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The background of the entire page is a solid red color. Overlaid on this are numerous white lines of varying thicknesses and orientations. Some lines are vertical, while others are diagonal, slanting at approximately 45 degrees. These lines are distributed across the entire page, creating a complex, textured pattern that resembles a stylized barcode or a modern architectural facade. The lines vary in length and density, with some areas having more lines than others.

ARTICLES

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A HISTORY OF THE AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT OF NICOLAUS COPERNICUS'S *DE REVOLUTIONIBUS*

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ABSTRACT

Nicolaus Copernicus wrote his most important work, *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, in stages. The manuscript of this work, published in 1543 in Nuremberg, has survived. Immediately after the death of Copernicus, the manuscript of *De revolutionibus...* was in the possession of Bishop Tiedmann Giese. The next owner of the manuscript was Joachim Retyk, who lived in Cracow in the years 1554–1574. After the death of Rheticus, the manuscript of *De revolutionibus...* was handed over to Valentin Otho, a collaborator of Rheticus and later a professor at Wittenberg and Heidelberg. In Heidelberg, the manuscript was bound and became the property of Professor Jakub Christmann. In 1614, Jan Amos Komensky, as a Heidelberg student, bought the Copernicus's manuscript from the widow of J. Christann. Under unknown circumstances, this manuscript was placed in the library of Otto von Nostitz in Jawor, Silesia, before 1665, and then in the library of his family in Prague. In 1945, it was taken over by the Czechoslovak state and transferred to the Library of the National Museum in Prague. In 1956, the government of Czechoslovakia donated the manuscript of *De revolutionibus...* to Poland. Since that year, it has been the property of the Jagiellonian University, Copernicus's Alma Maer, and is now part of the collections of the Jagiellonian Library.

KEYWORDS: Nicolaus Copernicus, Jagiellonian Library, *De revolutionibus*, manuscript

In the late Middle Ages and early modern period, the approach to book collections could best be described as utilitarian. Benedykt of Koźmin, as we know from his will and the foundations he set up, recommended that libraries should keep only those books that were useful and currently required.¹ At the end of the Middle Ages, cabinets of curiosities or *Kunsthammer* started to be established housing both authentic and fabricated relics. Initially they were managed and displayed by clerics. Collections belonging to churches included objects made of gold, devotional items, sculptures, paintings and valuable books. These cabinets of curiosities over time developed into museums.²

It was not until the beginning of the Renaissance that manuscripts by great writers began to be appreciated. References to ancient authors were drawn from medieval accounts, both those of Byzantine and Western European scribes and those preserved by the Arabs. Actual manuscripts from the ancient period have not survived, however, and there are very few papyrus texts still in existence today.

In the 16th century an appreciation also arose for contemporary works, alongside works by the collector's friends and acquaintances. In the 1540s, for example, students began keeping albums (*libri amicorum*) in which their professors, fellow students, travelling companions and even chance acquaintances would write entries.³ People also started collecting examples of such notes by

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- 1 A. Lewicka-Kamińska, *Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655*, in: *Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, Vol. 1, 1364–1775, ed. I. Zarębski, Cracow 1966, p. 180.
 - 2 K. Pomian, *Collectors and curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, Cambridge 1990; M. Mencfel, *Skarbce natury i sztuki. Prywatne gabinety osobliwości, kolekcje sztuki i naturalistów na Śląsku w wiekach XVII i XVIII*, Warsaw 2010; R. Šipek, *Die Jauerer Schlossbibliothek Ottos des Jüngeren von Nostitz*, Part 1, Frankfurt am Main 2014, pp. 62–69.
 - 3 A. Golik-Prus, *Różnorodność formuły „non omnis moriar” w łacińskich wpisach sztambugowych przełomu XVI i XVII wieku*, Katowice 2004.

well-known individuals, such as in the case of Marcin Ruar, an anti-Trinitarian from Gdańsk, who collected handwritten notes by famous people, including pages from family record books.⁴

Copernicus's contemporaries were probably aware that original documents written by the astronomer would one day be considered extremely valuable items for the history of culture and science, as shown by the actions of Marcin Kromer and later Jan Brożek.⁵ Copernicus's theory differed widely from the ideas about the Earth and the universe current at the time, and the importance of his discoveries was underestimated. There were even those such as Wilhelm Gnapheus, a teacher at the grammar school in Elbląg, who in 1541 published a comedy entitled *Morosophus* („The Jester-Sage”) containing satirical themes clearly referring to Copernicus and his theory.⁶

As demonstrated by Jerzy Zathey in his analysis of the paper on which *De revolutionibus*... was written, Copernicus wrote his work in stages.⁷ By examining the handwriting of Copernicus and the people close to him – including Tiedemann Giese, Bishop of Kulm (Chełmno) – Zathey is able to show that Manuscript 10000 in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow is indeed an autograph manuscript by Copernicus.⁸ Zathey identifies the seven pages of notes as being by Georg Joachim Rheticus. And on pages 107 (verso) and 109

4 K. Ogier, *Dziennik podróży do Polski 1635–1636*, edited and with an introduction by M. Pelczar, I. Fabiani-Madeyska, Part 2, Gdańsk 1953, p. 193.

5 In 1581 the Bishop of Warmia, Marcin Kromer, commemorated Copernicus with a marble epitaph plaque in Frombork Cathedral. In the early 17th century Jan Brożek, a professor at the University of Cracow, also kept Copernicus's memory alive – K. Estreicher, *Pamiętki kopernikowskie w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim*, Cracow 1973; S. Cynarski, *Znajomość nauki Kopernika w Polsce XVII i XVIII wieku*, Cracow 1973.

6 K. Ławrynowicz, *Albertina. Szkice z dziejów Uniwersytetu Królewskiego*, Pułtusk–Cracow [2010], pp. 59–60.

7 J. Zathey, *Analiza i historia rękopisu „De revolutionibus”*, in: *Rękopis dzieła Mikołaja Kopernika „O obrotach”: facsimile*, ed. P. Czartoryski, Warsaw–Cracow 1972, p. 27.

8 „Wyniki badań porównawczych potwierdzają przeto słuszność sądu, że pismo rękopisu dzieła *De revolutionibus* jest pismem Mikołaja Kopernika, a zatem że rękopis ten jest autografem” [The results of comparative research confirm the correctness of the opinion that the handwriting of the manuscript of *De revolutionibus* is the handwriting of Nicolaus Copernicus, and therefore that the manuscript is his autograph], *ibidem*, p. 27.

(recto) there are two words probably written by Jakob Christmann, who owned the manuscript at some point prior to 1613.

Georg Joachim Rheticus became Copernicus's student and companion in the final years of Copernicus's life.⁹ Copernicus visited Bishop Tiedemann Giese in Lubawa in 1539 in the company of Rheticus. Together, Rheticus and Giese persuaded him to publish his thoughts and calculations relating to the heliocentric theory. Copernicus decided to make his work available and allow *De revolutionibus...* to be printed. Rheticus, who took charge of organising the printing, sent the manuscript – probably a final draft or copy – to Nuremberg. The original autograph manuscript in the Jagiellonian Library does not show any of the marks used by printers or traces of ink stains so it is unlikely to have been the manuscript used as the basis for printing.

The printing itself was supervised by Andreas Osiander who, as Jan Kepler has shown, changed the title to *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* and added an anonymous introduction.¹⁰ His intention in writing the introduction was probably to protect Copernicus from any accusation of violating the biblical view of the position of the Earth in the universe. Osiander also removed Copernicus's preface addressed to Pope Paul III. The first sheets of *De revolutionibus...* were printed in 1542 and printing was completed by 1543. According to legend Copernicus received a copy on his deathbed.

Very few original manuscripts by leading creative figures from the 15th and 16th centuries – Erasmus, da Vinci, Galileo and so on – still exist today. How, then, did this autograph manuscript of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus...* come to survive? Who were the various owners of the manuscript?

In the spring of 1543, Bishop Tiedemann Giese attended the wedding of King Sigismund II Augustus and Catherine of Austria in Cracow. On his return to Warmia he familiarised himself with

9 Georg Joachim Rheticus, *Wegbereiter der Neuzeit*, publ. Ph. Schöbi, H. Sonderegger, Hohenems 2014.

10 K. Ławrynowicz, *Albertina...*, pp. 65–66.

the printed version of Copernicus's work, subsequently lodging a complaint with the Nuremberg City Council that the printer Johannes Petreius had made unauthorised changes to the text. Giese planned to publish a second edition of *De revolutionibus*, adding a biography of Copernicus and removing the publisher's interpolations. He presented his plans in a letter to Rheticus, and may also have asked him to carry out the task.¹¹ After Copernicus's death, Giese was probably the owner of the autograph manuscript on which the Nuremberg edition is likely to have been based. According to Aleksander Birkenmajer, Copernicus's papers went to Giese after his death, and on Giese's death they went to the Chapter of Warmia.¹²

Tiedemann Giese was born in Gdańsk in 1480.¹³ From 1492 onwards he lived in Leipzig, studying at the university under the direction of Canon Tomasz Werner of Braniewo, a professor of theology.¹⁴ Upon his return to Poland in 1504 he was appointed to the canonry of Warmia, in which he began to play a leading role thanks to the support of the Ferber family. In 1523 he unsuccessfully competed with Mauritius Ferber, to whom he was related, for the position of Bishop of Lidzbark. Giese was a parish priest in Zblewo and also rector of the Church of St Peter and Paul in Gdańsk. His interest in astronomy brought him close to Copernicus, who he was in contact with from around 1507. Giese was the first person with whom Copernicus shared his observations. During Jan Brożek's lifetime the correspondence between Giese and Copernicus still existed, but unfortunately its later fate is unknown. Like Copernicus, Giese

11 Ph. Schöbi, *Gieses erhellender Brief an Rheticus*, in: *Georg Joachim Rheticus...*, pp. 115–119.

12 A. Birkenmajer, *Z dziejów autografu „De revolutionibus”*, „Nauka Polska” 1953, No. 3, p. 154; A. Białek, *Śladami rękopisu. Próba zarysu dziejów autografu kopernikowskiego „De revolutionibus”*, „Sobótka” 1974, Issue 1, p. 29.

13 W. Pociecha, *Giese Tiedeman Bartłomiej (1480–1550)*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Cracow 1948–1958, Vol. 7, pp. 456–458; H. Zins, *W kręgu Mikołaja Kopernika*, Lublin 1966, pp. 250–251; T. Borawska, *Tiedemann Giese (1480–1580) w życiu wewnętrznym Warmii i Prus Królewskich*, Olsztyn 1984.

14 *Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig*, publ. G. Erler, Leipzig 1895, Vol. 1, p. 393.

remained loyal to King Sigismund I the Old in the conflict between the Polish Kingdom and the Teutonic Order, for which Giese was ennobled by the King. In 1523 he became Custodian of the Chapter of Warmia and Official General of the Diocese of Warmia. In 1525, on the advice of Copernicus, he had a polemical anti-Lutheran paper published by the printer Hieronymus Vietor in Cracow. In 1532 he became Coadjutor Bishop to Mauritius Ferber, now Bishop of Warmia. On behalf of the Chapter of Warmia and Bishop Ferber, Copernicus wrote a long letter to the Prussian Senators presenting the reasons why Giese should be made Bishop of Warmia after Ferber's death. However, King Sigismund I the Old had different plans, and following Ferber's death Johannes Dantiscus was made Bishop of Warmia. Giese became Bishop of Chełmno in 1538 and, after the death of Dantiscus, Bishop of Warmia in 1549. He died on October 23, 1550 in Lidzbark Warmiński.¹⁵

Another person to have owned the autograph manuscript of *De revolutionibus...* was Georg Joachim Rheticus.¹⁶ Rheticus was born on February 16, 1514 in Feldkirchen. His father was Georg Iserin and his mother Thomasina de Porris, who was of Italian heritage. When Georg Iserin was accused of witchcraft and executed, the family was stripped of its surname. Georg Joachim then took his mother's surname *de Porris*, using its German translation „von Lauchen”. He is better known, however, as Georg Joachim Rheticus, from the Roman name for the region that he came from, Rhaetia.

Rheticus was educated in his hometown, then from 1528 to 1531 studied in Zurich. In 1532 he became a student at the University of Wittenberg. He mainly studied mathematics, and after graduating in 1537 began to teach mathematics at the University of Wit-

15 T. Borawska, *Tiedemann Giese (1480–1550) w życiu wewnętrznym Warmii i Prus Królewskich*, Olsztyn 1984 – <https://kpbc.umk.pl/publication/36197> [accessed 26.04.2021].

16 L. Hajdukiewicz, *Rheticus Georg Joachim (1514–1574)*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Wrocław 1988–1989, Vol. 31, pp. 255–259; Ph. Schöbi, *Rheticus – Wegbereiter der Neuzeit*, in: *Georg Joachim Rheticus...*, pp. 35–92.

tenberg.¹⁷ In 1538 he discussed Copernicus's heliocentric theory, which he had heard talk of, with Johannes Schöner and the printer Johannes Petreius in Nuremberg, and soon decided to travel to Warmia to meet Copernicus himself and study astronomy under him. We know that in the summer of 1539 Rheticus was in Frombork bringing Copernicus a gift of several volumes of the latest literature on mathematical and natural sciences. Three of these books came from the printing house of Johannes Petreius and were intended as an encouragement to have *De revolutionibus*... published by Petreius.

Copernicus went with Rheticus to Lubawa to visit Giese and spent several months there. While in Lubawa, Rheticus worked intensively on the manuscript of *De revolutionibus*... and wrote a summary of Copernicus's theory. In September 1539 Rheticus went to Gdańsk to oversee the printing of this summary, entitled *Narratio Prima*.¹⁸ In it, Rheticus describes, in an accessible way, the ongoing debate about the theory of the movement of the planets around the Sun, arguing that the heliocentric system should be accepted as correct. In 1540 he gave a series of lectures on astronomy in Wittenberg, including the heliocentric theory. In 1541 he again visited Copernicus in Frombork, finally obtaining his consent for *De revolutionibus*... to be published. He then took the manuscript to Nuremberg, quickly returning to Warmia and in August 1541 arriving in Königsberg, where he won the support of Albert, Duke of Prussia, for Copernicus's work. Rheticus also presented his own work on the map of Prussia to Albert and gave him an instrument for measuring the length of the day. He returned to Wittenberg at the end of 1541 and was elected Dean of the Faculty of Liberal Arts. In 1542 he entrusted the printing of *De revolutionibus*... to Petreius, Schöner and Osiander.

17 *Album Academiae Vitebergensis ab A.Ch. MDII usque ad A. MDCII*, [...] Sub auspiciis Bibliothecae Universitatis halensis ex autographo editum [...] K. Foerstemann, Leipzig 1841, Vol. 1, p. 146 - *Georgius Ioachimus de Porris Feldkirch*.

18 J. J. Retyk, *Narratio prima. Relacja pierwsza z ksiąg O obrotach Mikołaja Kopernika*, trans. I. Lewndowski, introduction and commentary by J. Włodarczyk, Warsaw 2015.

In 1542 Rheticus was appointed Professor of Mathematics at the University of Leipzig, a post which he held until 1551. Between 1547 and 1548 he studied medicine in Zurich, as he was seriously ill and wanted to cure himself. However, he had to leave Leipzig as he was accused of homosexuality. After a short stay in Chemnitz and then Prague he settled in Cracow in 1554. In Cracow he lived on the Market Square, in the Kaufman townhouse, supporting himself by working as a doctor and earning additional income by writing horoscopes. He also conducted astronomical observations, building a 14-metre-high obelisk as a simple yet original astronomical observatory, most probably in a garden in the district of Wesoła, close to today's Copernicus Street. He used an image of the obelisk in his publications, and from 1557 the Cracow printer Łazarz Andrysowicz used the image as his printer's mark.¹⁹ During his time in Cracow, Rheticus also researched the salt mines of Wieliczka, having been recommended to do so by Copernicus while Rheticus was still living in Warmia.²⁰

In 1569, Valentinus Otho (circa 1548 to 4 April 1603) came to Cracow with the aim of studying astronomy and trigonometry under Rheticus.²¹ Originally from Magdeburg, Otho enrolled at the University of Wittenberg in 1561 and in March 1566 received his Master's degree in liberal arts. He was a pupil of Johannes Praetorius, who was a professor at the University of Wittenberg and an acquaintance of Rheticus. Under Praetorius, Otho studied the question of the number π . In 1573 he travelled with Rheticus to Košice, where Rheticus had two benefactors, the Voivode of Sieradz Olbracht Łaski and the Hungarian magnate Hans Rueber

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- 19 H. Sonderegger, *Rheticus und sein Obelisk in Krakau*, in: Georg Joachim Rheticus..., pp. 193–198.
 - 20 Ph. Schöbi, *Rheticus – Wegbereiter der Neuzeit*, in: Georg Joachim Rheticus..., pp. 35–92; H. Sonderegger, *Rheticus und sein Obelisk in Krakau*, in: ibidem, pp. 192–198; L. Hajdukiewicz, *Rheticus Georg Joachim...*, pp. 257–258.
 - 21 C. G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, Vol. 3, Leipzig 1751, p. 1,136 – <https://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/vd18/content/pageview/9084413> [26.04.2021]; E. Hilfstein, *Was Valentinus Otto a Professor at the University of Heidelberg?* „Organon” 1986–1987, Vol. 22–23, pp. 221–223 – <https://polona.pl/item/organon-1986-1987-nr-22-23,NzczOTQ3Mw/222/#item> [accessed 26.04.2021].

zu Pixendorf. In November 1574 Otho brought the *De revolutionibus...* manuscript from Cracow to Košice, delivering it to Rheticus on November 28. Rheticus died a few days later on December 4, 1574, and his collection passed to Otho. In 1577 Otho took over the Chair of Mathematics at the University of Wittenberg, but due to a conflict between the Lutherans and the Calvinists he left Wittenberg, which was strictly Lutheran, and moved to Calvinist Heidelberg. In 1596 he published Rheticus's *Opus palatinum de triangulis*, having himself edited and prepared it for printing.²² According to Bartholomaeus Pitiscus, Otho's collection was in great disarray, having been stored carelessly, with manuscripts and books by Otho and those he had inherited from Rheticus lying around in heaps, some of them rotting.²³

After Otho's death in April 1603, his collection passed to Jakob Christmann (1554–1613), then Dean of the Faculty of Liberal Arts at Heidelberg University.²⁴ Christmann came from Johannisberg near Mainz and received his education in *artes liberales* at a school in Neuhaus. He became Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Heidelberg, specialising in Hebrew, and was also an astronomer.²⁵ While the autograph manuscript of *De revolutionibus...* was owned by Otho it had not been bound and it was probably at this time that the title page was lost. It is likely that Christmann gave Copernicus's work to Simon Petiscus, a professor of mathematics.²⁶

It was possibly Simon Sten (or Stenius, 1540–1619), Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at Heidelberg University, that had the man-

22 D. Roegel, *A Reconstruction of the Tables of Rheticus Opus Palatinum (1596)*, The Loria Collection of Mathematical Tables - <http://locomat.loria.fr/rheticus1596/rheticus1596doc.pdf> [26.04.2021].

23 J. Zathey, *Analiza i historia...*, p. 35.

24 G. Drylinger, *Christmann Jakob (1554–1613)*, Heidelberg 2015 - <https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/20136/1/christmann.pdf> [accessed 26.04.2021].

25 J. Zathey, *Analiza i historia...*, pp. 35–36.

26 Ibidem, p. 35; A. Białek, *Śladami rękopisu...*, p. 30.

uscript bound.²⁷ The binding is stiffened with pages from the book *De inquisitione Hispanica* by Reginald Consalvus, published in Heidelberg in 1603, to which Sten wrote the preface. Zathey suggests that Sten gave the bookbinder the preface after making corrections. The binding of *De revolutionibus...* is made from a parchment document issued by the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II on 27 September 1566.²⁸

The manuscript of *De revolutionibus...* next became the property of John Amos Comenius (1592–1670), one of the greatest pedagogues in history. Comenius was born on 28 March 1592 in Nivnice in Moravia, the son of Martin Komenský, a miller.²⁹ He received his early education at the Unity of the Brethren school in Strážnice, then from 1608 attended the Latin school in Přerov. In 1611 he became a student at the Herborn Academy and on June 19, 1613 enrolled at the University of Heidelberg. On the back of the second protective sheet of the manuscript of *De revolutionibus*, Comenius wrote that he bought the work for his library, for a good price, from the widow of Jan Christmann on 14 January 1614 in Heidelberg. Comenius stayed at the University of Heidelberg for less than a year; in 1614 he was already rector of a school in Přerov. After the defeat of the Czech Protestants at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, he initially went into hiding. In 1625, after discussions with Rafał Leszczyński, he was involved in bringing a large group of Czech Brethren refugees to Leszno and in 1628 he himself settled in Leszno. He stayed in Leszno from 1628–1642 and 1648–1656, taught at the local grammar school and, as its rector between 1637 and 1641, helped it to flourish. It is thanks to Comenius that a stand-

27 R. Hoche, *Sten, Simon*, „Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie” 1893, Vol. 36, pp. 43–44 - <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd124623425.html#adbcontent> [accessed 26.04.2021]; J. Zathey, *Analiza i historia...*, p. 35.

28 A. Birkenmajer, *Trygonometria Mikołaja Kopernika w autografie głównego jego dzieła*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze” 1971, Vol. 15, p. 32.

29 V.-J. Dietrich, *Jan Amos Comenius. Mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten*, Reinbek 2005; V.-J. Dietrich, *Johann Amos Comenius. Ein Mann der Sehnsucht 1592–1670. Theologische, pädagogische und politische Aspekte seines Lebens und Werkes*, Stuttgart 2003; D. Fauth, *Comenius – im Labyrinth seiner Welt*, Zell am Main, Würzburg 2009.

ardised educational system became part of pedagogical practice. The grammar school in Leszno was at the time a popular place of study for young people from Poland and abroad. Comenius's main work, *Janua linguarum reserata*, a Latin language course dedicated to the Voivode Bogusław Leszczyński, was written and published in Leszno in 1631. In 1657 he published *Orbis sensualium pictus*, an example of the idea that textbooks should be illustrated so that their contents can be assimilated more quickly by pupils. Comenius was also interested in astronomy and wrote the now lost textbook *Astronomia ad lumen physicum reformanda* – probably the reason why he bought Copernicus's manuscript from Christmann's widow.

In his philosophical system Comenius adhered to three principles of cognition: sense, reason and divine revelation. Within these three categories, where the main, decisive principle was revelation, there could be no room for Copernicus. Although Comenius owned the manuscript of *De revolutionibus*... he was against the heliocentric theory, as it was incompatible with Scripture.³⁰ In the period 1642 to 1648 Comenius lived in Elbląg, where from 1644 to 1645 he taught philosophy. From 1642 he reported to the Lord High Chancellor of Sweden, Axel Oxenstierna, on the religious and political situation in Poland, hoping in this way to contribute to the collapse of the Catholic and Habsburg governments. He was an ardent supporter of the Swedish and Transylvanian invasions of Poland in 1655 and 1656, and even wrote a panegyric in honour of Charles X Gustav. Leszno became a centre of anti-Polish and anti-royal activities, Polish troops burning down the town during the siege in retaliation. Comenius fled the city together with the Swedish army, leaving behind his library and his manuscripts, which were destroyed. He died on 15 November 1670 in Amsterdam.

It is not known under what circumstances the manuscript of *De revolutionibus*... found its way to the Nostitz library in Jawor, Silesia. The third protective sheet of the manuscript bears the signature of

30 Q. Veter, *Sur les destins du manuscrit pragoise du Kopernik „De Revolutionibus orbium caelestium (!) libri sex”*, Prague 1931, pp. 2-3.

Otto von Nostitz (1608-1665), but no date.³¹ The manuscript was probably not given directly by Comenius to the Nostitz library – Baron Otto von Nostitz was a devout Catholic and any direct contact between him and Comenius seems unlikely, given the latter's attitude towards Catholics, representatives of the Habsburgs and anti-Trinitarians.

Nostitz was Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire until 1650 and Governor of the Duchy of Jawor-Świdnica from 1651 until his death. His son Christoph Wenzel von Nostitz (1643-1712), Governor of Legnica from 1662-1685 and Governor of Głogów from 1686-1697, took over the estate of Luboradz in Jawor, including the library and the art collections in the castle. On 5 October 1667, after the death of Otto von Nostitz, an inventory was made of the castle library in Jawor.³² A manuscript of *De revolutionibus...* was in the Nostitz library prior to 1665 but no information about it was published as far as is known. Indeed it was not until 1788 that Friedrich K. Hirsching, describing the collections of libraries in Prague, made public the fact that the Nostitz library, located in the family's palace in Prague, included this priceless document.³³ It is not known when exactly the manuscript was moved to Prague.³⁴

The call number of *De revolutionibus...* in the Nostitz collection changed several times; one of its call numbers – 156 – appears on the lower part of the spine of the manuscript. On the front endpaper, under the bookplate of the Nostitz family, there is an extensive note dated 1854, written by the then owner of *De revolutionibus...* Erwin Nostitz, giving a detailed description of the manuscript. From the 1840s onwards the manuscript was available to researchers in the library, but due to its popularity it was later moved to the Nostitz archive and access to it was restricted. In the second half of the

31 Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS 10000, protective sheet c. recto; R. Šipek, *Die Jauerer Schlossbibliothek...*, pp. 15–40.

32 Ibidem, p. 37 – call no. „E 343”.

33 F. K. G. Hirsching, *Versuch einer Beschreibung sehenswürdiger Bibliotheken Teuschlands nach alphabetischer ordnung der Oerter*, Erlangen 1788, Vol. 3, p. 290; R. Šipek, *Die Jauerer Schlossbibliothek...*, pp. 175–176.

34 A. Białek, *Śladami rękopisu...*, pp. 31–32.

nineteenth century, research was conducted on the manuscript, including comparing its contents with the first published edition. The manuscript was also made available to the German researcher Maximilian Curtz, who prepared the Toruń edition of the work for the 400th anniversary of Copernicus's birth.³⁵

In 1896 Ludwik Antoni Birkenmajer was allowed to examine the manuscript in the company of Antoni Czuczyński. Birkenmajer published his findings in his monograph of 1900.³⁶ The first phototype edition of the manuscript appeared in 1944 in Munich, created by Fritz Kubach and Karl Zeller.³⁷

The autograph manuscript of *De revolutionibus...* remained in the hands of the Nostitz family for around 300 years. In 1945 the Nostitz collection was nationalised and moved to the Library of the National Museum in Prague, and from there to the University Library. In 1953 the manuscript was loaned to Warsaw for an exhibition on the occasion of the 410th anniversary of Copernicus's death. A „loan certificate” marked Prague, 14 September 1953, states as follows: „The manuscript is lent to the Polish Academy of Arts and Science for inclusion in the exhibition being held in Warsaw on the occasion of the 410th anniversary of the death of Nicolaus Copernicus, for the duration of the exhibition only”. This document was signed, for the Polish side, by Stanisław Lorentz and Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa.³⁸ The exhibition itself was entitled *Odrodzenie w Polsce* („The Renaissance in Poland”).³⁹ The autograph manuscript was also presented at the Copernicus Session of the Polish Academy of Sciences held on 15–16 September 1956.⁴⁰

35 N. Copernicus, *De revolutionibus*, publ. M. Curtze, Thorn 1873.

36 L. A. Birkenmajer, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Studya nad pracami Kopernika oraz materiały biograficzne*, Cracow 1900.

37 N. Kopernikus, *Opus de revolutionibus caelestibus manu propria. Facsimile-Wiedergabe*, publ. F. Kubach and K. Zeller, Munich-Oldenburg 1944.

38 BJ, MS 10000a, f. 1r.

39 *Odrodzenie w Polsce. Wystawa w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie 1953–1954*, Warsaw 1953.

40 A. Birkenmajer, *Głos w dyskusji*, in: *Sesja Kopernikowska, 15–16 IX 1953*, ed. J. Witkowski, Warsaw 1955, p. 453.

From that time onwards, efforts were made for Poland to acquire the priceless manuscript. As early as 1953, Ambassador Wiktor Grosz started negotiations about exchanging it for certain items of value to Czechoslovakia. In a letter dated 21 December 1953 the Polish Foreign Minister Stanisław Skrzyszewski informed Professor Stefan Żółkiewski of the Polish Academy of Sciences that „the government of the Czechoslovak People's Republic expects that, in return, the government of the People's Republic of Poland would donate items of historical and cultural value to the Czech nation”.⁴¹ The management of the National Library of Poland and the former Director of the Jagiellonian Library, Aleksander Birkenmajer, were involved in this undertaking. Seven objects were selected from the National Library of Poland, the Jagiellonian Library, the Municipal Library in Toruń, the University Library in Wrocław, Father Stanisław Jasiński's private collection and the Raczyński Library in Poznań. A possible decision about the library of Father Leopold Szersznik, located in Cieszyn, was also considered but the details of this are today unknown. The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was aware of the difficulty of finding a suitable equivalent for the priceless manuscript.⁴² Ultimately, the Polish side gave Czechoslovakia a parchment manuscript of the Czech Bible from the beginning of the 15th century containing 24 figurative initials and eight decorative initials, with the call number „Biblioteka Narodowa – Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamoyskich nr 7 (BN BOZ 7)”.⁴³

41 BJ, MS przyb. 300/75 – letter from Stanisław Skrzyszewski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Professor Stefan Żółkiewski, President of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, 21 December 1953.

42 BN BOZ 7; BJ, MS 441; Książnica Miejska w Toruniu im. M. Kopernika – MS KMgz (R.fol.5); Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu MS 1452; Rękopis owned by Rev. Stanisław Jasiński in Cracow (Wawel), Czech Antifonary from the 15th c.; Biblioteka Miejska im. Raczyńskich w Poznaniu call no. IV Kg 23 – hymnal in Czech; „Załączając notatkę o Bibliotece im. Leopolda Szersznika w Cieszynie, uprzejmie proszę o rozważenie i tej sprawy...” [I attach a note about the Leopold Szersznik Library in Cieszyn, and ask you to consider this matter as well...] – ibidem.

43 The manuscript is in Prague: Narodni Knihovna call number XVII.C.56. On the same subject, see also: T. Makowski, *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej. Od Jana do Jana. Przewodnik po wystawie*. Warsaw 2005, p. 297.

Under an act of 5 July, 1956 the government of Czechoslovakia offered the Polish nation Copernicus's manuscript as a gift. The Act states as follows: „Vláda Československé Republiky [...] daruje vládě Polské lidové republiky rukopis slavného syna polského národa Mikuláše Kopernika *De revolutionibus... orbium coelestium*” („The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic [...] presents to the Government of the Polish People's Republic the manuscript of the famous son of the Polish nation Nicolaus Copernicus *De revolutionibus... orbium coelestium*”). The deed of donation was signed by the Czechoslovak Prime Minister Vilim Široky and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Václav David.⁴⁴ The ceremonial presentation of the manuscript took place in Warsaw at the Chancellery of the Prime Minister, with the participation of Prime Minister of Poland Józef Cyrankiewicz.⁴⁵

The negotiations over which institution in Poland should house Copernicus's manuscript lasted several months. In late July 1956 the Rector of the Jagiellonian University, Teodor Marchlewski, requested that it be given to the Jagiellonian Library. Professor Karol Estreicher made efforts to have the manuscript transferred to the Jagiellonian University Museum, together with the globes then stored in the Jagiellonian Library, as he wanted to create a museum of science devoted to Copernicus in one of its rooms. Finally, on 25 September 1956 the autograph manuscript of *De revolutionibus...* was presented to the Jagiellonian University by Stanisław Lorentz, acting on behalf of the National Museum in Warsaw, where the manuscript had been kept from 1953–1956. The gift was accepted on behalf of the Jagiellonian University by the Vice-Chancellor Kazimierz Lepszy and the Deputy Director of the Jagiellonian Library Władysław Pocięcha. They were accompanied by the cura-

44 BJ, MS 10000b.

45 *Dar rządu Czechosłowacji. Przekazanie rękopisu dzieła Kopernika „De revolutionibus orbium coelestium”, „Dziennik Polski” 1956, No. 163; BJ, MS 10000b, sheet 3 - printed invitation to Aleksander Birkenmajer to take part in the ceremony of the presentation of Copernicus manuscript by the Czechoslovak government delegation.*

tors of the Jagiellonian Library Irena Barowa and Jerzy Zathey.⁴⁶ Władysław Pociecha delivered a speech on behalf of the Jagiellonian University.⁴⁷

Owen Gingerich, a leading researcher of Copernicus's legacy, who only had access to the propaganda put out by the Communist governments of Central and Eastern Europe, wrote as follows:

*After World War II, this treasure was lent by Czechoslovakia to Poland, at which time the Poles simply appropriated it for themselves and deposited in the Jagiellonian Library of Copernicus' alma mater. It would have been unseemly for one communist society to object too strenuously to a bordering brother society, so the precious document has remained in Poland.*⁴⁸

What actually took place was a kind of exchange of cultural goods between countries. In this exchange what mattered above all was the emotional attitude of the parties towards the items being swapped, not their objective value. For the Czechs, the manuscript of *De revolutionibus*... had no emotional value, while for Poland it was vital evidence of how the Polish state had participated in the development of global science and culture. Just how emotional the librarians were about Copernicus's manuscript can be seen from the telegram sent by Zofia Ameisenova to Aleksander Birkenmajer in Rome on September 25, 1956: „WE HAVE THE COPERNICUS MANUSCRIPT”.⁴⁹ The Jagiellonian Library today considers the manuscript the most valuable item in its collection and has given it the call number „10 000”.⁵⁰

In 1969, in connection with the approaching 500th anniversary of Copernicus's birth, research on the autograph manuscript

46 BJ, MS 10000b, f. 4.

47 BJ, MS 10000b, f. 6–8.

48 O. Gingerich, *The Book Nobody Read: Chasing the Revolutions of Nicolaus Copernicus*, New York 2004, p. 37–38.

49 BJ, MS 553/75. Professor Birkenmajer was closely involved in the acquisition of the autograph manuscript of *De revolutionibus*; his papers, held at the Jagiellonian Library, include several dozen folders relating to research on Copernicus: BJ, MS przyb. 261–316/75.

50 *Inwentarz rękopisów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, Nr 9001–10000, Część 3, Nr 9801–10000*, ed. J. Grzybowska, Cracow 1986, pp. 717–719.

began at the Manuscripts Division of the Jagiellonian Library, led by the eminent early manuscript specialist Jerzy Zathey, then Head of the Manuscripts Division. Zathey carried out a detailed study of the paper on which the text was written, the handwriting, the way the manuscript was put together and its binding. The back cover was taken apart, allowing Zathey to thoroughly examine the material it was made of and establish previously unknown details of the manuscript's binding.⁵¹ A facsimile edition of the autograph manuscript was made, as the first volume in the planned *Mikołaj Kopernik Dzieła wszystkie* („Complete works of Nicolaus Copernicus”). This first volume, entitled *Rękopis dzieła Mikołaja Kopernika „O obrotach”: facsimile* („The manuscript of Nicolaus Copernicus's work 'On the Revolutions': facsimile”), with an introduction by Jerzy Zathey entitled *Analiza i historia rękopisu „De revolutionibus”* („Analysis and history of the manuscript 'De revolutionibus'”) was published in 1972. This volume also appeared in English in 1972 and in Latin, French and Russian in 1973.

The next facsimile edition was published in Hildesheim in 1974. Another facsimile was produced in 1976 in Cracow, using better-quality paper and with more subtle differentiation between the various colours of the paper and ink. This version drew on the experience gained from the publication of the first volume of the complete works. Its overall dimensions are the same as the original manuscript and individual pages are cut to the same size as the originals.

In 1996 Neurosoft published the first electronic reprint of the manuscript of *De revolutionibus*. This was done by making digital copies of slides of the original. The publication was initially available only on CD-ROM. Later a digital version was made available via the website of the Jagiellonian Library.⁵² Currently anyone interested can consult this digital copy.

51 Z. Zathey, *Analiza i historia...*, pp. 1–39.

52 Jagiellońska Biblioteka Cyfrowa, *De revolutionibus libri sex* – <https://www.jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/publication/1494> [accessed 26.04.2021].

In 1999 the manuscript of *De revolutionibus...* was inscribed on the UNESCO Memory of the World Register, one of seven Polish items on the list. In 2016 the publisher Tadeusz Serocki in Pelplin produced another facsimile edition of the manuscript.

The manuscript of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus...* is a document of inestimable value for global cultural heritage. As such, it is treated with the utmost care by the librarians of the Jagiellonian Library.

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ADAM
VON GRUTTSCHREIBER'S
ALBUM AMICORUM:
AN UNKNOWN SOURCE
FOR THE HISTORY
OF CULTURE IN SILESIA
IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE 16th
AND EARLY 17th CENTURIES

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the *album amicorum* of Adam von Gruttschreiber (1553–1619), which is part of the collections of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin and is now in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow. Until 2016, it was considered lost in the war, and therefore, until recently, it could not be used in research on modern books of friendship. The article aims to introduce this very interesting object to scientific discourse. At the beginning, its owner is presented: a Silesian nobleman, courtier of the Dukes of Legnica and Brzeg, the lord of Michałów near Brzeg – and the remains of his architectural and sculptural patronage in his hometown of Michałów, which, according to the author of the article, was supposed to commemorate the founder himself and his family members. The album of friendship he kept was part of these commemorative undertakings. The article presents the main issues concerning the content of the album.

First, the unusual, illustrated print chosen by Adam von Gruttschreiber (*Neue Liuische Figuren*) is discussed, then the structure, chronology and meaning of the entries, and finally the main iconographic themes of the graphics and illumination decorating the entries. Based on these analyses, it can be concluded that Gruttschreiber's album is an extremely rich source on the culture of the Silesian nobility in the second half of the 16th and early 17th centuries, providing a lot of valuable information that will certainly be used in further research into the history of culture and art.

KEYWORDS: Adam von Gruttschreiber, Michałów, Michelau, Fürstentum Brieg, Duchy of Brzeg, Silesia, Stammbuch, album amicorum, book of friendship

Among other friendship books held in the former Prussian State Library in Berlin in the collection of the Jagiellonian Library is an *album amicorum* that belonged to Adam von Gruttschreiber (1553–1619), a Silesian nobleman and courtier of the Dukes of Brzeg (*Brieg*), the Lord of Michałów (*Michelau*) near Brzeg.¹ It had been considered lost after the Second World War, but in 2016 it was found in the Cracow Dominican Monastery together with a series of other works, thereafter transferred to the Jagiellonian Library. As it was unavailable for study until recently, it has not, to date, been analysed let alone integrated into scholarship on early modern friendship books, which developed in the latter half of the 20th century.² It had not attracted significant scholarly attention even

- 1 Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, Manuscript Department, MS Berol. Alba amicorum 1 (below BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1). I wish to express my gratitude to the Prof. Zdzisław Pietrzyk, Director of the Jagiellonian Library, for drawing my attention to the analyzed album, and for his valuable advice and comments on this paper.
- 2 See W. Klose, "Stammbücher – eine kulturhistorische Betrachtung", *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, Bd. 16 (1982), pp. 41–67; W.W. Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch. Konstitution und Geschichte einer textsortenbezogenen Sammelform bis ins erste Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 2003; M. Ryantova, *Památníky aneb štambuchy, to jest alba amicorum. Kulturně historický fenomén raného novověku*, České Budějovice 2007 (Monographia historica, sv. 8); A. Michalska, "Nowe perspektywy w badaniach nad nowożytnymi albumami przyjaźni" [New Perspectives in Research on Modern Friendship Books], *Prace Kulturoznawcze*, vol. 22, 2018, No. 4, pp. 29–41.

before the start of WWII.³ This paper aims to present an outline of the book's content and point to various research directions opened up by its analysis. Adam von Gruttschreiber used the *Neuwe Liuische Figuren* as his friendship book, an illustrated history of Rome by Livy known as *Ab Urbe Condita* and translated into German in 1573. He collected almost 470 entries within its pages, the majority decorated with coats of arms or figurative representations of high artistic quality. The number of entries and illustrations make this friendship album the most extensive among preserved Silesian *alba amicorum* from the period.⁴ It is also worthy of greater attention given its owner and his accomplished artistic patronage.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON ADAM VON GRUTTSCHREIBER

In order to understand the specificity of the friendship book, let us take a closer look at its owner. Born in 1553, Adam von Gruttschreiber was a son of Hans von Gruttschreiber (1525-1587) and Emerentia von Baruth und Breisewitz.⁵ His father's family were

- 3 A.M. Hildebrandt, "Eintragungen brandenburgischer Fürsten und Fürstinnen in Stammbüchern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts", *Hohenzollernjahrbuch*, Bd. 7, 1903, pp. 166, 179; E. Wolbe, "Ein Stammbuch vor dreihundert Jahren", *Antiquitäten-Rundschau*, Jg. 12, 1914, pp. 481-483; W. Klose, *Corpus Alborum Amicorum – CAAC. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1988 (Hiersemanns Bibliographische Handbücher, Bd. 8), p. 96.
- 4 See E. Volger, "Über die Sammlung von Stammbüchern (77 Stück) in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau", *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, Bd. 3, 44. Bericht, 1880, pp. 445-475; K. Masner, "Die schlesischen Stammbücher und ihre künstlerische Ausschmückung", *Jahrbuch des Schlesischen Museums für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer* 4, 1907, pp. 137-170; E. Białek, "Die Stammbuchsammlung in der Universitätsbibliothek Wrocław", *Germanica Wratislaviensia*, Bd. 68, 1985, pp. 133-146; A. Borys, "Album amicorum Johanna Reimanna (1544-1597). Najstarszy znany sztambuch w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu" [*Album Amicorum of Johann Reimann (1544-1597). The Oldest Known Friendship Book in the Collection of the University Library in Wrocław*], *Śląska Republika Uczonych*, vol. 5, 2012, pp. 109-129.
- 5 Information on Gruttschreiber family is traced from the following sources: Jagiellonian Library, *MS Berol. Collectio genealogica Koenigiana*, Bd. 49, *Ad genealogiam derer von Gruttschreiber*; J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten erste Vorstellung* [...], Leipzig 1720, pp. 417-422; Idem, *Des Schlesischen Adels Anderer Theil, Oder Fortsetzung Schlesischer Curiositäten* [...], Leipzig-Breßlau 1728, pp. 654-655; Genealogiophilus [C.F. von Gruttschreiber], *Genealogische Nachlese von einigen Gräfflichen, Freyherrlichen und Adelichen Geschlechts-Linien in Schlesien, und besonders in dem Oels- Bernstädtischen*

descendants of Legnica (*Liegnitz*) burghers, ennobled in the 15th century after which they purchased an estate near Wrocław (*Breslau*). His mother's family came from nobility settled in the Duchy of Oleśnica (*Fürstentum Oels*).⁶ Hans von Gruttschreiber initially owned the village of Wilków Średzki (*Wilkau-Zopkendorf*), where a new family line descended. In 1557, he purchased the estate of the village of Michałów (*Michelau*) in the Duchy of Brzeg (*Fürstentum Brieg*), and later an estate in Ptakowice (*Taschenberg*). Three von Kitlitz brothers – Hans, Erasmus, and Sigismund – had been previous owners of those estates.⁷ Hans von Gruttschreiber may have only retained a title attached to his ownership of the upper village (*Ober Michelau*), since its lower part (*Nieder Michelau*) belonged to members of the Pogorzela (von Pogrell) family until the 1590s.⁸ In 1563, Hans, together with his elder brother Wenzel Jr, (1515–1570), owner of estates in Marszowice (*Marschwitz*), Stabłowice (*Stabelwitz*) and Kuźniki (*Schmiedefeld*) near Wrocław, received a document confirming their noble rank in the Hereditary Lands of the House of Habsburg (*erbländisch-österreichische Adelsbestätigung*).⁹ Two years later, Hans sold his Szymanowice (*Schimbach/Schönbach*) estate in the Duchy of Wrocław (*Fürstentum Breslau*), and left to live perma-

Fürstenthume, Tl. 2, Oels 1765, plate XVIII, *Die von Gruttschreiber, aus dem Hause Czopkendorf*; K. Wutke, G. Türk, "Die Mitglieder des Geschlechtes Gruttschreiber in älterer Zeit", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens*, Bd. 75, 1941, pp. 17–27.

- 6 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, pp. 242–243; Idem, *Des Schlesischen Adels...*, pp. 513–514.
- 7 The first two brothers were affiliated with the court of George II, Duke of Brzeg. Hans was a court councillor (1549–1550), while Erasmus entered the office of the Governor (*Landeshauptmann*) of Brzeg and Olawa (1559), see *Urkunden der Stadt Brieg. Urkundliche und chronikalische Nachrichten über die Stadt Brieg, die dortigen Klöster, die Stadt- und Stiftsgüter bis zum Jahre 1550*, hrsg. von C. Grünhagen, Breslau 1870 (*Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, Bd. 9), pp. 209–210, 214, 215, Nos. 1543, 1575, 1582.
- 8 In 1562, Prezel von Pogrell, Marshall of George II of Brzeg also owned estates at Michałów. From 1586–1591, additional estates were owned by Christoph, land senior of the Duchy of Brzeg, and by Georg von Pogrell, court forester and purser in Brzeg, see J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 707; Idem, *Des Schlesischen Adels...*, pp. 868–869.
- 9 K.F. von Frank, *Standeserhebungen und Gnadenakte für das Deutsche Reich und die österreichischen Erblande bis 1806 sowie kaiserlich österreichische bis 1823*, Bd. 2, Senftenegg 1970, p. 136.

nently at another estate. Further information on his life remains unknown except for his death at the age of 62 in 1587.

At this point, it is worth mentioning the unique legal and confessional situation at Michałów. Interestingly, the church's patronage remained under the jurisdiction of the Abbots of the Cistercian Monastery in Kamieniec Ząbkowicki (*Kamenz*). However, since Lutheranism was the accepted religious tradition for the Duchy of Brzeg, an area greatly prone to conflicts between the Pogrells and the Gruttschreibers, the Abbots had to assign Lutheran ministers.¹⁰ The ministers were to practice in compliance with the doctrine defined by the Duke of Brzeg for the territory of his rule.¹¹ Evidence of this political dependence is testified by the 'onions and garlic rent' (*Zwiebel- und Knoblochzins*) paid to the Kamieniec Abbots'.¹²

Regrettably, nothing is known about the youth and education of Adam von Gruttschreiber. He may have followed a similar path as that experienced and described in the *Memorialbuch* by Hans von Schweinichen (1552-1616), a long-standing courtier of the Dukes of Legnica and his senior by nine years.¹³ The latter began his education at a village school in his native Mierczyce (*Mertschütz*), where

10 W. Ribbeck, *Die Herzöge von Brieg und die geistlichen Patronatsherren*, 'Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte', Bd. 22, 1901, H. 1, pp. 90-94; Engel, *Zur Geschichte des Dorfes Michelau insbesondere der katholischen Kirchengemeinde*, Brieg 1930, pp. 11-14.

11 M. Weber, *Die Kirchenordnungen für Brieg (1592) und Liegnitz (1594)*, in: *Dziedzictwo reformacji...* [Heritage of Reformation...], pp. 143-148; G. Wąs, *Reformacja i władza. Reformy chrześcijaństwa w nurcie reformacji a spory o władzę na Śląsku w XVI i pierwszym dwudziestolecu XVII wieku* [Reformation and Power. Reforms of Christianity in Reformation versus Dispute over Power in Silesia in the 16th and Two First Decades of the 17th Century] Kraków 2017, pp. 97-145.

12 The names of four ministers at Michałów from the time of Hans and Adam von Gruttschreiber are known. Georg Hempel was minister in 1565. He was succeeded by Johann Lang (1568-1573), who was followed by Ambrosius Rosaeus and remained minister until his death in 1605. Educated at Wittenberg University, he was most likely the son of Hieronim Rosaeus (1501-1575), minister in Legnica and later in Strzelin. Following Ambrosius Rosaeus's death, the position was taken over by his son Samuel. The latter died before Gruttschreiber in 1619, who, prior to his own death, was involved in a dispute with the Kamieniec Abbot over the parish assignment. W. Ribbeck, op. cit., pp. 90-94; Engel, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

13 *Denkwürdigkeiten des Hans von Schweinichen*, hrsg. von H. Oesterley, Breslau 1878. On H. von Schweinichen see H. Wunder, "Schweinichen Hans von", *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 24, Berlin 2010, pp. 51-52.

he learnt the basics of reading and writing. He assisted his father in farm work at the same time. Two years later, he arrived at the Legnica court, where he pursued further education alongside the young Duke Frederick IV. Supervised by the ducal tutor, he learned about Christianity, and received language training in German and Latin. Following, he left for a humanistic education at Złotoryja Gymnasium. During this time, he accompanied his father to many ceremonies and travels hosted by the court of Henry XI of Legnica.¹⁴ As he admitted, he did not fully benefit from higher education since he was more strongly tempted by life at court.¹⁵ Taking into account the references to ancient culture visible in Gruttschreiber's friendship book, an assumption can be made that its owner attended the Wrocław or Złotoryja Gymnasium and devoted himself to his studies with more passion than Schweinichen.¹⁶ An analysis of his album and his artistic patronage, discussed below, suggests that the two main goals of a humanistic education – the classical *humanitas* and Christian *pietas*, which allowed him to follow consciously a path of virtue, not fortune – were close to his heart.¹⁷ It is also likely that he was educated in one of the first classes of the Brzeg Gymnasium, which opened in 1569.¹⁸ We know that his elder cousin Hans (1548–1605) attended the Wrocław Gymnasium, after which he set off on an educational tour of Wittenberg and Padua. Upon his return, he began to administer his family estates and participate in their political life, serving as the plenipotentiary of

14 *Denkwürdigkeiten...*, pp. 14–24.

15 *Weil aber allbereit in meinem Haupte das Hofwesen, bei welchem ich zuvor gewesen, steckte, hatte ich nur mehr Lust zu Reiterei, als zu Büchern, und war mein Herz mehr dazu geneiget, als zu fleißigem Studiren. [...] Wollt mir wünschen, daß ich nicht meinem, sondern meines Herrn Vatern und Präceptoren Köpfen gefolget und im Studiren fortgefahren, es sollte mir sehr ersprießlichen sein gewesen, muß aber gedenken, daß es Gott nicht hat wollen haben, und also sein Will und Vorsehung nicht gewesen*, ibidem, pp. 21, 23.

16 J. Budzyński, *Paideia humanistyczna, czyli wychowanie do kultury. Studium z dziejów klasycznej edukacji w gimnazjach XVI–XVIII wieku (na przykładzie Śląska)* [Humanist Paideia, Namely Education for Culture. Study in the History of Classical Education in Gymnasia in the 16th–18th Century (on the Example of Silesia)], Częstochowa 2003, pp. 121–145.

17 Ibidem, pp. 317–332.

18 Ibidem, pp. 145–153.

the knighthood (*Landesbestallte*) of the Duchy of Wrocław and as a tax collector (*verordneter Steuereinnehmer*).¹⁹

In the case of Adam von Gruttschreiber, no circumstantial evidence exists that sheds light on his further education. His personal data is not found in the public registers of the universities in Frankfurt an der Oder, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Jena, or Heidelberg, the universities most frequented by Silesian noblemen in the period.²⁰ Nor is his name present in the registers of Italian universities.²¹ Thus, if he travelled across Silesia and outside its borders, the purpose of his voyages was more likely related to court service rather than education. It is also possible that he helped his father administer the family estate or began his career at court in Brzeg. Judging by the entries in his friendship book, it can be ascertained that he was in Dessau, the capital of the Duchy of Anhalt, in 1578. He returned to Silesia in the following year, later traveling to Upper Hungary. He may have enrolled to serve in the Habsburg Army from 1580–1582, a possibility suggested by numerous entries by the Imperial Army's officers and representations of military figures in his *album amicorum*.²² He returned to Silesia in 1582. At that time, despite a truce between the Emperor and the Sultan, Upper Hungary did not rank as a peaceful and safe region. Additionally, much unrest escalated over the course of his trip among the Emperor's troops owing to a long-overdue payment.²³

19 L. Felber, *Geistlich Passport Oder Richtige Kundschaft der Kinder Gottes, Welche sie mit ihnen auß dieser Welt ins Ewige leben nehmen Erkleret [...] bey der Begräbnüs Deß Edlen [...] Herrn Hansen Grüttschreibern von Zopkendorff auff Stabelwitz [...]*, Olsse 1606.

20 He also did not appear in university records in Heidelberg, Rostock, or Marburg, which were less frequently visited by Silesians.

21 C. Zonta, *Schlesische Studenten an italienischen Universitäten. Eine prosopographische Studie zur frühneuzeitlichen Bildungsgeschichte*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2004 (Neue Forschungen zur Schlesischen Geschichte, Bd. 10).

22 See *Theatrum vitae et mortis...*, pp. 98–99.

23 See G. Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century*, transl. by T.J. and H.D. DeKornfeld, Colorado-New Jersey-New York 2009 (East European Monographs, vol. 735; CHSP Hungarian Studies Series, vol. 18), pp. 89–118; István Kenyeres, *Die Kriegsausgaben der Habsburgermonarchie von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum ersten Drittel des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Kriegführung und Staatsfinanzen. Die Habsburgermonarchie und das Heilige Römische Reich vom*

Moreover, it is known that Adam von Gruttschreiber, together with his brother Friedrich, was one of many stewards (*Truchsess*) who waited on the ducal tables during the wedding reception of John George of Brzeg and Anna of Württemberg, held at the Brzeg Castle on 16 September 1582.²⁴ Three years later, together with Friedrich von Kittlitz, he was a cupbearer (*Mundschenk*) for Anna Maria of Anhalt, wife of Joachim Frederick of Brzeg, during the wedding of Charles II of Oleśnica and Elisabeth of Brzeg held at the same castle on 30 October 1585.²⁵ Interestingly, neither he nor his father or brothers were mentioned among the more important participants at the funeral of George II, Duke of Brzeg, held on 9 June 1586.²⁶ In 1591, he was already land and court judge (*Landhofrichter*) of the Duchy of Brzeg, as well as one of the signatories of the agreement related to estate payments of the duke's overdue debts.

Based on an analysis of the correspondence of Barbara, Duchess of Brandenburg, who ruled at Brzeg Castle from 1586–1595, Carl Adolf Schimmelpfennig assessed that her relations with Gruttschreiber were not positive. Her strife was apparently caused by the Lord of Michałów himself, who was often in conflict with his neighbours and was very severe with his serfs. In May 1593, he held his step-daughter's wedding reception at Michałów, which featured music and dances, despite occurring during the mourning period (*Trauerjahr*) following the death of Duke John George of Brzeg,²⁷ a situation that angered the Duchess but did not result in further punishment.²⁸ He also attended the procession of the widowed Anna of Württemberg for her wedding to Frederick IV of Legnica in late

Dreißigjährigen Krieg bis zum Ende des habsburgischen Kaisertums 1740, hrsg. von P. Rauscher, Münster 2010 (Geschichte in der Epoche Karls V., Bd. 10), pp. 41–80.

24 *Merkbuch des Hans von Schweinichen*, hrsg. von K. Wutke, Berlin 1895, p. 15.

25 *Ibidem*, p. 32.

26 See *ibidem*, pp. 163–180.

27 He died on 6 July 1582 and was buried 23 days later, *ibidem.*, p. 236.

28 C.A. Schimmelpfennig, "Herzogin Barbara von Liegnitz-Brieg, geborne Markgräfin von Brandenburg, ihr Hofhalt und ihre Regierung von 1586–1595", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens*, Bd. 14, H. 2, 1879, pp. 393–396.

October 1594.²⁹ Due to a scarcity of archival information, it be assumed that Gruttschreiber spent the 1580s and the first half of the next decade living as a landlord. Additionally, as a former soldier, he may have fulfilled some tasks for the Habsburg administration.

Eventually, Adam von Gruttschreiber entered the Brzeg court, where he served as a councillor and land and court judge of the Duchy for many years. These positions may have been granted due to his good relations with Duke Joachim Frederick and his children's regents (Maria Anna of Anhalt, Charles II of Oleśnica), as well with the young Duke John Christian. The Lord of Michałów was most likely a very resourceful man and an effective administrator, which enabled him to accumulate substantial wealth and to commission works of art and architecture to commemorate his and his family's legacy.

Adam von Gruttschreiber's greatest achievement involved securing the endowment of a document from Duke John Christian that awarded town privileges to Upper Michałów, dated 26 June 1615. On that occasion, the Brzeg printing house of Caspar Sigfried published a ceremonial print dedicated to the Gruttschreibers of the Stabłowice and Michałów lines, which featured a sermon by Rev. Samuel Rosaeus, congratulatory poems, and inscriptions from Michałów's town gates.³⁰ Rosaeus prepared an erudite sermon that referred to Psalm 122, in which he compared Michałów to biblical Jerusalem. He also made reference to the concept of the state as formulated by Martin Luther, which outlined the state's three main functions: to preach the Word of God to the congregation (*Lehrambt*), to enact justice (*Wehrambt*), and to ensure the validity of laws and privileges as they applied to all residents (*Nehrambt*).³¹ In his address, Rosaeus quoted ancient authors including St. Au-

29 *Merkbuch*..., p. 143.

30 S. Rosaeus, *Evangelische Lehr und Ehren-Predigt Bey der Inauguratio[n], der Newen Stadt Michelaw am Neyßwasser, im Brigischen Fürstenthumb, und Land Schlesien, gelegen, In vorsamblung vieler vornehmer ansehnlicher Personen, den sechsten Sonntag nach Trinitatis Anno 1615 gehalten*, Brieg 1615.

31 See T. Scott, *The Early Reformation in Germany. Between Secular Impact and Radical Vision*, Farnham 2013, *passim*.

gustine of Hippo, Silius Italicus, Sallust, and Antisthenes, as well as Johann Stigel (1515-1562), a Neo-Latinist poet and a learned humanist. Gruttschreiber was also congratulated by intellectuals from Brzeg and Wrocław,³² such as Jacob Schickfuß,³³ Christoph Rössler,³⁴ Johann Neumond (Neomenius),³⁵ Johann Gebhardt von Göppelsberg,³⁶ Melchior Lauban,³⁷ Samuel Latochius,³⁸ Andreas Birner,³⁹ Johann Scultetus,⁴⁰ and Caspar Siegfried.⁴¹ The print's conclusion features the description of the three gates of Michałów, which includes a list of the numerous inscriptions in German and Latin that adorned it. Crucially, the Gruttschreibers' coat of arms – a jumping silver dog wearing a collar turned leftwards on a two-partite escutcheon – became the town's emblem.⁴²

Adam von Gruttschreiber married four times. His first wife was Anna von Gregersdorf, widow of Hans Abraham von Warkotsch und Nobschütz, the Lord of Kojęcín (*Baumgarten*), the councillor and chamberlain of the Dukes of Legnica-Brzeg.⁴³ She passed away

32 Engel, op. cit., p. 17.

33 (1574-1637) doctor of both laws (1612), rector of the Brzeg Gymnasium (1603-1613), councillor of John Christian, Duke of Brzeg, and later imperial councillor, author of the German translation and continuation of *Annales gentis Silesiae* by Joachim Curäus (1571).

34 (1568-1633) medical doctor, court doctor, councillor of the Dukes of Brzeg,

35 (1571-1639) a Calvinist, superintendent of the Duchy of Brzeg and court preacher of John Christian, Duke of Brzeg.

36 (1577-1622) secretary of the Dukes of Brzeg.

37 (1567-1633) scientist, poet, rector of the Brzeg Gymnasium (1613-1633), colleague of John Christian, Duke of Brzeg.

38 (1560-po 1617) Latin poet, minister at Zwanowice (*Schwanowitz*), teacher at the Brzeg Gymnasium, rector of the Byczyna school.

39 (d. 1640) Brzeg city councillor.

40 (1558-1618) preacher at the Church of St. Elisabeth in Wrocław and professor of the Bible at the Elisabethan Gymnasium (1583), parish priest of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene (1589), Gymnasium rector, inspector of churches and schools in Wrocław (1610-1618).

41 Printer active in Brzeg from 1611-1640.

42 H. von Saurma-Jeltsch, *Wappenbuch der Schlesiischen Städte und Städtel*, Berlin 1870, pp. 194-195.

43 She married Gruttschreiber after 1586, a date when her first husband was still alive and participated in the funeral of John II, Duke of Brzeg, *Merkbuch...*, p. 180; J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 1022.

on 22 October 1603 at the age of 44. After some time, Gruttschreiber married Catharine Strzela von Oberwitz und Groß-Stein. The couple did not share a happy life together for long. Catherine, died in childbirth at age 28, and so did the baby on 24 March 1606. A similarly sad fate met his third wife Catharine, daughter of Adam Posadowski von Postelwitz, the Lord of Wołczyn (*Constadt*). She died after her first childbirth on 10 December 1607 at merely 22 years old. Their son Hans Adam (1607–1655) did survive. Adam von Gruttschreiber's last wife, Rosina (d. 1640), was the daughter of Barthel von Nimitz, a nobleman from the Niemcza district (*Weichbild Nimptsch*) in the Duchy of Brzeg and the Lord of Wilkowo Wielkie (*Wilckau*) and Chwałęcín (*Quantzendorf*). Their son Hans Heinrich (1615–1657) was born in 1615. Adam von Gruttschreiber died on 22 April 1619 at the age of 66.

Finally, it is worth mentioning Lord of Michałów's siblings. He had three brothers: Friedrich (1553–1589), Heinrich (1559–1601), and Ulrich (d. after 1625). The first among them inherited the Ptakowice estate from their father. He married Eve, daughter of Adam Posadowski von Postelwitz, and they had a son, Hans Friedrich (1584–1618). A tournament shield featuring Friedrich's coat of arms and motto used to be kept in the Brzeg Arsenal.⁴⁴ Heinrich von Gruttschreiber's estate was located in the village of Rosenau. He married Magdalena von Gellhorn und Ossig.⁴⁵ Ulrich, the youngest of the brothers, was a courtier for the Dukes of Brzeg. He owned an estate in the village of Zielęcice (*Grüningen*) near Brzeg. He married Eva Dyhrn von Schönau und der Gimmel.⁴⁶ Adam von Gruttschreiber also had two sisters. Emerentiana (d. 1590) was married to Adam von Reibnitz und Rathen.⁴⁷ Eve (d. 1628) was the wife of Heinrich Buchta von Buchtitz, the Lord of Gałaczzyce (*Hohengierßdorf*), Lubcza (*Leubusch*), and Ziltzendorf (*Zülzendorf*), councillor of Wrocław

44 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 419, 725; idem, *Des Schlesischen Adels...*, p. 400.

45 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 420.

46 Ibidem.

47 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 754; Idem, *Des Schlesischen Adels...*, p. 910.

Bishop Johann von Sitsch, and Nysa court judge (*bischöflicher Hofrichter in Neisse*).⁴⁸

ADAM VON GRUTTSCHREIBER'S PATRONAGE

Adam von Gruttschreiber was involved in numerous patronage activities at Michałów, which left tangible traces still visible today.⁴⁹ He continued projects inherited from his father Hans, he founded a new baptismal font for the local church, and was planning to raise a new residence.⁵⁰ In the last years of his life, the Lord of Michałów funded the completion of the construction of the palace, whose elevation featured *sgraffito* decoration.⁵¹ However, the church was the main focus of his patronage. He funded the raising of a brick tower, also covered with *sgraffito*, on which a clock mechanism was placed. A new triforium structure was built in the church's nave, a pipe organ was introduced, and new pews were

- 48 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, pp. 302, 419; B.W. Scholz, *Das geistliche Fürstentum Neisse. Eine ländliche Elite unter der Herrschaft des Bischofs (1300-1650)*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2011 (Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, Bd. 42), pp. 143-144, 271, 353, 397.
- 49 H. Luchs, "Zur Kunsttopographie Schlesiens", *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, Bd. 2, 1875, H. 1-2, p. 36; E. Wernicke, *Zur Schlesischen Kunsttopographie*, Ibidem, H. 5, s. 110-111; *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schlesien*, Bd. 2, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Landkreise des Reg.-Bezirks Breslau*, bearb. von H. Lutsch, Breslau 1889, pp. 352-353; *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce* [Catalogue of Art Monuments in Poland], vol. 7, *Województwo Opolskie* [Opole Voivodeship], fascicle 1, *Powiat Brzeski* [Brzeg County], comps. T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, M. Zlat, Warszawa 1960, pp. 66-69; *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce. Śląsk* [Art Monuments in Poland. Silesia], eds. S. Brzezicki, C. Nielsen, comps. E. Badstübner, G. Grajewski, D. Popp, Warszawa 2006, pp. 557-558.
- 50 On the topic of the font in the Michałów Church see *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce...*, p. 68; T. Chrzanowski, *Rzeźba lat 1560-1650 na Śląsku Opolskim* [Sculpture in Opolian Silesia in 1560-1650], Warszawa 1974, pp. 49-51, 92; J. Harasimowicz, *Treści i funkcje ideowe sztuki śląskiej Reformacji, 1520-1650* [Content and Ideological Functions of Silesian Reformation Art 1520-1650], Wrocław 1986 (AUWr No 819, *Historia Sztuki* 2), pp. 116-117, 126. The wooden cover of the font disappeared after WWII.
- 51 It was assumed that the Palace was raised in 1615-18, M. Jagiełło-Kołaczyk, *Sgraffita na Śląsku, 1540-1650* [Sgraffiti in Silesia. 1540-1650], Wrocław 2003, p. 388; *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce. Śląsk...*, p. 558. An inscription with the year 1611 was found in its cellar. The palace was remodelled on a number of occasions and lost its form as it appeared during the life of Adam von Gruttschreiber.

placed inside. Gruttschreiber also founded a library in the church.⁵² A pulpit was placed on the northern side of the chancel arch; (fig. 1)⁵³ of unique composition and good craftsmanship, imitating the pulpit in the Church of St. Mary Magdalene in Wrocław (1579–1583)⁵⁴ and the Church of St. Nicholas in Brzeg (ca. 1593).⁵⁵ Four epitaphs are inscribed in the church's chancel, which, based on the compositional and stylistic features, can be dated to the last quarter of the 16th and the first quarter of the 17th century. Regrettably, two on the northern wall were partially hacked off in order to raise a wooden gallery in the chancel, which was dismantled after the 1950s. One



FIG. 1. Michałów, Church of St. Joseph the Worker (previously of St. Michael), pulpit, ca. 1600 (before 1615). Photo Adam Szczepaniec

52 S. Rosaeus, Op.cit., k. [E iv v.-F i r.].

53 On the topic of the pulpit see J. Pokora, *Sztuka w służbie reformacji. Śląskie ambony 1550-1650* [Art in the Service of Reformation. Silesian Pulpits 1550–1650], Warszawa 1982, pp. 32, 37, 46, 55, 57, 59, 200–203; J. Harasimowicz, *Treści i funkcje ideowe...*, pp. 83, 84, 87, 92.

54 Ibidem, pp. 266–273.

55 Ibidem, pp. 151–154.

of the epitaphs is on an altar that features scenes of the Crucifixion, Christ in Limbo, and the Road to Emmaus, whereas the second is a fragment of a bas-relief featuring a standing woman in a dress with her hands folded at the height of her belly. Only the epitaph opposite the pulpit next to the font has been preserved in a good state, although it is missing several personifications and its inscriptions have been painted over (fig. 2). It is a vertical altar epitaph with a central scene depicting a Christian knight fighting Satan, Sin, and the World. On the basis of the partially preserved inscription, the noblewoman commemorated by the epitaph may be identified⁵⁶ as Eva von Gruttschreiber (d. 1628), wife of Heinrich



FIG. 2. Church of St. Joseph the Worker (previously of St. Michael), epitaph on the southern side of the chancel arch, next to the font, 4th quarter 16th c.–1st quarter 17th c. Photo Adam Szczepaniec

56 On the set of epitaphs see T. Chrzanowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 71, 77, 89; J. Harasimowicz, *Treści i funkcje ideowe...*, pp. 34, 35, 43; *idem*, *Mors janua vitae. Śląskie epitafia i nagrobki wieku reformacji* [Mors Janua Vitae. Silesian Epitaphs and Tombs in the Age of Reformation], Wrocław 1992 (AUWr No 1098, Historia Sztuki 3), pp. 86, 90–91, 118, 144.



