
Folia Historica Cracoviensia

*The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow
Faculty of History and Cultural Heritage*



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*Facultas Historiae et Hereditatis Culturalis
Pontificiae Universitatis Cracoviensis Ioannis Pauli II*

*Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II w Krakowie
Wydział Historii i Dziedzictwa Kulturowego*

volume 29 • 2023 • issue 2

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DOMICILIUM

The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow
31-002 Kraków · ul. Kanonicza 25

ISSN 0867-8294 (print)
ISSN 2391-6702 (online)

<https://czasopisma.upjp2.edu.pl/foliahistoricacracoviensia>

Commentationes et dissertationes

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The Industrial Committee of the Medical Society of Kraków (1886–1912)

The Medical Society of Kraków [MSK, Polish: Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie] was incorporated in 1866 following an initiative of dr. Aleksander Kremer and physicians gathered around him, who, for quite a time, had regularly met for scientific sessions of the physicians' section of the Academic Society of Kraków [Polish: Towarzystwo Naukowe Krakowskie]. The meetings resulted in scientific publications in "Rocznik", the society's annual journal. The quick progress in medicine, increasing numbers of physicians, and the ever expanding demand for academic development in the field as well as an increasing interest in professional matters were the reason why a decision was reached to start an independent learned society that would contribute to the professional development of physicians by exchanging experiences. Initially, the gentlemen met in their own closed circle in Kremer's home. The first official meeting of the newly established society was held on 18 December. The activity of the society, established in Kraków, at the time being the cultural, academic, and also social centre of Galicia, quickly flourished. Not only did it become the centre for education and dissemination of modern medical

ideas, but also conducted broadside social activity, mostly within Galicia. It made physicians from various parts of partitioned Poland communicate in unified Polish medical terminology, which at the time of rapid development of medicine and coinage of new words was neither easy nor obvious. To develop such a diverse and intensive activity, the society developed a plethora of temporary and standing committees. Some of them ceased to exist very quickly, once a specific problem had been solved, others were incorporated for long-term activities and operated for years. One of the largest and most important committees was the Industrial Committee, which in a sense continued the operation of another gigantic committee, namely that dealing with balneology. The Balneological Committee of the MSK has been the object of detailed studies providing good insight into its operation.¹ However, besides this area, the history of the Medical Society of Kraków, still vibrantly functioning in the city, has not been researched in detail. Only several incidental works have been published, notably those on the 100th anniversary of incorporating the Medical Society of Kraków (1966),² on the Medical Society of Kraków in 1866–1918,³ for the 135th anniversary of forming the Medical Society of Kraków (2003),⁴ and the Jubilee Book (2006).⁵

The key problem is the near absence of archival materials, which were stored in the basement of the House of the Medical Society of Kraków at 4 Radziwiłłowska Street. Gathered for years, the archive included all the materials related to the activity of the society, and therefore also to the work of the committee, so that they were always at hand, to be available for browsing by members of the MSK.⁶ However, in the wake

- 1 M. Nowakowska-Zamachowska, *Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie 1866–1914. Komisja Balneologiczna*. Kraków 2008, PhD thesis, http://dl.cm-uj.krakow.pl:8080/Content/1034/Doktorat_monika-080212ok.pdf (Accessed on: 11 July 2022).
- 2 J. Bogusz, K. Lejman, *W setną rocznicę założenia Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego*, Kraków 1966.
- 3 Z. Gajda, M. Nowakowska-Zamachowska, *Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie w latach 1866–1918*, “Przegląd Lekarski” 58 (2001) suppl. 6, p. 2, https://ruj.uj.edu.pl/xmlui/bitstream/handle/item/272495/gajda_nowakowska-zamachowska_towarzystwo_lekarskie_krakowskie_2001.pdf.
- 4 *135 lat Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego*, Kraków 2003.
- 5 *Księga Jubileuszowa*, ed. by I. Gościński, A. B. Skotnicki, Kraków 2006.
- 6 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 5 marca 1892, “Przegląd Lekarski” 31 (1892) no. 21, p. 258.

of a hot water pipe that belonged to the heating system of the building bursting and flooding the premises of the archive, the society did not manage to save its archives or library collections. A query conducted in Kraków archives brought results far from expected. Only scanty information on MSK that hardly contributed anything to the state of the art was found: bills for office materials and cleaning agents. The main source of knowledge on the committee and society are the reports that were published in “Przegląd Lekarski”: a professional medical journal that doubled for the media outlet of the society. The reports are the minutes of the meetings made by the secretary of the committee or by another member standing in. The reports were printed regularly, and featured the date of the meeting plus a detailed description of the activities taken and subjects addressed at a meeting as well as reports from the tasks assigned to committee members. Some of the scientific problems discussed at the meetings were later printed in “Przegląd Lekarski” as separate academic publications.

The purpose: The purpose of this paper is to present the history of the Industrial Commission operating within the Medical Society of Kraków. The work continues the author’s research on the oldest Polish medical society, still active today, whose history has nonetheless not yet been studied in detail.

The method: The publication primarily makes use of the materials printed in “Przegląd Lekarski” and supplements thereto. It also draws from a number of 19th-century scientific monographic works including Ema Jaworska, Walery Jaworski, *Kuchnia higieniczna ze szczegółowym uwzględnieniem potrzeb chorych* [literally: Hygienic cooking with particular consideration of the needs of the ailing] and Ludomił Korczyński, *Zarys balneoterapii i balneografii krajowej. Dla użytku lekarzy i uczniów* [literally: Outline of domestic balneotherapy and balneography. For the use of doctors and students]. Biographical information was taken from the *Polski słownik biograficzny* [literally: The Polish biographical dictionary], Stanisław Koźmiński’s *Słownik lekarzów polskich* [literally: Dictionary of Polish physicians], the Repository of the Jagiellonian University, Jagiellonian University’s website: in memoriam, and the *Wielka ilustrowana encyklopedia Gutenberga* [literally: The Great illustrated Gutenberg encyclopedia]. Contemporary printed sources used include Ewa Wyka, *Mechanik Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego Władysław Antoni Grodzicki i jego skraplarki gazów* [literally: A mechanic of the Jagiellonian University Władysław Antoni Grodzicki and his gas condensers], and Edward Waszyński, *Historia położnictwa i ginekologii w Polsce* [literally: History of obstetrics and

gynaecology in Poland]. Also the author's earlier publications on the Balneological Commission and the Medical Society of Kraków in, both printed and digitised, have been used.

Establishment of the Industrial Committee

At a meeting of the Medical Society of Kraków on 3 February 1886, dr. Edward Korczyński, a well-known Kraków professor of internal medicine and head of the Medical Clinic, proposed that, “recognising the need to take care of the national industry in the field of healthcare, the MSK”⁷ should reinstate the Standing Committee for the Promotion and Protection of National Industry for Therapeutic Purposes that operated here previously (1878–81). The new committee was given the task of “searching, evaluating, and maintaining a continuous record and supporting those national chemical, pharmaceutical, dietary, diagnostic and therapeutic tools, and materials used for patient and dressing care that the Committee would recognise good and suitable for the purpose. All secret and so-called universal remedies are strictly excluded from the remit of the Committee.”⁸ A team composed of the chairman, dr. Leon Blumenstok (Halban) professor of forensic medicine recognised in the academic world and the polite society, and the deputy head of the surgical department of St Lazarus Hospital in Kraków,⁹ dr. Alfred Obaliński, professor of the Jagiellonian University, secretary and rapporteur of MSK meetings,¹⁰ and Antoni Gluziński, a young, promising scientist, later a professor of internal medicine in Kraków, Lviv, and Warsaw¹¹ was formed to consider this issue. The committee also included professor of gynecology in Kraków dr. Antoni Rosner,¹² a world-renowned professor of surgery

7 *Sprawozdanie komisji wybranej do roztrząsania wniosków prof. Korczyńskiego i doc. Gluzińskiego*. Special supplement to “Przegląd Lekarski” 25 (1886) no. 16, p. 1.

8 *Sprawozdanie komisji...*, p. 1.

9 J. Wordliczek, *Leon Blumenstok (Blumenstok)-Halban (1838–1897)*, https://ruj.uj.edu.pl/xmlui/bitstream/handle/item/169373/wordliczek_leon_blumenstok_blumenstok-halban_1838-1897_2014.pdf (Accessed on: 4 July 2022).

10 J. Paruch, J. Lisiewicz, *Obaliński Alfred Karol (1843–1898)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, ed. by E. Rostworowski, Z. Albert, vol. 23, Wrocław 1978, pp. 421–422.

11 W. Szumowski, *Gluziński Władysław Antoni (1856–1935)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, ed. by K. Lepszy, vol. 8, Wrocław 1959–1960, pp. 84–86.

12 E. Waszyński, *Historia położnictwa i ginekologii w Polsce*, Wrocław 2000, pp. 98–100.

dr. Jan Mikulicz-Radecki,¹³ and physicians dr. Aleksander Zarewicz and dr. Kazimierz Grabowski. A month later, the committee presented its findings to the society. They were made into a resolution on 7 April 1886: “The Med. Soc. of Krak. Acting on behest of Korczyński’s proposal establishes hereby a committee for the protection and promotion of national industry products used in medical practice”.¹⁴ The original Industrial Committee¹⁵ were: eminent physiologist, discoverer of adrenaline, co-creator of world endocrinology, head of the physiology department in Kraków, dr. Napoleon Cybulski,¹⁶ pioneer of Polish radiology and gastrology, future professor of the Jagiellonian University and head of the Medical Clinic, dr. Walery Jaworski,¹⁷ pharmacologist, professor of pharmacology and pharmacognosy at the Jagiellonian University, head of the department of pharmacology dr. Józef Łazarski, Edward Korczyński, Jan Mikulicz-Radecki, Alfred Obaliński, and Antoni Gluziński. The Industrial Committee was incorporated at its first meeting on 18 May 1886. Edward Korczyński was elected chairman, Obaliński — his deputy, and Gluziński — the secretary.¹⁸

Purposes of the Industrial Committee

The tasks Edward Korczyński defined in the introduction to the proposal were approved. Specialists, that is experts on the subject, both members and non-members of the Medical Society of Kraków, who agreed to assist in a specific case assessed instruments and products.¹⁹ Starting on 20 May 1890, the tasks of the Industrial Committee were expanded by the addition of support for domestic spas and resorts, and the Polish balneological industry, following the official resolution of the board of the Medical Society of Kraków transferring the duties of the recently

13 E. S. Olszewski, *Mikulicz Jan Antoni (1850–1905)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, ed. by E. Rostworowski, W. Albrecht, vol. 21, Wrocław 1976, pp. 173–175.

14 *Sprawozdanie komisji...*, p. 1.

15 *Sprawozdanie komisji...*, p. 2.

16 L. Wachholz, *Cybulski Napoleon Nikodem (1854–1919)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, ed. by W. Konopczyński, vol. 4, Kraków 1938, pp. 116–118.

17 M. Skulimowski, *Jaworski Walery (1849–1924)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, ed. by E. Rostworowski, vol. 11, Wrocław 1964–1965, pp. 113–115.

18 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 18 maja 1886, “Przegląd Lekarski” 25 (1886) no. 25, p. 346.

19 *Sprawozdanie komisji...*, p. 2.

dissolved Balneological Committee to the Industrial Committee.²⁰ Now, the Committee had the right “to communicate with entrepreneurs and manufacturers, to obtain comprehensive information, however, submitting each and every assessment of a processed or medical product to the resolution of the Med. Soc. Only based on the resolution of the Med. Soc., the president of the Med. Soc. of Krak. in agreement with the committee’s chairman can issue certifications on the use/advantage of any product, and the Med. Soc. of Krak. Shall decide on the manner in which such a verified product should be supported.”²¹ Beginning with 2 May 1888, the motions of the Industrial Committee were presented to the committee of the Medical Society of Kraków, upon whose request the MSK approved them in its meetings. On 2 January 1889, the MSK decided that the Committee’s proposals must be presented directly at the MSK meetings and approved by voting.²²

Members of the Committee

The Committee was elected for a period of three years, and obliged to submit annual reports on its activities at the annual administrative meeting of the MSK. After three years, it was required to submit a general report, decisive for its further operation or dissolution.²³ It was composed of seven active members of the MSK, who elected the chairman, deputy, and secretary from among their number.²⁴ On 18 March 1891, in the wake of assumption of duties that previously belonged to MSK’s Balneological Committee, the Industrial Committee amended its regulations. The changes included increasing the number of ordinary members of the Committee to ten. It now included three professional balneologists: Leon Kopff, dr. Władysław Ściborowski, and dr. Bolesław Skórczewski.²⁵ At the same time, a permanent balneological subcommittee was formed. It consisted of PhD Karol Olszewski, professor of chemistry and physics at Jagiellonian

20 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 20 maja 1890, *Przegląd Lekarski*” 29 (1890) no. 32, p. 461.

21 *Sprawozdanie komisji...*, p. 2.

22 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 29 stycznia 1889, *Przegląd Lekarski*” 28 (1889) no. 9, p. 112.

23 *Sprawozdanie komisji...*, p. 2.

24 *Sprawozdanie komisji...*, p. 2.

25 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 9 marca 1891, *Przegląd Lekarski*” 30 (1891) no. 16, pp. 212–213.

University, inventor of the cascade method of gas condensation,²⁶ Kopff, Ściborowski, Skórczewski.²⁷

There is no full list of members in the sources. However, it is known that Edward Korczyński resigned as chairman in May 1895,²⁸ and died in September of the same year. Another entry regarding the chairman states that dr. Ludomił Korczyński,²⁹ professor of balneotherapy and climatotherapy at the Jagiellonian University, founder and chairman of the Polish Balneological Society (1905–36),³⁰ who became a member of the Committee in December 1905,³¹ served as its chairman until November of the following year. Leaving the city, had to resign from his position, which in 1907 was temporarily taken over by dr. Michał Seńkowski. Later in the year, the Committee practically suspended its activities. In 1908–10, its chairman was dr. Gustaw Bielański,³² and in December 1911 — *Privatdozent* Erwin Mięśowicz.³³ Antoni Gluziński held the post of the secretary until 1891, when had to resign from the Committee due to his appointment to the position of the MSK Chairman. His place was taken by dr. Stanisław Ponikło.³⁴ However, due to his absence from the meetings, dr. Stefan Skrzyński acted as secretary. In the following year, dr. Michał Śliwiński became the secretary and was replaced in 1906 by Bolesław Korolewicz,

26 Z. Wojtaszek, *Olszewski Karol Stanisław (1848–1915)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, ed. by E. Rostworowski, vol. 24, Wrocław 1979, pp. 27–30.

27 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 9 marca 1891, p. 213.

28 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 4 maja 1905, "Przegląd Lekarski" 44 (1905) no. 26, p. 411.

29 S. Koźmiński, *Słownik lekarzów polskich obejmujący oprócz krótkich życiorysów lekarzy Polaków oraz cudzoziemców w Polsce osiadłych, dokładną bibliografią lekarską polską od czasów najdawniejszych aż do chwili obecnej*, Warszawa 1888, p. 231.

30 *Wielka ilustrowana encyklopedia Gutenberga (1934–1939)*.

31 Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie, Posiedzenie wyborcze z 20 grudnia 1905, "Przegląd Lekarski" 45 (1906) no. 7, p. 127.

32 Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie, Posiedzenie administracyjne w dniu 13 stycznia 1909, "Przegląd Lekarski" 48 (1909) no. 6, p. 98; Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie, Posiedzenie 12 grudnia 1910, "Przegląd Lekarski" 50 (1911) no. 2, p. 25.

33 Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie, Posiedzenie z 20 grudnia 1911, "Przegląd Lekarski" 51 (1912) no. 2, p. 42.

34 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 20 grudnia 1890, "Przegląd Lekarski" 30 (1891) no. 7, p. 101.

a member of the Committee since December 1905.³⁵ Śliwiński became a member of the Committee in December 1891, taking the place vacated by Jaworski.³⁶ He was admitted to the Committee in recognition of his organisational skills. In 1881 he “distinguished himself by the excellent arrangement of the medical exhibition at the layest Congress of Polish Physicians and Natural Scientists”.³⁷ An authority of the first order, dr. Odon Bujwid, only joined the Committee at the end of 1894, when Kazimierz Grabowski left it.³⁸ Approved in the same year was also Leopold Adametz.³⁹ Feliks Sobierajski was admitted to the Committee as a permanent rapporteur for pharmaceutical matters in 1891.⁴⁰ He participated so actively in the works and his assistance was so highly valued that, when he tendered his resignation from the Committee in 1896, it was not accepted.⁴¹

Finances

The rules and regulations of the Industrial Committee contain no references to financial resources. Nor did the Committee elect any members to serve as treasurers, at least according to the sources available. It is only known that the Committee’s office expenses were borne by MSK.⁴² Yet, it was recorded in 1892 that the funds had been exhausted, so the Committee were drawing from MSK’s funds.⁴³ There had been earlier reports that the conditions for analysing at least some products and inspecting local facilities were individually negotiated with the owners: “On submitting,

35 Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie, Posiedzenie 12 grudnia 1910, p. 25.

36 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VII z 5 grudnia 1891, “Przegląd Lekarski” 31 (1892) no. 2, p. 24.

37 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 12 maja 1891, “Przegląd Lekarski” 30 (1891) no. 23, p. 295.

38 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 12 listopada 1894, “Przegląd Lekarski” 34 (1895) no. 4, p. 58.

39 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 12 listopada 1894, p. 58.

40 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 12 maja 1891, p. 295.

41 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 18 listopada 1895, “Przegląd Lekarski” 35 (1896) no. 1, p. 13.

42 *Sprawozdanie komisji...*, p. 2.

43 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 5 marca 1892, pp. 258–259.

the manufacturer of beer fortified with iron was given guidelines as to the conditions that would allow the committee consider evaluating the product”.⁴⁴ The committee is also known to have used its own funds to pay for certain advertisements of recommended products for other activities serving the Polish industry. Perhaps such individual conditions concerned not only matters related to product quality improvement but in some cases might involve specific funds. The committee had no official price list for its services.

Meeting statistics

Intended to be held twice a month, the meetings of the Committee were less regular from the start to become increasingly infrequent with time, and as a rule were not held in the spa season, tantamount to today's summer holidays. At that time, some of the physicians working in the committee moved to spa resorts, where they were employed as spa doctors. Such a practice was not only financially profitable but it also allowed them to conduct scientific balneological research. The meeting statistics are but guesstimates, as most of the meetings were not numbered and, bearing in mind the possibility that not all the meetings might have been recorded in “Przegląd Lekarski”, no accurate calculations are possible. Thus, in 1886 and 1887, the committee met 10 times, in 1888 – 7 times, in 1889 – 6, in 1890 – once, in 1891 – 7, in 1892 – 5, 3 meetings were recorded both in 1893 and in 1894, in 1895 there were 5, in 1896 – 3, in 1897 – 4, in 1898 – 5, in 1899 – only one, then no meetings were recorded in 1900 and 1901, and in 1902 and 1903 there were 2 meetings each year, in 1904 and 1905 – just one meeting a year, and in 1906 the committee met 3 times. In 1907, the Committee did not operate due to the lack of a suitable candidate to serve as chairman. In 1908, dr. Gustaw Bielański became the chairman, and the report from the MSK annual administrative meeting of January 1909 informs that the committee held at least two meetings in 1908.⁴⁵ In the following years, there are no reports of meetings in “Przegląd Lekarski”. However, lack of meetings does not seem to denote lack of activity.

Choosing individuals or special subcommittees, which worked according to their own standards, for solving various problems was a frequent

44 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 9 marca 1891, p. 213.

45 Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie, Posiedzenie administracyjne w dniu 13 stycznia 1909, p. 98.

practice, and only the results of their activity were presented at the meetings. For example, the subcommittee chosen on 12 March 1891 to formulate suggestions for the incorporation of a national pharmaceutical and chemical factory, which consisted of professor and architect PhD Gustaw Steingraber, pharmacist Feliks Sobierajski, Michał Śliwiński, and pharmacist Dobrowolski,⁴⁶ was not dissolved despite issuing a negative opinion on the project, and pursued the work on its idea of establishing a central domestic hub, operating under a grand and original name of *wielka drougeryja*, whose task it would be to supply pharmacies with Polish and foreign products. It was to act as the wholesale hub for medicinal, dietary, and hygienic products, and domestic herbs.⁴⁷ Another example is the subcommittee appointed on 18 May 1886 to support domestic production of surgical tools, bandages, and orthopedic instruments. Its rationale was to issue opinions about domestic manufacturers and plants producing such equipment. The committee dealt, among others, with the case of Ludwik Knapiński's factory, whose products won a silver medal at the Congress of Polish Physicians and Natural Scientists.⁴⁸

Activity of the Committee

The main activity of the Industrial Committee focused on evaluating pharmaceuticals and medical supplies before applying to MSK for endorsing such products (issuing certificates). The certification process consisted in qualitative evaluation of medical product and medication samples received. In the case of pharmaceuticals, besides the products themselves also entire production lines in the plants applying for recommendation were assessed. Evaluation covered purity and technology of manufacture. The process was not limited to reviewing documents as it involved a visit from a delegated member of the Committee to the plant or pharmacy for an on-site inspection. The following step in the assessment was the chemical analysis of the composition of the tested substance, that is checking whether the composition matched the manufacturer's description. Additionally, if a specific product required, the

46 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VI z 5 listopada 1891, "Przegląd Lekarski" 30 (1891) no. 50, p. 633.

47 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie I z 3 lutego 1892, "Przegląd Lekarski" 31 (1892) no. 14, p. 167.

48 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VI z 5 listopada 1891, p. 633.

method of its preparation for use was tested, e.g. ease of dissolution, formation of a paste, or another pharmacologically active form. The process culminated in clinical testing conducted by assistants supervised by professors of internal medicine, pediatrics, and surgery at the Kraków Clinical Hospital. It was the final stage: testing on an appropriately selected clinical group, being the patients of the clinical hospital. Importantly, as a rule, research was supervised by professors of great renown in the medical world and – in Galicia – also in public and circles and the society, which significantly raised the status of the certificates issued. First, they were, with few exceptions, issued for an indefinite time. Later, some received individual expiry dates. The longest-standing recommendations were in some cases revoked. For instance, a decision was reached in 1889 that certificates issued from 1879 to 1882 would lose their validity unless the manufacturers resubmitted the products for reassessment.⁴⁹ Manufacturers of recommended products had the right to mark them with “Polecane przez Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie”, that is Recommended by the Medical Society of Kraków. Such information was also included in advertisements printed in magazines. This form of advertising motivated both the prescribing doctors and the patients. Some products became fashionable. The source of funding of commercial announcements and leaflets is unclear. Some of them were certainly financed privately by the manufacturers, while others – probably from the committee’s funds. The report from the meeting held in November 1888 states that “the advertisements for products recommended by MSK were printed with subscription money, the remaining money was spent on advertisements for these products placed in medical journals.”⁵⁰ However, the source of these funds is difficult to track. As mentioned earlier, the reports include statements that the conditions for of testing, also clinical, of products were individually negotiated. This most probably concerns fees for the process of certification. Unfortunately, no clear explanation as to what these “conditions” meant was provided. In 1894, a decision was made to intensify activities in the eastern part of Galicia. For that reason, complete documentation of certified products, along with their list and samples, and copies of minutes from the meetings were sent to the Lviv

49 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 27 lutego 1889, “Przegląd Lekarski” 28 (1889) no. 12, p. 148.

50 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VII z 28 listopada 1888, “Przegląd Lekarski” 28 (1889) no. 2, p. 24.

Section of the Medical Society of Galicia.⁵¹ From 1895, the journal of the Pharmaceutical Society of Lviv printed a list of domestic products and preparations recommended by MSK.⁵² In 1905, reference lists were also sent to professional journals and other medical societies, e.g. the Medical Society of Lublin.⁵³ Also the Industrial Assistance League [Polish: Liga Pomocy Przemysłowej] was involved in promoting the recommended products.⁵⁴ Attempts were made to advertise these products in various ways. Manufacturers were informed about international exhibitions and scientific conferences where they could present their products. For example, information about “an international exhibition of food products and military supplies” in Leipzig in January 1992 was distributed among selected recipients.⁵⁵ Exhibitions of recommended hygienic and medical products were also organised at the congresses of Polish physicians and naturalists.⁵⁶ Exhibitions of recommended materials were also organised, at the expense of MSK, during the General National Exhibition in Lviv in 1894.⁵⁷ When the newly established Museum of the History of the Austrian Industry in Vienna requested objects, despite lack of suitable samples, the committee sent a list of Polish manufacturers potentially interested in cooperation.⁵⁸ The committee also engaged in assistance to individual entrepreneurs. For instance, when in 1895 M. Dobrowolski decided to establish a factory for dressing and pharmaceutical products,

- 51 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 14 marca 1894, “Przegląd Lekarski” 33 (1894) no. 15, p. 199.
- 52 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 5 marca 1895, “Przegląd Lekarski” 28 (1889) no. 26, p. 398.
- 53 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 4 maja 1905, p. 411.
- 54 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 4 maja 1905, p. 411.
- 55 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie V z 10 czerwca 1891, “Przegląd Lekarski” 30 (1891) no. 26, p. 331.
- 56 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VII z 28 listopada 1888, p. 24; Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 20 grudnia 1890, p. 101.
- 57 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 11 maja 1893, “Przegląd Lekarski” 33 (1894) no. 24, p. 323.
- 58 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 5 marca 1892, p. 259.

which had received repeated positive assessments from MSK, in Podgórze district, Alfred Obaliński helped him to obtain a formal approval from the government.⁵⁹

Other than to pharmaceuticals and dressing materials, and orthopedic instruments and medical devices, certification also extended to various dietary supplements such as milk, dried vegetables, meat powders, medicinal alcohols, and mineral and soda waters. Several examples of such activities are presented below.

Supervision of pharmaceuticals and other medical products

Various forms of medications were produced in pharmacies under the supervision of Masters of Pharmacy. Medicines containing the same active ingredients differed in their form and the amount of supplementary substances for improving taste and aroma, and also helping to swallow. They were presented to the committee in large numbers. Major manufacturers of pharmaceuticals, producing dozens of different forms counted not only on promotion of a specific product but also of the brand, which is why they eagerly submitted them for examination. Many of the pharmaceuticals evaluated came from distant locations, often from the province. Each underwent chemical analysis for the content of active substance to verify whether the declared amount was actually present in the product. The composition of excipients was also examined. The testing was conducted in the laboratories of recognised professors, to mention the world-renowned chemist Karol Olszewski, which guaranteed a scientific approach to the subject and boosted product prestige. The pharmaceuticals were subsequently taken to the Kraków Clinical Hospital, where assistants supervised by such celebrities of internal medicine as Edward Korczyński, Antoni Gluziński, and Walery Jaworski conducted clinical trials, enhancing the value of the certificate further. Pharmaceuticals administered to patients were evaluated not only for their therapeutic effects and potential side effects but also for taste, ease of swallowing, and simplicity of application. Another significant factor was the price. Medicinal products were only recommended if they were at least as good as their foreign equivalents and more affordably priced. The committee regularly checked the prices of recommended products and, in the case of uncontrolled price increases, warned producers and threatened to revoke the

59 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 5 marca 1895, p. 398.

recommendation.⁶⁰ Any change in production technology, equipment used in the process, and/or ownership forfeited the recommendation for the pharmacy's products and required a new process of certification.

Recommendations resonated with doctors and, more importantly, patients. A product approved by Kraków celebrities simply had to be effective, which in a sense made the pharmacy fashionable. And that was the primary objective: to promote Polish pharmaceutical industry. It must be noted that the tests were conducted with greatest diligence and it seems that with no favours for Polish producers, while the medications that received certification were indeed worthy of promoting. Within the scope of this work, it is impossible to describe all the tested medical products in detail in detail, but mentioning some of them may be a worthwhile insight into their diversity in terms of the preparation itself and its origin.

Mańkowski's sugar-coated pills with creosote and arsenous acid came from a pharmacist in Sieniawa and were a new formulation of what had previously been marketed as chocolate-coated pills with tolu balsam.⁶¹ Clinical tests at the Krakow Clinical Hospital were very successful, and the favourable price was also emphasised. In turn, Maryjan Zahradnik, a pharmacist from Jezierna (who moved to Złoczów in 1893),⁶² produced elastic capsules containing castor oil and cod liver oil. They were considered "a product for all means and purposes meeting the requirements of pharmaceutical technology and worthy of recommendation".⁶³ To boost his popularity, Zahradnik officially promised to print the price on every package of his pearls and capsules so as to prevent pharmacists from raising it arbitrarily. He also pledged to donate a part of the revenue from its sales to charitable causes: "he offers to donate to the construction of the

60 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 23 marca 1891, "Przegląd Lekarski" 30 (1891) no. 17, p. 224.

61 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 12 maja 1891, p. 295.

62 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 11 maja 1893, p. 323.

63 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 11 maja 1893, p. 323; Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VII z 28 listopada 1888, p. 24; Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VI z 15 grudnia 1889, "Przegląd Lekarski" 29 (1890) no. 2, p. 29.

Academic Dormitory in Kraków the same percentage of the revenue from capsule sales that he donated during the previous Congress of Polish Physicians and Naturalists in Kraków to the Museum of Polish Inventions.”⁶⁴

Władysław Beldowski from Kraków sought certification for his sugar-coated guaiacol pills, and later, with Stanisław Kowalski, for the same form of medicine with creosote. Additional advantages of the latter pills included easy dissolution (superior to Jasper’s pills available in the market) and high effectiveness even after prolonged storage. As his plant turned out c. 83 different types of pills and capsules, the recommendation was also an advertisement for his pharmacy.⁶⁵ In his Kraków pharmacy, Feliks Sobierajski produced nitroglycerin pills: an absolute novelty at the time. The first Polish physician to use and promote them was the aforementioned Professor Edward Korczyński. Their certification process involved physicochemical tests, production process control, and clinical trials conducted, under the watchful eye of the professor, by his assistants: Dr Ludomił Korczyński and Dr Marian (Maryan) Piątkowski, while the clinical trials made use of the latest diagnostic instruments: a sphygmograph and a plethysmograph.⁶⁶ It is worth noting that Feliks Sobierajski also received recommendations for many other products, e.g. the sugar-coated atropine sulphate pearls,⁶⁷ sodium arsenate pearls, creosote pills, and chocolate nitroglycerin tablets.⁶⁸ The change of pharmacy ownership in 1894 triggered loss of all recommendations, so its new owner Gustaw Otowski⁶⁹ had to submit the products to testing again.⁷⁰

64 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 5 marca 1892, p. 258.

65 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 23 marca 1891, p. 224.

66 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 11 maja 1893, p. 323.

67 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 14 marca 1894, p. 199.

68 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 5 marca 1895, p. 398.

69 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 12 listopada 1894, p. 59.

70 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 5 marca 1895, p. 398.

Products for therapeutic inhalation were also recommended; their number included forest lozenges and discs produced by the Warsaw Chemical Laboratory that turned out to be made of plastic clay saturated with essential oils. Their final assessment stated that they could successfully replace the more cumbersome method of spraying essential oils for therapeutic and air-refreshing purposes.⁷¹ In 1905, towards the end of the committee's operation, the products of Antoni Manduk's pharmaceutical company from Warsaw were positively assessed. The evaluation concerned such products as dermatol, tannopin, tannigen, tannofom, and antypirynum et coffeinum citricum. According to the then latest regulations, marketing all these products required prior approval from the ministry, which was tantamount to having been thoroughly tested by state institutions.⁷²

Vaccines and drugs administered subcutaneously constituted the most demanding group of medications due to the need for meticulous sterilisation and maintenance of accurate concentrations of active substances, which decompose under high temperatures. The chemical composition of subcutaneous aqueous solutions of morphine, cocaine, atropine, and ergot (*Claviceps*) from Kraków pharmacist Eugeniusz Heller was analysed by Professor Józef Łazarski, and clinically tested by dr. Walenty Jeż under the supervision of Walery Jaworski.⁷³ They all received recommendations from MSK⁷⁴ Finally, vaccines against smallpox were at the time controversial due to side effects, and had to be controlled not only for acquisition of immunity but also for such effects. The committee and MSK believed that the best vaccine was Kubicki's "cow pox vaccine" from Lviv. Every time the manufacturer submitted it for periodic assessment, it received successive certificates. The commentary read that "it works excellently" not only after the first vaccination but also after revaccination. In 1891, as part of the certification process, dr. Franciszek Murdzieński, a student of Leon Jakubowski, head physician of the St Louis Hospital in Kraków,

71 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VII z 5 grudnia 1891, p. 24.

72 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 4 maja 1905, p. 411.

73 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 18 listopada 1895, p. 13.

74 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 18 listopada 1895, p. 13.

who introduced smallpox vaccinations to the children's hospital with his professor, studied 50,000 cases of vaccinated and revaccinated individuals! The MSK was all in favour of doctors only using the domestic smallpox vaccine.⁷⁵ This may be the reason why MSK refused to recommend the vaccine produced by Józef Freysinger in Leipzig, noting “the need for standardisation of ‘cow pox vaccine’ production in the future” in its conclusion.⁷⁶

Certification also extended to topical medications. For example, Brunicki, Jakubowski, and Co. from Klęczany near Nowy Sącz sought the recommendation for highest-quality vaseline for surgical and ophthalmological use. Its chemical analysis was conducted by Professor Gustaw Steingraber, and clinical studies were carried out in the clinical wards of Ludwik Rydygier, world pioneer of gastric resection, professor of the First Surgical Clinical Hospital in Kraków and successor of J. Mikulicz-Radecki, and dr. Lucjan Rydel—the famous ophthalmologist, head of the Kraków Ophthalmological Clinic, and dean of the Medical Faculty.⁷⁷ They awarded the product a quality certificate.⁷⁸ Professor Alfred Obaliński, a distinguished surgeon, former head of the surgical department at St Lazarus Hospital, and later head of the Second Surgical Clinical Hospital that the former unit transformed into, examined and positively evaluated the alabaster plaster by Czecz and Co. from Płaszów.⁷⁹ “Corrosive sublimate patties” from a Kraków pharmacist Karol Wiszniewski that served preparation of topical antiseptic solutions also received their recommendation. They were considered superior to foreign products as they formed no residue while dissolved in ordinary well water, and the sublimate they contained did not react with protein.⁸⁰ A recommendation was also

75 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 27 lutego 1889, p. 148.

76 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 18 listopada 1895, p. 13.

77 S. M. Brzozowski, *Rydel Lucjan (1833–1895)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, ed. by H. Markiewicz, vol. 33, Wrocław 1991–1992, pp. 413–414.

78 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 11 maja 1893, p. 323.

79 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie V z 30 grudnia 1895, “Przegląd Lekarski” 35 (1896) no. 16, p. 216.

80 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VII z 28 listopada 1888, p. 24.

granted to Loebenstein's mustard poultice from Austria, which were not at all inferior to French ones.⁸¹

Another product group subjected to certification comprised medical devices. Recommended, for instance, were the products of two Kraków craftsmen: bacteriological thermostats and sterilisation devices produced by tinsmith Markus, and gynecological phantoms made by a saddler A. Szklarski,⁸² and also devices for then-fashionable galvanic and inductive electric therapy. The committee evaluated two of these: a device devised by Stanisław Freund (employed as a mechanical engineer at the Jagiellonian University in 1891–93)⁸³ and a Krakow mechanical engineer and optician Kazimierz Zieliński.⁸⁴ Stanisław Freund also served as the director of the vocational school in Świątniki, where students produced various types of electrotherapeutic devices that also received MSK recommendations. However, the corset (orthopedic belt) produced by the students of St Scholastica's School failed to receive a MSK certificate for an interesting reason. As much as the product was found to be significantly better than any other available on the market, its use was considered dated in European medicine and its use was gradually discontinued. However, with respect to the manufacturing quality, a decision was reached to modify the corset to adjust it to the latest standards and trends in the treatment of posture disorders. The guidelines for the modifications were to be developed by famous gynecologist-obstetrician and civil activist dr. Henryk Jordan,⁸⁵ Alfred Obaliński, and Ludwik Rydygier.⁸⁶

81 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VI z 15 grudnia 1889, p. 29.

82 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie V z 10 czerwca 1891, p. 331.

83 E. Wyka, *Mechanik Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego Władysław Antoni Grodzicki i jego skraplarki gazów*, ejournals.eu: khnit-21-1-4-wyka%20(1).pdf (Accessed on: 06 July 2022).

84 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie I z 3 lutego 1892, p. 167.

85 S. Ciechanowski, *Jordan Henryk (1842–1907)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, ed. by E. Rostworowski, vol. 11, Wrocław 1964–1965, pp. 273–276.

86 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 29 stycznia 1889, p. 112.

