

# Country Houses as Substitutes for Autonomous National Institutions on the Lands of Partitioned Poland

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THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH, torn by internal conflicts, was unable to withstand the military power of its neighbors (Russia, Prussia and Austria) who, in the years 1772–1795, gradually partitioned its territory (733.5 thousand square km). The abdication of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, an act imposed by Catherine II of Russia, and finally, the looting of Polish regalia<sup>1</sup> brought a symbolic end to the political existence of the Polish state.

Refusing to accept the tragedy of the Partitions, the Poles repeatedly attempted to regain independence, in conspiracy preparing the subsequent armed insurrections (in 1794—the Kościuszko Rising, in 1831—the November Rising, and in 1863—the January Rising), and engaged in pan-European conflicts whose outcomes were expected to bring changes in the balance of power on the Continent (e.g. the Napoleonic Wars, the Spring of Nations and the Crimean War). All these efforts, however, did not produce the desired results; on the contrary, they provoked a wave of repression by the Partitioning Powers. Particularly hurtful were the actions aimed at Polish culture, which—together with the language—was the mainstay of Polish national identity. And, in the absence of an independent state, it was the survival of the nation that seemed to be the key issue; a nation divided, as it was, by new borders, but one that still identified itself as a group.<sup>2</sup> Of especially strong impact were the measures carried out in 1831–1832: the closing down of the universities in Warsaw and Vilnius and the Krzemieniec Gymnasium and the liquidation of the Society of Friends of Science in Warsaw, their priceless libraries and accompanying art collections having been removed to Russia.<sup>3</sup> Earlier (in 1795) the same fate befell the Załuski Library in Warsaw—the most important of all Polish libraries at that time, which held the richest book collection in the country (amounting to about 400 thousand printed books and 20 thousand manuscripts) and additionally played the role of a national library, collecting and preserving the entire Polish literature.<sup>4</sup> Massive confiscations of collections of recognized Polish public institutions gave rise to a belief that the only place where the national heritage could be protected

was a private nobleman's residence, if possible located in the provinces, remote from major cities or towns administered by foreign authorities and army. The ultimate codification of the myth of a nobleman's residence understood as a scrap of the fatherland saved from historical turbulence was achieved in Romantic literature. The prototype of such a "home-ark," conjured up by Adam Mickiewicz in his *Pan Tadeusz* (1834; *Sir Thaddeus, or the Last Lithuanian Foray: A Nobleman's Tale from the Years of 1811 and 1812 in Twelve Books of Verse*), was Soplicowo: an old-Polish manor house in which ancient customs were cultivated and relics of the past preserved, thus encoding a message intelligible only for the initiated in national traditions.<sup>5</sup> The role of the nobleman's nest in the new realities after the Partitions found its fullest expression precisely in Mickiewicz's epic poem, in the words uttered by one of its characters: "I seek his house [Soplicowo], the kernel of old Polish ways: . . . There man can breathe and drink in the Fatherland's praise!" (Bk VII, vv. 348–350; trans. by Marcel Weyland, 2004).

Although the vast majority of the country houses erected on the Polish lands in the 19th century held collections of books or art and historical objects, inherited by their owners from ancestors and then systematically augmented, the present article will analyze only those which—in keeping with their owner's intentions—took on the role of institutions of the absent state, functioning as "national" libraries, museums (and sometimes also as archives or scholarly institutions). The basic criterion for distinguishing between these two kinds of residencies is the presence of a clear intention to make the collections held in the houses readily accessible to wide audiences, yet both the establishing of a collection and making it publicly available must be patriotically motivated and treated as a means of protection of the national interests. The above conditions do not, of course, exclude any additional stimuli that may have affected the actions of the founders, such as, for example, the desire to add splendor to one's family or to gain the respect of fellow countrymen. Consequently, the present study will concentrate on cases in which the collection served not that

much to ennoble the residence, but rather substantiated its very existence and at the same time determined its spatial arrangement which reflected the double—residential and cultural—function of the edifice. What is more, such a combination of a family home with an institution serving lofty, supra-familial ideals, made it possible for the owners to inseparably interlace the history of the national community with that of one's own family, and to emphasize its accomplishments in the service of the fatherland. These included both the achievements of the ancestors (victorious battles, art patronage, intellectual attainments), and the work of contemporary generations, who strove to preserve this precious legacy of the past. Hence the collections discussed in this present study also encompasses emotionally charged family memorabilia. Furthermore, this functional dualism influenced the architectural and sculptural decoration of the residences under discussion, which conveyed a message alluding directly to the character and purpose of the house. Yet, the houses in question are not a simple combination of a residence with a library or museum understood in their traditional sense, since each of these elements has been modified as a result of the merger. The notion of residence, in comparison with its "classical" understanding, experienced a shift of emphasis within the overriding axiological order: the nation, science and art gained priority over the owner and his family, while the founder, working to uphold the above values, was perceived precisely through his attitude towards them. Similarly, if we approach the analyzed buildings from the perspective of a library or museum, their national and, at the same time, familial character as well as their functioning in more or less manifest opposition to the current political authorities, are features which distinguished these cultural and scientific "institutions" from their "ordinary" modern counterparts—removed from a feudal palace, located in city centers, making available to the public the holdings ordered according to objective, scientific criteria.<sup>6</sup>

The present paper discusses the most interesting examples of country houses of the type defined above, which were built in the Prussian and Russian Partitions. On the area of the Austrian Partition (so-called Galicia) and the Republic of Cracow,<sup>7</sup> incorporated into it in 1846, no residences which would satisfy the adopted criteria, were found.<sup>8</sup> This dissimilarity may, perhaps, be explained through the extensive national liberties enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Austrian Partition, particularly in the 1860s, after Galicia was granted a broad autonomy within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Local scholarly and cultural lives flourished not only thanks to both individual and collective private initiatives, but also to official institutions, run by the state or local

authorities. In Cracow and Lvov functioned Polish universities (even if periodically subject to Germanization), technical and art schools, there were museums (including the most important one, called the National Museum, although it was established (1879) and funded by the authorities of Cracow);<sup>9</sup> the scholarly endeavors were coordinated and stimulated by Cracow Learned Society (founded in 1815), while the Cracow and Lvov branches of the Society of the Friends of Fine Arts attempted to revive the patronage of contemporary Polish art. Furthermore, despite temporary tensions between the Austrian authorities and the Lvov privately endowed institutions, the holdings of the latter were left untouched and made available for the public use. These were: the Ossoliński Institute (founded in 1817 by Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński and in 1823 combined with a museum set up by Prince Henryk Lubomirski), the Library of Count Wiktor Baworowski (first located in a manor at Myszkowice near Tarnool, and in 1857 relocated to Lvov) or the Dzieduszycki Library (brought to Lvov from the palace at Poturzyca in 1847).<sup>10</sup> What is particularly telling is the fact that the greatest number of 19th-century country houses, which simultaneously served as libraries or museums, originated in the Prussian Partition, and especially in Greater Poland, where the situation of Polish inhabitants was the most difficult. The programmatic policy of Germanization, administered by the Prussian authorities, which had intensified especially since the 1840s, made the threat of being deprived of national distinction almost palpable for the Poles, while the torpedoing of collective scholarly and cultural initiatives undertaken by the Polish communities in larger urban centers served as a proof that a search should be made for alternative forms of activity, among which were, for example, foundations of the residences under discussion.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, on the Polish lands annexed by Russia (where Polish cultural and scholarly institutions established by the authorities were ephemeral, liquidated or marginalized after subsequent risings) these residences played a significant role, "competing," however, with city palaces located in Warsaw itself, institutions which gathered and made available to the public library and art collections. In spite of the fact that it was the Warsaw holdings that were the most heavily affected by the looting of national treasures, the city was still considered by a part of Polish society as one that offered the best environment for the development of Polish sciences and arts, mostly because of its cultural and scholarly traditions, an interesting intellectual milieu and the accumulation of capital ready to subsidize the national causes. Following this conviction, some institutions emerged in the city, that were removed from the family residences in the provinces: the Library of the Zamojski

Entail (open for the public since 1811, with a break between 1846 and 1868), the Library of the Krasieński Entail (in Warsaw since 1844, a public institution since 1861) or the Przeździecki Library (located in Warsaw in 1852, and made available to the public in the 1870s).<sup>12</sup>

## Puławy

It should also be mentioned here that the prototype for the select group of residences was the first “Polish Museum” set up by Princess Izabela Czartoryska at Puławy. It was intended to serve the entire nation, but because of the post-Partitions political circumstances it was located in the provinces in two garden pavilions (the so-called Temple of Sibyl, 1798–1801, and the Gothic House, 1801–1809). The governing idea of the museum was expressed in the motto placed over the entrance, reading: “The Past to the Future”: it assembled items of paramount historical (though not necessarily artistic) significance. Its holdings included, e.g.: the ashes of Poland’s old kings, remnants of Polish crown jewels, militaria—both Polish and captured, cannon balls from various battlefields where Poles had achieved historic victories, architectural fragments of famous Polish castles and churches, coins, seals, old prints, manuscripts, portraits of national heroes etc. All these patriotic knick-knacks promoted a certain vision of Polish history, while the prideful, victorious past was supposed to give hope for a similar future and inspire the struggle for independence. The endangered symbols of Polish statehood deposited with this national “temple of remembrance” had been set against a background in the form of a gallery of family portraits and a collection of world-class works of art (including the famous *Lady with an Ermine* by Leonardo da Vinci).<sup>13</sup> Shortly before the November Rising the collection was evacuated from Puławy and moved to the Hôtel Lambert in Paris, which since then had become not only a new residence of the Czartoryskis, but also the headquarters of the major political camp of the post-November-Rising émigrés headed by the son of Izabela, Prince Adam Czartoryski.