FIG. 3. Michałów, inscription-and-heraldic plaque in the gate leading to the Church of St. Joseph the Worker (previously of St. Michael), 1615. Photo Adam Szczepaniec

von Buchta.⁵⁷ It is highly likely that the remaining epitaphs commemorated Adam von Gruttschreiber and one of his brothers. The removal of the white paint may uncover the inscriptions, allowing further identification of the dedicatees.

Two rectangular heraldic plaques preserved in Michałów into the present day and related to Adam von Gruttschreiber are worth mentioning. The first is placed on the gate above the entrance to the church plot (fig. 3).⁵⁸ It depicts the town emblem in an oval escutcheon placed in a cartouche and decorated with strapwork, supported by two winged putti in narrow loincloths. The emblem is surrounded by the inscription:

· INSIGNIA CIVITATIS MICHELAVIENSIS · 1615.

The second plaque is located on the wall surrounding the plot of the presbytery, namely the former palace (fig. 4). Its bottom edge,

57 Only the upper part of the bas relief was hacked off. Meanwhile, the inscription that surrounds the plaque may have been preserved in its entirety, with a part possible under plaster. The preserved visible inscription fragment reads: [...] REN TVGENTREICH FRAV EVA BVCHTIN GEBORNE GRVDTSCHREIBERIN V. TZOPTGENDORF.

58 Engel, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 20.



FIG. 4. Michałów, inscription-and-heraldic plaque in the wall surrounding the presbytery (former palace), 1611. Photo Adam Szczepaniec

currently covered with plaster, was visible before 1611.⁵⁹ In the middle of the plaque is a pair of coats of arms in an oval frame decorated with strapwork and supported by a pair of griffins. An elongated rectangular escutcheon with an inscription in strapwork framing is located below. The coats of arms were supported by the captions: AD GR(et) ROS NIMITZIN, enabling us to claim with certainty that the coat of arms on the left belongs to Adam von Gruttschreiber, while that on the right to his fourth wife Rosina von Nimitz. The following maxim was placed around the oval frame:

VIGILANDO AGENDO BENE - CONSVLENDO PROSPERE
OMNIA - CEDUNT.

This quote derives from *De Catilinae Coniuratione* by Sallust, referring to the words supposedly spoken by Cato the Elder on the values needed to achieve success. The following inscription surrounds the coat of arms:

LABOR GLORIAE - PARENS

59 H. Luchs, op. cit., p. 36; Engel, op. cit., p. 21.

This can be translated as: “Work yields fame”. The maxim is an encouragement to live an active life in order to secure one’s legacy. At the bottom of the plaque, the following inscription can be read inside strapwork framing:

STRENVVS ET NOBILISS[IMVS] VIR D[OMI]N[VS] ADAM(VS)
A GRVDTSCHREIBER DE ZOPFKENDORF POSSESSOR HV[IVS]
FVND[I] ILLVST[RIVM] LIGIO BRIG[ENSIUM] PRINCIP[I]V[M]
CONS[ILIARIVS] ET DVCAT(US) HVI(VS) IVDEX PROVINC[IALIS]
INCITAMENT[VM] POSTERIS AD AEDIFICIAND[VM] RELINQUENS FF.

The plaque commemorates Adam von Gruttschreiber as Michałów’s owner, councillor to the Dukes of Legnica and Brzeg, land and court judge of the Duchy of Brzeg, as well as his wife Rosina von Nimitz. At the same time, it encourages future generations to live actively and to build. It is likely that the plaque was originally placed on the church or the palace.

Even if assessed briefly, the extent and quality of Adam von Gruttschreiber’s patronage activities exemplify his status as an ambitious patron who did not spare any means on structures meant to commemorate himself and his family. He raised a new palace, he remodelled and refurnished the church, and he founded the family’s mausoleum in the church’s chancel. The new pulpit imitated popular solutions in Silesian pulpits in Brzeg and Wrocław. The epitaphs, possibly constructed in his lifetime, present stimulating compositional solutions and rare iconographies. He employed skilled artists in the execution of these works and it is even possible that he contributed to shaping the design of the works he commissioned. From a political perspective, Adam von Gruttschreiber’s major success was his acquisition of town privileges for Michałów. Now, having presented the biography of the nobleman and his patronage, let us move on to an analysis of his friendship book.

GRUTTSCHREIBER’S *ALBUM AMICORUM*: INTRODUCTION

A friendship book, called an *album amicorum* or *philoteca*, among other terms, was a book in which owners collected entries by in-

dividuals they knew and met. It is supposed that the habit of collecting entries in an album stems from the circles of Wittenberg students, including Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon. The oldest of such albums dates to the 1540s, though a custom dating from at least the mid-15th century among the gentry and nobility requested visitors to record those who had hosted them in visitor books (*Gästebücher*). The custom was also highly influenced by heraldic culture of the time. Without detailing the creation and development of the friendship book as a genre, we can assuredly state that the taste for such books spread among the nobility and burghers both within and outside of the countries of the German Reich.⁶⁰

Adam von Gruttschreiber's choice for his friendship book was a copy of *Neuwe Liuische Figuren, Darinnen die gantze Roemische Historien, kuenstlich begriffen vnd angezeigt. Geordnet vnd gestellt*, published in Frankfurt am Main in 1573. It is an octant in an album format, composed of a series of 108 woodcuts that chronologically presents events from the history of ancient Rome described by Titus Livius in *Ab Urbe Condita*. The work was a German translation of *Icones Livianae: Praecipuas Romanorum Historias Magno Artificio Ad Vivum Expressas Oculis Repraesentantes, Succinctis Versibus Illustratae*, published in the same city a year prior. Both versions were published by Georg Rab and Weigand Han Heirs. The prints were executed by the Nuremberg workshop of Jost Amman (1539–1591) after drawings by Johann Melchior Bocksperger (1525–1587). The illustrations visually dominate, occupying the majority of the pages. Interestingly, the German version of Livy's work contains five more prints than its Latin counterpart. Each illustration is accompanied by a title and a brief rhymed commentary in German. The author of the Latin commentaries was Philip Lonitzer (d. 1599), while Heinrich Peter Rebenstock (1541–1595), a minister in Eschersheim, au-

60 W. Taegert, *Edler Schatz holden Erinnerns. Bilder in Stammbüchern der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg aus vier Jahrhunderten*, Bamberg 1995, pp. 30–36; W.W. Schnabel, op. cit., pp. 206–562; M. Ryantova, op. cit., pp. 120–159.

thored the German ones. Importantly, the same team of artists and printers had collaborated with Sigmund Feyerabend on the publications of the *Neuwe Biblische Figuren deß Alten vnd Neuwen Testaments*, published for the first time in 1564 and frequently reprinted (1565, 1569, 1571, 1579).

I have come across only two other cases of this latter publication used as a friendship book. The owner of the first remains unidentified. The book formed part of the Schönfeld Collection (*Schönfeldsches Adelsarchiv*) in Vienna. Like the rest of the Collection, it was put up for auction in 1840; its location is since unknown.⁶¹ The owner of the second copy of the *Neuwe Liuische Figuren* used as a friendship book was Homme van Harinxma thoe Slooten (d. 1604), a nobleman of Frisia who used it as an *album amicorum* in 1581–1598. It is currently held at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in the Hague.⁶² A copy of *Icones Livianae* used as a friendship book was once owned by the Leipzig theologian Johann Friedrich Burscher (1732–1805). It, too, was auctioned off, in addition to the remaining part of his library, in October 1806 by an unknown new owner. The original owner of the *album amicorum* also remains unknown.⁶³

The use of illustrated works as friendship books was a popular and widespread phenomenon in the second half of the 16th and through the early 17th century.⁶⁴ Books such as emblematic, reli-

61 M. Kuppitsch, *Verzeichnis einer sehr werthvollen Bücher- und Manuscripten-Sammlung von Büchern und Manuscripten, welche unter dem Namen: Ritter von Schönfelds heraldisch-genealogisches Adelsarchiv bekannt [...] welche am 9 November 1840 öffentlich versteigert werden*, Wien 1840, p. 77, *Manuscripte in quarto*, No. 19; *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nro. 297, 23 October 1840, Beilage, p. 2367, No. [4010–12]. On the Schönfeld collection see “Das Schönfeld’sche Adelsarchiv”, *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunde*, Jg. 14, 1823, pp. 88–90; R. von Granichstädten-Czerva, “Über das Schönfeld’sche «Adelsarchiv» in Wien”, *Adler. Zeitschrift für Genealogie und Heraldik*, Bd. 3, 1953/55, pp. 289–299.

62 Y. Kuiper, K. Thomassen, *Banden van vriendschap. De collectie alba amicorum Van Harinxma thoe Slooten*, Leeuwarden 2001, pp. 73–76, 125.

63 “Bücherauction in Leipzig”, *Intelligenzblatt der Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung*, Num. 139, Mittwochs den 1ten October 1806, column 1112. On J.F. Burscher see C. Brockhaus, “Burscher Johann Friedrich”, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 3, Leipzig 1876, pp. 630–632.

64 L. Kurras, *Zu gutem Gedenken. Kulturhistorische Miniaturen aus Stammbüchern des Germanischen Nationalmuseums. 1570–1770*, München–Nürnberg 1987, p. 10.

gious, and morality texts or costume albums (*Trachtenbücher*) were often used for this purpose.⁶⁵ Interestingly, publications illustrated by Jost Amman and his workshop were eagerly adopted as friendship books. The artist knew how to respond to the aesthetic tastes of a broad public and, with time, he began to shape them. This is best testified by the fact that Amman's prints were copied by friendship-book painters.⁶⁶ Despite a fruitful collaboration with the Nuremberg publisher and bookseller Sigismund Feyerabend (1528-1590), he never achieved financial success.⁶⁷ The following works were also used as friendship books: *Neue Biblische Figuren* (1564), *Kunst und Lehrbüchlein* (1578), *Stamm- und Wappenbuch* (1579), *Stamm oder Gesellenbuch* (1579), which was produced in at least two editions over several years.⁶⁸ For Silesian owners of friendship books, works by their fellow citizen Nicolaus Reusner (1545-1602) were especially popular.⁶⁹

In Gruttschreiber's friendship book, the pages of *Neuwe Liuische Figuren* are interfoliated with two or four leaves filled with entries; some dozen leaves were added at the end of the album for the same purpose some.⁷⁰ The friendship book contains over 460 entries, though more must have existed originally since numerous traces of cut or torn pages are evident in the album. The original binding of the *album amicorum* has not been preserved, with the current one - a canvas, whole binding, tinted green on the covers and black on the spine - dating to the 19th century. The covers are decorated with embossed borders and symmetrical foliate

65 M. Rosenheim, "The Album Amicorum", *Archaeologia, or, Mjiscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, vol. 62, Iss. 1, 1910, pp. 253-257.

66 I. O'Dell, "Jost Amman and the 'Album Amicorum' Drawings after Prints in Autograph Albums", *Print Quarterly*, vol. 9, 1992, No. 1, pp. 31-36.

67 J. Chipps Smith, *Nuremberg. A Renaissance City, 1500-1618*, [exhibition catalogue], Austin 1983, pp. 275-283.

68 M. Rosenheim, op. cit., pp. 253-255; W.W. Schnabel, op. cit., pp. 479-480; M. Ryantova, op. cit., pp. 160-182.

69 K. Masner, "Die schlesischen Stammbücher und ihre künstlerische Ausschmückung", *Jahrbuch des Schlesischen Museums für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer* 4, 1907, p. 142.

70 See M. Rosenheim, op. cit., p. 253.

ornament. The spine is segmented by three broad, raised ribs and gilded grooves. The embossed golden inscription reads: “Stambuch Adam Gruttschreibers”. The title page of the publication features the handwritten sentence: “Adam Gruttschreiber von Zockendorf zu Michelaw Furstl. Lignitz. und Briegscher Rath, Erhält alle in diesem Stambuch befindliche Einschreibungen”.⁷¹

STRUCTURE AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE ENTRIES IN GRUTTSCHREIBER'S FRIENDSHIP BOOK

The oldest entries in the album under discussion are dated to 1578, which implies that Gruttschreiber started collecting them at the age of 24 or 25. Meanwhile, the last entry dates to 1619, which means that he kept filling the book with entries for over 40 years of his life. The greatest number of autographs were inscribed from 1578-1582. In later years, the number of entries generally diminished to several a year. In some years, no autograph was added.⁷² By contrast, the years 1586, 1597, 1602, 1608-1609 stand out as ones when the Lord of Michałów gained some dozen entries every year. The majority of them bear an inscription of at least the year; a very small number of entries are undated. Some of the latter feature painted representations that can instead be dated based on similarities with ornamental features in the dated entries.

Gruttschreiber attempted to collect entries in an order that reflected a social hierarchy. Thus, following custom, the initial leaves (*Respektsblätter*) of the *album amicorum* were filled with the autographs of dukes, counts, and barons.⁷³ Later pages were dedicated to representatives of nobility, including several autographs by Wrocław burghers or barons. The majority of the entries are structured in the way that reflects early nobility albums, featuring

71 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. The friendship book did not have numbered pages or leaves at the time of this present study, so no precise entry location could be provided.

72 They are the following years: 1591-1592, 1594, 1600, 1603-1604, 1612-1614, 1616, 1618.

73 See K. Masner, op. cit., p. 139.

the year, motto or maxim, coat of arms, the Christian and family name of the author, and confirmation that the autograph was written by the author's own hand (*manu propria, meiner Hand*). In several cases, Gruttschreiber's friends wrote down a dedication with a precise date and location. The predominant languages that feature in the album are German and Latin, though several entries were written in Italian and French, and single ones in Czech and Spanish. Different years are separated by letters or other symbols (e.g., a star, a comet, a beer mug, a glass, a three-leaf clover, a circle, a heart, either pierced diagonally with an arrow or a pair of crossed arrows, as well as a saw). The letters refer to the names of the owner's wives', while the symbols can be interpreted as referring to concepts of friendship, love, Fortune, or happiness. Some of the entries are not only adorned with coats of arms, but also with additional representations, maxims, poems, or dialogues in German or Latin. Some of the album's leaves are dedicated to a single autograph with a place for a coat of arms signed by the relatives of the original author. Other leaves contain several autographs with no designated space for heraldic inscriptions. For the majority of the autographs, the lack of precise dates (day and month) and places where the entries were written, as well information on the people the owner had met, do not enable us to identify Gruttschreiber's friends with certainty nor to recreate his voyages. Interestingly, the international "Repertorium Alborum Amicorum" database, a catalogue of friendship books and their content, does not contain an entry by Adam von Gruttschreiber. It is, nevertheless, not impossible that it will one day be identified and publicized.

Nonetheless, the chronology of the entries allows one to trace the general course of Adam von Gruttschreiber's travels.⁷⁴ We know for certain that he was in Dessau in late May and early June 1578, con-

74 On the use of friendship books to reconstruct voyages see Z. Pietrzyk, "Sztambuchy jako źródło do peregrynacji studenckich na przykładzie Polaków studiujących w Strasburgu" [Friendship Books as a Source for Students' Peregrinations with the Example of Poles Studying in Strasbourg], *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, XLIII, 1999, pp. 139-150.

firmed by the entries of Christoph von Hoim⁷⁵ and Bernhard von Hanfstengl.⁷⁶ They were highly ranked courtiers of Joachim Ernst, Duke of Anhalt (1561–1586).⁷⁷ The same year features the entries by the duke's sons, John George and Christian, and many of his courtiers.⁷⁸ It remains unclear why Gruttschreiber arrived in the Duchy of Anhalt and how long he stayed there. Entries by the Dukes of Brzeg, John George and Joachim Frederick, and his wife Anne Marie, daughter of Joachim Ernst, as well as of some of his courtiers, can be dated to the same year.⁷⁹ Gruttschreiber also received an autograph from Joachim von Hohenzollern (1554–1587) from the Swabia Catholic line of the family who that year had converted to Lutheranism.⁸⁰ We know that in the summer and autumn, the younger Dukes of Brzeg spent time there to advance Duke George II's efforts to obtain the cathedral parish for Joachim Frederick.⁸¹ Additionally, this was the year when Gruttschreiber became acquainted with Sigismund von Kurzbach (1548–1579), the Baron of Milicz and Żmigród (*Freiherr von Militsch und Trachenberg*) who short-

75 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, 1-5 E 78 Justus fide sua viuet. Christophorus ab Hoim scribebat Dessauij pridie Visitationis Mariae Anno M·D·LXXVIII [= 30 May 1578].

76 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, *Nobilitate genere & virtute praestanti Adamo a Gruttschreiber familiarissimo Suo scribebat Bernhardt Hanfstengel Anhaltinus die Junij 6· Anno 78 in arce Dessaiensi.*

77 On the topic of his court and courtiers see J.Ch. Beckmann, *Historie Des Fürstenthums Anhalt* [...], Zerbst 1710, passim; L. Würdig, *Chronik der Stadt Dessau. Von den frühesten Zeiten bis Ende 1875*, Dessau 1876, pp. 116–139.

78 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, m.in. Joachim von Drauschwitz Sr, Hans von Knoche, Hans Statius, Friedrich von Lachau, Heinrich von Stammer.

79 Ibidem., e.g., Sigmund von Reideburg, Hans von Schreibersdorf.

80 Ibidem., 1. 15 A. 78 / *Wie Gern Ich wissen wolte, wenn Ich in der welt trauen solte. / Joachim Graff zu Hohen Zollern etc des Hay Röm Reichs Ertz Cammer manupp.* See J. Schultze, R. Seigel, G. Schuhmann, "Hohenzollern", *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 9, Berlin 1972, p. 499.

81 K. Wutke, "Die Bewerbung der Brieger Herzöge um die Domprobstei und den erzbischöflichen Stuhl von Magdeburg. II.", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens* Bd. 32, 1898, pp. 133–134. In late October or early November 1578, H. von Schweinichen accompanied Henry XI, Duke of Legnica, on a tour of the countries of the German Reich. He wrote down in his "Diary" that he had met Joachim Frederick, Duke of Brzeg near Magdeburg, along with John George, Elector of Brandenburg, and Joachim George, administrator of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, *Denkwürdigkeiten...*, pp. 196–197.

ly thereafter in 1578–1579 achieved fame as a victorious commander of the Habsburg troops in the Netherlands.⁸² Gruttschreiber may have travelled to Anhalt in the court entourage of one of the Dukes of Brzeg, a possibility suggested by the entries of noblemen from the Duchies of Brzeg, Wrocław,⁸³ Głogów,⁸⁴ and of Brandenburg,⁸⁵ which seem to delineate his route to Anhalt.

Gruttschreiber may have remained in the area of the Duchy of Anhalt until the beginning of the following year, after which he returned to Silesia, as suggested by several entries by Anhalt courtiers.⁸⁶ The Lord of Michałów also met Count Jost II von Barby-Mühlingen (1544–1609). Representatives of Silesian gentry, such as courtiers of George II of Brzeg⁸⁷ and noblemen of the Duchy of Wrocław, dominate entries from 1579.⁸⁸ Even so, it is likely that he left for Upper Hungary during that year, as testified by the entry of Jan Bakonyi, an imperial customs officer (*Dreissiger*) in Bardejov (*Ro: Khay: Mtt Dreysiger Zu Bartfeldtt*).⁸⁹ The Lord of Michałów also met several noblemen from Austrian countries, including Count Johann Friedrich von Sarnthein (Tirol), Casimir von Rainer, Lord of Erb and Teichstätt (Upper Austria), and Count Andreas Wagen von Wagensberg (Carinthia), though it is difficult to ascertain the exact circumstances or locations of their encounters. They may have been officers in the military service of the Emperor's Army.

82 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 204.

83 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, np. Georg von Knobelsdorf, the Lord of Mozów (*Mose*).

84 Ibidem, e.g., Heinrich von Kottwitz of Borowin (*Hertau*) in Białoleka (*Wießholz*); two unidentified noblemen from the von Kittlitz family of Świdnica (*Schweidenitz*) near Zielona Góra.

85 Ibidem, e.g., Caspar von Warnstedt Jr, the Lord of Ganz in Prignitz; Peter von Lagow, Chamber Secretary of John George, Elector of Brandenburg (*Churf: Brand: Cammer: Secretarius*); Liborius von Schlieben.

86 Ibidem, e.g., Friedrich von Dobenecker, Joachim von Esebeck.

87 Ibidem, e.g., Augustin von Göben Jr, Marshal of the Court; Balthasar von Filtz, Burgrave of Brzeg; Heinrich von Rastelwitz, Equerry.

88 Ibidem, e.g., David von Gruttschreiber of Stabłowice, Heinrich von Bedau, the Lord of Ramułtowiec (*Romolkwitz*), Heinrich von Schenck of Marszowice.

89 *Dreissiger* was a customs officer in the Kingdom of Hungary responsible for collecting payments for the Thirtieth Office (*Dreissigstamt*).

Gruttschreiber travelled to Košice after mid-May 1580, where he made the acquaintance of Georg Ilsung von Tratzberg (1510–1580), an Augsburg patrician, soldier, and banker for the Austrian Habsburgs.⁹⁰ That year, he obtained many entries from officers in the Imperial Army stationed in Upper Hungary; particular mention should be made of Count Ferdinand von Nogarol⁹¹, Baron Hans von Rüber zu Pixendorf,⁹² Jacob von der Breiten-Landenberg,⁹³ Claudius von Roussel,⁹⁴ and Samuel von Rothuet.⁹⁵ The friendship book also features a number of entries by noblemen from the Austrian countries from that year, and it was most likely that some were soldiers. Some Silesian noblemen also left their autographs.⁹⁶ This affiliation may be interpreted in two ways: he either returned to Silesia for a brief period of time or he met his countrymen in Upper Hungary. It is highly likely that some of them were also imperial soldiers. The same situation can be observed for the entries from the following year. To commemorate their friendship, Gruttschreiber received an entry by Count Vincislao di Porcia and Brugnara from Friuli in the Republic of Venice. The Lord of Michałów also met Margrave Ernst Friedrich von Baden-Durlach, as well as the counts Friedrich von Herberstein, Ulrich II von Hardegg, and Maximilian von Salm-Neuburg. It is known for certain that Gruttschreiber was in Vienna in late May 1581, where he met Christoph von Waldau. That date also features an entry by Michael Pernauer von Perney, the imperial military paymaster (*Feldkriegszahlmeister*). His office

90 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, *Auff grimer haitt / schuech ich mein weidt / Geörg Ilsung von Tratzperg, der zeit zu Casau, denn 20 May Anno 80.*

91 (c. 1540–1590) nobleman from Tirol, commander of the Sathmar Fortress (currently Satu Mare in Romania) and of the imperial troops beyond the Tisza (from 1578), Field Marshal of the Imperial Army in Upper Hungary (1580–1585).

92 (1529–1584) commander of the Imperial Army in Upper Hungary (1568–1584).

93 Swiss nobleman, lieutenant-colonel of the Sathmar Fortress (*Oberster Luttenampt zw SagMar*).

94 Colonel at the Szendrő Fortress (*Obrister zu Sendreö*).

95 Standard-bearer at the Szendrő Fortress (*Fanndrich zu Sendreö*).

96 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, e.g., Adam Lestwitz Wandritsch genandt, Hans von Nimptsch und Peterwitz, Balthasar von Dombnig und Nippren. In the case of the latter, the more precise entry date is known (2 December 1580).

was located in Košice and he operated out of Upper Hungary, so it can be surmised the noblemen met there.⁹⁷

Gruttschreiber returned to Košice by the second half of January 1582 where he met Paul Jacob von Starhemberg⁹⁸ and Sigmund Ludwig von Polheim-Wartenburg.⁹⁹ Two months later, he was already in Oleśnica, where he received an entry from Abraham von Hörnig.¹⁰⁰ It can be deduced that between the end of January and mid-March he returned to Silesia where, during the following years, the Lord of Michałów crossed Joachim Ernst, Duke of Anhalt; on that occasion the Duke wrote down his autograph in the album. The remaining entries from that year were authored by representatives of the Silesian gentry. For the next two years Gruttschreiber almost exclusively received autographs from noblemen settled in different parts of his native country, including several entries by foreign individuals. In 1596, Dukes George Gustav von Pfalz-Veldenz and Joachim Charles von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel wrote entries in his book. Two years later, Gruttschreiber met the Moravian magnate Viktorin of Žerotín (1570–1611). In 1605, the young Duke of Württemberg John Fredrick (1582–1628) arrived in Silesia on his educational tour of Europe. While the exact date and place of his visit remain unknown, he wrote an entry in Gruttschreiber's album, having become acquainted with him, as did his four companions, Martin Ludwig von Remchingen, Ludwig Friedrich von Anweil, Heinrich Teufl von Birkensee, and Hans von Waldenfels.¹⁰¹

97 Nobleman from Tirol; he held the office in 1585, 1589, 1593; F.K. Wissgrill, "Schauplatz niederösterreichischen landsässigen Adels vom Herren- und Ritterstande vom XI. bis zum Ende des XVIII. Jahrhunderts", *Jahrbuch des Heraldisch-Genealogischen Vereines Adler*, Jg. 1, 1874, p. 147.

98 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, 1: 5: 8: 2: / G. G. M. G. / Paul Jacob Herr von Starhemberg geschriben zu Cascha dem 20 Januari.

99 Ibidem, 1: 5: M 8: 2: / G W R S / Sigmundt Ludwig Herr zu Polheim geschriben In Caschau.

100 Ibidem, 1 5 [beer mug] 8 2 / Stiell vndt vorschwiegen, ewig Ohn Ende / Abraham Hörnigck von der Liess vnd Strelitz / Den 24 Marttzi geschriben zor olssen.

101 Fürstlich Württembergisch Dienerbuch vom IX. bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert, hrsg. von E.E. von Georgii-Georgenau, Stuttgart 1877, passim.

1586 was one of the years featuring an observable increase in the number of entries in the Lord of Michałów's friendship book, entries that recorded meetings with representatives of Silesian nobility. The next comparable increase occurred eleven years later. In 1597, Charles II, Duke of Oleśnica, and several of his courtiers wrote entries in Gruttschreiber *album amicorum*.¹⁰² In the autumn of that year Gruttschreiber went to Radzików (*Rudelsdorf*) near Niemcza where, on 27 October, he obtained entries by Adam and Caspar von Senitz. Two years later, only three entries of particular interest were written in his book, including one by Heinrich von Kurzbach Jr (1555-1618), the Baron of Milicz, an imperial councillor, the highest moneyer of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and cousin of the above-mentioned Sigismund.¹⁰³ The Lord of Michałów also made the acquaintance of Joachim von Maltzan Jr (1559-1625), the Baron of Milicz and an imperial councillor. When in Nysa in late September, Gruttschreiber met Nicolaus Prauss (d. 1604), graduate of Rome's *Collegium Germanicum*, a doctor of theology, the canon of Nysa, Wrocław, and Głogów, and a parish priest of the Church of St. James in Nysa.¹⁰⁴ In late July 1600, the Lord of Michałów was in Cieplice (*Warmbrunn*) where he met Hans Schwab von Buch. He may have travelled for medical purposes, since Cieplice was a well-known and popular spa town. In the course of that year and the subsequent one, Gruttschreiber collected some dozen entries by Silesian noblemen.

In August 1605, the Lord of Michałów met Zacharias Michael, Nysa country bailiff (*Landvogt des Neisser Landes*) as well as an official of the Wrocław bishop Johann von Sitsch (1600-1608). Both gentlemen may have met in the capital of the Episcopal principality. In early February 1606, the Lord of Michałów visited Nysa

102 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. Christoph von Frankenberg und Ludwigsdorf, Duke's equerry, Friedrich von Nassengriff, horse courtier, see J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, pp. 365, 662.

103 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 204.

104 G. Zimmermann, *Das Breslauer Domkapitel im Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation (1500-1600). Verfassungsgeschichtliche Entwicklung und persönliche Zusammensetzung*, Weimar 1937 (*Historisch-Diplomatische Forschungen*, Bd. 2), pp. 432-433; C. Zonta, op. cit., p. 348, no.1045.

again. There he met four noblemen, Friedrich and Sigmund von Bock, Dahm von Sebottendorf, and Hans Georg von Steubnitz. A year later, he met Joachim Alexander Posadowski von Postelwitz, his relative by marriage, who wrote an entry in his album on 12 February 1607. Three months later, he travelled to Mrozów (*Nippert*) near Środa Śląska (*Neumarkt*) where, on 19 May, commemorative autographs were written in his book by Balthasar Randegger von Ranndegk, Friedrich Wilhelm von Rottwitz, as well as Hans Jacob and Daniel von Kunheim.

From 1608-1609, Adam von Gruttschreiber received the greatest number of entries in his album since the first five years of its use.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, it is impossible to decide what accelerated his collection of autographs from this period. In 1608, he received entries by two sons of Charles II of Oleśnica, Henry Wenceslaus and Charles Frederick, and by George Rudolph, son of the late Joachim Frederick. The latter was staying in Oleśnica at that time and was brought up at its court under the guardianship of Charles II. From the entry of Friedrich von Tschammer, we know that Gruttschreiber stayed in Wrocław at an unknown time. The Lord of Michałów's trips at the end of the year are relatively well documented. On 24 October, Gruttschreiber received an autograph from Hans von Mettich (1576-1621), a nobleman from the Duchy of Głogów (*Fürstentum Glogau*), the Lord of Duża Wólka (*Groß Schwein*). Shortly afterward, he made the acquaintance of Georg von Senitz. In 1609, the Lord of Michałów met two Johns Georgs Hohenzollern, the first the Margrave of Brandenburg and Duke of Krnov (1577-1624) and the second Count of Hohenzollern and the Lord of Königsberg-Kynau (1580-1622). Furthermore, he met Peter II of Švamberk, a Bohemian magnate, as well as Cyriak von Waltenhofen, a nobleman from Tirol and Governor of Merano. Entries by representatives of Silesian gentry also dominate in that year, notably those by Baron Friedrich von Tschirnhaus und Bolckenhain, the Lord of Międzyzlesie (*Mittelwalde*), and Councillor of the Silesian Chamber (*Schlesische Kammer*),

105 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1.

Georg von Seidlitz und Mirschelwitz, administrator of estates of the Wrocław Poor Clares, and Hojer von Gartz und Ritzau, and imperial councillor and Governor of the Free State Country of Syców. Dedications bear a more precise date in the entries of the final two individuals (12 May and 24 October respectively).

Only seven entries among those recorded during Adam Gruttschreiber's last decade are dated.¹⁰⁶ Three were written by other Silesian noblemen: Bernhard von Kaldenborn (1610), Christoph von Bischofsheim und Eisenberg (1611), and Wenzel Stwolinski (1617). Two others are of particular interest. The first certifies Cosmus von Simmern (1581–1650) visited Gruttschreiber at Michałów, who came from the family of the Kołobrzeg (*Kolberg*) patricians and was staying in Silesia at the time as Silesian financial procurator and performed many diplomatic tasks together with the above-mentioned Baron Joachim von Maltzan.¹⁰⁷ He wrote his autograph in the friendship book with the date: 3 October 1610 (*Ao 1610 Son-nabends nach Michaelis*). Almost a full year later, Simmern was ennobled by the Holy Roman Emperor Matthias I. In 1617, in order to commemorate the encounter with Gruttschreiber and their established acquaintance, John Hohenzollern (1597–1627), son of John George, Elector of Brandenburg, wrote an entry in his friendship book. The last autograph written in the *album amicorum* was by Hans von Kreischelwitz in the same year of Adam von Gruttschreiber's death (1619).

As mentioned, some album entries do not feature any date. However, they can be dated based on the stylistic features of the coats of arms that accompany them, or by otherwise tracing the biographies of individual entrants. These allow the date of entries by Duke George II of Brzeg and Henry III of Oleśnica to be dated to 1578–1579. Łukasz Górnicki (1527–1603), an exceptional Polish

106 One from 1615 was most likely written by a nobleman whose first name and surname are illegible, which is why I did not take it into consideration.

107 R. Hanncke, "Cosmus von Simmern's Lebenslauf", *Baltische Studien*, Bd. 39, 1889, pp. 1–42; Z. Boras, "Cosmus von Simmer dyplomata i historyk z I połowy XVII stulecia" [Cosmus von Simmer, a Diplomat and Historian from the First Half of the 17th Century], *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski*, 1978, Fascicle 2, pp. 49–66.

writer, poet, and translator,¹⁰⁸ also wrote an entry in Gruttschreiber's friendship book bearing no date and no coat of arms. The same page features entries by Franciscus Tiberius Romanus, Augustus von Briesen, and Jean Petit d'Aubigni, who Gruttschreiber had met before 1603. Regrettably, the remaining three figures are unidentified. Perhaps the figure of Franciscus Tiberius Romanus corresponds to an Italian bearing the same personal data, who matriculated at Wittenberg University on 20 October 1610. Having arrived from Prague, he began to study for free after he had publicly denounced the Pope and Catholicism on numerous occasions. He eventually fled Wittenberg and, as it turns out, did not refute Catholicism.¹⁰⁹ The lack of certain dating is applicable to the majority of the entries by Polish nobility, such as the Count Jan Tarnowski, Jak Kierzyński, Marcin and Abraham Kalinowski, Marcin Gostyński, Stanisław Bagiński, or Stanisław Rakowski.

Based on the characteristics outlined above, it can be assessed that Gruttschreiber's friendship book represents a nobleman's *album amicorum*, which became popular as of the 1570s.¹¹⁰ Apparently, the general definition of the album as one assembled by noblemen is in this particular case fully justified, since it covers the entirety of the personal and professional life of its owner. Adam von Gruttschreiber was in his lifetime a soldier, a land owner, and a courtier. His noble status remained unchanged, one that he embraced fully by imparting its values, such as love for virtue or longing for fame, and whose manifestations can be viewed in the discussed work, and especially in its mottos, maxims, and illuminations.¹¹¹

In his album, Gruttschreiber collected autographs of rulers, magnates, and noblemen from various territories of the Holy Roman

108 R. Pollak, "Górnicki Łukasz (1527-1603)", *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 8, 1959-1960, pp. 427-428.

109 *Album Academiae Vitebergensis. Jüngere Reihe*, Tl. 1, 1602-1660, bearb. von B. Weissenborn, Magdeburg 1934 (Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und des Freistaates Anhalt. Neue Reihe, Bd. 14-15), pp. 105, 111.

110 M. Rosenheim, op. cit., pp. 253-254.

111 On the topic of virtue see J. Woodall, "In Pursuit of Virtue", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 54, 2003, pp. 6-25.

Empire. The greatest number of entries were representatives of Silesian nobility, relatives, individuals related by marriage, neighbors and acquaintances. Notable among his relatives are his two brothers Friedrich and Heinrich, nephew Hans Friedrich, and cousin David. The individuals related by marriage include relatives of his wives, members of the von Gregersdorf, von Strzela und Oberwitz, Posadowski von Postelwitz, and von Nimitz und Wilkau families, as well as the husband of his sister Emerentiana Heinrich von Buchta. The group of neighbours, namely noblemen who possessed estates near Michałów in the Duchy of Brzeg or Nysa, include Caspar von Bischofsheim of Lipowa (*Leippe*), Georg Borseck von Neapolsky und Zachrastien of Jankowice Wielkie (*Groß Jenkwitz*), the aforementioned Heinrich von Buchta of Gałaczycze, Lubcza, and *Ziltzendorf*, Hans von Pückler Sr of Szydłowiec Śląski (*Schedlau*), and Friedrich von Sitsch of Jagielnica (*Polnisch Jägel*). In general, it can be stated that the predominant entries in Gruttschreiber's friendship book were provided by noblemen from the Duchies of Brzeg, Nysa, Wrocław, and Opole. The Lord of Michałów mixed with courtiers of Dukes of Brzeg and of Charles II of Oleśnica, as well as with imperial officials, as testified by friendships documented by his album.

Apart from the representation of Silesian nobility, the gentry of the Northern and Eastern countries of the German Reich and the Austrian countries are represented in high numbers in the album. Courtiers of Joachim Ernst of Anhalt are predominant among the first group. A much smaller group comprised the courtiers of John Frederick of Württemberg. The noblemen from various parts of the kingdoms of the Austrian Habsburgs who Gruttschreiber met were most likely his commanders and comrades-in-arms, stationed for military service in Upper Hungary. To this end, it is worth mentioning that the greatest number of soldiers in the Imperial Army were enrolled in this area. The friendship book also features some dozen entries by Polish noblemen. Of particular importance is the book owner's friendship with Łukasz Górnicki, standing as an interesting testimony to Polish-Silesian relations at the court of Brzeg. Additionally, Adam von Gruttschreiber met single nobles

from Moravia,¹¹² Hungary,¹¹³ but also France¹¹⁴ and Italy.¹¹⁵ The owner of the friendship book was interested in the life of the people he befriended. This is evident, for example, in the notes he added to some entries, such as a cross with the motto “May the Lord have mercy on your soul” (*Gnade Gott, der Seele*).¹¹⁶ Furthermore, he made sure that entries by relatives were placed on the same album leaf.

Gruttschreiber did not only collect entries by noblemen, but also by several wealthy Wrocław burghers, including autographs by Andreas Büttner, Stenzel Nunhardt, Sebald Sauermann, Hieronim von Hörnig, and of Jacob Arnold.¹¹⁷ Interestingly, though a Lutheran, the Lord of Michałów often made the acquaintance of Catholics, notably the Canon Nicolaus Prauss. Christoph von Brauchitsch was a Catholic nobleman, as is unquestionably clear from the maxim in his entry (1581).¹¹⁸ Catholics may also be identified among the soldiers from Austrian countries who he met in Upper Hungary. Furthermore, the lay administrators of church estates, Georg von Seidlitz und Mirschelwitz¹¹⁹ and Caspar von Rappisch,¹²⁰ were most likely Catholic.

The collection of autographs amassed by Gruttschreiber reflects his wide circle of acquaintances. He mainly befriended rulers,

112 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. Aforementioned Viktorin of Žerotín (1598).

113 Ibidem, aforementioned Jan Bakonyi, customs officer (*Dreissiger*) of Bardejov (1579).

114 Ibidem, Gilbert de Saint Hillaire (1580) and unidentified “Bernhardinus Baro Gallus Bituricensis(?)” (1578).

115 Ibidem, aforementioned Count Vincislao di Porcia e Brugnara (1580).

116 Ibidem, e.g., by the entries of Baron Sigismund von Kurzbach (1578), Hans von Knoche (1578), or Lieutenant Caspar Gastel von Dyssen (1580).

117 O. Pusch, *Die Breslauer Rats- und Stadtgeschlechter in der Zeit von 1241 bis 1741*, Bd. 1-5, Dortmund 1981-1991.

118 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. Above the “halved man” depicting “half a halberdier” and “half a monk” the caption reads: *In vtrumque paratus oraz Bey Got vnd der alten katolischen gebott Wagen Ich leib leben Ehr vndt Goitt*.

119 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, 1: 6 AB: O 9 / HG: A: W: / George v: Seidlitz, Vndt Mirschelwitz Zue Zuegkwiz, vndt Brislawicz. Schaffer des F. Gestifts St. Clare im Breslaw. Act. 12 May Ao ut supra. He was administrator of the estate of the Poor Clares in Wrocław.

120 Ibidem, A A G. S. D V: / Casphar Von Rappisch Hauptman zu Preichau. Governor (*Hauptmann*) of the Przychowa estate belonging to the Wrocław Bishops (*bischöflicher Halt Preichau*).

magnates, and noblemen from different areas. This elite demographic emphasizes the album's status as a nobleman's friendship book. Interestingly, the Lord of Michałów's album is of a non-denominational character, as its owner also befriended Catholics. In this respect, a primary research challenge involves the thorough identification of the individuals who provided entries in the album, since the information contained in the entries does not allow one unequivocally to identify their authors. Necessary biographical information may be provided by other friendship books, court and administration files, as well as sermons and epitaphs.

GRUTTSCHREIBER'S FRIENDSHIP BOOK AS A COLLECTION OF ENTRIES, DRAWINGS, AND PRINTS

Having briefly presented the individuals who wrote entries in Gruttschreiber's friendship book to commemorate their acquaintance, let us discuss the content of the entries. Following the distinction forwarded by R. and R. Keil, the entries in the *album amicorum* can be divided into two major types: mottos (*Wahlsprüche*) and maxims (*Denksprüche*).¹²¹ The first are connected to the custom of adopting a life motto at the start of adulthood, one which originated in the mid-15th century among the higher nobility before spreading among their lower nobility. People would write their life motto in friendship books, often in the form of initials.¹²² The dominant language of the mottos in the discussed album is German, followed by Latin. Interestingly, single mottos were also entered in other languages, namely Italian,¹²³ French,¹²⁴ and Spanish.¹²⁵ The majority of the entries in Gruttschreiber's friendship book contain the same motto. On these grounds, it can be assessed that the no-

121 R. Keil, R. Keil, op. cit., pp. 22–41.

122 L. Kurras, op. cit., pp. 8–16.

123 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, e.g., *Chi semina virtu, raccoglie fama* (entries by Friedrich von Bock from 1606 and 1609).

124 Ibidem, e.g., *Pour paruenir jandure pres landurer me dure* (entry by Gilbert de Saint Hillaire from 1580).

125 Ibidem, e.g., *Antes muerto que mutado* (entry by Cyriak von Waltenhofen from 1609).

ble custom of choosing a life motto was widespread in the latter half of the 16th and in the early 17th century. Although mottos were quite personal, many of them were selected more formulaically than others. Their canon was shaped by choices made by rulers, from which most mottos derived.¹²⁶ In the discussed album, quotes from the Holy Scripture mingle with initial sequences whose precedence is hard to determine, suggesting more personalized choices made by their authors. Among the frequently repeated mottoes, the following can be traced:

A. B. C. D. E. F. = Allein Bei Christo Die Ewige Freude.

A. M. G. H. = Alles Mit Gottes Hilfe.

A. M. H. Z. G. = Alle Meine Hoffnung Zu Gott.

G. G. G. = Gott Gibt/Gebe Gnade.

G. G. M. G. = Gott Gibt Mir Gnade.

G. I. M. T. = Gott Ist Mein Trost.

G. W. G. = Gottes Will Geschehe.

I. W. G. W. = Ich Wags, Gott Walts.

M. G. W. G. F. = Mir Genügt, Wie Gott Fügt.

T. S. W. = Trau Schau Wem = V. S. W. = Vertrau, Schau Wem. = F. V.

C. = Fide, Vide Cui.

W. G. W. = Wie Gott Will.

Distinct from mottos, maxims referred more directly to the relationship between the friendship book's owner and the author of the entry. They mainly comprised quotes from ancient authors, the Bible, or widely acknowledged moralizing or didactic phrases. To this end, maxims were sometimes applied as mottos. In his study on *alba amicora*, Karl Masner stated that quotes from ancient authors were not as interesting as individual statements that sharing their author's philosophical views: "In them we find people full of trust in the Lord and mistrustful of the world and their neighbours."¹²⁷ Maxims do not frequently appear in Gruttschreib-

126 See e.g., M. Löbe, *Wahlsprüche, Devisen und Sinnsprüche deutscher Fürstengeschlechter des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1883; B. Ragotzky, "Sinnsprüche aus Stammbüchern von 1550-1650", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Wappen-, Siegel- und Familienkunde*, Bd. 27, 1899, pp. 388-429; A.M. Hildebrandt, op. cit., *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, Bd. 7, 1903, pp. 165-179.

127 K. Masner, op. cit., p. 139.

er's albums. When they do, they usually consist of brief rhymed quotes of wisdom in German, similar to those contained in collections of proverbs such as *Der Teutschen Weissheit* by Friedrich Peters (Hamburg 1606) and *Teutsche Sprach und Weißheit* by Georg Henisch (Augustae Vindelicorum 1616), though these texts date later than the respective entries. The quotes in Gruttschreiber's album may have been aphorisms (*parömie*) popular among German-speaking nobility. Some noblemen who had toured Italy quoted Italian aphorisms. The discussed *album amicorum* also features quotes from the Bible, ancient authors, and the reformers Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon. Some examples follow:

Gutt verloren, nichts verloren,
Mutt verloren, halb verloren,
Ehre verloren, Alles verloren.¹²⁸

Aspettar è non uenir
Star nell letto è non dormir
Seruir è non aggradir
Sono tre cose da morir¹²⁹

Milita bonam militiam retinens fidem et bonam conscientiam¹³⁰

Inuidia uirtute parta gloria est¹³¹

Vespera iam uenitt nobiscum Christo manet:
Extiugæ lucem nec patiare tuam.¹³²

Some individuals wrote two entries in the book. For example, two entries were written in 1580 by Otto Burgrave von Dohna. The first, apart from featuring the year and personal information, also contained a motto, while the second included his coat of arms.

128 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, entry by Christoph von Bischofsheim und Eisenberg (1611). See F. Peters, *Der Teutschen Weissheit* [...], Hamburg 1606, k. H h iii r.

129 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, entry by Friedrich von Popschütz (1589).

130 Ibidem, quote from the First Epistle of Paul to Timothy, 1, 18-19; entry by Hans Georg Baron von Ungnad und Sonneck (1578).

131 Ibidem, quote from Cicero's *Oratio in Catilinam Prima in Senatu Habita*; entry by Christoph von Bischofsheim und Eisenberg (1611).

132 Ibidem, distich by Philip Melanchthon (1551); entry by Johann Christoph von Schaffgotsch, the Lord of Grodztwo (*Kreppelhof*) (1578).

A second example involves entries by Leutold von der Sahle, a nobleman from Lower Lusatia and a courtier of Henry XI, Duke of Legnica. He wrote his first autograph in 1578 and a second nine years later. Both contain the same motto, though the first is decorated with a coat of arms, while the second is placed on a page featuring a number of autographs by other individuals. A similar case occurred for entries by Friedrich von Bock, with his autographs separated by two years (1606, 1609).

In his friendship book, Adam von Gruttschreiber collected prints in addition to autographs adorned with illuminations. On the page preceding the title page, a coloured woodcut of the Emperor in pontifical vestments and coronation insignia is inserted. The next print in the album is a woodcut of John George, Elector of Brandenburg (1571–1598) by Friedrich Frantz, cropped to fit the size of the album leaf. Another print features a woodcut of a woman in a voluminous costume wearing a hat with a dog urinating into a beer mug nearby. Inscribed below is a *terza rima* poem in German.¹³³ Previously, the print featured a movable leaf depicting a long mantle. The next three prints are anonymous copperplate portraits of the main participants of the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish in the 1560s and 70s, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba (1507–1582), William, Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau (1533–1584), Lamoral, Prince of Gavere and Count of Egmond (1522–1568), as well as Philippe de Montmorency-Nivelle, Count of Horn (d. 1568). It is difficult to establish firm associations between the portraits and autographs on the adjacent leaves. It seems justifiable to regard these prints as demonstrative of Gruttschreiber's interest in the turbulent contemporary political developments in the Netherlands, another point favouring his possible role as a soldier. The last of the prints pasted into the album is a copperplate by Dominicus Custos depicting Helena Antonia from Liège, a bearded lady-in-waiting of Maria of Austria, and her daughter Constance of Austria.

133 Ibidem, *Gantz lieblich thut mein Leyren klingen, / Inn die Ich maisterlich kan singen, / So thut mein hund auch wacker springen.*

PAINTERLY DECORATION OF THE FRIENDSHIP BOOK AND PROBLEMS WITH ITS ATTRIBUTION

The entries in Gruttschreiber's *album amicorum* boast rich painterly decoration composed both of heraldic and figural representations. The artists responsible for illuminations in books of friendship are miniaturists called *Briefmaler* or *Illuminierer*.¹³⁴ According to Masner, from the 1570s until the end of the following century, friendship book painting was dominated by heraldic commissions.¹³⁵ Painted illustrations in Gruttschreiber's album do not feature any signatures. Judging by their artistry, it may be assumed that these representations were executed by miniaturists from Brzeg or Wrocław. The current state of scholarship Silesian friendship-book painting does not allow for more precise hypotheses to be advanced to this end.¹³⁶

Representations of coats of arms executed by various painters may be divided into several groups by analysing their compositional and stylistic features. This proposed categorization should be verified and supplemented by further research. The first group was most likely executed in 1579. It encompasses the coats of arms in entries collected from the beginning of the book of friendship to Gruttschreiber's departure to Upper Hungary. They are large in format, covering the majority of the page. Their author was a skilled painter, repeating patterns in the shape of escutcheons, helmets, and mantling. His preferred heraldic ornament was a frontally presented barred helmet, which he rendered in soft lines and saturated colours. (fig. 5).

The next group comprises the coats of arms of the individuals Gruttschreiber met from 1580–1582. Their artist must be regarded as the best among the painters employed to illuminate the album (fig. 6). Not only did he execute representations of coats of arms,

134 M. Rosenheim, op. cit., p. 259.

135 K. Masner, op. cit., p. 138.

136 Ibidem, pp. 144–151. On painters then active then in Brzeg and Wrocław see A. Schulz, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Schlesischen Maler (1500–1800)*, Breslau 1882, passim.



FIG. 5. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, coat of arms in the entry by Joachim Frederic, Duke of Brzeg (1578)



FIG. 6. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, coat of arms in the entry by Count Ulrich II von Hardegg (1581)

but also the majority of the figurative scenes. When painting coats of arms, he used a delicate but distinct line, emphasizing their draftsmanship. Colours were employed for shading purposes, such as the depiction of a helmet's sheen. His figural representations demonstrate his skill and ability. A differentiation in the quality of the illuminations from that period may be accounted for with regard to the funding individuals provided to Gruttschreiber to decorate their entries, varying based on the type and size of decoration or level of craftsmanship. The painter of the above-mentioned group tried to maintain anatomical correctness in representations of people and animals. Additionally, he was dexterous at rendering the decorative character of costumes and was also familiar with portraying landscapes. However, not all the coats of arms in the autographs from 1582 were executed by that single painter. Some portraits of Silesian noblemen stand out as painted by a separate hand.¹³⁷ Furthermore, Gruttschreiber commissioned a different painter to execute the coats of arms of some noblemen he met from 1583-1584.¹³⁸ The artists of the miniatures dating from 1582 and 1583-1584 demonstrate high levels of craftsmanship and, in their pictorial approach, resemble the artist who painted the coats of arms from 1578-1579. These individuals may have belonged to a single artistic circle or workshop, based on an assessment of such stylistic similarities.

In later years, new entries were illuminated far less frequently. Single coats of arms appeared by autographs from 1585, 1588, 1589, 1596, 1597, and 1599, yet apart from the entries by Adam and Caspar von Senitz, Baron Joachim von Maltzan, and Canon Nicolaus Prauss, they do not boast advanced artistry. A slightly more talented illuminator decorated some entries from 1607 with coats of arms and a scene of the Judgement of Paris. The latter image, however,

137 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. See entries by H. von Poser und Rorau, Hans von Kreiselwitz, Hans von Krosigk, Friedrich von Beess of Malerzowice.

138 Ibidem, see entries by Hans Georg von Reideburg, Leopold von Pogrell (1583), Ernst von Schaffgotsch, Sebald Sauermann, Hertwig von Seidlitz, Hans von Frankenberg, and Heinrich von Gruttschreiber (1584).

revealed that the artist was unable to handle narrative representations in a skilled manner.¹³⁹ Compared to these, a group of heraldic representations from 1608–1609 can be assessed as of a much higher quality.¹⁴⁰ They comprise small coats of arms, precise in design and featuring vibrant, saturated colours. Correspondence may be drawn between the works of this painter (fig. 7) and those by the master of Jacob Petzke's friendship album.¹⁴¹

The aforementioned attributions of coats of arms and other representations can be supported by the praxis of writing entries in a friendship book. Usually, a new acquaintance or friend would



FIG. 7. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, coat of arms in the entry by Hans von Mettich, Governor of the Duchy of Ziębice-Ząbkowice (1608)

- 139 Ibidem, see entries by Hans Jacob and Daniel von Kunheim, Friedrich Wilhelm von Rodtitz and Balthasar von Randegger von Ranndegk.
- 140 Ibidem, see entries by Hans von Mettich, Heinrich von Adelsbach, Friedrich von Tschammer und Lambsdorf, Georg von Seidlitz und Mirschelwitz, and Hoier von Gartz.
- 141 See *Theatrum vitae et mortis...*, pp. 94–97, 115.

first write a motto or a maxim and sign it, and then allocate some funding to have a painting made in a blank space, stating his or her instructions either orally or in a drawing.¹⁴² In the 1580s and 1590s, the fee for painting one coat of arms was approximately 5 or 6 Groschen.¹⁴³ This process is confirmed by several entries in Gruttschreiber's friendship book. For example, the coats of arms of the von Ölsen family member (1579) and of Nicolaus von Warkotsch (1581) were not fully correct, as pointed out by annotations. Furthermore, the coats of arms of Hans von Schliewitz (1578), Albrecht von Poser (1578), and Georg von Warkotsch (1606) remained only blank drawings without colour. There is no doubt that heraldic illuminations from the discussed album illustrated changing trends in friendship-book painting. In particular, the impact of Amman's studio is evident in the composition of coats of arms, especially as regards the shape of escutcheons and style of helmets and mantling.¹⁴⁴

ISSUES OF ICONOGRAPHY IN GRUTTSCHREIBER'S FRIENDSHIP BOOK

Let me now outline the iconographic features of the images in Adam von Gruttschreiber's *album amicorum*. Due to extant material and the focus of this paper, this issue cannot be analysed comprehensively. However, a general observation can be made regarding the interlacing motifs as they relation to reflections on the life of a nobleman, as well as on the illustrations, which often contain humorous elements, irony, or crudeness. In this respect, K. Masner's observation regarding mottos is again accurate.¹⁴⁵ One dominant type of motif relates to concepts of love, particularly as evoked in depictions that warn against trusting flattery and emotions. An example of this representation is noted in an image of a lady sur-

142 M. Rosenheim, op. cit., pp. 259–260.

143 K. Masner, op. cit., pp. 141–142.

144 I. O'Dell, op. cit., pp. 31–33.

145 K. Masner, op. cit., p. 139.



FIG. 8. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, representation of a lady among knights, next to the entry by Hans Cremmer von Königshofen (1581)

rounded by three noblemen placed next to the entry by the Austrian nobleman Hans Cremmer von Königshofen (1581), and containing the following caption (fig. 8):

O Gott wie gern ich wissen wolltt,
Wem ich itzundt vertrauen soltt,
Dan die welt ist wunderlich vnd mehr leyblich,
Wiewol die lib ist gemein,
Aber die treu ist mechtig klein.

The woman seems to express hesitation over which of the court-
ing men she should trust.¹⁴⁶ A similar message is advances by an
image that accompanies the autograph of an unidentified no-
bleman (1581), depicting a nude female wearing a long veil with
a heart in her hair, standing on a snail and turning to God, who

146 W. Taegert, op. cit., p. 82.



FIG. 9. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, allegorical scene with women fishing in a pond next to the entry by Friedrich von Sitsch (1581)

blesses her. As in the illustration discussed above, the woman expresses an anxiety in distinguishing true from false love, and a moralizing desire for men to be punished by the Lord for deceitful behaviours.¹⁴⁷

Another of the album's frequently recurring iconographic subjects concerned the power of carnal love and the erotic appal of women. Friedrich von Sitsch's entry (1581) is accompanied by a painted scene of women "fishing" using a net and trap. One of them is pictured successful in catching male's genitals. (fig. 9)¹⁴⁸ Similarly, in the entry by Friedrich von Gruttschreiber (1580) a nude female is depicted casting a line in a lake and sitting on a fish trap towards which a fish is heading. The woman seems to

147 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, *Ach gott wie schwer ist zu gedulden, / wo Trew mit vntrew wirdt vergolten, / schlag himmel vnd donner mit schmerzen, / in alle falsche betrogene hertzen.*

148 Ibidem, at the top of the miniature is a couplet reading: *Ihr Schwestern seid Wolgemut / In diesem Teich ist Fischeln gutt.*

misleadingly express a wish for the fish not to end up in the trap.¹⁴⁹ In both instances, fishing can be read as an allegory of the ensnarement of men by women. Their similar content is expressed in the depiction of a courtesan wearing a characteristic hairstyle of a pair of horns with the “sphere of fortune”, the attribute of Fortuna, resting in her right hand, on which a small nobleman stands.¹⁵⁰ In her left hand, she holds a string attached to the nobleman’s heart. In this way, the male is likened to a puppet whose destiny and emotions are manipulated by a woman. Relatedly, the leaf next to the entry by Hans von Tschesch (1581) features a pasted print showing a female dressed *all’antica*, sitting in a burrow against a rural landscape with an outline of mountains in the distance, and surrounded by four flying jesters. A rhymed commentary allows the reader to understand the jesters (*Liebesnarren*) as individuals blinded with sensual desire for women. A woodcut expressing a similar message can be found in J. Amman’s *Kunst- und Lehrbüchlein* (1578). The motif of a jester stupefied by a woman’s charms reaches back to the Middle Ages.¹⁵¹

Gruttschreiber’s friendship book also contains illustrations of an erotic and humoristic undertone, such as representations of women with a fox running between their legs, striking their genitals with its tail;¹⁵² this motif is sometimes set in a hunting scene.¹⁵³ Other images depict women seated on a hedgehog (*Igelreiterin*).¹⁵⁴ These two examples belong to an extremely popular genre of pictorial emblems. Similar representations can be

149 Ibidem, *Mohne Else wehre das der Fisch nicht Inn die Reuße khere*.

150 See W. Taegert, op. cit., p. 59.

151 See C. Huey, *Hans Folz and Print Culture in Late Medieval Germany. The Creation of Popular Discourse*, London-New York 2012, pp. 30–31, 57–58.

152 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. In the entries by Adam von Lestwitz Wandritsch genannt (1580) and G. Vögler (1581).

153 Ibidem, in the entries by Adam von Wachtel (1581) and Georg von Wiesenau (1578).

154 Ibidem, by the autographs of C. von Reibnitz (1580) and Christoph von Waldau (1581). See L. Kurras, op. cit., p. 31; see E. Tietze-Conrat, “Kupferstiche als Deutungsbehelfe für Skulpturen. II. Frau auf dem Igel”, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, 1916, H. 4, p. 68.



FIG. 10. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, scene of a tryst next to the entry by Bartholomäus Gneckher (1581)

found in the sketchbook of an unknown Wrocław goldsmith from around 1600.¹⁵⁵

The entry by Bartholomäus Gneckher (1581) is accompanied by a genre scene featuring a nobleman wearing black mantle and with a rapier placed at his feet, and a noblewoman seated under a tree, lifting her dress up to her knees. (fig. 10). As can be deduced from the dialogue, this scene represents a romantic tryst. The man asks: "Jungfraw ich wolt wissen auff aller gernst, Ob von hertzen sey schimpf oder Ernst". The woman answers: "Junger gesel, so dinckt mich in allem meine glimpf, Es sey vnden Ernst vnd oben Schympff". Next to the entry by Adam von Mosch (1580), a different scene depicts a peasant couple alongside a brief dialogue. An old woman offers her husband a sip of cold wine in return for the money from the pouch he keeps under his belly. The man, named Hans, responds that he can give her something better, which can also be found under the pouch. This humoristic scene can also be

155 *Theatrum vitae et mortis...*, p. 78, Nos. 244, 245.

read as a satire of the crude morals of simple people. Relatedly, in the 16th century, a genre of literature promoting good manners was popularized, epitomized by Friedrich Dedekind's *Grobianus, Et Grobiana* (1572).¹⁵⁶ To conclude, let us mention one more scene of the interior of a nobleman's home, and accompanying the entry by an unknown individual from 1581. Its main protagonist is a cat who seizes the genitals of the master of the house as if they were a mouse, much to the horror of other household members. A couplet can be read above the head of the mouse hunter: "Katz auss, wass hastu vor ein mauss". Interestingly, this presentation may refer to a widespread period belief in the power of witches who were said to transform into cats, or to use magic to make men's genitals invisible to them.¹⁵⁷ Many similar humoristic and erotic scenes are included in the friendship book. In this context, it is worthwhile to recall later assessments of students' indecent commissions in their friendship books.¹⁵⁸

Friendship is a frequent theme throughout illuminations from the discussed album. In compliance with period custom, cordial acquaintances were often established by drinking beer or wine. At this point, let us recall the "Diary" of Hans von Schweinichen in which the author often mentioned how "the drink made his head spin" (*gute Rauschen*). Drinking was an essential element of a nobleman's social life, central to visits, baptisms, weddings, or financial transactions.¹⁵⁹ This theme is evoked by depicting beer mugs,¹⁶⁰ glasses,¹⁶¹ or barrels.¹⁶² As can be read under the representation of

156 J. Budzyński, op. cit., p. 335.

157 W. Stephens, *Demon Lovers. Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief*, Chicago-London 2003, pp. 300-321.

158 L. Kurras, op. cit., p. 48.

159 E.g., *Denkwürdigkeiten...*, pp. 210, 323, 377. See R. Steig, "Goethes Mannräuschlein", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, Bd. 5, 1903/04, pp. 99-104.

160 A beer mug is mainly used as a sign to divide year into halves.

161 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, e.g., a representation of a glass next to the coat of arms of Georg von Üchtritz (1578).

162 Ibidem, a barrel out of which wine is pouring, filling a glass, with the caption reading: *Viel wunder im weinfasse*, in the entry by Adam Falck (1580).



FIG. 11. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, allegory of Friendship in the entry by Canon Nicolaus Prauss (1599)

a nobleman drinking in the entry by G. von Poser und Pangau (1580): "Trinckhs Gar Aus, So wirdt ein voller Bruder draus".

Among the images of friendship and throughout the representations in the friendship book, the figure of a standard-bearer that accompanied the entry by Canon Nicolaus Prauss (1599) (fig. 11) assumed a central importance. The standard-bearer was often considered an allegory of friendship. In the album, he is depicted wearing a black attire in accordance with the "Spanish fashion" of the time: a high beret with feathers, a ruff, a doublet with long puffed sleeves, a sash, and hose. The edge of his beret features the words *HIEMS AESTAS* embroidered in golden thread, while beneath, the words *PROCUL* and *PROPE* can be read beneath the tunic ruff; below, a small heart is depicted. The figure bears a standard rendered in the heraldic colours of Prauss's coat of arms. The two inscriptions echo a quote from Fulgentius (6th century) on the eternal duration of true friendship, written on the previous

page.¹⁶³ According to the ancient writer, a true friend remains faithful regardless of changing seasons, passing time, distance, even death. The theme of friendship had a long iconographic tradition. It appeared in the Gregor Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* (1503). A similar representation was used by Wolfgang Köpfel of Strasburg as his printer's mark. Such an allegory of friendship also appeared in subsequent illustrated editions of Andrea Alciati's *Emblematum liber*. It can be found in the emblems "De Viridi Iuuenis Imagine" in Laurent Haecht's *Mikrokosmos* (1579) and "Amicitia" in Denis Lebey de Batilly's *Emblematum Liber* (1596) in the period contemporary to the production of Gruttschreiber's friendship book.¹⁶⁴ What makes the discussed images stand out against similar allegories is the use of the figure of the standard-bearer as a one denoting friendship. Interestingly, a standard-bearer waving the standard was a topic eagerly tackled by printmakers from the early 16th century, such as Hans Schäufelein, Jacob Kallenberg, Jost Amman, and Hendrik Goltzius.

Another representation of the theme of true friendship may be mentioned. Next to the coat of arms in the entry by Heinrich von Polsnitz (1581), an owl sits on a branch that grows from a cut trunk, approach by other flying birds. The image is accompanied by a verse and several maxims warning a courtier against false friends. In this particular case, the owl carries an allegorical warning against stupidity and believing lies.¹⁶⁵

163 Ibidem, *Romæ erecta fuit Iuuenis florentis imago / Vestimenta ferens uiridi depicta colore. / Nomen amicitiae referens: quæ semper eundem / Inuariata suum nouit retinere uigorum / Fronte tenebat Hyems Æstasque notantia ueros / Aduersis simul & letis in rebus amicos. / In medio hæc duo uerba procul prope pectus habebat, / Quo simul absentis notat & præsentis amorem. / Quod mors, vita, stetit uestis, sub margine scripta; / Signant amicitiam nunquam succumbere morbi, / Verum perpetuum uitæ seruare tenorem. / Tempore quisque suum duro cognoscit amicum.*

164 L. Konečný, "Gregor Reisch a ikonografie na prahu novověku", *Opuscula Historiae Artium*, roč. 59, č. 1-2, 2010, pp. 78-85; S. Appuhn-Radtke, E.P. Wipfler, *Freundschaft*, [entry in:] „Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte", Bd. 10, Lf. 7, München 2011/2012, szp. 793-902.

165 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. *Freunde in der Nott, Freunde im thott, freunde hindern Rucken, das seint drey starck brucken; Vortrau schau wem; probs darnach lobes; Frisch vber frisch ist gutt hofemanisch.* An owl was considered an allegory of sinful carnal

A separate group of illustrations contains representations connected to the life of the soldier. In the entry by Count Sigmund Ludwig von Scherffenberg, the Lord of Hohenwang in Styria (1580), a duel of a black trooper with a Hungarian cavalryman seen against the landscape of an extensive plain and mountains in the distance can be represented behind the coat of arms. It is accompanied by the maxim stating that only the Lord knows the blessed victor.¹⁶⁶

The coat of arms on the page featuring an autograph by Lieutenant Caspar Gastel von Dyssen (1580) is accompanied by the depiction of a “halved man”: half trooper, half halberdier. Above him are written two Latin maxims and one quatrain in German, which bear the shared title “Fortune”.¹⁶⁷ The motif of the “halved man” repeats alongside an entry by a nobleman from the Hayden von Dorff family (1581). One half depicts a soldier with a rapier, while the other half is a skeleton holding an hourglass up high. The couplet above his head reads:

Wir kriegesleut leben hie mit bracht,
Kompt schnell der Todt nimbt vns mitt macht.

The motif suggests that a soldier's life passes in din, while death comes for him quickly and violently. This iconographic motif was interpreted in a diverse way, as well. C. von Reibnitz's autograph (1581) is accompanied by a similar halved man: a nobleman with a rapier in one, and skeleton with an hourglass shown in the other half, described in a cinquain above. In this particular case, howev-

love resulting from stupidity. On the meaning of an owl see *Theatrum vitae et mortis...*, p. 95, No. 322.

166 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. *Ey frisch her, vnd geschwindt wer sucht / der findt, gott weis wems / gelucke kompt*. For a representation of a duel between a European and Turkish horseman in Esaias Maior's friendship book (ca 1640), *Theatrum vitae et mortis...*, pp. 99–100, No. 344. On the duel between a Turkish horseman and a trooper in the friendship book of Hanns Ludwig Pfinzing von Henfenfeld, W. Taegert, op. cit., pp. 43, 48.

167 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. *Deus Executor Spei Meae; Omne solis Forti patria est; Wo glick vndt gunst nicht wil / Hilft Witz vnd Kunst nicht viel / Schlecht vnd Gerecht ist gutt / Landsknechtisch*.



