). Lubomirski's comment on the wording the act, although not in line with today's research standards, forms an exception in the literature on the subject.

tion directed against the distinguished editor[82]. It appears that here he misunderstood the use of the term "original", taking it to refer to another copy, but written in the hand of the creator of the *Tomiciana*[83]. He was sceptical about the value of the manuscripts that Lubomirski used, although he knew where they were to be found: "słyszeliśmy, że podobno rzeczywiście Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej posiadać ma oryginalny zbiór aktów Tomickiego, tj. rękopism spisany ręką układacza tych «Aktów» kanonika Stanisława Górskiego, słyszeliśmy, że dobrze o tem wiedział sam wydawca aktów Tomickiego, lecz że wiedział zarazem, iż ówczesny [XIII] ordynat i właściciel owej biblioteki [Konstanty Zamoyski (1799–1866)] w żaden sposób nie pozwoli korzystać z rękopismów w jego ręku pozostających"[84] ["We have heard that apparently indeed the Zamoyski Family Library has the original collection of Tomicki's Acts, that is, manuscripts written by the arranger of those 'Acts', Canon Stanisław Górski, and we have also heard that the editor of Tomicki's Acts was well aware of their existence, but he was also aware that the then thirteenth *Ordynat* and owner of this library, Konstanty Zamoyski, was absolutely against the use of the manuscripts in his possession"].

Liske well knew how important it would be to have an insight into Górski's method of working, but he did not believe that any working materials could have been preserved. He writes: "ważną by było

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82  K. Liske, *Dyplomacja polska w roku 1527*, Lwów 1869, pp. 3–4 (reprint from *Biblioteka Ossolińskich* 12, 1869).

83  In defending Działyński's considerable reputation as a competent editor, Liske was supported by another important figure from Galician academic circles, namely the historian, editor and curator of the Ossolineum Institute, August Bielowski (1806–1876). He adds to Liske's critical remarks about Lubomirski's opinion of the published *Acta Tomiciana* (Liske's paper was originally published in a journal he was in charge of) in an editor's note, where he argues that the late Działyński had done his best to use not only copies but also the "original" *Tomiciana*. He reminds his readers that some volumes in the Karnkowski Collection, then regarded as the "original *Acta Tomiciana*" because of Górski's coat of arms (Bogoria) being stamped on their covers, had been lent to Działyński by the Ossolineum. On the circulation of handwritten *Tomiciana* from Lviv and the progress of the edition, see Działyński's correspondence with Bielowski from 1852-1860: "Korespondencja Augusta Bielowskiego z Biblioteką Kórnicką w latach 1845-1876", part 1: "Wymiana listów z Tytusem Działyńskim w latach 1847-1860", ed. H. Chłopocka, *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 16, 1980, *passim*.

84  K. Liske, op. cit., p. 3.

rzeczą, gdybyśmy pod ręką mieć mogli archiwum, z którego korzystał Górski, ważną dlatego, żebyśmy w takim razie sami odczytywali oryginały, które Górski przepisywał, i przekonać byśmy się mogli, o ile odpowiedział on słusznym wymaganiom, lecz w rękopiśmie Górskiego oryginałów już nie ma i być nie może, być to tylko może kopiariusz jego ręką sporządzony"[85] ["It would be an important matter if we had within our reach an archive used by Górski – important, because then we could ourselves read the originals that Górski copied and we could discover how far he met the required standards, but in Górski's manuscripts there are no originals, nor can there be: there can only be copies made by his own hand"].

Later on, Liske correctly points out that Lubomirski only mentions one example of the "tendentious spirit" in which Działyński arranged Tomicki's Acts, and moreover does not explain exactly what he understands by the original of the *Tomiciana* or what premises he uses in his interpretation of the researched manuscripts: "na gołe słowo rzeczy takich wierzyć nie można, w sprawach tego rodzaju będziemy zawsze owym niewiernym Tomaszem, który dopiero wtenczas uwierzy, kiedy sam palce w ranę włoży"[86] ["Words alone are not enough for us to trust such things; in such matters we shall always be like that doubting Thomas who did not believe unless he put his finger in the wound"].

Lubomirski later responded to the doubts voiced by Liske, describing the collection more accurately as follows: "zawiera minuty ekspedycji kancelarii królewskiej i oryginały otrzymywanych odpowiedzi i odezw. Pierwsze pisane ręką Maciejowskiego, Hozjusza i Kromera, a poprawiane przez Tomickiego, drugie jako wychodzące z kancelarii zagranicznych lub od osób prywatnych, opatrzone własnoręcznymi podpisami króla Ludwika Węgierskiego, cesarza Karola V, króla Ferdynanda I i Franciszka I, Erazma Rotterdamczyka, Andrzeja Krzyckiego, Jana Dantyszka, Seweryna Bonera itd."[87] ["It contains rough drafts

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85   Ibidem, p. 4.

86   Ibidem, p. 5.

87   [J.T. Lubomirski], "Kronika bibliograficzna", *Przegląd Polski* 4, 1870, fas. 10, p. 159. Lubomirski is wrong on some details: there are neither drafts written by Marcin Kromer nor letters signed by Charles V and Seweryn Boner in the TG.

of dispatches from the Royal Chancellery and originals of incoming replies and proclamations. The former are written by the hand of Maciejowski, Hozjusz and Kromer and corrected by Tomicki, and the latter are sent by foreign chancelleries or private individuals, bearing the signatures of King Louis of Hungary, Emperor Charles V, King Ferdinand I and Francis I, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Andrzej Krzycki, Jan Dantyszek, Seweryn Boner etc."]. At the same time, Lubomirski implies that Liske was too hasty in revealing the location of the manuscripts, against the owner's explicit wishes: "nie mam ani prawa, ani chęci powiedzenia, gdzie się znajduje ten zbiór [— —] pozostawiam innym odwagę narażenia na niebezpieczeństwo własności prywatnej, która jest zarazem i cząstką skarbu narodowego" [88] ["I have neither the right nor the wish to reveal where the collection is to be found [— —] I leave it to others careless enough to expose to danger someone's private property which is also part of the national legacy"].

The main misunderstanding on the part of readers with regards to Lubomirski's findings was mistaking the TG for ready-made *Tomiciana*, whereas in fact they were more like the raw material than the complete edifice. This misunderstanding is forgivable: after all, Lubomirski's work was pioneering. Without sufficient context, his succinct comments were open to various interpretations. Besides, at the time there was no apt term for clearly differentiating this part of Górski's oeuvre from the volumes of the *Tomiciana*. Prior to this, knowledge about the TG was passed on through unofficial channels only, so it is no wonder that historians found it difficult to form an opinion about it. Until Lubomirski's rejoinder to Liske's criticisms appeared in April 1870 – a reply that left little room for further speculation – Liske's views probably coincided with those of most well-informed historians.

While the debate between Lubomirski and Liske continued, historian Wojciech Kętrzyński (1838–1918) was given an opportunity to study the collection more closely. Kętrzyński distinguished himself in research into Górski's oeuvre, although he directed little attention to the TG from the BOZ. He later held for many years the position of Director

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88    Ibidem.

of the Ossoliński Institute (Ossolineum). From late November 1868 to March 1, 1870 he was employed as a librarian at Kórnik, where his main task was to continue the series *Acta Tomiciana*, suspended after the death of its first editor Count Tytus Działyński (1861). Although nominally Tytus Działyński was its editor until Volume 8, the work was gradually becoming the exclusive domain of the Kórnik librarian Ludwik Koenigk (1810-1890)[89]. While Tytus Działyński was still alive, Koenigk managed to prepare Volume 9, albeit ineptly, but its printing was already supervised by Jan Działyński (1829-1880), Tytus's only son. Distribution of the publication was made impossible by the sequestration of the Kórnik estate as punishment for Jan Działyński's support of the January Uprising. Subsequently Jan Działyński spent several years abroad and it was only following his amnesty and the restitution of the property that he could return to his patronage of arts and letters, including funding the uncompleted publication.

The disruption in releasing successive volumes, although unfortunate, provided an opportunity for a new beginning and the adjustment of the series to modern editorial standards. At first, Jan Działyński ordered Kętrzyński only to proofread and republish Volume 9, and then to begin work on the next volumes as quickly as possible. However, when Kętrzyński discovered gross mistakes in Koenigk's work, Działyński agreed to publish a new edition of Volume 9. Kętrzyński's task was twofold: to correct the many and various typographical and factual errors caused by the negligence of his predecessor, and to establish the accurate text of letters and other documents based on all of the available manuscript evidence. Koenigk generally only used the manuscripts that were available in Kórnik.

As part of the preparatory work, Kętrzyński, at Działyński's expense, visited some of the most important libraries with sixteenth-century manuscripts. From December 1868 to January 1869 he travelled to the Czartoryski Library in Paris, the greater part of the collection having been evacuated from Poland temporarily after the fall of the Novem-

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89   M.J. Lamberti, P. Nowak, "Ludwik Koenigk (1810-1890). Wydawca, nauczyciel, publicysta", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 23, 1993, pp. 83–85.

ber Uprising in 1831. In October and November 1869 he went to Galicia, where he examined the collections of the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow and the Library of the Ossoliński Institute (Ossolineum) in Lviv. He also consulted the holdings of the Raczyński Library in Rogalin near Kórnik (not to be confused with the Raczyński Library in Poznań) and naturally the manuscripts in the Kórnik Library. His examination of these manuscripts provided him with materials for a study which, although not published until 1871, reflects his findings while working for Działyński[90].

Kętrzyński's published study is of unquestionable value. It enriches our knowledge of Górski's life and activity, attempting as it does to identify the relationship between the different collections of *Tomiciana* manuscripts and later copies of them. It also brings to light some of the "working drafts", as Kętrzyński calls them, that is, fragments of the TG from the Czartoryski and Działyński collections. The study's main shortcoming, however, is its complete neglect of the TG preserved in the BOZ. Instead, Kętrzyński merely refers to Lubomirski's work in a digression: "bruliony Piotra Tomickiego w jednej z prywatnych bibliotek warszawskich znajdujące się niezupełnie zgadzają się z tekstem Górskiego, jak o tem świadczy autor trzech rozdziałów o skarbowości polskiej" [91] ["Piotr Tomicki's working drafts in one of the private Warsaw libraries do not completely agree with Górski's text, as had been indicated by the author of three chapters about Polish treasury"]. This is a rather puzzling omission, especially considering what would appear to be the favourable conditions created by Działyński for Kętrzyński to expand his research to include the BOZ. Luckily, Kętrzyński's oversight resulted in only a few years' delay before a survey of the TG was begun and details of the collection were shared with scholars.

Kętrzyński's neglect, to put it mildly, of the Warsaw collection was one of the reasons why he lost his job at Kórnik. The circumstances

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90 W. Kętrzyński, "O Stanisławie Górskim kanoniku płockim i krakowskim i jego dziełach", *Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego* 6, 1871, pp. 85–145 (also as a separate reprint).

91 Ibidem, p. 137.

under which Działyński dismissed him are discussed in detail by An-
drzej Mężyński, who rightly sees the core of the conflict between the
owner of the library and his librarian as their differing attitudes to-
wards searching for and selecting manuscripts for the publication[92] –
and not, as Władysław Chojnacki claims in an earlier study, personal
arguments about matters of secondary importance[93]. Działyński was
willing to postpone publication in order to perfect the work rather
than presenting readers with a substandard product which would be
easy prey for critics. Kętrzyński was of a different opinion: he wanted
the book to appear as soon as possible at the cost of it having some
shortcomings – shortcomings of which he was also aware. At the time,
Kętrzyński was running for a chair at the Jagiellonian University[94] and
having an important completed publication would have helped him.
He was ready to move to Galicia even before his autumn trip to Cracow
in 1869 in connection with the work on the edition. He considered the
work finished towards the end of that year and sent it to the printers.
This bringing forward of the publication date was therefore probably
motivated by personal reasons.

Evidence to Kętrzyński's disfavour comes above all from surviv-
ing correspondence, from which we shall quote only those letters
that most clearly show that he did not, in relation to the TG, adhere

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92  A. Mężyński, "Biblioteka Kórnicka Jana Działyńskiego", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*
   12, 1976, pp. 130–134. Later the author presents a more balanced interpretation of
   Działyński's conflict with Kętrzyński, while remaining true to his principal thesis: id.,
   "Działalność wydawnicza Jana Działyńskiego", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 14, 1978,
   pp. 84–86; id., *Jan Działyński 1829–1880*, Wrocław et al. 1987, pp. 183–189.

93  W. Chojnacki, "Wojciech Kętrzyński a Wielkopolska", *Roczniki Historyczne* 23, 1957,
   pp. 374–376. "The choice of the printing house and the date of publication" are
   wrongly given as the main cause of the conflict by: H. Keferstein, W. Żuławska,
   "Bibliotekarska działalność Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego", *Rocznik Olsztyński* 7, 1968, p. 86.
   Using only secondary sources, except Mężyński's work, E. Serwański failed to resolve
   the question: E. Serwański, *Syn Odzyskanej Ziemi. Wojciech Kętrzyński (1838–1918)*, 2nd
   ed., corrected and updated, Warszawa 1989, pp. 115–117. The matter is not adequately
   clarified by the latest popular biography of Kętrzyński: S. Achremczyk, *Wojciech
   Kętrzyński. Historyk – bibliotekarz – poeta*, Kętrzyn 2008, pp. 48–49.

94  H. Barycz, "Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego starania o katedrę uniwersytecką w Krakowie",
   *Przegląd Historyczny* 37, 1948, pp. 324–327 – an article based only on the university's
   archives, not considering any other primary sources; A. Skrobacki, "Dlaczego
   Wojciech Kętrzyński nie otrzymał katedry na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim w 1869
   roku", *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 1973, no. 3, pp. 209–211.

to the standards of scholarly editions that prevailed at the time. As early as October 1, 1869, Zygmunt Celichowski – Działyński's secretary – informed Kętrzyński of Działyński's strong wish that more attention should be given to the "originals of the *Tomiciana*" from the BOZ, which Lubomirski had personally recommended to Działyński[95]. Celichowski also informed Kętrzyński that he was planning to go to Warsaw to research those documents as soon as he had passed his doctoral exams. Therefore Kętrzyński was not justified in claiming that he was unable to access the TG as he was prohibited from entering Congress Poland because of his recent involvement in smuggling arms for the January insurgents, for which he was sentenced in Prussia[96].

Relatively late, on December 12, 1869, having completed (as he believed) his work on the *Tomiciana*, Kętrzyński addressed a query to the BOZ about possible materials for his edition. Ehrenberg replied within a week, sending Kętrzyński a long letter which we think paints a true picture of the situation with regard to the TG, the degree to which its contents had been inspected, the storage conditions and the circulation policy[97]. This letter is evidence of goodwill and in a way an offer of cooperation in gathering source materials for the edition. Ehrenberg writes that although the relationship between the TG and the *Tomiciana* is unclear, it is certainly worthwhile comparing the two to obtain different readings of the texts, if not for any other reason. He also assures Kętrzyński that although Tomasz Franciszek Zamoyski would not allow the manuscripts to be taken out of the library, he would be quite willing to make them accessible inside the library and to produce copies of them. The contents of this letter, including an invitation to visit Warsaw, which Kętrzyński tried to make light of in his correspondence with Działyński[98], contributed to the printing

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95  B. Kórn., ms 7451, ff. 25v–26.

96  J. Jasiński, "Wojciech Kętrzyński w powstaniu styczniowym", *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 1967, no. 1/2, pp. 85–119.

97  B. Kórn., ms AB 111, ff. 1b–1bv. Description of the TG in the letter quoted earlier, see above pp. 38–39.

98  Letter of December 22, 1869 (B. Kórn., ms 7450, ff. 19–20v).

of the publication being halted and the end of Kętrzyński's work for Działyński, the former having clearly fallen short of the latter's expectations[99].

Kętrzyński's duties were taken over by Celichowski[100], who unlike his predecessor assigned the TG a key role in the edition of *Acta Tomiciana*. Celichowski paid his first visit to the BOZ in the summer of 1871[101]. Tomasz Franciszek Zamoyski allowed the resources of the BOZ to be used and Józef Przyborowski, then head of the BOZ, cooperated with Celichowski[102]. However, Zamoyski was still cautious about having the whereabouts of the TG published and agreed only to the veiled formula earlier adopted by Lubomirski. Celichowski was aware that such information was insufficient for modern scholarship and tried to argue, but in vain[103]. In his preface to Volume 9, which finally appeared in 1876, he did not state directly that the TG were the property of the BOZ, instead listing the Zamoyski Library among those institutions which provided access to "original documents"[104]. Zamoyski

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99  In a letter of December 29, 1869, W. Kętrzyński informs Działyński that Vol. 9 of the AT is ready to go to press (B. Kórn., Ms 7450, f. 24). In another letter, from January 26, 1870, he asks for permission to begin printing and mentions that in any case Celichowski could go to Warsaw no earlier than that summer or autumn (B. Kórn., Ms 7450, ff. 26–26v). Only in a letter dated March 13, 1870, after the categorical order had come to suspend the printing, does Kętrzyński begin to show a more sympathetic attitude towards searching the BOZ, and encloses a copy of Ehrenberg's letter (B. Kórn., Ms 7450, ff. 27v–28; enclosed with the letter – ibidem, ff. 46–47). Działyński mentions the reasons for his dissatisfaction with Kętrzyński's services in a letter to Kętrzyński of May 1870: above all the fact that Kętrzyński had ignored the TG and copies – admittedly less significant but still deserving consideration – from the *Teki Naruszewicza* sent to Kórnik from the Czartoryski collection in Paris. Only later does Działyński remind Kętrzyński about his insubordination regarding negotiating and agreeing a contract with the printer (B. Kórn., Ms 7450, ff. 44v–45; autograph; above the text of the letter there is a note, probably in Celichowski's hand, stating that the letter was not sent).

100  A. Mężyński, "Biblioteka Kórnicka Jana...", p. 137; W. Karkucińska, "Wydawca", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 24, 1996 [special issue in memoriam Zygmunt Celichowski], pp. 42–43.

101  Letter from W. Kętrzyński's to Z. Celichowski, August 2, 1871 (B. Kórn., Ms AB 25, f. 17).

102  For details of the cooperation with the BOZ, which developed favourably not only during the preparation of the AT, see letters from J. Przyborowski to Z. Celichowski from 1870–1896 (B. Kórn., Ms AB 49).

103  J. Przyborowski to Z. Celichowski, September 3, 1873 (B. Kórn., Ms AB 49, ff. 17–17v).

104  AT 9, p. II.

only learnt about this after the book appeared: a copy of the book had been sent Zamoyski immediately but he was not in Warsaw at the time, so did not see it until later[105]. As a result he may have reacted less strongly than would otherwise have been the case, given that his instructions had only been partly followed.

Importantly, this did not have an adverse effect on Celichowski's later research in the BOZ. Manuscripts from the BOZ were used subsequently for Volumes 10 to 13 of *Tomiciana*, published 1899-1915[106]. Thanks to Celichowski's edition, the TG quickly became known and were soon regarded as indispensible for studies of the era of Sigismund I, used by both researchers and editors. The interest the TG aroused provided a stimulus to Zamoyski's librarians to keep the collection in order and describe it in more detail. Thus it was probably due to Celichowski and his request that in 1875 Przyborowski carried out the above-mentioned revision of the contents of the TG.

Later queries from other researchers were focused on specific subjects, and not as extensive as that of Celichowski. One request worth mentioning, however, was in connection with the monumental *Corpus iuris Polonici* edited by Oswald Balzer (1858-1933), a professor of legal history at the University of Lviv. In 1900 Balzer's student Przemysław Dąbkowski (1877-1950, later also a renowned legal historian) searched the TG paying special attention to any parts relevant for the history of legislation[107]. His work has been preserved in Balzer's archives[108]. In our catalogue of the TG, for those items that have not survived we quote the summaries made at the time.

Towards the end of his life, Celichowski set out to assemble manuscripts for his edition of Volume 14 of the *Acta Tomiciana*, which was to

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105    J. Przyborowski to Z. Celichowski, November 1, 1876 (B. Kórn., MS AB 49, f. 25v).

106    Cf. critical remarks on Celichowski's publishing methods in: W. Pociecha, "W sprawie...", pp. 36-38; id., "Przedmowa", pp. IX-X.

107    Letters dating from late April to late June 1900 containing reports on the course of the search in the TG (B. Oss., MS 7786, pp. 82, 84, 98, 101, 105, 119). The last of these letters informs the addressee of the closure of the BOZ for the holidays and Dąbkowski's departure from Warsaw. Dąbkowski had no time to look through Boxes XXVIII and XXIX. The registers for these two boxes are written in a different hand, which suggests the search was finished by someone else.

108    B. Oss., MSS 7786, 7788.

cover the year 1532[109]. However, owing to the First World War, the poor financial situation of the Kórnik Library[110] and Celichowski's weakening health in the years before his death in 1923, this work did not proceed beyond the initial stage. The director of the BOZ Tadeusz Korzon (1839–1918)[111], a historian and representative of what is known as the "Warsaw Historical School", delegated a young historian named Halina Siemieńska (1884–1943) to work with Kórnik; Siemieńska, the wife of historian and archivist Józef Siemieński (1882–1941), had earlier searched for, copied and collated texts from the TG for the work on Volume 13[112].

Siemieńska completed the work for Volume 14 by the end of June 1916[113] and her findings, sent to Kórnik, are preserved in the archive of the Kórnik Library. They are contained in a typescript with a few corrections and notes added in Korzon's hand. The typescript has two parts: the first, which is more general, lists materials from the year 1532 onwards in Boxes XXIV to XXIX[114]; the second, which is more detailed, contains descriptions of items dating from 1532 in Boxes XIV to XVI[115], including headlines copied verbatim from the original and other basic information such as dates, the relationship with the original and, less frequently, the scribes' hand and the means of authenti-

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109    Materials for the edition, mainly in B. Kórn., ms AB 156.

110    For details of the financial situation and organisation of publishing activities in Kórnik in the time of Władysław Zamoyski (1853–1924), the last private owner of the Kórnik library, see: T. Kowalski, "Działalność wydawnicza Biblioteki Kórnickiej do roku 1925", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 7, 1959, pp. 134–135; S.K. Potocki, "Podstawy finansowe Biblioteki Kórnickiej w latach 1826–1924", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 12, 1976, p. 34; R. Osiewała, "Społeczne, ekonomiczne i własnościowe uwarunkowania funkcjonowania Biblioteki Kórnickiej", *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis. Folia Historica* 85, 2010, pp. 114, 116.

111    B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów…", pp. 336–338; H. Chamerska, "Korzon Tadeusz Sylwester", in: SPKP, p. 445.

112    Letters from T. Korzon to Z. Celichowski of November 26, 1911 (B. Kórn., ms AB 99, p. 38), April 24, 1915 (B. Kórn., ms AB 29, p. 19) and September 28, 1915 (B. Kórn., ms AB 99, p. 40).

113    Postcard from T. Korzon to Z. Celichowski of June 28, 1916 (B. Kórn., ms AB 29, f. 21); Siemieńska's receipt of the payment for the work done, July 8, 1916 (B. Kórn., ms AB 99, p. 44).

114    B. Kórn., ms AB 133, ff. 1–2.

115    Ibidem, ff. 3–30.

cation (signatures, seals). We used Siemieńska's work to complement our reconstructions of those items that are currently missing, quoting her in relevant places in our catalogue of the TG.

Around the same time Siemieńska was doing her work, part of the TG manuscripts whose absence had been noted first by Przyborowski and later by Celichowski[116] were recovered. These were almost exclusively materials connected to the Łaski family, nearly all of them dating from 1530 and 1531[117]. Their restitution certainly took place after Przyborowski's death in 1896; we know this because when registering the missing items Celichowski mentions notes by "the late J. Przyborowski". It is almost certain that they were returned after the publication of Volumes 12 and 13 of the *Acta Tomiciana*, published in 1906 and 1915 respectively, in which the items were not used. The latest possible date for their return is November 1924, when the contents of all the boxes were checked by the BOZ librarian Jadwiga Korzonowa (1871–1942, librarian 1918–1929[118]), who crossed out the recovered items from Przyborowski's cards[119]. It was also probably at this point that Korzonowa reviewed the earlier foliation noted in pencil and altered it slightly, changing some pages from verso to recto and stamping all pages with a number stamp.

Undoubtedly the best-known researcher who examined the TG during the interwar period was Władysław Pociecha (1893–1958), the author of an extensive, although unfinished, biography of Queen Bona[120]. Pociecha was Director of the Kórnik Library and later Vice-Director of the Jagiellonian Library[121]. In the 1920s he began work on

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116   B. Kórn., мss AB 131, AB 132.

117   BN, мs BOZ 2053, TG XI - Nos. 1291-1293, 1316, 1319; TG XXIV - nos. 3031, 3015, 3195; TG XXIX - no. 3856.

118   B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów…", p. 338; D. Kamolowa, "Korzonowa Jadwiga", in: SPKP, pp. 445-446.

119   BN, мs BOZ 2053, TG XI, f. I; TG XXV, f. I; TG XIX, f. I.

120   W. Pociecha, *Królowa Bona (1494–1557). Czasy i ludzie odrodzenia*, vol. 1-4, Poznań 1949-1958.

121   See especially H. Barycz, "Pociecha Władysław Kazimierz August", in: PSB, vol. 22, pp. 19-23; M. Zawiercan, "Bibliotekarz, rękopiśmiennik, historyk epoki zygmuntowskiej - Władysław Pociecha", in: *Znawcy rękopisów*, ed. J. Cygańska, Warszawa 2002, pp. 52-68.

reactivating the *Acta Tomiciana* series, although it was not until 1952 that the first volume prepared by him appeared. Korzonowa's work at that time was probably connected with Pociecha's visit to the BOZ. On the initiative of the Polish Academy of Learning, Pociecha carried out in the years 1923–1924 a survey of primary sources from the Sigismund era[122]. He produced a number of copies and extracts of selected items from the TG, drew up a register of the entire collection for his own use (including some excerpts) and also had the manuscripts photographed; unfortunately these photographs are missing today so we have not been able to consult them. A more detailed description of Pociecha's materials, especially relevant as a source of information about lost items from the TG, is to be found in the preface to our catalogue of the TG.

Korzonowa's revision and our understanding of the arrangement and partial dispersion of the collection in the 19th century allow us to determine exactly which items had already been lost when the Second World War broke out – in other words which items were in neither Warsaw nor the Gloger collection. The fate of the following items remains unknown: Nos. 143 and 154 from Box II, no. 1237 from Box X, no. 1519 from Box XII, Nos. 2917 and 2953 from Box XXIV, no. 3135 from Box XXXV, Nos. 3304 and 3309 from Box XXVI, and no. 3877 from Box XXIX. This makes up ten items in all, a small proportion (approximately 0.25%) of the whole. Of them, the contents of only two items can be ascertained. These are the two covered by Stworzyński's descriptive list, namely Nos. 143 and 154. As regards their contents, both seem akin to manuscripts discovered in the Gloger collection in that they refer to Hungarian subjects and the Łaski family, therefore we may assume that they left the library together with those manuscripts. As for the remaining eight items, we have no earlier documentation referring to them even in a generalised manner and thus their contents are unknown. However, there is some justification for concluding that all the items that were missing from the BOZ before the War left the collection during the same period, because this is the

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122    W. Pociecha, "W sprawie…", p. 14; id., "Przedmowa", p. XII.

only confirmed case of items going missing from the TG before 1875, when they were noted by Przyborowski[123].

Luckily the TG did not suffer any noticeable losses during military operations in the Second World War or the German occupation of 1939–1944. They sustained no damage when the Library's buildings caught fire and were destroyed in the bombing attacks on Warsaw on September 7 and 25/26, 1939, when many other BOZ manuscripts were damaged[124]. The gravest threat to the TG came following the evacuation of manuscripts from Warsaw to Görbitsch (today's Garbicz in the Lubuskie province) in November 1944. In March 1945 the Red Army was the first to reach the place where they were stored. The Soviets carried off to Moscow a major part of the collection in relatively good condition. The leftover manuscripts from the TG remained in the palace in Görbitsch and its vicinity, exposed to all kinds of weather and acts of vandalism. A Polish delegation responsible for the repossession of library collections arrived in Görbitsch in May 1945[125]. Delegates from the Ministry of Education, the sinologist Witold Jabłoński (1901–1957) and theatrologist Bohdan Korzeniewski (1905–1992), found damaged books and manuscripts scattered in various buildings and outside, even recovering some TG materials from a latrine[126] [see fig. 3]. In July 1945 the defective items from Görbitsch were brought back to Warsaw where, together with other surviving manuscripts and books from the BOZ collection, they were handed over to the National

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123   Ludwik Kolankowski (1882–1956), a historian and from 1929 a director of the BOZ, is thus mistaken when he argues in a letter to Pociecha from June 13, 1939 (B. Kórn., ms AB 440/1, n. pag.) that some papers from the TG borrowed by Celichowski had been lost while away from the Library and that he did not want that to happen again. He uses this mistaken belief to justify his refusal to send certain items to Pociecha which were needed for the edition of the *Acta Tomiciana*.

124   On the circumstances and scope of the September 1939 losses suffered by the BOZ, see: B. Horodyski, "Straty...", pp. 325–329; id., "Zarys dziejów...", pp. 340–341; id., *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej w latach wojny*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 28–32.

125   "Sprawozdanie delegatów Ministerstwa Oświaty z wyjazdu do Goerbitsch pod Frankfurtem n/Odrą i rewindykacji książek z bibliotek warszawskich", in: H. Łaskarzewska, "Bohdana Korzeniewskiego przygoda bibliotekarska", *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 52, 2008, pp. 144–150. Cf. B. Korzeniewski, *Książki i ludzie*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 145–147.

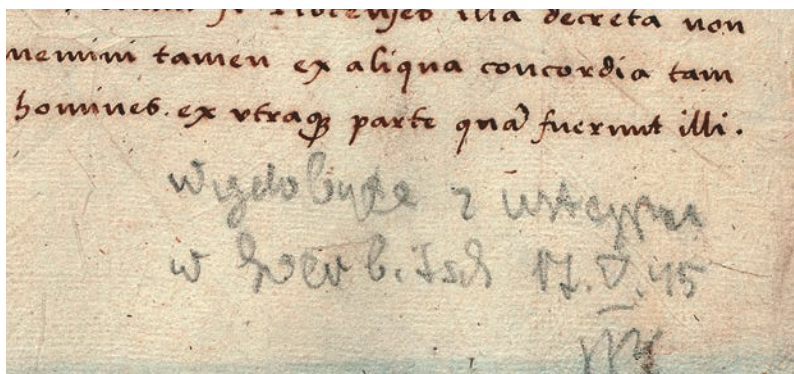126   BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XIV, f. 82.

FIG. 3. Detail, bottom margin, pencil note: "Wydobyte z ustępu w Goerbitsch 17 V 1945"
["Retrieved from the latrine in Görbitsch 17 May 1945"], signature illegible.
BN, MS BOZ 2053, TG XIV, f. 82.

Library[127]. In July 1947, TG II, III, V-VII, IX-XIII, XV, XVII, XX, XXII-XXV, XXVII and XXVIII were returned from Moscow to Warsaw[128]. The transfer of the BOZ manuscripts was publicised as a gesture of goodwill, bearing testimony to harmonious cooperation in the cultural sphere between the USSR and Poland[129].

In the National Library, the BOZ was given the status of permanent loan, certified in writing by the sixteenth (and last) *Ordynat* Jan Zamoyski (1912-2002)[130]. Considered to be priceless treasures from past centuries, they were immediately put in the care of professionals. In the Manuscripts Department - headed by Bogdan Horodyski (1904-1965), formerly the distinguished custodian of the BOZ - the way the

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127   K. Muszyńska, "Z pierwszych lat mojej pracy w Bibliotece Narodowej (1945-1949)", in: *Wspomnienia o Bibliotece Narodowej*, ed. A. Kłossowski, Warszawa 1995, p. 77; monthly report of the Manuscript Section of the National Library for July 1945 (BN Archive 487/75, p. 1).

128   *Lista książek i rękopisów Biblioteki Ord. Zamojskich* [!] *zwróconych przez Rząd Radziecki dnia 9 VII 1947 r.* [protocol drawn up on the opening of the chests], copy authenticated for its conformity to the original in the Chancellery of the National Library in 1971 (BN, MS akc. 15778). Cf. K. Muszyńska, "Z pierwszych lat...", pp. 80-81.

129   *Katalog wystawy rękopisów i druków wywiezionych przez hitlerowców do Niemiec uratowanych przez Armię Czerwoną i przekazanych Polsce przez rząd radziecki*, Warszawa 1948, pp. 3, 5, 7-8, 9, 14; *Dokumenty i materiały do historii stosunków polsko-radzieckich*, vol. 9: *styczeń 1946–grudzień 1949*, ed. E. Basiński et al., Warszawa 1974, pp. 215-216, no. 137; p. 217, no. 139.

130   *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej. Od Jana do Jana...*, pp. 251-252, no. 138 [electronic edition]; *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej. Przewodnik po wystawie*, ed. T. Makowski, Warszawa 2005, pp. 31-33 (English translation: pp. 51-52).

manuscript volumes were arranged in the BOZ was preserved as far as possible, as were the former shelf marks of individual items. In March 1946 the archival part of the collection was divided into three sections, again trying to reconstruct the pre-Second World War arrangement. The three sections were: correspondence of successive generations of the Zamoyski family; *dissoluta* without any visible reference codes; and the TG[131]. Further sorting of the TG was only possible after the collection was supplemented with the materials returned by the USSR in the summer of 1947. In the autumn of the same year, the consignment of manuscripts, temporarily deposited in the University Library, was sorted by Horodyski and Krystyna Muszyńska (1923–1994) working on behalf of the National Library[132]. In December 1947 the Manuscripts Department reported that 24 volumes of the TG had been stacked[133]. This does not mean that five volumes were still missing; rather the figure refers to the number of original boxes preserved[134]. Reconstruction of the contents according to the division into 29 boxes was completed in May 1950[135], following which the manuscripts were again made accessible to readers.

A few of the missing items were later identified and returned. Nos. 2363 and 2364 were discovered in 1975[136] among the papers of historian Jan Karol Kochanowski (1869–1949), which found their way to the

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131    Monthly report of the Manuscripts Department for March 1946 (BN Archive, 487/75, p. 15).

132    Monthly report of the Manuscripts Department for September–November 1947 (BN Archive, 487/75, pp. 39–42).

133    Monthly report of the Manuscripts Department for December 1947, fair copy (BN Archive, 487/75, pp. 47–48); annual report of the Manuscripts Department for the year 1947 (BN Archive, 487/25, p. 1).

134    Today we have 23 complete original boxes and two party preserved ones. The difference in number - 23 rather than the 24 boxes mentioned in 1947 - is because during conservation work the seriously damaged box containing TG III was exchanged for a new one. The only preserved parts were a label provided by Stworzyński and the lining of the pull-out protective insert on which Korzonowa noted in 1924 the results of her inspection of the box's contents. Moreover, in 1947 the surviving protective insert of TG XXVIII, which could not be used on its own as packaging for the manuscripts, was not reported.

135    Monthly report of the Manuscripts Department for May 1950 (BN Archive, 487/75, p. 5).

136    Handwritten note by K. Muszyńska in a summary TG list, TS, working papers of the Manuscripts Department.

National Library together with the BOZ, where they were deposited during the German occupation[137]. In 1979, during work on Pociecha's Nachlass in the Jagiellonian Library, nos. 2160 and 2161 were found and immediately incorporated into the rest of the TG in the National Library[138]. After the manuscripts were returned from the Soviet Union – the last transport arrived in March 1958 – the collection of the former BOZ was divided up between the National Library and the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records]. In the process a small number of items from the TG found their way to the latter institution by mistake: no. 1644 from Box XIV[139], Nos. 2123[140], 2131[141] and 2166[142] from Box XVIII, and Nos. 2264[143] and 2342[144] from Box XIX. After the War, the Russians also mistakenly sent some materials from the TG to Berlin, where they are to be found in the Staatsbibliothek, namely Nos. 1672–1674 from Box XIV and no. 2091 from Box XVIII[145]. The author of this article identified the items in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw and in the Berlin State Library as belonging to the TG only while working on the catalogue of the TG.

The number of items still lost and the boxes they once belonged to is as follows: two from Box II[146], one from Box X[147], one from Box XIII[148], 29 from Box XIV[149], 11 from Box XVIII[150], 39 from Box XIX[151], 31 from Box XX[152],

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137  On the papers and circumstances of their being deposited in the BOZ, see: Cz. Pomianowska, "Spuścizna Jana Karola Kochanowskiego", *Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej* 1977, no. 2(69), pp. 10–11.

138  Handwritten note by K. Muszyńska, as above.

139  AGAD, AZ 3042, ff. 1–1v.

140  Ibidem, AZ 2895, pp. 62–63

141  Ibidem, pp. 65–66.

142  Ibidem, pp. 56–58.

143  Ibidem, AZ 3042, ff. 3–4.

144  Ibidem, ff. 2–2v.

145  Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Depot 39, Bd. 1.

146  Nos. 143, 154.

147  No. 1237.

148  No. 1519.

149  Nos. 1587–1589, 1595–1599, 1601, 1647, 1654, 1655, 1661, 1663–1669, 1671, 1683–1688, 1692, 1693.

150  Nos. 2097, 2103, 2108–2110, 2113, 2114, 2133, 2167, 2168, 2179.

151  Nos. 2257, 2295–2297, 2300, 2304–2306, 2315, 2322, 2323, 2332–2334, 2351, 2358, 2360, 2361, 2365–2371, 2375, 2377–2382, 2387, 2389, 2393, 2397, 2398, 2409, 2413.

152  Nos. 2475–2481, 2483–2486, 2488–2503, 2508, 2518, 2519, 2524.

37 plus two partly lost from Box XXI[153], two from Box XXIV[154], one from Box XXV[155], two from Box XXVI[156], one from Box XXIX[157]. In sum there are 157 lost items and two partly lost, representing a 2% depletion of the collection.

For a relatively long period of time the TG lacked a permanent call number in the National Library. After the War they were only given an accession number – BOZ akc. 828 – as was standard procedure for newly acquired items in the National Library. The delay in including them in a serial system for items of the same provenance was out of respect for their historic order in the BOZ collection. In the case of the TG the previous number could not be used as there was no such number: in the BOZ they functioned independently, as it were, being distinctive and easy to find and quote from. This custom was maintained after 1945. Only when other BOZ manuscripts were put in order in the early 21st century - manuscripts that before the War had no call numbers or whose previous call numbers could not be established – were the TG given a permanent call number: BOZ 2053.

As one of the most valuable units in the National Library, the TG belonged to the first batch of manuscripts microfilmed by the Microfilm Station of the National Library in 1950[158]. These microfilms[159] were subsequently replaced with new ones produced in 1994. Today the value of the microfilms is merely documentary, indicating the shape of the

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153  Nos. 2525–2527, 2529–2540, 2543, 2546, 2549, 2550, 2578, 2581, 2583, 2585, 2586, 2595, 2602, 2605, 2607–2609, 2613, 2618, 2621, 2624, 2627, 2635a), 2629–2631, 2637a)–i).

154  Nos. 2917, 2953.

155  No. 3135.

156  Nos. 3304, 3309.

157  No. 3877.

158  *Katalog mikrofilmów Biblioteki Narodowej*, no. 1, Warszawa 1951, pp. 15–16. For detailed information on the extensive microfilming of library and archive holdings after the mass losses of manuscripts during the Second World War, which was seen in post-War Poland as an effective means of preserving documents and ensuring their wider circulation, see M. Szablewski, "Microfilming in Poland ", *Polish Libraries* 3, 2015, pp. 20–147 and id., *Dzieje mikrofilmowania przez Bibliotekę Narodową*, Warszawa 2015.

159  TG I – mf. 52; TG II – mf. 53; TG III – mf. 54; TG IV – mf. 55; TG V – mf. 75; TG VI – mf. 87; TG VII – mf. 88; TG VIII – mf. 89; TG IX – mf. 90; TG X – mf. 91; TG XI – mf. 73; TG XII – mf. 135; TG XIII – mf. 76; TG XIV – mf. 92; TG XV – mf. 94; TG XVI – mf. 78; TG XVII – mf. 95; TG XVIII – mf. 97; TG XIX – mf. 98; TG XX – mf. 99; TG XXI – mf. 100; TG XXII – mf. 101; TG XXIII – mf. 102; TG XXIV – mf. 103; TG XXV – mf. 104; TG XXVI – mf. 110; TG XXVII – mf. 111; TG XXVIII – mf. 112; TG XXIX – mf. 113.

collection before we began work on the catalogue. The current state of the TG can be seen from the new, high-quality scans available online via the National Digital Library Polona.

When preparing the catalogue of the TG, we worked on the assumption that it would present the collection in the form it had had in the BOZ. First, we maintained to the pre-War arrangement with regard to both the division into 29 boxes and the sequence and marking of items belonging to each box. Wherever the previous order had been disturbed, we re-introduced it. Next, we described those elements which were separated from the collection in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and are today found in the National Archives in Cracow, the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw and the Berlin State Library. Finally, we reconstructed as far as possible catalogue data for items that had been lost.

This concludes our survey of basic information about the creation of the TG, their contents and the changes in their use and meaning over time. Their history is one of increasing visibility and accessibility, from a private archive available only to the privileged few to a digital repository accessible by everyone and supported by a catalogue describing every item in the collection.

*translated by Bogna Piotrowska*

SUMMARY

This paper results from the author's work on a detailed catalogue of The Górski Archive (*Teki Górskiego*) in the National Library of Poland (MS BOZ 2053). The collection consists of letters and documents dating back to the reign of King Sigismund I Jagiellon and assembled by Canon Stanisław Górski (1497–1572) to be used as a source of texts for large collections of copies offered to the king Sigismund August and to the Royal Council (so called *Acta Tomiciana*). This article presents an outline of the most important aspects of the history of the Górski Archive: its creation, original contents, custodial history, as well as changing patterns of its use – from a political dossier to historical sources.

KEYWORDS: Stanisław Górski, Piotr Tomicki, Teki Górskiego, Acta Tomiciana, Zamoyski Family Library, Sigismund I Jagiellon

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# FORMATION OF THE HISTORICAL BOOK COLLECTION OF THE HIGHER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN TARNÓW IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The establishment of the Tarnów Diocese in 1783 brought with it the need to establish various institutions necessary for its efficient functioning.[1] One of them was the Theological Seminary. From the

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[1] After the First Partition of Poland, part of the Diocese of Cracow was incorporated by Austria, on 20 September 1783, the Diocese of Tarnów was organized in this area, its first bishop nominated on behalf of the Emperor Joseph II was Jan Duvall, who died on 13 December 1785 without being appointed a new bishop. On 24 December 1785, Joseph II appointed bishop Florian Amand Janowski, the previous abbot of Tyniec. The establishment of the diocese was confirmed by Pope Pius VI, on 13 March 1786, issuing the papal bull "In suprema beati Petri cathedra". The newly created Diocese of Tarnów was incorporated into the Archdiocese of Lviv. As a result of the Third Partition of Poland (1795) and the occupation of Cracow by Austria, it was decided to abolish the Tarnów Diocese, and the chapter was transferred to Kielce by the bull of Pope Pius VII, "Indefessum personarum regar dignitate fulgentium" on 13 June 1805. Another bull issued on 24 September 1805 divided the territory of the Tarnów Diocese between the Cracow and Przemyśl bishoprics. With the bull issued on 20 September 1821, Pope Pius VII established the Diocese of Tyniec, which included four districts: Bochnia, Myślenice, Nowosądecki and Tarnów. Another bishop and also a prior of Tyniec, Grzegorz Tomasz Ziegler began efforts to move the capital of the episcopate from Tyniec to Tarnów. By virtue of the bull "Sedium episcopalium translationes" issued by Pope Leon XII, on 23 April 1826, the capital was moved from Tyniec to Tarnów and the diocese received the official name of

very beginning, the seminary had its own library that served future priests in their studies. When Bishop Grzegorz Ziegler created the Theological Study in Bochnia in 1822, the first textbooks on theology and philosophy were created. This is confirmed by the inventory of books preserved from that period, prepared in the years 1823–1836 in which purchases of necessary textbooks were also recorded on an on-going basis. This was done (until 1833) by the then rector and priest Andrzej Rainer, and in the years 1833–1836 his successor, also a priest – Andrzej Ostrawski.[2] The inventory in question registers 50 books in 70 volumes.[3] Textbooks on the Holy Bible, canon law, practical theology, ethics and liturgical books prevailed. They served above all future priests preparing for pastoral work in the diocese.[4] The inventory has only five pages in the format *in folio*. For the record, it includes: name of the author of the book, title of the work, number of volumes, number of copies, as well as the year and place of publication.[5]

For the needs of the School For Pastoral Ministry (Studium Pastoralistów) in Bochnia, Wincenty Gałecki (1776–1834), parish priest in Zakliczyn by Dunajec River, dean of Brest and inspector of folk schools, pledged – which was recorded in the episcopal files in 1826 – to offer his substantial collection, asking in return that every newly ordained priest when leaving the seminary would celebrate two masses for his soul. Ultimately, the books did not reach the seminary collection at that time, and the Tarnów consistory ordered to hand them over to the deanery or parish library: "[…] quolibet ex hoc Seminari ordinatur

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Tarnów. The diocesan seminary from Bochnia was also moved to Tarnów, and the new building of the clergy seminary in Tarnów was opened on 1 September 1838. In the years 1880, 1886 and 1925, the diocese's boundaries changed. In 1925 the Diocese of Tarnów was moved from the Archdiocese of Lviv to the newly created Diocese of Cracow. B. Kumor, *Diecezja tarnowska. Dzieje ustroju i organizacji 1786 – 1985*, Kraków 1985, [Introduction].

2   Andrzej Ostrawski, an excellent preacher and teacher; from 1833 the canon of the Tarnów chapter; from 1834 - rector of the seminary in Tarnów; candidate for the Tarnów bishopric (1839) and Przemyśl bishopric (1840). A. Nowak, "Ostrawski Andrzej (1795–1871)", in: *Słownik Biograficzny Kapłanów Diecezji Tarnowskiej*, vol. 1, Tarnów 1999, pp. 139–140.

3   Ibidem.

4   Archive of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów [Archiwum Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie], *Consignatio librorum ab anno 1823 Bibliothecae Seminari episcopalis r. 1. Tynecensis, p. t. Bochniaea dscriptorum*, without call number.

5   Ibidem.

Presbyter unam Missam pro anima Vincentii Sacerdotis peccatoris opportuno tempore absolvere [...]".[6]

It is possible that the close perspective of moving the School For Pastoral Ministry from Bochnia to Tarnów, and perhaps due to attempts undertaken by priest Rainer to take over the collection of books from the dissolved Benedictine monastery in Tyniec and lack of space, no donation was accepted from priest Gałecki. The efforts made to take over the Tyniec book collection were positively referred to by the governorate, which in 1826 gave permission to supply the collection of the School For Pastoral Ministry with books from the library collection of the former Tyniec monastery.[7]

When in 1838 the seminary was being moved to a new building in Tarnów, its basic collection consisted of textbooks taken from the School For Pastoral Ministry in Bochnia. It is sometimes mentioned in the source literature that there were also books brought from the Cistercian monastery in Szczyrzyc and the already mentioned Tyniec collection. This requires some clarification. Information on the alleged transfer of a significant part of the Cistercian library in Szczyrzyce to Lviv and Tarnów comes from Józef Łepkowski, bishop and Józef Jerzmanowski, patron of arts and was published in 1850 in the third volume of the journal "Biblioteka Warszawska". They noted: „[...] with the death of the last abbot in 1794, a significant part of the collection was transported to Lviv and incorporated with other collections coming from dissolved monasteries throughout the country into the university library which was burned on 2 November 1848. Some were also taken to the diocese seminary, which is today in Tarnów. Currently, the library in Szczyrzyc includes one small cell with one window, which houses merely 1,100 works."[8] Nobody verified this infor-

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6    Archiwum Diecezjalne Tarnów, *Acta Episcopalia, anno 1826*, vol. A/6.

7    Wincenty Gałecki was a priest in Zakliczyn from 1801, and from 1822 a councilor of the episcopal consistory in Tarnów. A. Nowak, *Gałecki Wincenty h. Junosza (1776–1834)*, in: Słownik Biograficzny Kapłanów Diecezji Tarnowskiej, vol. 2, Tarnów 2000, p. 214. ADT, *Protocollon Gestrorum Consistorii Episcopalis Tynecensis, anno 1822–1827*, nr 1022, 1215.

8    J. Łepkowski, J. Jerzmanowski, *Ułamek z podróży archeologicznej po Galicji, odbytej w roku 1849*, "Biblioteka Warszawska", 3/1850, p. 215.

mation later, and many 19th and 20th century researchers uncritically duplicated it.[9] The oldest preserved catalogues of books referring to the collection of the Tarnów seminary, e.g. "Consignatio librorum" for the years 1823–1836, do not mention any book coming from the Cistercian monastery in Szczyrzyc.[10] The lack of books with the provenance of the Cistercian monastery in Szczyrzyc is also confirmed by the inventory of the seminar library, no books with the provenance of that monastery were found in the Tarnów collection.

It should be mentioned that incunabula and early printed books preserved in the library of the monastery in Szczyrzyc today have the following entries that mention their provenance: "Ex libris Fratrum Monasterij Ciriciensis SOC, Conventus Sciriciensis SOC, Ex libris Monasterij Ciriciensis, Monasterije Monmicium or Cir S. Ordinis Cisterciensis"; such entries are nowhere to be found in the books of the Tarnów seminary.[11]

Thus, the books brought from Bochnia together with the collection of the Benedictine monastery in Tyniec and the so-called „remains" of collection of dissolved monasteries from Galicia region, incorporated by Austria during the Partition of Poland, formed the basis of the original seminary collection in 1838. As noted, in 1826, Bishop Ziegler obtained permission to supply still quite modest library of the School For Pastoral Ministry in Bochnia with books from Tyniec. The oldest inventory of books in 1823–1836 shows only 50 books in 70 volumes, i.e. it does not include books from Tyniec. Meanwhile, historians, Władysław Kętrzyński and Stanisław Smolka, in the codex of Tyniec monastery entitled "Kodeks dyplomatyczny klasztoru tynieckiego"

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9   Jolanta M. Marszalska, *Katalog inkunabułów Biblioteki opactwa oo. cystersów w Szczyrzycu*, Tyniec 2002 (introduction); *Biblioteka opactwa cystersów w Szczyrzycu do końca XIX stulecia. Dziedzictwo wieków*, Tarnów 2011.

10  Archive of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów, *Consignatio librorum ab anno 1823 Bibliothecae Seminarii Episcopalis r. 1. Tynecensis, p. t. Bochniaea descriptorum*, without call number.

11  J. M. Marszalska, *Biblioteka opactwa cystersów w Szczyrzycu do końca XIX stulecia. Dziedzictwo wieków*, Tarnów 2007, pp. 141–142, where examples of provenance entries are cited on the title pages of incunabula and early printed books indicating ownership of the monastery library. Such records were not found during the inventory of the collections of the library of the seminary in Tarnów.

and published in 1875, noted: "The Tyniec collection was transported to Lviv in 1819 and incorporated into the University Library, later, in 1825 the Tarnów consistory convinced that the entire collection of books, once exclusive property of the Tyniec monastery, and now belonging to the 'Religion Fund', should be returned to Tarnów Seminary. As a result, the university librarian was ordered to separate the books already included in the library and put it in a separate compartment. It all took thirty years, and finally the same thing happened to the Tyniec library as did to the archives, which was only later incorporated, in 1827, from Tyniec to Lviv at the expense of the government and was put under temporary supervision by a university librarian."[12]

The Tyniec archive, incorporated into the collection of the university library, burned down in Lviv in 1848.[13] The large-size collection of books from Tyniec kept in the library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów indicates that the fate of the collection of books of the Benedictine monastery in Tyniec was different. Transferred between 1826 and 1848, it was included in the aforementioned seminary library. It was not the entire Tyniec collection, because part of the collection was taken to the university library in Lviv, and remained there.[14] Thus, from the beginning of its creation, the Tarnów seminary had its own library. The main prefect of the seminary took care of it. In the years 1854-1871 this function was performed by a priest Józef Martusiewicz, who in 1857, together with a priest Jan Fąferko, received the inventory entitled *Bücherkatalog der Tarnower Seminar Bibliothek*, written in German. This inventory recorded a total of 2,158 volumes and already included the Tyniec collection.[15]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the seminary collection increased mainly thanks to the gifts and testamentary bequests from superiors, seminary professors and clergymen performing various curial functions. During this period, many priests and scholars left

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12  *Kodeks dyplomatyczny klasztoru tynieckiego*, Lwów 1875, p. VIII-IX.

13  L. Finkiel, S. Starzyński, *Historia Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego*, Lwów 1894, pp. 120-123.

14  S. Dahl, *Dzieje książki*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1965, p. 343.

15  R. Banach, *Seminarium Duchowne w Tarnowie (1838 – 1921)* (typescript) Lublin 1985, p. 147.

a bequest to the library, among others, Marcin Leśniak (1800-1889), the bibliophile and friend of Ambroży Grabowski, who was a historian and book collector himself, notary of the episcopal court and rector of the seminary, Wincenty Gałecki from Zakliczyn (1776-1834), dean of Brest and inspector of folk schools, Jan de Matha Duszyński (1774-1837), priest in Limanowa, Jan Tylkowski (1712-1791), priest in Żegocin and dean of Lipnica and Maciej Tylkowski (1746-1825), his nephew, doctor of philosophy at the Jagiellonian University and lecturer in procedural law, also a native of Żegociny, as well as other diocesan priests.[16] Thanks to testamentary bequests, the seminary collection in 1888 already consisted of about 4000 volumes.[17]

The library experienced the best period of its development in the nineteenth century since 1888, under the management of rector Józef Bąba.[18] When he took the office of the rector of the seminary, he put a lot of effort into expanding the existing library collection mainly by specialized books necessary for the education of future priests. In 1894, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education agreed to allocate 100 Guldens from the Religious Fund to purchase books and bind those that were damaged. Józef Bąba meticulously noted every purchase, often stating the amount for which he bought the book, together with the date of its purchase. The entries he made himself have been preserved on the title pages of many works. Among the books purchased by the rector were: *Kazania niedzielne i świąteczne* [...] (*Sunday and Holiday Sermons* [...]) (Cracow 1523) by Dominican monk Fabian Birkowski who wrote on the title page himself: "Duo tomi comparati A.D. 1895, pro 30 flo. Dr. Jos. Bąba, rector".[19] In 1889, Rector Józef Bąba purchased an-

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16  J.M. Marszalska, W. Graczyk, *Zespoły proweniencyjne zasobu inkunabułów i starych druków Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie. Właściciele – Użytkownicy – Bibliofile*, Warszawa 2017, pp. 223-225; 213-222, 226-230.

17  A. Nowak, *Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie. Zarys historyczny* (typescript), Tarnów 1967, p. 60.

18  Schematyzm Diecezji Tarnowskiej, Tarnów 1992, p. 96; B. Kumor, "Bąba Józef (1849-1936)", in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 2, Lublin 1976, kol. 154-155.

