

ANDRZEJ WŁODAREK

A Contribution to Dating the Tomb of Vladislaus Jagiełło at the Wawel Cathedral

The text of the colophon in a codex from the Prague Library of the Metropolitan Chapter (AN M. 103) seems to constitute a meaningful source for dating the tomb of King Vladislaus Jagiełło at the Wawel Cathedral. The copyist of the manuscript and the colophon author Matthias Bohemus of Tyn (near Prague) is not an anonymous individual. Starting from at least the autumn of 1492, he was staying in Cracow and entered his name in the Cracow University *Register*. In the latter part of June (22 yet before 29) 1430, he completed copying a work of John of Erfurt, having worked at the Lectorium Theologorum in the Collegium Maius building in St. Anna Street, in its architectural shape of the time. In the colophon text, Matthias Bohemus mentioned the

tomb of King Vladislaus Jagiełło. It is the first and earliest source confirming the fact that the royal tomb did exist. The text unequivocally testifies to the fact that the copyist was working at the location where the King's sarcophagus had been deposited, possibly in pieces. It cannot be ruled out that the colophon mention was of mnemotechnical character and commemorates the fact of placing the tomb at Collegium Maius or importing it to Cracow.

The piece of information contained in the colophon seems to end the debate on the dating of the royal tomb after the King's death and unequivocally points to its founder. As the tomb was created during the King's lifetime, Vladislaus Jagiełło himself must have been its founder.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

GRAŻYNA REGULSKA

The Brodnica Reliquary of Holy Cross Wood and Other 14th-Century Prussian Reliquaries

Among the earliest monuments of Gothic goldsmithery in Prussia a particular place is taken by the Brodnica reliquary of Holy Cross Wood from ca. 1330-1340 which after the great war of King Vladislaus Jogailo of Poland against the Teutonic Knights ended up at the collegiate church in Sandomierz and has been preserved at its treasury. A similar reliquary of Holy Cross Wood, though dated already from the 3rd quarter of the 14th century, has been preserved at the Gniezno Cathedral treasury. Subsequently, in the late 14th century two similar reliquaries were created. One of them is featured among the furnishing of the Parish Church of St. James in Toruń; the second remained the property of the Parish Church in Warmia's Reszel. Currently, however, we know this work only from descriptions and archival photographs.

Moreover, two other 14th-century examples of Prussian reliquaries of another type have been

preserved. Both are elements of Teutonic castle chapels and both, having been Vladislaus Jogaila war trophies, reached the churches of the Kingdom of Poland. The older of the pieces is a reliquary ostensorium from Kowalewo, commissioned by the local Commander Henryk von Bode in 1356, and soon after the Battle of Tannenberg it was transferred to St. Florian's Collegiate Church in Cracow's Kleparz. The other piece is a reliquary diptych donated by Elbląg's Commander Thilo Dagister von Lorich. It was created in 1388 and after 1410 it ended up at the Cathedral Treasury in Gniezno.

There also exists, what is more in the church for which it had been allocated from the start, the oldest of the Prussian reliquaries in a bust shape. We mean the bust of St. Ida, property of the Parish Church in Lidzbark Warmiński whose dating has recently been moved back to ca. 1380.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

WOJCIECH BOBERSKI

Domicilium Varsoviense. The Foundation of Bishop Teodor Potocki for Crown Jesuits (1721)

In 1608, Rome's authorities of the Jesuit Order separated from among the colleges of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the Lithuanian Province which contrary to historical reasons also covered Mazovia and Warsaw, the new capital of the state. The efforts of the Jesuits of the Polish (Crown) Province carried out for 110 years to correct the borderline or at least to authorize setting up their own centre, were denied by subsequent Generals and caused heated conflicts within the Society of Jesus. Due to that rivalry a vast piece of Warsaw land (*Terragium Varsoviense*) containing the ruins of the former Daniłowicz Palace granted to the Crown Jesuits after the 'Deluge' (1660) lay fallow. In ca. 1718, the Jesuits found a powerful patron in the Bishop of Warmia and future Primate Teodor Potocki who signalled his desire to have a private chapel raised on the Jesuit plot. In the spring of 1721, Bishop Potocki persuaded both Provincial Superiors to conclude an agreement defining in detail both the conditions of operating of the new *Domicilium*, namely a new monastery house, and the size of the founded *sacellum*.

A small Church of the Holy Cross and St. Francis Xavier raised in Senatorska Street, across from Marywil (presently Teatralny Square) in 1721-22 enraptured the contemporaries. In compliance with the agreement, closed to public forms of religious cult, it became a venue for retreat, confession, and atonement, as well as for family ceremonies for elitist magnate groups related to the Pilawits. Prior to the interregnum (1732), it served to Primate Potocki as a venue for confidential conferences with French diplomats. In 1738, his heart was deposited there. After the Order's dissolution, the church became a new parish centre dedicated to St. Andrew. Thoroughly rebuilt in the Neo-Classical style after the design of Christian Piotr Aigner in 1817-18, it was granted to the Chapter of Lay Ladies of the

Canon Nuns, earlier in charge of Marywil. Ruined during the Warsaw Uprising, it was initially rebuilt (1946-48), to be later demolished (1953). In 1998-99, the Church of Artists' Chaplaincy dedicated to St. Brother Albert, with the façade echoing Aigner's design, was raised in its place.