FIG. 12. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, representation of a shooting black trooper in the entry by Hans von Nimptsch und Peterwitz (1580)

er, the “halved man” is not of a strictly military character; he calls for righteous, pious life, and reminds the reader that man’s earthly life is transient and fragile. The “halved man” was a representation whose precise meaning depended on the context to which it was applied, its basic concept to combine apparently contradictory elements.¹⁶⁸ The entry by Samuel Rothuet, a standard-bearer at Szendrő (*Sendreö*), dates to 1580. A painted standard-bearer holds a folded standard next to his coat of arms. In turn, the leaf following the autograph of Hans von Nimptsch und Peterwitz (1580) shows a black trooper on horseback shooting a wheellock pistol. The illustration is paired with a quatrain in German in which that “German rider” (*Deutscher Reiter*, *Schwarzer Reiter*) expresses a wish for his bullet to hit the enemy’s heart, God willing (fig. 12).¹⁶⁹

168 W. Taegert, op. cit., p. 41.

169 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. *Ein Dheutscher Reyttter bin ich genandt / Ich fure ein Rohr in meiner Handt / Mein gott gibet mir die macht / Das ich schisse dem feinde durchs hercze das kracht.*

Finally, for the entry by Canratt Stülcz, his coat of arms is accompanied by a procession scene. The procession is opened by a drummer and flautist followed by a standard-bearer, with a noblewoman in a travel outfit holding a javelin and leading a dog on a leash. Interestingly, the standard composed of repeated red, white, and yellow stripes features the cross of Burgundy (*Burgundische Andreaskreuz*) and echoes the colours of the *tercios* troops. The rhymed commentary emphasizes the role of a drummer and the act of waving the standard as performative gestures that boosted soldiers' morale and inspired them to win battles.¹⁷⁰

Miniatures alluding to wavering Fortuna are also included in the album, though less frequently than other motifs. More often, they are present in mottos and maxims.¹⁷¹ An emblematic allegory of fate titled "Fortune" decorates an entry by a nobleman (1581) (fig. 13).¹⁷² He is shown as a nude female standing on the round head of a sea monster, holding a golden sail with both hands. This icon is a hybrid of the emblems "Fortunae Natura" and "In Homines Impios" found in L. Haecht *Mikrokosmos* (1579). From the first, the artist derived the allegory of Fate as a naked woman with a sail on a winged sphere, while the sea monster is drawn from the second.¹⁷³ The image is completed with a rhyme from *Stamm- und Wappenbuch* (1579) by S. Feyerabend and J. Amman. The woman, standing on the monster's head and holding a sail torn by winds, illustrates the changeability of human fate borne by external circumstances.¹⁷⁴ In order to maintain stability in the face of chang-

170 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. *Schlag auf mein Drummelschleger gutt / laß vns habenn ein frischer Mutt / Mein feinlein wil ich schwingen / hoff es soll vns wel gelingen / Wil es den nicht klingen / So mußn wir mit vngluckh ringen.*

171 G. Kirchner, *Fortuna in Dichtung und Emblematik des Barock. Tradition und Bedeutungswandel eines Motivs*, Mainz 1969, pp. 5–40.

172 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. His first name was Wolf, however, the surname is illegible; the coat of arms has not as yet been identified.

173 W. Taegert, op. cit., p. 87.

174 *Theatrum vitae et mortis*..., p. 76, no. 229.



FIG. 13. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, "Fortune" emblem next to an entry by an unknown nobleman (1581)

ing circumstances, man needs to cherish cardinal and Christian virtues, which, in turn, may also yield fame.¹⁷⁵

An appeal to lead the responsible life of a Christian knight is found in the miniature decorating the entry by Baron Joachim von Maltzan (1599) (fig. 14). Its centre features the popular maxim: "Anfang bedenckhs Endt". It paraphrases the words from the book of Wisdom of Sirach translated by Luther: "Was du thust, so bedencke das ende, So wirstu nimmer mehr vbeln thun", identical in meaning to the maxim from *Dicta Catonis*: "Quidquid agis prudenter agas, et respice finem".¹⁷⁶ The bottom right corner fea-

175 L. Kurras, op. cit., p. 104.

176 M. Knauer, »Bedenke das Ende«. Zur Funktion der Todesmahnung in druckgraphischen Bildfolgen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges, Tübingen 1997 (Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur, Bd. 58), p. 48.



FIG. 14. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, illustration of the maxim: "Anfang bedenckhs Endt" next to the entry by Baron Joachim von Maltzan (1599)

tures a young nobleman on a white horse, looking at the landscape that opens before him. To the right of the youth a couple is pictured kissing, while behind them a noble company sits at a table under a canopy. This may be a wedding scene. Above the young nobleman, a company of soldiers emerges from behind a hill. To their left, above the wedding scene, a man, having been tempted by devil, commits suicide by thrusting himself into an abyss. Further still, between gentle mountain slopes featuring ruins and a fortified city on their peaks, a blurry depiction of a clash between two ships in a bay can be observed. The entire composition may be interpreted as an expression of the nobleman torn between his love for a woman, marriage, and a stable life, and his comrades-in-arms, warfare, and a turbulent life. The depiction of suicide, in turn, may be regarded as a warning against despair and "melancholy". The image of dilemmas

faced by men or women was often tackled in various pictorial contexts throughout the album.¹⁷⁷ Ultimately, the illustrations are moralizing and didactic, entreaties to lead a virtuous and Christian life.

CONCLUSION

Adam von Gruttschreiber's friendship book constitutes an extremely significant source related to the culture of Silesian nobility in the latter half of the 16th and in the early 17th century. It provides ample material for research on various themes. First, the album as interpreted in the context of its owner's patronage activities sheds some light on the mentality and aesthetic preferences of a wealthy and ambitious Silesian nobleman. It testifies to the fact that emblems and Netherlandish prints or those from the Nuremberg studio of Jost Amman had a wide geographic impact. The entries collected by Gruttschreiber in his *album amicorum* comprise a precious source for genealogical and heraldic research into Silesian nobility as well as nobles who lived in other territories of the Holy Roman Empire, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and surroundings. Entries by monarchs can contribute to an analysis of their travels. The autographs written by officers of the Habsburg Army in Upper Hungary can prove useful for research on early modern military history. Certainly, the personal information on the courtiers, Silesian dukes, and other rulers who wrote in the album can support monographic studies on their courts. The entries confirm that Silesian nobles were able to make acquaintances across places, professions, and social classes. Furthermore, Gruttschreiber's friendship book is a precious historic document that provides ample insight on friendship-book painting in Silesia. The miniatures it contains reveal valuable information on artistry, composition, style, and iconography. Finally, the Lord of Michałów's friendship book is an intriguing memento of the life of a nobleman and of the customs the period. For these rea-

177 See W. Taegert, op. cit., pp. 54, 64.

sons, Adam von Gruttschreiber's *album amicorum* is of worthwhile academic interest and, together with the figure of its owner and his related patronage, should be advanced to promote cultural heritage.

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STANISŁAW KOSTKA POTOCKI'S *CATALOGUE DES DESSINS* AS AN UNKNOWN SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF ART COLLECTING

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ABSTRACT

It is widely known that Stanisław Kostka Potocki also collected drawings. Some general or fragmentary information on the topic is available almost in almost all the studies related to his art collecting activity. However, even today it is not specifically known what the collection of drawings he gathered looked like. Almost two hundred years after his death, the time has come to voice the some essential questions: How many drawings did the Count collect? What works were they? And, what do we know about their fate? The present publication is an attempt at a partial response to all those questions. Its goal is to make the text of the *Catalogue des Dessins*, kept in an autograph in the collection of the National Library of Poland, available *in extenso* to researchers. This will allow to provide arguably the most precise information on a certain section of the collection of drawings amassed by Potocki to date and show new research directions as well as the questions and problems that are have been identified here, so that in the future it is possible to thoroughly evaluate the importance of the collection and its impact on the history of Polish – and possibly also European – art collecting.

KEYWORDS: Stanisław Kostka Potocki, collections of drawings, provenance research, old masters' drawings, National Library of Poland, Print Room of the University of Warsaw Library, Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów

Count Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755–1821), one of the most outstanding Polish politicians and thinkers of the Age of Enlightenment, competed in art collecting ambitions against the most prominent European aristocrats. His collection of ancient vases together with gems, paintings, sculptures, prints, manuscripts, and books equalled the collection of the last King of Poland, Stanisław August Poniatowski. Although divided and incomplete, the Count's collection has survived until the present day in a relatively good shape compared to other Polish collections that have been decimated by wars. The majority of the collection remains *in situ* in one of the Count's former estates.¹ Ample family archives accompanying the art collection have also survived.² Although the collection is relatively well-known due to its variety, size, and dispersion, it has never been thoroughly and exhaustively studied as a whole.³ The objects amassed by Stanisław Kostka Potocki

- 1 The ancient vases and gems as well as paintings and sculptures are kept in the collection of the Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów (housed in the Count's former residence). His collection of drawings and prints is kept in the Print Room of the University of Warsaw (BUW) Library and the National Library of Poland (BN), the latter also containing the Count's rich book collection.
- 2 The documentation is mainly connected with serving the subsequent offices of the Duchy of Warsaw and Kingdom of Poland, as well as strictly personal papers, the Count's own literary pieces, and political and academic documents. A small part is also constituted by documents related to running his estates, current expenditures, and investments. The full archives are completed with about 2,000 letters and are currently kept at the Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD) in the two largest fonds: Public Archives of the Potockis (AGAD APP) and the Wilanów Household Archives (AGAD AGW). The references to drawings can be found specifically in APP.141, APP.245, APP.249, APP.256, APP.262, APP.263, APP.265, and AGW Anteriora. A small proportion of the archives, related mainly to the book collection, can be found in the collection of the National Library of Poland in Warsaw (BN accession no. 2189).
- 3 Among the partial studies, the major ones include J. Starczuk, 'Les sculptures antiques de Wilanów', *Eos* 32, 1929, pp.389–423; 33, 1930/31, pp.555–571;

'sank' within the collection of the Potocki family from Wilanów, which also included the collections of his brother (Ignacy), son (Aleksander), and grandson (August), as well as within the royal collection in the Print Room of the University of Warsaw (as was the case with a proportion of the prints and drawings). The Count did not mark the majority of his acquisitions with any ownership marks⁴ and most of the preserved prints and drawings were set in a new (19th century) mounting;⁵ therefore, very few framings have been preserved that can be attributed to Stanisław Kostka Potocki's genuine collection. Thus, a separation of the works acquired by Stanisław Kostka Potocki is only possible on the grounds of archival records, which are as yet poorly studied. It is, therefore, worth filling in this gap by presenting one of the most important archival sources on the history of Polish collections, written by Count Stanisław Kostka Potocki with his own hand, and the previously unpublished catalogue of drawings. Not only does the source allow us to outline grounds for the collection of the Potocki family but also, more importantly, it sheds new light on the interests of Stanisław Kostka Potocki as a collector and propagator of the knowledge of art. The Count's ambition was to amass a collection valuable enough to constitute the first publicly accessible Polish museum and representative enough to become the basis for artistic education at the newly-established University of Warsaw.

W. Dobrowolski, *Wazy greckie Stanisława Kostki Potockiego* [Greek Vases of Stanisław Kostka Potocki], Warsaw, 2007; J. Rudnicka, *Biblioteka Wilanowska – dwieście lat jej dziejów (1741-1932)* [Wilanów Library: 200 Years of Its History (1741-1932)], Warsaw, 1967; D. Folga-Januszewska, *Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie. Arcydzieła malarstwa* [Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów. Painting Masterpieces], Warsaw, 2019.

- 4 Only rare book copies bear the stamp of *Stanisław C. Potocki* with the Pilawa coat of arms, and only some of the paintings feature an owner's sticker.
- 5 Drawings and prints transferred to the collection at the University of Warsaw gained their backing of blue cardboard after being modelled on the mounting of the Mariette Collection. The items that were left in the family collection and incorporated into the Wilanów Library after 1830, gaining a characteristic graphic framing adorned with embossment and frames made of golden and navy-blue stripes of paper.

Another widely known aspect is that Stanisław Kostka Potocki also collected drawings. Some general or fragmentary information on the topic is available in almost all the studies related to his art collecting activity. However, it is not specifically known today what the collection of drawings he gathered looked like.⁶ Almost two hundred years after his death, the time has come to voice some essential questions: How many drawings did the Count collect? What works were they? And, what do we know about their fate? The present publication is an attempt at a partial response to all those questions. The goal is to make the text of the *Catalogue des Dessins*, kept in an autograph in the collection of the National Library, available *in extenso* to researchers.⁷ This will provide arguably the most precise information on a certain section of the collection of drawings amassed by Potocki to date and present new research directions as well as the questions and problems that have been identified here, so that in the future it will be possible to thoroughly evaluate the importance of the collection and its impact on the history of Polish – and possibly also European – art collecting.

From the studies published to date, it is known that the collection of drawings amassed by Stanisław Kostka Potocki can be divided into two major categories: works collected for the owner's own use, as tools for academic and artistic work,⁸ and items connected with public activity, particularly for popularisation and educational purposes. Stanisław Kostka Potocki began the building of his collection of artwork during his first trips abroad. The first mentions

6 Some of the drawings purchased by the Count were published as part of the catalogue of drawings in the Wilanów Library: K. Gutowska-Dudek, *Rysunki z wilanowskiej kolekcji Potockich w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej* [Drawings from the Wilanów Collection of the Potockis in the collection of the National Library of Poland], Vols. 1–4, Warszawa, 1997–2015.

7 *Catalogue des Dessins de la Collection du Comte Stanislas Potocki*, BN Rps. akc 2189/66/a.

8 E. Skierkowska, “Warsztat pracy Stanisława Kostki Potockiego” [“Working Tools of Stanisław Kostka Potocki”], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, Vol. 34, 1972, no 2, p.178; A. Pietrzak, “La biblioteca di Stanisław Kostka Potocki come suo strumento di lavoro tra Italia e Polonia”, in: *Roma e Varsavia. Tradizione classica e educazione artistica Nell'età dei lumi e oltre*, Roma, 2019, pp. 285–302.

of the purchased drawings (and prints) can be found in his correspondence. Generally, this information is extremely vague, merely signalling the fact that certain purchases were made.⁹ Some of the earliest purchases have been preserved in the collection of the National Library of Poland, *Biblioteka Narodowa* (BN). Among them, there are architectural drawings showing doors and windows of Italian buildings. The Count commissioned these sketches during his studies in Turin and Switzerland in 1774 from the unknown artist Francesco Boarelli.¹⁰ The whole collection of drawings kept at BN is, in essence, connected with the Count's activity in the domain of architecture. As an archaeologist, Potocki dealt with the inventorying and reconstruction of ancient historic monuments,¹¹ while as an amateur architect he designed public buildings.¹² While doing this, he drew inspiration and models from the 16th- and 17th-century architectural treatises that he had collected in his library as well as works of contemporary Italian artists at the time. A significant part of this collection is made up of the drawings the Count received from his brother Ignacy. The most important set among them is formed by the legacy of Francesco Bartolomeo Rastrelli (1700–1771), which was purchased by the Marshal in 1776. It also contained works of the artist's father and other Italian painters-decorators, e.g., Serafino Lodovico Barozzi (1735–1810) and Francesco Fontebasso (1707–1769). An important example of these interests is a set of drawings by the artists from the Galli Bibiena family bound in a notebook.¹³ Donated after 1800 for the collection by Zygmunt Vogel (1764–1826), it is of a training character and contains copied draw-

9 *Grand Tour. The Birth of a Collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki*, Warsaw, 2006.

10 Some of Boarelli's letters related to the works commissioned by the Count have been preserved, see AGAD, APP.260. It is likely that around 1790 the architect from Turin also worked in the Emperor's Court. See A. Baudi di Vesme, *Schede Vesme: l'Arte in Piemonte dal XVI al XVIII secolo*, Volume 1, Turin, 1963, pp.141–142.

11 J. Miziołek, *The Villa Laurentina of Pliny the Younger in an Eighteenth-century Vision*, Rome, 2016.

12 J. Polanowska, *Stanisław Kostka Potocki. Twórczość Architekta Aamatora* [Stanisław Kostka Potocki. Oeuvre of an Architect-amateur], Warsaw, 2009.

13 The sketches from the first quarter of the 18th century may have been executed by e.g., (1659–1739).

ings of buildings in Rome, designs of cartouches, and various architectural details.¹⁴ Clearly, what ranks among the most precious drawings in the set are those connected with the reconstruction of the Villa of Pliny the Younger called Laurentina by, e.g., Vincenzo Brenna (1745-1830) and Giuseppe Manocchi (1731-1782). The set is completed with sketches and designs by Piotr Aigner (1756-1841) in cooperation with and under the guidance of the Count,¹⁵ as well as works by other architects commissioned by Potocki himself or by other befriended aristocrats. To summarise, apart from several earlier acquisitions (the drawings from Turin), the majority of the works of this set were incorporated into the collection after 1800 and they are mainly works by 18th-century artists, often executed as commissioned by the Count or related to his own activity or patronage (e.g., the works by Brenna, whom the Count invited to Poland and recommended to his relatives and friends, following which he recommended him to the Court of the King of Poland and the Emperor's Court). None of the drawings kept in the collection in the Iconography Department are mentioned in the *Catalogue des Dessins* presented in the current study; thus, none of the works described by Potocki reached the BN collection in 1932.

Instead, almost 30 drawings registered by the Count in the *Catalogue des Dessins* have been identified among the works transferred to the collections of the University of Warsaw. The items that survived 1945 continue to be kept there to this date. Potocki's drawings pertaining to the Print Room of the Library of the University of Warsaw (BUW) essentially differ in character to the fragment of his collection preserved at BN, forming part of the ambitious plans to create a particular canon of 'reliable art models'.¹⁶ In 1818,

14 The sketchbook was first mentioned in the inventory made by Aleksander Koku-
lar in 1834 (BN accession no. 2189/66c/1).

15 T.S. Jaroszewski, *Chrystian Piotr Aigner, Architekt Warszawskiego Klasycyzmu* [Chrys-
tian Piotr Aigner, Architect of Warsaw Neo-Classicism], Warsaw, 1970.

16 In the introduction to the unfinished study *O Sztuce u Dziejczych* [Art at the
Contemporaries] (AGAD, APP.257), Potocki outlined the intention to create an
artistic collection serving as academic tools for himself and others who wished
to become acquainted with the history of art.

Potocki, as the then Minister of the Government Commission for Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, made successful efforts to acquire the 'collection of prints' once belonging to King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski for the University of Warsaw, which was being established at the time. The collection purchased from the monarch's heirs contained almost 120,000 items, including nearly 2,000 drawings. That very year, the Count decided to donate to the Print Cabinet the collection that formed as the result of this purchase along with a proportion of his own collection of drawings and prints, so that the established collection could reflect the fullest possible overview of (then) modern art. The donation was conducted in three stages: in 1818, 1820, and November 1821. In total, the Print Cabinet collection amounted to 321 drawings and 5,099 prints. In fact, the majority of the drawings (305) were transferred there following the Count's death (he passed away on 14 September 1821). The documents recording the donation of the collection to the University of Warsaw (UW) are very general, limited to a summary of the number of works in respective schools. E Budzińska wrote about it:

"Regrettably, the above-mentioned list of the donation dated 7 November 1821 was far from being specific and precise. It provided only the number of prints pertaining to respective schools, and within them, only some groups of prints were selected, following varied criteria: chronology, authorship, technique, or finally the mounting style. The drawings are similarly vaguely mentioned so that no hints as for respective items can be found."¹⁷

The detailed content of the collection that reached UW can only be found in the catalogue made over a decade later by Mikołaj Utkin (1780-1863),¹⁸ a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in St Peters-

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- 17 E. Budzińska, "Tak zwana kolekcja Stanisława Kostki Potockiego w Gabinetie Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego" [The So-called Collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki in the Print Room at the Library of the University of Warsaw], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, Vol. 34, 1972, no 2, p.163.
 - 18 M.I. Utkin, *Catalogue Raisonné d'Estampes Composant la Collection du Cabinet d'Alexandre de Varsovie rédigé par...*, Vols.1-27 [manuscript (copy of the original) kept in the BUW Print Cabinet].

burg and curator of the print collection brought from Warsaw. The inventories made in the interwar period were lost during World War II, thus Utkin's catalogue is the only preserved register of the collection acquired for the UW Print Cabinet during 1818–1832, also including the donation given by Stanisław Kostka Potocki. Regrettably, this donation did not survive as one whole. As part of repressions following the November Uprising, the collection of the UW Print Cabinet was transported to St Petersburg and incorporated into the assets of the Academy of Fine Arts.¹⁹ Following the end of the Polish-Soviet War, in harmony with the provisions of the Peace of Riga, the plundered works were returned to the University of Warsaw, though not as one collection. Stanisław Kostka Potocki's collection of drawings had been depleted by almost 60 items. The next stage of destruction happened during the course of World War II. The collection was systematically transported to the German Reich, while a substantial portion of it was purposefully burnt down in October 1944 by the German army in retaliation for the Warsaw Uprising.²⁰ Out of the 321 drawings donated by Potocki in 1818, only 157 survived after World War II (including seven drawings by Rembrandt).²¹ The *Catalogue des Dessins* is thus important for the fact that it confirms the existence of some items recorded by Utkin, while also often containing more extensive entries and completing the provenance information. Foremost, however, the manuscript contains descriptions of the part of the Stanisław Kostka Potocki's collection that we have known nothing about until now, and the vicissitudes of which have remained unknown. Quite a substantial part of the drawings collected by

19 J. Talbierska, "Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie 1818-1832" [BUW Print Cabinet 1818-1832], in: *Ars et Educatio. Kultura Artystyczna Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* [Ars et Educatio. Artistic Culture at the University of Warsaw], Warsaw, 2003, pp.399–417, and W. Rudzińska, "Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie 1832-2002" [BUW Print Cabinet 1832-2002], *ibidem*, pp.418–429.

20 S. Sawicka and T. Sulerzyska, *Straty w Rysunkach z Gabinetu Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej : 1939-1945* [Losses in Drawings from the BUW Print Cabinet 1939-1945], Warsaw, 1960.

21 E. Budzińska, *op. cit.*, p.165; J. Talbierska, *Rembrandt: Prints and Drawings from the Collection of the Print Room of the Warsaw University Library*, Warsaw, 2006.

the Count was not transferred to UW. They remained at Wilanów and have most likely become the property of other private owners through inheritance or sales. When arranging and combining the collections of his father and uncle as part of the Wilanów Library established in 1832, Aleksander Potocki made a new catalogue of drawings.²² It is assumed that the first major purchases of works on paper made independently by Aleksander Potocki come only from 1837 and contain mainly prints,²³ so a supposition can be made that a proportion of the drawings described in his catalogue were purchased by Stanisław Kostka Potocki. Over 30 drawings described by him in the *Catalogue des Dessins* and the catalogue later put up by Aleksander Potocki have been successfully identified. The drawings have remained completely unknown to researchers until today. Regrettably, the records leading to those works end in 1840.²⁴

The *Catalogue des Dessins* is actually a kind of inventory: it was created in 1796 at the earliest or several years later. Finding the date when the document was written down is quite challenging. The general assumption has been that it was created around 1800. Additionally, it can be assumed that the *Notte des Dessins achetés* and *Suite des Dessins achetés* incorporated into the Catalogue were written down immediately following the purchase of the drawings, and thus soon after the return from yet another trip to Italy made together with his wife and son.²⁵ In May 1795, the Potockis were in Verona, from where they went to Mantua, Padoa, Modena, Florence, Lucca, Siena, and Livorno. In June the following year, they spent several months in Rome. They later travelled via Perugia,

22 Preserved in the BN collection (A. Potocki, *Dessins*, BN accession no. 2189, Vol. 66c).

23 E. Skierkowska, op. cit., p.178.

24 Elżbieta Skierkowska wrote the following: "St. K. Potocki's precious collection of drawings of old masters of foreign schools boosting him to the position of a world-ranking collector, was not given to the Polish state in 1932; the history of this collection following 1845 (Aleksander Potocki's death date) is not unknown." See *Rysunki Szkół Obcych, w Zbiorach Polskich* [Drawings of Foreign Schools in Polish Collections], ed. Maria Mrozińska, Warsaw, 1976, p.104.

25 Travel passports have been preserved, AGAD, APP.366, k.21.

Florence, and Cortona, to reach Germany in July 1797. In August 1797, they went to Kraków and stayed with Princess Lubomirska in Łańcut. On that occasion, his mother-in-law offered the Wilanów estate to the Count.²⁶ Officially and formally, it was in October 1799 that Stanisław Kostka Potocki took over the Wilanów Palace and the palace at 15 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street in Warsaw. However, it is highly likely that already as of 1797, Potocki was thinking of organising this estate, its decor, and placing his collection there. Making the catalogue of drawings and the register of other movables allowed him to take control over his possessions. In 1797, the Potockis dwelled mainly in Lviv, Kurów, and Olesin. Specifically, it was to Lviv that they had the artwork purchased abroad transported, including copperplates and drawings, while the shipment of chests with the collection sometimes went on for several months.²⁷ The couple returned to Warsaw and came to live in Krakowskie Przedmieście Street possibly in 1801.²⁸ In parallel, the interiors of the Wilanów Palace were renovated and redecorated; a brick Gothic gallery was raised to house the collected artwork to boost the owner's prestige and educate co-citizens in 1802.²⁹ This move, along with work on the decor of numerous sumptuous interiors, may have also motivated the decision to make the catalogue. Additionally, it is known that Potocki used to take a part of his collection with him when he travelled; mainly the items that served him in developing his activities in the field of architecture at the time. Amid continuous voyages (in June 1799 the Potockis again went to Italy³⁰), moves, renovations, and interior redecora-

26 *Pamiętnik interesów samego J.O. Hrabi Potockiego Senatora i Wojewody* [Diary of the Interests of Count Potocki Himself, Senator and Voivode], AGAD, AGW Anteriora 302, p.1.

27 *Pamiętnik interesów*, *Op.Cit.*, p.4.

28 *Pamiętnik interesów*, *Op.Cit.*, pp.61, 107-108.

29 The museum opened to the public in 1805 was, in a way, a continuation of the 'Myśli względem założenia Museum Polonicum' [Thoughts on Establishing the Museum Polonicum] by Michał Mniszech published, e.g., in the journal *Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne* 1775, Vol. 11, part 2, pp. 211-226.

30 Travel passports, AGAD, APP.366, k.19.

tion keeping the collection in order may have been the requirement of the moment. The extensive archives of Stanisław Kostka Potocki are exceptionally poor when it comes to the inventory of movables. Teresa Zielińska wrote in 1972 about the existing gap in the archival materials impeding the recreation of the content of the Count's collection:

"The most highly appreciated and most frequently used source of the kind of household character: inventory descriptions of both real estate or even the movables do not constitute such an important item in Potocki's archives as one could expect. This results first of all from the fact that the inventories of his possessions, apart from Olesin, have not actually survived, and those which have been preserved, do not exceed with their thoroughness of descriptions of artworks the average level of the era."³¹

The *Catalogue des Dessins* presented here fills in this gap to a certain extent and it, therefore, has an enormous impact on illuminating the stages of development of Stanisław Kostka Potocki's collection.³² The manuscript of the Catalogue is made up of nine sheets inscribed *recto* and *verso*, kept in a cardboard binding that possibly came from the period when the Wilanów Library was arranged. Written down in French (a very peculiar 18th-century broken version of the language), the Catalogue is made up of three major parts essentially reflecting the arrangement of drawings according to schools. The first part '*Ecole italienne*' is composed of three elements. On the sheets from '1 r.' to '3 r.', a list of drawings by Italian artists can be found. Page '3 v.' contains a list of drawings purchased in Italy (*Notte des Dessins achetés en Italie en 1795 et 1796*), which is continued on the next two pages: '4 r.' and '4 v.' (*Suite des Dessins achetés en Italie en 1795 et 1796*). However, the draw-

31 T. Zielińska, "Archiwum prywatne Stanisława Kostki Potockiego jako źródło informacji o jego mecenacie kulturalno-artystycznym" [Private Archives of Stanisław Kostka Potocki as the Source of Information on his Cultural and Artistic Patronage], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, Vol. 34, 1972, no 2, p.121.

32 Also, the *List of Wilanów Paintings* (AGAD. Zarząd Muzeum w Wilanowie 167), registering almost 200 canvases and made after the Count's death, has been preserved.

ings purchased in Italy do not exclusively contain works by artists of the Italian school, although they do form its major part. Potocki, therefore, displayed a certain lack of consistency, yet he purposefully connected the two descriptions to form one whole. Part two of the Catalogue contained on pages '5 r.' to '6 v.' encompasses drawings by French artists (*Ecole française*). The third and final part is found on pages from '7 r.' to '9 v.', and refers to three Northern schools: Flemish, Dutch, and German (*Ecoles Flamande, Hollendoise et Allemande*). The Catalogue was prepared in a form of a table featuring three columns. The first and most extensive column contains subsequent catalogue items constituting descriptions of individual drawings. In the other two smaller columns, the value of the drawings is given in thalers and florins. At the bottom of the columns with the values on each page, a total value is calculated and the cumulative total is transferred to the following page. The values of the three main parts of the Catalogue are summed separately. Meanwhile, the value of the first part (*Ecole italienne*) is totalled together with the value of the drawings purchased in Italy (*Notte des Dessins achetés...* and *Suite des Dessins achetés...*) so that they constitute one register. The given values are not identical to the purchase prices (these are occasionally recorded, though most frequently expressed in pounds). Interestingly, the Count's calculations are not always correct and consistent; moreover, several mistakes were made in the numbering of the Catalogue items. Regrettably, some of the figures in the manuscript are blurred, which hampers the recreation of all the values. Another difficulty arises with the deciphering of the artists' names. At moments, the hasty handwriting is poorly legible and, additionally, the Count sometimes wrote down surnames in their phonetic form, entirely omitting the first names. In some cases, particularly when artistic dynasties are concerned, this makes it impossible to unequivocally identify the supposed artist of the drawing.

The most extensive part of the Catalogue is constituted by the register of drawings by the artists of the Italian school (42 items referring to 42 drawings of which one was two-sided) and accom-

panied by a list of drawings purchased in Italy (108 items describing 118 drawings of which one was two-sided). The second most extensive in terms of the number of works is the part registering drawings of the Northern schools. It features 49 items referring to 48 loose drawings and one sketchbook containing 36 drawings. The least numerous is the list of drawings of the French school, which contains 33 Catalogue items referring to 34 drawings. In total, the fragment of Potocki's collection of drawings covered by the Catalogues described 242 loose charts and one sketchbook with 36 works. The proportions of the numbers of drawings of the Italian school versus the French and the Northern schools (German and Dutch) adequately reflect the Count's interests: his love of Italy and its art and culture. He almost depreciated Netherlandish art, writing in the letters to his wife that it required a lot of patience to study and that he would prefer his son Aleksander not to be so passionate about little Dutch and Flemish Masters.³³

The notes in the Catalogue are quite extensive. The Catalogue item number is followed by the author's surname, composition topic, techniques used, its dimensions, and value. In some cases, the Count added a brief commentary on the artist or on the location where the work was purchased. Sometimes, notes appear related to the place where the work was kept (large-format drawings were kept in sizeable portfolios with prints) or on the preservation state (cut corners, rounding of the upper edge, or having been pasted to the same chart). In one case, we even come across a description of a little "accident at work". When the Countess spilt ink onto a drawing by Baciccio, the Count was forced to cut it so much that only a fragment was saved.

The register of drawings purchased in Italy (*Notte des Dessins achetés...* and *Suite des Dessins achetés...*) has a more concise form as if it had been made hastily. The descriptions in this part are limited merely to the artist's family name and a succinctly signalled topic.

33 AGAD, APP 262.

Of particular interest in the context of the research into the development of Stanisław Kostka Potocki's collection is the information that can be found concerning the provenance of respective drawings. Although not complete, it sheds some light on how the collection grew. The *Catalogue des Dessins* confirms preceding information on a certain number of gifts that enriched the Count's collection. Bibiena's sketchbook, presented by Zygmunt Vogel, and Rastrelli's legacy, taken over from the collection of the Count's brother Ignacy, have already been mentioned. The discussed Catalogue also mentions Johann Gottlieb Schön's sketchbook as the work purchased by Marshal Ignacy Potocki in Leipzig from the artist's heirs and was most likely gifted to the Count. Stanisław Kostka Potocki also recorded – not hiding his satisfaction – that the King's nephew Prince Stanisław Poniatowski gifted him a drawing by Charles-Joseph Natoire showing Heracles defeating the Nemean lion. Stanisław Poniatowski (1754–1833) was also a passionate collector, famous particularly for his enormous collection of ancient gems.³⁴ Potocki was critical of the extravagance of Stanisław Poniatowski as he often overspent when paying for works of art “with the generosity of a blood prince”.³⁵ Since the interests of both collectors coincided, this statement unveils a portion of the competition but also concealed admiration.

In the *Catalogue des Dessins* there is only one mention of an exchange, thanks to an *Amateur* of an unknown name who gave a drawing by Pieter van Laer called Bamboche. Regrettably, we do not know what artwork Potocki gave in return. In some cases, the

34 A. Bender, “Książę Stanisław Poniatowski, koneser oraz kolekcjoner dzieł sztuki starożytnej i włoskiej” [Prince Stanisław Poniatowski: Expert on and Collector of Ancient and Italian Art.], *Muzealnictwo*, No 61, 2020, pp.79–88; W. Brillowski, “Valuable and Very Interesting Cabinet of Objects of Taste and Vertu’: kolekcjonerstwo i mecenat księcia Stanisława Poniatowskiego” [‘Valuable and Very Interesting Cabinet of Objects of Taste and Vertu’: Collecting and Patronage of Prince Stanisław Poniatowski], in: *Relacje artystyczne i kulturalne między Italią a Polską w epoce nowożytnej. Studia z historii sztuki i kultury* [Artistic and Cultural Relations between Italy and Poland in the Modern Era. Studies in History of Art and Culture], ed. Albert Boesten-Stengel and Sławomir Cendrowskiego, Warszawa 2016.

35 Letter of 29 March 1786, AGAD, APP 262 I.

sources where Potocki bought the works are described extremely concisely, as is the case of another work by Pieter van Laer showing a man and two horses against a landscape. The Count bought this sanguine from an undefined engraver, although he did not provide any more details. The attribution of this composition preserved in the BUW collection, and assumed by the Count possibly from the anonymous vendor, has recently been questioned.³⁶

The largest group among the 243 items mentioned in the *Catalogue des Dessins* is constituted by the works bought in Italy. In total, there are 131 drawings: in 18 cases the purchases were made in Rome, and in two others they were made in Venice. The Count bought 31 drawings in Germany, 26 in Paris, and 23 in Rome. In some infrequent cases, Potocki registered the fact that a drawing came from a definite collection. It seems the fact that in many such cases they were from the largest European collections evidently boosted the item's worth in his eyes, becoming yet another factor ennobling the ambitious owner. For example, we find out from the *Catalogue des Dessins* that when Potocki was in Leipzig he visited the collection of Gottfried Winckler (1731-1795), a banker, merchant, and collector who had amassed 1,300 paintings, 2,469 drawings, 80,000 prints, and a library with 6,842 volumes. Having seen that it included paintings by Jan van Huysum Oraz Johann Gottlieb Schön, for example, he was really impressed by the collection. This visit may have happened while Winckler was still alive. After the banker's death, his sons divided the collection among themselves and quickly started selling it off, so much so that the collection once considered the largest and the most precious in Leipzig was soon dispersed. Its especially rare works are kept today at the Leipzig Museum der Bildenden Künste.

One of the unattainable models for all the Enlightenment collectors was the famous collection gathered by Pierre Jean Mari-

36 J. Talbierska, *Rysunki dawnych mistrzów. Wiek XV do lat 20. XIX wieku. Szkoła niderlandzka, flamandzka i holenderska* [Drawings of Old Masters. The 15th Century to the 1920s. The Netherlandish, Flemish, and Dutch Schools], Warszawa 2019, pp. 214-215.

ette (1694–1774).³⁷ A prominent place in his collection was taken by drawings, which numbered over 9,000. Works by grandmasters side by side with works of lesser-known artists composed a collection of an encyclopaedic character, presenting the major accomplishments of artists from all periods. Mariette was considered the grandest art connoisseur and his collection became an object of desire of the French King, who offered the sum of 300,000 pounds for it immediately after the owner's death. Unfortunately, the heirs rejected the offer and instead decided to auction the collection, and thus allowing it to disperse. The auction of the artwork went on for over two months (from 15 November 1775 to 23 January 1776). Interestingly, quite a substantial part of them was acquired for the royal collection.³⁸ Although almost half a century Mariette's junior, Stanisław Kostka Potocki must have heard about Mariette's famous collection during his juvenile travels. It is known that he had the auction catalogue from 1775 in his library.³⁹ He also kept a catalogue there elaborated by Mariette of yet another grand collection; that of the French financier Pierre Crozat (1661–1740), of which Mariette had purchased almost all.⁴⁰ In the catalogue of his own collection of drawings, Potocki mentioned Mariette's name on several occasions. He recalled Mariette's opinion and authority concerning the drawings by Pietro da Cortona. In several cases, he also stated that the purchased works had originally been the property of the great French collector. The issue of these provenances seems particularly interesting but also complex. In the impres-

37 K. Smentek, *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, London; New York, 2016.

38 "Documents sur la vente du Cabinet de Mariette", in *Nouvelles archives de l'art français. Recueil de documents inédits publiés par la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, Paris, 1872, p.350.

39 *Catalogue raisonné des différens objets de curiosités dans les sciences et arts qui composaient le cabinet de feu M. Mariette contrôleur général de la grande Chancellerie de France honoraire amateur de l'Académie royale de peinture, et de celle de Florence par F. Basan, graveur*, Paris, 1775. Surviving work BN SD W. 2.4593.

40 P.J. Mariette, *Description sommaire des desseins des grands maitres d'Italie, des Pays-Bas et de France du Cabinet de feu [...] M. Crozat [...]*, Paris, 1741. Surviving work BN SD W.2.4595.

sive *catalogue raisonné* of the drawings from the Mariette Collection elaborated under the guidance of Pierre Rosenberg⁴¹, we can find descriptions similar to those left by Stanisław Kostka Potocki. However, without any further provenance research, it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions. As an example of an interesting coincidence, let us quote one of the battle compositions by Bourguignon, which Potocki described as a cavalry battle (*Combat de Cavalerie*), purchased at the auction of the collection of Prince Rohan-Chabot.⁴² The agent who purchased items on behalf of the Count assured him that the exact drawing by Bourguignon in the catalogue of Mariette's was listed as No. 1214 in the auction, for which 600 pounds had been paid (the Count paid five Louises for it). Meanwhile, in Rosenberg's catalogue,⁴³ we can read that the battle composition by Bourguignon (*Cavalerie en action*), which was identified in Mariette's auction catalogue under No. 1214 and bought by Lenoir for Lempereur⁴⁴ for 600 pounds, is currently kept at the Louvre. However, the object does not bear Mariette's ownership mark, which is also mentioned in the description by Potocki. The drawing from the Count's collection has been preserved in the collection of the BUW Print Cabinet, and it is slightly smaller than the Paris drawing. This example clearly shows that even if Potocki sometimes fell victim to cheating, it was a meticulously planned fraud while the middlemen were capable of giving an appropriate aura to the objects enshrouding them in an attractive legend. Moreover, it has to be mentioned that Potocki owned at least one drawing in his collection of certain and confirmed

41 P. Rosenberg, *Les dessins de la collection Mariette: École française*. Vols. 1-2, Milano 2011; P. Rosenberg, *Les dessins de la collection Mariette: Écoles italienne et espagnole*. Vols. 1-3, annexes, Paris, 2019.

42 Louis-Antoine-Auguste de Rohan-Chabot (1733-1807). The Prince's collection was auctioned on several times: in 1777, 1780, 1787, and finally after his death in 1808. (*Notice des dessins, gouaches,... qui composaient la curiosité de feu M. Louis-Ant.-Auguste Rohan-Chabot... Vente 8 déc. 1808*, Paris, 1808).

43 P. Rosenberg, *Op Cit.*, Vol. 1, p.510 (F.1625).

44 Pierre Valéry Lenoir (?-1833?), Paris art dealer; Jean Denis Lempereur (1701-1779) purchased artworks for the French court.

provenance from the Mariette Collection. It is the sanguine drawing by Hubert Robert also kept in the BUW Print Cabinet, showing the bust of Marie Thérèse Gosset by Edmé Bouchardon.⁴⁵ This drawing, however, is not mentioned in the *Catalogue des Dessins*, since it may have been a later acquisition.

Potocki wrote down in the *Catalogue des Dessins* information about the purchase of a dozen or so drawings at the auction of the above-mentioned Prince Rohan-Chabot. The identification of those works in auction catalogues is challenging owing to imprecise data. However, it can be said with certainty that at the 1787 auction two characteristic compositions by Louis Jean François Lagrenée (1725–1805), featuring the Holy Family and Apollo descending to Thetis, were bought. In the auction catalogue the drawings were described as follows:

“Deux Dessins ; l’un au crayon noir relevé de blanc, sur papier blanc, représente le Repos de la Sainte-Famille en Egypte, composé de trois figures ; l’autre est le Retour d’Apollon chez Thétis, composition riche & agréable de douze figures, dessin lavé de bistre & rehaussé de blanc, sur papier roux.”⁴⁶

The buyer was Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun⁴⁷, who paid 36 pounds. This is the price recorded by Potocki next to the first of the drawings. He paid 43 pounds for the composition with Apollo, and the sum may have been the profit of the middleman. Importantly, Lagrenée’s drawing showing Apollo and Thetis, corresponding with the description by Stanisław Kostka Potocki’s and featuring the mounting characteristics of the Count’s collection, is currently at the Klassik Stiftung Weimar.⁴⁸ One of the types of mounting

45 P. Rosenberg, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. 2, p.1026 (F.2709).

46 J.B.P. Lebrun, *Catalogue d’une précieuse collection de tableaux, et d’objets rares et curieux, tels que Pietro Perrugin, André Solario, Gobbo des Carraches, Salvator Rosa [...] &c. figures de bronze & de marbre, vases de porphyre, de serpent, & piédestaux de grand antique, agates, porcelaines, pendule, riches meubles, &c. le tout provenant du Cabinet de M. le duc de Ch****, Paris, 1787, item 254 (Lugt 4230).

47 Jean-Baptiste Pierre Le Brun (1748–1813), a well-known French painter, collector, and art dealer who was involved in e.g., purchases for the Louvre.

48 Inv-Nummer KK 8729; Apollo und Thetis - Digitale Angebote der Klassik Stiftung

used by the Count was composed of a backing of cream paper onto which the drawing was pasted and encircled with a light green watercolour frame, a golden belt, and six lines in brown ink.⁴⁹

According to the notes found in the *Catalogue des Dessins*, the very same auction allowed the Count to purchase six mythological compositions by Raymond Lafage. These drawings and two additional works were described in the auction catalogue as follows: “*Huit Dessins représentant divers sujets historiques & des bacchanales; on remarque la mort de Laocoon étouffé par les serpens, le sujet d’Agar, & c.; dessins à la plume lavés d’encre de la Chine, d’autres de bistre.*”⁵⁰ The auction description thus corresponds quite precisely with the information left by Potocki; two drawings in ink showing Laocoön and his children attacked by snakes and Hagar meeting an angel in the desert as well as two bistre wash bacchanal compositions.

Another important European collection that had an impact on shaping the art collecting passions of Stanisław Kostka Potocki was that of Baron Philipp von Stosch (1691–1757).⁵¹ Among Potocki’s purchases were 26 precious drawings belonging originally to the collection of Baron von Stosch, including, e.g., works by Raphael, Michelangelo, Correggio, Annibale, Parmigianino, Ludovico Carracci, and Rubens. Apart from one of these drawings, the whereabouts of the others remain unknown. Stanisław Kostka Potocki was too young to have been able to visit the Museo Stoschiano during his stays in Florence. Interested in antiquity, the Count had an album in his library with Georg Martin Preisler’s prints of Edmé Bouchardon’s drawings featuring ancient sculptures from von

Weimar (klassik-stiftung.de) [Accessed: 30 March 2021].

49 Such mountings are featured with some drawings from the Potocki Collection kept at BUW.

50 These drawings were also purchased in 1787 by Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun (for 100 pounds), see J.B.P. Lebrun, *Op. Cit.*, Item 241.

51 A more extensive description of Philipp von Stosch and the drawings coming from his collection that were added to the Stanisław Potocki Collection can be found in: A. Pietrzak, “Fameux Amateur Baron Philipp von Stosch and the Unknown Provenance of Lost Old-Masters. Drawings From the Collection of Count Stanisław Kostka Potocki”, *Polish Libraries*, vol. 6, pp.115–163.

Stosch's collection.⁵² He also bought the catalogue of Stosch's gems compiled by Winckelmann⁵³ during his trip to London in 1787.⁵⁴ Potocki must have met the Baron himself in mid-1783 at the latest, during his stay in Germany. When visiting Potsdam and Sanssouci, Potocki also viewed the collection of medals and gems of Baron von Stosch purchased in 1764 by Frederic II. This happened a few weeks after the Stosch Collection had been auctioned at the Böhme Auction House on 22 April 1783. There is no circumstantial evidence testifying to the fact that Potocki actually knew about the sale of Baron's collection of prints and drawings in Berlin (he did not have a copy of the auction catalogue in his library). Additionally, there is nothing else to suggest that he may have purchased anything at that auction. Nonetheless, despite the enigmatic character of respective descriptions in the Berlin catalogue,⁵⁵ some drawings from the Potocki collection have been identified. However, the Count purchased these drawings later, possibly in Leipzig through the antiquarian Carl Rost,⁵⁶ from whom he bought artworks more than once.⁵⁷ In one case, we know with certainty that the drawing described by Potocki coming from the von Stosch

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

53 Preserved copy, BN SD W.3667.

54 Potocki arrived in London on 18 May 1787 and returned to Paris on 16 July that year. See: *Grand Tour*, Op. Cit. p. 177, p.181.

55 *Verzeichniss einer Sammlung hauptsächlich zu den Alterthümen, der Historie, den schönen Künsten u. Wissenschaften gehöriger mehrentheils italienischer, englischer und französischer Bücher: auch Landcharten, Zeichnungen, und Kupferstiche von berühmten Meistern, auch einiger Gemähldte, imgl. einer Sammlung Schwefel-Abdrücke von antiken Gemmen &c. welche der verstorbene Herr Heinrich Wilhelm Muzel genamt Stosch Walton hinterlassen und am 22sten April 1783 und folgende Tage Nachmittags von 2 bis 4 Uhr in der Wohnung des Verstorbenen an der Ecke der Linden-Allee und Kirchgasse, im Bastideschen Hause dem Meistbiethenden in öffentlicher Auction gegen baare Bezahlung zugeschlagen werden sollen. Das Verzeichniss wird im Wachsmurhischen Hause bey dem Königl. Auctions Commissarius Herrn Böhme, Vormittags von 9 bis 11 Uhr gratis ausgegeben, Berlin, 1783.*

56 Carl (Karl) Christian Heinrich Rost (1742–1798), an antique dealer and art connoisseur. See Sächsische Biografie online: http://saebi.isgv.de/biografie/Carl_Christian_Heinrich_Rost_%281742-1798%29 [Accessed: 24 April 2021].

57 A. Pietrzak, Op. Cit., pp.137–140.

Collection was offered for sale in 1792. The composition showing *The Adoration of the Magi* is today kept in the collection of the BUW Print Cabinet in Warsaw. Regrettably, it is the only drawing described by Potocki that has been unquestionably identified in the catalogues published by Carl Rost in Leipzig during 1788–1798.⁵⁸

Another collector who also had a great impact on the shape of Stanisław Kostka Potocki's collection of drawings is Aron Joseph de Pinto (1710–1758), a rich merchant and art lover from Amsterdam.⁵⁹ Dealing with trade (particularly with India through the

58 *Anzeige einer ansehnlichen Kupferstich-Sammlung alter, neuer und seltener Blätter berühmter Meister (Band 11): ... nebst einigen Handzeichnungen, Gemälden, Kupferstichwerken und vielen Kupferstichen unter Glas und Rahm: Den 1ten Febr. 1792 wird der Verkauf davon gehalten ... von dem verpflichteten Universitäts-Proclamator Herrn Weigel, im rothen Collegio zu Leipzig ...*, Leipzig, 1791, p.352, <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kupferstichsammlung1791> [Accessed: 24 April 2021].

59 Aron Joseph de Pinto came from a family of rich Portuguese Sephardi who settled in Holland. In the late 15th century in Portugal, the de Pinto family were forced to convert to Catholicism. Around 1646, Gil Emmanuel Lopez de Pinto (1588–1668), Aaron's great-grandfather, arrived in Rotterdam and assumed the new name of Abraham. Aaron's parents were Joseph Jacob de Pinto (1688–?) and Ribca Franco da Costa. As of 1651, the de Pinto family lived in Amsterdam where the brother of Aaron's grandfather Izaak Abraham de Pinto (1629–1681) bought the first family residence—one of the most beautiful buildings in town that was raised around 1606/1607—the so-called Huis de Pinto at 69 Sint Antoniesbreestraat. In 1686, a second neighbouring property was purchased by Izaak's son David Emanuel de Pinto (1652–1719), who having employed the architect Elias Bouman in 1686, added famous double façade that exists to today. The monumental edifice was rendered in Romeyn de Hooghe's print. The family residence impressed with splendour so much that a certain Englishman, Joseph Shaw, having visited the house in 1654, claimed that one of the rooms had walls lined with golden ducats. Aron's cousin David Aaron de Pinto (1692–1751) raised the Tulpenburg estate, which in 1736 was considered the most beautiful garden of Holland. In 1734, Aaron de Pinto purchased a house in Amsterdam's Nieuwe Herengracht. The de Pintos' residences were eagerly visited by William IV of Orange Stadtholder of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, with whom the family were in close relations as of 1747 and shared some profitable business partnerships (he used to borrow money from the de Pinto brothers). See P. Buijs, I. Faber, "Sources relating to the history of Portuguese-Jewish families: the De Pinto and Lopes Suasso family", *Studia Rosenthaliana*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (1998), pp. 190–194; N. Eliasar (2018), *The Jewish communities of Amsterdam. A separate collective existence*, (PDF) The Jewish communities of Amsterdam. A separate collective existence. | Naomi Eliasar - Academia.edu [Accessed: 27 March 2020]; M.H. Gans, *Memorboek*, Baarn 1971, p.114; C. C. G. Quarles van Ufford, "Het mooiste tuinhuis van Amsterdam staat te ukkel. De achttiende eeuwse bouwactiviteiten van Aron de Joseph de Pinto op Nieuwe Herengracht 103", in: *Vijfenzestigste jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum*, Amsterdam, 1793, pp.109–136. Some of the de Pinto

Dutch East India Company) and banking in the first half of the 18th century, the de Pinto family accumulated extensive wealth and earned a high social status and European renown. The family's fame must have reached Stanisław Kostka Potocki during one of his trips across the Netherlands. Aron Joseph de Pinto was an *Amateur des Beaux-Arts et Sciences*, well-known in his circles. He amassed a sizeable library and a collection of paintings (particularly French, English, and Dutch), drawings, prints, and a collection of precious scientific apparatus, all kinds of *curiosité*, and objects of precious metals and stones (agate, ivory, carnelian, amber), Chinese porcelain, and lacquer. The whole collection was sold at a posthumous auction of the de Pintos held in Amsterdam in 1785, mounted by the art dealers P. van der Schley, C. Ploos, H. de Winter, and J. Jver.⁶⁰ The works from the de Pinto Collection, recorded by Potocki in his *Catalogue* were most likely not purchased directly at the auction in 1785. In the copy of the auction catalogue from the collection of the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam, featuring some added notes, surnames of the different buyers of the drawings were written down (the names of both de Winter and Iver who bid on behalf of other people – possibly even Potocki – are frequently repeated there). The works may have reached the market again or reached the hands of other middlemen.⁶¹

From the de Pinto Collection the Count purchased, for example, a tiny (ca. 7×10cm) drawing showing monks at a monastery gate, which is preserved in the BUW collection. Bought as a work by Salvator Rosa, it bears an attribution that is possibly handwritten by Stanisław Kostka Potocki. However, as is known from the

family's documents, including the family tree, are kept at the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam.

60 *Een fraaie collectie uitmuntende gecouleurde en ongecouleurde teekeningen: benevens een groote verzameling prentkunst ... een kabinet konstige schilderyen ... alles in veele jaaren by een verzamelt en nagelaaten door wylen den Heere Aron de Joseph de Pinto*, Amsterdam, 1785 (Lugt 3860).

61 This is what happened in the case of the drawing by Bassan, which Potocki recorded that it came from an unidentified Dutch collection yet was purchased in Leipzig.

Catalogue des Dessins, Potocki had his doubts about this attribution, considering the sketch to have been a work by a good Dutch artist. Currently, the attribution to Rosa has also been questioned as the drawing is considered a work by Jan de Bisschop.⁶² It is from the same source that another preserved drawing by Isaac van Ostade, showing the interior of a peasant cottage executed in black crayon, comes.⁶³ One more drawing from that collection has been preserved; showing picturesque ruins in an Italianization style, it was executed by the excellent Dutch landscapist Herman Saftleven.⁶⁴ Regrettably, two other works by the same artist Potocki bought at the same auction have not been preserved. Additionally, Potocki purchased two drawings from the de Pinto Collection (actually one cut into two halves) by the illustrious Dutch painter Jacob de Wit. Jolanta Talbierska questions this attribution, considering the work to be a copy and identifying the composition model in the drawing kept in Frankfurt.⁶⁵ It is true that Jacob de Wit was commissioned by Aaron Joseph de Pinto to design the decoration of the house in Nieuwe Herengracht.⁶⁶ Another artist employed on the job was Dirk Dalens III (1688-1753). Thus, it may be so that the frieze design Potocki bought shows one of the decorative elements of the banker's residence. This question, however, requires further investigation.

Solving all the questionable issues and the development of all the directions of the research and historical motifs exceeds the limits of one article. Unquestionably, much of the information shared by Stanisław Kostka Potocki has to be viewed critically; particularly regarding the attribution of the drawings described in the *Catalogue des Dessins*, a catalogue of drawings. On the other hand, it is clearly possible that they were works of great masters. Furthermore, the collection of drawings amassed by the Count also had to fulfil the role of documenting painterly works that the collector

62 J. Talbierska, *Rysunki dawnych mistrzów...*, op. cit., pp.55-56.

63 Ibidem, pp. 257-258.

64 Ibidem, pp. 317-318.

65 Ibidem, pp. 390-391.

66 A. Staring, *Jacob de Wit 1695-1754*, Amsterdam, 1958, p.154.

wished to have in his collection, yet which remained unattainable. Possibly, at times he had to be satisfied with copies of better or poorer quality. Many of the purchased works may have thus been copies or compositions maintained in the style of known artists. It is also likely that the Count was deceived on several occasions by art dealers hoping to profit from not always providing their clients with genuine works. In the 18th century, with the dynamic development of the collectors' market and demand for beautiful and historical objects, art forgery was carried out on a huge scale. Attribution doubts can be dissolved only once the lost items from the Count's collection have been found. Nonetheless, the *Catalogue des Dessins* – hand-written by Stanisław Kostka Potocki himself – remains an important document of the era, presenting and pointing to new directions in the research into Polish and European art collecting.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

Catalogue des Dessins de la Collection du Comte Stanislas Potocki⁶⁷

[k.1r.]

Lp. ⁶⁸		Ducats	FL
<i>Ecole Italienne</i>			
1.	^{1^{mo}} <i>Leonardo da Vinci</i> – La vierge tenant l'enfant Jesus entre ses bras. Dessin achevé a la pierre Noir. Mais decoupe de son ancien fond et colle sur un autre. 8 p. et 9 l de h. sur 5 p. 5 l. de L. Achete a Venice. Prix ... ⁶⁹	3.	–
2.	^{2^{do}} <i>Michel Ange Bonarroti</i> – Une Des tetes du dernier Jugement, peinte a Rome dans la chapelle Sixtine. Dessiné avec beaucoup de Soin a la pierre noire. La partie des Cheveux n'est qu'indique. Dessin venant de la collection du fameux Amateur Baron de Stoeche, a peu pres 13 p. de h. sur 10 de L. Achete a Leipzig Prix ... ⁷⁰	6.	–
3.	^{3^{io}} <i>Raphael d'Urbino</i> . – Une femme au pied vue par le dos soutenant une corniche en guise de Cariatide. Dessin lavé en bistre, venant de la Collection du Baron de Stoeche. 8 p. 9 l. de h. sur 4 p. 10. l. de large. Acheté à Leipzig. Prix... ⁷¹	4.	–
4.	^{4^{to}} <i>André Vanucchi dit del Sarto</i> – Dessin a la Sanguine, Ou l'on voit plusieurs Saints aux pieds de la Vierge assise dans une niche. Il parait que c'est une de ses compositions de tableau d'autel enfanté par les rêves de quelque moine ou de quelque religieuse, ou bien dans l'idée d'y rassembler les patrons du lieu pour le quel Ce tableau a été executé – 11p 7 l. de h. – 10 p. 1 l. de L. Il vient de la Collection de Stoeche et a été achete a Leipzig. Prix ... ⁷²	6.	–
5.	^{5^o} Autre Dessin achevé du meme maître a la pierre noire, representant la visitation. Il a été gravé, et parait avoir été fait execute a fresque ou a l'huile par Ce maître. – 10 p et ½ de h. 11 p. de L. Il vient aussi de la Collection de Stoeche et a été achete a Leipzig – prix ... ⁷³	6.	–

67 The original spelling has been preserved and Potocki's crossing out has been exposed. The dimensions (height and width) of the drawings are presented in the Old-Polish measurement units applied by Stanisław Kostka Potocki: 1 ell = 2 feet (= 24 inches); 1 inch = 12 lines. One Old-Polish inch approx. = 2.4 cm; 1 Old-Polish line = 2 mm. The values of the drawings are defined by Stanisław Kostka Potocki in ducats and Polish zlotys (florins): 1 ducat = 18 Polish zlotys (florins).

68 Item numbers in the first column do not come from Potocki's manuscript. They have been added in order to facilitate the use of the index of artists added in an annex.

69 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840 ("La Sainte Vierge et l'enfant Jesus, crayé noire"). See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 15r).

70 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.144-145.

71 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., p.156.

72 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.159-160.

73 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.160-161.

6. 6^{to} Antoine de Allegris dit le Corregge. – Jesus Christ portant la Croix trois quarts de Figure. Dessin achevé a la Sanguine. Quelques Un bon connaisseurs ont a pretendus que ce Dessin est de la main d'un certain Bernard Lovino Artiste peux connu. Cependant il a passé pour etre du Corregge dans la Collection de Stoché, et il est certain que tout y indique la touche moelleuse et les graces de ce grand maitre. A peu pres 6 p de H. sur 4 p. 9 l. de L. Prix⁷⁴...
7. 7^{mo} Titien Vezzeli da Padova. – Tete esquisse a l'huile d'un grand Carac terre. Il se pourrait que ce fut le portrait du maitre, ou une reminiscence de la tete de S. Barthelemi qui se trouve dans le jugement dernier de Michel Ange. Ce qui a fait prendre

4. –

Ducats 29.

[k.1v.]

Lp.	T.29	#
<i>a quelques Connaisseurs cette esquisse pour etre un ouvrage de ce maitre. Mais son coloris semble ne laisser aucun doute a cet egard, et fait voir clairement qu'il est du Titien – a peu pres 9 13 p. de h. sur 9 p. 3 l. de L. Acheté a la mort d'un Connaisseur qui en faisait grand cas...</i> ⁷⁵	10.	–
8. 8 ^{me} Portrait en pied de Philippe II Roi d'Espagne. C'est un Dessin a la pierre noir relevé de blanc, de tableau qui le Titien a peint en grand d'après Nature. Il passait pour etre de la Main du Maitre dans la Collection de Stoché – 14 p. de h: sur 8 p. et 3 l. de L: prix... ⁷⁶	1.	9.
9. 9 ^{mo} François Rossi dit Cechin Salviati – Un avengle qui porte un boiteux, lavé en bistre. – 12 p. 3 l. de h. sur a peu pres 7. p. de L. Il vient de la Collection de Stoché. Prix... ⁷⁷	1.	9.
10. 10 ^{mo} Timoteo Vitti Eleve de Raphael. La Transfiguration. Dessin croque a la plume et legerement ombre a l'encre de la Chine – a peu pres 6 p. de h. sur 8 p. 10 l. de L. Acheté a Rome... ⁷⁸	2	–
11. 11 ^{mo} François Mazzuola dit le Parmesan. La visitation composition de dessine a la plume et legerement releve de Bistre. Composition de plusieurs figures. – 8 p. 4 l. de h. sur 7 p. 5 l. L. de la Collection de Stoché... ⁷⁹	4.	–

74 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., p.148.

75 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki ("Tête, sur papier a l'huile"), *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 12r).

76 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., p.161-162.

77 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., p.159.

78 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840 (*Notre Seigneur montant au ciel*). See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 26r).

79 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.155-156.

12.	<i>12. Polidore Caldara de Carravage Eleve de Raphael. Frise representant des combats d'hommes a cheval et a pied en deux bandes. La partie superieur de ce Dessin est Ombre a l'Encre de la Chine celle d'en bas est croqué a la plume. – 15 p. 5 l. de L. sur 9 p. 3 l. de H. Ce dessin aussi que le Nr. 13 passaient pour originaux dans la Collection de Stocche. Cependant je le crois croquis faits par quelque bon peintre plus moderne sur les peintures de ce maitre. Prix...</i> ⁸⁰	1	9.
13.	<i>13. Croquis a la plume en deux bandes representant un eleveement dit du meme Maitre. – 15 p. 3 l. de L. sur 9 p. 11 l. de h. Sur le revers de ce dessin l'on voit deux croquis a la plume et au craion...</i>	1	9.
14.	<i>14. Jaques Bassan. – Sujet de menage, acompagne de figures, d'animaux, d'ustancils et d'un paysage qui sert de fond. Dessin assez acheve et meme releve par quelque peux de couleur – 6 p. l. de L sur 4 p. 10 et ½ l. de H. Venant d'une Collection de Hollande et achete a Leipzig...</i>	3.	–
Somme – #		25.	

[k.2r.]

Lp.	T 54.	#	Fl.
15.	<i>15. George Vasari. Dessin pour un tableau d'Autel au bistre releve de Blanc. L'on i voit un Saint Eveque qui apparait a une foule de monde rassemble a la porte d'une Chapelle, le fond represente la porte d'une ville d'ou l'on voit sortir une procession. 14 p. 4 l. de H. sur 10 p. 1 l. de L. Dessin achete à Paris Prix ...</i>	3.	
16.	<i>16. L'Assomption de la Vierge a la plume lavé a l'encre de la Chine grande Composition, ou l'on a represente des deux cotés de la tombe les Magistrats d'une ville, tous agenouilles. Ce dessin achete à Paris, passait pour etre de Grand Peintre de Henri III⁸¹ grand pere du fameux Qeunel de l'Oratoire⁸². Je le crois de quelque bon peintre Venitien du 16 17 Siecle et tres probablement du Tintoret⁸³. – 14 p. 7 l. de L. sur 10 p. 1 l. de H. Prix...</i>	3.	
17.	<i>17. Sobestiano Forli Senese. Allegoire representant douze Princes ou Heros qui rendent homage a l'Eglise. Dessein fait a la plume et lave a l'encre de la Chine. – 10 p. 5 l. de L. sur 6 p. 5 l. de L. Acheté en Italie.</i>	–	

80 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.147-148.

81 It is hard to unequivocally identify which artist from the Quesnel family is meant. The information given by Potocki is not precise. The painter Pierre Quesnel (ca.1502-1504–ca.1580) was the grandfather of Pasquier Quesnel. He designed e.g. the stained glass window with the Ascension scene and portraits of Henry II and Catherine de'Medici in the Paris Augustinian Church. While François Quesnel (1543-1619), Pasquier Quesnel's father, was also a painter and the creator of a well-known oil portrait of Henry III.

82 Pasquier Quesnel (1634-1719), a French theologian, Jansenist, and member of the French Oratory: La société de l'Oratoire de Jésus et de Marie in Paris. The painter Pierre Quesnel was his grandfather..

83 Potocki crossed out the 16th century, changing it to the 17th, so it is unknown which Tintoretto he actually meant: the father Jacopo Tintoretto (1519-1594) or the son Domenico Tintoretto (1560-1635).

18.	<u>18. Ventura Salimbeni. Le Christ de Caprarole peint par Annibale Carrache dans le chateau de Caprarole executé a la plume par Salimbeni. Ce tableau a été plusieurs fois gravé entre autres par le fameux Vorsterman⁸⁴ – 6 p. 1 l. de L. sur 4 p. 9 l. de H. Ce dessin vient de la Collection de Stocche...</u> ⁸⁵	1.	9.
19.	<u>19. Frederique Baroque. Presentation au temp La Circoncission dessine au Crayon et cintre par le haut. C'est un croquis d'un tableau d'autel, il est cintré par le haut – 8 p et ½ de h. sur 5 p. 4 l. de L. Dessin acheté en Italie. Prix...</u> ⁸⁶	1.	9
20.	<u>20. Annibal Carrache. Susanne avec les Vieillards. Premiere idée du peintre qui n'est que croqué et relevé de blanc. L'on voit de l'autre cote de la feuille la meme idée ebauché d'une autre maniere et encore moins acheve Ce dessin vient du Cabinet de Stocche – 11 p. 7 l de h. sur 8 p 2 l. de L. – Prix ...</u> ⁸⁷	3.	–
21.	<u>21. Louis Carrache La Vierge l'enfant Jesus et S. Joseph. Dessin dont le contour est entierement arrete a la plume. La tete de la Vierge qui est du plus grand Caractere est entierement acheve, dans quelque partis les claires sont mis en blanc de Grecque et les places laisses pour les ombres – 11 p. 8 l de h. sur 9 p. 4 l. de L. Ce Dessin singulier vient du Cabinet de Stocche. Prix...</u> ⁸⁸	3	–
	<u>Somme.</u>	15.	9

[k.2v.]

Lp.	T 69. 9 f.	#	Fl.
22.	<u>22. Lucas Cambiasi. Sujet de menage, ou l'on voit un homme et une femme assis au coin de leur feux. Hardement croque avec une grosse Plume a la maniere de ce maitre. H. 15 p. L 9 p 11 l. Dessin acheté a Rome ainsi que le suivant...</u> ⁸⁹	1.	–
23.	<u>23. Du meme maitre et de la meme maniere represantant une femme assise au pied d'un arbre avec quatre enfants. H 13 p. 2 l. L. 6 p. 41 et ½ prix ...</u> ⁹⁰	1	–
24.	<u>24. Cavalier d'Arpino. La vierge, S. Michel, et S. Francois au pied de la Croix, dessiné a la plume et lavé a l'encre de la Chine H. 12 p. L. 8 p. 4 l. Acheté a Venice prix...</u> ⁹¹	1.	6.

84 The only known drawing by Annibale Carracci engraved by Vorstermann is the composition showing Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. See H. S. Hymans, *Lucas Vorsterman: Catalogue raisonné de son oeuvre, précédé d'une notice sur la vie et les ouvrages du maître*, Brussels, 1896, urn:oclc:record:1049622027 [Accessed: 17 Jan 2021].

85 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.158-159.

86 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840, see A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Porte-feuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 31r).

87 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.145-146.

88 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.146-147.

89 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Porte-feuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 8r).

90 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Porte-feuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 8r).

91 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Porte-feuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 37v).

25-26.	<u>25 et 26. Francesco Barbieri dit Guercino da Cento.</u> Deux têtes collées sur la même feuille, l'une dessine à la plume l'autre croque à la plume et relevée au bistre. La première h. 6 p. 5 l. – L. 5 p. 8 l. La seconde h. 7 p. 2 l. – L. 6 p. 2 l. Toutes deux venantes de la Collection du Baron de Stoeche. Prix ... ⁹²	3	3.
27.	<u>27. François Albano.</u> La Vierge S. Joseph et l'Enfant Jésus assis sous un arbre, dessin au crayon noir relevé d'un peu de couleur mais fort rembruni. H. 7 p. – L. 5 p. 10 l. Achete à Rome prix... ⁹³	1	9.
28-29.	<u>28 et 29. Guido Reni.</u> Deux dessins au crayon rouge collés sur la même feuille. Le premier représente la tête du Christ Couronné d'épines ⁹⁴ . H. 5 p. 2 l. – L. 5 p. 11 l. Le second représente un Ange qui porte une espèce de Cartel. H. 5 p. 5 l. – L. 7 p. 5 l. Aquis à Rome prix...	3	
30.	<u>30. Dominique Zampieri dit le Dominiquin.</u> Une Sainte que trois Bourreaux semblent vouloir enlever au supplice. Dessin achevé à la Sanguine, relevé de blanc h. 9 p. 4 l. – L. 7 p. 1 l. Achete à Rome ...	6	–
31-32.	<u>31 et 32 Salvator Rosa.</u> Deux Dessins collés sur la même feuille. Le premier qui est croqué à la plume et lavé à l'encre de la Chine représente un soldat qui semble lever quelque poids avec effort. H. 5 p. 10 l. – L. 4 p. 10 l. – Le second représente un homme armé appuyé sur sa masse d'arme. H. 8 p. 4 l. – L. 5 p. 11 l. Lignes. Achete à Rome...	2	–
	Somme.	19.	3.