Services for food industry manufacturers

The services provided extended to dairies, production of cocoa and chocolate, and meat powder, fruit and vegetable drying, and also manufacture of soda water, mineral waters, and medicinal alcohols. 19th-century medicine considered milk a fundamental nutritional and medicinal agent, whose nutritional benefits were invaluable for children and adults alike, and – depending on the form it was administered in – also medicinal properties. The 19th century brought a revolution in medicine marked by the shift from natural herbs- and minerals-based treatment to therapies based on the products of the pharmaceutical industry. When, around the second half of the 19th century, reservations about the effectiveness of natural medicines rose and treatment alternatives were still lacking, intensive pathophysiological research, focused strongly on dietary therapy and balneology was conducted. Dietary manuals and cookbooks of the time became virtual textbooks on internal medicine, and contained a whole gamut of indications for using milk and dairy products.⁸⁷ Unfortunately, most dairy products available in shops and markets were not epidemiologically tested, particularly for tuberculosis, whose prevalence was high at the time. Moreover, the contemporary dairy products were commonly adulterated with starch. Therefore, the idea of certifying dairies was an excellent initiative. For obvious reasons, individual peasants selling their produce remained outside any mandatory control. Only three of the nearby production facilities took advantage of the recommendation offer, and even those were hard pressed to meet all the criteria the Committee imposed. Dairies were required to send monthly veterinary and medical reports on the health status of the animals and barn staff. Monthly checks were made to see whether they met the criteria developed by the Committee and approved by MSK, and the Certificates were sent by mail.⁸⁸ The three dairies had their barns located in Śledziejowice, Grodkowice, and Gnojnik. The dairies often happened to forget to send the reports, usually for two or three consecutive months.⁸⁹ After that time, they were issued a reminder with a deadline to comply on the

87 E. Jaworska, W. Jaworski, *Kuchnia higieniczna ze szczegółowem uwzględnieniem potrzeb chorych*, Kraków 1897.

88 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VII z 28 listopada 1888, p. 24.

89 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 29 stycznia 1889, p. 112.

threat of certification withdrawal.⁹⁰ Grodkowice and Gnojnik had more problems with keeping deadlines.⁹¹ Despite delays in sending reports, recommendations were as a rule extended.⁹² In 1894, one dairy (probably Grodkowice) ceased sending reports, and the two remaining ones unfortunately were unable to supply Kraków. Despite encouragement from MSK, only one new dairy applied for certification. To continue the process, physician and veterinarian Professor Andrzej Walentowicz went to inspect the site, where he positively evaluated the cow breed, feeding, and the facility setup. A decision was made to proceed to the second stage, that is chemical and bacteriological analysis of the milk.⁹³ In the same year, the certification conditions were tightened when a resolution was passed that required veterinary certificates to be issued by a professional and certified veterinarian.⁹⁴ Perhaps these additional conditions of the controls, already cumbersome and costly, had the Gnojnik dairy also lose its recommendation soon afterwards.⁹⁵

At the time, cocoa and chocolate were popular for nutrition, invigorating, and medicinal use. Chocolate was also a popular additive in pharmaceutical production, as it improved the taste and smell. Patients often bought chocolates containing appropriate active ingredients by prescription at pharmacies. Unfortunately, in most cases the products available in the market came from foreign manufacturers. The first to submit his

90 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 10 kwietnia 1889, "Przegląd Lekarski" 28 (1889) no. 20, p. 256.

91 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VI z 15 grudnia 1889, p. 29.

92 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 20 maja 1890, p. 461; Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 20 grudnia 1890, p. 100; Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 15 kwietnia 1891, "Przegląd Lekarski" 30 (1891) no. 20, p. 256; Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 12 maja 1891, p. 295; Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie V z 10 czerwca 1891, p. 331.

93 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 14 marca 1894, p. 199.

94 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 14 marca 1894, p. 199.

95 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 18 listopada 1895, p. 13.

products to MSK for evaluation was Henryk Trettner from Lviv.⁹⁶ Karol Olszewski conducted the chemical analysis and dr. Zygmunt Wachtel carried an on-site inspection in the factory. At half the price, the Lviv cocoa was recognised at par with foreign.⁹⁷ Also Trettner's chocolate received its certificate⁹⁸ Olszewski praised the owner for introducing an improved fat removal technique that "makes the product even better".⁹⁹ The following product inspection was conducted when the factory's production increased enough to afford more cocoa production machines. It determined that quality still goes hand in hand with quantity, and the tins in which the products were sold were sufficiently tight to guarantee proper storage.¹⁰⁰

In 1903, another product that had already been approved for sale, and as such had been tested by the Imperial-Royal Institute for the Examination of Foodstuffs in Kraków, was issued a certificate recommending "the health coffee" produced by Waśniewski, Łuczko & Co.¹⁰¹

Another popular product used in specialised diets was meat powder, considered easy to digest. It was only natural that it had to meet rigorous production conditions. For that reason Feliks Sobierajski, a Kraków pharmacy owner and, incidentally, a member of the Industrial Committee, asked his colleagues to evaluate his product. Research showed that it consisted of dried pulp made in a water bath at 40–50°C from beef stripped of fat and connective tissue that could be stored in tightly sealed glass containers for a long time without fear of it undergoing decomposition. 100 grams of powder corresponded to about 750 grams of meat and cost 1 złoty, not including the container. Clinical studies were conducted by dr. Stefan Skrzyński at the Kraków Clinical Hospital

96 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VII z 28 listopada 1888, p. 24.

97 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 29 stycznia 1889, p. 112.

98 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 10 kwietnia 1889, p. 256.

99 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VI z 5 listopada 1891, p. 633.

100 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie I z 3 lutego 1892, p. 167.

101 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 22 grudnia 1903, "Przegląd Lekarski" 43 (1904) no. 16, p. 248.

under the supervision of Edward Korczyński to test its digestion in the gastrointestinal tract of both ailing and healthy patients. The positive therapeutic effects were confirmed by the authority of Korczyński and thus Sobierajski's powder gained the status of a certified medicinal product.¹⁰²

One of the most popular medicinal waters that was not considered mineral was soda water. It did not come from a natural intake but was produced in special facilities and sold in bottles. The popularity of soda water resulted in spinning off a special subcommittee consisting of Karol Olszewski, Walery Jaworski, and the city physicist (a physician and veterinary doctor) dr. Jan Buszek to subject all artificially produced medicinal waters in Kraków to chemical and bacteriological testing. The problem turned out to be the poor quality of the drinking water used for the process rather than the technology. Kraków had struggled with that problem for years, and had not yet resolved it at that time. The only water recommended as it met health standards came from Rząca and Chmurski's plant in Kraków. They used spring water from a well insulated and protected from the seepage of groundwaters situated close to the Łobzowska toll-gate, which had been purchased from the army. The chemical analysis Olszewski conducted showed absence of nitric acid and ammonia, and low content of organic matter. It was also considered the best for everyday use: "Ordinary soda water is better than any other currently produced in Kraków, and in the absence of decent potable water in Kraków, it is recommended to be drunk daily". The Society believed that production of other soda waters should be officially banned. Such a proposal was even tendered to the Municipal Sanitary Commission, where the Industrial Committee had its delegate.¹⁰³ Moreover, Rząca and Chmurski's plant had appropriate warehouses for water storage and the highest quality production technology and solutions. It produced ten types of waters, most of them medicinal. They were all subjected to regular internal quality control and the control of the Industrial Committee. Beginning with 1880, MSK considered the factory the leading and best in Kraków. Every year, it received quality certificates allowing the owners to label it as "Recommended by the Medical Society of Kraków and remaining

102 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 5 marca 1892, p. 259.

103 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VII z 28 listopada 1888, p. 24.

under the control of its Industrial Committee”.¹⁰⁴ As this did not help the company to increase its turnover significantly, another subcommittee consisting of Jan Buszek, Napoleon Cybulski, and Karol Olszewski was asked to consider how to improve sales.¹⁰⁵ One of the outcomes was to address the Municipal Sanitary Commission to run controls at other soda water plants that used well water that was in many cases heavily contaminated.¹⁰⁶ The subcommittee mentioned that even the best filters cannot make Kraków well water hygienic and suitable for producing such soda water.¹⁰⁷ This might have been another attempt to force the municipal commission to take action limiting the sale of water from other plants. In the 1890s, such controls in the plants were only conducted only every few years.¹⁰⁸ In 1895, guidelines for the production of Bad Ems waters were drafted for plant owners.

Domestic herbology came to the focus of attention in 1891, when four owners of herb drying facilities approached the Committee for support. They were: Domain in Ropczyce, Roman Pawlikowski in Mielec, Felicjan Szybalski in Morawica, and Porfiry Zieniewicz in Brzostek. In turn, Marcei Żymirski requested aid from the National Committee for Supporting Domestic Industry and Handicrafts for businesses that collect and sell “domestic vegetations”.¹⁰⁹ Another request was made to the Board of Agricultural Associations to issue a statement to peasants with instructions for collecting medicinal herbs, along with a description of their properties, applications, and sales opportunities.¹¹⁰ In the wake of positive

104 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VII z 28 listopada 1888, p. 24.

105 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VI z 15 grudnia 1889, p. 29.

106 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 20 grudnia 1890, p. 101.

107 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 9 marca 1891, p. 213.

108 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VII z 5 grudnia 1891, p. 24; Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 12 listopada 1894, p. 59.

109 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 23 marca 1891, p. 224.

110 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 15 kwietnia 1891, p. 256.

response from the aforementioned institutions, Feliks Sobierajski drafted a list of native plants with medicinal properties, both growing in the wild and cultivated, that could be used in pharmaceutical purposes, as well as methods of their collection and drying, commercial prices, and a list of businesses purchasing such herbs.¹¹¹ A decision to republish the collected material in both scientific and popular format “for the people” was reached four years later.¹¹² Again, the person most engaged in the matter was Sobierajski. Lack of statistical studies resulted in a problem with estimating the actual export and domestic demand. For that reason, Sobierajski approached landowners Siegler and Seeling and asked them to start a trial cultivation of the medicinal plants he had selected, to test the market capacity and demand.¹¹³

Dried fruit and vegetables were widely recommended as a component of a healthy and/or therapeutic diet when fresh ones were unavailable due to market reasons or the season. One of the first fruit and vegetable drying facilities in the country to receive a recommendation was the American one run by Jan Różański & Co. in Bochnia.¹¹⁴

Alcohol was commonly used as a medication, either in its traditional form, now purchased in alcohol shops and considered a recreational substance, or in a specialised form produced from traditional alcohols in pharmacies.¹¹⁵ Traditional alcohols were beyond the scope of certification by MSK, as their commercial testing was within the remit of the chemical and bacteriological laboratories. That is why the chemical analysis of Karol Bałłaban’s rye Starka from Lviv, alleged to have the same impact on the human as real cognac, was conducted by Karol Radziszewski. Having excluded fraud, the producer was advised to turn to Odon

111 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 12 maja 1891, p. 295.

112 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 5 marca 1895, p. 399.

113 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 5 marca 1895, p. 399.

114 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 29 stycznia 1889, p. 112; Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 11 maja 1893, p. 323.

115 E. Jaworska, W. Jaworski, *Kuchnia higieniczna ze szczegółowem uwzględnieniem potrzeb chorych*, Kraków 1897.

Bujwid's Institute of Hygiene for the assessment of the health values of his product.¹¹⁶

The medicinal malt beer produced by a Kraków pharmacist Konstanty Wiszniewski from strong "export" beer was examined by PhD Professor Gustaw Steingraber, for its chemical composition and technological process.¹¹⁷ The amount and quality of the added malt extract, as well as sugar, dextrin, non-coagulating proteins, and silica and phosphoric acids content in the ash were supposed to attest that "the beer used, as well as the malt extract used, come from good and healthy raw produce". Another forte found in the assessment was the fact that the beer had "pleasant to look at, being clear and sparkly in appearance, and good to taste." The production technology proved flawless. The product was compared to Hoff's malt beer and was recommended by the Society's resolution on 10 April 1889, as a "product worthy of recommendation and support."¹¹⁸ Some producers of medicinal beers purchased malt extract from the Okocim Brewery, which was highly valued by the Committee, so on discontinuing the production of this substrate for medicinal purposes, the brewery informed the MSK about the fact.¹¹⁹

Evaluation also extended to medicinal wines, such as the quinine, quinine-and-iron, pepsin, peptone, and rhubarb wines marketed by Zygmunt Jan Kalicki pharmacist from Przemyśl. They were highly rated for the high-quality Malaga that contained no fusel alcohols, and the very good quality of quinine bark and other medicinal ingredients. All these came together with an excellent taste, no dregs, and a favourable price.¹²⁰ Interestingly, the standardised criteria for evaluating medicinal wines had not been developed for the Committee until it was done by Walery

116 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 14 marca 1894, p. 199.

117 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie III z 2 kwietnia 1889, "Przegląd Lekarski" 28 (1889) no. 18, p. 227.

118 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie III z 2 kwietnia 1889, p. 227; Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 10 kwietnia 1889, p. 256.

119 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 18 listopada 1895, p. 13.

120 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 10 kwietnia 1889, p. 256.

Jaworski in 1895.¹²¹ Doctor Leon Jakubowski, professor, the father of Polish pediatrics, tested clinically dr. Władysław Mogilnicki's blueberry wine by from Buchach in his Children's Ward at the St Louis Hospital in Wesoła district (in Strzelecka Street). The wine was fortified according to the guidelines from the Industrial Committee and recognised a dietary and medicinal product during clinical trials. The wine was tasty, it did not decompose easily during storage at room temperature, and had a alcohol content lower than other similar beverages. It was found to be excellent for treatment of gastrointestinal problems, especially with if accompanied by diarrhoea. Its chemically analysys was conducted by Professor Ignacy Lemberger,¹²² a medical doctor, chemist, pharmacist, member of the faculty of the Jagiellonian University, who at simultaneously managed the Municipal Chemical Laboratory that analyses food products.¹²³

The last products known to have sought the Committee's recommendation were the thymo-sulfo-guaiacol syrup from pharmacist Kazimierz Armatys (recommended on 10 March 1908) and wood wool for stuffing mattresses from Izaak Spira's factory in Tarnów. The only surviving information about the latter is that it was tested in beds of patients at the Medical Clinic in Kraków.¹²⁴

Services in the field of balneology

The Balneological Subcommittee of the Industrial Committee continued the activities of the Balneological Committee operating in the Medical Society of Kraków in 1877–89 to support domestic balneology through scientific (chemical analysis of mineral waters and spa products, geological research, nature conservation, and meteorological and climatological studies) and social activities on behalf of spas and their visitors. As mentioned earlier, this activity was thoroughly studied, and the publication

121 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 18 listopada 1895, p. 13.

122 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 22 grudnia 1903, p. 248.

123 *Doc. Ignacy Lemberger*, https://in-memoriarn.uj.edu.pl/lista-pamieci?p_p_id=56_INSTANCE_iqXS3KIq9Mfb&p_p_lifecycle=o&p_p_state=normal&p_p_mode=view&p_p_col_id=column-3&p_p_col_pos=2&p_p_col_count=3&osoba=140312995 (Accessed on: 12 July 23).

124 Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie, Posiedzenie administracyjne w dniu 13 stycznia 1909, p. 98.

on it is available in open online resources.¹²⁵ The activities within the Industrial Committee focused mainly on social activities for the benefit of spas, which was why the following request was submitted to practicing physicians “To protect domestic spring waters from foreign competition, it has been resolved to draw the attention of physicians that they restrain haste in issuing certificates of effectiveness for those foreign waters that can compete with the domestic ones.”¹²⁶ Taking advantage of the committee’s assistance, besides the spas that had continued cooperation with it were also new ones. The spas known to the committee were Iwonicz, Swoszowice, Wysowa, and Krynica, while those lesser known who were only starting cooperation were Lubień and Czarny Potok.

Iwonicz was the first spa to start cooperating with the balneological subcommittee by sending current meteorological observations and statistical data on the spa facilities, therapies conducted, numbers of patients and spa products sold by mail order. Iwonicz continued its intensive cooperation, sending samples of peat, lyes, and salts for free analysis¹²⁷ as well as the water from the Emma saline-alkaline iodine-bromine spring called discovered accidentally during drilling works in the Skrzetuski mining shaft. As in previous years, the analyses were conducted by the renowned chemist and balneologist PhD Karol Trochanowski,¹²⁸ who considered the results valuable.¹²⁹ Soon, the spa’s management responded to the committee’s request to lower the price of Iwonicz water.¹³⁰

Krynica was one of the spas that flourished thanks to earlier cooperation with MSK. The spa not only did benefit from the analysis of mineral water from its sources but also designed buildings according to plans devised by previous balneological commissions. Even though contemporary Krynica was a well-functioning and fashionable spa, the committee did not forget about it. After advertisements for Karol, a new spring, were

125 M. Nowakowska-Zamachowska, *Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie 1866–1914...*

126 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 1 grudnia 1896, “Przegląd Lekarski” 36 (1897) no. 14, p. 31.

127 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 20 grudnia 1890, p. 101.

128 IC MSK, meeting of 23 March 1891, p. 224.

129 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 12 maja 1891, p. 295.

130 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 11 maja 1893, p. 323.

published in the press and failed to mention its chemical composition, the committee turned to the office of the imperial-royal viceroy, that is the authority directly supervising the Krynica spa and bathing facility, to have its chemical analysis sent to the committee “so that wider medical circles could form an opinion.”¹³¹ A memorandum was also issued to the Board of the Imperial-Royal Administration to boost the medical treatment, hygiene, medical policing, and communication in the spa developing in Krynica.¹³²

The new owner of Swoszowice asked for support, assistance, and advice to restore the spa to its former fame. The design for the drainage of excess spa water, separation of tanks for peat and sulphur mud, and bathtubs was evaluated and amended.¹³³

The insulation of wells was positively assessed in Wysowa,¹³⁴ where five springs previously known to the committee were investigated. The composition of the water had not undergone negative changes.¹³⁵ Moreover, a decision to respond positively to a request from the Lubień spa and baths establishment for an individual development plan was approved.¹³⁶ The waters of Hipolit Piekleski from Czarny Potok near Łącko were also analysed, with the conclusion that one of the springs deserved regulation, efficiency testing, insulation, and analysis of its medical properties.¹³⁷ Franciszek Bandrowski studied the medicinal waters of the Drużbaki (Rużbachy) spa in Spisz region. He presented a paper on history, topography, hydrography, geology, and balneology with recommendations for the owner concerning modernisation of the facility. The committee also decided to extend its services also to this spa as it lay in the territory

131 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 12 listopada 1894, p. 59.

132 IC MSK, meeting of 23 March 1891, p. 224.

133 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie IV z 18 listopada 1895, p. 13.

134 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VI z 5 listopada 1891, p. 633.

135 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VII z 5 grudnia 1891, p. 24.

136 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 20 maja 1890, p. 461.

137 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie I z 3 lutego 1892, p. 167.

of former Poland, in an area inhabited by people of Polish origin owned by a Pole (Count Władysław Zamoyski) and visited mostly by Poles.¹³⁸ Stanisław Ponikło also visited and examined conditions in Jaszczurówka.¹³⁹ His report was published in “Przegląd Lekarski” together with praise for the owner.¹⁴⁰

Brochure-guide to Polish spas

The initiative to publish a brochure with a systematic description of all spas and climatic establishments in Polish lands continued. It was intended as “a uniform description, covering all, without exception, spa and climate-treatment facilities in Polish lands, having been divided according to the type of waters, each sections opening with of a more extensive description of the most befitting facility, followed by others belonging to the same category, described more briefly but substantively.” The proposal was put forward back in the time of the Balneological Commission in 1883 by Władysław Ściborowski, then its chairman, who had consulted Edward Korczyński on the subject.¹⁴¹ Unfortunately, despite collecting a sufficient amount of data from the spas eager to cooperate, the work could not published for financial constraints.¹⁴² So as to avoid wasting the collected information, Ściborowski prepared an extensive report entitled “Wiadomości statystyczno-topograficzne o zdrojowiskach krajowych wraz z krótkim przewodnikiem dla osób do wód krajowych udających się” (literally: “Statistical-topographical information on domestic spas with a short guide for those heading for the domestic waters”), which was printed in the Industrial-Commercial Annual Journal.¹⁴³ After the matter was revisited in 1889, another request was sent to Polish spas and health resorts for current climatic-balneological-statistical data for the purpose

138 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 5 marca 1892, pp. 258–259.

139 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 5 marca 1892, p. 258.

140 S. Ponikło, *O Jaszczurówce*, “Przegląd Lekarski” 31 (1892) no. 19, pp. 229–230.

141 Komisja Balneologiczna Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie I z 12 lutego 1883, “Przegląd Lekarski” 22 (1883) no. 23, p. 305.

142 Komisja Balneologiczna Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 13 maja 1885, “Przegląd Lekarski” 25 (1886) no. 14, p. 204.

143 Komisja Balneologiczna Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 13 maja 1885, p. 204.

of publishing the Annual Journal of Domestic Spas.¹⁴⁴ The project started by Ściborowski was completed by another balneologist, Professor Ludomił Korczyński, yet in a form slightly different than initially planned. In 1900, his work entitled “Zarys balneoterapii i balneografii krajowej” (literally: “An outline of balneotherapy and domestic balneography”) was published. Besides the statistical data on Polish spas, it contained the rudiments of balneotherapy: “The purpose of this work is thus twofold: within the narrowest possible limits, I have tried to include information on balneotherapy necessary for medical staff and to provide medical students and physicians with a book that would help them become familiar with the development of our domestic facilities, their current furnishing and organisation, therapeutic means, and medical indications. Perhaps such knowledge will be followed by their better commitment to memory, and the eagerness and ability to support what is ours, as long as it deserves such a form of support.”¹⁴⁵

A question linked to the above was maintaining the tradition of informing the international community about the technical and therapeutic capacities of the Polish spas. The author of the previous report on domestic balneological literature and the condition of national spas, published in 1887 in volume 213 of Schmidt’s Medical Annals, was Professor Stanisław Smoleński. Asked to compile it this time, in 1894, was Ludomił Korczyński.¹⁴⁶ Lists of Polish physicians practicing in domestic and foreign spas were regularly announced in the press.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, a contribution to the work on a governmental draft of a statute for national spas was made.¹⁴⁸

144 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 29 stycznia 1889, p. 112.

145 L. Korczyński, *Zarys balneoterapii i balneografii krajowej. Dla użytku lekarzy i uczniów*, Kraków 1900.

146 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 23 grudnia 1894, “Przegląd Lekarski” 34 (1895) no. 7, p. 99.

147 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 9 marca 1891, p. 213; Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie II z 11 maja 1893, p. 323; Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 14 marca 1894, p. 199.

148 Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie VI z 15 grudnia 1889, p. 29.

Closing

The activities related to Polish balneology were practically concluded by the Industrial Committee in 1905 when services for the spas were officially transferred to the newly established Polish Balneological Society (Polish: Polskie Towarzystwo Balneologiczne).¹⁴⁹ The Industrial Committee concluded its activities in 1912 when, by a resolution of the Medical Society in Kraków, it was combined with the Boycott Committee to form the Balneological-Industrial Committee.¹⁵⁰

The reason behind these changes were new legal regulations concerning the sale of medical and food products introduced at the beginning of the 20th century. Point 6 of the Ministerial regulation No. 40 published in the “Dziennik Ustaw Państwa dla Królestw i Krajów w Radzie Państwa Reprezentowanych” [Journal of Laws] on 16 April 1904 stated that: “Pharmacists may put into commercial circulation specific remedies they produce only if they have obtained permission for the production and sale of such a product from the Imperial-Royal Ministry of the Interior, after prior examination by the Chemical Office of the Imperial-Royal State Health Council.”¹⁵¹ Consequently, the Industrial Committee decided not to test what we today is called dietary supplements, while examining medications approved by the ministry lost its purpose: “It was resolved to draw the attention of pharmacists to focus on manufacturing such medicines whose chemical composition is precisely known, and only the name is protected by a trademark, which are usually imported from abroad at very high prices rather than producing various medications of unspecified chemical composition, being in most cases no more than imitations of various compound medicines. The trademark can often be replaced by an appropriate chemical composition.”¹⁵² In the wake of legal regulations and establishment of special supervisory institutions for medical and food products, the earlier activities of the Industrial Committee related to chemical analysis and clinical trials of products

149 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 4 maja 1905, p. 411.

150 Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie, Posiedzenie z 15 stycznia 1913, “Przegląd Lekarski” 52 (1913) no. 7, p. 113.

151 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 4 maja 1905, p. 411.

152 Komisja Przemysłowo-Lekarska Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego, Posiedzenie z 4 maja 1905, p. 411.

lost their significance. Certificates continued to be issued for a time, yet they were no longer tantamount to approving the product for the market. Therefore, what became the main goal of the MSK activities at the time was fighting against foreign (mainly Prussian) competition in the medical market and the protection of Polish entrepreneurs. This led to the formation of the Boycott Committee (Committee for Supporting Domestic Medical Industry) within the MSK, which absorbed the Industrial Committee. The original objectives of the new committee were the pharmaceutical industry, spas and resorts, seaside baths, surgical and obstetric tools, furnishing and equipment for operating theatres, and ophthalmic instruments, including the production of artificial eyes.¹⁵³ This trend was soon interrupted by the First World War when the independence regained by Poland posed entirely new tasks before the MSK.

Final conclusions

Recounting the history of the Industrial Committee operating in the Medical Society in Kraków in 1886–1912, and thus providing insight into another topic directly related to the history of the MSK itself was based on the information collected mainly from “Przegląd Lekarski”.

The Industrial Committee was a very active structure within the Medical Society of Kraków. Its activities were invaluable for doctors, patients, and also the medical industry in Galicia as the Committee was established to protect and support the Polish medical industry. While Poland did not officially exist on the world map as a state, the committee provided support to Polish manufacturers and domestic spas. The main activities of the committee members involved evaluating and issuing recommendations for medical products, i.e., medications, dietary food products, medical tools and instruments, and dressings. The certification process investigated production technologies and chemical composition, and involved additional clinical trials to assess effectiveness. The latter half of the 19th century was a time of intense development in medicine and pharmacology. As new products began to enter the market, the committee took over the duty of testing them for medical suitability. Positively evaluated products were presented at MSK meetings and awarded certificates, that is titles of products recommended by MSK. Such a recommendation

153 *Sprawozdanie Krakowskiego Komitetu Popierania Krajowego Przemysłu Lekarskiego: W sprawie wyparcia obcych przetworów i narzędzi lekarskich, “Przegląd Lekarski”* 48 (1909) no. 5, pp. 86–87.

was a particular guarantee of quality. As many of the committee members were scientists of world renown, who were also members of social elites, using the products they recommended became fashionable. This created a real opportunity to compete with foreign products. Early in the 20th century, the committee's activities lost significance due to new governmental laws requiring ministerial permission for the sale of such products. As a result, the responsibility of supervising the quality of these products was taken over by the ministry.

The committee also investigated balneology, at that time considered a leading medical specialisation, and therefore remaining at the centre of interest for doctors and patients. In the case of spas, evaluation extended to their infrastructure, technical solutions for spa treatments, and the therapeutic properties of waters and climate. Various means to encourage patients to visit domestic spas were sought and owners of individual establishments were encouraged to expand and modernise them according to the latest therapeutic trends. This activity was taken over by the newly established Polish Balneological Society in 1905.

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Abstract

Monika Zamachowska

*The Industrial Committee of the Medical Society of Kraków
(1886–1912)*

The Industrial Committee of the Medical Society of Kraków (1886–1907) was established to protect and support the Polish medical industry. In the absence of the official Polish state existed, the activities of the committee provided support for Polish manufacturers and health resorts. The main activity of the committee members consisted in assessing production technology and analysis of the chemical composition of food products, and additional clinical trials of medications. In the case of health resorts, evaluation extended to their infrastructure, technical solutions for spa treatments, and curative properties of the waters and climate. Positively evaluated products and spas received a particular certificate and were officially recommended by the society. As many members of the committee were scientists of world renown who belonged to the social elite, using the products they recommended became fashionable and offered a realistic advantage against foreign competition.

Keywords:

Medical Society of Kraków, Industrial Committee, history of medicine, 19th-century medicine, balneology, history of spas

Abstrakt

Monika Zamachowska

*Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego
(1886–1912)*

Komisja Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Lekarskiego Krakowskiego (1886–1912) powstała w celu ochrony i popierania polskiego przemysłu medycznego. W czasach, gdy państwo polskie nie istniało oficjalnie na mapie świata, działalność Komisji dawała wsparcie polskim producentom i krajowym uzdrowiskom. Główna działalność członków Komisji polegała na ocenie technologii produkcji i analizie składu chemicznego środków spożywczych oraz dodatkowych badaniach klinicznych w przypadku leków. W przypadku uzdrowisk oceniano ich infrastrukturę, rozwiązania techniczne zabiegów zdrojowych, lecznicze właściwości wód i klimatu. Pozytywnie ocenione produkty i uzdrowiska otrzymywały rodzaj certyfikatu i były oficjalnie polecane przez Towarzystwo. Ze względu na skład Komisji obfitujący w światowej sławy naukowców, jednocześnie ludzi należących do elit towarzyskich, modne stawało się korzystanie z produktów przez nich poleconych. To stwarzało realną możliwość walki z zagraniczną konkurencją.

Słowa kluczowe:

Towarzystwo Lekarskie Krakowskie, Komisja Przemysłowa, historia medycyny, medycyna XIX wiek, balneologia, historia uzdrowisk

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Archive of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków

Activity of Father Władysław Chotkowski (1843–1926) in the Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences

The article endeavours to present the links between Fr Władysław Chotkowski and the Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU).¹ The research method applied is source analysis, and Fr Chotkowski's activity in the Academy is discussed chronologically. The article uses archival materials from the files of the chancellery of the Academy of Arts and Sciences stored in the Archive of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) and the Academy of Arts and Sciences. These include the Letters of the Secretary General of the Academy of Arts and Sciences from 1901, 1905, 1908–10, 1914, 1916, 1919; Minutes

- 1 The Academy of Arts and Sciences is a scientific institution established in 1872 in the wake of reorganisation of the Kraków Learned Society that had operated since 1815. After the First World War, it was renamed the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU).

of meetings of the Faculty of History and Philosophy (II) of the Academy of Arts and Sciences from 1899, 1902–03, 1905, 1909, 1916–17, 1926, as well as the Minutes of the meetings of the Historical Commission from 1883, 1885, 1889, 1900; Minutes of the meetings of the Commission for the History of Polish Literature from 1900–01, and Minutes of the General Assembly of the Academy of Arts and Sciences from 1908. The archival material is complemented by the *Sprawozdania Sekretarza Generalnego z czynności Akademii* [literally: Reports of the Secretary General on the activities of the Academy] published in the “Rocznik Akademii Umiejętności” Yearbook from 1899/1900, 1902/03, 1903/04, 1904/05, 1905/06, 1907/08, 1909/10 and 1916/17, and Fr Władysław Chotkowski’s works published in the “Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności” [literally: Reports on Activities and Meetings of the Academy of Arts and Sciences], “Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny” [literally: Proceedings of the Academy of Arts and Sciences. Faculty of History and Philosophy], and the “Międzynarodowy Biuletyn Akademii Umiejętności” [literally: International Bulletin of the Academy of Arts and Sciences].

Władysław Longin Chotkowski, a church historian, preacher, professor at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, and social and political activist, was born on 15 March 1843, in Mielżyn near Gniezno. His parents were Franciszka nee Zientkiewicz and Józef Ostoja-Chotkowski, a landowner. Władysław Chotkowski attended the secondary school in Trzemeszno and St Mary Magdalene’s Secondary School in Poznań, which he completed in 1864. He pursued theological and philosophical studies at theology seminaries in Poznań and Gniezno, and the University of Muenster, where, in 1869, he obtained a baccalaureate in theology for a thesis entitled “Rerum gestarum ecclesiae Ruthenae pars prima”. He was also conferred a doctorate in theology by the same university in 1882. In 1870, he returned to Poznań, where he became a curate of the Parish Church of St Martin and prefect of the primary school in Bydgoszcz. Two years later, he was made director of the student lodge founded by Bishop Andrzej Szoldrski. *Kulturkampf* had him expelled from Poznań for his pastoral and patriotic activities. In 1882, he took up the Chair of Church History at the Faculty of Theology of the Jagiellonian University. A canon of the Kraków Cathedral Chapter, a Kraków city councillor, a deputy to the Imperial Council in Vienna, and rector of Jagiellonian University in the academic year 1891/92, he became famous as an outstanding preacher addressing from his pulpit not only religious but primarily national and social issues. He delivered eulogies at the funerals of eminent Poles and

notable Kraków figures. His scientific interest focused on the relations of the Roman Catholic Church in Galicia and the Lutheran Reformation. He was a member of the Poznań Society of Friends of Science and an honorary member of the Scientific Society in Toruń.²

Since 1883, Fr Władysław Chotkowski was associated with the Academy of Arts and Sciences. On 16 November 1883, attending a meeting of the Historical Commission of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Arts and Sciences as a guest, he was elected its member.³ In December 1900, he was nominated to, and in March 1901, elected as a member of the Commission for the History of Polish Literature of the Faculty of Philology of the Academy of Arts and Sciences.⁴ An indefatigable researcher, he participated in the meetings of the Faculty of History and Philosophy, where he reported on the results of his research and academic work. In 1899, at a faculty meeting, Fr Chotkowski “made a contribution to the post-Partitions history”⁵ with a presentation entitled *Z archiwum Ministerstwa Wyznań i Oświaty w Wiedniu do dziejów klasztorów w Galicji* [literally: From the Archives of the Ministry of Religion

- 2 T. Glemma, *Władysław Longin Chotkowski (1843–1926)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 3, Kraków 1937, pp. 430–432; J. Grześkowiak, K. Lutyński, *Władysław Chotkowski*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 3, ed. by R. Łukaszyk, L. Bienkowski, F. Gryglewicz, Lublin 1985, pp. 262–263.
- 3 Archive of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków [hereafter: Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU], call sign PAU W II–20, Protokół posiedzenia Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 16 XI 1883 r., manuscript, f. 67; *Skład Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie (w styczniu 1884 r.)*, “Rocznik Zarządu Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 1883, p. 44.
- 4 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W I–193, Protokół posiedzenia Komisji Historii Literatury Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 15 XII 1900 r., manuscript, f. 35v; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W I–193, Protokół posiedzenia Komisji Historii Literatury Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 23 III 1901 r., manuscript, f. 36v; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 605/1901, Pismo K.M. Górskiego z dnia 27 III 1901 r. do Kazimierza Morawskiego, manuscript, n.p.; *Skład Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie (w lipcu 1901 r.)*, “Rocznik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 1900/01, p. 34.
- 5 *Sprawozdanie sekretarza generalnego z czynności Akademii od maja 1899 r. do maja 1900 r.*, “Rocznik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 1899/1900, p. 75.

and Education in Vienna to the history of monasteries in Galicia).⁶ In a meeting in May 1902, he presented a paper entitled *Powrót jezuitów do Galicji i ich zniesienie (1820–1848)* [literally: The return of the Jesuits to Galicia and their dissolution (1820–48)].⁷ On 13 July of the following year, he presented a summary of a dissertation dedicated to *Historia polityczna klasztorów w Galicji za panowania Maryi Teresy* [literally: The political history of monasteries in Galicia during the reign of Maria Theresa].⁸ Participants in its discussion included, besides the speaker, the present lawyers: Bolesław Ulanowski (1860–1919)⁹ and Józef Milewski (1859–1916),¹⁰

- 6 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II-3, Protokół posiedzenia Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 20 XI 1899 r., manuscript, f. 71. See also: W. Chotkowski, *Ze studiów w archiwum Ministerstwa Wyznań i Oświaty w Wiedniu do historii klasztorów w Galicji*, “Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 4 (1899) no. 9, pp. 6–9.
- 7 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II-3, Zawiadomienie o posiedzeniu Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności dnia 20 V 1902 r., manuscript, print, f. 175; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II-3, Protokół posiedzenia Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 20 V 1902 r., manuscript, f. 176; *Sprawozdanie sekretarza generalnego z czynności Akademii od kwietnia 1902 do kwietnia 1903 r.*, “Rocznik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 1902/03, p. 99. See also: W. Chotkowski, *Powrót i zniesienie jezuitów w Galicji (1820–1848)*, “Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 7 (1902) no. 5, pp. 9–10; W. Chotkowski, *Powrót i powtórne zniesienie jezuitów w Galicji (1820–1848)*, Warszawa 1904.
- 8 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II-3, Zawiadomienie z dnia 8 VII 1903 r. o posiedzeniu Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności dnia 13 VII 1903 r., manuscript, print, f. 220; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II-3, Protokół posiedzenia Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 13 VII 1903 r., manuscript, f. 221; *Sprawozdanie sekretarza generalnego z czynności Akademii od kwietnia 1903 r. do kwietnia 1904*, “Rocznik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 1903/04, p. 86.
- 9 An active member of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Arts and Sciences since 1893, secretary of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1898–1919, Secretary General of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1903–19. See: W. Uruszczak, *Bolesław Ulanowski (1860–1919)*, in: *Złota Księga Wydziału Prawa i Administracji*, ed. by J. Stelmach, W. Uruszczak, Kraków 2000, pp. 195–201.
- 10 A corresponding member of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Arts and Sciences since 1895.

historians: Bronisław Dembiński (1858–1939)¹¹ and Stanisław Ptaszycki (1853–1933)¹², and the rapporteur. In a letter of 8 January 1905 addressed to Bolesław Ulanowski, Fr Chotkowski expressed his wish to present a lecture on his book entitled *Historia polityczna dawnych klasztorów panieńskich w Galicji (1773–1848)* [literally: The political history of former convents in Galicia (1773–1848)], and requested a subsidy for printing it.¹³ At the meeting of the Faculty of History and Philosophy held on 20 February 1905, he discussed his work based “on highly extensive and yet unexploited archival material”,¹⁴ and the faculty decided to grant a subsidy for its publication from the Foundation of the late Gabriel Krasiński.¹⁵ On the same day, Fr Chotkowski addressed the Board of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in writing, again requesting financial support for the publication. “I shall not find a publisher for it, as none can count on a broad circle of readers and recipients. I must publish it at my own expense, and since it not only costs much but also is unsightly to look at, I dare ask kindly: would the Most Esteemed Board consider a fund from which it could grant me a subsidy for printing this work?”¹⁶ In March 1905, Fr Chotkowski submitted his publication to be printed by the Jagiellonian University Press. It was published “with a grant” from the Faculty

11 A corresponding member of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Arts and Sciences since 1899, a full active member of the faculty since 1917.