The article is an attempt at the reconstruction of the original (Baroque) architectural forms of the building, based on the concordance of sources created at different times and for different purposes. Next to infrequent and perfunctory descriptions containing basic information, they provide cartographic and survey details, including Zygmunt Vogel's watercolour (ca. 1785) showing the façade prior to its Neo-Classical alterations. What strikes is the church's 'palace-like' character with a triad of a high porte-fenêtres, mezzanine, and rounded corners of tower risalits, coupled with a 'drawing-room' character of the interior encircled with half-columns and surrounded by the upstairs ambulatory with corridors and dormitories. The spatial arrangement of the chapel, peculiarly echoing the archetype of the Jerusalem Temple, initiated a whole series of similar 'ambulatory' arrangements, implemented, e.g., for the Warsaw Knights Hospitalers (1726); the Drohiczyń Benedictine Nuns (1733); the Krześlin Dominican Church (1736); yet most notably in the famous Kobyłka church n. Warsaw (1740) raised by the Załuski brothers who after the death of the great Primate, were patrons of the Jesuit *Domicilium Varsoviense*.

The stylistic analysis, as well as written sources, allow to attribute the Jesuit building complex to the architect Carlo Antonio Bai (1678-1740), frequently employed by Teodor Potocki for his artistic foundations in Warmia, Warsaw, and Łowicz. This attribution confirms his key and most creative role among the Warsaw architectural circles at the time of King Augustus II.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

JOLANTA POLANOWSKA

The Palace Garden in Warklany – Work of the Owner Michał Jan Borch and Architect Vincenzo de Mazotti

In Latgalia, north-eastern province of Latvia, former Polish Livonia, on the outskirts of the tiny town of Varaklani near Rezekne, located is a former residence of the Belz Voivode Michał Jan Borch (1753-1811). Currently the Palace houses the Varaklanu Novada Muzejs.

Michał Jan Borch, bearing the Trzy Kawki coat of arms (30 VI 1753 - 10 I 1811), was an individual of many-sided interests, known at cosmopolitan courts and among the academic circles of the *ancient regime* Europe. Borch, a dignitary of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was an amateur scientist in mineralogy and geology, a poet and a dramatist, as well as an art lover and an art patron. He was born to an old magnate family, Polonized in the 18th century, but originating from Westphalia. Michał Jan was a son of the Livonia Voivode, Great Chancellor of the Crown, Jan Jerzy Józef. In 1773-1780, he travelled to Italy, holding special interest in geology and mineralogy. He won European renown thanks to his *Lettres sur la Sicile et sur l'Île de Malthe* [...] *supplément au voyage en Sicile et à Malthe de Monsieur Brydonne* [...] (Turin 1782). Borch was portrayed by Ludwig Guttenbrunn, with the steaming Etna in the background (the scheme may have been copied from the portrait of Borch's friend Sir William Hamilton, by Joshua Reynolds). In 1780, Michał Jan Borch submitted a memorandum to King Stanislaus Augustus titled *Les recherches des minéraux sous le sol de Pologne* – 'the first in Poland geo-chemical project to search for minerals'. In 1783, he married Eleonora Christina Browne, daughter of George Browne, Governor of Riga and the Baltic States. In 1791, he settled down in the Warklany estate granted to his ancestors.

Michał Jan Borch's major achievement was to create a palace-and-garden complex at Warklany (palace 1783-1789), for which he employed the Italian architect Vincenzo de Mazotti (1 May 1756 - 25 May 1798). The pyramid commemorating the architect was located in the garden, with a plate reading: 'PIAE ET AETERNAE MEMORIAE VINCENTIO DE MAZOTTI PATRIA ROMANO NOBILI GENERE ET INGENIO NATO REGIS POLONIAE CONSILIARIO AULICO ET CUBICULARIO ACTUALI, ARCHISTRUCTORI INSIGNI AEDIBUS SCIENTIISQUE VARIIS

EXCULTO HORTI ET AGRICULTURA PERITISSIMO SPECTATAE VIRTUTIS VIRO AMICORUM OPTIMO PLUSQUAM VIGINTI ANNIS PROBATO AMICITIAE GRATITUDO VENERATI HOC MONUMENTUM POSUERE IN AGRO ET HORTO QUO IPSE EX PALUDE FORMAVIT NATUS ROMAE 1-mo MAII MDCCLVI OBIIT XXV MAII MDCCLXXXVIII ANNOS SEPULTUS WARCLANDIAE'. Also preserved has been a block commemorating him: 'AMICITIAE ET VIRTUTI / MEMORIA ET GRATITUDO / ANNO 1798'.

In 1790, Michał Jan Borch travelled to England. It may be assumed that the English residences he became acquainted with then did have some impact on the arrangement of the Warklany estate. This is indirectly testified by the very title of the first version of Borch's literary work on the Warklany garden: *Jardin moral et emblematique* which the author read to Stanislaus Augustus in the winter of 1791. The manuscript bearing this title was sent by Borch to the King (letter of 1 January 1792) in two versions: French and Polish: *Jardin sentimental du château de Warkland* and *Nadpisy do ogrodu mojego sentymentalnego warklańskiego zamku*.

The poem describes a trip of a young nobleman – resident of the Palace, in the landscape garden surrounding the residence, adorned with numerous pavilions and monuments, by the end of which he reaches 'the Temple of True Fame and Virtues, dedicated to Illustrious Men Poland yielded'. The French version of the text with an altered final fragment was printed in Warsaw in 1795 titled: *Jardin sentimental du château de Warkland, dans La Comté de Borch, en Russie-Blanche*. The garden described in 1791 was landscaped irregularly, with a lake, two isles, a river, canals, a forest, and some groves. Next to the palace on a hill, there was a mound that served as a vantage point for the area with a spiralling path leading to its top, crowned with a roofed arbour. The protagonist, when on his way, came across the following: a port at the foot of the hill, a sea with the Isle of Considerations (*Isle de l'Observation* in the French version). Further on there was the Isle of Love (*Isle des Plaisirs*), grown with thick grove; a hillock with a 'dome glimmering brightly'; a fragment of the Broken Column; a grove