19  BLibrary of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary [Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie / Seminarium Duchowne], call number 5239. Fabian Adam Birkowski (1566-1636), Dominican monk, writer of

other two works for the library collection, each for 6 florins: *Acta ecclesiae Mediolanensis [...]* (Milan 1599) by Frederick Boromaeus, on which he also noted details of the purchase: "Comparavit pro Bibliotheca Seminarii Clericalis Tarnoviensis 6 flo. dr Josephus Bąba 1889", and *Ius canonicum sive commentaria [...]* (Augsburg 1676) by Prosper Fagnanius, where we can find nearly the same note as in the previous book: "Comparavit pro Bibliotheca Seminarii Tarnoviensis, 6 flo. Anno 1889, dr Josephus Bąba – rector".[20]

In 1891 another work was purchased for the library's collection – *Concilium Tridentinum [...]* by Jan Gallemart, published in Venice in 1780.[21] There is a note on the title page: "Priest doctor Józef Bąba, rector of the Seminary, canonicus cath. Tarnoviensis, 1891, 1 flo. 34", and *De beneficis Ecclesiasticis [...]* (Venice 1618) by Nicholas Hispanus.[22] An important „acquisition" to the library at that time were the so-called „Panormitana" in the field of broadly understood law. In 1903, the rector purchased seven volumes of this excellent work for 45 crowns, bringing them from Rome. This fact was also meticulously noted on the title page of the work: *Panormitanus, Commentaria primae Patris in primum decretalium [...]*, vol. 1–7 (Venice 1582), with the note: "Brought from Rome in 1903 for 45 crowns x dr J. Bąba, rector".[23]

On the initiative of Józef Bąba, in 1889 the first reading room was established, intended for priests, professors and future priests, and the cataloging of the entire collection of the Tarnów seminary was undertaken. This was also insisted by the Austrian state authori-

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hagiographies and theologian, in 1612 he took the position of the preacher of the prince Władysław, son of King Sigismund III Vasa. He had an extraordinary oratory talent, he preached at the funerals of nobleman and chancellor Jan Zamoyski, Jesuit Piotr Skarga, King Sigismund III Vasa and his wife Constantia of Austria, military commander Jan Karol Chodkiewicz and others. E. Ozorowski, "Birkowski Fabian Adam (1556–1636)", in: *Słownik Polskich Teologow Katolickich*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1981, pp. 163–165.

20   Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary [Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie / Seminarium Duchowne], call number 637.
    Ibidem, call number 6186.

21   Ibidem, call number 4381.

22   Ibidem, call number 6181.

23   Ibidem, call numbers 71-77.

ties, which demanded to present a detailed list of books that constituted the seminary's tangible assets. To meet the expectations of the authorities, in 1889, Józef Bąba started to carry out this task. The seminary collection was divided into 21 thematic sections: [1] Ascetic, [2] Dogmatics, [3] Philosophy, [4] Hagiography, [5] History, [6] Atlases, Maps, [7] Religious Education and Pedagogy, [8] ] Preaching, [9] Lexicons, or Encyclopedias, [10] Linguistics, [11] Liturgy, [12] Mixta, [13] Ethics, [14] Mysticism, [15] Patristics, [16] Patrology, [17] Pastoral Theology, [18] Law, [19] Periodic, [20] Rhetoric, [21] Biblical Study.[24]

The catalogue listed 4601 volumes standing on the library shelves. In order to provide better conditions for the storage of books, it was decided to move them from the room on the second floor (above the seminary chapel) to a larger one, room number 51, also located on the second floor. It was a more spacious room that could accommodate a large number of books. At the same time, a decision was made to transfer in 1893 to a new library room 437 works from chapter collections, including 16 incunabula and many valuable early printed books. In 1904, the library collection had a total of 5,774 volumes.[25]

In the nineteenth century, the core of the Tarnów seminary library consisted of books from the former Tyniec monastery, books of dissolved monasteries from Galicia, testament bequests of professors of the Tarnów seminary and books from the collegiate chapter (later cathedral chapter) in Tarnów.

At the end of the first half of the 19th century, the Tyniec collection was taken to the seminary in Tarnów and was included in its library. Five inventories of books that were carried out in the monastery library in Tyniec at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries allow to determine its size. Particularly noteworthy are: *Catalogus librorum in bib-*

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24   The aforementioned division of the books into 21 thematic sections was specified on the volumes of the seminary collection that have survived to this day (on their title pages), and was written by hand in pencil.

25   A. Nowak, *Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie. Zarys historyczny*, Tarnów 1967, Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary (typescript), call number 022, pp. 60–64.

*liothecae Archicoenobii Tynecensis reperilium*, made in 1789 under the prior of Antoni Chmurzyński (1784-1812), and *Hauptverzeichniss saemtlicher in der Tyniscer ex Benedictiner Kloster Bibliosterk [...] de dato Bochnia 7 septembra 1818* made after the monastery had been already dissolved.[26] Both record a total of about 4,400 books. These books were in the library until the monastery was dissolved. It was one of the larger and more valuable monastery collections of books at that time. It is worth mentioning that large collections also belonged to other monasteries that were taken over by a linguist and librarian Samuel Bogumił Linde after 1819. For comparison, from the Benedictine monastery on Łysa Góra Linde took about 4,400 volumes, from the Benedictine monastery in Sieciechów – 3,055, from the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre in Miechów – 4,677 volumes, Cistercians in Koprzywnica – about 2,600 and Sulejów over 2,300 old books.[27]

Currently, there are about 2,100 books coming from the Tyniec seminary library in Tarnów, thus in the nineteenth century about 50% of the entire library collection of the Tyniec monastery was incorporated to the seminary library. An inventory of books, made in 1857 (for the needs of the library of the seminary), entitled "Bücherkatalog der Tarnower Seminar Bibliothek", notes 2,158 works.[28]

The Tyniec collection, incorporated into the seminary library in Tarnów two centuries ago, requires at least a brief report. When it comes to the thematic areas, the collection reflected the spirit of each of the centuries in which it was collected. The proximity of the Tyniec monastery to the Cracow Academy had some influence on the development of the Tyniec library and the profile of the collection. This is evidenced by the presence of philosophical or theological treatises by the professors of the Cracow University; also, the monastery stayed in

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26   P. Sczaniecki, *Katalog opatów tynieckich*, Kraków 1978, p. 229.
J.M. Marszalska, "Biblioteka Opactwa Benedyktynów w Tyńcu w świetle zachowanych Inwentarzy", *Roczniki Biblioteczne*, 1–2/1977, pp. 29-42.

27   P. P. Gach, *Mienie polskich zakonów i jego losy w XIX wieku*, Rome 1979, p. 15, tab. 2; M. Łodyński, *Materiały do dziejów państwowej polityki bibliotecznej w Księstwie Warszawskim i Królestwie Polskim (1807–1831)*, Wrocław 1958, pp. 44, 58, 61, 71, 74, 75.

28   A. Nowak, *Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego...*, p. 46.

contact with similar centres in other countries. It was also important to educate abbots and priors in Tyniec, which upgraded the intellectual level of the monastery.

The Tyniec monastery had a rich collection of theological works and various editions of the Bible. Many of them enriched the library in the 16th century, and generally these were the books that were corresponding with the Post-Tridentine Theology and defended the faith against the threat of spreading Protestantism. The opening of the monastery to the intellectual culture is also visible through the accumulated collection of books on natural and legal sciences. We may, therefore, be tempted to say that, by choosing books for future priests, it was intended to make the achievements of European and Polish humanism the core of the religious formation and reform of the monastery, and perhaps the Polish Church in the second half of the 16th century.[29] It was also common to travel abroad, to religious chapters, and thus books and scientific novelties were being brought back to native country.

Judging from the notes left on the books, it can be concluded that Tyniec librarians took care of placing the book on the shelf within a particular field. We can also judge what great care was taken of the books by their binding. The oldest printed books (incunabula) mostly preserved the original binding from the first half of the 16th century.[30] It is worth noting that the late Renaissance binding is characteristic of the Tyniec library. It was made of beech boards, coated with white pigskin, with a visible imprint of a small cutting wheel and plaquette. In the middle of the front face of the binding on many books is visible Tyniec ex libris in the form of an oval plaquette. It features the oldest known image of the Tyniec monastery, and above it the image of the Mother of God with the Child in her arms. There are two versions of Tyniec ex libris: *minor* and *maior*. The oldest work with the ex libris

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29  S. Estreicher, "Katalog ksiąg tynieckich sporządzony przez Mikołaja Mieleckiego", *Rocznik Krakowski*, 37/1965, pp. 16–17.

30  J.M. Marszalska, *Katalog Inkunabułów Biblioteki Opactwa oo. Cystersów w Szczyrzycu*, Tyniec 2002, pp. 15–16.

mentioned comes from the times of abbot Mielecki from 1594. Many works have the date „1634" embossed, which indicates that the books were bound under Karol Ferdynand Waza (abbot, 1635–1641), a royal brother known for his love of the aesthetics of old books.[31]

The Tyniec collection was shaped by prior's or abbot's acquisitions and generous donations.[32] Major donors of books include Benedictine monk, the seventeenth-century historian of Tyniec – Stanisław Szczygielski.[33] Generous donors of books in the 17th century were: two Benedictine monks from Tyniec, Jacek and Karol Jaźwiecki (they gathered a considerable collection in the field of biblical literature, canon law and theology); Maciej Suchorabski (gathered a significant collection of books on theology, including, among others, many works of Tomasz Młodzianowski, a Jesuit, lecturer in theology at the Jesuit College in Poznań); Jan Grygerowicz, prior's assistant in Tyniec – who bequeathed many works of theology and philosophy to the library; Piotr Mazorkowicz – doctor of philosophy, donor of, above all, editions of Aristotle's works; Bonifacy Rostocki, prior of the Tyniec monastery, donor of many works in the field of biblical literature, canon law; Bogumił Mycielski, prior's assistant in Tyniec, donator of works on ascetic subjects; Wieńczysław Ziółkowski – bequeathed books on philosophy and preaching, or Faust Śmietanka, who gave books in the field of moral theology. The most generous book donor to the monastery library was one of the the last abbots of Tyniec, Florian Amand Janowski (1762–1788), who offered books on dogmatic theology, canon law, preaching, hagiography and liberal arts.[34] His books within the former Tyniec library constitute a clearly separate collection.

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31  P. Sczaniecki, *Katalog opatów tynieckich*, Kraków 1978, p. 241.

32  The way of enlarging the book collection by purchase or bequests will be presented based on the preserved entries on the title page of individual works in subsequent chapters. These entries will be cited *in extenso*.

33  W. Graczyk, *Stanisław Łubieński, pasterz, polityk i pisarz (1573–1640)*, Kraków 2005, pp. 18, 40, 42, 353, 360, 387.

34  L. Grzebień, "Młodzianowski Andrzej (1626–1686)", in: *Słownik Polskich Teologów Katolickich*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1982, pp. 143–146.
J. M. Marszalska, W. Graczyk, *Zespoły proweniencyjne zasobu inkunabułów i starych druków biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie…*, pp. 37–98.

The historical book collection of the library of the Tyniec monastery was being shaped in changing cultural and political circumstances, marked by the tragic turn of events in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It contains an almost complete collection of sixteenth-century editions of the works of the Fathers of the Church, valuable editions of the Bible, originating from both Polish and foreign printing houses, or works of Polish theologians, e.g. Stanisław Hozjusz, Stanisław Sokołowski, Ferdynand Ohm-Januszowski or Jan Franciszek Hacki. The department of polemic theology is represented, among others, by works of Robert Bellarmin as well as Polish polemists, e.g. the mentioned Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz or Marcin Śmiglecki. Philosophy, civil and canon law, history, church history, hagiography, linguistics, grammar and rhetoric are also represented in the library by the most important works at that time, authors of both ancient and modern, Polish and foreign origin. A large part of the seminary collection consists of books on Polish and European preaching tradition, as well as of numerous treatises on Latin pronunciation used in churches and homiletic theory. There is also a significant amount of the so-called Sunday and holiday sermons for various periods of the liturgical year, as well as funeral, panegyric and occasional ones. The authors of sermons represent almost the entire religious community, coming from various places in Poland.[35]

In the preserved collection of books from the Tyniec seminary, from the notes made by owners of the books on title pages of both incunabula and early printed books, we have valuable information about these owners, their function, and their education. The preserved entries, although hardly legible in many places, sometimes partly blurred, are still an invaluable historical source to learn about the history of the library of the oldest Benedictine monastery in Poland. In the light of the preserved archival material, and above all thanks to the books themselves, one can obtain a number of valuable information important for the culture of Polish literature, with particular emphasis on

35   J. M. Marszalska, W. Graczyk, *Zespoły proweniencyjne zasobu inkunabułów i starych druków biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie…,* pp. 37 – 99.

theological and historical Benedictine literature, its reception in the religious environment, educational and spiritual value, as well as the function a book performed in ancient times within the church milieu. From the dates of these entries (often including the amount that was paid when the book was purchased) and the circumstances in which it was purchased, one can learn about the book's circulation in the Benedictine (Tyniec) environment of past centuries. The provenance of the preserved collection of books presents the enormous cultural and prosopographic richness of its time, as well as literary wealth of the monastery.

The pages of the preserved old books from the seminary collection contain entries of several abbots, priors, their assistants, novice, religious historians and theologians. In addition to them, there are entries made by ordinary monks about whom one will not learn from dictionaries or studies dedicated to Tyniec monastery. These records left centuries ago in the monastery books force us to make reflections concerning history, and to constantly ask questions about the role and importance of the book in the everyday life of a monk (Benedictine). The legacy of donors, testament bequests and gifts constituted the basic form of expanding the library's collection, both at the beginning of the monastery's existence and over the centuries of its operation.[36] They were also proof that the rule prohibiting monks from owning anything (including books) was not always observed in practice.

The title (pre-title) pages of many works have characteristic ownership entries indicating the owner of the books, which was the monastery in Tyniec. The most frequently visible entries are: "Pro Bibliotheca Tyneciana"; "Inscriptus Cathalogo Bibliothecae Monasterii Tynecensis"; "Est Monasterii Tynecensis; Inscriptus Cathalogo librorum Tynecensis, Bibliothecae Archicaenobii Tynecensis OSB"; "Ex cathalogo librorum Monasterij Regij Conventus Tynecensis S. Ordinis S. Benedicti"; "Pro Bibliotheca Abbatia Tynecensis Ord. PP. Benedicti",

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36   J. M. Marszalska, *Biblioteka opactwa cystersów w Szczyrzycu do końca XIX stulecia. Dziedzictwo wieków*, Tarnów 2011, pp. 147-148; B. Bieńkowska, *Staropolski świat książek*, Wrocław 1976, p. 205; K. Nierzwicki, *Biblioteki kartuzji kaszubskiej i Gidlach*, Pelplin 2001, pp. 43-44.

often with the note: "Ordo Sancti Benedicti" with the call number of the book in the library. All preserved records confirm that a significant part of the works came from the collections of abbots and priors (after their death) and were included in the general library. As already noted, monks from Tyniec who were novices, preachers or confessors also owned books. Books owned by them (or purchased for their use) were at hand, easily accessible. Monks that were teaching at the Tyniec monastery, owned their private collections and were responsible for the level of education, e.g. in biblical literature, liturgy, dogmatic theology or the works of the Fathers of the Church. Many seminary books coming from the seminary have additional entries on the title pages: "Ad usum scholarum" or "ad usum studiosae iuventutis".[37] Books were also owned by monks studying at the Cracow University, often singing them, frequently including the amount paid for the book necessary to continue their studies.

Various forms of entries placed traditionally and customarily on title (pre-title) pages are noted on a significant number of the books in the seminary collection. And so, on the multi-volume work of Ulisse Aldrovandi in the field of ornithology, *Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum historiae [...]* (Bononia 1621), it was noted: "Inscriptus cathalogo librorum Monasterii Tynecensis AD 1634".[38] There are also other notes that include dates: St. Bede the Venerable, *Opera [...]* (Cologne 1612): "Inscriptus cathalogo librorum Regii Caenobi Tynecensis Ord. S. Benedicti A. D. 1645"; Frederick de Marselaer, *Equitis legatus [...]* (Antwerp 1626): "Inscriptus cathalogo librorum Regii Caenobi Tynecensis Ord. SS. Patri Benedicti A.D. 1653".[39] A similar entry can be found in the work of Gilbertus Nozerenus, *Secundus observationum [...]* (Basel 1545), below it was added: "Prohibitus".[40] In turn, on the work of Andrés Pinto Ramírez, Cantica canticorum (Lugduni 1642), there is a record (along with the call number): "Inscriptus cathalogo librorum Regii

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37 Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call number 2134 adligatum 3.

38 Ibidem, call numbers 6206–6209, 639–641.

39 Ibidem, call numbers 6147, 3294.

40 Ibidem, call number 1245.

Caenobi Tynecensis Ord. SS. Benedicti A.D. 1649", below: "Monasterii Tynecensi armaria primo media partis Bibliothecae Monasterii Tynecensis".[41]

An interesting entry, although quite blurred, we can find in the polemical work of Martinus Smiglecius *Verbum caro factum [...]* (Cracow 1613). The title page says: "Ex libris Christian [illegible] ministrali Racoviensi", followed by: "Pro Monasterii Tynecensi dono dedi coenobio Ordo S. Benedicti", and below, other handwriting: "Martinus Śmiglecki de erroribus arianorum arm. secundi".[42]

Many of the books from the seminary do not have dated entries, only information about their belonging to the library. This is the case, for example, with the work of Vincentius Bruno, *Meditationes de praecepius mysteriis [...]* (Cologne 1598), where we find a note: "Ex libris Archiceonobi Tynecensis Regalis fundationis Cracoviam", or Giovanni Crisostomo Trombelli, *Mariae sanctissimae vitae [...]* (Bononia 1761), similarly there is a note on the work of the preacher Jakub Gawath, *Poseł boskiej łaskawości*, published in Lviv in 1648, which says: "Ex libris Bibiliothecae Archicenobi Tynecensis", with call number 7.[43] Common entry on the title page: "Pro Bibliotheca Tynecensi" we can also fin among others on the work of the Jesuit Jacob Gretser *Lutherus Academicus [...]* (Ingolstadt 1610).[44] The book belonged to the second library. An identical, dated entry (with no call number) is also found in the work of St. Thomas Aquinas, *Philosophiae Thomistica [...]* (Augustae Vindelicorum 1724), with a visible date: 1772.[45] It is worth noting that Fransiscan monk and preacher Antoni Węgrzynowicz left in his book *Kazań niedzielnych księga pierwsza* [...] (Kraków 1708) a handwritten note offering his work to the Tyniec library with a request to celebrate one Mass in his memory after his death: "Pro Bibliotheca Abbatia Tynecensis Ord. Benedictorum offert. Author", and slightly

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41   Ibidem, call number 694.

42   Ibidem, call number 27250.

43   Ibidem, call numbers 1687, 4100.

44   Ibidem, call number 395.

45   Ibidem, call number 5583.

below written with the same hand: "pro una missa celebranda pro defuncti Benefac".[46] The books from the Tyniec library that were included in the seminary library received separate call numbers, and were ordered on shelves according to bibliographic formats. Most of them are in folio format.

It should be added that the collection of early printed books of the seminary library in Tarnów also contains several prints containing a provenance note, confirming that books came to the library from the bishopric in Tuchów which belonged to the Tyniec monastery. And thus inside the book of the protonotary apostolic, canon and official of Biecz and the provost in Brzostek, Stanisław Golański, entitled *Boleslaus II rex Poloniarum of Sr. Stanislai episcopi et martyris Cracoviensis* [...], and published in Cracow in 1735, we can find a note: "Pro Bibliothecae Praepositurae Tuchoviensi, monastery Tynecensis".[47] Similarly, in the first volume of the polemic work of Bernard Paxillus, *Monachomachia pro defensione fidei SS. Trinitatis* [...], published in 1616 by Oficyna Łazarzowa in Cracow, it was noted: "Praepositurae Tuchoviensis". This book was dedicated to prince Janusz Ostrogski, „count of Tarnów, castellan of Cracow, Włodzimierz, Kaniów, Czerkasy, etc. etc."[48]

Slightly different entries, but also certifying the fact of belonging books to the collection of bishopric of Tuchów, we can find in the book of Thomas Aquinas *Summa totius theologicae* [...], published in Cologne in 1604: "Ex Cathalogo Librorum Praepositurae Tuchoviensis F.F. Ordinis P.N. Benedicti Congregationis Tinecensis sumptum ex Bibliothecae Tinecensis", as well as in the second volume of the work of Jesuit Gregorio de Valencia, *Opera omnia* [...], published in Lyon in 1603.[49] There is a note on the title page of the book: "Praepositurae Tuchoviensis", and slightly below, with the same handwriting, it is also noted that the book became part of the Tuchów monastery: "Inscriptus Cathalogo

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46   Ibidem, call number 5371.
47   Ibidem, call number 21300.
48   Ibidem, call number 6473.
49   Ibidem, call number 6121.

Monasterij Tuchoviensis".[50] Yet another example is the book on preaching purchased by Amand Zawadzki, vicar and preacher from Tuchów, 10 May 1710 in Tuchów, which was meticulously noted: "Patris Amandi Zawadzki OS Benedicti Proffessi Tynecensis Vicarij Concionatoris Tuchoviensis liber emptus Tuchoviae Anno Days 1710, decima maii", and below: "Patris Amandi Zawadzki Benedicti Tynecensis mpp."

This note we can find in the work of Andrea Mendo *Quadragesim, seu conciones* [...] (Lugduni 1676).[51] It does not directly indicate the fact of purchasing the book for the collection of the bishopric or its transfer to the monastery library, however, it highlights the fact of purchasing the book in Tuchów. The provenance records cited above (made with one hand) would indicate that the books belonging to the Tuchów bishopric did not constitute a separate collection, but were part of the collection of the Benedictine monastery in Tyniec. Currently, together with the surviving group of books of the Tyniec monastery, they form a separate part in the collection of the Tarnów seminary library with separate call numbers assigned to it. The book collection of the Tyniec monastery together with the books of the Tuchów provinces is a large and valuable collection important for learning the history of the collection and culture of books in the past centuries in one of the oldest Benedictine monasteries in Poland. Among the books from the Tarnów library, this collection stands out for its distinctive binding both of incunabula and prints from the 16th and 17th centuries.

Thus, the Tyniec library collection included in the collection of the emerging seminary library in the first half of the 19th century constituted its core but there were other important additions. The second important part that was incorporated into the library of the Tarnów seminary in the 19th century were the surviving books of the dissolved monasteries from the Tarnów Diocese within its borders until the mid-19th century.[52] In his report showing the state of the

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50   Ibidem, missing call number.

51   Ibidem, call number 3208.

52   B. Kumor, *Diecezja tarnowska. Dzieje ustroju i organizacji 1786–1985*, pp. 602–610; M. Marszalska, W. Graczyk, *Zespoły proweniencyjne zasobu inkunabułów i starych druków biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie…*, pp. 103 - 137.

Tarnów Diocese that bishop Florian Amand Janowski sent to Rome in 1796, he added information about the monasteries dissolved at that time. Of the 28 intended for dissolution, initially 16 monasteries were liquidated.[53] At that time, individual books from liquidated monastery libraries were finding their way to the Tarnów seminary: from Augustinians in Radomyśl nad Sanem – the St. James Church (dissolved in 1782);[54] Observant Franciscans in Bochnia – the Discovery of the True Cross Church (dissolved in 1788);[55] in Tarnów – the Our Lady of the Snows Church (dissolved in 1777);[56] Observant Franciscans in Tarnów – the Exaltation of the Holy Cross Church (dissolved in 1783);[57] Dominicans in Bochnia – the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (dissolved in 1777);[58] in Żmigród – the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (dissolved before 1799);[59] Friars Minor Conventual in Nowy Sącz – the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (dissolved in 1786);[60] Canons Regular of the Lateran in Sucha Beskidzka – the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (dissolved in 1782);[61] Discalced Carmelites in Nowy Wiśnicz – the Holy Savior Church (dissolved in 1783);[62] Calced Carmelites in Jasło – the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (dissolved in 1786);[63] Poor Clares in Stary Sącz – the Holy Trinity Church (dissolved in1782);[64] Premonstratensians in Nowy Sącz – the Holy Spirit and the Blessed Vir-

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53   Ibidem, p. 607.

54   L. Bieńkowski, E. Janicka - Olczakowa, L. Müllerowa, *Tabele źródłowe nr 1–69*, figure 1, map VIII, in: *Zakony męskie w Polsce w 1772. Materiały do atlasu historycznego chrześcijaństwa w Polsce*, vol. 1, Lublin 1972.

55   Ibidem, illustration 6, map X.

56   Ibidem.

57   B. Kumor, *Diecezja tarnowska. Dzieje ustroju i organizacji 1786–1985*, p. 607.

58   L. Bieńkowski, E. Janicka - Olczakowa, L. Müllerowa, *Tabele źródłowe nr 1–69*, figure 18, map XIV.

59   Ibidem.

60   Ibidem, illustration 25, map XVIII.

61   Ibidem, illustration 35b, map XX.

62   Ibidem, illustration 42, map XIV.

63   Ibidem, illustration 46, map XXIV.

64   B. Kumor, *Diecezja tarnowska. Dzieje ustroju i organizacji 1786–1985*, p. 607.

gin Mary Church (dissolved in 1784);[65] trinitarians in Mielec – the Holy Trinity Church (dissolved in 1782).[66] The remaining, often incomplete book collections of these monasteries were included in the library of the seminary in Tarnów, while some were irretrievably destroyed or dispersed.

After 1812, the following monasteries were liquidated: the Benedictine monastery mentioned earlier in Tyniec – the St. Peter and St. Paul Church (dissolved in 1816–1817 together with the bishopric office in Tuchów);[67] Friars Minor Conventual in Stary Sącz – the St. Stanislaus Church (dissolved in 1815);[68] Canons Regular of the Penitence of the Blessed Martyrs – the St. Margaret of Antioch Church (dissolved in1816);[69] the Order of Saint Augustine in Pilzno – the St. Catherine of Alexandria Church (dissolved in 1840).[70] The Augustinian monastery in Pilzno was the last monastery dissolved according to the reforms of Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor, which at that time included Polish lands within the borders of the Austrian Partition. Also from these monasteries, the remains of the surviving collections were transported to the seminary library, protecting them from irretrievable destruction and dispersion.

In all of the abovementioned monasteries, an inventory of the property left was undertaken. Archives and library books were also included in it. Book collections from dissolved monasteries in the diocese, also became the object of interest for many collectors and researchers. Unnecessary (as for the content) and damaged books were removed from the collection, marked as waste paper. The vast majority of them went to the existing – or newly created – seminaries, major parish libraries or university libraries, often forming their main collections. The book collection of the Tarnów seminary was enriched at that time

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65  L. Bieńkowski, E. Janicka - Olczakowa, L. Müllerowa, *Tabele źródłowe nr 1–69*, figure 59, map XXXII.

66  Ibidem, illustration 66, map XXXIV.

67  Ibidem, illustration 3, map IX.

68  Ibidem, illustration 25, map XVII.

69  Ibidem, illustration 38, map XXI.

70  Ibidem, illustration 1, map VIII.

with acquired parts of libraries (often already small) from the dissolved monasteries in the Tarnów Diocese. Preaching literature (Reformed Franciscans, Discalced Carmelites, Piarists), theological and philosophical theology, taking into account the spirituality of individual religious rules as well as theological works of religious authors dominated.

Provenance entries preserved on the title pages of many works allow to trace the book quite well over the past centuries, its religious owners and users before these books found their shelter within the walls of the Diocesan Seminary in Tarnów.[71] An example (one of many) is the book *Kazania na niedziele i święta całego roku* by Piotr Skarga (Kraków 1619), which belonged to the library of the monastery of the Friars Minor of the Observance in Wieliczka. The title page has an undated ownership entry: "Pro FF. Reformatorum Conventus Vielicensis ad Sanctam Franciscum". The book containing the sermons of Piotr Skarga was in the possession of priest Franciszek Ksawery Ciesielski, parish priest in Sucha Beskidzka, dean in Maków (from 1885), bibliophile and poet, who bequeathed it to the library of the Tarnów seminary, noting: "Gift of the Most Reverend Father Franciszek Ksawery Ciesielski, dean of Maków, priest in Sucha Beskidzka, 9 September 1871".[72] A quite substantial collection of books was taken over by the Tarnów seminary from the dissolved monastery of Mendicant Order in Trzciana–Libichowa (Tarnów Diocese). In the past, most of these books belonged to the canon, Ambroży Antoni Żabiński, vicar and preacher in Bochnia, who later became a priest in Krzyżanowice. On the title pages of the books he purchased, he used to write short information about purchasing the books for the monastery collection. Inside the book by Thomas à Kempis, *Annus Sanctus* [...] published in Cologne in 1628, he noted: "Ambrosii Żabiński canonici Regula-

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71  M. Marszalska, W. Graczyk, *Zespoły proweniencyjne zasobu inkunabułów i starych druków biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie...,* pp. 103 – 137.

72  Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call number 31019.

ris martyrum de Poenitentia epmtus flo.5, Cracoviae 8 julij 1809".[73] A fairly large collection of books found its way to the seminary library from former religious communities and colleges of the Jesuits in the Małopolskie and Wielkopolskie regions in Poland. The vast majority of the so-called „Post-Jesuit" books came from the Tyniec monastery. This was largely a consequence of the fact that after the Tyniec monastery was dissolved (in 1816/1817), the then prior of Tyniec, Gregor Thomas Ziegler wished to save the monastery and outhouses of the Tyniec monastery from total destruction, and thus offered them to the Jesuits.[74]

Hence, many books have double provenance records indicating Benedictines from the Tyniec monastery as original owners of the books and Jesuits, who took over the Benedictine property (book collection). This is indicated by, among others similar notes we can find on the title pages of many books: "Ex libris Monasterij Tynecensis", and slightly below: "Inscriptus Cathalogo librorum Collegii Cracoviensis Societatis Jesu or Inscriptus Cathalogo SS. Petri et Pauli Cracov. Societatis Jesu." The fragments of the book collections taken over from the dissolved monasteries of various rules form a separate collection when it comes to their provenance and content. They are also distinguished by the binding characteristic of monastery libraries, often it is a parchment card from the old manuscript liturgical code.

In the 19th century (1893), books from the Tarnów collegiate chapter were transferred to the library of the Tarnów seminary, thus creating a separate collection coming clearly from the diocese. It was the third, important and valuable part of books supplying the collection of the constantly developing library. Books transferred from the collegiate church to the seminary library were not included in a separate inventory, they did not have separate call numbers, nevertheless they were distinguished by ownership entries visible on the title pages, or by undated laconic comments on the inner cover like: „Collegiate

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73    Ibidem, call number 2797.

74    M. Marszalska, W. Graczyk, *Zespoły proweniencyjne zasobu inkunabułów i starych druków biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie…,* p. 128.

Tarnów," or „From the collegiate church in Tarnów" written down after they had been taken to the seminary library.

It is worth mentioning that since the parish church in Tarnów was upgraded to the collegiate church of The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1400) necessary books began to be collected and stored in the collegiate treasury together with liturgical vestments and ornaments in specially designed wardrobes. These were liturgical books necessary in the pastoral work: the Bible together with its commentary, philosophical and theological treatises, as well as books helpful in preaching; mostly manuscripts, nearly until the end of the 15th century. Similarly to the case of other chapters – these in Nowy Sącz and in Wojnicz – the first information about the then small book collection of the Tarnów chapter date back to the late 16th century and can be found in the documents of the visitation by Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł.

The books coming from the former chapters, preserved to this day (in seminar collections) are: Roman missals, canons, pontifical, theological books, works of Church Fathers, preaching and legal treaties. They were necessary in the celebration of the Holy Mass and in pastoral work. In many books, ownership entries of Tarnów canons have been preserved, often with an indication of the amount for which they purchased the book, or the circumstances in which it took place. This is evidenced by the examples cited. A valuable book from the collegiate collections is the work of Matthias Martinez van Waucquier *Opera s. Matris Teresae* [...], published in Cologne in 1636. Its owner in the 17th century was Marcin Liskowicz, canon of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary church in Tarnów in 1653–1662. On the title page of the collected works of St. Teresa of Ávila he noted himself: "Martinus Lyskowicz, canonicus ecclesiae Collegiatae Tarnoviensis".[75] Canon Liskowicz was also in the possession of a fifteenth-century book, extremely popular among members of the Church – *Legenda aurea* – published in Basel in 1486.[76]

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75  Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call number 3163.

76  Ibidem, call number 56; J.M. Marszalska, *Katalog inkunabułów biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie*, p. 62, ref. 82.

He received it in unknown circumstances from the parish priest Jan Bielecki, which was noted on the title page of the work: "Sum Joannis Bieleczki plebani Skrzissouviensis", and slightly below: "Martinus Lyskowicz Canonicus Tarnovien. Eccl. Tarnoviensi offert".[77] This was also the case with the book *Pymander mercurii trismegisti cum commento fratris Hannibalis Rosseli* [...], published in Cracow in 1586. Thanks to the preserved ownership records, one can trace its path „wandering between many owners". Initially, this work belonged to writer Jan Dymitr Solikowski who became the Archbishop of Lviv in 1583.[78] 25 January 1594, it was donated by the archbishop to his chaplain, Jan Skorkowicz, which we learn from the entry: "Illustrissimus ad Reverendissimus in Christo [...] Ioannis Demetrius Solikowskij a Solikij Dei Gratia archiepiscopus Leopoliensis Ioanni Skorkovicio coprovicensis sacerdotis et capellano suo [...] librum hunc detto Anno 1594 menso 25 januarij."[79] Later Jan Skorkowicz gave it to Jakub Śliwski (d. 1638), who became a parish priest in Laszki near Jarosław in 1603. In 1619, Jakub Śliwski became a cantor in the collegiate chapter in Tarnów, and in 1626 - he became an archdeacon in the cathedral chapter in Przemyśl.[80] The fact that he came into possession of the abovementioned work is evidenced by the following provenance record: "Reverendus [...] Ioannis Skorkovicius plebanus [...] mihi Iacobo Śliwski [...] in perpetui signus amoris dedit [...] mpp. Oretur pro eo."[81] Probably, after Jakub Śliwski died, the book found its way to the chapter library and then to the seminary library. Another valuable book that became part of the collegiate collection is *Verae christianae catholicaeque doctrinae solida propugnatio una cum illustri confutatione Prolegomenorum*

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77   Ibidem.

78   W. Rosowski, "Solikowski Jan Dymitr (1539-1603)", in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 18, Lublin 2013, cols. 580-581.

79   Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call number 5668.

80   T. Śliwa, "Śliwski Jakub (zm. 1638)", in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 19, Lublin 2013, cols. 254–255.

81   Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call number 5668.

[...] written by Stanisław Hozjusz, published in Antwerp in 1558.[82] The book was purchased in 1559 by the castellan of Sandomierz, Stanisław Tarnowski (died 1618), which confirms the provenance entry: "Stanislaus Tharnowski anno domini 1559 pro nundinis Sancti Petri Premislensis emptus gross. 46". This book also changed owners over the centuries. They were noted on the back of the title page (Piotr, Łukasz, Hipolit, Klemens); dates were not specified. This is evidenced by the following provenance entries: "Fr. Petrus donatus Rev. Dominus Lucas Gnaszowski Can. Cracov. donavit.", below it is written: "Fr. Lucas Gnaszowski donavit conv. S. Francisci Rev. in Dno Clementi Scalbimiriensis dedit donavit amoris gratia mpp.", and below: "Fr. Clemens Scalbimiriensis fratri Hipolito Pilsnensis dono oretur pro eo"; and the last record says: "Fr. Hipolitus dono conv. Varsoviensis mpp." In unknown circumstances, the book found its way to Marcin Liskowicz, a canon of the collegiate chapter in Tarnów, who gave it, probably at the end of his life, to the collegiate church in Tarnów, which was confirmed by the entry: "Marthinus Lyskowicz, canonicus tarnoviensis, ecclesiae tarnoviensis offert". This probably took place around 1660, because that year Liskowicz gave canon and collegiate preacher 3 złotys each year to pray for his soul after sermons.[83]

The seminary collections also included the works of other canons, e.g. the work of Georg Eder *Oeconomia Bibliorum* [...] (Cologne 1568), which was owned by the provost and judicial vicar Albert Karol Czalański. This fact was confirmed by an undated annotation appearing on the book page: "iste liber donatus est Bibliothecae Collegiatae Tarnoviensis Rndo Alberto Carolo Czalański, praeposito et officialis".[84]

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82  Ibidem, call number 595. Stanisław Hozjusz, bishop and cardinal in Warmia region, belonged to the most outstanding figures of the Polish Church during the Counter-Reformation. He advocated reforming the Church in the spirit of the Council of Trent to save it from the spread of Protestantism. In 1565 he was the first of the Polish bishops to bring the Jesuits to Braniewo, where he created a seminary in the Warmia region. J. Misiurek, "Hozjusz Stanisław (1504–1579)", in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 6, Lublin 1993, cols. 1257–1260.

83  F. Herzig, *Katedra niegdyś kollegiata w Tarnowie wraz z krótką wzmianką o innych kościołach tarnowskich*, Tarnów 1900, p. 55.

84  Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call number 534.

In turn, from the entry in the preaching work of Lusitanus Filip Diaz *Conciones Quadruplices* [...] (Venice 1603) it is known that it was purchased by the Tarnów canon Stanisław Józef Marczewski 7 November 1666, after the death of a certain Baczkowski.[85] This fact is confirmed by the note left on the title page of the mentioned work: "Sum Stanislai Josephi Marczewski emptus post obitum Rndi P. Baczkowski 7 novembris 1666."

Another work from the chapter collection is *Scholastica commentaria in primam partem* [...], by Domingo Bañez, published in Lyon in 1588.[86] Domingo Bañez is considered to be one of the most outstanding commentators on St. Thomas Aquinas, especially on teachings on predestination and efficacious grace. In the years 1561–1582 Domingo Bañez was a confessor and spiritual director of the originator of the Carmelite Reform St. Teresa of Ávila.[87] There are two undated provenance entries in the book, confirming the belonging of the work first to the Sandomierz canon Paweł Złomański, and then the canon of the Tarnów collegiate church – Kazimierz Leszkowicz. The following entries have survived on the title page of the work: "Ex libris Pauli Złomanski, canonici Sandomiriensis, plebani Miechocinensis; Tandem Casimiro Leszkowicz, canonico Tarnoviensis, decano Miechocinensis, plebano Ranizoviensis [...]". Canon Kazimierz Leszkowicz was appointed for the Tarnów chapter 26 August 1700, he died in 1719. Thus, the book became his property after 1700.[88]

In turn, in the book of Guglielmo Burio *Romanorum Pontificum* [...] (Venice 1757) it was noted that this book belonged to the collection of canon Antoni Skibiński: "Ex Bibliothecae Antoni Skibiński canonicus cathedralis Tarnoviensi", then to priests: Franciszek Górski, Andrzej Galiński, and finally to Andrzej Tomiczka, which confirms also a note: "Hic liber donatus est mihi a Reverendo Andrea Tomiczek [...] pro tunc

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85    Ibidem, call number 312432. F. Herzig, *Katedra niegdyś kollegiata w Tarnowie*, p. 20.

86    Ibidem, call number 5120.

87    J. Krasiński, "Banez Domingo (1528-1604)", in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 1, Lublin 1973, cols. 1300-1301.

88    F. Herzig, op. cit., p. 22.

scholarum Gymnasialum Tarnoviensem 1812".[89] It is worth mentioning that Antoni Skibiński (1736–1816) was appointed canon of the collegiate chapter in Bobowa in 1780, and a little later – 7 January 1782 – a canon of the collegiate chapter in Tarnów. His visits to Żmigród (1783) and Oświęcim (1792) deaneries were highly valued.[90]

The vicar college at the Tarnów collegiate church, established 10 July 1458, also had its collection of books. Each time the so-called senior was responsible to take care of the collection. A list of all items were in 1602. A total of 24 books, both manuscripts and printed books, were identified, with their format specified next to some of them, for example [...] *Biblia Sacra in folio scripta*; *Sermones discipuli in folio*; *Sermones Vincenti de tempore et sanctis*; *Speculum exemplorum*; *Opus Quadragesimale Roberti* [...]; *Sermones Nicolai Wilkowecko*; *De imitatione Christi* [...].[91] From this brief overview, it can be seen that these books fulfilled a practical function, helping the college in pastoral work. Monks often borrowed books that served them for a long time, and after their death books were returned to the college's library. This was the case with monk Jakub Andrzejowita, after whose death several copies of *Sermones* of various authors were returned to the library in 1621.[92]

Probably from the 17th century comes quite a considerable testament bequest to the collection of the vicar college after the late priest

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89  Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call number 21253.

90  Antoni Skibiński (1736–16 April 1816), graduated in humanities and philosophy at the Piarist College in Podoliniec; he studied theology in Cracow; he was ordained a priest 31 March 1759 in Cracow. At the Cracow Academy he obtained a doctorate in both law and theology. Until 1761 he worked as a vicar at the St. Mary Church in Cracow; in 1766 he became the provost and priest in Dębowiec near Jasło, and in 1784 – the dean of Żmigród. Before 1772 he became a canon of Livonia, before 1780 a canon of the Bobowa chapter, from 1782 – a canon of the Tarnów chapter. Bishop F.A. Janowski appointed him the honorary canon of the cathedral chapter in Tarnów; from 30 May 1790 – the canon of the cathedral chapter in Tarnów. In 1804 he became a priest of the cathedral church in Tarnów. After the Tarnów Diocese was dissolved, he was appointed canon of the cathedral chapter in Kielce. B. Kumor, *Diecezja Tarnowska. Dzieje ustroju i organizacji 1786–1985*, pp. 20, 310, 387, 455.

91  Tarnów Diocese Archive [Archiwum Diecezjalne w Tarnowie], "Bibliotheca vicariorum Tharnoviensis", in: *Documenta ecclesiae collegiatae tarnoviensis*, call number I. 3, f. 104.

92  Ibidem.

Piotr. The date of delivery of the books is not given, but based on the titles, it can be concluded that it could have happened even in the first half of the 17th century. For example, the Bible, published in Polish, most probably translated by Jakub Wujek in 1599, and *Kazania* by Piotr Skarga were offered to the library. Noteworthy is the presence in the collection of priest Piotr *Żywot* by Wincenty Kadłubek, bishop of Cracow, later Cistercian monk in Jędrzejów, and above all the chronicler of Polish history. This very rich gift, covering about 50 items, was a major supplement of the library resources of the vicar college. On the occasion of transferring the books, a note was noted about their storage: „[…] All these are in the room of community downstairs in the closet …".[93]

It is worth noting that over time the books of the vicar college supplied the collection of the collegiate chapter and later the Tarnów chapter. Books were transferred to the Tarnów seminary in the 19th century when the library was established; books are being kept there until today. This tells us about the interests of the monks from the Cracow Diocese in early times. Some of the most valuable books come from the 15th century, like: *Speculum exemplorum*, published by Ryszard Pafraet in Deventer in 1481 with a note: "liber ecclesiae Tharnoviensis"; *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* by Peregrinus of Opole, published by Henry Quentell in Cologne in 1487; The Bible published by Antoni Koberger in Nuremberg in 1480 and the later (Basel) edition from 1491 published by Johann Amerbach.[94] In addition, *Sermones Pomerii et de Sanctis* by Pelbárt Temesvári (Hagenau, Henryk Gran and Jan Rynman 1500) and *Sermones Quadragesimales Thesauri novi* by Pseudo-Petrus de Palude, published in Strasbourg in 1485.[95] It is worth adding that the fifteenth-century books coming from the chapter (next to the incunabula from the Tyniec seminary) are an important proof that reli-

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93 Tarnów Diocese Archive, "Księgi po nieboszczyku księdzu Piotrze od egzekutorów dane ojcom vikariuszom Tharnowskim", in: *Documenta ecclesiae collegiatae tarnoviensis*, call number I. 3, f. 105

94 Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call numbers 5427, 5111, 6474, 6481.

95 Ibidem, call numbers 6482, 510.

gious and diocesan clergy were reading all these eminent authors and their works in the past centuries in the Małopolskie region.

The compact and larger collections from the chapter include books that belonged to canon Erazm Marcinowski and Szymon Starowolski. This collection constitutes an important contribution to the seminary library. It is also distinguished by the binding. Worthy of note (among others due to valuable binding) are books that once belonged to the Tarnów canon Erazm Marcinkowski, who transferred them to the chapter library probably during his lifetime, as evidenced by the record: "M. Erasmus Marczinowski canonicus ecclesiae collegiatae Tarnovinsis legavit".[96] The same donor also bequeathed some books to the chapter, which was clearly noted: "pro usu collegiatae Tarnov. testamentum legavit, pro usu can. coll. Tarnov. testam. legavit, ecclesiae collegiatae Tarnoviensis pro usu conv. legavit".[97] Some books from the collection of Erazm Marcinowski have only an entry confirming their belonging to his collection, e.g. "M. Erasmus Marczinowski canonicus ecclesiae collegiatae Tarnoviensis".[98] On a few of the books he bought he left an identical entry, emphasizing that he bought the book for himself and his friends. Eight books in the field of liturgy, theology, patristic and biblical literature were added to the chapter's library thanks to the donation of canon Erazm Marcinkowski. They came from significant sixteenth-century publishing houses of Venice, Rome, Cologne and Lyon. Such as: Gabriel Biel, *Sacri canonis Missae* [...] (Brixiae 1576) with the record: "M. Erasmus Marczinowski ecclesiae Collegiatae Tarnoviensis pro usu can. legavit"; Berardo Bonjoanne, *Epitomae in universam Sacrosanctae Theologiae* [...] (Lyon 1579); Peter Michael Brillmacher, *Controversiarum de Eucharistia* [...] (Cologne 1584); Saint Antoninus, *Summae sacrae theologiae, iuris Pontificii et cesarei* [...], vol. 3–4 (Venice 1581–

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96  *Statuta liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in universitate studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1499*, Cracoviae 1849, p. 217; M. Marszalska, W. Graczyk, *Zespoły proweniencyjne zasobu inkunabułów i starych druków biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie…*, Warszawa 2017, pp. 143–151. Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call numbers 3119, 3102.

97  Ibidem, call numbers 329, 331, 354.

98  Ibidem, call number 229.

1582); Cornelius Jansen, *Commentariorum in suam concordiam* [...] (Lyon 1582); Aloysio Lipomano, *Vitarum Sanctorum Patrum* [...], vol. 5 (Venice 1556) with the entry on the title page: "M. Erasmus Marczinowski me suo suorumque in posterum amicorum paravit usui, die 10 mensis octobris, anno salutis recuperatiae 1582", and below: "Pro usu ecclesiae Collegiatae Tarnov. testamentum legavit", of the same author (Aloysio Lipomano), *Vitarum Sanctorum Patrum* [...], vol. 6 (Rome 1558) and vol. 8 of the work *Vitarum Sanctorum Patrum* [...] (Rome 1560).[99]

At the end of the 19th century, Marcinowski's book collection, along with other collegiate books, was included in the seminary library, just like the books from Szymon Starowolski (ca. 1588 – 1656), the polymath, canon and cantor of Tarnów in 1640-1656.[100] The books preserved in the seminary library coming from the collection of Szymon Starowolski, are works of history, preaching, law, biblical literature, and above all liturgy. They are all printed in Latin and come mostly from foreign publishing houses: Paris, Antwerp, Basel, Venice, Rome and Verona. Only one was printed in the Cracow publishing house, Oficyna Łazarzowa. It is the work of Stanisław Sokołowski *In Evangelia Matthaei, Marci et Lucae* [...] (Kraków 1598).[101] Szymon Starowolski owed these books thanks to numerous scientific contacts, among others with universities and publishing houses, which he established during his travels in Europe.

Szymon Starowolski left an undated entry in the books he donated to the collegiate church: "Simon Starowolski Cantor Tarnoviensis Eccl. Collegiatae Tarnoviensi offert. mpp". For example, on the title page of the work of Johannes de Sancto Geminiano *Sermones funebres* [...] (Antwerp 1630), next to the name Szymon Starowolski, there is also a later entry by Albert Sztychowski, the Mielec parish and preacher in

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99    Ibidem, call numbers 354, 229, 226, 3119, 3102, 6445, 329, 331.

100    J.M. Marszalska, *Starovolsciana w zbiorach starych druków Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego W Tarnowie*, Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej, 44/2013, pp. 303-315; M. Marszalska, W. Graczyk, *Zespoły proweniencyjne zasobu inkunabułów i starych druków biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie...*, pp. 152-160.

101    Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call numbers 25189, 65.

the collegiate church of Tarnów, and administrator of the Virgin Mary canon at the Tarnów castle (from 10 June 1720 –1737).[102] The reader of the book was canon Sztychowski.

In the discussed collection of books left by Szymon Starowolski, the so-called "accedit", meaning two or more works published with a common binding, here of Bartholomaeus Gavantus, an outstanding Barnabite liturgist from the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, preacher, orator and consultant of the Sacred Congregation of Rites.[103] His most important work was *Thesaurus sacrorum rituum seu commentaria in rubricas missalis et breviarii Romani* [...] (Venice 1638). Bartholomaeus Gavantus' work, commonly referred to as the „liturgical treasury, without which no liturgist can go without," described the rites and customs of the Church and of Mass celebration.[104]

The collection legalized by the cantor of Tarnów is worth noting the presence of the work of Isidore Claris *Orationum quas extraordinarias appellavit* [...] (Venice 1567) or Marcellino of Pisa *Moralis encyclopedia id est scientiarum omnium horus* [...] (Paris 1644). *Moralis encyclopedia* [...] is included in the biblical teachings, Marcellino of Pisa tried to show that the Bible is a compendium of knowledge for all sciences.[105] Unfortunately, only the second volume of the Paris edition from 1644 has survived in the Tarnów seminary library. Probably Szymon Starowolski owned all four volumes of the work and offered them to the collegiate church.[106] Szymon Starowolski gave also the book *Orationum quas extraordinarias appellavit* [...], by the Italian Benedictine, Isidore Clarius, an outstanding expert on ancient Biblical languages, the abbot of the

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102 Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call number 25189; F. Herzig, *Katedra niegdyś kollegiata w Tarnowie*, p. 22.

103 Bartholomaeus Gavantus (1569–1638), member of the Clerics Regular of St. Paul at the Monastery of St. Barnabas in Milan, see: "Gavanti Bartolomeo", in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, L. Bieńkowski et al. (eds.), vol. 5, Lublin 1989, col. 895.

104 A. Nowak in his article mistakenly gave the titles of Gavantus' work without marking the common binding.

105 Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call numbers 6155, 352; E. d'Alençon, "Marcelin de Pise", in: *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 9, Paris 1927, cols. 2001–2002.

106 Ibidem.

monasteries in Bergamo and Casena, and later Bishop in Foligno.[107] Starowolski offered as well funeral sermons *Sermones funebres* [...], whose author was the 15th-century Dominican preacher Johannes de Sancto Geminiano. The preserved copy of *Sermones funebres* [...] comes from the Antwerp publishing house from 1630, and was published thanks to the efforts of Jesuit Richard Gibbon. There is the ownership entry of Szymon Starowolski and later – Albert Sztychowski inside the book.[108]

Two other works dedicated to historical subjects bear traces of ownership entries of Szymon Starowolski, e.g.: Heinrich Pantaleon *Chronographia ecclesiae Christi* [...] (Basel 1568), presenting historical events in chronological tables, and the work of the Italian historian Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, *Historia delle Guerre di Ferdinando II, e Ferdinando III, imperatori, e del re Filippo IV di Spagna* [...].[109] Perhaps, influenced by the content of this work, Szymon Starowolski is believed to say these legendary words: "Deus mirabilis, fortuna variabilis" when addressing King of Sweden Charles X Gustav 19 October 1655 while he was staying at the Wawel cathedral in Cracow.[110]

In the preserved small collection of Szymon Starowolski one should note the presence of the work of a distinguished doctor of laws Laelius Zecchius *De Republica ecclesiastica* [...], published in Verona in 1600 by Jan Baptist the Venetian, and two Polish early manuscripts by theologians coming from Cracow and Poznań, from the 16th and 17th centuries.[111]

One of them is Stanisław Sokołowski, count of Gozdawa, canon of Cracow, professor at the Cracow Academy, dogmatist, polemicist and

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107 "Izydor Clarius (1495–1555)", in: *Podręczna Encyklopedia Kościelna*, vols. 5–6, Warszawa 1905, p. 112.

108 Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call number 25189.

109 Ibidem, cal numbers 32169, 3269.

110 During a tour around the Wawel Cathedral the Swedish King Charles X Gustav stopped at the tomb of King of Poland Władysław I. At that time, Charles X Gustav expressed his conviction that King of Poland John II Casimir Vasa could never regain his lost kingdom. Starowolski was to answer: "Who knows, for God is powerful and changeable is fortune".Vespasian Kochowski recorded these words n Latin: "Deus miriabilis, fortuna variabilis".

111 Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call number 3308.

court preacher of King Stefan Batory, author of the work *In Ewangelia Mathaei, Marci et Lucae* [...] (Kraków 1598), the second is Observant Franciscan, Piotr from Poznań (d. 1635), founder of the monasteries of minor brothers in Prague near Warsaw, Dubno, Alwernia, and Observant Franciscan in Przasnysz, and above all an outstanding commentator on the writings of Jan Duns Scotus.[112] The work of Piotr from Poznań, *Imitationes sacrae litterales morales speculativae in dominicas totius anni pars secunda a festo SS. Trinitatis* [...] (Antwerp 1639), served as an important textbook of theology.[113]

Some of the preserved volumes bear traces of moisture, which was probably associated with difficult storage conditions. All books have an unsophisticated, but quite characteristic seventeenth-century cover, which was made of hard cardboard, coated with light yellow parchment with visible bindings. The condition of the binding, like the books themselves, varies. The collection of books left by Szymon Starowolski was kept in the Tarnów chapter for over two and a half centuries. Only in the second half of the 19th century were they transferred to the newly created seminary library. For the first time, they are included in the seminary library by the catalogue *Katalog Biblioteki Seminarium Diecezjalnego w Tarnowie* issued in 1888.[114] The main initiator of this transfer was the then rector Józef Bąba.

Thus, by the end of the 19th century, the library of the seminary in Tarnów consisted of three important collections: books left by the Benedictines of Tyniec, books from the dissolved monasteries from the area of the newly created Tarnów Diocese (formerly Cracow), and books taken from the former collegiate church in Tarnów. Professors lecturing at the seminary also bequeathed their book collections – it is difficult to assess how many as there were cases that some books

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112  H.E. Wyczawski, "Sokołowski Stanisław (1537–1593)", in: *Słownik Polskich Teologów Katolickich*, vol. 4, Warszawa 1983, pp. 132–136; Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów / Higher Theological Seminary, call number 65.
E. Ozorowski, "Piotr z Poznania (Posnaniensis) (zm. 1635)", in: *Słownik Polskich Teologow Katolickich*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1982, pp. 365–367.

113  Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie / Seminarium Duchowne, reference number 5254.