12 A foreign corresponding member of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Arts and Sciences since 1903, a full active domestic member of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Arts and Sciences since 1931.

13 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 29/1905, Pismo Władysława Chotkowskiego z dnia 8 I 1905 r. do Bolesława Ulanowskiego, manuscript, n.p.

14 *Sprawozdanie sekretarza generalnego z czynności Akademii od kwietnia 1904 do kwietnia 1905*, “Rocznik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 1904/05, pp. 91–92. See also: W. Chotkowski, *Historia polityczna dawnych klasztorów panieńskich w Galicji (1773–1848)*, “Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 10 (1905) no. 2, pp. 12–17.

15 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II–3, Zawiadomienie z dnia 15 II 1905 r. o posiedzeniu Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności dnia 20 II 1903 r., manuscript, print, f. 273; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II–3, Protokół posiedzenia Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 20 II 1905 r., manuscript, f. 274.

16 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 131/1905, Pismo Władysława Chotkowskiego z dnia 20 II 1905 r. do Zarządu Akademii Umiejętności, manuscript, n.p.

of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Arts and Sciences by the Gebethner and Co. Publishing House.¹⁷ Early in 1906, the author received a subsidy of 800 crowns. Entitled *Historia polityczna dawnych klasztorów panieńskich w Galicji (1773–1848)* (literally: “The political history of former convents in Galicia (1773–1848)”, the book was considered in the competition for the Probus Barczewski (1833–84)¹⁸ Foundation Prize for the year 1905, but failed to win it. “The work of Prelate Chotkowski [...] is the fruit of meticulous and painstaking archival research. This book is beyond doubt a published part and at the same time a prelude to the complete history of the Catholic Church in Galicia under Austrian rule.”¹⁹

Fr Chotkowski was proposed as a candidate for a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences at the meeting of the Faculty of History and Philosophy on 29 November 1907. On 15 May 1908, the General Assembly of the Academy of Arts and Sciences elected Fr Chotkowski with 21 votes as a corresponding member of the Faculty of History and Philosophy.²⁰

- 17 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 131/1905, Pismo Władysława Chotkowskiego z dnia 28 II 1905 r. do Bolesława Ulanowskiego, manuscript, n.p.; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 131/1905, Pismo Władysława Chotkowskiego z dnia 3 III 1905 r. do Bolesława Ulanowskiego, manuscript, n.p. See: W. Chotkowski, *Historia polityczna dawnych klasztorów panieńskich w Galicji (1773–1848) na podstawie akt cesarskiej kancelarii nadwornej. Z zasiłkiem Akademii Umiejętności*, Kraków 1905.
- 18 Probus Barczewski (1833–85), a landowner and philanthropist. In his will, he bequeathed to the Academy of Arts and Sciences an endowment fund of 50,000 zlotys in Austrian currency for a prize for the best treatise on Polish history written by a Polish Catholic in Polish, and for a prize for the most beautiful painting made by a Polish artist. See: S. Mikucki, *Probus Piotr Włodzimierz Barczewski (1833–1884)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 1, Kraków 1935, p. 301; *Zapisy i dary*, “Rocznik Zarządu Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 1884, pp. 12–15; J. Dużyk, *Z dziejów nagrody im. Probuse Barczewskiego*, “Rocznik Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie” 18 (1972), pp. 149–197.
- 19 *Sprawozdanie i wnioski w przedmiocie nagród fundacji śp. Barczewskiego*, “Rocznik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 1905/06, pp. 129–130.
- 20 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II–4, Protokół posiedzenia Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 29 XI 1909 r., manuscript, f. 40; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU I–3, Protokół Walnego Zgromadzenia Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 15 V 1908 r., manuscript, f. 64; *Sprawozdanie sekretarza generalnego z czynności Akademii od kwietnia 1907 do kwietnia 1908*, “Rocznik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 1907/08, p. 122; *Skład Akademii*

At the request of Bolesław Ulanowski, the newly elected corresponding member provided biographical data, which the Academy published in its yearbook.²¹ Fr Chotkowski reviewed and evaluated scientific works submitted to the Academy of Arts and Sciences for qualification to be published by the Academy. In 1908, on behalf of the Faculty of History and Philosophy, Bolesław Ulanowski approached Fr Chotkowski to request an opinion on the works of fathers Adolf Pleszczyński (1841–1925), a church historian and ethnographer, and esteemed parish priest of Międzyrzec Podlaski, and Szczepan Szydelski (1872–1967), a pastor, scholar, and social and political activist.²² Fr Chotkowski considered Father Pleszczyński’s work entitled *Opis historyczno-statystyczny parafii międzyrzeckiej* [literally: Historical and statistical description of the Międzyrzec Parish] a valuable monographic work worthy of publication by the Academy. “The book is the output of long, painstaking, and arduous research. [...] It contributes a plethora of dates to the knowledge of the area, people, customs, and social economy. It is not inferior to other works of the kind [...]. Therefore, I believe it deserves publication at the expense of the Academy as a separate book.”²³ On 30 April 1909, Bolesław Ulanowski informed Adolf Pleszczyński that, at its working meeting on 3 April 1909, the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Academy decided that his work “*Opis historyczno-statystyczny parafii międzyrzeckiej od najdawniejszych czasów po rok 1890* is not suitable for inclusion in the Academy’s publications”.²⁴ It was only published

Umiejętności w Krakowie (w lipcu 1908 r.), “Rocznik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 1907/08, p. 32. See: *Poczet członków Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w latach 1872–2000*, ed. by R. Majkowska, Kraków 2006, p. 33.

- 21 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU I-15k, Akta członków Akademii Umiejętności: Władysław Chotkowski, Pismo Bolesława Ulanowskiego z dnia 20 V 1908 r. do Władysława Chotkowskiego, typescript, n.p.
- 22 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 556/1908, Pismo Bolesław Ulanowskiego z dnia 15 października 1908 r. do Władysława Chotkowskiego, typescript, n.p. W. Bieńkowski, *Adolf Pleszczyński (1841–1925)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 26/1, issue 108, Wrocław 1981, pp. 722–723; J. Wołczański, *Szczepan Szydelski (1872–1967)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 49/1, issue 200, Warszawa 2013, pp. 536–541.
- 23 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 556/1908, Pismo Władysława Chotkowskiego z dnia 12 II 1909 r. do Bolesława Ulanowskiego, manuscript, n.p.
- 24 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 290/1909, Pismo Bolesława Ulanowskiego z dnia 30 IV 1909 r. do Adolfa Pleszczyńskiego, typescript, n.p. See also:

in 1911 by the Polskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze [Polish Society for Tourism].²⁵ Chotkowski presented several constructive remarks regarding the introduction and discussion of the sources the author used, writing in his review of Szczepan Szydelski's work entitled *Konstanty Zieliński arcybiskup lwowski* [literally: Konstanty Zieliński, Archbishop of Lviv], that the biography "deserves to be published by the Academy. Yet first, the author should necessarily write an introduction and discuss his sources, as he starts *in medias res*, that is from the appointment of the archbishop, and cites sources that are absolutely foreign and incomprehensible to the reader, because only later does he explain where they come from? The work would also benefit formally, should the author apply his *ultima manu* to the work. He is young, therefore he does not need to rush so vehemently."²⁶ Pursuant to the opinion, Fr Szydelski amended the dissertation, and it was published by the Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1910 thanks to the support from the Foundation of the late Gabriel Krasiński.²⁷

The output of the following years of scientific research conducted by Fr Chotkowski was his greatest work on the history of the Church in the Austrian Partition during the reign of Empress Maria Theresa (1717–80).

Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II-4, Protokół posiedzenia Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 3 IV 1909 r., manuscript, f. 110v. At the request of the author, the manuscript of the work was sent by the Faculty of History and Philosophy to Fr Władysław Knapiński (1838–1910) Rector of the Jagiellonian University. See: Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 290/1909, Pismo Adolfa Pleszczyńskiego z dnia 4 V 1909 r. do Bolesława Ulanowskiego, manuscript, n.p.; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 290/1909, Pismo Bolesława Ulanowskiego z dnia 6 V 1909 r. do Władysława Knapińskiego, manuscript, n.p.

- 25 A. Pleszczyński, *Opis Historyczno-statystyczny parafii międzyrzeckiej*, Warszawa 1911.
- 26 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 556/1908, Pismo Władysława Chotkowskiego z dnia 12 II 1909 r. do Bolesława Ulanowskiego, manuscript, n.p.
- 27 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 535/1908, Pismo Szczepana Szydelskiego z dnia 3 X 1908 r. do Bolesława Ulanowskiego, manuscript, n.p.; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 535/1908, Pismo Bolesława Ulanowskiego z dnia 17 II 1909 r. do Szczepana Szydelskiego, manuscript, n.p.; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 556/1908, Pismo Stefana Szydelskiego z dnia 6 III 1909 r. do Bolesława Ulanowskiego, manuscript, n.p.; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II-4, Protokół posiedzenia Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 3 IV 1909 r., manuscript, f. 110. See also: S. Szydelski, *Konstanty Zieliński arcybiskup lwowski*, Kraków 1910.

On 2 December 1908, he approached the Academy of Arts and Sciences requesting assistance in publishing his carefully prepared study. “The undersigned is just finishing the work entitled *Historia polityczna Kościoła w Galicji za rządów Maryi Teresy*, [literally: Political history of the Church in Galicia during the reign of Maria Theresa]. It comprises 900–1000 printed pages and has to be divided into two volumes. For my last work *Historia dawnych klasztorów panińskich w Galicji*, [literally: The history of former convents in Galicia], which had 931 printed pages, I received a subsidy of 800 crowns, for which I express my kindest gratitude to the Most Esteemed Board, yet I still had to contribute 950 crowns from my own pocket. Could I now ask to find a fund that would fully cover the printing costs, or at least a major part of those, as I have travelled and applied myself diligently to this work for several years, so putting the printing costs on top of those would not be among my great pleasures.”²⁸ During the meeting of the Faculty of History and Philosophy held on 18 January 1909, Fr Chotkowski presented briefly his work, and the discussion was joined by historian of canon law Władysław Abraham (1860–1941)²⁹ and the rapporteur.³⁰ The authorities of the Academy of Arts and Sciences positively responded to the church historian’s request and financed the printing of his work in two volumes, which was published in 1909.³¹ The publication was well received by the academic community, and numerous reviews appeared in journals. Literary historian and President of the Academy of Arts and Sciences Stanisław

28 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 655/1908, Pismo Władysława Chotkowskiego z dnia 2 XII 1908 r. do Zarządu Akademii Umiejętności, manuscript, n.p.

29 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 667/1908, Zgłoszenie odczytu Władysława Chotkowskiego z dnia 9 XII 1908 r., manuscript, n.p.; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II-4, Zawiadomienie z dnia 12 I 1909 r. o posiedzeniu Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności dnia 18 I 1909 r., manuscript, print, f. 91; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II-4, Protokół posiedzenia Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 18 I 1909 r., manuscript, f. 92. See also: W. Chotkowski, *Historia polityczna Kościoła w Galicji za rządów Maryi Teresy*, “Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 14 (1909) no. 1, pp. 8–13.

30 A corresponding member of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Arts and Sciences since 1892, a full active member of the faculty since 1901.

31 W. Chotkowski, *Historia polityczna Kościoła w Galicji za rządów Maryi Teresy*, vols 1–2, Kraków 1909; U. Perkowska, *Ksiądz profesor Władysław Chotkowski (1843–1926) historyk Kościoła, działacz społeczny i kaznodzieja*, Lwów–Kraków 2016, pp. 188–192.

Tarnowski (1837–1917)³² wrote in “Przegląd Polski”: “Not only is the work first in the field, not only is it very much needed, not only is it strictly scholarly and facts-based using official documents, but it also brims with new information, it is a great contribution to history, and immensely interesting for the discerning reader. The painted image of church relations in the Polish lands under Austrian rule, of very complicated relations, yet perfectly clearly unravelled and presented: a complete image, covering all sections and parts of church affairs and laws, in an orderly transparent arrangement. [...] While reading, one is oft consumed by indignation, yet often does one also learn and draw conclusions as to how the payback for such behaviour of the state towards the Church sooner or later comes back on the state as a bitter pill. We conclude as we began, with the most sincere and fervent wish that the venerable author could fulfil what he intends to and, as he declared in his foreword, continue the work he had begun and continue the history of the Church in Galicia as far as possible *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, for the education and benefit of Polish society.”³³ The General Assembly of the members of the Academy of Arts and Sciences appreciated Fr Chotkowski’s monograph, awarding him the Probus Barczewski Foundation Prize for 1910 in the amount of 2250 crowns.³⁴ “An exhaustive work based on many years of archival research, encompassing a plethora of historical facts unearthed for the first time. [...] Not just the size matters. Far more important is the fact that the author undertook to investigate a completely new subject yet of profound significance. For this is a subject equally interesting for the history of the Church in general, as well as for the history of the Church in Poland and Austria. With respect to the Church’s relationship to the state, the reigns of Maria Theresa and Joseph II constitute a fully autonomous era, in which enlightened absolutism experienced its greatest triumphs. Applied to Poland, a country only recently annexed into the Habsburg empire in the wake of its partitioning, this system provided the greater reflection, the fewer were the moments attuned to the Austrian statehood in the Polish practice. Studying for many

32 A full active member of the Faculty of Philology of the Academy of Arts and Sciences since 1873, secretary of the Faculty of Philology of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1878–82, Secretary General of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1883–18, President of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1890–1917.

33 S. Tarnowski, *Kronika literacka*, “Przegląd Polski” 175 (1910), pp. 369, 376.

34 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 414/1910, Pismo Bolesława Ulanowskiego z dnia 25 V 1910 r. do Władysława Chotkowskiego, typescript, n.p.

years the plentiful archival materials gathered in Vienna and Rome, the author always works on the subject first-hand. And even if many more sources (e.g. in the governmental archives of Lviv) could have been exploited, what Prelate Chotkowski took into account and processed is of such a great value and encompasses such a lavish array of detail that the historical image he has painted will remain valuable even should subsequent monographic works provide supplements or corrections in some points.”³⁵

Besides the monographic work on the history of the Church in the Austrian Partition during the reign of Maria Theresa, Fr Chotkowski prepared another publication in two volumes, based on sources from the Viennese archives and entitled *Dzieje klasztorów i monasterów galicyjskich w czasach rozbiorowych* [literally: The history of monasteries and convents in Galicia during the time of Partitions]: Volume I: on orders completely dissolved, Volume II on orders decimated. During the meeting of the Faculty of History and Philosophy held on 5 June 1916, he read a summary of the first volume of the work.³⁶ He then repeatedly approached the Board of the Academy of Arts and Sciences soliciting the publication of his work, but for five years he encountered difficulties. “As yet, the author’s requests to have this work printed by the Academy have failed as HE the Secretary General maintained that the history of monastic orders and

35 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 388/1910, *Sprawozdania i wnioski co do nagród z fundacji śp. Probusa Barczewskiego*, manuscript, n.p.; *Sprawozdania i wnioski co do nagród z fundacji śp. Probusa Barczewskiego*, “Rocznik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 1909/10, pp. 153–154, 155–156.

36 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 161/1916, Pismo Władysława Chotkowskiego z dnia 22 III 1916 r. do Bolesława Ulanowskiego, manuscript, n.p.; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 161/1916, Pismo Bolesława Ulanowskiego z dnia 25 III 1916 r. do Władysława Chotkowskiego, typescript, n.p.; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II-5, Zawiadomienie z dnia 30 V 1916 r. o posiedzeniu Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności dnia 5 VI 1916 r., manuscript, print, f. 103; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II-5, Protokół posiedzenia Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 5 VI 1916 r., manuscript, f. 104; *Sprawozdanie sekretarza generalnego z czynności Akademii od kwietnia 1916 do kwietnia 1917 r.*, “Rocznik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 1916/17, p. 27. See also: W. Chotkowski, *Dzieje klasztorów i monasterów galicyjskich w czasach rozbiorowych. Część I. Zakony doszczętnie zniesione*, “Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 21 (1916) no. 6, pp. 26–40.

monasteries is of no concern to anyone. The author read a summary of the first volume at a meeting of the Faculty of History and Philosophy in 1916 [...] and he never read the summary of the second volume, because HE the Secretary General did not even deign to make an appointment. Other than the fact that the monasteries of Galicia, particularly eastern, were the mainstays of the Polish national element against the influx of the Ruthenian one, and that their demise was our national disaster as the Polish people were forced to attend church services in Orthodox churches and converted to Ruthenian rites, it has now appeared that the lost monastic estates, the stolen church treasures, archives, and libraries are of profound concern for our society, especially the Reparations Commission for the Former Austrian Partition.”³⁷ Replying to the above, Bolesław Ulanowski notified the author that the question of printing “due to current incredible difficulties with paper as well as due to the printers’ strike announced for July this year, cannot currently be resolved.”³⁸ The Secretary General, however, suggested that Fr Chotkowski presented a summary at a meeting of the Faculty of History and Philosophy in June, “yet only within the maximum limit of two printed pages”.³⁹ Bolesław Ulanowski’s reply outraged the prelate, who answered: “Instead the answer from the Board, I received your response, sir, obviously negative, even if now for a different reason, i.e. the lack of paper and the threats of a strike [NB: used twice in original English spelling – translator’s note]. I am very delighted that HE the Secretary changed his original mind and at least in general terms recognises the need to have my work published. Perhaps, after the strike, such need will be expedited by a demand from the Reparations Commission. I also kindly thank you for allowing me to read a summary of the second volume of my work at the June meeting of the Faculty, yet I cannot benefit of it due to the limitation of the size to ‘the maximum limit of two printed pages’, as I would not be able to offer a sense of the gist of my work summarising in such a manner the 273

37 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 274/1919, Pismo Władysława Chotkowskiego z dnia 2 VI 1919 r. do Zarządu Akademii Umiejętności, manuscript, n.p.

38 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 274/1919, Pismo Bolesława Ulanowskiego z dnia 5 VI 1919 r. do Władysława Chotkowskiego, typescript, n.p.

39 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 274/1919, Pismo Bolesława Ulanowskiego z dnia 5 VI 1919 r. do Władysława Chotkowskiego, typescript, n.p.

folio pages of compact handwriting.”⁴⁰ Fr Władysław Chotkowski's efforts to have the book published by the Academy of Arts and Sciences brought no expected result. The economic turmoil in the reborn Polish state and the waning strength of the now frail reverend professor meant made the outcome of his tenacious effort remain in manuscript.⁴¹

At the meeting of the Faculty of History and Philosophy on 10 December 1917, Fr Władysław Chotkowski presented his work on the havoc unleashed on the church in Kraków by Prince Michał Jerzy Poniąkowski Primate of Poland, and on 15 May 1920, he briefly presented his work

40 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 274/1919, Pismo Władysława Chotkowskiego z dnia 10 VI 1919 r. do Bolesława Ulanowskiego, manuscript, n.p.

41 U. Perkowska, *Książdz profesor Władysław Chotkowski...*, p. 193. The manuscript of Fr Władysław Chotkowski's work is part of the collection of the Scientific Library PAU and PAN in Kraków, to whom it was entrusted by the Historical Commission of the Academy of Arts and Sciences. Biblioteka Naukowa PAU i PAN, Dział Zbiorów Specjalnych, call sign Rkps 2405, W. Chotkowski, "Pogrom zakonów w Galicji (Dzieje klasztorów męskich galicyjskich 1780–1848), vol. 1: "Zakony doszczętnie zniesione"; vol. 2: "Zakony zdziesiątkowane. Zniesione klasztory". See also: *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie. Sygnatury 2299–2630*, ed. by Z. Jabłoński, A. Preissner, B. Schnaydrowa, Wrocław 1967, p. 87. At the meeting of the Faculty of History and Philosophy held on 18 October 1926, Fryderyk Papée (1856–1940), an active member of the faculty, presented the second volume of the late Władysław Chotkowski's work on the decimated orders. Following the motion from the rapporteur Fryderyk Papée, a decision not to print Fer Chotkowski's work but only to include its summary in the Sprawozdania i Biuletyn Akademii (Reports and Bulletin of the Academy) was reached. See: Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II–8, Zawiadomienie z dnia 12 X 1926 r. o posiedzeniu Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności dnia 18 X 1926 r., manuscript, print, f. 242; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II–8, Protokół posiedzenia Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 18 X 1926 r., manuscript, f. 246; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II–8, Protokół posiedzenia Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 18 X 1926 r., manuscript, f. 246; W. Chotkowski, *Dzieje klasztorów i monasterów galicyjskich (1780–1848)*, "Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności" 31 (1926) no. 8, pp. 9–17; W. Chotkowski, *Dzieje klasztorów i monasterów galicyjskich od 1780–1848 r. Praca oparta na aktach archiwów państwowych wiedeńskich (L'histoire des couvents et des monasteres grecs–unis en Galicie entre 1780 et 1848. Une étude d'après des recherches aux Archives de l'Etat à Vienne)*, "Bulletin International de l'Académie des Sciences de Cracovie" (1926) no. 1–10 (Janvier–Décembre), p. 10–27.

on the state of the Basilian Orders during the reign of Maria Theresa.⁴² The Academy of Arts and Sciences published these two works on the history of the Church in Galicia as part of the proceedings of the Faculty of History and Philosophy.⁴³ Another valuable source publication that Fr Chotkowski prepared for printing was the diary of the Jesuit monastery in Kraków penned by a historian and Jesuit Fr Jan Wielewicki (1566–1639).⁴⁴ The first volume of the diary covering the years 1579–99 was published by Józef Szujski in 1881, after whose death, the Academy of Arts and Sciences entrusted the publication of the subsequent volumes to Fr Chotkowski.⁴⁵ At a meeting of the Historical Commission of the Academy held in March 1885, the prelate declared that he would undertake the entrusted publication, yet limiting the critical scientific apparatus.⁴⁶ The second volume of the diary covering the years 1600–08, was published in 1886, the third (1609–1619) was announced by Fr Chotkowski in 1889, and the

42 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II–5, Zawiadomienie z dnia 4 XII 1917 r. o posiedzeniu Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności dnia 10 XII 1917 r., manuscript, print, f. 155; Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II–5, Protokół posiedzenia Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 10 XII 1917 r., manuscript, f. 156. See also: W. Chotkowski, *Ks. Prymasa M. J. Poniatowskiego spustoszenia kościelne w Krakowie. Przyczynek do dziejów Uniwersytetu*, “Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 22 (1917) no. 10, pp. 7–15; W. Chotkowski, *Redukcje monasterów bazylikańskich w Galicji*, “Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności” 25 (1920) no. 3, pp. 9–15.

43 W. Chotkowski, *Księcia Prymasa Poniatowskiego spustoszenia kościelne w Krakowie. Przyczynek do dziejów Uniwersytetu*, “Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny” 36 (1918), pp. 87–231; W. Chotkowski, *Redukcje monasterów bazylikańskich w Galicji*, Kraków 1922 (Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny, 38).

44 J. Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego oo. jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie od r. 1579 do r. 1599 (włącznie)*, vol. 1, Kraków 1881.

45 Józef Szujski (1835–83), historian, an active member of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Arts and Sciences since 1872, secretary of the faculty in 1872–76, Secretary General of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1872–83. Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II–20, Protokół posiedzenia Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 4 XII 1883 r., manuscript, f. 75v.

46 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II–20, Protokół posiedzenia Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 24 III 1885 r., manuscript, f. 89v.

fourth volume covering the years 1620–29 was released ten years later.⁴⁷ The Academy remunerated Fr Chotkowski’s editorial work at “6 florins per print sheet and reimbursed the costs of copying at 3 florins per print sheet [...] as well as the costs of compiling the index”.⁴⁸ The publication of the fourth volume did not conclude the editorial work on Fr Jan Wielewiczki’s diary as its last part, covering the years 1630–39, still remained unpublished. Fr Władysław Chotkowski undertook to rectify that, and consequently, on the motion of Wincenty Zakrzewski (1844–1918),⁴⁹ a fee of “8 zlotys per text sheet, and 15 zlotys per index sheet” for editorial works was announced at the meeting of the Historical Commission held on 6 February 1900.⁵⁰ However, for unknown reasons, the fifth and final volume of Fr Chotkowski’s diary remained unpublished. It was only in 1999 that the volume, now edited by reverend Professor Ludwik Grzebień (1939–2020), appeared in print.⁵¹

Let the tribute to Fr Władysław Chotkowski’s activity at the Academy of Arts and Sciences be the words of the eulogy Professor Jan Łoś (1860–1928)⁵² delivered at the funeral of the distinguished Church historian: “Through my mouth, the Jagiellonian University and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences bid farewell to their long-standing and deserving

- 47 J. Wielewiczki, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego oo. jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie od r. 1600 do r. 1608 (włącznie)*, vol. 2, Kraków 1886; J. Wielewiczki, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego oo. jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie od r. 1609 do r. 1619 (włącznie)*, vol. 3, Kraków 1889; J. Wielewiczki, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego oo. jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie od r. 1620 do r. 1629 (włącznie)*, vol. 4, Kraków 1899. See also: Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU KSG 190/1914, Pismo Bolesława Ulanowskiego z dnia 24 II 1914 r. do Władysława Chotkowskiego, typescript, n.p.
- 48 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II–20, Protokół posiedzenia Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 5 VII 1889 r., manuscript, f. 141v.
- 49 A corresponding member of the Faculty of History and Philosophy since 1881, an active full member of the faculty since 1884, director of the Faculty of History and Philosophy in 1917–18.
- 50 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, call sign PAU W II–20, Protokół posiedzenia Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności z dnia 6 II 1900 r., manuscript, f. 215.
- 51 J. Wielewiczki, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego oo. jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie 1630–1639*, vol. 5, publ. by L. Grzebień, Kraków 1999.
- 52 A corresponding member of the Faculty of Philology since 1906, an active full member of the faculty since 1917, secretary of the Faculty of Philology in 1922–23, acting director of the faculty in 1927–28.

member, the late Fr Canon Władysław Chotkowski. The 84 years of active life, 59 years of priesthood, and 45 years of fruitful academic work — these numbers speak for themselves. The late Władysław Chotkowski [...] developed a stalwart character, consolidated his energy to further actively his ideals, and combined the pursuits of academic work with the needs of the actual contemporary life and its current interests in general. [...] As far as Church history, and especially the history of the Church in Poland, goes, he specialised mainly in three areas: the history of the Reformation and its expansion in Polish lands, the history of monastic orders and their dissolution during the period of enlightened absolutism [...]

God blessed his work and gave him a happy life. He also allowed him to choose a profession that suited his nature, talents, interests, and true calling. He allowed him to work in this profession in favourable circumstances and for many years. He allowed him to extend his activities to various areas of thought and life. However, above all, he allowed him to witness the restoration of Fatherland and thus to die a free citizen of his own sovereign state, in which the rights of the Church are guaranteed by the constitution, and the tragedy of the union has forever been averted. [...] He was bestowed with high ecclesiastical and university honours, while, in recognition of his academic merit, the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences counted him among its members. His fellow Poles honoured him with their trust, electing him their representative in legislative bodies and self-governments. [...] Władysław Chotkowski was like the faithful servant known from the Gospel, who did not squander or bury the talents given to him by the Lord but wisely, honestly, and laboriously used them to multiply and, thus multiplied, return them to his Lord.⁵³

The activity of Władysław Chotkowski at the Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences was beneficial both for the scholar and for the Academy. As an expert on the history of the Church in Galicia, he participated in the sessions of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Academy, presenting the results of his scholarly research, while the Academy, by subsidising and publishing his works, enriched its printed collections in the field of historiography of the Church in the 18th and 19th centuries.

53 J. Łoś, *Śp. ks. dr prof. Władysław Chotkowski*, "Dzwon Niedzielny" (1926) no. 30, p. 7.

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Abstract

Bernadeta Wilk

*Activity of Father Władysław Chotkowski (1843–1926)
in the Academy of Arts and Sciences
and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences*

Władysław Chotkowski (1843–1926), a Catholic priest and patriotic activist, lectured on Church history at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. The excellent preacher who addressed national and social issues from the pulpit, he delivered eulogies at the funerals of eminent Poles and notable Kraków figures. The article presents the relationship of Władysław Chotkowski with the Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1883, he was elected a member of the Historical Commission, and in 1901 appointed to the Commission for the History of Polish Literature. Since 1907, he was a corresponding member of the Faculty of History and Philosophy at the Academy of Arts and Sciences. As a researcher of the Church history in Galicia, he participated in the meetings of the faculty, during which he presented the results of his research and scientific work that were published by the Academy of Arts and Sciences as dissertations and monographic works. The text, based on archival materials from the resources of the Archive of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU), fills the knowledge gap in the research on the scientific activity of prelate Władysław Chotkowski in the Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Keywords:

Władysław Chotkowski, Academy of Arts and Sciences, priest, Church's history, corresponding member

Abstrakt

Bernadeta Wilk

*Działalność ojca Władysława Chotkowskiego (1843–1926)
w Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*

Władysław Chotkowski (1843–1926), duchowny katolicki, działacz patriotyczny, wykładał historię Kościoła na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim. Znakomity kaznodzieja poruszający z ambony zagadnienia narodowe i społeczne, wygłaszał mowy żałobne na pogrzebach wybitnych Polaków i znakomitości krakowskich. Artykuł przedstawia związki Władysława Chotkowskiego z Akademią Umiejętności. W 1883 roku został wybrany członkiem Komisji Historycznej, w 1901 roku powołany na członka Komisji Historii Literatury Polskiej. Od 1907 roku członek korespondent Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności. Badacz historii Kościoła w Galicji biorący udział w posiedzeniach Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii, podczas których referował wyniki swoich badań i prac naukowych, a Akademia Umiejętności ogłaszała drukiem jego rozprawy i monografie. Tekst, oparty na materiałach archiwalnych z zasobu Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, wypełnia lukę poznawczą w badaniach nad działalnością naukową prałata Władysława Chotkowskiego w Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności.

Słowa kluczowe:

Władysław Chotkowski, Akademia Umiejętności, ksiądz, historia Kościoła, członek korespondent

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“Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant”¹. Koliyivshchyna: a Polish historiographic reflection and a metaphor of unity

“Więc za łotrów skaranych i bitych zbawienie
Należy się anielskie zmówić pozdrowienie.
Gdy już są osądzeni na ziemi i w niebie,
Zabójcy i zabici widzą wspólnie siebie”.

M. Darowski (lines 783–788)²

Published in 2019, a book by Prof. Tatiana Tairowa-Jakowlewa, *Koliyivshchyna: Great Illusions*, constitutes a very important publication in the scientific discourse concerning this important historical event.³

- 1 Tacitus, *The Life of Titus Cnaeus Agricola*, quote after: J. M. Giżycki, *O bazylianach w Humaniu*, “Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki” 27 (1899), pp. 456.
- 2 Польська поема про уманську різню, подав др. Іван Франко, “Записки Наукового товариства ім. Шевченка” 62 (1904), p. 25. “Thus, for the condemned villains and the beaten’s salvation/ There must be the Angelus prayer recitation. Once they’re judged on earth and in heaven, / The killers and the killed repose together.”
- 3 Т. Г. Таїрова-Яковлева, *Коліївщина: великі ілюзії*, Київ 2019; Т. Г. Таїрова-Яковлева, *Между Речью Посполитой и Россией: Правобережная Украина в эпоху*

The researcher was interested in the history of the Koliyivshchyna participants and also the memory about them.⁴ During the session of the round table, organized by the Russian Academy of Sciences, she pointed out to the need of conducting common Russian-Ukrainian-Polish historical and historiographic research that might analyse the “Haidamak” issue from various national-confessional perspectives.⁵ Prof. Tairova’s initiative became particularly relevant in the face of the Russian aggression against Ukraine. For, when we maintain academic contacts with the anti-Putin circles of Russian researchers, we should be preparing the ground for the future, post-Putin research discourse, where the reflection on the mnemohistorical (and historiographical) heritage of Central and Eastern Europe should be prioritized. This text might constitute a contribution to such contacts and research. It aims to show and analyse a historical (historiographical) metaphor of unity—overlooked in previous Ukrainian, Russian and Polish research reflections—constructing the Polish historiography of Koliyivshchyna and to prove that it was an outcome of mnemohistorical discourse between the researched past and the researchers’ present⁶. In my opinion, the metaphorization of the historical text takes place in the context of the internalization of the epistemological resource (this resource is the ideas/values/norms of culture—the cultural matrix)⁷.

гайдамаков, Санкт-Петербург 2020. There have been many publications on Koliyivshchyna, such as W. W. Sokyrka, T. Srogosz, *The haidamaks and Koliyivshchyna in the Polish and Ukrainian historiography. The Polish-Ukrainian duet*, “Review of Historical Sciences” 16 (2017) no. 3, pp. 7–40.

- 4 T. Г. Таирова-Яковлева. *Участие запорожцев в восстании гайдамаков 1768 г. (Коливищина)*, “Quaestio Rossica” 7 (2019) no. 3, pp. 969–980; T. Г. Таирова-Яковлева. *Коливищина в исторической памяти*, “Диалог со временем” (2019) issue 66, pp. 37–53.
- 5 *Россия и Речь Посполитая накануне разделов*, 10.12.2021, <http://www.spbiiran.nw.ru/kruglyi-stol-tairova-7-12-21/>
- 6 J. Assmann, *Collective Memory and Cultural Identity*, “New German Critique” 65 (1995), p. 130; M. Tamm, *History as Cultural Memory: Mnemohistory and the Construction of the Estonian Nation*, “Journal of Baltic Studies” vol. 39 (2008) issue 4, p. 500.
- 7 See: M. Woźniak, *Metafora jako narzędzie badań historycznych. Kilka uwag na marginesie pracy R. Stobieckiego “Bolszewizm a historia. Próba rekonstrukcji bolszewickiej filozofii dziejów”*, “Historyka” 30 (2000), pp. 89–112.