with the arrangement of eight straight alleyways, radiating all from one point; some forest with the Hermit's Hut; the Gate leading into a fenced in area of cultivated land and meadows, with a path 'following a serpentine along the river'; the Temple of Friendship (*Temple de l'Amitié*) with an Altar featuring a figure of Friendship; the Temple of Marital Love (*Temple de l'Amour Conjugal*) with an altar; the Temple of Death (*Séjour de la Mort*) in form of a pyramid 'covered with hieroglyphs'. At the end of the young nobleman's trip there was a set of three buildings: the Temple of Eternity (*Temple de l'éternité*) from unhewn stone, covered with a dome crowned with a presentation of a snake devouring its tail; next to it a larger Temple Soli et Vero Deo, Fautori Naturae (dedicated to the Only and True God, Guardian of the World Order), as well as the Temple of True Fame and Virtue (*Temple de la Vertu adosse au temple de la vraie Gloire*) with a dome crowned with a figure of Fame-Glory blowing a trumpet, with two altars in the narthex featuring the busts of King John III Sobieski and King Stanislaus Augustus. Next to the latter temples there was a 'gallery in which displayed were Busts of Illustrious Men that Poland yielded' containing twenty of them: ten knights and ten scientists. In front of the temples there stretched vast 'Elysian Fields, cut with canals and waters, suitable for strolls'.

The poem sent to the King contains the description of the garden in such definite detail that one wonders how it could be related to the actual Warklany landscaping which was only being carried out at the time. The hypothesis that this partly poetical presentation is relevant to the planned design can be supported by: the afore-pointed similarities in the shaping (preserved and documented) of the actual garden, as well as source materials showing Borch's attempt to receive from Stanislaus Augustus the busts of the Illustrious Poles (1791). After Polish statehood had collapsed, Borch published an altered French version of his manuscript *Jardin sentimental du chateau de Warkland, dans La Comté de Borch, en Russie-Blanche* (Varsovie 1795) which has to be interpreted as a 'political updating' of the old poem. In print, the whole final fragment of the text was altered; skipped was the statue of King John III and so were the busts of Illustrious Poles, with the statue of Stanislaus Augustus having been replaced by monuments to Russian dignitaries. The programme of monuments and decoration was reduced and altered from a patriotic to a private and commemorative one.

The description of the garden from the poem of 1791 is precise enough to allow to define the location of particular compositional parts of the landscaping versus one another. The very character of a landscape garden with a complex and varied structure points out to its English genesis. It features natural landforms without any extraordinary effects characteristic of the first Warsaw landscape gardens that predominantly ranked among the French type of *jardin anglo-chinois*. One might perceive in this a direct influence of the owner's travel to England in 1790. In his poem, Borch presented a spacious landscape garden of varied landforms, bearing certain earlier typological features. The use of the name 'Elysian Fields', in turn, allows to limit the English models to Stowe. Already the most general disposition of the Warklany landscaping reminds one of Stowe. Additionally, the description of the latter allows to point to further similarities. These being: a high number of pavilion-temples: eight in Stowe versus five in the described garden (Temple of Friendship, Temple of Marital Love, Temple of Eternity, Temple dedicated to *Soli et Vero Deo, Fautori Naturae*, and the Temple of True Fame and Virtue). Furthermore, some pavilions in both gardens are either identical or very much alike: a hermitage, Temple of Friendship, Temple of True Fame and Virtue; yet first and foremost the monument to national heroes in the form of an exedra with busts placed on both sides of the nearby Elysian Fields. In Warklany this element was planned as a 'gallery with Busts of Illustrious Men that Poland yielded', also facing the Elysian Fields. The garden in Stowe and the one described by Borch are additionally characterized by a significant number of monuments. Interestingly, both feature a pyramid commemorating the dead author-architect; in both it was similarly located in a distant corner of the garden, across from the Palace façade. And in both there was a monument to the owner's favourite dog. All the above likenesses allow to state that the conception of the Warklany layout was not merely inspired by English models, and particularly the garden in Stowe, but was also the work of Michał Jan Borch. Borch authored the rhymed monument inscriptions, focused on moral and contemplative questions. The described landscaping in Warklany serves as an example of a direct Polish reception of the English landscape garden of the Arcadian picturesque type.

The Latvian historian of science Janis Stradiņš recalled the Warklany garden in the context of the Warsaw landscape gardens, which were being created starting from the 1770s. Theory and guidance helpful in their foundation were elaborated by August Fryderyk Moszyński (1731-1786) in the text offered to King Stanislaus Augustus in 1774: *Essay sur le*

Jardinage Anglois (based on Thomas Whatley's work *Observations on Modern Gardening*, 1770). The model English garden presented by Moszyński included certain elements which some dozen years later appeared in the Warklany garden described by Borch. Moszyński proposed to create, e.g. Elysium of Illustrious Men with the monument to Stanislaus Augustus, as well as the Monument to Friendship, and an Obelisk to John III Sobieski. The text may have served as one of the sources for the Pantheon conception by the Elysian Fields in the description of the Warklany garden. Further examples of astounding formal and ideological coincidences can be pointed to among the works of art created within the circle of King Stanislaus Augustus' patronage: the facilities related to Łazienki (the monument to King John III and King Stanislaus Augustus; the Amphitheatre with 16 statues of playwrights) and the portrait gallery of distinguished Poles from the Knight's Hall of the Royal Castle.