[k.3r.]

Lp.	88– 12 f.		
33.	<u>33. Quelques Moines à la porte d'un Couvent</u> dessin à la plume et au bistre. Il passait pour être de Sal: Rosa dans la Collection du Chevalier Pinto. Il pourrait être du quelque bon maître Hollandais. a peu près 2. p. 8 l. de H – sur 3 p. 8 l. de L – Prix... ⁹⁵	1.	9
34.	<u>34. Carle Maratte.</u> La Chute de Faeton croquis à la Sanguine. H. 9 p. 6 l – L. 14 p. 4 l. – Acheté à Rome. Prix ... ⁹⁶	4.	–
35-36.	<u>35 et 36. Paduanino Vecchio.</u> Deux portraits de femmes dessinés à la pierre noire et relevés d'un peu de blanc, dans le goût de Titien et collés sur la même feuille. Le premier h. 7 p. 5 l – L. 4 p. 9 l. – Le second 6 p. 9 l. de h. sur 4 p. 10 l. de L. Venants de la Collection de Stoeche... ⁹⁷	1.	5

92 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.150–151.

93 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840 (*La fuite en Égypte*). see A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 21r).

94 Drawing possibly identical to the composition *Tête du Christ* registered in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 21r).

95 Drawing preserved in the BUW Print Cabinet collection. See J. Talbierska, *Rysunki dawnych mistrzów...*, op. cit., item 16, pp.55–56.

96 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 34r).

97 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.153–154.

37.	37. Ottavio Leoni peintre. C'est son portrait, ce dessin dans le gout des precedens peut etre de Lui ou du padouan. H. 5 p. 9 l. – L. 4. p. 10 l. Il vient également de la Collection de Stocche... ⁹⁸	–	1
38.	38. Etienne de la Bella. Fuite en Egypte dessiné a la plume. La partie droite de ce Dessin est fortement endommagé. H. 8 p. 8 l. L 7 p. 2. l. Acheté a Rome. Prix... ⁹⁹	1.	–
39.	39. Pierre da Cortone. Dessin cintre par en haut fait a la plume releve de bistre et de blanc. C'est autant que je m'en rappelle le dessin du tableau d'autel qui se trouve de lui aux Capucins de Rome ¹⁰⁰ . L'on peut voire dans le Catalogue de Mariette de quelle rarete sont les dessins de ce maitre ¹⁰¹ , c'est bien domage que celui ci soit en peux endomage de deux cotés. H. 9 p. 10. L 7 p. 1 l. Achete a Rome...	4	–
40.	40. Baccicio. Ce n'est qu'un fragment d'un beau Dessin de ce maitre represantant Loth et ses filles, que j'avais acheté a Rome et que j'ai eu la Maladresse de sallire avec de l'encre ce qui m'a obligé de le reduire dans l'etat ou il est h. 13 p. 1 l. L. 9 p 4. L. Il m'avait coute...	3	–
41.	41. Cirro Ferri Grand dessin representant un Sacrifice ancien il se trouve entre mes estampes dans les caisses de Dresde sa grandeur m'a empeché de le tenir dans ce portefeuille. Acheté a Rome...	3.	
42.	42. Bataille de Constantin peinté par Jules Romain, l'on m'a vendu ce Dessin pour etre de Lui, ce don't je doute quoique il soit beau. Je l'ai laisse a cause de sa grandeur dans un portefeuille d'estampes a Varsovie. Achete a Rome. Prix ¹⁰²	3.	6
	Somme #	22	6

98 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.154-155.

99 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840, see A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 16r).

100 Most likely the church in question is that of Santa Maria della Concezione where the famous painting by Pietro da Cortona showing Ananias restoring Saul's sight can be found.

101 Indeed, in Mariette's catalogue *Description sommaire des desseins des grands maistres d'Italie, des Pays-Bas et de France, du Cabinet de feu M. Crozat* (Paris 1741, pp. 26-27) the following can be read: "Rien n'est si rare en Italie, que les Desseins de Pietre de Cortone: on ne rencontre le plus souvent que de croquis de ce Peintre. Ses Dessins finis & arrêtés n'ont point de prix; surtout quand ce sont des Grandes Compositions, telles qu'on en voit plusieurs dans la collection de M. Crozat. Pietre de Cortone n'est pas fort résolu dans ses Desseins, il y paroît même un peu lourd ; mais la richesse & la nouveauté de ses ordonnances, sont d'espérer ces legers défauts."

102 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 41r).

Lp.	T.111	#	fl.
43.	1 ^{me} Grand dessin Jules Romain, grand dessin représentant l'allocation de Constantin, au moment où la Croix lui apparaît dans les aires, dessin capital du même Sujet peint par ce peintre dans une des chambres du Vatican dites vulgairement de Raphael.....	36	–
44.	2 ^{de} Michel Ange Flagellation, grand dessin acheté dans la Maison Buonarroti des cents de ce maître... ¹⁰³	12	–
45.	3 ^{de} Dominiquin Jesus Christ qui donne un Rosaire a St. Dominique il paraît que c'est une idée pour le tableau qui se trouve a Rome a la Victoire...	3	–
46.	4 ^{de} Pierre de Cortone. Une bacchante qui danse... ¹⁰⁴	2	–
47.	5 ^{de} Rubens. C'est un Groupe copié de la Transfiguration de Raphael...	5	–
48-49.	6 ^{de} Vanni un Ange ¹⁰⁵ 7 ^{me} Demie figure de Turini sur la même feuille... ¹⁰⁶	1	–
50-57.	8 ^{vo} jusqu'à un Nr. 16 ^{me} [sic !] Albano huit dessins collés sur quatre feuilles... ¹⁰⁷	8	12.
58-59.	17 Salimbeni JC. qui apparaît a la Magdalene 18. Tintoret un Ange s u f ¹⁰⁸ ...	1	6.
60-61.	19. Aug. Carrache Vierge. ¹⁰⁹ 20. Jules Romain trois fois le même sujet s u f....	4	–
62-63.	21. Guide Portrait d'un Cardinal 22. Luca Giordano demi figure s u f...	2	15.
64-65.	23. Annibal Carrache un Ange 24. Différentes Esquisses dites Tintoret...	2	3.
66.	25. Christe demi figure du Barroche...	2	9.
67-68.	26 et 27. Des Etudes d'Amours et Ange de Jean de St. Jean s u f. ...	1	–

103 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840 ("Flagellation, en bistre"), see A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 15r).

104 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840 (*Danseuse de l'antiquité*), see A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 8r).

105 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840 ("Flagellation, en bistre"), see A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 26r).

106 Drawing possibly identical to the composition *Demie figure* described in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 19r).

107 They may be drawings described in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 21r).

108 s u f. = sur une feuille.

109 Drawing possibly identical to one of two compositions by Agostino Carracci showing Madonna described in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 20r).

69-70.	<u>28.</u> <i>Simon du Pesaro Groupe d'Enfants</i> ¹¹⁰ <u>29.</u> <i>Ditto de Leonello Spada s u f.</i> ¹¹¹	2	-
71.	<u>29.</u> <i>Schidone double Esquisse de la S. famille...</i>	1	6.
72.	<u>30.</u> <i>Raphael Vierge et l'enfant Jesus...</i>	5	-
73-74.	<u>31.</u> <i>Callot une fuite en Egypte.</i> <u>32.</u> <i>André del Sarto Vierge s. l. m. f</i> ¹¹² ...	3.	-
75.	<u>32.</u> [sic!] <i>Josphin. un pere Eternelle. Ce dessin est de Cades</i> ¹¹³	2	-
76-77.	<u>33.</u> <i>Lanfranc deux prophetes</i> ¹¹⁴ . <u>34.</u> <i>Plusières figures dites Parmesan...</i> ¹¹⁵	1.	9.
78.	<u>34.</u> [sic!] <i>Nicole del Abate. Un homme que l'on precipite...</i> ¹¹⁶	2	9.
79.	<u>35.</u> <i>Correge [nieczytelne] pour des virges dittes du Correge...</i>	1.	12.
80.	<u>36.</u> <i>Salimbeni Une Vierge dans la gloire et quelque Saints...</i> ¹¹⁷	1.	6.
81.	<u>37.</u> <i>Pietro Testa premieres idées Grifonnées ...</i> ¹¹⁸	1	-
82.	<u>38.</u> <i>Perin del Vaga predication de St. Jean...</i> ¹¹⁹	2	9.

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- 110 Drawing transferred to the UW collection in 1818. Taken to Russia by the Tsarist authorities (see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1159 item 8) and returned in harmony with the provisions of the Peace of Riga of 1921. Lost during World War II.
- 111 Drawing transferred to the UW collection in 1818. Taken to Russia by the Tsarist authorities (see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1159 item 8) and returned in harmony with the provisions of the Peace of Riga of 1921. Preserved.
- 112 *s. l. m. f = sur la même feuille.*
- 113 Drawing possibly identical to the composition *Personnages de l'Ecriture Sainte* described in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 13v).
- 114 Drawing possibly identical to the composition *Sujet de l'histoire sainte*, one of the two works by Lanfranco described in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 12v).
- 115 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840 r. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 13r).
- 116 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 6r).
- 117 Drawing possibly identical to the sketch *La Sainte Vierge du Rosaire* listed by Aleksander Potocki. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 7r).
- 118 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840 ("*Differens sujets griffonage, à la plume*"). See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 17r).
- 119 In the Graphische Sammlung collection of the Albertina Museum several sketches for frescoes designed by Perino del Vaga for the Oratorio di San Giovanni Decollato in Rome have been preserved. Possibly, Stanisław Kostka Potocki had one of such sketches. Aleksander Potocki mentions in his catalogue the composition *St Jean baptisant le peuple assemble au nom de Jesus Christ*, accompanied by a print that documented it. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 27r).

83.	39. Cavedone un St. Francois...	120	1.	9.
84.	40. Barroche la Vierge et deux Saints...		2.	3.
85.	41. Lairese. Une Bacchante un sorcier....		1.	15.
86-87.	42. Tien Une St. Famille. 43. Lanfranc S. Jacques....		1	–
88-89.	44. Tintoret une femme. 45. Bassano deux figures agenouilles...		1	16.
90-91.	46. Parmesan 3 petites figures. 47. Tintoret un Ange...		2.	2.
92-93.	48. Leonardo Vinci Ecce Homo. 49. Luini le meme sujet...		3.	
94-95.	50. Romanelli tete d'Enfant. 51. Donato Creti un St. Francois...	121	1.	12.
96.	52. Schidone Fuite en Egipte...		3	9.
97.	53. Barroche Un Amour...		2.	9.
98.	54. Guerchin. Un homme appuie Guerchin...		4	–
99.	55. Vasari. Une double Esquisse de Vasari...		1.	6.
100-101.	56 et 57. Piranese deux ruines....	122	2.	12.
Somme #			130	15

Suite des Dessins achetes en Italie en 1795 et 1796

[k.4r.]

Lp.		Tr # 130	#	fl
102.	58. Giovanni de S. Giovanni Son propre portrait...	123	2	–
103.	59. Louis Carrache Neptune...		5.	–
104.	60. George Vasari Un fleuve...		2	–
105.	61. Sasso Ferato Une Vierge...	124	1.	–
106.	62. Annibal Carrache un paysan qui compte et une Esquisse au revers...		1.	–

- 120 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840 ("Flagellation, en bistre"), see A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 25r).
- 121 Drawing transferred to the UW collection in 1818. Taken to Russia by the Tsarist authorities (see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1159 item 16) and returned in harmony with the provisions of the Peace of Riga of 1921. Preserved.
- 122 Drawings last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 28r).
- 123 Drawing possibly identical to the composition *Tête de jeune homme*, one of the several works by the artist described in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 13v).
- 124 Drawing possibly identical to the composition *Jeune femme portant un voile*, one of the three works described by the artist in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 25r).

107.	63. Stephano della Bella Lettre en rebus.. ¹²⁵ .	3.	-
108-109.	64. Raphael Schaminozzi Tobie 64. [sic !] Groupe d'Enfants...	1.	-
110.	65. Bataille d'Alexandre...	1.	-
111.	62. [sic!] Fuite de Darius pendant...	1.	-
112.	63. [sic!]. Salvator Rosa, Un faune...	1.	9
113.	64. [sic!] La Magdaleine Guido Cagnaci...	1.	9.
114.	65. [sic!] Simon de Pesaro Enfant Couché ...	1.	-
115.	66. Ditto pendant...	1.	-
116.	67. Michel Ange. Calque representant la St. Famille...	3.	—
117.	68. Carlo Maratte. Une venus. L'on dit que c'est la farnese...	3.	-
118.	69. Andre Sacchi. Premiere esquisse de son fameux tableau de St. Romuald	8	-
119.	70. Baroque. Un Vieillard Couche...	2	-
120.	71. Anni Carrache Homme vu par deriere fig. academique...	4.	-
121.	71. [sic!] Muzziano S. Gerome ¹²⁶	2	9
122.	72. L'Adoration des Rois Giuseppe dal Sole...	2	9
123.	73. Pontormo. Plusieurs Saints... ¹²⁷	4	-
124.	74. Un torse de Leonardo Vinci...	8	-
125.	75. Lanfranc. Une Esquisse pour quelques fig: en grisaille de la villa Borghese	1.	9.
126.	76. La Conception de la Vierge id....	1.	9.
127.	77. La Vierge et plusieurs Saints Cades dans le Gout de Cambiasi... ¹²⁸	3	-

125 Drawing last recorded in ca.1840 ("*Dessin d'une lettre en rebus de Giacomo Lima Inquisiteur General composé à Florence le 7 Janvier 1654 à la plume*"), see A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 16r). Possibly a composition close to known print rebuses dedicated to love and fortune. See A. Vesme, *Stefano della Bella. Catalogue Raisonné*, New York, 1971, items 688 i 689; see. J. Talbierska, *Stefano Della Bella, 1610-1664. Akwaforty ze zbiorów Gabinetu Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie* [Stefano Della Bella. Etchings from the Collection of the Print Cabinet of the University Library in Warsaw], Warsaw, 2001, pp.145-146.

126 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840 (*Le Prophet Jeremias*). See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 28r).

127 Drawing possibly identical to the composition *Fragment de la Scene* described in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 18r).

128 Drawing possibly identical to the composition *La Vierge et l'enfant Jesus* described in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 29v).

128.	78. <i>Figure de Guerchin au Lapis...</i>	6	–
129.	78 [sic!] <i>Un St. qui ecrit Gennaro...</i>	2	–
130.	79. <i>Differentes Esquises du Dominiquin...</i> ¹²⁹	3	–
131.	80. <i>La Vierge Guido Reni...</i> ¹³⁰	8	–
132.	81. <i>Une tete de la Serani...</i>	2	–
133.	82. <i>Tintoret esquisse pour un plat-fond...</i>	4.	–
134.	83. <i>Raffaelin da Regio le Massacre des Innocents...</i> ¹³¹	5.	–
135.	84. <i>Cav: d'Arpino Bacchantes...</i>	1.	9.
136.	85. <i>La presentation au temple Paul Veronese...</i>	4.	9.
137.	86. <i>Grand dessin de Salviati representant un Triomphe...</i>	4.	–
138.	87. <i>Grand dessin de Bartolozzi un éventail gravé par lui...</i> ¹³²	6	–
139.	88. <i>Grand dessin de Jami representant d'Anciens philosophes...</i>	4	–
140.	89. <i>Annibal Carrache l'annonciation...</i>	6	–
141.	90. <i>Correge. Esquisse pour le martire de St. Placide que j'ai trouve a Parme</i> ¹³³	12	–
142.	91. <i>Van Dyck Un Crucifix la Vierge et plusieurs figures...</i> ¹³⁴	3	–

129 Drawing possibly identical to the compositions described in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 24r).

130 Drawing possibly identical to the composition *La Vierge et l'enfant Jesus* registered in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 21r).

131 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 31r).

132 Francesco Bartolozzi belonged to a group of well-known artists who, among others, decorated fans, e.g., Giovanni Battista Cipriani, Angelica Kauffmann, Pompeo Batoni, and Rosalba Carriera. Apart from the utility value of those designs, they served to decorate interiors when framed. Bartolozzi's fans painted with antiquitising motifs had many followers, in the late 18th century popularizing 'fan à la Bartolozzi'.

133 Correggio's oil painting *Martyre des saints Placide, Domitilla, Eutichio et Vittorino* from 1524–1525 kept at the Galerie Nationale de Parme; drawing for the painting at the Musée du Louvre. In Aleksander Potocki's catalogue, three multi-figure compositions attributed to Correggio were noted. However, owing to the brevity of the descriptions, it is hard to judge if any of them presented martyrdom of saints. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 12r).

134 Drawing possibly identical to the composition *La Passion de Notre Seigneur* listed in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Flamande et Française. 2me Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 48r).

143.	92. Cambiasi des Cavaliers rangés en presence... ¹³⁵	2	-
144.	93. Guerchin l'Esquisse de l'Amour qui je trouve a la villa Ludovisi...	6.	-
145.	94. Polidore de Carravage. Bas relief du Cheval et du Lion qui je trouve... ¹³⁶	2.	-
146.	95. Van Dyck. Etude pour le portrait du Cte de Berg que je possède... ¹³⁷	1	9.
147-151.	96 jusqu'a 100. Cinq Esquisses Etudes differentes de Battoni... ¹³⁸	5.	-
152.	101. Canova. Etude d'une figure qui se trouve sur le tombeau de Ganganelli ¹³⁹	2	9
153-154.	102 et 103. Etudes d'Ornements de Vicentino s. la mf...	1	-
		140	3

[k.4v.]

Lp.			
155.	104. Bega. Paysans qui boivent... ¹⁴⁰	1	9.
156.	105. Une Vierge avec l'Enfant Jesus Cipriani... ¹⁴¹	2.	9.
157.	106. S. Jerome Titien...	2	-
158-159.	107 et 108. L. Bassano tete ¹⁴² et Croquis de P. Veronese...	1.	9.

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- 135 Drawing possibly identical to *Chevaux et Cavaliers* described by Aleksander Potocki in 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 8r).
- 136 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 33v).
- 137 The gallery of paintings at Wilanów was adorned by the *Portrait of Count Henrik von der Bergh*, attributed to Van Dyck and purchased by the Count in Leipzig. Preserved (Wil. 1022) and today regarded to be a 17th-century copy. See I. Voisé, "Kilka uwag o galerii Stanisława Kostki Potockiego w Wilanowie" [Some Remarks on Stanisław Kostka Potocki's Gallery at Wilanów], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, Vol. 34, 1972, no 2, p.159. The original by Anthony Van Dyck is at the Museo del Prado. Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Flamande et Française. 2me Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 47r).
- 138 Drawings last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 33r).
- 139 Antonio Canova designed the tomb of Clemens XIV raised between 1783-87 in the Basilica dei Santi XII Apostoli. Thus, Potocki acquired an entirely contemporary work for his collection. Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 28r).
- 140 Drawing preserved in the BUW Print Cabinet (inv. no. 4227). See J. Talbierska, *Rysunki dawnych mistrzów...*, op. cit., item 197, pp.414-415.
- 141 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840 ("Flagellation, en bistre"). See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 27r).
- 142 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Italiens. 1r Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 8v).

Catalogue des Dessins de la Collection du Cte Stanislas Potocki

[k.5v.]

Lp.		#	fl.
<u>Ecole Francaise</u>			
160.	1 ^{mo} <u>Charles le Brun</u> . L'Entré de Jesus Christ a Jerusalemme dessiné a la Sanguine. Il parait que c'est d'après ce Dessin qu'a été gravé l'Estampe qui se trouve avec lui que j'ai placé a Coté . Le tableau est au Roi de France, je l'ai vue au Luxembourg. J'ai laisse ce beau Dessin, a cause de la grandeur, dans un portefeuille d'estampes a Varsovie. Acheté a Paris de Mr Milloti. pour 10 Louis... ¹⁴³	21	
161.	2 ^{do} <u>Nicolas Poussin</u> . Un groupe de six personnes priantes avec ferveur et admiration, a la plume et en bistre, les deux coins d'embas sont coupes. L. 8 p. 3 l. – h. 6 p. Dessin achete dans une vente particuliere a Paris. 40 Liv. ou a peu près.	4.	–
162.	3 ^{io} Dessin d'après Polidore de Carravage a la pierre noire un peux ombre d'encre de la Chine, il represente un Jeune homme qui tient un cheval. On me l'a vendu a Rome pour etre du Poussin. H. 11 p. 1 l. – L. 7p. 11 l. ...	2	–
163.	4 ^{mo} <u>Gaspre Dughet dit Poussin</u> , fameux paisagiste. Un paysage montueux dessiné a la pierre rouge L.13 p. – H. 10 p. 3 l. et ½. Il vient du Cabinet de Stoeche... ¹⁴⁴	4	–
164.	5 ^{te} <u>Claude Gelée dit le Lorain</u> . Paysage dessiné a la plume et lavé a l'encre de la Chine, il represente un soleil levant. L'on sait combien les Dessins de ce Maître sont rares. Toutes ses etudes ayant passé entre les mains du Duc de Devonshire. Acheté d'un Emigré de distinction, qui en-faisait grand savait en faire cas... ¹⁴⁵	12	–
165.	6 ^{te} <u>Sebastien Bourdon</u> . Le mariage de Rebecca a la plume lavé de Bistre. L.18 p. 5 l. – h 7 p. 8 l. Venant de la Collection de Stoeche...	3	–
166-167.	7 ^{mo} et 8 ^{mo} <u>Jacques Callot</u> . Graveur et dessinateur. Deux figures de Jeux dessinés a la plume de celles qu'il a gravés je crois en 12 planches et qui sont connus sous ce nom. Je les possède dans l'oeuvre de ce grand graveur. Ces deux dessins sont colées sur la meme feuille. h 6 p. – L. 3p. Je les ai achetés a Rome – prix...	2	
Somme #		48.	

- 143 Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Flamande et Française*. 2^{me} Portefeuille (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 55r).
- 144 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.148–149.
- 145 Aleksander Potocki's catalogue enumerates four landscapes by Calude Lorraine. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Flamande et Française*. 2^{me} Portefeuille (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 54r).

[k.5v.]

Lp.	#	48
168.	9 ^e Laurent La Hyre. <i>Le pere Eternelle qui soutient le Corps de Jesus Christ accompagnes des plusieurs anges, ou plus tot la Trinite dessin a la pierre noir, legerement lavé de bistre. Il est cintré par en haut et parait avoir été fait pour un tableau d'Autel. H. 12. p. 3 l. – L. 8p. 3 l. Il vient de la Collection de Stoché. Prix...</i> ¹⁴⁶	2.
169.	10. Jaques Courtois dit Le Bourguignon. <i>Combat de Cavalerie lavée en bistre. Acheté a Paris a la vente du Duc de Chabot. 5 Louis ou a peu pres. L. 16 p. H. 7 p. 10 l. Ce dessin a ce que l'on m'a assuré est le meme qui a été payé a la vente de Mariette 600 l. ~ Nr 1214. Mais je n'y trouve pas le chiffre de cet Amateur...</i> ¹⁴⁷	11 –
170.	11 ^{mo} Raymond la Fage. <i>Josué qui arete le Soleil fait a la plume et legere-ment ombre de au bistre. Ce dessin est gravé dans son oeuvre c'est un des meilleurs de ce dessinateur hardi. Il vient de la Collection de Stoché; les suivants venaient de celle du fameux Mariette, d'ou ils sont passe dans le Cabinet du Duc de Chabot a la vente du quel je les ai achetés a Paris – H. 10 p. 10 l. L. 7 p. 10 l. Prix...</i> ¹⁴⁸	5 –
171.	12 ^{mo} Laocon et ses enfants etrangles par des Serpents, au milieu d'un Sacrifice qui se fait au pieds de la Statue de Neptune. <i>La ville de Troye sert de fond a cette composition executé la plume – L. 14. p – H. 8 p. 3 l. L'on voit sur ce Dessin ainsi que sur les suivants le Chiffre de Mariette a la vante du quel ils furent payes 401. L ~ Nr 1234 de son Catalogue. NB Je l'ai acheté a la vente du Duc de Chabot 3 Louis 2 liv. ou a peu pres. NB Il est gravé ainsi que presque tous les suivants dans l'oeuvre de ce maitre...</i> ¹⁴⁹	7 –
172.	13. Agar a la quelle un Ange apparait au desert, a la plume du meme maitre acheté a la meme vente 1 Louis ou a peu près. H. 10 p. 7 l. et ½ – L. 7 p. 6 l...	2 –
173.	14. <i>Figure de femme agenouillé ayant un chien a coté d'elle il parait que c'est la fidelite, dessin a la plume du meme maitre et acheté a la meme vente 1 Louis. H. 5 p. 8 l. – L. 4 p. 5 l.</i>	
174.	15. <i>Sujet historique, il n'a été impossible de deviner jusqu'a present ce qu' il represente dessiné a la plume. Acheté a la meme vente pour 1 L. 3 liv: H. 11p. 4 l. – L. 8 p. 1 l. Prix a peu pres...</i> ¹⁵⁰	2 6
Somme		29 6

146 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.152–153.

147 Drawing preserved in the BUW Print Cabinet collection, see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1157, item 16.

148 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.151–152.

149 Drawing possibly identical to the composition *Sacrifice à Neptun* described in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Flamande et Française. 2me Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 51r).150 Drawing possibly identical to the composition *Sujet historique* described in Aleksander Potocki's catalogue. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Flamande et Française. 2me Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 51r).

[k.6r.]

Lp.	T. #	77	f.6
175-176.	16 et 17. Deux sujets de bachanales dessines d'une plume legere et ombres de quelque peux de bistre. Ils sont colées sur la meme feuille. Le premier est oblong le seconde ovale. J'avais aussi acheté a la ditte vente la feuille qui servait de pendant , qui s'est egrué en passant de main au main parmi les acheteurs. Le premier de ces dessins a 7p de L. 7 p. 11 l. et ½ – H. 4 p. 10 l. – Le second qui set ovale 4 p. et ½ de h. sur 3 p. 9 l. de L. – Je les ai payé les quatres 56 Livres, ou a peu près...		
177.	18. <u>Edme Bouchardon</u> fameux sculpteur. Un homme que l'on descend au tombeau, c'est probablement le corps de J.C. bien que l'on ne voye aucune playe sur son corps. Dessin a la pierre rouge et lave de bistre. Ce beau dessin vient de la vente du duc de Chabot, ou je l'ai achte pour 100 L. et quelques sous. H. 12 p. 1 l. – L. 8 p. 11 l. Prix a peu pres... ¹⁵¹	5	–
178.	19. Une figure de femme drapé dessiné a la Sanguine par le meme. Elle vient de la Collection de Stocche. H. 15. 4l. – L. 8 p. 6 l. Prix... ¹⁵²	9	
179.	20. <u>La Ruë</u> – Grand Gouppe d'amours, subdivise en plusieurs autres. L'on voit d'un cote des amours qui entourent de de girlandes de pampre au ferme. Ce jolie dessin est fait a la plume et ombre de bistre. Achete a la vente du Duc de Chabot pour 54 Liv. – H. 8 p. 2 l – L 12 p. 8 l. Prix a peu pres....	1	
180.	21. <u>Robert</u> peintre moderne. La naissance de J C représenté, dans un ancienne galerie ruyné. On connait le talent de ce maitre en ce genre. Dessin fait a la plume et au bistré – H. 6 p. 9 l. L. 10 p. 7 l. et ½ . Acheté a la vente du Duc de Chabot pour 75 L ou a peu pres ¹⁵³	5	
181.	22. <u>Lagrenée</u> . Le couchant du Solleil. Ou Tetis qui recoit Apollon descendant de son char, soignesement dessiné a la plume ombre de bistre et releve de blanc. Ce dessin est un de ceux que ainsi que le precedant et plusieurs autres sont du nombre de ceux que le duc de Chabot fit executer aux Meilleurs artistes de France de son tems, pour en orner sa collection. de maitres francais aussi parait-il qui'ils y ont mis tous leurs soin. L. 11 p. 3 l. H. 7 p. 7 l. et ½. – Prix 43 L. ou a peu pres... ¹⁵⁴	7	–
182.	23. Sainte famille dans un paysage par le meme a la pierre noire et relevé de blanc. – L 12 p. 4 l. et ½ – H. 8 p. 7 l. et ½ . Achete a la meme vente pour 36 Liv: ou a peu pres... ¹⁵⁵	4	–
	<u>Somme</u>	34.	

- 151 Drawing possibly identical to the sketch preserved in the BUW Print Cabinet. See M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T. 1156, item 17.
- 152 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., p.144.
- 153 Drawing transferred to UW in 1818. Taken to Russia by the Tsarist authorities. See M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1156 item 8. Returned in harmony with the provisions of the Peace of Riga of 1921. Lost during World War II.
- 154 Drawing purchased at the Rohan-Chabot Collection's auction. See J.B.P. Lebrun, op cit., poz.254. Currently lost.
- 155 Drawing purchased at the Rohan-Chabot Collection's auction. See J.B.P. Lebrun, op cit., item 254. Transferred by Potocki to UW in 1818. Taken to Russia by the Tsarist authorities, see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1156 item 6. Returned in harmony with the provisions of the Peace of Riga of 1921. Lost during World War II.

[k.6v.]

Lp.	Tr #	111	f 6
183-184. <u>24 et 25. Casanova</u> peintre de batailles. Il faut le distinguer de son ne faut pas le confondre avec son frere directeur de l'Academie de Dresde artiste mediocre. Ce sont deux dessins a la pierre noire qui font pendant. Le premier represente un Combat de Cavalerie. Le second un guerrier a cheval, armé en partie a l'ancienne qui entre a la tete de quelque infanterie et Cavalerie dans la porte d'une forteresse gothique. Le premier a de h. 11 p. 2 l. de L. 8 p. 5 l. – Le second L. 10 p. 8 l. de H. 7 p. 1 l. – Je les ai acheté d'un Marchand de Paris pour 5 Louis ou a peu près...		11	–
185-186. <u>26 et 27. Pau</u> peintre de Batailles moderne, celui qui a peint celles du Palais Bourbon. Ces deux dessins executes a la pierre noire representent des Marches militaires ils sont pendant. Le premier a 14 p. de h. sur 8 p. 9 l. de L. – Le second a 14 p. 2 l. de L. sur 8 p. 6 l. de L[sic !]. Je les ai acheté du meme marchand pour 44 Liv: ou a peu pres...		4	–
187. <u>28. Watteau</u> . Petit dessin colorié representant une jolie fontaine au milieu d'un paysage. H. 8 p. 10 l. – L. 7 p. Achete a Paris du meme Marchand pour 36 Liv: ou a peu pres...		3.	6.
188-189. <u>29 et 30. De Fontaine</u> dessinateur moderne. Deux dessins faits executés au bistre et faisant pendant. Le premier semble represente une foire. Le second une Course. J'ai achete ces jolis dessins chés le meme marchand pour 2. Louis. Le premier a de L. 11 p. et 7 p. 11 l. de H. Le second a de L. 11 p. 2 l. – de H. 8 p. Prix a peu pres...		4.	6.
190-191. <u>30 [sic !] et 31</u> . Deux dessins a la plume de la Ruë ombrés de bistre. Ils representent des Sacrifices, je les ai acheté a Paris du meme Marchand pour 36 Livres. Laissés dans mes caisses de Dresde avec leurs cadres [sic ! cadres] prix a peu pres... ¹⁵⁶		3.	
192. <u>32. Natoire</u> esquisse a la sanguine representant . Hercule qui etrangle le Lion de la foret de Nemée. Dessin dont le Pr: Stanislas Poniatowski m'a fait present.			
193. <u>33</u> . Deux dessins a la plume sur papier gris releves de blanc ce sont quelques antiquités Romaines. Achetés a Paris pour 6 Liv....		–	10
<u>Somme</u>		26.	4.

Total # 137 f 11

- 156 Drawings recorded for the last time in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, *Dessins. Ecoles Flamande et Française. 2me Portefeuille* (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 54r).

Lp.		#	Fl.
	<u>Ecoles Flamande, Hollendoise et Allemande</u>		
194.	1. <u>A. Glocker</u> ¹⁵⁷ , Ancien peintre Allemand, sa maniere tient beaucoup du Gothique, comme on le voit par le dessin de l'adoration des trois rois fait a la plume. Il est rond, son diametre est de 7 p. 10 l. Il vient de la Collection de Stocche. Prix... ¹⁵⁸	1.	
195-201.	2 jusqu'a 8. <u>Henri Goltzius</u> , Peintre dessinateur et sur tout fameux graveur. Ce sont sept petits sujets tires de la bible, dessines sur parchemin a la plume et releves d'encre de la Chine. Trois font croquis avec beaucoup d'esprit. Les quatres autres sont plus acheves, sur tout celui de la prison de S. Pierre. Toutes ces petites pieces ont a peu pres 2 p. 2 l. de H sur 2 p. 5 l. de L. hors le mariage de la Vierge qui a 3 p. 9 l. et ½ de L. sur 1 p. 6 l. de H. Je les ai achetes a une vente de Leipzig...	1.	[9]
202.	9. <u>Jean van Huisum</u> , peintre moderne, celui qui jusqu'a nos jours a peut-etre le mieux reussi a peindre des fleurs. Les tableaux sont d'un fini prodigieux mais qui n'ote rien a leur naturel et a leurs fraicheur. Il n'est par rare de les voir payes 1000# la piece. Les dessins se vendent des prix exorbitans. J'en ai vue un ches Mr Winckler ¹⁵⁹ de Leipzig que cet amateur en paye au de la de 600 f. de Hollande. Celui ci n'est qu'une esquisse hardi faite au crayon noir et relevé de bistre, elle represente un vase rempli de fleurs. H. 14 p. 9 l. – L. 11 p. 9 l. Il vient de la Collection du Chevalier Pinto ¹⁶⁰ , prix... ¹⁶¹		[12]
203.	10. <u>Pierre Paule Rubens</u> , Portrait de Ferdinand II [sic !] ¹⁶² Grand Duc de Florence Pere de Marie de Medicis. La meme que ce grand peintre a peint ensuite a la Gallerie du Luxembourg et qui est grave par Edelinck ¹⁶³ . Ce dessin fait sur papier huile au craion noir et relevé dans quelque endroits d'encre ou de noir de fumée est de la plus grande force, il passait dans la Collection du Baron de Stocche pour etre du Titien, mais il est impossible de s'y meprendre [wyraz nieczytelny] il se peut que Rubens l'ait fait d'apres un tableau ou un dessin de ce maitre don't le nom se voit ecrit un bas. H. 12 p. 6 l. – L. 8 p. 2 l. Prix... ¹⁶⁴	8.	9
	<u>Somme #.</u>	23	

- 157 Contemporary dictionaries of artists (e.g., the most extensive *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*) do not record a painter or engraver called A. Glocker living at the turn of the 16th century.
- 158 Drawing preserved, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., p.142-144.
- 159 Gottfried Winckler (1731-1795), a Leipzig merchant and collector.
- 160 Drawing possibly identical to one of the two flower bouquets executed in black crayon, sold together with the whole de Pinto Collection in 1785. Both put up for auction were purchased by Hendrik de Winter (1717-1790), a painter, draughtsman, and art dealer active in Amsterdam known for selling Rembrandt's works. (<https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/84993>). He was one of the organisers of the posthumous auction of the de Pinto Collection.
- 161 Lost drawing, see Talbierska 12.
- 162 Actually, the portrait showed Francis I de'Medici, father of Marie de Medicis.
- 163 Gérard Edelinck (1640-1707), Flemish engraver active in France.
- 164 Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.156-157.

[k.7v.]

Lp.	T #	23
204.	11. Antoine van Dyck. Portrait de femme dessiné a la Sanguine et relevé de blanc, venant de la Collection du Ch: Pinto ¹⁶⁵ . H. 9 p. 7 l. L. 7 p. 5 l. Prix... ¹⁶⁶	3
205.	12. Rembrandt Van-Ryn fameux peintre et Graveur Hollandais. Abraham adorant les Anges, esquisse heurté et Raboteuse mais d'un grand effect, elle est plus tôt grifoné que dessiné a la plume et plus tot salis qu'ombre de bistre. L'on y voit cependant cette singuliere intelligence de clair obscure qui distingue les ouvrages de ce maître. Ce Dessin vient d'une vente de Hollande. H. 7 p. 3 l. – L. 10 p. 2 l. Prix...	6
206.	13. Gover Flinck. Eleve de Rembrandt. Croquis fait a la pierre noire et legerement ombré d'encre de la Chine. Il represente une femme assise avec trois enfants, il se peut que ce soit une idée d'un tableau de Vierge. H. 7 p. et a peu pres 9 l. – L. 5 p. et a peu pres 9 l. Prix... ¹⁶⁷	1
207.	14. Francois Quesnoy dit Flamand fameux sculpteur qui excella surtout a représenter des groupes d'enfans. Quatre enfans dessin a la pierre noire pour un bas-relief. L. 13 p. et 3 l. a p. p. H. 8 p. 6 l. Il vient de la Collection de Stoeche. Prix... ¹⁶⁸	2.
208.	15. Autre a la Sanguine du meme maître. C'est une esquisse representant quelques trois anges qui tiennent la croix sur des nouages. L'on en voit deux autres en bas. H. 15 p. L. 9 p. 9 l. Ce dessin vient egalement de la Collection de Stoeche. Prix... ¹⁶⁹	1.
209.	16. Isaac Ostade Peintre celebre Allemand d'origine, mais qui passe pour Hollandois par ce qu'il taravilla toute sa vie dans ce pays et entierement dans la maniere des maitres hollandois. L'interieur d'une Chaumière delabré ¹⁷⁰ , ou l'on voit une vieille assise et un homme devant elle qui tient un verre a la main. C'est un espece se mandiant, au fond un enfant assis qui mange. Dessin fait avec soin a la pierre noire et ombre legerement d'encre de la chine. Il vient de la Collection de Pinto. L. 8 p. 9 l. – H. 7 p. 1 l. et ½. Prix... ¹⁷¹	8.
210-211.	17 et 18. Paysan et Paysanne dansant et pris du vin figures grotesques du meme maître, dessinées a la plume et coloriés avec beaucoup d'intelligence. Ils ont été graves par Mr graveur de Dresde. Ces deux dessins font pendant, ils viennent du Cabinet Pinto. La premiere a de L. 2 p. 10 l. et ½ de H. 4 p. 10 l. et ½. Le second a de L. 3 p. 4 l. de H. 4 p. 10 l. Prix ... ¹⁷²	[4]
	Prix	[25]
165	Two drawn male portraits were auctioned at the de Pinto Collection (see Catalogue items 42 and 43).	
166	Drawing last recorded in ca. 1840. See A. Potocki, <i>Dessins. Ecoles Flamande et Française</i> . 2me Portefeuille (BN accession no. 2189, vol. 66c, f. 47r).	
167	Drawing preserved in the BUW Print Cabinet collection (inv. no. 4270), see J. Talbierska, <i>Rysunki dawnych mistrzów...</i> , op. cit., item 52, pp.137-138, repr.	
168	Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., pp.149-150.	
169	Lost drawing, see A. Pietrzak, op. cit., p.150.	
170	It is not R.534, KGD 1952.	
171	Drawing preserved in the BUW Print Cabinet collection (inv. no. 4248). See J. Talbierska, <i>Rysunki dawnych mistrzów...</i> , op. cit., item 119, pp.257-258.	
172	Drawings transferred to the UW collection in 1818. They were taken to Russia by the Tsarist authorities (see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1158, items 6-7) and returned in harmony with the provisions of the Pease of Riga of 1921. Lost during World War II.	

[k.8r.]

Lp.	T #	48
212.	19. <i>Le Maître d'Ecole dit du meme Maître, a la plume et lavé d'Ancre de la Chine. Ce dessin passait pour original dans la Collection de Pinto et fut vendu pour tel. H. 6 p. 10 l. – L. 6 p. 1 l et ½</i>	4
213-215.	20, 21 et 22. <i>Gerard Lairese peintre réputé nommément Flammand quoique natif de Liege. Trois jolis petits sujets de nuit dessines a l'encre de la Chine et relevés de blanc. Ils sont tous le trois colées sur la meme feuille. Ils viennent du Cab: Pinto. Leurs longueur est a peu pres de 3 p e 6 l. La Largeur a peu pres de 2 p. Celui d'en haut a de largeur 3 p. 4 l. de plus. Prix...</i> ¹⁷³	3
216.	21. [sic!] <i>Pieter van Laer dit le Bamboche. Trois Houssards ou Pendours a cheval qui boivent a l'entré d'un Cabaret. L'hote leurs presente le vin. L'on voit sur le devant une femme assise qui tient un enfant sur ses genoux. Dessin fait avec beaucoup de hardiesse a l'encre de la Chine sur papier gris. Je l'ai eu en echange d'un Amateur qui en faisait comme de raison grand cas. L. 11 p. 3 l. – H. 8 p. 1 l. Il me revient a peux près a...</i> ¹⁷⁴	8
217.	22. <i>Autre dessin du meme Maître fait a la Sanguine, l'on y voit un homme assis sur le devant et deux chevaux. Le fond est orné d'arbres et de ruines. J'ai achete ce dessin d'un graveur. H. 7 p. 2 l. – L. 8 p. 9 l. Prix...</i> ¹⁷⁵	4
218.	23. <i>Autre Dessin du meme fait a l'Encre de la Chine. Il represente une mesure a demie ruine et une petite Cabanne Italienne qui y est colé. Achete de Mr Rost</i> ¹⁷⁶ a Leipzig. L. 8 p. 1 l. – H. 6 p. 8 l. Prix... ¹⁷⁷	2
219.	24. <i>Verschuring. Deux Chevaux qu'un homme abreuve a une fontaine accolé a une entré de Caverne, l'on voit de l'autre coté un paysage montieux. Dessin fait a la plume et lavé a l'Encre de la Chine. L'on voit sur l'abrevoir da datte de 1675 et ½. Il vient de la vente de Pinto. L. 10 p. 9 l. – H. 7 p. 3 l. Prix...</i> ¹⁷⁸	4. 6.
220.	25. <i>Van de Ulft. Vuë interieur d'un jardin au quel des collines servent de fond, a la plume et a l'ancre de la Chine. L'on y voit sur le devant la datte de 1662. H Ce dessin vient aussi de la Collection Pinto. H. 7 p. 5 l. et ½. – L. 10 p. 2 l. Prix...</i> ¹⁷⁹	2 9.
	Somme	27.

- 173 Drawings transferred to the UW collection in 1818. They were taken to Russia by the Tsarist authorities (see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1158, items 20–22) and returned in harmony with the provisions of the Peace of Riga of 1921. Lost during World War II.
- 174 Drawing transferred to the UW collection in 1818. Taken to Russia by the Tsarist authorities (see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1158 item 14) and returned in harmony with the provisions of the Peace of Riga of 1921. Lost during World War II.
- 175 Drawing preserved in the BUW Print Cabinet collection (inv. no. 4236) see J. Talbierska, *Rysunki dawnych mistrzów...*, op. cit., item 93, pp.214–215, repr.
- 176 Carl (Karl) Christian Heinrich Rost (1742–1798), an antiquarian and art connoisseur.
- 177 Drawing transferred to the UW collection in 1818. Taken to Russia by the Tsarist authorities (see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1158 item 16) and returned in harmony with the provisions of the Peace of Riga of 1921. Lost during World War II.
- 178 Drawing transferred to the UW collection in 1818. Taken to Russia by the Tsarist authorities (see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1158 item 23) and returned in harmony with the provisions of the Peace of Riga of 1921. Lost during World War II.
- 179 Drawing transferred to the UW collection in 1818. Taken to Russia by the Tsarist authorities (see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1158 item 25) and returned in harmony with the provisions of the Peace of Riga of 1921. Lost during World War II.

[k.8v.]

Lp.	Tr. #	75
221. 26. <i>Van Goyen</i> . Vue d'une plaine. Paysage fait avec beaucoup d'intelligence, au crayon et legerement colorie. Il vient du Cabinet Pinto ¹⁸⁰ . L. a peu pres 7 p. – H. 4 p. 3 l. et ½ Prix... ¹⁸¹	3	6
222. 27. <i>De Vlieger</i> . Assambles de Paysans et paysans, au milieu des quels l'on voit une femme singulierement mise, qui parait leur faire des contes, ou leur dire la bonne aventure. Dessin fait a la plume et lavé d'encre de la Chine acheté a Paris. L. 4 p. 9 l. – H. 3 p. et a peu p. 6 l. Prix...	1	
223. 28. <i>A. Cuyp</i> . Vue de plaine d'un effect singulier, elle est legerement colorié. Venant de la Collection Pinto ¹⁸² . – L. 10 p. 1 l. – H. 6 p. 2 l. Prix... ¹⁸³	2	9
224. 29. <i>H. Van der Neer</i> . Effect de nuit ou de Clair de Lune, execute a l'encre de la Chine sur papier bleu. H. 6 p. 8 l. et ½. – L. 5 p. 7 l. et ½. Prix... ¹⁸⁴	2	9
225-226. 30 et 31. <i>Moucheron</i> . Une fontaine au Milieu de quelques arbres dessine avec legerte au Crayon noir. Je ne sais de qui est le second dessin colée sur la meme feuille, bien qu'il soit touche avec esprit. Je les ai achetés a Rome. Le premier a de H. 5 p. 1 l. et ½ de L. 3 p. 9 l. Le second a 5 p. 6 l. de L. sur 3 p. 3 l. de H...	1	
227-228. 31 et 32. <i>De Witte</i> fameux peintre Hollandais renomé pour ses grisailles a l'encre obscure. C'est le dessin d'un bas relief representant plus diferents petits pieces fait a la plume sur papier peint a la plume ombré d'encre de la Chine et relevé de blanc. At rest Ce n'est qu'une seule piece coupée en deux a cause de sa longueur et colée sur la meme feuille. Ce dessin vient de la Collection du Ch: Pinto. L. 19 p. 1 l. et ½ – H. 2 p. 5 l. Les deux pieces ensemble. Prix... ¹⁸⁵	2	

180 Three works by Jan van Goyen were put up for sale at the auction of the de Pinto Collection; however, the descriptions do not allow them to be identified from the discussed landscape (see the auction catalogue *Een fraaye collective...*, op. cit., Items 493, 610, 611).

181 Potocki donated four Jan van Goyen drawings to the UW collection. Two have been preserved (*Marine* and *Voyageurs*), the third, defined as *Chaumière* was lost during World War II. The coloured drawing described by Potocki is most likely identical to the work *Paysage avec figures*, which also disappeared during World War II. See M.I. Utkin, op. cit., fond 158, item 29.

182 At the 1785 auction of the de Pinto Collection, three countryside landscapes by Aelbert Cuyp were put up for sale; however, their descriptions do not coincide with the description made by Potocki (see the auction catalogue *Een fraaye collective...*, op. cit., items 44 and 191).

183 Drawing transferred to the UW collection in 1818, taken to Russia but not returned in compliance with the provisions of the Peace of Riga, see I. Utkin, op. cit., 2985 portfolio 1158, Item 30.

184 Drawing transferred to the UW collection in 1818. Taken to Russia by the Tsarist authorities (see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1158 item 24) and returned in harmony with the provisions of the Peace of Riga of 1921. Lost during World War II.

185 Drawings preserved in the BUW Print Cabinet collection (Inw. zb. d.4259-4260). See J. Talbierska, *Rysunki dawnych mistrzów...*, op. cit., items 183-184, pp.390-391, repr.

229-230.	<u>32 et 33. Guillaume Bauer peintre et dessinateur Allemand. Deux dessins a la sanguine colees sur la meme feuille. On voit trois tetes d'enfans sur le premier¹⁸⁶. L. 7 p. 3 l. – H. a peu pres 5 p. – Le second qui est un dessin pour un tableau d'Autel, represente la presentation au temple. H. 10 p. – L. 7p. 1 l. J'ai achete ces deux dessins du Graveur Holtzman¹⁸⁷ a Dresde. Prix...</u>	3
231.	<u>34. Du meme maitre. Un homme a cheval a la Sanguine¹⁸⁸. Le Cheval est entierement achevé, la figure du Cavalier n'est que legerement contourne – H. 7 p. 3 l. – L. 5 p. 8 l. et ½. – Achete à Dresde du meme graveur. Prix...</u>	1
	<u>Somme</u>	16

[k.9r.]

Lp.	Tr. #	91	f 9
232.	<u>35 Rugendas peintre de batailles et Graveur Allemand. Un Officier qui court a Cheval, on en voit un autre dans un plan plus bas dessin fait a la Sanguine – L. 5p. 5 l. – H. 6 p. 4 l...</u>	1.	9
233-234.	<u>36 et 37. Dietrich peintre Allemand. Deux paysages ornées de figures, ex-cutes au pinceau et a l'Encre de la Chine, ils font pendant et l'on voit au haut de tous les deux la Datte de l'Année 1730. Je les ai achete a Dresde d'un eleve de ce maitre habile. Le plus grand a de L. 12 p. sur 7 p. 2 l. de h. Le second a de L. 11 p. 10 l. sur 6 p. 10 l. de L. prix...</u>	7	
235-236.	<u>38 et 39. Saftleven. Habile paysagiste flamand. Deux Esquises de paysages montueux, dessinés legerement au crayon, laves, d'encre de la chine, les avants plans d'un de deux sont relaves d'un peu de blanc et de bistre. Ils ont peu pres de L. 11 p. 8 l. sur 6 p. 10 l. de H. – les deux dessins viennent du Cabinet Pinto. Prix...</u> ¹⁸⁹	2	9
237.	<u>40. Du meme. quelques masures et ruines dessinés avec beaucoup esprit a la pierre noire et ombrés de bistre. L. 9 p. 9 l. – H. 6 p. 5 l. et ½ – De la meme vente. Prix...</u> ¹⁹⁰	[?]	
238.	<u>41. Woher. Peintre Allemand Moderne¹⁹¹. J. C. au milieu des Docteurs. Jolie dessin fait a la plume lavé au bistre et a l'encre de la Chine. H. 7 p. 4 l. – L. 5 p. 9 l. Achete a Leipzig...</u>	2	

186 Drawing transferred to the UW collection in 1818 (see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1157 item 40). Preserved.

187 Carl Friedrich Holtzmann (1740-1811), Dresden copperplate engraver.

188 M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1157, item 38.

189 Drawings transferred to the UW collection in 1818. Taken to Russia by Tsarist authorities (see M.I. Utkin, op. cit., T.1158 items 33-34) and returned in harmony with the Peace of Riga of 1921. Lost during World War II.

190 Drawing preserved in the BUW Print Cabinet (inv. no. 4257). See J. Talbierska, *Rysunki dawnych mistrzów...*, op. cit., item 148, pp. 317-318.

191 Marquard Woher was actually a Swiss painter, however, older dictionaries (e.g., *Manuel du curieux...* by Rosta and Huber, which Potocki used) inform that he was born in Seckingen in Swabia.

239-240.	41. [sic!] 42. 43. Nade [sic !] paysagiste Moderne Allemand. Trois Deux paysages de grandeur Moyenne, laves a l'encre de la Chine et au bistre avec beaucoup d'intelligence et de Goust. Achetés a Leipzig chez Mr Rost. Le plus grand de H. 8 p. 3 l. - de L. 10 p. 6 l. Le moindre 8 p. l. de L. sur 5 p. 9 l. et ½ de H...	5	9
241.	43. Klengel, Habile dessinateur et peyntre de paysage a Dresde. Paysage montueux fait au bistre. Acheté de lui meme. H 6 p - L. 9 p. 1 l. Prix...	1	9
242.	44. Hackert, C'est le frere de celui l'habile paysagiste Allemand qui se distingue a Rome et a Naples. Il est mort jeun et promettait autant que le vivant. Quelques beaux arbres dessines a la plume et colories. Le fond est un paysage. Achete chez Mr Rost a Leipzig. H. 11 p. 8 l - L. 14 p. 4 l. Prix...	3	
	<u>Somme</u>	24	9

[k.9v.]

Lp.	Tr. #	116
243.	45 Jean Gottlieb Schoen, fils d'un avocat dans la Haute Lusace née en 1717 a Oberoderwitz village près de Zittau. Il aprit la peynture chès Allexandre Thiele, bon paysagiste attache au Service du Roi de Pologne Ellecteur de Saxe, qui tout jeune qu'il etait se servait de lui pour le staffage de ses paysages. Les talents distingués le firent envoyer en Italie aux depens de la Cour ou il mourut assez jeune. Condisciple et Encule de Dietrich, il est probable qu'il l'eut surpasse pour le paysage, comme l'on peut voir par deux de ses tableaux qui se trouvent dans la Collection de Mr Winckler a Leipzig. Je possede son livre d'etude pendant son voyage d'Italie. L'on y voit 36 vuës de la Saxe du Tirol, de l'Italie, dont 26 lavés au bistre, le reste n'est que legerement esquisée au crayon ou a l'Encre de la Chine. Ce livre a été acheté a Leipzig de ses heritiers par mon frere le Marechal pour le prix modique de 36 Ecus ou 12 # C'est de lui que je le tiens en present - Prix...	12

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THE SEAT OF THE POLISH LIBRARY IN PARIS AND ITS ALTERATIONS

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ABSTRACT

This article attempts to reconstruct the history of the Polish Library in Paris. The first 200 years of the Paris *hôtel particulier*, raised on the Île Saint-Louis in the mid-17th century, is poorly documented. From the purchase of the house to serve as the Library in 1853, the building has undergone several modernizations: in 1854, a reading room and a library were prepared on the building's second floor; in 1903-1904, a superstructure was added onto the outbuilding in which the Adam Mickiewicz Museum was housed; in 1909, a large public reading room was organized on the ground floor of the main body of the building. The first major alterations were conducted on the building in 1927-1929; initiated by Franciszek Pułaski, they were designed by Marian Lalewicz. At that point, all the installations were modernized, interiors redecorated, a new communication bay was added onto the main body from the side of the courtyard, the stable was altered to serve as a book storage space, a new architectural setting was introduced to the courtyard, and so too was antiqued visual identification of the rooms. In 1935-1936, new reception rooms and a lecture room on the first floor were arranged after Armand Rateau's design. The Library edifice suffered greatly during WW II, while its post-war renova-

tion has been limited to merely restoring it from those specific damages. It was only in 1999–2004 that the building was finally and thoroughly modernized: a vast number of infrastructural works were conducted, a lift was built, the book storage was rearranged into compact storage, and the former reading room on the ground floor was transformed into an auditorium. The design for that alteration was provided by the CR Architecture, Claude Costantini and Michel Regembal's Paris architectural studio.

KEYWORDS: Polish Library in Paris, Polish culture, history of Paris architecture, architecture of the Second Polish Republic

The Polish Library in Paris is one of the most prominent institutions of Polish culture outside Poland's territory. Its history as a migrants' organisation, a library, and an archival collection, as well as a museum of art, has been the subject of academic research on a number of occasions and in numerous publications. The library's very structural edifice, however, has not been of particular interest to academics.¹ This should not be surprising, since the building had neither been especially designed for the purpose of housing books, nor raised to meet the needs of storing and documenting its many collections – or even of making them available to the general public. The structure itself a quite common, though historic, 17th century Paris tenement house, which has undergone several extensions and adaptations over its history, each time conducted with an extremely restricted budget. (fig. 1). However, the very building of the Library, as a witness to history and as

1 E.g.: L. Gadon, *Z życia Polaków we Francji. Rzut oka na 50-lecie koleje Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu* [From the Life of Poles in France. Overview of the 50 Years of the Historical and Literary Society in Paris], 1832–1882, Paryż–Kraków 1883; F. Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu w latach 1893–1948* [Polish Library in Paris in 1893–1948], Paryż 1948; J. Pezda, *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu w latach 1838–1893* [History of Polish Library in Paris in 1838–1893], Historia Jagellonica, Kraków 2013, Ibidem, ample bibliography; *Towarzystwo Historyczno-Literackie, Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu: zarys historii i prezentacja zbiorów* [Historical and Literary Society, Polish Library in Paris: Outline of History and Collection Presentation], Eds. W. Kordaczuk, E. Kosieradzka, E. Rutkowska, Paryż–Warszawa: 2014.



FIG. 1. Polish Library in Paris, 6 rue Quai d'Orsay, Photo by M. Omilanowska, 2019

a symbolic venue for the history of Polish émigré community, deserves a more thorough study, particularly since names of important Polish and French architects were connected with various stages of the building's transformation. These include Marian Lalewicz and Armand Albert Rateau, and in the case of the last alteration, of renowned Paris architects Claude Costantini and Michel Regembal of CR Architectural studio.

Tracing the tedious efforts to improve conditions for the operations of the building is not easy, since little visual documentation of the work has been preserved; in fact, descriptions of the activities undertaken sometimes prove truly misleading, requiring attentive interpretation. Additionally, few archival records related to the renovations and alterations have been preserved. Therefore, the present paper is based also on my on-site verification and analysis of the building's architecture and of its construction, which I conducted at the Library itself in September of 2019.²

The story of the Polish Library's various seats prior to 1854 has already been scrupulously studied by Janusz Pezda, so I summarize it only briefly, here – resorting first of all to Pezda's re-

2 I would like very much to take the opportunity to thank Mr Kazimierz Piotr Zaleski and Ms Anna Czarnocka for their friendly assistance in my research.

search.³ As an institution, the Polish Library first combined several smaller book collections into one, and was founded in 1838 by Polish exiles at the initiative of Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, and Karol Sienkiewicz. Initially, the small collection was temporarily placed at the seat of the Historical Department of the Literary Society at 1 Rue Matignon (8th Arrondissement, currently Avenue Matignon). The conditions being extremely poor there, steps were soon taken to rent separate spaces for the Library, yet meagre financing from the organisers permitted them to lease only a portion of the premises rented by Ludwik Radoliński at 10 Rue Duphot (1st Arrondissement, Quartier Place-Vendôme). With the collection transferred there in mid-February 1839, the library was ceremoniously launched on March 24 of that year.⁴ The collections furnishing this first institutional seat were a hotchpotch of objects offered by respective members of the Society; Lubomir Gadon wrote of them as follows: “Niemcewicz offered a clock, G-l Mycielski donated 50 francs for the presidium armchair, Kurowski arranged curtains . . . as for chairs it was decided that each member would pay 3 franc of contribution”.⁵

A high rent consumed the initial whole budget of the Polish Library in Paris, and efforts to acquire a replacement facility free of charge in one of the French Treasury buildings failed. Neither was it possible to prolong the lease contract for the premises in Rue Duphot, and in May 1839, the troublesome peregrination of the collection began. It first was moved to the premises at 10 Rue Surène (8th Arrondissement); however, the building was to be demolished, and already in November of that year it was necessary to transfer the collection to a rented apartment at 8 Rue des Saussaies

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- 3 Pezda, *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu* [History of the Polish Library in Paris]; see also: J. Pezda, *Siedziby Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu w latach 1838–1853* [Seats of the Polish Library in Paris in 1838–1863], *Rocznik Biblioteki PAU/PAN*, Vol. 49, 2004, pp. 177–194; E. Bobrowska-Jakubowska, *La Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris*, in: *L’Île Saint-Louis. Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris*, ed. Béatrice de Andia, Paris 1997, pp. 163–165.
 - 4 Pezda, *Historia biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, pp. 51–53.
 - 5 Gadon, *Z życia Polaków we Francji*, p. 29.

(8th Arrondissement), the annual rent for the space standing at 2,030 (contemporary) francs.⁶ Since the efforts to acquire premises free of charge from the government showed little positive prospect, in the autumn of 1843 the collection was transferred to a cheaper facility at 3 Rue des Saussaies, where in subsequent years the rented premises gradually increased through the acquisition of newly rented spaces.⁷

Director Karol Sienkiewicz did not cease trying to acquire Library's own worthy seat, yet his dreams clashed with the migrating facility's physical capacity. Still, in 1842 he was making attempts to buy a house in Rue Miromesnil (8th Arrondissement); despite some optimistic calculations, he was not granted approval by Prince Adam J. Czartoryski to carry out this transaction.⁸ Gadon recalls that Sienkiewicz was even dreaming of raising their own house:

[on] the land granted by the Government, somewhere in the area of Champs Elysée. It was to serve as a general Polish *Asylum*; it would house the Library, a Chapel, a School, a Home for Veterans, a secure place to provide shelter to our different funds of our various Societies, the Editorial Office for the periodical published at the Library, and within the courtyards of this Polish Edifice the statute of our major guardian Prince Adam J. Czartoryski would be raised.⁹

The question of the purchase of the Library's own seat resurfaced in 1850, and on 12 March 1851, Karol Sienkiewicz read out an appeal to Poles, thus initiating the collection of contributions to either purchase an existing space or to raise the Library's own building.¹⁰ Regrettably, out of the 100,000 francs planned by the end of 1852, merely 32,090 were collected, which in view of the rapidly growing Paris real estate prices did not allow organizers to purchase any

6 Pezda, *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, pp.78–81.

7 Pezda, *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, pp. 82–83.

8 Pezda, *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, pp. 81–82.

9 Gadon, *Z życia Polaków we Francji*, p. 64.

10 F. Hoesick, *Paryż* [Paris], Warszawa 1923, p. 153.

suitable space, even with additional credit.¹¹ Sien-kiewicz dreamt of buying a plot, preferably close to the Pantheon on the Sainte-Genève Hill, and of constructing an appropriate edifice for a structure that would serve as the seat of what he called the National Library. His dream never materialized.

Władysław Zamoyski decided to solve the problem, most likely with Adam J. Czartoryski's approval; having found a building he liked at 6 Quai d'Orléans (4th Arrondissement) on the Île Saint-Louis, he decided to buy it, using his own resources. Within, he planned an apartment for himself and a future home for the Library. He signed the contract on 20 December, 1852.¹² This caused a deep conflict among Polish migrants, making Sienkiewicz leave the position of the Library's Director; following long debates, the conflict was solved with the purchase of the whole building from Zamoyski by the Historical Society, in compliance with the terms of a contract concluded on September 26th, 1853.

Thus, as of autumn 1853, the Polish Library finally had its own seat "in the very centre of Paris," as Lubomir Gadon described it, "though away from the nucleus of excellence, from the world of parties, and from the main camp of ordinary tourists . . . just on the very Seine, in the direct vicinity of the magnificent Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral".¹³ What Gadon did not add: the new Library was located not far from the Hôtel Lambert, at that time already property of the Czartoryskis.¹⁴

11 Pezda, *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, pp. 97–98.

12 Pezda, *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, pp. 99–108. See also Gadon, *Z życia Polaków we Francji*, pp. 71–72; A. Meżyński, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu. Rys historyczny, zbiory, dzień dzisiejszy* [Polish Library in Paris. Historical Outline, Collections, Today], 'Przegląd Biblioteczny' 1983, No. 1, pp. 13–25.

13 Gadon, *Z życia Polaków we Francji*, p. 73.

14 On the cultural significance of the Île Saint-Louis, more: F. Ziejka, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu – skarbnica kultury narodowej* [Polish Library in Paris: Treasury of National Culture], in: *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu – skarbnica kultury narodowej. Materiały z konferencji zorganizowanej przez Komisję Spraw Emigracji i Łączności z Polakami za Granicą. 4 listopada 2014* [Polish Library in Paris: Treasury of National Culture. Proceedings of the Conference Organised by the Commission for Emigration and Communication with Poles Abroad. 4 November 2014], ed. M. Lipińska, Kancelaria Senatu, Warszawa: 2014, pp. 36–45.

Not much is known about the house at 6 Rue Quai d'Orléans. It was one of the buildings of the Île Saint-Louis developed in the first half of the 17th century.¹⁵ The island itself had been uninhabited in the Middle Ages (used mainly for grazing cattle), and was intersected by a canal; it was intensely urbanized only in the times of Marie de'Medici, although the first concepts for such work had been laid out already under Henry IV. Parcelling out the isle's land had begun by 1614, work connected with a wide range of measures such as in-filling the canal, consolidating the embankment, building bridges, and marking out the street grid. The process was implemented by entrepreneurs Christophe Marie, Lugles Poulletier, and François Le Regrattier. By the 1660s, the isle had been already developed, connected to the banks of the Seine and the Île de la Cité with three bridges; the Parish Church of Saint Louis was raised, while the majority of the plots built up with more or less sumptuous houses and residencies. Most of the houses on the isle were raised by the architect brothers Louis and François Le Vau, and Louis Le Vau completed the above-mentioned Hôtel Lambert in Rue Saint-Louis-en-l'Île in approximately 1640. The palace purchased in 1843 by Czartoryski played a key role in the life of the Great Emigration throughout the 19th century.

In to-date literature, it has been assumed that the plot at 6 Rue Quai d'Orléans was purchased in 1640 by Michel Guillaume; he subsequently resold it before 1655 to the secretary of Louis XIV, Antoine Moreau – who with his wife, Marie Courtin, raised a house on the property.¹⁶ It is true that the first owner of the parcel as of 28 August 1640 was Michel Guillaume, who purchased it from the

15 *L'Île Saint-Louis, l'île de la Cité, le quartier de l'ancienne université*, J. S. de Sacy, Y. Christ, P. Siguret, Paris 1984, pp. 35–116.

16 *L'Île Saint-Louis*, pp. 66–67; Bobrowska-Jakubowska, *La Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris*, pp. 163–165. It was experts from the Grahall group who specified and completed this piece of information, first of all helping to set a more precise dating. Grahall (Groupe de recherche art historique architecture et littérature), *Société Historique et Littéraire Polonaise, 6 quai d'Orléans IVe. Chronologie provisoire*, Paris 2000, typescript of the specialist opinion in the archive of the Polish Library in Paris (below BPP).

entrepreneurs: Marie, Le Regrattier and Poullétier. Yet two years later, the plot in Quai d'Orléans ended up in the hands of a certain "Jean Council, Sieur de l'Isle", and he launched the construction of the house in 1643, completing it in 1644.¹⁷ The Grahall experts found records testifying to the fact that Claude Dublet was employed as contractor. He was a joiner who was intensely involved in Parisian building activity at the time, cooperating with such architects as Nicolas Villedo and the Le Vau brothers. This collaboration allows us to suspect that one of them may have been responsible for the design of the house at 6 Quai d'Orléans.

A year later, in December 1645, Jean Council leased the house to Jacques de Mesmes, King's advisor and Treasurer of France; in 1657, the house was rented by François de Villemontée and Nicolas de la Barre, then in 1668 by André Baron, King's advisor.¹⁸ In May 1670, Council died. His heirs, defined in the contracts already with a differently spelled name: the Lises, Elisabeth and her husband Daniel Delondy, Pierre, Marthe, and Marguerite, sold the property to Antoine Moreau, King's advisor and secretary. Moreau has been identified in previous research as the house's investor.¹⁹ On 20 April 1679, Moreau resold the house to Marcelin Arnaud – King's advisor, General and Extraordinary War Treasurer, and Treasurer of the Provinces of Picardy, Hérault, Artois, and Flanders; however, since the latter party did *not* pay the agreed sum, the property returned to Mr. and Mrs. Moreau.²⁰

In 1699, the house was inherited by their son, Pierre-Nicolas Moreau, Sieur de d'Esclainviller, and remained the property of his family until 1779 when it was purchased by the notary Pierre-Charles Liénard; after the latter's death in 1827, the property was

17 Grahall, *Société Historique*, p. 1. Grahall experts based on the preliminary research conducted at: Archives Nationales, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, (below AN, Minutier central) XII, 72; II, 168; XII 80.