## Kórnik

The first instance of a full implementation of the “residence as a library and museum” concept on the Polish lands under Prussian Partition was the reconstruction of the castle at Kórnik (1842–1861), carried out at the behest of Count Tytus Działyński. While undertaking the remodelling, he wanted to create a home for himself and his newlywed (1825) wife Celina Zamojska, yet his primary motivation was to provide an appropriate housing for his ever-growing

book collection.<sup>14</sup> He had been assembling books since his early youth when, while organizing the family library and archives at his father’s request, he felt a strong desire “to build up a collection [of books] for the use of my fellow countrymen.”<sup>15</sup> The books and manuscripts that he had been acquiring ever since were treated by him not only as valuable sources for historical research (and materials that from the very beginning he enthusiastically made available to scholars),<sup>16</sup> but also as a testimony to the several centuries of the glorious past of a nation deprived of its statehood and one whose identity was threatened. Działyński’s idea was that, in addition to the printed matter and archival materials, the diligently assembled “national memorabilia,” forming a kind of a museum collection in the castle’s interiors should document Polish culture and history.<sup>17</sup> In this category of museum pieces fell: artworks, numismatic objects, archaeological artefacts, gold objects and, above all, militaria.<sup>18</sup> The majority of the last-mentioned was inherited by Działyński from his ancestors (the 17th-century pieces— from Paweł Działyński and those dating from the 18th century— from his grandfather Augustyn Działyński),<sup>19</sup> and he intended to arrange a separate “armory” in the castle for their display, since the collections of old weaponry on the lands of partitioned Poland had acquired special importance as reminders of one-time victories and the bravery of ancestors who used to “valiantly route the attackers.”<sup>20</sup> Apart from protecting and displaying the “souvenirs of the past,” Działyński also intended to research and publish the most precious manuscripts from his collection.

An obvious precedent for the idea of “The Past to the Future,” which the count wished to implement at Kórnik, was provided by Puławy, while in Greater Poland an example may have been set by the refurbishment of some interiors of the palace at Rogalin (1814–1816), carried out on the order of Edward Raczyński, an intervention which had transformed the palace, once famous for its lively social life and lavish parties, into an abode of science and a national “shrine.”<sup>21</sup>

Tytus Działyński started preparations for the renovation of the Kórnik Castle in 1826, immediately after having inherited it from his father.<sup>22</sup> The castle, situated on a marshy island surrounded by a moat, was erected at the beginning of the 15th century by Mikołaj Górka, canon of Gniezno and chancellor of the Poznań cathedral chapter.<sup>23</sup> As noted by Stanisław Sarnicki in his *Descriptio veteris et novae Poloniae* (1585), the fortress was famous “as much for its elegant forms as for its exquisite ramparts that could withstand the most ferocious enemy attacks.” Throughout its history, it had been the seat of the most powerful aristocratic families in Greater Poland; from the Górkas it went into the possession of the Czarnkowskis, related to the

Górkas, then to the Grudzińskis, and since 1676 it had been in the possession of the Działyńskis. Tytus's father, Ksawery (descending from the family's lateral line) became the owner of Kórnik in 1801.<sup>24</sup> At that time the castle had for a long time been deprived of its original Gothic forms, having been rebuilt first around the third quarter of the 16th century in the Renaissance style and then in the first quarter of the 18th century, when it was given a late-Baroque appearance.<sup>25</sup>

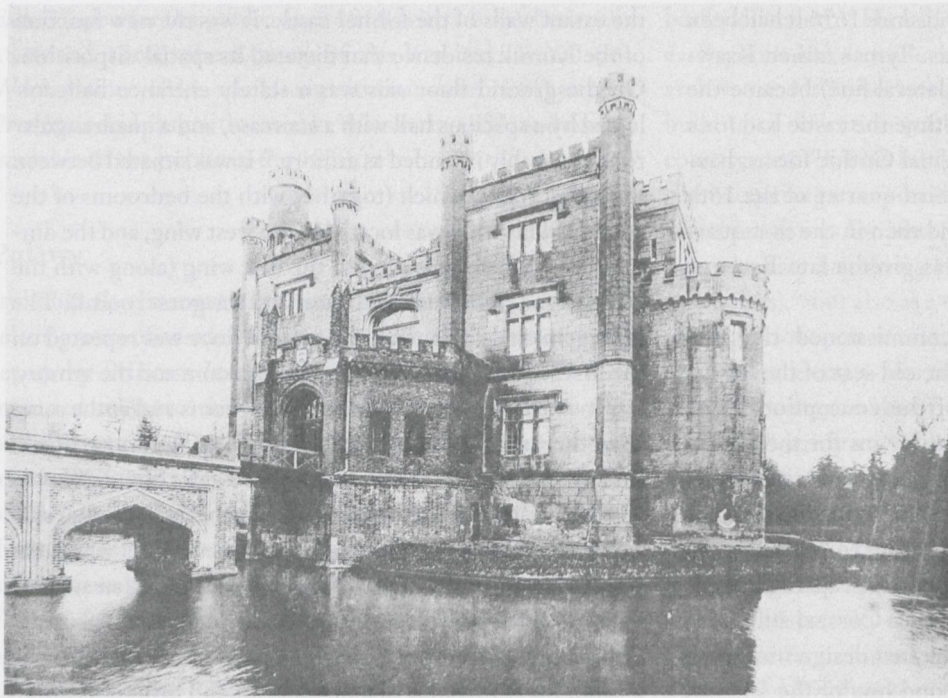
In 1827 Tytus Działyński commissioned the first designs for the modernisation of the old seat of the Górka family. The point of departure of the conception, apart from the requirement that spacious rooms for the library should be located on the first story, was the wish of the count to "alter the castle, giving it ancient, medieval architectural forms," at the same time desiring to "preserve the majority of the old walls."<sup>26</sup> The proposals prepared by Italian architects active in Poland: Antonio Corazzi and Henryk (Enrico) Marconi<sup>27</sup> (of which the first design was in the form of the Venetian, and the second one of the English Gothic Revival) did not satisfy Działyński, probably because the architects intended to transform the once-fortified castle into an impressive palace with symmetrically arranged and overly decorative elevations.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, at the beginning of 1828, the squire of Kórnik asked Karl Friedrich Schinkel to prepare a new design. His drawings<sup>29</sup> (later published in his *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe*, 1835) also show a Gothic Revival building, but one maintained in crude, monumental forms, almost entirely stripped of decoration. Here, clearly defined and strongly accentuated solids have been combined into a heterogeneous silhouette of a fortified castle that could be viewed from many angles and whose defensive features were markedly enhanced.<sup>30</sup>

The planned works, as well as the already begun editorial activity of Działyński, were thwarted by the outbreak of the November Rising. As a consequence of Tytus's participation in the fight, he was ordered to leave the Prussian Partition, while his estate was confiscated. He had recovered it, thanks to a successful legal action, in 1839, but it was only three years later that he resumed the interrupted works, which he continued, almost unceasingly,<sup>31</sup> until his death.<sup>32</sup> Eventually, the designs (adjusted to a significantly humbler financial means than originally planned) were probably prepared by the count himself,<sup>33</sup> with the active help of his wife and the professional support of the builder Marian Cybulski. The plans were based on Schinkel's concept, but also employed some ideas appearing in sketches by Corazzi and Marconi.<sup>34</sup>

Although the arrangement of rooms in the rebuilt Działyński residence was to some extent predetermined by

the extant walls of the former castle, it was the new function of the Kórnik residence that dictated its spatial disposition. On the ground floor axis was a stately entrance hall, followed by a spacious hall with a staircase, and a quadrangular room probably intended as armory.<sup>35</sup> It was situated between the living room, which (together with the bedrooms of the count and his wife) was located in the west wing, and the dining room, which belonged to the east wing (along with the office of the castle's administrator and the guest rooms). The arrangement of rooms on the ground floor was repeated on the first story. There, above the dining room and the armory, was located the most important of all rooms and at the same time the functional and symbolic core of the entire structure: the Moorish Hall, intended to house the library.<sup>36</sup> It was also the largest room in the castle, extending into two stories and divided by porticos into three sections, of which the one containing the entrance was surrounded with an arcaded gallery (which provided extra space for additional cabinets). On the upper story the Moorish Hall was accompanied by a room for the display of a manuscript and print collection, the count's study and a room for the librarian,<sup>37</sup> as well as a suite of rooms along the west side whose original function is not known (although at least some of them must have been intended for the presentation of art and historical collections).<sup>38</sup> In the attic were two rooms, accessible from the gallery in the Moorish Hall, which were envisaged to hold the archive<sup>39</sup> and the guest rooms.<sup>40</sup>

On the exterior the Działyński residence had the shape of a self-contained, isolated fortress, which symbolically expressed the castle's protective care over the treasures stored inside (Fig. 1). The moat was deepened, restored, and spanned by a bridge (with a drawbridge in its last bay). The lower parts of walls were revealed and supplemented with mock keyhole-shaped loops; before the entrance a brick polygonal porch, reminiscent of medieval gatehouse, was added. The entire structure was covered in numerous slender pinnacles and mighty towers (two rectangular ones in the corners of the south wall, a cylindrical one attached to the east wall, and a stubby, half-circular flanking tower in the west wall), while the walls were topped with battlements. The Gothic-Revival style of the elevations alluded to the medieval origin of the Górka family's former residence, but—according to the handwritten draft of the count's speech prepared for the festive inauguration of the residence—it also symbolically revived the tradition of a fortified castle of the Polish nobleman who successfully defended his country even when royal fortresses and cities yielded to the enemy.<sup>41</sup> Although in the changed historical circumstances the struggle for freedom must have taken different forms (which Działyński, as a former insurgent



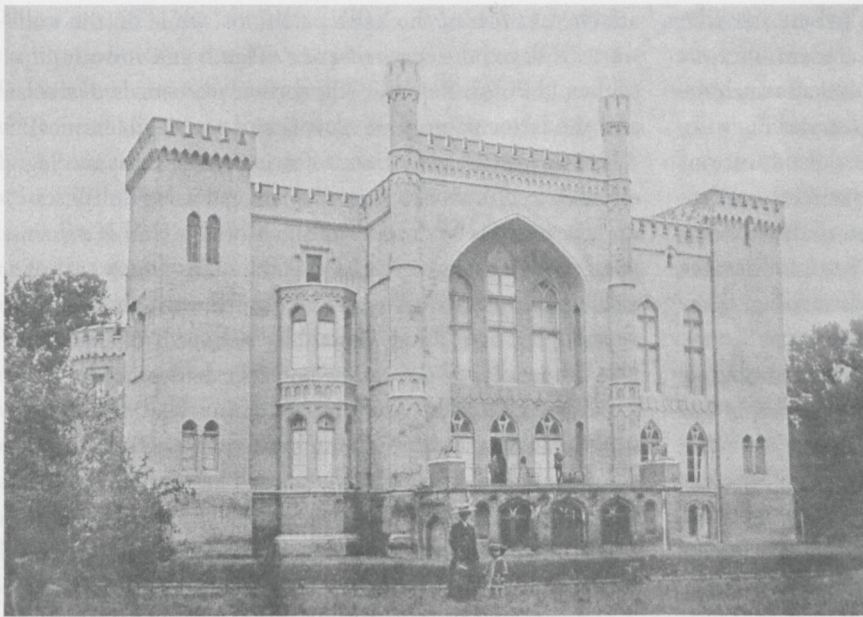
I Façade. The Kórnik Castle. 1842–1861 (photo: L. Durczykiewicz. *Dwory polskie w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim* [Polish Manors in the Grand Duchy of Poznań]. Poznań. 1912)

of the November Rising knew all too well), the old-time strongholds would remain the principal bastions of defense, yet now protecting the nation's spiritual life and preserving the precious relics of Polish culture within their safe ramparts. "At the time when the principles and rightness in the Polish matter have lost any power and authority," wrote the count, "it is this weak fabric erected in the form of castles that [should be] the background for the embroidery of our dearest dreams and hopes ..., and in the absence of any opportunities for action, it is the love for the concerns of the fatherland, its faith, fame, literature and memorabilia [that should be spread]."<sup>42</sup>