Unity and bloodshed

The first group of Polish sources is represented by few reports, whose authors witnessed the tragedy (or they came to Uman right after the bloodshed). We know that the very first one was written by Jerofeusz Korczyński, a Basilian monk, who took over the management of a school located next to the monastery in Uman, after Irakli Kostetskyj had passed away. Korczyński (1737–1791) studied at the Roman College of Faith Propagation, as a lawyer he dealt with the issues of a monastery in Warsaw (in 1764), based on the royal fund he organised the construction of a monastery in Warsaw (1769–1772), and afterwards he moved to St. Jura monastery in Lviv, where he became attorney general of the Basilians at the Holy See (1772–1780) and monastery curate general (1786–1788). Certainly, we are most interested in Korczyński's stay in Uman. Having arrived there in 1768, he was forced to organize the monastery in Uman and its school from scratch.⁸ He decided to describe the bloody Uman events, and in order to do that, he began to collect accounts of people who survived the massacre. This description was first placed in the files of the Basilian monastery (probably a few months after the event in question), and later on it was copied (it functioned in the circulation of manuscripts under changed titles and in various editions).⁹ In 1854, it was published as “A Short Description of the Massacre in Uman...”¹⁰ Before the analysis, let us pay attention to the activity of the very Basilians. The order was established after the Union of Brest (1596), by Orthodox monks from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, who acknowledged papal authority.¹¹ Their main task was to spread the Catholic faith in the Orthodox community, so they focused on pastoral, religious, missionary and scientific-research

- 8 Ю. Стецик, *Ченці-педагоги уманських василіанських шкіл (1769–1774 рр.): біографічний огляд*, “Емінак” (2016) no. 2 (1), p. 23.
- 9 See: M. Marcinkowska, *Wydarzenia roku 1768 w Humaniu w świetle rękopisów Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, in: *Архітектурна та культурна спадщина історичних міст країн Центрально-Східної Європи: кол. Монографія*. eds. P. Димчика, I. Кривошеї, Н. Моравця, Умань–Познань–Ченстохова 2016, pp. 204–214.
- 10 *Opis krótki rzezi w mieście Humaniu od czerni ukraińskiej dnia 20 miesiąca czerwca 1768 roku zdziałanej*, in: *Bunt hajdamaków na Ukrainie r. 1768 opisany przez Lippomana i dwóch bezimiennych*, ed. E. Raczyński, Poznań 1854, pp. 121–146.
- 11 See: M. Pidlypczak-Majerowicz, *Bazylianie w Koronie i na Litwie: szkoły i książki w działalności zakonu*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 18–23.

activity.¹² They tried to prove that the act of 1596 did not constitute an individual event, but it rather referred to the Council of Florence or Vladimir's baptism (Hypatius Pociiej, Joakym Morokhovskij, Lev Krevza-Zhevuskyj).¹³ The schism was not heard of at that time, so the prince baptized Ruthenia in Catholic unity, but following the Eastern rite. This unity, cultivated in Ruthenia, was recalled in Brest. However, it was opposed by Orthodox Ruthenians, who were politically supported by Russians. From that moment, the anti-Uniate Orthodox (Dysuniates) became an anti-state side, whereas Orthodox Cossacks were the force threatening the stability of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Meanwhile, Uniates constituted a unifying force, and they brought confessionally and politically a torn statehood together. The unity metaphor constructed in such a way captivated Basilians' cultural memory (it defined the geography of sacred places, the number of mass events, annual pilgrimages, miraculous painting coronation events),¹⁴ and generated their intellectual work (Ignacy Kulczyński, Ignacy Stebelski), made one fear Russian-Orthodox aggression, but also inspired to win “Moscow” over confessionally.¹⁵ However, the priority was to protect this political (Ruthenian-Polish) and confessional (Catholic of two rites) unity.¹⁶ Certain mnemonic changes can be discerned in the period preceding the massacre of Uman. Thanks to the order's reforms (based on Roman Catholic ones), acknowledging

- 12 A. Nowicka-Jeżowa, *Udział bazylianów w kształtowaniu kultury chrześcijańskiej na wschodnich Kresach Rzeczypospolitej*, “Warszawskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze” 4–5 (1997), pp. 240–251; M. Radwan, *Bazylianie w zaborze rosyjskim w latach 1795–1839*, “Nasza Przeszłość” 93 (2000), pp. 153–225.
- 13 See: В. Шевченко, *Православно-католицька полеміка та проблеми унійності в житті Русь-України доберестейського періоду*, Київ 2001.
- 14 D. Stern, *The Making of a Marian Geography of Grace for Greek Catholics in the Polish Crownlands of the 17th–18th Centuries*, “Religions” 12 (2021) issue 6, pp. 1–29, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12060446>.
- 15 See: the legend on Nikon's conversion by the intercession of Josaphat Kuntsevych: M. A. Korzo, *Reality Invented: How Uniate Josaphat Kuntsevych Supposedly Contributed to the Conversion of Nikon, Patriarch of Moscow*, “Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio FF: Philologiae” 38 (2020) issue 1, pp. 35–45.
- 16 В. В. Старостенко, *Проблема Брестской церковной унии в белорусской общественно-философской мысли конца XVI в. — начала XVII в.*, in: *750 определений религии: история символизаций и интерпретаций*, ed by Е. И. Аринин, Владимир 2014, p. 429.

papal authority and significant secular help, Basilians saw the opportunity to complete their work of creating that unity.¹⁷ Yet, problems occurred. First of all, there was the Dysuniate policy of Catherine II and Orthodox priests, among all, Georgij (Konisskyj), Gervasij (Lyntsevskyj), Melkhizedek (Znachko-Javorskyj), and the confessional instability of Uniate parish priests. Contrary to the finely equipped Basilians, enjoying a monopoly of Uniate dioceses, parish priests were almost commonly despised as morally deprived theological ignoramuses. It was feared that triggered by their poverty, they would abandon this unity and together with their faithful exchange the Catholic Church for the Orthodox Church.¹⁸ Thus, it had to be propagated, and with the help of journalism, literary works, historiography and education, especially in Basilian schools (among all, the one in Uman), the Polish-Ruthenian memory, developing an “integrity” identity had to be created.¹⁹

In the light of the aforesaid analyses, let us focus on the initial narration of Korczyński, concerning the causes of the pogrom. He proved that it derived from the Orthodox Church being disgusted with “Church unity.” When “the lords of Ukrainian estates, and metropolitan bishops even more” began to “propagate the defence of the unity of the Roman Catholic Church,” it met with the objection of Melkhizedek, prior of the Motronynskyi Monastery,²⁰ who was probably complying with the orders of his spiritual superiors. He began to “persuade both laymen and priests to support the schism and to speak out against the Uniate metropolitan bishop.” It led to social unrest and the attack on Uniate priests by Orthodox priests. When the Bar Confederation took place, an order was issued to send military units from the territory of Ukraine to help. However, the “lords” did not allow their Cossack units to take part in the confederation. Melkhizedek took advantage of the situation and instigated Cossacks and Orthodox peasants, even more so by showing them “fabricated ukases”

17 Y. O. Stetsyk, *Monasteries of western dioceses of Kyiv union metropoliya (90th years of XVII 90th years of XVIII centuries): jurisdictional conversions*, in: *Relevant research of historical sciences: collective monograph*, ed. V. M. Andreyev, et al., Lviv-Toruń 2019, pp. 164–182.

18 R. Butterwick, *Deconfessionalization? The Policy of the Polish Revolution towards Ruthenia, 1788–1792*, “Central Europe” 6 (2008) no. 2, pp. 95–96.

19 І. Кривошея, *Василіанський орден на Правобережній Україні в др. пол. XVIII — пер. трет. XIX ст.*, in: *Архітектурна та культурна спадщина...*, p. 115–132.

20 *Opis krótki rzezi w mieście Humaniu...*, p. 121.

of Catherine II.²¹ The news about the approaching military units contributed to the decision on organizing the defence of the city. Also, the Basilians from Uman “were brave enough to stay in the monastery”, and as far as information about potential Cossack betrayal was concerned, Gonta was called “to swear loyalty to the lord and the city.” The well-fortified city withstood the first attack. Yet, it was captured by deceit. Governor Mladanovitch allowed the gates to be opened, the units led by Gonta and Zheleznyak were greeted with “bread and salt” and despite this they started the “bloodshed.”²² Kostetskyj was shot and then, “when he was trying to pick up and eat the Host that had been thrown away by the rabble, he was stabbed by pikes and thrown into the ditch.” Next, Korczyński described the division of the spoils, throwing decomposed bodies into ditches and wells, the insidious arrest of Gonta and Zheleznyak by the Russians and punishing Gonta and other “rogues.”²³ To conclude, he wrote that the events in Uman were triggered by Ruthenian peasants (*czerni*), who were the cause of the “misery of their own and so many of their compatriots”, who hurt the homeland which “breastfed them” and whose material loss was significant when “its property gained by hard work fell into foreign hands.”²⁴

“The bloodshed” in Korczyński’s account was to derive from the way Russia and the Orthodox clergy reacted to the nobility’s and Basilians’ activities aimed at “the defence of unity with the Roman Catholic church.” But the most important thing was showing Koliyivshchyna as Ruthenia’s fight with Ruthenia and Uniates’ fight (though supporting Orthodox Cossacks) with Uniates. Although Poles and Jews lost their lives, Eastern Catholics were the target of the attack, the pogrom was triggered by Ruthenian, but the way the author understood it, Catholic peasants (*czerni*), and this “property” developed together got into foreign “hands,” i.e. the Russian-Orthodox ones. The work does not mention a national “issue” (being Ukrainian), a social one (fight between the classes), or an economic one (the nobility’s oppression), and the Orthodox-Catholic conflict played a crucial role.²⁵

21 *Opis krótki rzezi w mieście Humaniu...*, p. 122.

22 *Opis krótki rzezi w mieście Humaniu...*, p. 130.

23 *Opis krótki rzezi w mieście Humaniu...*, pp. 130–144.

24 *Opis krótki rzezi w mieście Humaniu...*, p. 145.

25 In this context, Korczyński’s narration is close to the findings of Barbara Skinner, showing Koliyivshchyna as a confessional conflict to a wide extent: B. Skinner,

Another author, Kornel Sroczyński, presents us with an interesting metaphor of the “massacre.” This description was based on Korczyński’s account, it was published many times and became for many authors the principal source showing the facts in question. Sroczyński (1731–1790)²⁶ was a Basilian, missionary, preacher, writer, but also a historian — a chronicler of Basilian monasteries in Krystynopol and Lavriv²⁷. In 1766, he was appointed superior and prefect of the mission in Krystynopol, the residence of a distinguished magnate, voivode of Kiev, Franciszek Salezy Potocki. The voivode entrusted him with managing the foundation devoted to the construction of a local Basilian monastery and Orthodox church. At the same time, Sroczyński conducted an ecumenical mission among Orthodox inhabitants, wrote a mission textbook for the use of the Uniate clergy, and authored a collection of missionary sermons.²⁸ In the monastery chronicle, he described the most important events of contemporary Poland, Ukraine, but also changeable fortunes of Potocki and his family,²⁹ which was used later on in the work of Jan Czerniecki.³⁰ Meanwhile, he mentioned the events of Koliyivshchyna.³¹ But the biggest amount of information about it can be found in the chronicle of the Uman monastery and the aforesaid description (which was published in 1838).³² Let us examine it in more detail. Let us notice that the author cared to emphasise the fact that Koliyivshchyna was an Orthodox reaction to the policy of national-confessional unity of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (so he copied Korczyński). It was to be particularly

Borderlands of Faith: Reconsidering the Origins of a Ukrainian Tragedy, “Slavic Review” 64 (2005) no. 1, pp. 88–116.

- 26 On Sroczyński’s life and activity: R. Łukań, *Autor dziejopisu monasteru krystynopolskiego o. Korneliusz Sroczyński ZŚBW (ur. 17/XI 1731 † 21/III 1790). Krótki życiorys*, Kraków 1939.
- 27 М. Ваврик, О. Корнило Срочинський, ЧСВВ, *Історіограф і Проповідник (1731–1790)*, “Записки ЧСВВ” 3 (1960) issue 3–4, pp. 429–439.
- 28 See: I. Назарко, *Методичний підручник василіянських місій о К. Срочинського (у 200-ліття його появи: 1772–1972)*, “Записки ЧСВВ” 9 (1974), pp. 142–151.
- 29 *Лѣтопись монастыря оо. Василіянъ въ Крестинополи одѣ его основаня в 1768 до 1889 року. Уложив Василь Чернецкій парох зі Стѣльця белского, Львовѣ 1893.*
- 30 J. Czerniecki, *Mały król na Rusi i jego stolica Krystynopol*, Kraków 1939.
- 31 J. Czerniecki, *Mały król na Rusi...*, p. 14.
- 32 [K. Sroczyński], *Rękopis X. Kornelego Sroczyńskiego, byłego superiora krystynopolskiego*, “Przegląd Dziejów Polskich” 3 (1839), pp. 36–46.

noticeable in the Crown lands, where Basilians, supported by the Potocki family, were building the monastery, school, and carried on their missions in the Orthodox community. Everything was to change as a result of Melkhizedek's activity, who "began to address monks in Ukrainian monasteries, people and priests in villages, and dissuade them from the holy unity and encourage them to oppose Uniate bishops." The situation was exacerbated during the Bar Confederation, when Uman and Smiel Cossacks were not sent to help the confederates. It was even more serious as Cossacks led by Zheleznyak left Russia, spreading the news among Ukrainian people that the Russian "Empress" wanted to wipe out Poles, Ruthenian-Uniates, priests, Jews, and free peasants.³³ Further on, the author showed the merger of the Gonta and Zheleznyak military units, an attempt to defend the city, letting in haidamaks by Mładanowicz, and, above all, a bloody pogrom.³⁴ However, it is worth adding that he devoted most of his attention to the description of Basilian priests' death. It took place during their pastoral duties, and Irakliij Kostetskyj's martyrdom was given a special dimension. Found by Koliyivshchyna rebels in the chapel while listening to someone at a confessional, he was tortured to give the whereabouts of the monastery's treasures, shot and stabbed with pikes.³⁵ The description follows the hagiographic convention — it reports the missionary work of monks and their martyrdom (omitting events recognized as miraculous, the so-called *miracula*).

Why was the "massacre" of the inhabitants of Uman so bloody in its character? Sroczyński explained it by comparing Uman to Jerusalem. He wrote that governor Mładanowicz, wanting to calm down the situation, allowed letting "rogues" into the city. The city dwellers, "accompanied by secular priests from three secular Orthodox churches" approached the haidamaks in a procession. However, this behaviour only "infuriated" the aggressors, who began to resemble fiends-devils³⁶ due to their cruelty and "wild ruthlessness." Sroczyński referred here to the preaching of St. John Chrysostom, and "Ukraine" was compared to the Biblical Jerusalem. During the Passion of Christ, as St. John Chrysostom preached, "hell entered Jerusalem," all the people being in the city then, except the apostles and "Christ's faithful," were possessed and they started to do evil.

33 [K. Sroczyński], *Rękopis X. Kornelego Sroczyńskiego...*, p. 37.

34 [K. Sroczyński], *Rękopis X. Kornelego Sroczyńskiego...*, p. 40

35 [K. Sroczyński], *Rękopis X. Kornelego Sroczyńskiego...*, pp. 42–43.

36 [K. Sroczyński], *Rękopis X. Kornelego Sroczyńskiego...*, p. 41.

In Sroczyński's opinion, a similar situation took place in Uman. "People" began to get evil, merciless, attacked the innocent. Let us notice that the aforesaid narration, although horrifying to an ordinary reader, justifies Koliyivshchyna participants' conduct. It did not depend on them as it was with the inhabitants of Jerusalem, they were possessed by fiends-devils. What is more, comparing them to Jews suggested a certain ecumenical-soteriological perspective. If the latter, after Christ's death, understanding their sins and accepting Christianity, the Orthodox Ruthenians were also to undergo such a change. In Sroczyński's narration, there is punishment for Koliyivshchyna rebels' sins. Their rebellion was suppressed by the Russian units' strategy, and afterwards "in various towns, villages, along various roads, they were hanged, beheaded, impaled..."³⁷

Therefore, as an important metaphor generating Sroczyński's reflections, the idea of unity took on a new meaning. Again, we are dealing with attempts to question the Basilian's missionary work and this "unity" by Orthodox Russians. But Sroczyński wanted to incorporate the colonisation of the Uman crownland, performed by Potocki, in his evangelical work of converting the Orthodox to Catholicism. It might have been caused by the magnate's willingness to provide financial support for the Basilians who were victims of the pogrom. Yet, there are also other elements in the narration. Kostetskyj shown as a Uniate martyr (on a par with Josaphat Kuntsevych) became... an icon of the "massacre" of Uman, and Uman, Potocki's property and the residence of the monastic mission and school, became an icon of an anti-Russian and anti-Orthodox Polish-Ruthenian sites of memory, sanctified by Catholic martyrdom.

Unity and the nobility

We know that the commemoration of these blood-shedding events was an important element of the didactic-educational programme propagated in the Uman school, and the infamous wells where murdered bodies were thrown constituted a characteristic type of Basilian memorial sites.³⁸ What is more, the monks developed a sort of educational path. They took their students to places linked with the pogrom and told them about the bloody events, becoming in this way cultural memory creators for these students. The aforementioned wells were such places, as well

37 [K. Sroczyński], *Rękopis X. Kornelego Sroczyńskiego...*, p. 43.

38 See: Т. Кузнецъ, *Уманське духовне училище: будинок та навчальний заклад*, in: *Архітектурна та культурна спадщина...*, pp. 169–175.

as spots where particular monks were murdered, city walls and the gate through which the haidamaks marched, an Orthodox church where Orthodox priests forcibly baptized Uniates and Roman Catholics.³⁹ However, the biggest impression must have been made by reading the reports of Uman students, i.e. a rhymed report, written by one Uman student and witness of the “bloody” events. There is not much information about him. In literature, he is known as M. Darowski. He was a student at the school in Uman. He was rescued from the pogrom by a Sich Cossack, Harmokracki. It is hard to say if he was a son of one of numerous tenants of Potocki’s property land located in Uman, or of a property owner, doubtlessly he came from the nobility of a Roman-Catholic family.⁴⁰ Let us treat Darowski’s poem as part of historiography. His readers perceived it as his schoolwork about a historical theme and associated it with an educational process developed by the Basilians. Being an eye-witness of the events, Darowski gave many details unknown before, thus his narration became an important element of Uman discourse.⁴¹ We shall also find there many references to the idea of political-confessional Polish unity and traces of Korczyński’s interpretation. The author described Ukraine as a land “risen from ashes.” He compared the community of Uman to the Israelites led by Moses to “the promised land.” Unfortunately, hard work aimed at economic and spiritual development (the construction of the Orthodox church and monasteries) did not bring any results due to Melkhizedek, who incited people “to rebel” and who showed the need to “slaughter Jews, Poles” as “the duty of faith” deriving from “the Empress’s blessing.”⁴² The massacre of “noblemen” bore a dimension of revenge on the Uniate

39 A. Giller, *O życiu i pracach F.H. Duchyńskiego, kijowianina, w jubileuszową rocznicę pięćdziesięcioletnich jego zasług naukowych*, Lwów 1885, p. 37.

40 P. Borek, *Zapomniany poemat o rzezi humańskiej 1768 roku*, in: P. Borek, *Od Piławiec do Humania*, Kraków 2005, p. 175.

41 *Krótkie opisanie wierszem polskim nieszczęśliwej klęski w całej Ukrainie a najszczególniej tyrańskiej rzezi w mieście Umaniu przez Maksyma Żeleźniaka Zaporozca, najpierwszego herszta, za poduszczeniem Melkhizedeka Jaworskiego, ihumena motrenins<kiego>, najprzód zbuntowanego, a potym przyłączeniem się Gonty, sotnika umańskiego, zmocnionego na polskim i żydowskim narodzie roku 1768 dopełnionej i spraktykowanej, przez studenta szkół umańskich dla wiecznopomnej całemu światu pamięci zebrane i złożone wiersze*, in: *Польська поема про уманську різню...*, pp. 1–40.

42 *Польська поема про уманську різню...*, p. 7.

clergy for their missionary work.⁴³ On the one hand, Darowski displayed the bravery of noblemen, mentioned by their surnames, on the other hand, he showed simple habits of vindictive Koliyivshchyna rebels, i.e. Ruthenian peasants. As Piotr Borek emphasised, a multisensual display of Uman tragedy in Darowski's work was to create a hyperbolic image of the disaster. The lack of justification for suffering (in the poem, the only fault of Poles turns out to be their Catholic faith) made it impossible to look for rational premises that might objectively interpret the pogrom's reasons. Yet, Borek noticed that at the time when the poem was written, it could have been read as a "manifesto" of noblemen-Catholic innocence, an accusation addressed towards peasant "subjects," but also an attempt to sanction the repressions that followed the events in Uman.⁴⁴

Also in that case, the narration was created from the perspective of the unity metaphor. However, Darowski's "ecumenical" Basilian narration turned into a secular nobleman vision, regarding Koliyivshchyna peasants as victims of Russian-Orthodox propaganda. Also here, we get an optimistic forecast for the future. Although the author did not write about deserved punishment for "peasants" for "innocently shed blood," he did not curse them but encouraged to pray for "the murderers and the murdered."⁴⁵ Since the "bloodshed" was triggered by an outer initiative, once it was suppressed, the Polish-Ruthenian community could come back to a previous "unity" and ...all the services rendered by peasants for the benefit of the nobility.

As we can see, the Basilians created particular sites of memory of the "bloodshed" but they also contributed to the creation of the cultural memory of their students. It is noticeable in the literary works of Józef Bohdan Zaleski, Seweryn Goszczyński, Michał Grabowski, the Groza brothers, in particular in a preface to a Romantic poem based on Darowski's report, written by Goszczyński, *Zamek kaniowski* (1828). The poem, a typical example of Polish black Romanticism, referred to the Koliyivshchyna events.⁴⁶ At the same time, Romanticism borderland writers created an image of a "dangerous and beautiful" Ukraine, and a deceptive image of the very Cossack-haidamak, who deserves

43 *Польська поема про уманську різню...*, p. 13.

44 P. Borek, *Zapomniany portret o rzezi...*, p. 187.

45 *Польська поема про уманську різню...*, p. 25.

46 S. Goszczyński, *Kilka słów o Ukrainie i rzezi humańskiej*, in: S. Goszczyński, *Zamek kaniowski. Powieść*, Gliwice 2004, pp. 59–62.

respect due to his love of freedom, and who is dangerous at the same time due to his tendency to follow external “instigations.” This image was far from the reality. It derived from an illusion of the Polish nobility that, convinced that their independence is guaranteed by the Russian “empire” (with their own government, law, education), created an image of a Polish-Catholic Ukraine (of two rites), the “land of milk and honey” and intriguing Ukrainians, who should be... colonised, civilised but also protected from a “Turanian Moscow” (as Adam Mickiewicz wrote, accompanied by another graduate of the Uman school—Franciszek H. Duchński).⁴⁷ This image had to collide with another one, created by Ukrainian Romanticism writers. Comparing the haidamaks of Taras Shevchenko to the works of Goszczyński or Zalewski, we can discern many similar accents (an “intriguing” and “freedom loving” haidamak).⁴⁸ However, the Ukrainian poet juxtaposed the nobility vision of the events of 1768 with his own one, peasant, Ukrainian, and above all, Orthodox. He was also trying to prove that the “bloodshed” was an answer... of the Orthodox Church Ukrainians to national, economic and confessional oppression from the side of Catholic Poles. This vision would constitute a historical memory of Orthodox and Uniate (Greek Catholic) Ukrainians (see: works of Mykhaylo Drahomanov, Volodymyr Antonovych, Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Ivan Franko),⁴⁹ as well as of Poles who wanted to debunk it (as we shall see further on in the narration).

Taking into account this context, we shall analyse the works of Eustachy Antoni Iwanowski (1813–1903), a friend of Grabowski and Aleksander Groza. He was a memoirist, columnist and historian. In the years 1825–1830, he attended the Krzemieniec Lyceum, a renowned Polish secondary school. After the outbreak of the November Uprising, he was forced

47 See: N. Morawiec, “*Pany! ne bijte sia, to wse Moskali roblat — tatarszczyna!*”. *Agatona Gillera i Franciszka Henryka Duchńskiego konstruowanie “turańskości Moskali”*, in: *Wspólne dziedzictwo. Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów w polskiej, litewskiej i ukraińskiej historiografii XIX–XXI wieku*, ed. M. Hoszowska, et. al., Rzeszów 2019, pp. 175–197.

48 Л. Ромащенко, *Тарас Шевченко і Богдан Залеський*, in: *Київські полоністичні студії*, vol. 24, ed. Р. Радишевський, Київ 2014, pp. 126–132; Л. Ромащенко, *Коліївщина в художній інтерпретації Т. Шевченка і С. Гоцинського*, in: *Київські полоністичні студії*, pp. 133–141.

49 Y. Bilinsky, *Mykhaylo Drahomanov, Ivan Franko, and the Relations between the Dnieper Ukraine and Galicia in the Last Quarter of the 19th Century*, “Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.” 7 (1959) no. 1–2, p. 1545.

to abandon his education to turn towards farming, being a columnist and a collector. Under his pseudonym “Heleniusz” he wrote a number of papers and stories about the history of the south-eastern territories of the Commonwealth. On the one hand, he benefited from rich written sources, which usually came from private archives, on the other hand, he conducted his analysis in the context of Polish-Catholic ideology, leading to a clear bias which was noticed by Volodymyr Erszow. During the analysis of Iwanowski’s memoirist literature, he stated that the author’s story expressed a “tragedy of a patriarchal-aristocratic right bank,” i.e., in other words, nostalgia of a Polish aristocrat for the greatness of a lost Homeland.⁵⁰ According to Anna Grucel, Iwanowski’s works were supposed to present the history of Poland that the author considered true, but above all to develop love towards one’s homeland, God, crystallise strong faith and attachment to the Church. At the same time, the researcher points out that these works lack originality, and they “present the topic as a compilation, in a superficial way, and, what is more, they contain factual mistakes and completely thoughtless contradictions.”⁵¹

Iwanowski believed that the Basilians were the building force of Polish-Catholic culture. They spread education, developed science, cared about spiritual development, but also constituted a guarantee of state-confessional “unity” within Polish borders. However, Orthodox Russia’s aggression changed everything. “If it had not been for this abrupt, murderous attack,” he argued, “the sacred union and Basilians would have achieved the highest power, the most splendid development of faith and education via schools and missions.”⁵² Thus, the reader shall not be surprised that he looked for the reasons of Koliyivshchyna, similarly to Sroczyński, in “Russia’s instigation,” Melkhizedek’s actions, and also in the situation that took place during the Bar Confederation, when magnates did not send the Cossack army to help the confederates. However, Iwanowski adamantly opposed the poet (Shevchenko), or researcher (Antonovych), who combined the Haidamak movement and Koliyivshchyna

50 В. Єршов, *Герменевтична актуалізація конволютного принципу мемуаризації “Спогади минулих літ” Євстахія Івановського*, “Українська полоністика” (2006) no. 2: Філологічні дослідження, pp. 226–227.

51 A. Grucel, *Zbiory Eustachego Iwanowskiego – pamiętnikarza i publicysty historycznego w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej*, “Nowa Biblioteka” (2011) no. 1 (8), pp. 38–39.

52 E. Iwanowski (Helleniusz), *Ostatnie czasy unii*, in: idem, *Wspomnienia narodowe*, Paryż 1861, p. 155.

with the Cossack movement, or discerned in them the beginnings of the Ukrainian state. The activities of the “bloodshed” participants were not politically motivated, but were carried out by a mindless mob instigated by a foreign power. They did not have a social-economic context either, and could not be linked with the conflict between the peasantry and land owners. He claimed that peasants had to pay a little, but had the freedom to settle and use land and pasture, were free from military service and were simply “best-equipped from all people.”⁵³ Interestingly, using Sroczyński’s narration, the researcher compared the “massacre” of Uman to Christ’s death in Jerusalem, when “Ukraine was attacked by devils” and the Koliyivshchyna participants were to resemble the “devils-fiends.” Also in this case, the fault of the pogrom perpetrators was reduced as their actions did not depend on them.⁵⁴ Helleniusz added his own remarks as well. He tried to prove that once the situation was appeased and Gonta was punished, the Ukrainian community was more aware of the inflicted damage and expressed attrition. Former Koliyivshchyna rebels frequented the Uniate Orthodox churches and their devotion to Russia and the Orthodox Church turned into the need to cultivate Catholic unity.⁵⁵

But the “massacre” of Uman also posed a question concerning the status of history and the role of the historian. If it was God who sent madness upon the Koliyivshchyna rebels, together with the urge to murder, followed by remorse and attrition, His decrees are unreadable, and a historian without divine revelation will not understand the aforesaid events, and will not comprehend God’s plan for the “bloodshed.” Thus, in Iwanowski’s opinion, to understand history and explain it, one must achieve divine revelation. Yet, its achievement shall not be attributed to “people’s theories, many years of writing experience, reading many works,” or “sharp, mature, strong, critical” judgement. Quoting St. Augustine, he proved that revelation had to be “attained from God through service”, humbleness and love, “working on one’s soul’s development,”

53 E. Iwanowski (Helleniusz), *O zgromadzeniu XX. Bazylianów w Humaniu tudzież kilka słów o stanie Ukrainy w ostatnich czasach*, in: E. Iwanowski, *Wspomnienia narodowe*, Paryż 1861, p. 203.

54 E. Iwanowski (Helleniusz), *O zgromadzeniu XX. Bazylianów w Humaniu...*, pp. 204–205.

55 E. Iwanowski (Helleniusz), *O zgromadzeniu XX. Bazylianów w Humaniu...*, pp. 210–211.

and “comprehension” is not the result of talent and work but it is given by God as “it is a prize for faith.”⁵⁶

Unity and “unification”

However, this romantic vision of Ukraine in the works of Polish intellectuals soon changed. The Russian reaction after the November Uprising led to the loss of this Polish “independence,” and to the liquidation of Basilian schools and monasteries, and finally to the “unification” of Uniates with the Orthodox Church in Połock (1839). For many Catholics this act was a huge shock. Not only did it change the confession of millions of the faithful but it contained a historical message that Ruthenians were Russians, who in the aftermath of the Roman-Catholic betrayal in 1596, were forced to join the union, but after the collapse of Poland, they could shed this Polish-Catholic supremacy, and thanks to the Russian tsar, they could return to the bosom of the Russian Orthodox Church. An attentive reader can notice that this message, created by the initiator of “unification”, a Uniate priest, Józef Siemaszko, constituted the reversal of the Catholic metaphor of unity. “Unification” became a “hot” topic among the Polish “Great Emigration.” The Poles established an order of Resurrectionists at the Holy See. It was supposed to explain the intricacies of anti-Catholic Russian policy to the pope. They created a figure of Mother Makryna Mieczysławska, a Basilian, who was supposed to be persecuted by Siemaszko for her loyalty to “the union, Ruthenia and Poland.” Her martyrdom described by monks was a theme exploited by poets, columnists and historians, and she became an icon of “unity.”⁵⁷ Julian Bartoszewicz (1821–1870), a columnist and historian, polymath and Slavist, as well as a creator of an interesting interpretation of the events in Uman, in 1768, was impressed by her work. In the years 1838–1842, he was the holder of a scholarship awarded by the Polish state at the Faculty of History and Philology of the University of St. Petersburg, there he worked as a teacher, and he was a candidate for the post of the Head of the Polish History Faculty at the Jagiellonian University (the post was given to Józef

56 E. Iwanowski (Helleniusz), *O zgromadzeniu XX. Bazylianów w Humaniu...*, pp. 211–212.

57 N. Morawiec, *Rzeczypospolita, katolicyzm, kresy. Makryna Mieczysławska w historiografii polskiej XIX wieku*, “Częstochowskie Teki Historyczne” 2 (2011), pp. 121–142.

Szujski).⁵⁸ He authored many research papers,⁵⁹ and as far as history was concerned, he shared the views of Joachim Lelewel, he was a representative of antiquarian writing.⁶⁰ Let us draw our attention to his treatise “The Outline of Ruthenian Church History in Poland.”⁶¹ He tried to prove that the Potockis’ colonization work in Ukraine was taken over by other land owners. This “land of milk and honey” encouraged various nationalities and confessional communities to settle down. Rev. Kostetskyj also marked his presence, “an apostle in the whole meaning of the word,” in the Uman area “he made simple people Christians, eradicated hatred towards Jews in them, pointed to the brotherhood of Ruthenian and Roman-Catholic rites.”⁶² And although in the 17th century Uman was still “the centre of Cossack life”, it was Polish and “marked in history as one of two centres of Polish civilization.” Yet, although Ukraine “revived and flourished with success,” there were forces reluctant to accept Polish and Catholic unity: “there came the Satan of Moscow contempt to sully all that was sacred,” Catherine II “tolerant in the apostolic spirit, tsarina,” and Melkhizedek, a “cunning ruler,” who was to stimulate the “base desires of human hearts” in order to “take away and play” and ... “to awaken socialism.” Bartoszewicz believed that it was Catherine II who ruined “unity.” Changing the terminology from “Ruthenian Orthodox Church followers” to “Russian ones”, she became the defender and the ruler of all of the Orthodox Church faithful in Poland.⁶³ Russia was supposed to “convert with love, i.e. in a Moscow style, union to schism,” but also to oppress Uniate priests as “they were the only ones who understood what was happening.” In the municipal archives of Zhytomyr, the researcher found the protest document of Jan Roska Kościuszko, a Uniate parish priest, which was signed by several hundred Uniate priests, against the “Moscow evangelization.” The priests

58 I. Florczak, *Z listów Zygmunta Glogera do Juliana Bartoszewicza*, “Przegląd Nauk Historycznych” 15 (2016) no. 1, p. 280.

59 J. Maternicki, *Julian Bartoszewicz (1821–1870)*, in: *Historycy warszawscy ostatnich dwóch stuleci*, eds. A. Gieysztor, J. Maternicki, H. Samsonowicz, Warszawa 1986, pp. 77–91.

60 I. Florczak, *Źródła do dziejów Podlasia w Archiwum rodziny Bartoszewiczów*, “Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej” 15 (2015), pp. 161–176.

61 J. Bartoszewicz, *Szkic dziejów Kościoła ruskiego w Polsce*, Kraków 1880.

62 J. Bartoszewicz, *Szkic dziejów...*, p. 260.

63 J. Bartoszewicz, *Szkic dziejów...*, p. 263.

complained that “people’s conscience is violated, the empress ascribed Ukrainian people to schism.” The text was to show that “the union was a national order of the Commonwealth.” To demonstrate how long-lasting this national-confessional unity was in the Ruthenian community, Bartoszewicz referred to the figure of this Uniate, Kościuszko, and compared him with Tadeusz Kościuszko (1746–1817), the leader of the anti-Russian uprising of 1794. The first one, he emphasized, called for “the insulted rights of the nation,” defended Catholic unity, the latter fought as “the last one in its defence at the times of the Commonwealth, like a Ruthenian with his blood, but a cordial Pole, he was the last one who fought in defence of the whole Crown, Lithuania and Ruthenia.”⁶⁴

For Bartoszewicz, the pogrom was Orthodox Russia’s fault, both Ruthenians-Uniates and Roman Catholic Poles suffered in the name of their faith and fought for their homeland (Kościuszko’s example). There is no doubt that the researcher, while recalling the “unity” and common fight preceding the collapse of the Commonwealth (1768), referred to the fall of the November and January Uprisings and the Uniate Church (the act of Połock in 1839 was accompanied by the “unification” of the Chełmno Uniates in 1875), but he also suggested the necessity of continuing that fight. However, not all contemporary researchers saw such a necessity. After the fall of the January Uprising, the “Stancyks” of Cracow called for the need to abandon all thoughts about any other armed rebellion, and for loyalty towards the partitioner. In this spirit they conducted political activities, established journals, organized lectures, but also, in order to adjust politics to history and remembrance, they created the so-called Cracovian school (Józef Szujski, Rev. Walerian Kalinka, Michał Bobrzyński), explaining that the partitions of Poland result not from its neighbours’ fault but rather from the mistakes of the Polish nation itself, its anarchy, self-interest and the lack of respect for state authorities among the nobility. As far as this “new” philosophy of history was concerned, they tried to convince other Polish researchers to accept it.⁶⁵

One of them was rev. Edward Likowski (1836–1915), a Roman Catholic priest, an auxiliary bishop in Poznań (1887–1914), archbishop, Gniezno

64 J. Bartoszewicz, *Szkic dziejów...*, p. 265.

65 M. Hoszowska, “Polityka historyczna” stancyków, in: *Historia, mentalność, tożsamość. Miejsce i rola historii oraz historyków w życiu narodu polskiego i ukraińskiego w XIX i XX wieku*, eds. J. Pisulińska, P. Sierżęga, L. Zaszkiłniak, Rzeszów 2008, pp. 203–217.

and Poznań metropolitan bishop, the primate of Poland (1914–1915),⁶⁶ and also a well-known Polish historian of the Union of Brest. As Mirosław Filipowicz remarked, Likowski was a self-made historian, his works were based on professional archive studies, even though, looking at them from a methodological point of view, without any innovation.⁶⁷ On the other hand, Witold Kołbuk noticed that Likowski learned his trade while developing and printing his subsequent research treatises.⁶⁸ The subject matter analysed by us can be found in Likowski's work entitled *The History of the Ruthenian and Roman Church union*. He followed Bartoszewicz in his interpretation. The “slaughter” was to be initiated by Orthodox Russia, and Zheleznyak and Gonta, hoping for “spoils and trophies” pushed Ukrainian people to “plunder and murder.”⁶⁹ Yet, in other works by Likowski we discern significant interpretation changes. He introduced them under the influence of the Cracovian school of history. On the advice of rev. Kalinka, Resurrectionist, Likowski adopted a pessimist vision of Polish history and adjusted it to the confessional theme. He presented peaceful colonization, Ukrainian prosperity and Russian “intrigues” aiming at destroying that work. Also here we find a bloody description of Koliyivshchyna (“a mother hanged with her four children,” “women with cats sewn in their intestines”) and the “massacre” of Uman.⁷⁰ But the narration was above all to present Koliyivshchyna in the light of Polish fault and national sins. It is worth contrasting them in a study. Likowski blamed the Polish government for the outbreak of Koliyivshchyna. Regardless of the fact that all Ruthenian dioceses joined the union, it tolerated the existence of the only Orthodox Church diocese of Mohilev. It facilitated Konisskyj's policy aiming at the intensification of anti-Polish and anti-Catholic actions. The faithful were also under the influence of Gervasij (Lyntsevskyj), bishop of Pereiaslav, who would send his own

66 See: R. Kufel, *Edward Likowski 1836–1915. Sufragan poznański, metropolita gnieźnieński i poznański, prymas Polski*, Zielona Góra 2011.

67 M. Filipowicz, *Edward Likowski jako historyk Kościoła unickiego (komunikat)*, “Roczniki Humanistyczne” 41 (1993) issue 7, p. 61.

68 W. Kołbuk, *Unia brzeska w dziewiętnastowiecznej historiografii polskiej*, “Roczniki Humanistyczne” 41 (1993) issue 7, pp. 17–20.