The landscaping in Warklany was described as a planned route for a young nobleman (supposedly a descendant of the founder), living in the Palace, whose programme gives a completing context to the whole. This one of the first Neo-classical buildings in Latgale, with the frieze inscription paraphrasing Cicero's words from his letter: VIRTUTE DUCE – DEO FAVENTE – COMITE FORTUNA (virtue your guide – God blessing you – fortune your comrade). The ground floor rooms feature a set of four sopraportas (a mountain landscape with a town, hypothetically identified as Lombardy's Como). There was also a set of family portraits (with panegyric captions), a set of prints; a library with a book collection; as well as family archives. From the phrasing of Borch's will written down in Polish, one can sense his perception of the Warklany Palace as not only the family nest, but also as a scientific centre with a collected scientific material. In the will we read that the library and the 'natural science and physics rooms [...] do not fit into any section, but will collectively belong to all my Male Descendants'. In this context the landscape programme described in 1791, together with the trip 'scenario' constituted a link in a peculiar 'didactic programme' of the whole palace complex – a coherent structure, both functionally and ideologically in which similarly as captions featured below the ancestors' portraits and

speaking of the family past, the rhymed lines were addressed to young Borch's descendant. They constituted a set of instructions, a sort of an ideological legacy. An introduction into them could be already found in the Palace façade inscription. The four Cicero's words were making a reference to the message of the whole context of the letter to young Consul Planc with some guidance of the ancient writer about the ethos of private life and public service, and which at the same time harmonized with the whole ideological programme of the Warklany complex.

The garden described by Borch, meant to encourage a walk among the pavilions and monuments decorated with sculptures and paintings, captioned with long inscriptions, expressed rich contents by means of the most general symbols as a *jardin truly moral et emblematicque*. In the initial part of the walk across the garden, defined as an 'ocean of Human Life', what dominated were didactic and moral guidelines, with the second section predominated by patriotic and historiosophical messages. The second ideological layer is the expression of Polish patriotism whose element consisted in enhancing the contribution of the Borch Family members. *The Inscriptions to My Sentimental Garden* [...] belongs to the literary genre of descriptive poems. The original title of the poem *Jardin moral et emblematicque* was reaching to the English Puritan tradition of moral contents of a landscape garden, and to an even older, Antique model: *Tabula Ceбетis* (a poem by the Greek Cebes of Thebes) illustrating the story of human life. The very rough scheme of the walk in Borch's poem resembles that in *Tabula Ceбетis*, yet the two differ due to Borch introducing patriotic contents and enhancing more strongly the garden pavilions and statues. In view of this the described Warklany garden was an allegorical one, and long given texts should really be considered only as some complementing of the contents signalled merely in inscriptions on the planned pavilions and statues. The garden, when implemented, was a combination of the English landscape garden formula of the Arcadian picturesque type with the cult of Illustrious Poles and the didactic programme, completing the contents of the Palace interior.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

ALEKSANDRA BERNATOWICZ

Portrait of the Time of Revolution

The article focuses on a comprehensive reflexion on the painting showing *Hanging of the Traitors in Effigie 29 Sept. 1794* (oil, Warsaw History Museum, property of National Museum, Warsaw) attributed to either Jean Pierre Norblin or Aleksander Orłowski. The painting is a unique historical testimony documenting the act of justice meted out on the leaders of the Targowica Confederation sentenced with final binding judgment of the insurgents' tribunal to death for betraying their homeland. Since the convicts succeeded in escaping, in compliance with the valid procedures, their portraits were hanged. The painter rendered the moment of the sentence being administered: in the presence of the famous Działyński Infantry Regiment, the Capuchins seeing to the 'convicts', and the gathered crowd. The convicts' portraits were placed on peasant carriages, and among them (on the first carriage) there was a portrait of Great Crown Hetman Franciszek Ksawery Branicki. The hangman is placing the effigy of Szczęsny Potocki on the gallows, underneath Seweryn Rzewuski is already awaiting his turn.

The author of the article carried out a historical 'investigation' aiming at explaining the circumstances of both the painting's creation, as well as the political context for it, and cultural, legal, social, custom-, and artistic conditioning of the illustrated event. *Hanging of the Traitors* is a painterly report of a political event in which paintings took part, therefore also indirectly artists. The two stories: that of a painter who presented the execution of portraits, and artists who provided the effigies of the victims, interpenetrate one another. They mutually complete the knowledge of the new functions of art and the attitude of its creators versus the turbulent realities of the 1794 insurrection and the decline of the Polish state. The custom of hanging effigies of the accused, mainly of treason, formed part of a long European *damnatio memoriae* tradition, namely condemning somebody's memory. On the one hand, the source of this practice is to be found in

identifying a person's effigy with his or her head considered as a part of natural body represented by the whole portrait. On the other, however, we have to do with a strong belief in the magic power of paintings. The intention was that by destroying the portrait, namely the painting, its owner was to be totally annihilated. Since, according to the 'law of probability' ruling over magic, and formulated by James Georg Frazer, the effigy is not a symbol of a given person, but becomes that very person. It is unknown which painters executed the effigies of the condemned. When reading the insurgents' press, one can only find out that subsequent appeals of the authorities both to the owners of the sought portraits and painters remained unanswered. Three days before the symbolic execution, thus on 26 September, there were still no effigies available. Finally, some painters volunteered to undertake the task (as it is rather unlikely for the portrait owners to have provided them). They must have come from a relatively broad circle of artists supporting the Insurrection. It is also an unknown who painted the *Hanging of the Traitors...* (though Norblin seems most likely), nor it is known who actually commissioned the work. Among those who could have commissioned a similar painting (from Norblin or another painter), there was the French diplomat Marquise Marie-Louis-Henri Descorches de Sainte-Croix openly supporting the Insurrection and picked on by the Targowica Confederates. This all the more likely, as Descorches had already commissioned a drawing showing the hanging of the traitors in Warsaw from Norblin, possibly on 9 May (Kórnik Library).