Interwoven into the fortified block of the Działyńskis' "Gothic" castle are some elements deriving from Mughal tomb architecture, a feature manifest in the composition of the south elevation, especially in the avant-corps on the axis.<sup>43</sup> Flanked by small turrets and pierced by an arcaded niche topped with the four-centered ("Persian") arch (Fig. 2), this element seems to allude to the forms of the Taj Mahal "mausoleum-shrine" at Agra that so excited the Romantic imagination.<sup>44</sup> Motifs of oriental origin appeared also in the interiors, which (apart from those maintained in strictly Gothic Revival forms, such as the armory, entrance halls on both stories and rooms located in towers and bay windows) were decorated in a rather eclectic taste. Next to the surviving original early modern architectural details (such as ceilings, portals, chimney-pieces and door frames), supplemented with Neo-Renaissance and Neo-Baroque elements, which recalled the subsequent history of the castle and the

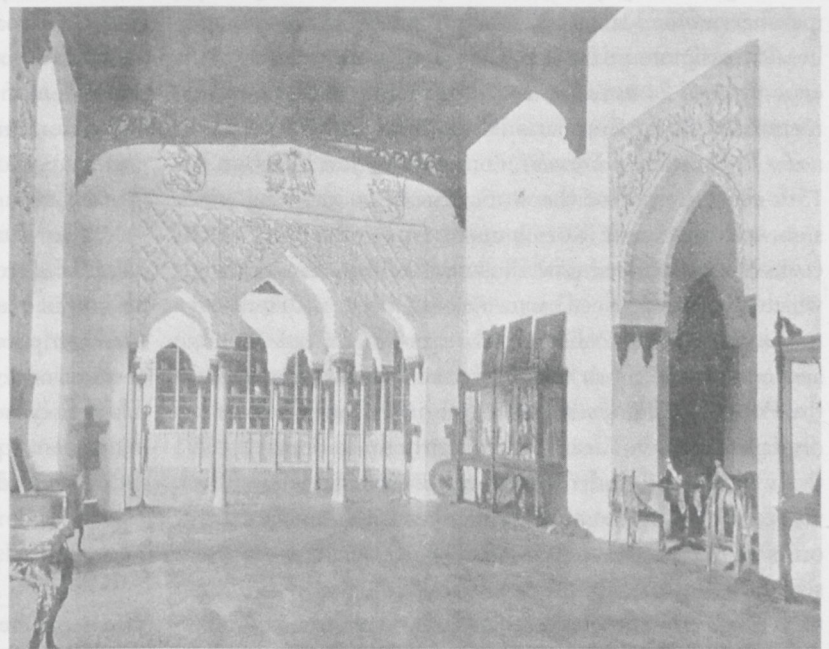
family of its owners, the Kórnik interiors featured also solutions drawn from Islamic, mainly Moorish, architecture.<sup>45</sup> These comprised the stuccoed ceilings and inlay wood decoration of the floor on the ground floor (e.g. in the entrance hall, living room, guest room and the bedroom of the count's wife), and, above all, the forms and ornamentation of porticos, the arcaded gallery and cabinets in the Moorish Hall (Fig. 3). All of them were modeled on the Alhambra Palace in Granada.<sup>46</sup> Reminiscences of Oriental art in a structure that was meant to serve as the mainstay of Polishness at first seem to be surprising. In fact, however, they are perfectly in line with the consistent philosophy of the Kórnik Castle as a national institution, described above.

Several overlapping threads are interwoven in the vision of the Alhambra created by the Romantics, one that was inspired by the rich and colorful history of the Moorish citadel. The palace was considered to be a monument to the former Muslim power and Moorish dominance over Spain, and, at the same time, the last point of their resistance against the Christian "Reconquista." The valiant defence of Granada was seen as a universal symbol of heroism and sacrifice, while its fall was understood both as a warning against internal dissent, which could destroy even the mightiest powers, and a promise of a revival that, according to a legend, would come as soon as God lifted the curse He had put on the last Moorish king Boabdil.<sup>47</sup> Such an account of the history of the Spanish Muslims was sufficient to invite their comparison with the fate of the Polish nation, yet the most important impulse for a patriotic interpretation of the



2 South elevation. The Kórnik Castle. 1842–1861 (photo: K. Ruciński. *Dwory i pałace wielkopolskie* [Manors and Palaces in Greater Poland], Poznań. 1913)

3 Interior of the Moorish Hall (at the time when it served as a museum). The Kórnik Castle (photo: K. Ruciński. *Dwory i pałace wielkopolskie*. Poznań. 1913)



Alhambra originated in Polish literature,<sup>48</sup> in Adam Mickiewicz's long poem *Konrad Wallenrod*, published in 1828.<sup>49</sup> In it, in the "Alpuhara Ballad," Mickiewicz revived the history of the struggle for Granada and made it the point of departure for outlining the tactics for contacts with an enemy whose power was too great to venture an armed confrontation. Particularly striking is the similarity between the stances of Almanzor, the commander of the Moors created by the poet, who, having assumed a conciliatory mask, won the trust of the Spaniards, only to deceitfully defeat them, and that of Tytus Działyński, assumed after the tragic experiences of the uprising. Under the guise of submissiveness,

the count, consistently and adamantly, in secrecy took a stand against the foreign rulers, by establishing in his house important institutions of Polish national life, which in the future would become the basis for the rebirth of the independent fatherland. Seen from this perspective, Kórnik, secluded from the hostile world, preserving the remnants of the ancient power and elevated culture of the non-extant Polish state, was intended to be like the Alhambra—an isolated Moorish oasis set amidst the Christian lands.<sup>50</sup>

The symbolic message of the Kórnik Castle, influenced by its complex functions, combining that of a residence, library and museum, was developed in heraldic programs

decorating both the façade of the edifice (where heraldic devices of the owners were depicted over the entrance, in the keystone of a huge window)<sup>51</sup>, and—above all—its interiors. Apart from the coats-of-arms of Tytus and his wife, repeated many times in almost every room, the choice of heraldic bearings was in keeping with the character and furnishings of each particular chamber.<sup>52</sup> Around the wooden ceiling of the stately entrance hall run heraldic devices manifesting the genealogy of the Działyńskis and their illustrious family ties. These were heraldic bearings of Tytus's son Jan and his wife Izabella Czartoryska, as well as of their matrilineal ancestors, and they underscored the family ties of the future owner of Kórnik with the daughter of Prince Adam Czartoryski, who in the period of the partitions was considered the “uncrowned king of Poland” and “spiritual leader” of the nation. This familial thread was carried on in the living room, where a gallery of portraits was hung, featuring the images of both ancestors and contemporary members of the Działyński family.<sup>53</sup> The most sumptuous heraldic programme decorated the dining room ceiling and encompassed 71 heraldic devices of Polish noble families mentioned in the first national armorial, *Insignia seu Clemodia Regis et Regni Poloniae*, compiled by Jan Długosz. A 15th-century copy of the work, its oldest surviving version, was held in the Kórnik manuscript collection.<sup>54</sup> The coats-of-arms of these most illustrious ancient clans, among which Działyński placed his own device, were exhibited next to the portraits of Polish and foreign kings (“our friends and opponents”),<sup>55</sup> as well as hetmans who commanded the Polish army in its historic victories, all of which were displayed on the walls of the dining room. It seems that in this way Count Działyński not only wanted to remind the viewer of the foremost position of his family in the social order of the old Polish Republic but, above all, to emphasize the role played by noble families in shaping Polish history. Their contemporary descendants were intended to be depositaries of the memory of the nation's grand past, and to commit themselves to its preservation, from falling into oblivion.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, when the count's wife reproached him for spending on the library enormous sums surpassing his income, Działyński responded tellingly: “Well, it may be that we shall be forced to spend the last moments of our lives in a humble cottage and in poverty, but be it as it may! We shall not forsake, not even for a moment, our duties of well-nigh the last representatives of ancient Poland.”<sup>57</sup> The idea expressed in the decoration of the dining room was continued in the heraldic program of the most important chamber in the castle, namely the Moorish Hall. The decoration, apart from the heraldic devices of the owners, consisted of the Piast and Jagiellonian Eagles made of stucco,

attached to one of the hall's partitions, while on the walls were displayed the coats-of-arms of lands and voivodeships of the old Polish Republic (the former were made of stucco and the latter painted on canvas and set in gilt frames).<sup>58</sup> This impressive decoration, referring to the Piast and Jagiellonian traditions of a powerful and extensive Polish state, underscored the high status of the Moorish Hall as a shrine preserving national relics, and at the same time a part of a nobleman's private residence. A similar content was conveyed by the furnishings, assembled with painstaking attention to details, of the upper entrance hall preceding the Moorish Hall (called the White Columns Hall), where history paintings, predominantly battle pieces glorifying the victories of Polish arms, were hung. The “familial” thread, consistently featured in the decorations, was present in the entrance hall in a group of selected portraits from the ancestors' gallery.<sup>59</sup> The heraldic program of the Działyński residence was supplemented by the decoration of the count's study (the coats-of-arms presented here formed a genealogical tree focusing on the assertion of the legal rights to possession of the castle by the line from which its present owner descended) and the vaulting of the tower (where the presentation of the familial ties of the subsequent owners of the castle was concluded).<sup>60</sup>

“I am setting up an edifice at Kórnik to hold national relics,” declared Tytus in a letter of 13 November 1859 to his cousin Henryka Błędowska, and later went on to say: “An inscription on the vast library and gallery shall consist of two words: The Działyńskis to their fellow countrymen [Działyńscy-współrodakom].”<sup>61</sup> Although, eventually, this motto was not placed in the intended location, it probably most aptly described the character of Działyński's undertaking.<sup>62</sup>

## Chroberz

The most interesting example of the “residence as a library and museum” type under discussion, located on the Polish lands under Russian Partition, was the palace erected at Chroberz in 1856–1859 by Margrave Aleksander Gonzaga Myszkowski, count Wielopolski, to a design by Henryk Marconi. It is the very person of Wielopolski, a key figure in Polish public life of that period, yet a very controversial one because of his allegiance to Russia, that points to the fact that the problem dealt with in the present paper, namely that of patriotically motivated noble class patronage, encompassed a wide spectrum of political stances and various attitudes towards national obligations.