69 E. Likowski, *Historia unii Kościoła ruskiego z Kościołem rzymskim*, Poznań 1875, pp. 141–142.

70 E. Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła unickiego na Litwie i Rusi w XVIII i XIX wieku uważane głównie ze względu na przyczyny jego upadku*, part 1, Poznań 1880.

priests to run the “schism” propaganda (Melkhizedek began his activity out of his initiative).⁷¹ The king was to blame. He could not oppose Catherine II, Konisskyj and Melkhizedek, and his policy resulted in the Bar Confederation, significantly contributing to Koliyivshchyna. Magnates were guilty too. Due to their disputes with the Bar confederates, they did not send any Cossacks. As a result, the latter were free to support the peasants led by Zheleznyak, which were not very valuable from a military point of view. Moreover, the Uniates were to blame as well. An official of archbishop, Rev. Grzegorz Mokrzycki, “instead of praising the clergy for their loyalty to the Church so far, award them and encourage to persevere,” as a result of faulty denunciation, ordered to flog them, and shave the beards and heads of Uniate priests. What was even worse, he sent his secular representatives accompanied by Cossacks to these priests, in order to collect the due rent. A ruthless execution led to a general dissatisfaction of the priests and their further support for the Orthodox Church and Koliyivshchyna.⁷² Moreover, Likowski noticed the harmful consequences of Wołodkowicz’s activities. He was a Uniate metropolitan bishop. For supporting the Orthodox Church, he took certain starostwo commissioners (of Chyhyryn, Smila, Korsun) to court. In return, they took their revenge and supported Melkhizedek.⁷³ The nobility was “sinful.” It did not support the Uniate clergy (materially or militarily), did not ensure that certain decrees were passed in parliament (Sejm) and regional assemblies (sejmiks), did not organize any army, so even those Orthodox Church followers that did not want to rebel had to join Koliyivshchyna in fear of losing their lives and property. The nobility was also responsible for the Bar Confederation and its national-confessional radicalism, scaring “schismatics” and forcing them to support the Koliyivshchyna rebels. Finally, the Ruthenian peasants themselves were guilty too. Despite the Basilian efforts to introduce education and culture, they gave in to the “schism propaganda” of Melkhizedek, and later on to the wild desire of murder and plunder.

Therefore, Likowski believed that the Roman Catholic Poles and Uniate Ruthenians were responsible for the weakness of the union, the Haidamak movement and Koliyivshchyna. What is more, leaving the issue of the opponents of the Union (Dysuniates) unresolved contributed to the

71 E. Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła unickiego...*, pp. 109–110.

72 E. Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła unickiego*, p. 114.

73 E. Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła unickiego*, p. 115.

fall of Poland and the subsequent so-called unification of the Uniates and the Orthodox Church (1839, 1875). The Poles neglected their mission in Ruthenia-Ukraine, yet to get back their homeland and the political and confessional unity with Ruthenia, they had to confess their own sins and — following the sacrament of Penance — “promise to improve.”⁷⁴

Unity and nation

The end of the 19th century was accompanied with further changes in mnemonic constructions of the Poles, and what follows, an interpretation of their history. Dreaming about regaining their lost homeland, they kept asking about “Polish sins” and the necessity of “fighting for our and your freedom.” At the same time, Poles adopted a different perspective while looking at Ukraine and Ukrainians as well as at the confessional unity of two Catholic rites.⁷⁵ It was not only about the fact of promoting the necessity of Ukrainian independence by Ukrainian activists, e.g. like in the first years of the 20th century, in the federation context (Russia) or the national one (Galicia),⁷⁶ but it was also about their reconstruction of history, often being hostile towards Poles.⁷⁷ What is more, they perceived the Cossack-Haidamak “pogroms” not only as a confrontation of two nations (Poland and Ukraine), but two conflict-ridden social classes (the nobility and the peasantry).⁷⁸ Also, Austrian policy deepened the divide between Roman Catholic Poles and Greek Catholic Ukrainians, the whole concept

74 N. Morawiec, *Ks. Edward Likowski jako historyk Unii Brzeskiej*, in: *Wokół archeologii słów i ich funkcjonowania. Księga Jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Andrzejowi Bańkowskiemu*, eds. S. Podobiński, M. Lesz-Duk, Częstochowa 2001, pp. 767–785.

75 See: П. Антонюк-Кисіль, *Теорія “культуртрегерства” в польській романтичній історіографії XIX ст.*, in: *Наукові записки*, вип. 13, Кіровоград 2010, pp. 208–215 (Серія: Історичні науки).

76 S. Plochy, *Between Poland and Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky's Dilemma, 1905–1907*, “Journal of Ukrainian Studies” 33–34 (2008–2009): *Tentorium Honorum: Essays Presented to Frank E. Sysyn on His Sixtieth Birthday*, eds. O. A. Andriewsky, Z. E. Kohut, S. Plochy, L. Wolff, p. 398.

77 Ł. Adamski, *Nacjonalista postępowy. Mychajło Hruszewski i jego poglądy na Polskę i Polaków*, Warszawa 2011.

78 J. Herlth, *Of Slaveholders and Renegades: Semantic Uncertainties in Volodymyr Antonovych's Conversion to Ukrainianness*, “Sprawy Narodowościowe. Seria nowa/Nationalities affairs. New series” 49 (2017), p. 9. <https://ispan.waw.pl/journals/index.php/sn/article/view/sn.1305/3146>.

of national-confessional unity was deconstructed (it did not exist anymore within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but within the Catholic Austrian state).⁷⁹ What is more, the religious leader Andrey Sheptytsky propagated the mission of Greek Catholics among the Orthodox Church faithful (excluding Polish Roman-Catholic bishops).⁸⁰ These changes affected historians in many ways. Let us consider the figure of Jan Marek Giżycki (pseudonym “Wołyniak,” “Marek Gozdawa”) (1844–1925). He came from a family of land owners.⁸¹ He studied law in Odessa, was a professor at the University of Dorpat and Mitawa, junior high-school teacher, state counsellor state, and Bogdanówka property owner. His research interests were the history of the Polish education system, especially monastic one, and the history of monasteries.⁸² After 1895 he lived in Cracow, but from 1918 he used to leave for Volhynia quite often, in order to look through private, school and monastic archives, which are usually inaccessible nowadays. He left quite an impressive scientific heritage which is studied by contemporary historiography, especially Ukrainian.⁸³

Reading Giżycki’s works, we can discern his longing for the Poland of the past, but also awareness of its loss. He admired its territorial greatness, thriving activity of state-church institutions, he listed the cultural advantages of the development, civilization developments in the East, only in order to... present its demise. As Dobrosława Świerczyńska remarked, the researcher’s studies devoted to education were usually crowned with bitter remarks, such as “the fall of 1831,” “the plunder of 1864” led to “the

79 J.-P. Himka, *The Greek Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Nation in Galicia*, in: *Religious Compromise, Political Salvation. The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-building in Eastern Europe*, ed. J. Niessen, Pittsburgh 1993, p. 10.

80 У. Безпалько, *Деякі аспекти унійної діяльності митрополита Андрея Шептицького на початку ХХ ст.*, “Наукові записки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка. Серія: Історія” (2013) no. 1, p. 105.

81 J. Warmiński, *Giżycki Jan Marek*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, ed. L. Bieńkowski, vol. 5, Lublin 1989, pp. 1096–1097.

82 See: D. Świerczyńska, *Jan Marek Giżycki jako historyk szkolnictwa zakonnego*, in: *Київські полоністичні студії*, ed. Р. Радишевський, vol. 26, Київ 2015, pp. 325–331.

83 І. Ярмошик, *Історія міста Старокостянтинова в дослідженнях Яна Марєка Гіжицького (1844–1925)*, in: *Болохівщина: осягнення історії. Матеріали Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конференції*, ed. О. Журко, Хмельницький 2009, part 1, pp. 96–101.

dissipation of students,” material loss and the institution’s collapse.⁸⁴ This strategy is noticeable in other works.⁸⁵ In his work entitled “On Basilians in Uman” he emphasized that while writing about monks and their school, it is “impossible to silently ignore and walk past these graves and people and events.” Meanwhile, he began his reflections with a quote from *The Life of Agricola* by Tacitus: “Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant” (they make a desert [out of a country] and they call it peace), diplomatically pointing at Orthodox Russia being guilty of this “miserable past.”⁸⁶ Nevertheless, following in Likowski’s footsteps, he wanted to explain it also in the light of “our faults.” Thus, he proved that Uman, though in the 18th century it was an area of haidamak attacks, plunder, pogroms of Jews, did not only survive but also considerably developed. Certainly, apart from political and economic issues, it also had to face social-confessional ones. The Synod of Zamość (1720) contributed to the implementation of the union all over Poland. However, there were disputes between higher Uniate hierarchy (a dispute of Leon Szeptycki and bishop Wołodkowicz concerning the affiliation of the Braclaw land).⁸⁷ The division of power, disputes in the circles of the Uniate clergy, wrote Giżycki, had a detrimental impact, “schism” merely strengthened the propaganda and attracted Uniates under its command. Gervasij and Melkhizedek acted with this aim in mind. The wellbeing of the contemporary Uniate Church (two thousand Uniate parishes), “made its enemies angry and stimulated them to act violently.” Then came the year 1768, “the time of the Uman massacre that made Ukraine sodden with blood, the time of cruel tortures inflicted on defenceless Catholics of both rites.” At the same time, this year forecast the fall of Poland and the fall of “unity.”⁸⁸

Not all researchers limited their scope to describing the greatness of Poland and bewailing its fall. They would rather attempt to explain the process leading to it, to give a substantial prognosis for the future. It is visible in the works of Franciszek Ravita-Gavronsky (1846–1930), a Polish amateur-historian, novel writer, and columnist. Contrary to Likowski,

84 D. Świerczyńska, *Jan Marek Giżycki...*, p. 331.

85 I. Ярмошик, *Волинезнавчі дослідження Яна Марека Гіжицького (1844–1915 рр)*, “Часопис Української Історії” (2010) no. 18, p. 94.

86 J. M. Giżycki, *O bazylianach w Humaniu*, “Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki” 27 (1899), p. 456.

87 J. M. Giżycki, *O bazylianach w Humaniu*, p. 462.

88 J. M. Giżycki, *O bazylianach w Humaniu*, p. 463 and on.

he was against searching for “our faults.” He was convinced that Poles unfairly accused themselves of the fall of their country as it was rather caused by unfavourable coincidences and their neighbours’ possessiveness. But he also opposed Polish romantic messianism and did not believe “poets-historians.”⁸⁹ Thus, he concentrated on collecting and critically processing information on facts. However, as Eugeniusz Koko noticed, Ravita did not always comply with these rules. He often demonstrated little criticism towards his sources, and following nationalistic views, did not hide his dislike for other nations, especially Ukraine.⁹⁰ Analysing Ravita’s look at Ukraine and Ukrainians, it is worth mentioning the evolution of his views. His first reflections pointed to emphasizing a common Polish-Ruthenian heritage, cooperation for shaking off the yoke of Russia, and national-confessional unity. Of course, his outlook on Ukraine was not much different from this of the borderland nobility. On the one hand, as Mirosław Szumiło convinced his readers, he perceived it as his “private and ideological homeland,” was proud of his provenance from the Ruthenian nobility in accordance with the formula, “Gente Ruthenus natione Polonus.” On the other hand, he stressed the Polish character of the right-bank Ukraine (“For me it was Poland. The history of Ruthenia was the history of Poland”).⁹¹ Nevertheless, the activity of contemporary Ukrainian intellectuals concerning the historical explanation of Ukraine’s existence must have influenced Ravita’s perception of Ukrainian national-state aspirations.⁹² Thus, he negated the legitimacy of using the term “Ukrainians” (acknowledging that only Ruthenians exist and that they are not a nation but an ethnic group), the fact of the existence of the

89 A. Kudła, *Swawolni Kozacy i dzicy hajdamacy w twórczości Franciszka Rawity-Gawrońskiego*, in: *Galicyskie dylematy, zbiór rozpraw*, ed. K. Karolczak, H. W. Żaliński, Kraków 1994, pp. 93–105.

90 E. Koko, *Franciszek Rawita-Gawroński (1846–1930). Wobec Ukrainy i jej przeszłości. Studium anachronizmu*, Gdańsk 2006, pp. 151–152. See: L. Łazurko, *Bohaterowie i antybohaterowie: Eugeniusz Koko o Franciszku Rawicie-Gawrońskim*, “Sensus Historiae” 12 (2013) no 3, pp. 145–155.

91 M. Szumiło, *Rec. “Eugeniusz Koko, Franciszek Rawita-Gawroński (1846–1930) wobec Ukrainy i jej przeszłości,” Gdańsk 2006*, pp. 276, “Res Historica” 26 (2008), p. 176.

92 Especially due to rigorous scientific criticism from the side of Hrushevskyi: Vitalii Telvak and Viktoriia Telvak, *Ukrainian historiography in the mirror of Polish journalism (Mykhailo Hrushevskyi Contra Francishek Ravita-Gavronsky)*, “Східноєвропейський історичний вісник” (2018) no. 7, p. 48.

Ukrainian national movement, and he wanted to prove his “negation” scientifically.⁹³ In his reflections, the Russian community was Turanian, similarly to the Cossack-Haidamak-Ukrainian one. Koliyivshchyna was the work of a barbarian “horde” devoid of state-citizen and economic-legal flair, without any sense of management, love of land and agriculture, loving the “steppe” and the “horse” instead, together with freedom and armed robbery comprehended in an archaic way.

Influenced by his own experiences, his attitude to Uniates-Greek Catholics and this “unity” analysed by me, evolved as well. He bought a farm in Tarnawa near Dobromyl. It was mostly inhabited by a Ukrainian community and it did not have any Roman-Catholic church. Ravita wanted to repay the kindness of a Greek-Catholic priest (for “the roof above his head” during the construction of his own house), presenting him with a painting of St. Nicolas for a newly built Orthodox church. However, the priest turned down the gift, saying that it was a “Polish Nicolas,” and the gift was of a “Lachian” character.⁹⁴ Thus, if Ruthenians-Ukrainians themselves forgot about former state-church unity, it had to be rejected and one should focus on Polishness and Catholicism, both when describing the past, constructing the present and making plans for the future. It can be seen in Ravita’s treatise on haidamaks and Koliyivshchyna. He blamed Russia and the Orthodox clergy for the “bloodshed,” and Melkhizedek, wanting to prove that the “union was the source of people’s discontent” tried to provide Repnin with “testimony in actions.”⁹⁵ But Ravita also wanted to question Antonovych’s conviction that the conflict was caused by the economic exploitation of Ukrainian peasants by Polish “lords.” Thus, he tried to prove that on the south-eastern territories of Poland, “villeinage was exceptionally small,” and the conflict was caused by the particular nature of Ruthenians-Ukrainians.⁹⁶ Also, in this case we find the praise of Basilian missionary work. Yet, Ravita regretted that it did not fall on fertile ground and was not welcome by primitive Ruthenians-Ukrainians devoid of Christian axiology (particularly noticeable in Haidamak songs). They were characterised by “eastern fatalism,” “constant discontent,” but also “robbery, riotous, aimless life, idleness and

93 M. Szumiło, *Rec. “Eugeniusz Koko...”*, pp. 176–177.

94 E. Koko, *“Franciszek Rawita-Gawroński...”*, pp. 55, 60, 78–81.

95 F. R. Gawroński, *Historia ruchów hajdamackich w XVIII wieku*, vol. 2, Lwów 1899, p. 172.

96 F. R. Gawroński, *Historia ruchów hajdamackich*, p. 148.

wildness accompanied with hatred fuelled by communism, the fanaticism of a simple man merely capable of seeing a difference in religious forms.”⁹⁷ Therefore, he saw no sense in continuing missionary work if Ukrainians could communicate only with Orthodox priests of the same moral stance. He even tried to prove that the clergy played the role of “agents of more known Cossack headmen, recruiting haidamaks for them.”⁹⁸ During the “massacre“ of Uman haidamaks were specially cruel towards the Basilians, and Rev. Kostetskyj was shot, “stabbed with pikes and thrown into the ditch.”⁹⁹ It is difficult though to discern any aim in these actions, it is also difficult, he added, to “describe wildness awakened by greed, fuelled by religious ignorance, and the debauchery of wilfulness, not hampered by any clear political objective.”¹⁰⁰ Ravita did not find any remorse and reflection in the perpetrators of the “massacre”, even in the face of the bloody but, as he emphasised, fair judgement conducted by the Poles. He wrote that “The echoes of the Haidamak movement died slowly, they were still heard in the middle of the 19th century, and were always devoid of national and moral ideals, they never brought its own nation any gains or benefits.”¹⁰¹

Conclusion

The object of my reflections was not to study the origins, course and consequences of Koliyivshchyna, to prove the actual or acknowledged guilt, or to give a specific number of murdered people. I aimed to show in which way a given idea (in this case the vision of the national-confessional Catholic unity of two rites developed at the times of the Union of Brest) influenced historians’ way of thinking, i.e. made their narrations metaphorical. The metaphor of unity (national and confessional) developed in this vision assumed that Ruthenians were Catholics (they were supposed to form one nation with Poles, they constituted, in the researchers’ opinion, part of Ruthenia’s Christian tradition, confessionally uniform with Rome, but with a different rite). This unity was not a result of a single political (the Union of Lublin) or religious (the Union of Brest) act, but derived from a general Slavic community, the Polish-Ruthenian

97 F. R. Gawroński, *Historia ruchów hajdamackich*, pp. 287–288.

98 F. R. Gawroński, *Historia ruchów hajdamackich*, pp. 169–170.

99 F. R. Gawroński, *Historia ruchów hajdamackich*, p. 241.

100 F. R. Gawroński, *Historia ruchów hajdamackich*, pp. 242–243.

101 F. R. Gawroński, *Historia ruchów hajdamackich*, p. 282.

brotherhood, and Catholic tradition. Of course, Russia was excluded from the “community” and “brotherhood”, and the Russian Orthodox Church was excluded from “tradition.” This metaphor, constituting an important element of Uniate identity and Basilian intellectual output, created Uniate memorial sites (Josaphat Kuntsevych, and the Marian shrines). Thus, it does not come as a surprise that after the pogrom of Uman in 1768, we can find it in the narration of the Basilians, Korczyński and Sroczyński. The first of them tried to convince his readers that Koliyivshchyna was Orthodox Russia’s reaction to the peaceful colonisation of Ruthenia and organising a Catholic mission among the Orthodox Church faithful. The issue was that condemning the very perpetrators, i.e. Ruthenian peasants, might have equalled discrediting missionary activities conducted among them. Therefore, Sroczyński blamed “impure forces” for the pogrom, concentrated on praising Potocki’s activity, created the vision of rev. Kostetskyj’s death, written in a hagiographic way, and made Uman a martyrdom memorial site. Describing the “massacre” and creating its image (school, well, Orthodox church), the Basilians developed a cultural memory of their students. It is noticeable in the narration of Darowski as a nobleman. The metaphor of unity supported with a bloody image of the “massacre” served him to justify the punishment inflicted on the Koliyivshchyna rebels. What is more, since the massacre did not have any deeper, socio-political reasons and was caused by foreign influence (Orthodox Russia), Ruthenian peasants could come back to their prayers in Basilian missions and ... to cultivating the noblemen’s land. In a different context, we can see the metaphor of unity in Haidamak treatises by Heleniusz. As a borderland land owner, he treated the “massacre” as a part of God’s plan, compared Uman to Jerusalem, and pointed out that the awareness of the sinful pogrom was to bring Ruthenians to state-church unity. The secular researcher went in for a certain theology of history and historiography as he defined the limits of scientific historical cognition dependent on God’s revelation. In the period between the two uprisings, serious interpretative changes occurred, which were derived from different mnemonic constructions influencing the researchers. The Poles took steps to explain the methods of gaining independence, they were also worried about Russia’s policy towards the Uniates (1839). Thus, they had to proclaim the necessity of opposition, fight, and write about Russian “manipulation” in history. It is noticeable in Bartoszewicz’s narration, when he tried to prove the Russian-Orthodox origins of Koliyivshchyna, together with the need of continuing a common fight. On the other hand, Likowski, who shaped by pessimism of the “Cracow school,” did not see

such a necessity. He wrote that Koliyivshchyna was caused by the Polish and Ruthenian nation, Catholic and Orthodox, the king, magnates, the nobility, parish priests and the church hierarchy. Likowski-priest believed that the only way to regain one's homeland and Catholic unity was the awareness of one's sins, revealing them, and a strong resolution to get better. "Pessimism" can be also found in the works of Giżycki. It had a different dimension as it was generated by "new" mnemonic constructs of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. This manner (development – fall) noticeable in the author's actions and reflections, which was supposed to create a longing for one's homeland, created the image of Poland and the Uman pogrom as an element of its fall. On the other hand, Ravita-agronomist had reflections of a different nature. The "massacre" was written in the image of "Turanian" Ruthenia-Ukraine and Ruthenians-Ukrainians devoid of Christian axiology. Let us notice that while Ravita-historian negated the existence of this national-confessional unity in history, Ravita-agronomist denied the right to own Ruthenian land to Ukrainians loving the "horse" and the "steppe" and gave it to Poles.

I think that such scientific reflections are very important. They make us aware of the fact that historical images of the Haidamak movement and Koliyivshchyna do not depend solely on a given historian's expertise and adopted methodological assumptions, but they are also (and maybe above all) the cultural outcome of mnemotechnics, and a perception of the past by the present. It may turn out that Polish, Ukrainian or Russian historical narrations are filled with culturally constructed metaphors. They should be (de)constructed, in the company of Ukrainian, Russian and Polish researchers if possible, but in the new, post-war and post-Putin reality.

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Abstract

Norbert Morawiec

“Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant”. Koliyivshchyna: a Polish historiographic reflection and a metaphor of unity

The subject of the analysis is looking for historical metaphors which construct the Polish historiography of Koliyivshchyna. Analysing the events of 1768 in the works of Jerofeusz Korczyński, Kornel Sroczyński, (M.) Darowski, Eustachy Iwanowski, Joachim Bartoszewicz, Edward Likowski, Jan Marek Giżycki or Francishek Ravita-Gavronsky, one can notice a historical (historiographical) metaphor of state-national and confessional unity constructing their scientific narrations. Although these narrations ooze blood and murder, they do not regard the Ukrainian community as the only one guilty of the bloodshed.

Keywords:

Haidamaks, Koliyivshchyna, metaphor, historiography, Uman

Abstrakt

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“Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant”. Koliszczyzna: polska refleksja historiograficzna i metafora jedności

Przedmiotem analiz jest poszukiwanie metafor historycznych konstruujących polską historiografię koliszczyny. Analizując wydarzenia 1768 roku w twórczości Jerofeusza Korczyńskiego, Kornela Sroczyńskiego, (M.) Darowskiego, Eustachego Iwanowskiego, Joachima Bartoszewicza, Edwarda Likowskiego, Jana Marka Giżyckiego, czy Franciszka Rawity-Gawrońskiego, zwrócono uwagę na – konstruującą ich uczone narracje – metaforę państwowo-narodowej i konfesyjnej jedności. Choć narracje te epatują krwią i mordem, nie ukazują społeczności ukraińskiej jako jedynie winnej krwawych wydarzeń.

Słowa kluczowe:

hajdamacy, koliszczyna, metafora, historiografia, Human

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Unknown designs from the collection of the Na Piasku Carmelite Monastery in Kraków¹

Surviving 17th- and 18th-century designs for “church furniture” in Kraków collections

It is proper to start from stating that modern design drawings for what sometimes is referred to as “church furniture” for what is broadly construed as the art of Małopolska, preserved in Kraków collections, are an exceptional rarity.

In 2014, the Polish Art Historians Association (SHS) held a national conference on *Ornament and Decoration of the Work of Art*.² It was accompanied by a modest exhibition, or, rather, a display, presenting models

- 1 I extend heartfelt thanks to Dr Szymon Sulecki, head of the Archive of the Discalced Carmelites from Na Piasku Monastery in Kraków. Photo by the Wawel Royal Castle Digitisation Studio, for his assistance and making the research on the drawings possible.
- 2 The post-conference materials were published in *Ornament i dekoracja dzieła sztuki*, ed. by J. Daranowska-Lukaszewska, A. Dworzak, A. Betlej, Warszawa 2014.

and designs of works of church furniture, also described as “small-scale” architecture, accompanied by a concise catalogue.³ It may be worth recalling that, besides the items unrelated to Kraków art that nonetheless made their way to Kraków collections mostly from monasteries in Silesia and can be found in the Jesuit Archive, and ones of similar provenance that are in private collections, there were only four sketches of altar structures and other elements of furnishing intended for sacred spaces that belong to modern art (or more precisely, the art of the 17th and 18th centuries) and the area of Kraków and, more broadly, Małopolska. That, by the way, is the number of drawings mentioned in the article of Father Adam Błachut, who discussed the works in the Archive of the Reformed Franciscans in Kraków.⁴ The same designs are mentioned by Anna Dettloff in her doctoral dissertation.⁵ The design found by Joanna Daranowska-Łukaszewska presenting a retable that may perhaps be linked to Francesco Placidi was not presented at the exhibition, but only found its way to the catalogue.⁶ What should also be remembered is the drawing of the pulpits in the Church of St John in Kęty (in private collection) associated with either Piotr Rojowski, or, if the piece was really brought from Moravia, a work of an unknown local artist.⁷

Expanding the scope beyond the Kraków collections, it is valid to remember that one more design, stored in the Bernadine Monastery in Tarnów and made known in a popular publication on its history was discovered later.⁸ Then came another one, more extensively analysed

3 A. Betlej, A. Dworzak, *Abrys, delineatio, kopersztych... czyli “przednie rysowane, godne poszanowania, dobrych magistrów rysunki”. Projekty dzieł małej architektury ze zbiorów krakowskich*, Kraków 2014.

4 A. J. Błachut, *Plany kościołów i klasztorów reformackich z XVII i XVIII w. w Archiwum Prowincji Franciszkanów-Reformatów w Krakowie*, “Studia Franciszkańskie” 3 (1988), p. 178, items 15, 16, 31, 33.

5 A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska drugiej połowy XVIII w.: twórcy, nurty i tendencje*, Kraków 2013, p. 40.

6 A. Betlej, A. Dworzak, *Abrys, delineatio, kopersztych...*, p. 14.

7 A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, p. 153; see: M. Kurzej, A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska drugiej połowy XVIII w.: twórcy, nurty i tendencje*, Kraków 2013, Wydawnictwo AFM, Kraków 2013, 384 pp, 442 figs [review], “Modus. Prace z historii sztuki” 15 (2015), p. 287.

8 *550 lat OO. Bernardynów w Tarnowie 1459–2009*, ed. by F. Rydzak, Tarnów 2016, p. 16.

and hypothetically connected to the activity of a Jesuit architect, Father Paweł Giżycki, known to have created as yet unidentified “outlines” for Sanguszko foundations in Tarnów.⁹ Moreover, merely for completeness, the design by Kacper Bażanka for the epitaph slab of Father Żuchowski for the collegiate church in Sandomierz¹⁰ must be mentioned, as well as Francesco Placidi’s design for the tomb of Cardinal Jan Aleksander Lipski for the chapel of Kraków Cathedral.¹¹ The list should also include three Camaldolese designs for the stalls and two altars (including the main retable) — the more precious as they date back to the 17th century.¹² Any study should, however, exclude the drawings by Father Sebastian Sierakowski found in the Library of the Jagiellonian University, as most of them are later (classicist) works and drawings from the 1770s of academic nature, and were mostly prepared during the young Jesuit’s studies in Lwów and Jarosław colleges.¹³

Wrapping up this overview, currently, we can only speak of ten (Sic!) designs for furnishing related to Kraków (Małopolska) art from the 17th and 18th centuries. As this highly limited study of state-of-the-art research demonstrates, the historical material is as scant as it is unsystematic. This is highly telling for the specific character of the Kraków sculptural circles, especially in the 18th century. On the one hand, plenty of sculptural and carpentry projects were completed in Małopolska in that century,

- 9 A. Betlej, *Stare tarnowskich ołtarzów abrysy*, “Pietas et Studium” 5 (2015), pp. 255–261.
- 10 U. Stępień, *Przemiany wnętrza kolegiaty sandomierskiej w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku w świetle nowo odkrytych archiwaliów*, in: *Między Wrocławiem a Lwowem. Sztuka na Śląsku, w Małopolsce i na Rusi Koronnej w czasach nowożytnych*, ed. by A. Betlej, K. Brzezina-Scheurer, P. Oszczanowski, Wrocław 2011, p. 261; A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae Sandomiriensis. Dzieje modernizacji wnętrza kolegiaty sandomierskiej w XVIII wieku w świetle źródeł archiwalnych*, Kraków 2016, p. 60.
- 11 A. Betlej, *Nieznany projekt nagrobka Jana Aleksandra Lipskiego*, “Studia Waweliana” 5 (1996), pp. 191–192.
- 12 I am working on a separate publication on the *Bieleński Codex*, a collection that includes drawings by Giacomo Baston. See: A. Betlej, M. Walczak, *Giacomo Baston — nieznany architekt na usługach Janusza Ostrogińskiego*, in: *Artyści włoscy na ziemiach południowo-wschodniej Rzeczypospolitej w czasach nowożytnych*, ed. by P. Łopatkiewicz, Rzeszów–Łańcut 2016, pp. 199–224.
- 13 J. Lepiarczyk, *Wczesna działalność architektoniczna Sebastiana Sierakowskiego: projekty barokowe (1769–1775)*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace z historii sztuki” 6 (1971) no. 9, pp. 199–224.

yet on the other, the number of the material testimonies to those, such as drafts and designs, is next to negligible. Significantly, the doctoral dissertation by Paulina Kluz about the Kornecki family,¹⁴ being the “last word” when it comes to the studies of 18th-century sculpture in what is broadly construed as Małopolska artistic circles, mentions no newly discovered designs. And yet, considering the large numbers of foundations, even for statistical reasons, one should expect to find more surviving designs, even should one account for the historical turmoil and disasters that have swept the Polish lands, decimating the preserved source materials.

The situation, however, is far from extraordinary. When gathered together, the number of designs related to the more significant Lwów sculptor circles of the 18th century that dominated the artistic panorama of their contemporary Poland (should we disregard Sierakowski’s sketches mentioned above) is even smaller: a total of nine.¹⁵ Moreover, the case with the Warsaw environment is similar, as the latest study of Warsaw 18th-century sculpture only lists five designs, and that including the works from the Dresden archive materials of the Warsaw Bauamt!¹⁶

14 P. Kluz, *Korneccy: rodzina artystów i jej działalność w Małopolsce od połowy XVIII do połowy XIX wieku*, Warszawa 2022, doctoral dissertation written under the tutelage of Professor K. Mikocka-Rachubowa at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) in Warsaw.

15 This set consists of five altar designs (for the Roman Catholic church in Jarosław, church of an Eastern Rite in Pleśniska, and for a fireplace) by Father Paweł Giżycki SJ (see: *Paweł Giżycki SJ. Architekt polski XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2001, pp. 112–113, 134–136), an as yet unresearched design for a coffin-shaped rococo reliquary (?) crowned with Christ’s monogram, decorated with rocaille and campanula ornaments, in the collections of the Stefanyk Library in Lviv (see: A. Betlej, *Uwagi na temat twórczości architektonicznej Marcina Urbanika*, “Modus. Prace z historii sztuki” 3 (2002), p. 20, ft 46) and Maciej Polejowski’s design of the tabernacle for the main altar in the Latin Cathedral in Lwów (J. T. Petrus, *Domus Sapientia Leopoliensis*, in: *Sztuka kresów wschodnich*, vol. 3, ed. by J. K. Ostrowski, Kraków 1998, p. 224, fig. 6; A. Dworzak, *Polejowscy. Karta z dziejów lwowskiego środowiska artystycznego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, Warszawa–Kraków 2020, pp. 133–134).

16 J. Sito, *Wielkie warsztaty rzeźbiarskie Warszawy doby saskiej. Modele kariery — formacja artystyczna — organizacja produkcji*, Warszawa 2014, pp. 184, 196, 259. Another item that may be included in this list is a design for the Dominican Church in Lublin attributed to Johann Georg Plersch (see: J. Sito, *Johanna Georga Plerscha nieznanym projektem ołtarza głównego w kościele dominikanów w Lublinie*, “TECHNE. Seria Nowa” (2018) no. 2, pp. 23–44). The case of the Warsaw circles in the 17th century



1. Concept work for an altar with the main panel including a designed perspective, early 18th c. (?). Archive of the Discalced Carmelites from Na Piasku Monastery in Kraków. Photo by the Wawel Royal Castle Digitisation Studio

The designs discovered in the Carmelite Monastery

A handful of designs were recently found in the Na Piasku Carmelite Monastery. They are five early modern drawings depicting altar structures, and two later ones (probably from the late 19th or early 20th c.) showing a design of tracery and cupboards for the sacristy. The circumstances of this chance find unfortunately provide no assurance that the designs refer to the Carmelite Church in Kraków.¹⁷ Nor are there any hints allowing to link them to any other church of the order, or, indeed, with any church at all. It also remains unknown when the drawings could find their way to the monastery in Kraków, and whether their origin is in any way connected with it. It is a plausible hypothesis that the collection was formed absolutely haphazardly or artificially, for instance it might have belonged to an anonymous monk-collector and/or archivist. All the works were pasted on blue cardboard, which at the moment renders testing the paper impossible. One of the works is probably only a part of the original concept. The drawings bear no information as to the scale to which they were drawn.

The first of them (Fig. 1) presents an elaborate architectural structure built of pairs of staggered columns, the inner ones, twisted towards the axis being of the Solomonic type. The whole construction received a relatively extensive pendentive composed of complex volutes terminating in a segmental cornice with semicircular central part. The central panel contains the Ark of Covenant surrounded by a radiant gloria with winged cherub heads, while the crown of thorns in another gloria is featured in the crowning. From the point of view of construction, the central panel is especially interesting, as it consists of supports diminishing stepwise to create a perspective that is emphasised further by the drawn divisions that imitate the flooring of the interior. Apart from this device, the whole design is of poor artistic quality, verging on amateurish. A proof of the designer's lack of professionalism is the crowning, drawn in a totally crooked manner, as well as the form of the cartouche below the upper tier. The consistent use of Regency ornamentation allows dating the work

is different, as a significant set of works from this period has been preserved in the Tylman van Gameren collection in the Library of the University of Warsaw (see: P. Wątroba, *Rysunki architektoniczne i dekoracyjne. Tylman van Gameren*, vol. 1–2, Warszawa 2019; see there also for earlier literature).

17 The drawings were discovered amongst a trove of unsorted materials that are systematically being incorporated into the collection of the Archive.



2. Design for a rood screen altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, c. 1730 (?). Archive of the Discalced Carmelites from Na Piasku Monastery in Kraków. Photo by the Wawel Royal Castle Digitisation Studio

to the 1730s. Michał Wardzyński used to study such a “perspective” solutions experiencing the acme of popularity in 17th-century altarpieces.¹⁸ Referring to the Marian Altar in the Dominican Church in Gidle (1669–71), he referred among others, to the altarpiece in Grodzisko near Skąła (1675–90), and also pointed to the altar in Topola Królewska near Łęczycza (after 1711), to which the design of the retable in the Carmelite collection shows certain general similarities. The work from the collection discussed here could be considered the last in thus defined sequence of origin.

Unlike the first, the second design (Fig. 2) stands out for its exceptionally high artistry. It depicts an altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary intended for a corner inside the church, possibly by the rood beam. The structure is constructed from staggered pseudo-pilasters, with outwardly wyłamane drips/volutes added diagonally above the altar table. The whole is richly decorated and has a highly elaborate iconography. The cartouche on the antependium holds *Penance of Mary Magdalene*, and an elaborate cartouche is placed over the door of the tabernacle decorated with a representation of the Eye of Providence. The niche in the central panel holds a sculpted representation of the Blessed Virgin. The volutes embracing the central structure are ready to receive the figures of St Sebastian and St James the Apostle. The panel in the pediment sports a representation of a chalice with a host, while a figure of St Charles Borromeo stands over the profiled cornice. Somewhat lower, on the sides, they are flanked by putti holding an hourglass and a book. Thus designed, the retable presents itself as a highly elegant structure with a clear and legible composition, skilfully reinforced with sophisticated sculpted decoration. This crisp, sculptural drawing is executed perfectly well and with considerable freedom, an evident reference to designs that could successfully be executed in what is broadly construed as the lands of the Holy German Empire. If not for the actually small scale of the altar, one could surmise that it may be the altar in one of the Bavarian *Gnadenstae-tten*. The note in Schwabacher script on the side is, unfortunately, highly illegible. Proposed dating for this sketch are the 1730s or 1740s.

The third of the designs (Fig. 3) presents a monumental retable intended for the polygonal closure of the chancel, while the structure’s

18 M. Wardzyński, *Rzeźba nowożytna w kręgu Jasnej Góry i Polskiej Prowincji Zakonu Paulinów 1720–1675*, vol. 1, Warszawa 2009, pp. 221–222; see also: A. Dettloff, P. Dettloff, *Domus Aurea. Architektura i sztuka dominikańskiego sanktuarium Matki Bożej w Gidlach 1516–2016*, Warszawa 2016.