18 Grahall, *Société Historique*, p. 2, after: AN, Minutier central, XII, 82; XII 121; XCVII, 29.

19 Grahall, *Société Historique*, pp. 2-3. after: AN, Minutier central, CXV, 189.

20 Grahall, *Société Historique*, p. 3. after: AN, Minutier central, LX, 81.



FIG. 2. Adam Pérelle, La Porte St. Bernard, ca. 1660. Fragment of the drawing from the Musée Carnavalet collection

inherited by his three daughters. One of these, Caroline-Denise née Liénard was married to Jean-Baptiste-Gabriel Poisson, and she is the owner from whom one Zamoyski purchased the property in 1852.

The house at 6 Rue Quai d'Orléans constituted a so-called *hôtel particulier*, typical of Paris at the time. Despite many preserved prints from the 17th and 18th century showing the embankment of the Île Saint-Louis close to the Tournelle Bridge, it is hard to recreate the actual appearance of the sequence of the houses along the embankment. Still, both the bridge and the nearby Gate of St Bernard located on the southern bank of the Seine were of interest to contemporary artists (fig. 2).²¹ The buildings depicted within their works were treated quite loosely and decoratively, to the extent that sometimes the number of storeys or axes of respective houses were not faithfully rendered.

Regrettably, no design documentation from the 17th and 18th century has survived. Descriptions preserved from this time are

21 See e.g.: Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, pp. 233–235.

laconic and unclear, so the reconstruction of the original appearance of the house can be but vague.²² It was raised on a long plot, with its front facing the Seine; the plot was made up of a wider front rectangle, with a narrower rectangle shifted eastwards within the block, making the whole structure resemble the letter L in shape. The dwelling section was composed of the street frontage, with five-axial body and rear perpendicular wing, namely a lateral outbuilding raised along the western border of the plot, with windows onto the interior courtyard. A square stable was located in the rear of the plot, which occupied a narrower section behind a small courtyard; covered with nine-partite, groin vaulting, resting on four stone pillars, the building's living quarters were located in the first storey and in the attic. Along the eastern and northern courtyard edges, there were open arcades (of a utility character, and most likely wooden), which also served as a coach depot, or *remise*. Both the main body and the outbuilding had cellars; furthermore, vaulted cellars also stretched under the eastern section of the courtyard. The main body turned southward, and with its five-axis façade held two storeys and an "à la française" attic (also known as a mansard roof). It featured a single-bay layout with a suite of connecting rooms on each storey. The corner of the main body and the western wing housed the grand staircase, while the main entrance was located in the corner beside the courtyard; visitors could enter from the street through a gateway.

The first recorded archival alteration in the building's form was a balcony added on the first floor on the façade axis, first authorized on 13 December 1765 by then-owner Marie-Elisabeth Moreau d'Esclainvilliers.²³ The second, and much more serious alteration, must have taken place in the 1830s or 40s; the mansion's descriptions from 1779 and 1829 clearly specify that the main body and

22 I based the description on the analysis of the text of the transaction of the purchase of the house by Liénard in 1779, preserved at BPP, MS 1485, pp. 123-128, quoted after: Grahal, *Société Historique*, p. 4.

23 Grahal, *Société Historique*, p. 3. after: AN, Minutier central, Z¹⁶482, f^o128.

the wing are two-storeyed, while Zamoyski's 1852 deed was for a house of three floors.²⁴ That extension transformed the *hôtel particulier* into a tenement house (fig. 3). It added a third floor to the main body and wing, but also replaced the grand staircase with the quarter-turn stairs, which were situated on the plan of a square. A slightly smaller stair (which permitted a narrow passage behind it) was situated on the horseshoe-shaped plan (fig. 4). A small gallery now connected the end of the western wing to the dwellings on the stable's first floor, and a small, single-axis eastern outbuilding was also raised.

The interior layout was also thoroughly transformed at this time, achieving smaller rooms that formed separate apartments for lease: luxurious, spacious apartments covered the whole first, second, and ground storeys of the main body and outbuilding, while on the fourth floor, two smaller flats were created. The first-floor apartment was the grandest, and was composed of a dozen rooms, including a room for a bath and a toilet; the drawing room additionally featured a balcony with new cast-iron balustrades. (fig. 5). This apartment also had its own assigned cellars and a servants' flat over the stables. It is likely that these alterations also created the (still preserved)- marble fireplaces in the front rooms above the ground floor.

After the purchase of the tenement house by the Society from Zamoyski in 1853, a complicated arrangement of financial liabilities led to many surface divisions of the house structure. The Library had the second and the third floor at its disposal, while Władysław Zamoyski owned the rest of the building, including the ground, first, and fourth floors, as well as the outbuildings and the stable. While Zamoyski lived in the apartment on the first floor, the remaining flats were rented.

The Library's collection preserves a drawing – regrettably neither signed nor dated – most likely created soon after the property

24 Grahall, *Société Historique*, pp. 4–5. after: AN, Minutier central, CX, 819, and BPP, MS 1571.



FIG. 3. Stanislas Lépine, fragment of the painting *Pont de la Tournelle*, 1862, National Gallery of Art, Washington

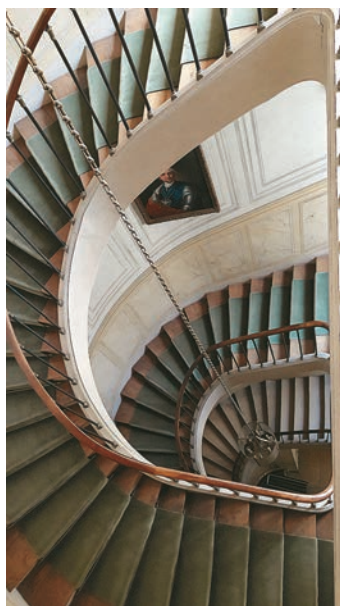


FIG. 4. The main staircase, current state.
Photo by M. Omilanowska



FIG. 5. Fragment of the façade of the Polish Library with the entrance gate and the balcony in the apartment of Władysław Zamoyski, Photo from the 2nd half of the 19th century, BPP collection

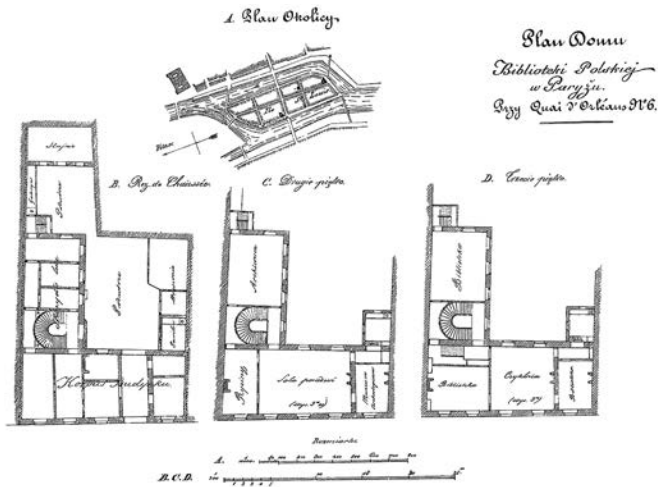


FIG. 6. Plans of the ground floor and the second and first floors at Quai d'Orléan, with layout of their functions, after 1853, BPP, Ms 1571

had been purchased. (fig. 6).²⁵ Apart from the layout, three plans were sketched: for the ground floor, as well as for the second and the third ones, which suggests that initially both floors were to be used for the Library. The second-floor plan shows an archive in the left outbuilding, while in the main body a suite of three rooms was planned, defined subsequently from the east as a print cabinet (corner room, with one window), a conference room (with three windows), and a single-windowed corner room from the west, defined as Archaeological Museum. Unfortunately, I have found no information either in relevant studies or in records suggesting that such a museum was planned; neither have I discovered any mention of an archaeological collection planned to be transferred to the Library. On the third floor, the interior arrangement in the main body was to be slightly different: the first room to the east of the Library was to have two windows; the second, a reading room, was deeper, though of the same width, and was to have daylight enter through two windows. Meanwhile, contemporary descriptions

25 *Plan Domu Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu. Przy Quai d'Orléans N° 6* [Layout of the House of the Polish Library in Paris. At 6 Quai d'Orléans], BPP, MS 1571.

of the Library prove that the third floor was never adapted for its use, and the apartment housed there was continuously rented as dwelling premises.

The ceremonious opening of the Polish Library at its new address took place on 57 September 1854. The Library itself was housed mainly on the second floor: there, a suite of rooms was prepared in the front main body, overlooking the Seine, and homogenously furnished with wooden wall bookcases reaching almost the ceiling. The suite was made up of four spaces: in the eastern corner was a single-windowed reading room for magazines; the second of the rooms looked west, and was also single-windowed. It featured the bust of Gen. Władysław Zamoyski, placed on one of the cabinets, and the room itself was later named after him. Lit through two windows, the third room played the role of the main reading room, and also served as a conference room (later named after Adam J. Czartoryski). As decoration, this room featured Niemcewicz's portrait over the fireplace and a bust of Czartoryski (fig. 7).



FIG. 7. Reading room on the 2nd floor serving as a meeting room, named after Adam J. Czartoryski, Photo from the 1930s, BBP collection



FIG. 8. Władysław Mickiewicz in the office arranged in the Wodziński Room, in the eastern corner on the second floor of the main body, photo from the early 1920s.
PAUArt HL_BPP_Photo_Mic_115.

The fourth space was a small reading room located in the eastern corner of the main body; this single-windowed space served – as the Director’s office and in time it was given the name of Maciej Wodziński (fig. 8).²⁶

Around 1858, soon after the purchase of the property, Władysław Zamoyski launched the project of its extension.²⁷ On the prolongation of the short eastern outbuilding, in the place of the former coach depot, a new right (eastern) outbuilding of the ground floor and two more floors were raised. The first floor was incorporated

26 Reconstruction of the Library layout from before the modernization conducted by Pułaski after: F. Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, p. 75; F. Hoesick, *Paryż*, pp. 165–169 and photo documentation.

27 Gadon, *Z życia Polaków we Francji*, p. 83; Grahal experts (Grahal, *Société Historique*, p. 9) date this remodeling to the period 1876 – 1893 based on the analysis of two Cadastral descriptions from 1862 and 1876, preserved at the Archive de Paris (D’P’826 [1862] and D’P’826 [1876]), but it is likely that these descriptions were only an automatic repetition of earlier ones, without on-site verification. Such late dating of the extension can be supported by the fact that Władysław Zamoyski was no longer alive (d. 1868), and by the fact that his wife had left Paris, having kept the apartment only for her brief visits. Contrariwise, Lubomir Gadon lived in Paris from the fall of the January Uprising, and as Zamoyski’s secretary, he was well informed on the house’s current state.

into Zamoyski's apartment, while the second was turned into another Library room, bearing the name of Colonel August Szulc, to commemorate the donor for whom the extension was built.²⁸ From 1864, the Szulc Room served as a print cabinet.²⁹ In the course of that modernization, the passage connecting the left outbuilding with the stable was altered, and the gallery once located there was replaced by a small, single-storey outbuilding.

On 7 November 1865, the Society concluded a settlement with Zamoyski, leasing him the whole house (with the exception of portions of the first and second floor occupied by the library); in exchange, Zamoyski incurred the costs of maintenance and repairs, and also waived his claim to 62,000 francs in favour of the Society.³⁰ More importantly, in 1866 the Society was granted the status of a public benefit institution, which began stabilizing its financial situation. At the conclusion of this decade (in 1869), the Society formally became the owner of the whole building. The Contract with Zamoyski expired in 1884; however, the first-floor apartment was rented by the General's widow Jadwiga Zamoyska née Działyński until her death in 1923. The cellars, the ground floor, the outbuildings, and the upper floors had an array of altering tenants.³¹ According to Pezda's findings, in 1877-1885, the Boucaut Company installed a gas lighting system in the Library.³²

In 1890, the Historical and Literary Society was facing a deepening financial crisis, and its leader at the time, Władysław Czaratoryski, began serious efforts to transfer the Library into the care of Cracow's Academy of Learning (AU), which was then interested in creating its own academic outpost in Paris. The negotiations and applications for necessary consents from the French and

28 Gadon, *Z życia Polaków we Francji*, p. 82; Pezda, *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, p. 117, footnote 29.

29 Gadon, *Z życia Polaków we Francji*, p. 87.

30 Gadon, *Z życia Polaków we Francji*, p. 88. Pezda, *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, pp. 118-119.

31 Pezda, *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, p. 121; Hoesick, *Paryż*, p. 164.

32 Pezda, *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, p. 146.

Austro-Hungarian authorities went on for quite some time, yet finally, on 6 April 1893, the Cracow Academy became the owner of the property, as well as guardian and administrator of the Library. Regrettably, the contract provided for the Library maintenance to be covered only with its own proceeds, which actually petrified “the institution’s deplorable material standing”.³³

Władysław Mickiewicz, Adam Mickiewicz’s son, was Secretary of the Local Committee from 1898, and subsequently served as Academy delegate deputy, then finally as the Academy delegate; he was committed to looking after the Library. His greatest contribution was an initiative he proposed in 1901, which led to the creation of the Adam Mickiewicz Museum, in honour of his father; moreover, he financed this project with funds remaining from the collection to raise Mickiewicz’s monument in Warsaw (funds originally allocated by the Committee for Raising the Monument).³⁴ The Museum in question was placed in the right outbuilding, to which a third floor was added. A large, single-space room was formed (figs. s 9–10), which could be accessed from the second floor of the outbuilding. This was the August Szulc room, with a wooden straight staircase built adjacent to the northern wall (fig. 11). With time, the spaces on the second floor of the outbuilding were also taken over by the Mickiewicz collection.³⁵ The Museum was opened to the public on 3 May 1903.

In 1908, Lubomir Gadon, a long-standing activist of the Society and member of the Local Committee, passed away, bequeathing

33 Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, p. 54.

34 I., “Muzeum A. Mickiewicza” [The A. Mickiewicz Museum], *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 1903, No. 20, p. 383; W. Mickiewicz, “Muzeum Mickiewiczowskie” [The Mickiewicz Museum], *Przegląd Biblioteczny* 1908, Nos. 3–4, pp. 175–188; S. Kutrzeba, *Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1872–1938* [The Polish Academy of Learning 1872–1938], Kraków: 1939, pp. 42–43; Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, pp. 65–68; E. Bobrowska-Jakubowska, *Muzeum Adama Mickiewicza w Paryżu* [Adam Mickiewicz Museum in Paris], *Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej* 1998, No. 4, pp. 18–23; T. F. de Rosset, *Polskie kolekcje i zbiory artystyczne we Francji w latach 1795–1919. Między „skarbnicą narodową” a galerią sztuki* [Polish Art Collections in France in 1795–1919. Between the ‘National Treasury’ and an Art Gallery], Toruń: 2005, pp. 191–194.

35 Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, p. 65.



FIG. 9. Adam Mickiewicz Museum on the 3rd floor of the eastern outbuilding with Władysław Mickiewicz posing, view to the north, photo ca 1908, PAUArt, HL_BPP_Phot_Mic_375



FIG. 10. Adam Mickiewicz Museum on the 3rd floor of the eastern outbuilding with Władysław Mickiewicz posing, view to the south, ca. 1908, PAUArt, HL_BPP_Phot_Mic_377



FIG. 11. Szulc Room on the 2nd floor of the eastern outbuilding and the stairs leading to the Adam Mickiewicz Museum. Photo from ca 1920, BPP collection

the Society funds that he stipulated to be for investment. It was decided that these funds would be used to furnish a new public reading room; for that purpose, the spacious and perfectly lit (through three windows overlooking the street) room on the ground floor of the main body was to be altered. The guidance for the future furnishing of the room was provided by AU's General Secretary Bolesław Ulanowski and Professor Stanisław Tomkowicz, while the design was authored by the architect Cacheux.³⁶ The new room was named after Gadon, and it housed the collection of 1,000 reference books and seats for 40 readers (figs. s 12-13).³⁷ The walls were lined with bookcases; a podium for the librarian was placed by the southern wall, while by the eastern wall a wooden gallery was placed, enabling "access to the high bookcases that reached the ceiling in this part of the reading room.

The period of World War I was even more challenging for the Library, as far as its financial standing was concerned; Władysław

36 Most likely the person in question was the architect Jules Cacheaux active in Paris at the turn of the 20th century.

37 Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, p. 60.



FIG. 12. Reading room, so-called Gadon Room. Ground floor of the main body.
Polish Library in Paris. Photo ca 1910



FIG. 13. Reading room, so-called Gadon Room. Ground floor of the main body.
Polish Library in Paris. Photo ca 1910

Mickiewicz was involved by the French authorities to help Polish exiles. In 1918, the Library interiors were home to the Polish office of the Peace Congress, and later to the “Polish Aid,” which assisted Poles in need. Polish independence led to questions about whether there was any sense in further upkeep of the Polish Library in Paris, particularly after the decision had been made to transfer the Rapperswil collections to Poland.

The situation began to change only in 1925, when the French government decided to establish the French Institute in Poland – or, more strictly speaking, to move it from St. Petersburg to Warsaw. The move endangered the entire concept of creating the Polish Institute in Paris using the Polish Library as its urban base.³⁸ The initiative came from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who instructed its Scientific Council headed by Franciszek Pułaski to prepare for the project.³⁹ Director Władysław Mickiewicz was also enthusiastic about the idea.⁴⁰ The essence of this involvement was the desire to transform the Library into a modern scientific and propaganda institution, not only supporting the scientific cooperation between Poland and France, but also disseminating political propaganda. It was to serve as a centre of economic and political information about Poland.

As soon as in the first half of 1926, work on making a full catalogue of the Library resources was launched.⁴¹ The programme to reorganize the Library worked out together with representatives of the Polish Academy of Learning (PAU) was debated over by the Scientific Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the autumn of 1925, and the first decisions made meant that Polish charity institutions would have to be removed from the Library building,

38 Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, pp. 69–70.

39 Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw (below AAN), Ministry of Foreign Affairs Fond (below MSZ), Cat. Nos. 64, 13430, 13431, 13433.

40 AAN MSZ, Cat. No. 13433, F Pułaski, *Raport... o Bibliotece Polskiej w Paryżu*, dated 14 July 1925, pp. 13–14.

41 AAN MSZ, Cat. No. 13431, Plenary Meeting of the Scientific Council on 19 June 1926, p. 9.

a task assigned to the Polish Embassy in Paris.⁴² It was agreed to alter the collection profile, focusing on the works dealing with contemporary Poland, which required bringing in enormous portions of contemporary literature, acquired mainly through donations.⁴³ From the very beginning, the organisers were aware of the deplorable state of the building and the necessity to thoroughly renovate the entire structure.

However, in the course of preparation for this restructuring, the institution's on 8 June 1926, its longstanding Director, Władysław Mickiewicz, passed away (on June 8th, 1926). Pułaski was appointed his successor in the function of the AU delegate; at the same time, he retained the position of the President of the Scientific Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Council accepted the programme of Library's reorganisation, which reads in one of its provisions: "the house of the Polish Library should be rebuilt maintaining its historic value to meet the needs of PL; private tenants should be removed, flats for PL's supervising staff and Academy members coming to Paris should be appropriately furnished".⁴⁴ The task, however, required work from the very bottom, since the house, as Pułaski reported: "presented a lamentable state of decay and destruction . . . today allowing the Polish name to be mocked rather than aspiring to the pride for which it was created."⁴⁵ Worse still:

the fact that this building in such a state of negligence belongs to the Polish Academy and that it is home to mementoes of the Polish bard constitutes circumstance to a high degree anti-propagandistic, and are an affront to the memory of Poland's grandest patriots of the post-partition times who scarifying their wealth and working hard raised this edifice to have the Polish name respected, and not humiliated.⁴⁶

42 AAN, MSZ, Cat. No. 13430, Report of the Scientific Council in 1925, 1926, f. 56.

43 AAN MSZ, Cat. No. 13431, Principles for collecting materials for the Polish Library in Paris, pp. 25-27.

44 Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, pp. 73-74.

45 AAN, MSZ, Cat. No. 13433, p. 16, F. Pułaski, Memorandum.

46 BPP, MS 7294/10, Detailed designs, p. 1.

The first inspection of the Library building was conducted from 20 to 26 September 1926 by Pułaski and by Library employees Piotr Koczorowski, Bronisława Mońkiewiczówna, and Jan Muszkowski.⁴⁷ Some years later, Pułaski recalled: “the building of the Polish Library requires an immediate renovation. The roof needs resurfacing. Gas lighting exists only in the inhabited dwellings and the reading room. The outbuildings in the second courtyard are in the worst state. Tenants secured by tenancy law occupy the first, the third, and the fourth floor”.⁴⁸ A statement was formulated that the Library edifice “might be possibly the only building in central Paris deprived of the most basic modern amenities”.⁴⁹ The first floor occupied by the Library had hardly changed from 1854, when it was furnished following the acquisition of the building, so the Director’s office was placed in the main body along with three other rooms; the fourth one, the Szulc Room, was located in the right outbuilding, and the Museum of Adam Mickiewicz was then housed on the third floor. The Library also occupied the basement and the one-storey storage space in the right outbuilding, while the reference book collection was placed in the Gadon Room on the ground floor of the main body. The bulk of the main book collection on the second floor threatened the first floor ceiling, so a primary task of this round of renovations was creating new storage space for the books. The Library at this time also had use of a small apartment on the fourth attic floor, occupied by the Academy delegate.

Pułaski was aware that the renovation had to be carried out in stages, both for financial and logistical reasons. A significant number of spaces in the building, including the luxury apartment on the main body’s first floor, had tenants who could not be asked to vacate under the tenancy law in post-World War I Paris. Therefore, Pułaski’s goal was to identify the most urgent renovations, then envisage subsequent changes to take place as resources allowed.

47 Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, pp. 74–75.

48 Ibidem, p. 75.

49 BPP, MS 7294/10, Detailed designs, p. 1.

According to Pułaski's original concept, the building's functions were ultimately to be allocated as follows: the reading room was to remain as before, located on the main body's ground floor; a concierge's flat was planned to the right of the gate; three lecture rooms and two offices were envisaged on the first floor; two Academy studios, the Adam Mickiewicz Museum, the delegate's office, a library, and also an archives specializing in the history of the post-partition emigration were all to be housed on the expansive second floor. Pułaski also emphasized that "the whole floor, and particularly the conference room will retain the décor from the times of the Historical and Literary Society".⁵⁰ The third and fourth floors were to have flats for the staff and visitors delegated by the Academy to conduct scientific projects in Paris. He planned storage for books in the back outbuilding (the former stable), and envisioned adding further storeys to it in the future. He further instructed that the small courtyard of the outbuilding should be glazed and turned into a reading room for French MPs grouped in the Polish caucus, while the courtyard was to assume a more sumptuous air: "decorated with sculptures and commemorative plaques".⁵¹ Pułaski also hoped to increase the estate's structural footprint by buying the neighbouring plot at the corner with Rue des Deux Ponts, which should be "easy and cheap" (provided there was financing available). However, as had happened so many times before, the plan was not fulfilled.

Paris architect F. Perrot was contracted in the autumn of 1926 to make a preliminary architectural assessment and to calculate the cost of the indispensable works; he estimated at 46,000 francs the cost of the adapting the ground and first floors of the stable to serve as storage space for 37,000 volumes. An additional cost would be a little over 36,000 francs for iron bookcases (a price was calculated by the Strafor Forges de Strasbourg Company). The above costs totalled slightly above 23,000 Polish zlotys, when converted from

50 BPP, MS 7294/10, Detailed designs, p. 2.

51 Ibidem.

(contemporary) francs. Another urgent need was to electrify the building, work which was estimated by the “F. Brett” Company at 17,950 francs. In total, Perrot calculated that the future refurbishing, together with the façade, staircases, and the sewage system would amount to 341,000 francs.⁵²

The Committee decided, however, that Perrot “does not seem to be a sufficient authority for the overall construction”. Instead, as a candidate they pointed to “Mr Jurgielewicz (recommended by the Ambassador ‘Alfred’ Chłapowski) and Feine (223 Bd. St. Germain, recommended by Professor ‘Emil’ Bourgeois)”.⁵³ And indeed, for the supervision of the alteration works on the rebuilding of the Library, Franciszek Pułaski *initially* had decided to employ Kiejstut Jurgielewicz Engr, while Louis Feine was not employed.⁵⁴ Finally, however, Pułaski decided to confine himself to Polish contractors, and he picked Marian Lalewicz for the job.⁵⁵

Lalewicz and his architectural activity undoubtedly deserve a monograph (though as of yet, none have been dedicated).⁵⁶ Following his studies at the Imperial Academy of Arts in St Petersburg, he decided to develop his career in the Empire’s capital.

52 BPP, MS 7294/10, Detailed designs, Cover letter and cost estimates F. Perrot, unnumbered.

53 BPP, MS 7294/10, Detailed designs, p. 2.

54 Louis Feine with his brother Albert ran an architectural office in Paris. His best-known Paris implemented project was René Lalique’s house at 40 cours Albert Ier.

55 M. Omilanowska, *Marian Lalewicz i jego przebudowa Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu* [Marian Lalewicz and His Reconstruction of the Polish Library in Paris], in: *Paragone. Pasaże sztuki. Studia ofiarowane Lechosławowi Lameńskiemu* [Paragone, Art Passages. Studies Offered to Lechosław Lameński], Eds. E. Błotnicka-Mazur, A. Dzierżyc-Horniak, M. Howorus-Czajka, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2020, pp. 135–156. Fragments of that paper were used in the present article; however many of its findings have been updated and verified.

56 E.g.: L. Niemojewski, *Wspomnienie pośmiertne: Marian Lalewicz (1876–1944)* [Tribute. Marian Lalewicz (1876–1944)], *Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego* 1938–1945, Nos. 31–38, pp. 212–214; J. Zachwatowicz, *Lalewicz Marian*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: 1971, Vol. 16, pp. 413–414; f. Dankiewicz, *Marian Lalewicz*, in: *100 lat Wydziału Architektury Politechniki Warszawskiej 1915–2015. Nauczyciele* [A Hundred Years of the Faculty of Architecture of the Warsaw University of Technology 1915–2015. Teachers], Eds. J. Roguska, S. Wrona, Warszawa: 2018, pp. 341–343.

Having worked there until 1918, and having reached possibly the highest position amidst the architectural circles in the Empire's capital among all the Poles, he left Russia in the summer of 1918. Already in January 1919, he was assigned head of the State Constructions at the Ministry of Public Works in Warsaw, working on the adaptation of Warsaw palaces meant to serve as seats of the government and government agencies.

The task which brought Lalewicz together with Franciszek Pułaski was rebuilding the Staszic Palace and restoring the Neo-Classical forms it had been given by Antonio Corazzi – this following the drastic architectural Russification of the building conducted by Vladimir Pokrovski from 1892–1895, work done to meet the needs of the First Russian Boys' Gymnasium.⁵⁷ As of 1909, Pułaski was (with some interruptions) Secretary General of the Warsaw Scientific Society (TNW) – serving contemporaneously as the Marshal of the Council of State – and in November 1918, Pułaski initiated the efforts to create an edifice for the Staszic Palace. His efforts succeeded only insofar as a 21 May 1924, resolution by the Council of Ministers, but on 10 November of that year, a committee for the rebuilding of the Palace was founded. Franciszek Pułaski became deputy chairman of the executive department, while Lalewicz assumed the role of executive architect. Following the remodelling, the building was put into service only on 20 January 1926, several months before Pułaski was appointed the Library's Director.⁵⁸

The cooperation between the two gentlemen must have been a good experience, since Pułaski addressed Lalewicz to complete the project. The architect accepted the task given, yet he rarely worked on site in Paris: Instead, he directed the works in letters, sent in drawings, provided opinions on subsequent work stages, and when in doubt, he consulted personally on issues with

57 P. Paszkiewicz, *Pod berłem Romanowów* [Under the Rule of the Romanovs], Warszawa: 1991, pp. 95–103.

58 *Z komitetu odbudowy pałacu Staszica* [From the Committee of the Reconstruction of the Staszic Palace], *Kurier Warszawski*, 1927, No. 80, evening edition, p. 3.

Jurgielewicz, who was working on site. The scheme of work organization and division of responsibilities between Lalewicz and Jurgielewicz is outlined in a letter written by the latter to Pułaski, in which he says: “I have assumed the duties of the architect for rebuilding the edifice of the Polish Library under the following conditions: a) for architectural work I would receive the fee at 3 per cent of the construction cost, b) that I would agree the rebuilding plans with Prof. Lalewicz who was assigned artistic supervision by the Academy”.⁵⁹

Lalewicz arrived in Paris to inspect the Library for the first time in February 1927. Having arrived on the 13th, from the 15th–19th, he conducted a thorough inspection on site, “benefitting from the guidance provided on site by Dr [Jan] Muszkowski”.⁶⁰ As Pułaski later recalled, having viewed the building, “Lalewicz judges that it should be pulled down and a new one should be raised”.⁶¹ This seems little likely, since Lalewicz was aware of the historic worth of the house, while in his preserved *Memorial Concerning the Reconstruction of the Polish Library House in Paris*, there is no mention of a possible dismantling of the structure; thus, it might be justified to suppose that Pułaski’s statement was a loose, joking remark – meant to emphasize the deplorable state of the Library’s building.⁶²

Following his visit to Paris, Lalewicz sent in the above-mentioned *Memorial*, suggesting the range of possible and essential alterations – all changes in harmony with Pułaski’s original concept. Obviously, Lalewicz considered essential the need to re-fit the sewer system in the whole building, to eliminate the sewage pits, and to replace the old-fashioned, badly spread water supply installation. He did not install electricity, as the building contin-

59 BPP, MS 7249/11, letter to Franciszek Pułaski, undated. The scope of responsibilities described in the letter shows that Jurgielewicz was assigned the architectural supervision.

60 BPP, MS 7294/10, Designs and cost estimates. Marian Lalewicz, *Memoriał w sprawie przebudowy domu Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu* [Memorial Concerning the Reconstruction of the Polish Library House in Paris], 31 March 1927, p. 1.

61 Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, p. 77.

62 Lalewicz, *Memoriał*.

ued with only the above-mentioned gas lighting. Lalewicz was of the opinion that nothing new should be built on the premises; contrariwise, he was quite categorical about restoring a dignified appearance and functionality to the building, which would require the removal of all the unnecessary accretions and restore the appearance of “this building boasting a charm of a good architectural school of this after all typical Parisian house”.⁶³ Lalewicz suggested demolishing the attic that had been added onto the ground floor of the structure’s eastern part, and in which a low flat of little functionality had been created. He also wanted the main gate to be replaced with glazed doors, allowing a view of the courtyard. He proposed restoring the façade to its original appearance, and presented the concept of developing the courtyard which “could be added a certain aura of specificity by an appropriate working on the walls surrounding it, and in particular of the walls opposite the gate. That wall could emphasize the Polishness of the property by placing against it a statue of a Pole known worldwide (Copernicus)”.⁶⁴ He approved of the concept of remodelling the back outbuilding (the original stable), to serve as book storage. He assumed that the vaulted ground floor could bear the structure he was planning to raise, consisting of three floors, each 2.2 meters-- high and made of reinforced concrete. On the ground floor of the left outbuilding, he projected a room for “periodicals and catalogues. This would create as if a purgatory between the limbo of the book storages placed further on and the heaven of the front reading room overlooking the Seine”.⁶⁵

Furthermore, Lalewicz proposed to modernize the staircase at the northern tip of the left outbuilding, previously used as a kitchen, and to add a new staircase in the right outbuilding; together with an added lift there, the stairs would serve as an element of the main passageway. The entrance to this staircase would lead

63 Lalewicz, *Memoriał*, p. 1.

64 Ibidem, p. 2.

65 Ibidem, p. 4 (f. 2r).

from the street through a vestibule, which itself had the capacity to house a cloak room. He considered it plausible to create a lecture room, yet not on the ground floor. Rather, he envisioned this room in the interiors of the first floor, where the old Zamoyski's apartment had been located, and which was at the time rented by Mr Campanaki. Ultimately, he proposed to move the Adam Mickiewicz Museum collection to a more prominent location on the first floor. Lalewicz had a high assessment of the Library's second-storey rooms within the main body – rooms which had been furnished in the mid-19th century, and which he recommended preserving.

Lalewicz proposed the work should be completed in the following stages: first, he recommended raising the storage space in the rear outbuilding; second, he would stage a temporary transfer of the Mickiewicz Museum to the left outbuilding, and a thorough renovation of the right one, with a simultaneous building of the new staircase and lift; third, he would focus on the reconstruction of the left outbuilding. He also desired central heating for the structure; however, bearing in mind the number of tenants, this phase of the project would be challenged. Fourth, he recommended the renovation of the façade, retaining its qualities, and particularly restoring the stone cladding on the lower storey; this final stage also involved possible removal of the mansard attic, providing that a new one be restored at a later date.

Already in April 1927, detailed designs were readied for Lalewicz' project, including remodelling the superstructure of the rear outbuilding, turning it into storage space, and the modernization of the kitchen staircase using a design prepared by Kiejstut Jurgielewicz; the latter sent his plans to Lalewicz in Warsaw for consultation.⁶⁶ In May of that year, a meeting was organized in Paris. Present were Lalewicz (officially delegated by the Warsaw University of Technology on PAU's request), PAU Secretary General Professor

66 BPP, MS 7294/11, Jurgielewicz's letter to Lalewicz with the design description of 26 April 1927. Copies of design drawings have been preserved in the Archives de Paris, VO¹³207.

Stanisław Kutrzeba, and PAU President Professor Jan Michał Rozwadowski.⁶⁷ They agreed on the scope of work to be conducted, and on how to finance that work.

On 14 May 1927, the *Programme of the Reconstruction of the Polish Library House . . . participated by Mr Prof. M Lalewicz, Mr Jurgielewicz and F. Pułaski* was prepared.⁶⁸ The document reiterated the assumptions phrased in Lalewicz's Memorial. A precondition with respect to the first floor was formulated: "in the event of buying the flat, it might be used as a venue for Polish permanent exhibitions on culture and art".⁶⁹ Plans were also formulated for the works proposed by Lalewicz: the demolishing of the small attics and construction of a new corridor attached to the main body from the side of the courtyard. Additionally, the following items were included:

restoring the stone look to the façade. In harmony with Prof. Lalewicz's drawings the balcony is removed, the current window shutters are replaced with iron, covered ones; exchange of the window railings. Covering up of the mansard floor with an iron rail. Iron glazed gate recessed with lateral boards for inscriptions and overlooking the inside wall of the courtyard.⁷⁰

Works were launched in mid-May; judging from the preserved reports, they progressed at a very rapid pace. In June 1927, Lalewicz's drawings for the Library façade reached Paris. Pułaski reported:

We are shortly launching this artistically beautiful serious plan proportionate to this institution's importance. However, I still have two more doubts as for the façade. The first is whether Mr Campanaki agrees to have the balcony removed, and the second, what to do with the sculpture decoration of the old gate, since there are rumours here that attempt was made to classify them as 'Moniment istorique', and

67 BPP, MS 7294/11, copy of the letter to Marian Lalewicz of 2 May 1927.

68 BPP, MS 7294/10, *Program przebudowy domu Biblioteki Polskiej zaprojektowany dn. 14 maja 1927 r. przy udziale pp. Prof. M. Lalewicza, f. Jurgielewicza i F. Pułaskiego* [Programme of the Reconstruction of the Polish Library House . . . participated by Prof. M Lalewicz, Mr Jurgielewicz and F. Pułaski].

69 Ibidem.

70 Ibidem, p. 2.

as there are always critics ready to cry out, we might have to bear this in mind. Could you, please, Professor, consider an option of placing these sculptures somewhere, e.g., in the courtyard or in the passage overdoor?⁷¹

Pułaski also informed Lalewicz that, in view of the difficulties with the termination of Mr Campanaki's contract, Pułaski was planning to create a lecture room on the left outbuilding's ground floor, and on the second floor: a reading room for the MPs, covered with a glass roof. He emphasized that "I do not want, you, Professor to complain too much about this decision of mine and to kindly work out the architecture of the interior in harmony with your ideas and the façade".⁷² In February 1928, planners realized that the historic gate could not be removed, at least not while the tenant at the time, Campanaki, refused to have the existing balcony dismantled. Lalewicz thus had to reduce the scope of his design.

Pułaski's correspondence with Lalewicz shows a picture of a very tight cooperation; Pułaski initiated various alterations resulting from the outcropping needs, Jurgielewicz drew the plans, then Lalewicz corrected and approved them. This happened in one instance with the dismantling of a wall and its replacement with a column at the entrance to the Mickiewicz Museum; the above-mentioned façade renovation had to be limited to fresh plastering only.⁷³ Jurgielewicz and Lalewicz shared the accomplishment of shaping the inner courtyard elevations, though the ambitious plan to place Copernicus's statue there could not be implemented.

The works of this stage had been completed by May 1928, and sumptuous celebrations of Mickiewicz were planned for the occasion. The consecration ceremony was held on May 20th, presided over by Cardinal Aleksander Kakowski, and the Library itself was opened to its readers on 3 May 1929; on that day, three commemorative plaques were unveiled, featuring the Library's history,

71 BPP, MS 7294/11, Franciszek Pułaski's letter of to Marian Lalewicz of 24 June 1927.

72 Ibidem.

73 BPP, MS 7294/11, Lalewicz's letter to Pułaski of 21 February 1928.



FIG. 14. Ceremoniously decorated internal courtyard of the Library with commemorative plaques. Photo 1929, BPP collection

its most prominent historical dates, and its activists of greatest merit (fig. 14).

Jurgielewicz's design and Lalewicz's artistic surveillance resulted in a modernization of the building's entire infrastructure: central heating and electrification were introduced, and a thorough roof renovation completed. Communication passageways in the building were changed. Although attempts to build a new staircase and a lift in the building's eastern section failed, a new service staircase at the end of the left outbuilding was added. The major Lalewicz alteration (from a communication perspective) was making the structure's main body wider, adding to it a three-storeyed, narrow bay, which on the ground floor had an arcaded passage from the gate passage to the entrance in the corner of the left outbuilding; this last structure opened to the courtyard with two semi-circular arcades (fig. 15), while housing on the first and second floor communication galleries; these facilitated the connection between the lateral outbuildings and rooms in the structure's main body (fig. 16). On the third floor, the gallery was glazed and, as mentioned by Pułaski, housed a new painting studio.



FIG. 15. Communication bay added to the courtyard after Marian Lalewicz's design, Photo M. Omilanowska, 2019



FIG. 16. Gallery on the 2nd floor, photo ca 1938, BPP collection



FIG. 17. Curator's room with glazed roof in the former backyard, with the book storage in the vaulted stable visible through the open windows, photo ca. 1980, BPP collection

Another important modification, though not so clearly visible to visitors, was the creation of a new book storing system. The main storage was placed in the former stable, newly extended to three storeys, complete with a reinforced-concrete superstructure. Magazines found a storage home in the basement rooms under the main body. The little courtyard in front of the stable with a glazed roof would have permitted an additional space, one planned as a reading room, but which eventually served as a curator's office (fig. 17).

The majority of spaces within the building were refurbished, assuming different functions at various times. A lecture room was prepared on the ground floor of the left outbuilding (fig. 18), while on the floor above this, a flat for Academy members was prepared.⁷⁴ Some minor modernizing was also introduced to the main reading room on the ground floor of the main body – namely in the Gado Room, where lighting was installed and the gallery with steps by



FIG. 18. Lecture room on the ground floor of the left outbuilding, photo ca 1930, BPP collection

74 F. Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, pp. 77–78.



FIG. 19. Main reading room on the ground floor of the main body after renovation 1928, NAC, 3_1_0_10_769_3_1_225462



FIG. 20. Interior courtyard arranged by Marian Lalewicz. Photo by M. Omilanowska, 2019

the eastern wall removed (fig. 19). The ground floor of the right outbuilding was assigned to house Library offices and a telephone exchange. The first-floor apartment remained untouched, both in the main body and the right outbuilding. The old Library suite on the second floor of the main body, consisting of four rooms furnished with bookcases, served both as a conference room and a reference reading room. The Mickiewicz Museum remained on the second and third floors of the right outbuilding. Meanwhile, the third and fourth floors were kept as residential units, with a large eight-room apartment on the third floor, and smaller service flats in the attic.

The essential character of the courtyard, an arrangement clearly visible to this day, was created during this renovation (fig. 20). To the elevations on the ground floor were added pilaster pairs, marking out divisions, and spots where the main body connected with the outbuildings were covered with Tuscan half-columns. The blank northern wall was decorated with the afore-mentioned commemorative plaques, and above the middle one a copy of the Renaissance eagle in a tondo was featured; it was imported from the Wawel, where its original by Francesco Fiorentino decorates a bay in the eastern wing of the Castle courtyard (fig. 21). The court-



FIG. 21. Copy of the tondo with the eagle from the crowning of the Renaissance bay from the side of the courtyard, from the Wawel Castle, photo ca 1929, NAC, 3_1_0_11_252b_62539

yard flooring was covered with stone tiles, and flower beds were arranged surrounding the front and sides of the middle plaque, which depicted an eagle.

The renovation was conducted with modest means, and many of the planned moves could not be implemented for organizational or financial reasons; in effect, across the five-storey Library, rooms both accessible and closed to the public were located in quite random configurations. Therefore, Lalewicz introduced an interesting solution, applying painted decoration on the walls, within moulds suggesting panel divisions: each one golden at the bottom, and ash-grey at the top. This same painted decoration covered the walls of the grand staircase and corridors into the lobby for the public, while in the overdoors leading into the rooms open to the public, golden inscriptions with antiquated lettering were introduced (fig. 22). In effect, the modest financing available produced within the interior a homogenous system of visual identification, elegantly and discretely leading the public to several open, respective interiors.

The changes did not satisfy Pułaski, who in a memorandum addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs claimed:



FIG. 22. Overdoor with the inscription informing on the location of the Adam Mickiewicz Museum. Photo by M. Omilanowska, 2019

the already launched reorganizing of the Polish Library in Paris, conducted at a so-far substantial cost (around a million and a half francs), into the POLISH INSTITUTE, with the first Library on Contemporary Poland, with a Reading Room for French MPs, should be completed. The institution characterized by scientific objectivity (officially Academy's Outpost) may render greater service than the propaganda of government agencies.⁷⁵

The next stage of the renovation entailed refurbishing the façade itself. Judging from the surviving photo documentation, it was most likely conducted in 1930, and Lalewicz's design from four years prior may have been used for this purpose.⁷⁶ Mostly conservative in its character, the renovation *did* introduce several changes (fig. 23). First of all, the 19th-century balcony on the axis of the first floor was demolished. New plastering was applied, with architectural divisions in the form of inter-storey mouldings, and the forms of a gate and window framing were preserved. Essential changes



FIG. 23. Façade of the Polish Library after the renovation conducted after Marian Lalewicz's design, photo 1931, NAC 3_1_0_10_770_1_1_225472

75 AAN, MSZ, Cat. No. 64, f. 15, F. Pułaski, Memorandum, 30 July 1928 Paris.

76 Warsaw, National Digital Archive, Photo *Renovation of the Façade of the Polish Library in Paris*, 1931, Cat. No. 1-N-770; BPP, MS 7249/11, Pułaski's letter to Lalewicz of 24 June 1927.

occurred on the ground floor: walls were covered with belt horizontal bossage, windows were added window ledge walls in the form of blind balusters, which were frequent decoration elements applied by Lalewicz. These latter were actually his trademark, which means they almost certainly are an aspect of the façade design which can be attributed to Lalewicz (particularly since we know that he authored such a design at the time of the renovation).

The completion of the renovation was possible only once the first-floor tenant had moved out, and the grand apartment, once occupied by the Zamoyskis, was made available. When work could commence, Pułaski commissioned the design for the arrangement of these rooms to the well-known French architect and decorator Armand Albert Rateau. Pułaski recalled: “at the second stage of the refurbishing, in 1935, Mr Rateau, architect of the city of Paris, rebuilt the first floor into reception and displays rooms, decorating them with the architecture of the early 19th century featuring medallions of illustrious Poles after the sculptures by David d’Anger”.⁷⁷

Rateau held an elevated artistic position in Paris during the inter-war period, winning fame for his interior decoration of the *hôtel particulier* that belonged to the famous fashion designer Jeanne Lanvin.⁷⁸ He followed varied stylistic forms: from Art Deco, through Egyptian revival and oriental, and into several historic neo-styles. Furthermore, Rateau owned a bronze and furniture manufacturing company, for which he personally designed models. It is impossible to identify today precisely what Rateau left and what he added to the rooms, but it seems that only the fireplaces were retained from the old furnishing.

As a result of the work Rateau conducted on the first floor of the main structure, two rooms inspired by the style of Louis XVI were also created: a spacious lecture room, communicating through a door with a small, single-windowed room located on the build-

77 Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, pp. 77–78.

78 F. Olivier-Vial, F. Rateau, *Armand Albert Rateau. Un baroque chez les modernes*, Paris, Éd. de l’Amateur, 1992.

ing's eastern corner. The lecture room occupied almost the whole front bay of the main body: it was lit through four windows overlooking the Seine, and communicated with the staircase; the gallery and the fore-mentioned drawing room were added by Lalewicz. It gained harmonious decoration in the form of paneling-varnished white with walls, divided by pilasters, and with panels accentuated by darker-painted moulding (fig. s 24-25).



FIG. 24. Interior of the lecture room on the 1st floor of the main body, following Rateau's modernization, view to the west with furnished drawing room, photo after 1936, BPP collection

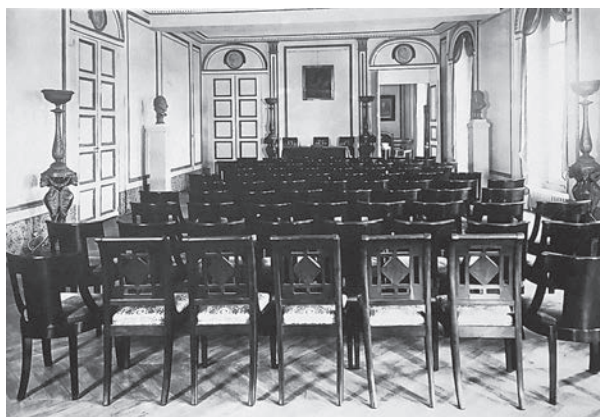


FIG. 25. Interior of the lecture room on the 1st floor of the main body after Rateau's modernisation, the view to the east with lecture furnishing, photo after 1936, BPP collection

The windows were enclosed by semi-circular frames, while above the doors (the left door in the eastern wall being blind) was placed a basket arch with a mirror, closing the western wall panels. Bas-relief tondos – after portrait medallions – were inserted into the overdoors; they featured Tadeusz Kościuszko (from the west, on the axis), Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz over the left door (from the north), and Joachim Lelewel over the right one. From the east were tondos featuring Adam Mickiewicz (over the left door) and Prince Adam J. Czartoryski (over the right).

The author of the medallions, David d'Angers (namely Jean-Pierre David, 1788–1856)–, was one of the most prolific French sculptors of the day, one who became famous for tomb sculptures and busts, but known first of all precisely his portrait medallions; in his posthumous album, 447 such medallions were reproduced – although this number is most likely not the sum total he had designed.⁷⁹ David d'Angers also portrayed Poles, and a sizeable collection of the medallions he designed were housed in the Library's Adam Mickiewicz Museum collection; they may have served as models for the room decoration (fig. s 26–27).

Pułaski described the lecture room with the following words:

[It is] a large room in the style from the late 18th century . . . Stuccoes and panelling fill the ceiling and walls. Two large mirrors. 'Terre cuite' medallions after d'Angers . . . and seven busts of excellent Poles (copies of sculptures at the Warsaw Castle). The portrait of Marshal Piłsudski by Norblin with a silver plaque enumerating the founders. In the windows and doors silk curtains woven purposefully to adjust to the Room's style. Full equipment for projected pictures. Seven sculpted lampadairs shedding light from above. A hundred and twenty velvet-upholstered mahogany chairs (gondolas) and 75 chairs. A podium with a table with five armchairs.⁸⁰

The portrait of Piłsudski (mentioned by Pułaski) was commissioned especially to commemorate the hundred year history of

79 *Les médallions de David d'Angers*, Paris 1867. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1415033/f1.item.zoom> (Accessed: 20 April 2021).

80 Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, p. 111.



FIG. 26. Medallion with Adam Mickiewicz's portrait, design David d'Angers, reproduced after: *Les médallions de David d'Angers*, Paris 1867



FIG. 27 Medallion with Adam J. Czartoryski's portrait, design David d'Angers, reproduced after: *Les médallions de David d'Angers*, Paris 1867

the Library, and was funded with money raised by Poles living in France at the time.⁸¹ The celebration committee also collected signed letters of “those people who thanks to their high state function and owing to their participation in the struggle for Poland’s

81 AAN, Consulate of the Polish Republic in Marseille, Cat. No. 294, F. Pułaski’s letter to the Council of the Polish Republic in Marseille, dated 28 August 1937, pp. 2–4.



FIG. 28. Ceremony participated by Ambassador Juliusz Łukasiewicz, Piłsudski's portrait by Stefan Norblin in the background, Photo 3 May 1939, NAC: 3_1_0_10_777_2

independence, embody the independence ideal happily fulfilled".⁸² The portrait was painted by Stefan Norblin, an outstanding portraitist and poster author whose brilliant career in the Second Polish Republic was interrupted by WW II. Norblin's vicissitudes took him via Iran to India, and there he furnished and decorated a giant residence of Maharajah Jodhpur Umaid Bhawan; later, he went to the USA where he spent the rest of his life.⁸³ The Marshal's portrait was hung in the main room on the first floor (fig. 28).

The high classicising "lampadaires" supported by threes of gryphons, coming undoubtedly from Rateau's manufactory and designed by him, have been preserved to this day. Furthermore, the wall decoration has survived, too, though in a much less contrasting colour range. Rateau also designed the interior of the corner drawing room called delegate's room maintained in the same stylistics (fig. 29). During this stage of the renovation, a new interior decoration harmonizing with the lecture room was given to the communication gallery, which had itself been added in the

⁸² Ibidem, p. 3.

⁸³ *Stefan Norblin – artysta trzech kontynentów* [Stefan Norblin: an Artist of Three Continents], ed. A. Szlązak, Stalowa Wola 2015.



FIG. 29. The 1st floor of the main body, delegate's room with the view of the display rooms in the eastern outbuilding, photo after 1936, BPP collection

rear bay of the main body by Lalewicz. The suite of two rooms on the first floor (to the right outbuilding with a drawing room) were furnished and used for display purposes.

In 1938, it became possible to introduce one more change: “upon the authorization of the Municipality of Paris, having incorporated a section of the adjacent tenement house, in the right outbuilding office rooms were raised communicating with the curator’s office, and so was a telephone exchange and the network for the whole house”.⁸⁴ This “part of the adjacent tenement house” is in fact the ground floor of the outbuilding at the property in Rue des Deux Ponts, which with its blank wall closes the Library courtyard. Having a door broken through, the ground floor of the right outbuilding could be connected to the square of the former stable, by then transformed into book storage near the above-mentioned curator’s office.

The multi-fold costs of all the Library’s work at this time exceeded the plans, amounting to 1,300,000 francs, or the sum contributed to the Library by grants from the Polish Ministry of Foreign

84 Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, pp. 77-78.

Affairs, and by financing raised by PAU (that is, by grants from the city budgets of Warsaw and Poznań).

The scope of works conducted in the Polish Library building in Paris was significantly limited versus its actual needs, and the higher than anticipated cost of the work *once again* placed restrictions on its eventual breadth, as did limited available resources. However, it was possible to modernize the building, to improve its communication, to organize the number of rooms expected by the investor, and to refurbish the interior and elevation. Yet the first and foremost accomplishment of the work completed at this time was to transform the courtyard into an architectural interior that provided an excellent backdrop to many Polish ceremonies in Paris, in subsequent years.

Soon after the outbreak of World War II, the Library Board decided to deposit only a small fragment of the collection at the Paris Carnavalet Museum.⁸⁵ In the following months, a portion of print, cartographic, and manuscript collections were successfully transported to the south of France and deposited within several libraries.⁸⁶ Soon after Paris had been seized in June 1940, the Nazi occupation authorities began searching the Library buildings and plundering the coin collections; later, the entire library collection was taken to Berlin, and finally transported to an unidentified destination.⁸⁷ In August 1941, the Germans revealed that they were planning to alter the building to serve as a German school, and the alterations themselves started in spring 1942. In June of that year, the devastated (and as yet unheated) edifice was abandoned. It was only following the liberation of Paris, after possession of the building had been regained, that the installations of water supply and sewage, central heating and electricity could be restored, largely thanks to the assistance the Library received from French scientific

85 H. Łaskarzewska, *Wojenne losy części zbiorów paryskiej Biblioteki Polskiej* [War Vicissitudes of a Part of the Collection of the Polish Library in Paris], in: *Towarzystwo Historyczno-Literackie* [Historical and Literary Society], pp. 99–172.

86 Mężyński, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, p. 20.

87 Pułaski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*, pp. 136–137.

circles.⁸⁸ Renovation works, however, were modest, owing to the shortage of resources, and the actual work boiled down to restoring functionality to the devastated rooms, which had been stripped of furnishing. Items were welcomed back slowly, and the collection recovered gradually, enriched by new, post-war donations.

It is true that over the next decades the Library Board managed to secure the institution's independence from the Polish Communist regime, safeguarding the continuity of its operations, acquiring new precious collection pieces, and conducting cultural and academic activity, which was important not only for the Polish migrants; however, all of this work was happening amidst drastic financial shortages, which did not allow curators and managers to properly care for the building itself. Thanks to the support provided by the Barbara Piasecka-Johnson Foundation, the façade was eventually renovated, while a grant from the city of Paris permitted the renovation of the staircase. Still, by the end of the 20th century, the Library building was in a deplorable state: in one of the rooms the ceiling had collapsed, while in the majority of the rooms accessible to the public, no basic fire protection requirements were met.⁸⁹

It was only thanks to the efforts of the Zygmunt Zaleski Foundation in Amsterdam that a complex modernization of the building was possible, and this effort was finally conducted from 2000–2004. Apart from strictly refurbishing works – replacing of some ceilings, installing electricity, windows, and doors – many essential alterations were introduced into the internal building's structure: the lift planned by Lalewicz was added in the southern part of the right outbuilding; the reading room on the ground floor (former Gadon Room) was altered to create a modern auditorium; and the former lecture room on the first floor was transformed to serve reception and display functions. The mezzanine on the ground floor of the

88 *L'oeuvre internationale de secours a la bibliotheque polonaise de paris devastee par les allemands en 1940*, fasc. 1, Paris 1945, fasc 2, Paris 1946.

89 K. Zaleski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu* [Polish Library in Paris], Paris undated, <http://www.przyjacielebpp.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/articleCPZtraductionpolonaise.pdf> (Accessed: 24 April 2021).



FIG. 30. Adam Mickiewicz Museum on the 1st floor of the left outbuilding,
Photo by M. Omilanowska, 2019

right outbuilding was removed, and the glass roof over the curator's study was replaced with metal roofing. The Library storage space was equipped with compact bookcases, thus freeing many additional rooms, which were subsequently transformed into studios or established for the purposes of the Mickiewicz Museum, which was transferred to the first floor of the left outbuilding (fig. 30). The former "delegate room" on the first floor in the western corner of the main structure was turned into the Chopin Salon.⁹⁰ Sufficient room was also found to display the art collection, e.g., by creating the Bolesław Biegas Museum, now located on the upper storey of the right outbuilding.⁹¹

90 A. Niewęglowski, *Salon Chopina* [Chopin Salon], *Cenne, Bezcenne, Utracone*, 2011, No. 2(67), pp. 14–15.

91 A. Czarnocka, *Kolekcje artystyczne Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu* [Artistic Collections of the Polish Library in Paris], in: *Towarzystwo Historyczno-Literackie, Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu: zarys historii i prezentacja zbiorów* [The Historical and Literary Society and the Polish Library in Paris: History Outline and Collection Presentation], Eds. W. Kordaczuk, E. Kosieradzka, E. Rutkowska, Paryż-Warszawa 2014, pp. 174–177; P. Ignaczak, *Muzea w Bibliotece Polskiej w Paryżu* [Museums in the Polish Library in Paris], *Muzealnictwo* 2016, No. 57, pp. 226–233; J. Okarma, *Towarzystwo Historyczno-Literackie i Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu: doświadczenie wymiany międzybibliotecznej w roku 2008/2009* [The Historical and Literary Society and the Polish Library in

The remodelling design was the work of the Paris CR Architecture designers Claude Costantini and Michel Regembal,⁹² a firm very successful from 1987 to 2011, whose greatest, widely recognized achievement was the design of the Stade de France in Saint Denis near Paris. The cost of the whole project exceeded EUR 3,850,000, of which half was provided by the Amsterdam Zygmunt Zaleski Foundation, with the remaining sums supplied by a grant from the Senate, by the Polish community (roughly 30 % of the total sum), by grants from the French authorities, and by private donations.⁹³

Although the last renovation seriously intervened into the structure of the Library building, the most important interiors were saved, most significantly the decoration of the former lecture room authored by Rateau. Also, the visual identification introduced by Lalewicz was preserved, although today (after subsequent changes in the rooms' functionality), the appearance of the room may be slightly misleading to visitors.

The history of the building of the Polish Library is in a way a synecdoche of the history of this institution, operating along the line where enormous commitment, passion, and willingness to act on behalf of subsequent generations of migrants on the one hand, clashed with the limited financial capacity of political exiles on the other. The multitude of efforts which were needed to perform even the slightest renovation and modernization, a continuous curbing of ambitious plans, searching for the cheapest, yet at the same time most functional solutions, and finally renouncing any

Paris: Experience in Terms of the Interlibrary Exchange in 2008/2009], *Studia Polonijne*, 2019, No. 40, pp. 310–353, here pp. 328–329.

92 BPP, Archive, Design of the electrical installation in the building of the Polish Library, the architects: 'CR Architecture. C. Costantini et M. Regembal', 17 October 2001.

93 f. Zaleski, *Les travaux de modernisation et de restauration de la BPP*, http://www.bibliotheque-polonaise-paris-shlp.fr/index.php?id_page=217 (Accessed: 5 May 2021); Kazimierz Piotr Lubicz-Zaleski, *Towarzystwo Historyczno-Literackie i Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu* [The Historical and Literary Society and the Polish Library in Paris], in: *Towarzystwo Historyczno-Literackie* [The Historical and Literary Society], pp. 5–14, here p. 12.

luxury while simultaneously attending with appropriate dignity and relevancy to the forms, characterized *all* the efforts undertaken in relation the building. The management of the Polish Library have continued to defend the institution's political independence from the state authorities, often at the price of incessant financial shortages, requiring the institution to depend for its functioning and situation of its edifice on the generosity of donors. May they abound in the future.

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EXAMINING JANUSZ KORCZAK'S FAMILY HISTORY. JAKUB GOLDSZMIT – FROM POLAND TO THE UNITED STATES

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ABSTRACT

Genealogical surveys of the Henryk Goldszmit family, known around the world as Janusz Korczak, has produced significant results in recent years. Technological breakthroughs and the mass digitalization of archival records have spurred a paradigm expansion regarding the availability of information regarding the Old Doctor's ancestors. It has become apparent that numerous documents pertaining to the members of this family have survived. One of the most outstanding examples to date is Jakub Goldszmit (1848-1912), the younger brother of Józef, Korczak's father. The purpose of this article is to provide a retrospective on this remarkably active publicist and activist for Polish-Jewish integration in the second half of the 19th century as well as an inquiry challenge for the broader community of historical research. The co-editor of a recently published anthology of texts by Józef and Jakub Goldszmit, entitled *O prawo do szacunku* [For the Right of Respect], presents the literary legacy of Jakub Goldszmit and its impact on Polish-Jewish relationship studies and provides a deeper understanding of the standpoint Janusz Korczak had of himself the beneficiary of ideologies that were rooted within the

Goldszmit family. The author reconstructs the fate of this famous figure after the year 1894 when Jakub Goldszmit, as a political emigrant, found himself in the United States of America (USA). Documents uncovered via the database available through Ancestry.com aid in the recreation of certain basic facts in terms of his activity across the ocean. Bibliographic sources indicate that in New York and Boston, Jakub Goldszmit participated in the cultural life of the Polish diaspora in America. The author of this article seeks the opportunity to locate concrete traces of his activities, such as the thorough exploration of libraries in addition to archives associated with specific Polish journals with which Jakub collaborated and oversaw at the turn of the 20th century.

KEYWORDS: Janusz Korczak, Henryk Goldszmit, Jakub Goldszmit, Haskalah, Polish-Jewish-American relations, emigration to the USA

Janusz Korczak is a well-known figure in Poland as well as throughout the world for both his literary work and philanthropic work. His given and recorded name is Henryk Goldszmit, making him a descendent of a Polonized Jewish family. Korczak's most historically renowned act is as a guardian of orphans as well as his decision to remain alongside his wards during the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto, which ultimately resulted in his own death. As a result, he died on August 1, 1942, in a German extermination camp in Treblinka¹. His literary work, along with his other advocacy undertakings regarding the rights of children as paramount to their existence, remains a universal inspiration to scholars from various disciplines to this day.

However, there has been a struggle to ascertain and acquire expanded information about Janusz Korczak's ancestors in published biographical books². For years it was believed that the fam-

1 See A. Witkowska, *Mniej strachu. Ostatnie chwile z Januszem Korczakiem*, Warszawa 2019.

2 See H. Mortkowicz-Olczakowa, *Janusz Korczak*, Warszawa 1949. Further editions 2-5 in 1957-1978; I. Newerly, *Żywe wiązanie*, Warszawa 1966, editions 2-3 1967, 1971;

ily's life and death records had been destroyed in the Second World War³. Due to the extensive digitalization of archival records, as well as various international projects to index the collections, it is possible to conduct a more complete revision of Henryk Goldszmit's family tree. The data obtained, following searches in Polona and the Jewish Record Indexing - Poland database, in addition to Ancestry.com, among others, significantly expands the scope of knowledge regarding the ancestors of the Old Doctor, the beloved Korczak. The results of this broad-reaching search have recently been made available in the form of an online collection located on Nowa Panorama Literatury Polskiej's website. The collected data on individual members of this family provides a new look at Korczak himself and allows for an in depth understanding of the accomplishments this outstanding reformer and children's advocate made within the greater context of previous generation aspiration.

By the author's own admission, the title of this article serves as a slight exaggeration. Korczak did not have many ancestors in the US. Additionally, he had never been in the country himself. From recent research on Henryk Goldszmit's genealogy, it appears that Aleksander Hieronim Gołębiewski, the grandson of his aunt "Magdzia" (Mindla Rajnerowa, née Goldszmit), lived in Chicago after the First World War, where two of his daughters were born, one in 1919 and the other 1920⁴. However, a few years later, the Gołębiewski family returned to Lublin. It is a matter of record that only one member of the Korczak family permanently relocated to the United States. Only one, but in the author's opinion, is important for consideration regarding the achievements of Janusz Korczak. The research on Janusz Korczak's ancestors;

M. Jaworski, *Janusz Korczak*, Warszawa 1973, ed. 2-3 1977, 1978; A. Szlązakowa, *Janusz Korczak*, Warszawa 1978; S. Wołoszyn, *Korczak*, Warszawa 1978, ed. 2 1982; K. Dębicki, *Korczak z bliska*, Warszawa 1985; B.J. Lifton, *The king of children*, New York 1988.

3 See H. Mortkowicz-Olczakowa, op. cit., s. 23.

4 See <http://nplp.pl/artykul/zofia-golebiewska/> and <http://nplp.pl/artykul/jadwiga-golebiewska/>.

therefore, has focused on his uncle - Jakub Goldszmit. Goldszmit's activity, first in Poland and then in the US, provides the elements and primary historical background depicting the future accomplishments of his famous nephew. An exploration of this close relative captures the atmosphere in which the future writer and teacher grew, showing these subtle, unspecified moments that shape a human from their earliest years. Korczak referred to them as a unique "educational area," "the soul of the family that prevails."⁵ Jakub Goldszmit is depicted as extremely colourful and an active presence, which provides additional context for Janusz Korczak's achievements. Archival research, in addition to journal searches of Jakub Goldszmit, yielded a bounty of information and allowed for the recreation of his life in greater detail. However, during the last stage of his life, which he spent in the US, remains a mystery. Unearthing the journals detailing his work and life in New York City, among others, would provide an expanded view, potentially completing this picture. Current biographical research, along with contextual extrapolation, provides the following details.

Jakub Goldszmit was born the sixth child of Dr. Hirsz and his wife Chana Goldszmit, on May 14, 1848, in Hrubieszów. He attended Polish primary school and continued his education at the Lublin Middle School. Two photographs were discovered; the first, from 1866, is a school photograph. His school colleagues included, among others, Aleksander Głowacki (known as Bolesław Prus) - one of the eminent Polish writers (whom Korczak loved and revered); Aleksander Świętochowski - writer and editor, called "the father of Polish positivism"; and Julian Ochorowicz - Polish psychologist, philosopher, inventor, poet, and publicist who was a very dear friend to Jakub.

The tradition of Jewish enlightenment (referred to as *Haskalah*) is vividly present in the Goldszmit family home. Hersz Goldszmit

5 J. Korczak, *How to love a child*, in idem: *Selected works*, ed. by M. Wolins, transl. J. Bachrach, Warszawa 1967, p. 139.



FIG. 1. 7th grade of the Lublin Middle School, 1866. To the left of Jakub: Aleksander Świętochowski and Julian Ochrowicz

instilled early in his sons, Józef and Jakub, a sense of responsibility for their religious community. As pupils of the Lublin Middle School, Józef and Jakub had already joined the reform movement, assuming a rapprochement with the Polish nation combined with the internal modernization of the Jewish community's life. The brothers made their debut in the pages of "Jutrzenka," the most important integration journal in Warsaw. Subsequently, for years, both co-operated the successor of the weekly, "Izraelita." They treated writing as a civic act, like other areas of Jewish education. At the time, Jakub, together with his father, belonged to the *Kasa wsparcia podupadłych lekarzy, wdów i sierot biednych po lekarzach pozostałych* [Association for the support fund for the dilapidated doctors, widows, and orphans of the poor after the remaining doctors]. In 1868-1869 he continued to live in Warsaw, taking courses for law candidates and working as a journalist and reviewer publishing in "Kurier Lubelski" and "Izraelita."

In 1870 Jakub began studying at the Imperial Law Department at the University of St. Petersburg. During this time, he married

Gitla Warman, who on January 6, 1873, gave birth to his only child, daughter Anna Henryka⁶. Upon graduation, he returned to Lublin and in 1875, became involved in the creation of an evening school for adults in Lublin. For one semester, he lectured on social sciences and the lives of famous people. Afterward, he was employed as a court attorney at the Congress of Judges of Peace in Lublin, but his daughter soon became ill. Nevertheless, he also continued his journalistic activity, collaborating with “Kurier Lubelski” and their successor - “Gazeta Lubelska” (1876-1878) as well as with “Izraelita” (with breaks until 1881). In 1877, he served as a regular correspondent for the Warsaw “Echo.” Legal articles were published in “Gazeta Sądowa Warszawskiej” (1878-1879).

In 1880, Jakub moved to Warsaw and connected with Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, one of the most important writers of the period. As is recorded, Korczak took his pen name from Kraszewski's book *Ballad About Janasz Korczak*. Another one of Jakub's important correspondents was Eliza Orzeszkowa, an outstanding Polish writer and supporter of Polish-Jewish integration. In June 1881, Jakub wrote to her, “As a result of certain family circumstances, I dropped the Temple of Themis and came to Warsaw where I was devoted solely to journalistic work.”⁷ He ultimately decided to publish calendars, because as he expressed, they had “superiority over periodical writings, that they perpetuate the message and memory of the reader more in their minds.”⁸ Thus, he created the “Calendar for the Israelites” [“Kalendarz dla Izraelitów”]. Following that, he was editor of the “Household Calendar” [“Kalendarz Domowo-Gospodarski”] (1882-1885) and the “Varsovian Family Calendar” [“Warszawianin. Kalendarz familijny”] (1882-1885), then “Noworocznik Warszawski” (1883) and “Farmer” [“Rolnik”] (1885). Apart from articles, Jakub also published translations, primarily from

6 See <http://nplp.pl/artikul/anna-henryka-goldszmit/> [accessed 01.12.2021].

7 *Listy Jakuba Goldszmita do Elizy Orzeszkowej*, Part 1, ed. B. Wojnowska, “Pamiętnik Literacki” 2015 no. 3, p. 226.