Only after planning the renovations did Wielopolski contemplate his residence at Chroberz as having a double purpose, i.e. that of a dwelling place and a “national” library.

When, in 1853, he decided to replace an old manor with a sumptuous residence, he was primarily motivated by the desire to construct a stately home for his clan, a residence which would become a token of the recuperation of the family's historical importance, and above all, the financial basis of its original prosperity.<sup>63</sup> As a result of lengthy legal proceedings, Wielopolski regained a substantial portion of the landed estates which had belonged to his predecessors, and obtained the restitution of the Pińczów Entail (*Ordynacja Pińczowska*).<sup>64</sup> The planned palace, as was the case of the majority of aristocratic homes, was intended to be enriched with a gallery of portraits of the margrave's famous ancestors, a collection of family memorabilia and a library. The last of these contained about eight thousand books, mainly on jurisprudence and the classics, and included, along with the remnants of the library amassed by Piotr and Zygmunt Myszkowski, the founders of the entail,<sup>65</sup> also the works lovingly and competently collected, throughout his entire life, by Aleksander Wielopolski himself.<sup>66</sup>

The alterations to the initial plan and the enlargement of the functional program of the palace, recorded in new designs, took place in 1856, when the margrave inherited the collection of Konstanty Świdziński, one of the most precious of its kind in the entire Russian Partition. It encompassed a huge library, consisting mainly of titles dealing with Polish matters, usually on literary or historical topics (about 25,000 books, numerous rare old prints and manuscripts), as well as a rich collection of coins, medals, militaria, archaeological finds, prints, paintings and sculptures. All items in this unique group were considered by Świdziński as national memorabilia which revived the memory of Poland's earlier power and splendor, and the activity of collecting was for him a patriotic duty.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, it was his important goal to ensure the collection's safekeeping and the financial basis for its further development. Świdziński, already in 1842<sup>68</sup>, considered the idea of combining his holdings with the library of Wielopolski, with whom he had been on friendly terms since the November Uprising and subsequently had become even closer because of the passion for books they shared.<sup>69</sup> Yet, it was only shortly before his death that he began to settle his affairs, and made a final decision on the future of the collection. Childless, and additionally quarrelling with his distant relatives, Świdziński decided that Wielopolski would be the most respected inheritor of his legacy, while the attachment of his holdings to the entail—at that time the most dependable form of property ownership—would guarantee a solid basis for the upkeep of the collection. While bequeathing the collection to the margrave, Świdziński additionally stipulated that it be “accessible to scholars,” “used for the benefit of

arts and sciences” and inherited together with the entail as an undivided whole. He also demanded that a separate building be bought or constructed to house his collection, either in Świdziński's own estate at Sulgostów or in Warsaw, or in another place which Wielopolski “would think most suitable to achieve the intents [of the testator].” In order to cover the cost of this undertaking Świdziński willed his estate at Sulgostów to Wielopolski, but the revenue from this estate (or a sum obtained from its sale) was intended to cover also the cost of the ordering, conservation and augmentation of the collection, the remuneration of a librarian and the publication of the most precious manuscripts.<sup>70</sup>

Wielopolski, fully aware of the high value of the bequest, decided to set up a scientific institution, based on Świdziński's collection and his own holdings, which would encompass a library, archive and a collection of art objects. While searching for organizational models for the planned institution, Wielopolski became particularly interested in problems related to the housing of the collection, its legal status and functioning, as well as the mechanism for financing such undertakings (e.g. of the already mentioned Ossoliński Institute, the Library of Count Wiktor Baworowski, and the Raczyński Library in Poznań).<sup>71</sup> In the process, the margrave's conviction was strengthened that such an institution should be located in the provinces, be privately owned and its holdings be made available only to scholars. He found a justification for adopting such a model in the experiences of August Bielowski, then a head of the Ossoliński Institute, who (as Wielopolski recounted it in a letter to his wife) “strongly insisted that the institution be not made a public entity and consequently remain free from difficult relationships with the authorities.”<sup>72</sup> Considering the realities of the Polish Kingdom, the margrave additionally saw this solution as a means of protecting the precious collection against possible confiscation by the Russian government, since, in his opinion, the further from Warsaw the holdings were located, the more they were secure and the less was the chance that they would share the fate of the Załuski Library or the Society of the Friends of Learning Library.<sup>73</sup> Driven by this conviction, in 1856 Wielopolski vigorously set about constructing his palace at Chroberz, and commissioned Marconi to prepare new designs for the area next to the living quarters and stately rooms, in which he envisioned spacious interiors intended for the needs of the planned institution, while the architectural forms of the edifice would gain a symbolic aspect appropriate for the function of a museum and library (Fig. 4).<sup>74</sup> In order to make his residence appear better suited for its purpose and to create a proper setting for the collection that was to be displayed there, the margrave acquired at that time numerous works of art (predominantly during his trips to Italy and Germany).<sup>75</sup>





4 Façade. Palace at Chroberz. 1856–1859. Henryk Marconi (photo: Jakub Hałun)

Meanwhile, a legal dispute arose concerning Świdziński's bequest, which gained wide publicity. The testator's step-brothers, feeling that they had been unfairly treated by his last will, questioned the legality of the testament and, unexpectedly, were supported in their actions by Świdziński's friends and former collaborators appointed by him as scholarly curators of the collection and executors of the bequest (e.g. Aleksander Przeździecki, Julian Bartoszewicz, Edward Rulikowski, Władysław Małachowski and Erazm Michałowski).<sup>76</sup> Supporting their claims with some preliminary remarks, formulated by the collector in his letters and handwritten notes (which, however, were not included in the final version of his will and were only read aloud by the executors as unofficial additions to the testament), they began a public battle in the press aimed at isolating Świdziński's collection and setting it up as an autonomous "Polish Museum," fully open to the public and located in Warsaw. Because of the strength and size of the local scholarly milieu, it was there that, in their opinion, Świdziński's gift could be put to the best use.<sup>77</sup>

Wielopolski, fully convinced of the rightness of his motivations and the importance of the tasks he had set forth to fulfill, fought an uncompromising legal battle at the subsequent court instances.<sup>78</sup> When he had finally won the case and was granted an official confirmation by the court that the will was legally binding (1858), he set out to bring together parts of the dispersed collection from Sulgostów, Kiev (where Świdziński lived before his death) and Rogalin (where a large portion of a library collection, being a part of the bequest, had been kept).<sup>79</sup> For the interim period of the construction of his palace at Chroberz all items were

housed in his estates at Książ and Pińczów, where Wielopolski undertook the preliminary task of ordering the collection and drawing up its catalogue. The holdings were moved to the new residence already in the spring of 1859, yet Wielopolski envisaged that their proper arrangement would be completed only by the summer of 1860, when an official inauguration of the institution was planned. In the meantime Wielopolski drew up and published in the press all three Partitions of the regulations governing the functioning of the nascent institution (13 April 1859), which precisely defined what entities and the degree to which they were entitled to make use of the holdings of his library and museum,<sup>80</sup> and also offered interested scholars wishing to visit Chroberz free accommodation in the palace. He continued to defend the rationale that made him house the collection in his residence.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, he bought new items for the collection, thus expanding the bequest,<sup>82</sup> and published historical sources from Świdziński's collection,<sup>83</sup> considering this editorial activity as a means to better publicise the archival holdings.

Yet, the steps taken by the margrave by no means placated the public opinion. His actions were universally understood as being at odds with the intentions of the testator and serving more the glorification of the Wielopolski family than of Polish culture and scholarly interests. Press articles were full of accusations of "lawless looting" and attempts to impose a feudal system.<sup>84</sup> "Neither Chroberz, Książ nor Pińczów were the easily accessible places in which Świdziński had desired his museum to be located, for the benefit of scholars," argued Aleksander Przeździecki in one of his philippics denouncing Wielopolski's activities.<sup>85</sup> This

was followed by further accusations, coming from all sides, charging the margrave with blind obstinacy, greed and arrogance, which would ruin Świdziński's noble intention of setting up an ambitious national institution.<sup>86</sup>

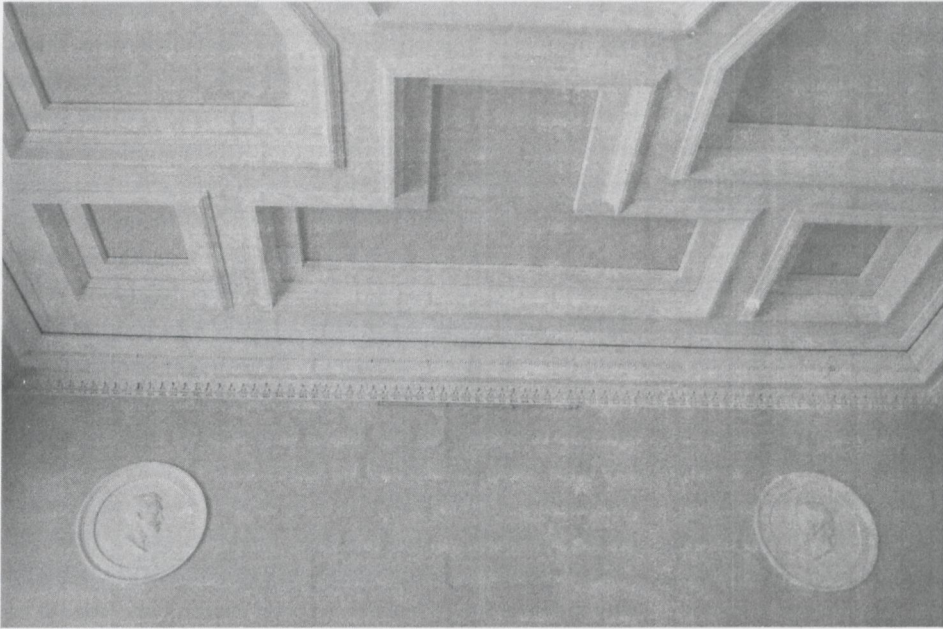
This social criticism of Wielopolski was, however, to a large extent the result of the critical attitude toward the political concepts that were endorsed by the margrave. Although in his youth Wielopolski had engaged himself with dedication in the November Rising, later he resolutely renounced any concept of enforced action aimed at regaining independence; instead, he favored the idea of collaboration with Russia and legalistic means to broaden Polish national autonomy.<sup>87</sup> Such a stance, however, did not gain him popularity, especially at the end of the 1850s when, because of a political "thaw" in Russia, hopes for restoring the independence were awakened on the Polish lands and the conspiracy intensified. It seems, therefore, that the political dispute in which Wielopolski was entangled spilled over into the controversy that arose around Świdziński's bequest, and imbued the public debate on it with much vehemence and excitement.<sup>88</sup>

Deeply embittered by the hostile atmosphere, the lack of understanding of his actions and, above all, the allegations that he used the legacy to his own advantage,<sup>89</sup> in April 1860—only a few months before the planned inauguration of the institution—Wielopolski renounced Świdziński's inheritance, leaving it to the testator's step-brothers (but reserving for himself the right to pre-emption, if the successors should ever determine to sell the collection).<sup>90</sup> His own library, large and valuable as it was, was insufficient to form a basis for his continued efforts to set up a scholarly institution, and so the margrave was forced to give up the project to which he had devoted almost four years of intense activities. By the same token, the recently completed residence lost its purpose, which, after all, had determined its architectural shape and the symbolic message it was to convey.