3. Design for the main altar, c. 1730–40 (?). Archive of the Discalced Carmelites from Na Piasku Monastery in Kraków. Photo by the Wawel Royal Castle Digitisation Studio

4. Design for an altar dedicated to St Peter and St Paul, c. 1730–40 (?). Archive of the Discalced Carmelites from Na Piasku Monastery in Kraków. Photo by the Wawel Royal Castle Digitisation Studio



scale suggests it was likely designed as the main altar. Only a half of the design, representing one of the alternative solutions, has been preserved, as evidenced by the broken frame enclosing the drawing. The architectural structure dynamically extending to the sides it presents was essentially to be built on what, accounting for the plan of the richly moulded and textured tabernacle, is a concave-convex arc/undulating curve. The upper tier was to include a cluster of three columns gathered together on a high, two-tier base, with the innermost one having a twisted shaft. The supports were intended to support an expansive entablature, above which, a pediment enclosed by diagonally set volutes was placed on the central axis. The sculptural decoration was limited to the figure of an angel and cherubs in the pediment. It should be noted that this design shows influences from the Augsburg pattern books of Johann Michael Leuchte, engraved by Martin Engelbrecht as part of the series *Unterschiedliche Neu Inventierte Altäre mit darzu gehörigen Profillen u. Grundrißen*,¹⁹ dated to the 1720s, which sets the *post quem* boundary for dating the design, and is moreover aligned with the highly consistently applied Regency ornamentation, which allows to date the whole project to the 1730s or 40s.

The fourth design (Fig. 4) reveals a structure that was likely dedicated to Peter and St Paul. The altar, composed of a picture frame closed with a concave-convex arch, with pronounced, sculptural “ears” housing multipartite but empty heraldic shields, is framed by wide portals bearing statues of the saints, adjoining its bottom section at an angle. The tabernacle is designed very dynamically, as indicated in the plan below. There is a sculpture of a cherub holding a wreath and palm of martyrdom above the abundant pediment of the retable formed into a cartouche. Its field bears a representation of St Peter expelling an evil spirit. Such structures are very rarely, if at all, encountered in the furnishing of Małopolska churches, even if they are present, for instance, in the works of Johann Georg Lehner, who was active in the area in the 1740s. Yet they come from his Moravian period of creativity: the altars in Kietrz, Staré Lublice, and Město Albrechtice.²⁰

19 For the sketches, see e.g.: A. Betlej, *Zbiór augsburskich “rycin ornamentalnych”*, Kraków 2003, p. 4.

20 For Lehner’s activity, see: K. Brzezina, *Rzeźba i mała architektura sakralna księstw opawskiego i karniowskiego w XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2005 (*Ars Vetus et Nova*, 16, ed. by W. Bałus).

The last (Fig. 5) altarpiece can be presumed to have been intended for a chapel or a niche in a church of the wall-pillar type. Most precisely drawn, with scumbling (imitating marbling) on the columns, the drawing presents a structure based on Palladian motif (or Serlio's type), yet built on a concave plan of half-columns and free-standing (outer) columns, with a very lavish pediment filled with a radiant gloria. The sculptural decoration consists of a statue of a female saint holding a lily in her hand and presumably St Joachim (the central panel might have been intended for a representation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as a Marian monogram can be seen in the gloria in the cresting. The pilasters on the sides of the retable feature two large figures (bas-reliefs? stucco?) of angels holding censers. The ornamental work employing rocaille in the pediment prompts dating this design to the second half (third quarter) of the 18th century.

All that can be stated at the moment for the wrap-up of the review presented above is that the five designs were executed in five different artistic conventions, in five different ways of drawing. Generally, the drawings are highly dissimilar, and, rather than forming a uniform set, can even be described a haphazard collection. Save for a single sketch, as ornamentation suggests, they all should be dated before mid-18th century. Only the last of the drawings described above received a linear scale, which nevertheless lacks such details as units of measurement. None of the works corresponds to any specific location in the Na Piasku Carmelite Church in Kraków.

Concluding, it would be hard to link the drawings with specific known representatives of the Kraków sculpture circles of the 18th century. With respect to the proposed dating, their potential execution by for example Wojciech Rojowski must be ruled out, even if he worked for the Na Piasku Carmelites in the 1770s. In an article devoted to the original decor and furnishing of the Carmelite Church, and later in her book, Anna Dettloff,²¹ drew attention to the person of Brother Grzegorz Kaczyrek, repeatedly mentioned in the archives of the Na Piasku Monastery in 1742–70, as he allegedly acquired his sculpting skills in Moravia. According to sources, he chiselled five sculptures for the side altars of St Adalbert the Carmelite, St Elizabeth, St Teresa of Avila, St Hedwig (Jadwiga) of Silesia, St Regina,

21 A. Dettloff, *Zespół osiemnastowiecznych ołtarzy bocznych w kościele Karmelitów na Piasku w Krakowie – próba określenia stanu pierwotnego i kwestia autorstwa*, "Rocznik Krakowski" 69 (2003), pp. 123–138; A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, pp. 264–265, 329–330.



5. Design for a side altar in the Serlian style, c. 1760–70 (?). Archive of the Discalced Carmelites from Na Piasku Monastery in Kraków. Photo by the Wawel Royal Castle Digitisation Studio

and the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church's aisles, and also participated in the decoration of the altar in the Chapel of the Brotherhood of the Holy Scapular.²² Only the second of the designs discussed above shows a distant resemblance to the structure of the Altar St Adalbert (currently devoted to St Queen Jadwiga) in the representation of the tabernacle.

In the context of the remarks made above, it is difficult to propose a more decisive conclusion. Perhaps what we deal with is a section of a handy *Klebeband* of a sculptor or carpenter who worked for the Carmelites? The similarities indicated above are so general that it would be hard to judge categorically that the drawings were owned by such a person, or that such a monk ever based anything on any of them. Further research will quite likely have to rely on lucky chance, just like the one that made the discovery of the sketches possible.

22 A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, pp. 264–265.

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Abstract

Andrzej Betlej

*Unknown designs from the collection
of the Na Piasku Carmelite Monastery in Kraków*

The article describes five altar designs that were discovered in the Na Piasku Monastery of Calced Carmelites in Kraków. Absence of any information about the origin of the drawings makes it impossible to determine which specific church they were intended for. The discovered drawings can be dated to a period from the beginning of the 18th century to the 1770s. They feature various artistic solutions and were made by different artists. Assuming they were intended for churches in what historically was Małopolska, they significantly increase the number of sketches preserved and published in the literature. One of them is evidently a work of by a German-speaking artist, while the others seem to be the works of guild woodcarvers (or carpenters) or monastic artists. They might have been part of a collection of sketches that could have belonged to Brother Grzegorz Kaczyrek, a Carmelite repeatedly mentioned in the archives of monastery in 1742–70 as the maker (and designer) of retables in the Na Piasku Church.

Keywords:

altars, designs, patterns, Kraków, 18th century

Abstrakt

Andrzej Betlej

*Nieznane projekty ze zbiorów klasztoru Karmelitów
„Na Piasku“ w Krakowie*

Artykuł został poświęcony pięciu projektom ołtarzy, jakie zostały odkryte w klasztorze Karmelitów Trzewickich „Na Piasku” w Krakowie. Brak jakichkolwiek informacji o pochodzeniu rysunków uniemożliwia określenie ich przeznaczenia do konkretnego kościoła. Odnalezione rysunki, które można datować od początków XVIII wieku po lata 70. tego stulecia, prezentują odmienne rozwiązania artystyczne i zostały wykonane przez różnych artystów. Przy założeniu, że były one przeznaczone dla świątyń w historycznej Małopolsce, prace te w znaczącym stopniu zwiększają liczbę szkiców zachowanych i publikowanych w dotychczasowej literaturze. Przynajmniej jeden z nich został ewidentnie wykonany przez artystę niemieckojęzycznego, pozostałe wydają się być dziełami snycerzy (bądź stolarzy) cechowych albo zakonnych. Można rozważać hipotezę, że stanowiły one część podręcznego zbioru szkiców, jaki mógł należeć na przykład do brata Grzegorza Kaczyrka, wielokrotnie notowanego w latach 1742–1770 w archiwaliach klasztoru „Na Piasku” w Krakowie, jako wykonującego (i projektującego) retabula w krakowskiej świątyni.

Słowa kluczowe:

ołtarze, projekty, wzory, Kraków, XVIII wiek

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Francesco Placidi and Ludwig Ladislaus. On architect and sculptor partnership in the 1740s and 1750s¹

Francesco Placidi, the court architect to Cardinal Jan Lipski and later the Royal architect of kings Augustus III of Poland and Stanisław August Poniatowski,² was certainly among the most prominent artists of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 18th century. He played the leading

1 Paper presented at the conference *Sakralne Dziedzictwo Małopolski. Ludzie — dzieła — miejscowości* [literally: Sacred heritage of Małopolska: people — works — places], held at the Institute of Art History and Culture of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Kraków, 26 November 2022.

2 Since 1745 royal architect to Augustus III, and since 1763 to Stanisław August Poniatowski. See: J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi około 1710–1782*, “Rocznik Krakowski” 37 (1965), pp. 76, 79.

role among the Polish artists, especially those active in Kraków, as the designer of both secular and sacred buildings, yet primarily of countless pieces of furnishing: altars, tombs, epitaphs, and other ephemeral decorations.³

Francesco Placidi hailed from Rome, where, as researchers agree, he might be born around 1710.⁴ Practically nothing is known about his education in the Eternal City. The youth was employed by an Italian architect Gaetano Chiaveri, who, having completed his service for Peter I in St Petersburg (April 1728) took a short trip to Rome in 1729.⁵ Around 1730, Chiaveri arrived in Warsaw, probably with Placidi.⁶ In 1732, the latter broke his engagement to an Italian of the name Olimpia Cantoni, justifying his decision with a longer sojourn in Poland, away from his native country, and the lack of intention to return.⁷ A letter of Theatine cleric Giuseppe Salaroli to Józef Andrzej Załuski mentions Chiaveri and Placidi in the house Theatines ran in Długa street in Warsaw.⁸ In his capacity of a new architect of Augustus III (entered service on 1 April 1736), Chiaveri left for Dresden in 1737, to be followed by Placidi.⁹ There, the court architect was given various duties, the most significant of which was the design and supervision of the construction of the church for the court (*Hofkirche*).¹⁰ In 1738, with an annual salary of 400 thalers, Placidi

3 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, pp. 65–126.

4 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, p. 70; J. Kowalczyk, *Rola Rzymu w późnobarokowej architekturze polskiej*, “Rocznik Historii Sztuki” 20 (1994), p. 229.

5 Chiaveri was recorded in the *Stato delle anime* of San Crisogono Parish along with his wife and daughter. See: Universitätsarchiv der Freien Universität Berlin [hereinafter: UFUB], C. Caraffa, “*Un nuovo Tempio molto più ampio per i cattolici*”. *Gaetano Chiaveri architetto romano della Chiesa Cattolica di corte a Dresda*, vol. 1, doctoral dissertation, Berlin 2003, p. 18.

6 UFUB, C. Caraffa, “*Un nuovo Tempio molto più ampio per i cattolici*”..., pp. 19, 141.

7 J. Kowalczyk, *Rola Rzymu...*, pp. 229–230. Lepiarczyk mistakenly believed the date of the document to be incorrect. See J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, p. 71.

8 *Korespondencja Józefa Andrzeja Załuskiego 1724–1736*, ed. by B. S. Kupść, K. Muszyńska, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1967, letter no. 536, pp. 408–411; Biblioteka Narodowa [National Library], ms. 3235 III, *Korespondencja Józefa Andrzeja Załuskiego z roku 1735*, vol. 4, f. 19v; J. Kowalczyk, *Rola Rzymu...*, p. 229; UFUB, C. Caraffa, “*Un nuovo Tempio molto più ampio per i cattolici*”..., pp. 20, 141.

9 UFUB, C. Caraffa, “*Un nuovo Tempio molto più ampio per i cattolici*”..., pp. 21–22, 141.

10 UFUB, C. Caraffa, “*Un nuovo Tempio molto più ampio per i cattolici*”, *passim*.

was entrusted with conducting its construction, a job he shared with Antonio Zucchi, who received a hundred thalers fewer.¹¹ Placidi became privately connected to the Zucchi family, as he married Caterina Zucchi in Dresden.¹² She was most likely a daughter of Andrea Zucchi,¹³ an etcher, painter, and scenographer active in Dresden since 1726, sister of the aforementioned Antonio, with whom Placidi worked, Carlo — a theatre architect and decorator (by the way, also recorded in Kraków)¹⁴, and Lorenzo — the court etcher and copperplate engraver portraying, among others, Augustus III and modelled on Chiaveri's drawings: *Ornamenta diverse di Porte e di Finestre* and *Plans, profils et Fasade de la nouvelle Eglise Catholique a Dresde*.¹⁵ Soon afterwards, Placidi was dismissed from his

- 11 UFUB, C. Caraffa, "*Un nuovo Tempio molto più ampio per i cattolici*"..., pp. 140–141; C. Caraffa, "*Un nuovo Tempio molto più ampio per i cattolici*"..., p. 142; C. Caraffa, *Gaetano Chiaveri (1689–1770) architetto Romano della Hofkirche di Dresda*, Milano 2006, pp. 101–104.
- 12 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi*..., p. 70; UFUB, C. Caraffa, "*Un nuovo Tempio molto più ampio per i cattolici*"..., p. 141. Caterina Zucchi died in Kraków on 10 May 1756, at the age of 43, and was buried in the Bernardine Nuns' Church of St Joseph, which holds an epitaph commemorating her and her mother, Francesca Zucchi.
- 13 Józef Lepiarczyk and Jerzy Kowalczyk correctly indicated that Caterina Zucchi was the daughter of Andrea (1679–1740). However, both confused Antonio Zucchi (1728–95), son of Francesco Zucchi (1692–1764), in fact Caterina's cousin, with Antonio: the conductor of Dresden's Hofkirche, who, being a son of Andrea Zucchi, was thus Caterina's brother. See: J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi*..., pp. 71–72; J. Kowalczyk, *Rola Rzymu*..., p. 230. Following Thieme-Becker, Costanza Caraffa considered that as Francesco's daughter, Caterina Zucchi was a cousin of Antonio the conductor, son of Andrea. See: UFUB, C. Caraffa, "*Un nuovo Tempio molto più ampio per i cattolici*"..., p. 141, footnote 580; C. Caraffa, *Gaetano Chiaveri (1689–1770)*..., p. 101. At the time, she did not know that Caterina was sister of Carlo, son of Andrea, recorded in Kraków sources.
- 14 According to the memoirs of Kraków painter Andrzej Radwański: "[1752] 21 marca. Dziś Zucchi Karol malarz przyjechał z Drezna z matką i siostrą [Francescą Zucchi i Cateriną Placidi – przyp. PK i JS]" (literally: "[1752] 21 March. Today, Zucchi Karol, painter, arrived from Dresden with his mother and sister [Francesca Zucchi and Caterina Placidi — P.K. and J.S.'s note]") (J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi*..., p. 71, footnote 11; A. T. Piotrowski, *Dziennik malarski Andrzeja Radwańskiego*, "Krzysztofory. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa" 16 (1989), p. 113).
- 15 UFUB, C. Caraffa, "*Un nuovo Tempio molto più ampio per i cattolici*"..., p. 142.

service in Dresden, as Costanza Caraffa discovered, on 31 October 1741,¹⁶ and moved with his family to Kraków.¹⁷

The letters of Placidi to Bishop Andrzej Stanisław Kostka Załuski, the Grand Chancellor of the Crown in Dresden, and to his secretary Giovanni Battista Aloy, dated 1742, speak of the first projects of the architect already residing in Poland. In these letters, Placidi mentions several commissions he accepted, some of which are identifiable today.¹⁸ Their scale must have been considerable, especially those that required the Dębniki marble, as the architect intended to lease from the Pisarski family a marble quarry known as the “Pisarski pit” or “Italian pit”, where famous marble deposits were located close to the estates of the Discalced Carmelites in Czerna.¹⁹ In 1742, Placidi joined the Italian Confraternity at the Franciscan Church in Kraków, and was referred to in its sources as the architect of the Bishop of Kraków (Jan Aleksander Lipski) and Augustus III of Poland,²⁰ and similarly in the records of the Parish of All Saints.²¹ In 1743–46, Placidi lived with his family and an unnamed woodcarver in a manor house in the suburbs of Kraków owned by the chapter (probably not far away from the Church of All Saints, whose parishioners he and his wife were at the time).²² In 1750, he took residence in a townhouse at Św. Jana 9 street in Kraków, which was property of the Abbot of the Cistercian Monastery in Jędrzejów, Fr Bernard Łaszewski, leased by painter Andrzej Radwański.²³ In 1756, shortly after the death of his first wife, Placidi married the painter’s daughter, Zofia Radwańska.²⁴ He was elevated first to the rank of lieutenant and later an officer of the dragoon regiment being

16 UFUB, C. Caraffa, “*Un nuovo Tempio molto più ampio per i cattolici*”..., p. 141.

17 Recorded in Kraków since 1742. See J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, pp. 73–74.

18 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, pp. 81–82.

19 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, p. 73.

20 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, pp. 73–74.

21 “architectus Eminentissimi Cardinalis” and “Architectus S[acrae] R[egiae] M[ae]statis” (Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie [Archives of the Metropolitan Curia in Krakow, hereinafter: AKMKr], *Akta metrykalne parafii Wszystkich Świętych w Krakowie*, call sign KM-11-4, *Księga chrztów 1715–1752, passim*).

22 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, p. 75.

23 A. Chmiel, *Domy krakowskie: ulica św. Jana*, part 1: *Liczby or. nieparzyste (1–19)*, Kraków 1924, p. 50; J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, pp. 75–76.

24 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, p. 77.

the foreign corps of the Polish army, captain of the Regiment of Queen's Dragoons, and captain of artillery.²⁵ He survives in Radwański's memoirs as captain "in Mogiła".²⁶ In 1760, Placidi obtained from the Jagiellonian University the title of sworn surveyor.²⁷ In the 1760s, however, his relations with Kraków weakened and cooled, partly due to the death of his former patrons and a dispute with the local masons' guild over the architect's practice of poaching apprentices.²⁸ In the last years of his life (1775–82), Placidi and his wife lived in Kozienice, where he built a hunting lodge for King Stanisław August Poniatowski.²⁹ That was also where he died without issue in 1782.³⁰

During the over fifty years spent in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (c. 1730–82), Placidi worked with a number of artists, many of them local. As yet, his joint ventures with sculptor Wojciech Rojowski,³¹ stonemasons from the Dębniki stonemasonry centre including Tomasz Górecki and Kazimierz Stachowski,³² and painter Andrzej Radwański, into whose family he later married, have been recorded.³³ Yet, the list of artists who

25 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, pp. 76–77.

26 "kapitan w Mogiła" (J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, p. 77; A. T. Piotrowski, *Dziennik malarski...*, p. 115.).

27 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, p. 78.

28 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, pp. 78–79.

29 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, p. 79.

30 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, p. 79.

31 A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska drugiej połowy XVIII wieku. Twórcy, nurty i tendencje*, Kraków 2013, pp. 37, 113–116, 129, 158.

32 For example, Tomasz Górecki made the Altar of St Sebastian for the Camaldolese Church in Kraków designed by Placidi. See: Archiwum Karmelitów Bosych w Czernej [Archive of the Discalced Carmelites in Czerna, hereinafter: AKC], call sign 324, *Liber acceptarum et expensarum ab anno 1734 usque ad annum 1765 mense Maii inclusus*, f. 169v; Archiwum Kamedułów na Bielanych w Krakowie [Camaldolese Archives in Kraków's Bielany, hereinafter: AKB], no call sign, *Kontrakt z Tomaszem Góreckim, 1 III 1759*). Kazimierz Stachowski made the tombstone of Jerzy Antoni Mieroszewski in St Mary's Church in Kraków, attributed to Placidi. See: AKC, call sign 324, *Liber acceptarum...*, f. 51v, 55v; B. Przybyszewski, *Katalog kanoników Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej w XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2009, pp. 131–133.

33 Since 1750, Placidi lived in a townhouse leased by the painter with whom he worked in that year on the decoration of the Bernardine Nuns' Church of St Joseph in Kraków. See: N. Koziara-Ochędusko, *Mistrzostwo rysunku*, Kraków 2022, p. 22. Six months after the death of his first wife, Caterina Zucchi (d. 1756), Placidi

worked with Placidi, also occasionally and temporarily, must have been longer, and certainly included, just to mention painters, Łukasz Orłowski,³⁴ Kazimierz Mołodziński,³⁵ and Franciszek Molitor.³⁶

Community and family connections played a fundamental role in securing commissions and making joint projects.³⁷ Contacts with architects were especially valuable for artists, as those were the architects who had a say in the selection of partners and contractors for specific commissions.³⁸ Some of these relationships did turn into long-term professional collaborations between an architect and another craftsman, artistic issues also playing a key role in this case. In-depth research into both the community and art established that one of the sculptors frequently

married Zofia, daughter of painter Andrzej Radwański. See: J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, pp. 70, 81.

- 34 Placidi turns up with Łukasz Orłowski in the records of the parishes of All Saints (see: AKMKr, *Akta metrykalne parafii Wszystkich Świętych w Krakowie*, call sign KM-11-25, *Copulatorum 1742–1760 Februar 1761–1766 24/6*, f. 144v) and of St Mary (see: Archiwum Parafii Wniebowzięcia NMP w Krakowie [Archives of the Parish of the Assumption of the BVM in Kraków, hereinafter: APWNMP], call sign 374, *Metrica baptizatorum in Ecclesia Parochiali B.M.V. I Circulo Crac. 1738–1758*, p. 432). They also worked on many projects, including the main altar in the Collegiate Church in Sandomierz (see: A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae Sandomiriensis. Dzieje modernizacji wnętrza kolegiaty sandomierskiej w XVIII wieku w świetle źródeł archiwalnych*, Kraków 2016, pp. 80–81) and the main altar of All Saints' Collegiate Church in Kraków, from where the structure was moved to a church in the Kraków suburb of Pleszów (J. Skrabski, *Pleszów. Ołtarz boczny*, in: *Sakralne Dziedzictwo Małopolski*, <https://sdm.upjp2.edu.pl/dziela/oltarz-boczny-65> (Accessed on: 29 January 2024)), and the painting — to the Church of St Peter and St Paul in Kraków.
- 35 Placidi might have collaborated with this painter on the furnishing of the monastic church in Hebdów.
- 36 Molitor painted St John Nepomucene for the Altar of St Sebastian made to Placidi's design for the Camaldolese Church in Bielany in Kraków. The Camaldolese signed a contract with the painter on 1 March 1759. The document was found by Jacek Gajewski. See: AKB, J. Gajewski, *Wystrój kościoła oo. Kamedułów na Bielanych pod Krakowem w świetle źródeł archiwalnych*, p. 130 (unpublished typescript by the author).
- 37 Unfortunately, the lack of research into the question of private and professional relationships in Kraków in the 18th century, mainly of queries and studies of registry records, is sorely missed.
- 38 A. Bernatowicz, *Malarze w Warszawie czasów Stanisława Augusta. Status — aspiracje — twórczość*, Warszawa 2016, p. 114.

working with Placidi was a hardly known artist from Opava who settled in Kraków: Ludwig Ladislaus.

Next to nothing is known about the sculptor hailing from Opava. He identified himself as “Ludwig Ladislaus” in the two surviving contracts.³⁹ The sculptor’s surname is derived from a first name, which resulted in its various spellings in the sources, notably “Władysław”, “Ladislaw”, “Ładysław”, “Ladyslaw”, and “Ladyslowski”, while his first name was Polish into “Ludwik” or used in its Latin forms “Ludovicus” and “Ludowicus”.⁴⁰ The form generally accepted in literature, following Józef Lepiarczyk, who first published information about the sculptor, is Ludwik Ladislaw.⁴¹ However literature has also given the sculptor different names, often confusing his surname with the first name, making him Władysław Ludwig and Władysław Ludwik.⁴² Nonetheless, Ludwig Ladislaus, the

- 39 Archiwum oo. Paulinów na Skałce w Krakowie [Archive of the Pauline Fathers on Skałka in Kraków, hereinafter: APS], call sign 271, *Akta i rachunki o restauracji i instalacji dachów, ołtarzów, posadzek, itp. 1662–1788*, pp. 169–170; J. Lepiarczyk, *Wiadomości źródłowe do dziejów budowy i urzędzenia barokowego kościoła na Skałce w Krakowie*, “Rocznik Krakowski” 35 (1961), p. 48; A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, annex 18 (mistakenly as Ludwig Ladislaw); Biblioteka Diecezjalna w Sandomierzu [Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, hereinafter: BDS], Archiwum Kapituły Kolegiackiej i Katedralnej w Sandomierzu [hereinafter: AKKK], call sign 954, *Fabrica Ecclesiae I*, f. 88 [contract with Ludwig Ladislaus] (quoted from: A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, annex XVI); U. Stępień, *Rzeźby z katedry sandomierskiej w zbiorach Muzeum Diecezjalnego*, in: *Amicissima. Studia Magdalene Piwocka oblata*, ed. by G. Korpala et al., Kraków 2010, p. 399.
- 40 AKMKr, *Akta metrykalne parafii Wszystkich Świętych w Krakowie*, call sign KM-11-4, *Księga chrztów...*, *passim*; R. Świętochowski, *Dwaj rzeźbiarze dominikańscy*, “Rocznik Krakowski” 50 (1980), p. 105.
- 41 J. Lepiarczyk, *Wiadomości źródłowe...*, p. 48. “Ludwik Ladislaw” (K. Brzezina, *Rzeźba i mała architektura sakralna księstw opawskiego i karniowskiego w XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2004, pp. 60, 78; A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, pp. 82–89); “Ludvik Ladislaw” (B. Indra, *Život a dílo opavského barokního sochaře Johanna Georga Lehnera (Přispěvek k dílu Umělecké památky Moravy a Slezska)*, “Časopis Slezského zemského muzea. Série B: Vědy Historické” 41 (1992) no. 1, p. 37; M. Schenková, J. Olšovský, *Barokní malířství a sochařství v západní části českého Slezska*, Opava 2001, pp. 25, 139; Archiv Masarykovy university v Brně, J. Olšovský, *Barokní sochařství v Rakouském Slezsku (1650–1800)*, doctoral dissertation, Brno 2006, pp. 38, 43).
- 42 “Ludwig Ladislaw” (A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, Kraków 2016, p. 157); “Władysław Ludwik” (S. Makarewicz, *Artyści i rzemieślnicy sandomierskiej kolegiaty*, “Studia

form of the name the sculptor used himself, seems the most proper, and is also the one by which he is referred to in this work.

Ludwig Ladislaus was first recorded in Kraków on 11 July 1741, when he obtained the Freedom of the City.⁴³ This indicates that by that time he had already enjoyed the status of a master craftsman, even if he was not registered in the Guild of Carpenters and Lacquerers or the Guild of Masons and Stonecutters.⁴⁴ He most likely migrated from his hometown in the wake of the Silesian Wars waged in close vicinity of Opava and became one of the many artists who left the area in search of work.⁴⁵ It was probably around 1741 or earlier that Ludwig Ladislaus married Regina⁴⁶ as they baptised their daughter, Elżbieta Marianna in Kraków on 29 June 1742.⁴⁷ Two more daughters, Anna Teresa (12 June 1744) and Joanna

Sandomierskie” 2 (1981), p. 257; M. Łodyńska-Kosińska, *Ludwig Władysław*, in: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających: malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy*, vol. 5, ed. by J. Derwojed, Warszawa 1993, p. 150; U. Stępień, *Rzeźby z katedry sandomierskiej...*, p. 399); “Władysław Ludwik” (*Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 3: *Województwo kieleckie*, ed. by J. Z. Łoziński, B. Wolff, issue: 11: *Powiat sandomierski*, ed. by J. Z. Łoziński, T. Przytkowski, Warszawa 1962, p. 58; J. Sito, *Warsztat rzeźbiarski Tomasza Huttera. Zagadnienia rozwoju i promieniowania*, in: *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, ed. by J. K. Ostrowski, Kraków 1994, p. 113).

- 43 “[...] Die 11 M[en]sis Julii, Anno D[omi]ni 1741, H[one]st[us] Ludovicus Władysław sculptor Opavia”; At the entry, he was vouched for by wigmaker Godfryd Pawlik, and Kraków carpenter Wojciech Kruszyna. See: Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [National Archives in Kraków], *Akta miasta Krakowa*, call sign 1429, *Catalogus civium cracoviensis secundi ordinis... 1726–1750*, pp. 93–94; J. Lepiarczyk, *Wiadomości źródłowe...*, footnote 41; A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, p. 83, annex 17 (mistakenly as Ludoviens Władysław).
- 44 In the first half of the 18th century, Kraków sculptors working in wood often joined the Guild of Carpenters and Lacquerers, while those working in stone – the Guild of Masons and Stonecutters.
- 45 K. Brzezina, *Rzeźba i mała architektura...*, pp. 29–30; K. Brzezina, *Na skrzyżowaniu dróg artystycznych, czyli o osiemnastowiecznym wyposażeniu rzeźbiarskim kościołów Opatowa*, in: *Barok i barokizacja*, ed. by K. Brzezina, J. Wolańska, Kraków 2007, p. 186.
- 46 Unfortunately, no marriage records from 1656–1741 from the Parish of All Saints in Kraków have survived.
- 47 AKMKr, *Akta metrykalne parafii Wszystkich Świętych w Krakowie*, call sign KM-11-4, *Księga chrztów...*, f. 269v.

Katarzyna Józefa (23 May 1746) were born to the couple.⁴⁸ The sculptor was also records several times as a godfather.⁴⁹ On 12 November 1746, six months after the birth of his last daughter, Ludwig Ladislaus married Małgorzata Malgin,⁵⁰ which suggests the death of his first wife.⁵¹ Records of the Parish of All Saints indicate that he lived close to the Cemetery of the Holy Trinity in 1742–46. Another recorded fact about Ludwig Ladislaus is that he joined the Centuria Archconfraternity of the Rosary active by the Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity on 2 May 1744.⁵² By the end of 1746, the sculptor and his second wife had settled in the Parish of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kraków,⁵³ and consequently his name appears in its records from then on. On 18 October 1747, in his new parish, he baptised another daughter, Marianna Teresa.⁵⁴ Next, Ludwig Ladislaus appears as a godfather on 15 February 1755,⁵⁵ and this is the last piece of biographical information concerning the sculptor in parish books found in Kraków. This was without doubt caused by Ladislaus carrying out works outside Kraków.

Obtaining the Freedom of the City and marrying are powerful suggestions that around 1741 Ludwig Ladislaus establishing his own workshop in Kraków. His first job as a sculptor as such and in Kraków to be substantiated in archives were the capitals for the side walls and the chancel of the Pauline Church on Skałka that he made in 1743.⁵⁶ The contract refers to the sculptor as “Ludwik Ladyslaw, Esq., Master of the Carving

48 AKMKr, *Akta metrykalne parafii Wszystkich Świętych w Krakowie*, call sign KM-11-4, *Księga chrztów...*, f. 298v, 327.

49 17 January 1744 and 15 July 1745 (AKMKr, *Akta metrykalne parafii Wszystkich Świętych w Krakowie*, call sign KM-11-4, *Księga chrztów...*, f. 293v, 315).

50 AKMKr, *Akta metrykalne parafii Wszystkich Świętych w Krakowie*, call sign KM-11-25, *Copulatorum...*, f. 35v.

51 Unfortunately, no death records from before 1760 from the Parish of All Saints in Kraków have survived.

52 R. Świętochowski, *Dwaj rzeźbiarze...*, p. 105; M. Łodyńska-Kosińska, *Ludwig Władysław...*, p. 150; A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, p. 83.

53 AKMKr, *Akta metrykalne parafii Wszystkich Świętych w Krakowie*, call sign KM-11-25, *Copulatorum...*, f. 35v.

54 APWNMP, call sign 374, *Metrica...*, p. 211.

55 APWNMP, call sign 374, *Metrica...*, p. 379.

56 APS, call sign 271, *Akta i rachunki...*, pp. 169–170; J. Lepiarczyk, *Wiadomości źródłowe...*, p. 48; A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, p. 83.

Art”.⁵⁷ The following information source on Ladislaus only dates back to the latter half of the 1750s. According to a preserved contract, the sculptor completed the sculptural decoration of the main altar in the Collegiate Church in Sandomierz in 1756–57.⁵⁸ In exactly the same years, as validated by documents found in archives, he carried out works for the church by the Bernardine monastery in Święta Anna (currently of the Dominican Nuns in Aleksandrówka), namely the Altar of St Francis with figures and the sculptural group of the Holy Trinity on the rood wall.⁵⁹ Anna Dettloff also attributed to him two figures of St Johns in the Altar of St John the Baptist in the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kraków, sculptures in the main altar of St Barbara’s the Church in Kraków, and two altars with sculptural decoration in the transept of the Church of the Canons Regular in Mstów (1740–44).⁶⁰ Recently, Agata Dworzak hypothetically attributed two figures from the Crucifixion altar of the collegiate church in Skalbmierz to the sculptor.⁶¹

The origin and the works completed on Skalka have made many researchers associate Ladislaus with the sculptor Johann Georg Lehner,⁶²

57 Oryginalny: “Pan Ludwik Ladyslaw Magister Kunsztu Snycerskiego” (APS, call sign 271, Akta i rachunki..., pp. 169–170).

58 *Katalog zabytków...*, vol. 3, issue 11, p. 58; S. Makarewicz, *Bazylika katedralna w Sandomierzu*, Sandomierz 1976, pp. 47–48; S. Makarewicz, *Artyści i rzemieślnicy...*, p. 257; U. Stępień, *Rzeźby z katedry sandomierskiej...*, p. 399; M. Łodyńska-Kosińska, *Ludwig Władysław...*, p. 150; A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, p. 85; A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, pp. 77–79.

59 Archiwum Prowincji oo. Bernardynów w Krakowie [Archive of the Bernardine Province in Kraków, hereinafter: APBK], call sign S-przy-1, *Archivum conventus Przyroviensis ad S. Annam*, p. 303 (za: A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, p. 83, annex 19).

60 A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, p. 83; A. Dettloff, *Osiemnastowieczne wyposażenie rzeźbiarskie kościoła kanoników regularnych laterańskich w Mstowie*, in: *Mstów. Miasto – klasztor – parafia na przestrzeni wieków*, ed. by K. Łatak, Łomianki 2013, pp. 273–274. The authors believe the attribution of works in St Mary’s Church in Kraków to Ladislaus to be mistaken. Similar doubts were also expressed by Michał Kurzej. See: M. Kurzej, *Anna Dettloff, Rzeźba krakowska drugiej połowy wieku XVIII. Twórcy, nurty, tendencje*, Wydawnictwo AFM, Kraków 2013, 384 pp, 442 il., “Modus. Prace z historii sztuki” 15 (2015), p. 287.

61 A. Dworzak, *Uwagi na temat osiemnastowiecznego wyposażenia kolegiaty w Skalbmierzu*, “Modus. Prace z historii sztuki” 22 (2022), p. 60.

62 B. Indra, *Život a dílo...*, p. 37; M. Schenková, J. Olšovský, *Barokní malířství a sochařství...*, pp. 25, 139; K. Brzezina, *Rzeźba i mała architektura...*, pp. 60, 78;

who hailed from around Regensburg and ran a workshop in Opava, who was the author of the stucco decoration of the altars and other works in the Church on Skalka in Kraków.⁶³ However, new sources reveal that Ludwig Ladislaus, who settled in Kraków three years before Lehner's arrival (c. mid-1744) and established a family and a sculptural workshop in the city, arrived and worked in Kraków entirely independently of Lehner. He might have had some connections to Lehner's workshop in Opava earlier, yet there are no formal hints to support the claim.⁶⁴

Ladislaus was recorded in Kraków since 1741, and Placidi since 1742.⁶⁵ It can be guessed that the artists met soon thereafter, as the architect's first wife, Caterina Placidi, became the godmother of the sculptor's daughter on 12 June 1744.⁶⁶ What research has recognised the first joint work of Francesco Placidi and Ludwig Ladislaus is the architectural and sculptural furnishing of the St Bartholomew's Church in Morawica. A reason for employing the sculptor in the church in Morawica might have been a nearly concurrent work on two side altars with figures for the church in Tenczynek (also in the estates and under the patronage of the Czartoryski family) in 1748 that was attributed to Ladislaus or by an earlier collaboration of the duo.⁶⁷ In the 1750s, Placidi and Ladislaus must have

J. Olšovský, *Barokní sochařství...*, pp. 38, 43; A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, p. 83.

63 J. Lepiarczyk, *Wiadomości źródłowe...*, p. 49; K. Brzezina, *Dekoracja rzeźbiarska Jana Jerzego Lehnera w kościele Paulinów na Skalce w Krakowie*, "Studia Claromontana" 17 (1997), pp. 625–633; K. Brzezina, *Rzeźba i mała architektura...*, p. 78.

64 Anna Dettloff tried to trace the origin of the sculptor's creation from the circles of Opava artists, suggesting that Ladislaus might have met Lehner and/or practiced in his workshop. See: A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, pp. 87–89.