114  A. Nowak, *Książki z biblioteki Szymona Starowolskiego w Tarnowie*, p. 108.

were transferred to the seminary library in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. books left by priest Marcin Leśniak, and yet another part of his collection was transferred later, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A similar phenomenon occurred with books from the oldest parishes in the Tarnów Diocese or collections left by priests–bibliophiles – these books were transffered mostly in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. Later, the seminary book collection was significantly increased by numerous, often fragmentary, collections of books coming from many of the oldest parishes of the Tarnów Diocese, as well as from the libraries of the Wojnicz, Beskid Sądecki, Bobowa chapters and private collectors, who were clergymen. The nineteenth-century book collection of the seminary library varied in terms of content, authors and, above all, provenance. The Tarnów book collection is not a compact collection, a collection of "one place", created for centuries for the benefit of one owner, as was the case with monastery collections, e.g. the Benedictines of Tyniec, the Cistercians of Szczyrzyc, the Bernardines of Cracow or the Discalced Carmelites of Czerna, and many others. The historical book collection of the Theological Seminary in Tarnów was created in specific political circumstances (partitions of Poland and dissolution of monasteries), both social and cultural. However, it is worth emphasizing that within this collection one can distinguish sets of books with common ownership or artistic features (binding, page decorations) which has been mentioned. The seminary book collection created in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had a clear pragmatic purpose, especially when it concerned books on theology (dogmatic, pastoral or fundamental) that served diocesan clerics for their studies. Its oldest and most valuable part, especially manuscripts and printed books from the 15<sup>th</sup> century (from the Tyniec and the chapter library) were already of historic character and served only professors of the Tarnów seminary for their individual studies, which is testified by notes they made on the margins of the books. The preserved collections of books of both diocesan and religious priests constitute an excellent research field for a contemporary historian of Polish and European culture and literacy in the Middle Ages.

Two of the oldest books of the seminary library are unique on a global scale, recorded in the literature as a "novum bibliographicum", they are: John of Garland *Composita verborum, cum commento Ioannis Synthen* (Deventer, printed by Richardus Pafraet, post 1492 - post 1500?) And *Verba deponentialia, cum commento Ioannis Synthen* (Deventer, Iac. De Breda, ca. 1485), while the 17 oldest printed books (15th century) are unique on a national scale, recorded only in the collections of the library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów.[115] They were mentioned in a study devoted to incunabula in Poland.[116] These are, among others: Antonio Marcinelli, *De oratore brachylogia*, (Roma, ed. Stephan Plannck, 1491–1500) and *Thesaurus de varia constructione* published also by Stephan Plannck in 1490.[117] Whereas among rare copies we can find: *Epistola ad Turcarum imperatorem Mahometum II...* (Roma, ed. Stephan Plannck, ca. 1488/90) by Pope Pius II, *Summulae logicales* (Deventer, Iac. De Breda, 17 November 1495) by Pope John XXI or *Sermones dominicales Dormi secure* (Cologne, Barth. de Unkel, ca. 1480) by Johannes de Verdena.[118]

*translated by Alicja Rosé*

## SUMMARY

The present article discusses the formation of the book collection of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów in the 19th century and provides an overview of its contents. It describes the complicated history of Polish ecclesiastical library collections that were destroyed, dispersed or, at best, taken over by other church institutions. Until

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115   J. M. Marszalska, Katalog inkunabułów Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie, Tarnów 1997, p. 63; Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów, call numbers 37 adligatum 3, IBP 3141, adligatum 4, IBP 3148.

116   Centralny Katalog Inkunabułów Polskich, *Incunabula quae in Bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, vol.1, Wrocław 1970. There are 19 unique incunabula owned by the seminary library in Tarnów. All of them are includedin the catalogue made by M. Marszalska mentioned above (footnote 115).

117   Ibidem, p. 66, Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Tarnów, call number 38 adligatum 9, IBP 3533; p. 67– call number 38 adligatum 11, IBP 3547.

118   Ibidem, p. 76 – call number 38 adligatum 6, IBP 4448; p. 64 – call number 38, adligatum 3, IBP 3201; p. 64 – call number 58 adligatum 1, IBP 3250 (only the Tarnów seminary).

the late 19th century the book collection of the Seminary in Tarnów consisted of three important parts: books from the Benedictine Abbey in Tyniec, books from the dissolved monasteries within the newly established Tarnów Diocese (previously Cracow Diocese), and books from the former Tarnów Collegiate Church. It also received bequests by professors who taught in the Seminary and included books on various subjects, by different authors and, above all, of diverse provenance. It was not a collection "of one place" (a highly coherent one), created throughout the centuries for the use of one owner; it emerged in particular social, cultural and political conditions (partitions of Poland, dissolution of monasteries etc.). It had a clear pragmatic purpose: to serve diocesan clerics for their studies, especially in dogmatic, pastoral and fundamental theology. Its oldest and most valuable part, such as manuscripts and printed books from the 15th century, were already of historical character at the time, and served only the professors of the Tarnów seminary for their individual investigations, as testified by handwritten marginalia. The preserved collections of books of both diocesan and religious priests constitute an excellent research field for a contemporary historian of Polish and European culture and literacy in the Middle Ages.

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# BETWEEN EMPIRE AND NATION: THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF BOOKS IN THE KINGDOM OF POLAND, 1864–1914

I would like to treat the following considerations as an invitation to a methodological reflection on the social function of books in research concerning the nation and the empire. The subject of the role of books in nation-building processes has been taken up by such outstanding specialists of nationalism as Eugen Weber and Ernest Gellner and, up to a point, it has also attracted the interest of those involved in the study of empires. However, in their studies, the bibliological perspective has not been given due consideration. For this reason, I decided to take a closer look at the achievements of bibliology to date in order to define how these achievements can enrich our knowledge of the national identity processes that were taking place in the "national" Polish peripheries of the Russian empire, which the so called *Privislinskij Kraj* (the Vistula Land) undoubtedly was a part of during the five decades following the January uprising of 1863–1864.

My paper is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the notions of *assimilation* and *acculturation* which I believe to be fundamental in research on the role of books in the process of nation-building or forming other, non-national, identity concepts. In the second part,

I concentrate on the notion of the *social function of books* and proceed from a brief presentation of the most interesting ideas to works describing the practical ways in which books were used in the formation of national identity or alternately in which attempts were made to build an alternative community in relation to the nation (or the dominant nation). In the second, part I shall present two examples of the use of books in the Kingdom of Poland. First of all, I shall present primers for the lowest level schools, the function of which was acculturation of their readers (that is, Polish-speaking Catholic children, usually from lower social strata) with the Russian centre. This was the subject of my paper at the conference *Science in Poland, Science in Russia: Common points, different points (the humanities)*, organized by the Institute of Russian Studies of the Warsaw University on 22–23 October 2015, which was later published in a volume bearing the same title[1]. I mention this text because it is a good illustration of the acculturative function of reading aimed at the lower classes of Russian Poland. Second, I shall present the journal *Беседа* (*Beseda*, "Feast"), addressed to the (formally) Orthodox inhabitants of the Lublin and Siedlce gubernyas who, by reading this periodical, were supposed to "discover" that they were Russian[2].

The following is an attempt to illustrate Russian cultural policy in the Kingdom of Poland after 1864 through a presentation of various methods of "adaptation" of its inhabitants to Russianness. An analysis of the social function of the recommended reading makes it possible to establish who, according to the Russian plans and ideas, the reader should become after having read books recommended by

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1 Edited version of the paper presented at the seminar of the Workshop of History Libraries and Reading of the Institute of Book and Reading of the National Library of Poland on December 21, 2018. M. Przeciszewska, "Elementarze jako narzędzia rosyjskiego imperial building w Królestwie Polskim", in: *Nauka w Polsce, nauka w Rosji. Miejsca wspólne, miejsca różne (obszar humanistyki)*, eds. M. Dąbrowska, P. Głuszkowski, Warszawa 2016, pp. 85–94 – https://www.academia.edu/36460073/Nauka_w_Polsce_i_Rosji_miejsca_wsp%C3%B3lne_miejsca_r%C3%B3%C5%BCne_obszar_humanistyki_red._M._D%C4%85browska_P._G%C5%82uszkowski_Warszawa_2016 [accessed 29.04.2019].

2 Cf. *Беседа*, ред.-изд. Н. Харламовъ, Варшава 1886–1906 [Beseda, red.-izd. N. Kharlamov, Varshava 1886–1906] – http://ebuw.uw.edu.pl/publication/71602 [accessed 20.02.2019].

the educational authorities in the Kingdom of Poland. In my reflections, I attach fundamental significance to research carried out on nationalism in the Russian empire by Alexey Miller, who drew attention to the heterogeneous character of empires. According to him, in imperial space, nationalism had to function differently than in a state which was to become "national", that is, representing only one culture. In Russian practice, after the January uprising, a division was made between the imperial "nucleus" – meaning the Russian national area – and "non-Russian" foreign peripheries which were less a part of Russia–nation as of Russia–state. This differentiation was of basic importance for political "decisions" as to whether some categories of inhabitants of a given region were to "become" part of the Russian nation or rather remain "only" loyal subjects of the empire[3].

## I. Social Function of Books – Assimilation and Acculturation in The Context of Nationalization of Empires

The increase in strong national movements constituted one of the main challenges for the European continental empires in the second half of the 19th century. Imperial elites, with their hierarchical structure, both feared the dissemination of the idea of nation as a sovereign subject of history, and hoped to stand at the head of the young national organisms. This led to the emergence of various models, the aim of which was to preserve the basic features of the empire founded on the strong (though not necessarily absolute) power of the emperor "by the grace of God", combined with concessions to nationalities that inhabited its territory. A classic example of such changes was the emergence of Austria-Hungary in 1867. In neighbouring Russia, this

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3  Cf. А. Миллер, *Империя Романовых и национализм. Эссе по методологии исторического исследования*, Москва 2006 [A. Miller, Imperija Romanovyh i nacionalizm. Èsse po metodologii istoricheskogo iissledovanija], pp. 67–74; *Imperial Rule*, eds. A. Miller, A. J. Rieber, Budapest, New York 2004, pp. 9–26; P.M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire. A New History*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2016 (*Imperium Habsburgów. Wspólnota narodów*, trans. S. Patlewicz, Warszawa 2017); D. Lieven, *Empire. The Russian Empire and its Rivals*, New Haven (Conn.) 2001, pp. 3–27, 89–200.

model was seen as an anti-example because – it was believed – only a state founded on the unlimited power of the autocrat of Russia could prevent disintegration and anarchy.

<div align="center">*</div>

After 1864, the Russian authorities treated the Congress Kingdom of Poland as an area of activity of dangerous subversives who threatened the very foundations of the Russian state[4]. Meanwhile, rather than winning concessions and some compromise, both the Kingdom and the *Kresy* (*Западный Край, Zapadnyj Kraj*) saw pacification and reprisals. The political and cultural plan was that the Congress Kingdom was to become "completely and finally integrated [...] into Russia" as one of the many Russian provinces with Russian as the official language. All those changes, although referred to in historical literature as Russification policy, were not consistent in character, and they were not accompanied by a coherent reflection on the future of the Congress Kingdom of Poland still treated as "conquered" countries and thus "alien" and "hostile"[5]. Practices that aimed at subjugating the inhabitants included the creation of diverse national or imperial concepts of identity[6], the aim of which was, on the one hand, "reforming" Polish national identity to make it friendly towards Russia[7], and on the other hand, "nationalizing" the Orthodox inhabitants until they begin to call themselves Russians.

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4  М. Долбылов, "Поляк в имперском политическом лексиконе" [M. Dolbylov, "Poljak v imperskom politicheskom leksikone], in: *Понятия о России*, ред. А. Миллер, И. Ширле, Москва 2012 [Ponjatija o Rossii, red. A. Miller, I. Shirle, Moskva 2012]], pp. 292–340.

5  S. Wiech, "Notatka Aleksandra Koszelowa o sprawach Królestwa Polskiego z 1866 r.", in: *Unifikacja za wszelką cenę: sprawy polskie w polityce rosyjskiej na przełomie XIX i XX wieku: studia i materiały*, eds. A. Szwarc and P. Wieczorkiewicz, Warszawa 2002, p. 191.

6  M. Rolf, *Rządy imperialne w Kraju Nadwiślańskim. Królestwo Polskie i Cesarstwo Rosyjskie (1864–1915)*, trans. W. Włoskowicz, Warszawa 2016, p. 123–136.

7  On the subject of imperial identity see: M. Łuczewski, *Odwieczny naród. Polak i katolik w Żmiącej*, Toruń 2012, pp. 141–144; M. Bassin, "Geographies of imperial identity", in: *The Cambridge History of Russia*, vol. 2, *Imperial Russia, 1689–1917*, ed. D. Lieven, Cambridge 2006, pp. 45–64 – http://www.cultorweb.com/eBooks/Storia/Cambridge%20Hist%20Russia/THE%20CAMBRIDGE%20HISTORY%20OF%20RUSSIA,%20Volume%20II%20-%20Imperial%20Russia,%201689-1917.pdf [20.02.2019], F. Lindström, *Empire and Identity. Biographies of Austrian State Problem in the Late Habsburg Empire*, West Lafayette (Ind.) 2008; Р. Суни [R.G. Suny], "Империя как она есть: имперская Россия, 'национальное' самосознание итеории империи" [Imperija kak ona est': imperskaja Rossija, 'nacional'noe' samosoznanie iteorii imperii], *Ab Imperio* 2001, nos. 1–2, pp. 12–30.

The new "mental maps" of the Kingdom of Poland showed the country was dominated by the Polish culture, accompanied by the growing importance of other non-Polish ethnic groups. According to the Russian authorities, they should be absolutely cut off from the dominant (Polish) culture and accept the values of the Russian civilisation based on the ideals of the Autocracy, Orthodoxy and Nationality[8]. One of these groups – Uniate peasants from the eastern part of the Siedlce and Lublin gubernyas – was particularly important. The Ruthenian (Ukrainian) inhabitants were seen as a part of the "forgotten" Russian folk, Polonized and Catholicized since the Union of Brest (1596). To restore historical justice, the Uniate Church should have been abolished and the people brought back to the Orthodox Church. The *Воссоединение* (*Vossoedinenie*, Reunion) with the Orthodoxy in 1875 made it possible for them to "come back" to their real Russian identity. The concept of the Kholm Rus' (*Холмская Русь, Kholmskaja Rus'*) – the forgotten corner (*уголок, ugolok*) of the Russian national territory – required the "protection" of its inhabitants from the Polish *propaganda* and the strengthening of their Russian national identity[9].

One of the basic instruments in creating these concepts was the written word, in the form of books, pamphlets, periodicals, and school textbooks. This tool made it possible to spread views which would position a given community as belonging to a larger – civilizational, religious or national – whole. The ideas that were promoted differed depending on their recipients. In principle, reading recommendations and books varied, depending on whether they were addressed to the gentry youth, to Polish-speaking Catholic peasants or, to the inhabitants of the Orthodox regions of the eastern part of the Russian Poland. The diversification of the types of books and periodicals reflected the varied methods of "approximation" of their inhabitants to the dominating culture, either through assimilation or through acculturation.

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8   *Западные окраины российской империи*, ed. М. Долбилов, А. Миллер, Москва 2006 [Zapadnye okrainy rossijskoj imperii, ed. M. Dolbilov, A. Miller, Moskva 1006], p. 194.

9   N. Riasanovsky, *Russian identities: A historical survey*, Oxford Univ. Press 2005, s. 133–135.

The terms *assimilation* and *acculturation*, used in relation to the 19th–20th century identity processes, were mentioned by some historians associated with the so-called new imperial history. According to Benjamin Nathans, "*assimilation* should be understood as a process culminating in the disappearance of a given group as a recognizably distinct element within a larger society. By contrast, *acculturation* signifies a form of adaptation to the surrounding society that alters rather than erases the criteria of difference, especially in the realm of culture and identity[10]". This definition agrees with "classical" assimilation/acculturation characterization[11], where assimilation is understood as "a process of becoming similar, joining a new community, adopting a new world view, tradition and emotional attachment" and "acculturation applies to such social adaptation which does not imply a change of identity of an individual or a group"[12], but only "integration of culturally different groups with predominating culture"[13].

I realize that the use of these concepts has aroused controversy among some anthropologists because they do not describe all types of social adaptation/integration processes. However, in relation to the cultural practices in Russian Poland, this classification can be functional. In brief, it describes the instruments of identity change, but not the process itself. The books intended to bring the reader closer to Russian culture, without any fundamental change of their national and in particular their religious identity, had to *acculturate* the readers. The literature from this group was to serve, as we shall see below,

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10   M. Piccin, *La politica etno-confessionale zarista nel Regno di Polonia: la questione uniate di Cholm come esempio di* nation-building *Russo*, Venezia 2011, pp. 257–270. http://dspace.unive.it/bitstream/handle/10579/1076/Matteo%20PICCIN%20La%20politica%20etno-confessionale%20zarista%20nel%20Regno%20di%20Polonia.pdf?sequence=1

11   B. Nathans, *Beyond the Pale. The Jewish Encounter with the Late Imperial Russia*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2002, p. 11; this definition was used by D. Staliunas, "Assimilation or Acculturation? Russian Imperial Policy Toward Lithuanians in the 1860s", *Central and Eastern European Review*, vol. 2, 2008, p. 4.

12   It is worth noting, that in social sciences William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki were pioneers of studies about cultural change processes processes: assimilation, acculturation, integration and dissimilation (*The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, vols. 1–5, Boston 1918–1920; *Chłop polski w Europie i Ameryce*, Warszawa 1976).

13   А. Миллер, *Империя Романовых и национализм…*, pp. 57–69.

to pinpoint the civilizational centre around which the readers' loyalty was to be focused and form Polish and religious identity in a way that would complement the loyalty to the Russian empire. Books which served such ends were, above all, textbooks, including those to learn the mother tongue and primers, as well as periodicals addressed to the peasant population. The other type of book group was made up of books serving the readers' *assimilation* to Russianness. Russianness was seen through the prism of nationality and confession, and books serving this assimilation were meant to be the basic medium of nationalization. Their readers were supposed "to become" Russian.

## THE SOCIAL SUNCTION OF BOOKS – A BIBLIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The central problem of this paper is the question of the social function of books in forming imperial and national identity. In bibliological studies, this notion has a long tradition and the credit for introducing it to the academic discourse goes to Karol Głombiowski, the founder of the Wrocław (Polish) school of bibliology, the basis of which "was the theoretical concept of the book as an instrument of social communication"[14]. Głombinowski's research was developed by Krzysztof Migoń, who assumed that:

> "the main object of study should be social functions of the book, and not the development of its form, illustrations or the lot of individual institutions producing and distributing books"[15].

His aim was, on the one hand, introducing the study of the book to the social sciences, and, on the other, recognizing this discipline as a kind of "autotelic" science (hence, e.g., his discounting of literature studies)[16]. The task of the bibliologist was supposed to be – according

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14  E. Wysocka, "Akulturacja", in: *Encyklopedia pedagogiczna XXI wieku,* vol. 1, ed. T. Pilch, Warszawa 2003, pp. 75–76.

15  H. Niemiec, "Twórcy wrocławskiej bibliologii", *Biuletyn EBIB* 2006, no. 5 (75) – http://www.ebib.info/2006/75/niemiec.php [accessed 20.02.2019].

16  Quoted after J. Włodarczyk, "Funkcja społeczna książki. Z problematyki metod badawczych", *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Librorum* 1992, vol. 3, pp. 32–33 –

to Migoń – the study of the purpose and tasks which books were to perform and which they really performed[17].

> "An *instrument* in implementing these goals was the book and the periodical. Thanks to their mobility, communicativeness and durability they contributed to the expansion of new trends and social acceptance of new values"[18].

It is worth noting that for Żbikowska-Migoń, what counted as important in research on the history of the social function of the book was both its content and circulation (considering e.g. the publishing market and its repertoire) and the form of the book. Only once all these factors had been taken into consideration was it possible – according to the researcher – to understand the book's effects and consequently the possibilities of spreading the ideas that the book represented. In other words, it made it possible to understand the book (and writing as a whole) as one of the instruments of spreading Enlightenment discourse.

The main achievement of Bednarska-Ruszajowa has been drawing our attention to the fact that, in the 18th century, "learning was first seen as a source of national identity, values and survival", and, at the same time, "learning, the same way as literature, […] was to make it easier of rebuild the community"[19]. This meant that the book – both scholarly and those making for "pleasant reading" – was faced with two new tasks which delimited the framework of its social impact. These were identity-forming functions and recognition of the book as an instrument of cultural change.

Questions of the social functions of the book have been viewed similarly by the French researcher Jean Hébrard (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales), with the difference that he pushed this function forward to the 1870s, when the "new reader" appeared. Accord-

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http://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.hdl_11089_6941/c/Acta_Universitatis_Lodziensis_Folia_Librorum-r1992-Wlodarczyk.pdf [accessed 20.02.2019].

17   Ibidem, p. 33.

18   Ibidem, p. 37.

19   A. Żbikowska-Migoń, *Dzieje książki i jej funkcji społecznej*, Wrocław 1987, pp. 7–8.

ing to the French researcher, the fundamental turning point in the social functioning of the book in France was the period of mass literacy begun with Jules Ferry's school reform[20]. It was only then that it became possible to overcome the dichotomic division into oral culture and written culture which differentiated the educated and the illiterate. Thus, the peasants' entry into the circle of "new readers" was, on the one hand, the most powerful impulse behind social modernization, as it made possible forming a community of a different type, namely a nation[21], and on the other hand, it was an object of constant anxiety about what books should be read by them and whether what they read was "suitable" for them[22]. The question about the impact of reading on the lowest social strata thus became one of fundamental significance.

## THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF THE BOOK - THE NATION RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

Beginning from the mid-19th century, the lower social classes in the Kingdom of Poland were intensively encouraged to adopt all things Polish[23], that is, harnessed to Polish national ideology. According to Michał Łuczewski, this ideology can be described as "a set of sentences, images and symbols applying to the nation". Its dissemination, which formed part of the social process, took place through cultural mediums. For this reason, he says, the formation and dissemination of the idea of the nation should be taken discursively, both as its articulation and medium. Under the conditions prevailing in the 19th century, the basic source for transferring the national idea was reading. In the Enlightenment tradition, the book was treated as the most important instrument serving the building of a new society. The

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20  K. Bednarska-Ruszajowa, *Uczyć – bawić – wychować. Książka i jej funkcja społeczna w okresie Oświecenia*, Kraków 2004, pp. 23, 26.

21  P. Rodak, *Pismo, książka, lektura. Rozmowy: Le Goff, Chartier, Hébrard, Fabre, Lejeune*, preface by K. Pomian [transl. by A. Gronowska et al.], Warszawa 2013, pp. 113-115.

22  Cf. E. Gellner, *Narody i nacjonalizm*, trans. by T. Hołówka, preface by J. Breuilly, trans. by A. Grzybek, 2nd ed., Warszawa 2009, pp. 48-52, 104.

23  P. Rodak, *Pismo, książka, lektura...*, pp. 123-124, 183.

main elements were to be common narrative (separation of the "us" group) and historical narrative (reconstruction of national history)[24]. Both these component parts of national narrative could be spread with the help of one instrument – the book.

The example of the Galician countryside in the period of autonomy shows that one of the sources of social mobilization which was meant to transfer national ideology from the nationalizing group (mainly the intelligentsia and the Catholic clergy) to the being nationalized group (Polish-speaking peasants)[25] was the development of reading habits among the peasants. Łuczewski gives the example of the newspapers *Chata* and *Nowiny*, and also *Wieniec* and *Pszczółka*. The editor of the latter two, Father Stanisław Stojałowski, "was very well versed in the strategies of mass movements" and, at the same time, attentive to an attractive choice of contents. A measure of his success could be a statement quoted by one of his peasant correspondents that these papers "made him realize that he was a Pole"[26]. A similar role in the nationalization strategies was played by village libraries offering the peasants literature which proved to be "the most powerful transmitter of national identity". Sienkiewicz's *Trilogy*, which circulated among the readers from these libraries, was indeed the breeding ground of things Polish.

The subject of the peasants' nationalization to things Polish, with the help of books and periodicals, has also been taken up by Maria Krisań, who underlined that:

> "literature for the people was becoming the most important element of social programmes of the individual magazines which strove to raise the intellectual level of the *backward* country people."

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24  Cf. T. Kizwalter, "Kiedy chłop stał się Polakiem?", *Newsweek*, 15.04.2018 – https://www.newsweek.pl/wiedza/historia/kiedy-chlop-stal-sie-polakiem-tomasz-kizwalter-newsweekpl/m2rtzh1 [accessed 16.04.2019].

25  M. Łuczewski, *Odwieczny naród...*, pp. 65, 69–74.

26  Thus described by N. Bończa-Tomaszewski, "Polskojęzyczni chłopi? Podstawowe problemy nowoczesnej historii chłopów polskich", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 2005, vol. 112, no. 2, pp. 91–111.

The ultimate aim of such programmes was to lift the peasant from the level of "beast to that of citizen". Although this task did not always bring long-lasting changes to peasant habits (in the country, reading was usually regarded as a "lordly" occupation making no sense whatsoever), in the course of time, a growth of interest in historical novels (Sienkiewicz!) could be observed and, as a consequence, a growing identification with Polishness[27].

Studies carried out by Michał Łuczewski and Maria Krisań fit in the trend initiated by Eugen Weber, who assumed the existence of two basic factors which decided the formation of the French national identity among the inhabitants of provincial France. These were the elementary school together with its library and the development of the press for "the masses". By supplying children with textbooks as well as calendars, readers and popular literature, the school library had a considerable impact on the socialization of both children and their parents who came in contact with books brought home by their sons and daughters. Such books, written as they were in a standardized literary language, led to the children's bilinguality, the division into "family" language and "official" language, which has since then been regarded as the "mother" tongue. Using this language during school classes, they "taught children [...] patriotic feelings, [...] explained what is the state" and created an idea of a common motherland which encompassed all provinces forming parts of France[28]. On the threshold of the 20th century, a role similar to that of school textbooks started to be played by the popular press, which disseminated the same news in all parts of the country and thus helped:

> "an acceleration of the process of homogenization on the basis of abstract notions [...], in which national subjects took precedence before what was local and specific"[29].

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27   M. Łuczewski, *Odwieczny naród...*, pp. 266, 307–311.

28   M. Krisań, *Chłopi wobec zmian cywilizacyjnych w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XIX – początku XX wieku*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 32, 50–52.

29   E. Weber, *From peasants to Frenchmen. The modernization of the rural France,* London 1979, pp. 454, 303–332.

It can be accepted that the national project, based on membership of one culture, was an assimilation project *par excellence*, while the groups undergoing assimilation were to be members of the popular strata who thus far had been excluded from the "higher" culture (represented by the gentry and the bourgeoisie).

## THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF THE BOOK – THE IMPERIAL STUDIES PERSPECTIVE

As I have already mentioned, empires, unlike national states, should be described as heterogeneous organisms by definition. This means that in the conditions of growing nationalisms, their territories were the field of operation of various, often competing, national or proto-national projects. The main task of the state authority was maintaining the loyalty of the various parts of the empire to the centre and creating its own project of "state" nationalism[30] based on predominant culture (culture of the elites). Both in Russia (following the January uprising) and in the Habsburg monarchy (after 1867) these two tendencies were present, a result of the challenge which, for the empires, were national ideologies that saw differences between individual nations as fundamental and unchangeable. Under the conditions of undermined legitimacy of the state authority, next to pacification measures, cultural policy was intensified with its aim being "depolitization of national feelings and [...] maintenance of the general principle of interlinguistic equality"; at the same time, the important role of the *lingua franca* (official language) was noted in the state bureaucracy[31]. An important instrument for implementing this task was the school system and together with it – the book. However, school textbooks did not give one cultural identity to all inhabitants of the empire (un-

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30  Ibidem, p. 469. In recent years, in response to Weber's book, there have appeared a number of works, of which I shall only mention a joint publication edited by Gabriella Romani and Jenifer Burns, *The Formation of a National Audience in Italy, 1850–1890. Readers and Spectators of Italian Culture*, London 2017, dealing with the social function of the book in Italy of the Risorgimento period.

31  Cf. Ch. Kohl, A. Schroven, "Suffering for the Nation. Bottom-up and Top-down Conceptualisations of the Nation in Guinea and Guinea-Bissau", *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Working Papers*, Halle / Saale 2014 – https://www.eth.mpg.de/pubs/wps/pdf/mpi-eth-working-paper-0152 [accessed 20.02.2019].

like in national countries). They were characterized by different approaches depending on the recipient, the instrumental use made of the national narrative (national narratives) in various contexts, the creation of emotional identification with the ruling dynasty and the presentation of the empire through the diversity and greatness of the monarchy. Evidence of this can be found in widely disseminated book series – *Окраины России* in Russia or *Kronprinzenwerk* in Austria-Hungary. In spite of the processes of nationalization of the empires, the aim of textbooks and "educational" publications for the lower classes coming from outside the ethnic "nucleus" was acculturation to the prevailing culture and instilling loyalty to the political centre.

This perspective of the role of books in the western peripheries of the Russian empire was observed by Darius Staliūnas who wrote about the ban on publishing Lithuanian books in the Latin alphabet, issued by Alexander II in 1864, which implied the use of the Cyrillic script for Lithuanian books. More than 100 years ago these problems were also the subject of a detailed analysis carried out by the outstanding Polish linguist, Jan Baudouin de Courtenay. In a pamphlet entitled *Kwestia alfabetu rosyjskiego w państwie rosyjskim* (1904) he aptly noted that the aim of this undertaking was not to punish anyone.

> "It was the matter of "idea", of far-reaching measures to bring closer one of the foreign tribes and to distance it from the Polish tribe, which neighboured on it and at the same time lived together with it"[32].

According to the conception of the Russian authorities, the change of script was to serve a change of the civilizational vector, that is, transfer from the Latin-western civilization to the Slavic civilization, the latter represented by Russia[33]. However, we should not treat this ban as an instrument of the assimilation of the Lithuanian lower

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32  J. Baudouin de Courtenay, *Kwestia alfabetu rosyjskiego w państwie rosyjskim,* Kraków 1904, p. 8.

33  Cf. H. Głębocki, *Kresy imperium. Szkice i materiały do dziejów polityki Rosji wobec jej peryferii, XVIII–XXI wiek*, Kraków 2006, pp. 212-213, 322.

strata (meaning "turning them into Russians"). It was meant as a "de-Polonization" measure, and its aim was to cut off the peasants of the Северо-Западный Край (*Severo-Zapadnyj Kraj*) from Polish influence (which was regarded as stronger than Russian influence) and, as a consequence, to bring them closer to Russian culture and Russian civilizational tradition. To support this thesis, Staliūnas recalls the well-researched experiment of Nikolay Ilminsky, an orientalist and missionary of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Volga region, who, in opposition to the growing pan-Turkic influences and the activity of Tartar Islamic missions, propagated the use of the Cyrillic script for the local Turkic languages. "The creation of literature for the local languages in the Cyrillic alphabet was supposed to consolidate local identity against the Tartar and Islamic assimilation projects". According to Staliūnas, Alexander Hilferding, known as the reformer of the school system in Russian Poland, had a similar aim in view. His idea was, on the one hand, to limit the influence of the Polish language, and on the other, to standardize the Lithuanian language, which was meant to be taught not only in elementary schools, but also in some secondary schools in the Augustów gubernya . Another idea of the Russian authorities was the preparation of primers in two languages, with a short story in Lithuanian on one page and its Russian version on the opposite page. This was to prove the kinship of the two languages, serve to support cultural integration and make easier the (quick) mastering of the state language[34]. One can therefore say that the function of these books was, above all, their readers' acculturation to the Russianness.

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34  D. Staliūnas, "Assimilation or Acculturation? Russian Imperial Policy toward Lithuanians in the 1860s", *Central and Eastern European Review* 2008, vol. 2, p. 4 – https://www.academia.edu/5117038/Assimilation_or_Acculturation_Russian_ Imperial_Policy_Toward_Lithuanians_in_the_1860s_Central_and_Eastern_European_ Review_vol._2_2008_p._1_20_REVIEW_Volume_2_2008_ASSIMILATION_OR_ ACCULTURATION_RUSSIAN_IMPERIAL_POLICY_TOWARD_LITHUANIANS_IN_ THE_1860s [20.02.2019]; idem, *Making Russian. Meaning and Practice of Russification in Lithuania and Belarus*, Amsterdam, New York 2007, pp. 189–296; R. P. Geraci, *Window on the East. National and Imperial Identities in Late Imperial Russia*, Ithaca 2001, pp. 47–85.

## II. The Case of the Kingdom of Poland – between Assimilation and Acculturation

The above two tendencies towards the social use of books – that is, the assimilation and acculturation (and also dissimilation[35]) of potential readers – coexisted in a special way in Russian Poland in 1864–1914. During that period, the former Congress Kingdom had been not only politically degraded and deprived of what had been left of its autonomy, but also its status had changed on the mental map of Russian nationalists, who had become increasingly effective in influencing the Russian state authority. While prior to the January uprising there had been agreement that the Kingdom constituted a separate entity within the Russian empire, as legitimized by the Congress of Vienna and centuries-old political tradition of the old Commonwealth, in 1864 it was acknowledged that this tradition should finally be abandoned and autonomy formally liquidated. The most ardent supporters of this project were educational reformers from the Establishment Committee (Комитет по делам Царства Польского, *Komitet po delam Carstva Pol'skogo*), primarily Nikolay Milyutin and Alexander Hilferding, both coming from the circle of "late Slavophils". Their views were summed up by the former, who on the occasion of the emancipation reform, spoke of the existence of "two Polands":

> "one gentry-clerical [Poland] looking towards the past and inextricably associated with the anachronic tradition of feudal despotism [...] and another, peasants' [Poland], subconsciously faithful to its ancient Slavic roots"[36].

According them, Polishness had three basic aspects (1) national (linguistic and cultural), (2) political: which meant the tradition of the Polish state (*Rzeczpospolita*) and (3) so called *Polonism* – i.e. the "political force deeply connected with the Catholicism, represented by the polish gentry and clergy". *Polonism* was the reason why the Slavic community was broken and destroyed. It wrecked the primordial

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35   D. Staliūnas, *Assimilation or Acculturation...*, p. 14.

36   D. Johnson, *Shakespeare and South Africa*, Oxford 1996, pp. 39–51.

peasant's commune (*mir*) and introduced a feudal system absolutely alien to the Slavic tradition . That is why the Polish question should be resolved by cutting off the "real" Slavic Poland (represented by the common folk) from the evil of the *Polonism.*

The idea that "real" Poland belongs to the Slavic, not Western, civilisation meant that Polishness had, first of all, an ethic connotation and that other ethnic and religious groups should be emancipated. The latter applied in particular to members of the Orthodox (ex-Uniate) community whom the state authority viewed as "polonized" Russians "forcibly converted to Catholicism" who should now be restored to Russia so that "[this] population returned to the faith of their ancestors". According to the authorities, the area inhabited by Ruthenian (Ukrainians) peasants – Kholm Rus' – had for centuries been occupied by hostile Poland and the Catholic Church and the time had now come to restore to them their national and religious awareness and even to "turn them into [...] the vanguard of the struggle against Catholicism"[37].

## PRIMERS – AN EXAMPLE OF ACCULTURATION

The models of the integration of the subjects of the Kingdom accorded with the logic of the empire's behaviour. One example of attempts at acculturation is the use made of school primers for the Catholic and Polish-speaking children coming from the lower strata. Acculturation of peasants, who were expected to show gratitude to the Tsar the Liberator for his "granting them land", was meant to create loyal and obliging (*угодных, ugobnykh*) subjects of Russia who would become the main social basis legitimizing Russian rule in the Vistula Land[38].

The first primers that appeared in Russian Poland after 1864 were Antoni Celichowski's *Nauka czytania i pisania według zasad za najlepsze uznanych*[39], anonymous author's *Elementarz polsko-ruski, do użytku szkół*

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37  Quoted after A. Miller, *Imperium Romanowów a polskie powstania z lat 1830–1831 i 1863–1864 – analiza porównawczo-historyczna,* in *: Wbrew królewskim aliansom. Rosja, Europa i polska walka o niepodległość w XIX w.,* ed. Ł. Adamski, S. Dębski, Warszawa 2016, p. 90.

38   A. Walicki, *W kręgu słowianofilskiej utopii*, Warszawa 2002.

39   S. Wiech, *Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego w oczach carskiej policji politycznej (1866–1896),* 2nd ed., amended and supplemented, Kielce 2010, pp. 292-293; M. Piccin, *La politica etno-confessionale zarasta nel Regno di Polonia: la questione uniate di Cholm come esempio di*

*początkowych*[40], *Elementarz dla dzieci wiejskich*[41]. All the above-mentioned books seemed apolitical – Russia's domination over Poland was hardly noticeable. Nowosielski's primer formulated its educational programme in a very conservative way, combining education with religious formation which was understood as both moral and religious instruction, without an explicitly confessional character[42]. Equally conservative was Celichowski's *Nauka czytania…*, published by the government printing house of the Commission for Public Enlightenment – a sign of the official character of the primer for which the main point of reference was also Christian morality. The latter textbook introduced a new type of narrative which set its sights on different targets than typical religious and moralizing instructions of the former primer. This new narrative included such ordering of the text as to shape the readers' identity in both religious and territorial sense.

Celichowski divided the native territory into eight circles, that is: home, village, orchards and gardens, fields, meadows, towns, and finally roads and bridges. While the descriptions of these places had a "natural" and geographical character, in the description of towns he said that:

> "each country has one main city where the king and the highest clerical and lay officials live. Such city is called the capital. Our capital is Warsaw, formerly Cracow, both those cities are situated on the Vistula. In towns and cities, fairs and markets are held. Country people bring to the markets cereals, vegetables, poultry, eggs, milk, butter, cheese [...]

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nation-building *Russo*, Venezia 2011, pp. 133–134 – http://dspace.unive.it/bitstream/handle/10579/1076/Matteo%20PICCIN%20La%20politica%20etno-confessionale%20zarista%20nel%20Regno%20di%20Polonia.pdf?sequence=1 [20.02.2019], M. Piccin, *La politica etno-confessionale…*, pp. 169–174.

40   According to Dolbilov, Russian elites were no strangers to the view that the January uprising undermined Russian rights to the rule over the Polish Kingdom, cf. *Западные окраины Российской империи*, pp. 209–220.

41   A. Celichowski, *Nauka czytania i pisania według zasad za najlepsze uznanych*, part 1, Warszawa 1865 – https://academica.edu.pl/reading/readSingle?cid=89573161&uid=89185549 [accessed 27.03.2019].

42   *Elementarz polsko-ruski, do użytku szkół początkowych*, compiled by the Government Commission for Public Enlightenment and printed by the decision of the Establishment Committee in the Polish Kingdom, Warszawa 1865 – https://academica.edu.pl/reading/readSingle?cid=37938592&uid=19720994 [accessed 27.03.2019].

and buy there scythes, sickles, shoes [...]. That is how it is in society: some people need other people and some people work to satisfy other people's needs and convenience"[43].

The description of the capital city crowned the description of the state and society and formed a functional keystone pointing to the organic and mutually complementing character of both structures. Although the capital cities, contemporary and historic, were both named, the author mentioned neither the name of the state nor its political union with the village people, who were the main characters of the story. The concentric description of the "fatherland" had a rather traditional character and the peasant reader (pupil) was not supposed to identify either with the state or with the nation. It can therefore be said that the primer was meant to curb the formation of Polish national identity in Polish peasants and to build up loyalty to the authority of the "local country" understood apolitically[44].

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A separate place among school primers is occupied by those in Cyrillic script, written probably by Stanisław Mikucki[45]. The most popular of his textbooks was *Элементарь для дзеци вейскихъ* (*Elementarz dla dzieci wiejskich*), published three times in Saint Petersburg, Warsaw and Vilnius in 1865–1869[46]. Stanisław Mikucki, a Slavic and Sanskrit scholar who at the time was the librarian of the Main Library (Biblioteka Główna), was assessed very critically by later researchers (he

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43  T. Nowosielski, *Towarzysz pilnych dzieci, czyli początki czytania i innych wiadomości sposobem łatwym i do pojęcia młodocianego wieku zastosowanym wyłożone*, wyd. 4, Warszawa 1866 - https://academica.edu.pl/reading/readSingle?cid=527125&page=4&uid=527451 [accessed 27.03.2019]. On the subject of primers used in the Russian partition zone, see: F. Pilarczyk, *Elementarze polskie od ich XVI wiecznych początków do II wojny światowej*, Zielona Góra 2003, pp. 111–120 (discussed are primers published in the *Kresy* as well as those in Congress Poland and those used in clandestine education); M. Strycharska-Brzezina, *Polskojęzyczne podręczniki dla klasy I szkoły elementarnej w Królestwie Polskim drukowane grażdanką: wydania warszawskie ze zbiorów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej w Krakowie, rozprawa filologiczno-historyczna i edycja*, Kraków 2006; E. Staszyński, "Problem języka polskiego w szkołach Królestwa Polskiego", *Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty* 1964, vol. 77, pp. 145–171.

44  T.S. Nowosielski, *Towarzysz pilnych dzieci...*, pp. 30–33, 18–20, 50–52.

45  A. Celichowski, *Nauka czytania i pisania...*, p. 60.

46  Ibidem, pp. 35–62.

was accused of fanatical hatred of everything Polish and manipulation of scholarship – "linguistic hallucination")[47]. He was a member of the commission working on the Cyrillic alphabet for the Lithuanian language, where he cooperated with the author of the school reform in the Kingdom of Poland, Alexander Hilferding. Hilferding, researcher of Slavic studies (and expert in Kashubian and Pomeranian culture)[48], was convinced that the Slavic, Baltic and Finnish people belonged to a different civilization than their Occidentalized upper strata[49]. The centre of Slavic civilization was tantamount to the centre of the Russian empire which represented the interest of all Slavs. For Mikucki, the conclusion was a need for a civilizational approximation of the Polish peasant to Russian culture and "Slavic civilization". This was supposed to take place through the "re-Slavicization" of the Polish people, understood, according to the Slavophiles' project, as the "restoration" of the Orthodox faith and teaching of the Polish peasants to read Polish texts written in the "true" Slavic alphabet – the Cyrillic script[50]. This last task was treated by the reformers as one of primary

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47    For more detailed description of these textbooks, see: Maria Strycharska-Brzezina, *Polskojęzyczne podręczniki dla klasy I szkoły elementarnej…*, who also includes phototype copies of: *Elementarz dla dzieci wiejskich; Chrestomatija wiejska czyli zbiór wypisów z różnych polskich autorów; Grammatyka języka polskiego, Krótki zbiór historii Starego i Nowego Testamentu* and *Początkowa nauka arytmetyki dla użytku szkółek elementarnych wiejskich i miejskich.*

48    [Станислав Павлович Микуцкий,] *Элементарь для дзеци вейскихъ*, С. Петербургъ 1865 – https://archive.org/details/ABCPolishCyrillic/page/n1 [27.03.2019]); cf. F. Pilarczyk, *Elementarze polskie…*, p. 322; M. Strycharska-Brzezina, *Polskojęzyczne podręczniki dla klasy I szkoły elementarnej…*, pp. 11–18, 32–44 (see in particular bibliography).

49    J. Baudouin de Courtenay accused him of research manipulation and „linguistic hallucinations", calling him an "academic prostitute", see J. Baudouin de Courtenay, *Zarys historii językoznawstwa, czyli lingwistyki (glottologii),* in: *Poradnik dla samouków,* part VI, vol. 2, fascicle 2, *Dzieje myśli. Historia rozwoju nauk*, Warszawa 1909, pp. 252–253 – https://www.sbc.org.pl/publication/47832 [accessed 29.04.2019].

50    Cf. the 3rd Polish edition of Hilferding's work, still highly appreciated by the Slavic scholars, *Resztki Słowian na południowym wybrzeżu Morza Bałtyckiego*, trans. by N. Perczyńska, ed. J. Treder, afterword by H. Popowska-Taborska and J. Treder, Gdańsk 1989. This publication provoked a discussion lasting many years on Hilferding's reliability, see: *Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej* 1993, vol. 31; Z. Szultka, "Drugie posłowie historyka do 'Resztek Słowian na południowym wybrzeżu Morza Bałtyckiego'Aleksandra Hilferdinga", *Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej* 2015, vol. 50, pp. 280–309 – http://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.ojs-doi-10_11649_sfps_2015_017/c/sfps.2015.017-1797.pdf [accessed 29.04.2019].

importance and the Cyrillic primer was to serve this purpose. Mikucki simultaneously undertook the "Cyrillization" of both the Lithuania and the Polish language[51].

The idea of introducing the Russian script in Polish writing had a long tradition. The initiator was Tsar Nicholas I, who apparently expressed the wish that in order to "really merge the Kingdom with Russia", "the Polish alphabet [should] be replaced with the Russian one". Although the commission working on the implementation of the plan included among its members the minister for education, Sergey Uvarov, the plan was not carried out in practice, apart from the preparation of detailed instructions on the transliteration of the Polish alphabet into the Cyrillic script (in 1844). Another project with a similar aim was the instructions prepared by Peter Dubrovsky. These were used in practice in the book entitled *Wzory języka polskiego prozą i wierszem dla Rossyjan* (Correct Polish in prose and verse for Russians, Saint Petersburg 1852), which was used in some schools (as evidenced by the seal of the *realscole* in Równe in the copy of the book in the National Library of Poland). It was only the changes in the wake of the January uprising that enabled the Russian authorities to implement this plan.

For the Russian authorities, both in Saint Petersburg and Warsaw, the Polish issue was the subject of endless discussions. The Russian bureaucracy failed to take a coherent position on how it should be solved. Examples of different understandings of this question were provided by the policy of Dmitry Tolstoy, the education minister in 1876–1882 and, in Poland, that of Alexander Apukhtin, school superintendent of the Warsaw School District. Although many authors show Tolstoy as a disciple and follower of Mikhail Katkov[52], it should not es-

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51  Cf. П. Лавров, "Гильфердинг, Александр Федорович, in: Русский биографический словарь в 25 томах", изд. *Поднаблюдением пред. Императорского Русского Исторического Общества А.А. Половцова*, Москва 1916, vol. 5 [Lavrov, Gil'ferding, Aleksandr Fedorovich, in: Russkij biograficheskij slovar' v 25 tomakh, izd. Podnabljudeniem pred. Imperatorskogo Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshhestva A.A. Polovcova, Moskva 1916, vol. 5] , *Герберский-Гогенлоэс*, изд. под ред. Н. М. Чулкова [Gerberskij-Gogenloès, izd. pod red. N. M. Chulkova], pp. 195–204 –https://dlib.rsl.ru/viewer/01002897085#?page=197 [accessed 29.04.2019].

52  H. Głębocki, *Fatalna sprawa. Kwestia polska w rosyjskiej myśli politycznej (1856–1866)*, Kraków 2000, pp. 450–451; D. Staliūnas, *Making Russian...*, pp. 194–199.

cape our notice that, as a practitioner and politician of the conservative empire, he had to treat the Polish *status quo*, especially as regards the Polish upper classes, much more pragmatically than immediately after the crushing of the uprising. Shortly after the situation became relatively "calm", the plan to introduce the Cyrillic script for Polish literature was recognized as unrealistic and shelved.

In the period following the January uprising, the most popular textbook for elementary schools was *Elementarz polsko-ruski do użytku szkół początkowych*, which had many editions and was in use almost in the entire period under discussion (the years 1865–1902)[53]. All editions were meant to contribute to the formation of the pupils' "Slavic" identity. However, it was understood differently than the textbooks ascribed to Mikucki. The instrument of "Slavicization" was not to be the alphabet, but the arrangement of the book. The Polish and Russian texts on opposite pages made the pupils learn in two languages simultaneously. As regards their contents, the texts were much closer to Nowosielski's primer. They were characterized by a complete lack of political issues as well as a harmonious, cheerful description of the natural and divine order, "naturally" introducing the readers into religious life[54].

One of the tasks of the primers was to inspire veneration for the monarch. A good example is the second edition of Antoni Celichowski's *Nauka czytania i pisania* (1872) which contained anecdotal and at the same time moralizing texts about Peter I (about his apprenticeship with an Istrian blacksmith). Together with the story of the tsar's industriousness, the column of *Powieści i zdania moralne* contained a portrait of a good queen – Jadwiga of Poland. The examples of Peter I and the 14th century Polish queen were by no means political (civic) in

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53 H. Głębocki notes that the Cyrillic alphabet used by Hilferding was a rival idea in relation to the Polish Slavophilic project. He reminds us that work on creating such alphabet on the basis of "Polish letters" was carried out by Fr. Franciszek Ksawery Malinowski, see: "Александр Гильфердинг и Славянофильские Проекты Изменения Национально-Культурной Идентичности На Западных Окраинах Российской Империи" [Aleksandr Gil'ferding i Slavjanofil'skie Proekty Izmenenija Nacional'no-Kul'turnoj Identichnosti Na Zapadnykh Okrainakh Rossijskoj Imperii], *Ab imperio* 2005, no. 2, pp. 135–166.

54 D. Staliūnas, *Making Russian...*, pp. 112–123.

character. The point was rather to show an ideal picture of an active, masculine monarch and an "angelic", "merciful" queen who could not bear the "sight of the wretchedness of the neighbour", and at the same time to present them as the people's monarchs, unrelated to the upper classes. The peasants were to remain passive, "reasonable" and "good-natured".

Together with the changes brought about by the year 1905, the primers accepted by the Warsaw School District proved different to the earlier ones. Special attention is due to the primer written by an educational activist and undoubtedly a Polish patriot, Bolesław Wocalewski, entitled *Strzecha rodzinna*, parts 1–3, Łódź 1905. The programme guidelines of this textbook can be best summed up by a short verse which opened its part 2:

> Come on, children! Hey-ho, to school! All together! / [...] In this book which is called "The Family Thatch" / Many interesting and beautiful things / May be found. / You will learn from it how to love the Maker / With all your hearts, / How you must live to be / Happy in the world [...] You will learn from it how the Almighty God / Created the world. / You will learn from it to love the native / Country, the people. / To work, children! God will bless your effort[55].

This textbook was definitely much more eloquent in its appeal to love "the native country" which – as we learn further on in the book – was understood as a love of Poland. This is obvious when we look at several texts, of which one (Maria Konopnicka's *W zapusty*) is about a carnival dance with children dressed as "one of us", meaning the inhabitants of the whole of ethnic Poland, including the highlanders, Cracovians, Mazurians and Kuyavians[56]. In another text we find a poem by Jadwiga of Łobzów, entitled *Dzielnice*, which ends with the following appeal:

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55 Cf. for data on individual editions see the card catalogue of the Warsaw University Library (BUW) – https://zwarte.ckk.buw.uw.edu.pl/ [accessed 13.05.2019].

56 *Elementarz polsko-ruski do użytku szkół początkowych (z dodaniem ruskiego wzorku)*, Częstochowa 1877 – https://academica.edu.pl/reading/readSingle?cid=72095214&uid=70400401 [accessed 27.03.2019].

Whoever has a Polish heart / Who loves his fine country / Should know the lands – / Which formed the country. / And must know the name / Of each of its parts / Because all of this is ours – / Lying under our skies[57].

Another text (*Imieniny Józia*) tells about children who were supposed to impersonate important figures from Polish history, science and culture, e.g. Józef Poniatowski, Stanisław Żółkiewski, Wanda (daughter of Krak), Stanisław Jachowicz, Piotr Skarga and Nicolaus Copernicus[58]. The Polish Kingdom which "forms a part – as the author underlines – of the Russian Empire", described as "our country", was, from this viewpoint, above all a geographic and administrative term, not encompassing everything Polish[59].

Such change in the attitude to presenting "Polishness" in primers was associated with the changes that took place in the educational system after 1905. Indirectly, the reason was competition posed by the primers used in clandestine and private schooling (primers by Promyk, Celina Niewiadomska and Władysław Bełza). In a situation wherein the Polish intelligentsia built up an almost openly Polish national identity among the peasants, the Russian authorities had only one option left: to allow such textbooks in the school system which "equalized" this identity with loyalty towards the Russian empire.

It is worth noting that the authors of these books did not in any way undertake to build up Russian identity among the Polish pupils. Their role was different. Shortly after the January uprising, it consisted in separating the lower classes from the Polish gentry which was engaged in the "Polish rebellion" and in changing the civilizational vector among the Polish peasants towards Russia and the Russian emperor (Tsar Liberator) rather than towards the ideals of the Polish independence tradition. Polishness had only a cultural significance (not historical) and the task was to "win it over" for the Slavic world

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57   B.T. Wocalewski, *Strzecha rodzinna. Książka do czytania i ćwiczeń*, 12th ed., Łódź 1917, part 2, p. 2 – http://bc.wbp.lublin.pl/publication/16357 [accessed 27.03.2019].

58   Ibidem, pp. 193–196.

59   Ibidem, p. 197.

under Russia's leadership[60], and later periods saw a gradual departure from Slavophilic utopias. Primers which tried to bring the Polish readers closer to Russia used texts presenting figures from Russian history and culture. Prior to the Great War, the Polish pressure was so powerful that the Russian authorities consented to the appearance of elements of Polish patriotism in the primers' narrative, but this was limited only to the ethnically Polish parts of the country (also from outside the Kingdom of Poland) and always in a way favourably disposed towards Russia. It should be mentioned that the emotional attitude towards "Polishness" represented by individual authors was often varied – from decidedly unfavourable (Mikucki) to extremely positive (Wocalewski). Irrespective of the authors' personal mindset, primers served to consolidate an imperial identity in which there was also room for Polishness understood loyalistically.

*БЕСЕДА* – ASSIMILATION OF RUTHENIANS TO RUSSIANNESS

A completely different function was ascribed to the non-Catholic and non-Polish-speaking population, notably the Ruthenian (Ukrainians), who in 1875 were administratively recognized as Russian Orthodox. As the Establishment Committee claimed, the territory inhabited by the Orthodox peasants was part of ancient Rus, the space which from time immemorial (*искони*, *iskoni*) had belonged to the Russian nation. The first periodical addressed to the Orthodox inhabitants of the eastern gubernyas of the Vistula Land was *Беседа*, published twice monthly in 1886–1906 in the Warsaw gubernya typography, under the supervision of Nikolay Kharlamov, superintendent for peasant affairs of the Grójec county[61]. Unfortunately, we know nothing about its circulation; its price – 1.5 roubles for an annual subscription – was not excessive, an indication perhaps that its publishing was financed from the state budget. As to the purpose of publishing the *Беседа*, some light is cast by correspondence, preserved in the docu-

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60   Ibidem, pp. 197–203.

61   Ibidem., 9th ed., Łódź 1912, p. 139, chapter "Królestwo Polskie". In the 1917 edition the chapter is entitled "Królestwo Polskie (Polska)", and the bit "forms a part of the Russian Empire" is no longer there (p. 189).

ments of the viceroy's chancellery in Warsaw, between Fyodor Berg and Galician Russophiles on winning over authors for the new newspaper and opinions on the most effective mode of "operation aimed at convincing the obstructive who were influenced by the opponents' propaganda"[62]. In his letters the author of the above quoted excerpt, Ivan Naumovich, leader of the Russophile movement, expressed his doubts as to the success of the operation of attracting Orthodox peasants and suggested first of all the tactic of making the *Беседа* more attractive visually by "adding illustrations which our people are so fond of". Another correspondent, Vakh Guryev (Вакх Васильевич Гурьев), pastor of the Orthodox cathedral in Kalisz, was for applying the tactic of "short steps", that is, attracting peasants with articles on everyday matters and only later going on to getting them interested in "painful subjects", such as "the Union and Polishness". It is also worth noting his proposal to popularize reading habits through the dissemination free of charge of pamphlets addressed "in particular to school children"[63].