The palace at Chroberz was built on a rectangular plan with two-sided *avant-corps* projections on the axis and in the corners.<sup>91</sup> The layout of the palace clearly emphasizes the division into two separate parts: one including stately rooms and living quarters and the other intended to house the library and museum. On the ground floor, in the central protruding *avant-corps*, a shallow vestibule and a spacious hall were located, while the adjacent eastern part encompassed a dining room, pantry, living room, the margrave's study and a chapel. Corresponding rooms on the first story comprised: a small sitting room for ladies, a billiard room, and private bedrooms and guest bedrooms (including some for the researchers who consulted the collection). In contrast, the western part of the main body of the palace was

in its entirety dedicated to the needs of the planned scholarly institution. Apart from the ceremonial staircase, it was intended to include a set of rooms (arranged identically on both stories): a large hall (to house a library on the lower level and a library and museum on the upper one) and two studies connected with it, as well as the margrave's study on the ground floor and a librarian's room on the upper story.

This functional division was reflected in the architectural decoration of the interiors. Above the doors leading from the vestibule to the hall (directly in front), to the living room (to the right) and the library (to the left) were inscriptions identifying the rooms, supplemented with short maxims referring to the three domains of the margrave's life that were embodied in these three interiors.<sup>92</sup> Over the entrance to the hall, the core of the house and a show-piece of the owner, run the following inscription: "DEUM COLE, REGEM HONORA, LIBERTATEM TUERE,"<sup>93</sup> which defined the virtues of a good citizen, who should be religious, respect authorities and defend freedom. It was the most impressive of all the rooms in the palace, covered with a sumptuous coffered ceiling with rosettes, its walls articulated with Corinthian pilasters and arched niches,<sup>94</sup> that contained copies of ancient sculptures cast in plaster, and was decorated with portraits. The majority of paintings adorning the walls of the hall (as well as of the other stately rooms) came from the gallery of the Wielopolski family.<sup>95</sup> A prominent place was given to the portraits of the Mantuan Gonzagas, from whom the family inherited the title of margrave, and to those Polish kings who had helped to establish the entail or had contributed to its prosperity.<sup>96</sup> The portraits, therefore, were intended to remind the viewer of the great ancestors of Wielopolski and to glorify the past of the Pinczów Entail. Simultaneously, while ostentatiously manifesting the continuity of the entail—a peculiar "remnant" of the political system of the old Polish Commonwealth—they emphasized the importance of legal institutions as guarantors of the inviolability of class and national privileges. Next, the private function of the living room (and other rooms connected to it) was anticipated in an inscription recommending discretion and respect for privacy: "NON CIRCUMFERERE OMNI VENTO VERBORUM."<sup>97</sup> The message it conveyed was supplemented by four stucco medallions bearing portraits of Aleksander Wielopolski, his wife Paulina and their sons: Zygmunt and Józef (Fig. 5), as well as six other portraits of contemporary family members. Selected items from the painting, sculpture and print collection, inherited from Świdziński, were displayed within the area of the living quarters, thus confirming the actual unification of the museum and library with the home of the founder, so much desired by the margrave. Above the entrance to the library,



5 Interior of the living room—portraits of the members of the Wielopolski family. Palace at Chroberz. 1856–1859. Henryk Marconi (photo: Dobrosława Horzela)

there run an inscription reading: “QUI STARE SE EXISTIMAT, VIDEAT NE CADAT” (1 Cor 10,12),<sup>98</sup> exhorting the reader to be prudent and far-sighted. Bearing in mind the location of the inscription, there is no doubt that the postulated foresight could be gained from the study of historical documents and mementoes held in this part of the palace. And the conclusions drawn from the tragic past of the once powerful and then degraded Polish nation, deprived of its own statehood, were meant to become the starting point for laying down the new foundations for the functioning of the nation and outlining new ways to regain its former glory. Among those goals, in accordance with Wielopolski’s convictions, of paramount importance was concern for the development of culture and sciences. Hence, Świdziński’s museum collection had complemented the symbolic programme of this part of the edifice.

In keeping with the 19th-century principle of the appropriateness of the architectural forms of a building for its purpose and character, the elevations of the palace, designed by Marconi, exhibited Neo-Renaissance traits mixed with classical elements. In this way the architect underscored the link between Wielopolski’s foundation (“the second Medici”) and the tradition of private patronage of sciences and arts that was began in the Renaissance period by the great patrician families.<sup>99</sup> The art collection, housed in the palace was hinted at by the sculptural decoration of the façade, composed of copies of antique sculptures, which topped the parapet, and busts of ancient philosophers decorating the porch.<sup>100</sup> The dual purpose of the palace: of the residence of the entail owner and of the home of a semi-public scholarly institution founded by him, was clearly

indicated in the foundation inscription running along the elevations halfway up their height (“ALEXANDER WIELOPOLSKI RE FAMILIARI RESTITUTA ET CONSTANTINI ŚWIDZIŃSKI DONO AEDES HAS A FUNDAMENTIS EREXIT, BONARUM ARTIUM STUDIIS DICAUIT”),<sup>101</sup> and the title “BIBLIOTHECA” visible on the façade, at the level of the lower library room. The message conveyed by the inscriptions corresponded to the choice of armorial bearings decorating the elevations. They referred to persons and families who had contributed to the collections housed in the building (the coat-of-arms of the Wielopolski family in the tympanum of the garden elevation; and the coats-of-arms of the Myszkowski family and of Świdziński on the façade).

Thus formulated, the program of the palace completely disregarded the theme of the ancient military victories of the Polish forces and the concept of armed fighting for freedom, so prominently displayed in the palaces at Puławy and Kórnik. It was replaced here with the apology of jurisprudence, understood as a *pars pro toto* of the fallen state.<sup>102</sup> The model of a nobleman’s residence shaped during the period of the partitions, a home that preserved national memorabilia—reminders of a glorious past and independent statehood—and at the same time, a place where the hopes for the near recovery of independence were nursed, underwent at Chroberz a slight modification resulting from the political stance of its owner.

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The emergence of residences performing additional cultural functions and pretending to be “national” institutions on the

lands of partitioned Poland should be perceived as a product of specific socio-political circumstances dominating this area at the time. The absence of an independent state, and consequently, of an official state patronage concerned with the foundation of Polish public museums, libraries, archives and scholarly institutions resulted in the adaptation of private houses for those very purposes. It was expected that the safety of the collections stored in such residences would be better guaranteed and the interference of the Partitioning Powers into their functioning would be markedly limited, thanks the fact that the holdings would retain the character of private institutions while their indivisibility in case of inheritance would be warranted by the principle of the bequest being restricted only to the family members of the founder, e.g. by incorporating the collections into entails, often established specially for that purpose. Furthermore, the references to legal solutions of clearly feudal character (e.g. the entail) only emphasized the familial overtones of these “national” undertakings. Such references also underscored the historical continuity of the noble families’ lineage, the part they had played in Polish history, as well as their resulting legitimization in patronage over and leadership in the society, also in the new post-Partitions reality.

## Notes

1. Polish coronation insignia were removed from the royal treasury at Wawel and taken to Berlin (1795), where they were subsequently melted down for bullion (1809). Z. Żygułski. “The Szczerbiec. The Polish Coronation Sword.” *Artibus et Historiae*. XXXII. 63. 2011. 295.
2. On this topic see: P. S. Wandycz. *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795–1918*. Seattle. 1974. 3–238; B. Poter. “Who is a Pole and where is Poland? Territory and nation in the rhetoric of Polish national democracy before 1905.” *Slavic Review*. 1992. LI. 4. 639–653.
3. H. Więckowska, I. Reichel. *Zarys dziejów polskich bibliotek oraz bibliografii i bibliologii polskiej, 1795–1939* (An Outline of the History of Polish Libraries and Polish Bibliography and Bibliology, 1795–1939). Warsaw. 1966. 61, 65. Among the art and historical collections confiscated at that time were e.g. the holdings of the Coins and Print Rooms of the Warsaw University Library (which comprised the former collection of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski); from the Warsaw Society of Friends of Science: numismatic collection, the armory of general Henryk Dąbrowski and a collection of portraits of Polish kings and dukes; from Krzemieniec Gymnasium—the most important educational and cultural institution in the south-east of Poland: paintings, numismatic collection, and archaeological relics (again, mainly from the former holdings of the last king of Poland). Z. Strzyżewska. *Konfiskaty warszawskich zbiorów publicznych po powstaniu listopadowym* (Confiscations of of the Warsaw Public Collections after the November Rising). Warsaw. 2000. 7–20; J. Kaczkowski. *Konfiskaty na ziemiach polskich pod zaborem rosyjskim po powstaniach roku 1831 i 1863* (Confiscations on the Polish Lands under Russian Partition after the Risings of 1831 and 1864). Warsaw. 1918. 10–234.
4. B. Szyndler. *Biblioteka Załuski* (The Załuski Library). Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow. 1983. 9–54.