A portrait may glorify, praise, and elevate. Yet it may also, particularly in the time of revolution, disgrace and condemn. The latter function of an effigy was recorded by the author of the painting *Hanging of the Traitors in Effigie 29 Sept. 1794*.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

KATARZYNA UCHOWICZ

*Parish Church in Różanka.
History - architecture - furnishing*

Tracing the history of the Parish Church of SS. Apostles Peter and Paul in Różanka (Ражанка, Belarus) resulted in discovering and clarifying a number of previously unknown facts shedding new light on the magnate patronage in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The relations of the described building with the Pac family are quite obvious, noticeable at first glance as confirmed by the Gozdawa coat-of-arms impressed like a stamp under the count's crown in the façade gable. The design to alter the Baroque church in the Neo-Gothic style by the architect Henryk Marconi, commissioned by the last heir of the locality General Ludwik Pac served as a departure point for the analysis of the architectural form of the church and its history. The adopted methodological strategy helped the historical

stratification of the church's mass, also serving as the grounds for revising the opinion on one of the best-known 19th-century architects. The cooperation of the artist and the founder fascinated by picturesque Neo-Gothic, yielded a work of high artistic quality. In the architecture of the Różanka Church inspiration in late-mediaeval Italian architecture composed on the grounds of the local building tradition with the application of innovatory materials such as Portland cement, were clearly visible. The artistic prestige of the church is additionally enhanced by furnishing elements created with the contribution of sculptors from Antonio Canova's circle. The painterly decoration of the interior was executed in the inter-war period by the artists associated with the Wilno Society of Fine Arts.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

AGATA WÓJCIK

*Maria Chlebowska Madeyska née Mikułowska:
an Orientalist Painter*

The article aims at presenting the figure of the painter Maria first married name Chlebowska second married name Madeyska née Mikułowska (1864-1936). Maria was brought up in Cracow where she attended the Adrian Baraniecki Higher Courses for Women. Her artistic interests would have most likely remained but a maiden's hobby, had she not met Stanisław Chlebowski in 1876. The painter noticed her talent, encouraged her to continue her education in this direction, and even supported her financially. In January 1880, Maria married Stanisław, and then left with him for Paris where he had been living for several years. Under her husband's guidance, the young painter created works showing Oriental genre scenes and still lifes (A Jewish Woman from Smyrna with a Tambourine, Still Life with Oriental Arms). In Paris, Chlebowska's works were appreciated by her husband's friends: the art dealer Albert Goupil as well as the

painters: Jean-Léon Gérôme and Albert Pasini. They were purchased, among others, by representatives of New York art dealers, the Knoedlers. Maria's oeuvre was also noticed by the Polish press. Her promising painter's career was, however, interrupted by her husband's sudden disease which forced them to leave Paris. After Chlebowski's death (1884) Maria remarried a lawyer and a comedy writer Leon Madeyski. She lived with him in Brzeżany (Бережани), and subsequently in Tyczyn in Galicia. In the 1880s and 1890s, she exhibited her paintings in Cracow, Warsaw, and Lvov (Львів). And she continued to present scenes inspired by the Orient (Zaybek, In front of the Mosque, Constantinople Florist). No traces have been found of her artistic output after 1894.

Maria's works are not to be found today in public collections. From the records from the period we learn that her works were close to the painting of her first husband, both with respect to topics and style.

However, Maria too had some influence on Stanisław Chlebowski's oeuvre. She posed for his effigies of *Oriental woman* (Wawel Royal Castle). I have also been trying to prove that she was his model for the

Turkish Woman (Silesian Museum, Katowice) and for the *Study of a Turkish Woman's Head* (Museum Collection Department of the Lublin Catholic University).

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

IRENA KOSSOWSKA

'Never to Get to Any Bottom of the Matter': Bruno Schulz and Giorgio de Chirico

The text is dedicated to the interpretation of the category of the 'new man' in the art and writing of Bruno Schulz analyzed in the context of Debora Vogel's prose, as well as George Grosz's and Giorgio de Chirico's painting. The concept of the 'new man' was shaped both in the optimistic perspective of perceiving the industrialized world by the inter-war Avant-garde and also within the catastrophic diagnosis of dehumanized reality, formulated by neo-Realists and neo-Classicists of the 1920s and 1930s. The concept quickly spread onto the geo-cultural territory constituting Europe which was gaining its new shape after the disaster of the Great War; into large artistic and intellectual centres of Paris, Rome, and Berlin; as well as onto peripheral territories and into marginal centres of the Old Continent of the kind of Galicia's Lwów (Львів) and Drohobycz (Дрогобич). The birth of the idiom of the 'new man' was proclaimed by numerous

Avant-garde fractions following utopian universalistic ambitions of introducing a new socio-political order. A contrary paradigm of a man enslaved by civilizational processes, embodied by a dummy and a marionette, was identified by the adherents to the restitution of the political order undermined by the war disaster; promoters of the revival of traditional moral and national values; promoters of the return 'to the order'. A critical view of the artists on contemporary society was grounded in the theses presented by the following philosophers: Miguel de Unamuno, Oswald Spengler, and José Ortega y Gasset. The question of cultural self-identification became as essential as consolidating national identity both throughout the countries of old Europe, and in the new (re)constructed states of East-Central Europe. It became the centre of interest for the inter-war generation of traditionalists, artists searching in the rich museum resources aesthetical inspiration to create art rooted in tradition, yet retaining appropriate distance to the past, allowing to

relevantly comment on the surrounding reality. In the world threatened with technicization of all the forms of life, a new artistic sensitivity was born based on cultural memory, rejecting both the formal speculation imprinted by Cézanne and Cubism, as well as the primacy of sensualism of Impressionistic descend. In 1919, Giorgio de Chirico fuelled the retrospective longings by publishing *Il ritorno al mestiere*, while Carlo Carrà published *Pittura metafisica*, a pioneer book for the reviving traditionalism. Shortly, a theoretical support to the 20th-c. Classicism taking on shape was given by Gino Severini in his dissertation *Du cubisme au classicisme*.