In order to convince the newly converted Orthodox readers about the good sense of reading the new paper, the first issue, which appeared on 1 January 1886, contained fictionalized dialogues between two peasants. In the text, entitled *Зачем нам нужна грамота* (*zachem nam nuzhna gramota, why should we read*), one of them is not convinced that it is worth sending children to school. In answer, the second one gives him three basic reasons why reading is important: it gives people access to devotional and "moralizing" literature, makes it possible to learn about their own history and consequently "discover" their own national identity, and finally teaches them how to run their farms

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62  A. Walicki, *W kręgu konserwatywnej utopii*, Warszawa 2002, pp. 360-361; Idem, "Zarys myśli rosyjskiej od renesansu religijno-filozoficznego", Kraków 2005, p. 195; H. Głębocki, *Polska w myśli politycznej Jurija Samarina*, [w:] *Polacy a Rosjanie : materiały z konferencji „Polska-Rosja : rola polskich powstań narodowych w kształtowaniu wzajemnych wyobrażeń",* red. T. Epsztein, Warszawa 2000, s. 129-157.

63  Kharlamov was the author of a pamphlet entitled *Сельское и гминное самоуправление в губерниях Царства Польского*, Варшава 1902 [Sel'skoe i gminnoe samoupravlenie v gubernijah Carstva Pol'skogo, Varshava 1902] , AGAD (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw), shelf mark 1783, doc. 8., dedicated to the peasant self-government in the Polish Kingdom after 1864.

more effectively. The main role of reading was to transmit historical narratives, as evidenced in their predominance in the *Беседа*, thanks to which the peasant reader would be able to announce proudly:

> "Now I know that our state came into being over a thousand years ago, and that the first prince of Rus was Rurik whose baptism took place during the reign of Vladimir who was recognized as saint: that Rus for a long time suffered under the Tartar yoke and it was saved from the threatening Lach [Polish] yoke thanks to the heroism of a simple butcher Minin and [...] prince Pozharsky. We also know what tsars ruled in Russia and I could tell you about Peter I – about him working as carpenter and joiner [...] with his own hands; [...] I also know that 70 years ago during the reign of Tsar Alexander I the Blessed, the French emperor Napoleon with his vast army entered Russia and wanted to conquer it, but our great Tsar forced him to retreat [...] and give up all conquests. [...] I know that we were freed from serfdom by the EMPEROR ALEXANDER II, called by the people Tsar Liberator"[64].

Russian national identity was to be based on a threefold narrative according to which the history of Rus-Russia formed a continuous whole, the state authority of the autocrat-tsar was the main factor in the development of the state, and the monarch was united with "his" people.

Next to the historic narrative, the *Беседа* engaged in spreading word of the second fundamental factor of national identity, that is, membership of the Orthodox Church. The Orthodox religion was shown mostly through the socio-cultural prism as the Russians' "natural faith"[65], whose adoption or rejection could not be decided by such "subjective" factors as a person's individual decision. Until the freedom of religion was legally adopted in 1906, division into confessions and religions was treated in the Russian empire rather as a cultural-ethnic division and applied not so much to individuals as to social groups. For this reason, individual confessions were treated proto-nationally in accordance with the principle: "Russian faith" means Orthodox faith, "Polish faith"

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64  *Беседа* 1886, no. 1, p. 3 – http://ebuw.uw.edu.pl/publication/234956 [accessed 20.02.2019].

65  P. Werth, *The Tsar's Foreign Faith. Toleration and the Fate of Religious Freedom in Imperial Russia*, Oxford 2014, pp. 166–173.

means Catholicism and "German faith" means Lutheranism. In the view of the Russian authorities, Eastern Rite Catholicism was "internally contradictory" in both religious and historical respects. Observed by "Russian peasants", it preserved (in spite of its "catholicization") continuity with the Orthodox tradition, but it remained under the control of Rome. In the view of the Russian bureaucracy, the abolishment of the Union was to be the "liberation" of the "eternally" Orthodox faithful and restoration of historic justice[66]. By the same token, the Uniate Catholicism, as a "sect", found itself outside the sphere of acceptable tolerance to which other religious communities were entitled[67].

With the abolishment of the Union Church in the late 1830s, the Orthodoxy and "Russianness" were "primordialized" in the Западный Край . Following the January uprising and Congress Poland's loss of its autonomy, its eastern borderlands were seen as "forgotten" Russia which had in the past formed an integral part of Holy Russia – the mediaeval Kievan Rus[68]. Therefore, Orthodox and national propaganda on the pages of *Беседа* was to serve above all Russian nationalization which would recognize Russianness as "eternal" and "natural" in "its own" territory. In one of its issues in 1886, this question was discussed by the peasants Nikita and Stepan, who related a meeting with another peasant in the following way:

"He said to me "For the love of God", how could you agree to convert to Orthodoxy? After all you lost your soul [...] And I answer him: Tell me, if you please – what faith was here 300 years ago? I have happened to hear more than once that Orthodoxy was then everywhere, even when we were under the Polish yoke and our fathers saw *Polish faith* [my emphasis – MP] in grand churches and performed corvée work for landlords and priests"[69].

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66  M. Piccin, *La politica imperial zarista...*, pp. 150–158.

67  P. Werth, *The Tsar's Foreign Faith...*, pp. 82–83.

68  М. Долбилов: *Русский край, чужая вера. Этноконфессиональная политика империи в Литве и Белоруссии при Александре II*, Москва 2010 [M. Dolbilov: Russkij kraj, chuzhaja vera. Ètnokonfessional'naja politika imperii v Litve i Belorussii pri Aleksandre II, Mockva 2010].

69  W. Osadczy, *Święta Ruś. Rozwój i oddziaływanie idei prawosławia w Galicji*, Lublin 2007, p. 13; J. Billington, *Ikona i topór. Historia kultury rosyjskiej*, trans. by J. Hunia, Kraków 2008, p. 117.

In this religious-nationalistic combination, one more factor is worth noting, which may be called the "estate" factor. Its essence is the conviction that the "Polish landlords" (and *only* they) resisted the emancipation of the peasants. Religious differences were supposed to reflect the "national" differences and thus explain the permanent conflict between the peasant and the landlord. This was meant to show the differences between the two social groups as having an antagonistic character, and this antagonism, due to the inherent difference between the two "nationalities", were seen as insurmountable.

In the situation in which the roles of individual nations – Poles represented by the Catholic "landlords" and the Russians by peasants who were poor and oppressed by those landlords – were clearly defined, it was necessary to explain the problem of resistance to Orthodoxy. Until the year 1905, the main task of the Russian administration in the east of the Kingdom was the matter of the *упорствующие* (*uporstvujushchie*, the resistant), the former Uniates who refused to convert to Orthodoxy and remained, in a way, outside any institutional church[70]. Explaining this situation, which was difficult to accept for both the Russian bureaucrats and the clergy, became one of the favourite motifs in the *Беседа*.

In the column headlined *About the resistant, and why they resist*, the author argued that the reason for this state of affairs lies mainly in the characteristic of the "backwardness" of the peasant estate in Russia, which sets the latter apart from the "progressive" peasants in other parts of Europe, notably in Germany, Belgium and England where:

> "the wise and literate peasant gets down to books whenever he has no other work to do and through books he talks as it were with wise people and listens to their advice"[71].

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70   *Беседа* 1886, no. 4, pp. 28–29 – http://ebuw.uw.edu.pl/publication/234960 [accessed 20.02.2019].

71   On the subject of the "resistant" see A. Szabaciuk, "*Rosyjski Ulster". Kwestia chełmska w polityce imperialnej Rosji*, Lublin 2013, pp. 41–48 – https://www.academia.edu/7923035/_Rosyjski_Ulster_._Kwestia_che%C5%82mska_w_polityce_imperialnej_Rosji_w_latach_1863-1915 [accessed 20.02.2019].

The editors of the *Беседа* were convinced that the acceptance of Orthodoxy by former Uniates must have been a result of their awareness of their own roots, passed down not from generation to generation (as with traditional oral tradition), but thanks to modern written culture. Russian nationalization of the former Uniate region was to take place due to the modernization of that region. Its element was to be, above all, an "understanding" of one's *true* Orthodox identity which was treated, in both nationalistic and confessional terms, as eternal and unchangeable.

The ability to read the desirable Orthodox literature supported by the state and church authorities ("various cheap pamphlets and booklets on spiritual and scientific subjects" were mentioned) among which the first place was to be occupied by the ten-page "Троицкие листки [Troickie listki]"[72], published in many copies by the Trinity Lavra of St Sergius near Moscow, was to work as an antidote to Polish propaganda. The latter was viewed as particularly dangerous due to the above-mentioned "backwardness" of "people, Russian by birth, who however have forgotten about their famous [Orthodox] forefathers". Meanwhile, the situation was such that the Polish "Master Karol", who was a "secret Polish propagandist", enjoyed the support of the Uniate priests in Galicia and "read and explained to people *The Book of Prophesies* where it was said that Poland with the help of Austria will defeat Russia and all those who converted to Orthodoxy will be tortured"[73]. Reading and listening to "inappropriate" books was the main worry of the Russian authorities in the eastern gubernyas of the Vistula Land, and the only way their influence could be "neutralized" was to actively propagate reading in Russian.

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72   *Беседа* 1886, no. 6, p. 1 – http://ebuw.uw.edu.pl/publication/234962 [accessed 20.02.2019].

73   А.Н. Стрижев, *Никон Рождественский – великий святитель XX в.*, "Благодатный огонь" 2000, no. 5; Архимандрит Никон [Рождественский], *Мои дневники*, вып. 7, *1916*, Сергиев Посад 1916 [A.N. Strizhev, Nikon Rozhdestvenskij – velikij svjatitel' XX v., "Blagodatnyj ogon'" 2000, no. 5; Arhimandrit Nikon [Rozhdestvenskij], Moi dnevniki, vyp. 7, 1916, Sergiev Posad 1916] – https://dlib.rsl.ru/viewer/01004114796#?page=2 [accessed 20.02.2019].

Russian nationalization of the former Uniates proceeded mainly through their earlier Orthodox confessionalization. The tasks of Russian literature for the people, presented here with the use of the example of the paper *Беседа*, were to challenge Polish literature through the separation of the "us" group of Orthodox Russians and alienation from this group of all the "aliens"[74] – "Polish landlords" and the Catholic Church; to build up regional identity according to which the territory inhabited by the former Uniates was eternally part of the sacred sphere of Russianness (Holy Russia); and finally to reconstruct national history through the creation of an attractive historic narrative with which the new "Russians" could identify.

### CONCLUSION

Analysis of the social function of the book in the second half of the 19th century opens up possibilities for research on the shaping of both the national and imperial identity which was seen as a counterbalance to the processes of (Polish) nationalization of the lower strata. In both cases, the main instrument was to be reading, either forced (e.g. school textbooks) or voluntary. The task of the books which were to be instruments in the process of national formation was first of all the separation of the "us" group with its own "eternal" history and "its own" territory by means of an attractive narrative easily understood by the less practised readers. A different function was to be performed by books which supported the acculturation of those inhabitants of the empire's peripheries who were not viewed as members of the dominating ("ruling") nation. As evidenced by the quoted examples of elementary school primers in the Kingdom of Poland, textbooks were meant to "inscribe" Polish national awareness and professed Catholicism in the imperial context. Loyalty to the Russian state was understood as acceptance of the Russian civilizational mission, according to which Russia was treated as the "saviour of Slavdom". Over the course of time, such programme of (imperial) Polish national identity was

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74 *Беседа* 1886, no. 22, p. 1 – http://ebuw.uw.edu.pl/publication/234978 [accessed 20.02.2019].

introduced less and less consistently. It became more and more essential to adopt certain elements of Polish patriotism which remained complementary to the allegiance to the Russian state.

The division into assimilative and acculturative functions of reading makes it possible to differentiate methods of winning over support for Russianness (understood in terms of both state and nation) and to encourage deeper reflection on the subject of the aims of Russian cultural policy in the period following the January uprising. Research on the ideas that motivated publishers of primers, newspapers for the "people" and also founders of libraries, both for the upper and lower strata, may contribute – I believe – to a better understanding of the mechanisms of both nation-building and empire-building in the Kingdom of Poland[75].

*translated by Bogna Piotrowska*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

## SUMMARY

The article presents methodological aspects of social functions of books in the research on nations and empires. Its first part focuses on the notions of assimilation and acculturation in the context of various Russian cultural policies in the Kingdom of Poland in the years 1864–1914. The main tool of these policies were schoolbooks and popular press. The author believes that analyzing them makes it possible to determine what sort of change – according to the ideas and guidelines of the Russian authorities – was supposed to occur in a reader after getting acquainted with the books recommended by school board and the Governor-General of the Kingdom of Poland. The second part of

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75   The term meaning the creation of the category of the Other by emphasizing distance and hostility: J. Fabian, "Presence and Representation. The Other and anthropological writings", *Critical Inquiry* 1990, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 755 – http://ewa.home.amu.edu.pl/Fabian,%20The%20Other%20and%20Anthropolgical%20Writing.pdf [accessed 20.02.2019].

the article (1) discusses in detail the books intended to make Polish national identity and Catholicism harmonize with the imperial context, and (2) introduces the magazine Beseda aimed at shaping Russian national identity among Orthodox inhabitants of the Kholm Rus'.

KEYWORDS: Russia, empire, nation, Congress Kingdom of Poland, social function of book

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# THE HISTORY AND TECHNIQUES OF MOUNTING THE GRAPHIC ART COLLECTION FROM WILANÓW (1834–1845)

## Introduction

A mount for drawings and prints has two basic functions: representative, for a connoisseur's delight, as well as a form of physical protection during storage. The decorative mounting of drawings and later prints, arranged on a board or in an album, appeared along with the increased role of old master drawings and the beginning of assembling collections.[1] The first method of preserving drawings in European collections is seen in the creation of the so-called *factice* album, meaning artificial or collectors' albums.[2] The tradition of gathering

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1    A collector's mount, for the purposes of this work, defines the way of arranging graphic works, applied to the whole or larger part of a collector's collection and having clear features that characterise it and distinguish it from other collections. This may mean mounting objects on decorated boards and storing them in portfolios or binding boards in a larger number of uniform collectors' albums in terms of performance. The arrangement of the collection is defined as giving the entire collection a specific external form.

2    Artificial album: Album *factice*, unpublished, usually made in one copy of iconographic documents connected by a common binding (e.g. album with family photos, album), definition by: Sternik. Terminological dictionary on bibliography and cataloguing, http://sternik.bn.org.pl/vocab/index.php?tema=1508&/album-sztuczny [accessed 25.12.2019]

drawings in albums is a long one, derived from the simple insertion of drawings between blank books and manuscripts pages in libraries. Subsequently, as drawings and graphics began to adhere to these pages, a simple way of binding empty pages with pasted drawings into "artbooks" was devised.

The first such albums date from the beginning of the 16th century, although various types of drawing templates and sketchbooks had been known since the early 15th century at which time drawings were mounted directly into albums.[3] Attaching drawings on pages in albums was the first method of preservation, the most famous example being *Libro de' disegni* by Giorgio Vasari.[4] The second method, which appeared in the first half of the 17th century, was to group loose sheets with pasted drawings in portfolios.[5] Dealer and collector, Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694–1774) was the greatest influence on the spread of this type of assembly. He was the fourth in a Parisian dynasty and the most famous expert in drawings and prints in the family. In fact, his views had a huge impact on the formation of the taste of the era.[6] Mariette mounted drawings on individual supports, allowing several such mounts to be seen at the same time at a glance (*coup d'oeil*). Mariette kept his mounts in portfolios.[7] Both the album and loose mounts were decorated, as a rule, in the form of concentrically-arranged borders with additional gilding or ornamentation. Here too, Pierre-Jean Mariette's overwhelming influence can be seen. His sophisticated mounts on blue paper laminates with gold and ink washlines, bearing a cartouche with the artist's name, were imitated by many European collectors. Decorative collector's mounts added prestige to the drawings and enhanced the viewing of an expert or connoisseur of art. Sometimes, the mounting process led to significant changes in

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3 C. James, C. Corrigan, M. Ch. Enshaian, M. R. Greca, *Old Master Prints and Drawings, a Guide to Preservation and Conservation*, Amsterdam 1997, pp. 2–35.

4 Ibidem, pp. 2–5.

5 Ibidem, pp. 151

6 K. Smentek, "Pierre II Mariette or the Mariette Dynasty Revisited," in: *L'estampe au Grand Siècle. Etudes offertes à Maxime Préaud*, Paris 2010.

7 C. James, C. Corrigan, M. Ch. Enshaian, M. R. Greca, op. cit., pp. 19–21, 151.

the structure of the work itself, such as alterations in the composition (by regrouping the paper fragments along with the drawing layer) to emphasize, in the eyes of the connoisseur, the master's perfection.[8] It should be pointed out that in European collections until the end of 18th century, decorative mounts were mainly supplied for drawings, while simpler mounts were used for prints.[9]

Historical collections have not survived intact to our time in Poland; to begin with, most had not been properly arranged and mounted. This was due to collectors' insufficient financial means and/or the country's complicated history that entailed invasions, looting, confiscations, transport by invaders (or by the collectors themselves) to house collections in safer locations in Poland or abroad. On the other hand, art collections are often dispersed after a collector's death. The example of a specifically-arranged and largely preserved Polish graphic art collection is undoubtedly the Cabinet of Engravings by King Stanisław August Poniatowski, assembled between 1764 and 1794 and now found at the University of Warsaw Library.[10]

What distinguishes this one from other period European collections is that it consists of both prints and drawings mounted in a similar manner on loose supports with decorative engraved and etched or golden paper strips and green washlines.[11] This practice, however, seems to have found greater popularity at the beginning of 19th century, an example of which might be the collection of Marquess Luigi Malaspina

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8   K. Smentek, "The Collectors Cut: Why Pierre-Jean Mariette Tore Up His Drawings and Put Them Back Together Again," *Master Drawings*, vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 36–60.

9   J. M. Kosek, *Conservation Mounting for Prints and drawings*, London 2009, p.5

10  M. Laszczkowski, *Galeria z papieru. Oprawy artystyczne rycin i rysunków króla Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego*, Instytut Historii Sztuki, Warszawa 2012; T. Kossecka, *Gabinet Rycin króla Stanisława Augusta*, Warszawa 1999; J. Talbierska,  "Gabinet Rycin króla Stanisława Augusta," in: *Stanisław August. Ostatni król Polski. Polityk, mecenas, reformator 1764-1795*, exhibition catalogue at the Royal Castle in Warsaw, 26 November–19 February 2012, Warszawa 2012, pp. 270–281; M. Laszczkowski, "Grafika w dekoracji nowożytnego wnętrza. Ilustracje do *Metamorfoz* Owidiusza w Białym Domku," in: *Metamorfozy. Królewska kolekcja grafiki Stanisława Augusta*, exhibition catalogue at the Royal Łazienki Museum, 25 May–1 September 2013, Warszawa 2013, pp. 47–56; *Dwie skórzane teki królewskie z Gabinetu Rycin w Warszawie*, Toruń 2002.

11  M. Laszczkowski, *Galeria z papieru…*, pp. 13–19

di Sannazzoro (1754–1835).[12] Another example is the collection of the Potocki family from Wilanów (before 1845) kept in the National Library of Poland. A systematic study of Polish collections of graphic art is clearly needed as no similar examples of such an extensive and decorative collector's arrangement exist elsewhere in the country.

Carlo James comprehensively described the history and methods of preserving drawings in Western Europe in two chapters of the book, *Old Master Prints and Drawings: A Guide to Preservation and Conservation*: *Collectors and Mountings* covered the styles of assembling drawings characteristic of individual collectors along with *The History of Preservation of Works of Art on Paper.*[13] The entry, "Mounting" in *The Dictionary of Art* is also very extensive.[14] The topic has been addressed by multiple authors, referring to museum or specific collections.[15] Polish literature on the subject does not provide a summary of the ways of arranging mounting graphic art collections. Such information is generally given when discussing specific collections. The largest comprehensive study is found in the four-volume *Polskie zbiory graficzne* (*Polish Graphic Collections*)[16], containing a very extensive introduction. It describes the history of Polish collection-making. The fourth volume, *Polskie kolekcjonerstwo grafiki i rysunku* (*Polish Graphics and Drawing Collections*) describes contemporary graphic collections in those institutions where they are currently kept, further indicating the original collections from which they come. The second important work on the history of Polish graphic art collection are conference materials, in-

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12   L. Aldovini, "Luigi Malaspina di Sannazzaro and the 'accessories' for a print collection," in: *Collecting prints and drawings*, ed. A. M. Gáldy, S. Heudecker, Cambridge 2018

13   C. James et al., op.cit., pp. 2–35 ; Ibidem., pp. 140–169.

14   A. Donnithorne, "Mounting," in: *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 22, New York 1996, pp. 232–239.

15   J. M. Kosek, "Outline History of the Presentation of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum," in *Conservation mounting for prints and Drawings*, London 2009, pp. 1–13; A. Donnithorne, "The Royal Mount: 250 Years of Mounting Practice in the British Royal Collection," in *Art on Paper: Mounting and Housing*, London 2005, pp. 3–12

16   *Polskie zbiory graficzne*, eds. M. Mrozińska, S. Sawicka, vol. 1: *Rysunki szkół obcych w zbiorach polskich*, Warszawa 1976; vol. 2: *Grafika i rysunki polskie w zbiorach polskich*, Warszawa 1977, vol. 3: *Grafika szkół obcych w zbiorach polskich*, Warszawa 1978, vol. 4: *Polskie kolekcjonerstwo grafiki i rysunku*, Warszawa 1980.

cluding *Polskie kolekcjonerstwo grafiki i rysunku*[17] (*Polish Graphic Art and Drawing Collection*) accompanying the exhibition, *Miłośnicy grafiki i ich kolekcje* (*Graphic Art Lovers and Their Collections*) at the National Museum in Warsaw along with the exhibition catalogue.[18] Information on Polish graphic art collectors can be found in detailed publications about specific collections and exhibition catalogues.

The history of the Wilanów Library has been discussed by Jadwiga Rudnicka in *Biblioteka Wilanowska* (*Wilanów Library*); however, the graphic collection is not included in that study.[19] The collection was mentioned as part of general description of the iconographic collection of the National Library of Poland. The entry, Biblioteka Narodowa (The National Library) in *Polskie kolekcjonerstwo grafiki i rysunku* (*Polish Graphic and Drawing Collection*), was edited by Elżbieta Skierkowska.[20] Maria Grońska described the graphic collection on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the National Library in the chapter, "Zbiory ikonograficzne" (Iconographic Collection) that discussing the entire collection in the National Library.[21]

An opportunity to present the collection of the Wilanów Library in a broader context arose at the time of the exhibition, *Dar dla narodu, skarby Biblioteki Wilanowskiej* (*A Gift to the Nation, Treasures of the Wilanów Library*) that took place at the Palace of the Commonwealth in 2003. The collection of drawings was described in the exhibition catalogue by Krystyna Gutowska-Dudek, curator of the Museum of King Jan III's Palace in Wilanów, and the graphic collection was covered by Maria Grońska, art historian.[22] The collection of drawings

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17   *Polskie kolekcjonerstwo grafiki. Ludzie i instytucje*, Warszawa 2008.

18   *Miłośnicy grafiki i ich kolekcje w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, catalogue of the exhibition at the National Museum in Warsaw, 6 July–3 September 2006, Warszawa 2006.

19   J. Rudnicka, *Biblioteka Wilanowska. Dwieście lat jej dziejów (1741–1932)*, Warszawa 1967.

20   E. Skierkowska, "Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa," in: *Polskie kolekcjonerstwo grafiki i rysunku*, op.cit., pp. 101–112.

21   M. Grońska, "Zbiory ikonograficzne," in: *50 lat Biblioteki Narodowej Warszawa 1928–1978*, Warszawa 1984, pp. 187–194.

22   *Dar dla Narodu. Skarby Biblioteki Wilanowskiej: wystawa ze zbiorów Biblioteki Narodowej*, exhibition catalogue of the National Library of Poland, April–May 2003, Warszawa 2003. K. Gutowska-Dudek, *Rysunki*, pp. 47–56; M. Grońska, *Grafika*, pp. 57–68.

in the four-volume catalogue of Krystyna Gutowska-Dudek, *Rysunki z wilanowskiej kolekcji Potockich w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej* (*Drawings from the Potocki Collection in the National Library*) is the most accurate publication. Volumes 1–4 were published by the National Library of Poland between 1997 and 2004. In the introduction to the first and fourth volumes, the author gives facts from the collection's history. To date, no printed catalogue of the Wilanów graphics collection has been published, but at the time of this writing, cataloguing is underway at the National Library.[23]

Individual sets of drawings and prints was addressed on the occasion of historical studies, primarily concerning Stanisław Kostka Potocki.[24] The arrangement the collection has been mentioned marginally in studies, usually rather generally and often incorrectly.[25] Most available information has been provided by Krystyna Gutowska-Dudek, who listed the main employees responsible for ordering the collection, while also providing a record of bills related to the works. Krystyna Gutowska-Dudek generally described the assembly and albums while Katarzyna Garczewska-Semka gave more details about the mounting of the collection in two articles.[26]

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23  A. Pietrzak, "Zbiór graficzny Biblioteki Wilanowskiej. Projekt katalogu," unpublished paper from the conference on 29 April 2016 at the Open Historical Seminars of the National Library of Poland.

24  To mention the recent ones: his architectural drawings in the book by art historian Jolanta Polanowska, presenting the activity of Stanisław Kostka Potocki in the field of architecture (J. Polanowska, *Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755–1821): twórczość architekta amatora przedstawiciela neoklasycyzmu i nurtu picturesque*, Warszawa 2009), and in the book edited by art historian Jerzy Miziołek, regarding the reconstruction of Villa Laurentina (J. Miziołek, *Villa Laurentina arcydzieło epoki stanisławowskiej*, Warszawa 2007). Some drawings also appear in the exhibition catalogue *Grand Tour. Narodziny kolekcji Stanisława Kostki Potockiego* (*Grand Tour: The Birth of the Collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki*), organized in Wilanów in 2006, and numerous other exhibition catalogues for which drawings had been on loan.

25  E. Skierkowska reports that only drawings from the Rastrelli collection were bounded in the albums. Maria Grońska emphasizes the preserved specific arrangement of the collection in the abovementioned publication for the 50th anniversary of the National Library of Poland's collection, as well as in the chapter "Rysunki w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej" ("Drawings in the National Library Collection") from the book *Rysunki artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających* (*Drawings of Polish and Foreign Artists Working in Poland*).

26  K. Garczewska-Semka, "Ozdobne montaże rysunków z kolekcji wilanowskiej: historia i materiały w świetle źródeł archiwalnych i konserwacja rysunku Norblina *Zaprzysiężenie konstytucji 3 Maja 1791.*" *Notes konserwatorski* no. 17 (2015), pp. 209–227;

Various archival sources were used in the studies, beginning with inventories of drawings. A summary financial statement from the general accountancy, and bookkeeping excerpts of Count Aleksander Potocki from the Economic Archive of Wilanów (Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw) were cited. Yet the rich collection of bookkeeping in the spot settlement section (*Allegata kassowe*) was not mentioned (i.e., Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw)[27]. This collection contains a wealth of information on the mounting of the Wilanów collection at the time of Aleksander Potocki. Reference to an existing collection of drawings allows for the establishment of a fairly broad picture of the course of these works. The choice of drawings, a relatively small part of the entire collection, proves to be beneficial. Thanks to a detailed edition by Krystyna Gutowska-Dudek in the catalogue, it is relatively easy to identify the drawings in the bills, which would otherwise be very difficult for a huge number with overly general descriptions. This in turn, allows for the establishment of specific technical solutions and historical facts. An analysis of technical and historical aspects of the arrangement of the collection is of fundamental importance in determining its character as an original cultural work.

## PART I. HISTORY AND TECHNIQUES OF THE MOUNTING OF THE WILANÓW COLLECTION

### 1. HISTORY OF MOUNTING

#### Owners and inventories

The Wilanów collection of drawings and prints of the Potocki family was part of the Wilanów Library, donated to the Polish state in 1932 by a Polish count and owner of the palace in Wilanów, Adam Branic-

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K. Garczewska-Semka, "Wilanowska kolekcja rysunków rodziny Potockich w Bibliotece Narodowej – organizacja, budowa technologiczna albumów i stan zachowania," in: *Toruńskie Studia Bibliologiczne* 2016, no. 1 (16), pp. 57–75.

27  The assembly as a whole was not given a modern pagination; the old pagination in the footnotes with document card numeration from this collection means that no modern pagination of cards has been done, and because the volumes consist of a larger number of earlier volumes, these numerations can be repeated many times in the volume.

ki (1892–1947). The Wilanów Library consists primarily of the book and the graphic collections of two Potocki brothers: Stanisław Kostka (1755–1821) and Ignacy (1750–1809), along with the collection of their ancestors and heirs.[28]

Stanisław Kostka Potocki was the founder of the Wilanów Library's collection of drawings and prints, and was a Polish nobleman, politician and art patron. He collected many valuable works of well-known Polish and foreign artists, including the Old Masters. In 1818, Stanisław Kostka Potocki, then Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education, donated the most valuable part of his collection to the emerging Print Room at the Royal University of Warsaw.[29] The collection that remained in Wilanów included the works of those artists cooperating with him or his contemporaries: Vicenzo Brenna (1745–1820), Zygmunt Vogel (1764–1826), Jan Piotr Norblin (1745–1830), Michał Stachowicz (1768–1835), Piotr Aigner (1756–1841), Szymon Bogumił Zug (1733–1807), Stanisław Zawadzki (1743–1806) and many others. It also contained a number of drawings by foreign artists which had disappeared after the death of Stanisław Kostka Potocki's son, Aleksander (1778–1845).[30] The collection contains a group of works by Potocki himself, as well as amateur drawings from members of the Potocki family or students of the Nobles' Academy of the Corps of Cadets, the first state school in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. After the death of his brother, Ignacy Potocki (1750–1809), Stanisław Kostka Potocki inherited his library, and with it a collection of drawings by the architect, Francesco Bartolomeo Rastrelli (1700–1771) and other artists from his circle, called the legacy of Rastrelli.[31]

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28  B. Grochulska, "Stanisław Kostka Potocki," in: *Polski Słownik biograficzny*, Wrocław 1983, vol. 28, pp. 158-170; Z. Zielińska, "Roman Ignacy Franciszek Potocki," in: *Polski Słownik biograficzny*, Wrocław 1984, vol. 28, pp. 1-17.

29  E. Budzińska, "Tak zwana kolekcja Stanisława Kostki Potockiego w Gabinecie Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* R. 34: 1972, no. 2, p. 161.

30  K. Gutowska-Dudek, *Rysunki z wilanowskiej kolekcji Potockich w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1997 pp. 7–8.

31  Ibidem, vol. 3: Warszawa 2002, p. 20.

In later years, Stanisław Kostka Potocki's son, Aleksander Potocki, made a certain, although significantly smaller, contribution to the drawing and print collection.[32] It was later enlarged by the son of Aleksander August Potocki (1806–1867) and his wife Aleksandra (1818–1892), mainly by bringing in the collection of Aleksandra's father, Stanisław Septym Potocki (1782–1831), with subsequent acquisitions.[33] The Wilanów collection was kept together in the library until 1932 at the Wilanów Palace. After transferring the collection to the National Library of Poland, it was transported to a building on Rakowiecka Street in Warsaw. It remained there until 1944. (During the war, part of the collection may have been hidden in basements.) It was moved from the country by the Germans and later found in the Fischhorn castle in Austria. In the summer of 1945, the collection returned to Warsaw.[34] Damage from the war was not particularly great. After returning to Warsaw, the collection was stored again on Rakowiecka Street, then moved in 1959 to the Palace of the Commonwealth on Krasiński Square in Warsaw.[35] In 2012, the collection of Wilanów drawings, along with the entire iconographic collection of the National Library of Poland, was transported to the main building of the National Library on Aleja Niepodległości in Warsaw.

The Wilanów art collection was subjected to considerable organising and conservation during Stanisław Kostka Potocki's lifetime. Work on the conservation of paintings is known, but it had been commissioned mainly outside of Poland[36]. As for the collection of drawings, it can be concluded from the letters of Stanisław Kostka Potocki that he probably, even personally, assembled the drawings. (In one letter to his wife, he asks for a brush, glue and papers to be sent to

32  Ibidem, vol. 1: Warszawa 1997, p. 8.

33  Ibidem, vol. 1, p. 10.

34  M. Hryniewicz, "Biblioteka Narodowa w latach 1939-1945," in: *50 lat Biblioteki Narodowej Warszawa 1928-1978*, Warszawa 1984, pp. 85–92.

35  P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, "Biblioteka Wilanowska," in: *Dar dla Narodu*, p. 8.

36  B. Szyszkowski, *Aleksander Kokular, malarz i opiekun kolekcji wilanowskiej*, Warszawa 2012, p. 60

him along with the drawings.)[37] In his economic diary from the years, 1797–1812, we find proof that had ordered mounts for several drawings along with two portfolios, while in Paris in 1808.[38] This may apply to Old Masters drawings that deserved the greatest care for the pride of the connoisseur.  As mentioned, they were at least partly donated to the Library of the Royal University of Warsaw. The collector's mounts of the drawings by Stanisław Kostka Potocki kept in the University of Warsaw Library will be addressed later. Here we will only point out that the drawings are on loose, decorated laminates, while the prints are assembled in albums.[39]

Stanisław Kostka Potocki's son, Aleksander, undertook extensive cleaning and conservation work on the collection of drawings and prints. He was not the men his father and uncle were, but he received some artistic education. Drawing and architecture were taught by Zygmunt Vogel; and before inheriting Wilanów, he had actively participated in the reconstruction of the palace in Natolin.[40] After his mother's death and the collapse of the November Uprising (1831)[41], the rebellion of Poles in partitioned Poland against the Russian Empire, he reorganized the interior of the Wilanów Palace, which he had in-

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37   K. Gutowska-Dudek, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 8.

38   AGAD (Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw), *Pamiętnik interesów samego hrabiego Potockiego*, Anteriora, nr 302, p. 241

39   The collection of drawings and graphics given to the University of Warsaw Library has been discussed in an article by art historian Elżbieta Budzińska: "Tak zwana kolekcja Stanisława Kostki Potockiego w Gabinecie Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie," ("The So-called Collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki in the Print Room of the University Library in Warsaw"). Jolanta Czerzniewska, an art historian, conducted extensive research on the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki during his period of activity in the University Library.
("Uczeń i mistrz. Jan Feliks Piwarski i Stanisław Kostka Potocki," in: J. Czerzniewska, J. Talbierska, *Jan Feliks Piwarski (1794–1859)*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 51–72; "Uniwersytecka kolekcja rycin Stanisława Kostki Potockiego," in: *Winkelman Potocki. Mistrzowie i uczniowie, materiały Międzynarodowej Konferencji zorganizowanej w Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie*, Warszawa 2014, pp. 179–196.

40   B. Smoleńska, "Aleksander Potocki," in: *Polski Słownik biograficzny*, Warszawa 1983, vol. 27, pp. 756–759; Stanisław Lorenz, *Natolin*, Warszawa 1970.

41   Poland was partitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1795. After the November Uprising, the Warsaw state collections along with Royal University Library and many private ones were taken to Russia.

herited, to meet the needs of the art gallery.[42] He brought the library from Warsaw to Wilanów, and in 1833, he opened the Great Library Hall in the former Banquet Hall of the King Jan Sobieski (1629–1696) intended as a tribute to his father and uncle.[43] The hall's furniture included library wardrobes, dressers and tables, among them the so-called large library table of 520 cm × 230 cm, with drawers for engravings, maps and plans.[44]

Aleksander Potocki ordered the binding of drawings and prints in albums called *caiers* in the form of volumes with multicolored paper covers upon which paper labels with handwritten titles were pasted. There were 1,767 albums in total.[45] Currently, the collection includes 1,661 albums, 120 with drawings.[46] Part of the collection of drawings (34 albums from the total of 120 drawing albums and 202 out of the total of 1,327 sheets) and most of the prints were adhered to decorated sheets before being sewn into albums.[47] The sheets are laminates consisting of two layers of handmade paper – colour (white, cream, beige, yellowish, pink-grey, blue, grey) on the recto and light grey on the verso. Each sheet has an ornament tooled along the edge, with stamped decorative motifs in the corners; the album covers are also decorated. The drawings are surrounded by stripes of coloured paper, mainly navy blue and gold, adhered to coloured paper. This is the most characteristic mount model of the Wilanów collection from the time of Aleksander Potocki (fig. 1).

The albums were then placed in portfolios. The portfolios have not survived to our time, but their existence is evidenced by numerous notes on the albums themselves (for example, pencil records of "From the portfolio Dessins Modernes" on the inside cover of some albums),

42 B. Szyszkowski, op. cit., p. 71.

43 K. Gutowska-Dudek, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 6.

44 J. Rudnicka, op. cit., pp. 120, 176.

45 Information from the Department of Iconographic Collections of the National Library of Poland.

46 H. Widacka, "Grafika," in: *Dar dla Narodu*, p. 58.

47 This is stated on many bills, which first specify the mounting of drawings, and then binding the entire album.

**FIG. 1.** Decorative mount (Polona)[48],[49]

items in the collection inventories and, above all, the existing bills for compiling the portfolios.[50]

From 1832, Aleksander Potocki hired the painter, Aleksander Kokular (1793–1846), for various projects, including paintings conservation.[51] In 1834, he commissioned Kokular to compile a list of prints and drawings. This list was copied by the librarian, Piotr Kustowski (dates of life unknown).[52] Kustowski, a former lieutenant in the Polish army, was hired at Wilanów as an archivist and librarian from September 1, 1832.[53] Around 1838, Kustowski made a second inventory

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48   All photos that appear in this paper were taken by K. Garczewska-Semka, unless otherwise indicated.

49   Source: Polona Digital Library: www.polona.pl, *passim*.

50   WAF 10, 11, 17, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 41.

51   B. Szyszkowski, op. cit., p. 60.

52   National Library of Poland, Department of Manuscripts, *Spis Rysunków. Ogólny Spis Rysunków Na Szkoły podzielony do Gabinetu Sztuk pięknych zayduiącego się w Pałacu Willanowskim należących…*, accession number 2189 66b.

53   J. Rudnicka, op. cit., p. 116.

of the prints and drawings.[54] Kustowski's tasks included, among others, the supervision of the mounting and binding of the collection, carried out at that time in Wilanów. According to Jadwiga Rudnicka, Kustowski was dismissed on March 7, 1839 for drunkenness. However, this date might not be accurate because he kept the library book of loans until October 28.[55] Nevertheless, Kustowski's dismissal ended the bookbinding workshop in Wilanów.

After Kustowski's departure, work on the graphic collection was directed by Karol Karniewski (dates of life unknown), and the prints and drawings were sent to a bookbinder in Warsaw. Karniewski came from a family that had been associated with the Wilanów farm for years. From 1839 to 1845, he was Aleksander Potocki's official secretary.[56] It may be assumed that as a secretary, he only acknowledged sending (with a meticulous calculation of materials) and receiving works, while any substantive supervision was probably exercised by Aleksander Potocki himself. Close supervision over the entire period of work is evidenced by numerous notes on the bills about sending subsequent batches of work to Aleksander Potocki for his assessment. Indirectly, this is confirmed by changes in the appearance of the sheets (e.g. changes of the bordures), as well as the layout and number of sheets in the albums.

After 1840, another list of the drawing collection was created, most likely by Aleksander Potocki. The most accurate (the numbers of notebooks identified by Krystyna Gutowska-Dudek corresponds to the numbers written in ink in the upper left corner of the album cover).[57] A comparison of the two inventories allows one to track the progression of the work and the changes in organisation. In Kustowski's in-

54 National Library of Poland, Department of Manuscripts, *Cataloque des Dessins Maîtres des differentes Ecoles anciennes et Modernes qui se trouvent dans le Cabinet des Beaux–Arts a Villanów*, accession number 2189 68; dating after: Gutowska-Dudek, vol. 1, p. 7

55 Ibidem, s. 122.

56 B. Smoleńska, "Oficjaliści dóbr wilanowskich (1800-1854)," in: *Społeczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku: studia o uwarstwieniu i ruchliwości społecznej*, Warszawa, Łódź 1970, pp. 129, 184.

57 National Library of Poland, Department of Manuscripts, *Brulion... Spis oryginalny*, accession number 2189 66c; K. Gutowska-Dudek, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 29-42.

ventory of 1838, the collection is in 34 portfolios: the portfolios from I to XIII called, *Dessins Anciens*, contain albums of foreign schools drawings, which are now missing from the collection, while albums with drawings from portfolios XIV to XXII are identified in the current collection (at least in part) as *Dessins Modernes*. Portfolios XXIII through XXXIV are in the collection of Rastrelli. Drawings from the latter group had not yet been bound into albums, but were stored in portfolios.[58] Interestingly, this list does not include drawings already attached to decorative sheets and assembled into albums (group I, see Appendix 1).

In Potocki's list of drawings, there are only four files (*Portefeuilles*): the first and second are volumes with drawings of foreign schools missing in the modern collection, while the third and fourth are *Dessins modernes*. It appears that the content of the four portfolios corresponds to twenty-two portfolios from the Kustowski inventory, while the collection of *Dessins Modernes* from nine portfolios has been re-assembled into two. It should be noted that Potocki's list is very densely annotated with many corrections – especially *Portefeuille* 3 and 4 – which makes it difficult to determine the actual number of drawings and volumes.

There are also differences in the number of drawings in individual albums in Kustowski's and Potocki's inventories, as identified by Krystyna Gutowska-Dudek.[59] These differences may be the result of Kustowski's unreliability, but they may also indicate that the work on subsequent albums was not carried out in a consistent manner. Evidence shows that, during the work, the layout and number of objects in these ready-made volumes had been changed (see Appendix I).

After almost doubling the library collection, August and his wife, Aleksandra (née Potocki), adapted other parts of the palace for the library – galleries and rooms along the mezzanine of the main body of the palace. After her husband's death, Aleksandra Potocka made changes

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58 National Library of Poland, Department of Manuscripts, *Cataloque des Dessins Maîtres des differentes Ecoles anciennes et Modernes qui se trouvent dans le Cabinet des Beaux–Arts a Villanów*, accession number 2189 68

59 K. Gutowska-Dudek, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 29-42.

in the arrangement of the Great Library Hall.[60] Along with Stanisław Septym Potocki's books came mahogany library shelves with glazed doors.[61] Perhaps during the time of Aleksandra Potocka, the portfolios were dismantled and the volumes stored in chests of drawers, as described by Hipolit Skimborowicz (1815–1880) and Wojciech Gerson (1831–1901), authors of the Wilanów collection guide from 1877. Furniture changes can be traced by comparing two iconographic documents. Chests of drawers from the time of Aleksandra Potocka are visible in an illustration in the Skimborowicz and Gerson volumes[62], while Wincenty Kasprzycki's (1802–1849) drawing from 1837 (from the time of Aleksander Potocki) depicts another chests of drawers.[63]

### The Wilanow Bindery (1834-1839)
### and subsequent works to 1845

Aleksander Potocki began work on his collection by selecting a bookbinder. The first documented commission dates to August 12, 1833 and concerns "drawing cutouts," ["wycinań rysunkowych" (silhouette cutouts?)]. The work was carried out by bookbinder, Jan Ponikłowicz. On the bill can be read, "for affixing coloured paper, the bookbinder Ponikłowicz is given drawing cutouts in total of 74 pieces, which [...] are to be on coloured paper[...]affixed with a bordure around the cutting of black paper and an impression of the edge of each such drawing copy" ("Do podklejenia na papierze kolorowym daje się Ponikłowiczowi Introligatorowi wycinania rysunkowe w ogóle sztuk 74, które [...] mają być na papierze kolorowym [...] naklejone z daniem wokół wycinania obwódek z papieru koloru czarnego i wyciskiem brzegu każdego takiego rysunku egzemplarza."[64]) There is another bill from October 20, 1833 for Ponikłowicz for "pasting with strong white paper and edges of

60    W. Fijałkowski, *Wnętrza pałacu w Wilanowie*, Warszawa 1977, p. 149; ibidem, p. 161.

61    J. Rudnicka, op. cit., p. 144.

62    H. Skimborowicz, *Willanów: album: zbiór widoków i pamiątek oraz kopje z obrazów Galeryi Willanowskiej wykonane na drzewie w Drzeworytni Warszawskiej z dodaniem opisów skreślonych przez H. Skimborowicza i W. Gersona*, Warszawa 1877, p. 99; ibidem, illustration p. 88.

63    Now lost but copied in 1933 by Lidia Rumianzew (dates of life unknown), K. Gutowska-Dudek, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 127.

64    Allegata Kassowe (Bookkeeping Addendun, hereafter: Allegata) no. 166, p. 25 (old pagination).

coloured paper and gold bordures" onto 54 lithographs, some of which already were adhered to mounts with only bordures added. Thus it can be inferred that the sheets' appearance was already determined at that time. Ponikłowicz carried out work on one commission from November of 1833. Already in December, dozens of prints "were sent for further work" to four bookbinders: Jan Ponikłowicz (about 117 pieces), Michał Tuchowicz (about 62), Wojciech Żebrowski (about 43) and Piotr Żołądkiewicz (about 30).[65]

They were paid in January of 1834, and in February, one bookbinder, Michał Tuchowicz, regularly did work on drawing mounts and adhering drawings and prints. All the names of the bookbinders are known from studies by Elżbieta Pokorzyńska.[66] The bookbinder, Ignacy Michał Tuchowicz (his full name), received a training letter in 1825 from the guild and became a guild member.[67] In 1826, he married Józefa Olszewska.[68] He was active in Warsaw from 1826 to 1829 at 1068 Królewska Street, then in 1845 at Pac Palace at 493 Miodowa Street and in 1848 at 2 Kapitulna Street. In 1827, he worked occasionally for the Revenue and Treasury Committee. In 1845 and 1848, he bid for work, but he did not get it. He died in 1850.[69]

In 1851, Jan Ponikłowicz announced that he had been working in Warsaw at Szymanowski Palace, 411 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street for 21 years. He had moved to 405 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street and died in 1863 at the age of 55.[70] Piotr Żołądkiewicz was active in 1836 at

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65 Allegata 167, bills from 2.12.1833 to 7.01.1833.

66 E. Pokorzyńska, "Z dziejów introligatorstwa warszawskiego XIX i 1. połowy XX wieku", unpublished PhD dissertation, Katowice 2009, https://repozytorium.ukw.edu.pl/handle/item/1471 [accessed 10.12.2019]; "Introligatorzy warszawscy w świetle akt Komisji Rządowej Przychodów i Skarbu z lat 1822–1869", in: *Rocznik Warszawski*, Year: XXXV, 2007, pp. 285–309; "Introligatorstwo warszawskie XIX i pierwszej połowy XX wieku", in: *Introligatorstwo warszawskie*, vol. 15, Warszawa 2005, pp. 31–48.

67 Księga rachunkowa Cechu Introligatorskiego, Archiwum Państwowe m. st. Warszawy (Bookkeeping of Introligators Guild, National Archives) 72/1049/13, p. 15.

68 Akt ślubu (Marriage Certificate), APW, Parafia św. Krzyża w Warszawie (St. Cross Church in Warsaw), 72/158, 1826, p. 29.

69 E. Pokorzyńska, "Introligatorzy warszawscy…", p. 303.

70 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1851, no. 94, p. 4; *Kurier Warszawski*, 1851, no. 186, p. 988; *Kurier Warszawski*, 1863, no. 48, p. 225.

578 Długa Street, and Wojciech Żebrowski from 1826 to 1829 at 54 Długa Street and 495 Miodowa Street.[71]

A workshop was created in Wilanów, called the Fabryka Introligatorska (Binding Factory) according to accounts.[72] For the next approximately six years, Michał Tuchowicz worked in the workshop, while living in Wilanów. The last invoice, located in Wilanów, is dated April 17, 1839. As explained, with the dismissal of the chief librarian, the workshop was closed. From two preserved letters of Kustowski and Tuchowicz, we have been able to learn several facts about the workshop. In his letter, Kustowski explains that there were delays in Tuchowicz's work and the loss and relocation of several prints.[73] From Tuchowicz's letter, we know that he spent six years in Wilanów, that no contract was signed with him, and that he agreed verbally with the terms of employment with Aleksander Potocki. Tuchowicz mentions some stamps that were his property (purchased or imported from Paris). However, they were pledged before he was hired in Wilanów; and afterward, they were bought for him by Aleksander Potocki.[74]

After the workshop had been closed, another contractor was sought. Bookbinder, Karol Bagiński, was asked to send a journeyman.[75] In June of 1840, Karniewski sent prints for further work to Dobrowolski (name and dates of life unknown). However, Dobrowolski, already in October

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71  E. Pokorzyńska, "Z dziejów introligatorstwa warszawskiego…", p. 530.

72  According to Bogumił Linde, *Słownik*, 1807–1814, vol. 1, p. 7: "A factory means a handicraft workshop, handicrafts." Why such a factory was called a factory and not a workshop can be explained by a note from the *Gazeta Poranna* newspaper from 1838, where the terms "crafts" and "handicrafts" were explained: "all work that is done by hand is handicraft, more often however, handicrafts are used in the plural, which shows that it has more general significance, and even means the products themselves……for a completed work and always on a large scale. There is also craft, but on a smaller scale, to a lesser extent, it always gives the idea of simpler work …[…] Hence, handicrafts come from factories, crafts are made at the workshops […] Handicrafts give a greater idea of greater wealth and prosperity of the country …[…] it seems as if they were only intended to meet the needs, when handicrafts are used for convenience and luxury." Quotation after: K. Szczepkowska-Naliwajek, *Dzieje badań nad dawnym rzemiosłem artystycznym w Polsce 1800-1939*, Toruń 2005, pp. 12–13.

73  Allegata 180, ff. 26–27 (old pagination).

74  Allegata 181, pp. 615–616.

75  Allegata 185, p. 145.

of the same year, had sent information about his trip to St. Petersburg. A previously-borrowed brass roll and fillet were taken from him.[76] At the end of February 1841, Tuchowicz returned to work; he had already continued working in his own workshop in Warsaw (invoices were issued there). The work was described in detail, giving the titles of the *cahiers*, the number of engravings, and the amount and type of materials needed for mounting and binding.[77] Evidence of the hiring of Tuchowicz for the mounting and binding of the drawings and prints ends with the Aleksander Potocki's death. The first bookkeeping entry of his son, August, no longer mention this, although Tuchowicz did minor bookbinding work. However, according to the inventory done after the death of Aleksander Potocki, work on the graphic collection was not completed. This list includes portfolios with blank paper covers and groups of unbound mounts.[78]

Throughout the entire period of work on the graphic collection, bookbinder Bagiński, mentioned above, was also employed, although he was entrusted mainly with making portfolios. He made mounts and albums only in the period from March 1843 to May 1844, along with Tuchowicz.[79] Karol Bagiński was one of the greatest bookbinders in 19th century in Poland. His workshop from the 1840s to 1870s has been recorded, first in the Potocki Palace at 415 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street (1848 to 1854), then at 2672 Bednarska Street (1860), 369-a Krakowskie Przedmieście Street (1869), and on Senatorska Street (1870).[80] From 1845 to 1864, he did bookbindings for the University Library in Warsaw. In 1860, he was a senior member of the Introligators Association.[81]

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76  Allegata 188, p. 156.

77  Allegata 187, p. 268.

78  National Library of Poland, Department of Manuscripts, *Akta inwentarzy wszelkich ruchomości w lokalu przy ulicy Miodowej, w Pałacu Warszawskim pod numerem 415 i Pałacu Wilanowskim po zgonie Śp. Hrabiego Aleksandra Potockiego znajdujących się*, accession number 2189 66/4.

79  Allegata 205, 206, 208, 213.

80  E. Pokorzyńska, "Introligatorzy warszawscy…", p. 307.

81  Ibidem, p. 41.

## Material suppliers

Papers and bordures were mainly bought at the local Warsaw market. This does not mean that the paper used for binding was a domestic product; paper suppliers had in stock both domestic and imported papers. In total, paper was purchased at around twenty stationery stores, but several suppliers stand out significantly for the number of purchases.

In the first period, paper was mainly purchased from Antoni Dal Trozzo (dates of life unknown), Tomasz Czaban (dates of life unknown), and the Information Office and the Paper Cover Factory. Later, purchases stopped to be made at the Information Office and from Czaban, while materials could be purchased from Franciszek Schuster (1811–1901), A. Zaleski (name and dates of life unknown), who had the official paper warehouse from Jeziorna papermill, Aleksander Giwartowski (dates of life unknown) and others. Following these changes in the selection of suppliers, one can observe growth and improvement in the Warsaw paper-products market.

It should be noted that stocks of paper used by Wilanów came from workshops and warehouses located in the trade centre of Warsaw at the most expensive and prestigious locations (streets including Senatorska, Miodowa, Krakowskie Przedmieście).[82] The sale of paper was often combined with another or was merely an addition to the printing trade, available at the own publishing house or a foreign one.

Major purchases were made by Wilanów officials. Incidental acquisitions from smaller suppliers, including Jewish sellers, were often made by Tuchowicz. At Antoni Dal Trozzo's company, paper was purchased throughout the entire period of mounting prints.[83] The paper warehouse was located in Warsaw at 496 Senatorska Street at the print shop where Dal Trozzo worked as a seller as well as a publisher. He is best known today for the latter activity. His publications include the extremely popular series, "Widoki Warszawy" ("Views of Warsaw") (1827–1829) by Fryderyk Krzysztof Dietrich (1779–1849), the same au-

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82    I. Tessaro-Kosimowa, *Historia litografii warszawskiej*, Warszawa 1973, p. 44.
83    Allegata 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180, 187, 190, 191, 203, 204, 206, 214.

thor of *Ubiory wojska polskiego z roku 1831* (*Polish Army Clothing from 1831*) from drawings by Jan Feliks Piwarski (1794–1859).[84]

On 24 March 1834, Antoni Dal Trozzo entered into an agreement with the Office of the Imperial Paper Mill in Peterhof, under which he accepted the title and obligation of its *Kommissant*, i.e. the exclusive right to sell products of this paper mill in Warsaw and the entire Kingdom of Poland for a period of 10 years.[85] Dal Trozzo also owned his own paper mill from 1836 to 1842 in Soczewka near Płock. He had bought it from Jan Rash, whose products he had distributed.[86]

We see advertisements on invoices kept in bookkeeping registers in Wilanów. "Antoni Dal Trozzo's warehouse, which not only keeps all kinds of envelopes, lithographs, mapps [sic], etc., engravings, but also a complete paper supply with all types of paper for drawing, writing and lithography as well as all materials, for stationery and for drawing, in which paints, *reiszeig*, brushes, pencils, chalk, mascara, mundleim [isinglass], feathers, wax seal, wafers, all that is necessary for painting, drawing and writing for a timely and immediate service, at the lowest price you can find." ("Rachunek magazynu Antoniego Dal Trozzo utrzymującego nie tylko skład wszelkiego rodzaju koperszytchów, litografii, mapp itp. rycin, ale nadto kompletny skład papieru zaopatrzony przy wszelkich gatunkach papierów rysunkowych, piśmiennych i litograficznych oraz we wszystkie materiały tak piśmienne jak i rysunkowe, w którym to farb, reiszeigów, pędzli, ołówków, kredy, tuszu, mundleimu, piór, laku, opłatków, zgoła wszystkiego co tylko do malarstwa, rysunków i pisania jest potrzebnym przy akuratnej i rychłej usłudze, za najumiarkowańszą cenę dostać można."[87])

Dal Trozzo also ran numerous press advertisements, offering both prints and paper. One example dates from 1836 and is from the War-

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84  H. Widacka, *Dietriechowie rytownicy warszawscy*, Warszawa 1989, p. 135; ibidem, p. 162.