5. Among these unusual props, which testified to and additionally stimulated the patriotism of the inhabitants of the Soplicowo manor was, for example, a chiming clock that played the tune of the *Dąbrowski’s Mazurka* (now the Polish national anthem), starting with the words: “Poland is not yet lost....” Reminiscences of Mickiewicz’s vision of a nobleman’s home are clearly visible in stories of the old Polish nobility, popular in the Polish literature of the Romantic period, e.g. *My Grandfather’s Courtyard* by Franciszek Morawski (1851). For more on this topic see J. Chłap-Nowakowa. “Dwór w literaturze” (The Manor in Literature). *Dwór polski. Architektura. Tradycja. Historia* (The Polish Manor. Architecture. Tradition. History). Cracow. 2007. 244–246; K. Kohler. *Domek szlachecki w literaturze polskiej epoki klasycznej* (A Nobleman’s Little House in Polish Literature of the Classical Period). Cracow. 2005. 404–471; A. Zieliński. *Początek wieku. Przemiany kultury narodowej w latach 1807–1831* (Beginning of a Century. Transformations of National Culture in the Years 1807–1831). Łódź. 1973. 155.
6. An attempt to formulate a definition of the above category of Polish residences was first made by Z. Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska. “Siedziby-muzea. Ze studiów nad architekturą XIX w. w Wielkopolsce” (Residences–Museums. Studies in the Nineteenth-Century Architecture in Greater Poland). *Sztuka XIX wieku w Polsce* (The Art of the Nineteenth Century in Poland). Warsaw. 1979. 69–74, 106–107.
7. The Republic of Cracow was a state established after the Congress of Vienna, which encompassed Cracow and its vicinity (1234 square km. in total). It remained under control of the three Partitioning Powers, but initially enjoyed a certain autonomy.
8. Beiersdorf and Chrzanowski, who discuss “residences-museums” in Galicia, have defined this category much more broadly, including in it all residences which held any collections and whose rich interior decoration was reminiscent of a museum exposition. T. Chrzanowski. “Dwory-muzea w Galicji” (Manors–Museums in Galicia), *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Zabytkoznawstwo i Konserwatorstwo*. XXIX. 326. 1998. 24–50; Z. Beiersdorf. “Pałac Puśłowskich w Krakowie. Studium z dziejów pałacu-muzeum” (The Puśłowski Palace in Cracow. A Study in the History of a Palace–Museum), *Rocznik Krakowski*. LIV. 1988. 138–178.
9. M. Guichard-Marneur. “Drafting Futures: The Birth of the Museum Institution in Cracow, 1868–1939.” *Centropa*. XII. 2. 2012. 113–124.
10. K. Badecki, *Lwowskie zbiory naukowe i muzealne* (The Scholarly and Museum Collections in Lvov). Lvov. 1932. 14; J. A. Kosiński. *Biblioteka Fundacyjna Józefa Maksymiliana Ossolińskiego* (The Endowed Library of Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński). Wrocław. 1971. 18–152; J. Szocki. “Księgozbiór Wiktora Baworowskiego—lwowskiego kolekcjonera i fundatora biblioteki” (The Book Collection of Wiktor Baworowski—the Lvov Collector and Library Founder), *Lwów. Miasto—Społeczeństwo—Kultura*. (ed. H. Żaliński and K. Karolczak). II. Cracow. 1998. 447–455.
11. Z. Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska. *Architektura i budownictwo w Poznaniu w latach 1790–1880* (Architecture and Building Industry in Poznań in the Years 1790–1880). Poznań, 2009. 238–251; Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska. work cited in note 6 above. 71–73.
12. K. Ajewski. *Zbiory artystyczne Biblioteki i Muzeum Ordynacji Krasieński w Warszawie* (The Art Collections of the Krasieński Entail Library and Museum). Warsaw. 2004; Idem. *Zbiory artystyczne i galeria muzealna Ordynacji Zamoyskiej w Warszawie* (The Zamoyski Entail Art Collection and Museum Gallery in Warsaw). Kozłówka. 1997. On cultural and educational institutions set up by the Russian authorities and then liquidated as a part of political repressions see S. Lorentz. “Dzieje Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie” (The History of the National Museum in Warsaw). *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*. VI. 1962. 13–23.
13. Z. Żygułski. “Nurt romantyczny w muzealnictwie polskim” (The Romantic Current in Polish Museology), *Romantyzm. Studia nad sztuką 2*

połowy XVIII i wieku XIX (Romanticism. Studies in the Art of the Second Half of the Eighteenth and of the Nineteenth Centuries). Warsaw. 1967. 45–49.

14. In one of his letters to the Head of the Ossoliński Institute August Bielowski, Tytus Działyński unequivocally expressed his intentions, stating that the modernisation of the Kórnik Castle had been undertaken, “in order to house [my] library in the rooms of matching volume and importance.” H. Chłopocka. “Korespondencja Augusta Bielowskiego z Biblioteką Kórnicką” (The Correspondence of August Bielowski with the Kórnik Library). *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*. 16. 1980. 185.

15. “Autobiografia Tytusa Działyńskiego” (The Autobiography of Tytus Działyński). *Kalendarz Poznański*. 1862. 49–50. Scholars who investigated the problem have noted that the development of Tytus’s bibliophilia was additionally influenced by his contacts with Feliks Bentkowski (1781–1852), an author of the first history of Polish literature; Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1757–1841), a poet, playwright and co-author of the Third of May Constitution, and above all with Prince Adam Czartoryski (1770–1861), whom Działyński used to visit regularly at Puławy at the beginning of the 1820s, when he lived at his father’s estate at Gniewosów. It was also at Puławy that his wedding took place, organized by the then much advanced in years Izabela Czartoryska, the grandmother of his wife. R. Kaśinowska. *Zamek w Kórniku* (The Kórnik Castle). Kórnik. 1998. 41–43. Działyński had bought his first books around 1817, yet the most precious “booty” entered the collection only in the 1820s, when he managed to purchase old printed books from the libraries of dissolved religious houses and the manuscript collection of Kajetan Kwiatkowski, the librarian of the Radziwiłł family at Nieśwież (which included e.g. Seym diaries from the 16th century). At the end of his life the collecting achievement of Tytus amounted to about 25,000 books (including numerous incunabula) and 1,000 manuscripts. Kaśinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 146.

16. Kaśinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 145–146.

17. Działyński even intended to publish an illustrated guidebook of the castle and the collection displayed within it. Illustrations were to be made by Andrzej Dudrak. From the correspondence exchanged in the 1860s and 1870s between Dudrak and the widow and son of the then already deceased Tytus, it is known that the drawings had been made but they were never published. Kaśinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 79–80.

18. T. Naganowski. “Gromadzenie pamiątek narodowych na Zamku Kórnickim w XIX wieku” (The Amassing of National Memorabilia at the Kórnik Castle in the Nineteenth Century). *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*. 18. 1981. 17–56.

19. E. Wojewodzianka. “Dzieje zbiorów militariów zamku kórnickiego” (The History of the Militaria Collection in the Kórnik Castle). *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*. 9–10. 1968. 145–150; Kaśinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 147, 149–154.

20. *Przyjaciel Ludu*. VII. 1840. 154, quoted after: Ostrowska-Kębowska. work cited in note 6 above. 77.

21. Kaśinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 116; Z. Ostrowska-Kębowska. *Siedziby Wielkopolskie* (Residences in Greater Poland). Poznań. 1975. 63–64, 84–85. At Rogalin, alterations to the structure of the building were limited, as the modernisation concentrated only on two chambers: the former ball room, where Raczyński had set up an “armoury,” and the stately dining room turned into a library. Raczyński’s collection was accessible only to a limited number of visitors. Ostrowska-Kębowska. work cited in note 6 above. 75–78.

22. Ostrowska-Kębowska. work cited in note 6 above. 36–37.

23. *Ibid.*, 13–16.

24. Ksawery had reclaimed Kórnik, on the strength of the court ruling, from the Szoldarski family, successfully challenging their right to inheri-

tance from Teofila Działyńska (by her first marriage Szoldarska, and by her second marriage Potulicka (1714–1790). For more on this topic see Kaśinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 35–36.

25. The first remodeling is associated with Stanisław Górka, the second—with the above-mentioned Teofila Działyńska. Kaśinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 20–24, 29–35.

26. The conditions specified by the owner are known, thanks to the testimony of Karl Friedrich Schinkel, one of the architects commissioned to prepare designs for the reconstruction; here quoted after: Ostrowska-Kębowska. work cited in note 21 above. 64.

27. For additional information on Antonio Corazzi (1792–1877) and Henryk Marconi (1792–1863), see A. Lauterbach. “Antonio Corazzi.” *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Polish Biographical Dictionary). IV. Cracow. 1938. 95; T. S. Jaroszewski. A. Rottermund. “Henryk Marconi.” *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*. XIX. Warsaw–Wrocław–Cracow. 1979. 599–600.

28. Ostrowska-Kębowska. work cited in note 21 above. 64–67; A. Chyczewska. “W kręgu mecenatu Tytusa Działyńskiego. Dokumenty prac koncepcyjnych na przebudowę zamku kórnickiego” (In the Circle of Tytus Działyński’s Patronage. Documents of Conceptual Works on the Reconstruction of the Kórnik Castle). *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*. XXVII. 1965. 1. 44–45.

29. The Kórnik archives preserve the descriptive part of Schinkel’s project, dated 4 April 1828. See Biblioteka Kórnicka, rkps 5087 (Kórnik Library, MS 5087), after: Kaśinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 48, 245–246.

30. Cf. Z. Ostrowska-Kębowska. “Karl Friedrich Schinkel i zamek w Kórniku” (Karl Friedrich Schinkel and the Kórnik Castle). *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*. XXVII. 1982. 157–175.

31. In 1848 Działyński was again carried away by his patriotic feelings and joined the events of the Spring of Nations. Hoping for the outbreak of a war with Russia, he had set up and trained a cavalry unit, an action for which he was repressed and detained for a few weeks in the Poznań fortress. Kaśinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 58, 63.

32. During his lifetime Działyński did not manage to achieve the intended appearance of the castle. All the rooms on the first story had no furnishings. It is worth adding that an unofficial opening of the still unfurnished residence took place already in October of 1858 (it was advanced because of the visit of the elderly Prince Adam Czartoryski in Greater Poland), but later the works were resumed. Ostrowska-Kębowska. work cited in note 6 above. 79, 85.

33. Działyński graduated from the Polytechnic High School in Prague and before the reconstruction of his castle at Kórnik he had already designed a romantic Gothic Revival castle for his sister Klaudyna, built on an island in the Góreckie Lake (Jezioro Góreckie), probably in 1824–1825. Ostrowska-Kębowska. work cited in note 21 above. 50–61, 64.

34. Among them were, for example, the shape of the façade’s gable, the form of the south avant-corps with the huge central arcaded niche, a loggia in the west wall and the crowning of the tower. T. S. Jaroszewski. *O siedzibach neogotyckich w Polsce* (Gothic Revival Residences in Poland). Warsaw. 1981. 227; J. Skuratowicz. *Dwory i pałace w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim* (Manors and Palaces in the Grand Duchy of Poznań). Poznań. 1982. 37.