Bruno Schulz too ranked among the generation of European artists transposing the art of old and contemporary masters. Debora Vogel, a writer and philosopher, friends with Schulz, additionally observed two connections between Schulz's poetics and art of two representatives of the German 'New Objectivity': Otto Dix and Georg Grosz. The present text serves as an analysis of the sources of Debora's observation. When analyzing Schulz's oeuvre, the writer had not given up her own artistic preferences. Her enthusiasm for Constructivist Avant-garde was underlined by Schulz in his review of the novel *Acacias Bloom* published in 1935. Dummies had taken over Debora's imagination as strongly as the artistic thinking of Grosz. A man-puppet is the motif Grosz observed in the 'metaphysical paintings' by Giorgio de Chirico and Carlo Carrà. In the artist's presentations from 1919-21, there appear dummy faces devoid of facial features and demonstrating their artificial limbs, revealing in the cracks of their artificial layer the mechanisms that control them, moving along geometrized streets which seem depopulated. In our discourse Grosz's art only vectorizes our associations, draws our attention to the author of the dummy paradigm in 'metaphysical painting', namely Giorgio de Chirico. It is in the latter's oeuvre and reflection on art that we will seek

a deep analogy with the ideological attitude and artistic solutions of the author of the *Cinnamon Shops*; after all, he seems to be a missing link in the interpretative contexts proposed for Schulz's oeuvre, though the *pittura metafisica* aesthetics evolving in 1909-19, also anticipated by several years literary and drawing narrations of Bruno Schulz. This dummy paradigm allows to combine (on the intertextual level) the oeuvre of Schulz and de Chirico, though the genesis of the motif of a puppet is different in both cases. Schulz animated a tailor's dummy and transformed it into a marionette of human coating. In the metaphysical painting of de Chirico, it was an Antique statue, or more strictly its contemporary copy that turned into a dummy. Both Schulz and de Chirico, however, bestowed a similar status upon this new objectified version of man: of a fake being; as well as a similar function: of an actor in an illusory theatre of the world. De Chirico derived the principle of turning man into an object from the philosophical writings of Nietzsche which he was passionately exploring in 1912 during his stay in Turin; he perceived in them the hallucinating aura of metaphysical secret hidden behind ordinary places and objects.

De Chirico does not actually resort, like Schulz, to the convention of grotesque, yet both artists reveal the artificiality of the presented reality. In his 'metaphysical paintings', the fictitious character of the in-painting space is emphasized by a steep proscenium closed up with architectural wings. It is in these footlights that the action does not so much develop, as more strictly speaking a meticulously arranged situation persists, in suspense and timelessness; its protagonists are simulacra of both men and gods. The attitude of the two artists is, however, most approximated by the longing for the unreachable, for grasping the 'essentiality' of the universe; a perfect unity embodied the prehistoric myth that had lost its homogeneity over the centuries; had lost its semantic cohesion breaking into thousands of derivative, yet at the same time, fragmentary and imperfect images and narrations.

De Chirico looks back with nostalgia at the country of his childhood, that is Greece, lost to him forever, the prehistoric cradle of myth. Schulz, too, perceives childhood as a 'marvellous period' where

Authenticity can be discovered. Hence the concept of anamnesis. Similarly as for Giorgio de Chirico and the generation of neo-Classicists of the 1920s and 1930s, for Schulz too memory becomes a constitutive element of artistic creation. The reflection over what is the past, the selective treatment of cultural legacy, constructing of one's own artistic tradition from arbitrarily selected fragments from the past, are a symptom of searching for cultural identity – a broader category and more important for many artists of the time than national, ethnic, or religious self-identification.

Both Chirico and Schulz evoke in their depiction the space of memory, not fully penetrated, not thoroughly dominated, alogical, full of surprising associations and poetical tensions. In de Chirico this is accomplished through views of petrified squares immersed in the aura of an autumn afternoon, with shadows cast onto them by Antique gods and stone figures of contemporary personalities; monuments overwhelming with their bulk the miniature silhouettes of a philosopher-poet and a prophet lost amidst the vastness of mystery. Schulz multiplies references (frequently perversely and parodically) to the canon works of European art, literature, and philosophy, having syncretic memory, also absorbing the present, yet at the same time providing an essential impulse to creating idiosyncratic hyper-reality with real places, figures, and objects immersed in them. De Chirico was not to free himself from the primacy of memory. When closing up the stage of 'metaphysical painting' in 1919, he set up his easels in a museum gallery in order to copy the works by Michelangelo, Raphael, Lotto, Perugino, Doss, Rubens, and Claude Lorraine. He ennobled his copies by displaying them at a Milan exhibition in 1921.

The incessant aiming at penetrating cultural memory both in the case of Schulz and de Chirico, was taking shape in opposition to the Modernist Avant-garde focused on the formal experiment. The 'new man' was cornered by civilizational advancement. The generation of European traditionalists who were persistently looking for their own identity pointed to the threats posed by the technicized world which deprived man of his subjectivity, transforming him into a nameless link in the intensifying processes of industrialization and commercialization.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

KATARZYNA CHRUDZIMSKA-UHERA

*Metaphysical Beings without a Form of Activity:
on August Zamoyski and His Father,
on a Strange Friendship with Witkacy*

The activity of the sculptor August Zamoyski (1893-1970) in Poland was related to the Expressionist manifestations: of the Poznan Bunt Group and Cracow-Zakopane Formists. Zamoyski returned from Germany in 1918 with his wife, the dancer Rita Sacchetto, and came to live in Zakopane. That very year he took part in the Bunt exhibition in Poznan. The event brought about a scandal August Zamoyski was the main inspirer and protagonist of. The hosts of the Poznan Society of Friends of Fine Arts (TPSP) demanded for five works to be removed from the display for moral reasons (among them four authored by Zamoyski). The incident was used in a propaganda way by Jerzy Hulewicz who turned Zamoyski into an uncompromising rebel, opposing the family, social norms, and valid conventions. This motif was later eagerly exposed in his biography by the sculptor himself; the same version was repeated and consolidated by Zamoyski's oeuvre monographer Zofia Kossakowska-Szanajca.