85  The exact terms of the contract were published in *Dziennik Urzędowym Województwa Augustowskiego*, 1835, no. 3, pp. 19–21.

86  J. Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Znaki wodne Papierni Mazowsza 1750-1850*, Łódź 1960, pp. 60–63; M. Chudzyński, "Z dziejów papierni w Soczewce koło Płocka", *Notatki Płockie* 19/2-76, 1974, pp. 26–32.

87  Invoices from A. Dal Trozzo Warehouse Allegata.

saw newspaper *Kurier Warszawski*: "The A. Dal Trozzo paper warehouse at Senatorska Street received a fresh and significant transport of paper from the Imperial Peterhof Factory, and is also significantly supplied with all domestic paper from his own factory, which you can purchase in this warehouse at a fixed and very moderate price." ("Skład papieru A. Dal Trozzo przy ulicy Senatorskiej, otrzymał świeżo znaczny transport papieru z Imperatorskiej Peterhofskiej fabryki, jako i znacznie jest zaopatrzony we wszelki papier krajowy z fabryki własnej, którego w tymże składzie po stałej i bardzo umiarkowanej cenie dostać można."[88]) He also imported lithographic stones from Bavaria (seen in an 1825 advertisement).[89] In 1838, Wilanów purchased "a stone already carved into the catalogue" from Dal Trozzo.[90]

The warehouse of another supplier, Tomasz Czaban, operated at "496 Miodowa and Senatorska Streets on the corner." He offered "paper, stationery and drawing materials, carpets, marbles, upholstery."[91] The merchant and owner of that paper warehouse, Tomasz Czaban, also distributed both domestic and foreign supplies. In the 1920s, the Treasury Commission of the Kingdom of Poland entrusted Czaban with importing high-quality Dutch paper (mainly by Honig) for keeping mortgage books.[92] In 1820, he purchased four pieces and in 1822 a single piece of panoramic paper recover from the French factory of Jean Zuber.[93] Most certainly, he had in stock paper from the paper mill in Sopel by the river Mroga (in the Lodz region); after all, after the collapse of the November Uprising in 1831, Czaban was accused of selling paper from Sopel with the watermark, "Gott segne Pohlen" ("God bless Poland"). The merchant defended himself by claiming that the paper was produced before the outbreak of the

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88    *Kurier Warszawski*, 1836, no. 228, p. 1.

89    I. Tessaro-Kosimowa, op. cit., p. 36.

90    Allegata 179: note from Wilanów 12 June 1838, f. 36 (old pagination) and invoice issued by Antoni Dal Trozzo, 6 June 1838, f. 37 (old pagination).

91    Allegata 166, 167, 168, 169, 170 171, 172, 174, 178, 179 (invoice with offer included, among others: 171, p. 155).

92    J. Dąbrowski, J. Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Rękodzieło papiernicze*, Warszawa 1991, p. 378.

93    M. Ciechańska, *Papierowe obicia ścienne pałacu w Wilanowie. Studium portretowe*, Warszawa 2010, p. 63.

uprising, in 1828.[94] The last purchase from this company by Wilanów was recorded on July 31, 1839.[95] Czaban's warehouse ceased operating in 1852.[96]

In the first period of the bookbinding factory (until 1836), paper was occasionally purchased at the Józef Kaczanowski (dates of life unknown) Information and Commission Office at Krakowskie Przedmieście Street in Warsaw.[97] Paper on a roll (probably machine-made) was bought here in 1834. It must have been imported, since the first paper-making machine in Poland was installed in Jeziorna in 1834; but it was not launched until 1838.[98] The office advertised its activity as: "facilitating commissions in the country and abroad, Polish, French and German bookshops."[99]

At the Paper Cover Factory, Wilanów could purchase all the supplies of coloured papers and bordures he needed throughout the entire work period. Until 1841, this was the only supplier of gilded bordures (means gold paper strips) he used. A note from Wilanów dated September 26, 1834 has survived: "Bordures, according to the submitted samples, were missing in the Wertheim factory, and as nowhere [...] could I find them, thus I ordered from Wertheim." ("Bordiur wedle nadesłanych próbek zabrakło w fabryce Wertheima, a że nigdzie [...] nie znalazłem obstalowałem u Wertheima."[100])

Marzenna Ciechańska, a professor at the Faculty of Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art of the Academy of Fine Arts, has discussed the activities of the Paper Cover Factory in detail.[101] The factory was launched in 1829 by wallpaper manufacturers, Michael Spoerlin and Heinrich Rahn, from Vienna. In 1830, they were joined by Warsaw banker, Aleksander Wertheim. The factory was located on the

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94    J. Dąbrowski, J. Siniarska-Czaplicka, op. cit., p. 367.

95    Allegata 179, f. 40 (old pagination).

96    *Kurier Warszawski*, 1851, no. 283, p. 2.

97    Allegata 166, 167, 168, 171.

98    J. Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Kronika papierni w Jeziornie 1760-1980*, Jeziorna 1961, p. 24.

99    Allegata 168, p. 36 (old pagination).

100    Allegata 168, p. 39 (old pagination).

101    M. Ciechańska, op. cit., pp. 65–70.

corner of Marszałkowska and Złota Streets in Warsaw. In 1838, Spoerlin left the company and Vetter took his place.

The company participated in the Manufacture Exhibitions of the Kingdom of Poland, a closed show for the director of Industry and Arts in the Government Committee of the Interior Affairs of Bołgowski resumed after the November Uprising collapse in 1837, 1838 and 1841. In 1838, the company issued, "100 different coloured, pressed, gilded and silvered papers for bookbinding and haberdashery, and 36 types of patterns in various pressed and gilded patterns." ("100 różnych papierów kolorowych, prasowanych, złoconych i srebrzonych, do robót introligatorskich i galanteryjnych, 36 gatunków szlaczków w różne desenie prasowanych i złoconych."[102]) In 1841, there were offers among others for "pressed and gilded patterns in different widths." ("Szlaczki wyciskane i złocone w desenie, różnej szerokości."[103])

At the end of 1837, the first purchase of paper from Schuster was recorded. It would later be the first supplier to break the monopoly of the Paper Cover Factory in selling gilded bordures. The first such purchase for Wilanów is dated May 21, 1841.[104] Franciszek Karol Schuster – the owner of a well-known lithographic warehouse, a merchant, social activist and art collector – ran a lithographic store and warehouse at 33 Krakowskie Przedmieście in Warsaw from the mid-1830s. (The first press release of his activity was in March of 1837). From 1838 to 1840, the company was located at 35 Krakowskie Przedmieście, and subsequently in their own building at 38 Krakowskie Przedmieście (present-day street numbers). The warehouse was constantly modernized and equipped with the latest equipment and involved the re-selling old machines to other lithographic warehouses.[105] From 1836, paper purchases were also made at A. Zalewski, who ran the "official

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102   *Spis płodów krajowego przemysłu na wystawie publicznej w Warszawie w miesiącu czerwcu 1838*, items 264, 265, quotation after: A. M. Drexlerowa, *Wystawy wytwórczości Królestwa Polskiego*, Warszawa 1999, p. 307.

103   *Spis płodów krajowego i rossyjskieo przemysłu na wystawie publicznej w Warszawie w roku 1841*, item 389, quotation after: A. M. Drexlerowa, op. cit., p. 342.

104   Allegata 190, f. 46 (old pagination).

105   S. Konarski, *Franciszek Karol Schuster*, iPSB, internetowy Polski Słownik Biograficzny, https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/franciszek-karol-schuster [accessed 15.12.2019].

paper warehouse from Jeziorna, at Wierzbowa Street, the house of L. A. Dmuszewski, No. 473 L. C. under the porch."[106] From 1842, the company offered "gilded bordures."[107]

The first purchase from Aleksander Giwartowski was recorded in November of 1840.[108] Paper was bought, including "gold paper" and "bordures" (May 1842).[109] The invoice advertised, "Paper, engravings and all stationery warehouse." The store was located at Miodowa Street in Pac Palace. In addition to prints, he was also involved in the sale of oil paintings and in 1845, "thanks to his efforts, an extensive exhibition of paintings brought from Mnichów [Munich]" was organised.[110]

Incidentally, from 1841, paper was bought at the engravings and stationery warehouse of Adolf Maguna (dates of life unknown), Krakowskie Przedmieście, directly in front of the post office no. 377 or, from 1843, at the stationery market at Senatorska and Wierzbowa Streets No. 473, run by Szczyciński (name and dates of life unknown).[111]

## 2. DESCRIPTION OF MOUNTS OF DRAWINGS FROM WILANÓW COLLECTION[112]

### Prints and drawings donated to the University of Warsaw Library

A total of 134 drawings from the former collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki are currently kept in the Print Room of the University of Warsaw Library. In terms of mounting method, the largest group –

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106 Allegata 171, 178, 179, 187, 191, 203, 205, 206, 207, 209, 213, 214.

107 Allegata 191, f. 14 (old pagination).

108 Allegata 180, 191, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 211, 213.

109 Allegata 191, f. 25 (old pagination).

110 *Kurier Warszawski*, 18 June 1845, p. 770, quotation after: E. Moszoro, *Życie artystyczne w świetle prasy warszawskiej pierwszej połowy XIX wieku*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1962, p. 180.

111 Allegata 191, 213; Allegata 209, 214.

112 From 2012 to 2014, a review of drawing albums in the Wilanów collection was carried out at the National Library of Poland, containing 1 327 boards bound in 120 albums. For comparison with drawings probably donated earlier in Wilanów to the University Library in Warsaw, a review was also carried out of this part of the collection of 134 drawings, in 2013. The review was aimed at determining typical features of the technological structure of albums and boards from both periods.

79 objects – consists of drawings attached to blue single-sheet mounts, including 53 to similar mounts with black-ink washlines, and 26 on mounts decorated differently (e.g. with an additional gold paper strip pasted) or without decorations. This type of mounting seems to be close to the characteristic blue boards used in the 18th century by Pierre-Jean Mariette; they were propagated by him and very popular through the 18th and 19th centuries. One such mount from the Potocki collection was published in the catalogue of the exhibition of French painting and drawing at the National Museum in Warsaw in 2009 (fig. 2).[113]
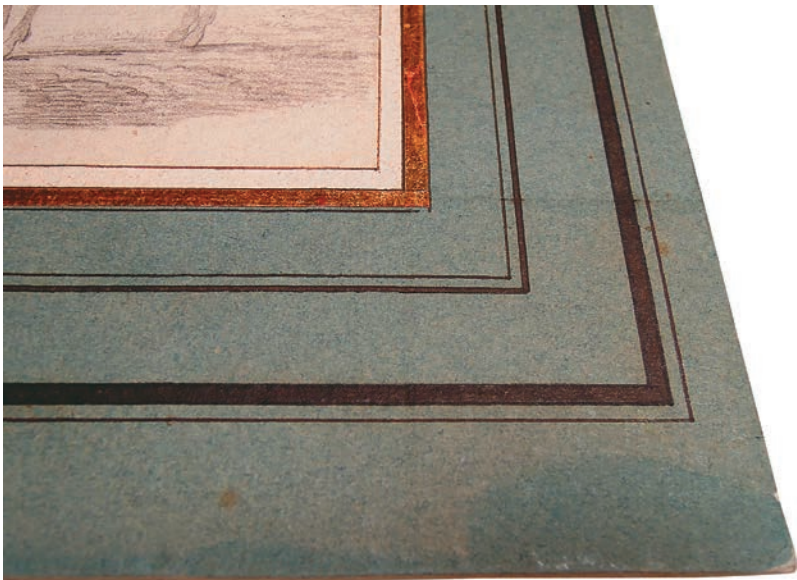


**FIG. 2.** Blue drawing mount from the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki, University of Warsaw Library

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113    J. Czerzniewska, "Benigne Gagnereaux. rysunek Dwie kobiety z maską i bębenkiem," in *Le siècle français, Francuskie malarstwo i rysunek XVIII wieku ze zbiorów polskich*, exhibition catalogue, National Museum in Warsaw, Warszawa 2009, catalogue 36, pp. 226–227.

Another group of 39 objects consists of drawings attached to white laminated supports, including eight with gold and green washlines, and 31 with or without other decoration. These, in turn, especially white sheets with green washlines and gold paper strips, are similar to the mounts used by Stanisław August Poniatowski from the White House in Łazienki (fig. 3).[114] Sixteen drawings from the collection are not mounted.



FIG. 3. White mount with a green frame from the collection of S. K. Potocki, University of Warsaw Library

It can be assumed that the mounting of the drawings from the Potocki collection in the University of Warsaw Library were made before their donation in 1818. Elżbieta Budzińska wrote about the lack of any mention of work done on this group of drawings at the Library of the

114    M. Laszczkowski, *Grafika w dekoracji…*, p. XLVII.

Royal University of Warsaw – as distinct from the print collection.[115] The print collection was arranged according to Potocki's instructions by Jan Feliks Piwarski, the curator of the collection. Prints were arranged in albums, which meant that they had not been previously mounted. Four of these albums have survived, the first (with prints by Marcantoni Raimondi) made during Potocki's lifetime, the other three after his death. A description of one album was published at the time of its conservation at the University of Warsaw Library conservation workshop. These albums are bound in cardboard covered in full marbled leather, without any decoration and lettering; the prints are mounted onto grey-blue sheets of thick handmade paper and surrounded by ink and watercolour washlines.[116] There are no invoices indicating the bookbinder.

### Wilanów collection in the National Library of Poland[117]

The arrangement of the Wilanów collection of drawings from the time of Aleksander Potocki was done in an original way, without explicit reference to a group of prints and drawings probably mounted at the time of Stanisław Kostka Potocki. A completely different feature is seen in the drawings grouped into volumes with paper covers, containing several drawings each to several dozen. Sometimes, several albums constitute a thematic series.

Album covers had been made of two layers of handmade paper pasted together – coloured recto and greenish (probably originally bluish) verso papers. The edges of the covers are tooled with a continuous ornament, with decorative motifs pressed in the corners. The front cover has paper labels containing the manuscript title of the album. The spines are covered with two types of paper: one surface painted with a slight gloss and the other a kind of brown craft paper. In several cases, the original spine of painted paper was then covered with craft paper (fig. 4).

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115   Ibidem, p. 165.

116   E. Duziak, "Konserwacja akwafort Rembrandta van Rijn wraz z albumem Stanisława Kostki Potockiego," *Notes Konserwatorski* no. 9, 2005, pp. 88–99.

117   The detailed report of appearance of with dates of creating albums is provided in Appendix to part 1.

**FIG. 4.** Album covers: a. Beige with a blue label and yellow spine (Polona);
b. Pink with a green label and brown spine (Polona); c. Blue with a cream label
and a yellow spine (Polona); d. Blue with a cream label and brown spine
(photo: Polona)

Two construction solutions were used to attach the covers to the
spine. In the first and more common, the covers are adhered end-joint-
ed at the fold which, in fact, is the spine. Drawings on quards, or with-

out, are sewn directly to the covers, and then the spine is covered with paper to hide the threads. The second method consists of the binding made of separated paper covers and spine. Covers are adhered to the recto of the folded paper strip that constitutes the spine. The drawings are sewn to the next strip of paper, which is then pasted from the inside to the binding spine. Due to re-covering the spine with brown paper, these two types are not always distinguishable.

The vast majority of albums are single-section. Boards with drawings are attached to the quards, with drawings without mounts sewn directly into the spine or adhered to the quards. Albums can be divided into four groups according to the mounting features of the drawings. (An inventory of drawings in individual groups, with detailed description and the dates of the albums' creation is provided in Appendix I). Of note, there are characteristic differences between the individual groups in the structure of the album itself in the type and colour of the covers, the stamps used, and the shape and colour of the title labels. This is probably related to the time of the albums' creation: groups II, III and IV were probably put together at a similar time and group I was made during a long period of time. (The first drawings from this group were bound in 1834, the last in 1844. See Appendix to part 1.) It also comprises the greatest variety. Differences in the technological structure of the albums seem to stem from the subject matter and types of drawings contained therein. Drawings from groups I, II and III are associated with Stanisław Kostka Potocki and, to a lesser extent, Aleksander; drawings from group IV, with the exception of those under call number WAF 82 that come from the collection of Ignacy Potocki.

Group I. The drawings are in albums attached with their entire surface or one edge to the boards (fig. 5). The boards are double-layered. Coloured paper (blue, beige, pink, cream or white) is pasted from the face side, with greenish paper from the back. Each board along the edge has a tooled ornament and decorative motifs stamped in the corners in five predominant patterns (fig. 6). Around the drawing are strips of coloured paper – mainly navy blue and gold. Sometimes you can see the use and modification of earlier set-ups (fig. 7).

FIG. 5. Mounts in the album of group I: (a, b).

Fig. 6. Stamp patterns in the corners of album covers and mounts: a. Stamp No. 1; b. Stamp No. 2; c. Stamp No. 3; d. Stamp No. 4; e. Stamp No. 5; f. Stamp No. 6; g. Stamp No. 7

**FIG. 7.** Use and modification of previous mounts (a, b, c)

Album covers are of different colours, the number 5 stamp predominates in the decoration, and spines are mainly brown (although you see brown paper re-covering the coloured spines). Spines with titles stuck to the front cover are in different colours with a predominance of cream. There are more oval than rectangular labels.

Drawings and studies made by artists (in large part contemporary to Stanisław Kostka and Aleksander Potocki) dominate this group and include landscapes, but also genre scenes and portraits.

Group II. Drawings without mounts are sewn into the albums (with a few exceptions for individual drawings) (fig. 8).



FIG. 8. Example of album interior, group II

Album covers are mostly blue, with stamp number 1 predominating the decoration. Spines are mostly yellow, with cream title labels. Only five albums are in a different colour (beige-grey covers with green labels and navy spines).

There is more diverse content in this group. There are studies, or modellos (finished composite drawings used as a pattern for the graphics in the form of drawings from the WAF 21 album, which is the basis for an edition of depictions of the graves of Polish monarchs and

the interior of the Wawel cathedral, entitled: *Monumenta Regum Poloniae Cracoviensia)*. There are also drawings and architectural sketches (including those made by Stanisław Kostka, Ignacy and Aleksander Potocki, Vincenzo Brenna), and a group of ornamental drawings, amateur drawings (e.g. drawings, plans and maps made by the Kalisz Corps Cadets; drawings by Aleksander Potocki from childhood, and drawings by friends).[118]

Group III. The drawings are adhered to the entire verso surface. Around the drawing, strips of blue paper are pasted with a simple linear tooling along the edges. There are no decorative tapes (fig. 9).
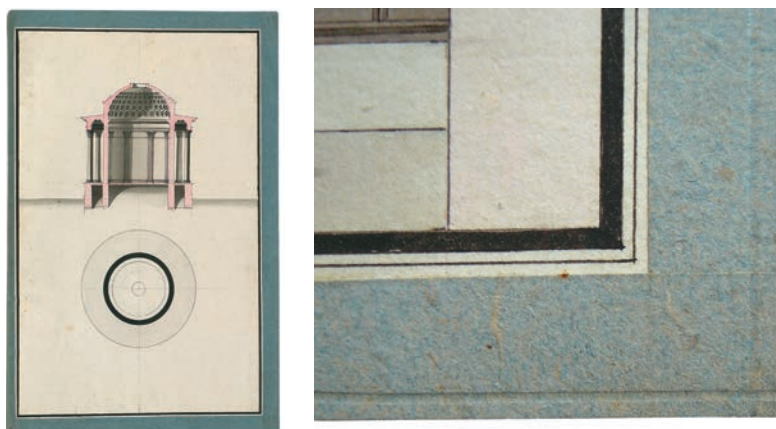


FIG. 9. Type of mount group III: a. Board (Polona); b. Fragment

All the covers are blue. The type 1 stamp has been used in the decoration, the spines are reddish-brown and yellow and display cream rectangular labels.

In the mixed group types – II / III – the covers are blue, with the type 1 stamp (type 2 in only one case), red-brown and yellow spines (one brown), and cream rectangular labels.

In groups III and II / III, there are drawings related to Stanisław Kostka Potocki. Included are sketches and architectural plans of buildings that he co-designed with Christian Piotr Aigner, as well as

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118    K. Gutowska-Dudek, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 131–143.

those inspired by him and made by Vinzenzo Brenna (with Giuseppe Manocchi), and designs of the villa of Pliny the Younger, called Laurentina, and Natolin.

Group IV. The drawings in the albums are adhered onto thinner paper cards of a larger or equal format, sometimes several drawings on one card. Some drawings have been repeatedly folded in album format, where only the middle part is pasted to the mount. Within one album may be drawings on mounts or without mounts, and in a few cases adhered on canvas (fig. 10).

In group IV, all covers are blue and cream with rectangular labels, displaying stamp type 3, with brown spines. The group includes archi-



FIG. 10. Examples of mounts, group IV: a. item folded to the album format, unfolded; b. Drawing on a lining

tectural and ornamental drawings from the so-called legacy of Rastrelli (consisting of works by Bartolomeo Francesco Rastrelli andvarious artists associated with him), previously belonging to Ignacy Potocki.

The drawings are often interleaved with tissue paper attached to the mount or quard, but are largely unpreserved. In group I, II and III, preserved original interleaving papers are sometimes found, most often in groups I and III.

Albums 42 and 44 do not have the characteristics of the WAF album collection, although they are the first and third issue of the thematic series. They have separate no separate spines and their covers are mad of blue marbled paper, without pressing.

Comparing the mounting of drawings from group I from the National Library of Poland and drawings from the University of Warsaw Library, it can be concluded that Aleksander Potocki did not follow the pattern of his father's mounting. In fact, the system he designed was completely different. The blue colour mounts that constitute the majority of mounts from the University of Warsaw Library collection in the National Library are in the minority, apart from a completely different technique – frames around the drawings that are pasted, not drawn with ink. With great care, one may assign a group of drawings, type III, to the previous pattern – those showing the greatest similarities to the university collection. On the inside covers of twelve albums from groups II, III and II / III, stickers are placed with notes by Stanisław Kostka Potocki, suggesting their earlier co-bound form. It could be volumes or paper folders (fig. 11).[119]
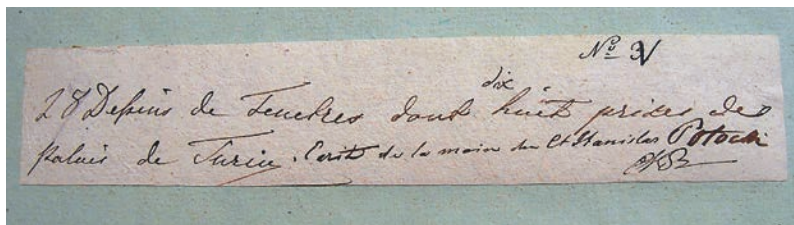


FIG. 11. A sticker with a note on the inside cover

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119   Group II: WAF. 45, 59, 62, 70, 78, 79; Group III: 63, 64, 65, 67, 68; Groups II/III: WAF. 80.

Rastrelli's mounts probably come from the earlier stage of arrangement, perhaps from the time of Ignacy Potocki.

### 3. TECHNIQUES AND MATERIALS FOR MOUNTING SYSTEM

The original idea of systematising and protecting the graphic works of the Wilanów collection entailed four elements: portfolios, their inner structure (dividers), *caier*[120] or album and the mount. In part of the collection, this is reduced to three elements, i.e., a portfolio with dividers and an album. The portfolio was the first element that was used for systematising and at the same time was protective. Subsequently, dividers were more systematising than protective, although separating individual albums from each other further prevented damage resulting from any overly free movement or rubbing of the portfolio contents. The next element of protection were volume covers, then mounting the object to the board, whether decorated or not. For comparison, the arrangement of the collection of Stanisław August Poniatowski had three elements: portfolios, dividers, and mounts.

### Portfolios

There are records in the Accounts of House Bookkeeping of Count Aleksander Potocki that include payments for making portfolios to the Cabinet of Fine Arts (meaning a collection of engravings and drawings). In total, from March 1834 to May 1844, payments were made for the execution of at least 25 portfolios. (In June 1838, the number of portfolios was not specified.) Seven were designated as large. The portfolios were primarily made by Karol Bagiński, but they were also some by Michał Tuchowicz. Some were repaired, perhaps using portfolios from the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki.[121]

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120 French words, phrases and titles are quoted in their original spelling, often incorrect or obsolete, throughout the article.

121 AGAD: Archiwum Gospodarcze Wilanowskie: Kasa Generalna i Domowa Potockich, *Rachunek Kassy domowey JW.-o Aleksandra hr. Potockiego za rok 1832/3 z 12-tu miesięcznych Rapportów złożony*, call number 490 and further records from years 1833/34 to 1844/45, call numbers 491–502.

In Karniewski's letter to an unknown recipient are instructions for ordering a file from Bagiński:

> "His Excellency requests Bagiński to make a portfolio – as for the way it should be made of colour and shape, I attach a description and measure from a string on which the first knot means the thickness of the spine, the second the width of the portfolio, and the third the length of the spine and the portfolio itself." ("Żąda J.W. Pan aby Bagiński zrobił tekę – jak ma być co do koloru i kształtu zrobiona załączam opis i miarę z sznurka, na którym supełek pierwszy oznacza grubość grzbietu, drugi szerokość teki, a trzeci długość grzbietu a tem samem i teki."[122])

Judging from the few descriptions, the portfolios had leather spines with tooling in gold and leather corners. They were covered with marbled or safian paper in various colours and had laps and ties made of silk ribbons.

In the invoices confirming the execution of the works, fragments of their descriptions can be found:

Invoice of August 9, 1834, issued by Michał Tuchowicz:

> "For three portfolios, meaning covering with marbled paper anew and adding new folds and ribbons." ("Za 3 samych tek to jest obleczenie na nowo papierem marmurkowym z dodaniem nowych zakładów i tasiemek."[123])

Invoice of June 6, 1834, Tuchowicz:

> "For repairing six portfolios to the Print Room, three of which with the addition of inner jackets as repaired before, and three coated with new paper inside, and a new ribbon given." ("Za wyreperowanie sześciu tek do gabinetu rycin, z których trzy z dodaniem obwolut wewnętrznych jak dawniej naprawionych, zaś trzy powleczone nowym papierem wewnątrz oklejone i nowa tasiemka dana"[124])

Invoice of September 12, 1834, Tuchowicz:

> "For repairing three portfolios newly coated with marbled paper, one red refreshed and sanded with safian paper, all three with new flaps." ("Za

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122    Allegata 185, pp. 145–147.
123    Allegata 168, f. 19 (old pagination).
124    Allegata 168, f. 31 (old pagination).

wyreperowanie 3 tek nowo powleczone papierem marmurkowym, jedna czerwona odświeżona i wyszlifowana papierem safianowym, wszystkie trzy z nowymi klapami."[125])

Invoice of October 4, 1835, Karol Bagiński:

"Two large portfolios with a safian spine and covered with safian paper on top with decorations tooled in gold." ("Dwie wielkie z safianowym grzbietem oraz safianem obwiedzione papierem safianowym po wierzchu z wszelkimi złoconymi ozdobami."[126])

Invoice of October 17, 1835, Tuchowicz:

"For repairing the safian red portfolio." ("Za wyreperowanie teki safianowej czerwonej."[127]

Invoice of February 27, 1836, Bagiński:

"Two large portfolios with a safian spine and edges with flaps and gilding." ("2 teki wielkie safianowym grzbietem i kantami zakończonymi klapami i złoceniem."[128])

Invoice of August 27, 1836, Tuchowicz:

"Making one large portfolio for lithography with a gold sign and the lettering in *Macedoine Lithographique*, with a leather spine and edges, and covered with paper." ("Zrobienie jednej wielkiej teki do litografii z szyldem złotym i napisem Macedoine Lithographique, z grzbietem i kantami skórzanymi i obleczeniem swoim papierem."[129])

Invoice of December 18, 1836, Bagiński:

"For making a great portfolio covered with brown safian, coated with safian paper, with silk tapes, tooled in gold and stamped with the title, *Lithographies et gravures colores.*" ("Za zrobienie wielkiej teki obwiedzionej safianem brązowym, powleczonej papierem safianowym, z taśmami jedwabnemi, wyzłacaniem i wybiciem tytułu Lithographies et gravures colories."[130])

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125    Allegata 168, f. 33 (old pagination).
126    Allegata 169, f. 46 (old pagination).
127    Allegata 169, f. 43 (old pagination).
128    Allegata 170, f. 33 (old pagination).
129    Allegata 171, p. 171.
130    Allegata 174, p. 435.

Invoice of July 7, 1840, Bagiński:

> "A big portfolio in half-leather with the title." Teka wielka w półskórek z tytułem."[131])

In the annual reports of General and House Bookkeeping are several references to the appearance of the portfolios. They were "bright red safian covered" ["ponsowem safianem pokryte." (November 1835)] Later, we find, "the middle portfolio covered with brown safian and covered with safian paper." [teka średnia obwiedziona safianem brązowym i pokryta papierem safianowym." (April 1837)] Also, "great portfolio in semi-safian covered." ["wielkie w półsafian oprawne." (June 1841)[132]]

At least some of the portfolios were equipped with paper labels on the front cover and spine.

March 3, 1835, Tuchowicz:

> "For schools of drawings for large portfolios [printed signs] on top of the portfolios and small for spines." ("Do szkół rysunków na teki wielkich [szyldów obdrukowanych] na wierzch teki i małych na grzbiety."[133])

We also find a few mentions of the size, determined, for example, by the amount of cardboard used to make the portfolio.

November 8, 1834, Tuchowicz:

> "Making one huge portfolio out of eight sheets of completely new cardboard with a stamped leather spine."
> "One large of five sheets of cardboard of a new portfolio, as above."
> "Two slightly smaller of four sheets of cardboard."
> ("Zrobienie jednej ogromnej z 8 arkuszy tektury teki zupełnie nowej z grzbietem skórzanym stemplowanym.")
> ("Jednej wielkiej z 5 arkuszy tektury teki nowej j.w. Dwóch nieco mniejszych z 4 arkuszy tektury." [134])

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131 Allegata 183, p. 93.

132 Bookkeeping invoices: *Rachunek Kassy domowej...*, 493, p. 28; *Rachunek Kassy domowey...*, 494, p. 82; *Rachunek Kassy domowey...*, 498, p. 87.

133 Allegata 168, f. 49 (old pagination).

134 Allegata 168, f. 23 (old pagination).

May 18, 1841, Bagiński:

"Big portfolios with folds, dividers - each one of four cardboard sheets."
("Teki wielkie z zakładami, przekładami każda z czterech tektur złożona."[135])

Most of all, there were complaints about silk tapes that would not hold:
December 8, 1835, Kustowski's note:

"Up to five large portfolios with lithographs for each of the seven ties of
the elbow one m. strong silk tape as in the last two newly made by Mr.
Bagiński.[...] Bagiński will point out - because now[...]with a strong tying
they do not hold together, which can cause damage when moving large
portfolios." ("Do 5ciu wielkich tek z litografiami do każdej na 7 wiązań
po łokciu 1 m taśmy jedwabnej mocnej tak jak w dwóch ostatnich nowo
zrobionych przez P. Bagińskiego...Bagiński wskaże - gdyż teraz...przy
mocnem wiązaniu raz wraz zrywają się, przez co przy przenoszeniu
wielkich tek szkoda stać się może."[136])

March 18, 1836, Tuchowicz:

"For putting seven pieces of new double silk tie to *Histoire* portfolio."
"For putting up to three portfolios with silk tape for each of seven
ties" ("Za wprawienie siedmiu sztuk dubeltowych zawiązań nowych
jedwabnych do teki Histoire Za wprawienie do trzech tek taśmy
jedwabnej do każdej po siedem wiązań."[137])

In the accounts, we find two references to portfolios for drawings:
August 27, 1836, Tuchowicz:

"For making a second portfolio even larger for modern drawings with a
gold sign and the writing *Dessins Modernes*, spine and edges as above and
marbled paper." ("Za zrobienie drugiej teki jeszcze większej do rysunków
nowoczesnych z szyldem złotym i napisem Dessins Modernes, grzbietem
i kantami jak wyżej i papierem marmurkowym."[138])

December 1833, Tuchowicz:

"Restoring portfolio for drawings of architecture." ("Odrestaurowanie tek
do architektury rysunków."[139])

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135    Allegata 190, f. 67.
136    Allegata 169, f. 30 (old pagination).
137    Allegata 170, f. 35 (old pagination).
138    Allegata 171, p. 171.
139    Allegata 167, f. 55 (old pagination).

## Dividers

Numerous invoices for dividers have also been preserved. Their orderly character was highlighted in the Tuchowicz account of August 8, 1836:

"For making four dividers to put in portfolios for seclusion and even arranging lithographs – eight cardboards with lining." ("Za zrobienie 4 przedziałów wkładać się mających w teki dla odosobnienia i równego układanie litografiów – tektur sztuk 8 z obleczeniem.")[140]

The dividers were covered with multi-coloured paper and marked with signs.

October 30, 1836, Tuchowicz:

"For making 5 pairs or 10 dividers to 5 portfolios with lithographs, each of two cardboard and coated with blue paper." ("Za zrobienie 5 par czyli 10 przekładów do 5 tek z litografiami, każda z dwóch tektur złożona i niebieskim papierem powleczona."[141])

May 3, 1837, Tuchowicz:

"For making two new dividers covered with pink paper for coloured portfolio." ("Za zrobienie 2 nowych przekładów obleczonych papierem różowym do teki kolorowanej."[142])

## Albums

The paper bindings of the Wilanów collection albums were certainly the final bindings. At the same time, they constituted part of the inventory system. This arrangement was disturbed by the liquidation of portfolios, thus giving paper covers an independent and final function in the arrangement of the collection.

For centuries, binding a book in paper was treated as a temporary protection by the printer. The buyer ordered the permanent binding from the bookbinder, and the paper was removed. Three forms of temporary protection of the printed book prevailed at the time: a paper covers between which the sections were inserted; a booklet with the

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140 Allegata 171, p. 35.
141 Allegata 171, p. 573.
142 Allegata 175, p. 42.

sections slightly sewn and glued into the paper cover; and *alla rustica*, where the end papers were sewn into the block and pasted to the paper cover. The latter two allowed for the use of the book. At the beginning of the 19th century, some forms of binding in paper already serve as final bindings. In the 1820s, the title began to be printed on the front paper cover (the content of the title card was often repeated here). This cover would act as a final binding. The booklet binding was made of coloured paper – at first, almost only blue; then navy blue, beige, yellow or green papers were used.[143]

Paper bindings in the context of graphic and drawing works may bring to mind graphic series, issued in the form of pamphlets. They were sold in a series through a subscription system (after prepayment). After the whole series was collected, they were usually bound in a more solid, permanent fashion.

An example a pamphlet publication is, "Zbiór widoków sławniejszych pamiątek narodowych…" (A collection of images of more famous national artefact s[…]") by Zygmunt Vogel, published in three pamphlets with six engravings each. The first edition appeared in 1806, and the second in 1807.[144] Another such publication was inspired by Stanisław Kostka Potocki's "Monumenta Regum Poloniae Cracoviens." The first edition was published in 1822–1827 in fascicles containing four engravings each.[145] Original copies of the Stachowicz drawings were sent to Stanisław Kostka Potocki to provide protection for the publication of the work. They are included in the collection of Wilanów drawings in the WAF 21 album.[146]

The association of the form of binding of the Wilanów albums with volumes of prints seems to be justified, since printed fragments of covers from serial publications were used on the covers of some albums (fig. 12).

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143  E. Pokorzyńska, "Początki polskiej oprawy wydawniczej: przegląd zabytków," *Acta Poligraphica*, Year 3, 2015, no. 6, p. 39.

144  K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, Pt. 1, [1800–1880], vol. 5, p. 128.

145  H. Widacka, op.cit., p. 122.

146  K. Gutowska-Dudek, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 131.

FIG. 12. *Le vocabulaire des Dames / litographie par H. Grevedon*, 1831 (Polona)

The method of combining sheets with the cover in the Wilanów albums has been mentioned. It consisted of interlacing the thread through the quards and the cover or, in a more sophisticated form, with a folded paper strip pasted into the finished cover. After analysing the historical pamphlet design, this second type was considered by Randy Silverman to be the most suitable for thin one-fold pamphlets.[147]

Two sewing methods were observed during the conservation work on the Wilanów albums:

1.  **WAF 20**

    The thread is interwoven by section and the folded strip of paper in five points is on the shape of the eighth (Zygmunt Zjawiński defines this as "into four buckles"). The thread was tied in the middle on the outside of the fold.[148]

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147   R. Silverman, "Small, Not Insignificant: a Specification for a Conservation Pamphlet Binding Structure," *The Book and Paper Group Annual*, vol. 6, 1987, p. 3 https://cool.conservation-us.org/coolaic/sg/bpg/annual/v06/bp06-13.html [accessed 15.12.2019].

148   Z. Zjawiński, *Introligatorstwo*, Warszawa 1966, p. 105.

2. WAF 87

The thread connected the section directly to the covers at seven points. The thread is pulled over the back, then attached with loops from the inside of the fold and tied in the middle on the outside of the fold.

## Mount

The method of making mounts to affix watercolours was described in a guide published in London in 1820, *The Practice of Drawing and Painting Landscape from Nature in Water Colours....*[149] The chapter "Mounting and Varnishing Paintings in Water Colours" describes the process of creating a board and pasting a drawing on it in detail.[150] A smooth and solid wooden board and three sheets of drawing paper are prepared, to be slightly larger than the intended size of the mount. The paper is moistened with a sponge on both sides. If it curls, it is left for a few minutes so the moisture would be evenly distributed. Then one sheet is put on the board, the edges are wrapped (about one inch wide) and covered with a paste. They are put back on the board, pressing firmly against it. The next sheet should be slightly smaller than the previous one by about half an inch on each side. It is laid on the previous one at an equal distance from the edges, with half wrapped and covered with paste. Then this part is pressed to the previous sheet. The paper is laid slowly to avoid the formation of air bubbles that would be difficult to remove without lifting the sheet. Subsequently, the second part of the sheet is covered with paste and pressed down. The paper is pasted halfway after being stacked evenly on the previous sheet, because it would be more difficult to lay it evenly after the paste was applied, and it would also be more difficult to lift it if necessary. The third sheet should be slightly smaller than the previous one; it is pasted like the second one.

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149   F. Nicholson, *The Practice of Drawing and Painting Landscape from Nature in Water Colours exemplified in a Series of Instructions calculated to facilitate the Progress of the Learner, including the Elements of Perspective, their Application in Sketching from Nature, and the Explanation of various Processes of Colouring, for producing from the Outline a Finished Picture; with Observations on the Study of Nature, and various other Matters relative to the Arts*, London 1820.

150   Ibidem, pp. 73–75.

The reason why the sheets get smaller in size is explained as follows: because they are of equal thickness, the first sheet may dry out and stick firmly to the board before the process of tensioning of the whole is completed; otherwise everything could peel off or the edge may break. It is not recommended to stretch the paper too much, because the board stretches strongly during drying. If the papers are stretched completely, the board may crack or warp. It is recommended to dry slowly, without exposure to the sun or fire.

When the board dries, it is necessary to cut the drawing to the appropriate size and lay it face down on a sheet of blank paper. Holding it firmly with one hand, the paste is applied evenly on the back, avoiding the movement of the drawing to avoid soiling the face with the paste. The drawing should not be placed on the board until the moisture is evenly distributed and softened. You have to work in different directions to distribute the paste layer. The process takes two to three minutes, depending on the thickness and strength of the paper. Then the drawing is placed with the pasted side on the board, the face is secured with a clean sheet of paper, which protects the drawing from damage during pressing (which is necessary to attach it). If, after picking up this paper, it turns out that there are air bubbles under the drawing, it is necessary to remove them by lifting the nearest end. To remove these blisters, a wood strip slightly wider than the drawing is used and covered with cloth or flannel. By dragging such a tool over the protective paper, blisters are more easily removed than by hand. It is important to make sure that the edges are pressed tightly, which could be difficult if the drawing paper is very strong or not sufficiently wetted with paste.

The whole should remain in this state for several days, then the mount was removed from the wooden board by cutting off the edges. Although the mount may seem dry, it was recommended to season it for some time in the folder or under the weight.

A similar method is given by the bookbinder, B. Lewandowski in *Polska Gazeta Introligatorska* (*Polish Bookbinding Newspaper*) in 1929.[151]

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151　The B. Lewandowski firm operates to this day in Poznan. It was founded in 1920 by Bronisław Lewandowski. Website: http://blewandowski.pl/ [accessed 15.12.2019].

"Although this is a fairly well-known thing, it still belongs to those works that require very careful execution [...] For stretching cards (maps), canvas is best, which currently is quite expensive. For this reason, canvas often has to be replaced with paper. Since not all colleagues know how to handle paper in this case, I will describe the matter in brief. If there is something to stick on the paper, moisten it first with a clean sponge. Next, the sheet is adhered to a clean wooden board, covering only the edges of the sheet. It takes six hours to dry paper prepared in this way, depending on the paper. After this time, the paper will be stretched so that we will not notice the slightest fold. After applying drawings, geographical cards or photographs, you need sufficient time to dry these stickers. It is understood that sticking requires absolute accuracy and clean work. It is also important what paste is needed for the material and what type of glue. When working with water, it is best to use a paste, because it is cleaner; but for adhering chalk or ink drawings, you need to use glue, because the paste can easily dissolve, even the best paints."[152]

There is no description in the preserved documents in Wilanów of how Tuchowicz made the mounts. However, the bookbinding workshop was equipped with wooden boards called *rayzbret*.

The invoices mention certificates of production and repair of such boards. From 1836, an undated invoice was issued by a palace carpenter for four wooden boards with thin borders at the edges. Due to the illegibility of the invoice, it is difficult to determine the exact dimensions, but they may be:

Two measuring 1 ell 18 inches long and 1 ell 12 inches wide.
Two 2 ells? inches long and 1 ell 12 inches wide.[153]

A May 13, 1838 invoice is for repair and planing a total of eight boards and making two new different sizes. The invoice states:

"For repair and planing on both sides of the Three No 3 Boards each length in 2 ells 12 inches, width 1 ell 12 inches[...]
For a similar work of two boards No 2 lengths in 1 ell 18 inches, width 1 ell 1 inch [...]

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152   *Polska Gazeta Introligatorska*, Year 2, 1929, no. 12, p. 158.
153   Allegata 170, f. 58 (old pagination).

For similar work of Three Boards No 3 Each in length 1 ell 14 inches, Width 1 ell 2 inches.

For making another Board 49o (?) For the punch, the same size from treasury material

For making another new board length 1 ell 21 inches, width 1 ell 8 inches from treasury material.

For making two pear mouldings for cutting bordures and for creating engravings from own material."

("Za reperacją i wyhyblowanie z obu stron Trzech No 3 Raysbretów Każdy długości w łokci 2 Cali 12 Szerokości łokci 1 Cali 12 [...]

Za podobną robotę Raysbretów dwóch No 2 długości w łokieć 1 Cali 18 szerokości łokieć 1 cali 6 [...]

Za podobną robotę Raysbretów Trzy No 3 Każdy w długości łokieć 1 Cali 14 Szerokości łokieć 1 Cali 2 do prasy.

Za dorobienie do teyże Prasy jednego Raysbreta 49o (?) nowego teyże wielkości z Materiału Skarbowego.

Za dorobienie iednego nowego Raysbreta dlugości łokieć 1 Cali 21 szerokości łokieć 1 Cali 8 z Materiału Skarbowego.

Za zrobienie dwóch Listw Gruszkowych do Krajania Bordiur i formowania Rycin z własnego materiału."[154])

The dimensions of the wooden boards were calculated from the measure of the New Polish ell used in the Kingdom of Poland from 1819 to 1848:[155]

First invoice:

100.8 × 72 cm

Over 112 × 86.4 cm

Second invoice:

184 × 86.4 cm

100.8 × 72 cm

91.2 × 62.4 cm

108 × 76.8 cm

According to the above calculation, boards with the dimensions 91.2 × 62.4 cm were intended for pressing. The list of materials for the

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154　Allegata 179, f. 41 (old pagination).

155　Entry in the encyclopaedia, "Łokieć" (Ell), *Encyklopedia PWN*, http://encyklopedia. pwn.pl/haslo/;3935128 [accessed 20.12.2019].

needs of the Bookbinding Factory includes "smooth water paper for [...] pressing smaller [engravings] for interlacing." ("papier wodny gładki do [...] prasowania mniejszych [rycin] do przekładania."[156]) This suggests that smaller objects could have been made using the bookbinding press or seasoned in it after being removed from the boards.

Papers for pasting and other activities were bought from Warsaw suppliers. The requirements or lists of purchased papers in Wilanów often specified their purpose. In addition to coloured, white paper used for the production of mounts, quards and album covers, papers for ancillary activities were also bought. Wrapping paper was needed "for gluing and pasting the undercoating; plain water paper for underlaying on mounts for covering engravings and for pressing smaller ones for interlacing." ("do nadawania klejenia i krochmalenia do podkładania; papier wodny gładki do podkładania na Raysbrety przy szpanowaniu rycin i do prasowania mniejszych do przekładania."[157]) According to the Polish dictionary of B. Linde, water-leaf paper was printing paper, while writing paper was called glue (sized) paper. Water paper was therefore not sized (the printers themselves sized the paper up to the beginning of the 19th century), conducive to using it for jobs requiring moisture absorption.

Starch and glue were used to assemble the mounts and stick drawings and engravings. It is possible, therefore, that the adhesive for mounting engravings was differentiated depending on the water resistance. In the list of materials and tools for mounting engravings from 10 December 1839, we find:

"Starch, carpentry glue, 2 brushes, 2 iron graphs for cooking glue, a small cabinet for grinding starch, a cutting knife, thread and sewing needle, 1 bowl for heating coals for glue, 1 water jug, 1 water heater." ("Krochmal, klej stolarski, 2 pędzle, 2 grafy żelazne do gotowania kleju, szafliczek mały do rozrabiana krochmalu, nóż do obcinania, nici i igły do szycia, 1 miska do rozgrzewania węgli do kleju, 1 dzbanek do wody, 1 garczek do grzania wody."[158])

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156    Allegata 169, invoice from 8 December 1835, f. 30 (old pagination).

157    As above.

158    Allegata 180, f. 45 (old pagination).

### Tooling cover and board edges

To determine any analogies shared by the tooled and stamped paper of the Wilanów covers and mounts and those of other graphic collections, a query was carried out at the following institutions: the British Museum, London; the Albertina, Vienna; the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; the Musee d'Orsay, Paris; the Print Room, Residenzschloss, Dresden, the Print Room of the University of Warsaw Library; the Cabinet of Engravings and Drawings, National Museum, Warsaw; the Art Centre, Drawing, Royal Castle in Warsaw; the Art Department, the Museum of the Princes Lubomirski, the Ossoline-um, Wrocław. No similar technical solutions were found in any of the above institutions in the arrangement of their graphic collection.

Of note, the Wilanów graphic art collection includes the cover of an album with embossed edges (from 1837). Oher stationery products of that time could have been the inspiration for decorating albums and boards with embossing or tooling (fig. 13). Paper embossing and tooling had been known for a long time from gauffering the edges of a book. At the beginning of the 19th century, the embossing of sheets of paper was extremely fashionable. The first publishers' book bindings in paper were decorated with blind embossing. From 1826 on, a paper and almanac seller operated in Paris, offering various haberdashery items made of gilded and embossed paper. These were packed in cardboard boxes and decorated with colourful prints and edges of gilded and embossed paper. There were party games, small items like sewing sets, paint boxes and various small books with embossed and gilded covers.[159] Embossed paper was also used for calling cards.[160] Decorating edges of paper sheets was later the height of sophistication; for example, it was used in devotional pictures, where it took the form of paper lace as in the reproduction of paintings from Vilnius churches made by Antoni Oleszczyński and presented in the fourth

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159  S. Malavieille, *Reliures et cartonnages d'éditeur en France au XIXᵉ siècle (1815-1865)*, Paris 1985, fig. p. 24.

160  An example would be calling cards from 1815, exhibited at the *Masoneria* exhibition, in: *Masoneria pro publico bono*, exhibition catalogue of the National Museum in Warsaw, Warszawa 2014, cat. no. 244, 245.

**FIG. 13.** *Illystrations de armee francaise depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1832 / lithographiees par M. M. Llanta et Ad. Midy; M.M. Leon Cogniet et Raffet, 1837*: a. Cover; b. Embossing of edges (photo: Polona)

series of the Vilnius Album […] by J. K. Wilczyński, published in Paris in 1848–1852.[161]

The embossing of covers or calling cards was done with the help of plaquettes. Such pressing required two elements: matrix and patrix. This method was not really used for the Wilanów boards. Significant

161   J. K. Wilczyński, "Album Wileńskie czyli Zbiór Rycin, Litografii i Chromolitografii, poświęcony wyłącznie przedmiotom krajowym…, 1845–1875" in: *Metodologia i terminologia grafiki i rysunku. Teoria i praktyka*, Warszawa 2014, pp. 131–139.

differences in board formats suggest the use of rollers and a stamp. The Wilanów boards were probably impressed with tools intended for pressing leather. These finishing tools belonged to Tuchowicz and came from Paris. In a letter written at the end of the first stage of work in Wilanów, Tuchowicz mentions that before he was hired in Wilanów, these tools had been pledged for 100 *złoty*, which means their real value was 300 *złoty*.[162] Some of the tools may also have been owned by Wilanów; as mentioned, Dobrowolski loaned several finishing tools. There are also numerous pressing designs. Thus far, it has not been determined how many such tools were used to decorate all the graphic mounts of the Wilanów collection. (This will be possible after developing the graphics catalogue.) A significant number of designs is not surprising, however, compared to the number of stamps located in the Żołądkiewicz workshop, operating simultaneously to that of Tuchowicz. There were 97 stamps and liners, and 7 rolls.[163] This large number of stamps used for paper tooling alone suggests that they were also used for leather binding. After all, the pressing of paper boards was not popular enough to buy specialised tools to equip a workshop before receiving an order.

Pressing was done on wooden boards. Water-leaf paper was placed under the mount (indicated several times in the written demand for the paper). Therefore, it took place after the sheet had been cut from the boards. Previously prepared mounts were also subjected to pressing and tooling, as evidenced in the invoices. Tools were warmed before pressing. This is brought up in the note indicating a demand for "coals for heating fillets."[164]

### Gold paper strips

The use of gold to decorate paper, and parchment earlier, has a very long tradition and was done in various ways. Sheets with text were decorated – e.g., illuminated initials, miniatures and manuscript bor-

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162    Letter from Michał Tuchowicz, Allegata 181, p. 615.

163    E. Pokorzyńska, *Z dziejów introligatorstwa...*, p. 63.

164    Allegata 180, f. 48 (old pagination).

dures. Gold was also used to decorate important documents. Just how popular (and probably relatively cheap) such document decorations is seen in a fragment from *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III* (*Description of Customs During the Reign of August III*) by historian and diarist, Jędrzej Kitowicz: "It was wise, according to unlearned people [...] when a patent or a liberal letter was written in capital letters and its edges embraced with a wreath of gold."[165]

Decorating paper with gold was also used in bookbinding. From the 15th century on, the edges of a book were decorated with gilding, often chiselled.[166] Decorative paper was used for bookbinding elements. (Dutch paper and gilded and embossed paper for endleaves were popular in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.)[167] From the 1880s, paper wall coverings with gilded elements were produced.[168] Embossed and gilded paper strips, i.e. bordures, had been popular in France from the beginning of the 19th century. Note their appearance in the first bindings of fashionable almanacs that were published in multiple copies. These covers, decorated with gilded and embossed stripes are seen in a binding made in Paris by bookbinder, Luis Janet, from 1822, and a second, unsigned binding from the early 19th century. Both bindings were presented in a study devoted to the beginning of publishers' binding in France.[169]

Gilding began to be used in France from the beginning of the 17th century for decorating collectors' mounts, and over time it spread to other European countries.[170] The golden strip was part of a decorative frame that surrounded the drawing or engraving. Given that we only have descriptions, it is often difficult to determine whether this frame was gilded directly on the board or whether a gilded strip of paper was attached. Carlo James reports that Pierre-Jeanne Mariette used strips of golden paper. This is not obvious when he describes oth-

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165   J. Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, Wrocław 2010, vol. 1, p. 71.

166   J. Tomaszewski, "Techniki zdobienia opraw w XVII wieku," *Ochrona zabytków*, 50/3, 1997, p. 262.

167   *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 24, pp. 55–56.

168   M. Ciechańska, op. cit., p. 91.

169   S. Malavieille, op. cit., fig. p. I.

170   C. James et al. op. cit., p. 18.

er French collections. In the mounts of English collections, the golden strip around the graphic or drawing was painted directly on the board with powdered gold with a binder.[171] Gilded paper strips were applied around the graphics in Polish collections. It is see in the assembly of the graphic cycle, *Metamorphosis*, from the Stanisław August Poniatowski collections exhibited in the White House in Łazienki.[172]

In collections that were created and bound to the end of the 18th century, Carlo James notes only one case of paper tapes additionally decorated with relief. The collection of the Swedish Count Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695–1770) received a new mounting in Sweden (by Frederic Sparre). After that it was handed over to the royal family in 1750. It should be noted that the relief was decorated with golden as well as coloured paper.[173]

Historic techniques for producing gilded papers are divided into those using with water soluble adhesive (pulment – known for centuries) and newer ones made with the use of oil, depending on the type of binder. Gilding with the use of oil (mixtion) was certainly known in 1829, when T. Gill gave the formula for the adhesive used by wallpaper manufacturers to lay gold and silver flakes.[174] Pulment gilding is characterised by high gloss, while oil lends a matte finish. No relevant tests of the bordures used in Wilanów have been conducted, but judging by appearance, both types of gilding are found in the collection. On the other hand, gold could be used in the form of flakes (e.g. for gilding the edges of a book) or powder (in brocade papers). As a gold substitute, a copper and zinc alloy was employed, the so-called *schlagmetal*. This had been known since the Middle Ages in the form of a powder, but as foil it probably began to be used only at the beginning of the 19th century. After testing foils on several Wilanów bordures, the use of both gold foil and *schlagmetal* was established.[175]

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171  C. James, "Collectors and Mountings," in: C. James et al., op cit., pp. 2–36.

172  K. Jędrysik, „Konserwacja 95 rycin ilustrujących Metamorfozy Owidiusza," in: *Metamorfozy. Królewska kolekcja grafiki Stanisława Augusta*, exhibition catalogue, Royal Łazienki Museum, Warszawa 2013, p. LVII.