35. Skuratowicz, work cited in note 34 above. 37. This room—the most “Gothic” in the entire castle—had not been completed in Tytus Działyński’s lifetime, although it was probably his decision to cover its walls with paintings, removed around 1873. Jan, Tytus’s son, used the room as a kind of corridor, for communication between the living room and the dining room. Because of the color of its flooring the chamber came to be known as the “Black Room.” Kaśinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 112.

36. Jan Działyński changed the function of this room. He located there a collection of historical artefacts and turned it into a museum, while the

library was supposed to be moved to the attic, expanded for this purpose (a task completed only by Jan's successor, Władysław Zamojski, who inherited the residence from Jan's sister) Kąsinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 82–84, 93, 135–140. While analyzing the concepts of Tytus Działyński, many scholars had erroneously assumed that the Moorish Hall from the beginning had been intended to house a museum collection. This supposition subsequently influenced the interpretations of the entire programme of the Kórnik Castle and led to many false conclusions. See for example Ostrowska-Kęłbowska. work cited in note 6 above. 86–87; J. Kaźmierczak. "Funkcje ideowe kórnickiej rezydencji Tytusa Działyńskiego" (The Ideological Functions of Tytus Działyński's Kórnik Residence). *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*. 12. 1976. 58.

37. Kąsinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 127, 129, 141.

38. These rooms were not outfitted in Tytus's lifetime, and Jan, having changed the entire disposition and the functional system of the castle, decided that they would be used as his wife's apartment. Kąsinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 131–134.

39. Jan Działyński had moved manuscripts to one of these rooms, while in the other one he placed the book collection purchased from Teofil Żebrawski in 1869. Kąsinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 141.

40. Kąsinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 127.

41. "Zdanie sprawy najlaskawszym gościom, którzy raczyli zwiedzić zamek kórnicki w dzień poświęcenia nowo założonego księgozbioru" (A Report to the Most Gracious Guests who Kindly Paid a Visit to the Kórnik Castle on the Day of the Dedication of its Newly Founded Library). Biblioteka Kórnicka, rkps 7296 (Kórnik Library, MS 7296), quoted after: Ostrowska-Kęłbowska. work cited in note 6 above. 79.

42. "Zdanie sprawy najlaskawszym gościom . . .," quoted after: Skuratowicz, work cited in note 34 above. 39.

43. "Cybulski had drawn the most beautiful sketch you can imagine, it is the most gracious combination of the Gothic and the Indian," this is how Działyński commented on the final version of the design for the south elevation in a letter to his wife. Quoted after: Chyczewska, work cited in note 28 above. 44.

44. See A. Whelan. "Kórnik, Alhambra i Romantyczny Ideal. O motywach orientalnych w architekturze rezydencji Tytusa Działyńskiego" (Kórnik, Alhambra and the Romantic Ideal. Oriental Motifs in the Architecture of Tytus Działyński's Residences). *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*. 21. 1986. 14. Taj Mahal's popularity in Europe started with the publication of William and Thomas Daniell's illustrated books: *Oriental Scenery* (1795–1808; 6 volumes), which served as a kind of introduction to the architectural oddities of the entire exotic East) and *Views of Taje Mahal at the City of Agra in Hindoostan, taken in 1789* (1801). The first buildings inspired by motifs drawn from the Taj Mahal, known from the above publications, were built as early as the beginning of the 19th century (e.g. Sezincote House, designed by Samuel Cockerell, 1805). For more on this topic see J. Sweetman. *The oriental obsession: Islamic inspiration in British and American art and architecture 1500–1920*. Cambridge. 1987.

45. An exception are the wooden portals in the entrance hall, modelled after analogous elements in the Sultan Hassan Mosque in Cairo, which Działyński must have seen in the illustrations of P. X. Coste, *Architecture Arabe ou monuments du Caire* (Paris 1839). See Whelan. work cited in note 44 above. 14, 21.

46. Agnieszka Whelan has carried out a detailed comparative analysis of the above elements and has found their prototypes in the architecture of the Court of the Lions and the Court of the Myrtles. Whelan. work cited in note 44 above. 15–16, 119–120; Kąsinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 139. Although Działyński had never been to the Alhambra, he had occasion to see a copy of the Court of the Lions displayed by Owen Jones at the Great

Exhibition in London in 1851. Perhaps it was also then that he acquired for his library the illustrated publications and model books from which particular solutions were copied in the Kórnik Castle, e.g. J. C. Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London 1813–1818); G. de Prangey, *Monuments Arabes et Moresques de Cordove, Séville et Grenade* (Paris 1835–1839), or O. Jones, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (London 1842–1845). See Whelan. work cited in note 44 above. 19–23.

47. G. Crayon, *The Alhambra*, vol. 2, London 1832, s. 327. On the reception of the Alhambra in the 19th century, see Whelan. work cited in note 44 above. 26–30; F. Giese-Vögeli. "The Alhambra in Granada and the Memory of Its Islamic Past. *Crossing Culture. Conflict, Migration and Convergence* (ed. J. Anderson). Melbourne. 2009. 529–531.

48. It may be added, as an aside, that Polish 19th-century Orientalism, when juxtaposed next to its European counterpart, had some peculiar overtones. They derived both from the still vivid traditions of Sarmatianism and the—current at that time—warm feelings for Turkey, threatened by Russia. Hence, in the face of a common enemy, Turkey was considered an obvious ally. In the 1840s and 1850s, Turkey and the Balkans were the area of the Hôtel Lambert's extensive diplomatic action conducted by general Władysław Zamojski, Działyński's son-in-law, and Prince Adam Czartoryski's right hand. Zamojski also organised Polish military units in Turkey, which later fought against Russia in the Crimean War. Kaźmierczak. work cited in note 36 above. 60; Ostrowska-Kęłbowska. work cited in note 6 above. 86; Whelan. work cited in note 44 above. 12, 23.

49. It is known that the book had made a tremendous impression on Działyński. Only four months after the first edition in St Petersburg (1828), the poem, thanks to the count's personal involvement, was published in Poznań. Whelan. work cited in note 44 above. 26–27.

50. Whelan. work cited in note 44 above. 30–31.

51. These devices were to be complemented by a set of coats-of-arms on the south elevation. However, they were never executed because of Tytus's death, and the frieze made up of 29 empty heraldic shields preserved under the windows of the Moorish Hall, is a remnant of this concept. The entire intended heraldic program is unknown. Kaźmierczak, work cited in note 36 above. 59; Skuratowicz, work cited in note 34 above. 41.

52. The fullest interpretation of the Kórnik Castle heraldic program was put forward by Kaźmierczak, work cited in note 36 above. 55–59.

53. Kąsinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 109.

54. Kaźmierczak, work cited in note 36 above. 56–57.

55. Among the latter were, for example: Peter the Great of Russia, Charles XII of Sweden and Gustav Adolph of Sweden. Kąsinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 15–116, 171–173.

56. This is how Tytus Działyński justified his decision to decorate the ceiling of the dining room in this particular form: "Greeks and Romans erected statues, monuments and triumphal arches to honour men who rendered service to their fatherland, and the homage paid to honest fame had led also subsequent generations in the same direction. In Poland, on the contrary, the partitioners of our land try to efface every trace of the once illustrious past. The *Szczerbiec* [Notched Sword] of Boleslaus the Brave has disappeared from Wawel, the banners won at Grunwald are gone too, and the same happened to the looted crown of the tsars; ancient castles of our kings have been abandoned and stripped bare of our eagles, paintings and statues; Krasny Staw and Gostynin fell to the ground. Therefore I, an old man surrounded by ruins, decided to renew, so to say, in hieroglyphs, the outlines of the heraldic devices dating from the times when Poland was ruled by the last Jagiellon king. Three-dimensional objects and paintings fuel memory, so I thought that, while looking at the *Leliwa* coat-of-arms our children would remember that this device had been used by the victor of Obertyn and Starodub, and that the bearer of the *Jelita* coat-of-arms had led an Aus-

trian archduke to custody, and that Żółkiewski used his *Lubicz* device while sealing the surrender of Moscow." Biblioteka Kórnicka, rkps 7296 (Kórnik Library, MS 7269), fol. 51, quoted after: Kašinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 113. See also Skuratowicz, work cited in note 34 above. 40.

57. From a letter to his wife, 1 May 1859, Biblioteka Kórnicka, rkps 7332 (Kórnik Library, MS 7332), fol. 687, after Kaźmierczak, work cited in note 36 above. 63.

58. Kašinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 137–140.

59. *Ibid.*, 74–76, 125, 169–173.

60. Kaźmierczak, work cited in note 36 above. 57–59; Kašinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 127.

61. Biblioteka Kórnicka, rkps 7331 (Kórnik Library, MS 7331), 4v–5, quoted after: Kašinowska. work cited in note 15 above. 74–76, 125, 169–173.

62. It would be worthwhile to quote yet another statement of Tytus Działyński in which he expounded his intentions underlying the foundation of his collection. When his only son Jan deferred marriage and a threat appeared that he would remain childless, leaving the Kórnik collection without a custodian (which, in Greater Poland, equalled the threat of the collection being taken into "foreign," German hands), Tytus contemplated willing the collection to his daughters' sons. This is how he put it in a letter to his wife, of February 20, 1853: "I assembled the collection not for myself, but for the Country, so it really does not matter for me if my holdings are going to be owned by a Czartoryski or Zamojski; what does matter is that he knows that the family is the call and warrant for the service done to the Fatherland." Biblioteka Kórnicka, rkps 7332 (Kórnik Library, MS 7332), 527v–528, quoted after: S. K. Potocki. "Miejsce biblioteki w koncepcjach Fundacji Kórnickiej" (The Place of Library in the Concept of the Kórnik Foundation). *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*. 14. 1978. 147.

63. The beginnings of the conceptual stage of the work on the Chroberz palace and the first designs by Marconi are dealt with in A. Skałkowski. *Aleksander Wielopolski w świetle archiwów rodzinnych* (Aleksander Wielopolski in the Light of Family Archives). Poznań. 1947. II. 156.