65 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, p. 72.

66 AKMKr, *Akta metrykalne parafii Wszystkich Świętych w Krakowie*, call sign KM-11-4, *Księga chrztów...*, f. 298v.

67 The files of the canonical visitation of 1748 only mention the new, still unpainted, side altar devoted to the BVM. See: AKMKr, *Akta wizytacji biskupich*, call sign 30, *Status ecclesiarum seu acta visitationis decanatum Novi Montis et Bythomiensis in Polonia sub auspiciis Fel. regimine Cel. Principis R.D. Andrea Stanislai Kostka comitis in Zahuskie Zahuski, episcopi Cracoviensis, ducis Severiae, equitis Aquilae Albae, anno quo intra (1747 et 1748) conscripta*, p. 93. A second, new side retable must have been created shortly afterwards, as the altars were consecrated in 1748. See: J. Kracik, *Konsekracje kościołów i ołtarzy w diecezji krakowskiej w XVII–XVIII wieku*,

worked together on subsequent joint projects: the altars in Kobylanka and Sandomierz discussed below. The works listed below include ones confirmed in archival sources as the architect's or the sculptor's. They have been complemented with attributions based on formal comparative analysis that allow to put forth a claim that architect Placidi and sculptor Ladislaus worked together for around a decade.

MORAWICA, the furnishing of St Bartholomew's Parish Church

The church was founded by Aleksander August and Maria Zofia Czartoryski in 1743 to the design by Francesco Placidi.⁶⁸ The architect himself confirmed his authorship in a letter to Bishop Andrzej Stanisław Kostka Załuski of 14 October 1742, in which he mentioned the design of a parish church for Prince Czartoryski in his estates.⁶⁹ The founders obtained funds for the construction from the sale of liturgical paraments from the castle chapel in nearby Tenczyn.⁷⁰ Although the parish chronicle from the late 19th century maintains that the old church was demolished in just five days (22–27 April 1743),⁷¹ the actual circumstances of the demolition are unknown. The foundation stone of the new church was laid on 29 April 1743, and the “fabric of the new church” was only completed on 26 October 1748.⁷²

The records from the canonical visitation in 1748 contain a description of the newly built masonry church and mentions five altars that had been fashioned but not yet installed in the church (*Altaribus quinque iam*

“Nasza Przeszłość” 61 (1984), p. 144. Attribution of the side altars in Tenczynek to Ladislaus see: J. Skrabski, *Tenczynek. Ołtarz boczny Matki Bożej Śnieżnej*, in: *Sakralne Dziedzictwo Małopolski*, <https://sdm.upjp2.edu.pl/dziela/oltarz-boczny-matki-bozej-snieznej> (Accessed on: 12 May 2023); J. Skrabski, *Tenczynek. Ołtarz boczny św. Katarzyny*, in: *Sakralne Dziedzictwo Małopolski*, <https://sdm.upjp2.edu.pl/dziela/oltarz-boczny-sw-katarzyny-1> (Accessed on: 12 May 2023).

68 Archiwum Parafialne w Morawicy [Archive of the Parish in Morawica, hereinafter: APM], no call sign, *Liber memorabilium*, p. 11.

69 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Franciszek Placidi...*, pp. 72, 73.

70 Archiwum Parafialne w Tenczynku [Archive of the Parish in Tenczynek], call sign I.8, *Dekret Księdza Kardynała Lipskiego Biskupa Krakowskiego wydany w r. 1742 w sprawie użycia sreber kaplicy w zamku Tęczyńskim na budowę kościoła w Morawicy*.

71 APM, *Liber memorabilium*, p. 11.

72 Oryginalnie “fabryka nowego kościoła” (APM, *Liber memorabilium*, p. 11; M. Kwaśnik, *Morawica. Bogactwo wieków*, Kraków 2010, p. 85).

elaborates nec dum tamem collocates).⁷³ It is, however, unclear whether this information refers to the altar tables or entire altars including the retables. Either way, the comment provides the grounds for dating the altars to no earlier than c. 1748. The consecration of the church and two altars, as attested by the inscription on the memorial plaque above the entrance to the old sacristy, was performed by Bishop of Kraków Andrzej Stanisław Kostka Załuski on 27 July 1755.⁷⁴ Consecrated at the time were the main altar dedicated to St Bartholomew, the patron saint of the entire church, and the side altar of Our Lady of the Rosary and St Joseph. It is likely that, in that year, the other altars either had yet had no paintings or had no retables installed, which may finetune the time of making and installing the altars to the years 1748–55.

The earliest description of the furnishings of the church in Morawica is found in the proceedings from the visitation in 1783 listing the main altar, four side altars, the pulpit, and the baptismal font with a canopy, together forming a counterpulpit.⁷⁵ This allows dating the pulpit and counterpulpit to the period after 1748 and before 1783. As far as the origin

73 AKMKr, *Akta wizytacji biskupich*, call sign 30, *Status ecclesiarum...*, pp. 123, 124.

74 “Dominus in templo sancto suo elegit et sanctificavit locum istum, quem Andreas Stanislaus Kostka Załuski Dei et Apost. sedis gratia Episcopus crac. Dux Severiae, una cum duobus altaribus maiori sub titulo S. Bartholomei apost. ecclesiae huius titularis patroni et altaris minori sub titulo Beate Virg. Rosaliae et Josephi consecravit A. d. 1755 die 27 Julii”.

75 Oryginally: “Ołtarz Wielki o trzech marmurowych gradusach z mensą murowaną konsekrowaną na której ciborium równie z całym ołtarzem niebiesko malowane w rzeźbie złożone w którym Pasja Pana Ukrzyżowanego. Ołtarze cztery poboczne po dwa gradusy drewniane mające mensy murowane wszystkie wzorem wielkiego ołtarza malowane, w jednym obraz Matki Boskiej Różańcowej Ten tylko z Wielkim Ołtarzem Konsekrowany, w drugim Sgo Bartłomieja, w trzecim Sgo Jana Chrzciciela w Czwartym Sgo Andrzeja Apostoła obrazy. Chrzcielnica na jednym gradusie marmurowa z drewnianym malowanym przykryciem, ambona” (literally: “The High Altar with three marble steps and a consecrated masonry mensa, on which a ciborium, painted blue like the whole altar, with gilded sculptures, in which the Passion of the Crucified Lord. Four side altars, each with two wooden steps that have masonry mensas, painting of all modelled on the high altar, in one a painting of Our Lady of the Rosary: this only was Consecrated with the High Altar, paintings: in the second — of St Bartholomew, in the third — of St John the Baptist, in the Fourth — of St Andrew the Apostle. Baptismal font on a single marble step with a wooden painted canopy, pulpit” (AKMKr, *Akta wizytacji biskupich*, call

1. Morawica, St Bartholomew's Church, view of the interior, photo by Pracownia Inwentaryzacji i Digitalizacji Zabytków Uniwersytetu Papieskiego Jana Pawła II w Krakowie [hereinafter: PIDZ UPJPII]



2. Morawica, St Bartholomew's Church, main altar, designed by F. Placidi (attributed) and Ludwig Ladislaus (attributed), 1748–55, photo by PIDZ UPJPII



of the latter is concerned, it can only be assumed that it was made shortly after the marble baptismal font, a product of Dębnik stonemasons from 1756.⁷⁶

All existing literature has associated the design of the furnishings of the church in Morawica with its architect, Francesco Placidi (Fig. 1).⁷⁷ Researchers have repeatedly emphasised that it is an excellent example of a uniform set created according to the architect's intention, albeit not without a creative contribution from the carpenter-sculptor's workshop.⁷⁸ The most important element of the interior, both in visual and ideological terms, is the monumental main altar, to which the eye is guided between the pairs of side altars fit into shallow niches between the pillars on the side walls. The pulpit, located in the left corner of the nave, received a compositional counterpart in the right corner: the antipulpit over the baptismal font, which allowed for maintaining the principle of symmetry and depth of the interior.

Evidence to Placidi's authorship of the design of the main altar of the church in Morawica comes in its architectural character (Fig. 2). The altar was remodelled in 1934, when it was expanded with two columns

sign 55, Protokół Wizyty Generalney z Dekanatow Skalskiego i Nowogurskiego, 1783, p. 615).

- 76 The baptismal font was most likely a work of stonemason Tomasz Górecki, who visited Morawica at the end of 1756, when he made a calculation for the marbles for the Sandomierz collegiate church. See: AKC, call sign 324, *Liber acceptarum et expensarum...*, f. 150v; A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, p. 78.
- 77 *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 1: *Województwo krakowskie*, ed. by J. Szablowski, Warszawa 1953, pp. 166–167; T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, *Sztuka ziemi krakowskiej*, Kraków 1982, pp. 366, 401–402; M. Kornecki, *Sztuka sakralna. Natura i kultura w krajobrazie Jury*, Kraków 1993, pp. 57, 84–85; M. Kwaśnik, *Morawica...*, pp. 88–97; *Zabytki sztuki w Polsce. Małopolska*, ed. by S. Brzezicki, J. Wolańska, Warszawa 2016, pp. 917–918; W. Palmowski, B. Krawiec, *VIII wieków wiary, 270 lat świątyni. Morawica na progu trzeciego tysiąclecia*, Morawica 2019, p. 10.
- 78 As many researchers have emphasised, Morawica is a unique example of a coherent and uniform interior design. Usually, the furnishing was made or modernised in the course of many years, and thus a coherent whole created at the same time is quite an exception. See: J. Skrabski, *Modernizacje małopolskich kościołów w okresie późnego baroku: między tradycją a innowacją*, in: *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, vol. 11: *Tradycja i innowacja w sztuce nowożytnej*, ed. by I. Rolska, K. Gombin, Lublin 2012, pp. 413–433.

3. Kozięłowy,
Altar of St
Anthony, F. Pla-
cidi, 1761–62,
photo by Insty-
tut Sztuki PAN.



4. Święta Anna
(Aleksan-
drówka),
Church of Do-
minican Nuns
(formerly of the
Bernardine
Order), Altar
of St Francis,
Ludwig Ladis-
laus, 1756–57,
photo by P. Kluz



and raised by the addition of two steps.⁷⁹ Placidi repeated the original arrangement of the columns on staggered pedestals with wavy ends of the broken pediment above the external columns, its central curved part over an oval panel framed by volutes in the design for the altar for the church in Koziegłówwki (currently Koziegłowy) in black Dębnik marble (Fig. 3). The Italian architect also repeated the form of plinths framed by volutes cascading down over the side gates he designed in the Morawica altar, in the portal of the Piarist Church in Kraków, and in the Altar of the Mansionaries in Sandomierz.

As a rule, an architect, especially one educated in Italy, defined the shape of the building and incorporated into its structure elements of furnishing, which he often sketched. Yet it was the carpenter or sculptor with his workshop, who gave the furnishing its final form. The architectural structure of the main altar in Morawica is highly similar to the Retable of St Francis in the former Bernardine Church in Święta Anna (Fig. 4), confirmed in the archives to be a work of sculptor Ludwig Ladislaus.⁸⁰ The altar retables have a similar, tiered arrangement of supports as well as decorations and crowning. Ladislaus also made use of a similar solution for other works attributed to him, notably the altars in Mstów (1740–44)⁸¹ and the main altar in Igołomia (1763).⁸²

Placidi might have given a general description of the interior decoration and designed the side altars, or a design for the church roughly outlining the silhouettes of the altars (Figs 1, 5). The motifs visible therein, such as oval panels and converging volutes in the pediments, are present in his works, yet the sophisticated profiles of pillars appended at an angle, and the concave and convex cornices allow to put forth a hypothesis about the creative role of the sculptor himself and his team of carpenters implementing the design to the architect's general guidelines and drawings. Another supporting hint is the similarity to the side altars in the church

79 These works were carried out by gilder Jan Świeboda and carpenter Galant to the design of architect Edward Litwin. See: APM, *Liber memorabilium*, p. 253; M. Kwaśnik, *Morawica...*, p. 89.

80 For the altar at St Anne's, see: APBK, call sign S-przy-1, *Archivum conventus...*, p. 303; A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, p. 83, annex 19.

81 A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, p. 83.

82 The author attributes the main altar in Igołomia to Ladislaus. See: P. Kluz, *Igołomia. Ołtarz główny*, in: *Sakralne Dziedzictwo Małopolski*, <https://sdm.upjp2.edu.pl/dziela/oltarz-glowny-68> (Accessed on: 20 September 2023).

5. Morawica, St Bartholomew's Church, side altar of Our Lady, designed by F. Placidi (attributed), Ludwig Ladislaus (attributed), 1748–55, photo by PIDZ UPJPII



6. Święta Anna (Aleksandrówka), Church of Dominican Nuns (formerly of the Bernardine Order), Holy Trinity group, Ludwig Ladislaus, 1756–57, photo by P. Kluz



in Tenczynek (1748), attributed to Ladislaus,⁸³ especially in the unusual arrangement of supports that make up an entirely fantastic profile of full entablature.

A clue that might suggest the maker of the furnishing in the church in Morawica is the solution used in its interior, namely the symmetrical arrangement of the pulpit and antipulpit in the form of the superstructure for the baptismal font, with the two being formally and structurally related to each other (Fig. 1). It should be emphasised that such a compositional model was highly popular in the Habsburg countries, especially in Moravia and Silesia, and in the Austrian Silesia: the region of the Empire that bordered Małopolska.⁸⁴ Beginning with the middle of the 18th century, this model also entered the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth with artists arriving from these areas, even if it was extremely rare, and its instances were limited to the Lublin Region.⁸⁵ In the territory of the former Kraków Voivodeship, this solution was next to non-existent, except for Morawica and a later creation in the church in Niepołomice (1786).⁸⁶ The appearance of the pulpit-antipulpit model in the interior design of the church in Morawica should therefore be linked to an artist familiar with such a solution as he came from the territory where it was popular. A condition met by Ludwigo Ladislaus, a sculptor from Opava, in whose artistic circles this model was extremely popular.⁸⁷

A comparative analysis with works confirmed to be Ladislaus's by the sources in the archives in the churches in Święta Anna (Aleksandrówka) and Sandomierz allows to attribute the making of the sculptural

83 J. Skrabski, *Tenczynek. Ołtarz boczny Matki Bożej Śnieżnej*; J. Skrabski, *Tenczynek. Ołtarz boczny św. Katarzyny*.

84 K. Brzezina, *Rzeźba i mała architektura...*, pp. 186–199.

85 Connected to the activities of artists of German origin, i.e. Johann Elias Hoffman and Sebastian Zeisel et al. See: P. Kluz, *Analogia ad legendum. Funkcja znaczeniowa, użytkowa i kompozycyjna dwóch ambon w kościele oo. Dominikanów w Lublinie*, "Folia Historica Cracoviensia" 22 (2016), pp. 146–148.

86 The use of the pulpit-antipulpit pair in the church in Niepołomice is linked to the engagement of artists of Austrian origin working at the time (1786) in the territory of the Austrian Partition. The pulpit was later removed. See: P. Kluz, *Niepołomice. Chrzcielnica w architektonicznej obudowie*, in: *Sakralne Dziedzictwo Małopolski*, <https://sdm.upjp2.edu.pl/dziela/chrzcielnica-w-architektonicznej-obudowie> (Accessed on: 5 May 2023).

87 K. Brzezina, *Rzeźba i mała architektura...*, pp. 186–199.

7. Morawica,
St Bartholomew's
Church, figure
of St John the
Baptist from the
main altar, Lud-
wig Ladislaus
(attributed),
1748-55, photo
by PIDZ UPJPII



8. Morawica,
St Bartholomew's
Church, fig-
ure of St John
the Evangelist
from the main
altar, Ludwig
Ladislaus
(attributed),
1748-55, photo
by PIDZ UPJPII



decorations for the furnishings of the church in Morawica to Ludwig Ladislaus and his workshop. Most of the figures adorning the altars in the church in Morawica are consistent in terms of form, even if their chiselling is not at the same level. The figures of angels and putti in the side Altar of St Isidore, which were most likely a product of his workshop, are visibly of poorer artistic quality.

The central niche of the main altar in Morawica contains a sculpture of Christ on the Cross, which together with the dove of the Holy Spirit in the crowning and the figure of God the Father extending beyond the top, all arranged in a straight line, forms the complete Holy Trinity (Fig. 2). Ladislaus created a similar composition on the rood wall of the church in Święta Anna (Fig. 6). Both the figures of the Crucified Christ share the positioning of the body, the manner of suspending and draping of the perizonium, the modelling of the body, and the features of the face. The figure of God the Father at the top of the main altar in Morawica has a very similar face and sculpted as his counterpart in Święta Anna. Their bodies are also arranged in a similar manner, with the head bent forward and arms spread to the sides, and wear similarly moulded garments with a characteristic piece of fabric blown up by the wind behind the head.

Nearly all figures in the Morawica altars share the same way of presenting the body: with a fairly stout silhouette, with a characteristic short torso and high waist, visibly wide shoulders and a short neck, which, taken all together, give make them somewhat stocky (Figs 7–10). The figures are sculpted into free and natural poses, with *contrapposto*, in light bends of the body, with balanced arrangements, their hands frozen in motion or while performing a gesture: parallels to sculptures in Sandomierz and Święta Anna confirmed to be Ladislaus's by archival sources (Figs 11–12, 18–20). When compared to the ones from Święta Anna, the figures in Morawica show similar modelling of the robes, that is a tunic tightly clinging to the body, strongly creased and draped to reflect the pose, and hanging more loosely in vertical folds at the bottom. The fabric of the outer garments is modelled far more expressively, yet always arranged to result from the movements of the figure. The undulating, wavy, and at times even broken folds wrap the figures as they hang from the shoulders, hips, and waists. Elements highly characteristic of Ladislaus's works are the distinctive turn-outs and bends of the fabric of the robe on the sides of the figures, and the frequently present characteristic arrangement into "a shell" in the front, especially well visible in the figures of St Joachim (Fig. 9) and St John the Evangelist in Morawica (Fig. 8), and the sculptures of St Joseph and St Joachim in Sandomierz (Figs 19–20).

9. Morawica, St Bartholomew's Church, figure of St Joachim from the Altar of Our Lady, Ludwig Ladislaus (attributed), 1748-55, photo by PIDZ UPJPII



10. Morawica, St Bartholomew's Church, figure of an angel from the Altar of St Isidore the Ploughman, Ludwig Ladislaus (attributed), 1748-55, photo by PIDZ UPJPII



The way of moulding the exposed parts of the body with clearly emphasised, softly modelled musculature and strongly marked chest bones including the lines of the ribs, sternum, and clavicles, as in Ladislaus's figure of Christ in Sandomierz (Fig. 18) is repeated in the figures in Morawica: St John the Baptist (Fig. 7) and the figures of two Moors. They also show a way of modelling the muscled legs with clearly emphasised shin-bone and patella, characteristic of Ladislaus, which is also recognisable in the figures of the Crucified Christ in both Morawica and Święta Anna (Figs 2, 6).

Ladislaus's signature style is particularly well visible in the way he sculpted faces and hair in the figures in Święta Anna and Sandomierz, whose attribution to him is confirmed in the archives (Figs 11–12, 18–20). They all have wide, square faces with a low forehead, clearly marked generous ears, large, almond-shaped eyes with long and gently arcing eyebrows highly characteristic of his figures, straight noses that are wide at the base, and full, slightly parted lips. The hair in Ladislaus's figures is dishevelled, strongly curled and wavy, sculpted into smaller strands above the forehead, around the face, and on the chin, and larger curls on the head, taking up volume on the sides, and often halfway covering the large ears.

The similarity of the Morawica figures to Ladislaus's confirmed works is evident when comparing the faces of St John the Baptist, St John the Evangelist, and St Joachim (Figs 7–9) to sculptures from the altar in Sandomierz, especially to the figures from the group of the Holy Trinity and the figure of St Joseph (Figs 18–19). The features of their faces and the way of modelling their hair are very similar, which testifies to being products of the same sculptor. The formal features of the figures of angels in the altars of the Virgin Mary and of St Francis in Morawica (Figs 5, 10) are extremely close to those of the sculptures of two angels in the Altar of St Francis in Święta Anna (Figs 11–12). They all have very similar features, analogous to the ones described above: with a distinct chin and gentle, full jawline, typical of beardless faces produced by this artist. There is, however, no comparative material for the figure of St Anne in Morawica (Fig. 5), as there are no archivally confirmed female figures sculpted by Ladislaus. Nonetheless, the face of St Anne has features corresponding to his style that are also close to the beardless masculine faces, e.g. the figures of saint monks in the Altar of St Francis in Święta Anna (Fig. 4).

The stylistic features of the two Moors sculptured for the Altar of St Bartholomew in Morawica are consistent with Ladislaus's formal repertoire. Both the faces are characteristic of the African type

11. Święta Anna (Aleksandrówka), Church of Dominican Nuns (formerly of the Bernardine Order), figure of the right angel from the Altar of St Francis, Ludwig Ladislaus, 1756–57, photo by J. Skrabski



12. Święta Anna (Aleksandrówka), Church of Dominican Nuns (formerly of the Bernardine Order), figure of the left angel from the Altar of St Francis, Ludwig Ladislaus, 1756–57, photo by J. Skrabski



of physiognomy, that is have mouths with large, full lips and noses with flattened, wide nostrils, while the remaining features, notably the way of sculpting the eyes and the eyebrows, and the shapes of the face and ears are characteristic of figures made by this sculptor. The sculptor must have drawn his representation of exotic characters and their costumes from engravings.

Concluding, participation of Ludwig Ladislaus woodworking and sculpting workshop in the execution of the structures of the altars of the church in Morawica is clear. Moreover, the stylistic features of the sculptures of saints and angels in these altars allow their attribution to this sculptor. A commission of that size, that is for an entire set of altars and figures, required the participation of the workshop and assistants, hence not all the figures were produced at the same artistic level, yet the whole set gives the impression of a coherent style.

KOBYLANKA, the main altar in the parish church of St John the Baptist

Another work that the author of this article associates with the joint activity of the Italian architect and the sculptor from Opava is the main altar in the parish church in Kobylanka near Gorlice: a famous sanctuary of the Crucified Christ. The church building in Kobylanka was erected in the 1740s as a foundation of Jan Wielopolski, and consecrated on 11 October 1750 by Bishop Michał Kunicki.⁸⁸ As researchers have attributed the

88 According to the canonical visitation of 1767: "Ecclesia Oppidi hujus de nova radice [...] extracta [...]. Iuris Patronatus pro nunc Illustrissimi Joannis Wielopolski Palatini Sandomirien[is], Bonorum Kobylanka cum attinentiis Haeredis ac Possessoris, dicta Ecclesiae de novo Fundatoris, ac singularissimi Benefactoris, consecrate in Titulam Sancti Joannis Baptistae Anno 1750. Die undecima mensis Octobris per Illustrissimum Reverendissimum Dominum Michaellem Kunicki Suffraganeum et Officialem Generalem Cracoviensem" (AKMKr, *Acta wizytacji biskupich*, call sign 49, *Acta statuum ecclesiarum, beneficorum eorumque rectorum, inventariorum tam ecclesiasticorum, quam oeconomicorum, plebanalium tum decretorum reformationum a Cel. Principe R.D. Cajetano Ignatio Sołtyk, 1766, 1769, 1773*, p. 236); J. Kracik, *Konsekracje kościołów i ołtarzy...*, p. 132; A. Leo, *Kościół parafialny w Kobylance pod Gorlicami*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne" 15 (1967) issue 4, p. 108; *Zabytki sztuki w Polsce...*, p. 547; A. Stankiewicz, *Metamorfozy koloru i stałość inspiracji. Uwagi o wystroju i wyposażeniu Sanktuarium Chrystusa Ukrzyżowanego w Kobylance*, "Saeculum Christianum" 28 (2021), p. 48.

13. Kobylanka, Church of St John the Baptist, main altar, designed by F. Placidi (attributed), 1747-50, photo by J. Skrabski



14. Kobylanka, Church of St John the Baptist, main altar, designed by F. Placidi (attributed), 1747-50, photo by J. Skrabski



design of the church and the bell tower to Francesco Placidi,⁸⁹ this case could be similar in many respects to that in Morawica described above.

The main altar made of black Dębnik marble, and other stones added, it is a work of unnamed Dębnik stonemasons crafted to the design presented to them and one of the most outstanding spatial altar arrangements created in the Dębnik quarries (Fig. 13). The payments recorded in the Carmelite archives support the dates 1747 for fashioning the altar and 1750 for freestanding altar in front of it and the baptismal font.⁹⁰ These grounds allow to assume that the wooden decoration of the altar was created around the same time, after the installation of the retable in the church, that is, around 1750. For the first time, the altar with its figures was described in the proceedings from the episcopal visitation of 1767, which indicated that its mensa had not been consecrated yet.⁹¹

The Kobylanka altarpiece is reminiscent of a number of altarpieces in Rome creating impressive settings for holy images and altars standing in front of them, with sculptures and tabernacles, such as the main altar in Santa Maria in Campitelli created according to the project of Carlo Rainaldi.⁹² It is also close to works known from visual documents from the time, especially the settings for such images of the Blessed Virgin as the *oprawa machiny* for the Feast of the Holy Rosary in Rome's Santa Maria sopra Minerva from 1674.⁹³

89 P. Bohdziewicz, *Francesco Placidi: architekt Włoch XVIII-go stulecia w Polsce i związki jego sztuki z barokiem wileńskim w świetle nowych danych archiwalnych i metody analitycznej*, "Prace i Materiały Sprawozdawcze Sekcji Historii Sztuki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Wilnie" 3 (1938–1939), p. 226; J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, p. 105; A. Leo, *Kościół parafialny w Kobylance...*, pp. 117–118; *Zabytki sztuki w Polsce...*, p. 547; A. Stankiewicz, *Metamorfozy koloru...*, p. 51.

90 AKC, call sign 324, *Liber acceptarum et expensarum...*, pp. 98v, 102v, 105v, 108v, 113v; AKMKr, *Akta wizytacji biskupich*, call sign 49, *Acta statuum ecclesiarum...*, p. 236.

91 "Primum [altare] majus de nigro marmore sculptum muroq[ue] affixum Crucifixi Domini Gratiis ac miraculin clari, hujus mensa marmoreal non est consecrate, super quaest locatum Ciborium totum deauratum, in quo bene clausum Sanctissimum Sacramentum asseruatur. Alteribus Cibory[um] exstant Statuae duae, sculptae deauratae, una Beatissimae altera Sancti Joannis Evangelista" (AKMKr, *Akta wizytacji biskupich*, call sign 49, *Acta statuum ecclesiarum...*, p. 236).

92 O. Ferrari, S. Papaldo, *Le sculture del Seicento a Roma*, Roma 1999, p. 222.

93 S. Tozzi, *Incisioni barocche di feste e avvenimenti. Giorni d'allegrezza*, Roma 2002, kat. IV.15.

15. Kobylanka, Church of St John the Baptist, figure of St John the Evangelist from the main altar, Ludwig Ladislaus (attributed), 1747–50, photo by J. Skrabski



16. Kobylanka, Church of St John the Baptist, figure of Our Lady from the main altar, Ludwig Ladislaus (attributed), 1747–50, photo by J. Skrabski



The extraordinary shape of the retable providing the setting (Fig. 14) for the miraculous image that, according to a legend, Jan Wielopolski received (c. 1630–80) from Pope Innocent XI and originally held in the no longer extant court chapel to move it to from 1682 to the then parish church,⁹⁴ is close to that of the windows in the Saxon Chapel in the Wawel Cathedral designed by Placidi around 1755⁹⁵ in the two volutes placed at the base, laurel bunches along the sides, and segments of entablature with prominent cornices. The shape of the antependium of a refined shape is typical of this architect's works. A similar solution is found in the reliquary niche in the Altar of Our Lady of Loreto in St Mary's Church in Kraków.

Just as the architectural design of the Kobylanka altarpiece is exceptional, so is its unique wooden decoration. Sculpted clouds with winged cherub heads and clusters of rays embrace the upper tier of the retable on three sides, outlining its fanciful contour and accumulating in the topmost part around the figure of God the Father (Fig. 14). Directly below, in the upper section of the marble structure, is the Holy Spirit presented as Dove. With the image of the Crucified Christ in a straight line below, the three create the group of the Holy Trinity, adored by angels sitting on the quadrant protrusions of the retable. The shift of the protruding base of the altar retable on the plan of a section of an oval terminating with figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist creates, together with the image, the group of the Crucifixion, enclosed in a triangular composition (Fig. 10). The wooden sculptural decoration was strictly subordinated to the structure, which may suggest that at least its outline was designed by an architect.

The formal and stylistic features of the Kobylanka figures suggest that they were highly likely made by Ludwig Ladislaus. The figures of St John and the Blessed Virgin (Figs 15–16) are stocky, with wide, clearly emphasised shoulders, and short necks and torsos. The robes of both figures cling tightly to the bodies, highlighting their positioning. The clothes are strongly creased and slightly broken around the torso and hips, while their bottom sections are draped into vertical folds. The figures are surrounded by their expressively folded cloaks, with sections of the sides turned out. The figure of St John (Fig. 15) features a pose with a hand supporting the

94 B. Krasnowolski, *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. Studia nad historią i sztuką pogranicza polsko-łemkowskiego*, Toruń 2010, p. 179.

95 J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, pp. 93–96.

17. Sandomierz,
Cathedral
Basilica of the
Nativity of the
Blessed Virgin
Mary, main
altar, designed
by F. Placidi (at-
tributed), photo
by J. Skrabski



18. Sandomierz,
Cathedral
Basilica of the
Nativity of the
Blessed Virgin
Mary, Holy
Trinity group
from the main
altar, Ludwig
Ladislaus,
1756–57,
reproduced
from: *Bazylika
Katedralna
pw. Narodzenia
Najświętszej
Maryi Panny
w Sandomierzu*,
Sandomierz
2014, pp. 110–
111.



cloak on the shoulder, which is known from other figures by the sculptor, e.g. the one of St Joseph in Sandomierz (Fig. 19), whose attribution is confirmed in archives.

The features of the faces of both the angels and the saints Mary and John (Figs 14–16) are formally consistent with the beardless faces made by Ladislaus, especially those of angels and monks in the altar in Święta Anna (Figs 4, 11–12). Moreover, the way of presenting the eyes, eyebrows, nose, and mouth, with a distinct chin and softly outlined jaw, is characteristic of this sculptor. So is the way of chiselling hair into dishevelled small curling strands around the face and thicker curls accumulating on the sides of the head to fall to the back that is present both in the Kobylanka sculptures (St John, angels; figs 14–15), and the confirmed works of Ladislaus, that is, figures in Sandomierz (St Joseph, St Joachim, and Christ; figs 18–20) and in Święta Anna (angels; figs 6, 11–12).

Although there is no direct comparative material for the female figure of Mary (Fig. 16) among the confirmed works of Ladislaus, the similarity of her physiognomy to that of angels this sculptor made is worth noting. The BVM from Kobylanka has analogous facial features to the left angel in the Altar of St Francis in Święta Anna (Fig. 12), similarly half-closed eyes, and distinctly accentuated shapely lips over a protruding chin.

In terms of the style, the other wooden elements of the sculptural decoration of the Kobylanka altar, such as the figure of God the Father (Fig. 14) with such elements as his pose, modelling of the drapery, and the characteristic physiognomy of an old man with a long beard, as well as the carved Dove of the Holy Spirit and the accompanying putti and winged cherub heads correspond to Ladislaus's archivally confirmed sculptures of the same figures from the rood screen in Święta Anna (Fig. 6).

SANDOMIERZ, the main altar in the former collegiate church

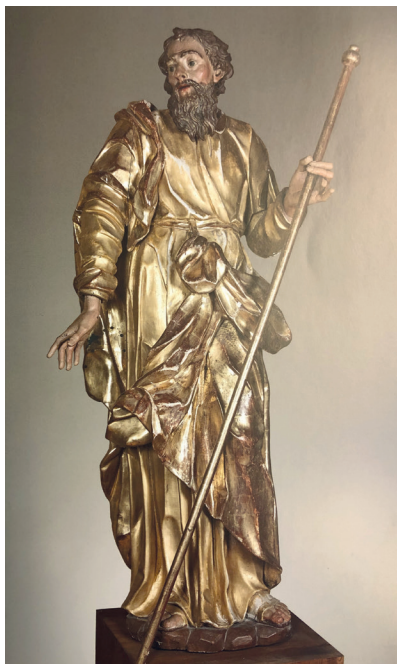
The main altar in the collegiate church (now the cathedral basilica) in Sandomierz (Fig. 17) is chronologically the following work of Placidi and Ladislaus. Its founder was provost Stanisław Lipski,⁹⁶ who, on 18 March 1755, entered into a contract with Fr Grzegorz, Prior of the Discalced Carmelite Monastery in Czerna, and the stonemason Tomasz Górecki to have an altar made from black marble with columns of white marble and elements of red stone according to the outline delivered from Kraków

96 S. Makarewicz, *Bazylika katedralna...*, p. 45; A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, p. 156.

19. Sandomierz, Diocesan Museum, figure of St Joseph, Ludwig Ladislaus, 1756–57, reproduced from: *Bazylika Katedralna pw. Narodzenia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Sandomierzu*, Sandomierz 2014, p. 112.



20. Sandomierz, Diocesan Museum, figure of St Joachim, Ludwig Ladislaus, 1756–57, reproduced from: *Bazylika Katedralna pw. Narodzenia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Sandomierzu*, Sandomierz 2014, p. 113.



at the cost of 8,000 Polish zlotys.⁹⁷ The altar was assembled by stonemasons Franciszek Bielawski and Jan Górecki on-site in 1756.⁹⁸ Subsequently, according to the preserved contract dated 29 March 1756, Ludwig Ladislaus made wooden sculptural decorations from lime wood “according to the Outline given to me, the whole Glory and two Vases for the top, the Compartment above to be placed above the central painting, Frames with an Entablature for backdrop to the painting, two figures on pedestals: Joachim and Joseph”.⁹⁹ The sculptor received the last batch of his payment on 30 June 1757. According to the contract, he installed the figures on-site in Sandomierz.¹⁰⁰ The altar painting depicting the Birth of the Virgin Mary was made by the Kraków painter Łukasz Orłowski,¹⁰¹ most likely on a recommendation from Placidi.¹⁰²

Highly interesting in the context of the circumstances of the altar’s creation is the information about Tomasz Górecki visiting the Morawica parish priest and canon of the Sandomierz collegiate church, Andrzej Nechrebecki, in 1756, in Morawica,¹⁰³ where the stonemason calculated

97 S. Makarewicz, *Artyści i rzemieślnicy...*, p. 257; A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, pp. 78, 156.

98 According to a contract concluded on 5 April 1756. See: A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, pp. 79–80; AKC, call sign 324, *Liber acceptarum et expensarum...*, pp. 141v, 143v, 145v.

99 Oryginally “według Abrysu mnie danego, całą Głorię y na wierzch Wazony dwa, Kompartymnt nad obraz w środku, Ramy z Tablaturą pod obraz, dwie osoby na postumentach Joachima y Józefa” (excerpt from the contract quoted from: U. Stępień, *Rzeźby z katedry sandomierskiej...*, p. 399; Makarewicz, *Artyści i rzemieślnicy...*, p. 257; A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, p. 157).

100 U. Stępień, *Rzeźby z katedry sandomierskiej...*, p. 399; A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, p. 79.

101 A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, pp. 80–81.

102 The Chapter commissioned the painter with making the painting in 1756. See: A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, p. 80. In the same year, Łukasz Orłowski was a witness at the wedding of Francesco Placidi to Zofia Radwańska. See: J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, p. 77.

103 Andrzej Nechrebecki (1702–66), doctor of laws and letters, doctor of holy theology, from 11 May 1740 Skalbmierz Schoolmaster, from 15 October 1742 canon of Sandomierz, and parish priest of Morawica in 1733–66. See: J. Szczepaniak, *Nekrologium. Księża diecezji krakowskiej zmarli w latach 1749–1810*, Kraków 2010, p. 130.

“the works for Sandomierz, that is, the steps and gravestones”.¹⁰⁴ The marble baptismal font made a year earlier in the Dębnik quarries was probably installed in the Morawica church in the same year 1756. Andrzej Nechrebecki was the parish priest in Morawica in 1733–66,¹⁰⁵ which, as indicated above, covers the period of construction of the new church and its furnishing, whose authorship was attributed to Francesco Placidi and Ludwig Ladislaus. In light of this information, it seems that Nechrebecki could have recommended or initiated the employment of these particular artists to carry out the Sandomierz altar order, which is somewhat confirmed by the fact that in 1756 he discussed matters with the stonemason working on that altar.

All researchers unanimously associate the design of the Sandomierz altar with the Italian architect.¹⁰⁶ The authorship of Placidi is supported by indirect hints already pointed out in the literature, such as the archivally confirmed information about bringing the designs from Kraków,¹⁰⁷ Placidi cooperation with Dębnik stonemasons during on the projects from this period,¹⁰⁸ the architect’s clients,¹⁰⁹ and the formal analysis of the work itself.