173  C. James et al., op. cit., p. 35.

174  M. Ciechańska, op. cit., p. 91.

175  P. Rudniewski, *Pigmenty i ich identyfikacja*, Warszawa 1999, p. 116.

Gilded and embossed bordures for decorating the Wilanów boards were obtained from the commercial market from 1834 to 184, exclusively from the Paper Cover Factory. After 1841, other suppliers joined; the first was Franciszek Szuster. Some of the bordures were made on site in the Tuchowicz workshop. Documents include an invoice of purchased materials from September 31, 1835[176] which contained a list of gilding materials:

> One book or 12 quarters of gold. Ingredients for doing the ground for gold are:
>  bolus
>  Arabic gumma
>  eggwhite
>  soap
>  isinglass
>  3 brushes
> 12 vellum paper
> ("Jedna księga czyli 12 ćwiartek złota malarskiego. Ingrediencyie do zrobienia gruntu pod złoto to iest"")
>  bolus
>  gumma arabska
>  b. iaiek
>  mydło
>  karug rybi
>  3 pędzle
>  papier welinowy ark. 12"

The context of this invoice suggests that materials were needed to make gilded paper trails to be added around the portraits on the ceiling of the Great Library Hall (invoice from November 30, 1835). From the above list, we can conclude that the bordures were made with egg white gilding. The use of so many additional binders is puzzling. Because paper for gilding requires some preparation – i.e. sizing – we can surmise that some of them may have been used for this purpose, and not for making pulment.

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176    Allegata 169, f. 50 (old pagination).

When the book's edges are gilded, the source texts mention egg white with a bolus. The earliest description of these works in Poland is a fragment quoted many times from *Summariusz [...]* by P. K. Różycki from 1725–1730.[177] According to art historian, Władysław Ślesiński, recipes that are simple at the beginning for preparing the ground for gold (on various substrates) grow complicated over time. Cennino Cennini only mentions bolus and egg white. The recipe given by the author of *Neu-entdeckte Laquer-Kunst* dates from 1743, according to which some egg white, soap and water with grated urine were added to the bolus. Watin (*L'Art du Peintre, Doreur, Vernisseur [...]* 1754) recommended adding an admixture of bismuth, rubric, oil and parchment glue.[178]

The Wilanów workshop also produced bordures for decorating mounts. The sheets of paper were gilded and pressed and then cut into strips. In the *Estimate of Expenses for Pasting and Make Bounded 31 Caiers to Illuminated 248* copies *for Army e.t.c.*, the specification for the production of "crimped" gold bordures is given: "Paper gold sheet: 1 sheet will give 14 ½ dozen bordures."[179] We read elsewhere that Tuchowicz obtained 63 dozen bordures from the entire gold book.[180]

Finishing tools were placed in a form of a pressing machine. The invoice for repairing this device comes from April 11, 1843: "For unscrewing the pressing machine it is to make a crank (?), converting the pressing and two stamps." ("Za rozkręcenie maszynki do wycisków to jest dorobienie korby (?), przerobienie prasy i przerobienie dwóch stempli.") The invoice was issued by the Steel Products Factory of M. Taszyński's successors at 2643 Maryenstadt Street. In this case a matrix and patrix were needed most likely, although an example of a gold-plated bordure tooled with a roll used to decorate the edges of the mounts was also found (fig. 14).

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177  P. K. Różański, *Summariusz królewskiego opisania Praw, Przywilejów, wolności, Swobód, y Praerogatyw od Nayaś. y Niezw. Monarchów Krolow Polskich y caley Naj. Rzplitej, Przesławney Akademiey Krak., Doktorom, Magistrom, Professorom, Bibliopolom, Drukarzom nadanych* z lat 1725–30, Jagiellonian Library, MS 221 in: J. Pachoński, *Zmierzch sławetnych*, Kraków 1956, p. 217; J. Tomaszewski, op. cit., p. 264; E. Pokorzyńska, "Introligatorskie zdobienie brzegów kart książek," *Spotkania z Zabytkami* 2015, nos. 3–4, pp. 51–55.

178  W. Ślesiński, *Techniki malarskie spoiwa organiczne*, Warszawa 1984, p. 197.

179  Allegata 180, f. 26v. (old pagination).

180  Allegata 174, p. 453.

**FIG. 14.** Bordure from a roll for tooling the edges of boards

In terms of design, homemade bordures were called patterned and crimped ("deseniowymi i karbkowanymi"). Among the bookbinding materials mentioned in the Wilanów invoices, "self-made bordures" are very common. They were certainly used to assemble drawings of foreign schools (non-existant in the current Wilanów collection) and lithographs. There are several subsequent invoices from March 1837 for "gilding paper and making a gold bordure and sticking them on" ("wyzłocenie papieru i zrobienie bordiur złotych i naklejenie ich." Among the other hard-to-identify titles is the drawing *Catafalque of Stanisław August* (invoice from March 24, 1837).[181] This drawing appears on an earlier invoice from September 23, 1835 under the full title, *Catafalque of Stanisław August in St. Petersburg Issued in 1795*. Also it is noted "sticking [means, making the mount], adding one black bordure around and silk paper." ("naklejenie na nowo, dodanie jednej obwódki czarnej wkoło i papier jedwabny."[182] In 1837, gold bordures were added. The invoice is not clear, but it seems to be about adding two gold bordures ("for 1 piece [...] 2 bordures." ("za 1 sztukę [...] obwódek 2"). This drawing is in the Wilanów collection (WAF 39, pl. 1, R. 4531) It has one black bordure and two gold ones – one clearly obtained from cut paper with a larger pattern, the other lined or "crimped." (fig. 15)[183]

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181    Allegata 174, p. 453.

182    Allegata 169, f. 48 (old pagination).

183    B. de Folino, "Katafalk Króla Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego w kościele Św. Katarzyny w Petersburgu," in: K. Gutowska-Dudek, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 161, ref. 389.
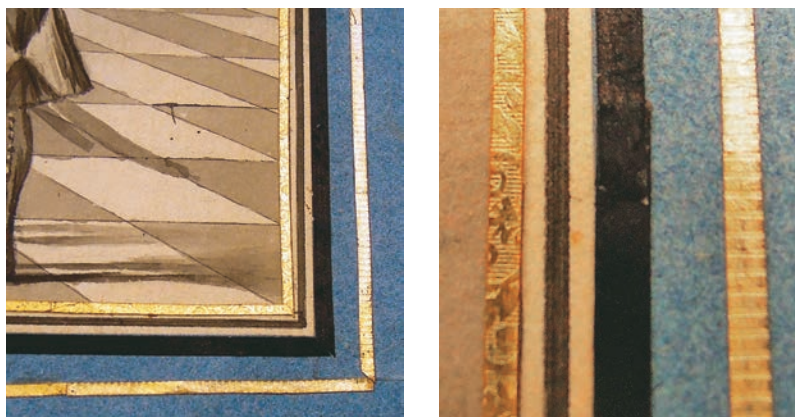
FIG. 15. Bordures made in Wilanów on the mount of a drawing of *Catafalque of Stanisław August in St. Petersburg in 1795 issued*: a. Fragment of the mount; b. Bordures

An album, *Etudes de fleurs*, also appears on the invoice from 1837. It is unclear if this is about drawings or prints, but in an album with the title (WAF 13), unmounted drawings had similar golden and pressed paper strips attached, cut from paper with a wider pattern (fig. 16). The number of objects in the album agrees: 11 is listed on the invoice and is also the number included in the album.



FIG. 16. Bordures made in Wilanów (WAF 13): a. Inside of the album; b. Patterned bordure

Bordures made by Tuchowicz are found on the mounts of the following albums:

From group I:

WAF 5; boards from 1 to 8 (patterned)

WAF 6; boards 1.2 (patterned)

WAF 16, board 3 (crimped)

WAF 32; boards 3, 4, 5 (roll pattern for tooling the edges)

WAF 33; board 1 (patterned)

WAF 36 boards from 1 to 10 (patterned, crimped on board 6)

WAF 39; board 1 ("catafalque [...]" patterned and crimped), 3 (notched)

WAF 40; boards 2, 3 (patterned and crimped)

From group II:

WAF 13; boards 1–11 (patterned)

### Other mounts

Where strips of blue paper with straight tooling along the edges were pasted around the drawings attached onto the mat, these mounts were most likely made earlier.

Work on drawings from this group was carried out in 1835 (see Appendix 1). The drawings were bound in *caiers*, while works on boards were limited to "reforming, cleaning, repairing pasting and cutting to matrix edges, pasting on quards." ("obformowania, obczyszczenia, reperowania podklejenia dawnego i obsztrychowania, wklejenia na felsy.") This applies to WAF 63, 64, invoice from September 15, 1835.[184] However, the invoice from September 23, 1835 for work carried out in the album identified as WAF 65 on boards 1, 2 and 5 indicates, "moulding, polishing and adding new blue edges around." ("obformowanie, obczyszczenie i dodanie wokoło nowe brzegi niebieskie.") On the same invoice, the aforementioned drawing of *Catafalque of Stanisław August Poniatowski* was noted. Apparently, the mounting style of the drawings was adjusted to make the content of some albums uniform. However, this procedure was not consistent such that the group of albums had a mixture of the mountings of groups II (without mounts) and III (with

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184    Allegata 169, f. 47 (old pagination).

blue stripes). The drawing of *Catafalque of Stanisław August Poniatowski* finally was included in the album from group I.

Of note, at the time when drawings were being mounted on decorative press boards, this method of assembly was not an original idea planned for the entire collection.

## 4. PRINT AND DRAWING RESTORATION FROM THE TIMES OF ALEKSANDER POTOCKI

### Restoration at the Wilanow Bindery

According to Allegata Kassowe, activity being carried out at the bindery at Wilanów within what is currently understood as the scope of conservation and restoration, primarily with regard to prints, but also sporadically for drawings. It went on almost from the beginning of operations, then later such work was done outside Wilanów. It included initial steps to change previous mountings – "soaking" ("odmoczenie") or "steaming" ("odparzenie") from a previous mount. Later, work was done out to improve the aesthetics of objects, such as "washing out of dirt" or "removing stains from moisture and old age" ("wypranie z brudu," "usuwanie plam z wilgoci i starości...") Mechanical damage was also repaired. Restoration activities involving partial reconstruction of an image were noted for several objects.

Work on changing mounts was carried out by the bookbinder, Michał Tuchowicz. Linings were removed in a water bath. For example, on December 19, 1835 payment was allocated for prints for "soaking, removing blue factory paper and making 6 pieces anew" ("odmoczenie, zdjęcie z niebieskiego papieru fabrycznego i na nowo zrobienie sztuk 6") In addition it was noted, "soaking, removing blue paper and making a new, but larger with quard." ("odmoczenie, zdjęcie z papieru niebieskiego i zrobienie na nowo lecz większe z felsem") This part of the invoice concerned *a caier* titled, *Six Dessins d'apres Granet et Nature*. (Whether it was actually an album of drawings is unknown, as no album with this title is in the current collection of drawings.)[185]

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185    Allegata 169, f. 34 (old pagination).

In the following years, removing items from old mounts was called "steaming." This work was done quite often from 1836 to 1838, i.e. the period when Tuchowicz ran the workshop on the premises of Wilanów.[186] Most of it concerned prints, but there were also a few drawings. On an invoice from December 11, 1838 is information about "steaming and transferring" of a drawing from *the caier* title, *Dessins de Maîtres Inconnus* (first board from four, currently probably WAF 7, R. 4294, a drawing with black pencil, highlighted with white) and "transfer from factory to the handmade" drawing from *the caier, Dessins par Hackert* (third board of six, currently probably WAF 37, R. 4521, a drawing in watercolour technique).[187]

The term, "Washing out of dirt" was recorded in October and November of 1837 concerning print objects:

Single objects: *Battle of the Boyne*, *Le General Washington*, *Conclusion de la Campagne de 1781*, *August King P.*

For the album *Fantaisies* (four pieces) and the album *Peysages par Wollett*, it said, "washing 4 pieces with repairs."[188]

A wider scope of renovation work was recorded on a Tuchowicz invoice from March 10, 1843:

> "For removing from old lining and cleaning and bringing the great engraving of John III Sobieski's Triumph to good condition." ("Za zdjęcie ze starego podklejenia i wyczyszczenie i przyprowadzenie zupełnie do dobrego stanu wielkiego kopersztychu Tryumf Jana III."[189]

Perhaps this pertains to the engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe, *Marcjan Dominik Wołłowicz's Thesis of 1685 Inc.: Defendetur Sub faustiss* kept in the Wilanów collection, of dimensions 92.9 × 129.2 cm (fig. 17).[190]

Special attention was devoted to the renovation of engraving on parchment (?) *Złapanie na wodzie dziecię Mojżesz* (*Moses Saved from the*

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186 Allegata 170 (18.03.1836 i 30.04.1836), f. 35, 16 (old pagination); Allegata 171 (19 June 1836, 28 Oct. 1836), pp. 33, 575; Allegata 175 (30 Oct. 1837), p. 602; Allegata 179 (11 Dec. 1838), f. 28 (old pagination).

187 Allegata 179, f. 28 (old pagination).

188 Allegata 175 (October 15, 1837; October 30, 1837), pp. 279, 601.

189 Allegata 205, f. 57.

190 National Library of Poland, G.24604/Sz.2.

**FIG. 17.** *Apotheosis of John III Sobieski*: a. With foil on which boundaries of sheets and tears were marked; b. Damage in the lower part; c. Tear fixed with glue (photo: Roman Stasiuk)

*Water*).[191] The invoice from November 6, 1837 details work done by Tuchowicz: "taking the picture from the board, repairing on a doube paper the painting from the parchment of *Moses Saved from the Water*, after repairing by Warecki framing under glass" ("zdjęcie z drzewa, poreperowanie i naprawienie na papierze dubeltowym obrazu na pergaminie Złapanie na wodzie dziecię Mojżesz, po wyreperowaniu przez Wareckiego zrobienie za szkło.")[192] This object was also mentioned in a National Library of Poland document in the collections of the Wilanów Archive, *The Journal of Income and Expenditure of All Paper Types and Gold Bordure while Running the Bookbinding Factory*.

From March of 1837 to January of 1839 and under December 18, 1837, it was noted "to Moses," and it refers to "paper for ordinary pink, ordinary blue covers" and "median paper for pasting." In April of 1838,

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191    The Wilanów graphics collection includes one copperplate depicting the above-mentioned scene G. 31316 in the notebook "Chambres de Raphael d'Urbino au Vatican à Rome" WAF 269. However, this object has not undergone any renovation work.

192    Allegata 175, p. 601.

there is a note about "the repair of Moses engraving from several figures made with water colours" by a painter Warecki (name and dates of life unknown).[193] From the above record, Tuchowicz was apparently entrusted with the disassembly and restoration of an object, while Warecki was responsible for retouching. No invoice for Warecki's work on this object has been found, but it was certainly not the only object "renovated" by Warecki. An earlier invoice from November 26, 1837, outlined: "for repairing engraving of a veduta de Medici in the Library in Wilanów, for repairing engraving illustrating how they handled the perspective." ("a poreperowanie kopersztychu wedut de Medycy w Bibliotece w Willanowie, za wyreperowanie kopersztychu wyobrazująco jak w perspektywie robiono."[194]). Warecki does not appear in dictionaries of Polish artists as a painter. He was employed in Wilanów for various painting work. Other tasks and objects mentioned in the invoice indicate that he worked on:

> "For painting a gradian of three degrees to flowers in mahogany with varnish
> For painting and varnishing a washing table with a basin...
> For painting a small sofa on wheels... for the Gucin garden
> For painting four figures with a marble oil colour in the Wilanów garden standing on the balustrade in front of the palace."
> ("Za pomalowanie gradusu o trzech stopniach do kwiatów na kolor mahoniowy z polakierowaniem
> Za pomalowanie z polakierowaniem stolika do mycia z miednicą...
> Za pomalowanie kanapki na kółkach do ogrodu Gucina
> Za pomalowanie czterech figurek na kolor kamienny olejny w ogrodzie wilanowskim będących na balustradzie przed pałacem.")

Warecki also carried out other renovation work; for example on December 16, 1836:

> "For painting the breasts twice again with brown colour with golden powder after cleaning the previous damaged colour
> For repairing and correcting two wax portraits in the Count's rooms."

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193  House Bookkeeping Invoice of His Excellency Count Potocki for 1837–1838 from 12 Months Records, 495, p. 76.

194  Allegata 175, p. 500.

("Za pomalowanie do nowo po dwa razy biustów na kolor brązowy z pobrązowaniem proszkiem złotym po oczyszczeniu poprzedniego koloru zniszczonego Za zreperowanie i poprawienie dwóch portretów woskowych będących w pokojach Hrabiego.")

And in the same invoice is found: "for adding tints to the titles in two portfolios Esmeralda and Dyferant" ("za nadanie tynty na napisach w dwóch tek znajdujących się Esmeralda i Dyferant."[195])

It is difficult to determine of quality of these activities; but since 1842, renovations were entrusted to a professional artist, Wincenty Kasprzycki (1802–1849). Kasprzycki was a painter and lithographer who had studied with the Dominicans in Warsaw. His artistic skills brought him to the attention of Józef Kajetan Ossoliński (1758–1834), who sent him as an apprentice to the painter, Konstanty Villani (1751–1824), the administrator of the Ossoliński picture gallery. Then he briefly attended (probably as a free listener) the Fine Arts Department of the University of Warsaw. From 1821 to 1828, he stayed in Vilnius. From 1832, he was associated with Aleksander Potocki, made in a series of oil paintings and drawings for him. He also dealt with lithography [working for Bank Polski and the lithographer, Józef Herkner (1802–1864)).] In 1838, he ran his own brush and paint factory.[196]

A contract signed on February 25, 1842 has been preserved in the collection of Wilanów invoices:

Between His Excellency Karol Karniewski and His Excellency painter and artist Wincenty Kasprzycki, the following agreement was concluded.
1. His Excellency Karniewski will sh[are?] with His Excellency Kasprzycki engravings, old prints, various representations, and more particularly portraits according to a list of seventy-three pieces to clean, remove all stains and colours from these some illustrated ones, in the way he knows and the most beneficial to the subject, without the slightest damage, and thus spoiling the engraving – and some repairs and adding some of the missing parts, in this case

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195   Allegata 174, p. 45.

196   A. Ryszkiewicz, "Kasprzycki Wincenty," in: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających*, vol. 3, Wrocław 1979, pp. 378–380.

transferring them to another paper – that is, everything to be cleaned and repaired so that the initial cleanliness and the wholeness the engravings would show.

2. His Excellency Kasprzycki, accepting the above seventy-three engravings from [...] issued a separate receipt[...]and according to the list in the first paragraph made, cleaned and repaired, ready in the time from today to 10 March this year to His Excellency Karniewski without the slightest [...] to be handed over.

3. For a work which is the subject of this contract and in the second paragraph its due deadline is marked, when it should be carried out and handed over, His Excellency Karniewski will pay His Excellency Kasprzycki[...]with the lump sum of Polish zlotys thirty-six which will amount to fourteen and 28/7 grosz from one engraving, which Kasprzycki accepting such remuneration, states that in case of failing to meet the deadline and ordinance in this way [...] the engravings will he return in absolutely the same amount as to the amount he received and he will not demand remuneration.

4. Inaccurate work will not be accepted – and in case of spoiling of engravings, His Excellency Kasprzycki takes responsibility (fig. 18).[197]
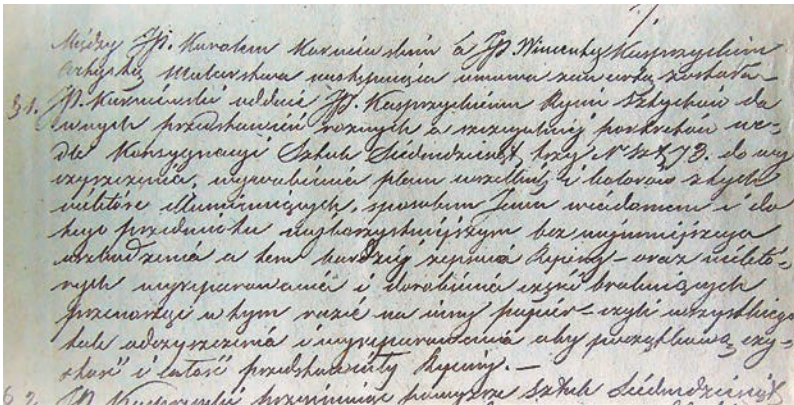


**FIG. 18.** Contract with Wincenty Kasprzycki – detail

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197    Allegata 191, f. 7 (old pagination).

(„Między J.P. Karolem Karniewskim a J.P. Wincentym Kasprzyckim artystą malarstwa następująca umowa zawartą została.

1. J.P. Karniewski udo[stępni?] J.P. Kasprzyckiemu rycin, sztychów dawnych, przedstawień różnych, a szczególniej portretów wedle konsygnacji sztuk siedemdziesiąt trzy do wyczyszczenia, wywabienia plam wszelkich i kolorów z tych niektórych iluminujących, sposobem jemu wiadomym i do tego przedmiotu najkorzystniejszym, bez najmniejszego uszkodzenia, a tem bardziej zepsucia ryciny - oraz niektórych wyreperowania i dorobienia części brakujących, przenosząc w tym razie na inny papier - czyli wszystkiego tak odczyszczenia i wyreperowania, aby początkową czystość i całość przedstawiały ryciny.

2. J.P. Kasprzycki przyjmując powyższe sztuk siedemdziesiąt trzy rycin z...odbioru rewers oddzielny udzielił[...]zaś takowe wedle spisu w paragrafie powyższym pierwszym uczynionego, wyczyścić i wyreperować, a to w ciągu czasu od daty dzisiejszej do dnia 10 marca b.r., czyli już zupełnie gotowe w dniu 10 marca b.r. J.P. Karniewskiemu bez najmniejszego ze...oddać.

3. Za robotę przedmiotem będącą, a w terminie paragrafem drugim oznaczoną, wykonać i oddać się mającą, zapewnia J.P. Karniewski zapłacić J.P. Kasprzyckiemu...i ryczałtem kwotę zł. p. trzydzieści sześć, co wyniesie od jednej sztuki ryciny czternaście i 28/7 gr, które wynagrodzenie J.P. Kasprzycki przyjmując, oświadcza że na przypadek uchybienia terminu i zrządzenia tym sposobem...ryciny bezwzględnie w tej ilości jaką otrzymał powróci i wynagrodzenie żądać nie będzie.

4. Robota źle wykonana przyjęta nie będzie - i na przypadek zepsucia rycin odpowiedzialność J.P. Kasprzycki przyjmuje.").

Kasprzycki carried out the order without reservation since he had received 36 zlotys on March 15, 1842.

Attached to the contract is a list of 72 engravings – these are mainly portraits; two engravings of images of "horses [...] with knights" from 1505 and 1564 are also listed, unfortunately these objects are very difficult to identify in the current state of the collection.[198] On April 23, 1842, payments were made for two invoices: for works done 19 March, 22 portraits for cleaning and mending with the names of probably

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198    Allegata 191, f. 6 (old pagination).

portrayed persons, and 26 March for cleaning 35 engravings – and here some titles and publisher addresses are listed.[199] Of these, 16 pieces of "plafonds by Correggio, Gio Battista Vanni, Bologna 1697" can be possibly identified as being in the Wilanów collection of prints attributed to Correggio: *The Assumption of the Virgin*, the fragment from frescoes on the dome of the cathedral of Parma, author: Correggio Antonio, Vanni Giovanni Battista, engraver Bonavera Domenico Maria, 1697."[200]

The next on the list are two engravings entitled: "Constantini triumphus devicto Maxentio, le Brun invenit" and "Constantini puyna [pugna?] Contra Maxentium Tytannum," both dated Paris 1715. Perhaps they are: *Triomphe de Constantin après sa victoire sur Maxence le 29 Octobre de l'an 312 de J. C.* / N. Tardieu ex., Car le Brun invenit, not after 1749, and *Bataille de Constantin contre le tyrant Maxence donné le 28 Octobre l'an 312 de Jesus-Christ* / N. Tardieu excudit 1715.[201]

Another restorer of prints was apparently sought, evidenced by the fact that invoices from January 1843 recorded the cost of publishing an announcement about the desire to employ a person who could remove stains from engravings.[202] The announcement read, "A person who has a method of removing moisture and fat stains from paper, may have significant employment in this regard, along with a decent reward. Thus he shall go to the Information Office at the Potocki Palace No. 415." ("Osoba posiadająca sposób wywabiania z papieru plam z wilgoci i tłuszczu pochodzących, mieć może znaczne w tym przedmiocie zatrudnienie, obok przyzwoitej nagrody. Zgłosi się do Kantoru Informacyj w Pałacu Potockich No 415" appeared twice in the newspaper *Kurier Warszawski*."[203]). We do not know if anyone arrived; however, work was still entrusted to Kasprzycki. On March 13, 1843, 268 engravings (with three added later), lithographs and drawings were

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199 Allegata 191, f. 19 (old pagination).

200 G. 24266-24268/III, G. 24463-24467/sz, G. 24475/sz, G. 24479/sz Wilanów, G. 24581-24584/sz.

201 G. 30905 and G. 30909/WAF. 223.

202 Invoice of House Bookkeeping of His Excellency Count Aleksander Potocki for 1842–1843, compiled of records of 12 months, 500, p. 47.

203 *Kurier Warszawski* 1843, addition to nos. 10 and 12.

handed over to him. The drawings are listed together with ornamental engravings; there were 53 in total.[204] One can only guess that these drawings were from the Rastrelli collection, which at the time were not bound in albums.

Further work is evidenced by a receipt for the remaining payment that had been received for the commission. It was signed March 14, 1843 and was issued April 25, 1844. There was a receipt for collecting 53 engravings for "cleaning and removing stains", which Kasprzycki undertook to complete within one month (dated October 10, 1844).[205]

Interestingly, Kasprzycki did not deal with painting restoration. Anna Maniakowska-Sajdak does not mention him in her work on the Warsaw milieu of painters-renovators.[206]

### Historical context

The question arises as to what measures Kasprzycki could have taken to carry out the order, and whether the activity of the bookbinder, Tuchowicz, in "washing engravings" was the more common practice commissioned by owners of prints and drawings collections. At what level was the practice of paper renovation in the first half of the 19th century? The first half of the nineteenth century was a time in Europe and Poland when the first publications about the restoration of paper artefacts appeared in the field, not only on repairing mechanical damage but also on cleaning, stain removal and paper reinforcement.[207] The guide manuals basically systematised, and sometimes verified in terms of effectiveness and safety, the work methods currently practiced by craftsmen. Wet procedures for paper restoration were cer-

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204  Allegata 207, f. 62.

205  Allegata 213, f. 130 (old pagination); Allegata 214, 62 (old pagination).

206  A. Maniakowska-Sajdak, "Malarz-restaurator, opiekun kolekcji : dbałość o 'obrazy dawne' w środowisku warszawskim w latach 1764–1863", unpublished PhD dissertation, Nicolaus Copernicus University, Faculty of Fine Arts, 2012.

207  C. James, "The History of Conservation," in: C. James, et al., op. cit., pp. 190–199; W. Ślesiński, "Rys dziejów konserwacji papieru", in: *Konserwacja papieru i pergaminu*, Biblioteka Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zabytków, Warszawa 1969, pp. 23–32; J. Osięgłowski, *Konserwacja książki w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Poznań 1985; B. Zyska, *Ochrona zbiorów bibliotecznych przed zniszczeniem*, vol. 1, Katowice 1991, pp. 7–17.

tainly in use in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as evidenced by the manuscript of Sir Theodor Turquet de Mayerne (1573–1655), *Pictoria Sculptoria et quae subalternarum atrium* (stored in the British Library), probably from 1620 to 1640.

De Mayerne was a doctor at the court of King Henry IV of France, then at the Kings of England, James I and Charles I. Part of the manuscript is dated 1631; it describes methods of cleaning paper in water baths and bleaching in the sun. De Mayerne attributes it to Jehan Anceaux, a bookseller from the French city of Sedan.[208] Later, various chemicals were used to clean and bleach paper. In a manual for graphic art collectors from 1829, the author, George Cumberland, warns against using the services of print cleaners, since they use weak acids in their practice.[209] Similar concerns about the skill of restorers of graphics were expressed in the introduction to the auction catalogue from the collection of Dominique-Vivant Denon, the first director of the Louvre: "Even if some of these prints bear witness to the ravages of time, even if they have started to darken from soot or dust, none have been washed, wiped, spot-cleaned, bathed in acid, or otherwise restored, as so often is the case ever since print sellers have been introduced to a little chemistry."[210]

Alfred Bonnardot's book is a complete guidebook of restoration methods for antique paper in the 19th century entitled: *Essai sur la restauration des anciennes estampes et des livres rares ou traité sur les meilleurs procedes a suivre pour réparer, détacher, décolorier et conserver les gravures, dessins et livres.* This is very extensive work dealing with various methods of cleaning paper, such as bleaching, removing stains, repairing damage, etc. The first edition of the book appeared in 1846. The second came in 1858 under the slightly altered title, *Essai sur l'art de restaurer les estampes et les livres ou traité sur les meilleurs procedes pour blanchir, dé-*

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208  M. Stevenson, "A Seventeenth-century Manual for the Restoration of Prints," *Print Quarterly*, vol. VII: 1990, no. 4, pp. 420–424.

209  G. Cumberland, "An Essay on the Utility of Collecting the Best Works of the Ancient Engravers of the Italian School…", 1827, in: *Historical Perspectives in the Conservation of Works of Art. On Paper*, ed. M. H. Ellis, Los Angeles 2014, pp. 475–476.

210  C. Sokolowski, "Bonnardot's *Essai*: A Nineteenth-century Restoration Manual and Its Author", in: *Conservation in the Nineteenth Century*, London 2013, pp. 147–156.

*tacher, décolorier, réparer et conserver les estampes, livres et dessins*. In the introduction to the first edition, the author indicates that he wrote the work after long chemical studies and experiments with print conservation in order to discredit practices of framers who were busy with the renovation and excessive bleaching of prints, in the author's opinion.[211]

Bonnardot recommends entrusting print restoration to qualified artists instead. This warning against framing firms – demonstrating the popularity of renovation activities – is repeated again in the chapter on removing stains. There Bonnardot describes how frame producers would show samples of paper stained then cleaned in such a way that the author accused them of fraud.[212] Another testimony to the spread of paper-cleaning practices is seen in some leaflet advertising by the Paris pharmacist, M. Collas. It announced a new paper-stain remover – benzine – along with instructions for performing the procedure.[213] Bonnardot lists the entire range of chemicals to be used to clean and bleach paper: organic solvents, acids, agents including chlorine compounds. He provides his advice with many warnings against taking excessively drastic measures. Care in preserving the authenticity of an artefact is also strongly emphasised, e.g. leaving the so-called patina or characteristic marks (including bloodstains). Nevertheless, according to today's understanding, these works were often too far-reaching and aimed only at improving the aesthetics. (e.g. If the stain cannot be completely removed then the entire object should be coloured to the colour of the stain.) In a chapter on separating prints from their linings, the author recommends the method of soaking paper for hours in cold water (12 to 24 hours). He also suggests using boiling water, although this is not recommended for delicate and poorly sized papers.[214] Judging by the term, "steaming", this

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211  A. Bonnardot, *Essai sur l'art de restaurer les estampes et les livres ou traité sur les meilleurs procedes pour blanchir, détacher, décolorier, réparer et conserver les estampes, livres et dessins*, Paris 1858, pp. 1–4.

212  Ibidem, pp. 58–59.

213  Ibidem, pp. 65–66.

214  Ibidem, pp. 6–7; p. 17.

method was used at Wilanów. Bonnardot devotes an entire chapter to removing paint from coloured graphics, with the proviso to only remove colours that had been recently added, and in an incompetent way. He lists specific pigments, specifying their chemical composition and providing a means of removal.[215] A separate chapter is devoted to the conservation of drawings in ink, as well as watercolours and pastel. Although Bonnardot recommends similar methods for prints (including bleaching), he adds many warnings to his advice.[216]

The Polish literature in the field of print and drawing restoration is more modest.[217]

In the journal, *Piast czyli Pamiętnik Technologiczny…*, advice appeared in 1829[218] as follows: "a way of removing greasy stains from paper" with ash from a deer horn used in bags in which fat is smelted with iron, and in 1830, "removing oil stains from paper, satin and other materials." It recommended ash from ram legs, with the proviso that this agent should be used for fresh stains.[219]

A manuscript by physician Karol Soczyński (1781–1862) from 1840, and discussed by W. Ślesiński was entitled: *Odnowa obrazów, rycin, drzeworytów, niemniej ich bielenie, podciąganie, pokostów wyrabianie itp. z różnych autorów włoskich, francuskich i niemieckich na polskie, z uwaga-*

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215  Ibidem, pp. 96–131.

216   Ibidem, pp. 194–208.

217   When describing the care of book collections in Poland before the nation was partitioned, Janisław Osięgłowski, a scholar of library science, confines himself to the statement that book restorers at that time did not know how to remove stains caused by moisture, activity of microorganisms, greasy or wax stains, as well as dirt, except for wiping with a soft cloth. (J. Osięgłowski, op.cit., p. 171.) The professor at the Department of Paper and Leather Conservation, Elżbieta Jabłońska, also did not report any wet treatments in bookbinders care over the collection of books from Kórnik (E. Jabłońska, "Jak to Tytus i Jan Działyński o zbiory kórnickie dbali – XIX-wieczna konserwacja zapobiegawcza a współczesne tendencje," in: *Konserwacja zapobiegawcza w muzeach*, conference materials, National Museum in Warsaw, 6–7 November 2006, Warszawa 2007, p. 38; *Biblioteka Kórnicka skarbnicą zbiorów Działyńskich i Zamoyskich. Ocena stanu zachowania starodruków i rękopisów z XIX/XX wieku. Problemy konserwacji i restauracji*, Toruń 2006, p. 53).

218   *Piast czyli Pamiętnik Technologiczny Obeymuiący przepisy dla gospodarstwa domowego i wieyskiego, ogrodnictwa, sztuk pięknych, rękodzielń i rzemiosł, niemniey lekarstwa domowe, pospolite i zwierzęce*, 1829, vol. 9, p. 185

219   Ibidem, 1830, vol. 21, p. 156.

mi i dodatkami [*Renovation of Paintings, Engravings, Woodcuts, also Their Bleaching, Restoring, Varnish Making, etc., from Various Italian, French and German Authors, into Polish, with Notes and Additions*]. He included the chapter, "O czyszczeniu i bieleniu rycin bądź zwyczajnych, bądź z kamieni odbijanych czyli litografowanych" ("About Cleaning and Bleaching of Engravings, either Ordinary or from Reflected Stones or Lithographed.[220]) In 1845, a work (without author's name) appeared in Lviv entitled: *Dokładna nauka czyszczenia i naprawiania obrazów oleynemi, woskowemi, wodnemi i suchemi farbami malowanych tudzież sposoby robienia dobrych werniksów na obrazy, płaskorzeźby, przedmioty gipsowe, suszone owady, ryciny i mapy z dodatkiem o czyszczeniu, bieleniu, wyciąganiu i oprawianiu w ramy rycin, litografii, drzeworytów itd. z niemieckiego* [*Thorough Learning How to Clean and Repair Paintings with Oil, Wax, Water and Dry Paints, as well as Ways to Make Good Varnishes for Paintings, Carvings, Plaster, Dried Insects, Engravings and Maps with an Addition about Cleaning, Bleaching, Extracting and Framing Engravings, Lithographs, Woodcuts, etc.( from German*)].

It was probably a translation of a treatise by Friedriech C. H. von Lukanus published in Leipzig in 1828 entitled: *Anleitung zur Restauration alter Ölgemälde [...] so wie auch Aufziehen, Reinigen, Bleichen und Restaurieren der Kupferstiche ...*[221] The author separately discusses the cleaning of paintings painted with water-based paints, such as watercolours and pastels, and of prints. To clear a watercolour of dust, he recommends the pulp of bread as a way to remove fresh stains from fat with the help of English chalk (while allowing the possibility of using sulphur, ether, and spirit).[222] The range of cleaning agents used for graphics is actually much wider. Breadcrumbs, water baths and sun bleaching are also used. He further provides chemicals for stain removal: "For

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220  W. Ślesiński, "O nieznanym wkładzie Karola Soczyńskiego do nauki o konserwacji malowideł i grafiki," *Ochrona Zabytków* 26/3 (102) 1973, pp. 176–180.

221  The authorship of Lukanus is given by Bronisław Zyska, *Ochrona zbiorów bibliotecznych przed zniszczeniem*, p. 15, whereas A. Maniakowska after J. Arszyńska and B. Rouba questions that *Dokładna nauka...* was a translation of work by Lucanus, see: A. Maniakowska, *Metody konserwacji malarstwa sztalugowego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1800-1918. Zarys*, Toruń 2007, p. 12.

222  *Dokładna nauka...*, p. 91.

bleaching and cleaning, they use such mild, as well as the sharpest agents, such as: white bread, water, oxalic salt, chlorine lime, chlorine water, unquenched lime, soap, potassium carbonate with alcohol and with simple black soap, nitrate, sulphuric acid, winestone acid, phosphorus, etc. Using them is not dangerous, you only need to be careful when rinsing."[223]

Although it is difficult to determine the exact scope of the restoration work carried out on the Wilanów collection, it may be assumed that it was aimed at improving aesthetics. Apparently, there was a growing awareness of the need to raise this level as the work progressed. Restoration was initially entrusted to the bookbinder and palace painter, then it was commissioned to a qualified artist, and a new contractor was sought in a press announcement. One can observe adjustments to Bonnardot's original advice.

The scope of work seems to differ from the current practices of connoisseurs. They would interfere very extensively with an artefact – e.g. changing its composition in order to standardise the collection and introducing extensive reconstructions, as done by Pierre-Jeanne Mariette.[224] In the case of the Wilanów collection, conservation was carried out not at the request of the collector – an expert, Stanisław Kostka Potocki – but his heir and son, Aleksander, who, adoring his father, wanted to honour, consolidate and secure his collection. But the evidence suggests much less interference.

Perhaps the drawings mounted by Kostka Potocki from the University of Warsaw Library were not assessed in this respect, while the only graphic album made during Potocki's life, with engravings by Marcantonio Raimondi, the paper losses are integrated, without supplementing the print layer. A large restoration of prints with the use of copperplate engravings is found in an album with Rembrandt engravings. In fact, that album was made after the death of Stanisław Kostka Potocki by Jan Feliks Piwarski.

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223   *Dokładna nauka…,* p. 101.

224   K. Smentek, op. cit.

## APPENDIX: DESCRIPTION OF THE ALBUMS' TECHNOLOGICAL STRUCTURE
### GROUP I: 34 ALBUMS

| No. | Title | Current number of boards | Dates of mounting and binding |
|---|---|---|---|
| WAF 3 | Figures Richter | 6 | 6.03.1843 |
| WAF 4 | Études par le professeur Nake | 3 | 13.10.1838 |
| WAF 5 | Dessins maîtres inconnus | 8 | 11.12.1838 |
| WAF 6 | Mélange: maîtres inconnus | 8 | |
| WAF 7 | Dessins de maîtres inconnus | 4 | 11.12.1838 |
| WAF 8 | Différentes trouppes. Kobell | 9 | 15.12.1834, 21.12.1834, 13.08.1841 |
| WAF 9 | Dessins par: Cassanova, Orłowski, et Norblin | 6 | 2.07.1834 (Constitution 3 May), 6.11.1837, 13.10.1838, 13.08.1841 |
| WAF 10 | Orłowski (?)* sticker damaged note visible[...]aitres | 5 | |
| WAF 11 | Orłowski | 4 | 26.05.1835?, 6.01.1844 |
| WAF 16 | Dessins d'amateurs | 10 | 26.05.1835, 15.06.1835 |
| WAF 17 | Paysages différents maîtres | 4 (7 drawings) | 6.03.1843 |
| WAF 18 | Scènes du Roman de la Nouvelle Heloise. Labruzzi | 6 | |
| WAF 19 | Vues de la Suède. Martin | 5 | 24.03.1837 |
| WAF 20 | Vues d'Olesin par Vogel en 1788 | 10 | 21.12.1834, 16.05.1835, 13.10.1838, 13.08.1841 |
| WAF 22 | Études Richter | 5 | 6.03.1843 |
| WAF 23 | Études Richter | 7 | 6.03.1843 |
| WAF 24 | Paysages Richter | 5 | 6.03.1843 |
| WAF 25 | Vues de la Bohême et de Saxe Zingg. 5 Cahier | 8 | 24.03.1837, 6.03.1843 |
| WAF 26 | Paysages: Zingg et Richter. 1 Cahier | 4 | 6.03.1843 |
| WAF 27 | Vues de la Bohême et de la Saxe. Zingg. 6 Cahier | 7 | |
| WAF 28 | Paisages: Zingg et Richter. 2 Cahier | 6 | 6.03.1843 |
| WAF 29 | Vues de la Saxe. Zingg. 7 Cahier | 3 | 13.08.1841 |
| WAF 30 | Dessins de Zingg | 4 | 24.03.1837 |
| WAF 31 | L'Italie | 9 | 27.11.1834, 16.05.1835 |
| WAF 32 | Paysages inconnus | 8 | |
| WAF 33 | Dessins diverses: inconnus | 6 | 13.08.1841 |
| WAF 34 | Différentes vues et dessins colorees | 8 | 11.12.1838 |
| WAF 35 | Dessins par différentes maîtres | 5 | 26.05.1835, 24.03.1837, 13.08.1841, 10.06.1842 |
| WAF 36 | Dessins divers | 10 (11 drawings) | 11.12.1838 |
| WAF 37 | Dessins par Hackert | 6 | 6.11.1837, 11.12.1838 |
| WAF 38 | Vues et Fantaisie par différents maîtres* | 1 | 11.12.1838 |

| No. | Title | Current number of boards | Dates of mounting and binding |
|---|---|---|---|
| WAF 39 | Dessins décorations | 3 | 13.08.1841 |
| WAF 40 | Pièces détaches* | 3 | |
| WAF 41 | Vues de la Pologne | 6 | |

\* – damaged frames, titles after Gutowska-Dudek

The dates recorded by the invoices may be inaccurate due to duplicate titles on some albums[225]

**Albums:** Laminate covers consist of two layers of handmade laid paper. The outer layer consists of a one-colour handmade paper with the visible texture of the paper-making mould. The papers are in shades of blue, beige-gray, pink-gray, and a kind of yellowish. From the inside of the cover, similar handmade gray-greenish paper occurs everywhere. Labels with oval or rectangular titles with cut corners are made of cream, green, blue, pink-gray paper. There are no covers on two albums of this group (WAF 38, 40).

Cover colours: blue: 16, pink; beige: 16.

Label colours: cream: 18; green: 9; blue: 2; pink-gray: 3.

Label shapes: oval: 20; rectangular: 12.

There is always a cream label with the blue cover. In two cases, labels are stuck on top of each other: WAF 8, rectangular to oval, and WAF 39, rectangular to rectangular. The notes on the labels in different styles with the characters in brown, black and red ink.

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225 WAF 3: Allegata 205, f. 57 (old pagination); WAF 4: Allegata 179, f. 81v (old pagination); WAF 5: Allegata 179, f. 28v (old pagination); WAF 7: Allegata 179, f. 28v (old pagination); WAF 8: Allegata168, f. 48v., 49v. (old pagination); Allegata 191, f. 9 (old pagination); WAF 9: Allegata 168, f. 25 (old pagination), Allegata 175, p. 601, 179, f. 81v (old pagination), Allegata 191, f. 9 (old pagination); WAF 11: Allegata 168, f. 47 (old pagination), Allegata 213, f. 133 (old pagination); WAF 16: Allegata 168, f. 47 (old pagination), 35v. (old pagination); WAF 17: Allegata 205, f. 57 (old pagination); WAF 19: Allegata 174, p. 454; WAF 20: Allegata 168, f. 49, 45v. (old pagination), Allegata 179, f. 81v (old pagination), Allegata 191, f. 9 (old pagination); WAF 22: Allegata 205, f. 57 (old pagination); WAF 23: Allegata 205, f. 57 (old pagination); WAF 24: Allegata 205, f. 57 (old pagination); WAF 25: Allegata 174, s. 454, Allegata 205, f. 57 (old pagination); WAF 26: Allegata 205, f. 57 (old pagination); WAF 28: Allegata 205, f. 57 (old pagination); WAF 29: Allegata 191, f. 9 (old pagination); WAF 30: Allegata 174, p. 454; WAF 31: Allegata 168, f. 46, 45v (old pagination); WAF 33: Allegata 191, f. 9 (old pagination); WAF 34: Allegata 179, f. 28v (old pagination); WAF 35: Allegata 168, f. 47 (old pagination), Allegata 169, f. 40 (old pagination), Allegata 174, p. 454, 191, f. 9 (old pagination); WAF 36: Allegata 179, f. 28v (old pagination); WAF 37: Allegata 175, p. 601, Allegata 179, f. 28v (old pagination); WAF 38: Allegata 179, f. 28v (old pagination), 191; WAF 39: Allegata 191, f. 9 (old pagination).

The edges of the covers (also at the spine) are impressed with a continuous ornament. At the four corners of each cover, individual motifs are impressed with blind stamps. There are four types of stamping out of a total of five that were used in decorating album boards. Straight single pressed lines, parallel to the edges, emerge from both sides of the stamps.

In two cases, the covers were expanded: one can see two stamps, one with the cover's original width (often trimmed), the other on the adhered strip (WAF 8, 25). The cover of WAF 14 seems to have been shortened; one can see the cut stamp at the upper edge. The spines are covered in brown paper: 24, in shades of blue and navy blue: 6, in yellow: 2, and in at least three cases the brown paper covers the original spine. WAF 25 and 27 have a navy blue or black spine while WAF 36 has a covered yellow spine.

Album interiors:

Albums contain from three to eleven boards. The mounts are glued to the quard of thin cream paper. Most albums are made of one section. In only two cases (WAF 6 and 32) are there two sections, and it does not depend on the number of boards [i.e. it is not significantly larger than in other albums (eight mounts each).] In the WAF 35 album, a section of quards without sheets is mounted on the back. In the case of the WAF 10 album, a folded quard with two mounts is attached to the front. Such folded quards on the front or inside sections also occur in other albums – WAF 20, 25, 33, 36. It should be emphasized that the largest number of loose sheets are in this group of albums removed from albums at a later time. They constitute 37.13% of the total, while in all albums loose sheets constitute 15.3%. For 34 albums, at least one sheet has been removed from 24, and it is understandable that this makes it difficult to trace the album structure.

Technological construction of mounts:

Supports are pasted from two layers of paper. The facing layer is a decorative coloured paper – smoothed (mainly white, cream and beige) or with the visible texture from the mould (blue, gray, pink). For smaller formats, the facing layer is one sheet, while for larger formats, the facing layer consists of paper stripes pasted around the drawing, with a small overlap under the edges of the drawing.

In both cases, the bottom layer is a greenish handmade laid paper, often combined from several sheets. In several albums (WAF 25, 26, 27), the reverse paper is combined from many small rectangles.

In a few cases, the back of the drawing is exposed. Then the back paper strips are glued to the face and edge strips of the drawing (for example, WAF 9, pl. 1–3; WAF 10, pl. 4, 6; WAF 31, pl. 1, 9; WAF 33, pl. 2, 4).

The face colours of the mounts (153) are mostly in shades of beige, cream, pink and gray – less blue for 41 and white for 6.

The drawings are surrounded by affixed strips of paper in navy blue and gold, in differing arrangements and numbers. Golden strips are most often embossed, with navy blue smooth and matte.

Just as in the covers, the edges of the mounts are pressed with a continuous ornament and then with a single line. In the corners single motifs in five dominant types are stamped. Two more stamp designs can be observed, but these are rare.

| | no. 1 | no. 2 | no. 3 | no. 4 | no. 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Height (mm) | 17 | 17 | 20 | 32 | 11 |
| Width (mm) | 11 | 13 | 18 | 11 | 13 |
| Distance of the straight embossing line from the edge of the board (mm) | 14 | 15 | 14 | 17 | 12 |

Stamps:

Type 1– 95; type 3 – 40; type 2 – 32; type 5 – 17; type 4 – 12; type 6 – 2; type 7 – 2.

Types 6 and 7 are only available in combination with other stamps. The combinations of stamps are: type 5 and type 4 twice – four boards (WAF 33, pl. 6; WAF 37, pl. 5; WAF 39, pl. 3; WAF 40, pl. 1); type 4 twice and below, type 6 – two boards (WAF 8, pl. 7, 8); type 3 and type 7 twice – two boards (WAF 38, pl. 4 – no other boards in this album; and WAF 39, pl. 2). There are no stamps on several boards (WAF 8, pl 9; WAF 32, pl. 1, 2; WAF 39, pl. 1).

The two boards mentioned above with combinations of stamps 4 and 6 (WAF 8, pl. 7, 8) may have been made for another collection, and only additional stamping used in the Wilanów collection was added.In 15 mount cases in the collection, you can observe the adap-

tation of a previous mount. In WAF 8, pl. 9 a gold tape was attached to the drawing mounted on a blue two-layer board. The same was done for WAF 32, pl. 1 – on board 2 of this album, the back of which is made of cream paper, similar to WAF 39, pl. 1.

In the case of seven mounts (six WAF 8 and one WAF 16), smaller original mounts were most likely pasted onto larger ones and decorated with tapes and stamps. It is characteristic here that five were not with added straight lines, but a roll usually was used on the edge. Also three WAF 30 mounts are unusual with gilded tapes are pasted around the drawing. Probably they were on a painted ink frame, then a wide strip of surface-coloured beige paper, and then white paper without a stamp in the corner.

Most drawings are mounted on the support by pasting the entire verso. Less often they are adhered only with the top edge. These are albums WAF 3; WAF 6, pl. 8; WAF 9, pl. 4; WAF 16, pl. 2; WAF 17; WAF 22; WAF 23; WAF 24, pl. 1, 4, 5; WAF 25; WAF 26; WAF 27; WAF 28, pl. 3–6; WAF 29; WAF 36, pl. 1, 4, 5, 7–10.

Between the boards of the albums, thin interleaving woven smooth papers were mounted by adhering to the quard. They have been preserved at least partly in 22 albums of this group. It is difficult to say whether they were in all of them due to their high susceptibility to destruction, as well as their deliberate removal at a later time. Often, their format does not coincide with the format of the drawing, and they protect only a part of it.

### GROUP II 36 ALBUMS

| No. | Title | Current number of boards | Dates of mounting and binding |
|---|---|---|---|
| WAF 1 | Statues et dessins d'après l'antique | 14 | |
| WAF 2 | Études de dessins | 54 | 17.10.1835 |
| WAF 12 | Études d'oiseaux | 6 | 19.05.1837 |
| WAF 13 | Études de fleurs | 11 | 17.10.1835, 24.03.1837? |
| WAF 14 | Études de fleurs | 3 | 17.10.1835, 24.03.1837? |
| WAF 15 | Études du Comte Alexandre Potocki, dans son enfance en 1783 | 19 | 17.10.1835 |
| WAF 21 | Monuments des Cathédrales de Cracovie, Varsovie et l'église de St. Jacob a Sandomir dessines par Stachowicz et Vogel | 23 | 7.10.1835 |
| WAF 43 | Artillerie | 8 | |
| WAF 45 | Plans militaires et fortifications anciennes. 2e Cahier | 19 | |

| No. | Title | Current number of boards | Dates of mounting and binding |
|---|---|---|---|
| WAF 46 | Architecture militaire. Fortifications modernes. 3e (changed to 1) Cahier | 20 | |
| WAF 47 | Architecture militaire. Fortifications modernes. 4e Cahier | 15 | |
| WAF 48 | Plans topographiques et tactiques | 18 | 17.10.1835 |
| WAF 49 | Plans topographiques | 5 | |
| WAF 50 | Ornements de jardin. 1 Cahier | 24 | 7.10.1835 |
| WAF 51 | Ornements de jardin. 2 Cahier | 31 | 7.10.1835 |
| WAF 52 | Ornements de jardin. 3 Cahier | 33 | 7.10.1835 |
| WAF 53 | Ornements de jardin. 4 Cahier | 26 | 7.10.1835 |
| WAF 54 | École veterinaire de Vienne et Ecuries au hares de Janów | 5 | |
| WAF 55 | Palais de Varsovie du Cte Alex. Potocki | 3 | 25.09.1835 |
| WAF 56 | Plans conformément aux quells l'ancien Palais Casimir à été reforme pour l'Université de Varsovie | 12 | 25.09.1835 |
| WAF 57 | Plans de l'ancienne biblioteque Załuski faits en 1788 | 10 | 25.09.1835 |
| WAF 58 | Architecture par le Comte Ignace Potocki à Rome en 1769 | 8 | |
| WAF 59 | Arcitecture Civile Geometrie et Tactique par le C-te Alex. Potocki | 29 | 25.09.1835 |
| WAF 60 | Brouillons d'architecture par le Comte Stanislas Potocki – 1 Cahier | 16 | 7.10.1835 |
| WAF 61 | Brouillons d'architecture par le Comte Stanislas Potocki – 2 Cahier | 39 | 7.10.1835 |
| WAF 62 | Plan du Meur le Comte Stanislas Potocki pour une place et l'érection d'une église un memoire de la Constitution Polonaise votée le 3 mai de l'année 1791 | 11 | 15.09.1835 |
| WAF 69 | Palais de Rome et villas d'Italie | 10 | 25.09.1835 |
| WAF 70 | Dessins de portes et de fenêtres de Palais d'Italie | 27 | 15.09.1835 |
| WAF 71 | Obelisque de Rome Pontst d'Italie | 6 | 25.09.1835 |
| WAF 72 | Arcs Triomphe à Rome. Temples antiques Églises d'Italie | 22 | 25.09.1835 |
| WAF 73 | Églises et palais d'Italie | 8 | |
| WAF 75 | Plans inconnus | 19 | |
| WAF 77 | Ornements d'interieurs et meubles | 40 | 7.10.1835 |
| WAF 78 | Dessins de vases, candelabras etc. | 28 | 15.09.1835 |
| WAF 120 | Dessins de voitures | 8 | 10.01.1838 |

Dates written according to invoices.[226]

226   WAF 2, 13, 14, 15, 48: Allegata 169, f. 43 (old pagination); WAF 12: Allegata 175, s. 42; WAF 50, 51, 52, 53, 60, 61, 77: Allegata 169, f. 36 (old pagination); WAF 22, 52, 53: Allegata 169, f. 36v. (old pagination); WAF 55, 56, 57, 59, 69, 71, 72, 79: Allegata 169, f. 49 (old pagination); WAF 62, 70, 78: Allegata 169, f. 47 (old pagination).

Covers: laminates from two layers of paper. The outer paper is mostly blue (30 albums), in five cases beige gray (WAF 21, 43, 45, 46, 47)

Labels colours: cream 31, green 5 (WAF 21, 43, 45, 46, 47)

Shapes of labels: rectangular 29, oval 7

Stamps: type 1 – 23; type 2 – 10; type 3 – 1; type 5 – 1

Spines, colours: yellow – 22; brown – 9; blue and navy blue – 5 (WAF 21, 43, 45, 46, 47)

In six albums of this group (WAF 45, 59, 62, 70, 78, 79), from the inside of the cover there is attached a piece of paper with handwritten note by Stanisław Kostka Potocki.

Album interior: The number of sections is one in 31 albums, two in one album, illegible 1 (WAF 51, pages glued together so that no thread can be seen), damaged 2.

The drawings are bound in two ways – in one, the drawings are folded and the edge is attached to the opposite drawing, sewing goes through the folded drawings – 18 albums; in the other, the drawings are pasted to the quards – 15 albums; in several albums (WAF 51, 52, 61, 77, 78), among the drawings sewn directly, several assembled on the quards.

The layout of drawings in albums is more diverse, although most there are attached near the low edge first. Sometimes two or three small boards are assembled on one quard.