8 “Kujawianin. Kalendarz na Rok 1883”, p. 40. See in: . Goldszmit, J. Goldszmit, *O prawo do szacunku*, ed. by B. Wojnowska, M. Sęczek, Warszawa 2017, p. 224.

German, although he was also proficient in Hebrew, Russian, French, and English.

In 1883, Jakub's daughter succumbed to her illness, and he also became seriously ill, retreating for respite. In letters to Orzeszkowa and Kraszewski, he wrote that he lost "three closest people"⁹ ("beloved child," "best wife," and "dearest sister"¹⁰) at that time. This could not be confirmed in the available documents (both his wife and sister died much later). The supposition regarding these "three closest people" could have expressed the deep love he had for his daughter. At the beginning of 1884, he returned post-restorative convalescence and became involved in the creation of the *Stowarzyszenie Pielęgowania Chorych po Domach Prywatnych w Warszawie* or *Towarzystwo Opieki nad Chorymi w Warszawie* [Association for Nursing after the Private Houses in Warsaw otherwise known as the Society for the Care of the Sick in Warsaw].

Confirmation regarding other aspects of Jakub's life in Poland has not been readily available. It is affirmed that during these almost 20 years from 1866 to 1885 he wrote approximately 200 shorter articles, sketches, columns, biographies, reviews, as well as poems and attempts at prose. Previously, the Institute of Literary Research Polish Academy of Sciences issued an edition containing a selection of the writings of by Jakub and his brother Józef Goldszmit, entitled *O prawo do szacunku* [For the Right of Respect]¹¹. The articles, fragments of brochures, and other literary samples written by Korczak's father and uncle is a unique collection of the family's tradition. Józef's texts come almost exclusively from the 1860s because, after university, Korczak's father abandoned the pen and worked as an attorney.

However, Jakub continued to write. The material collected in the anthology has been grouped into thematic sections: *Little Home-*

9 "Listy Jakuba Goldszmita do Józefa Ignacego", ed. B. Wojnowska, *Pamiętnik Literacki* 2013 no 4, p. 194.

10 Ibidem.

11 J. Goldszmit, J. Goldszmit, *O prawo do szacunku*, eds. B. Wojnowska, M. Sęczek, Warszawa 2017.

land [Mała ojczyzna] shows Jakub's participation in the cultural life of the Lublin province; *Education, Charity, Mutual Aid* [Oświata, dobroczynność, pomoc wzajemna] reveals interest of both authors in Jewish education and socio-philanthropic activities; *Jewish Affairs* [Sprawy żydowskie] brings to light the issues of Polish-Jewish relations as well as matters of religion and Jewish culture; *Biographies* [Życiorysy] raises discusses the good name of Jews; *Literary Trials* [Próby literackie] gathers texts from various theses written by the brothers in a lighter form; *Calendars* [Kalendarze], which is also dedicated to Jewish matters.

There are also fragments of a booklet entitled *Z życia żydowskiego* [Of the Jewish Life]. The income from its sale was earmarked for the foundation in Warsaw of the so-called "ochronka" for Jewish boys. It was a charitable institution, established for the care for and upbringing of poor, young children, deprived of parental care. "Always and everywhere a pedagogical issue, I put on the foreground because I consider it the most important one"¹² - Jakub wrote in another article about homestay for poorer Israeli pupils. Indeed, advocacy of education was very consuming for him. Beyond this, he wrote biographies of meritorious individuals as an example of nobility and civic engagement and patterns of societal norms. Many years later, Korczak also considered these factors important in a child's upbringing. He attributed this to the characters of the biography having a greater impact than the protagonists of the novel¹³.

Jakub contemplated respect for diversity, otherness, the struggle for education for the lower social classes, approaches to increasing morality, the problem of prostitution, and poverty. All these matters, as is evident in his life's work, were very close to Korczak's own experience. During the collection of materials for the book,

12 "Izraelita" 1967 no 1. See in: J. Goldszmit, J. Goldszmit, op. cit., p. 170.

13 In the article *Życiorysy* (1902) Korczak wrote: "The biography will not give birth to genius, but will teach it to worship, it will learn to empathize with the thought of an independent, and yet closely related people, with their fortune and misery." J. Korczak, "Życiorysy", *Przegląd Pedagogiczny* 1902 no. 9, p. 97.

as well as upon reading subsequent texts written by Jakub Goldszmit, there remains an irresistible impression that Korczak is simply and eloquently continuing the family tradition. He is not an anomaly but is fulfilling both self-imposed goals and those established by his family; Korczak's ideology of transformation in the world lived in and by his ancestors. Paraphrasing his words – his ancestors collected the nectar in quietness and in shadow before they come out into the light with the flower of the family¹⁴.

Korczak wrote in *Memoirs* in 1942:

"I ought to say a good deal about my father: I pursue in life that which he strove for and for which my grandfather tortured himself for many years.

And my mother. [...]"¹⁵

His uncle should be added to this list as multiple generations of his family had an immense influence on Korczak's choices. Prior to the birth of the great educators Henryk Goldszmit and Janusz Korczak, his uncle Jakub was already established in education for excellence, diversity, and respect. Together with his brother, Józef (Korczak's father), they introduced important precursors to ideas later implemented by the Old Doctor.

One must emphasize clearly that Korczak never mentioned this uncle directly or by name. It is, however, clear that during the time when Jakub lived in Warsaw, he maintained relations with Korczak's parents, and with the Gębicki family (the parents of Cecylia, Korczak's mother)¹⁶. This family was drawn together by a shared lineage, history, expectation, and calling, which surely resulted in meeting together as well as further communication. Even though Jakub emigrated from Poland when Henryk was nine, there were

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- 14 See J. Korczak, *Słowo wstępne* [do rozprawy Jędrzeja Śniadeckiego] *O fizycznym wychowaniu dzieci*, Warszawa 1920. Idem: *Dzieła*, vol. 13, Warszawa 2016, p. 13.
 - 15 J. Korczak, "Memoirs", in idem: *Selected works...*, p. 497 http://www.januszkorczak.ca/legacy/9_Memoirs.pdf.
 - 16 After the death of Adolf Gębicki, Korczak's grandfather, Jakub wrote very warm memoir about him. See J. Goldszmit, *Z Lublina do Ciechocinka. Kartki z podróży*, "Gazeta Lubelska" 1877 no 100; reprint in J. Goldszmit, J. Goldszmit, op. cit., p. 115-118.

those intervening years with family interactions and the impact Jakub must have had on the members who remained in Poland.

Reaching the final stages of Jakub's life, one enters a more unexplained, quite unexplored, and rather mysterious period. Various information about Jakub's further fate comes from his letters to Eliza Orzeszkowa. From them, it is learned that in 1887 he was arrested by the Tsarist authorities for "disloyalty," then as a political emigrant he lived in Budapest (most likely sojourning with his mother's family, named Rotman).

"[I stand] before you in my present role: that is, as a political emigrant, as a wanderer, deprived of all his possessions at once; thrown suddenly, with the force of random accidents into the "far distance"; into a country with a similar history to ours and once identical aspirations, although today, alien to us both in speech and in national notions."¹⁷

From there, he voyaged on to the United States of America, where he continued his journalistic activity. In 1891, he published biographies of distinguished Poles in the English-language press. In 1894, there are reports of him living in Philadelphia. A letter from May, signed by Dr. Goldszmit, indicates his private address was 428 Fifth St., Philadelphia, PA, USA. The stationary used for this letter shows that he worked at the American Sick Benefit and Accident Association.

What is perhaps the most interesting, according to bibliographic sources¹⁸, is his position as the editor of Polish literary magazines published in New York such as in 1892 the weekly "Orzeł Biały" (White Eagle) and the periodical "Biały Husarz" (White Hussar) then during the years 1894-1905 the "Przegląd Międzynarodowy" (International Review), a monthly. Research regarding these publications both in Poland and from Poland to the US, unfortunately, has not yet netted a positive result. It is believed that there are no

17 *Listy Jakuba Goldszmita do Elizy Orzeszkowej*, Part 2, ed. by B. Wojnowska, "Pamiętnik Literacki" 2016 no. 3, p. 196.

18 See for example J. Wępsiec, *Polish American Serial Publication 1842-1966. An Annotated bibliography*, Chicago, Illinois 1968.

remaining editions or exemplars. With further inroads and on location in the US, it may be possible to trace and obtain at least one.

Following the trail, in February 1909, a letter from Boston was signed (by seal/rubber stamp): Prof. Jakób C. Goldszmit Doktor Filozofji i Medycyny [Prof. Jakób C. Goldszmit Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine]. This time, he wrote on paper with the watermark: The International Hebrew Publishing Co. To date, many questions remain about this connection regarding it and the Federation of Polish Jews in America founded in 1908. He wrote here that he had recently established the first Polish library in Boston. His request to Orzeszkowa was to obtain books for inclusion in the library. The history of this initiative has not yet been explored.

Utilizing the database at Ancestry.com, a few documents were found, from which the following pieces of data were gathered:



FIG. 2. Jakub Goldszmit, ca. 1909

on January 31, 1910, Jakub married 37-year-old Eugenia Bodzyńska. Jakub appears in the book of marriages as a widower, even though his first wife, Gitla Warman, was still alive (she died in Otwock, Poland in 1925). Therefore, it is concluded that he was a bigamist. Jakub and his second wife lived in Boston at 353 Broadway. In the text field for occupation, it reads that Jakub was a professor, and Eugenia a stay at home mother.

The information was confirmed in the Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910 - Population. Here Jakub is listed as a journalist and that they rented their home. Although, it appears as if his age was reduced by 5 years. Two years later, on July 11, 1912, Jakob C. Goldsmith died of cancer. According to the death certificate, he was buried in the Mt. Hope cemetery in Boston. It should be noted, in the statistical details of the documentation, it was entered that he was single at the time of his death.

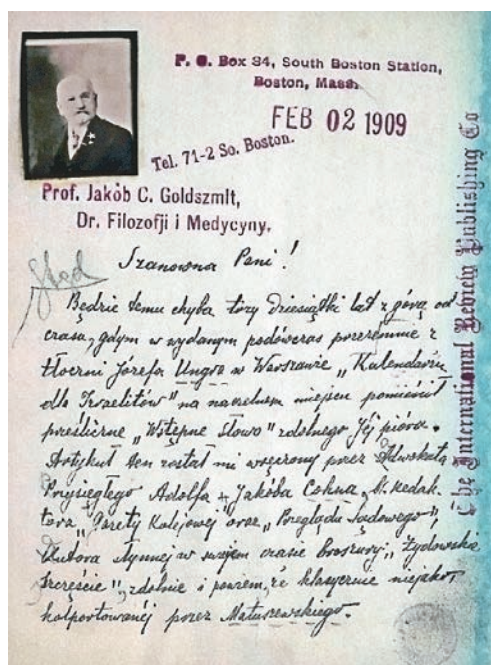


FIG. 3. Fragment of a letter from Jakub Goldszmit to Eliza Orzeszkowa

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS		CITY OF BOSTON	
RETURN OF DEATH—1912.			
FULL NAME Joseph S. Goldsmith		Registered No. 6840	
Place of Death and Burial Boston		Age 56 1/2 Years	
Date of Death July 11	Time 11:15 A.M.	Month 12	Day 30

EDUCATIONAL, MARITAL, AND OTHER DATA		PROFESSIONAL CERTIFICATION	
SEX M	COLOR W	I HEREBY CERTIFY that I submitted deceased last Name, on 1912 , at Boston , the last of my knowledge and belief that deceased was the date stated, and therefore MY CERTIFICATE OF DEATH was as follows:	
Maiden Name Goldsmith Father's Name Joseph Goldsmith Education High School Name of School High School Occupation Bookkeeper Name of Employer Washburn & Sons Occupation Bookkeeper Date of Discharge June 1st Occupation Journalist Information		Cause of Death Cancer (Epithelial Tumor) Duration of Illness 1 yr. Date of Death July 11 Date of Burial July 14 Place of Burial Boston Final Disposition Interment	

FIG. 4. Jakub Goldszmit's death certificate

The American phase of Jakub Goldszmit's biography still has many unknown fragments. One must agree that the questions remain such as: Where did he work as a professor? Was he a professor? Why had he called himself a doctor? About what did he write as a journalist? Where were his writings published? All these are essential questions to explore. What is known is the articles in "Echo," a weekly from Buffalo, New York referred to as "a progressive newspaper supporting the Republic Party." However, he also published in "Ognisko," a periodical from the Hearth Association, described by biographical sources as an "ultra-radical and socialist" publication. However, one must then inquire: What about the first Polish library in Boston? And what is known about the International Hebrew Publishing company? Also, what the "White Eagle" and "White Husar" were should be determined. It cannot be that 10 years of the publication "International Review" has simply disappeared. The decoration of the jacket flap (visible in the only known photograph from this time), leaves questions about his associations upon leaving Poland. It cannot be determined at this time, whether he stayed within his Jewish roots, Polish roots, or moved beyond into society outside of his origins.

At present, the quest to complete the biographies of the known ancestors of Janusz Korczak continues. For this expansive work to

be undertaken, it would require further efforts from the Institute of Literary Research Polish Academy of Sciences in conjunction with international cooperation among academics in sociology, history, journalism, and research areas as well as in private archives - as publications were ostensibly made available to the general public. Delving further into Janusz Korczak's extended family would provide a depth and breadth of knowledge of the influence which was wielded during their lives as well as the influence that their labour produced. One can only look at the fruit of Korczak's lifelong efforts and acknowledge the enduring and profound influence they possess. It would be beneficial to ascertain whether there are other areas in which this Polish-Jewish family influenced the Old Doctor. Jakub Goldszmit provides the most appealing and enticing member with whom to explore that contention.

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PRESS PHOTOGRAPHY AS A SOURCE OF NARRATION ON JEWISH SPACES IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD IN POLAND

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to provide an introductory description of *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany*, the weekly supplement to *Nasz Przegląd*, an all-Poland pro-Zionist daily, published in the years 1924–1939. It was the only long-standing photographic supplement that remained in the market for so long in the interwar period. In the 1930s Warsaw, an abundance of photographers existed but not many specialized in press photography. The two most notable figures in the Polish–Jewish diaspora were Leon Forbert, a famous film producer, and Henryk Bojm, an outstanding screenwriter. Both contributed significantly to the development of Polish and Jewish cinematography. Both were enamoured by photography. Their atelier at Warsaw’s 11, Wierzbowa, was frequented by the Jewish and Polish world’s literary, artistic, and political élite. In *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany*, they printed various types of photography: portraits, photos from Jewish theatres, street photography, as well as numerous reproductions of the works of Jewish painters and printmakers. Today, their photographs are one of the few sources of knowledge on Jewish life in interwar Poland.

KEYWORDS: Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany, Leon Forbert, Henryk (Jechiel) Bojm, Polish-Jewish interwar press, Jewish photography, Jewish press photography, Jewish photographers in the interwar period.

In the last twenty-five years, photography has been recognized as an important documentation tool of its times, both within the individual and the social perspectives. Through this recognition, case studies have become one of the most popular research methods. Moreover, photography also enables connecting the humanities with sociology as, through visualising the existing reality, it talks about society, its behaviour, and its transformation.

In this article, I approach photography as a cultural testimony, which, next to literary sources, provides invaluable knowledge on Jewish matters in the territory of the Second Polish Republic in the years 1918–1939. Photography is a new form of building narration based on what has been purposefully recorded as a response to the social needs of today. Photography may be viewed from many perspectives. Placing the photographs within a specific cultural order seems worthwhile, since the sequence will provide an opportunity for a new reading.

When discussing press photography, one should start with its definition. Even though today's state of research is quite impressive,¹ Since the subject of our study is interbellum photography, we need to refer to the definition of press photography from the period in question. Marian Fuks might have raised the problem

1 See J. Mikosz, "Ogniskowanie uwagi czytelników poprzez fotografię prasową – jej gatunki informacyjne i publicystyczne" in: *Szkice Medioznawcze, Media – Kultura – Komunikacja Społeczna*, 2017, no. 13, pp. 11–31; R. Mariański, "Fotografia w polskim systemie prasowym", *Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne*, 2003, no. 2, pp. 145–164; J. Szyłko-Kwas, "Fotografia jako wypowiedź dziennikarska – odmiany gatunkowe", *Studia Medioznawcze*, 2019, no. 1, pp. 83–98; K. Wolny-Zmorzyński, *Jaka informacja? Rzecz o percepcji fotografii dziennikarskiej*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2010; ibidem, "Jak oceniać i wartościować fotografię dziennikarską", *Naukowy Przegląd Dziennikarski*, 2016, no. 2, pp. 326–33; ibidem, *Fotograficzne gatunki dziennikarskie*, WAiP, Warszawa 2017.

for the first time² in his short book *Zaranie fotografii dziennikarskiej w Polsce* [‘The dawn of press photography in Poland’]. Fuks published it in 1925 in Warsaw to introduce some order into the chaos that accompanied the still-new phenomenon:

press photography is a self-sufficient art, demanding, apart from the ability to take photos, first of all: a knack for journalism, a sensitivity to current events, the skill to instantly seize that which in a second will disappear forever, a quick reflex, spot-on decision making skills, sharpness, the knowledge of holiday customs and festivities, knowing people, relationships, habits and mores, traditions, people who play now – or might do so in the future – important social roles, perfect memory, agreeability, the ability to obtain interesting background information on the photos taken; and apart from this – calm, sensibility, confidence at work; an indispensable skill is the ability to compose the image nicely, shoot it against a beautiful background so that the photo lends itself well to technical reproduction in a journal.³

Almost a hundred years have passed since the publication of these words, but they are still relevant. Today one could add that photography should primarily shock the viewer, be loud, and stand out from the multitude of images published every day in the virtual world. Two things strike me the most in Fuks’ text. First, that a press photograph is an independent work, and therefore, on its own, it constitutes a piece of information about events, not needing verbal commentary. Moreover, it has value, like a painting, a sculpture or a poem; it demands technical knowledge and some artistic

- 2 Marian Fuks (1884–1935) – photographer, photojournalist and filmmaker. Fuks became the founding member and, for many years, the chairman of *Stowarzyszenie Pracowników Fotografii* [Association of Photography Professionals] in Warsaw. See *Marian Fuks – pierwszy fotoreporter II RP*, photos chosen and captioned by K. Wójcik, Dom Spotkań z Historią, Warszawa 2017. A collection of his photography at POLONA https://polona.pl/search/?query=Marian_Fuks&filters=public:1&sort=creator%20asc [19.03.2021]
- 3 *Zaranie fotografii dziennikarskiej w Polsce*, Warszawa 1925, pp. 5–6. The booklet was published on the fifteenth anniversary of the first Polish photographic agency “Propaganda,” founded by Marian Fuks. The article is not signed by Fuks, and the account of his work is written in the third person. Yet, it is more than certain that he is the author because he not only shares his thoughts on the photojournalist’s work but also describes the circumstances in which particular photos were taken.

talent. These words helped elevate the status of press photography, which is of special importance at the time when it was a shared conviction that photography was ancillary to art. Allegedly press photography did not require artistic talent, only technical savvy.

Secondly, Fuks pointed out photography's cultural role: it is a medium for memory. Its task is to record fleeting events. It needs to contain the probability of reflecting something real instead of a posed image imitating everyday life. In the light of the photographs considered in the present study, it is a critical postulate.

PRESS PHOTOGRAPHY - A DOCUMENT OF ITS TIMES EXCLUSIVELY?

The history of interwar press photography is brief but dynamic.⁴ Historians specializing in the subject tend to agree that the first Polish photojournalists were Konrad Brandel⁵ and Marian Fuks, who worked mainly in Warsaw. Very soon, Lviv had become another centre drawing amateurs of the new profession. The first periodicals devoted strictly to photography were founded in Lviv: *Kronika Fotograficzna* [1898] and *Wiadomości Fotograficzne* [1905]. In Warsaw, in 1904, the Towarzystwo Fotograficzne Warszawskie [Warsaw Photographic Society] started issuing *Fotograf Warszawski* [Warsaw Photographer], renamed in 1925 to *Fotograf Polski* [Polish Photographer] - one of the important journals for photography professionals. Every year the number of press photographers grew, just as the number of photographers who considered photography not only an occupation providing income but also a means of artistic expression.⁶ The number of photos in newspapers grew. For

4 See also E. Nowak-Mitura, *Początki fotografii w prasie polskiej: „Tygodnik Ilustrowany” 1859–1900*, Liber por arte, Warszawa 2015; M. Krzanicki, *Fotografia i propaganda. Polski fotoreportaż prasowy w dwudziestolecu międzywojennym*, Universitas, Kraków 2013.

5 Konrad Brandel (1838–1920) - photographer, inventor, cooperated with, among others, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* and *Fotograf Warszawski*. This work permits us to see unique photos of Warsaw from the end of the 19th century and the turn of the 19th and 20th century. A collection of his photography at POLONA https://polona.pl/search/?query=Konrad_Brandel&filters=public:1&sort=creator%20asc [19.03.2021]

6 One should quote the names of the precursors of Polish photography such as Karol Beyer, the organizer of the first exhibition of Polish photography as early as 1857 (sic!), Jan Mieczkowski, Jan Elsner or Franciszek Wyspiański, Stanisław

readers in those early days, the photos, (apart from illustrating the event in question), were also a means to visualise a world either physically remote or spatially close, but mentally or physically undiscovered. Good examples of this approach for that period are press photos showing Roma children or praying Jews. These were pictures from the quotidian lives of the citizens of Warsaw, Lublin, Krakow or Lviv, but because of the lack of contact with the residents of Jewish quarters, they introduced Polish readers to areas unknown or neglected before. Consequently, it became clear that photography could be used to familiarize the Polish reader with Jewish life and culture. Jewish periodicals played the dominating role in this endeavour in Polish; it was rare that Polish papers attempted to describe the Poles' Jewish neighbours.

The situation was different in the Jewish community. One of the precursors of Jewish photography was Maksymilian Fajans, a graduate of *Szkoła Sztuk Pięknych* [School of Fine Arts] in Warsaw, the owner of 19th-century Warsaw's most popular lithographic and photographic atelier. Marian Fuks is another individual who must be mentioned. He came from a Jewish family but was a Lutheran of the evangelical-Augsburg denomination.⁷ Yet, his background was an obstacle to joining Christian unions. Therefore, in 1914 he founded *Żydowskie Stowarzyszenie Pracowników Fotografii* [the Jewish Association of Photography Professionals] which, after the end of World War I, was renamed to *Cech Fotografów Żydowskich* [Guild of Jewish Photographers]. Fuks led it until 1932. He founded the first Polish photographic agency and already then was called "the king

Wyspiański's father. In 1916 in Warsaw *Związek Fotografów Zawodowych Królestwa Polskiego* [The kingdom of Poland's association of professional photographers] was founded. In the interwar period numerous photography associations were founded. The discipline became the subject of academic research – particularly at the John Casimir University in Lviv and at the University of Poznań. On the history of Polish photography see: I. Płażewski, *Dzieje polskiej fotografii 1839–1939*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 2003.

7 B. Zubowicz, "Król fotoreporterów II RP", *TVP Tygodnik*, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190610100259/https://tygodnik.tvp.pl/35521048/krol-fotoreporterow-ii-rp> [12.04.2021]

of photojournalists.”⁸ Another dynamic working group was gathered around Warsaw’s *Żydowskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze* [Jewish Sightseeing Society]. Yet the scenic photography inspired Jewish researchers and amateurs – it was used in their famous ethnographic travels that attempted to preserve the dying Jewish culture.⁹ The latter group was quite numerous; some of the photographers opened professional ateliers and offered their services. Only a handful took up art and press photography, but what they left behind deserves all the praise. Among the amateur documentalists, two figures need to be named: Menachem Kipnis,¹⁰ – an opera singer, ethnographer and collector who, for financial reasons, worked for *Forverts–The Jewish Daily Forward* documenting the life of Polish Jews, and Alter Kacyzna – a writer who learned photography and prepared extensive documentation for HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society) for financial reasons. At the time, he also collaborated with *Forverts*. Both photographers gained some fame in the interwar period. Today their photos, like the work of Roman Vishniac, Mojżesz Worobiejczyk, and Henryk Ross, constitute a part of the heritage, a piece of memory captured in images that can never exist again.¹¹

8 See “Jak to jest być Polakiem i Żydem jednocześnie? Wywiad Tomasza Stańczyka z prof. Marianem Fuksem”, *Rzeczpospolita*, 12.05.2008, <https://www.rp.pl/artykul/133307-Jak-to-jest-byc-Polakiem-i-Zydem-jednoczesnie-.html> [12.04.2021]

9 One of the most famous of such voyages was led by Szymon An-ski, the author of the most famous Yiddish drama *Dybuk*, (1912). The trip was ethnographic in nature. Among the written accounts accumulated more than two thousand photographs also existed.

10 See M. Szablowska-Zaremba, “Szkic o artyście-fotografiku Menachemie Kipnisie”, in: *Żydzi Wschodniej Polski, seria VIII Artyści żydowscy*, eds. J. Ławski, J. Wildowicz, Temida 2, Białystok 2020, pp. 299–314. Between 20 January and 20 June 2014, the *Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute* in Warsaw held an exhibition presenting photographs by Menachem Kipnis. The event, curated by Krysia Fisher and Teresa Śmiechowska and entitled *Miasto i oczy*, proved very popular. Earlier, in the summer of 2001, at Biała Synagoga in Sejny, another exhibition was presented: *Menachem Kipnis – fotografie przedwojenne*. Both were possible through the cooperation with Krysia Fisher and Mark Web from YIVO in New York.

11 See L. Dobroszycki, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Image Before My Eyes. A Photographic History of Jewish Life in Poland, 1864–1939*, Schocken Books, New York 1977.

Unlike written texts, photographs' universal message makes these images legible to people outside a particular language circle. This universality, in my opinion, does not cover the ability to fully interpret the cultural import of these photos. Reading images from a recent, yet eradicated, past requires a sound knowledge of the history and the culture, and also of the mentality of the nation or the society in question. Thus, photography connotes two possibilities: it gives a chance to fill in the blanks in the narrative about the past. Still, it can also become an efficient tool for manipulating the message, particularly successful with those who do not possess the knowledge mentioned above.

NASZ PRZEGŁĄD ILUSTROWANY [OUR ILLUSTRATED REVIEW]

The basis of my considerations is *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* – a weekly supplement to the Polish-Jewish daily *Nasz Przegląd* [Our Review].¹² The supplement was published in the years 1924–1939, i.e., a year shorter than the daily itself. The publisher was Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza “UNIA.” The paper was printed in Warsaw, yet printing houses were changed several times during the fifteen years of its existence. The journal's editorial board were Jakub Appenszlak,¹³ Natan Szwalbe,¹⁴

- 12 *Nasz Przegląd* [1923–1939]. See also M. Fuks, “Prasa żydowska w Warszawie 1823–1939”, Warszawa 1979, pp. 259–272; J. K. Rogozik, “Nasz Przegląd”, *Zeszyty Prasoznawcze* 1997, no. 1–2, pp. 123–138; also, “Nasz Przegląd, czyli pomiędzy ‘hajmatyzmem’ a ‘mechesyzmem’”, *Zeszyty Prasoznawcze* 1997, no. 3–4, pp. 124–139; A. Czajka-Landau, “Polacy w oczach *Naszego Przeglądu*”, *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* 2011, no. 4, pp. 491–507; M. Szablowska-Zaremba, “O polsko-żydowskich kontaktach literackich na łamach *Naszego Przeglądu* w latach 1918–1939”, in: *Naruszone granice kulturowe. O kondycji ludzkiej w dwóch przestrzeniach: polskiej i żydowskiej XX wieku*, eds. M. Szablowska-Zaremba, B. Walęciuk-Dejneka, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Lublin 2013, pp. 223–249.
- 13 Jakub Appenszlak (1894–1950) – publicist, translator, literary critic, writer. Associated with numerous Jewish– Polish journals, including *Izraelita*, *Głos Żydowski*, *Nasz Kurier*. Just before the war he left for Geneva, then for the USA. He cooperated with the Polish Government in London. In New York he published *Nasza Trybuna* (Our Tribune) *Pismo Żydów Polskich* [1940–1951] – modelled on *Nasz Przegląd*.
- 14 Natan Szwalbe [1883–1941/43?] – journalist, publicist, zionist activist. He collaborated with, among others, *Nowa Gazeta* and *Głos Żydowski*. Awarded with the Gold Cross of Merit. During World War II he found himself in the Soviet Union, where he died in unclear circumstances.

and Saul Wagman,¹⁵ and the managing editor was Daniel Rozenzweig. The newspaper represented the Zionist idea, even though its subtitle stressed its independence throughout its history. Soon the paper began to be regarded as influencing opinion. Readers all over Europe and in Palestine subscribed to the newspaper. Therefore, after a year, every Sunday the paper added an illustrated, four-page insert with its own title. Today it is a “treasure trove of images,” showing events and people in the first half of the 20th century. This rare source of recorded portraits illustrated how two nations lived next to each other: Poles and Jews. The photos included persons known and unknown, pictures of cultural, social, and political events from the towns and the cities of the Second Polish Republic. These photographs represented a new quality of narration that could not be ignored, saved from oblivion and salvaged from hundreds of other documents. The newness was enhanced because the newspaper was shared on the digital platform POLONA. Thus, providing readers acquired full access, unrestricted by time or space.¹⁶

One needs to state that in comparison with similar supplements, *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* is an exception. In the interwar period, other Polish-Jewish papers played a similar role to that of *Nasz Przegląd*:

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- 15 Saul Wagman (1893-1943/44) – journalist, writer, translator, brother of A. Ważyk and L. Trystan. He collaborated with Polish language newspapers, including *Chwila* and *Nowy Dziennik*, as well as Yiddish ones such as *Blat* and *Unzer Ekspres*. When the war broke out, he fled to the Soviet Union, where he probably committed suicide.
 - 16 The online archive only contains issues from the years 1930-1939, which means significant number of issues are unavailable: there are gaps in the years 1924-1929, the whole of 1926 is missing. They can be found in special resources marked with the letter A (Archival). It would be an excellent initiative to make all the issues of *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* available online, which would facilitate research on the title and the research on the Polish-Jewish space in interwar Poland. Moreover, the scans of the supplements are often in low resolution. It must result from the low quality of the equipment the National Library had at its disposal. I believe, therefore, that the National Library, which plays a vital role in the digitalization of Polish source collections, should receive generous subsidies as it preserves Polish culture and heritage recorded in words and images, often so fragile in the face of the future generations’ memory and their lack thereof. A more comprehensive collection of *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* is available at the Warsaw University Library.

- two dailies – Krakow’s *Nowy Dziennik* and Lviv’s *Chwila* – and the
- weeklies: Lviv’s *Opinia* and its Lviv–Warsaw–Krakow’s continuation – *Nasza Opinia*.

From among them, only *Chwila*, in the years 1930–1935, published a four-page insert *Chwila. Dodatek Ilustrowany*. The relative lack of popularity of such illustrated supplements was due to the high cost of a weekly publication. I think that to a lesser extent, the lack of photographic materials might have been another reason. Therefore, *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* (NPI) remains a unique document of its era. The absence of illustrated supplements does not imply that photographs were not printed in the Polish-Jewish press. On the contrary, supplements would be published systematically, but they functioned as merely supplements to written information in those situations. NPI even provided space for photography to show its artistic power. The supplement’s creators and editors – Appenzlak, Wagman, and Szwalbe – demonstrated considerable experience in journalistic and literary work. Appenzlak in particular, previously cooperated with Polish journals. The editorial team were familiar with Polish periodicals (particularly *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*) that used photography as a means of recording current news. The editors were aware that with photography, they could accomplish more and reach their readership faster. Moreover, *Nasz Przegląd* was issued by the same publisher – Spółdzielnia Alt-Naj – as one of the biggest Yiddish dailies *Hajnt*,¹⁷ which also had such a weekly supplement. Therefore, images supported a constant means of communication between the editors and the readership. The editors believed that photography authenticated the message delivered and more intensely and emotionally moved the audience. Consequently, these periodicals looked for photographers who both demonstrated wide technical knowledge and facilities – preferably had their own darkrooms – and a knack for journalism.

17 *Hajnt* – [Yid. ‘today’] – a socio-political daily, published in the years 1908–1939 in Warsaw, with the circulation of 40,000–50,000 copies.

What distinguishes the first period of NPI's existence is that the vast majority of photographs were not signed with the name, surname, or even the author's initials. Moreover, up until the journal's demise, a significant portion of the photos were reprints from foreign magazines. Those sources of the unsigned reprints were also not indicated. Sadly, this approach was a common practice of all newspapers, irrespective of the country and their language. Eventually, photography was protected by copyright laws in 1908, when the Bern Convention – (International Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works) – was ratified in Berlin. A popular sentiment amongst photographers – as opposed to writers, authors, who managed to win the right for their work to be protected – was that their works belonged to the guild of craftspeople. Therefore, photographers were makers, not artists. Even though formally their work was protected by copyright laws, it took a lot of time and effort for photographers to convince the world that taking a good photograph, just like writing a good novel, required artistic talent, a gift not granted to everyone. In the meantime, photographs showing events e.g., in Paris, London, or Warsaw, were distributed between various periodicals, sometimes with the mediation of agencies that did not care about the work's authorship.

I cannot emphasize that the founding of NPI and keeping it on the market for fifteen years was an exceptional achievement. For this reason, the need for visual material in Jewish newspapers in Polish could be, on the one hand, viewed as following the trend of the era. On the other, the material was a manifestation of the need to show Poles that sometimes Jewish diaspora converged with the spaces they inhabited, and sometimes it is the very same space. Photographs published in Jewish newspapers were an invitation for the audience to become acquainted with a world full of life, movement, and dynamic developments. Those photos were part of global trends, thus, also preserving Polish and Jewish national and cultural identity.

“FOTO BOJM-FORBERT”

The Warsaw photographers who lent NPI prestige were Henryk [Jechiel] Bojm and Leon Forbert. Their signed photos printed in the supplement identified their names, and the names of their co-partnership “Foto Bojm-Forbert.” They probably joined forces in 1930, creating a special atelier or, more precisely, transforming the atelier that belonged to Bojm and was situated in Warsaw at 11, Wierzbowa. We know that earlier Bojm owned a photography atelier at 29a, Królewska, apartment 31.¹⁸ Briefly tracing the lives of these (un)known photographers is valuable.



FIG. 1. Leon Forbert, *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* 1938, no. 30

Leon¹⁹ Forbert’s actual name was Lajzer Forbert. He was born in Włocławek on 6 February 1880,²⁰ the son of Jehuda Lejb (born

18 An advertisement in Polish in the Yiddish newspaper *Unzer Express*, 3 April and 9 May 1930.

19 Records throughout Forbert’s life show three versions of his Polish name: Leo, Leon, and Leopold.

20 An article published in memory of Leon Forbert’, in *Wiadomości Filmowe* (1938, no. 15, p. 2), quoted 6 February 1880 as his birth date. Yet from the surviving records of the State Archive in Płock, the collection for the city of Płock, signature 28108,

13 April 1852 in Płock, later changing his name to Julian) and his first wife Liba Rojza, née Majerkiewicz (born in 1857 in Włocławek).²¹ His family first lived in Włocławek, but in 1879 relocated to Płock, surely seeing more possibilities for cultural development. to the relocation may also have been executed because of the need for more significant financial support, because in Płock they moved in with Jehuda Lejb's parents to a tenement house at 1, Szeroka. Laizer had a stepsister Rachela, (born in 1894 in Płock). We also know that he and his wife Maria Weiss (Wajs) had been officially registered under a permanent Warsaw address since 1912. They must have been living in Warsaw before this date, as on 21 October 1911, their first son, Adolf, was born, and 26 May 1915 is the birthdate of their second son, Władysław.²² The resident registration book shows that Weiss was of the evangelical denomination. According to his reminiscences printed in *Wiadomości Filmowe*, as a young man, Forbert travelled extensively in Europe and America,²³ where

regarding persons of the name Forbert, it transpired as 5 February 1881 - the original record is the following: "24.01./5.02.1881 r."

- 21 I should like to thank the following for assisting me in finding the information: first of all, Anna Przybyszewska-Drozd, head of Genealogy at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw; also, the employees of the State Archive in Płock. The information on the Forbert family comes from the collection for the city of Płock, Books of Residents of the city of Płock, 1, Szeroka, signature 50/1/0/201/28108. In response to my enquiry about the birth certificate I received a negative answer from the State Archive in Włocławek - unfortunately, the archives of the Jewish community have been to a large extent destroyed.
- 22 Little doubt exists concerning Adolf's date and place of birth - an ID application form has survived. Finding documentation confirming the birth date of Władysław Forbert proved very difficult. In all internet sources, as well as on the director's grave, the date given is 26 May 1915, see Władysław Forbert, at the website Billion Graves <https://billiongraves.pl/grave/Wladyslaw-Forbert/32501696> [21.04.2021]. According to an ID application form from 1963, however, he was born on 26 May 1916 in Otwock, not in Warsaw. While one can assume that the discrepancy in the year of birth (1915 and 1916) is merely a mistake, one cannot say the same about the different place of birth. Also, in the same document we find the date - 4 November 1969 - he left for Israel. According to other, generally available sources, in 1970 he left Poland for Denmark, where he died and was buried. [Archiwum Dokumentacji Osobowej i Płacowej w Milanówku Centralny Rejestr Metryczek, Władysław - sygn. 4/528, Adolf, sygn. 2/1598].
- 23 A document survived, the passenger list from a passenger ship, where he is mentioned travelling in 1904 to visit his aunt Taube, who lived in New York. I received the photocopy from Anna Przybyszewska-Drozd.

he trained and worked, among other jobs, as a photographer. He left for the USA in 1904, and after returning to Poland in 1906, he founded his Warsaw atelier “Leo Forbert” at 39, Nowy Świat. Forbert quickly decided to combine his fascination with photography with the new invention – cinema. Describing the history of Yiddish cinema in Poland, Sheila Skaff referred to the words of Forbert’s cousin – Seweryn Steinwurzel – that he took up cinema for financial reasons, hoping for easy and fast money.²⁴ Forbert was one of the first film producers in Poland, and his first, short-lived film production company was Meteor.²⁵ He debuted as a producer in 1922 with *Ludzie mroku* [‘twilight people’], and already within next year, a new film appeared – *Syn szatana* [‘Son of Satan’]. Bruno Bredsznajder directed both movies, and the cinematographer was Steinwurzel. Also, in 1923 Forbert met Jechiel Bojm, an, ambitious, talented young man who dreamed about becoming a screenwriter. Forbert must have been impressed, since by the end of the year they made a movie in Yiddish based on Bojm’s script, called *Ślubowanie* (‘Vowing’, dir. Zygmunt Turkow, cinematography Steinwurzel. The film featured the best actresses of the time, Estera R. Kamińska and her young daughter Ida Kamińska). In the years 1923–1935, Forbert and Bojm made four more movies together. Their feature films included *Jeden z 36* (‘One in 36’, dir. Henryk Szaro, cinematography Steinwurzel) from 1925 and their most famous work, based on Józef Opatoszu’s trilogy about the January Uprising, *W lasach Polskich*²⁶

24 Cf. S. Skaff, *The Law of the Looking Glass: Cinema in Poland, 1896–1939*: “According to his cousin Seweryn Steinwurzel, Forbert founded Meteor simply because he figured out that film was a good business. Forbert was the first postwar producer interested in making films with which both Jews and Catholics could identify.” [2.05.2021] [https://books.google.pl/books/about/The_Law_of_the_Looking_Glass.html?id=dO7fuEHARnIC&redir_esc=y]

25 See footnote 25.

26 Józef Opatoszu – Joseph Opatoshu (1886–1954) – writer, mostly the author of historical novels. See also M. Szablowska-Zaremba, “Oto Polska właśnie – o literaturze, kulturze i historii Polski w powieściach Józefa Opatoszu”, in: *Dialog międzykulturowy w (o) literaturze polskiej*, eds. M. Skwara, K. Krasoń, J. Kazimierski, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, Szczecin 2008, pp. 485–502.

(‘In Polish woods’, dir. Jonas Turkow, cinematography Ferdynand Vlassak). In 1935 they created their last work together – the documentary *Świt, dzień i noc Palestyny* [‘Morning, noon, and night of Palestine’] – a tale about the founding of the new university and the hope for the resurrection of the state of Israel. The narrator in the film was Appenzślak. The story of the film production company Leo-Forbert is not very well-known. According to Waclaw Malczewski’s research presented in *Polscy aktorzy filmowi* [‘Polish film actors’], Forbert founded the company in 1922, which was the source of his productions.²⁷ Yet, in February 1926, he left for Australia in search of better prospects for development and fame. However, he failed and returned to Poland in May 1928. According to Malczewski, upon his departure to Australia, Forbert sold his shares to his collaborator Maria Hirszbein. She renamed the company to “Leo-Film”, and became highly successful. Nonetheless, Forbert was no longer connected with the enterprise. He focused on photography, demonstrated a great deal of success, and since 1930 and until his death, he printed a significant volume of his photos in NPI.

As the short note in *Chwila* states: he died of a heart failure on 21 July 1938, while traveling from Świder to Warsaw.²⁸ A photograph was printed in NPI with the caption “Leon Forbert, one of the pioneers of the cinematographic and photographic industries in Poland, passed away last week.”²⁹ In *Nasz Przegląd* several obituaries were published along with a short note:

Yesterday died Leo Forbert, who, with Mr. H. Bojm, has for many years led the photography section of our publication [...] He was a man of many social virtues, deeply attached to his nation. Among those who worked with him and knew his righteous, noble character – he left a deep sorrow. All hail to his memory!³⁰

27 W. Malczewski, *Polscy aktorzy filmowi*, Polska Biblioteka Filmowa, Warszawa 1928, pp. 15–17.

28 “Zgon operatora filmowego”, *Chwila Wieczorna*, 22.07.1938, p. 12.

29 *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany*, 1938, no. 30, p. 6.

30 “Zgon b.p. Leo Forberta”, *Nasz Przegląd* 23.07.1938, p. 12.



FIG. 2. Forbert's obituary, *Nasz Przegląd*, 23.07.1938

Both sons inherited their love of cinema from their father. During World War II, they escaped to the Soviet Union and joined the newly formed General Berling's army. They soon demonstrated skills and talent, becoming directors and cinematographers of war documentaries. They worked for the Polish Film Chronicle. But this is an entirely different story.

Despite Forbert's death, Henryk Bojm remained faithful to NPI and his works, signed "Foto Bojm-Forbert," appeared in NPI until September 1939.³¹

Jechiel (Chaim) Bojm was born in 1898 in Sochaczew - this is the information we can find on Ładoś's list,³² as it turned out Bojm was one of those given Paraguayan passports, enabling them, at least in theory, to save their life during World War II.³³ Various monographs on the history of Jewish cinema in Poland³⁴ show that he

31 Cf. "Na kolonii letniej 'TOZU' w Warszawie", *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany*, 1939, no. 28 [9.07.], p. 6; "W dwudziestą rocznicę zgonu pisarza Jakuba Dinesona" (18.08.1939 - M.Sz.-Z.). "Literaci, dziennikarze i najbliższa rodzina nad grobem zmarłego", *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany*, 1939, no. 35 [27.08.], p. 6.

32 The document's name derives from the name of Aleksander Ładoś, a Polish diplomat in Switzerland in the years 1940-1945. The list was published by the Pilecki Institute after two years of research in cooperation with the Jewish Historical Institute, the Memorial and Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau and the Institute of National Remembrance. *Lista Ładosia: nazwiska 3262 Żydów objętych tzw. "akcją paszportową"* [The Ładoś list: the names of 3262 Jews issued the illegal passports]: <https://instytutpileckiego.pl/pl/instytut/aktualnosci/instytut-pileckiego-opublikowal-liste-nazwisk-3262-zydow-obj>

33 Unfortunately, at the Grodzisk Mazowiecki branch of the National Archive in Warsaw - where the documents concerning the Jewish community in Sochaczew are stored - no documents regarding the name Bojm have been found.

34 Cf. A. Attisani, A. Cappabianca, eds., *Cercatori di felicità: Luci, ombre e voci dello schermo yiddish*, Accademia University Press, Torino 2018; N. Gross, *Film żydowski*



FIG. 3. Henryk Bojm, *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* 1933, no 25.



FIG. 4. Henryk Bojm, photographer of *Nasz Przegląd*

came from a Hasidic family. His father, a wealthy grain merchant, sent him to Warsaw to study in a yeshiva. Unfortunately for the father, Bojm's dreams did not include becoming a merchant. Allegedly, already at six, the boy voraciously read Yiddish literature, particularly the work of Icchok Lejb Percec. Condemning himself to poverty, he dropped out of the yeshiva and travelled from town to town, portraying their inhabitants. Apparently, this is when he learned photography. With his brother-in-law, Ojzer Warszawski, they founded an atelier in Mszczonów. During World War I, they operated as smugglers, the events being masterfully documented in Warszawski's famous novel *Szmulglerzy*. Soon, however, they parted ways. Warszawski emigrated to Paris, and Bojm met Forbert, which changed his life forever.³⁵

For Bojm this cooperation was significant, since he became one of the creators of Jewish films in Poland. He was also a natural-born photojournalist, and his work merited praise. He died during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in 1943, while hiding in a bunker with his wife Rachela née Gliksman (she was a shareholder of "Foto-Forbert"). This was probably also when their son, Izrael, died.³⁶ According to research and the information from the Ringelblum Archive, a secret archive kept in the Warsaw Ghetto, he was the principal photographer of everyday life of the Jewish nation in the closed district between 1939 and 1943. The 'Ghetto's historians commissioned the photographs he took.³⁷

w Polsce, transl. A. Ćwiakowska, Rabid, Kraków 2002, J. Hoberman, *Bridge of Light: Yiddish Film between Two Worlds* (Interfaces: Studies in Visual Culture), Brandeis University Press, Waltham 2010.

- 35 Cf. A. Attisani, A. Cappabianca, *Cercatori di felicità*; also N. Gros mentions that Bojm had such an atelier (*Film żydowski w Polsce*, p. 34), but does not mention the name of Warszawski.
- 36 The information about their death was given by Henryk Graubart, who, when talking both about Jechiel and his wife, referred to himself as "brother-in-law".
- 37 The photographs were a part of the exhibition *Światło negatywu/Light of the Negative* that took place between April and August 2019 at the Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. The curators were Anna Duńczyk-Szulc and Rafał Lewandowski. See *Rozproszony kontakt : fotografie z Archiwum Ringelbluma na nowo odczytane*, ed. A. Duńczyk-Szulc, ŻIH im. E. Ringelbluma, Warszawa 2019, pp. 50–56. The biographical note to the book was prepared by A. Żółkiewska.

THE PHOTOGRAPHS FROM *NASZ PRZEGLĄD ILUSTROWANY*

The majority of interwar periodicals aimed to have, if not separate supplements to their newspapers, then at least some photographs published in their papers from time to time. Bojm-Forbert belonged to the most famous photographers and were a model for others. Today their pictures also belong to the unique collection of visual testimonies of the past Jewish diaspora.

NPI printed a variety of photos. The magazine always made sure to show the most notable events in Europe or the USA. A separate category consisted of the photographs presenting Palestine that, in Zionists' view, was the sign of the modern national thought's strength and power. This was where the new, dynamic state of Israel would be built.

Yet, another important subject was the events in Poland. The photographs that have an exceptional value for us today could be gathered under the general heading of Jewish life in Poland. Political events were important, but the little minute vignettes show-

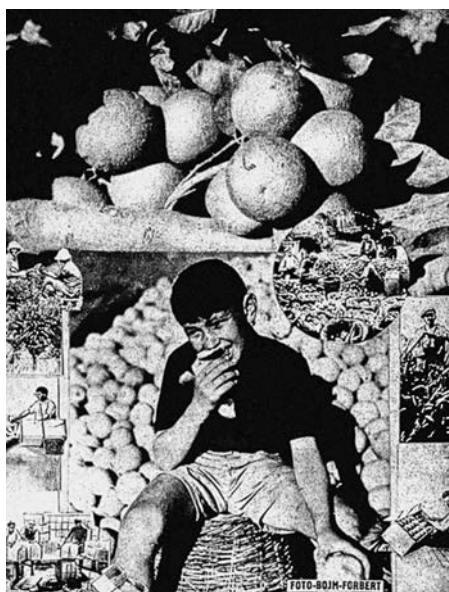


FIG. 5. *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* 1935, no. 47 – photo taken during the filming of the documentary by Forbert and Bojm in Palestine

ing fleeting moments of social and cultural life of towns and cities provoke more emotions. The photographs that mean the most to me are those depicting literary and theatrical events. A significant portion of the photographs was unsigned. Those showing events abroad were reprints from periodicals from the USA, France, Germany, Britain, and elsewhere... Names other than Bojm and Forbert appear sporadically; these two are the most frequent, and therefore I focused on their work.

Forbert made a name for himself as an exceptional portrait photographer. The literary and cultural Jewish and Polish elite loved to have their photos taken by him in his atelier. The two photos juxtaposed here represent two types of portraying. The first - showing one of the then most famous Yiddish writers Zusman Segalowicz - is an atelier portrait, the fact made clear by lighting, the even background behind the model and the model's positioning. Even with a low-resolution print, we notice that the light falls from the side so that one side of the face is lit strongly and the other side - hidden in darkness.

The part of the face hidden in the penumbra has sharp features, contrasting with the other side. The photo is a bust shot, with the face adequately framed in such a way as to focus our gaze upon the eyes. They are framed according to the rule of thirds, which gives the impression that the model is looking at the viewer. It would be better if the photograph showed the so-called interesting type. Thus, it was up to the photographer to appropriately depict the photographed individual. Often a normally inconspicuous person can reveal qualities missed by others, when carefully modelled by the light. Of course, at the Bojm-Forbert atelier, they had mastered the technique of retouching, so they could easily cover unglamorous spots, blemishes, and other defects. Even though these interventions were successful, we must admit that compared to today's technology, their methods were primitive. Therefore, the photographer had to produce a vision for the photo. The picture had to be made well enough from that start to easily introduce any changes. The image of Segalowicz was a photo that was supposed to present

the model, i.e., be printed next to an article, or even be a purported ID photo.

The alleged environmental portrait is a different case. Forbert took Majer Bałaban's portrait during a discussion at the Jewish Historical Institute. The professor did not pose, nor did he pay attention to the photographer's actions. While in the case of Segalowicz's portrait, the contact and the understanding with the photographer played a crucial role. In the case of an environmental portrait, the photographer was the one in charge. He decided on the composition of the whole, the cropping, and the lighting, whereas he needed to use the available light the best way he could. The photographer employed a clever manoeuvre: he shot the professor so that his back forms a vertical line and lengthens the figure. Bałaban was not placed in the centre of the picture. Nonetheless, a sense of emptiness was absent because of the objects in front of him on the table. The vertical and horizontal lines "break" the model's arms. Thus, we do not feel that he took the portrait in a hurry. Contrary to our expectations, the picture is balanced and well thought through, even though the photographer had to consider possible shifts in the body's positioning or changes in lighting. This duo of photographers published quite a collection of such portraits.³⁸

Let me mention one more type of photos collective portraits. I suspect that Bojm made most of them. He, being nearly twenty years junior to Forbert', preferred to go outside, into the world, and record the events around him. One could call the photographs journalistic, containing a clear message about how a meeting or celebration went. But I think that, apart from being informative, we could describe these pictures as group portraits. If they were composed a bit differently in their perspective, we would find no technical shortcomings. Photos of this kind prevail in NPI. One of

38 E.g., of Chaim Nachman Bialik, the father of modern Hebrew poetry, NPI 1931, no. 39; of Nachum Sokołow, the president of the World Zionist Organization, and of the writer and member of parliament Izaak Grünbaum, NPI 1933, no. 44.



FIG. 6. Portrait of Zusman Segalowicz, Jewish writer



FIG. 7. Portrait Majer Bałaban, historian

them shows three ingenious figures: Nachman Mayzel, a prominent critic, publicist, the editor of “Literarische Bletter,” the best literary weekly in the interwar period; Saul Stupnicki, a writer and publicist; and Icyk Manger, an outstanding poet, writer, and collector of Jewish folklore.

One could consider this photo a “typical” document of an event of this kind. However, let us look at its composition: the vertical and horizontal lines, their crossings; and there is one more line that upsets the rigid arrangement – a transverse line going from left to right. On the left, someone suddenly turns their head; perhaps unwittingly, it might have been time for questions, and the man in the first row turned his head to see the person talking. The photographer did not expect the movement, which shows in the slight blurring, there was little time, and the face became blurred as a result. Through a chance event, the photo gained a dynamic dimension, only strengthened by a static image. Over Manger’s head, hangs a gigantic painting in a highly imposing frame. It dominates over everyone. In the subject of the picture is of minor importance, since together the frame and the man’s face have disrupted the harmony of the entire image.



FIG. 8. *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* 1935, no. 18

The reader should focus on the three persons – so different in their appearance and age. Mayzel peers at someone with a reporter's curiosity, the elderly Stupnicki with his huge moustache provides staidness and stability, and Manger must be thinking about the party that was surely scheduled after the main event. He is looking straight into the camera as if the photographer's work was more interesting to him than somebody's words. To take the photo that records so much emotion, the photographer must have felt the mood of the entire room and was sensitive enough to recognize the right moment – during a bombastic event in the honour of the father of Yiddish literature Icchok Lejb Percec.

Both photographers must have loved the theatre. And the theatre loved being photographed – when you look at the NPI content, it turns out to be a veritable album of Jewish actors' portraits and scenes from selected performances. Yet this is not the only source of delight. We can clearly see that the Bojm-Forbert partnership wanted to be up-to-date with the latest fashions. Therefore, they did not shun new technologies.

The duo tried their hands at photomontage – usually, their work was made up of pictures taken in the atelier at Wierzbowa. Another challenge was taking photographs at the theatre, where the photographer needed work with artificial light and needed to harness movement, which was 'dominated by the performance. Bojm-Forbert were fully aware of photography's message and that the medium could be an efficient marketing tool, drawing the viewer via the light, movement, and the intensity of the people and objects shown. On the other hand, photography is a document of a special event. Therefore it is an artefact of memory, and memory always includes transitoriness and selection. For viewers in the 1930s, the photographs from Jewish theatres were simply invitations to come and encounter the art; for us, they are the only way to glance at the people and the artistic passion. Subsequently, apart from serving as documents, these photographs display the desire to seize the emotions that accompanied the actors on stage.



J. Domb i Ida Kamińska

FIG. 9. *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* 1938, no.43, Ida Kamińska's Theatre, performance of *New People* by Joshua Perle



FIG.10. Photomontage by Bojm and Forbert.

PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE SERVICE OF ART



FIG.11. Painting by Icchak Cukierman, *Jewish Ghetto in Vilnius*

Photography granted both professionals and amateurs the possibility of the mass production of images. Being the younger sister of painting, sculpture, or graphic art, and granting both professionals and amateurs the possibility of mass production of images, photography was doomed to lose in a confrontation with high art (created by inspired, artistically gifted individuals). Yet, the history of photography shows us something completely different. The groups that fell in love with photography in their early days were artists and chemists. They considered it a new form of art and became fascinated with the development of science that the latest photographic techniques demanded. The innovative photographers were fine art school graduates. Among the most famous and respected retouchers in those days were Polish painters: Wojciech Kossak, Wojciech Gerson, even Witkacy (Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz). At a certain point, photography became a perfect vehicle for art.

FIG.12. *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* 1937, no. 1

However, it meant photography could be used to reproduce paintings and disseminate the images around the world because of the possibilities of fast reproduction photography. Previously, to view the art one had to go to a gallery, a closed space designated especially for this purpose in a particular place. Expressed differently, seeing a work of art depended on the (in)capability of covering the distance between the viewer and the picture. Sharing the photograph in a newspaper makes the painter and, more importantly, the work recognizable. A good example is Grupa Siedmiu – some of their work survived only in the photographs published by *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany*. World War II devoured most of their painting and wiped out the memory of their creators. Today the photographs are the testimony of not only their creative imagination but of their lives.

STREET PHOTOGRAPHY



FIG.13. *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* 1933, no. 29

Today street photography is one of the most common ways of capturing our reality. Yet the need for such images was felt at the very beginning of photography. One of the first pictures in history showed events happening in the open air. In the city of Warsaw's archival documents (*Dziennik Urzędowy Komisariatu Rządu na m. stołeczne Warszawę*) we find the following note from 7 February 1924: "Leon Forbert was given permission to take photos in the streets of Warsaw."³⁹ It showed that a professional photographer needed an official permit from the authorities. Unfortunately, in the issues of the NPI we have a few pictures by the duo showing Warsaw. However, the ones preserved clearly showed that they – and particularly Bojm, as a great reporter – could be amazed by an ordinary event.

39 *Dziennik Urzędowy Komisariatu Rządu na m. stołeczne Warszawę*, 7 February 1924, no. 18, p. 4.

Here he is, rushing through a Warsaw street, the camera bag in his hand. Perhaps his assistant is trying to keep up, out of breath, carrying the heavy wooden tripod with many iron screws. Suddenly Bojm stops in the failing light because he sees a tired old man, for whom selling newspapers is the only way to make his living. He has had few customers that day; he still has some papers stored in his stall; he only carries the latest papers, the most important titles. He is waiting, while around him is all the hubbub and commotion. He is asking himself: where are all of you rushing to...? Bojm stops quickly sets up the tripod and attaches the camera. He now has his picture. Even the composition is not that important. Had more time been available, he would surely have moved the camera slightly to the left. It does not matter. In this scene, he sees so much of both the ordinary and the otherworldly that he records it forever. He asks the paper to print it because this is his place, his experience, his city. What does the photograph of an old newspaper vendor mean to us today? It is a fragment of a narrative of a time certainly gone forever. Perhaps, it is also a reminder to appreciate the ordinary moments of everyday life.



FIG.14. Old newspaper vendor on a Warsaw street

Among these pictures, those showing the ordinariness and the festiveness of a Jew's days are of particular interest. The following is, in my opinion, one of the best photos of the interwar period. It is Rosh Hashanah – the beginning of Jewish new year. This celebration is an extremely momentous time, not because of the festivities, but because of the sign that is conveyed to the faithful: their sins have been forgiven, and now they again have time to do good. The days of Rosh Hashanah are full of prayer and joy. Here is Warsaw turning for a while into the strangest land of happiness. We watch the commotion outside the synagogue.



FIG.15. *Nasz przegląd Ilustrowany* 1930, no. 39

We see a bird's eye view of the synagogue as if we were symbolically hovering above all these waiting people. They are so agitated, busy, and gregarious. Viewing the picture, we can hear some of their words, their laughter, but also their anxious questions. We cannot be with them because we would break the sacred character of the event. Suddenly someone turns, a young man stares straight into the camera, apparently with some interest, perhaps with

irritation. You cannot interrupt when someone is praying. The photo is signed only by Bojm. There are very few like this photo in NPI. But this one is an expression of all his sensitivity and love of life. Like a painter, he has a sense of light and penumbra. The black and white photograph contains an entire palette of colours.



FIG.16. *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* 1933, no. 52

These pictures are full of life because they talk about life. Today they should be restored, processed, and issued in an album so that they can speak to us again. Despite the passing of time and even though the streets, houses, trees, and certainly, the people, are no longer there, these photographs are not dead. Due to their preservation, we can compose a certain story about what life was like and what was so special and common.

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

The FOTO BOJM-FORBERT is probably the only Jewish company to gain some recognition and a permanent presence in the press published in Polish. Such a short article is not copious enough to

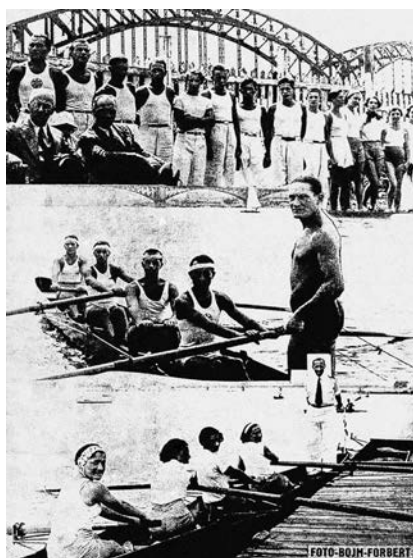


FIG.16. *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* 1937, no. 35

convey all aspects of this enterprise. We owe a lot to the photographers' need to record on film the life they knew. Beginning somewhere in the 1930s, Bojm fell in love with photojournalism, presenting in particular Jews that were strong, athletic, and far from the stereotypes of isolation and seclusion. Even though they were strongly Polonized, Bojm and Forbert never denied their identity, culture, and the nation that gave them birth. They always cared equally about showing both the sublime and the simple in equal measures. Their photographs permit the viewer to enter this world not only through words but also through images. The words gain shape and colour, even though all these photographs are black and white. What makes them so powerful is their ability to stir emotions and make us appreciate their content.

translated by Adam Zdrodowski

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RELEVANCE OF JEAN TWENGE'S PUBLICATIONS TO RESEARCH ON TEENAGE READING CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

Jean Twenge is a psychologist associated with San Diego State University who analyses generations' differences including values, life goals, and the perception of the world of young Americans. This paper argues that Twenge's scientific achievements should be known and used for analyses of teenagers' reading culture not only abroad, but also in Poland. It is likely that a lot of behaviours observed among the next generations of Americans can be adequate also for Polish children and Polish adolescents. The reasons for the decline in the young generation's interest in reading books should be perhaps sought in the psychological and sociological aspects, to which Jean Twenge pays attention. The article has discussed the availability of her book publications in Polish university libraries; the analysis of her texts' citations was carried out, and the perception of her research by Polish and foreign scientists compared. To fulfil the assigned aims, the following methods were used: case study, critical analysis of source literature, bibliographic method, bibliometrics, and content analysis of documents.