64. The basis for the Pińczów Entail (Ordynacja Pińczowska) was the estate acquired by Piotr Myszkowski of the *Jastrzębiec* coat-of-arms (1505–1591), later bequeathed to his nephew Zygmunt (1562–1615). The latter purchased from Vincenzo II Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, an adoption by the Gonzaga family in 1597, a clan that had no immediate heirs and was dying out. He had been appointed margrave by Pope Clement VIII (a title ever since connected with the estate and castle at Książ) and obtained the approval of the Polish Sejm to set up an entail at Pińczów (1601). In the second half of the 17th century, when the Myszkowski family had come to an end, the entail, through the marriage of Jan Wielopolski to Konstancja Krystyna née Komorowska, went to the Wielopolski family who, along with the estate, also acquired also the margrave title and adopted the surname of Gonzaga-Myszkowski (T. Zielińska. *Poczet polskich rodów arystokratycznych* [Portraits of Polish Aristocratic Clans]. Warsaw. 1997. 179–182). In 1812, the debt-ridden Józef Wielopolski, acting against the law in force, obtained permission to sell a substantial portion of his landed estates, which formed part of the entail (J. Grabiec-Dąbrowski. *Ostatni szlachcic: Aleksander brabia Wielopolski, Margrabia Gonzaga Myszkowski na tle dziejów* [The Last Nobleman: Count Aleksander Wielopolski, Margrave Gonzaga Myszkowski against Historical Background]. Warsaw. 1924. 6–9; B. Szyndler. "Biblioteka Ordynacji Myszkowskich w Chrobrzy" (The Library of the Myszkowski Entail at Chroberz), *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*. XI. 1975. 162–163). In 1824–1829 Aleksander Wielopolski fought a legal battle to nullify the unlawful transaction and later continued the struggle, although on a smaller scale, in the second half of the 1830s. As far as his means permitted, he tried to buy back from their current owners the estates he was not able to recover in legal proceedings (Skałkowski, work cited in note 63 above. I. 101–155).

[Translator's note: although the designations "marquis" (used mostly in Italy, France and Spain) and "margrave" (current, above all, in the German-speaking countries) refer in principle to the same aristocratic title, that is of a nobleman ranking above a count and below a duke, in Polish the more common usage was the form "margrave," adopted from the German, and this is how Count Wielopolski is named in historiography. The present article will therefore follow this form, rather than that of "marquis"].

65. Szyndler, article cited in note 64 above. 162–165.

66. *Ibid.*, 165–167, 171–172.

67. Further information on Konstancy Świdziński (1793–1855), his extraordinary collection and its importance for the development of historical research on the Polish lands in the 19th century, see A. Michalewska. "Z dziejów biblioteki i muzeum Konstantego Świdzińskiego" (On the History of Konstancy Świdziński's Library and Museum), *Roczniki Biblioteczne*, XVII. 1973. 633–642; Szyndler, article cited in note 64 above. 172.

68. Michalewska, article cited in note 67 above. 642; Grabiec-Dąbrowski, work cited in note 64 above. 122.

69. Wielopolski and Świdziński mutually supported each other in assembling their unique collections of books, not only at the beginning of the 1830s, when they both lived in Cracow but also after Świdziński had moved to Ukraine, when—along with correspondence—they exchanged duplicate copies of books (Szyndler, article cited in note 64 above. 167). Contemporary sources also mention the similarity of Wielopolski and Świdziński's political stances (defined by conservatism and pan-Slavism) as a factor that played a significant role in their establishing a friendly relationship. See Grabiec-Dąbrowski, work cited in note 64 above. 24–25.

70. "Testament Konstantego Świdzińskiego" (The Testament of Konstancy Świdziński), *Biblioteka Ordynacji Myszkowskiej*. I. 1859. 2.

71. K. Myśliński, "Dwory-muzea na Kielecczyźnie w XIX wieku" (Country Houses—Museums in the Kielce Region), *Dwór polski. Zjawisko historyczne i kulturowe* (Polish Country House. A Historical and Cultural Phenomenon). Warsaw. 2004. 319; Skałkowski, work cited in note 63 above. II. 197.

72. Skałkowski, work cited in note 63 above. II. 192.

73. *Ibid.*, 159, 189.

74. The extent of alterations made to Marconi's initial design was described by Wielopolski in the introduction to the first volume of *Biblioteka Ordynacji Myszkowskiej* (The Library of the Myszkowski Entail). See also Skałkowski, work cited in note 63 above. II. 175, 198.

75. Skałkowski, work cited in note 63 above. II. 168, 194.

76. At least three of the above are worth mentioning because of their importance to Polish culture and science: Aleksander Przeździecki (1814–1871), a writer, collector, and publisher of archival materials; Julian Bartoszewicz (1821–1870), a historian and long-time curator of the Main Library in Warsaw; Edward Rulikowski (1825–1900), a historian, archaeologist and ethnographer (who for a few years had been ordering the Kiev collection of Świdziński).

77. Skałkowski, work cited in note 63 above. II. 165–166, 170–190, 275–278; Grabiec-Dąbrowski, work cited in note 64 above. 124–127; Michalewska, article cited in note 67 above. 646–647; Szyndler, article cited in note 64 above. 172–173.

78. The court rulings and extracts from court records were later diligently published by Wielopolski in *Biblioteka Ordynacji Myszkowskiej*. I. 1859. 4–84.

79. Michalewska, article cited in note 67 above. 636–637, 646.

80. Among the persons who qualified were, among others: academics, representatives of national scholarly societies and major libraries, writers, artists and all other persons pursuing scholarly research, on the condition that they were able to produce a recommendation from one of the above-mentioned entities, *Biblioteka Ordynacji Myszkowskiej*. I. 1859. ii–iii.

81. *Biblioteka Ordynacji Myszkowskiej*. I. 1859. ii–iii.

82. Through the agency of the Warsaw painter Aleksander Lesser, he bought, for example, a few important prints; it is also known that he wanted to acquire the library and paintings from the well-known collector Kielce Tomasz Zieliński. Skałkowski, work cited in note 63 above. II. 193; I. Jakimowicz, "Tomasz Zieliński i jego zbiory" (Tomasz Zieliński and His Collection), *Rocznik Muzeum Świętokrzyskiego*. IV. 1970. 306–307.
83. They appeared in the above-mentioned publication, whose full title was *Biblioteka Ordynacji Myszkowskiej. Zapis Konstatego Świdzińskiego* (The Library of the Myszkowski Entail: The Bequest of Konstazy Świdziński), vol. I, 1859; vol. II, 1860). To begin with, Wielopolski had published, among others, a collection of common law from the times of King Sigismund I (compiled by Maciej Śliwicki) and the letters of King John III Sobieski to his wife. Szyndler, article cited in note 64 above. 174.
84. Grabiec-Dąbrowski, work cited in note 64 above. 126–127.
85. An open letter of 20 December 1859, *Biblioteka Warszawska*. I. 1860. 465–466; *Czas*, 1860, no. 31 of 8 February. 1.
86. Michalewska, article cited in note 67 above. 646–647.
87. This policy contributed to several successes that Wielopolski achieved in his public service at the beginning of the 1860s, when he was a member of the Civil Administration of the Congress Kingdom (for example, he removed barriers to the promotion of Poles in the Tsarist bureaucracy and restored the system of Polish language schools, and negotiated the return of at least duplicate copies of books from the Załuski Library, which had been taken away to Russia). Yet, as early as 1863, Wielopolski attracted the odium of a traitor of the nation for ordering a forced conscription to the Russian army while trying to avoid the outbreak of another uprising. Contrary to the margrave's expectations, this decision precipitated an earlier than originally planned outbreak of the January Rising, and the fact that it was insufficiently prepared and subsequently ended in a defeat added to the condemnation of Wielopolski. S. Kieniewicz. *Warszawa w powstaniu styczniowym* (Warsaw in the January Rising). Warsaw. 1983. 72–76.
88. Michalewska, article cited in note 67 above. 646.
89. Skałkowski, work cited in note 63 above. II. 195–196, 208.
90. *Ibid.*, II. 207–208; Michalewska, article cited in note 67 above. 647.
91. In 1898 the lateral projections were extended in the north by small annexes, making these parts similar to short wings. Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach (National Archive in Kielce) [hereafter cited as: APK], Archiwum Ordynacji Myszkowskiej (Records of the Myszkowski Entail) [hereafter cited as: AOM], sygn. 803, fols. 29–30.
92. Myśliński, article cited in note 71 above. 321–322.
93. "Worship God, honour the king, protect freedom."
94. Originally, a much more opulent articulation was intended. The interior of the hall (just as in the vestibule) was to be additionally decorated with four huge stone columns, hence in the designs this room was called the "Monopteros Room." This idea was abandoned when the construction was well advanced (the columns still appeared in the cost estimate of January 1857, and it was only in the notes of 1859 that they are mentioned as elements that should be disposed of), and this change must have been influenced by Wielopolski's planned renouncement of Świdziński's bequest, a decision that was the reason for cutting down the initial symbolic program of the palace. APK, AOM, sygn. 805, fols. 26–27; APK, AOM, sygn. 804, fols. 133–136, 269–270.
95. The portraits making up the gallery of ancestors were either brought from the margrave's other palaces (Książ Wielki and Cracow) or had been bought from the residences which at that time had already lost any contact with the entail, but which used to be a part of it in the past (Pieskowa Skała, Sucha Beskidzka). Skałkowski, work cited in note 63 above. II. 77–79, 203. Wielopolski had been gathering paintings and art objects carrying explicit family message for many years before the construction works at Chroberz began. At the time when he fought for the legal and material restitution of the Pińczów Entail, he used them as proofs of the continuity of the entail, which supported his arguments presented in court.
96. Among others: Sigismund III Vasa and Stanisław August Poniatowski. Skałkowski, work cited in note 63 above. I. 162.
97. "Do not be carried away by the wind of words."
98. "He that thinketh himself to stand, let him take heed lest he fall."
99. In this context, very telling seems to be a suggestion of Wielopolski expressed in his letters to Marconi, that the windows of the first story should be modeled on those of the Ludovisi and Mattei villas, dating from the early modern period, both of which were generally known to house famous art collections. APK, AOM, sygn. 804, fols. 51–52.
100. The parapet sculptures are now heavily damaged, a fact that makes their unequivocal identification difficult (such attempts had already been made, but with no satisfactory results, whereas the busts were destroyed in the 1970s and can be seen only in old photographs. Myśliński, article cited in note 71 above. 319–320.
101. "Aleksander Wielopolski, having recovered his estate and received the gift of Konstazy Świdziński, erected this edifice from the foundations and dedicated it to the study of the humanities." Later, after Wielopolski renounced the bequest and abandoned plans to set up an institution of learning at Chroberz, he significantly reworded the inscription, including in it his lifetime achievements, e.g. the abolition of serfdom in his estates, which he introduced as one of the first Polish landowners. Skałkowski, work cited in note 63 above. II. 203; Myśliński, article cited in note 71 above. 320–321.
102. Myśliński, article cited in note 71 above. 322.