The drawings are not mounted, with a few exceptions – in WAF 56, four drawings are pasted on mounts, on which on the face margins around the drawing a frame is drawn with black ink, followed by a wider frame with gray paint. The other four drawings from WAF 56 and the drawings from WAF 57 have greenish handmade paper pasted beneath in the same format as the drawings. In WAF 77, sheet 1 is decorated with stamp No. 3 pressed directly on the drawing support. In WAF 13, the drawings are decorated with a gilded tape.

Original interleaving paper (at least one) was observed in five albums – WAF 1, 15, 21, 62, 73, 120.

**GROUP III 6 ALBUMS**

| No. | Title | Current number of boards | Dates of mounting and binding |
|---|---|---|---|
| WAF 63 | Projets pour une maîson de campagne par Mr le Cte Stanislas Potocki | 8 | 15.09.1835 |
| WAF 64 | Projets pour le réforme de l'ancienne théâtre de Varsovie par le Comte Stanislas Potocki | 4 | 15.09.1835 |
| WAF 65 | Projets de bâtiments pour un Musee des beaux-arts de la composition de Comte Stanislas Potocki | 6 | 23.09.1835 |
| WAF 67 | Villa de Pline le jeune dite Laurentina | 28 | 23.09.1835 |
| WAF 68 | Interieure de la Ville de Pline le jeune par Brenna | 8 | 23.09.1835 |
| WAF 81 | Piéces détachés* | 2 | |

Dates written according to invoices.[227]

Covers: colour blue

Rectangular, cream labels

Spine colours: red-brown – 3; yellow – 2

Stamp: type 1 – 5.

No covers in one album (WAF 81)

In five albums of this group (WAF 63, 64, 65, 67, 68), from the inside of the cover there is an attached piece of paper with handwritten note by Stanisław Kostka Potocki.

Album interior: The number of sections is one in three albums, in the next three the sewing construction is destroyed.

Mounts: Drawings from the face side surrounded by strips of hand-made laid blue paper (about 5 cm wide) with a straight tooling 3 mm from the edge. From the reverse, greenish handmade paper is pasted. On the edges of the drawings next to the strips of blue paper, a double or, more rarely, a single frame is painted with black ink.

Original interleaving paper (at least one) preserved in three albums, WAF 63, 64, 65; other albums with damaged sewing construction and – perhaps – removed interleaving paper.

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227   WAF 63, 64: Allegata 169, f. 47 (old pagination); WAF 65, 67, 68: Allegata 169, f. 48v. (old pagination).

**GROUP II / III 4 ALBUMS**

| No. | Title | Current number of boards | Dates of mounting and binding |
|---|---|---|---|
| WAF 66 | Compositions en plans par le Comte Stanislas Potocki | 35 | 25.09.1835 |
| WAF 74 | Compositions et plans d'architecture inconnus | 33 | 7.10.1835 |
| WAF 76 | Plans inconnus | 7 | |
| WAF 80 | Dessins des arabesque exécutes anciennement à Natolin par Vincent Brenna | 8 | 23.09.1835 |

Dates written according to invoices.[228]

Covers: colour blue

Rectangular cream labels. In WAF 80, another note is visible under the label.

Spine colours: yellow – 2; red-brown – 1; brown – 1 (WAF 76)

Stamp: type 1 – 3; type 2 – 1 (WAF 76).

In one WAF 80 album, on the inside of the cover is an attached piece of paper with a handwritten note by Stanisław Kostka Potocki.

Albums interior: number of sections: one. Sheets mounted on quards.

Mounts: WAF 66 32 sheets type II, 3 mounts type III

WAF 74: 31 sheets type II, 2 mounts type III

WAF 76: 6 sheets type II, 1 mount type III

WAF 80: 6 sheets type II (5 on pads), 2 mounts type III

Original interleaving paper preserved only in the WAF 80 album.

WAF 74, munt 15, a thin handmade paper is pasted beneath the drawing, while strips of blue paper from the face side are away from the drawing.

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228   WAF 66: Allegata 169, f. 49 (old pagination); WAF 74: Allegata 169, f. 36 (old pagination); WAF 80: Allegata 169, f. 48v. (old pagination).

## GROUP IV 38 ALBUMS

| No. | Title | Current number of boards | Dates of mounting and binding |
|---|---|---|---|
| WAF 82 | Carosses de parade | 5 | |
| WAF 83 | Palais de Pierre le Grand – 1 Cahier | 10 | |
| WAF 84 | Palais de Pierre le Grand – 2 Cahier | 10 | 17.02.1844? |
| WAF 85 | Palais de Pierre le Grand – 3 Cahier | 8 | |
| WAF 86 | Palais de Pierre le Grand – 4 Cahier | 9 | |
| WAF 87 | Édifices de la résidence impérial de Czarskoeselo – 1 Cahier | 7? | |
| WAF 88 | Édifices de la résidence impérial de Czarskoeselo – 2 Cahier | 10 | |
| WAF 89 | Édifices de la résidence impérial de Czarskoeselo – 3 Cahier | 5 | |
| WAF 90 | Édifices de la résidence impériale de Czarskoeselo – 4 Cahier | 8 | |
| WAF 91 | Palais Impérial d'Été et autres à Moscou. 1 Cahier | 6 | |
| WAF 92 | Palais Impérial d'Été et autres à Moscou. 2 Cahier | 5 | |
| WAF 93 | Palais Impérial d'Été et autres à Moscou. 3 Cahier | 6 | |
| WAF 94 | Monastere de la Vierge de l'Immaculé Conception. 1 Cahier | 4 | |
| WAF 95 | Monastere de la Vierge de l'Immaculé Conception. 2 Cahier | 6 | 17.10.1842 |
| WAF 96 | Monastère. 3 Cahier | 7 | |
| WAF 97 | Plans et édifices. 1 Cahier | 6 | |
| WAF 98 | Plans et édifices. 2 Cahier | 5 | 17.10.1842 |
| WAF 99 | Plans et édifices. 3 Cahier | 4 | |
| WAF 100 | Plans général de nouveaux palais d'hyver de S.M.Ile et bâtiments circouvoisins. 1 Cahier | 7 | |
| WAF 101 | Plans général de nouveaux palais d'hyver de S.M.Ile et bâtiments circouvoisins. 2 Cahier | 7 | 17.10.1842 |
| WAF 102 | Différents parques. 1 Cahier | 11 | |
| WAF 103 | Différents parques. 2 Cahier | 8 | |
| WAF 104 | Plans et édifices de Mitau | 8 | |
| WAF 105 | Plans d'églises | 6 | |
| WAF 106 | Plans de théâtres | 5 | |
| WAF 107 | Différents édifices et plans | 13 | |
| WAF 108 | Plans d'architecture. 1 Cahier | 6 | |
| WAF 109 | Plans d'architecture. 2 Cahier | 5 | |
| WAF 110 | Plans d'architecture. 3 Cahier | 5 | |
| WAF 111 | Monastères. 1 Cahier | 7 | |

| No. | Title | Current number of boards | Dates of mounting and binding |
|---|---|---|---|
| WAF 112 | Monastères. 2 Cahier | 6 | |
| WAF 113 | Fenêtres et portes.1 Cahier | 11 | |
| WAF 114 | Fenêtres et portes.2 Cahier | 10 | |
| WAF 115 | Ornements d'églises et monuments | 12 | |
| WAF 116 | Fenêtres, portes et ornements | 11 | |
| WAF 117 | Plafonds et ornements d'interieurs | 7 | |
| WAF 118 | Décorations pour la fête donnée à l'occasion du marriage de Pierre III avec Catherine II. 1 Cahier | 7 | |
| WAF 119 | Décorations pour la fête donne à l'occasion du marriage de Pierre III avec Catherine II. 2 Cahier | 6 | 17.10.1842 |

Dates according to invoices may be inaccurate due to duplicate titles on some albums.[229]

Covers: Cover colour blue

Rectangular, cream labels

Brown spines

Stamp: type 3

Album interior: Number of sections: one (sewing structure destroyed in WAF 85; WAF 87 changed in after conservation)

Mounts: Drawings are mostly mounted on white or cream handmade laid paper sheets, although there are also drawings without mounts within albums. Some drawings exceed the album format numerous times and are folded to fit their format. In such cases, the part of the drawing upon which the others are folded often has a handmade paper mount adhered beneath it.

In some albums, several drawings are pasted onto the mount (e.g. WAF 115, 116). The mount paper is different from that used on the inside of the covers and on the mounts in the other groups of albums. It is a thinner, light handmade laid paper.

Two drawings are pasted with the entire verso surface onto the canvas (WAF 86, pl. 9; WAF 99, pl. 4).

In several albums – WAF 102, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119 – the mounts have very similar formats, while the drawings stuck on them are of

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229   WAF 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 11, 118, 119: Allegata 205, f. 56; WAF 83, 84, 85: Allegata 213, f. 127 (old pagination).

different sizes. This is noted in some albums, that is, within an album there are, for example, two basic formats of sheets, or only a smaller part of the sheets have a similar format.

Album interior: The sheets are mounted on quards. Generally they are attached near the lower edge. The albums do not contain original interleaving papers.

**NOT INCLUDED IN ANY SUBDIVISION**

| No. | Title | Number of boards | Date of order |
|---|---|---|---|
| WAF 42 | 1. Méchanique militaire | 24 | |
| WAF 44 | 3. Plans militaires et fortifications anciennes. 1 Cahier | 47 | |

Covers: Two small-size WAF 42 and 44 albums from the recto side have covers of blue marbled paper, pasted with cream paper from the verso.

Oval and cream labels

No impressing

There is no separate spine here. Sewn threads are most likely stuck between the layers of cover paper.

Albums interior: Number of sections: WAF 42 – 5; WAF 44 – 11

Drawings attached to wide quards of handmade paper, also empty quards between drawings.

No interleaving papers.

## Part II. Conservation of Wilanów collection

### 1. THE STATE OF PRESERVATION AND CAUSES OF DAMAGE

In general, the condition and state of preservation of the entire collection is quite good. Its history – and therefore changes in storage conditions, that were especially dramatic during the war – has not significantly affected its condition. Thus, it was decided to look closer and assess damage separately according to different periods of time and the stages before mounting, during the work, and when the mounts were already in use.

Removal of the portfolios has had the greatest impact on the condition of albums. Depriving the collection of such an important element

has distorted and rendered the original idea undeterminable. In this way, the importance of paper album covers increased, although they now seem to provide insufficient protection for the collection against damage.

### The collection before mounting

The condition and status of the preservation of drawings in albums is obviously related to their condition before being pasted onto mounts and bound in albums. Part of the damage was repaired during the assembly work of the bookbinder, Tuchowicz, and painter, Kasprzycki. What we now observe, that occurred clearly before assembly, is deformation and mechanical damage caused by poor storage and folding of the paper. This is seen in drawings that are not mounted. An example is the album with architectural drawings by Stanisław Kostka Potocki. The deformation of individual objects is independent of each other and was created before they were bound in the album. Drawings from the Rastrelli collection suffered mainly mechanical damage on the edges of the folding (fig. 19), while other types of damage independent of the assembly are dirt and stains. There is also some damage to the materials used in the drawings, such as ink corrosion or crumbling of the paint layer (fig. 20).

### Damage caused due to the mounting

Here should highlight the destruction of the drawings themselves, as well as defects in the design of the boards and album covers. Damage caused by improper affixing to the board is seen in deformations of some drawings, which consequently cause mechanical damage to the paper structure or surface, as well as abrasions and a loss of the paint layer (fig. 21).

Damage from the method of arranging the collection has been done to the boards and covers themselves, conditioned by defective performance or poor materials. This especially the case when it comes to the cover. Characteristic deformations are the result of incorrect pasting of two layers of paper, causing folds in the smaller album sizes, while in larger ones, we observe that an entire cover may be rather wavy. A similar type of destruction is board deformation, resulting from the

behaviour of both the board and drawing paper characterised by diagonal folds at the corners of the drawing. This destruction occurs on boards in particular, where the entire drawing is pasted to the bottom layer of the board, with its margins pasted around it. Mechanical damage to board edges can also be observed, depending on the type and quality of paper used for the facing layer of a board. Strongly elongated and elasticised paper is particularly susceptible to destruction, as the fibres had been heavily ground and shortened (fig. 22). On the other hand, papers painted on the surface often suffer abrasions.
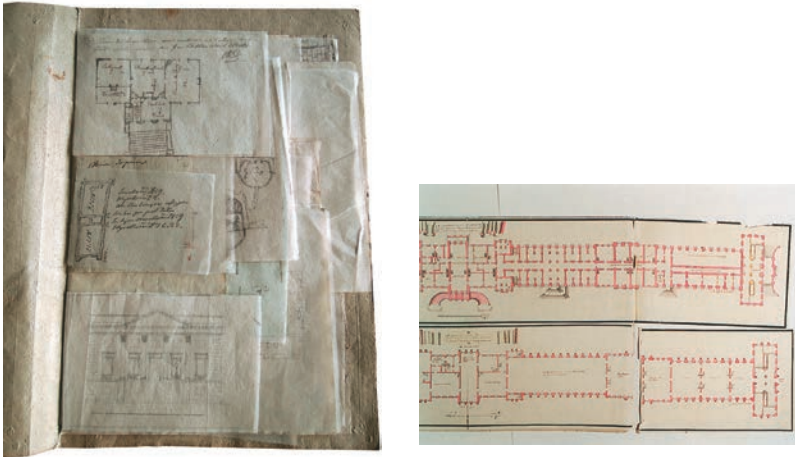


**FIG. 19.** Deformations and mechanical damage: a. Independent deformations of drawings; b. Tears at the edges of the assemblies



**FIG. 20.** Ink corrosion and defects on the back of the drawing

**FIG. 21.** Deformations of the drawings: a. adhered to the board with the entire verso; b. With the exposed verso



**FIG. 22.** Damage depends on the type of paper

## Use after mounting

Arranging a collection of drawings by fixing them on boards and assembling them in albums, and then storing them in this form, exposed them to damage common to an entire album. This include board deformation that copies that of the covers (very rare but clearly visible in WAF 7, 32, 119) and mechanical damage to covers along with boards (rare and visible in WAF 76, 112) (fig. 23). Very often in albums with boards of equal or larger size compared to the covers, mechanical damage and dirt on the edges can be observed. However, in most of the collection, the boards and drawings are smaller than the covers. Typical damage to covers is dirt, ranging from light surface dirt to a heavy dusting on certain parts of covers. This indicates that some albums were stored in stacks with their covers sometimes protruding.

**FIG. 23.** The same damages for covers and mounts: a. Broken boards and covers;
b. Torn boards with covers

Additional mechanical damage ranges from small tears and edge defects to missing parts or whole covers.

A five-grade scale was used to assess the condition of the binding:

I.     good condition: 14
II.    quite good (with minor damage): 50
III.   bigger damage: 33
IV.    bad: 20
V.     no binding: 3

The category of damage caused by use after mounting should also include the destruction of album covers caused by their subsequent dismantling to remove individual boards, which primarily affected the design of album sewing. Often, it was possible to preserve the sewing structure despite removing individual boards, if the boards were mounted on quards.

The condition of the sewing structure was determined on a three-point scale:

I.     preserved, fulfilling their function to varying degrees: 93
II.    damaged, not fulfilling its function: 18
III.   none: 9

Dismantling of objects from boards and albums (according to condition in 2014):

For 120 albums – 53 have with at least 1 board removed, representing 44.2% of the entire collection (19 boards are framed in passe-partout).

For 1,327 boards – 198 are loose boards, which is 14.9% of the collection.

Four drawings are dismantled from their boards (three with destructed boards, one with a board preserved in the album)

Of the four drawings in the Wilanów collection without a mount, one – *The Skeleton of a Horse* by Jacob I de Gheyn – was subjected to conservation while on loan to an exhibition. Of note, re-assembly of the album is still possible.[230]

No information has been found to explain when three subsequent drawings were removed from the mounts. In photographs taken in the 1960s, two of them – the landscapes of Adrian Zingg – were no longer in boards (fig. 24).[231] The drawings on the reverse have leftover paper and paste, making it look like an abandoned, unfinished work. As a result, it difficult to consider it as conservator's work (trained renovators were also employed in the conservation workshop, although it is difficult to imagine their work without supervision or order). The third drawing, *The Oath of the Constitution of May 3* by Jean Pierre Norblin was photographed with the mount preserved. The photograph of it was taken probably in 1963.[232] No information has been found about



**FIG. 24.** Zingg, *Pejzaż z wędrowcami w lesie* (*Landscape with Hikers in the Woods*), photography from the 1960s (National Library of Poland)

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230   K. Gutowska-Dudek, vol. 1, p. 165, item 397, conservation documentation no. 1453.

231   K. Gutowska-Dudek, vol. 3, p. 200, item 1449 – *Landscape with Hikers in the Woods* (R. 4459), p. 199, item 1441 – *Landscape with a Waterfall* (R. 4460).

232   K. Gutowska-Dudek, vol. 2, p. 115, item 686.

any conservation work carried out on this object; however, until the mid-1980s, no systematic conservation documentation was carried out at the Department for Conservation and Restoration of Library Collections at the National Library.[233] Therefore, it must be assumed that the mount was removed during this anonymous period of operation of the National Library of Poland. conservation studio. Just as removing Zingg's drawings from the boards is difficult to explain, *The Oath of the Constitution of May 3* drawing was deprived of its board in an apparently deliberate and intentional manner. After removing the mount, it was pasted onto cardboard. Three cut-out margins strips were kept in separate packaging, as well as a fragment of the backing paper with pencil notches cut from the verso. This fragment was lined in Japanese tissue paper (details to be provided).

## 2. GENERAL CONSERVATION ASPECTS

A review of the collection of drawings, as well as collected information about its history and technique of arrangement, makes it possible to include the Wilanów collection among the few Polish collections that were uniformly mounted in this way. There have certainly been similar collections in Europe. However, for a long time, the collector's mount was not considered valuable. It is clear that the removal of the collector's mount has been necessary at times. This is conditioned by the artwork's state of preservation – the major subject of conservation – so if the mount threatens the existence of the artefact, someone would have to intervene. Of note, such decisions seem to have been taken too freely, without proper consideration of all aspects of the artefacts.

The remark of art historian, Maria Mrozińska, from 1952 about albums containing drawings is significant. Mrozińska presented the fatal impact of long-term exposure of drawings, showing the contrast between their damage (fading) and the excellent state of preservation of

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233   The history of the Conservation Studio and then the Department for Conservation and Restoration of Early Printed Books at the National Library, including the most "anonymous" period of its activity from the postwar years to the mid-1980s, is described by E. Potrzebnicka, "Ochrona zbiorów w Bibliotece Narodowej – 80 lat działalności", *Notes Konserwatorski 13*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 7–14.

drawings stored in albums. She notes that at the same time the albums are "under serious accusation from an aesthetic, didactic and especially conservation point of view."[234]  Collector's albums were treated as temporary, artificially composed collections of autonomous artworks. The name, artificial album (translated from the French term, *factice*), often described collectors' albums, and it had a meaningful definition in the *Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce* (*Encyclopedia of Book Knowledge*): "a. the word 'artificial' has been adopted for incomplete, mixed-up series or for engravings of a similar format accidentally bound together."[235] Also, collector's mounts were most often hidden under a neutral passe-partout, and in extreme cases removed. A collector's mount was omitted in publications presenting these drawings. It is interesting to compare subsequent presentations of the portrait of Mary Stuart from the collection of the National Ossoliński Institute in Wrocław. In the publication, *Rysunki szkół obcych w zbiorach polskich* (*Drawings from Foreign Schools in Polish Collections*), the portrait is presented without a mount, while currently on the Ossolineum website, it is with a paper frame, although the entry with its inaccurate attribution placed under the decorative frame has been omitted.[236]

**Changes in conservation approach to the collector's assembly**

Museums in Western Europe with large drawing and graphic collections of determined provenance and specific arrangement were able more quickly to address the need to preserve this form of work. The process was not obvious, and the two statements quoted testify to the previous practice of underestimating the value of a collector's mount. Carlo James devoted the most attention to the collector's mount from a conservation point of view. He worked as a paper conservator at the Custodia Foundation in Paris with the collections of Frits Lugt, the author of a fundamental work on the provenance of drawing and graph-

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234  M. Mrozińska, "Grafika zabytkowa a problem wystaw," *Ochrona Zabytków* 5/3 (18), 1952, p. 159.

235  *Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1971, p. 26.

236  *Rysunki szkół obcych...*, fig. 25; François Clouet, *Portret Marii Stuart*, https://ossolineum. pl/index.php/muzea/muzeum-ksiazat-lubomirskich/gabinety/przyklady-obiektow- -gabinetu-grafiki/.

ic collections.[237] James published the first outline of the subject in 1992 in post-conference materials from Manchester, which were later developed as co-author of a book.[238] James began this invaluable work for conservators with a chapter on collectors and collector's mounts. In the introduction, he notes:

"The critical and stylistic description of a drawing or print is the domain of art history. Inevitably and necessarily; however, a conservator feels challenged not only by technical problems posed by the condition of works of art but likewise by every trace left by their history: mountings, collector marks, inscriptions, signatures or paraphs – all of which can be found on or in association with the work as an accumulation over time. What has changed fundamentally in our time is that our criteria for preservation require more substantial mountings and more carefully-controlled materials and works of art on paper have gained autonomy as artistic expressions. We prefer to see them without any external interference, to the exclusion of the decorated mountings and richly-carved frames of earlier times. And those signs, those marks, those witnesses to taste and purpose which have lost their principal function, have now come more and more to be considered as entities equivalent to the drawings and prints, to be considered as important historical witnesses of the same sort as works themselves."[239]

Marjorie B. Cohn described her slightly earlier experience in treating collection albums:

"I select 1987 as a moment of climax because in that year, the Fogg Museum acquired the Spencer Albums, nine volumes containing well over 3000 Old Master prints. They had been assembled in the early eighteen century by the Mariette family, pre-eminent Parisian print dealers. I am convinced that without the preceding decades' re-evaluation of historical format and evidence, I would have dismantled the albums and mounted the prints in acid-free boards."[240]

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237  F. Lugt, *Les Marques de collections de dessin et d'estampes*, Paris 1921.

238  C. James, "Old Master Prints and Drawings: An Art-Historical Survey of Collecting and of Preservation Methods," in: *Historical Perspectives In the Conservation of Works of Art on Paper*, pp. 387–399.

239  C. James et al., op.cit., p. 2.

240  M. B. Cohn, "Change, We Hope for the Better," *The Paper Conservator* vol. 25, 2001, iss. 1, pp. 101–105.

Much attention was paid to the collector's mount by the head of the Pictoral Art Conservation at the British Museum, Joanna M. Kosek. In the introduction to the handbook on paper mounting, Kosek described the collector's mounts at the British Museum.[241] Reflections on the preservation of historical mount were also presented in a conference paper at the proceedings of Zbiory biblioteczne, muzealne i archiwalne – badania i konserwacja (Library, Museum and Archival Collections – Research and Conservation) in 2008.[242]

To date in Poland, little attention has been paid to the conservation problem of the collector's mount. Professor Bohdan Marconi provided an example of historical mountings that must not be removed, citing the collection of engravings of King Stanisław August and the watercolour by Hubert Robert mounted by the Paris workshop of Francois Renaud in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw.[243] Justyna Guze referred to the latter object from the point of view of the collection's curator, signalling the need to work out the problem of the Polish collector's mount.[244]

Monika Korsak and Marzenna Ciechańska raised a similar problem regarding the integrity of photo albums and their content.[245] The problem of integrity of technologically-diverse albums – referred to as *books of friendship* – is discussed by Katarzyna Garczewska-Semka in her article on this subject.[246]

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241  J. M. Kosek, *Conservation Mounting for Prints and Drawings*, Londyn 2009, pp. 3–12

242  J. M. Kosek, "Konserwatorskie oprawianie grafiki w Muzeum Brytyjskim w Londynie," in: *Zbiory biblioteczne, muzealne i archiwalne –badania i konserwacja*, conference publication, Nicolas Copernicus University, Toruń 2008, p. 139.

243  B. Marconi, "Zagadnienia estetyczne w konserwacji papieru i pergaminu", in: *Konserwacja papieru i pergaminu*, Biblioteka Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zabytków, serie B, vol. 24, Warszawa 1969, p. 19.

244  J. Guze, "Rysunek jako wyraz gustu i jako element wystroju wnętrza w połowie XVIII w. Komunikat", in: *Rozważania o smaku artystycznym: studia*, Toruń 2002, pp. 115–119.

245  M. Korsak, M. Ciechańska, "Konserwacja albumu fotograficznego z przełomu XIX i XX w., z fotografiami rodziny Dihm. Album i fotografie – razem czy osobno?", *Notes konserwatorski*, no. 13, Warszawa 2010, pp. 175–187.

246  K.Garczewska-Semka, "Sztambuchy-albumy romantyczne na przykładzie Marii Wodzińskiej i Zofii Ossolińskiej," in: *Sztuka, rzemiosło, przemysł z XIX-XX wieku. Zagadnienia konserwatorskie*, Toruń 2016, pp. 97–104.

## Reasons for removing collector's assemblies

In her initial process of conservation planning, Barbara Appelbaum used a table in which she describes the elements that characterise a work of art. She singled out tangible and intangible aspects related to the object. Appelbaum then divided these aspects into those directly and indirectly related to the object.[247] In the category of intangible aspects, the theory of valuation is included, based on the works of the classics (Riegel, Boito, Brandi, et al.). As part of the theory of valuation, tables show the impact of conservation measures on the preservation of various object values.[248] In Poland, codification methods for the conservation process in relation to the preservation of value were developed by Bogumiła Rouba. Małgorzata Pronobis-Gajdzis referred specifically to book and book-collection conservation.[249]

If we consider a graphic collection with a specific arrangement as a uniform work, closed and finished, its integrity has, above all, a historical value; sometimes also an artistic one. In the case of Polish collections, we can also highlight the value of rarity. To maintain these values, it is necessary to maintain an external, physical-arrangement system. The collector's mount undoubtedly has an effect on the aesthetic perception of the object. In the past, the ease of a decision to change such a system was mainly due to aesthetic and cultural priorities. Decisions to change an arrangement, possibly destroying its impact (mechanical and chemical) on an object, were made with greater or lesser cultural consent. Therefore, the overriding reasons for rearranging a collection were considered as intangible, general aspects indirectly related to the mounting.

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247   B. Appelbaum, *Conservation Treatment Methodology*, Wrocław 2010, p. 11.

248   Ibidem: "Values Analysis, the Timeline, and the Ideal State" chapter, pp. 194–236.

249   B. J. Rouba, "Wartościowanie w praktyce konserwatorskiej," in: Wartościowanie w ochronie i konserwacji zabytkow, ed. B. Szmygin, Warszawa, Lublin 2012, pp. 201–208.
M. Pronobis-Gajdzis, "Wartościowanie zabytkowych kodeksów – dylematy konserwatorskie," in: Wartościowanie w ochronie..., pp. 183–200; eadem, *Od projektu do konserwacji. Sztuka konserwacji zabytkowych kodeksów – woluminy, księgozbiory, biblioteki*, Toruń 2017.

**General causes indirectly related to mounting:**

1. Change of owner and the aesthetics of the exhibition display

Private collections of drawings and graphics have frequently been scattered after the collector's death and often were merged into other collections. In fact, they were repeatedly reassembled depending on the concept – both aesthetic and systematising – of another collector.[250] This process naturally continued when collections were transferred to state museums that became their *de facto* owners. Of note, the first public exhibition of drawings in the Galerie d'Apollon, Musée Central des Arts, in 1797 in France after the revolution, presented drawings uniformly framed under glass ("Matted and framed uniformly under glass as in a modern exhibition, they were presented and appreciated as spontaneous, unmediated expressions of artistic genius"[251]).

This presentation emphasised the public nature of the collection. One of the most famous Polish art historians, Jan Białostocki, stated, "in the context of the reception of an artwork by the viewer owning it and the viewer who is not owner of the collection, it is worth distinguishing periods in the history of art when works of art were predominantly private property from those periods in which they were, and now are above all, public property."[252] This defines the viewer not associated with the work by an ownership relationship as the ideal recipient. For such a recipient, the artwork was presented in a pure, undisturbed manner with no later additions, allowing contemplation of an artist's genius.

This simplified exhibition method was borne from deep aesthetic changes. As noted by Weronika Liszewska, a professor of art conservation and renovation, the current model of aesthetics also affects conservation decisions and, more broadly, the perception of the context

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250   C. James, "The Dispersal of Collections," in: C. James, et al., op.cit., pp. 158–166.

251   A. McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of Modern Museum in Eighteen-Century Paris*, quotation after: T. Burns, "Preserving Master Drawings: A Cultural Perspective," *The Paper Conservator*, vol. 25, 2001, p. 109.

252   J. Białostocki, "Mecenas, kolekcjoner, odbiorca," in *Mecenas, kolekcjoner, odbiorca*, Katowice 1981, p. 14.

of an artwork.[253] An increased period of transferring private collections to state collections took place in Poland at the end of the 19th century, when the National Museums were created (in 1862 in Warsaw, the Museum of Fine Arts; and in 1879 in Cracow), and various societies gathered together for national, artistic or scientific collections. The peak of this process, however, falls in the post-war years, when private collections mostly became the property of the state, along with a change of political system.

Modernism dominated architecture for several decades, both in interiors and exhibition architecture. This movement assumed that design could be "a tool of democracy in social change, and sophisticated ornamentation depreciates society."[254] As art historian, Zdzisław Żygulski Jr., notes: "The shade of the temple and palace style in the construction of museums did not take place until the 20th century. Anti-historical currents and the need for strict functionality contributed to this, especially cubism, futurism, constructivism and the Bauhaus school."[255]

Hence began an intentional simplicity and purity of form, in exhibitions as well. It is enough to compare subsequent exhibitions of drawings and graphics at the National Museum in Warsaw in the 1960s and 1970s [e.g. the exhibition of Venetian drawings and graphics from the collection of the Cabinet of Engravings in 1963, works by Frans Floris I (de Vriendt) in graphic interpretation by Cornelis Cort in 1970, and Albrecht Dürer, his circle and influence in 1971].[256] Graphic objects were presented in simple, unified frames in the same showcases arranged in a row. The asceticism of this type of presentation cannot be explained only by the difficult post-war financial situation of museums. This "relativistic" presentation concerned not only graphic objects, but also paintings, although to a lesser extent. In 1937, this cir-

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253  W. M. Liszewska, "Wpływ współczesnej estetyki na konserwację i restaurację dzieł sztuki", in: *Dzieło sztuki a konserwacja*, Kraków 2003, pp. 55–65.

254  L. Bhaskaran, *Design XX wieku*, Warszawa 2006, p. 52; A. Loos, "Ornament i zbrodnia", in: A. Loos, *Ornament i zbrodnia. Eseje wybrane*, Tarnów 2013, pp. 133–143.

255  Z. Żygulski Jr. "Przestrzeń muzealna," in: *Mecenas, kolekcjoner, odbiorca*, Warszawa 1984, p. 244.

256  A. Masłowska, *Kronika wystaw Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie 1862–2002*, vol. II *1963–1982*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 62, 122, 130.

cumstance provoked a painting restorer and professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, Bohdan Marconi, to show the impropriety of framing old works in contemporary frames and vice versa.[257] Cesare Brandi, an art critic and historian, admitting to initiating the practice of displaying works of old art in contemporary frames (in 1942) in an annex to the *Theory of Restoration* titled, "Removing or Saving Frames as a Restoration Issue." He considered the complex spatial relations of the picture frame in relation to the viewer and the stylistic context. A frame is not the final solution to the spatial relations of a work in conjunction with its surroundings; but rather, it is considered a link to the eternal presence of a work.[258]

The tendency to present drawings along with their collector's mounting, more recently observed in museums in Poland and abroad, is associated with subsequent aesthetic changes and a postmodern confusion and mixing of various styles. The art historian, Dorota Folga-Januszewska, cites two trends in museum development: a closed museum, treating the entire concept of a museum collection as a kind of a separate work, and a contemporary museum referring more "to the scientific museum and the cabinet of curiosities, open to individual, particular feelings and not striving for excessive generalisations that might systematise the knowledge of the world."[259] Paradoxically, elements of the closed museum collection, like the collection of a private collector, were "matched" to create more a general arrangement. The concept of a modern museum may lead to a greater protection of the "closed" collection by not "ordering the world", but rather by leading to more varied exhibitions.

## 2.  Introducing new standards of storage

This issue is closely related to one discussed in the previous section. Collections from private collectors often consisted of a huge number of objects that had to be ordered and secured. Most institutions use "passe-partout" framing with differing thicknesses of mount board,

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257  B. Marconi, *O sztuce konserwacji*, Warszawa 1982, pp. 65–66, figs. I, II.

258  C. Brandi, *Teoria restauracji*, Warszawa, Kraków 2006, pp. 99–104.

259  D. Folga-Januszewska, *Muzeum: fenomeny i problemy*, Kraków 2015, pp. 51–59.

in which the object is mounted onto the mounts. Then a second cardboard with a cut-out window is applied from the front. Passe-partouts usually have several standardised formats, making it easy to store numerous objects in boxes or drawers. This type of passe-partout for storage was used for the first time in the British Museum around the mid-19th century. Its creator is believed to have been William May Scott, who was employed there since 1845. The mounts he used consisted of two parts: a back mount and a top mount with a cut-out window that adhered to it. This created a kind of flat "tray" so the surface of the object was protected from abrasion. Mounted objects were stored in Solander boxes in several standardised formats (mainly Royal 559 × 406 mm and Imperial 686 × 508 mm).[260] Since the 19th century, eleven mounts dimensions have been used in the British Museum: Half-Royal, Royal, Imperial, Atlas, Large Atlas, Antiquarian, Panoramic, Pillar, Triptych, Square, and Big.[261] The Louvre Museum has used passe-partout framing since the 1950s. (Previously, drawings had been stored loose in portfolios or pasted into albums.)[262]

Several important changes in the development of museum mounting were made: the passe-partout "opened" itself, i.e., the window mount no longer adhered to the back mount, and the object was either hinged to the back mount using various hinges or was inlayed by creating artificial margins. The passe-partout surface, slightly raised in relation to the object, was designed to protect the surface of the work from abrasion. Practice has shown that this type of storage is imperfect. It shows a formation of dark borders at the edges of the passe-partout, or in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the darkening of artefacts corresponding to the cut-out windows, which has been termed, the "Mondrian effect."[263]

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260  J. M. Kosek, *Konserwatorskie oprawianie grafiki…*, Toruń 2010, pp. 140–142.

261  Ibidem, pp. 3–10.

262  The authors of the article associate this method of assembly with drawings being increasingly given on loan; however, the use of passe-partout with fixed formats is fully acknowledged, E. Menei, L. Caylux, "Study of Inlay Mounting of Prints and Drawings at the Louvre Museum: The Results of Several Decades of Experience," *Journal of Paper Conservation* vol. 17 (2016), no. 1, p. 20.

263  I. M. van Leeuwen, "Mounting of Works of Art. On Paper, Changes in Policy of the

**Removal of a mount for reasons directly related to mounting:**

1. Mechanical and chemical damage caused by improper interaction of individual elements of the mounting system

Faulty installation of objects on boards or album pages

Drawings were most often pasted directly to mounts on the entire surface, on edges or particular points (most often in corners). Attaching an object by its edges or by certain points causes deformation of the drawing surface, resulting in the abrasion of the paint layer. Often, part of the object has been torn off. Very often, when removing an object from a mount, we can observe corners that were cut out due to attachment by points or spots.

Adhesive stains

They are undoubtedly destructive but are sometimes so characteristic that they allow you to assign an object to a specific collection, e.g. drawings by Guercino from the collection of the Gennari family.[264]

Darkening of some objects caused by the interaction with neighbouring cards

This often occurs in collector's albums from the second half of the 19th century. It is caused by gathering materials of various quality in one album.[265] An example of the mutual interaction of pigments from paints used in painting miniatures on the following pages of a manuscript is the Album of Turkish Costumes stored in the National Library of Poland in Warsaw. The object has been subjected to detailed chemical analyses.[266]

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Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam," preprints X Congress IADA, Göttingen, 22–26 September 2003; G. Patin, I. van Leeuwen, J. Kemp, F. Ligterink, "Halos of Hollowness: How Air Pockets in Window Mounts Can Cause Discolorations – and How to Best Prevent Them," *Paper Conservation*, vol. 17 (2016), no. 1, pp. 5–19.

264  C. James et al., op. cit., p. 148.

265  An attempt to explain the mechanisms of this phenomenon was made by Joanna M. Kosek and David Jacobs from the British Museum. J. M. Kosek, D. Jacobs, "What Happens to Enclosed Paper," in: *Art on Paper, Mounting and Housing*, London 2005, p. 32

266  D. Rams, D. Jarmińska, "Wybrane zagadnienia z ochrony i badań zbiorów bibliotecznych, realizowane w laboratoriach chemicznym i mikrobiologicznym Biblioteki Narodowej. Analiza zniszczeń warstwy malarskiej w XVIII-wiecznym rękopisie Album strojów tureckich", *Notes Konserwatorski*, no. 13, 2010, pp. 134–141.

General degradation of an object due to permanent interaction with a chemically unstable mount

The destructive influence of the mount on an artefact is very common and seems the most justifiable reason for its removal. There are, however, some undeniable exceptions, such as author's mounts, that often bear traces of a painting medium (e.g. Teofil Kwiatkowski's *Sirens*, stored in the National Library of Poland).[267]

Harmful effect of the mounting and storage system on the entire collection

Recently, this has been the subject of extensive research in Berlin on the "Schinkel's Legacy" at the Museum of Prints and Drawings. The emission of harmful substances was considerable from wardrobes, through shelves, and from mounts.

2. The search for earlier (covered) signs of provenance and watermarks

A "connoisseur" who approaches a drawing determines the attribution and provenance of the work, as to "when, who and how?" Investigating the watermarks is increasingly important in these studies.[268] An example of collecting a large amount of data on watermarks during conservation is the album of Rembrandt engravings from the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki from the University of Warsaw Library. Copies of watermarks are also included in the Bartolozzi catalogue of graphics from the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Polish Academy of Learning in Cracow; but it is not stated whether it was necessary to disassemble objects from their mattes.[269]

3. Access and use

This is a very common reason for removing objects from their mounts, related to the institution's loan policy. For example, the Louvre reserves

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267   R. 21640/Sz [https://polona.pl/item/syreny,NDcwMjY3ODI/0/#item].

268   J. A. Tomicka, "Nowożytna grafika europejska w badaniach ostatnich 30 lat. Zarys problematyki – kierunki, metody, postulaty," in: *Metodologia, metoda i terminologia grafiki i rysunku. Teoria i praktyka*, Warszawa 2014, p. 46.

269   J. Talbierska, *Rembrandt. Ryciny i rysunki ze zbiorów Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, Warszawa 2004, pp. 54–56, catalogue of watermarks, pp. 431, 450; *Francesco Bartolozzi. Ryciny ze zbiorów graficznych Biblioteki Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie*, exhibition catalogue from the International Cultural Centre in Kraków, 1995, pp. 107–119.

the right to loan only those objects that can be safely removed from an album. If this is not possible, the loan will be refused.[270]

Excessive weight or album size may also be the reason for rearranging a collection. An example is the collection of artworks related to Shakespeare at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC.[271]

### Types of conservation proceedings

In regard to the collector's mount, several methods used in the practice of conservation proceedings can be distinguished:

1.  Removal of original mount and its replacement by a museum or library mounting with the original mount left unchanged as a document

This practice was and remains quite common. Examples of recent activities are the disassembly of the Ambroży Grabowski collection in the Ossolineum, previously mounted in pamphlets, and the disassembly of drawings from collectors' mounts, also in the Ossolineum.[272] Another example is the conservation of an album from the collections of the University Library in Warsaw, carried out in 2015 as part of a Master's thesis at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw.[273]

2.  Maintenance and conservation along with dismantling and reassembly of objects, often with modifications to the method of attachment

Examples are equally numerous such as in what is referred to as the book of friendship (*liber amicorum*) of Maria Wodzińska from the

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270 V. Dubard, "The Conservation Studio of the Drawings and Prints Department of the Louvre Museum," *ICOM-CC Working Group Graphic Documents Newsletter*, October 2016, http://www.icom-cc.org/28/working-groups/graphic-documents/, [accessed 25.05.2017].

271 R. DeStefano, "Treatment of the J. O. Halliwell-Philipps Collection of Albums with Shakespearean Rarities at the Folger Shakespeare Library," *Restaurator* 2010, vol. 31, no. 2, p. 91.

272 The author's observation, as of 21 February 2017.

273 M. Wieczorek, Konserwacja dwóch cykli rycin: *Orlando Furioso di M. Lodovico Ariosto… et di nove figure adornato… in Venetia, Apresso Vincezo Valgrisi 1565; La Gierusalemme Liberata di Torquato Tasso, con le Figure di Bernardo Castello, In Genova 1590; skupionych w albumie sztucznym ze zbiorów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, master's thesis, Academy of Fine Arts, Warszawa 2015.

National Library collection.[274] Often the removal and reinstallment of an object in an album is separated by a period of temporary exposure. Elisabeth L. Coombs presents an interesting example of the simultaneous exposure of objects removed from an album and the entire album itself.[275]

3. Dismantling of objects and their museum mounting, with copies of originals presented in collectors' mounts

This method was used to treat an album with Rembrandt etchings from the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki, housed in the University of Warsaw Library, as well prints by Jan Ziarnko in the National Library collection.[276] Another example of a halfway solution may be the album of the Zamoyski family stored in the National Library. In this case, the most valuable objects from the album were separated and, along with the sheets, removed and framed in museum passe-partout mounts. In the original album only these parts were replaced with copies.[277]

4. A complete change in the way objects are assembled using parts of an original mountings

One example is the conservation of albums from the Folger Shakespeare Library, where the construction had been completely changed, by mounting objects on new mounts and creating a kind of workbook. In addition, album covers were converted into cases.[278]

Another example is the rearrangement of the Croÿ albums in the 1970s, using the original album covers, but with a complete modification of the mounting (parts of quards were cut off, leaving folds to which plastic sleeves with objects were attached). In the re-conservation done in 2010s– after attempts to reconstruct the original assem-

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274 Conservation record no. 2508, IKZB BN, also described in: K. Garczewska-Semka, "Sztambuchy – albumy...," pp. 97–104.

275 E. L. Coombs, "Removing Mounts from Works of Art. On Paper: Case Histories to Illustrate the Decision-making Process," *The Book and Paper Group Annual*, vol. 13, 1994.

276 E. Duziak, op. cit.; Conservation record no. 822, AFG. 1-2 G. 22.727-766.

277 Conservation record at the National Library of Poland.

278 R. DeStefano, op. cit.

bly with their evaluation – it was decided to change it again. This was justified by the negative impact of the original mounting method on the condition of the objects.[279]

A Master's thesis project carried out at the Staatliche Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Stuttgart included a model of album modification from the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, consisting of a change in design and using magnets to facilitate the removal of quards with mounted objects.[280]

During the conservation of drawings from the Krasiński collection stored in the National Library of Poland, the mounting materials of the collection (boards) were replaced with copies from modern materials, and elements of original mounts were installed. Objects were again mounted on the pads that had been made. The mounting method was changed to allow for easy removal of objects.[281]

5.  Partial rearrangement of the collection without permanent modification

The rearrangement of the Schinkel collection of drawings from Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin was carried out after a thorough examination of all the components of the system, including the emission of harmful substances from the objects. However, only some elements were changed: antique files were stored separately as a document. However, collection mounts were left intact, although their high emission of harmful gases was revealed during the research.[282]

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279   J. Sonderegger, U. Landwehr, C. Hofmann, "The Viennese Croÿ Albums: Options and Decisions Leading to the Conservation and Remounting of a Convolute of Double-Sided Guache Paintings on Parchment," *Restaurator* 2016, vol. 37, nos. 3-4, pp. 269–308.

280   S. Heidenreich, "The 'Kleiner Klebeband' of the Fürsten zu Waldburg-Wolfegg: Concept for the Preservation of Old Master Drawings Mounted in an Album," *ICOM-CC Working Group Graphic Documents Newsletter*, Nov. 2014, p. 6.

281   E. Walczyk, H. Derlatka, "Konserwacja rysunków i grafik z kolekcji Krasińskich ze zbiorów Ikonograficznych Biblioteki Narodowej," *Notes konserwatorski* 5, Warszawa 2001, pp. 31–35.

282   F. Meyer, G. Volland, "A New Housing Concept for the Karl Friedrich Schinkel Collection: Chemical and Mechanical Aspects," *Restaurator* 2017, vol. 38, no. 1, pp. 1–31.

6. Maintenance without disassembly

Often, due to the fragility of the mounts or the poor resistance of dyes to solvents, the removal of a mount would damage an artefact. One example is Van Gogh's gouache from the Baltimore Museum. After analysing the pros and cons, it was decided to leave the object on a secondary (non-author's) mount.[283] Another example of leaving an object on the original mount after examining the emission of harmful substances is found in a project by Michał Kożurno, a graduate of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw at the Faculty of Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art, concerning photography affixed on fibreboard.[284]

7. A copy of an arrangement system, with maintenance consolidating the existing condition of objects

A copy can be made in material or virtual form. Material copies of objects and mounts were made of prints in the collection of King Stanisław August Poniatowski in the White House at the Royal Łazienki Museum. These copies were placed in original frames as interior design, while the originals were secured.[285] An attempt to reconstruct the virtual collector's assembly was made by art historian, Piotr Borusowski. It concerned two albums from the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw. The author referred to visualisations of 52 albums from the Tommaso Corsini collection made as part of the Progetto Corsini programme.[286]

Of the various conservation methods, most contributed to the maintenance of the historical value of a collector's assembly, while some

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283    E. L. Coombs, op.cit.

284    M. Kożurno, I. Zając, "Konserwacja fotograficznych prac Mikołaja Smoczyńskiego jako wyzwanie konserwatorsko-projektowe," unpublished paper delivered at the conference *Czarno-biały obraz świata. Problemy ochrony i konserwacji dawnych fotografii*, Toruń 2016.

285    K. Jędrysik, "Konserwacja 95 rycin ilustrujących Metamorfozy Owidiusza," in: *Metamorfozy. Królewska kolekcja grafiki Stanisława Augusta*, exhibition catalogue from the Royal Łazienki Museum, 25 May–1 September 2013, Warszawa 2013, p. lix.

286    P. Borusowski, "Wirtualna rekonstrukcja jako metoda badań nad dawnymi kolekcjami rysunków na przykładzie albumów 'Desseins originaux' z Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie," in: *Metodologia, metoda i terminologia grafiki i rysunku*, pp. 427–434.

changed the mounting manner the least. The method of conservation without the need to dismantle an assembly is salutary. It entailed the modification of the original mount, up to dismantling the object, and storing it separately while maintaining the original mount as authentically as possible. The most controversial are modifications to the medium - converting album covers into boxes, changing the design of albums, and also transferring parts of authentic boards (e.g. with notes) to new boards, resulting in the destruction of the originals. It is equally controversial to place copies of artefacts in original albums, which creates a kind of hybrid or maquette that combines the original historic material with its copy.

### 3. CONSERVATION OF WILANÓW ALBUMS

Two albums were selected for conservation work. Conservation treatment was carried out in the years 2012–2015 on *Dessins par Cassanova, Orłowski et Norblin* (WAF 9 - 6 boards) and *Vues d'Olesin par Vogel en 1788* (WAF 20 - 10 boards). These two albums belong to the most valuable part of the collection. They are views of Olesin and *The Oath of the Constitution of May* 3 by Jan Piotr Norblin. Both are included in the album, *Skarby Biblioteki Narodowej* (*Treasures of the National Library*).[287] Of note, they have also been more exhibited and loaned than others. From the point of view of technological construction, the *Vues d'Olesin par Vogel en 1788* album is most consistent and characteristic arrangement of its collection, while the *Dessins par Cassanova, Orłowski et Norblin* album is among the most diverse and varied. They can serve as models, therefore, and examples of the conservation of the entire collection.

The damage found in these albums is largely due to use, but in the case of WAF 9, there is also faulty mounting. In the WAF 20 album, the sewing structure has been significantly damaged; threads have been partially ripped out, and the album quards are torn. Half of the album boards are loose, including two kept in passe-partout. In WAF 9,

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287   *Nad złoto droższe. Skarby Biblioteki Narodowej*, ed. H. Tchórzewska-Kabata, Warszawa 2000, pp. 168–169, 172–173.

**FIG. 25.** J. P. Norblin, *Zaprzysiężenie Konstytucji 3 Maja* (*The Oath of the Constitution of 3 May 1791*) before conservation (photo: Roman Stasiuk)

the sewing structure has been completely destroyed: there were no threads and quards, the cover shows large losses, and all boards are obviously loose. Two of these have been stored in the passe-partout, including *The Oath of the Constitution of May 3, 1791*. In fact, this drawing was detached from the collector's mount and affixed to the cardboard (fig. 25).

The condition of drawings depended to varying degrees on the mounting method. All drawings attached by their complete surfaces are in good condition. Observed damage, probably resulting from mounting, includes light brown spots due perhaps, but not necessarily, to the harmful effects of the adhesive. These appear in the WAF 20 drawings. Other damages are some abrasion spots on the paint layer due to the presence of external elements (maybe grains of sand) between the mount and the drawing. Paint loss is also observed in one of the drawings, most likely caused by sticking and then peeling off the protective paper from the face. Drawings assembled in a different way show greater damage. There is a significant problem with Aleksander Orłowski's two-sided drawing. It is strongly distorted, resulting from attaching its top edge directly to the board. This edge shrank significantly, causing the paper to fold, and consequently abrasion defects appear on the paint layer on protruding parts (fig. 26).

**FIG. 26.** A. Orłowski *Bójka przy kartach w zajeździe* (*A scuffle over playing cards at the inn*), detail

Francesco Casanova's drawings were pasted before the Wilanów mounting on thick multi-layer mount board. During mounting in Wilanów, double-layer strips of paper with decorative elements were adhered to their edges. The cardboard on the versos of the drawings was partially ripped off, exposing the object's paper (fig. 27). An uneven thickness of the cardboards caused deformations of the drawings and a loss of the paint layer.



**FIG. 27.** F. Casanova, *Pejzaż z odpoczywającymi żołnierzami* (*Landscape with Resting Soldiers*), photography in transmitted light

When planning conservation work, the safety of drawings is considered of paramount importance. A second vital aspect is to preserve the authentic manner of arranging the collection as much as possible along with the integration of its objects. In this context, it is important to compensate for possible damaging effects of the collector's arrangement of the artefacts.

While performing conservation work, the following models of conduct were used:

1.  Board conservation without removing objects

This procedure was adopted for all the boards from WAF 20 and for board 5 from WAF 9. Objects are pasted to mounts across the entire verso. Attempts to remove the brown adhesive spots were rejected. Such an operation would require the temporary dismantling of objects from their mounts, taking into account the sensitivity of the painting technique to water, which could be a very risky operation. Conservation was therefore limited to the deacidification of objects and retouching abrasions on the paint layer.

Another model was designed for the three boards of the Cassanova drawings. In the course of conservation proceedings, consideration was given to the possibility of disassembly, or the removal of the cardboard mounts, then reconstructing and reassembling them with margins characteristic of Wilanów mounting. However, this method was considered a too far-reaching interference with the antique material, especially in the presence of pencil handwriting on the reverse of one drawing. Interference on a smaller scale was preferred, with no dismantling. Peeled-away cardboard was supplemented to attain the accurate thickness, with thin layers of paper prepared earlier from pulp of a matching colour.

2.  Conservation with the dismantling of an object and reassembly with modification of its means of attachment to the mounts

This type of procedure was used for board 4 WAF 9. After disassembly and conservation, the object was remounted to allow viewing from two sides, while not causing any pulling of the edges. It was decided to retouch the paint layer as it defects were not large and it did

not occur in the compositional parts of the drawing. There was no need for much interference in the image; at the same time, leaving it out would significantly distort aesthetic perception.

3.  Mount reconstruction using original elements

This applies to work done on the drawing, *The Oath of the Constitution of May 3, 1791,* (whose original mount was missing). To give the object the material features of the Wilanów collection, it was decided to reconstruct the mount then place the object upon it safely. Secondarily, the attached cardboard was removed from the object. Preserved elements were used in constructing the new mount: three margins and a piece of paper with pencil notation from the reverse side. These elements were incorporated into the new board, and it was necessary to temporarily spread them into individual layers (reverse paper, face and decorative tape). The individual layers were completed and pressed, then combined into one complete piece. When reconstructing the embossed tape, it was decided not to reproduce the embossing, so it would be easy to distinguish from the original. Similarly, the tooling of the board edge was not reproduced. The mounting method of the board was thereby modified. Originally, the object was pasted to the pad over its entire surface. In the remounting, Japanese paper hinges were used to attach the upper and lower edges. A similar procedural model can be used to reconstruct the mounts of Zingg's drawing. No remnants of the mounting have survived, but the homogeneity of the album's assembly in which they are located (supported by the fact that they were probably made at one time, as seen in the invoices) permits a determination of their hypothetical appearance.

4.  Partial rearrangement of the collection without permanent modification

What is preferred beyond preserving the value of the collection would undoubtedly be to bring about the album's state at the period of conceptual formation. In the case of the Wilanów collection, this would mean assembling the objects into albums, but not undertaking the reconstruction of portfolios for which we do not have sufficient documentation.

The WAF 9 album was disassembled before the beginning of the conservation work. All the boards are loose, and there are no quards. The construction done on the WAF 20 album has been damaged. Some boards have been removed from the album, and the quards are badly damaged. During conservation work, the album was dismantled into its component parts. In this form, objects were evaluated by a committee of curators and conservators from the National Library of Poland to determine further proceedings.[288] The committee decided not to combine the albums due to their use (heavy access was need). Under this principle, it was decided to change the arrangement of the albums without permanent modification. All the components of the albums have been maintained to allow for the reassembly of the boards. That is why efforts were made to reduce any defects in album design.

The weakest points of the bindings of Wilanów albums were taken into account, i.e. the album content being too heavy compared to the cover. During conservation of the WAF 20 binding, to reinforce the structure, the paper strip to which the quards are sewn was reinforced from the inside with cotton canvas. This prevents the threads from being pulled from the spine by overly heavy boards. The album's quards were strengthened by duplication on strong handmade paper and sewn into covers. The attachment of the boards to the album prepared in this way might facilitate their even distribution, which could be more difficult when sewing quards with mounts already attached. All changes in the album's structure are included in the conservation documentation. In the WAF 9 album, the covers were also subjected to treatment, and extensive losses were integrated. The quards did not survive and it was decided not to reconstruct them. If the need arises to bind the album again, the type of construction used on the WAF 20 album could be used, i.e. placing mounts on quards sewn to a strip of paper that was pasted to the cover. This would be a modification of the original assembly; as in this case, the boards on the quards were originally sewn directly to the cover. Of note, this method refers to solutions used in arranging the Wilanów collection.

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288    Board meeting documentation from May 27, 2014, note no. XXXI-1/6260/1/14.

At the moment, each board has a separate envelope, and the whole album has been placed in a protective box, while the covers with the necessary filling are now placed under the boards. This kind of conservation work aimed at halting further treatment at some point. In the next stage, the album may be combined into one piece, without having to do any dismounting.

Over the course of the conservation work, all components were taken into account as equally important. It was not decided to leave any as a testimony or document for future research. It was important to bring about a stable state of preservation of the currently unused album cover. Leaving its components in a separate state (such as quards that had to be separated from the binding in the course of the work) would pose great problems for ensuring safe storage. However, bringing the album to the "pre-binding" stage by the person who currently knows its construction best deprives future conservators of the need to assume the nature of the original solutions. All added elements would have to be distinguished in the future from the original material.