KEYWORDS: Jean Twenge, teenagers' reading culture, university libraries, iGen

Research into reading culture in Poland has a long history, beginning in 1955 by the Book and Readership Institute (IKiCz)¹ operating at the National Library. As part of the Institute, the Department of Readership Research researches the social reach of books, readership (including teenagers)², the impact of digitization on Poles' readership and their participation in wider culture. The results of this research have been released in the form of non-serial publications,³ reports,⁴ and academic papers, published e.g., in journals like *Polish Libraries*,⁵ *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*,⁶ *Biuletyn*

- 1 Krystyna Remerowa (1898–1986), member of the Readership and Book Council, was the originator of placing IKiCz within the structure of the National Library. Founded in 1954, the Institute launched its activity on 1 April 1955.
- 2 In Polish, teenagers are “people of different sexes aged 11–19”. W. Doroszewski [ed.] *Słownik Języka Polskiego* [Polish Dictionary] [online:] <https://sjp.pwn.pl/slowniki/nastolatkowcie.html>, [accessed: 7.07.2021]; in their research, IKiCz distinguish the group aged 15–24, thus its members only partially fit the group classified as “teenagers”.
- 3 See e.g.: G. Straus, *Czytanie książek u progu liceum* [Book Reading at the Threshold of Secondary School], Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, 2004; Eadem, *Modelowi sukcesorzy, indywidualiści, eklektycy* [Model Successors, Individualists, Eclectics], Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, 2005; eadem, *Wykształceni amatorzy książek* [Educated Book Enthusiasts], Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, 2008; Z. Zasacka, *Nastoletni czytelnicy* [Teenage Readers], Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, 2008.
- 4 *Stan czytelnictwa w Polsce. Raporty BN* [Readership in Poland. National Library Reports] [online:] <https://www.bn.org.pl/raporty-bn/stan-czytelnictwa-w-polsce>, [accessed: 12.02.2021].
- 5 O. Dawidowicz-Chymkowska, “Stability and Volatility of the Textual World: Choices Made by Book Readers and Buyers”, *Polish Librarianship*, 2013, vol. 1, pp. 76–165; I. Koryś, “A Social Map of Readership”, *Polish Librarianship*, 2013, vol. 1, pp. 6–75; Z. Zasacka, “Reading Satisfaction: Implications of Research on Adolescents' Reading Habits and Attitudes”, *Polish Librarianship*, 2016, vol. 4, pp. 1–25;
- 6 Wolff K., “Dawne i nowe dylematy badań czytelnictwa” [Old and New Dilemmas of Readership Research], *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 2009, vol. 3, pp. 131–157; eadem, “Współczesny czytelnik w świetle badań Instytutu Książki i Czytelnictwa Biblioteki Narodowej” [Contemporary Reader in the Light of the Research of the Book and Readership Institute at the National Library], *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 2011, vol. 42, pp. 319–327; Z. Zasacka, “Wypożyczenia biblioteczne w obiegu książek nastoletnich czytelników” [Borrowing of Books in the Circulation of Teenage Readers], *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 2015, vol. 46, pp. 413–433

Polonistyczny,⁷ other collective studies⁸ and also papers addressed to librarians in their trade journals: *EBIB*,⁹ *Poradnik Bibliotekarza*,¹⁰ *Bibliotekarz*,¹¹ and *Biblioteka w Szkole*.¹²

Furthermore, in Poland conferences are held at which researchers and practitioners share their knowledge and experience of this field. During such meetings international research is presented (see e.g., Usha Pokharel,¹³ Anna Karlskov Skygebjerg,¹⁴ Za-

- 7 J. Andukowicz, "Problemy kultury czytelniczej w pracach i planach Instytutu Książki i Czytelnictwa Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie" [Questions of Reading Culture in the Works and Plans of the Book and Readerships Institute at the National Library in Warsaw], *Biuletyn Polonistyczny* 1984, vols. 3-4, pp. 102-113.
- 8 See e.g.: Z. Zasacka, "Książka na papierze i ekranie w życiu codziennym nastolatków" [A Book on Paper and Screen in Teenagers' Everyday Life], in: *Biblioteki i książki w życiu nastolatków* [Libraries and Books in Teenagers' Life], eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa; WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp. 91-108; eadem, "Czytelnicy zaangażowani - jak rozbudzać motywacje czytelnicze dzieci i młodzieży" [Engaged Readers: How to Inspire Reading Motivations in Children and Adolescents], in: *Nowoczesne technologie czy tradycyjne metody?: o tendencjach w krzewieniu kultury czytelniczej młodego pokolenia* [Modern Technologies or Traditional Methods?: on Tendencies in Popularizing Reading Culture among Young Generation], WUŁ, Łódź; Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa 2017, pp. 107-119.
- 9 See e.g.: G. Lewandowicz-Nosal, "Wypożyczone i czytane - książki w bibliotekach publicznych dla dzieci" [Borrowed and Read: Books in Public Libraries for Children]. *EBIB*, 2011, no. 4, pp. 1-8, [online:] http://www.ebib.pl/images/stories/numery/122/122_lewandowicz.pdf, [accessed: 7.06.2021].
- 10 See e.g.: Z. Zasacka, "Chłopcy coraz częściej wykluczają się z kultury czytelniczej: trendy w postawach czytelniczych nastolatków" [Boys Increasingly Frequently Exclude Themselves from Reading Culture : Trends in Teenagers' Reading Attitudes]. *Poradnik Bibliotekarza*, 2017, no.1, pp. 4-7.
- 11 See e.g.: Z. Zasacka, "Budowanie wspólnot czytelniczych - angielski projekt wspierający czytanie dla przyjemności" [Building Reading Communities : English Project Supporting Reading for Pleasure], *Bibliotekarz*, 2016, no. 12, pp. 4-6; Eadem, "Czytanie książek papierowych a lektura cyfrowa: wyzwania dla bibliotek" [Reading Paper Books Versus Digital Reading : a Challenge for Libraries], *Bibliotekarz*, 2020, nos. 7/8, pp. 13-19.
- 12 See e.g.: Z. Zasacka, "Nastolatki i książki: najnowsze wyniki badania czytelnictwa" [Teenagers and Books : the Latest Results of Research into Teenagers' Reading Attitudes and Habits], *Biblioteka w Szkole*, 2018, no. 5, pp. 4-7.
- 13 Govardhan Sharma, Organic Agriculture Resource Center, paper title: *The Stabilization of the Concept of Recreational Reading in Children and Young Adults in the United States of America*. "Reading Culture of the Young Generation" Conference, Łódź 2012.
- 14 University of Aarhus, Denmark, Centre for Children's Literature, paper title: *Non-fiction as Part of Children's Literature*. "Reading Culture of the Young Generation" Conference, Łódź 2012.

kir Hossain,¹⁵ Jana Segi Lukavska,¹⁶ Ildiko Szabo,¹⁷ Juan Araujo¹⁸), as well as Polish studies of quantitative¹⁹ and qualitative charac-

- 15 Inter-Community School Zurich, paper title: *Reading and Library Habits of Vietnamese Students in the Age of Internet*. "Reading Culture of the Young Generation" Conference, Łódź 2018.
- 16 Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts, paper title: *Czech Children's E-books : The Ideal of Interactivity?*. "Reading Culture of the Young Generation" Conference, Łódź 2018.
- 17 John von Neuman University Hungary, Department of Mother Tongue Education and Art, paper title: *Good Practices Involving Libraries to Improve Literacy Skills*. "Reading Culture of the Young Generation" Conference, Łódź 2016.
- 18 Texas A&M University-Commerce USA, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, 2016, paper title: *Writing Instruction that Makes a Difference for English Learners*. "Reading Culture of the Young Generation" Conference, Łódź 2012.
- 19 See e.g.: M. Antczak, "Kultura czytelnicza piętoklasistów szkół łódzkich w świetle badań własnych" [Reading Culture Among Fifth Graders of Lodz Primary Schools Based on the Author's Research], in: *Biblioteki i książki w życiu nastolatków*, eds. eadem, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa; WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp. 109-146; D. Borkowski, "Czytają czy nie? O preferencjach czytelniczych krakowskich nastolatków" [Do They Read or Not? On Reading Preferences of Cracow Teenagers], in: *Biblioteki i książki w życiu nastolatków*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa; WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp. 147-158; M. Deńca, "Rola Biblioteki szkolnej w rozwijaniu kompetencji czytelniczych uczniów niesłyszących" [Role of School Library in Developing Reading Competences of Deaf Pupils], in: *W kręgu kultury czytelniczej dzieci i młodzieży*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa; WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp. 169-189; A. Grenina, "Teenagers' Perception of a Contemporary Library", in: *Biblioteki i książki w życiu nastolatków*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa; WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp. 65-75; A. Has-Tokarz, "Czytelnictwo współczesnych nastolatków (opinie, obserwacje, badania)" [Readership of Contemporary Teenagers (Opinions, Observations, Research)] in: *Kultura popularyzowana w szkole. Pobłażliwe przyzwolenie czy autentyczny dialog* [Pop Culture in School. Lenient Permission or Authentic Dialogue], eds. B. Myrdzik, M. Latoch-Zielińska, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2006, pp. 169-180; Z. Krupa, "Skuteczność internetu w promocji czytelnictwa w opinii studentów Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego" [Effectivity of the Internet in Promoting Reading in the Opinion of Students of the University of Rzeszów], in: *Nowoczesne technologie czy tradycyjne metody? O tendencjach w krzewieniu kultury czytelniczej młodego pokolenia* [Modern Technologies or Traditional Methods? On Tendencies in Popularizing Reading Culture of the Young Generation], eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa; WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp. 89-103; A. Maroń, "Będę pisać o książkach... - książkowa blogosfera i jej młodzi twórcy" [I Shall Write about Books... : Book Blogosphere and Its Young Creators], in: *W kręgu kultury czytelniczej dzieci i młodzieży*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa; WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp. 23-50; M. Ostrowska, "Młodzieżowe trendy czytelnicze - od «Harry'ego Pottera» po «Igrzyska śmierci»" [Youngsters' Reading Trends : from Harry Potter to the "Hunger Games"]], in: *Inspiracje czytelnicze w życiu młodego pokolenia* [Reading Inspirations in the Life of Young Generation], ed. M. Antczak, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa; WUŁ, Łódź 2017, pp. 221-239; G. Walczewska-Klimczak,

ter.²⁰ Teachers, librarians and stakeholders from the cultural sector also participant in sharing examples of good practice.²¹ Research-

- “Typologia bibliotek szkolnych w gminach wiejskich w świetle badań własnych i Raportu o stanie bibliotek szkolnych w Polsce w 2012 r. [Typology of School Libraries in Rural Communes in the Light of the Author's Research and the Report on School Libraries in Poland in 2012], in: *Biblioteki i książki w życiu nastolatków*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa, WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp. 33-52; A. Wandel, “Współczesne encyklopedie dla dzieci i młodzieży - analiza księgoznawcza 1990-2015” [Contemporary Encyclopaedia for Children and Adolescents : Bibliological Analysis], in: *Inspiracje czytelnicze w życiu młodego pokolenia*, ed. M. Antczak, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa, WUŁ, Łódź 2017, pp. 161-185; Z. Zasacka, “Książki na papierze i ekranie w życiu codziennym nastolatków” [Books on Paper and Screen in Teenagers' Everyday Life], in: *Biblioteki i książki w życiu nastolatków*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa, WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp. 91-108.
- 20 See e.g.: H. Dynel-Trzebiatowska, “Dla dzieci czy dla dorosłych? O dwuadresowości w literaturze dziecięcej na przykładzie książek o Muminkach Tove Janson” [For Children or Adults? On Dual Addressee in Children's Literature on the Example of Tove Janson's Books on the Moomins], in: *Książki w życiu najmłodszych* [Books in the Life of Children], eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa, WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp.13-24; E. Kilian, “Audialne twory poetów cybernetycznych - analiza współczesnej formy słuchowiska radiowego” [Audial Creations of Cybernetic Poets : Analysis of Contemporary Form of a Radio Play], in: *Nowoczesne technologie czy tradycyjne metody? O tendencjach w krzewieniu kultury czytelniczej młodego pokolenia*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa, WUŁ, Łódź , 2015, pp. 61-72; A. Mazan-Mazurkiewicz, “Najstraszliwszy smok na tej ziemi”. O samoświadomości czytelniczej dziecka, podpatrywanej przez pośrednika lektury” [“The Most Horrendous Dragon in this World”. On Reading Self-Awareness of a Child Observed by the Reading Mediator], in: *Książki w życiu najmłodszych*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa, WUŁ, Łódź , 2015, pp.33-48; M. Sayim, “Passionate Reading of a Child Character and Its Consequences in Ian McEwan's The Cement Garden”, in: *Książki w życiu najmłodszych*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa, WUŁ, Łódź , 2015, pp. 49-59; A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, “Poczytaj mi Tato! Czyli o roli ojca w edukacji czytelniczej dziecka” [Read to Me, Daddy! Namely on Father's Role in Child's Reading Education], in: *Książki w życiu najmłodszych*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa, WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp.121-132; M. Wójcik “Najnowsze technologie informacyjno-komunikacyjne w edukacji czytelniczej i medialnej. Potencjał i przykłady wdrożeń” [The Latest ITC Technologies in Reading and Media Education. Their Potential and Implementation Examples], in: *Nowoczesne technologie czy tradycyjne metody? O tendencjach w krzewieniu kultury czytelniczej młodego pokolenia*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa, WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp. 21-31.
- 21 See e.g.: S. Borowik, “Muzeum jako przestrzeń kształtowania kultury czytelniczej młodego odbiorcy (na przykładzie doświadczeń Muzeum w Gorzowie)” [A Museum as Space of Shaping Reading Culture of a Young Addressee (on the Example of the Experience of the Gorzów Museum)], in: *Książki w życiu najmłodszych*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa, WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp. 77-88; A. Krawczyk, “Centrum Literatury Dziecięcej - aby służyć tym,

ers representing different disciplines seek opportunities to share the results of their research²² The need to conduct interdisciplinary research within the sphere of reading culture has been raised by researchers including Anita Has-Tokarz,²³ Maria Kocójowa,²⁴ Irena Socha,²⁵ and Katarzyna Wolff.²⁶ Disciplines exploring the function-

- którzy służą dzieciom” [Centre for Children's Literature : to Serve Those who Serve Children], in: *W kręgu kultury czytelniczej dzieci i młodzieży* [Within the Circle of Reading Culture of Children and Adolescents], eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa, WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp.139-148; U. Li-sowska-Kożuch, “Zapraszamy na konkurs - czyli formy pracy w bibliotece. Garść refleksji z doświadczeń własnych” [Take Part in the Contest, Namely on Forms of Work in a Library. A Handful of Reflections Stemming from Author's Experience], in: *Biblioteki i książki w życiu nastolatków*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Wydaw. SBP, Warszawa, WUŁ, Łódź 2015, pp. 221-236.
- 22 See e.g.: Kisiłowska M., Paul M., Zajac M., *Jak czytają Polacy? Raport badawczy projektu Zmiany kultury czytelniczej w Polsce w kontekście upowszechnienia etekstów i urządzeń pozwalających z nich korzystać* [How Do Poles Read? Research Report of the Project: Changes in Reading Culture in Poland in the Context of the Spread of e-texts and Devices Allowing to Use Them], Warszawa: Centrum cyfrowe, 2016 [online:] <https://ngoteka.pl/bitstream/handle/item/368/Jak-czytaj%c4%85-Polacy-raport-ko%c5%84cowy.pdf?sequence=1> [accessed: 25.03.2021]; some papers that resulted from shared projects to be found in: ed. M. Wojciechowska, *Czytelnictwo w dobie informacji cyfrowej. Rozwój, bariery technologie* [Readership in the Era of Digital Information. Development, Barriers, Technologies]. Warszawa: SBP, 2015.
 - 23 A. Has-Tokarz, “Problematyka książki dla dzieci i młodzieży i jej odbioru w obszarze współczesnej bibliologii - o potrzebie badań interdyscyplinarnych” [Books for Children and Teenagers and Questions of Their Reception in Today's Bibliology : on the Need of Interdisciplinary Research], in: *Bibliologia i informatologia* [Bibliology and Information Science], ed. Kuźmina D., SBP, Warszawa 2011, pp. 111-124.
 - 24 M. Kocójowa, “Badania interdyscyplinarne bibliotek, informacji naukowej, książki: szansa i utrapienie dla uczonych” [Interdisciplinary Researches into Libraries, Scientific Information, Books : an Opportunity and Worry for Scholars], in: *Biblioteki, informacja, książka: interdyscyplinarne badania i praktyka XXI wieku* [Libraries, Information, Books : Interdisciplinary Research and 21st-century Praxis], ed. M. Kocójowa, Instytut Informacji Naukowej i Bibliotekoznawstwa, Kraków 2010, pp. 183-191 [online:] <http://www.inib.uj.edu.pl/wydawnictwa-iinib-uj/seria-3/07>, [accessed: 2.03.2021].
 - 25 I. Socha, “Czytelnik jako interdyscyplinarny przedmiot badań w nauce o książce, literaturoznawstwie, socjologii i psychologii - odrębność czy komplementarność?” [A Reader as an Interdisciplinary Object of Research in the Science of Books, Literature Studies, Sociology, and Psychology : Separate or Complementarity], in: *Biblioteki, informacja, książka: interdyscyplinarne badania i praktyka XXI wieku*, ed. M. Kocójowa, Instytut Informacji Naukowej i Bibliotekoznawstwa, Kraków 2010, pp. 183-191 [online:] <http://www.inib.uj.edu.pl/wydawnictwa-iinib-uj/seria-3/07>, [accessed: 2.03.2021].
 - 26 K. Wolff, “Dawne i nowe dylematy badań czytelnictwa”, *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 2009, vol. 3, pp. 139.

ing of reading and books in culture include: sociology, psychology, mediology, philosophy and history to name a few.

The changes in society observed by researchers over the last decades, result in part from technology advancements, access to the Internet and social media. They directly affect not just the economy, politics, education, science and the labour market, but also culture: citizens' attitude to reading books and press, and forms of spending the leisure time. Of relevance here are publications by the American psychologist Jean Twenge, whose analysis impact not only the circles of sociologists and psychologists, but also mediologists who have been dealing with reading culture since 2018.²⁷ Through a case study, this article will discuss the relevance of Twenge's sociological and psychological research on a group of American teenagers to research into reading culture of teenagers worldwide and also in Poland. The following questions will be addressed:

1. Who is Twenge and what are her areas of interest?
2. Which scientists does Twenge cooperate with?
3. Why are Twenge's publications of interest to Polish researchers?
4. What university libraries can Jean Twenge's books be found at: which ones and how many?
5. What has been the academic response to Twenge's books in Poland and outside Poland?

To address these questions, the following methods were chosen: bibliographic, bibliometric²⁸ and document analysis, as well as a literature review.

27 *Rozporządzenie Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego z dnia 20 września 2018 r.* [Regulation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education of 20 September 2018], *Journal of Laws of 2018 Item 1818*.

28 A. Drabek, "Wykorzystanie bibliometrii w polityce naukowej" [Use of Bibliometrics in Scientific Policy] [online]. *Biuletyn EBIB*, 2012, no. 3, pp. 17 [online:]; http://www.ebib.pl/images/stories/numery/130/130_drabek.pdf [accessed: 14.05.2021].

JEAN TWENGE: SPHERE OF RESEARCH INTEREST, COOPERATION WITH OTHER RESEARCHERS, RECEPTION OF HER PUBLICATIONS OUTSIDE POLAND

A professor of psychology at San Diego State University, Jean M. Twenge has authored and co-authored over 120 academic publications: papers and books. As a psychologist, she focuses mainly on the attitude of the young generation to social roles, family, religion, work and sex. Twenge introduced into the academic language the concept of the *iGen* which she applied to define the generation of Americans born in 1995–2012.²⁹ This is the generation covering 25% of the American population (74 million out of 323,995,528), and a similar percentage of Poles: 27% (7 million, and precisely: 7,089,514 out of 38,386,476),³⁰ statistically a substantial group of young people. The *iGen* symbolizes the dominating influence that the Internet and social media have on such people. Twenge's research argues that the current generation of teenagers are less rebellious than before, more tolerant, less happy, and entirely unprepared for

- 29 *iGen* 1995–2012; Millennials 1980–1994; Generation X 1965–1979; Baby boomers 1946–1964. *iGen* is short of *Internet generation*. Alternative names for the *iGen* generation are as follows: post-millennials, Generation Z, homelander, founders; limit dates: 1995, writes Twenge, is the year when the Internet was born. Around 2012, she continues, I began observing a sudden huge change in teenagers' behaviour and their emotional states. Graphs suddenly began resembling steep mountains: in merely several years the declines erased increases from some / several decades. Then it dawned on me, she says, that precisely in 2011–2012 the majority of Americans got mobile phones with access to the Internet, popularly called smartphones. This sudden change yielded *iGen*. Twenge continues by claiming that it does not really matter where exactly the borderline is placed. What matters is for us to understand how the people born after 1995 differ from those born merely several years before See J.M. Twenge, op. cit., 2018, p.5–8 citation for an author referred to as aso): "Czy wychowaliśmy pokolenia wrażliwców? *iGen* wkracza właśnie w dorosłość" [Have We Brought up a Generation of Softies? *iGen* Is Entering Adulthood], *Gazeta.pl* 11 March 2019 [online: <https://kultura.gazeta.pl/kultura/7,114528,24537657,czy-wychowalismy-pokolenie-wrażliwcow-igen-wkracza-wlasnie.html>], [accessed: 9.07.2021].
- 30 Author's calculations after: *Baza Demografia* [Demography Database], in: *GUS* [online: <http://demografia.stat.gov.pl/bazademografia/Tablepp.aspx>] [accessed: 17.12.2020]; "Demografia Stanów Zjednoczonych" [Demography of the United States], in: *Wikipedia* [online: https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demografia_Stan%C3%B3w_Zjednoczonych] [accessed: 17.12.2020]; B. Grygiel 2019. *Samobójstwa nieletnich: Polska na drugim miejscu w Europie* [Juvenile Suicide : Poland Second in Europe], 2019 [online: <https://www.focupp.pl/artykul/samobojstwa-nieletnich-polska-na-drugim-miejsku-w-europie>] [accessed: 17.02.2021].

adulthood. And although not all scientists agree with her conclusions (see Jeffrey Arnett, Rose Cavanagh³¹), Twenge has discussed her arguments widely on the internet.³²

To boost Twenge's research quality and publication reach, her cooperation with other scientists is analysed below. Table 1 includes identification of the individuals who Twenge cooperates with; their academic identity and their shared publications. The research plan focused on the following data: the number of citations of such a person since 2016, the h-index, and citations in 2020. Table 1 presents data of only several such scholars owing to the citation rate of the output of their academic research. The following scientists have been included: Brad J. Bushman, professor of communication at The Ohio State University; W. Keith Campbell of Kennesaw State University; Joshua D. Foster at University of South Alabama; Tomi A. Roberts of Colorado Collage; Diane Quinn at University of Connecticut.

- 31 See J. Arnett, K. H. Trzesniewski; M. B. Donnellan, "The Dangers of Generational Myth-Making: Rejoinder to Twenge", *Emerging Adulthood*, 2013, No. 1(1), pp 17-20 [online:] <http://jeffreymar.net/Arnett%20new%20website/Articles/Arnett2013DangersofMythmakingEA.pdf>. [accessed: 24.02.2021]; P. R. Cavanagh, *No, Smartphones Are Not Destroying a Generation*, 2017, 6 August [online:] <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/once-more-feeling/201708/no-smartphones-are-not-destroying-generation> [accessed: 24.02.2021]; Ch. Jarrett, "Rising social media use has sparked a passionate debate among psychologists: are today's young people more 'Generation Me' or 'Generation We'?", *BBC Future*, 2017, 17 November [online:] <https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20171115-millennials-are-the-most-narcissistic-generation-not-so-fast?referer=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.jeffreyarnett.com%2F> [Accessed: 24 Feb 2021]; F. R. C. Savin-Williams, "Do Smartphones Delay Sex and Dating?", *Psychology Today*, 2017, 16 August [online:] <https://www.psychologytoday.com/intl/blog/sex-sexuality-and-romance/201708/do-smartphones-delay-sex-and-dating> [accessed: 24.02.2021].
- 32 See e.g.: J. M. Twenge, *iGen: The Smartphone Generation* [online:] https://www.ted.com/talks/jean_twenge_igen_the_smartphone_generation_mar_2018 [accessed: 11.03.2021].

TABLE 1: LIST OF INDIVIDUALS JEAN TWENGE COOPERATES WITH: SELECTION WITH EXAMPLES OF PUBLICATIONS RESULTING FROM COOPERATION

First and family name, degree or title, university	Total of citations since 2016	h-index since 2016	Citations in 2020	Example publication of cooperation results
Brad J. Bushman Professor of Communication The Ohio State University	21,331	72	4,153	J. M. Twenge [et al.], "Egos inflating over time: A cross-temporal meta-analysis of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory", <i>Journal of Personality</i> , 2008; 76 (4), pp. 875-902
W. Keith Campbell Professor of Psychology University of Georgia	22,303	80	4,975	W. K. Campbell [et al.], <i>The Narcissism Epidemic: Living in the Age of Entitlement</i> , 2009
Stacy Campbell Associate Professor of Management Kennesaw State University	3,421	18	754	J. M. Twenge [et al.], "Generational differences in work values: Leisure and extrinsic values increasing, social and intrinsic values decreasing", <i>Journal of Management</i> , 2010; 36 (5), pp. 1117-1142
Joshua D. Foster Professor of Psychology University of South Alabama	9,387	28	2,074	J. M. Twenge [et al.], "Egos inflating over time: A cross temporal meta-analysis of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory", <i>Journal of Personality</i> , 2008; 76 (4), pp. 875-902
Tomi-Ann Roberts Professor of Psychology Colorado College	6,427	21	1,306	B.L. Fredrickson [et al.], "That swimsuit becomes you: sex differences in self-objectification, restrained eating, and math performance", <i>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology</i> 1998; 75 (1), pp. 269-284
Diane Quinn Professor of Psychology University of Connecticut	6,249	33	1,414	B.L. Fredrickson [et al.], op. cit.

Source: The author's analyses based on data after Jane Twenge's data after Jean Twenge's profile and scholars enumerated in Google Scholar

To analyse the response to Jean Twenge’s publications outside Poland, the scholar’s profile available at Google Scholar was then followed. The citation number of Twenge’s work has been systematically growing since 2002, in 2020 reaching almost 6,000. Her h-index has reached 74 since 2016.

TABLE 2: CITATIONS OF JEAN TWENGE’S SELECTED PUBLICATIONS ACCORDING TO GOOGLE SCHOLAR; STATE AS OF 2 FEBRUARY 2021

Publication title	Year of the first US edition	Number of citations
D. G. Myers, J. M. Twenge, <i>Social Psychology</i>	2019	Not visible in the system/ data unavailable
J. M. Twenge, <i>iGen: Why Today’s Super-connected Kids Are Growing up Less Rebellious, More Tolerant, Less Happy?: And Completely Unprepared for Adulthood: and What That Means for the Rest of Us</i>	2017	899
J. M. Twenge, <i>Generation Me: Why Today’s Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled – and More Miserable Than Ever Before</i>	2014 2013	2,975 42
J. M. Twenge, W. K. Campbell, <i>The Narcissism Epidemic: Living in the Age of Entitlement</i>	2009	1,78033

Source: The author’s analyses based on Google Scholar

Table 2 registers the number of citations of the books that Twenge (co-)authored, showing the number of citations of *Generation Me* has amounted to over 3,000 since 2013 when it was first published in the United States. The second publication, whose first edition was released in the USA in 2009, has achieved almost 1,800 citations, whereas *iGen* (2017) has almost 900. No data are yet available in the system for *Social Psychology* published in the USA in 2019. The analysis demonstrates that outside Poland Twenge’s books resound loudly.

REASONS FOR INTEREST IN JEAN TWENGE’S PUBLICATIONS BY POLISH RESEARCHERS INTO TEENAGER READING CULTURE

In exploring the interest of Twenge’s publications to Polish researchers into reading culture, common features that can observed

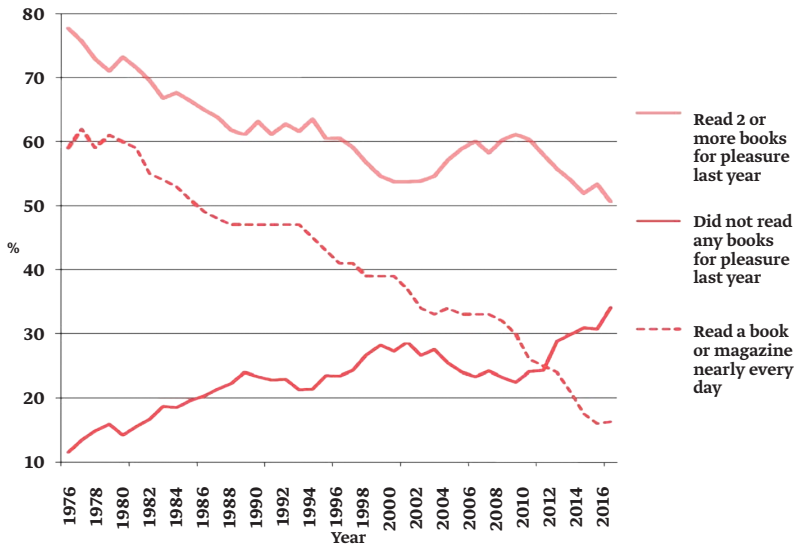
33 Google Scholar for Prof. Campbell.

in American and Polish teenagers. Furthermore, Monika Janusz-Lorkowska has indicated this fact emphasising that representatives of the young generation in Poland and abroad spend their free time in similar ways; on their smartphones³⁴ and social media.³⁵ Żbikowska has also discussed the rarely-before investigated means of youngsters' leisure time organization, such as work (in the grey economy) and teenage 'Internet' creative work.³⁶

Recent research by the Polish Book and Readership Institute has reiterated signals of teenagers' (age group 15-24³⁷) reluctance to read: almost a half of them did not read a single book in a year. Figure 1 below by Twenge A similar one, although referring to high school seniors and college freshmen can be found in *iGen*.³⁸ shows that interest in reading books among young people in America has been falling significantly; in daily book or magazine reading it has been declining even faster.

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- 34 M. Tanaś, [et al.]. *Raport z badania Nastolatki 3.0* [Report from the Research Teenagers 3.0]. NASK Instytut Badawczy, Warszawa 2017 [online:] https://akademia.nask.pl/publikacje/Raport_z_badiana_Nastolatki_3_0.pdf [Published 25 Aug 2019, accessed: 16.03.2021].
- 35 M. Janusz-Lorkowska, op. cit., p. 150.
- 36 A. Żbikowska, "Czas wolny nastolatków w perspektywie socjologicznej" [Teenagers's Leisure Time As Seen from the Sociological Perspective]. *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 2020 No. 3, pp. 27-50.
- 37 Importantly, the researches conducted in the US and Poland on "teenagers" are difficult to compare. In Poland, IKiCz distinguish data for the youngest participants of readership in Poland classifying them in the age group 15-24, while the research analysed by Twenge classified as iGen encompasses young people aged 9-26 in view of their birth year in 1995-2012. The definition of teenagers comprises individuals aged 11-19. Therefore, it is impossible to compare Twenge's results with those obtained by IKiCz, and refer to the group identified as "teenagers". However, since we do not have access to full data, and as scholars we should at least attempt a comparison, in the future maybe it would be recommendable to isolate the surveyed group aged 15-19 from 20-24-year-olds. Such a move would be also justifiable in view of students' different behaviours, interests, and reading habits than of the rest of society. See e.g., the latest research by R. Chymkowski, Z. Zasacka, *Stan czytelnictwa w Polsce w 2020 roku* [Readership in Poland in 2020] DIAGRAM 8. Readers' sex and age versus types of read books, N=853 (in percentage), p. 16, [online:] <file:///C:/Users/Acer/OneDrive/stan-czytelnictwa-w-polsce-2020.pdf>, [accessed: 7.06.2021].
- 38 See Fig. 2.4. in: J. Twenge, *iGen...*, 2018, p. 61.

FIG. 1: READING BOOKS AND MAGAZINES BY AMERICAN 12TH GRADERS IN 1976-2016



Source: https://twitter.com/jean_twenge/status/1034103140541325312/photo/1

Twenge asks whether American teenagers are reading less for pleasure, since they have more homework and extracurricular activities.³⁹ However, this is not the direct cause, which the author writes about in the first part of her book. Compared to previous years, teenagers dedicate to the above activities the same or even smaller number of hours than before.

Twenge argues that the decline in the interest of teenagers in reading books and magazines is more affected by the way they spend their leisure time, since the latter has been more and more dedicated to operating in social media. Such a result, among others, stems from the analysis of the data related to Polish youth presented in the *Survey Report: Teenagers 3.0*.⁴⁰ “Contemporary teenagers most commonly cannot imagine living without access to the

39 Ibidem, p. 62.

40 M. Tanaś, [et al.]. *Raport z badania Nastolatki 3.0*. NASK Instytut Badawczy, Warszawa 2017 [online:] https://akademia.nask.pl/publikacje/Raport_z_badania_Nastolatki_3_0.pdf [published: 25.08.2019, accessed: 16.03.2021].

Internet. The multiplicity of tools and their minimization cause that young people remain 'within Internet access' almost continuously, while the time spent using technology achievements gets longer with age", warn the authors.⁴¹ Importantly, the results come from 2016 surveys of teenagers at the age of lower-secondary school and above. However, looking at the generation of the youngest kids it is hard to believe that the average age of "Internet" initiation for the current youngest generation would stand at nine years and seven months (median = 10 years).⁴² The change that had occurred in the subsequent generation was signalled in 2015 by the authors of yet another report who claimed that as many as 64% of children aged: 6 months – 6.5 years had used mobile devices.⁴³

The data shows little change in how Polish and American teenagers spend their leisure time over the last 12 years. The vast majority of the time spent is concentrated on the Internet, including social media. The latter, in turn, is used more often by girls than by boys who prefer to use desktop computers, possibly since the latter have a better potential for playing games.

From a psychological perspective, Twenge's insights show that the *iGen* generation displays a more extreme reaction to external stimuli, and lacks the support of their parents who are busy working. These are patterns that boost teenage suicide statistics and depression rates, which grew in the US as of 2011.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, according to a 2019 report, Poland takes second place in Europe for suicide rate of young people.⁴⁵ It is not an overestimation, claims

41 Ibidem, pp. 11–12.

42 Ibidem.

43 A. Bąk, *Korzystanie z urządzeń mobilnych przez małe dzieci w Polsce. Wyniki badania ilościowego* [Use of Mobile Devices by Little Children in Poland, Results of Quantitative Research]. Warszawa, 2015, p. 4 [online:]: https://fddpp.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Bak_Korzystanie_z_urzadzen_mobilnychRaport.pdf [accessed: 17.03.2021].

44 J. M. Twenge, "Have Smartphones Destroyed a Generation?", *The Atlantic*, 2007, [September] [online:]: <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/09/has-the-smartphone-destroyed-a-generation/534198/> [accessed: 17.02.2021].

45 B. Grygiel, *Samobójstwa nieletnich: Polska na drugim miejscu w Europie*, 2019 [online:]: <https://www.focupp.pl/artykul/samobojstwa-nieletnich-polska-na-drugim-miejsku-w-europie> [accessed: 17.02.2021].

Twenge in the paper, to therefore describe the *iGen* generation as facing the greatest crisis in mental health for decades.⁴⁶

Evidence suggests that young people read less than their older counterparts, related to the fact that in books the action does not develop quickly enough.⁴⁷ Twenge's research demonstrates that the *iGen* generation spend their time online, mainly using social media, exchanging ideas, or writing brief texts, not talking, occasionally playing video games.⁴⁸ "Over seven years, writes Twenge, using such media every day has become a routine activity of almost all teenagers, as distinct from a half of them as used to be before."⁴⁹ In this respect the words of Umberto Eco do not bring any consolation: "... the emergence of a new expression means ... does not kill the previous one"⁵⁰. We have to do with the situation when the emergence of social media has entirely changed the functioning of the young generation (the question remaining open whether only of the young one?).

Essentially, the way teenagers spend their free time directly affects the reading culture among this population. In terms of the impact of nationality, research approximates that national influences are of no relevance. Through the access to the Internet, national differences can become blurred regarding how teenagers spend their free time and their attitude to reading books and magazines.

Twenge's publications are therefore useful for researchers exploring the reading culture of the young generation also in Poland.⁵¹ "J.M. Twenge's research into that generation [*iGen* generation] may be interesting to researchers from multiple humanistic

46 J. M. Twenge, *Have Smartphones Destroyed...*

47 J. M. Twenge, *iGen...* 2018, p. 59–65..

48 Ibidem, p. 66–68.

49 Ibidem, p. 54.

50 U. Eco, *Nowe środki przekazu a przyszłość książki* [New Expression Means and the Future of Books], Warszawa: PIW, 1996.

51 Books/magazines every day (1976–2016) gives the following decline in interest in reading beginning as of 1976: 60% 56% 48% 46% 41% 35% 32% 26% 25% 24% 21% 18% 16% 16%. J. M. Twenge [et al.], *Trend in U.S. adolescents' media use, 1976–2015: The rise of the Internet, the decline of TV, and the (near) demise of print* citation for: Twenge J. M. *iGen...* 2018, p.60.

social disciplines, also for numerous bibliography subdisciplines”,⁵² claims Monika Janusz-Lorkowska in her paper.

JEAN TWENGE'S BOOKS IN POLISH UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

To judge how many non-serial Twenge's publications can be found in Polish university libraries, the decision was made to search through the Distributed Catalogue of Polish Libraries (KaRo Catalogue) and catalogues of the relevant institutions available online. The author was interested in Twenge's four books published in English and an additional one as the first translated into Polish and published in 2018. Bibliographic descriptions of all five publications together are been given in Table 3. If libraries had editions of the selected titles from other years, these were also taken into consideration, for clarity the number of copies also featuring the edition year.

In the book written by Twenge and Campbell '*The Narcissism Epidemic*', the authors present the result of extensive research: defining "*narcissism*" and giving guidance on how to identify and address it. The publication was commented on by Keryl McBride, PhD, with the following words: "It is filled with important, disturbing research detailing the alarming cultural spread of narcissism today – a serious social problem to which many people are unwittingly contributing without awareness of the disastrous consequences. The authors give sound advice and provide an important resource for families, parents, teachers, and individuals who care about compassion, empathy, and emotional connection rather than the popular focus on Me, Me, Me!"⁵³ The celebrity life coach and human behaviour relationship expert Patric Wanis, PhD, further wrote that the book "not only clearly and succinctly identifies the dangerous disease and the catastrophic ways it threatens our society

52 See e.g., M. Janusz-Lorkowska, p. 146.

53 J. M. Twenge, W. K. Campbell, *The Narcissism Epidemic: Living in the Age of Entitlement*, Atria Paperback, New York [et al.] 2013, p. [1].

and future, it also reveals urgently this book priceless and should be compulsory reading for every parent”.⁵⁴ Similar opinions have been expressed by Robert L. Leahy, PhD,⁵⁵ and Kathleen Vohs, PhD.⁵⁶

In the second of her selected books⁵⁷ Twenge explains why young people born in the 1980s and 1990s whom she calls “*Generation Me*” are tolerant, confident, open, ambitious, but also disengaged, narcissistic, distrustful, and anxious. Twenge used data from 11 million respondents to critically examine *Generation Me*, including differences in sexual behaviours and religious practices together with a controversial forecast about their future and wider society. This generation has an impact on the education, culture and economy within the United States. The question remains whether the generation of Poles of corresponding age is characterized by similar qualities, and whether putting more emphasis on reading could benefit the social behaviour of young people? If it is possible to demonstrate this through comparative studies, it means that national differences blur, while interdisciplinary and international research teams could work out solutions adaptable to many countries. What has been demonstrated with certainty is the interdependence between reading culture and qualities observed in subsequent generations.

The third of the books selected for analysis is *Social Psychology* in its current version (it is already its 13th edition), was published in 2019.⁵⁸ Twenge co-authored it together with Myers, a psychology professor at Hope College G. Meyers’s academic papers have been published in several dozen journals, including *Psychological Bulletin*, *Psychological Science*, *American Scientist*. Social psychologists investigate the mutual impact of people on thoughts, emotions, convictions, and behaviours, and the contemporary problems of everyday

54 Ibidem, p. [II].

55 Ibidem.

56 Ibidem.

57 J. M. Twenge, *Generation Me : Why Today's Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled - and More Miserable Than Ever Before*, Atria Paperback, New York [et al.] 2014.

58 Myers D. G, Twenge J. M., *Social Psychology*, 13th edition, McGraw-Hill Education, New York 2019.

life. The whole is composed of 31 short modules introducing concepts such as love, hatred, conformism, independence, persuasion, education. The book can be compared to such publications as *Psychologia społeczna* [Social Psychology]⁵⁹ by Bogdan Wojciszke; *The Social Animal*⁶⁰ by Elliot Aronson and Joshua Aronson; and to the publication of a slightly different character by Eric Berne *Games People Play*⁶¹.

*IGen*⁶² is a book about the generation born in 1995–2012. Its representatives grew up with mobile phones, with many having an Instagram account from the earliest years, and do not have a living memory before the Internet. Twenge argues that its representatives take longer maturing and are vulnerable to depression and suicide attempts, yet at the same time they are more tolerant, open-minded and safety-concerned with behaviours such as drugs and sex than previous generations. Twenge argues that parallel with this prudent behaviour is avoiding responsibility connected with adulthood, delaying moving out of their parent's home or achieving financial independence. They do not like focusing on printed texts, they are not interested in books, magazine articles, and they spend their free time on social media (particularly females) and playing video games (mainly males).

In the search in the KaRo Catalogue 15 university libraries were taken into account, these included in the 'University' Category in the Catalogue.⁶³ Regrettably, KaRo does not have access to the catalogues of the following universities: John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, University of Wrocław, Pedagogical University of Cracow, and the Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz. To obtain results for those institutions, also their online catalogues were inspected. In total, catalogues of 19 university libraries were searched (see Table 3).

59 B. Wojciszke, *Psychologia społeczna*, Wyd. 3. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe „Scholar”, 2020.

60 Aronson E. & Aronson J. *The Social Animal*. Twelfth edition. Worth Publishers, 2018.

61 E. Berne, *Games People Play*. The psychology of human relationships. Penguin Books Ltd, 2016

62 J. M. Twenge, 2018.

63 UMK Collegium Medicum in Bydgoszcz was not taken into account, since the research focus was mainly on the universities which conduct research in humanities and social sciences.

TABLE 3: RESULTS FOR JEAN TWENGE'S SELECTED BOOKS IN POLISH UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES: IN THE ORDER OF THE HIGHEST NUMBER OF TITLES

Jean Twenge's publications sought in University libraries; as of 2 February 2021									
University libraries which have Jean Twenge's publications in their collection	J. M. Twenge, D. G. Myers, J. M. Twenge, Social Psychology, 2019		J. M. Twenge, iGen: dlaczego dzisiejsi dorośli są mniej zbuntowani..., 2019		J. M. Twenge, iGen: Why Today's Super-connected Kids Are Growing up Less Rebellious..., 2018		J. M. Twenge, J. M. Twenge, W. K. Campbell, The Narcissism Epidemic..., 2013		Total number of titles
	-1-	-2-	-3-	-4-	-5-	-6-	-7-	-8-	
University of Lodz		1	1/LD	1	1	1	5		
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan		2 (2018, 2017)	1/LD	0	0	1 (2010)	4		3
University of Gdańsk		0	1/LD	0	1	2 (2010)	4		3
University of Warsaw		0	7/LD	0	1 (2006)	0	8		2
Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń		0	1/LD	0	1 (2006)	0	2		2
University of Silesia		0	1	0	0	1 (2009)	2		2
University of Wrocław		0	1/LD	1	0	0	2		2
University of Opole		0	4/LD	0	0	0	4		1
Jagiellonian Library		0	2/LD	0	0	0	2		1
Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz		0	2	0	0	0	2		1
Marie Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin		0	2/LD	0	0	0	2		1

-1-	-2-	-3-	-4-	-5-	-6-	-7-	-8-
John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin	0	1/LD	0	0	0	1	1
Jan Kochanowski University of Kielce	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
Pedagogical University of Cracow	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
University of Rzeszów	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
University of Szczecin	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
University of Białystok	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
University of Zielona Góra	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	3	18	2	4	5	32	x

Source: The author's analyses after the KaRo Catalogue and library catalogues.

x- filling in the cell is pointless.

Column 1: Grey marks the libraries whose catalogues are not visible in the KaRo Catalogue.

Columns 2-6: Blue marks the cells where the presence of the given publication in the library collection is signalled. In brackets publication year other than in the header row is given.

Column 8: this one orders the data. In the event of the same number of points, Column 7 results were taken into consideration, and the alphabetical order in university names.

LD - entitled to Legal Deposit

Three libraries did not have a single copy of Twenge's books: the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, University of Zielona Góra, and the University of Białystok. As the result of the search in the KaRo Catalogue conducted for two libraries: for the Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce and the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, "data error" was signalled. To confirm these results, additional respective catalogues of these libraries were consulted. In each, a copy of the Polish translation of Twenge's publication *iGen* from 2019 was found.

The Polish translation of *iGen* (2019) was found in 17 out of 20 investigated libraries, additionally in at least two copies at five of them (University of Warsaw, University of Opole, Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz, Jagiellonian Library, Marie Curie-Skłodowska University). A half of the researched libraries, based on the legal regulations binding in Poland,⁶⁴ were entitled to a copy as a Legal Deposit, this meaning that as many as seven libraries purchased the Polish translation of *iGen*.

All the selected publications were found in only one of the libraries, that of the University of Lodz. In the Library of the University of Gdansk four of Jean Twenge's books were found, with two copies of *The Narcissism Epidemic...* (2010), thus in total three from the four of the sought titles (regardless of whether the Polish or the English version). Two titles were found in four libraries each; eight had only one title each: it was *iGen...* (2019).

In sum, in all the 20 investigated university libraries in Poland there are in total 32 copies of the four titles of Jean Twenge's books, 20 of which are *iGen...* in Polish (18; 56% at N=32) and in English (2; 6% at N=32). In six out of the 20 investigated libraries (30%), Twenge's single publications other than *iGen...* can be found,

64 Act of 7 November 1996 on Legal Deposit Copies (Journal of Laws of 2018 Item 545) [online:] <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19961520722/T/D19960722L.pdf> [accessed: 30.03.2021] and Regulation of the Minister of Culture and Art of 6 March 1997 on the List of Libraries Entitled to Receive Mandatory Copies of Respective Publication Types and Principles and Mode of Their Supply (Journal of Laws, No. 29 Item 161 [online:] <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19970290161/O/D19970161.pdf> [accessed: 30.03.2021]).

whereas in seven (35%) there are the English versions of her books. The ratio between the publications in Polish and English stands at 56% to 44%.

Analysing the presented data, it can be stated that scholars in Poland have the possibility to become acquainted with the results of the American psychologist's research, particularly the ones which are available in the form of a non-serial publication, translated into Polish. Polish researchers find it much harder, however, to reach Twenge's original publications in English, although this is not impossible. In Polish libraries Jean Twenge's papers are available; in the media also interviews with her can be heard or watched.

REACTIONS TO JEAN TWENGE'S PUBLICATIONS IN POLAND

When looking for texts of Polish scholars exploring Twenge's work, American psychologist, the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Grzegorz Polański from 2021 has been found: *Social Competences of Individuals from the X and Y Generations in the Context of Reality's Mediatization* defended in January 2021.⁶⁵ Its supervisor was Fr Janusz Miąso, PhD, Assoc. Prof, at the University of Rzeszów.

Grzegorz Kiedrowicz, in his turn, has published two papers in the academic journal *Edukacja-Technika-Informatyka*.⁶⁶ Its editors wish to draw attention to the consequences resulting from the continuously appearing new directions in the development of IT society.⁶⁷ The research Kiedrowicz presents focused on second-graders from

65 G. Polański, *Kompetencje społeczne osób pokolenia X i Y w kontekście mediatyzacji rzeczywistości* [Social Competences of Individuals from the X and Y Generations in the Context of Reality's Mediatization] [unpublished doctoral dissertation], in: *Repozytorium* [Repository], [supervisor: Fr Janusz Miąso, PhD, Assoc. Prof. at the University of Rzeszów, 255 pp.] [online:] <https://repozytorium.ur.edu.pl/handle/item/5871> [accessed: 17.02.2021].

66 G. Kiedrowicz, "Pokolenie iGEN- próba charakterystyki w oparciu o badania licealistów" [iGen Generation : an Attempt at Characterising Based on the Research of Secondary-School Students], *Edukacja-Technika-Informatyka*, 2019, Oct, 3, pp. 103-108 [online:] <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=801576> [accessed: 17.02.2021].

67 *Edukacja-Technika-Informatyka* [online:] <http://eti.ur.edu.pl/> [accessed: 17.02.2021].

Secondary School No.6 in Radom. The scope of research was related to the use of mobile devices and the quality of life and daily reality of the students as the oldest representatives of the *iGen* generation.

In 2019-2020, the Polish press published several articles reviewing⁶⁸ and popularizing Jean Twenge's book.⁶⁹ Their authors' goal was to draw attention to the publication they considered interesting, whose author diagnosed the qualities of the new generation of Americans resorting to the teenager-related data amassed in the USA for several decades. In each of the analysed publications, the authors were positive about Twenge's book and recommended reading it.

The results of Twenge's work also proved interesting to the doctoral students of the University of Silesia: Karolina Rak and Franciszek Stefanek, who published a series of three papers in 2020.⁷⁰ In them, they tackled such issues as the understanding of safety by the *iGen* generation, close relationships, and teenagers' mental

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- 68 R. Zdunek, "Review of: Jean M. Twenge, *iGen*. Dlaczego dzieciaki dorastające w sieci są mniej zbuntowane, bardziej tolerancyjne, mniej szczęśliwe - i zupełnie nieprzygotowane do dorosłości - i co to oznacza dla nas wszystkich [iGen: Why Today's Super-Connected Kids Are Growing Up Less Rebellious, More Tolerant, Less Happy - and Completely Unprepared for Adulthood - and What That Means for the Rest of Us], Smak Słowa, Sopot, 2019", p. 376. *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska*, 2020 vol. XXVII, 2, pp. 159-163.
- 69 J. Twenge, "Facebook wpędza mnie w depresję" [Facebook Makes Me Depressed] [book fragment], *Rzeczpospolita*, 2019, No. 40, pp. 20-21; O. Dziedzic, "Jak zepsuliśmy nasze dzieci: Igen: pokolenie smartfonów" [How We Spoilt Our Children: iGen: Smartphone Generation], *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 2019, no. 127, Supplement Wyborcza on Children's Day, p. 21 [1-2 June]. Olga Dziedzic translated Jean Twenge's book into Polish; A. Koziński, "iPokolenie pogrąża się w depresji i ciągle narzeka" [iGeneration Is Sinking into Depression and Keeps Complaining] [interview], *Polska Metropolia Warszawska*, 2019, no. 49, pp. 30-31 [21-23 June].
- 70 K. Rak, F. Stefanek, *Igen - paradoks (nie)bezpieczeństwa w bliskich związkach* [iGen: Paradox of (non)Safety in Close Relations]. Part. 1, 2020, 24 June [online:] <http://wiecejestem.upp.edu.pl/igen-paradoks-niebezpieczenstwa-w-bliskich-zwiazkach-cz-i> [accessed: 17.02.2021]; idem, *Igen - paradoks (nie)bezpieczeństwa w bliskich związkach* [iGen: Paradox of (non)Safety in Close Relations]. Part 3. „Więc jestem! Studencki serwis rozwoju” 7 August 2020 [online:] <http://wiecejestem.upp.edu.pl/igen-paradoks-niebezpieczenstwa-w-bliskich-zwiazkach-cz-iii> [accessed: 17.02.2021]; idem, *iGen - paradoks (nie)bezpieczeństwa w bliskich związkach* [iGen: Paradox of (non)Safety in Close Relations]. Part 2, 2020, 31 June [online:] <http://wiecejestem.upp.edu.pl/igen-paradoks-niebezpieczenstwa-w-bliskich-zwiazkach-cz-ii> [accessed: 17.02.2021].

health crises. Furthermore, the authors attempted to define how psychologists should work with representatives of the new generation; they also emphasized the shortage of research into their peculiar features, and unequivocal age classification (borderline dates). Basing themselves on Twenge's research, Rak and Stefan claim that young people more rarely than generations before spend time with their friends in "real life", watch TV, read books, and even work. Additionally, the paper's undertone is clear: psychologists are facing a big challenge, and when working with young people, they should focus on improving their interpersonal competencies. It is therefore important to facilitate young people opportunities for conversation, creating space for meetings and engagement in shared projects.

The importance of the *iGen* concept in Twenge's understanding was explained by Janusz-Lorkowska⁷¹. The author points to the similarities and differences of the generations before *iGen*. In the concluding part of her argument, she recalls Twenge's reflections on the means of cooperation with representatives of *iGen*, and the important role played by the parents.

When analysing the feedback from Polish scholars on Twenge's publication, it should be stated that her book translated into Polish in 2019 has been discussed within psychologists' circles and included in the academic debate. A relatively brief period has passed since its publication in Poland, this also having coincided with the COVID-19 pandemic which made access to literature in libraries difficult. Despite all these obstacles, the results of Twenge's research were considered interesting by the researchers who accessed them. However, the impact of her books that were not translated into Polish has been moderate.

71 M. Janusz-Lorkowska, "iGen jako użytkownik informacji w kontekście kategorii generacji - próba ujęcia na podstawie książki Jean M. Twenge *iGen*. Wydawnictwo Smak Słowa, Sopot 2019 [*iGen as Information User in the Context of the Generation Category : View Point Based on Jean M Twenge's Book iGen*. Wydawnictwo Smak Słowa, Sopot 2019], p. 376. *Toruńskie Studia Bibliologiczne*, 2019, no. 2(23), pp.139-158.

CONCLUSIONS

This study confirmed access to selected Twenge publications in Polish libraries. Her books have been judged as potentially interesting to Polish researchers dealing with teenagers' reading culture, similar as they have been to foreign academics. Research has also confirmed that the qualities of American teenagers diagnosed by Twenge are also visible in Polish young people in the hyperactivity of teenagers in social media and similar social and psychological problems.

Longitudinal research into distributions of large youth populations is an interesting and challenging task, particularly when comparing results across countries. Questions raised by Twenge's work include: Has the decline in the reading culture of the young generation translated into overall education results? What are the preferences for spending leisure time and of Polish and American young people? Is vulnerability to depression and increasing suicide rates problems of one country only, or are they more international? In what ways do technological advancements and social media affect readership, and possibly also other spheres of life, including social relations?⁷²

These are research directions and problems that scholars will have to face in the nearest future. Interdisciplinary research teams, composed of representatives of different countries and various scientific disciplines, may shed new light on the causes of the status quo. Government educational programmes in schools and even playschools involving the return to reading and deriving benefits from it may prove to be a solution, taking into account up to date research and activating young people to participate in reading culture, thus also having a positive impact on social relations.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

72 On the topic see e.g., J. Lalewicz, "Społeczny kontekst faktu literackiego i funkcje lektury" [Social Context for a Literary Fact and Reading's Functions], *Pamiętnik Literacki* 1978, fascicle 4, pp. 43-44; PP. Siekierski, *Książka we współczesnej kulturze polskiej* [A Book in Contemporary Polish Culture], Wydawnictwo: Akademia Humanistyczna im. A. Gieysztora, Pułtusk 2006, pp. 205-261; J. Wojciechowski, *Czytelnictwo* [Readership], Kraków, 2000.

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SCHOLARLY CORRESPONDENCE
OF FR. PROF. WINCENTY MYSZOR
WITH POLISH
ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS,
PUBLISHING HOUSES,
AND BOOKSHOPS PRESERVED
IN THE ARCHDIOCESAN ARCHIVES
IN KATOWICE
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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the results of an analysis into the Polish scholarly correspondence of Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor, kept at the Archdiocesan Archives in Katowice. The research of a historical and bibliological character was conducted mainly through content analysis and document research. The analysed documents come from 6 fonds of the legacy bearing reference numbers from 169/1 to 169/6 and spanning 1970–2008. The content analysis identifies the scholarly institutions Fr. Myszor was in regular communication with, and which resulted in his preparation of articles, biographical notes, factual encyclopaedic entries, and translations of Early-Christian texts. The characteristics of the letters' content are built upon with information on the documents' form. Furthermore, prospects for further research are delineated; through this

the correspondence from the legacy of Fr. Myszor can constitute a valuable and unique source of information.

KEYWORDS: epistolography, patrology, patristics, Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor, Archdiocesan Archives in Katowice, scientists' papers

INTRODUCTION

In his article "An Archival and Library Manuscript", Adam Stebelski justly examines the essence of manuscripts that are treated as a source of information.¹ He comes to the conclusion that irrespective of the form the sources assume – a literary text, an official document, a letter, an accounting book – they all express and reflect the past life. This statement places hand-written documents among those materials eagerly used by representatives of various scholarly disciplines, particularly researchers willing to reconstruct the social, cultural, and political life of a given period, or biographers of those individuals who somehow stood out among society.² Owing to unique and unrepeatable qualities that distinguish hand-written documents, they provide a researcher with information that allows them to achieve set goals, direct the train of thought, complement interpretations of definite phenom-

- 1 A. Stebelski, "Rękopis archiwalny i biblioteczny" [Archival and Library Manuscript], *Archeion* 19/20 (1951), p. 230.
- 2 The literature on the use of hand-written documents in, e.g., biographical or historical research, also in Polish, is very extensive. Let us mention in this context just the following publications: *Przedmiot, źródła i metody badań w biografii* [Subject, Sources, and Research Methods in Biography], eds. R. Skrzyniarz, L. Dziaczkowska, D. Opozda, Lublin 2016; *Badanie biografii: źródła, metody, konteksty* [Studying a Biography: Sources, Methods, Contexts], eds. R. Skrzyniarz, E. Krzewska, W. Zgłobicka-Gierut, Lublin 2014; W. Szulakiewicz, "Ego-dokumenty i ich znaczenie w badaniach naukowych" [Egodocuments and Their Importance in Scientific Research], *Przegląd Badań Pedagogicznych* 2013, vol. 1, no. 16, pp. 65–84; J. Leoński, "Historia wykorzystywania dokumentów osobistych w socjologii" [History of the Usage of Personal Documents in Sociology], *Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny* 57, 2 (1995), pp. 123–128; A. Kulecka, "Spuścizny uczonych jako materiał źródłowy do historii nauki" [Scientists' Papers as Source Material for the History of Science], *Analecta. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki*, 4, 1 (7) (1995), pp. 147–173.

ena, solve posed problems, or set out further prospects of scientific investigation. The qualities of manuscripts, as well as the way of using them in scientific research, have been the subject of investigation of various specialists, among others in anthropology, history, literature studies, psychology, pedagogy, and sociology. The questions related to this type of information source encompass a wide range of issues: editorial, ethical, conservatory, legal, terminological, or typological. Authors of monographic studies, articles, or conference papers pay much attention to a wide range of factors, such as terminological questions, classification, and issues of sharing meta-information, as seen in the debates among librarians, biographers, and archivists.³ The difficulties hindering the formulation of a shared viewpoint, which also results in misunderstandings in the academic discourse, often stem from the heterogenous and unprecise terminology used in the names of definite outputs or their groups. Let us give here the example of personal documents also defined as biographical documents: egodocuments.⁴ One category of egodocuments are the occasional documents exemplified by correspondence.⁵ Letters, regardless of their format – official, formal, or private – provide priceless infor-

- 3 See *Spuścizny – co po nas zostaje? Zagadnienia metodologiczne. Materiały konferencji naukowych organizowanych przez Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU i Polską Akademię Nauk* [Papers: What Is Left after Us? Methodological Issues, Proceedings of Conferences Held by the Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) and the Polish Academy of Learning (PAU)], ed. A. Górski, Kraków 2018; M.M. [M. Matwijów], M.Wr. [M. Wrede], Da.K. [D. Kuźmina], “Rękopisy, zbiory, spuścizny” [Manuscripts, Collections, Papers], in: *Encyklopedia książki* [Book Encyclopaedia], vol. 2, K-Z, eds. A. Żbikowska-Migoń, M. Skalska-Zlat, Wrocław 2017, p. 494; W. Kwiatkowska, *Dorobek polskiej archiwistyki w zakresie metodyki opracowania zasobu archiwalnego* [Achievements of Polish archival science in scope of archival fonds processing methodology], Warszawa 2014. On the differences and similarities in elaborating manuscripts by librarians and archivists see also A. Gołda, K. Tałuc, *Materiały źródłowe do biografii naukowej ks. prof. Wincentego Myszoza (katalog z opracowaniem)* [Source Materials for the Scientific Biography of. Rev. Prof. Wincenty Myszor (catalogue with elaboration)] Katowice 2010, pp. 23–45.
- 4 See “Dokument” [A Document], in: *Polski słownik archiwalny* [Polish Archival Dictionary], ed. W. Maciejewska, Warszawa, Łódź 1974, p. 27.
- 5 See A. Piber, “Spuścizna archiwalna – jej istota, zawartość, układ, metody porządkowania” [The Heritage: its Essence, Content, Arrangement, Segregation Methods], *Archeion* 42 (1965), pp. 43–62.

mation not found in other types of source. They permit researchers to reconstruct the atmosphere that accompanied a definite event, the reconstruction of emotions and accomplishments of the individuals involved in the described situation or processes presented in the document. That is why correspondence constitutes a particularly precious material for biographers.⁶ This type of source allows researchers to create a full profile of the individuals they are interested in: their personalities, accomplishments, and their contribution to the development of particular areas, such as art or science.

This paper discussed the legacy of Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor, which is the result of research supervised by this paper's author between 19 April 2018 and 30 November 2019 as part of the Grant *Scientific and Research Methodology of Church Historian. A Critical Study of the Source Materials of Rev. Prof. Wincenty Myszor*. This work was financed by the Wincenty Myszor Church History Research Centre Foundation and the University of Silesia in Katowice, and has already resulted in the publication of two volumes of source materials: *Materiały źródłowe do biografii naukowej ks. prof. Wincentego Myszoza (Wybór korespondencji)* [Source Materials for the Scientific Biography of. Rev. Prof. Wincenty Myszor (selection of correspondence)], selection and edition K. Tałuć, Katowice 2019; and A. Gołda, K. Tałuć, *Materiały źródłowe do biografii naukowej ks. prof. Wincentego Myszoza (katalog z opracowaniem)* [Source Materials for the Scientific Biography of. Rev. Prof. Wincenty Myszor (catalogue with elaboration), Katowice 2020]. These publications are source editions and do not cover a detailed discussion of the content of respective letters. Therefore, the decision was made to present the results of the analysis of the scholarly correspondence in Polish of

6 See E. Rybicka, "Antropologiczne i komunikacyjne aspekty dyskursu epistolograficznego" [Anthropological and Communicational Aspects of Epistolographic Discourse], *Teksty Drugie* 2004, no. 4 (88), pp. 40–55; K. Cysewski, "Teoretyczne i metodologiczne problemy badań nad epistolografią" [Theoretical and Methodological Problems of Research into Epistolography], *Pamiętnik Literacki* 1997, fascicle 1, pp. 95–110; M. Czermińska, "Pomiędzy listem a powieścią" [Between a Letter and a Novel], *Teksty*, 1975, no. 4, pp. 28–49.

Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor preserved in the Archdiocesan Archives in Katowice. The historical and bibliological research was conducted, first of all, with the use of content analysis and document research.

The Archdiocesan Archives in Katowice preserves papers of both lay and secular individuals. Such papers are most commonly bequeathed to the institution or reach there as a result of legal decisions of the successors to the owner of the genuine property. Interestingly, in the Katowice Archdiocese in the course of the Second Synod in 2015–2016, a discussion was launched on the legal aspects of hand-written papers of the late clergy. The outcome of the works of the Committee for the Legacy of the Katowice Catholic Church was the instruction issued for the executors of the late presbyters to donate their hand-written papers, also digitized, to the Archdiocesan Archives. This regulation provided a legal framework for the complex operations needed in collecting, preserving, and making available to the public the materials to create the historical legacy of the Katowice Archdiocese.⁷

The Katowice Archives boasts a group of private academic papers whose owners were clergymen.⁸ This category encompasses the legacy of Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor, covering 25 fonds spanning 1958–2016. They are mainly personal documents and include those of a biographical character, such as copies of the birth certificate, ID, employment documents, banking documents, postage confirmations, invitations, congratulations, and occasional cards. In connection with priesthood, the legacy also contains documents relating to assuming subsequent responsibilities, for instance letters with information on ensuing parishes, visitations, and retreats are conducted. A sizeable part of the collection

7 See H. Dudala, "Spuścizny uczonych w zasobie Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego w Katowicach - wybrane problemy gromadzenia, opracowania oraz udostępniania" [The heritage of the researchers in the resources of the Archdiocese Archives in Katowice - selected issues of gathering, processing and sharing], *Bibliotheca Nostra. Śląski Kwartalnik Naukowy* 2019, no. 1 (55), p. 15.

8 See H. Dudala, *Spuścizny uczonych w zasobie...*, pp. 15–17.

is formed by documents relating to education and scholarly work. Among the document, there are: applications to the university, reports on the education at the seminary, university graduation diploma, diplomas testifying to the conferred academic degrees and titles, certificates of employment at universities, and documents testifying to the priest's participation in university life (meetings of various university units, academic inaugurations). Among the group of documents connected with Myszor's education and career there are also correspondence of a scholarly character that Myszor exchanged with various institutions, publishers, associations, and private individuals in Poland and abroad. The analysed correspondence comes from 6 fonds with reference numbers from 169/1 to 169/6, spanning 1970–2008.

CORRESPONDENCE OWNER

Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor was born in Chelm Śląski on 22 May 1941.⁹ When at the Tadeusz Kościuszko Secondary School in Katowice, he developed an interest in classical languages and literature. He then began amassing all the available publications, particularly dictionaries and manuals for learning Latin and Greek, as well as texts of classical authors of ancient literature. In 1959, he enrolled at the Higher Seminary in Cracow; having graduated from it in 1965, he was ordained a priest. In 1964, still at the Seminary, he had begun a two-year Bachelor's course run by Fr. Marian Michalski; the latter had been a lecturer of patrology at the Jagiellonian University before WWII. Thanks to this course, the future priest was able to pursue his scholarly interests in ancient culture, particularly in ancient writings; the effect of this course was the 1969 BA from the Papal Theological Department in Cracow. Fr. Myszor gained his subsequent academic titles at the Warsaw Academy

9 See M. Szram, "Ks. prof. Wincenty Myszor (22 V 1941 – 19 II 2017). Polski odkrywca gnozy wczesnochrześcijańskiej" [Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor (22 May 1941 – 19 February 2017). Polish Discoverer of Early-Christian Gnosis]. *Vox Patrum* 2017, vol. 68, pp. 844–849; *Omnia tempus habent.*, *Miscellanea theologica Vincentio Myszor quadragesimum annum laboris scientifici celebranti ab amicis, sodalibus discipulisque oblata*, eds. A. Reginek, G. Strzelczyk, A. Żądło, Katowice 2009.

of Catholic Theology (ATK). In 1969, he was conferred an MA, in 1973 becoming a doctor of theology, and in 1982 he was conferred a post-doctoral degree in theology specialising in Early Christian literature. Fr. Myszor became professor in 1970. At the Academy of Catholic Theology (later Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University) he progressed up the career ladder: from a junior lecturer to a lecturer, an associate professor, and then a professor. Furthermore, he exerted various administrative functions at that Warsaw university: he was a department director, a dean, and then pro-vice chancellor.

Myszor's scholarly interests focused on the broadly conceived questions of Christian antiquity, and within his most outstanding works are the translations and academic studies of Gnostic texts from the 2nd and 3rd century. Other works he translated include: *The Gospel of Thomas*, *The Gospel of Philip*, *The Gospel of Judas*, *The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*, and *Gnostic Apocalypses* from Nag Hammadi. His knowledge of ancient languages, mainly of Coptic and of Early Christian culture, made Fr. Myszor a sought after collaborator of many academic centres and publishers whose focus of interest covered the antiquity. The translator of manuscripts from Nag Hammadi developed long-standing and systematic cooperation with academics from the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL). He authored papers or entries for publications prepared by KUL academics or signed by institutions closely affiliated to it. He co-operated, for instance, with the editorial team of the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, initiated by the KUL Learned Society. Fr. Myszor also prepared entries for the *Universal Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* published by the Polish Society of Thomas Aquinas, another organisation affiliated to KUL. As a long-standing academic of Warsaw's ATK, he also published in its publishing house; among others, he initiated and edited the *Studia Antiquitatis Christianae patristic Series* (1977–2001). Furthermore, Fr. Myszor participated in other scholarly projects, for instance in conferences held by different universities, such as the Jagiellonian University or the University of Silesia in Katowice. He had lectures at the Silesian Theological Seminary, and when the decision was made to establish the Faculty of Theol-

ogy at the University of Silesia, he was the one assigned the task of organising it. He served as the Faculty's Dean in 1999–2008. From the very onset of his academic activity in Katowice, Fr. Myszor aimed to invigorate and consolidate the local circle of theologians, e.g., by editing *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne* and managing the journal in 1982–1990. Moreover, he cooperated with national publishers, e.g., Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe in Warsaw (PWN), Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy in Cracow (WAM), Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos in Cracow, and Księgarnia św. Jacka in Katowice.

Fr. Myszor's academic accomplishments were highly appreciated by foreign specialists in antique culture. This is reflected in the numerous invitations he received to join scientific societies. Thus, he was member of, e.g., the Association Internationale d'Études Patristiques or the International Association of Byzantine Studies. He participated in international Coptological congresses, while his papers and translations were released in international journals, e.g., *Theologische Literaturzeitung* or *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*. Fr. Myszor's academic output encompasses over 300 items, composed mainly of translations, predominantly from Coptic, non-serial publications, papers, biographical entries, dictionary entries, and bibliographies.

Having died on 15 February 2017, Fr. Wincenty Myszor was buried in his native Chełm Śląski.

ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENT OF THE CORRESPONDENCE

The preserved academic correspondence in Polish is of a formal character. Even if singular letters were addressed to named individuals, and the openings contained a friendly undertone, the content related strictly to professional matters. The addressee was thus treated as a representative of a given academic institution, editorial team of a periodical, or of a publishing house. Considering the institutional criterion, the most numerous group in the preserved legacy consists of the correspondence with universities, particular units within universities, scientific societies, or other

scientific institutions, and publishers. Among the academic institutions operating within Poland with which Fr. Myszor communicated were the following: ATK in Warsaw (later the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University), KUL, Medical University of Silesia, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Jagiellonian University, University of Łódź, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, University of Opole, University of Silesia in Katowice, University of Białystok, University of Warsaw, University of Wrocław, Pedagogical University in Bydgoszcz, Polish Academy of Sciences (Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Byzantine Studies Committee, Committee of Antique Culture Studies, Theological Sciences Committee, Department I of Social Sciences, Unit of Mediterranean Archaeology), Polish Branch of the International Association of Universalism in Warsaw, Polish Philological Association, Polish Historical Society, Polish Oriental Society, Polish Theological Society in Cracow, and the Polish Society of Thomas Aquinas, KUL Learned Society. Apart from university publishing houses, the publishers' group was formed by the following prestigious publishing houses: Instytut Prasy i Wydawnictw "Novum", Instytut Wydawniczy "Pax" in Warsaw, Księgarnia św. Jacka in Katowice, Księgarnia św. Wojciecha in Poznań, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Vocatio" in Warsaw, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Popularnonaukowe "Wiedza Powszechna" in Warsaw, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy in Warsaw, Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy "Znak", Wydawnictwo Akademickie "Dialog" in Warsaw, Wydawnictwo Andrzej Bonarski in Warsaw, Wydawnictwo "Arkady", Wydawnictwo Księży Werbistów Verbinum in Warsaw, Wydawnictwo M in Cracow, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN Spółka Akcyjna in Warsaw, Wydawnictwo Source SC Marek Knafel and Maciej Sikora in Katowice, Wydawnictwo VERBUM Marek Górny, Andrzej Gołąb, Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne in Warsaw, Wydawnictwo WAM in Cracow, and Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos in Cracow.

Fr. Myszor maintained the most animated exchanges of letters with employees of KUL and other scholarly institutions in Lublin. When counting different KUL units whose names ap-

pear in the document as an issuer or recipient, the analysed correspondence contains 40 in total (1970–2011). The correspondence tackles various issues: conferences, symposia, and editorial work initiated mainly by the Faculty of Theology and the Interdepartmental Centre for Christian Antiquity Studies (MZBnadAch). The correspondence with the latter's employees is of particular interest, since the Centre, headed subsequently by Fr. Jan Szymusiak, Leokadia Małunowiczówna, and Fr. Stanisław Longosz, following WWII, was the first to coordinate patristic studies in Poland. The organisation's scope of activity was defined by regulations in which tasks meant to monitor research into Christian antiquity throughout Poland were identified. This led to the creation of bibliographies of publications on the topic, as well as to various projects allowing encounters and shared studies of academics specialising in Early Christian culture.¹⁰ That is why conferences for translators were organised, to which Fr. Myszor, an expert in, e.g., Coptic, was regularly invited. During those meetings the participants presented their plans for the translation of texts they had selected, they debated over the principles that translators should follow when preparing typescripts for publications, and they became acquainted with the accomplishments of scholars from other countries. The first document of invitation to such a symposium, the third in a row, was received by Fr. Myszor in December 1970.¹¹ As asked by the Department's management, Fr. Myszor prepared a letter with information on his scholarly plans; furthermore, he shared his remarks on the factual level of the debate.¹² When re-

10 See M. Rusecki, "Międzywydziałowy Zakład Badań nad Antykiem Chrześcijańskim" [Interdepartmental Centre for Christian Antiquity Studies], in: *Księga pamiątkowa w 75-lecie Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego. Wkład w kulturę polską w latach 1968–1993* [Commemorative Book on the 75 Years of the Catholic University in Lublin. Contribution to Polish Culture in 1968–1993], ed. M. Rusecki, Lublin 1994, pp. 604–610.