The architectural structure of the altarpiece (Fig. 17) adapted to the width of the chancel repeats the solutions Placidi had employed before

104 Oryginally “roboty do Sandomierza to jest gradusy i grobsztyny” (A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, pp. 78, 156).

105 J. Szczepaniak, *Spis prepozytów i plebanów diecezji krakowskiej (XVIII w.)*, Kraków 2008, p. 93.

106 *Katalog zabytków...*, vol. 3, issue 11, p. 58; S. Makarewicz, *Bazylika katedralna...*, pp. 47–48; S. Makarewicz, *Artyści i rzemieślnicy...*, p. 257; A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, pp. 156–157.

107 Information in the contract (see: S. Makarewicz, *Artyści i rzemieślnicy...*, p. 257) and an archival note from between September 1756 and 1757, most likely concerning the question of altar installation (see: A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, p. 156).

108 In letters to Załuski, Placidi mentions that he designs numerous altars. He also intended to lease a “marble mountain” being the quarry in Dębnik. See: J. Lepiarczyk, *Architekt Francesco Placidi...*, p. 73.

109 In 1746, Placidi designed the tombstone of Jan Aleksander Lipski, which was made by Dębnik stonemasons, whose design drawings were approved by Fr Marcin Łaskawski, canon of Sandomierz, who later participated in the execution of the commission for the Sandomierz altar. See: A. Betlej, *Nieznany projekt nagrobka Jana Aleksandra Lipskiego*, “*Studia Waweliana*” 5 (1996), p. 191; A. Dworzak, *Fabrica Ecclesiae...*, pp. 79, 156.

for the Altar of the Crucifixion in the Wawel Cathedral and in the altars of the Discalced Carmelite Church in Kraków (now in the parish church in Jaworzno and St Catherine's Church in Kraków). The very motif of the cornice overhanging over quarter-circular sides is all but the signature of the Italian architect.

The stone structure of the altar is complemented by ornamental sculptured wooden decorations strictly fitting its architectural elements and such considerations as the height and width of the chancel. In line with the contract, the sculptural decoration was made "according to the Outline", that is, to Placidi's design.¹¹⁰ The visible result is a skilfully and proportionally composed group of the Holy Trinity in a radiant glory (Fig. 18), melded both into the structure of the altar and the triangular space of the ribbed vault ceiling, closing the crowning composition in the form of a triangle. The wooden vases were originally standing on the impostes of the outer columns, while the figures of St Joseph and St Joachim (Fig. 17, 19–20) were set on side pedestals. The figures had been removed before 1937 and can now be found in the Diocesan Museum in Sandomierz.¹¹¹

Falling back on the archivally confirmed sculptures from Sandomierz, it is possible to define Ladislaus's sculpting style, which is quite distinctive, while it is also consistent and repeatable, and as such stands out against other creators from the Kraków artistic circles. All his works share the same formal features, which is particularly noticeable as his successive projects repeat the same figural representations of the same persons, notably the Holy Trinity groups, men with short beards, and old men with long beards.

One of the most important issues for further research is to determine the nature of cooperation between Francesco Placidi, educated at the side of a Roman architect in Rome, with the sculptor Ludwig Ladislaus from Opava. For numerous questions are born, especially about the role of both the architect and the sculptor in giving the work its final form. The case of the Sandomierz altar sheds some light into the nature of their cooperation, as Ladislaus, being the sculptor executing the design, chiselled the decoration according to the design provided by the architect,

110 U. Stępień, *Rzeźby z katedry sandomierskiej...*, p. 399.

111 U. Stępień, *Rzeźby z katedry sandomierskiej...*, p. 399.

which is analogous to Placidi's cooperation with Wojciech Rojowski.¹¹² Yet it is difficult to determine unequivocally the extent to which the designer imposed his stylistic formula on the sculptor and to which the latter submitted, and whether he enriched the architect's concept with his auteur solutions, especially in the case of work on wooden furnishing that involved carpentry as well as sculpture, as in the case of Morawica, due to the shortness of archival sources and the lack of preserved designs of the works in question. The only evidence available is indirect and, together with examples of similar partnerships in Kraków and other Central European artistic centres, all it can allow is to outline further directions of research.

It is important to remember that, as demonstrated by Jennifer Montagau, while creating their designs, the Roman architects of the 17th and 18th centuries included sculptural decoration, at times expecting that sculptors would no more but render them precisely, at others even specified the depth of relief. A good example of above, described by Montagau, was the collaboration between Pietro da Cortona and Cosimo Fancelli. The latter quite faithfully executed the architect's concepts, including the figures for the vault of the Church Santa Maria in Valicella and the rood beam and the Altar of the Holy Trinity in the church of Santa Maria della Pace. Often, working on his design, e.g. a cross-section of a church, the architect accounted for the sculptural decoration, and made additional drawings of the altarpieces. This practice was followed by the workshop of Carlo Rainaldi, as seen in the designs for the Church of Santa Maria in Campitelli in Rome (the main altar being a work of Melchiorre Cafà), the main altar of the Santa Maria in Montesanto Church (made by Filippo Cercania), and the façade of Sant'Andrea della Valle, where the architect made precise sketches of the figures of saints for the niches, which were later executed by, among others, Domenico Guidi and Ercole

112 According to the contract for the sculptural decoration of the tombstone of Jan Aleksander Lipski, Rojowski was obliged to originally "zrobić snycerską robotą według abrysu J[ąśnie] Pana Placydego architekta" (literally: "do the sculptor's work to the design drawing by His E[xcellency] Mr Placidi, architect"). See: A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, p. 94. A similar case were the sculptures for the Altar of St Sebastian for the Camaldolese Church in Bielany, which Rojowski made originally "według abrysu podanego od J[ego] M[iłoś]ci Pana Kapitana Placydego" (literally: "according to the design drawing provided by H[is] G[race] Captain Placidi, Esq.") (A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, p. 112).

Ferrata.¹¹³ Finding in Rome a sculptor who met the expectations of the architect of such a comprehensive artistic concept was not difficult, unlike in the artistic centres of Central Europe.

Architects educated in Rome and working in Central Europe eagerly hired sculptors who fit the style of the greatest protagonists of mature Roman Baroque, but also that to their works. Johann Bernard Fischer von Erlach eagerly worked with Giovanni Giuliani and Ferdinand Maximilian Brokhoff, Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt employed, among others, Peter Strudl, Georg Rafael Donner, and Antonio Beduzzi, and Kacper Bażanka (a Polish winner of the Clementine Prize at the Roman Accademia di San Lucca) worked closely with Polish sculptor Antoni Frączkiewicz, an epigone Rome-educated Baldassare Fontana.

The position of architects educated in the artistic centres of Central Europe was different. Here, on the one hand, reasons related to style decided about mutual cooperation and so on the other hand did private connections. This was highlighted by Piotr Krasny while in his research of the professional and private connections between Barnard Meretyń and Johann Georg Pinzel. In the case of their cooperation, the architect played the dominant role, contracting the works and taking full responsibility for the architectural and sculptural concept (e.g. St George's Cathedral [Sobor Sviatoho Yura] in Lviv).¹¹⁴ Sculptors were appointed in a similar manner by Kilian Ignatz Dientzenhofer, who worked with Matthias Wenzel Jäckel, Joseph Hirnle, and Ignaz Franz Platzer, and by Octavio Broggio who among otherd hired Franz Kuen. In these cases, the sculptures achieved the artistic effects determined by the architects. That is the reason why, for his architectural projects for Elżbieta Sieniawska, Giovanni Spazzio brought Johann Elias Hoffman from Vienna.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, as noted

113 J. Montagau, *Roman baroque sculpture. The industry of art*, London 1992, pp. 77–98 (chapter: *The sculptor as executant*); T. Manfredi, “Si può vedere col paragone”. Carlo Rainaldi, Carlo Fontana, Gian Lorenzo Bernini a la facciata di S. Andrea della Valle, in: *Architetture di Carlo Rainaldi nel quarto centenario della nascita*, ed. by S. Benedetti, Roma 2012, pp. 283–284.

114 Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie [Jagiellonian University Archives in Kraków], P. Krasny, *Bernard Meretyń a problem rokoka w architekturze polskiej*, doctoral dissertation, Kraków 1994, pp. 43–49.

115 J. Galewski, *Z Wiednia do Pragi (?), przez Lubnice do Puław. Działalność Jana Eliasza Hoffmanna i jego warsztatu w Lubelskiem oraz nurt hoffmannowski w rzeźbie późno-barokowej między Wisłą a Bugiem*, in: *Dzieje Lubelszczyzny*, vol. 6: *Między Wschodem*

years ago by Oldrich Blažíček, who investigated the cases of cooperation between Jan Blažej Santini-Aichel and sculptors Maximilian Ferdinand Brokhoff, Matthias Bernard Braun, and Matthias Wenzel Jäckel, representing different artistic styles, the choice of sculptor by the architect was dictated by chance as well as by close family and professional relationships.¹¹⁶

Placidi worked with Ladislaus for almost a decade, from c. 1748 to 1757. Hardly anything is known about the beginnings of their acquaintance. Both belonged to the parish of All Saints, later St Mary's, and both were often mentioned in their records. They were certainly connected by social relations. It is worth remembering that Placidi's wife became the godmother for Ladislaus's daughter (1744). Among the Kraków artistic circles, an architect from Rome could certainly not find a wide range of sculptors who could accurately render his artistic concept in the first years of his activity in Kraków. After the death of Antoni Frączkiewicz (1741), there were few sculptors active in the city, apart from the young and not very talented Michał Dobkowski¹¹⁷ and Ludwig Ladislaus from Opava, who, let it be reiterated, was only noted in Kraków city records for the first time in 1741. Other connections, such as Ladislaus's presumed authorship of two altars in the church in Tenczyn created for the Czartoryski family: the same patrons as in Morawica, could have decided about the cooperation between Placidi and Ladislaus. In the absence of sources, the role of Fr Andrzej Nechrebecki in the selection of collaborators remains unknown, and he was not only the parish priest of Morawica often appearing in the records of the All Saints and St Mary's parishes, but also a canon of the Sandomierz Cathedral, where both artists also worked together. At the current stage also the actual role the architect himself played in the selection of partners is difficult to ascertain. This is also true for Placidi's other projects with participation of other sculptors, to mention Wojciech Rojowski, who chiselled the sculptures in the tomb

a Zachodem, ed. by J. Kłoczowski, part 3: *Kultura artystyczna*, ed. by T. Chrzanowski, Lublin 1992, p. 175.

116 O. Blažíček, *Architekt a sochař (K otázce vzájemného uztahu)*, "Umění" 22 (1974) issue 3, pp. 210–212.

117 At the time of Frączkiewicz's death, Dobkowski was about 20 years old, while Wojciech Rojowski was only first recorded in Kraków in 1746. See: A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, pp. 45–56, 92.

of Cardinal Jan Aleksander Lipski in the Wawel Cathedral chapel,¹¹⁸ and in the altars of St Sebastian and the Holy Cross in the Camaldolese Church in Kraków's Bielany.¹¹⁹

Concluding, in Kraków, an architect brought up in the Roman tradition only had limited options in the selection of artists who would accurately execute his artistic concepts. As research on the works of other architects in the key artistic centres of Central Europe indicates, his choices could have been completely random, and sculptors and painters cooperating with architects might represent most diverse currents in Baroque art. In this context, it seems that, through social relationships and family connections, links to not only the royal court but also lay and ecclesiastical aristocracy, Placidi could have been a natural link between artists of different professions, and thus in a way influence the dynamics of the city's artistic environment in the second and third thirds of the 18th century.

118 A. Betlej, *Kilka uwag na temat przekształcenia kaplicy Lipskich przy katedrze krakowskiej w XVIII wieku*, in: *Artifex Doctus. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Jerzemu Gądomskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Kraków 2007, pp. 301–311; A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, pp. 94–96.

119 J. Gajewski, *Kościół i klasztor kamedułów na Bielanych pod Krakowem w świetle materiałów archiwalnych*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" 38 (1976) no. 4, p. 376; A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska...*, pp. 112–113, 129.

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Abstract

Paulina Kluz, Józef Skrabski

Francesco Placidi and Ludwig Ladislaus. On architect and sculptor partnership in the 1740s and 1750s

Two artists, Francesco Placidi from Rome and sculptor Ludwig Ladislaus from Opava, played a significant role in Krakow artistic circles of the 1740s and 1750s. Placidi was brought to Poland by another Roman architect, Gaetano Chiaveri, under whose guidance he directed the construction of the court church in Dresden, and was active in Kraków since 1742. Ladislaus was first recorded in the records of the city of Krakow in 1741. The two lived in the same parishes, first All Saints' and then St Mary's, and were connected both socially and professionally. Following the study of sources and styles, it was determined that Placidi designed and Ladislaus executed the interior furnishings of the parish church in Morawica (c. 1748–55) funded by Aleksander August and Maria Zofia Czartoryski, the main altar in the Sanctuary of the Crucified Christ in Kobylanka (c. 1750) funded by Jan Wielopolski, and the main altar in the former collegiate church in Sandomierz (1756–57). A detailed investigation outlined the origin of architectural solutions defined by Placidi and captured the stylistic and formal features that Ladislaus's sculptures share. The case is but a contribution to further research on the mutual relations between designers and makers of architecture and sculptures. Especially with respect to the roles of both the Italian architect imposing (or not) the general and/or detailed concept of the work, and the sculptor following (or not) the designer's ideas, yet also contributing his own formal and stylistic solutions resulting from his individual artistic path of development (in the case of Ladislaus: in the Austrian Silesia). Beyond doubt, with his extensive contacts with ecclesiastical and secular aristocracy and the royal court, Placidi played an important role in Kraków, providing a link between artists of various professions, and maintaining familial and social contacts with some.

Keywords:

Francesco Placidi, Ludwig Ladislaus, baroque, Kraków, baroque architecture, baroque sculpture

Abstrakt

Paulina Kluz, Józef Skrabski

Francesco Placidi i Ludwig Ladislaus. O współpracy architekta i rzeźbiarza w latach czterdziestych i pięćdziesiątych XVIII wieku

W środowisku artystycznym Krakowa w latach czterdziestych i pięćdziesiątych XVIII wieku istotną rolę odegrali dwaj artyści, rzymianin Francesco Placidi i pochodzący z Opawy rzeźbiarz Ludwig Ladislaus. Placidi został sprowadzony do Polski przez innego rzymskiego architekta Gaetano Chiaveriego, pod kierunkiem którego prowadził budowę dworskiego kościoła w Dreźnie, a od 1742 roku czynny był w Krakowie. Ladislaus został wpisany do akt miejskich Krakowa w 1741 roku. Obaj mieszkali na terenie tych samych parafii, pierwszej – Wszystkich Świętych, następnie Mariackiej, i obu połączyły zarówno kontakty towarzyskie, jak i zawodowe. W oparciu o analizę źródeł oraz analizę formalno-stylistyczną ustalono, że Placidi zaprojektował, a Ladislaus wykonał wyposażenie wnętrza kościoła parafialnego w Morawicy (ok. 1748–1755), ufundowanego przez Aleksandra Augusta i Marię Zofię Czartoryskich, ołtarz główny w sanktuarium Chrystusa Ukrzyżowanego w Kobylance (ok. 1750) z fundacji Jana Wielopolskiego, a także ołtarz główny w dawnej kolegiacie w Sandomierzu (1756–1757). Drobiazgowa analiza pozwoliła nakreślić genezę rozwiązań architektonicznych określonych przez Placidiego oraz uchwycić wspólne cechy stylistyczne i formalne dzieł rzeźbiarskich Ladislausa. Przykład obu osobowości stanowi jedynie przyczynek do dalszych badań nad wzajemnymi relacjami między projektantami a wykonawcami dzieł architektoniczno-rzeźbiarskich. Szczególnie w kontekście roli zarówno włoskiego architekta narzucającego (lub nie) ogólny i szczegółowy koncept dzieła, jak i rzeźbiarza podporządkowującego się idei projektanta (lub nie), ale i wnoszącego swoje własne rozwiązania formalne i stylistyczne, będące efektem jego indywidualnej drogi artystycznej (w przypadku Ladislausa – Śląska Austriackiego). Bez wątpienia Placidi, mający rozległe kontakty z arystokracją kościelną i świecką oraz z dworem królewskim, odgrywał w Krakowie wiodącą rolę łącznika między artystami różnych profesji, z którymi utrzymywał nierzadko rodzinne i towarzyskie kontakty.

Słowa kluczowe:

Francesco Placidi, Ludwig Ladislaus, barok, Kraków, architektura barokowa, rzeźba barokowa

Recensiones

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**Stefan Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży
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Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2023**

In the last several years, the figure of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński inspired manifest attention among researchers. However, their works mostly concerned the post-war period in the cardinal's life.¹ The book entitled *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu. Wybór pism* [literally: The Intelligentsia as the Avant-Garde of Communism] with twenty-page-long

- 1 E. Czaczkowska, *Kardynał Wyszyński. Biografia*, Kraków 2013; *Společna potřeba paměti. Osoba i dzieło Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego Prymasa Tysiąclecia*, ed. by A. Rynio, M. Parzyszek, Lublin 2017; R. Łatka, B. Mackiewicz, D. Zamiatała, *Kardynał Stefan Wyszyński 1901–1981*, Warszawa 2019; *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, ed. by R. Łatka, D. Zamiatała, Warszawa 2023. Worth mentioning are also the primate bishop's diaries entitled *Pro memoria* that have been published since 2017. As yet, twelve volumes have been published.

introduction by Professor Maciej Zakrzewski will certainly help in becoming more acquainted with the prewar ideas and works of Stefan Wyszyński.

The book is the 20th volume of the *Polskie Studia nad Totalitaryzmem* series published by the Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej / Centre for Political Thought, and Faculty of International and Political Studies of the Jagiellonian University under the aegis of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. As part of the competition on *Pomniki polskiej myśli filozoficznej, teologicznej i społecznej XX i XXI wieku* (The Monuments of Polish Philosophical, Theological, and Social Thought of the 20th and 21st Centuries), the team led by Professor Bogdan Szlachta conducted complex research and editorial studies that led to the critical edition, preparation to print, and publication of works by 30 leading Polish writers and researchers of totalitarian systems. The works portray comprehensive and multi-faceted effort rooted in various ideological and political currents that provided insights into communist and nazi ideologies, together with their intellectual and social roots and practical manifestations.²

While defining the reasons for the publication of the book, in his introduction entitled *Przeciwko zniewoleniu. Zagadnienie totalitaryzmu w przedwojennej publicystyce Stefana Wyszyńskiego* [literally: Opposing Enslavement. The Question of Totalitarianism in the Prewar Works of Stefan Wyszyński], Maciej Zakrzewski emphasised that the reader would have an opportunity to become familiar with hardly known prewar activity of the future Primate of the Millennium, and his diagnosis and critique of totalitarian systems. The author also remarked that the selection consists of Stefan Wyszyński's fourteen most important works devoted to totalitarianism. They all date back to 1930–39, and were published in the press, while some also as brochures and books. Some of them have only survived in single, hardly accessible copies. In the process of selection, minor articles (such as book reviews) and ones that to a certain extent reiterated some points were omitted.³ The introduction also contains basic information about the primate bishop and his thoughts, defines the chronological scope, and

2 *Milion złotych na badania nad XX-wiecznymi totalitaryzmami*, https://www.uj.edu.pl/wiadomosci/-/journal_content/56_INSTANCE_d821KZvhit4m/10172/134604622 (Accessed on: 23 October 2023).

3 M. Zakrzewski, *Przeciwko zniewoleniu. Zagadnienie totalitaryzmu w przedwojennej publicystyce Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu. Wybór pism*, ed. by M. Zakrzewski, Kraków 2023, pp. VIII–XXVI.

offers an outline of the historical background and the figures involved. The biographical context and the Catholic social teaching, as the author of the introduction noted, provide the key points of reference that also introduce the reader to the presented texts. The whole guides the reader into the issues in question in a highly accessible manner.⁴

The selection opens with Wyszyński's article entitled *Faszyzm a Kościół* [literally: Nazism vs the Church] published in "Prąd" magazine in 1930, and analysing the contemporary attitude of Nazism to the Catholic Church.⁵ It is followed by a text entitled *Socjalistyczna własność wspólna w ocenie "Rerum novarum"* [literally: Socialist Collective Ownership as Assessed by "Rerum novarum"] published in 1931 in a theological journal "Ateneum Kapłańskie",⁶ whose editor-in-chief Wyszyński was in 1932–39.⁷ In his reflections, Wyszyński addressed the harm stemming from collective ownership to workers and the reasons behind its injustice, and analysed the negative bearing it could have on community life. These are followed by three short texts: *Z powodu odezwy Kard. Prymasa w sprawie przesilenia gospodarczego*,⁸ *Nowe metody walki religijnej w Rosji Sowieckiej*,⁹ and *Główne podstawy przebudowy ustroju społecznego*¹⁰ [literally: Reacting to the Cardinal Primate's Address in the Economic Crisis; New Methods of Religious Struggle in Soviet Russia, and Main Foundations for Reconstructing the Social System]. The one concerning the methods of religious struggle in Soviet Russia seems the most interesting of the three, as this is where, following an account of a German tourist visiting the "museums of atheism" in the USSR, published in "Germania" catholic daily on 28 October

4 M. Zakrzewski, *Przeciwko zniewoleniu...*, pp. VIII–XXV.

5 S. Wyszyński, *Faszyzm a Kościół*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 1–22.

6 S. Wyszyński, *Socjalistyczna własność wspólna w ocenie Rerum novarum*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 23–42.

7 E. Czaczkowska, *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński — "antysemita", "rasista" i "faszysta". Historia podwójnej manipulacji tekstami z "Ateneum Kapłańskiego", "Polonia Sacra" 2019, no. 4, p. 5.*

8 S. Wyszyński, *Z powodu odezwy Kard. Prymasa w sprawie przesilenia gospodarczego*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 43–48.

9 S. Wyszyński, *Nowe metody walki religijnej w Rosji Sowieckiej*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 49–57.

10 S. Wyszyński, *Główne podstawy przebudowy ustroju społecznego*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 59–68.

1932, Wyszyński endeavours to demonstrate that a form of fight against religion that operates quietly and without bloodshed yet steadily and persistently is more dangerous for the Church than gory persecutions.¹¹ One of Wyszyński's most important and best known texts is *Kultura bolszewizmu a inteligencja polska*¹² [literally The Culture of Bolshevism vs Polish Intelligentsia] from 1934. Here, Wyszyński draws attention to disturbing tendencies of rapprochement between Warsaw and Moscow in cultural rather than political matters.

Infiltration of Poland with Bolshevism begins under a non-descript and hardly manifested guise — from some obscure radicalism [...] The term “radicalism” has recently been overused [...] emerging journals and organisations make it their honourable duty to convince the world about their radicalism, as if they deemed walking on the edge entirely normal.¹³

The article mentions several symptoms of Bolshevisation in Poland, notably coinage of specific terminology, identifying the Church as the public enemy, development of proletarian culture, and popular tourism propaganda.¹⁴ Its author believes that the reasons for such a status quo are many, and tries to penetrate the looming threats and find a solution to the problem discussed.

The family, the Church, the state, and the profession must come to speak. The family will give the society a well-raised citizen, the Church will instil him and the society with the profound sense of the dignity of a citizen-Christian as well as justice reinforced with love, and the state will ensure proper conditions for achieving mundane and ultimate goals, while the profession will create an aura of mutual aid, cooperation, and care. The new and lasting social order will be produced not by struggle, but by solidarity in cooperation.¹⁵

11 S. Wyszyński, *Nowe metody walki religijnej w Rosji Sowieckiej*, p. 51

12 S. Wyszyński, *Kultura bolszewizmu a inteligencja polska*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 69–105.

13 S. Wyszyński, *Kultura bolszewizmu...*, pp. 71–72.

14 S. Wyszyński, *Kultura bolszewizmu...*, pp. 69–105.

15 S. Wyszyński, *Kultura bolszewizmu...*, p. 99.

The reviewed selection also includes such articles as *Z walk religijnych w Niemczech*,¹⁶ *Nowy najazd komunizmu na Polskę*,¹⁷ *Jak skutecznie walczyć z komunizmem?*,¹⁸ *Katolicki program walki z komunizmem*,¹⁹ *Antyreligijne wychowanie w organizacjach socjalistycznych*,²⁰ *Czy katolik może być komunistą?*,²¹ and *Stanowisko i zadania duszpasterza wobec współczesnych ruchów społecznych*²² [literally: On Religious Struggles in Germany; A New Onslaught of Communism on Poland; How to Fight Communism Efficiently?; The Catholic Programme of Fighting Communism; Anti-Religious Education in Socialist Organisations; Can a Catholic be a Communist?, and The Position and Duties of a Pastor Facing Contemporary Social Movements]. The final text, which also lent its title to the entire selection is a brochure entitled *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu* from 1939.²³ In it, Stefan Wyszyński tried to answer the question how the Polish intelligentsia can participate in the fight against communism. He focuses on communism seeking ways to subject the world to revolution. The response to those aspirations should be the rebirth of the private and social Christian life, pointing out the positive and better solutions, understanding the enemy, and consolidating the community in concerted action.

One would be hard pressed to find stylistic or punctuation errors, or just ordinary typos. Only some minor reservations might be made regarding the introduction, where within just a few lines, Father Professor Antoni Szymański is twice mentioned as one of the greatest authorities

- 16 S. Wyszyński, *Z walk religijnych w Niemczech*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 107–126.
- 17 S. Wyszyński, *Nowy najazd komunizmu na Polskę*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 127–140.
- 18 S. Wyszyński, *Jak skutecznie walczyć z komunizmem?*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 141–148.
- 19 S. Wyszyński, *Katolicki program walki z komunizmem*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 149–160.
- 20 S. Wyszyński, *Antyreligijne wychowanie w organizacjach socjalistycznych*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 161–172.
- 21 S. Wyszyński, *Czy katolik może być komunistą?*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 173–189.
- 22 S. Wyszyński, *Stanowisko i zadania duszpasterza wobec współczesnych ruchów społecznych*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 191–201.
- 23 S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu*, in: S. Wyszyński, *Inteligencja w straży przedniej komunizmu...*, pp. 203–325.

in the field of Catholic social teaching (p. VIII). There are also minor errors and omissions in the footnotes, such as the ellipsis left on p. XXIX. Unfortunately, it also has to be noted that no book of this series contains an index of places, and one would greatly facilitate the use of the publication for the interested reader.

The editorial aspects of this edition of selected works of Stefan Wyszyński cause no major issues. The book looks appealingly as it has been published in hardcover on good quality paper. Attention is drawn to the cover of the book (and the whole series), whose very design suggests a unique quality. The publishers have retained the original character of the texts, only proofreading for spelling mistakes and updating punctuation to current conventions. All the articles received footnotes concerning persons and subjects so that readers unfamiliar with the subject could easily find basic information concerning the people and events referred to in the text. The whole spans 366 pages, including the bibliographic note and the index of persons.

Most of the texts discussed above are published on such broad scale for the first time. Their compilation in a single volume with the commentary from Professor Zakrzewski offers the reader a substantial share of early works of the primate bishop, presenting his insight and critique of communist, nazi, and national socialist ideologies. Let us hope, that there will be more series like the *Polskie Studia nad Totalitaryzmem*, popularising the works of eminent intellectuals, and rendering the particulars of prewar and postwar views on totalitarian systems.

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Rafał Kosiński, *Wiktor z Tonnony i jego dzieło, Historia Iagiellonica, Kraków 2023*

At the end of 2023, the Historia Iagellonica publishing house published a book by Rafał Kosiński entitled *Victor of Tonnona and his work*.¹ This is the first complementary (bilingual) edition in Polish, accompanied by an extensive historical and philological commentary. It follows the *Church Histories of John Diakrinomenos and Theodore Lector*² in the oeuvre of this distinguished scholar, a book devoted to a source and author from late antiquity. If the translation and commentary of the works of John Diakrinomenos and Theodore Lector were the work of several people, the book under review (research studies and translation) is the work of a single Author. Moreover, alongside the works of Procopius of Caesarea,³

1 R. Kosiński, *Wiktor z Tonnony i jego dzieło*, Kraków 2023.

2 *Historie Kościoła Jana Diakrinomenosa i Teodora Lektora*, translation, introduction and commentary R. Kosiński, A. Szopa, K. Twardowska, Kraków 2019. The English-language version of the book was published by Peter Lang as the 11th volume of the series *Studies in Classical Literature and Culture, The Church Histories of Theodore Lector and John Diakrinomenos*, Berlin 2021.

3 Prokopiusz z Cezarei, *Historia wojen*, t. 1–2, translation, introduction and commentary D. Brodka, Kraków 2013.

Jordanes,⁴ and the historical epics of Flavius Crescendo Corippus,⁵ makes an excellent addition to the list of sources on the history⁶ of late antiquity translated into Polish and published by the Historia Jagellonica publishing house in recent years.

The chronicle of Victor of Tonna, covers the years 444–565 and is a continuation of the chronicle of Prospero of Aquitaine,⁷ and was itself a source for many later authors such as Isidore of Seville.⁸

We can distinguish three parts of the work: the introduction, the text with its translation and the historical commentary. The first is a philological-historical study, comprising eleven chapters, which illuminates the problems associated with theological disputes from the fourth to the sixth century and a detailed analysis of the life and work of Victor of Tonna. Rafał Kosiński, in an exhaustive study of all the research questions in chapter I entitled: *The Disputes Around the So-called Three Chapters*, has shown his immense knowledge and scholarly acumen. We have before us an excellent lecture on the theological disputes starting from Apollonius of Laodicea,⁹ by Nestorius and two Councils of Ephesus,¹⁰ and the Council of Chalcedon,¹¹ anti-Chalcedonian opposition right up to the pivotal theme of the *Chronicle*, the Three Chapters Dispute.

- 4 Jordanes, *O całości dziejów albo o pochodzeniu i czynach narodu rzymskiego. O pochodzeniu i czynach Gotów*, translation, introduction and commentary B. J. Kołoczek, Kraków 2022.
- 5 Flawiusz Kreskoniusz Koryppus, *Joannida. Pochwała Justyna*, translation, introduction and commentary B. J. Kołoczek, Kraków 2022.
- 6 It should also be added *Wybór mniejszych źródeł historycznych z okresu późnego antyku*, translation, introduction and commentary B. J. Kołoczek, Kraków 2023.
- 7 Prosper Tiro, *Chronik. Laterculus regum Vandalorum et Alanorum*, ed. M. Becker, J.-M. Kötter, Paderborn 2016.
- 8 *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, ed. M. J. Carlos, Turnhout 2003 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 112).
- 9 A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2/1: *From Chalcedon to Justinian I*, Atlanta 1987, pp. 329–343; J. N. D. Kelly, *Początki doktryny chrześcijańskiej*, Warszawa 1988, pp. 217–221.
- 10 R. Kosiński, *Dzieje Nestoriusza, biskupa Konstantynopola w latach 428–431*, „U Schyłku Starożytności. Studia Źródłoznawcze” 7 (2008), pp. 30–63.
- 11 *Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, eds. A. Grillmeier, H. Bacht, vol. 1–3, Würzburg 1951–1954.

The second chapter is dedicated to Victor of Tonna. Almost everything we know about him comes exclusively from his work. Some information can be found in the work of Isidore of Seville *De viris illustribus*, who dedicated a chapter to Victor.¹² So we don't know when he was born or when he became bishop of one of the African towns¹³ of unknown location, but we can assume that this occurred after 5 February 525. Also the name of his bishop's seat raises many doubts, as it appears in manuscripts in many variations, but even in this case Kosiński tries to reconstruct the history and location of the town. In solving his research problems, he discusses the literature on the subject, convincingly argues with the theories seemingly already accepted by science, and puts forward his own research hypotheses. Particularly noteworthy here are Kosiński's findings on the author's biography (such as the reasons for and date of his exile to the Balearic Islands), or the problem of establishing his date of death, suggesting that at least some of the last eight entries in the *Chronicle* are not by Victor, but by an anonymous author close to him.

Finally, chapters III to XI are devoted to Wiktor's work, the purpose behind it, the sources he used, the chronology, the geographical horizon, the political history, the reception of the *Chronicle*, the manuscripts, the editions, and the principles Kosiński followed in his editorial work. It is clear that, at the outset of consideration, there was the problem of whether Victor had written a universal history of the world,¹⁴ whether he was attempting, as one might guess from the introduction, to continue Prosper's *Chronicle*. Most modern scholars and publishers of Victor's *Chronicle*, assume that his work is only the last part of a larger work, the *Universal Chronicle*, which has survived only in part, and which was

12 C. Cardelle de Hartmann, *Introduction*, in: *Victoris Tunnunensis Chronicon cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis et Iohannis Biclarenis Chronicon*, ed. C. Cardelle de Hartmann, *commentaria historica ad Consularia Caesaraugustana ad Iohannis Biclarenis Chronicon edidit R. Collins*, Turnhout 2001, p. 101; S. Adamiak, *African Authors in the East in the Times of Justinian: Their Works and Sources*, „Res Gestae” 5 (2017), pp. 35–45.

13 C. Cardelle de Hartmann, *Introduction*, p. 101.

14 Isidore of Seville in *De viris illustribus* XXV, 2–4 (ed. Codoñer Merino) wrote that Victor produced an annalistic work from the Creation of the World to the first year of the reign of Emperor Justin II (and thus to 565). It follows that the *Chronicle* that Isidore knew did not start from 444 (as the *Chronicle* preserved in the available manuscripts), but covered history from Adam onwards.

intended as a kind of epitome from similar works by Jerome and Prospero, describing history from the creation of the world, which has not survived to our time, and Victor's own *Chronicle*, was intended as a continuation.¹⁵ Kosiński, convincingly argues against this theory with his own hypothesis that Victor had a definitive version of Prospero's *Chronicle* brought to 455, which was added to the text of Jerome's *Chronicle* and which he supplemented with events from the following century. In this way, a universal chronicle was created, encompassing the three Latin chronicles: Jerome's, Prospero's and Victor's, or in Isidore's words, a complete *Chronicle* that maintained chronological continuity from the creation of the world to the beginning of the reign of emperor Justin II. Thus, according to Kosiński, Victor thus began his own work by combining Prosper's message with information taken from Theodore Lector's *History of the Church* concerning the episcopal succession in Antioch.¹⁶ At the same time, Kosiński is unequivocal about Theodore's aim — to give a concise account of the dispute surrounding the Council of Chalcedon and Antiochian theology, taking into account the political events that accompanied it. A particularly valuable contribution of the Polish scholar is to explain the reasons for Victor's errors in dating events, to show the geographical horizon of Victor's work, its reception in the Middle Ages, and its state of preservation. Kosiński reveals the secrets of the craftsmanship of the source publisher, even teaches how to work on a text from the very basics — comparative studies of manuscript tradition and old prints, through determining the correct transcription of the text, establishing the origin of every detail, the reasons for every error in the text. Such a meticulous laying out of the details of his own analyses adds an extra dimension to the edition: it introduces the reader to the ins and outs of working on a source, a way of arriving at what publishers usually give as ready-made findings. The researcher has adopted this approach as standard, for he followed the same procedure in the critical edition of the *Church Histories of John Diakrinomenos and Theodore Lector*.

The last part is already a *Chronicle* with a translation and historical commentary. A very good solution has been adopted, i.e. the Latin text and the translation and underneath it, in the form of footnotes, there

15 A. Placanica, *Introduzione*, in: Vittore da Tunnuna, *Chronica. Chiesa e impero nell'età di Giustiniano*, ed. A. Placanica, Firenze 1997, xiii–xiv; C. Cardelle de Hartman, *Introduction*, pp. 102–106; S. Adamiak, *African Authors...*, p. 41.

16 Theodore Lector, *Epitome* 6 [341].

is a commentary on philological issues. The translation is written in modern Polish; in this part, too, the edition of the *Chronicle* prepared by Kosiński is innovative, as he proposed a different lesson than earlier editors. The historical commentary, on the other hand, is a separate part. The historical study is extremely meticulous, importantly correcting Wiktor's numerous mistakes or manipulations as to dates or facts described. Each footnote is even a separate study of a character and event, Kosiński makes use of all available scientific literature, pointing out issues already established as well as those still under scientific debate. The work concludes with a diligently assembled Bibliography and a Personal Index and, importantly, also a Geographical Index.

In summary: *Victor of Tonna and his work* is not only a critical edition of the source, but an excellent monograph on a particularly religious history. The first chapter alone: *The dispute over the so-called Three Chapters*, in which Kosinski describes the history of theological disputes in the period described by Victor of Tonna, both theologically and politically. This is an extremely difficult subject, even for scholars of the period, and this chapter, is an extremely competent explanation of the problems, which in itself could constitute a 'textbook'. There is no work without errors, although the Author has done his best to ensure that there are very few in the reviewed item. So: the explanation of the Latin technical terms is missing, which would have made it easier to work with the source. The fact that the commentary is not directly below the translation makes it somewhat difficult to use the book. There are repetitions and typos in the commentary.

Rafał Kosiński's book *Victor of Tonna and his work* represents a significant achievement in ancient history and classical philology, setting the bar extremely high for subsequent publishers of sources not only of late antiquity.

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ISSN 0867-8294