These applied conservation proceedings resulted in a change in the arrangement of the parts of the collection, namely the two albums. The fact that the "conservation work was halted in some point" leaves the option of returning to the original arrangement, securing individual elements and preserving them in a stable condition, along with a full documentation of the work done, thereby allowing for the safe "continuation of restoration work."

In the case of the conservation of all the elements comprising the collection, it is necessary to emphasise the absolute necessity of familiarising oneself with the entire collection before beginning work. In this way we can avoid, for example, changes in the structure of objects and the introduction of foreign elements.

CONCLUSION

The Wilanów collection of prints and drawings is one of only a few preserved collections in Poland with a consistent mounting method – chronologically, it is the second such collection after the collection of

Stanisław August Poniatowski. It also seems to be the only one with fully preserved archival documentation.

By analysing the collection of invoices from the Bookkeeping Addendum (Allegata kasowe), it was possible, for the first time, to reconstruct the mounting system of the Wilanów prints and drawings collection. In the course of work, about 40 volumes of invoices from 1836–1846 were reviewed, about 1,000 documents related to works at the mounting were separated from this collection, of which 436 were invoices for the purchase and materials, 406 invoices for work – these are sometimes volumes of several pages and with particular titles. They contain about 2,500 items, which may cover the entire current print collection. Reviewing 120 albums with 1,327 boards allowed a determination of the basic facts about the arrangement of the collection. After randomly reviewing the collection of graphic albums, high representativeness of drawing albums was established in relation to the entire collection.

These documents provided a huge amount of material about the bookbinding workshop taking care of mounting and binding prints and drawings, and the market with necessary supply in Warsaw in the first half of the 19th century. Thanks to the detailed elaboration of drawings by Krystyna Gutowska-Dudek, it has been possible to assign the majority of drawing albums to archival documentation. On this occasion, it was possible to identify golden paper strips made by the bookbinder at the Wilanów workshop. This may be more important in the future, because these tapes were used in the mounting of lost drawings from foreign schools.

Invoices regarding restoration works entrusted both to the bookbinder Michał Tuchowicz and the painter Wincent Kasprzycki are also very important documents. Particularly valuable here is the contract for the performance of restoration works on prints, listing the scope of those works. This allows us to expand our knowledge about that type of activity performed in the first half of the 19th century. Until now, it was believed that bookbinders limited their activities to mechanical protection and replenishment of defects. Documented wet treatments, such as "washing from dirt" and

"stain removal" significantly expand the scope of work performed at that time. They also let us know what type of procedure could have been adopted for artefacts – which can often explain significant differences in the condition of the paper artefacts of a consistent provenance.

Considerations collected in the last part indicate the multidimensionality of the grounds for conservation decision-making, the significant importance of so-called conservation planning. Although the author's intention – which was to achieve a complete reconstruction of the arrangement of the collection (in the sense of combining albums, not reproduction of portfolios) – was not achieved, this indicates the need to reconcile the interests of various social groups in the conservation work: the needs of viewers of museum exhibitions and curators, as well as securing the entire collection of institutions and separation of its most valuable parts, with Norblin's drawing currently stored in the Treasury of the National Library of Poland. It also refers to the multiple functioning of an artefact in the current context of public space – not just to preserve its historical and technological aspects.

Symptomatic is the case of Norblin's drawing of the *Oath of the Constitution of May 3*, which was the direct reason for undertaking this work. According to archival documentation, this was one of the first and was certainly the first drawing mentioned with its title and mounted in the manner of Wilanów assembly. Then, as one of the first, it was taken away from that mount. Its high artistic, symbolic and documentary value, as the recording of one of the most important events in Polish history by an eyewitness, illustrates in the most expressive way the "eternal present" of the existence of this work in the consciousness of recipients. We could use the term of one of the most significant Polish philosophers, the essayist Krzysztof Pomian, and assume it has become a classic semiophore (*semiofor*).[289]

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289   K. Pomian, *Zbieracze i osobliwości: Paryż – Wenecja XVI-XVIII wiek*, Gdańsk 2012. Semi-ofor: a definition introduced by Pomian to describe objects of cultural value that are considered carriers of meaning in a given community, while maintaining their utility function or excluding it.

It is therefore difficult to formulate a universal pattern of conservation procedures with a historical collection. Surely, it is required to become familiar with the technological solutions present in the arrangement before working on its individual elements.

*translated by Alicja Rosé*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

## SUMMARY

The Wilanów print and drawing collection is part of the Wilanów Library, preserved in the National Library of Poland since 1932. The collection was founded in the second half of 18th century by Stanisław Kostka Potocki. It also contains the collection of Stanisław Kostka's brother, Ignacy. Later it was enlarged by Aleksander, August and Aleksandra Potocki.

The collection is noteworthy because of its substantive content, as well as its distinctive manner of mounting. The prints and drawings are grouped within albums of paper covers, with tooled edges and handwritten titles on paper labels. Part of the drawings and most of the prints are mounted on a two-ply laminate, consisting of coloured handmade verso paper (mostly cream, beige, pink and white, but also grey and blue) and handmade laid paper backing sheets. Then drawings and prints are bordered with decorative paper strips, usually in deep blue and gold, the latter with embossed patterns. The edges of each mount are tooled all around, with decorative motifs pressed in the corners. The mounting of the drawings and binding of the albums was ordered by Aleksander Potocki between 1834 and 1845.

The first part of the study presents the history and techniques of mounting. Due to an examination of very rich archival documentation

stored in the Central Archives of Historical Records, it has been possible to identify the paper suppliers and bookbinders and reconstruct the previous system of preservation, which included now lost portfolios. Particular activities such as creating albums, mounts and paper tapes are also reconstructed. Two types of golden paper tapes produced in the Wilanów workshop are identified. This study contains descriptions of some of the renovation work carried out by the bookbinder, Michał Tuchowicz and later by artist, Wincenty Kasprzycki.

The collection mounts in Poland, as well as in Europe, were heavily underestimated when private collections became part of the holdings of public institutions. The second part of the article presents changes in conservation decision-making with reference to the preservation of the collection mounts. Eventually, the procedure of the conservation treatment in the case of two albums with drawings from Wilanów collection is presented. The main consideration in the conservation process concentrates on the balance between the proper preservation of the drawings and maintaining their historical manner of mounting.

KEYWORDS: the Wilanów collection, history of mounting, conservation of mounted art on paper

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# KAROL BEYER'S *ALBUM WYSTAWY STAROŻYTNOŚCI I PRZEDMIOTÓW SZTUKI* AND ALEXANDER VON MINUTOLI'S *VORBILDER FÜR HANDWERKER UND FABRIKANTEN*. BETWEEN HISTORY AND INDUSTRY[1]

When the invention of photography was announced in 1839, the potential usefulness of the new medium was immediately put under debate. The scientists dreamed of capturing the microscope images and photographing the moon. The artists both marvelled at the possibility to use the camera in their work and feared it would soon replace them. The journalists printed and reprinted scattered pieces of information on photography, quite often before they even had a chance to see the images in question.

At first, the idea of the photographic image made part of a printed page also seemed like an invention which discovery should be announced and under patent protection. On June 1, 1843, Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877), one of the first and most important photography researchers and practitioners, patented 'photographic publication'.[2] Talbot was amongst the first to succeed in producing a paper negative from which numerous positive copies could be printed. Nevertheless, a general opinion held that Talbot's insistence on claiming each and every one of his discoveries eligible for patent protection was exaggerated and that at this rate, soon he declares 'his right to patent the sun'.[3]

Given numerous patent restrictions in England, it does not come as a surprise that the mass production of photographic prints and incorporating them onto a printed page of a book became possible and more economical thanks to a French photographer and merchant from Lille, Louis Désiré Blanquart-Evrard (1802–1872). The Frenchman's improvements on the salt print positive photographic process and the invention of the albumen process mark the true beginning of the history of the photographically illustrated book.[4]

Books illustrated with photographs attracted the attention of scholars accordingly to the publications' subject matter and to the biographies of the people involved in their production. The field of study is difficult because it slips away from easy categorisation. Indeed, photographically illustrated books fall within the scope of various disciplines: print history, book history, photography history, and art history. The result is a wide range of approaches and meth-

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2   L. Goldschmidt and W.J. Naef, *The Truthful Lens: A Survey of the Photographically Illustrated Book 1844–1914*, New York, 1980, p. 16.

3   After H. Gernsheim and A. Gernsheim, *The History of Photography. From the Camera Obscura to the Beginnings of the Modern Era*, London, 1955, p. 179.

4   To be precise, one should consider the first instant of the book and photography coming together already in the case of books with illustrations based on manual copies of daguerrotypes in the 1830s. The following definition is proposed for the purposes of this article: a photographically illustrated publication is understood as a book or a booklet produced in more than one copy and illustrated with one or more original photographs. This also includes loose plates with photographic prints offered to subscribers as instalments in portfolios.

odologies. While some researchers focus on investigating the size and technical or aesthetic features of this type of book production, others analyse the photographic illustration in the general framework of cultural and local history.[5] Both are usually national in their perspective.

The research on the early photographically illustrated publications in the Polish lands is practically non-existent. Hence, the need to first identify the material under study[6]. There is a number of ways to approach the subject, which could each be discussed at considerable length, but there is one in particular this article aims to undermine: when discussing this kind of cultural material, it is very easy to investigate it only in its national context, in this case it would be the country-specific situation of the nineteenth-century Polish lands divided into three partitions. However, if one follows considerations broader than location alone, fewer meanings are lost and many become more accurately explained.

The case study presented here reduces the scale of observation to a pair of publications: the first Polish photographically illustrated book,[7] Karol Beyer's (1818–1877) *Album wystawy starożytności i przedmiotów sztuki* (published 1856) and a Prussian book, Alexander von Minu-

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5   One recent example of the former category is S. Joseph, *Belgian Photographic Literature of the 19th Century. A Bibliography and Census.* L'édition photographique belge au 19e siècle. *Bibliographie et recensement*, Leuven, 2015. The latter approach is represented for example by Joan Schwartz, who looks into photography and the processes of structuring Canadian national identity in the nineteenth century, see J. Schwartz, 'With Word and Image: Notman and the Photographically Illustrated Book', in: H. Samson and S. Sauvage (eds), *Notman: Visionary Photographer*, Montreal, 2016, pp. 144–151.

6   The author of this article is working to fill this gap by preparing a specialised bibliography of photographically illustrated publications in the Polish lands and would be grateful for any input received. The database is available online: fedorowiczjackowska. pl/katalog-baza [accessed 25.12.2019].

7   The use of the wording 'Polish book' begs a fundamental question what precisely constitutes the 'Polishness' in the nineteenth century and which photographically illustrated publications should be considered 'Polish'. If the principles of selection applied here followed those of the nineteenth-century Polish bibliographical practice, the discussed here German book would have been considered as Polish, as it was published in Liegnitz, a Silesian town, once ruled by a branch of the Polish Piast dynasty, it presents also Polish historical artefacts, and the author of the photographs was Polish. However, it is not this author's intention to suggest such a method of classification.

toli's (1806–1887) *Vorbilder für Handwerker und Fabrikanten* (published 1854/1855).[8]

As the first part of this article will show, Alexander von Minutoli's artistic and social concerns resonate especially well through the words of a German architect, Gottfried Semper (1803–1879), who in response to the Great London Exhibition of 1851 wrote: 'Collections and public monuments are the true teachers of a free people. They are not merely the teachers of practical exercises, but more importantly the schools of public taste'.[9] Minutoli somehow unselfishly sought to bring industry and arts together for the benefit of local craftsmen, manufacturers, and Prussian citizens. Minutoli's lessons in good design practices are quite different from Karol Beyer's motivations. Beyer, Polish photographer, antiquarian, and numismatist, also a visitor to the Great Exhibition in London in 1851,[10] with his Album exploited historicism and the popularity of antiquarianism in the Polish lands. In short, his was a history lesson, which at first glance had little in common with Minutoli's 'school of public taste'. Nevertheless, as the second and final part of this study will aim to clarify, Beyer in his very different pursuits still followed Minutoli's example in more ways than one, situating himself somewhat between history and industry.

### Alexander von Minutoli's Works of Industry

In 1839, Prussian civil servant, Alexander von Minutoli (1806–1887), found himself in the city of Liegnitz (modern-day Legnica, Poland) in the province of Silesia. He was a lawyer and an economist by training, and an

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8  Beyer's book was published also in French under a title *Album de l'exposition des objets d'art et d'antiquité*. The full title for Minutoli's *Vorbilder* is *Vorbilder für Handwerker und Fabrikanten aus den Sammlungen des Minutolischen Instituts zur Veredlung der Gewerbe und Befoerderung der Künste zu Liegnitz*.

9  G. Semper, "Science, Industry and Art. Proposals for the Development of a National Taste in Art at the Closing of the London Industrial Exhibition (1852)", in: idem, *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings*, trans. by H.F. Mallgrave and W. Herrmann, Cambridge, 1989, 160; originally published as *Wissenchaft, Industrie und Kunst: Vorschläge zur Anregung nationalen Kunstgefühls*, Braunschweig, 1852.

10  Beyer announced his departure for London in: *Kurier Warszawski* 31:253 (25 September 1851), 1335. See also *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 8:209 (26 September 1863), p. 378.

officer for industrial politics by appointment. His father and both brothers were archaeologists and art collectors. This context proved crucial in his later undertakings and not only for the reason that the family collection served as a good jumpstart to Minutoli's subsequent ventures.[11]

In Liegnitz his task was to find ways to improve the state of the industry in this economically underdeveloped region. With the strong antiquarian interests that run in the family and the financial independence, he was able to complement his official duties by setting up a collection of works of industry and various items of handicrafts, which were to be used as examples for contemporary craftsmen.[12] In 1845, Frederick William IV of Prussia allowed Minutoli to store the collection in one wing of the Liegnitz castle with an idea to have it soon open to the public. At the time the collection listed 3 687 objects ranging from iron-work to porcelain, pottery, glass, leather and textile fabrics, and paintings.[13]

Attesting to the European wide explosion of interest in the promotion of industry and the establishment of suitable resources for contemporary designers, Minutoli did not explicitly aim at gaining profit or developing Prussian or Silesian identity, but rather his goal was to educate manufacturers and craftsmen and inspire them to revital-

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11  S. Netzer, "The Revival of Art in Industry: The Minutoli Collection", in: J. Bryant (ed.), *Art and Design for All. The Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 2012, 48. Netzer's chapter draws heavily on A. Sammter, *Verzechniss diner Sammlung von Erzeugnissen der Industrie der Vorzeit*, Liegnitz, 1844; idem, *Das Minutoli'sche Institut der Vorbildersammlung zur Beförderung der Gewerbe und Künste*, Liegnitz, part I 1851, part 2 1866; B. Vogelsang, *Beamteneinkauf. Die Sammlung des Freiherrn von Minutoli in Liegnitz*, Dortmund, 1986; and records on file at the Secret State Archives of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation in Berlin. For further readings on Minutoli, see M.D. Minkels, J.S. Karig, *Heinrich Menu von Minutoli und seine herausragende Familie*, Norderstedt 2019; M.D. Minkels, *Alexander von Minutoli. Der Gründer des ersten Kunstgewerbemuseums der Welt (1844)*, Norderstedt 2018; R. Łuczyński, "Alexander von Minutoli jako kolekcjoner dzieł sztuki", *Orbis Linguarum* 36 (2010), 423-431; R. Łuczyński, "Baron Aleksander von Minutoli, kolekcjoner z Biedrzychowic", *Karkonosze* 1 (1995), pp. 13-15.

12  In a letter to the Prussian king, Minutoli describes his actions as the extension of the government's policy, see B. Vogelsang, *Beamteneinkauf. Die Sammlung des Freiherrn von Minutoli in Liegnitz*, Dortmund, 1986, p. 243.

13  In 1859, the collection included already 18 000 and only one year later 28 000 works. S. Netzer, 'The Revival of Art in Industry: The Minutoli Collection', in: J. Bryant (ed.), *Art and Design for All. The Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 2012, pp. 48–49.

ise traditional trades and industries of the region. Be that as it may, soon enough he discovered that neither manufacturers nor craftsmen bothered to visit his collections in a town of Prussian Silesia. Hence, with the help of a Silesian traveling daguerreotypist, Louis Birk,[14] Minutoli produced over a hundred portable daguerreotypes, which he subsequently sent to local manufacturers and several exhibitions organised in the 1850s.[15] Following the introduction of the wet collodion process in 1851 and concurrent Blanquart-Evrard's improvements on paper photography, Minutoli decided to publish a monumental book containing a few hundred photographic reproductions of items from his collection, hence securing its wider dissemination.[16]

Minutoli's *Vorbilder für Handwerker und Fabrikanten* was named after the celebrated pattern book published between 1821 and 1837 by two Prussian industrial reformers, Karl Friedrich Schinkel and Christian Peter Wilhelm Beuth. Two volumes of *Vorbilder für Fabrikanten und Handwerker* contained engravings of Greek and Roman antiquities and advocated a union between 'the highest perfection of form' and economic performance and social utility in the industry.[17] Clearly, Minutoli was inspired not only by the publication's title.

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14  Z. Wielowiejski, "Louis Birk i jego trzyletnia podróż po Dolnym Śląsku jako wędrownego dagerotypisty', *Dagerotyp* 20 (2001), pp. 5–16.

15  For the list of exhibitions, see A. Hamber, '*A Higher Branch of the Art'. Photographing the Fine Arts in England, 1839–1880*, Amsterdam, 1996, 227. Most importantly, the official catalogue of the 1851 Great Exhibition in London lists "Photographic copies of models for manufactories in clay, glass, or wood, executed by the photographer Birk", see *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851*, London, 1851, p. 1058.

16  Blanquart-Evrard–Minutoli connection is suggested by Rolff Sachsse in: "Belitski, Ludwig (1830-1902) and von Minutoli, Baron Alexander (1806-1887)", J. Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, New York, 2008, p. 142.

17  J.E. Toews, "Building Historical and Cultural Identities in a Modernist Frame. Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Bauakademie in Context", in: M.S. Micale and R.L. Dietle (eds), *Enlightenment, Passion, Modernity. Historical Essays in European Though and Culture*, Stanford, 2000, 188. On a side note, contemporaneous English translations of Schinkel's and Minutoli's books differ considerably. Interestingly, in J.C. Robinson, *Catalogue of the Art Library, South Kensington Museum*, London, 1862 the word 'Vorbilder' is translated as 'patterns' in Schinkel's case (p. 246) and as 'examples' in the Minutoli book's case (p. 196). One has to wonder whether this inconsistency has its source only in the translator's mistake. Perhaps, involuntarily, it marks the difference between two methods of reproduction: engravings and photography. Only the latter one allows for capturing of actual objects (examples).

Minutoli's publishing initiative was presented in detail by the pioneering research of the German art historian, Wilhelm Lübke, in an influential journal on art history and criticism in July 1854.[18] On the pages of the *Deutsches Kunstblatt* one reads that the first of 25 fascicules of the first volume of the book will have six plates each and will be sold for eight Prussian thalers. Lübke further informed the reader that the following objects have been selected for the first instalment: a piece of an architectural decoration, a relief sculpture of Christ on the Mount of Olives in a Renaissance frame,[19] a set of three vessels and items of glass, a lion-supported stool with 'graceful arabesque ornaments', and a piece of fine embroidery praised for its 'elegant splendour'. The author marvels at the exquisite finishing of the objects as well as the technological expertise and the skill of the photographer. The careful examination of the objects' surface features was additionally facilitated by placing some of the illuminated objects against a black backdrop. This clever trick brings to mind the technical drawings or monochrome engravings from Schinkel and Beuth's *Vorbilder* (figure 1). Photographic prints from Minutoli's *Vorbilder* are like their negatives and they reflect strong technical considerations of his project (figure 2).

Most photographs were taken by a young photographer and Liegnitz mechanic Ludwig Belitski (1830–1902).[20] They varied in size and most had trimmed corners. Images were salt prints from glass collodion negatives, mounted one-per-page with a plate number and Minutoli's collection blind stamp.[21] The *Deutsches Kunsblatt* informs

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18 W. Lübke, "Photographisches Werk", *Kunstblatt. Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, Baukunst und Kunsthandwerk* 30 (27 July 1854), pp. 266–267.

19 It seems important to note here that in the copies consulted for this study the plate with a relief of Christ on the Mount of Olives (detail, figure 3) bears a number nine, hence it would not be part of the first fascicule of the book. Partially visible 'No. 2' in the lower part of the photograph attest to the fact that originally this photograph was supposed to be included in the first fascicule and the mistake occurred perhaps due to the incorrect binding of the plates.

20 For information on Ludwig Belitski see L. Hoerner, *Frühe Photographie in Nordhausen: Ludwig Belitski 1830–1902, Prominenter Photograph and Engagierter Bürger*, Marburg, 1992.

21 The stamp bears an inscription: 'Sincere et Fideliter'. The words especially apt to describe photography.

**FIG. 1.** *Vorbilder für Fabrikanten und Handwerker*, 1821/1830, Volume 1, Instalment 2, Plate 12
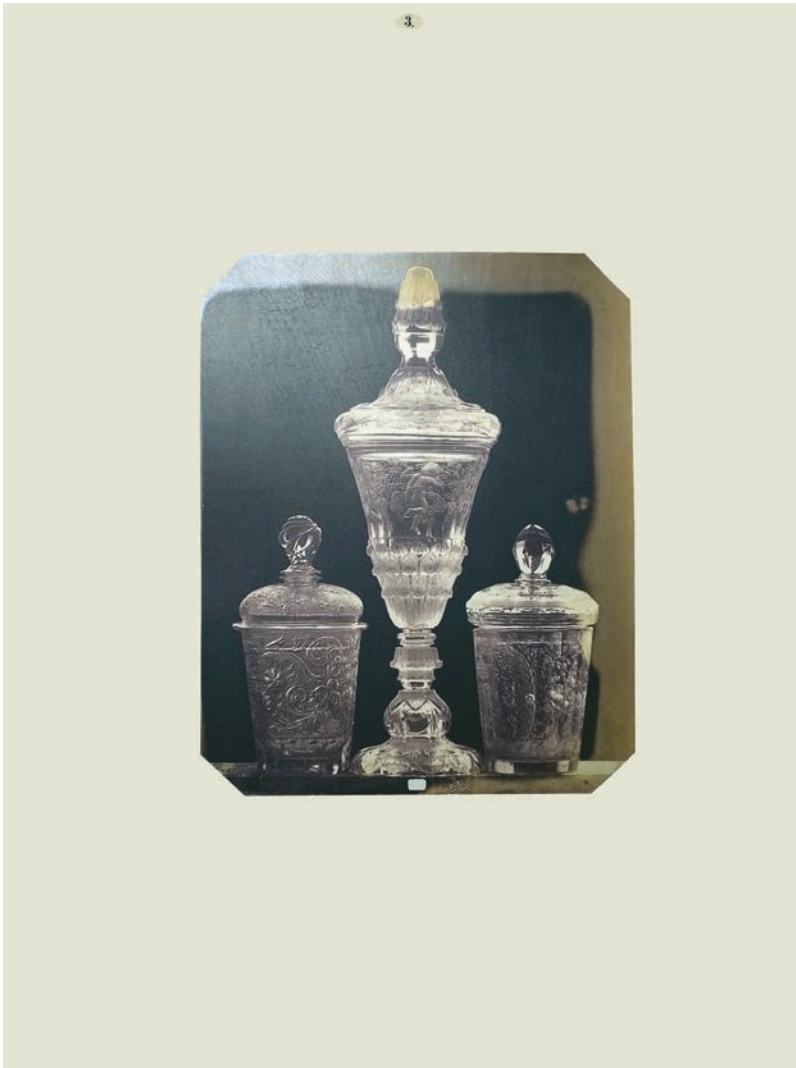(Public Domain)

**FIG. 2.** *Vorbilder für Handwerker und Fabrikanten,* 1855, Volume 1, Instalment 1, Plate 3. From the collection of the British Library, London (photo: A. Fedorowicz-Jackowska)

that a short text will be added after the fifth instalment.[22] In accordance with the contemporary practice, the fascicules were most likely bound together by individual subscribers. Plates were then mounted with a lithographic title page, a foreword, and frequently, printed section headings. Several distinct copies of the publication have been examined for this study and unsurprisingly none were identical, neither in terms of their contents, nor the page layout, nor the prints appearance.[23]

The idea to present his collection as two-dimensional prints was also something that Minutoli's father, a famous archaeologist, Heinrich Menu von Minutoli (1772–1846), used in his archaeological practice and research. One of such publications, *Über antike Glasmosaik* (1817), privately published with Martin Heinrich Klaproth (1743–1817) in fewer than ten copies, was an exquisitely illustrated treatise on ancient mosaic glass.[24] This folio-sized booklet has engravings of 8 glass

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22  W. Lübke, "Photographisches Werk", *Kunstblatt. Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, Baukunst und Kunsthandwerk* 30 (27 July 1854), p. 267.

23  First, it seems important to mention that Minutoli's publication has later editions (1872–1873) and that the first edition was being published in instalments, hence some confusion concerning the number of the volumes published and its date of publication. The first instalments of *Vorbilder* were published in 1854 as indicated e.g. by the fascicule from the collection of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences Print Room, Kraków (AF 16). Second, this article refers only to the first edition which was published in 25 instalments comprising 150 photographs in total. The copies consulted for the purposes of this study belong to the collections of the National Art Library (56.H.6) and the British Library in London (1800.b.15), the library of the National Museum in Warsaw (6015 Cim), and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences Print Room, Kraków, which under the same inventory number (AF 16) holds a group of loose plates with the same photographs as in *Vorbilder* and a loose title page displaying yet another title version of the Minutoli and Belitski's work: *Photographisches Album Darstellungen von Kunst-Gegenständen aus der Sammlung des Königlichen Regierungs-Raths Alexander Freiherrn von Minutoli zu Liegnitz.* The holdings of the National Library in Warsaw include also *Album für Künstler, Gewerbetreibende, Kunst-Freunde und Sammler. Photographische Darstellungen seltener Gegenstände aus den Sammlungen des Minutolischen Instituts zur Veredelung der Gewerbe und Beförderung der Künste zu Liegnitz*, dated 1855, with a title page, 6 unnumbered plates with Belitski's photographs, and a handwritten dedication by Alexander von Minutoli (A.3724/F.XIX/IV-16). The author is aware of only one more copy of the album bearing the same title, now in the collection of Münchner Stadtmuseum (FM-2014/300.302). The exact character and intended number of copies of these albums require further research.

24  Not to be mistaken with an earlier edition of the text published in 1815 and accompanied only with two plates, only one of which was coloured.

objects, all coloured with gouache. Although Minutoli's *Vorbilder* could not stand in bigger contrast in terms of their monumental size and extravagance, father's and son's publications seem to have more in common than the mere fact of being exquisitely illustrated. Minutoli senior and Klaproth subjected samples of antique glass to a series of chemical analyses in search of the better understanding of the antique methods to make and fix colours. The booklet informed about their findings. A few decades later, Alexander von Minutoli used their pioneering work to instruct local Silesian glass factories and even invited other glass painters to conduct similar experiments based on his glassware collection.[25] *Vorbilder* did not reveal the secrets behind the many patterns and techniques in words or drawings, but showed them by making use of the new type of illustrative evidence and scientific document: photography. Karol Beyer's *Album wystawy starożytności i przedmiotów sztuki* also takes advantage of the new medium, but presumably seems to be more concerned with history than works of industry.

### Karol Beyer's Works on History

Karol Beyer visited Liegnitz for the first time in 1853. On February 3rd, in the *Gazeta Warszawska's* section entitled 'The Chronicle of Arts and Industry' one reads: 'Mr Beyer is back!'.[26] Then goes a long report on his travels, things he returned with, such as medals, stamps and seals, sculptures, but also a note on the discovery of the tomb of the daughter of the King Sigismund I of Poland, Silesian coins, and a carved ivory sceptre. Most importantly, with this report the Polish reader was introduced to the information on the 'collection of design patterns from Mr Minutoli in Leignitz.' It is also in the same article that one finds an information about the planned publication of the Minutoli collection catalogue*.*

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25  K. Suska, "Historia zbioru gemm szklanych Aleksandra Minutolego z Legnicy", *Archeologia* XLV (1994), 105; S. Netzer, 'The Revival of Art in Industry: The Minutoli Collection,' in: J. Bryant (ed.), *Art and Design for All. The Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 2012, p. 51, footnote 9.

26  B. Podczaszyński, "Kronika sztuk i przemysłu", *Gazeta Warszawska* 31 (3 February 1853), p. 2.

Three years later, during which he experimented with paper photographs and glass negatives[27] and once again visited Liegnitz,[28] Beyer produced a full-leather album with 30 hand-mounted salted paper prints showing selected artefacts from the Exhibition of Antiquities and Objects of Art organised in 1856 by the Warsaw antiquarian and aristocratic milieu.

Both Minutoli's and Beyer's albums conformed to the same universal model of presenting the pictures, with one image mounted per page; both use photographs in their title pages (although different in style and presentation), and both, which should be considered quite forward-thinking at the time, use artefact scales to give a sense of the object's size. In Minutoli's case the application of the scale is very consistent, it appears in the lower part of the image, next to the collection's trademark: a small plaque with handwritten words 'Institut Minutoli' (figure 3). In Beyer's book the application of the scale seems much more haphazard and is not always included in the picture. On the other hand, when it does appear it becomes an intrinsic element of the whole composition, almost one of the artefacts itself (figure 4). Perhaps it was there to give the image a scholarly weight and credit, perhaps it was something Beyer copied from Minutoli.

Comparing the few wider shots from both albums one may easily find a similar approach to the strategies of display of objects, typical for this epoch, as for example in the photographs presenting groups of carved cameos and medals arranged on a flat surface and photographed from

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27  According to Adam Wiślicki, who already in 1863 tried to write the history of photography in the Polish lands, Beyer, while in London for the 1851 Great Exhibition, studied the wet collodion process with its inventor, Frederick Scott Archer himself, and was first to introduce it in Warsaw, see *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 8:209 (26 September 1863), 378. In 1853 *Gazeta Warszawska* informed that Beyer abandoned the idea to produce photographs on paper on account of the process being too unpredictable and impractical. See B. Podczaszyński, "Kronika sztuk i przemysłu", *Gazeta Warszawska* 6 (8 January 1853), p. 4.

28   In August 1855 Beyer informed Józef Ignacy Kraszewski about the details of his trip, see D. Jackiewicz, *Karol Beyer 1818–1877*, trans. by A. Rodzińska–Chojnowska, Warszawa, 2012, 12. Hence, even if Minutoli's *Vorbilder* was still in its preparatory phase in 1853, Beyer should have seen some parts of the book in 1855 when he came back to Liegnitz for the second time.

**FIG.3.** *Vorbilder für Handwerker und Fabrikanten*, 1855, Volume 1, Instalment 2, Plate 9. From the collection of the British Library, London (photo: A. Fedorowicz-Jackowska)

**FIG.4.** *Album de l'exposition des objets d'art et d'antiquité*, 1856, Plate VI. From the collection of the National Library of Poland, Warsaw (Public Domain)
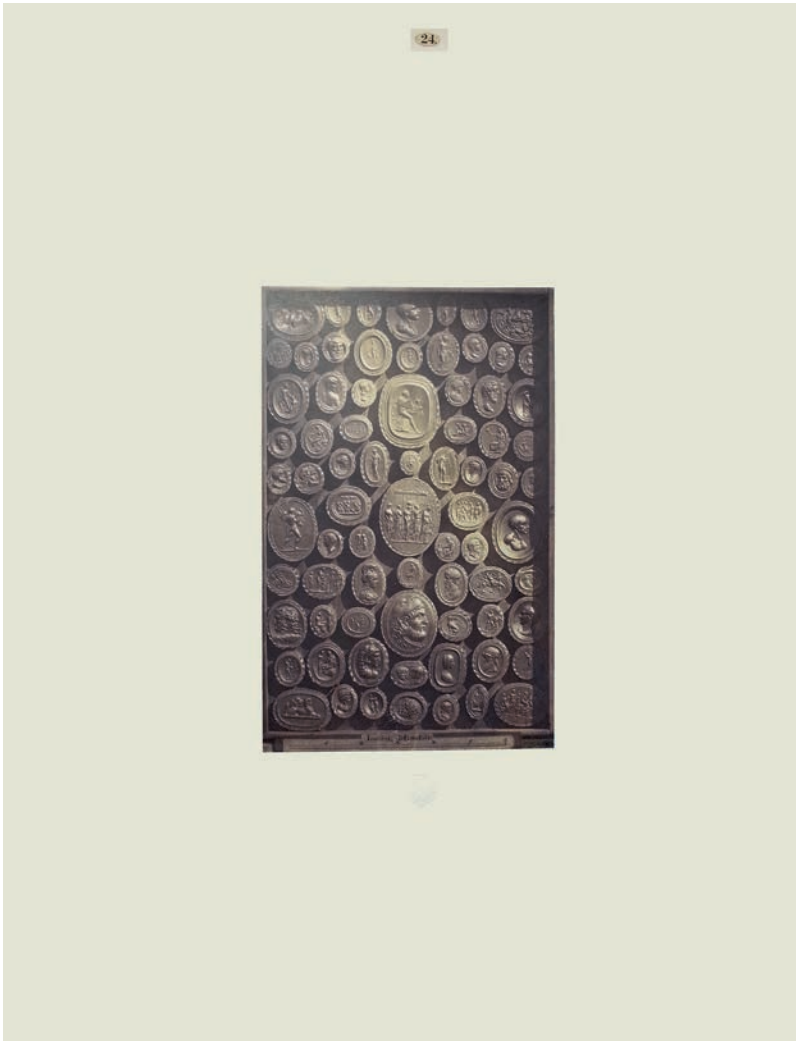
**FIG.5.** *Vorbilder für Handwerker und Fabrikanten*, 1855, Volume 1, Instalment 4, Plate 24. From the collection of the British Library, London (photo: A. Fedorowicz-Jackowska)
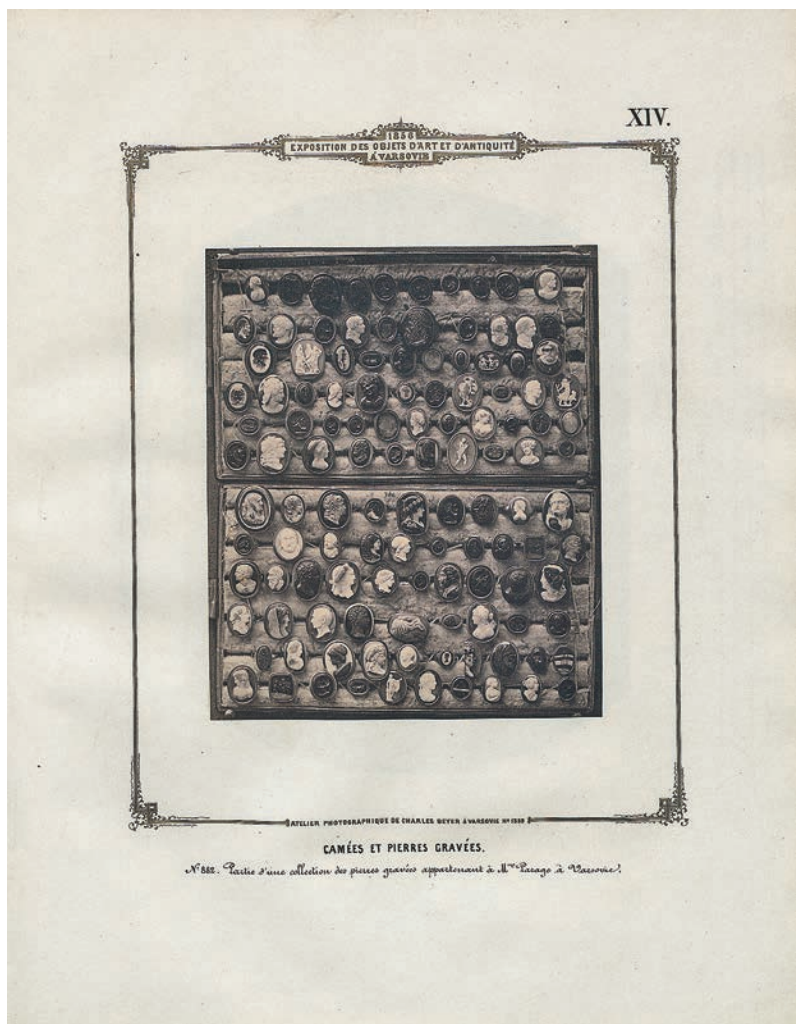
XIV.

1856
EXPOSITION DES OBJETS D'ART ET D'ANTIQUITÉ
À VARSOVIE

ATELIER PHOTOGRAPHIQUE DE CHARLES BEYER À VARSOVIE N° 1355

CAMÉES ET PIERRES GRAVÉES.

N° 882. Partie d'une collection des pierres gravées appartenant à M.<sup>me</sup> Lesage à Varsovie.

**FIG.6.** *Album de l'exposition des objets d'art et d'antiquité*, 1856, Plate XIV. From the collection of the National Library of Poland, Warsaw (Public Domain)

above (figures 5 and 6) or numerous variations of more or less similar compositions with pottery and porcelain, glass and stone work (figures 3 and 9). However, while Minutoli and Belitsky were praised in the *Deustches Kunstblatt* for their use of photography as a fitting new research tool, Beyer allows the viewer to trace in the pictures his experience as a studio photographer, where he worked with requisites and various backdrops, arranging the setup according to a certain agenda and with a clear representational purpose. The most evident of his involvement with studio photography, and somehow disturbing amongst all the still life compositions, is the carte-de-viste-like plate III with a handsome model wearing a seventeenth-century bronze hauberk and a pickaxe (figure 7).[29] Further in the book, in the plate number XXX, a seventeenth-century dressing table with mirror and a gilt-bronze sewing table decorated with Sèvres porcelain plaques are set in a very domestic environment (figure 8). The surfaces are draped in fabrics, the composition framed by oleander, one potted cactus euphorbia on the left, and philodendron and geranium on the right. The arrangement is animated by the inclusion of cleverly chosen and set up objects including one ivory figurine, a silver and pearl jewellery holder in the form of a figure bearing fruits, and a gold and chalcedony cup with a saucer.

Beyer's book – when compared with its Prussian predecessor – seems also much more user-friendly, to borrow a word from our twentieth-first-century vocabulary. Each photographed object has its own handwritten identification number and there's always a caption beneath the image which informs the viewer about the genealogy of the photographed object. Add to that the lithographed gold frame used by Beyer to enrich the simple layout of the book's pages and the photographed object is somehow transformed. The examples of techniques,

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29    One finds a similar photograph in Minutoli's *Vorbilder* (plate 93, volume 6, in the British Library copy of the book) and later in the nineteenth century, for example, in: *Album dzieł sztuki zastosowanej do przemysłu z wystawy urządzonej przez Muzeum przemysłu i rolnictwa w Warszawie, 1881 r.*, Warszawa, 1883, plate LXXX. There is a question then, whether this type of photographic composition's origins is with studio photography or rather it was a conventionalized exhibition practice. I am grateful to Ewa Manikowska for this remark.
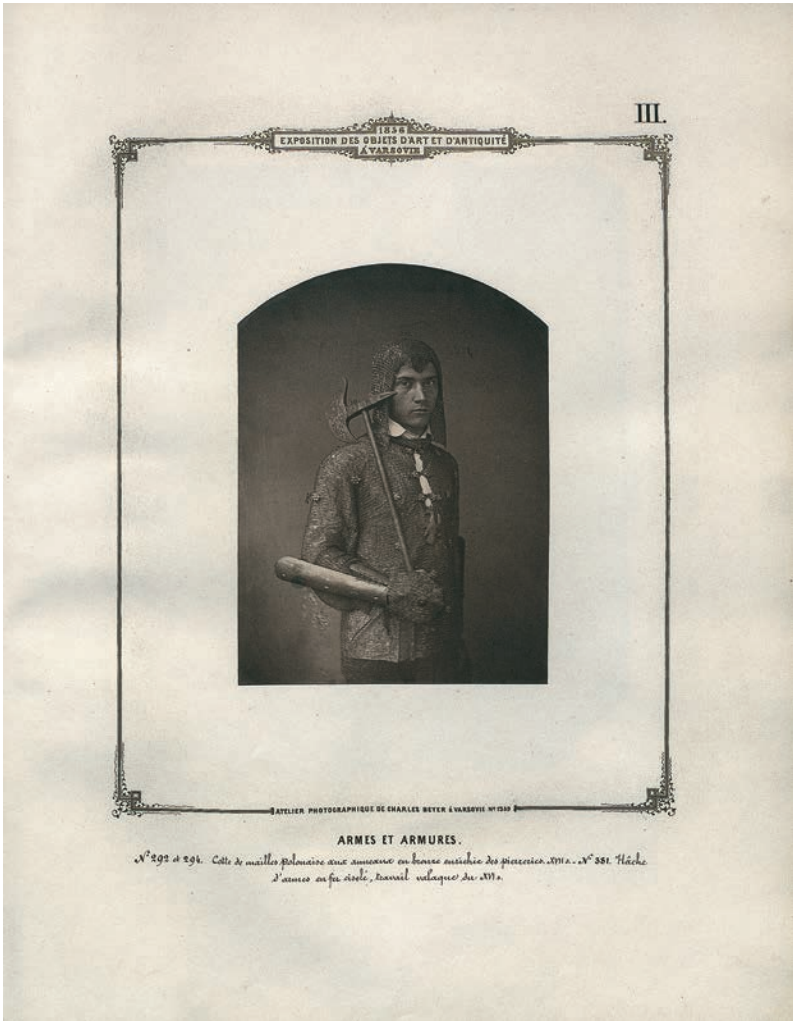
**FIG.7.** *Album de l'exposition des objets d'art et d'antiquité*, 1856, Plate XIV. From the collection of the National Library of Poland, Warsaw (Public Domain)

**FIG.8.** *Album de l'exposition des objets d'art et d'antiquité*, 1856, Plate XIV. From the collection of the National Library of Poland, Warsaw (Public Domain)

**FIG.9.** *Album de l'exposition des objets d'art et d'antiquité*, 1856, Plate XIV. From the collection of the National Library of Poland, Warsaw (Public Domain)

materials, and style become monuments of art and realise some deeper symbolic meaning.[30]

The dressing table from plate number XXX is not just any dressing table. It features the coat of arms of the queen consort to the Polish king Jan III Sobieski and the Polish emblem. The gold and chalcedony

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[30] Objects become monuments when they are involved in historical events or are presented as such, for example, at the exhibition or in the book. The organisation of the exhibition of the Polish monuments of art and antiquities seemed impossible in Warsaw, the capital city of the Kingdom of Poland, which in the mid-century was marginalised as a part of the Russian Empire and subjected to its anti-Polish policy. It seems interesting to point out that in 1858 in Kraków, a part of the Habsburg monarchy, the Exhibition of Antiquities and Monuments of Art (as opposed to the Warsaw exhibition of 'objects of art') opened its doors to the public. The exhibition was inspired by the Warsaw event and was similarly photographed by Beyer, see K. Beyer, *Album fotograficzne wystawy starożytności i zabytków sztuki urządzonej prize c.k. Towarzystwo Naukowe w Krakowie 1858 i 1859 r.*, Warszawa, 1859.

cup from the same plate belonged to Stanisław Małachowski, the first Prime Minister of Poland. Furthermore, plates number XVI and XX-VIII refer to the Battle of Vienna, which was the crowning and final achievement of the Polish protection of Europe against 'barbarian' enemies, when the Polish king led the Polish army to rescue Vienna from the Turks. The plate number XVI shows an oval gold-plated salver embossed with a scene of the triumphant entry of Jan III Sobieski into the city of Kraków. Plate XXVIII presents an ebony cabinet inlaid with tortoise shell and ivory. The piece of furniture is adorned with the Sobieski's coat of arms. The photograph's caption informs that the cabinet was a gift to the Polish king from Pope Innocent XI following the 1683 siege and the liberation of Vienna.[31]

### Conclusion. Between History and Industry

Exhibition objects as presented by Beyer in his album were less concerned with good pattern designs or the industry sector, which at that time was practically non-existent in the Kingdom of Poland, but first and foremost carried information to the reader about the finest points of the Polish history. Beyer knew, just like the exhibition organisers did, that the matters of composition and style, even the advanced technology, were secondary in the Polish mid-nineteenth-century context.[32] What accounted for any cultural initiative's success at the time was whether the said cultural undertaking answered to the need of the society at large for the national distinction.

While Alexander von Minutoli, a Prussian government official, operated from the position of power, Beyer first and foremost was a businessman and he ran a business enterprise, so he had to ask himself a

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31    The decision to include in the album the cabinet received from Pope Innocent XI could have triggered the memory of a careful Polish reader of other papal gifts to Sobieski, which were at this point already confiscated and moved to Saint Petersburg, see F. Pułaski (ed.), *Pamiątki polskie na obczyźnie* 1 (1907), p. 9.

32    Beyer's involvement in the exhibition did not end with the book. Not only did he exhibited numerous works from his own collection, he was also actively involved in the preparations of a catalogue of all exhibits included in the show (responsible mainly for the section with antiquities), see *Katalog wystawy starożytności i przedmiotów sztuki 1856 urządzonej w Pałacu Jw. hr. Augustostwa Potockich w Warszawie na Krakowskim-Przedmieściu na korzyść Domu Schronienia Opieki Najświętszej Maryi Panny*, Warszawa, 1856, pp. v–vi.

question how best present the book so that it would sell well and how to do it so that the book would be a success in different social, economic and political contexts.[33]

If the way the Polish press spoke of the Minutoli collection in Liegnitz is any telltale sign of interests and needs of the Polish audience, it would seem that the subject is interesting insomuch as it is about Polish things and answers to the 'Polish question' of the country's past or future independent existence.

Whenever mentioning Minutoli, Polish journalists focused on two things: the collection display and the fact that it included also Polish monuments of art. The author of one of the articles felt even compelled to make an entirely unexpected for this type of text footnote and explain how the collection represents also the history of the duchies of Silesia once ruled by the Polish Piast dynasty[34]. Similar preoccupations with Polish objects can be seen in the published overview and reviews concerning the 1856 Warsaw exhibition. For example, in a small booklet with a historical account of the objects on display one finds out that the examples of Chinese art, which were presented at the exhibition, 'will not be even mentioned in this overview because as such they are not of interest'.[35] Furthermore, the author of an exhibition review in one of the Warsaw newspapers when discussing plate number XXVII from *Album* felt the need to rationalise the decision to include there a French (not Polish!) artwork. The 'offense' was excused on account of the work's exquisite finish and the beauty of the composition.[36]

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33   In the end, the story of Beyer's involvement with the photographic book is marked by failure, given that many of his ideas for photographically illustrated books were never realised due to the lack of sufficient subscribers. He complained about the Polish readers' indifference as early as December 1859, see *Gazeta Warszawska* 330 (13 December 1859), p. 6.

34   "Korespondencja Gazety Warszawskiej (Listy Wędrowca)", Gazeta Warszawska 203 (6 August 1857), 5; "Część literacko-artystyczna. Minutolego zbiór przedmiotów sztuki i starożytności w Lignicy", Czas 176 (3 August 1859), 1–2. Interestingly, Minutoli's collection was described in the Czas as a collection of 'art and industry produce', using the wording reserved typically for agricultural nomenclature and bringing to mind, for example, the title of the Exhibition of Handicrafts and Agricultural Produce organised in Warsaw in 1857.

35   B. Podczaszyński, *Przegląd historyczny starożytności krajowych z powodu wystawy urządzonej w Warszawie w roku 1856 w pałacu JW. hr. Aug. Potockich*, Warszawa, 1857, p. 78.

36   *Gazeta Warszawska* 288 (1856), p. 5.

The link between print and nation remains strong and the Polish print culture of the nineteenth century is clearly nation-based.[37] Beyer capitalised on the moment. In his book he used and expanded the 1856 Warsaw exhibition's narrative. His clear association of objects with events in the album's captions acted as fuel for the creation of monuments as memorials of the nation's past, its previous glory, military prowess, and cultural taste. In that sense, the book was both ideological and commercial, in accordance to the exhibition's organizers it also aspired to be scientific.[38] However, it was clear that Beyer also looked for alternative readings and channels of distribution for his publication.

The organisers of the 1857 Warsaw Exhibition of Handicrafts and Agricultural Produce awarded Beyer and his work for 'the popularisation and technical improvements to the photographic art'.[39] In the catalogue of the exhibition one reads a praise for Beyer that both in form and content is similar to one Minutoli and Belitski received for *Vorbilder*.[40] Clearly, Beyer's book could not be presented as patriotic, or significant from the national perspective, while being applauded in the context of the officially organised exhibition, which sole purpose was to mark the Russian Empire's – in its expanding borders – place

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37 In the chapter 'Books in nation' Trish Loughran describes in a brilliant and concise manner how the book and the nation came to be synonymous in history and the literature, see T. Loughran, "Books in nation", in: L. Howsam (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the History of Book*, Cambridge, 2015, pp. 36–52.

38 The exhibition was accompanied by two publications: Beyer's *Album* and a comprehensive list of works printed in the official exhibition catalogue *Katalog wystawy starożytności i przedmiotów sztuki 1856 urządzonej w Pałacu Jw. hr. Augostostwa Potockich w Warszawie na Krakowskim-Przedmieściu na korzyść Domu Schronienia Opieki Najświętszej Maryi Panny*, Warszawa, 1856.

39 *Kurier Warszawski* 203 (4 August 1858), 1085. The 1857 exhibition in Warsaw clearly followed example of other national and international exhibitions that were being organised all over Europe. It was the third exhibition of a similar character organised in the Russian Empire, the first was organised in Saint Petersburg, the second was held in Moscow, see *Opis wystawy Wyrobów Rękodzielniczych i Płodów Rolniczych odbytej w Warszawie 1857 r.*, Warszawa, 1860, p. 1. The 1857 exhibition was also the first exhibition in the Polish lands to include photographic works, see W. Mossakowska, *Początki fotografii w Warszawie (1833–1863)*, vol. 1, pp. 71–72.

40 W. Lübke, "Photographisches Werk", *Kunstblatt. Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, Baukunst und Kunsthandwerk* 30 (27 July 1854), pp. 266–267.

**FIG.10.** *Album photographique de l'artiste et de l'amateur,* 1851, Instalment 6, Plate 17.
From the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (Public Domain)

on the map of Europe in the industrial age. Here Beyer advertised and received the well-deserved acknowledgement of his expertise as a photographer-technician.[41] Furthermore, around 1859 he sold his album to the Imperial Public Library with a 10% discount of the original price.[42] In this case the book was advertised as fitting addition to the art section of the library – a material proof and a representative of the high level of professional photography in the Russian Empire. Moreover, the British Museum, which purchased Beyer's book as early as September 1860 could hardly have been interested in this publication solely because of its patriotic imprint or information it provided about the Polish history. Clearly, in the British context Beyer's photographically illustrated publication answers to a more universal set of concerns, such as the international discussion on decorative art and the idea to use it for the improvement of industrial design.[43]

This article aimed to show that by placing the book such as Beyer's *Album wystawy starożytności i przedmiotów sztuki* next to similar books published around that time and circulating within the same social network, stimulated by correspondence, press coverage, and exhibitions, new meanings are revealed with every subsequent reading. In Beyer's case, the careful reading of the periodical press and archival material will point not only to Minutoli's handbook of good design practices, which was discussed in this article, but also reveals that Blanquard-Evrard's album was in Beyer's studio in Warsaw for the visi-

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41  *Opis wystawy Wyrobów Rękodzielniczych i Płodów Rolniczych odbytej w Warszawie 1857 r.*, Warszawa, 1860, p. 309.

42  Antoni Iwanowski to Karol Beyer, 20 February 1859, *Korespondencja Karola Beyera*, MF33513, National Library of Poland. Iwanowski was a junior librarian at the Imperial Public Library in Saint Petersburg. Favourable to Poles, he advised Beyer how to best present his work to the director of the Imperial Library and in his correspondence, he confirms the purchase of Beyer's publications. They are listed in a specialized catalogue of the library complied in 1885, see V. Stasov, *Fotograficheskie i fototipicheskie kollekcii Imperatorskoj publichnoj biblioteki*, St Petersburg, 1885, p. 162. I would like to thank Ewa Manikowska for introducing me to Stasov's work.

43  In addition to his Warsaw album, Beyer sent (sold?) to the British Museum also a copy of the album he produced for the Exhibition of Antiquities and Monuments of Art in Cracow, see footnote 30 in this article. I am indebted to Anthony Hamber who helped me decipher the meaning behind the British Museum's inventory numbers.

tors and clients to see already in 1853 (figure 10).[44] From the contemporary press coverage one will also find out about Maxime du Camp's album *Égypte, Nubie, Syrie: Paysages et Monuments*[45], and the 'American antiquities book' by Violet-le-Duc and Desire Charnay describing their journey to North America and Mexico.[46] Situating photographically illustrated publications in relation to the multitude of other texts and visual materials which circulated in the nineteenth century helps the researcher to expand his or her investigative standpoint.

The only useful way to think of nineteenth-century publications illustrated with photographs, such as the two presented in this article, is not in terms of uniqueness and individual authorship or national origins, but instead one should look for patterns of imitation or else networks of references and quotations. The complexity of the photographic medium and its uses in the nineteenth century suggest that the subject requires careful study and discussion which will express multiple standpoints rather than a singular point of view that characterises disciplines such as history of photography.

## SUMMARY

Karol Beyer (1818–1877), a Warsaw based antiquarian and photographer by vocation, self-published his first photographically illustrated publication in 1856. His work also became the first photographically illustrated book published and marketed in the Polish lands. The full-leather album with 30 hand-mounted salted paper prints showed photographed artefacts from the Exhibition of Antiquities and Monuments of Art in Warsaw. In its scope, it was concurrently ideological and commercial.

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44  B. Podczaszyński, "Kronika sztuk i przemysłu", *Gazeta Warszawska* 6 (1853), 4. Most probably this reference concerns L.D. Blanquart-Evrard, *Album photographique de l'artiste et de l'amateur*, Bar-sur-Seine, 1851.

45  "Kronika z Paryża literacka, naukowa i artystyczna", *Biblioteka Warszawska* 2 (1854), 130–134, concerns M. du Camp, *Egypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie*, Paris, 1852. Du Camp's photographs were printed by Blanquart-Evrard.

46  *Tygodnik Poznański* 9 (28 February 1862), pp. 70–71, concerns D. Charnay and E.E. Violet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines: Mitla, Palenqué, Izamal, Chichen-Itza, Uxmal*, Paris, 1862.

As a business enterprise, the album will be considered as a means of exploiting financially the wish for national distinction in a time when Poland was erased from the political landscape of Europe. However, instead of a solely nation-based reading of the Beyer's book, the author will turn to international discussion on the nature of decorative or applied art and the idea to use it for the improvement of industrial design. Drawing on archival material and periodical press, this article presents Beyer's early undertakings in the context of the exhibiting activity and publishing ventures of the Institut Minutoli in Liegnitz in Silesia, and specifically, a photographically illustrated volume of *Vorbilder für Handwerker und Fabrikanten*.

KEYWORDS: photographically illustrated publication, nineteenth-century photography, history and industry, printing, nation, Karol Beyer, Alexander von Minutoli

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