11 See no. 1, in: *Materiały źródłowe do biografii naukowej ks. prof. Wincentego Myszoza (Wybór korespondencji)* [Source Materials for the Scientific Biography of. Rev. Prof. Wincenty Myszor (selection of correspondence)], selection and ed. K. Tałuc, Katowice 2019, p. 53.

12 See ibidem, no. 4, no. 20, no. 34, pp. 58–59, 79, 98–99.

sponding to a question about his translation plans (contained in a letter dated 26 February 1971 and signed by L. Małunowiczówna¹³) the priest responded on 2 March mentioning the translation of the Gnostic Gospels of Thomas and Philip, and of Tertulian's antiheretical writings, as well as writings from The Jung Codex. In the very same letter he suggested the debate to be extended to the issues related to the addressee of a given translation, which, in his opinion, would have an impact on the publication format, implying the potential necessity for an introduction, footnotes, and indexes.¹⁴ On another occasion, when commenting on the course of another meeting, he expressed satisfaction that foreign speakers had attended, and once again made a suggestion with respect to organisational issues. He suggested that the texts of the delivered papers should be printed, making them accessible to a wider circle of addressees, not merely to the symposium's participants. Such a move would harmonise with MZBnadAch's regulations assuming popularising the results of research conducted at the Centre. In Fr. Myszor's opinion, the texts could be released as part of the *Studia Antiquitatis Christianae* Series he was editor of at ATK.¹⁵ When Fr. Myszor did not have an opportunity to participate in the Centre's projects, he asked for the programmes of events and the summaries of papers, particularly of foreign guests, to be sent to him.¹⁶ It was thanks to the activity, particularly of Małunowiczówna, that outstanding specialists in Antique culture visited Lublin University. This was of extreme importance to Polish academic circles, who were deprived of possibilities to participate freely in European or global academic life prior to 1989. From the documents preserved in Fr. Myszor's legacy we can learn that he had the opportunity to meet such scholars, such as: Orsolina Montevocchi, professor at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore and an expert in Graeco-Roman papyri; Adalbert Hamman, French

13 See *ibidem*, no. 3, pp. 56–57.

14 See *ibidem*, no. 4, pp. 58–59.

15 See *ibidem*, no. 34, pp. 98–99.

16 See *ibidem* no. 7, no. 20, pp. 62, 79.

patrologist and lecturer at the Augustinianum Patristic Institute in Rome: Anne-Marie Malingrey, professor at Lille III University and translator of Greek patristic writings; Johannes Straub, a historian, classical philologist, professor at the University of Erlangen and the Rhenish Friedrich Wilhelm University in Bonn, and an expert in the early and middle period of the Roman Empire; and Paolo Siniscalco, historian, professor at the University of Rome, and translator of Apuleius, Minucius Felix, Egeria, Ambrose of Milan, Augustine of Hippo, Gregory the Great.

Fr. Stanisław Longosz, the last head of the Institute of Studies of Christian Antiquity, and later Centre for Studies of Christian Antiquity (which were MZBnadACh's new names) was also the originator and editor of the *Vox Patrum* journal, conceived as a platform for scholars dealing with patristic questions. At the very onset of the periodical in 1981 Fr. Myszor became its regular collaborator. Not only did he write reviews, but he also responded in his letters to the requests of the Editor-in-Chief asking him to provide information on his academic accomplishments (studies, translations, lectures and seminars run). Fr. Myszor was also expected to enrich the content of *Vox Patrum* with his own articles or fragments of the writings of the Church Fathers in his translation.¹⁷ The long-standing and active cooperation of the Silesian priest with the Lublin academic centre was appreciated: as a token of appreciation, he was offered membership in the KUL Committee for Studies of Christian Antiquity (MZBnadACh's advisory body).¹⁸ Committee members evaluated typescripts submitted for publication and, bearing in mind the high rating of the Lublin theological circle at the time, they automatically had an impact on the development of patristics in Poland.

Moreover, as an acknowledged scholar and specialist in early-Christian writings, Fr. Myszor was invited to co-create commemorative books dedicated to other academics whose works delineated

17 See ibidem, no. 37, no. 39, pp. 104–105, 108.

18 See ibidem, no. 38, pp. 106–107.

new research directions. In the preserved correspondence requests to send in texts for the publication of the following can be found: Fr. Prof. Emil Stanula, author of studies in philosophical and theological anthropology, ecclesiology, and patristic exegesis;¹⁹ Fr. Prof. Henryk Wójtowicz, classical philologist, expert in St Augustine's writings;²⁰ Fr. Prof. Marian Rusecki, author of works on methodology of fundamental theology;²¹ and Fr. Prof. Czesław Stanisław Bartnik, specialist in dogmatic theology.²² It is important to note that both the Editorial Team of *Vox Patrum* and the whole circle of Lublin patristic scholars decided to commemorate Fr. Myszor by dedicating No. 57 (2012) of the journal to him. In the introduction to that edition the following words can be read: "We are honoured to be giving our Readers another, 57th Volume of 'Vox Patrum' dedicated to Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor, the most outstanding Polish expert in ancient Gnosticism, translator from Coptic of the Nag Hammadi Library, co-organizer of the patristic life in Poland".²³

KUL is not the only academic institution in Lublin Fr. Myszor cooperated with. Between 1972 and 2011 he regularly exchanged letters with individuals employed by the KUL Learned Society (TN KUL).²⁴ Some 24 documents have been preserved testifying to that cooperation. In compliance with its statutes, TN KUL fulfilled

19 See ibidem, no. 39, pp. 108.

20 See ibidem, no. 40, pp. 109-110.

21 See ibidem, no. 41, pp. 111-112.

22 See ibidem, no. 42, pp. 113-114.

23 P. Longosz, A. Stępniewska, J. Figiel SDS, "Słowo wstępne" [The Preface], *Vox Patrum* 2012, vol. 57, p. 5.

24 On the history and organizational affiliations of the KUL Learned Society with the Lublin university see Z. Sułkowski, D. Noskowska, "Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego" [The Learned Society at the Catholic University of Lublin], in: *Księga pamiątkowa w 75-lecie Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego. Wkład w kulturę polską w latach 1968-1993* [Commemorative Book on the 75 Years of the Catholic University of Lublin. Contribution to Polish Culture in 1968-1993], ed. M. Rusecki, Lublin 1994, pp. 665-675; G. Karolewicz, E. Wiśniowski, "Zarys dziejów Towarzystwa Naukowego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego" [Outline of the History of the Learned Society at the Catholic University of Lublin], in: *Księga jubileuszowa 50-lecia Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego* [Jubilee Book on the 50 Years of the Catholic University of Lublin], ed. P. Kunowski et al., Lublin 1969, pp. 269-286.

academic tasks consisting of, among others, popularising the results of research conducted in the spirit of Christian humanism. One of the ways to promote the results of its work was publishing, which the Society's members paid particular attention to. This can be seen in the increase in the number of released titles. From the moment of the institution's establishment in 1934 until the outbreak of WWII, 58 titles were published. Since 1945, despite all the difficulties in Communist Poland, over 3,000 books signed by the Society have been prepared. One of the most important publishing initiatives of TN KUL were plans for the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, on which work had already begun in 1948. However, difficulties with obtaining necessary permits for the implementation of the project significantly delayed the print, since Volume One of the *Encyclopaedia* saw daylight only in 1973.

The first document addressed to Fr. Myszor with the request to prepare a definite entry for the publication is dated 23 February 1972.²⁵ The following year (document dated 9 September 1973 addressed to Fr. Romuald Łukaszczyk, Chief Assistant to the Editorial Team of the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* in 1969–1981²⁶), Fr. Myszor wrote about his scholarly interests to inform the publisher about other potential entries that could be commissioned. The preserved correspondence shows that, in total, he was expected to prepare 29 entries related to individuals and 14 topic entries. The theme scope was related to Gnostic literature, anti-Gnostic literature, the history of the first Christian communities, and biographies of the Church Fathers, accompanied by discussions of their achievements. From all the commissioned entries, 22 works on individuals and 8 factual pieces were published. The analysis of the correspondence between Fr. Myszor and TN KUL in relation to the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* allows us to not only identify his actual contribution to creating this informative publication, but also to discern problems in communication between the entries' author

25 See *Materiały źródłowe...*, no. 43, p. 117.

26 See *ibidem*, no. 46, p. 120.

and his addressee, as well as to see the obstacles hampering the coordination of such an extensive publishing project. Despite the instruction prepared by the editors meant to serve as a template for respective entries, some inaccuracies appeared; e.g., Fr. Myszor wrote about the problem on 16 March 1998.²⁷ In his view, authors should be given more precise instructions on the size of respective entries. His other remarks referred directly to editorial corrections introduced, which in some cases he disagreed with, concerned that they might be misleading to readers.

The *Catholic Encyclopaedia* was not the only publication of TN KUL to which Myszor contributed with his texts. He was also asked to assist in creating, e.g., *Literature of Ancient Greece*.²⁸ In the second volume of that study he authored two essays: “Apostolic Fathers and Apologists of the 2nd Century” and “Hetero-Orthodox Literature and St Irenaeus of Lyon”. Furthermore, Lublin was home to another institution that was systematically communicating with Fr. Myszor: the Polish Society of Thomas Aquinas (PTTZA). Founded in 1997 as a branch of the International Society of Thomas Aquinas, the Society aimed to promulgate the thoughts of their Patron through organising academic conferences, forming research teams studying the writings of St Thomas Aquinas, and publishing works thematically connected with thinking in the spirit of classical realist philosophy.²⁹ Just like TN KUL, PTTZA also launched a major publishing project in their first year of operation; it implied preparing *Universal Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* of which 10 volumes, together with a supplement, were prepared: the publication’s entries provided overviews of different systems, schools, trends, tendencies in European and Oriental philosophy, and biographies of outstanding thinkers.

27 See *ibidem*, no. 56, p. 137.

28 See *ibidem*, no. 61, pp. 146–147.

29 See A. Maryniarczyk, “Służyć prawdzie. O powodach powołania Polskiego Towarzystwa Tomasza z Akwinu” [To Serve the Truth. On the Reasons of Establishing the Society of Thomas Aquinas], interviewer K. Stępień, *Człowiek w Kulturze* 2003, no. 15, pp. 19–27.

Fr. Myszor's correspondence with Fr. Andrzej Maryniarczyk, academic editor of the *Universal Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, Elżbieta Grendeka editorial assistant, or Wojciech Daszkiewicz, also editorial assistant, includes 26 letters written in 2001–2009.³⁰ Fr. Myszor regularly wrote letters to the individuals supervising the effective course of the publishing process. This also resulted from the time schedule of the publication of subsequent volumes, and a large number of entries were prepared by Fr. Myszor. Each year, a new volume (except for the first and ninth ones) included at least one essay he authored. The entries were related to gnosis, the history of the first Christian communities, or writings of the Church Fathers. The preserved documents, written in a very conventional format without containing any personal comments, show that Fr. Myszor submitted 16 entries for the *Encyclopaedia* of which only one was not published, namely the biographical note on Kurt Rudolph.

The universities Fr. Myszor was affiliated to the longest were ATK in Warsaw and the University of Silesia in Katowice. For many years, from 1972 to 2001, he also ran courses at the Silesian Seminary. The latter two institutions were additionally connected with *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne* (*ŚSHT*), a periodical established in response to the appeal of Bishop Herbert Bednorz, who in 1966 requested a centre of theological studies to be created in Katowice.³¹ *ŚSHT* was to constitute a platform for Silesian theologians. Fr. Remigiusz Sobański, member of the first editorial committee and the periodical's Editor-in-Chief as of 1969, from the very beginning faced great challenges when preparing subsequent editions. The problems did not stem from a shortage of valuable papers to be published, but from divergent visions of the periodical's shape that the Editor-in-Chief and Bishop Bednorz had. Fr. Sobański wanted

30 See from no. 61 to no. 91, pp. 146–147.

31 See D. Bednarski, "Geneza i historia czasopisma „Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne”" [Genesis and History of the *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne*] 2017, vol. 50, fascicle 2, pp. 229–249.

to make it a journal of repute, at least among Polish academic circles. Meanwhile, the Katowice Ordinary was of the opinion that the annual should focus predominantly on topics related to the local Catholic Church.³²

Since Fr. Myszor's academic interests were far from regional problems, his contacts with the *ŚSHT* Editors were but occasional until 1982, when he took over as the Editor-in-Chief as instructed by Bishop Bednorz. The correspondence directly related to *ŚSHT* in Fr. Myszor's legacy is made up of 20 documents. Before Fr. Myszor became involved in co-creating the periodical, Fr. Sobański a young scholar at the time, has proposed collaboration. The documents from 1971 referred to submitting for publication in *ŚSHT* his translation of the *Gospel of St Thomas* he had worked on together with Albertyna Szczudłowska, employed at the Egyptology Department of the University of Warsaw. Apart from this translation, Fr. Myszor also submitted for publication a review of the book by Władysław Dziwulski, *Victory of Christianity in the Ancient World*.³³ Having succeeded Fr. Romuald Rak, another Editor-in-Chief of the periodical, Fr. Myszor faced exactly the same difficulties as his predecessors. He made great efforts to try to obtain articles for publication while fulfilling the guidelines set by Katowice Bishop's. Finally, he succeeded in updating the issues, and his efforts were appreciated by Archbishop Damian Zimoń, successor to Bishop Bednorz, thanking him for his 12 years of directing the periodical. In 1995, Fr. Myszor ceased being the periodical's Editor-in-Chief, however, he did remain a member of its Editorial Board.

Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne was published by Księgarnia św. Jacka, whose beginnings date back to 1925. The Vicar General of the Apostolic Administration at the time, Fr. Teofil Bromboszcz, wanted to establish an institution able to take publishing orders of

32 See J. Myszor, "Ks. prof. Remigiusz Sobański, redaktor „Śląskich Studiów Historyczno-Teologicznych” (1968–1975)” [Fr. Prof. Remigiusz Sobański, Editor of *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne* (1968–1975)], *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne* 2001, vol. 34, pp. 39–40.

33 See *Materiały źródłowe...*, from no. 92 to no. 99, pp. 212–220.

the Apostolic Administration for Polish Silesia, and in the future satisfy the needs of the Katowice Diocese. These plans were reflected in the publishing offer of the Księgarnia św. Jacka, until the transformation led to its domination by prayer books, songbooks, catechism books, liturgical books, hagiographic publications, and Catholic press.³⁴ The first scholarly title printed by the Katowice Publishing House was the above-mentioned *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne*, which is made possible to trace in the correspondence between the Publishing House employees and Fr. Myszor as the annual's Editor-in-Chief.³⁵ Following 1989, particularly after the Theological Faculty had been established at the University of Silesia, Księgarnia św. Jacka gradually began to release scholarly publications more often. There are documents addressed to Fr. Myszor from 1995 in which the principles for biographical notes meant for the *Biographical Dictionary of the Silesian Clergy of the 19th and 20th Centuries* were discussed.³⁶ In subsequent years (1996–1997), Fr. Myszor was asked to provide factual consultation for the correction of papers by authors who had passed away before their works were published.³⁷ Two last documents from 2006 concern the release of the translation of *The Gospel by Judas*.³⁸ In total, the legacy of Fr. Myszor, apart from the letters related to *ŚSHT*, contains 11 letters testifying to the communication with Księgarnia św. Jacka in relation to scholarly issues.

Being one of the few patrologists in Poland with a command of the Coptic language, and who could easily investigate source texts in his research, Fr. Myszor was eagerly invited to cooperate in the publication of various encyclopaedias or dictionaries.

34 See I. Mierzwa, "Wydawnictwo diecezjalne Księgarnia i Drukarnia Katolicka – Księgarnia św. Jacka" [Diocesan Publishing House: Księgarnia św. Jacka: Catholic Bookshop and Printing House], in: *Kościół śląski wspólnotą misyjną* [The Church of Silesia: a Missionary Community], eds. W. Świątkiewicz, J. Wycisło, Katowice 1995, pp. 301–312.

35 See *Materiały źródłowe...*, no. 103, no. 104, pp. 226–227.

36 See *ibidem*, no. 112, no. 113, no. 116, pp. 240–242, 245.

37 See *ibidem*, no. 114, no. 115, no. 117, no. 118, pp. 243–244, 246–247.

38 See *ibidem*, no. 120, no. 121, pp. 249–250.

The correspondence in this respect does not only come from academic institutions, but also from large national publishing houses justly enjoying high repute, such as Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN. Four documents from 1998–2001 have been preserved testifying to Fr. Myszor having been commissioned entries in *The Grand PWN Encyclopaedia*³⁹ and one from 1993 asking him to collaborate on the *Encyclopaedia of Byzantine Culture*.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Fr. Myszor conducted an interesting exchange of views on preparing for the printing of his academic publications with Cracow publishing houses: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos and Wydawnictwo WAM.

Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, a publishing house, was created in the aftermath of the transformation in post-1989 Poland. It was founded by a group of employees affiliated to the Jagiellonian University in Cracow and, to be more precise, with the Institute of Religious Studies. Its main goal was to prepare University scholars to publish their studies. The founders of Nomos, Irena Borowik, Janusz Mariański, and Andrzej Sadowski, also planned to publish translations of foreign authors, previously absent in the Polish market, dealing with issues of the widely-understood history of religion. It was Irena Borowik who initiated letter communication with Fr Myszor in 1993, asking him to write a preface to the Polish translation of Kurt Rudolph's *Gnosis. The Nature and History of Gnosticism*. In the very same letter she asked Fr Myszor to take part in a conference held by the Institute of Religious Studies at the Jagiellonian University she was affiliated to. Furthermore, she presented Nomos's publishing plans, foreseeing a place for Fr. Myszor among the Editorial Board of the planned *Classica Religiosa* Series.⁴¹ As a result of this collaboration, Fr. Myszor participated in structuring the content of the Series.⁴²

39 See ibidem, from no. 123 to no. 126, pp. 255–260.

40 See ibidem, no. 122, p. 254.

41 See ibidem, no. 127, pp. 263–264.

42 See ibidem, from no. 128 to no. 136, pp. 265–277.

The transformation of the publishing market in Poland in the early 1990s, leading to the establishment of new publishing houses, e.g., Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, allowed for the further development of already-existing ones and the implementation of new publishing plans. An example of such a publisher was Wydawnictwo WAM, one of the oldest Catholic publishing houses in Poland, founded in 1867 when the Society of Jesus returned to the Polish territories. Until the outbreak of WWI the Jesuit Publishing House (different names were used then: Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy, Wydawnictwo Księży Jezuitów) printed mainly literature for popular circulation. In the 1920s and 1930s, the publishing house was divided between the Cracow and Warsaw Provinces. The Cracow-based publishing house assumed the name Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy (WAM). In 1918–1939, the Cracow Jesuits published texts that varied in genre. Following the end of WWII, the activity of the Publishing House was limited by censorship legislation, as well as other regulations, such as, e.g., paper rationing. The next stage of WAM's development began in the early 1990s, when the publishers set up their own printing plant, which significantly contributed to shaping their publishing offer. At that point one of the publication segments signed by WAM were scholarly studies, for example, authored by individuals affiliated with the Jesuit University of Philosophy and Education Ignatianum. The presence of scholarly titles in WAM's offer was the ambition of subsequent directors of the Publishing House, e.g. Fr. Józef Polak SJ, Fr. Dariusz Piotrowski SJ, Fr. Jacek Sepsiak SJ, and Fr. Henryk Pietras SJ.⁴³

With the background of Byzanthology and patrology, Fr. Pietras, owing to shared scholarly interests, was on good terms with Fr. Myszor. This is testified to by two documents from 1996 and

43 H. Pietras, "Wydajemy to, czym żyje człowiek" [We Are Publishing What Man Lives with], interview by K. R. Jaśkiewicz, *Notas Wydawniczy* 2007, no. 12, pp. 26–31; *Wydawnictwo WAM 1872–1997. Historia, bibliografia 1972–1996* [Wydawnictwo WAM 1872–1997. History, Bibliography 1972–1996], comps. Z. Wilkosz, Ludwik Grzebień SJ, Kraków 1997.

1997.⁴⁴ They speak of Fr. Myszor preparing for WAM the translation of Irenaeus of Lyon's *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*. The correspondence from following years (11 letters in 1998–2008) bears testimony to Fr. Myszor's commitment to, among others, the co-creation of translations of apocryphal writings edited by Fr. Marek Starowieyski. For the subsequent volumes of this publication Fr. Myszor prepared six texts with the back matter: *Gnostic Apocalypses from Nag Hammadi*, *The Gospel of Thomas*, *Coptic Papyrus from Utrecht No. 1*, *Coptic Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*, *The Gospel of Judas*, *Coptic Legends of Simon and Teonoe*.⁴⁵

Participation in the projects implemented by universities and societies, more extensively described above, allowed Fr. Myszor to not only be updated on the development of Polish research into Christian antiquity, but also to enrich his academic tools. Preparation of subsequent texts, translations, and papers to be delivered at symposia and conferences, required many pieces of information to be obtained, as well as the purchase of Polish and foreign publications. Fr. Myszor's book collection, amounting to about 3,000 titles, is now available to the public in the Theological Library of the University of Silesia.⁴⁶ His preserved letters constitute a document that at least partially recreates the history of the creation of that book collection, enriching it with new acquisitions. One of the ways of reaching books or periodicals was their purchase. What can prove particularly interesting in this respect is the period prior to Poland's transformation, when the publishing market and sale of books was politically-dependent.⁴⁷ Obtaining publica-

44 See *Materiały źródłowe ...*, no. 137, no. 138, pp. 281–282.

45 See *ibidem*, no. 142, no. 143, no. 145, no. 147, no. 148, pp. 286–287, 290–291, 293–294.

46 See A. Muc, "Dar ks. prof. dr. hab. Wincentego Myszoza dla Biblioteki Teologicznej Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach" [Donation of Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor for the Theological Library at the University of Silesia in Katowice], *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne* 2013, vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 208–215. Information on the book collection and collection catalogue available at: https://myszor.pl/biblioteka/index.php/Strona_g%C5%82%C3%B3wna

47 See P. A. Kondek, *Papierowa rewolucja. Oficjalny obieg książek w Polsce w latach 1948–1955* [Paper Revolution. Official Circulation of Books in Poland in 1948–1955], Warszawa 1999; P. A. Kondek, *Władza i wydawcy. Polityczne uwarunkowania produkcji*

tions of interest to a scholar was particularly difficult, especially when the scholarly disciplines not defined by the Communist regime as priorities were concerned, with patrology and patristics serving as exemplary cases in this respect. This is visibly proven by, e.g., the difficulties Catholic publishers had when they attempted to purchase paper for printing. This, in turn, translated into low production levels compared to the overall capacity. Fr. Myszor obtained the materials he needed for his scholarly work mainly thanks to the personal contacts he made during conferences and symposia. Another means (an official one) was to resort to the mediation of the institutions founded to control the system of publication distribution: first of all the House of Books State Enterprise (PPDK), made up of a network of bookshops and second-hand bookshops; the Centre for Dissemination of Scientific Publications of the Polish Academy of Sciences (ORPAN); bookshops run under the auspices of the Clubs of International Press and Books (EMPIK); or publishers' own bookshops (e.g., at universities). ORPAN traded in university publications, including foreign ones.⁴⁸ The preserved correspondence features two documents containing Fr. Myszor's requests to order from the Ars Polonia Foreign Trade Central Office publications released in, e.g.: Berlin, Leipzig, Paris, and Rome. Another source from where books could be purchased were the House of Books (Dom Książki) bookshops. Fr. Myszor exchanged letters with bookshops in Cracow,⁴⁹

książek w Polsce w latach 1944–1949 [Power and Publishers. Political Conditionings of Book Production in Poland in 1944–1949], Warszawa 1993.

- 48 See B. Klukowski, M. Tobera, *W tym niezwykłym czasie. Początki transformacji polskiego rynku książki (1989–1995)* [In this Peculiar Time. The Outset of the Polish Book Market Transformation (1989–1995)], Warszawa 2013; M. Tobera, "Początki transformacji polskiego rynku książki. Rekonstrukcja najważniejszych wydarzeń z lat 1989–1995 (część pierwsza)" [First Years of Polish Book Trade Industry Transformation. Reconstruction of 1989–1995 Milestone (Part One)], *Przegląd Biblioteczny* 2010, fascicle 3, pp. 285–303.
- 49 Archdiocesan Archives in Katowice (below: AAKavol.), *Papers of Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor, Official documents 1965–1975*, document from the Księgarnia Krakowskiej Spółki z o.o., 25 Feb 1970 r., reference no. 169/1, f. 69; AAKavol., *Papers of Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor...*, W. Myszor, Letter to Dom Książki - Bookshop no. 20 of the Scientific Second-Hand Bookshop in Cracow, 20 Dec 1971, ref. no. 169/1, f. 153.

Lodz,⁵⁰ Poznan,⁵¹ and Warsaw.⁵² The requested books tackled e.g., grammar issues of ancient languages and questions relating to the translation of works from Christian antiquity. Fr. Myszor evidently succeeded in finally obtaining some of the titles enumerated in these documents, since they can be found in his book collection. Let us give some examples of those: the manual to learn Egyptian titled *Manuel de la langue égyptienne. Grammaire, tableau des hieroglyphes, textes et glossaire* from 1889 by Victor Loret, a French professor of archaeology and historian of Egyptian art; or the 1873 *Lexicon Syriacum in usum Chrestomathiae suae Syriacae* by Pius Zingerle, an Austrian Orientalist, expert in Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, and Syrian. Owing to the range of his scholarly interests, Fr. Myszor also sought publications provided by Polish publishers specialising in religious books. Prior to 1989, the operations of such institutions, particularly Catholic publishing houses, had encountered many obstacles, therefore they could hardly boast any specialist titles which matched Fr. Myszor's research focus. Nonetheless, in the analysed materials correspondence with the Społeczne Instytut Wydawniczy "Znak" has been preserved; for example, in 1971, he acquired the study titled *The Church in Poland. The 16th–18th Century. Studies in the History of the Catholic Church in Poland*, Volume 2, edited by Jerzy Kłoczowski.⁵³ The situation altered after the country's transformation when the market began to have a decisive impact on the publishing plans, while access to publications no longer required a long-lasting letter exchange.

- 50 AAKavol., *Papers of Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor...*, Document from the Państwowe Przedsiębiorstwo „Dom Książki” Księgarni Wydawnictw Importowanych „Horyzont” in Lodz, 20 July 1973, ref. no. 169/1, f. 238.
- 51 AAKavol., *Papers of Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor...*, Document from the Scientific Second-Hand Bookshop of the P.P. „Dom Książki”, Poznań 17 Sept 1970, ref. no. 169/1, f. 127.
- 52 AAKavol., *Papers of Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor...*, Stanisław Jamiołkowski, Information on having received the order at the Państwowe Przedsiębiorstwo „Dom Książki” in Warsaw, 20 March 1973, ref. no. 169/1, f. 212.
- 53 AAKavol., *Papers of Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor...*, Document from the Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy „Znak” in Cracow, 28 Jan 1971, ref. no. 169/1, f. 86. See also: AAKavol., *Papers of Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor...*, W. Myszor, Document to the Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy „Znak” in Cracow, 30 May 1971, ref. no. 169/1, f. 111.

The documents among Fr. Myszor's legacy signed by individuals affiliated to the remaining above-mentioned academic institutions (particularly universities) or to publishing houses, do not constitute a numerous group, and they most often contain proposals to write papers for definite publications, invitations to conferences, or requests for a review. Judging by their number it can be concluded that Fr. Prof. Myszor's scholarly contacts with university centres outside of Lublin, Katowice, Warsaw, or Cracow were sporadic. Such a judgement may, however, prove false, since it must be remembered that the letters discussed in the present paper constitute merely a fragment of the priest's legacy. What remains unstudied are, for example, documents registered on electronic carriers. Additionally, it should be borne in mind that the form of the legacy transferred to the Archdiocesan Archives had been to a great degree designed by its owner. He was the one who decided on the selection of the materials and the form in which he transferred them to the Archives.

ANALYSIS OF THE CORRESPONDENCE FORMAT

The preserved documents in the form of manuscripts, typescripts, and computer printouts are in French, German, Polish, and more rarely in Latin, and together with other documents they have been incorporated into six volumes enclosed in cardboard bindings. In each volume the documents are ordered chronologically in view of the date of their creation. In the case of the analysed documents it was the date put on them by the sender. Sometimes the legacy owner changed this principle. This happened when he made copies of his letters, especially those sent abroad. He would place such a copy directly before the reply document. Most of the preserved correspondence, particularly those in Polish, are addressed to the legacy owner. The contents of those genuine documents, as well as the copies, were most commonly written on A4 sheets. The half-the-size-smaller format, namely A5, was used rarely. The document was the format used, e.g., by the Diocesan Curia in Katowice to write brief documents, informing on some-

thing. As of the early 1990s, the correspondence with academic institutions or publishing houses applied official forms (letterhead) containing permanent elements of definite typographic shape. This applied mainly to the letterhead, including such pieces of information as the institution's name, its logo or the trademark. Additionally, numbers were placed on respective documents reflecting the office system of the document's issuer; documents were stamped and hand-signed. What a researcher might find interesting are, albeit not frequent, hand-written notes, commentaries of the recipient, that Fr. Myszor, put down directly on the letter's content or in its margin. They refer to, e.g., the proposal put forth by the sender of the document.

CONCLUSION

The preserved correspondence not only constitutes a valuable source of knowledge of the scholarly activity of Fr. Prof. Wincenty Myszor, or of the means he used to create his research tools, but also of the operation mode of the institutions the patrologist had an opportunity to cooperate with. The analysed documents are thus worthy of being discussed from various perspectives in various contexts. The nearest research perspective that can be identified is the more thorough investigation of the preserved correspondence. The letters exchanged with foreign scholars require a deeper study. The analysis of this part of the correspondence will allow researchers to, for example, fill in the gaps in the picture of Polish science, of the state of definite scholarly disciplines, particularly in Communist Poland when scientists were faced with numerous restrictions imposed by the regime. In turn, the analysis of the preserved correspondence from a bibliological point of view could contribute to completing the literature on the history of the publishing market in Poland.

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PRINCIPLES FOR DEVELOPING THE COLLECTIONS AT THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF POLAND

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ABSTRACT

The most important task regarding developing the collections of the National Library of Poland is considered to collect the entirety of printed and digital materials, and the most valuable historic manuscripts: books, periodicals, newspapers, musical scores, atlases, maps, globes, and ephemera documenting social life, as well as sound and audio-visual recordings and electronic publications. The collections are built by means of the legal deposit, purchases, donations, exchanges, acquisitions and the making of copies. Traditionally, national libraries archive the entire publishing output of their country. Poland and some other countries add *exteriorica* to this, that is publications from outside the state's territory but pertaining to the country or nation in question. With specific exceptions, one copy of every publication is preserved in perpetuity, including a copy of each subsequent edition. In recent years the National Library of Poland has been returning to its fundamental task of building a complete collection of Polish publications and an archive of key historical Polish writings.

KEYWORDS: national libraries, collections, legal deposit, library collection development, National Library of Poland

Decisions about developing collections are of key importance for every library, particularly those that hold items in perpetuity and do not regularly review their collections, such as national libraries. For such libraries, the decision to collect certain items has permanent consequences, not just related to storage space but also to the cost of buying, storing, conserving and, in the case of nineteenth and twentieth-century publications, deacidifying items.¹ The principles should apply to purchases, donations and exchanges. Not only do they define what a library considers to fall within its circle of interest, but what it would like to buy – and above all what it is obliged to buy.² Furthermore, the principles define what books are *not* collected, which is of particular importance when decisions are made whether or not to accept donations. For national libraries, the major source of acquisitions is the legal deposit that publishers are obliged to provide, while purchases, donations and exchanges represent a smaller part of the annual acquisitions of publications. For example, at the National Library of Poland, the legal deposit constituted 88.75% of acquisitions in 2020, while purchases accounted for 1.1%, exchanges for 1.11% and donations for 9.04%.³

- 1 At the end of 2020, the collection of the National Library, including books since 1801, periodicals since 1801, ephemera, electronic publications, manuscripts, early printed materials (fifteenth to eighteenth century), music scores, sound and audio-visual recordings, prints, drawings, photographs, maps and microfilms consisted of 10,078,489 vol., or including the 39,575 vol. duplicate copies, a total of 10,118,064 vol. The National Library collection is kept in storerooms with a surface area of approximately 13,000 m².
- 2 The phrase „is obliged to” does not mean buying every publication missing from the set as defined by the collection development principles at any price; purchases should be made at market price, not above the level of an objective evaluation.
- 3 Registered collections acquired in 2020 came by the following routes:
 - Legal deposits: 132,780 vol. (in 2019: 158,571 vol.)
 - Purchases: 1,633 vol. (in 2019: 1,741 vol.)
 - Domestic and foreign exchanges: 1,667 vol. (in 2019: 4,845 vol.)
 - Donations: 13,533 vol. (in 2019: 10,113 vol.)In total, 149,613 vol. (in 2019: 175,270 vol.).

Some national libraries either extend or limit the principles of developing collections in line with their local needs or earlier decisions. Traditionally, national libraries archive the entire publishing output of their country. Poland and some other countries add *exteriorica* to this, that is publications from outside the state's territory but pertaining to the country or nation in question.

Poland, having existed as a state from the tenth century, lost its independence in 1795. It was partitioned between Austria, Prussia and Russia until 1918. A large number of Polish writers, composers and academics emigrated to countries where they could work and publish freely, as in the occupied Polish territories it was forbidden to deal with Polish history or even use the Polish language – to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the occupying power in question. There were also Poles who produced literary output in compliance with the rules introduced by the partitioning powers but worked beyond the borders of the former Polish territories, without renouncing their affiliation to the Polish nation. If we add to this the individuals who emigrated during the German occupation in the Second World War (1939–1945) and during the period of Communist domination (1945–1989), it soon becomes clear that in order to have a full picture of Polish publishing activity and Poland's written heritage, we need to consider the sum of Polish writing from the country's territory, from within its borders after its loss of independence, and from Poles living in exile.

This is particularly important in the case of the National Library of Poland. The Library owes its creation to a private initiative by Bishop Józef Załuski in his *Programma literarium* of 1732. This was the first public announcement by the 30-year-old bibliologist, one of the most outstanding promoters of the modern idea of libraries, and national libraries in particular. The sheer audacity of his programme of academic works, regardless of whether they could be accomplished or not, is truly admirable. The basis for the planned publications was to be a library which aspired to collect the entire written national heritage: printed materials and manuscripts, of the greatest importance for the development of historical research.

Załoski's programme can arguably be considered the first harbinger of the Enlightenment in Poland. It also formed the programme for the operation of the first national library⁴ opened to readers in Warsaw, Poland's capital, on 8 August 1747, thanks to Załoski's co-operation with his brother Andrzej Załoski, Bishop of Cracow. Following the death of its founders, in compliance with their will, the library became the property of the Polish state and was named the Library of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

One of the first national libraries and largest public libraries in Europe, the Library of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was closed down and taken to St Petersburg in 1794, on the decision of Empress Catherine II, to become the founding collection of the Imperial Public Library.⁵ For this reason, between 1795 and 1918 no central institution existed collecting printed and handwritten works from the lands that had once formed Poland.

Following the closure of the Library of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, some smaller libraries aimed to fill the gap it left, albeit on a smaller scale. Among the most important of these, mention should be made of the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, one of the rare Polish libraries not to have been damaged since its foundation in the fifteenth century and which, thanks to the slightly less strict policy of the Austrian partition authorities in the nineteenth century, continued collecting Polish books during the Partitions⁶. The libraries of other universities were not as fortunate. Given the difficulties building Polish collections by institutions during the Partitions in the nineteenth century, great credit for collecting and preserving Polish collections, including

4 B.S. Kupść, „Biblioteka Załoskich (1747–1794)” [The Załoski Library (1747–1794)], in: *50 lat Biblioteki Narodowej Warszawa 1928–1978* [Fifty years of the National Library in Warsaw 1928–1978], Warsaw 1984, p. 13.

5 Ibidem, p. 24.

6 J. Zathę, *Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1364–1492* [The Jagiellonian Library (1364–1492)], in: *Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, vol. I, 1364–1775 [The History of the Jagiellonian Library], ed I. Zarębski, Kraków 1966, pp. 14–21; M. Galos, Z. Kubic, *Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1775–1835* [The Jagiellonian Library (1775–1835)], in: *Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* [The History of the Jagiellonian Library], vol. II, 1775–1918, ed. P. Lechowski, Kraków 2017, p. 49.

the books and periodicals printed at the time, must go to private institutions and those set up by private individuals, such as the National Ossoliński Institute in Lviv (ZNiO, transferred after the Second World War to Wrocław), the Library of the Zamość Entail in Warsaw (BOZ, 95% destroyed by the German Nazis in 1939–1944), the Krasiński Library in Warsaw (its most precious collection almost entirely burnt by the German Nazis in 1939–1944; only part of the collection of nineteenth and twentieth-century books and periodicals survived), the Princes Czartoryski Library in Cracow, the Count Tarnowski Library at Dzików Castle, the Kórnik Castle Library, and the Raczyński Library in Poznań. To this list should be added libraries operating outside Poland during the Partitions, such as the Polish Library in Paris and the Polish Museum in Rapperswil, Switzerland.

The National Library of Poland was re-founded after Poland regained its independence in 1918, and formally opened in 1928. However, it was closed down again and to a great extent destroyed during German air raids on Warsaw in 1939 and by being set on fire by German army in 1944. The National Library has thus been closed down twice in its history and twice had to reopen. Each time it opened, it began collecting of the entirety of writing produced by the Polish state and nation almost from scratch.⁷

In the Order of the President of the Polish Republic of 24 February 1928 re-establishing the National Library, the goal of the National Library is defined as „collecting and preserving the entirety of the intellectual output of the Polish nation, expressed in handwriting, print or by any other mechanical or chemical means, inasmuch as this applies to printed works, literature in foreign languages referring to the Polish people, and literature in foreign languages essential for the development of the Polish thought”.

This sentence reappears in later legal acts referring to the National Library, including the Act on Libraries of 9 April 1968 („pre-

7 T. Makowski, „Biblioteka Narodowa jako symbol niepodległości” [The National Library as a symbol of independence], in: *Eseje o niepodległej* [Essays on independent Poland], ed. Rafał Wiśniewski, Warsaw 2018, pp. 348–363.

serving the written heritage of Poland and pertaining to Poland”) and the Act on Libraries of 27 June 1997, currently in force (Art. 17.1.1), which states that the tasks of the National Library are primarily to „collect, catalogue, make available and archive in perpetuity library materials originating in Poland, and originating abroad but pertaining to Poland”.

The Charter of the National Library granted by the Minister of Culture and National Heritage defines the framework for the collection of the National Library as follows:

„Article 8.1. The Library shall collect, catalogue, preserve and make available library materials containing recorded expressions of human thought, regardless of their physical medium and the means used to record their contents, in particular documents of the following types: graphic materials (writing, cartographic, iconographic and musical materials), sound recordings, audio-visual materials and electronic materials.

2. The task as described in Article 8.1. applies in particular to:

- 1) Major Polish cultural achievements in the sphere of writing
- 2) The entirety of the national publishing output
- 3) All Polish publications, and publications appearing abroad pertaining to Poland
- 4) Foreign publications in the social sciences and humanities, with a particular emphasis on bibliography, essential for the development of Polish science and culture, particularly information publications.”

Two important documents regulating the principles of developing the collection were created in the post-Second World War period. The first is the *Principles of Developing Collections*, introduced by the *Directive of the Director of the National Library of 9 January 1974*. The *Directive* defines the collection profile as related to the humanities, owing to the majority of literature on the humanities in the foreign collection. The priority adopted was to create a universal information centre, whose core was to be formed by foreign information publications, Polish information publications and a set of central catalogues. This was to be the second distinguishing feature of the National Library, besides collecting all Polish publications („domestic Polonica”) and „patriotics” (or „foreign Polonica”).

With the *Directive No. 19/92 of the Director of the National Library of 10 December 1992 on the Principles of Developing Collections at the National Library*, the decision was taken to introduce more precise principles for developing the collections, particularly with respect to foreign publications and special collections. The aspiration to collect the entirety of Polish printed materials published both within Poland and outside its borders, and to specialise in bibliology, was maintained.

In 2010 the Director of the National Library set up a team for defining the development concept for the collections of the National Library. This team produced a report analysing different aspects of the collection development policy, containing proposals for new solutions. When elaborating the principles formulated in *Directive No. 70/2021 of 31 December 2012 of the Director of the National Library*, the material that had been collected was used and the observations it contained were analysed. These principles were updated to a minor extent by *Directive No. 155/2018 of 24 December 2018 of the Director of the National Library*, which remains in force today.⁸

The most important task regarding developing the collections of the National Library of Poland is considered to be collecting the entirety of printed and digital writing, and the most valuable historic manuscripts. The aspiration of the initial founders of the National Library of Poland was to collect a complete set of Polish books and books pertaining to Poland; however, they also collected European writing in its broadest sense. Besides incunabula, books from the sixteenth and particularly the seventeenth century, the collection contained many contemporary books, that is to say from the eighteenth century. Bishop Józef Załuski tried to have printers, publishers and authors send the newly-opened library copies of recently released works.⁹ The obligation on printers to send to the National Library the first copy of each publication in Poland before it was

8 *Directive No. 155/2018 of the Director of the National Library of 24 December 2018.*

9 P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, „Zakład Starych Druków i Ośrodek Opieki nad Dawną Książką” [The Early Printed Books Department and the Centre of Care for Old Books], in: *50 lat Biblioteki Narodowej*, p. 159.

offered for sale was introduced by the Polish Parliament (Sejm) in 1780.¹⁰ Today, in compliance with the provisions of the Act on Library Legal Deposits of 7 November 1996 and the Regulation of the Minister of Culture and Art of 6 March 1997 on the list of libraries entitled to receive a legal deposit of specific types of publications, and the principles and modes of their transfer, and also the Regulation of 24 May 1999 amending it, the National Library receives two copies of all publications appearing in Poland, namely books, periodicals, newspapers, musical scores, atlases, maps, globes and ephemera documenting social life, in addition to sound and audio-visual recordings and electronic publications. This provides the legal grounds for the National Library to create a complete archive of Polish writing, which serves – as in other countries – to preserve the nation’s cultural heritage, establish a national bibliography and produce publishing statistics.

Currently, „library materials” are defined as publications and other items containing the recorded expression of human thought, including items meant for dissemination and multiplication, regardless of the physical medium and the means by which the contents are recorded. Items of other kinds that form part of collections developed with a particular purpose in mind or legacies consisting mainly of real library materials are also regarded as library materials.¹¹

The National Library, with certain exceptions, collects items in their original form, and acquires or creates copies of them in order to complete the collection and make it available to readers. This includes supplements to publications, if they constitute a part of the main item, constitute the main subject of the description of the main item, or contain contents relating to the main item, and

10 T. Zarzębski, *Polskie prawo biblioteczne 1773–1990* [Polish library law 1773–1990], Warsaw 1991, pp. 21 and 70.

11 Załącznik nr 1 do zarządzenia nr 155/2018 dyrektora Biblioteki Narodowej z dnia 24 grudnia 2018 r. *Jednolite zasady gromadzenia zbiorów* [Annex No.1 to Directive No. 155/2018 of the Director of the National Library of 24 December 2018. Consolidated Principles of Developing Collections], p. 4.

those which are independent library materials. The National Library does not collect advertising supplements of a commercial character attached to any type of publication. Copies of magazines containing various supplements do not constitute separate items.¹²

Collections are built by means of the legal deposit, purchases, donations, exchanges, acquisitions and the making of copies. With specific exceptions, one copy of every publication is archived in perpetuity, including a copy of each subsequent edition. The remaining copies can be given to reference book collections, exchanged with other libraries through the Building and Completing the Collection Section or given to the Exchangeable Resources Section to be kept for the needs of other libraries.

The legal deposit copy is received by the National Library Office and transferred to the relevant section for the type of library material in question not later than the next working day. Decisions about which copy to archive in perpetuity are made by the cataloguer.¹³

Publications in the areas of bibliology, library studies and related disciplines are collected by the Bibliological Collection Department and stored separately. Some of the specialised departments have their own specialists, and these specialists are responsible for cataloguing books and papers from periodicals and collective works in their specialist field for the sake of the catalogue and the national bibliography. For example, publications in the field of geography are catalogued by the Cartographic Collection Department and publications in the field of music are catalogued by the Musical Collection Section. It should also be remembered that the same specialists at the National Library who catalogue books, also catalogue papers from post-conference proceedings, papers from all the academic journals published in Poland and from major socio-cultural journals (over 2,600 titles),¹⁴ as well as from seven

12 Ibidem,

13 Ibidem, p. 7.

14 In 2020 almost 83,000 papers from 2,648 periodicals (6,229 issues) were catalogued. *Sprawozdanie Biblioteki Narodowej za rok 2020* [National Library 2020 report], Warsaw 2021, pp. 44–45.

major dailies and 15 weeklies.¹⁵ In the majority of cases, the cataloguing is conducted by graduates in the discipline in question, often with a doctoral degree in the discipline which the publications pertain to. Selecting cataloguers in line with their educational background, specialisation and experience means that catalogue records can be created quickly and accurately.¹⁶ As a rule, cataloguing all types of publications received by the National Library as part of the legal deposit takes less than 24 hours from the moment the item reaches the cataloguer.¹⁷

Type of library material	Unit responsible for admitting it to the collection
Books	Discipline Cataloguing Department
Periodicals	Periodicals Department
Ephemera	Social Life Documents Department
Maps	Cartographic Collection Department
E-publications	Appropriate sections for collecting the types of library material in question
Audio and audio-visual recordings	Sound and Audio-visual Collection Department
Musical scores	Musical Collection Department
Official journals	Periodicals Department
Braille publications	Discipline Cataloguing Department, Periodicals Department

15 The cataloguing of dailies and weeklies is conducted in cooperation with 11 libraries. *Sprawozdanie Biblioteki Narodowej za rok 2020...*, p. 45.

16 Many of the cataloguers employed are former editors from publishing houses and academic journals with long-standing experience who lost their jobs as a result of the restructuring of the publishing market, as well as doctoral students and people with PhDs in the disciplines in which they catalogue.

17 During the pandemic this time increased slightly, but remains under a week. From March 2020 to December 2021 the majority of cataloguers were working from home, with copies of publications delivered and collected by National Library drivers.

PURCHASES, DONATIONS, EXCHANGES, COPIES

The National Library collects library materials not provided to the Library under the provisions of the Act on Library Legal Deposit by means of purchases, donations, exchanges and acquisitions, in addition to making copies. In line with its goal of building a comprehensive collection, the National Library collects:

- a) Copies of Polish publications not obtained under the legal deposit owing to the failure of the publishers to comply with the obligation, particularly occasional publishers which are unaware of the regulations in force, and publishers who have wound up their operations
- b) Copies of foreign publications pertaining to Poland („foreign Polonica”)

In addition, the National Library collects in a selective manner:

- c) Copies of foreign publications on bibliology
- d) Copies of foreign publications on the social sciences and humanities which are essential for the development of Polish science and culture, particularly information publications
- e) Copies of publications for reference collections, for which a larger number of copies is needed
- f) Library materials not covered by the legal deposit, including: unpublished materials and complete collections and legacies of particular importance for Polish history and culture; copies from precious historic collections; and copies with specific features, such as a binding or provenance of great historical or artistic value

Purchases and donations are managed by the Building and Completing the Collection Department in consultation with the Committee for Purchases and Donations for Library Collection. Exchanges are processed by the Building and Completing the Collection Section. Digital copies are either acquired or produced by the Digital Collection Section.

The National Library collects, for the purpose of archiving in perpetuity, the entire Polish publishing output, publications pertaining to Poland and items not meant for dissemination, of particular value for Polish history and culture with respect to writing, car-

tography, drawing, prints, photography, music and film. For the purpose of creating the Corpus of Polish Publications (that is, the state register of Polish publications) and because the National Library catalogue is a central, master catalogue within the national library network, the National Library strives to collect all editions of individual publications.

The term „Polonicum” (plural: „Polonica”) refers to library materials pertaining to Poland according to territorial („domestic Polonica”), linguistic, ethnic or content-related criteria.¹⁸ „Domestic Polonica” refers to „library materials originating in Poland”¹⁹ and also the „entire domestic publishing output”,²⁰ in other words library materials originating within Poland’s borders, namely:

1. Before 1772, within the borders of:
 - The Kingdom of Poland, taking into account all territorial changes, excluding vassal states
 - The Grand Duchy of Lithuania (from 1569)
 - Polish Prussia with Warmia
2. From 1772-1918, within the pre-1772 borders (before Poland’s first partition)
3. From 1919-1945, within the borders of 31 August 1939 (before the outbreak of the Second World War)
4. After 1945, within the current borders of the country

Library materials pertaining to Poland but produced or published outside the borders described above, which meet one of the criteria below, are considered foreign Polonica.²¹

18 Halina Mieczkowska, long-standing head of the Cabinet of Early Printed Materials at the University of Warsaw Library, sums up her own paper on Polonica as follows, somewhat surprisingly: „in everyday library work, when creating library catalogues or separating books in the storerooms and counting *Polonica* holdings, one is strongly aware of the lack of clearly principles”. H. Mieczkowska, *Polonicum*. – definicja pojęcia, zakres doboru materiału, zastosowanie w bibliografii” [The Polonicum: Concept definition, scope of material selection, application in bibliography], *Z badań nad książką i księgozbiórami historycznymi* 9 (2015) p. 29.

19 Act on Libraries of 27 June 1997, Section 4 Art. 17.

20 National Library Charter, Art. 8.2.2.

21 See J. Cieloch-Niewiadomska, M. Avramova, „Kryteria gromadzenia poloników zagranicznych wobec pojęć narodowości i obywatelstwa (próba bilansu)”

LANGUAGE CRITERION

Publications whose entirety or a significant part of which (a chapter, separate work or parallel text within the publication) is written or published in Polish, including partial or full translations from Polish, provided Polish is the original language of the work.

ETHNIC CRITERION

Publications whose authors or co-authors are individuals of Polish descent.²² The decisive factor here is self-identification („self-determination”) by the individual as Polish or a resident of Poland. As it is not always possible to establish whether a given author self-defined as Polish, all works by authors born on the territory of the Polish state (within the borders described above) are considered Polonica, provided at least one of the following criteria is met:

- The author's family or a part of his or her life was connected with Poland
- The author wrote in Polish
- The author stayed in contact with Poland or the Polish émigré community

Works by the descendants of individuals originating from the Polish territories but living, working and publishing beyond Poland's borders are only considered Polonica if the author's self-identification as Polish is certain and proven. Polonica also include works by individuals born outside the territory of Poland but living in Polish territory and professionally active (creating) within Poland. Efforts are also made to collect publications by Poles published in foreign collective publications and translations of individual works by Poles in foreign collective publications and anthologies.

[Criteria for collecting foreign Polonica versus the concept of nationality and citizenship (attempt at summing up)], *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* XLVIII (2017) pp. 43-82.

22 More in Ibidem, pp. 52-56.

CONTENT-RELATED CRITERION

The following items are considered Polonica:

1. Publications whose entirety or a significant part of which pertain to Poland (within its historical borders, referring to work's contents) or to Poles (regardless of where they lived) or to individuals of other nationalities settled or active in Poland
2. Publications dedicated to Poles or addressed to Poles or Poland²³

Content-related Polonica include selected foreign works of fiction in which the action takes place in Poland or featuring a Polish protagonist, for example works of biographical character and those in which the action unfolds against a backdrop of events in Poland's history, which feature significantly in the plot.²⁴

In such cases it is considered sufficient to collect a copy of one edition only, preferably the first edition or the latest full edition. More copies may be collected if, between the different editions, matters relating to Polish issues are significantly altered.

The year 1800 forms the basic dividing line in the collections of the National Library.²⁵ This reflects the liquidation in 1795 of Poland, and thus many Polish state institutions, by its neighbouring states. It was at this time that the first Polish National Library, one of the largest in Europe of the time, was closed down and its collection transported to the capital of the Russian Empire. This library had enjoyed the privilege of a legal deposit of every Polish publication from 1780 onwards. In 1795 Poland's territory was partitioned between three states and the borders between them cut across the country, preventing free contact across the publishing market and

23 *Załącznik nr 1 do zarządzenia nr 155/2018...*, pp. 5–6.

24 The decision to consider something foreign Polonica is made by the department responsible for collecting the type of library materials in question. Ibidem, p. 6.

25 For recently comments on this topic, see Z. Pietrzyk, „Stare druki. Problem periodyzacji” [Early printed materials. Problems of periodisation], in: *Zbiory specjalne w bibliotekach polskich. Między tradycją a nowoczesnością. Cz. 1, Zbiory specjalne w służbie nauki i edukacji* [Special collections in Polish libraries. Between tradition and modernity. Part 1, Special collections in the service of science and education], Szczecin 2020, pp. 12–18.

between libraries. It was also at this point that universal censorship of publications began, which had only been incidental prior to this in the territory of the Polish state.

Copies of publications are divided into those which are archived in perpetuity and those which are „for use”.

BOOKS SINCE 1801

Domestic Polonica, that is to say books printed within Poland's historical borders according to the territorial criterion described above, do not pose any challenges in terms of how the guidelines should be interpreted.

A single copy of domestic Polonica is archived in perpetuity if it is:

- a) Backed up with a digital copy or microfilm
- b) Printed in Braille
- c) Printed in Poland on behalf of a foreign publisher
- d) Published in an atypical publishing format or with additional elements which makes its storage difficult²⁶

Foreign Polonica, particularly those related to the Second World War and the Holocaust, do not permit a precise delineation of criteria. The invasion of Poland by German and Russian troops in September 1939 forms part of world history and thus appears in almost all historical publications dedicated to the twentieth century. The participation of Polish soldiers in various armies on many different fronts is mentioned in many historical studies. The National Library therefore only collects major publications which significantly contribute to the knowledge of the history of Poland at the time. Furthermore, Polish citizens were imprisoned and killed in many extermination, concentration and forced labour camps outside Poland's territories. The history of German Nazi camps such as Ravensbrück, Dachau, Gussen and Buchenwald is forever interconnected with the fates of Polish state and its citizens.

26 *Załącznik nr 1...*, p. 9.

The National Library aims to collect all publications dealing with the history of the extermination of Polish citizens during the Second World War. This applies both to citizens of Polish ethnic descent and those belonging to other ethnic groups living within the Polish Republic, above all members of the Jewish population. The history of the Holocaust, which relates primarily to the Jewish genocide at the hands of the German Nazis in occupied Polish territories, is an indelible part of Poland's history. Together with the extermination of the Roma people, it constituted an unprecedented, mass-scale, industrialised attempt at exterminating whole peoples, never before and never since conducted on such a scale. For this reason it is right that the National Library of Poland should collect all publications relating to the Holocaust.

In addition, the National Library collects all publications connected with illustrious figures in Polish history who are also of interest outside Poland, such as Pope John Paul II, Frederic Chopin, Marie Skłodowska-Curie, Saint Faustina Kowalska, Olga Tokarczuk and Lech Wałęsa. Numerous publications are dedicated to these individuals, and all such publications are collected by the National Library.

A single copy of foreign Polonica is preserved in perpetuity. A single copy of foreign publications which are not Polonica is collected but not archived in perpetuity.

More than one copy of the following is collected:

- a) Books needed for reference collections
- b) Fiction (including children's fiction, which is collected in a selective manner)
- c) Books potentially used frequently
- d) Books on bibliography and librarianship
- e) Books in ring binders with removable pages (the copy archived in perpetuity contains all updates of the publication, while the second copy contains only the latest version)
- f) Books forming part of valuable collections
- g) Books with specific features, such as a binding or provenance of great historical or artistic value

Decisions about which books are to be collected for reference collections (see (a) above) are made by the Exchangeable Holdings Department, based on requests from the relevant units, while decisions about which other books to collect (b-g) are made by the Discipline Cataloguing Department and the Building and Completing the Collection Department.

No prints or offprints are collected if the National Library has the original publication, nor does the National Library collect publications meant for private or official use and not intended for dissemination. Decisions about which books are to be collected, except for legal deposit copies, are made in consultation with the Committee for Purchases and Donations of Library Materials.²⁷

PERIODICALS SINCE 1801

One copy of domestic Polonica is archived in perpetuity if it is backed up with a digitised copy or a microfilm, or if it is:

- Printed in Braille
- Printed in Poland on behalf of a foreign publisher

One copy of Polish periodicals published outside Poland or foreign periodicals concerning Poland (foreign Polonica) is archived in perpetuity.

More than one copy of a periodical is collected in the following cases:

- a) Periodicals needed for reference collections
- b) Periodicals potentially used frequently
- c) Periodicals dedicated to bibliography and librarianship
- d) Copies of periodicals forming part of valuable collections
- e) Copies of periodicals with specific features, such as a binding or provenance of great historical or artistic value

Decisions to collect periodicals, except for legal deposit copies, are made in consultation with the Committee for Purchases and Donations of Library Materials. Decisions to increase the number of copies of periodicals collected by the National Library are made

27 Ibidem, p. 9.

by the Periodicals Department. Neither computer printouts nor xerox copies of periodicals are collected, unless these are their original publishing formats.²⁸

EPHEMERA SINCE 1801

One copy of Polonica published within Polish territory (domestic Polonica) and Polish ephemera published beyond Poland's borders or foreign ephemera pertaining to Poland (foreign Polonica) is archived in perpetuity.

More than one copy of the following is collected:

- a) Publications needed for reference collections
- b) Publications potentially used frequently
- c) Publications forming part of valuable collections
- d) Publications with specific features, such as a binding or provenance of great historical or artistic value

The following are not collected: tickets, labels, stickers, advertisements, business cards, guides and other materials issued for the use of institutions or organisations of limited local relevance, obituaries, and TV guides supplementing regional magazines. Decisions about whether to collect ephemera, except for legal deposit copies, are made in consultation with the Committee for Purchases and Donations of Library Materials. Decisions about whether to increase the number of copies of ephemera are made by the Social Life Documents Department.²⁹

BOOKS, PERIODICALS AND EPHEMERA TO 1800

The National Library's ambition is to collect the entirety of Polish incunabula or early printed materials: books, periodicals and ephemera which are published on the territory of the Polish state within its historical borders and which meet the criteria of Polo-

28 Ibidem, pp. 9–10.

29 Ibidem, p. 10.

nica.³⁰ One copy of the aforementioned publications is collected. Extra copies are only collected if they have specific features, such as a binding or provenance of great historical or artistic value, or if they form part of important historic collections, or if the first copy is incomplete.

In exceptional cases, foreign early printed items are collected, provided they meet one of the following criteria:

- They are of Polish provenance or feature Polish bindings
- They come from Polish historical collections

Decisions about which early printed materials to collect are made in consultation with the Committee for Purchases and Donations of Library Materials. The collection of early printed materials is the responsibility of the Early Printed Books Department.

As financing for purchases is limited, it is not always possible to buy all the copies available on the antiquarian market, even if the items in question meet at least one of the criteria defined in the development policy. In this case, priority is given to printed materials that meet the language, territory or ethnicity criteria; within this, unquestionable priority is given to publications of a unique character³¹ and those which Polish collections do not have a single copy of. For publications selected under the territorial criterion, priority is given to those published in the lands that formed part of the Polish state for longer.³²

The question of whether to consider publications dedicated to individuals meeting ethnic criteria to be Polonica or not is worth separate examination. Here, we refer specifically to dedications appearing as a part of the printed text, not in notes on the provenance of the item. Such dedications most commonly testify to the status of the individual, or the role that the author would wish that individual to play – for example, a patron who financed the author's work or provided political protection. In both cases the dedication

30 See H. Mieczkowska, „*Polonicum*”..., pp. 21-29.

31 That is to say, known from a single copy in the world.

32 *Załącznik nr 1...*, pp. 10-11.

is a sign of the important role that the patron plays, at least in the eyes of the author. The very fact of the dedication does not necessarily confirm any connection with the author, although this may be the case where the dedication is written to thank the individual for some particular kindness. The dedication may also be intended to encourage the individual to become the author's patron, although such attempts are not always successful: There are generally more people seeking support than there are ready to provide it.

There are also more challenging cases, such as the many books appearing at auction dedicated to Henry III (Henri de Valois), King of France and Poland, to the Queen of France Marie Leszczyńska or to her father Stanisław Leszczyński, King of Poland. It is difficult to consider publications dedicated to Marie Leszczyńska, Queen of France, wife of Louis XV, daughter of Stanisław Leszczyński, King of Poland, and later Duke of Lorraine until his death, to be *Polonica*, as dedications to her were made because she was Queen of France, which had nothing to do with Poland or Polish matters. Publications dedicated to her often appear on the antiquarian book market – not only do they feature the dedication but they are often richly bound with a donation armorial binding stamp, which does not mean that the copy was part of her library or was accepted by her as a gift. Similarly, books dedicated to Henry III after his successor had been elected to the Polish throne should not be treated as *Polonica*; the fact that he used the title of the King of Poland, to which he was not entitled, is not sufficient to make these publications strictly speaking foreign *Polonica*. The same also applies to dedications to Sigismund III as King of Sweden, and Augustus II and III as Electors of Saxony. Nevertheless, all the items above could be considered *Polonica* in a broader sense.

MANUSCRIPTS

The National Library collects manuscripts of particular value for Polish history and culture (domestic and foreign *Polonica*), in particular:

- a) Manuscripts of historical value for the Polish language
- b) Valuable resources on the history and culture of Poland within the historical boundaries specified above in relation to the territorial criterion
- c) Handwritten documents by outstanding writers, academics, politicians, artists, musicians, and social and cultural activists
- d) The archives of cultural, political and social organisations, and of the editorial teams of periodicals
- e) The archives of translators of Polish literature into foreign languages

Decisions about which manuscripts to collect are made in consultation with the Committee for Purchases and Donations of Library Materials. The Manuscript Department is responsible for collecting manuscripts.³³ Decisions about which items to collect that are received as part of legacies of paintings, sculptures, medals, coins, honours, seals, cold weapons and pottery, for example, are made in consultation with the Committee for Purchases and Donations of Library Materials. The Manuscript Department is responsible for collecting these items.³⁴

MUSICAL SCORES

The Library's ambition to obtain a complete collection of Polish printed music and printed music pertaining to Poland (domestic and foreign Polonica). A single copy of musical scores is archived in perpetuity if it is backed up with a digital or microfilm copy. Handwritten musical scores by major Polish composers and handwritten copies of these are collected. Manuscripts and foreign printed music are collected by means of donations and exchanges, and in exceptional cases through purchases. The Manuscript Department is responsible for collecting music manuscripts. Collecting musical scores dating from before 1800 is the responsibility of the Early

33 Ibidem, p. 11.

34 Ibidem, p. 13.

Printed Books Department. Printed musical scores dating from after 1801 are collected by the Musical Collection Department.

The National Library collects one copy of selected foreign publications connected through their provenance with collections forming part of the National Library collection. The National Library also collects the following publications:

- a) Critical publications of works by outstanding composers, with a particular emphasis on collected works³⁵
- b) Major items of world musical literature, with regard to their composer, the piece itself or the publisher
- c) Source editions of early music

Decisions about whether to collect a musical score are made in consultation with the Committee for Purchases and Donations of Library Materials. Collecting musical scores is the responsibility of the Musical Collection Department and the Manuscript Department.

MAPS

The National Library collects the following:

- a) Hand-drawn maps, plans and atlases
- b) Printed maps, plans and atlases
- c) Globes
- d) Miscellaneous items, including contour maps, maps in unusual publishing formats and cartographic instructions

The National Library's ambition is to collect a full set of all printed maps, both Polish items and those pertaining to Poland (domestic and foreign Polonica). It is particularly difficult to define exactly what should be considered foreign Polonica, as Polish territory appears on many maps of Europe. In such cases, not all editions of the same map are collected, only those which differ between themselves. A single copy of maps is archived in perpetuity.

35 Chopin editions and manuscripts are particularly sought after. The National Library of Poland owns the largest collection of Chopin's music manuscripts in the world.

The following exceptions apply:

- Two copies are collected of folding and large-format maps
- Maps bearing a valuable provenance note or notes
- Maps from Polish historic collections

One copy of selected foreign maps is collected by means of exchanges or donations. Only the most important foreign cartographic publications are purchased. Decisions about which maps to collect, apart from legal deposits, are made in consultation with the Committee for Purchases and Donations of Library Materials. Map collecting is the responsibility of the Cartographic Collection Department.³⁶

SOUND AND AUDIO-VISUAL RECORDINGS

The National Library collects musical and non-musical sound recordings and audio-visual recordings (films). Its ambition is to collect the entire output of Polish sound and audio-visual recordings and those pertaining to Poland (domestic and foreign *Polonica*). A single copy of sound and audio-visual recordings is archived in perpetuity. Additionally, the National Library collects selected recordings not meant for dissemination which are of particular importance for Polish history and culture, such as recordings of speeches by Polish writers or historical figures. Selected foreign recordings are collected by means of donations, exchanges and, in exceptional cases, purchases. Decisions about whether to collect sound and audio-visual recordings, except for legal deposit copies, are made in consultation with the Committee for Purchases and Donations of Library Materials. Collecting sound and audio-visual recordings is the responsibility of the Sound and Audio-visual Recordings Department. The following are not collected: publications with no cover or title, advertisements, instructions and demonstration versions.

36 *Załącznik nr 1...*, pp. 11-12

ELECTRONIC PUBLICATIONS

The National Library collects electronic versions of books, periodicals, sound and audio-visual recordings, musical scores and maps, specifically:

- a) Publications recorded on physical media
- b) Publications provided by publishers in files whose format permits them to be archived in perpetuity

The National Library collects a single copy of publications recorded on physical media. In the case of databases recorded on physical media, the underlying software enabling the database to be used and systematically updated (up to two years back) is also collected. Additional electronic elements that form an integral part of different types of publications are also collected together with the publication in question, in the required number of copies. Collecting these additional electronic elements is the responsibility of the Section responsible for collecting the underlying publication. If the publication is received in more than one publishing format, the formats that can be archived in perpetuity are collected.

Selected unpublished materials of particular value with regard to Polish history and culture that are donated to the Library are also collected. Decisions about whether to collect electronic publications, with the exception of legal deposits, are made in consultation with the Committee for Purchases and Donations of Library Materials. The following are not collected: demonstration versions, publications with an ambiguous bibliographic identification, online databases, websites and communication systems, and other materials which are not collected in analogue form.³⁷

PRINTS, DRAWINGS, PHOTOGRAPHS

The National Library collects the following:

- a) Art drawings
- b) Art prints
- c) Art photographs

37 Ibidem, p. 13.

Drawings, prints and photographs are mainly collected by means of donations and exchanges, with purchases only made in exceptional cases. Unlike in other collections, collecting art is not a priority of national libraries. Decisions to collect art are made in consultation with the Committee for Purchases and Donations of Library Materials. The collecting of drawings, prints and photographs is the responsibility of the Iconographic Collection Department.³⁸

Given the increased availability of publications in digital form, collecting foreign publications is these days less of a priority. This is beneficial for the National Library's budget, enabling the National Library to allocate more funds to the purchase of domestic and foreign Polonica. Whatever the economic and technological situation, the National Library's priority today remains the collection of publications produced in Poland or pertaining to Poland (domestic and foreign Polonica). In recent years the National Library has been returning to its fundamental task of building a complete collection of Polish publications and an archive of key historical Polish writings.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

38 Ibidem.



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