However, the myth of Zamoyski, a rebel, has to be verified in view of the facts provided thanks to archival records supplied by the sculptor's widow H el ene Peltier-Zamoyska and brought to Poland in 2007 by Aleksander Wat, as well as on the grounds of the information found in the correspondence retrieved from Jab on in 2006. They all show that Zamoyski never definitely severed with his family who supported him financially and provided with assistance when he was settling down in Poland. Trying to satisfy the family expectations, already before WW I Zamoyski began forester studies and having divorced Rita Sacchetto he administered the family estate in Jab on. One must suspect that the image of a rebel, matching the Bunt and Formism programmes was an attractive completion. Therefore, he consistently consolidated it in his statements and publications. Additionally, during Communist Poland, when the monograph of the sculptor was written, it was desirable to renounce the

land-owner descend and emphasize one's own accomplishments. These reasons could have deformed the official biography of the artist.

The above-mentioned archival records contained documents dealing with the relations between Zamoyski and Witkacy, a very peculiar men's friendship abounding in disputes, splitting up, and returns. It can be suspected that August Zamoyski's aesthetical views, particularly with respect to sculpture, could have influenced the theories of Witkacy. Although the latter criticized his friend for not being precise, he was involved in a factual debate with him, treating his views as equally valid as his. Their theoretical dialogue was reflected in their creative one. The artists portrayed one another, they also commented on each other's works. Additionally, there was some kind of an artistic understanding, or maybe even cooperation, between Rita Sacchetto and Witkacy. It should be assumed that Witkacy's formist theatre was to a certain degree an interpretation of Rita Sacchetto's formist dance.

The Jab on archival records also include Witkacy's letter written in the latter half of the 1920s, when the marriage of the Zamoyskis was going through a crisis, endangered with a breakdown. Witkacy wrote about the couple e.g. in his novel, fragments of which Rita Sacchetto was intending to read during the divorce case as the proof demonstrating her husband's guilt, therefore implying that *Farewell to Autumn* written at that time was yet another 'novel with a clue' in his oeuvre, and one of the portrayed characters was August Zamoyski. The details Witkacy points to in his letter suggest, however, that the literary model of the sculptor could be seen in Count Andrzej  ohoyski. Fragments of the novel reflect real personal relations between Witkacy and Zamoyski, unmasking complex feelings: a mix of admiration, envy, and jealousy that Witkiewicz felt for Zamoyski.

Translated by Mgdalena Iwińska

IWONA LUBA

Paradox of National Art and Modernism. Władysław Strzemiński, Winner of the Artistic Prize of Łódź in 1932

The text focuses on an important event in the artistic history of the 2nd Polish Republic, i.e. awarding a prestigious Prize of the City of Łódź in 1932, on this occasion for the first time to an artist. The winner, as it turned out, was Władysław Strzemiński. Previously only writers had been awarded it and they strongly criticized the prize founders' decision, considering it a deprivation of their own privilege. The originator of widening the prize's formula, head of the Culture and Art Department at Łódź Municipality Przeclaw Smolik, though himself a writer and bibliophile, was quite radical in commenting on the domination of literature over other cultural disciplines, claiming it to be an archaic legacy of the past time, placing Polish culture behind other European countries.

The announcement that a representatives of the world of art was to be honoured, also set a meaningful stir to Łódź artistic circles, which was reflected in everyday press.

The jury including numerous representatives of opinion-making circles and centres from around the country, decided after about a six-hour session that the first winner of the artistic prize of Łódź, additionally the most radical in all its history, was Władysław Strzemiński.

Today everyone will consider this judgment as something most natural. Meanwhile, the jury's verdict at that time came as a surprise both to the Łódź circles and the winner himself, since back in 1932 such a high appraisal of Strzemiński's artistic accomplishments did not seem so obvious to everyone.

The Jurors appreciated the winner's full dedication to art, this including the foundation of an international collection of modern art and giving it as deposit to the Bartoszewicz Museum of History and Art in Łódź, actually together with his own works, as well as Strzemiński's artistic versatility. The first to have put forth Strzemiński's candidacy was Michał Sobeski, philosophy professor at the University of the Piasts (today Adam Mickiewicz University), connoisseur of modern art, with whom Strzemiński had actually been in an acute factual conflict several years before. His candidacy was consistently opposed by representatives of the Warsaw artistic state-consolidating circles, in a way responsible for the image of Polish official art as well as the artistic education in Poland's capital,

such as Wojciech Jastrzębowski and Karol Stryjeński, which seems like a meaningful fact.

Despite their oppositions, it was for the first time in the artistic life of the 2nd Polish Republic that until-then valid power structure was overcome in the sense that an artist from outside of the so-called national and/or state-consolidating art was awarded. The schematic thinking on Polish art in the categories of national style was overcome, as the artist awarded had consistently and ostentatiously opposed national style.

The Jury's decision was strictly factual and depended on the artistic accomplishments of the candidates. It ennobled both the winner (and through him indirectly whole Avant-garde art in Poland, previously rather marginalized) as well as the awarding body, namely the city of Łódź, previously perceived as an industrial and business centre, certainly not a cultural and artistic one.

Awarding the prize to Strzemiński was an unprecedented event in the history of the artistic life in inter-war Poland. The social ranking of the prize was extremely high. Funding of the prestigious prize to a representative of fine arts by the Municipality of Łódź was meant to alter the image of the city, although it was the second largest city in independent Poland.

Additionally, the question of the artistic Prize also became the direct cause of transferring in 1923 the discourse on the essence of the Avant-garde, and Constructivism in particular, from professional artistic journals to popular national press, as well as to periodicals conservative in their character. It was a phenomenon of a sudden and unexpected permeating of the issues of previously elitist art to mass culture circulation on an unprecedented scale.

Quite a number of confusions and even misinterpretations, both at the time and in present history of Polish art, have arisen with regard to this prize. Piotr Piotrowski, for instance, definitely decided that the choice of Strzemiński was a political decision though the minutes of the Jury's debate do not testify to it at all. Thus such a statement made by the researcher does not do justice to the winner, also for ideological reasons, as it makes Strzemiński be perceived as a radical follower of the political left wing, remaining faithful to the Communist ideals,

while his actual worldview was, as a matter of fact, different to say the least, as just opposite.

Following a painful experience for the winner: a row incited by the envious painter Waclaw Dobrowolski during the award ceremony, the artistic and civic attitude of Strzemiński was demonstrated exceptionally clearly, though not for the first time: an artist aware of the danger ideologies posed for art treated instrumentally, he defined himself as an opponent of Communism and Bolshevism. He actually had done it soon after his arrival in Poland in 1922 and remained consistently faithful to this until the very end. However, Strzemiński presented his fullest self-artistic and ideological identity after the insulting attack of Dobrowolski.

The scandalous intervention of the latter, contrary to his intentions, gave rise not only to a broad debate on the essence of Polish art which went on for over a year and reached far beyond the local artistic circles.

Strzemiński's press statements from the period, at the same time logical and strongly emotional, prove that he was extremely serious with regards to Polish art considered both as an expression of the level of cultural or even civilizational development, as well as demonstration of the visual representation of the Polish state and its condition versus Polish and European public. Strzemiński proved at the same time that the level of artistic awareness reflected the overall level of society's development. For these reasons he condemned national art as poor in terms of strictly artistic reasons, while constituting a realist ideological threat to the new Polish state.

How real the threat was, could be seen in the reaction of Polish artists, these including 'the state-consolidating' ones, to the exhibition of Soviet art held as it happened in the display halls of the Institute of Art Propaganda (IPS) in March 1933. In his message, Władysław Skoczylas, member of the Exhibition's Organizing Committee, and also an IPS's founder and its director, while at the same time the main representative of the 'state-consolidating' artists, he was calling for state patronage, the care the state should take of artists.

The ideas of the Soviet control over art and of monopolizing it, both by the state and the political party, were not considered in Poland as a limitation of artistic liberty, but as a positive model of state artistic patronage, providing employment to artists and prestigious commissions, particularly in the sphere of monumental art.

Exactly ten years earlier using his own experience and observation in Soviet Russia, Strzemiński had been warning against dangers, on many different levels, that were entailed in the curbing of creative freedom and autonomy of art. In 1932, he was hailed as a Bolshevik, despite him invincibly believing in the

artist's freedom and despite the fact that although at moments suffering dramatic living conditions, he nevertheless acted against all odds, and was to pay for his steadfast stand in Socialist Poland with his own health and life. Meanwhile, the 'national' and state-consolidating artists who let themselves be seduced, either truly or opportunistically by the Soviet vision of art, welcomed the Socialist Realist art in Poland after 1945.

It was on a number of occasions that Strzemiński resumed, with consistence, the issue of art as a visual representation of the state, which clearly testifies to his commitment to the state matters, in his own art, in the theory of art, or in the questions of artistic education and raising the cultural standards in society. Ever since his arrival in Poland in 1921, Strzemiński did not cease to artistically educate society in secondary schools: in gymnasia and vocational schools. He strongly emphasized the need of education in history art, pinning much faith upon this subject and thoroughly revolutionizing the system of teaching it, not merely to artists. Moreover, he emphasized the importance of the artistic shaping of the whole man's surrounding, similarly as his wife, Katarzyna Kobro. He also inspired civic or even patriotic attitudes in his students, this being best exemplified in the fact that he treated them as responsible adult artists, as well as state's citizens. In Koluszki, he and his students designed the monument of White Eagle which raised near the school, was ceremoniously unveiled in 1931. The monument destroyed during WW II, was reconstructed by the local community and is now near the railway station.

In the schools in which Strzemiński taught, he tried to work out an entirely new model of multifaceted artistic education, more modern than Bauhaus. By establishing a modern artistic academy, he intended to make up for great delays in artistic teaching in Poland.

Artistic education of Polish society by Strzemiński, was not merely limited to his activity in teaching or the afore-mentioned art theory and criticism. In order to overcome the painfully felt 'lack of artistic teaching', Strzemiński together with other individuals active in the 'a. r.' Group fulfilled his mission by creating a collection of modern art. The activity of the 'a. r.' Group and the depositing of the collection of modern art it created with the Bartoszewicz Museum, as well as making the continuously growing collection open to general public, the fact that the Strzemińskis moved to Łódź and committed themselves to the local artistic teaching and life, incited and boosted Łódź artistic circles, while integrating the followers of modern art.

The above-recalled circumstances and effects of awarding the first artistic prize of the city of Łódź to

Władysław Strzemiński show how unambiguous and complex the situation in artistic life of the period was. They also demonstrate that apparently clear-cut and obvious developments need to be continuously

re-interpreted and revised, also demonstrating that the questions of 'state-consolidating', 'national', and Avant-garde art were inextricably interrelated.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska