Athanasius Raczyński (1788-1874)

Aristocrat, Diplomat, and Patron of the Arts

Michał Mencfel



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By

Michał Mencfel

Translated by

Thomas Anessi, in collaboration with Małgorzata Olsza



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Abbreviations

AA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
АРК	Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie [The National Archive in Krakow]
APP	Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu [The National Archive in Poznan]
ASR	Archivio di Stato di Roma
BCz	Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, Kraków [The Princes Czartoryski
	Library, Krakow]
ВК	Biblioteka Kórnicka [The Kornik Library]
BN	Biblioteka Narodowa [The National Library of Poland, Warsaw]
BR	Biblioteka Raczyńskich, Poznań [The Raczynski Library Poznan]
GStA	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin
LAB	Landesarchiv Berlin
MNP	Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu [The National Museum in Poznan]
nal V&A	National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
RA	Statens Arkiver: Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen
RSCL	Rauner Special Collection Library, Dartmouth Collage, Hanover,
	New Hampshire
ZNO	Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław [The Ossoliński National
	Institute]

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Introduction

1 Polyoptric Portrait

Twelve volumes of diaries covering nearly the whole of his life; a vast corpus of private and official correspondence concerning personal, artistic, and political matters; highly detailed documentation of his activities as a collector, including letters, bills of sale, and notes; several weighty tomes devoted to art and his family's history; an impressive collection of his own watercolours and drawings: from these thousands of pages of material, a detailed self-portrait of Athanasius Raczyński emerges, one produced at times consciously but more often inadvertently. It is that of a wealthy aristocrat; a Pole in the Prussian diplomatic service; an active participant in and observer and critical commentator of political life; a connoisseur and collector of art of European renown; in short, a distinguished yet complicated nineteenth-century figure. At first glance, this portrait appears to be clearly and carefully drawn. After all, Raczyński's texts do contain many strong declarations, clearly expressed views, and repeated confessions of faith. And while Raczyński's personality did indeed evolve, from his youth he embraced a set of core beliefs that provided the raw material from which he developed his identity and the principles guiding his activities throughout his life. These principles can be grouped around a few key words: aristocracy, loyalty, monarchism, anti-democratism, and continuance of the social and legal order. Yet a more careful look at Raczyński's self-portrait reveals both flaws and inconsistencies in its construction. In various situations, some quite surprising and seemingly trivial, the pressure of the moment caused the armour which Raczyński had forged over the years out of his principles, ideals, and beliefs to begin to buckle and crack. Realizing this Athanasius, who was undoubtedly a keen observer of both the world and himself, would on occasion express his irritation and anger but usually responded with self-deprecating humor.

It is precisely these cracks that make Athanasius Raczyński an attractive figure for the biographer, allowing him to be viewed as a protagonist enmeshed in conflict – both internally and with the world around him. This conflict sometimes takes the form of minor struggles, and at other times, truly dramatic battles. It manifested itself in his endeavours to achieve the social position to which he aspired, his efforts to be recognized by Berlin's and Europe's political and intellectual elites, his striving to fulfil the duties he believed rested upon him as the heir to an aristocratic family name. But it also resulted from

internal conflicts, struggles within him, conflicting feelings about ideas that attracted him but at the same time repelled him because they made it difficult for him to inscribe himself into the worldview he professed. The critical view of Raczyński expressed by his contemporary, the writer and historian Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, who was generally hostile towards Athanasius ('a bad citizen, a worse husband') reveals an essential aspect of our protagonist's personality: he was indeed 'full of unpleasant and incomprehensible rages.'¹

In a sense, Raczyński was – at least at times – a prisoner of his own strong beliefs, principles, ideals, and clearly defined goals. He demanded exact definitions and adopted those that best suited his needs. His aspirations in life, regardless of whether they concerned professional or private matters, were defined with great precision, and at times, quite bluntly expressed. His diplomatic career, and his efforts to enlarge his estate, establish an entail, enter into a favourable marriage, and achieve a high social standing and recognition in the King's court and among the intelligentsia – for Athanasius, these were not abstract goals, but tasks to be carried out, and he devoted himself to doing just that, showing great persistence and tenacity in his efforts and ultimately, in some cases, achieving success, though success that sometimes proved illusory.

Count Adhémar d'Antioche, the publisher of Raczyński's correspondence and author of an excellent psychological portrait of our protagonist, wrote of him – perhaps drawing on the recollections of his father, Alphonse d'Antioche, one of the Polish aristocrat's closest friends later in life – as follows:

This goal came to his mind in the most precise form: as a nobleman, he wanted to help provide for his family's success, add to its wealth, and ensure its continued prosperity. Feeling deeply attached to his country and his King, he was determined to use his zeal, devotion, and talents to attain an important position in the Polish state. While still a young man, he drew up for himself a lifetime programme. He defined in advance all the stages that needed to be completed, anticipated all the means required to advance from one stage to another, and then, having staked out his path, he set off at once on his journey, full of unflagging perseverance and energy.²

¹ Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Dzienniki 1835–1836*, do druku przygotowała i przypisami opatrzyła Izabella Rusinowa (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2005), 281.

² Deux diplomates le comte Raczynski et Donoso Cortès marquis de Valdegamas. Dépêches et correspondence politique 1848–1853, Publiéez et mises en ordre par la comte Adhémar d'Antioche (Paris: E. Plon, 1880), VII–VIII.

D'Antioche adds that Raczyński's intellect was cool but lively, keen, perceptive, and analytical, considering everything in the smallest detail. Indeed, his constant need to analyse, and his ability to maintain control over both his own psyche and his external reality were essential features of the Count's character.

This does not mean, however, that Raczyński was not inclined to spontaneous behaviour. On the contrary, he experienced moments of great excitement, unrestrained enthusiasm, and profound emotions, as noted by himself and those around him. These feelings were provoked, above all, by his contact with art. Although he was often analytical and rational in his reactions to art, it also brought him feelings of utter joy and delight, at times even in response to works that went beyond his clearly defined aesthetic horizons. He was also not free from tendencies toward melancholy or of doubt of his capabilities and the value of the work he carried out with such great determination. This was a source of numerous self-deprecating statements made during his youth, but which also expressed his maturity and his sophisticated sense of self-irony. These ultimately led him to develop a strong sensitivity to criticism of his competence and achievements.

The conflict mentioned above was largely a product of Raczyński's personality and part of his nature, but it was also fuelled by external circumstances. Raised in the spirit of the Enlightenment and loyal to its ideals, he followed new intellectual currents and expressed a fascination with some of them. He also took part in heated discussions about the Polish nation and struggled with his Polishness, treating it as both a burden and a challenge. While he was a firm believer in a specific social and political order, he also noted the inevitability of its collapse. If one sentence were to explain the purpose of the present book, it would read as follows: it is an attempt to describe a complicated, wealthy, multi-faceted, creative personality and intellect caught up in 'history broken from its chains' to borrow Jerzy Stempowski's expression.

• • •

Athanasius Raczyński (Fig. 1) was born on 2 May 1788 in Poznań, in Wielkopolska region in Poland, which at that time still enjoyed independence.³ He was the

³ The politically weakened Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) became the target of expansion by neighbouring powers – Prussia, Russia, and Austria – in the late eighteenth century. In the course of the so-called 'three partitions,' it was gradually reduced in size and finally, in 1795, divided among its neighbours. Poland disappeared from the map



FIGURE 1 Federico Madrazo y Kunz, *Portrait of Athanasius Raczyński*, 1850 Raczyński foundation at the national museum in poznań, inv. no. mnp fr 528

of independent European states for more than 120 years, until 1918. The western part of the fallen Polish state, so-called Greater Poland (Wielkopolska), together with its capital Poznań, became the domain of Prussia in 1793. By virtue of the resolutions of the Congress of Vienna, the formally autonomous Grand Duchy of Posen was established in the region in 1815, and after 1848, renamed the Province of Posen.

second son of General Philip Raczyński and Michalina née Raczyńska, daughter of a highly influential Crown Court Marshal, Kazimierz Raczyński, who secured the family's economic and political position. Thoroughly educated, first in his home in Rogalin near Poznań, and then at the university in Frankfurt (Oder) and by private tutors in Berlin and Dresden, he was prepared for public service from an early age. Being very wealthy and a man of outstanding intellect and character, he devoted his adult life to two passions: politics and art.⁴ Both of these passions were realized mainly in Berlin, where he lived permanently from the mid-1830s until his death on 21 August 1874. Despite residing in the Prussian capital, he maintained solid but complicated ties with his native Wielkopolska where his brother Edward lived until 1845, where he himself owned vast estates, and where he held political office. At the same time, he participated freely in the life of the European elite.

He engaged in politics both professionally as an active practitioner, namely as a Saxon (1813-1815) and later Prussian (1830-1852) diplomat, as a delegate to the Provincial Sejm (parliament) in Poznań, as a hereditary member (from 1854) of the Prussian Chamber of Lords (Herrenhaus), and as a theorist who developed sophisticated and coherent doctrines for his own use in the spirit of his categorical conservatism, and who laid these out in detail in his diary and correspondence. His position as an envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary minister of the Kingdom of Prussia, which he held for several years in the Danish (1830-1834), Portuguese (1842-1848), and Spanish (1848-1852) courts, guaranteed Raczyński a prominent position in the circles of the Prussian state administration and among the European diplomatic elite. His extensive contacts in political spheres, excellent orientation in European affairs, sharp eye and analytical skills, and finally, his attractive, somewhat aphoristic writing style gave Raczyński's political concepts value and made him a prominent representative of European conservative thought. Although Juliusz Falkowski's statement that Athanasius Raczyński 'established around himself a school for politicians and diplomats' is exaggerated,⁵ all that has been said above allows us to see him as an active participant in and commentator on contemporary political life who, though perhaps not especially influential, was gifted with

⁴ A document preserved in Raczyński's records speaks in a particularly clear and concise way about his greatest fascinations and main fields of activity. This is a single sheet of paper included in the so-called *Libri veritatis*: on its obverse there is a schedule for a meeting of the Prussian Chamber of Lords on 19 March 1859, on the reverse side there is a project in Athanasius' handwriting to hang paintings in his gallery; LV, vol. 47b, MNP, MNPA 1414/47b, pp. 937–938.

⁵ Juliusz Falkowski, *Obrazy z życia kilku ostatnich pokoleń w Polsce*, vol. 11 (Poznań: Księgarnia Jana Konstantego Żupańskiego, 1882), 211.

a keen critical sense. Or, more broadly, we can see him as a public figure who deserves to be considered one of the outstanding and indeed most interesting Polish political figures of the nineteenth century.

When we leave the realm of politics and enter the realm of art, Raczyński's position becomes unequivocal. In terms of his comprehensive and widely acclaimed patronage, his critical and authorial activities, his refined and at times original artistic reflections, his ambitious and sophisticated approach to his role as a collector – Raczyński simply had no rivals in these areas among Poles in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Even if we view his activities from a supra-local, European perspective, his prominent rank remains undisputed. The author of the entry devoted to Raczyński in the thirteenth volume of Larousse's *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX*^e siècle, published in Paris one year after the Count's death, had no doubt that he had 'carried out quite exceptional research on the fine arts and quickly acquired a great certainty in his tastes.'⁶

In short, in the case of Athanasius Raczyński, we are dealing with an aristocrat who was aware of the privileges and obligations of his estate and who participated freely in the cultural and social life of Europe's elites; a Pole who was engaged in a difficult, dramatic and critical dialogue with Polishness throughout his life; a high-ranking Prussian diplomat who did not play a significant political role, but who occupied a prestigious position in the administration of the Kingdom of Prussia; a penetrating observer of and brilliant commentator on political events, who only occasionally spoke in public, but who expressed extremely insightful opinions in his private notes and abundant correspondence;⁷ a conservative political thinker in the fullest sense of the word, a correspondent of one of the most interesting and important antirevolutionary thinkers in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century, the Spanish politician and writer Juan Donoso Cortés; a collector of Old Masters and contemporary paintings and founder of a publicly accessible art gallery of European renown; a patron, connoisseur, researcher and promoter of art; an active participant in artistic life and author of widely acclaimed, pioneering books on German and Portuguese; and finally, a man of great erudition and culture, with a rich personality and a penetrating mind.

⁶ Pierre M. Larousse, ed., *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle: français, historique, géographique, mythologique, bibliographique*, vol. 13 (Paris:1875), 619.

⁷ In January 1857, Raczyński wrote an article in the Brussels newspaper 'Le Nord' on the political situation in England (*Les journaux qui attaquent Lord Palmerston…, Le Nord. Journal quotidien*, 3^e Année, Nº 13, Mardi, 13 Janvier 1857, pp. 1–2). It was one of a few Raczyński's public statements on political issues.

Raczyński's biography, fascinating in its own right, assumes added dimensions when analyzed in its broader context. It should be seen against the background of the profound changes taking place in the nineteenth century in Europe's political, social, economic, communicative, moral, and mental spheres as a result of, among other things, a 'dual revolution': the French revolution of 1789 and the British industrial revolution.⁸ For these reasons, Raczyński's biography transcends the borders of a single (Polish) cultural and national tradition and carries with it multiple identities. Described in today's terms, it can be considered an example of a multicultural and multinational biography.⁹ For these reasons, Raczyński's biography can contribute to research on many important nineteenth-century phenomena: the winding paths of the careers of Poles in the administration of the partitioning states, assimilation and acculturation processes, the history of European conservative thought, the history of collections and art patronage, etc. In preparing the present book, I have tried to draw useful conclusions in each of these spheres.

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Among the entertainments available to members of the Paris salons in the latter half of the seventeenth century was a peculiar form of painting that depicted images of various people arranged in a disjointed order. However, when one looked at the picture through a special lens, a single image was formed from this multitude of faces – a faithful portrait of the ruler. These were called polyoptric images.

This book is somewhat similar in character. It contains a collection of studies presenting the various faces of Athanasius Raczyński, that is, selected parts and aspects of his personality and activities. Will a coherent and credible overall picture emerge from this collection of images as well? This will be up to the reader to judge.

The book consists of three parts. The first one, entitled *Formation*, aims to describe Raczyński's personality and to indicate the essential features of his character, allowing us to better understand his political activity and his activities as a collector and patron. In this chapter, I examine the possible sources

⁸ The term 'dual revolution' has been taken from Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789–1848* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1962). See also the analysis of the 'transformation of the world' in the nineteenth century proposed by Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt: eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: C.H. Beck, 2009).

⁹ Adam S. Labuda, "Bracia Raczyńscy – biografie i konfiguracje pamięci," in Adam S. Labuda, Michał Mencfel, Wojciech Suchocki, eds., *Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy. Dzieła – osobowości – wybory – epoka* (Poznań: Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, 2010), 17–26, esp. 24.

of Athanasius' character and indicate the people who had the most significant influence on its formation (his grandfather Kazimierz Raczyński and his brother Edward). Next, I follow Raczyński's educational path and his first professional experience, that is the rather sluggish beginnings of his diplomatic career. Finally, I dedicate a large section of the chapter to the young Raczyński's self-stylisation as a Wertherean hero.

The second part is devoted, first of all, to Raczyński's activities in the field of politics and, secondly, to his political theories and worldview. I look here for the consequences for Athanasius' biography of his position as a wealthy aristocrat, analyse his attitude to property and family, and – based on the example of the portrait gallery founded by Raczyński at his estate in Gaj Mały in Wielkopolska – examine how he managed his aristocratic symbolic capital. I then follow the formative years of Raczyński in Berlin and the complicated, and sometimes dramatic, course of his diplomatic career. I also present in detail his political convictions as a proponent of categorical conservatism and his difficult relationship with Polishness, an issue with which he struggled throughout his adult life.

The third part concerns artistic matters, including Raczyński's activities as a writer, collector, and patron of art. It opens with an analysis of Athanasius' own paintings and drawings, which provide an introduction to his artistic sensibilities and aesthetic preferences. I then reconstruct his beliefs regarding the essence and goals of art, and finally analyze Raczyński's activities as an author, patron, and collector of works of art.

Due to my firm belief in the persuasive power of images, I included in the present book numerous diverse visual messages, which are intended not only to illustrate the text but also to provide a secondary narrative, making it at once more accurate and more poetic.

2 Sources

The source materials used in the writing of this book, many of which concern Athanasius Raczyński directly, are extensive and wide-ranging. However, they also posed several problems. Most are unpublished documents, including some which have been previously used only to a limited extent or not at all. In order to facilitate the navigation through this vast body of materials, it can be divided into six groups: 1) the manuscript of Raczyński's diary, covering most of his long life; 2) Raczyński's private correspondence with his grandfather Kazimierz, his brother Edward and his brother's wife Konstancja, his own wife Anna Radziwiłł, his children, a few close friends, and a large number of friends, associates, and business partners; 3) documentation of Athanasius' diplomatic activities, consisting of letters, reports, and instructions; 4) legal documents concerning property and inheritance matters; 5) the so-called *Libri veritatis*, or volumes documenting Raczyński's activities as a collector; 6) and finally, iconographic sources in the form of dozens of drawings and watercolours made by the Count himself. An exact list of these materials can be found at the end of this book. Here, I would like to give a general description of the most important of these sources.

The key source is Athanasius Raczyński's monumental personal diary – several thousand pages of notes he made on an ongoing basis, albeit with varying intensity, for over half a century. Due to the volume of information contained alone, it could be considered a rarity. But there are also other reasons for such a designation. These are its thematic diversity, the insights contained in its entries, and the vast amount of information it provides on various aspects of nineteenth-century life.

The diary is not a homogeneous work, neither in form nor substance. It opens with childhood memories (Souvenirs d'enfance, 1788-1808), written in the first decade of the nineteenth century and then repeatedly amended (Fig. 2). The diary itself, which covers current events and large sections of which are written systematically, begins in late autumn of 1808, with the last entries dating to 1866.¹⁰ The diary evolved over the years. Initially, it was quite intimate in character and perceived by Raczyński as a tool for self-knowledge and self-improvement. 'On the advice of my grandmother,' he confessed, 'I start this diary with a strong resolution never to show it to anyone. I intend to include all the various impressions that affect my soul, all the events that cause them, and finally anything that can help me to get to know myself. It is said that this is a sure means to remedy my deficiencies.'11 Initially, Athanasius essentially tried to look into himself and, with an often harshly critical eye, sketch out a psychological self-portrait. The diary's main protagonist is therefore himself and his dilemmas, loves, doubts, and ambitions. He also writes about events in which he was a participant or witness and sketches portraits (though usually superficial ones) of the people he comes into contact with, often including a scandalous anecdote or two. Extensive sections of the diary, thus initially, take the form of a social chronicle with a decidedly gossipy

¹⁰ We know from Adhémar d'Antioche that he kept such a record until at least 1871, but the volume (or volumes) containing the late entries, which were available to Antioche in the late nineteenth century, have been lost; *Deux diplomates le comte Raczynski et Donoso Cortès*, XXVII.

¹¹ DIARY, 14 November 1808.



FIGURE 2 Title page of volume one of Athanasius Raczyński's Diary

profile. However, in this early period, we already encounter notes of a different kind. Monuments, works of art, and the beauty of nature become the subjects of entries made during his travels, while war-related events dominate in entries made during military campaigns. As the years go by – and particularly after 1812 – Athanasius himself slowly recedes into the background, becoming a recorder of and commentator on events. This is also the direction in which Raczyński's writing evolved: it gradually came to be more of a critical report on political and social events, assuming a chronicler's distance from the reality. Of course, Athanasius never disappears from its pages, not even momentarily; this simply wasn't possible. Instead, he chose to alter his presence in it. He was no longer the object of the narration but a conscious subject within it. He never strove to objectify his entries, not even for a moment, but instead always clearly expressed his position and expounded his worldview.

The nineteenth century was a grand epoch for diary writing and journalism. Anyone who could wield a pen and had grandchildren, in whom they could hope to find readers of their work, started to write 'memoirs.' In fact, memoirs and diaries were among the most popular books of that era. Athanasius also reached for such works and assumed – who knows how consciously – the conventions, narrative strategies and rhetorical figures that were found in them. Raczyński's diaries are therefore a literary work, not only because of their artistic merits, though these are indeed significant, but also due to the fact that they were formally conventionalized. Should one thus expect 'sincerity' from them? Yes, but only understood in a particular way, in quotation marks, according to the principle expressed by Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, a writer and author of the phenomenal *Diary Written at Night*, that 'utmost honesty is imaginable in literature as long as it is licensed by a third party or an implied first person narrator. In a diary, it allows for prompters or for the sincerity of actors.'¹²

At this point, I will stop discussing the diary as a text in more detail because the quotations and references contained in this book will give a much better picture of its content and poetics. Instead, I would like to devote some attention to the characteristics and fate of the copy at our disposal.

Raczyński's diary is contained in twelve large, leather-bound volumes. The work as a whole has over seven thousand pages, written in an even, careful hand, which, apart from the excellent state of the document's preservation, guarantees the entries will be clearly legible. The manuscript has been very carefully prepared: with attention having been paid to the graphic design and organisation of the text, as indicated by footnotes explaining the more enigmatic passages and a detailed table of contents at the end of each volume. The language used in the diary is for the most part French, although long passages are written in German, and in rare cases, short passages appear in Polish, Portuguese, or English.

¹² Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, *Dziennik pisany nocą, 1973–1979* (Warszawa: Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza, 1983), 75.



FIGURE 3 Athanasius Raczyński, *Street in Königsberg*, watercolour from volume five of Raczyński's *Diary*, 9 September 1840

This is not an *editio princeps*, but a copy, most of which was made on Raczyński's orders by his secretaries, most probably in the late 1840s or early 1850s. The only parts produced by Athanasius' hand are the drawings and watercolours (Fig. 3) found among the entries, ornamental vignettes placed on the pages



FIGURE 4 Decorative vignettes made by Raczyński, page from *Diary* preceding entries from 1816 and 1843

opening the entries made during a given year (Fig. 4), and finally some additions and short commentaries.

The diary is in possession of Ms Catherine Raczyńska in London, though it was not part of her family's legacy. It was instead purchased by Edward Bernard Raczyński, Athanasius' great great nephew, in the 1930s, from the estate of Athanasius' closest friend during his adult life, the Savoy diplomat, Count Alphonse de Brotty d'Antioche. In one of the codicils to his will, dated 15 September 1869, Raczyński left Antioche two chests containing 'bound manuscripts and autographs.'¹³ It is certain that after Athanasius' death they did indeed reach their addressee and that the documents included the diary and most likely a collection of letters from the 1840s and 1850s. These documents were used by Adhémar, the son and heir of Alphonse d'Antioche, who in 1880 prepared an excellent edition of Raczyński's correspondence with the Spanish politician Juan Donoso Cortés, and in 1893 published excerpts from the diary

The codicil to Athanasius Raczyński' will, dated 15 September 1869, in: LAB, Berlin, A Pr. Br.
 Rep. 005 A – Stadtgericht Berlin, No. 6909, pp. 41–57.

devoted to the situation in Paris in 1824.¹⁴ Adhémar d'Antioche, born in 1849 in Brussels and educated in Paris, spent most of his mature life in the family castle in Nernier in the east of France. Until his death in 1918, the documents left by Raczyński were kept there. Adhémar's daughter Simone inherited them along with other family heirlooms. They remained in the family castle after Simone's early death in 1922 and passed into the hands of her husband, Baron Louis François Robert Chaulin, who, taking advantage of Edward Bernard Raczyński's presence as a delegate of the Polish government to the League of Nations in Geneva, less than thirty kilometres from Nernier, offered to sell him the diary in 1933. Edward Bernard Raczyński bought the document and eventually took it to London. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to establish what happened to the other documents left by Athanasius with the Count d'Antioche.¹⁵

The fact that we have at our disposal a copy of the diary, and not the original, has obvious consequences for its interpretation, as it raises questions about the fidelity of the copy to the original. This is a highly problematic issue because it remains unresolved. The London copy does not show any apparent gaps or inconsistencies in the narrative that would indicate that some sections found in the original had been removed or changed. Moreover, it contains some potentially uncomfortable entries for Raczyński, including passages that could have been regarded by him in retrospect as compromising but were nevertheless copied. Both of these circumstances allow us to believe that the diary was not subjected to strong self-censorship during its transcription and that the copy faithfully reflects the original. However, only a comparison of the two documents would provide certainty in this respect.

There is, of course, the question of the original diary. The original seventeenvolume set, bound in red leather, was mentioned by the heir of Athanasius' estate, Joseph Raczyński. He became interested in his ancestral legacy shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War. In the summer of 1936, he looked

Adhémar d'Antioche, "Le dernier hiver d'un règne. Paris, 1824. Impressions d'un témoin," Revue d'histoire diplomatique publiée par les soins de la Société d'Histoire Diplomatique, Dix-septième année (1893): 124–147.

¹⁵ The marriage of Baron Chaulin to Simone d'Antioche was childless (Simone died in childbirth), as was his second marriage, to Marcelle Grimault. After his death, at least some of the d'Antioche family property was transferred to the Talleyrand-Périgord family (from which hailed Marie Marguerite de Talleyrand-Périgord, Adhémar's wife and Simone's mother). Memorabilia from the Antioch and Chaulin families, held in the Talleyrand-Périgord family collection, including momentoes of Alphonse and Adhémar d'Antioche, were sold by the Daguerre auction house at an auction sale held at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris on 4 March 2015. If any of the letters sent by Raczyński to Alphonse d'Antioche have survived, they might be held by the Talleyrand-Périgord family.

through a collection of handwritten journal entries entitled *Souvenirs et Bêtises*, stored in a mahogany box in Berlin's Brandenburg-Preußisches Hausarchiv. Unfortunately, as he writes, his professional obligations, and later the outbreak of war and subsequent emigration, did not allow him to deal with these entries in more detail.¹⁶ The fate of the Berlin copy and where it might be stored today are unknown. It very well may have been lost – burned along with the archive building and most of the documents stored in it in 1943.¹⁷

In the late 1970s, Joseph Raczyński began once again to study his ancestor's diary. This time, he used not the originals, to which he no longer had access (and which may have been destroyed), but a copy made available to him in the form of microfilm by Edward Bernard Raczyński, that is a reproduction of the copy that had been in his possession since 1933.¹⁸ Thanks to Joseph, parts of Athanasius' diary have been made available to readers. He translated it into German and edited significant parts of the text. He later published some of these under the title *Noch ist Polen nicht verloren: aus den Tagebüchern des Athanasius Raczyński 1788 bis 1818*,¹⁹ while the rest remained in the form of a typescript stored today in the Raczyński Library in Poznań.²⁰ The edition produced by Joseph possesses some advantageous features. It is preceded by a short introduction and contains footnotes explaining some of the text's more cryptic passages. However, it also has disadvantages, the most serious of which are omissions introduced by the publisher that are not always signalled. References to the diary in the present book always refer to the manuscript version.

The diary, especially during the later period, contains a large number of copies of letters written by and to Raczyński, including many where neither the originals nor other copies have been found. Among them are key documents,

¹⁶ Athanasius Raczyński, Noch ist Polen nicht verloren. Aus den Tagebüchern des Athanasius Raczyński 1788 bis 1818, herasugegeben und übersetzt von Joseph A. Graf Raczyński (Berlin: Siedler, 1984), 251–252.

¹⁷ We have knowledge of one additional copy of the diary commissioned by Athanasius in the 1850s. It was to include twenty-one bound yellow notebooks. Its current whereabout is unknown.

¹⁸ The microfilm was then handed over by Joseph Raczynski to the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, where it can still be found under the call number III HA, Repr, 59.

¹⁹ Athanasius Raczyński, Noch ist Polen nicht verloren.

The following volumes are found in typescript form: Der Weg nach Berlin. Aus den Tagebüchern des Athanasius Raczynski 1819–1836, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Joseph A. Graf Raczynski, Bd. 1–2, als Manuskript vervielfältigt, München, November 1986, and Berlin-Lissabon. Posen und Galizien (Persönliche Erlebnisse – Politik – Klatsch – Kunst – Diplomatie). Aus den Tagebüchern des Athanasius Raczynski 1837–1848, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Joseph A. Graf Raczynski, als Manuskript vervielfältigt, Santiago de Chile; BR, Poznań, ms 4047.

such as correspondence between the Count and his wife and children, as well as with his closest friends, most of whom are colleagues in the field of diplomacy, including Juan Donoso Cortés, Alphonse d'Antioche, Georg Esterházy, and many others. Raczyński's letters to his family are personal, and some are quite intimate, while his correspondence with friends is often about public matters or a commentary on current political events. Together they provide insights into the different spheres of Athanasius' life.

The most important collection of private letters, apart from the copies in the diary, is a large corpus of correspondence with his brother Edward preserved in the State Archive in Poznań, in the National Museum in Poznań, and the Raczyński Library in Poznań. It includes letters written from the brothers' early youth up until Edward's death in 1845.²¹ Another sender and addressee of part of the correspondence contained in the collection is Edward's wife, Konstancja née Potocka.²² Also noteworthy is the collection of letters from Kazimierz Raczyński stored in the Raczyński Library, written to his young grandson and charge,²³ and a set of much later letters addressed by Athanasius to (or about) his nephew Roger.²⁴ The letters exchanged in the 1840s between Raczyński and the diplomat, co-worker, and friend, Karl Friedrich von Savigny, come from outside the family circle and are kept in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin.²⁵ At the same time, his correspondence with various persons is held at the University Library in Amsterdam.²⁶ Small

22 BR, Poznań, ms 4223, pp. 67–77.

²¹ APP, Majątek Rogalin, 74–79; MNP, MNPA-1414–48; BR, Poznań, ms 4223, pp. 1–47 and pp. 71–75.

²³ BR, Poznań, ms 1996.

²⁴ BR, Poznań, ms 2727; BR, Poznań, ms 4223, pp. 89–90.

²⁵ GStA, Berlin, VI. НА Nl Karl Friedrich von Savigny, Nr. 208.

The University Library of Amsterdam holds a collection of almost thirty letters written 26 by or addressed to Raczyński. These items were part of a rich collection of autographs collected by the publisher and collector Pieter Arnold Diederichs that was donated to the library by his son soon after his death in 1874. Among the materials related to the Polish aristocrat, only a part is correspondence in the strict sense. Many of these items are quite mundane: invitations to dinner, acknowledgements, information about deliveries, etc. In some cases, they are anonymous, and only some are precisely dated. However, the collection also includes some extensive and quite interesting letters, concerning for the most part Raczyński's artistic and scientific interests, especially those written to the Berlin art historians Friedrich Rumohr (letters dated 11 December 1828, 18 and 28 July 1836; отм: hs. 86 M 6-8) and Gustav Friedrich Waagen (letter dated 6 [December?] 1836; отм: hs. 95 A 2), to the Dresden librarian Konstantin Karl Falkenstein (letters dated 13, 18 and 22 June 1844; OTM: hs. 86 M 1-3), to the scholar Wilhelm Körte of Halberstadt (letters dated 5 June 1837 and 22 February 1846; OTM: hs. 86 M 4-5), and to the Portuguese aristocrat and amateur researcher Francisco de Almeida, Count Lavradio (letters dated 29 April 1843 and 16 June 1844; ОТМ: hs. 137 El, 1-2).

batches of correspondence or single letters to different addressees can also be found in the collections of many Polish, European and American institutions.²⁷

A part of Raczyński's epistolary legacy was published in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. In 1880, Count Adhémar d'Antioche published in Paris the previously mentioned extensive volume containing letters exchanged by Athanasius between 1848 and 1852 with several figures from European politics, including, in particular, the Spanish politician, writer, and philosopher Juan Donoso Cortés.²⁸ Raczyński's correspondence with the Parisian scholar and expert on Portuguese affairs Ferdinand Denis was published in Lisbon in 1932.²⁹ Several letters written by Raczyński to the painter Wilhelm Kaulbach, contained in the memoirs of the artist's daughter,

See letters written to the following addressees (in alphabetical order): Dezydery 27 Chłapowski (BR, Poznań, ms 4048, p. 81, letter dated 19 November 1830), Tytus Działyński (вк, Kórnik, ms 7349/2, pp. 310–315, letters dated 29 June 1820, 23 March and 23 June 1828, 27 August 1855), Sir Charles Eastlake (NAL V&A, London, MSL/1922/416, letters dated 15, 19 and 28 August 1838, 5 October 1838, 3 December 1839, 10 June 1840, 24 June, 30 September and 6 December 1841), Józef Grabowski (Ossolineum, Wrocław, ms 4187/11, 385, letter dated 29 September 1849), Teresa Jabłonowska (BR, Poznań, ms 4048, pp. 119-123, letter dated 6 October 1831), Karol Kniaziewicz (Biblioteka Polska in Paris, ms BPP 482/1, pp. 579–580, letter dated 26 August 1829), Hipolit Kownacki (BN, Warsaw, ms 2758 II, p. 51, letter dated 20 March 1822), Izabela Lubomirska (APK (Wawel), Archiwum Potockich z Krzeszowic, AKPot 289, pp. 227–230, letter dated 10 December 1815), Friedrich Lucanus (Staatsarchiv Graubünden, Chur, B/N 1361 Nr. 1202, letter dated 9 November 1836), Tomasz Łubieński (BR, Poznań, ms 4048, pp. 152–161, letter dated 4 January 1832), Kajetan Morawski (BR, Poznań, ms 4223, pp. 87–88, letter dated 19 December 1864), Alfred Potocki (APK (Wawel), Archiwum Potockich z Krzeszowic, AKPot 313, p. 675), Franciszkek Potocki (APK (Wawel), Archiwum Potockich z Krzeszowic, AKPot 3288, pp. 705–706, letter dated 3 September 1822), Józefina Radolińska (BR, Poznań, ms 4223, pp. 91–92, letter dated 9 October 18[?], Władysław Radoliński (BR, Poznań, ms 4223, p. 93, letter dated 4 July 1828; APP, Majątek Jarocin, 3865, pp. 9–10, letter dated 10 February [18...?]); APP, Majątek Jarocin, 3845, pp. 38-39, letter dated 9 October 1866), Karl Friedrich von Rumohr (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, CS 10: Raczyński, 1-3, letters dated 20 September and 11 December 1828); Joachim Stattler (Ossolineum, Wrocław, ms 12911/ III, 397, letter dated 26 June 1821); George Ticknor (RSCL, Hanover, NH, call no. 837320, letters dated 20 May 1837, 12 and 23 September 1839, 19 January and 6 February 1840, 30 May and 19 July 1841 and 3 September 1856); Franciszek Wężyk, (Ossolineum, Wrocław, ms 12320/II, 269-272, letter dated 9 September 1857); Henry Wheaton (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Wheaton Papers, Box 13, letters dated 5 January 1834, 25 January and 6 September 1836, 1 May 1843, 16 May 1848, 30 May 1850 and 6 January 1852); Józef Załuski (APK (Wawel), Archiwum Siedliszowickie Załuskich, ASZ 48, pp. 723-726, letter dated 26 January 1830).

28 Deux diplomates le comte Raczynski et Donoso Cortès.

²⁹ Cartas dirigidas pelo Conde de Raczynski a Ferdinand Denis, prefaciadas e anotadas por Henrique de Campos Ferreira Lima (Lisboa: História, 1932).

Josepha, and the first monograph devoted to him by Hans Müller, have also been published. $^{\rm 30}$

D'Antioche's book has a special place among these publications. The importance of the book is based on both the reputation of the correspondents – Donoso Cortés was one of the most important European conservative political authors of the mid-nineteenth century – and the quality of the publication. It opens with an introduction of more than thirty pages, presenting the profiles of the book's two protagonists. The main part of the book, which includes commentary by the publisher, is comprised of linguistically edited excerpts from Raczyński's diary as well as letters written by him and to him, in part taken from his diary and in part taken directly from the original correspondence in Adhémar d'Antioche's possession. As the Savoy historian Louis-Étienne Piccard wrote shortly after d'Antioche's death in 1918, 'Count d'Antioche sketched with finesse and certainty an engaging psychological portrait of these two personalities [Donoso and Raczyński]. Thanks to his profound knowledge of the history of diplomacy, he was able to tie together all these documents, so adeptly selected, with a silken thread that leads the reader through the historical maze of these four years in the history of Europe. He thus made the documents handed down by his father a source of unique and extremely interesting knowledge.'31 Adhémar d'Antioche combined outstanding erudition and excellent knowledge of Spanish and European politics with phenomenal sensitivity and intuition. The letters owe their meticulous editing, the characters they portray and the analysis of the relations between them, their brilliance and accuracy to these traits. D'Antioche is the source of the most insightful and accurate interpretation of Raczyński's psychological and intellectual profile produced to date.

Raczyński's official correspondence relates to his work in the Prussian diplomatic service. It includes a large number of reports (drafts and final versions) sent by Athanasius from consular offices in Copenhagen, Lisbon, and Madrid. It is accompanied by other documents concerning his diplomatic service: instructions, regulations, petitions, and, finally, extensive correspondence with officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or persons occupying other high positions in the state administration. The largest and most important collection of these diplomatic documents is archived in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv

³⁰ Josefa Dürck-Kaulbach, Erinnerungen an Wilhelm von Kaulbach und sein Haus, mit Briefen und hundertsechzig Abbildungen (München: Delphin Verlag, 1921); Hans Müller, Wilhelm Kaulbach, vol. 1 (Berlin: Fontane, 1893).

³¹ Louis-Étienne Piccard, "Le comte Adhémar d'Antioche (1849–1918)," Mémoires & documents publiés par l'Academie Chablaisienne XXXI (1918): 144–155, esp. 150.

Preußischer Kulturbesitz³² and the Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes in Berlin, in which Raczyński's extensive personnel file is housed.³³ Numerous, but to the purposes of the present book less relevant documents are also kept in the Raczyński Library in Poznań, which houses the remains – several volumes in total – of the archive of the Raczyński family, most of which was destroyed in Warsaw at the end of the Second World War.³⁴ Some letters are also kept in libraries and archives in the cities where Athanasius spent time during his diplomatic career, namely in Copenhagen, Lisbon, and Madrid.³⁵

Raczyński's property matters are also well documented in source documents. Extensive materials relating to the entail Raczyński established in Wielkopolska can be found in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin³⁶ and the Raczyński Library in Poznań.³⁷ Source materials relating to inheritance issues are housed in the State Archives in Poznań and the Landesarchiv Berlin.³⁸

An exceptional collection of archival materials, labelled by Athanasius Raczyński himself with the telling title *Libri veritatis* ('books of truth'), is kept in the National Museum in Poznań.³⁹ In simple terms, it is a detailed documentation of the Count's activity as a collector, begun in 1816 and consisting of more than 2500 pages of letters, contracts, invoices, receipts, notes, source extracts, press clippings, catalogues of collections, drawings, etc. It would be difficult to find source materials anywhere on the continent comparable to this unique treasure trove of documents concerning nineteenth-century art collecting. Conceived as an integral part of his art collection and intended to be stored in a gallery space, it is much more than just a testimony to Raczyński's exceptional solidity and meticulousness. It was both a cognitive tool and an

- 33 AA, Berlin, Nr. 011609.
- 34 BR, Poznań, ms 2719, 2720.

- 36 GStA, Berlin, I. на Rep. 84 a, Justizministerium, Nr. 45517, 45518.
- 37 BR, Poznań, ms 2721–2723, 2725, 2726.

GStA, Berlin, III. HA Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten I, Nr. Nr. 4549, 4556, 4565, 4604–4607, 6210, 6245–6250, 7031,7106–7110; GStA, Berlin, I. HA Rep. 81 Kopenhagen: Gesandtschaft Kopenhagen nach 1807, Nr. 136–140; GStA, Berlin, I. HA Rep. 81 Lissabon: Gesandtschaft / Generalkonsulat Lissabon nach 1807, Nr. 38–44; GStA, Berlin, I. HA Rep. 81 Madrid: Gesandtschaft Madrid nach 1807, Nr. 15, 23, 24, 52.

RA, Copenhagen 302. Departament for udenlandske anliggender, Preussen, Nr. 1691, 1692,
 1711, 1770–1774; ANTT, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, liv. 621, 639.

³⁸ LAB, Berlin, A Pr. Br. Rep. 005 A – Stadtgericht Berlin, Nr. 6909.

³⁹ MNP, MNPA 1414/1–47d. A large portion of it was recently published in a volume edited by Wojciech Suchocki, *Libri veritatis Atanazego Raczyńskiego*, vol. I–II (Poznań: Instytut Historii Sztuki UAM, 2017) and Kamila Kłudkiewicz, *Libri veritatis Atanazego Raczyńskiego*. *Suplement* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2020).

ideological declaration, an instrument for authenticating the Count's activities as a collector and revealing their essential meaning.

These documents are collected into 50 folders, 46 of which were ordered and personally described by Athanasius. Each of them (except two) is dedicated to a specific painting or group of paintings (in relation to Old Masters) or a specific artist (in relation to contemporary art). Initially, they were arranged in alphabetical order, but after reorganization by Anna Dobrzycka, a long-term employee of the National Museum in Poznań, this original system was altered. The folders were divided by Dobrzycka into two groups, Old Masters and contemporary painting, and were arranged alphabetically only within each of these groups. The two folders differ quite distinctly in character. The first contains 'Documents relating to my purchases of paintings,' that is invoices, receipts, and letters not included in Raczyński's monographic documentation. The second relates to 'Statues at my Home;' it contains documentation pertaining to works of sculpture found at the Count's Palace in Berlin. This group of 46 folders is complemented by four folders of a decisively mosaic character, arranged in 1932 by Joseph Raczyński.

The *Libri veritatis* provide information about Raczyński's collecting activity. They allow us to reconstruct the chronology of his purchases and their circumstances, learn the terms of the contracts concluded and the prices paid for the paintings, etc. Their potential as source material is much greater, however, because they also speak of Athanasius' place among art lovers and experts; of his relations with artists, which in several cases (Wilhelm Kaulbach, Friedrich Overbeck, Peter Cornelius) were intense and complex; of his aesthetic preferences and expectations towards art; of his work as a patron and benefactor. Although generally concise, one could even say 'technical,' the notes collected in the folders constitute a very rich source of (sometimes quite surprising) information. The collection has been acclaimed and utilised repeatedly by researchers over the last century. In addition, the larger or smaller groups of letters exchanged by Raczyński with various artists preserved in several other German and European institutions can be considered complementary to it.⁴⁰

Apart from manuscript materials, I have also used numerous texts published in print, especially diaries, and editions of correspondence. Raczyński's person occupies a more prominent place in only a few of these sources, such as the

⁴⁰ See the correspondence between Raczyński and Wilhelm Kaulbach (in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, BSB, Kaulbach-Archiv II: Raczynski; Kaulbach-Archiv IV: Raczynski) and Bertel Thorvaldsem (in Arkivet- et dokumentationscenter om Thorvaldsen, Thorvaldsens Museum in Copenhagen, Call number m5 1818, no. 38a, 83 and 89).

memoirs of Wirydianna Fiszerowa,⁴¹ while much more often, he merely appears in the background. But even scant mentions of Athanasius – by Franciszek Gajewski, Marceli Motty, Józef Łoś, Ksawery Prek, Josefa Dürck-Kaulbach, Ferdinand Denis, Karl Friedrich von Savigny, George Ticknor, Rahel Varnhagen and others⁴² – often provide us with very useful information, especially when compared with Raczyński's own notes. A final valuable source of information were relations in which Raczyński himself does not appear at all, but which provide information about the people with whom he was acquainted or the circumstances in which he lived and worked.

I have also made use of material from the German and European daily press, as well as specialised journals dealing with artistic issues (*Museum, Kunstblatt, Allgemeines Organ für die Interessen des Kunst – und Landkartenhandels*).

To sum up, the source materials used are quite extensive but also problematic. Their problematic character results mainly from the fact that the abundance of information from Raczyński himself can be juxtaposed against only a modest number of testimonies from other people. We thus have at our disposal a relatively one-sided base of materials whose full potential can only be realised in comparative readings with other sources – such material, however, is only available in rare cases.

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⁴¹ Wirydianna Fiszerowa, Dzieje moje własne i osób postronnych. Wiązanka spraw poważnych, ciekawych i błahych, transl. by Edward Raczyński (London: Nakładem Tłumacza, 1975).

Franciszek Gajewski, Pamiętniki pułkownika wojsk polskich (1802-1831), do druku przy-42 sposobione przez prof. dra Stanisława Karwowskiego (Poznań: Zdzisław Rzepecki i S-ka, 1913); Marceli Motty, Przechadzki po mieście, vol. 1-2, opracował i posłowiem opatrzył Zdzisław Grot (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1957), first published 1889-1891; Józef Łoś, Na paryskim i poznańskim bruku. Z pamiętnika powstańca, tułacza i guwernera 1840–1882, wstęp i opracowanie Krystyna Nizio (Kórnik: Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Kórnicka, 1993); Franciszek Ksawery Prek, Czasy i ludzie, przygotował do druku, przedmową, wstępem i przypisami opatrzył Henryk Barycz (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1959); Ferdinad Denis, Journal (1829-1848), publié avec une introduction et des notes par Pierre Moreau, Collectanea Friburgensia, Publications de l'Université de Fribourg (Suisse). Nouvelle série, fasc. XXI (30^{me} de la collection) (Fribourg, Paris: 1932); Josefa Dürck-Kaulbach, Erinnerungen an Wilhelm von Kaulbach und sein Haus; Karl Friedrich von Savigny, 1814–1875. Briefe, Akten, Aufzeichnungen aus dem Nachlass eines preußischen Diplomaten der Rechsgrründerzeit, Ausgewählt und herausgegeben von Willy Real, vol. 1-2 (Boppard am Main: Boldt. 1981); Life, letters and journals of George Ticknor, edited by Geroge Hillard, Anna Ticknor and Anna Eliot Ticknor, vol. 1-2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909); Rachel Varnhagen, Rachel. Ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde, vol. 3 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1834).

Extracts from English-language sources have been slightly modernized in terms of spelling and punctuation. Sources in other languages are included in translation. Unless otherwise stated in the footnote, all translations are those of the translator. Not without some hesitation and regret, I decided not to include in the footnotes quotations from source texts in their original wording. Due to their number, they would have expanded the length of this volume to unacceptable proportions.

3 State of Research

The only biography of Raczyński written to date was published in 1875, a little over a year after the Count's death. It is a small booklet, just over 50 pages long, entitled *Conde de Raczyński (Athanasius). Esboço biographico*. It was written in Portuguese and published in Porto, Portugal, in an edition of less than a hundred copies for private distribution. Even in today's era of databases and digital libraries, this work is hard to find and difficult to access outside Portugal. It was written by Joaquim António da Fonseca de Vasconcelos, who was only 25 years old when the book was published. He later came to occupy an important place among researchers of Portuguese cultural history and became Portugal's pre-eminent art historian.⁴³

Vasconcelos' interest in Raczyński and his work developed quite naturally. He was born in 1849 in Porto, but at the age of ten left for Germany for six years to study first at a grammar school in Hamburg and then in the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Berlin.⁴⁴ From his early youth, he acted as a mediator between German and Portuguese culture. One of Vasconcelos' early writings (from 1872) was a critical dissertation on António Feliciano de Castilho's translation of Goethe's *Faust* into Portuguese. The dissertation was well received among literary scholars, bringing acclaim to the author and placing him among the most influential representatives of the young Portuguese intelligentsia. Vasconcelos was joined in his discussion of the translation of *Faust* by the young Berlin romance scholar Caroline Michaëlis. Vasconcelos' acquaintance with Caroline brought him back to Berlin in the early 1870s.

⁴³ Georg Kauffmann, *Die Entstehung der Kunstgeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1993), 9.

For more on the life of Vasconcelos, see in particular: Santa Maria Fonseca Leandro, "Joaquim de Vasconcelos (1849–1936). Historiador, crítico de arte e muséologo," vol. 1–2 (Dissertação de Doutoramento em História da Arte Contemporânea, Junho 2008), 47–223, and on the book he wrote about Raczyński, pp. 77–80. Also: António Cruz, *Joaquim de Vasconcelos. O homeme a obra. Com algumas cartas inéditas* (Porto, 1950). 9–13.

Vasconcelos then visited Raczyński at his palace, and it is from this visit that we get one of the last recorded reminiscences of the aristocrat. In 1876, Joaquim de Vasconcelos and Caroline Michaëlis married and moved to Portugal. They settled in Porto, where they both carried out intensive academic research: Joaquim on the history of Portuguese culture, Caroline on romance languages and literature. Joaquim de Vasconcelos was a passionate student of music, architecture, and the visual arts, to which he would devote many publications in later years. His studies on the history of art, especially his pioneering studies on Roman architecture, became fundamental texts for Portuguese art history. That Vasconcelos would develop an interest in Raczyński, a Berlin-based pioneering researcher of Portuguese art and a great proponent of Portugal's artistic individuality, was almost inevitable. As he wrote himself, his book was written out of a sense of duty because sporadic references in the press 'do not seem sufficient to preserve the memory of the deceased Count Raczyński's service to this country.'45 It was also written out of a need to do justice to the aristocrat, whose singular efforts to familiarize himself with Portuguese art had long met with mockery and had only recently found worthy successors.⁴⁶ Vasconcelos undoubtedly felt himself to be a successor to Raczyński's work, and in many respects he did indeed act as its continuator.

In his biographical sketch, Vasconcelos briefly discusses Raczyński's origins, political career, and family situation but understandably devotes most of his attention to the Count's stay in Portugal and his studies of Portuguese art underscoring their pioneering importance. 'It was the Count who gave the first impulse to work on comparative art history' in Portugal, he wrote.⁴⁷

Several years after the publication of Vasconcelos's book, the first German biographical sketches devoted to Raczyński, not counting posthumous recollections in the press, were published. The author of both was the Berlin art historian Lionel von Donop. The first was published as an introduction to the catalogue of Raczyński's collection of paintings which from 2 January 1884 was on display in Berlin's National Gallery (with which Donop was professionally associated);⁴⁸ the second was created with *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* in mind.⁴⁹ These are interesting because they contain information about

⁴⁵ Joaquim de Vasconcellos, Conde de Raczynski (Athanasius). Esboço biographico (Porto, 1875), 5.

⁴⁶ Joaquim de Vasconcellos, Conde de Raczynski (Athanasius), 11.

⁴⁷ Joaquim de Vasconcellos, Conde de Raczynski (Athanasius), 11.

⁴⁸ Lionel von Donop, Verzeichniss der Gräflich Raczynski'schen Kunstsammlungen in der Königlichen National-Galerie (Berlin: Mittler 1886), VIII–XVI.

⁴⁹ Lionel von Donop, "Raczynski, Athanasius Graf," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 1888, Onlinefassung, URL: http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pndu8743406.html.

Raczyński's life and a concise but accurate attempt to characterize his thinking and political worldview.

Raczyński's biography was also published as an introduction in several other source editions. This 'trend' was initiated by the aforementioned Adhémar d'Antioche, publisher of Raczyński's correspondence with Juan Donoso Cortés, and was continued by publishers of the collected works of the Spanish philosopher,⁵⁰ as well as by Henrique Lima in his introduction to an edition of Athanasius' correspondence with Ferdinand Denis.⁵¹ A comprehensive biographical chapter was also included in a recently published monumental work by Uta Kaiser devoted to Raczyński's studies on contemporary German art.⁵²

Among Polish authors, materials concerning Raczyński were collected by Cyprian Walewski⁵³ and Michał Frąckiewicz⁵⁴ for their *Polski słownik biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary]. The factually accurate entry for Raczyński was skillfully written by Stefan Kieniewicz.⁵⁵ For the *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny* [Wielkopolska Biographical Dictionary] a brief entry was prepared by Anna Dobrzycka.⁵⁶ She announced in one of her publications the preparation of a comprehensive monograph on Raczyński.⁵⁷ She

Juan Donoso Cortés, Obras de Don Juan Donoso Cortés marqués de Valdegamas. Nueva edición aumentada con importantes escritos inéditos y varios documentos relativos al mismo autor, publica pro su hermano Don Manuel bajo la dirección y con un prólogo de Don Juan Manuel Orti Y Lara, Volumen II (Madrid-Barcelona-Buenos Aires: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1904), 637–645.

⁵¹ *Cartas dirigidas pelo Conde de Raczynski a Ferdinand Denis*, prefaciadas e anotadas por Henrique de Campos Ferreira Lima (Lisboa: Tip. José Fernandes Junior, 1932), 7–19.

⁵² Uta Kaiser, Sammler, Kenner, Kunstschriftsteller. Studien zur "Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst" (1836–1841) des Athanasius Raczyński (Hildesheim: Georg-Olms-Verlag, 2017), 41–122.

⁵³ Walewski emphasises Raczyński's contribution to the field of art, writing about him: 'An exceptional connoisseur and lover of art, he amassed a famous collection of paintings and wrote books about the history of painting in French and published them.' See: *Materiały do słownika biograficznego Cypriana Walewskiego*, ms in: BN PAN/PAU in Kraków, 7457, vol. 19.

⁵⁴ In the works written by Frąckiewicz there are only references to articles devoted to Raczyński in 'Tygodnik ilustrowany' [Illustrated Weekly]. See: Materiały do słownikach biograficznego Michała Frąckiewicza, ms in: BN PAN/PAU in Kraków, 2159, vol. 16.

⁵⁵ Stefan Kieniewicz, "Raczyński Atanazy (1788–1874)," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* XXIX (Wrocław et al.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1986), 625–627.

⁵⁶ Anna Dobrzycka, "Atanazy Raczyński," in *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny* (Warszawa-Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981), 606–607.

⁵⁷ Anna Dobrzycka, "Atanazy Raczyński," in *Myśl o sztuce. Materiały Sesji zorganizowanej z okazji czterdziestolecia istnienia Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Warszawa, listopad 1974*, edited by Teresa Hrankowska (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1976), 235–251.

was undoubtedly competent to produce such a work, but it never appeared in print. A short biographical note on Raczyński, inaccurate in many places but neutral in tone, was published by Stanisław Szenic in one of his books.⁵⁸ Basic information about Athanasius, also imprecise and even incorrect in places, is also provided by Teresa Zielińska.⁵⁹ A calendar of Raczyński's life, compiled by M. Piotr Michałowski, was included in the catalogue of the Count's collection published by the National Museum in Poznań.⁶⁰

The most significant contribution to research on the person and work of Athanasius Raczyński has been made by art historians. Raczyński's activities in the artistic sphere earned him high praise and an international reputation early on. These were confirmed and consolidated in numerous studies by Polish, German, French, and Portuguese scholars. Four main themes were explored with particular intensity: the Count's activities as a collector, his work on German art, his attitude to French art, and his research on the artistic legacy of Portugal.

Raczyński's collection has been described primarily in four catalogues published by the National Museum in Poznań (or in cooperation with it), edited by Marian Gumowski (1931), Anna Dobrzycka (1981), Konstanty Kalinowski and Christoph Heilmann (1992), and a team led by M. Piotr Michałowski (2005).⁶¹ These are valuable and important works: Gumowski's edition with regard to his ambition to publish the most extensive and detailed description to date (significantly more precise than Donop's Berlin catalogue) of the works in the Raczyński collection; Dobrzycka's edition because of her attempt to provide a concise but comprehensive description of the Count's profile as a collector; Kalinowski and Heilmann's catalogue because of the various high quality texts in it devoted to multiple aspects of Raczyński's biography and work;⁶² and

⁵⁸ Stanisław Szenic, Za zachodnią miedzą. Polacy w życiu Niemiec XVIII i XIX wieku (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1973), 125–130.

⁵⁹ Teresa Zielińska, *Poczet polskich rodów arystokratycznych* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 1997), 293–294.

⁶⁰ M. Piotr Michałowski et al., *Galeria Atanazego Raczyńskiego. Katalog zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu* (Poznań: Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, 2005), 37–43.

⁶¹ Marian Gumowski, Galerja obrazów A. hr. Raczyńskiego w Muzeum Wielkop. (Poznań: Muzeum Wielkopolskie, 1931); Anna Dobrzycka, ed., Galeria Atanazego Raczyńskiego, exh. cat. (Poznań: Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, 1981); Malerei der Spätromantik aus dem Nationalmuseum Poznań, exh. cat. (München: Hirmer Verlag, 1992); M. Piotr Michałowski et al., Galeria Atanazego Raczyńskiego.

⁶² Christoph Heilmann, "Graf Athanasius Raczyńskis Sammlung zeitgenössischer Malerei im Vergleich mi denen des Konsuls Wagener in Berlin und König Ludwigs I. von Bayern," in Konstanty Kalinowski and Christoph Heilmann, eds., *Sammlung Graf Raczyński*, 33–44; Frank Büttner, "Athanasius Graf Raczyński als Apologet der Kunst seiner Zeit," in

Michałowski's publication because of its detailed discussion of all the works that had at some point been held in Athanasius' gallery, including those that have been lost. Raczyński's activities as a collector and patron were also the subject of a number of more minor, though in some cases very interesting texts by various authors, among them: Karl Simon, Luís Reis Santos, Paul Ortwin Rave, Anna Dobrzycka, Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska, Tadeusz J. Żuchowski, Elise Grauer, Grzegorz Bąbiak, and finally, Anna Tomczak.⁶³

Konstanty Kalinowski and Christoph Heilmann, eds., *Sammlung Graf Raczyński*, 45–60; Micheal S. Cullen, "Das Palais Raczynski. Vom Bauwerk, das dem Reichstag weichen mußte," in Konstanty Kalinowski and Christoph Heilmann, eds., *Sammlung Graf Raczyński*, 61–69 (the text is an abbreviated version of an earlier article; see Micheal S. Cullen, "Das Palais Raczynski. Vom Bauwerk, das dem Reichstag weichen mußte," *Berlin in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Jahrbuch des Landesarchivs Berlin* (1984): 25–48); Angelika Wesenberg, "Raczyński in Berlin," in Konstanty Kalinowski and Christoph Heilmann, eds., *Sammlung Graf Raczyński*, 70–84.

⁶³ Karl Simon, "Aus dem Briefwechsel zwischen dem Grafen Athanasius Raczynski und Wilhelm von Kaulbach," Historische Monatsblätter für die Provinz Posen, No. 5 (1904): 174–184; Idem, "Hans Makart und Graf Athanasius Raczynski," Kunstchronik, Neue Folge, xvi. Jahrgang, No. 15 (1905): 227–231; Luís Reis Santos, Estudos de pintura antiga (Lisboa: Gráfica Santelmo, 1943), 11-22; Paul Ortwin Rave, "Über die Sammlung Raczynski," Berliner Museen, 3 Jg., H. 1/2 (1953): 4-7; Idem, Kunst in Berlin. Mit einem Lebensbericht des Verfassers von Alfred Hentzen (Berlin: Staneck, 1965), 111–117; Anna Dobrzycka, "Galeria Atanazego Raczyńskiego w świetle Libri Veritatis," Muzealnictwo, No. 9 (1959): 5-16; Eadem, "Listy Leopolda Robert. Ze studiów nad mecenatem Atanazego Raczyńskiego," Biuletyn Historii Sztuki XXVI (1964): 191–196; Eadem, "Ganymède. Trois lettres inédites des Thorvaldsen à Athanase Raczyński," Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie VII (1966): 27-32; Eadem, "Poznańscy Medyceusze. Rodzinny portret Raczyńskich," Studia Muzealne, No. 12 (1977): 115–120; Eadem, "Athanazy Raczyński a Lisbonne et a Madrid," in Actas del XXIII Congresso International de Historia del Arte. España entre el Mediterraneo y el Atlantico, Granda 1973, vol. 3 (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1978), 497-508; Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska, "Siedziby-muzea. Ze studiów nad architekturą XIX w. w Wielkopolsce," in Sztuka XIX wieku w Polsce. Naród – miasto, Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, grudzień 1977 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), 69-108; Eadem, "Galeria Atanazego Raczyńskiego. Na marginesie wystawy w Muzeum Narodowym w Poznaniu," Studia Muzealne, vol. XIV (1984): 13-28; Tadeusz J. Żuchowski, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel und Athanasius Graf Raczyński. Der Künstler und der Kunstkenner," in Lothar Hyss, ed., Schinkel in Schlesien. Deutsch-polnisches Symposion in der Vertretung des Landes Niedersachen beim Bund, Bonn, 11.–15. April 1994. Vorträge und Berichte (Königswinter: Haus Schlesien – Museum für Landeskunde, 1995), 173–178; Elise F. Grauer, "Bridging the Gap – Count Athanazy Raczyński and His Galleries in Poland and Prussia," Artium Quaestiones xv (2004): 5-49; Eadem, "Tradition als Konstrukt. Graf Athanasius Raczyńskis Galerien in Polen und Preußen," in Robert Born, Adam S. Labuda, Beate Störtkuhl, eds., Visuelle Erinnerungskulturen und Geschichtskonstruktionen in Deutschland und Polen 1800 bis 1939. Beiträge der 11. Tagung des Arbeitskreises deutscher und polnischer Kunsthistoriker und Denkmalpfleger in Berlin, 30. September–3. Oktober 2004 (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2006), 144–159; Jolanta Polanowska, "Atanazy Raczyński," in

The second large group of texts covers Raczyński's research and critical activity in the broad sense of the term. His study of German painting and the resulting three-volume *L'Histoire de l'art moderne en Allemagne* have been thoroughly analysed by Helmut Börsch-Supan,⁶⁴ and recently also quite scrupulously by Uta Kaiser.⁶⁵ His remarks on Duisseldorf painting contained in *L'Histoire* have been critically examined by Elke von Radziewsky.⁶⁶ Raczyński's attitude to contemporary French art was subjected to detailed interpretation by France Nerlich.⁶⁷ Annette D. Schlagenhauff and Thomas W. Gaehtgens have also focused attention on this topic.⁶⁸ Raczyński's research on Portuguese art

Urszula Makowska and Katarzyna Mikocka-Rachubowa, eds., *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 r.). Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy*, vol. VIII (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2007), 169–172; Grzegorz P. Bąbiak, *Sobie, ojczyźnie czy potomności ... Wybrane problemy mecenatu kulturalnego elit na ziemiach polskich w XIX wieku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2010), 501–505; Anna Tomczak, "Z korespondencji Atanazego Raczyńskiego z Wilhelmem von Kaulbachem. O mitologizacji, reklamie i intrygach artysty w relacjach ze swoim mecenasem," in Adam S. Labuda, Michał Mencfel, Wojciech Suchocki, eds., *Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy*, 363–370; Eadem, "Hrabia z Wielkopolski i przyszły książę malarzy wiedeńskich. Atanazy Raczyński, Hans Makart i Królowa elfów – historia pewnego zlecenia z dokumentów wysnuta," in Michał Błaszczyński et al., eds., *Sztuka w Wielkopolsce* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Nauka i Innowacje, 2013), 167–179.

⁶⁴ Helmut Börsch-Supan, "Die 'Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst' von Athanasius Graf Raczyński," in Wulf Schadendorf, ed., *Beiträge zur Rezeption der Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (München: Prestel, 1975), 15–26.

⁶⁵ Uta Kaiser, "Die 'Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst' des Athanasius Graf Raczyński (1788–1874)," in Wojciech Bałus, Joanna Wolańska, eds., *Die Etabilierung und Entwicklung des Faches Kunstgeschichte* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2010), 183–209; Eadem, "Athanasius Graf Raczyński als Kunstschriftsteller in den 1830ern und 40ern," in Adam S. Labuda, Michał Mencfel, Wojciech Suchocki, eds., *Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy*, 243–255; Eadem, "Mäzenatentum in Schrift und Bild. Athanasius Graf Raczyński (1788–1874) und die Düsseldorfer Malerschule," in Walter Schmitz, ed., *Adel in Schlesien und Mitteleuropa: Literatur und Kultur von der frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (München: Oldenbourg, 2013), 273–295; Eadem, *Sammler, Kenner, Kunstschriftsteller*.

⁶⁶ Elke von Radziewsky, Kunstkritik im Vormärz. Dargestellt am Beispiel der Düsseldorfer Malerschule (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1983), 31–32, 43–47, 54–59.

⁶⁷ France Nerlich, Le peinture française en Allemagne 1815–1870, Passages. Centre allemand d'histoire de l'art, vol. 27 (Paris: Éd. de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2010), 101–103, 171–172, 297–308; Eadem, "Ein kühner Blick. Athanasius Raczyński und die französische Kunst seiner Zeit," in Adam S. Labuda, Michał Mencfel, Wojciech Suchocki, eds., Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy, 263–276.

Annette D. Schlagenhauff, "Capital Concerns: German Perceptions of French Art and Culture in Berlin, 1830–1855" (PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2001, ms in the Kunstbibiothek Berlin), 103–116; Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "Französische Historien- und deutsche Geschichtsmalerei. Über den Besuch des Grafen Raczynski im Salon von 1836," in Dieter Hein, Klaus Hildebrand, Andreas Schulz, eds., Historie und

has understandably attracted interest mainly from scholars from that country. Several important pages were devoted to this subject by José-Augusto França in his classic study on the history of Portuguese art in the nineteenth century.⁶⁹ Two articles dedicated to Raczyński were published by Paulo Simões Rodrigues⁷⁰ and Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa.⁷¹ The second work is an extensive and insightful study of the Count's Portuguese interests. These have also been given attention by Polish scholars: Anna Dobrzycka, Maria Danilewicz Zielińska, and, recently, Dorota Molińska.⁷² Noteworthy is a comprehensive and pioneering study by Danilewicz Zielińska, published first in Portuguese and then in Polish. The article, prepared with the use of little-known source materials (Raczyński's watercolours and his diary stored in London), not only provides basic factual information on Athanasius' stay on the Iberian Peninsula but also aptly and concisely describes his activities in the field of art there. Dorota Molińska's extensive study thoroughly discusses Raczyński's book Les Arts en Portugal.73 Finally, various aspects of Raczyński's activity in the sphere of art were addressed in articles collected in the volume Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy. Dzieła - osobowości - wybory - epoka (Edward and Athanasius Raczyński. Works - personalities - choices - epoch). Numerous detailed remarks, some of the great importance, are scattered across various studies concerning different aspects of nineteenth-century artistic and collector culture; these are listed in the footnotes contained in the present book. A consequence of this state of affairs for research for the present book is that themes dealt with in previous research will be treated superficially here, while more attention is paid to less known and less used documents.

Leben. Der Historiker als Wissenschaftler und Zeitgenosse. Festschrift für Lothar Gall (München: De Gruyter, 2006), 257–271.

⁶⁹ José-Augusto França, A arte em Portugal no século XIX, Volume I, Primer aparte (1780– 1835) e Segunta parte (1835–1880) (Lisboa: Bertrand, 1966), 392–396.

⁷⁰ Paulo Simões Rodrigues, "O conde Athanasius Raczynski e a historiagrafia da arte em Portugal," *Revista de história de arte*, No. 8 (2011): 264–275.

Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, "Athanase Raczynski au Portugal, 1842–1848. Luz e Sombra," Artis – Revista do Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa, No. 9/10 (2010– 2011): 19–91.

⁷² Anna Dobrzycka, "Raczyński au Portugal," Bulletin du Musée de Varsovie XXX, No. 1–2 (1989): 4–26; Maria Danilewicz Zielińska, "Atanásio Raczynski – 1788–1874. Um historiador de arte portuguesa," Belas-Artes. Revista e Boletim de Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes, 3ª Série, No. 3 (1981): 51–70.

⁷³ Dorota Molińska, Sztuki piękne w Portugalii oczami Atanazego Raczyńskiego. O początkach badań nad portugalską historią sztuki i ich międzynarodowym kontekście (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Nauka i Inowacje, 2020).

Historians have paid far less attention to the person of Raczyński. Apart from a relatively limited number of occasional allusions, only a few modest studies focusing on him exist. In 1921 Józef Frejlich recounted a particular episode in which Raczyński, then a Prussian deputy in Copenhagen, was involved.74 This was in connection with the November Uprising in the Kingdom of Poland (1830–1831). In a series of articles, Tomasz Nodzyński provided a concise but comprehensive description of Raczyński's beliefs as a proponent of a pro-Prussian direction in Polish politics during the post-partition period.⁷⁵ He used as research material the memoranda on Polish affairs prepared by Athanasius in 1819-1831, two of which, produced in 1819 and 1827, were published earlier together with a short commentary by Stefan Kieniewicz.⁷⁶ Although the scope of this material, the tone of Raczyński's statements and, in part, the opinions and judgements of the authors vary, all the texts mentioned here deal with the same, very important problem: Raczyński's attitudes as at once a Pole and a loval subject of the King of Prussia. This problem too will be discussed in the present book.

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⁷⁴ Józef Frejlich, "Odgłosy listopadowe w Danji.' Przyczynek do charakterystyki Atanazego hr. Raczyńskiego posła pruskiego w Kopenhadze," *Kwartalnik historyczny* XXXV, z. 1/2 (1921), 91–98.

Tomasz Nodzyński, Naród i jego przyszłość w poglądach Polaków w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim 1815–1850 (Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielenogórskiego, 2004); Idem, "Antoni Radziwiłł i Atanazy Raczyński: idea kompromisu z Prusami – projekty i działania," Studia Zachodnie 5 (2005):147–159; Idem, "Antoni Radziwiłł oraz Atanazy Raczyński wobec monarchii pruskiej i niemieckiej kultury," in Lidia Michalska-Bracha, Maria Korybutt-Marciniak, eds., Między irredentą a kolaboracją. Postawy społeczeństwa polskiego w latach niewoli – "W obcym mundurze" (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2013), 85–103.

⁷⁶ Stefan Kieniewicz, "Dwa memoriały Atanazego Raczyńskiego z lat 1819 i 1827," in Zbigniew Wójcik et al., eds., Z dziejów polityki i dyplomacji polskiej. Studia poświęcone pamięci Edwarda hr. Raczyńskiego Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na wychodźstwie (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1994), 105–121.

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•••

I dedicate this book to the memory of my father, a man of great simplicity with a big heart.

PART 1

Formation

•••

CHAPTER 1

Grandfather Kazimierz Raczyński

I owe everything to him. Diary, 12 December 1824

•••

1 His Guardian's Long Shadow

Athanasius had no memory of his mother; she died in 1790 before his second birthday. Nor did he ever develop a strong emotional bond with his father Philip. He and his brother were raised by their grandmother Wirydianna Mielżyńska (née Bnińska, the widow of Leon Raczyński, her first husband, 'a highly revered, good, kind, pious and helpful woman') and aunt Estera Raczyńska, known in the family as the Castellan ('... a very good person, but not very spiritual and not at all learned').¹ Apart from his earliest years in Rogalin, his early childhood was spent with his brother on his grandmother's estate in Chobienice (Fig. 5). Years later, he remembered his stay there fondly, a happy time when he and Edward would play games in the large park on the estate. The routine of Athanasius' life at the manor was broken only by visits from neighbours and his father and occasional travels, including a memorable journey to Warsaw in 1794, which ended with his being forced to flee from the city as it prepared for the outbreak of the Warsaw episode of the Kościuszko Uprising.² In 1797 Athanasius returned to the palace in Rogalin with his father

¹ Most information about Athanasius Raczyński's childhood comes from an extensive memoir titled *Souvenirs d'enfance* which he included in the first volume of his diary; all quotations are from there. Edward Bernard Raczyński largely relied on this text while sketching his portrait of the former residents of the palace in Rogalin; Edward Raczyński, *Rogalin i jego mieszkańcy* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Dęby Rogalińskie, 2003), 78–84.

² After the defeat in the war with Russia in 1792, Poland was under the occupation of the Russian army. In 1793 the second partition of Poland took place. In response to these actions, on March 24, 1794, an anti-Russian uprising (insurrection), headed by Tadeusz Kościuszko, broke out in Cracow. On 17 April 1794, when Kościuszko's troops won the battle of Racławice over the Russians, an uprising against the Russian garrison stationed in the city also broke



FIGURE 5 Mielżyński Palace in Chobienice in the early twentieth century PHOTO IN LEONARD DURCZYKIEWICZ, DWORY POLSKIE W WIELKIM KSIĘSTWIE POZNAŃSKIM, 1912

and aunt Estera, who had been brought from Chobienice to care for the boys (Fig. 6). His father Philip was a well-read man who knew the ways of the world. However, he was capricious, eccentric, and harsh in his conduct. He provided his son with a carefully planned and comprehensive education (though one that demanded a great deal of effort and involved no little pain), but no close father-son attachment ever existed between the two (Fig. 7). A strong note of resentment marks the portrait of his father that emerges from Raczyński's diaries. Although the two letters found in them sent by Philip to his young son are written in a warm and caring tone, Athanasius' later memories of his father were of 'a hypochondriac, strange, ill-tempered and hard man,' and above all, a violent and eccentric educator. He wrote: 'By predilection and principle, my father, like the old priest Pluciński [the young Raczyńskis' tutor in Chobienice and Rogalin], inflicted blows on me by all imaginable means, with his fist, a rod, a switch.' Philip believed in the traditional model of childrearing, the essence

out in Warsaw. The Warsaw Uprising was one of the greatest military successes of the whole Kościuszko Uprising.



FIGURE 6 Athanasius Raczyński, *Rogalin Palace, Seen from the Garden*, watercolour, 12 June 1838 PRIVATE COLLECTION

of which was the categorical and unquestioning obedience of children to the will of their parents, enforced by means of harsh discipline, repression, and punishment. There was no room for tenderness; the parent-child relationship was viewed from the perspective of mutual obligations rather than passion-ate feelings.³ This, of course, did not necessarily mean that parental love was absent, though Athanasius felt this was so. Wirydianna Fiszerowa, who, due to her family ties and close contact with the Raczyńskis, had an intimate knowledge of the goings-on within the family, wrote in her diaries of Philip that 'he loved Edward but could not bear Athanasius, although he did not admit this. The reasons for this discrimination were whispered about....'⁴ Although it is

³ On traditional models of child rearing in Polish manor houses in the nineteenth century, See: Anna Pachocka, *Dzieciństwo we dworze szlacheckim w I połowie XIX wieku* (Kraków: Avalon, 2009), 20–27.

^{4 196.} Wirydianna Fiszerowa (from her second marriage, Kwilecka from her first,) was the daughter of Katarzyna Radolińska née Raczyńska, Philip's sister. In her diary she painted (half a century later) the following picture of her uncle, consistent in many points with how Athanasius described his father: 'Uncle Philip had rather handsome features, but he made a bad impression due to his lack of grace in the way he carried himself, moved and even in his facial expressions; he otherwise had regular and manly features. The same was true of his mind. He received a thorough education and knew how to make use of it. He never stopped learning afterwards. But he tortured those around him with his pedantry and irritated them with his focus on details. This obsession of his was facilitated by the meek submission of his



FIGURE 7 Pompeo Batoni, *Portrait of Philip Raczyński*, 1780 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 635

family to all his fancies. He spoke in such a firm tone that no one dared to respond to him. [...] As the years went by, Philip grew eccentric; he tormented his children as his own father once had; he oppressed all those dependent on him with a strict regime, always convinced that he was merely doing them justice. Because he considered himself infallible, there was no way to stop him or to defend oneself against him other than to flatter his obsessions. Such were his faults. At the same time, he had a noble soul and pure intentions;' Wirydianna Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne i osób postronnych*, 13, also 93–96.

impossible today to verify the facts of this matter, it was rumoured that Philip had doubts about the paternity of his younger son. Yet other considerations most certainly played a role here, as is indicated by the words of Kazimierz Raczyński in his letters to Athanasius: 'A spirit of independence, obstinacy, impudence, and opposition has always been your fault, as your Father, may he rest in peace, said and wrote to me.'⁵ And again in a letter from the summer of 1814: 'I am always reminded of a prophecy of your Father's that then seemed wrong to me, that through your evil deeds, your lethargy, your selfishness and the weakness of your religious sentiments, you would always cause your family a wealth of worries and misfortunes. It is clear today that His opinion of you was not due to prejudice and that my laudatory opinion was mistaken.'6 Indeed, Athanasius' stubbornness of character may have been the source of the conflicts between himself and his despotic father. Perhaps they also reflected Philip's disappointment and resentment that his younger son did not display much aptitude for learning. Other, now unknown, considerations certainly also played a role. Besides, Edward, so loved by Philip, also apparently did not feel comfortable at Rogalin, since as teenagers, the brothers planned to run away from home together. 'It was a childish act,' Athanasius later concluded. Yet, the story gives us a picture of what life with his father was like.

Athanasius and Edward's grandfather, Kazimierz Raczyński, became the only real authority, educational mentor, and source of support in their lives.⁷ It is to him that Athanasius addresses words of affection in his diary, which his father never earned: 'I love my grandfather more and more, he is good, his heart is perfect.'⁸ Kazimierz dedicated himself entirely to his role as his grandson's educator, especially after Philip died in 1804, when he became the legal guardian of the young Raczyńskis. Athanasius was seventeen years old at the time, and Edward was nineteen. Indeed, it was his grandfather's care that was genuinely formative and that most shaped the young aristocrat's consciousness.

Kazimierz Raczyński influenced his grandson directly, providing advice, making requests and recommendations, cautioning him, and helping him plan for his future, but he had an equally strong indirect influence. He was, after all, a high-profile and influential figure in Polish public life. But he was also a highly controversial figure toward whom many Poles felt a strong aversion and accused of committing the post-partition era's most serious crimes: venality and treason. By taking Athanasius under his wing, he made him a participant in

⁵ Letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius of 28 April 1805; BR, Poznań, ms 1996, p. 60.

⁶ Letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius of 6 August 1814; BR, Poznań, ms 1996, pp. 106–107.

⁷ See: Andrzej Wojtkowski, Edward Raczyński i jego dzieło (Poznań: Bibljoteka Raczyńskich, 1929). 34–39.

⁸ DIARY, 12 September 1811.

raging national disputes and placed him in opposition to a large part of Polish society. Athanasius was thus subjected to two very strong pressures. On the one side was his love for and attachment to his guardian; on the other was the extremely strong aversion of the public. The pressure of public opinion could be felt even more strongly in the early nineteenth century, when there was a 'common conviction among Poles that a man who committed treason was despicable in every possible way, in both public and private life. It was only a step away from this to suspect that he had been ensnared in an evil trap by Satan. He betrayed not only his homeland and his God, but also his closest relatives, his parents, wife, children, and friends, and the consequences of this transgression were transferred to the next generations like some ancient curse.'9 The odium of a genetic disposition for betraval was placed on the descendants of such traitors. 'The fall of Kazimierz Raczyński,' wrote Juliusz Falkowski, 'was indeed well-deserved, but the hatred he aroused did not end with him. It remained tied to the Raczyński family name and burdened all living members of the family like an ancient curse that nothing could stave off. [...] The same was true of the Marshal's two young Raczyński grandchildren, the sons of Philip Raczyński [...].¹⁰ It went on like this for years, long after Kazimierz's death. 'It's a family that is used to serving strangers for money,' wrote the pro-democracy émigré activist Józef Feliks Zieliński in 1850 after a meeting in Madrid with Athanasius who was at that time serving as the Prussian envoy in Spain. He was undoubtedly alluding to the activities of the former Crown Marshal.¹¹

Throughout their lives, Edward and Athanasius Raczyński were forced to defend their grandfather's views and actions and sought to understand his motives themselves. Both engaged in various efforts to restore honour to Kazimierz and to protect the good name of their family. This included actions of a strictly political nature (such as Edward's 1812 official but secret request to Frederick August I, the King of Saxony and Prince of Warsaw, for help in enabling the exiled Kazimierz to return to Warsaw¹²), 'public relations' activities (including a fairly vociferous dispute during the first provincial parliament in

⁹ Marek Nalepa, "Płyną godziny pomiędzy nadzieją i bojaźnią czułą." Polityczne i egzystencjalne rany Polaków epoki porozbiorowej. Studia i teksty (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2010), 214.

¹⁰ Juliusz Falkowski, Obrazy z życia kilku ostatnich pokoleń w Polsce, 208–209. See also: Władysław Wężyk, Kronika rodzinna, opracowała i wstępem poprzedziła Maria Dernałowicz (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1987), 216.

¹¹ Józef Feliks Zieliński, Wspomnienia z tułactwa, z rękopisów Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu i Biblioteki Narodowej opracowała, wstępem i przypisami opatrzyła Elwira Wróblewska (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawnicy Pax, 1989), 371.

¹² See: Jarosław Czubaty, Zasada "dwóch sumień." Normy postępowania i granice kompromisu politycznego Polaków w sytuacjach wyboru (1795–1815) (Warszawa: Neriton, 2005), 335–337.

Poznań between Athanasius and the former cavalryman Andrzej Niegolewski concerning the loyalties of the former Marshal¹³), and symbolic acts (the church and mausoleum built by Edward in Rogalin around 1820 were intended to symbolise the restoration of dignity to the Raczyński family name¹⁴). Alongside these and other initiatives addressed to the public, the brothers also engaged in efforts to address their own personal needs. Athanasius also defended his grandfather in his diaries, which were intended primarily, if not exclusively, for his personal use. In a reminiscence of his family's departure from Warsaw the night before the outbreak of the 1794 Warsaw Uprising, penned two decades after the event, Athanasius discusses the charges levelled against Kazimierz: 'that he was a henchman of Russia, accused of spying on behalf of the royal court in St. Petersburg and of receiving a salary from it. Those who accuse him say this, but we need to listen to my grandfather's explanation. And he says: one cannot be a supporter of Poland alone because we lack the means to resist the three neighbouring powers who brought about our fall, each of which undoubtedly possesses forces ten times greater than our own [...]. And he also says: there was no exclusively Polish side. Some believed that only by siding with the Russians could one save their homeland, while others maintained that it was necessary to try to win over the Prussians, and yet others asked the Austrians to be merciful to Poland. My grandfather decided to support the strongest side, and this was the Russian. He did the same as two-thirds of Poles involved in politics and did so in good faith. I have no doubt that he had the good of the country in mind, not his own. [...] As for his salary, this is his answer.' And here Athanasius explains that it was not a salary at all, but only compensation for the position his grandfather had lost, one not unlike those received by 'so many others.'15

¹³ Juliusz Falkowski describes the incident as follows: 'After the war [1809] both brothers [Edward and Athanasius Raczyński] left the army but wanted to serve their country. Athanasius bought a house in Poznań next to the Raczyński Library in order to open an art gallery for the city of Poznań, but when he went to the first provincial *sejm* after the Duchy of Poznań was annexed by Prussia, Lieutenant Niegolewski, a hero of Samosierra, but also, like many other heroes during peacetime, a firebrand, reproached him for the past actions of his grandfather, the Court Marshal. Athanasius Raczyński, deeply hurt by this, announced that he was abandoning this country where grandchildren cannot erase the guilt of their grandfathers even with their blood, and became a Prussian' (Juliusz Falkowski, *Obrazy z życia kilku ostatnich pokoleń w Polsce*, 388). See also: Jarosław Czubaty, *Zasada "dwóch sumień,"* 677.

¹⁴ See: Jarosław Jarzewicz, Świątynia pamięci. O kościele-mauzoleum Raczyńskich w Rogalinie (Poznań: Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, 2005), 51–52.

¹⁵ DIARY, Souvenirs d'enfance.

Throughout their lives, both Raczyński brothers lived in Kazimierz's long shadow. After Edward's suicide in 1845, a rumour circulated that one of the reasons for the Count's dramatic decision was that he had found in an archive 'some documents presenting in a highly unfavourable light the patriotism of his family.'¹⁶ This was untrue, as Edward was perfectly well aware of his grandfather's past long before he decided to end his life. However, the fact that many considered the rumour credible shows how widespread the conviction was that an awareness of one's family's shame determines one's attitude to life and could sometimes even lead to drastic decisions.¹⁷

Athanasius' bond with Kazimierz was strong and intense but by no means free of conflict. He did not give in to the will of his grandfather without resistance. On the contrary, especially during his youthful stays in Warsaw and abroad, when he succumbed to the fevers of romanticism, the temptations of the wider world, and a tendency to engage in controversial romances, he defied his guardian, questioning his decisions and challenging his views. Ultimately, however, he accepted all the most essential teachings handed down to him by Kazimierz. The ideological declarations later made so eagerly by Athanasius sound like echoes and sometimes even quotations from the letters of his guardian. Given that Athanasius' relationship with his grandfather was one of the most important in his life, it is necessary to examine it and the person of Kazimierz Raczyński himself more closely.

2 Traitor?

'Can we find in the histories of other nations an example of such disgraceful corruption as during the reign of Stanisław August and more recent periods? Poniński, [Kazimierz] Raczyński, Gurowski, Kossakowski, Rożniecki, Wincenty Krasiński and so many others, are they not a blemish on the name of Poland? What national history can point to so many people who openly sold themselves to the enemy?'¹⁸

¹⁶ Jan Nepomucen Niemojowski, *Wspomnienia*, wydał, wstępem, objaśnieniami i skorowidzem opatrzył Stefan Pomarański (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1925), 311–313.

¹⁷ A few decades later, Marceli Motty, a diarist from Poznań, recalled: 'I did not know him [Edward Raczyński] at all, as you know, so I am unable to speculate; nor have I heard that any person more close to him could give a reliable explanation for this extraordinary accident [i.e. Edward's suicide]. However, I must mention the rather common rumour which circulated directly afterwards that the main reason was related to certain documents that cast a dark shadow on the memory of his direct ancestors which Raczyński had found when he gained access to secret archives in Berlin;' Marceli Motty, *Przechadzki po mieście*, vol. 1, 212.

¹⁸ Franciszek Gajewski, Pamiętniki pułkownika wojsk polskich, vol. 1, p. 133.

'... he sold himself to Moscow for a large sum of money and lamented that he had been poorly paid. I have read numerous complaints by [Kazimierz] Raczyński, in which he regrets just how badly he was rewarded for his services to Russia because Catherine II only specified for him to be paid 6000 [rubles] ... These grievances provide a measure of the worth of this man.'¹⁹

'... the head of the family, Kazimierz [Raczyński], once the General Starosta of Wielkopolska, and later a marshal of the Permanent Council, and finally the Court Marshal of the Crown, was an openly paid traitor in all the high positions he held; one of the four people on whom the envoys of the neighbouring state relied the most, and even the one whom the great Monarchess [Tsarina Catherine II] decorated the most, using him for her most important tasks, though for each such service he demanded a separate and large payment. [...] The former Court Marshal became the subject of such widespread, such fierce hatred, the like of which had never been seen before in Poland.'²⁰

It is not easy to find statements by nineteenth-century diarists about Kazimierz Raczyński that differ in tone from the opinions cited above. Indeed, many other statements expressing similar views are not hard to find.²¹ Raczyński was not, of course, the only one whose path took him from glory to treason in the court of public opinion, but his case was one of the most spectacular. The great respect he initially enjoyed, first locally and then nationally, made his fall all the more dramatic when the public turned against him. The slogans 'sold to Moscow,' 'an infamous traitor to his homeland,' 'a slave to Moscow along with his whole family,' 'a traitor to his homeland' were applied by many to Kazimierz Raczyński. If one were to believe Franciszek Gajewski, 'despite all the efforts of his grandson, Edward Raczyński, no priest wanted to deliver the eulogy at his funeral.'²²

Kazimierz (born in 1739), Great Writer of the Crown (from 1768), then the General Starosta of Wielkopolska (1778) and eventually the Court Marshal of

¹⁹ Natalia Kicka, *Pamiętniki*, wstęp i przypisy Józef Dutkiewicz, tekst opracował, przypisy uzupełnił oraz indeksy sporządził Tadeusz Szafrański (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1972), 72.

²⁰ Juliusz Falkowski, *Obrazy z życia kilku ostatnich pokoleń w Polsce*, 206–207.

See, among others: Jan Kiliński, *Pamiętniki*, opracował Stanisław Herbst (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1958), 179–180; Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, tekst opracował i wstępem poprzedził Jan Dihm, vol. I (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1957), 291; Henrietta z Działyńskich Błędowska, *Pamiątka przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794–18*32, opracowały i wstępem poprzedziły Ksenia Kostenicz i Zofia Makowiecka (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1960), 5. See also an anonymous opinion about Kazimierz Raczyński from 1793 in the collection of the Library of the Czartoryski Princes in Kraków, ms 11608.

²² Franciszek Gajewski, *Pamiętniki pułkownika wojsk polskich*, vol. 1, p. 28. See also: Juliusz Falkowski, *Obrazy z życia kilku ostatnich pokoleń w Polsce*, 208.

the Crown (1783), was the member of the family to whom the Raczyńskis mainly owed their political and economic power (Fig. 8).²³ He was wealthy, full of initiative, shrewd, jovial, and generous. He had a strong and engaging personality, was able to win people over with ease, especially those among the lesser nobility, and constantly worked to increase his prestige and improve his position. He was very active in the field of politics as a supporter of King Stanisław August. He was a deputy in successive sessions of the Sejm (the Commonwealth's parliament), a member of the Commission for the Distribution of Jesuit Property (1774–1776), chairman of the Good Order Commission in Poznań (1778–1784), a member (for two terms, in 1782-84) and marshal of the Permanent Council (a central supervisory and executive body), and head of the Police Commission (1788). In all these positions, he showed great organisational talent and acted efficiently and effectively. Earlier in the 1760s, he had adopted a pro-Russian position, seeing in an alliance with Moscow hope for improvement in the political situation within Poland. He maintained active contacts with subsequent representatives of Russia in the Republic of Poland, including Nikolai Repnin, Caspar von Saldern, Otto von Stackelberg, and later, during the Great Sejm (1788-1792) and its aftermath, with Yakov Bulhakov, Yakov Sievers, and Osip Igelström. As an opponent of the reform resolutions adopted by the Sejm (he did not swear the oath to uphold the constitution adopted by the Sejm), Raczyński bound himself – initially secretly, without giving up his active involvement in the Republic's new governing bodies - with the anti-Sejm opposition led by Szczęsny Potocki. He helped prepare and then joined the so-called Targowica Confederacy, the anti-reform conspiracy established under the auspices of Russia, and worked within it to establish a new Polish political system. In December 1793, he headed the commission charged with judging the situation of failed Polish banks, a mission he continued after returning to Warsaw following the collapse of the insurrection, as head from 1897 to 1804 of the Banking Commission, established by the partitioning powers. Antipathy towards Raczyński, growing since the disclosure in 1794 of documents proving his perjury and betrayal,²⁴ and even more so after the completion of the

²³ The primary information concerning the biography of Kazimierz Raczyński comes from: Jerzy Dygdała, "Kazimierz Raczyński," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XXIX (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1986), 644–653.

In July 1794, the newspapers *Gazeta Rządowa* and *Gazeta Wolna Warszawska* published a list of people who during and after the sessions of the Partition Sejm collected salaries from the Prussian and Russian royal courts. It was revealed that Raczyński, among others, signed four documents confirming his receipt of a total of 3,000 red zloty from the Russian authorities. The former Marshal, like other individuals paid by Moscow, also declared to the Russian ambassador: 'By the signature below, I swear on my honour and conscience that at the next Sejm, or any other *sejm*, or gathering, and in every place I shall serve as long as I live, I will act in all matters without exception on the behalf of my homeland as



FIGURE 8 Pompeo Batoni, *Portrait of Kazimierz Raczyński*, 1785 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 602

Banking Commission's work, which resulted in the loss of the savings of many clients of Warsaw banks, reached its apogee during the Napoleonic campaign, when the former Marshal, suspected of being a Russian sympathiser,

well as the Russian court *directe*, by doing what its ministers demand of me, using all my efforts, friends and strength to assure that the court will be granted what is requested.' See: Piotr Żbikowski, *W pierwszych latach narodowej niewoli. Schyłek polskiego oświecenia i zwiastuny romantyzmu* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2007), 107–109, quote 108.

was forced to flee Warsaw. Although after the establishment of the Duchy of Warsaw efforts were made in the name of national reconciliation to avoid the opening up of old wounds and the settling of accounts with people accused of treason were halted, such individuals were nevertheless swiftly and quietly removed from positions of high office in order to limit their influence on the political life of the country.²⁵ From 1806, Raczyński stayed mainly in Breslau and did not return to Warsaw until 1817; he remained there, without playing a role in public life, until his death on 25 November 1824.

From at least 1776, Kazimierz received a fixed salary of one and a half thousand thalers a year from the Russian court. He was not the only one to do so. In fact, this practice – at the time neither punishable nor generally perceived as shameful - became so widespread in the last years of the Polish Republic that in the same year (1776), the Sejm added the acceptance of a foreign salary with the intention of betraying the homeland to the definition of what constituted the crime of treason. This highly imprecise addition concerning the treasonous intentions of a salary earner caused the amendment to remain a dead letter in practice until 1791. This year, during its session on 17 May, the Sejm abolished it, stating that accepting material benefits from foreign courts qualified as a crime of treason regardless of one's intentions. The following penalties were provided for the crime of treason: execution, imprisonment in a dungeon, banishment (infamia), expulsion from the country, confiscation or loss of property, deprivation of offices, and loss of public rights.²⁶ Under pressure from parliamentary resolutions, Raczyński stopped collecting wages for a short time and in 1791 swore that he was not taking and would not take salaries from foreign powers. Documents revealed during the Kościuszko Uprising (1794) proved, however, that in the same year, 1791, Kazimierz accepted a significant sum of money from the Russian ambassador Bulhakov, and later received a regular salary from the Moscow court, so that 'after the oath not much improved.'27 Throughout his tenure at the Banking Commission, he also received a salary from the Prussian King, and he as well demanded money from the Austrian court.

²⁵ Jarosław Czubaty, *Księstwo Warszawskie (1807–1815)* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwresytetu Warszawskiego, 2011), 402–403, 421.

²⁶ See: Adam Lityński, "Zdrada kraju w polskim prawie karnym końca XVIII wieku," in Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, ed., Bo insza jest rzecz zdradzić, insza dać się złudzić. Problemy zdrady w Polsce przełomu XVIII i XIX w. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IBL PAN, 1995), 9–30.

²⁷ Ekstrakt z dowodów autentycznych i z regestrów moskiewskich na pensye brane od Moskwy przez Deputację Rewizyjną roztrząsanych i spisanych; copy in: Pisma urzędowe i dokumenta historyczne dotyczące Rewolucji Kościuszkowskiej 1794 roku zebrał i uporządkował X. I. Polkowski, BK, Kórnik, ms 1512, pp. 318–424.

Receiving a salary from foreign courts (in violation of his oath), actively participating in the Targowica Confederacy, working to the detriment of Polish creditors on the Banking Commission, allegations of committing espionage for first Russia and then Prussia, sacrificing the public good for the benefit of his own and his family's interests – these charges were sufficient to make Kazimierz a highly unpopular figure, especially during the insurrection and again later during the Napoleonic period, when the political climate became more radical – and led to his being charged with the ultimate crime: treason.²⁸ At this point, it is not necessary to consider to what extent these allegations were justified or whether, seen in context, they could be, if not refuted, at least seen from a relativistic perspective. It is not so much the actions of the former marshal as their assessment by society that are of importance here. And this assessment was extremely harsh. It was not the 'real' Kazimierz that Athanasius had to struggle with, but his legend.

In order to rehabilitate himself in the eyes of his countrymen, sometime around 1818, Kazimierz Raczyński prepared a comprehensive autobiographical sketch entitled *Description of My Life*. In it, he explained and justified his actions, showing that although they had been perhaps at times improper, their intentions were always honourable.²⁹ 'At every step,' wrote the former marshal, 'I was led by my convictions. I always followed the voice of prudence, which may at times have spoken in error, but which was never expressed from any form of falsity. My intention is to show how from an early age my aim in life was to show obedience to my Father's will, due respect for my elders, proper reverence for those who ruled over me, earnest loyalty to all the Governments under which I lived, genuine sympathy for my Homeland that is both unquestionable and unburdened by excessive zeal; for such [an aim] is not a virtue, not a service, not a distinction, but necessary duty.'

Raczyński explains his reasons for favouring the Russian court, rejects accusations that he failed to properly fulfil the duties of the offices he occupied, gives his reasons for joining the Targowica Confederacy and his departure from Warsaw on the eve of the outbreak of the Kościuszko Uprising. Finally, he defends himself from the most serious accusation that he was in the pay of foreign powers, especially Russia: 'I never concealed this [the salary he received

²⁸ See Marek Nalepa, "Płyną godziny pomiędzy nadzieją i bojaźnią czułą," 142. On financial settlements with traitors to the state in the period after its fall see: Piotr Żbikowski, W pierwszych latach narodowej niewoli, 98–134; Dariusz Rolnik, Portret szlachty czasów stanisławowskich, epoki kryzysu, odrodzenia i upadku Rzczypospolitej w pamiętnikach polskich (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2009), 356–361.

²⁹ *Opis życia Kazimierza Raczyńskiego spisany w roku 1818*, ZNO, Wrocław, ms 3934/I, all quotes are from there (unnumbered pages).

from the Tsar], because it was not any sort of crime. Although later on the ill-will of some of my enemies and the jealousy of others led to efforts to hold me up as a traitor to my country, no written law prohibited a Polish citizen from obtaining benefits from foreign courts.'

Kazimierz repeats his political creed in many places: 'because everywhere and always, under every Government, I thought that, above all, a good citizen should be obedient to the state authorities,' 'loyalty to the Government of every Citizen living under it is the highest duty.'

To whom was *Description of My Life* addressed? Most certainly to the Polish nobility and representatives of the national elite, among whom it met with a cold reception. However, it had also been written with Kazimierz's descendants and heirs in mind. This is how it was treated by Athanasius, who reprinted the document in its entirety in German translation in his *Historical Research* (*Geschichtliche Forschungen*, 1860), a comprehensive and meticulously edited work never made available for sale in bookshops, devoted to the history of the Raczyński family.³⁰ In it, Athanasius made one final effort to justify his grandfather's beliefs and actions.

3 Family and Fatherland

In 1761, Kazimierz married Teresa Moszczeńska. Two daughters, Magdalena and Michalina, were born to the couple, but they had no sons. According to Wirydianna Fiszerowa, who had a keen eye, a talent for drawing psychological portraits, and close knowledge of the Marshal himself, this lack of a male descendant to whom Kazimierz could pass on his name, property, and position, and his efforts to compensate for this fact, was the driving force behind many of his actions and a key to understanding his personality. 'As Kazimierz lost hope for a direct male descendant,' wrote Wirydianna, 'he developed a predilection for supporting lower-ranking individuals who, although not relatives, bore his family name. His efforts were generally in vain, as he succeeded only in cultivating ingrates and well-heeled loafers. But these people carried his family name, and by elevating them he satisfied his personal ambitions.'³¹

Kazimierz's efforts to maintain the family line explain the marriages of his two daughters, especially the younger Michalina's marriage to her uncle Philip Raczyński, who was not liked by the marshal. Kazimierz 'did not consider the personal happiness of his daughters. [...] His daughters were tools he used to

³⁰ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichtliche Forschungen, vol. 1 (Berlin: R. Decker, 1860), 377-397.

³¹ Wirydianna Fiszerowa, Dzieje moje własne i osób postronnych, 16.

carry out his plans.³² Michalina's marriage to Philip was essentially a failure, but it resulted in the birth of two sons, Edward and Athanasius. The marshal thus finally had 'heirs of the male sex in a direct line and this was a powerful source of comfort to him.' Kazimierz Raczyński's ambition to have a male heir was undoubtedly one of the reasons for the Marshal's great attachment to Edward and Athanasius: 'You are my grandchildren, you are the children of my dear daughter, I love you and I have hopes for you to become the pillars of the family,' he wrote to them in a letter in the autumn of 1805.³³ When he became the boys' legal guardian after Philip's death, he treated them as his own sons. 'I lost in him a father, a benefactor,' Athanasius wrote in late 1824 after receiving the news of Kazimierz's death.³⁴

The most entire information about Athanasius' relations with his grandfather can be found in correspondence from 1804–1816, which is currently held in the Raczyński Library in Poznań. It is incomplete and one-sided, consisting primarily of Kazimierz's letters to his grandson and only a few replies from the latter. Nevertheless, it allows for a fairly good reconstruction of the dialogue between them. This they carried on at varying levels of intensity and drama, as evidenced by the salutations Kazimierz used in his letters to his ward. These most often, when their relations were harmonious, expressed warmth: 'my dear Athanasius,' 'mon cher Athanase,' and 'mon ami,' but at times, when conflicts arose between the correspondents, were cool and official: 'Dear Sir,' and 'Monsieur.' The letters contain not only information about the educational path taken by Athanasius but they also reveal how Kazimierz guided his pupil, shaping him as a man, an aristocrat, a citizen, and a Pole. Kazimierz's letters reveal his efforts to create a comprehensive and coherent programme for his grandson's development, concentrated around several fundamental ideals: upholding the good name of the family, respect for authority, subjection to legitimate rulers, faith in the Catholic religion, and active involvement in political and social life. Together these values comprised the model of an ideal nobleman that was widespread during the reign of King Stanisław August Poniatowski and remained popular in the feudal culture of the post-partition era.³⁵ The earliest letters, in particular, abound in often repeated warnings and recommendations: 'Try to shape your heart, which is most important, as well as your mind, through study and by acquiring skills essential for a man of your

³² Wirydianna Fiszerowa, Dzieje moje własne i osób postronnych, 96.

³³ Letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius of 4 November 1805; BR, Poznań, ms 1996, pp. 63–64.

³⁴ DIARY, 12 December 1824.

³⁵ See: Dariusz Rolnik, Portret szlachty czasów stanisławowskich.

rank. Be religious, heed the advice of your father and your guardians, be polite and courteous to your equals, good and honest to everyone; do not associate with degenerate and ill-mannered people, protect yourself from the contagion of treacherous feelings diametrically opposed to what is necessary for you.'³⁶ 'You will please God and man, and this will guide you to a more reliable path to happiness if you adhere strictly to the principles of the Holy Catholic Religion in your life, and in the company of other people you seek to be useful, honest, sincere, courteous and amiable.'³⁷

Many of Kazimierz's recommendations, however, are of a political nature *par excellence*. They form a coherent set of principles for unconditional obedience to a higher authority and additionally encourage a constant striving to attain the good graces of this higher power. Thus, for example, in his letter of 26 February 1805, the Marshal wrote:

In spite of all the sensible reasons for you to love and respect the Government under which you live, for your own happiness, as well as that of the citizens of this country, which is your homeland, because you have no other and shall have none, you should be grateful to the Monarch [Frederick William III of Prussia], who in the honoured name of the present Archbishop [Ignacy Raczyński, Archbishop of Gniezno] and in mine, honours us with distinctions and good graces. May more Poles try to be useful through diligence and attachment to the Monarch and the Government, then things will function properly, and they will be as significant to the Homeland as they were in the past.³⁸

Raczyński considers such an attitude to be patriotic and sees in it hope for success, both for himself and his family and country. For example, in January 1816, when he urged Athanasius to come to Warsaw, Kazimierz advised:

Being a subject [of Tsar Alexander] and our gracious King,³⁹ with the aid of the funds you have in Poland, you should strive to be well thought of by

³⁶ Letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius of 6 February 1804; BR, Poznań, ms 1996, p. 54.

Letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius of 15 March 1804; BR, Poznań, ms 1996,
 p. 55.

³⁸ Letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius of 26 February 1805.; BR, Poznań, ms 1996, p. 58.

³⁹ In 1815, under the provisions of the Treaty of Vienna, the Kingdom of Poland was formed out of part of the former Polish territory, joined by a personal union with the Russian Empire; its first King was Tsar Alexander I Romanov. As he owned property in various

persons in Government and should convince them of your fidelity to the Monarch, in order to earn a good reputation and to show true patriotism, which, according to honest minds, is based on these two foundations: on fidelity to the Monarch, for whom the highest destiny has been chosen by Our Lord, and on your efforts to be useful to your fellow countrymen. Any other principles are the characteristics of false patriotism and a source of seeming pride.⁴⁰

He wrote in a similar tone a few months later: 'When you are in Poland, you have to try to get to know the people who have earned the trust of our good Emperor Alexander, so that so you too may earn his grace and in time be a part of the national government, so that you can become useful to your fellow countrymen, and your name can become famous, which should always be the goal of a well-born individual.'⁴¹

National, family, and personal interests, as well as political and economic interests were to the mind of Kazimierz Raczyński – and to the minds of many members of the social and political elite of his generation⁴² – simply inseparable. He valued service to the state and his 'fellow countrymen' less for the sake of service itself – and certainly not solely for the sake of service – but for the personal profits that came with it, which were both financial and especially symbolic (prestige) in nature. Thus, while Kazimierz advances the good of the country as the primary motivation for his actions in a relatively small number of cases, family interests occupy a very prominent place in his letters. A whole range of Athanasius' actions were evaluated by Kazimierz simply on their ability to enhance or harm the family's good name. Efforts were to be

parts of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*), Athanasius Raczyński belonged to the so colled 'sujets mixtes,' that is he was the subject of several rulers during: in the years 1807–1815, as a resident of the Duchy of Warsaw, he was a subject of the king of Saxony; after 1815 – of both the king of Prussia and the Russian Tsar, and also of the Emperor of Austria after his marriage to Anna née Radziwiłł, whose dowry included properties in the Austrian partition.

Letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius of 5 January 1816; BR, Poznań, ms 1996,
 p. 109. See also, among others a letter of 26 August 1814; ibid, p. 107.

⁴¹ Letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius of 5 July 1816; BR, Poznań, ms 1996, p. 115. Some of the letters Ignacy Raczyński, archbishop of Gniezno, sent to Athanasius at that time, contain a summary of the political teachings of the former marshal. In August 1817 Ignacy wrote: 'In particular, he [Kazimierz Raczyński] asked me to express his contentment that you agreed to become the Government Commissioner for taxation, and that you should remain in this post to serve both your Government and the Nation. The best rule is to always seek the respect of the Government under which Divine Providence wants us to remain, and under which our estates remain;' BR, Poznań, ms 2000, p. 11.

⁴² Dariusz Rolnik, Portret szlachty czasów stanisławowskich, 200–206.

undertaken 'for the benefit of the family and the honour of the name it bears.' The entire curriculum developed by Kazimierz was intended to guarantee that Athanasius 'through ambitions proper for a well-born man, from a desire to satisfy the Familia and for the sake of his own happiness, would act properly and honestly.'⁴³ This theme of family pride, constantly fuelled by the grandfather, is worth emphasizing because it was one of the most important motors of Athanasius' actions in both declarations and deeds throughout his life. 'What interest me most is my family. I want to work on its behalf,' he wrote in his diary in 1813.

The political advice given to Athanasius was all the more topical because Kazimierz, who had a feel for social and political moods, was well aware of the growing presence in Germany and Europe of movements with revolutionary ambitions, for which the young Athanasius, like his brother Edward, showed some sympathy. As a remedy against hasty actions, Kazimierz recommended to his grandson 'unconditional obedience and perseverance.' The first recommendation was repeated many times, often with the comment that the inexperienced Athanasius was not able to assess the situation accurately on his own and hence needed to rely fully on the judgment of his guardian and preceptors. This was accompanied by assurances that the sole purpose of Kazimierz's advice and recommendations, as well as of his injunctions and admonitions, was the good of Athanasius.

However, there were times when such persuasion itself proved insufficient to ensure the submission of Athanasius, whose actions were at times contrary to his grandfather's will. His decision to join the army, a more extended than planned stay in Paris, an unauthorised trip to London, affairs treated so seriously by Athanasius that fears of an ill-fated marriage were aroused, excessive extravagance and a tendency to get into debt, a lack of concern for family property, a careless attitude to court cases concerning his own interest and those of his family – the list of charges levelled by the grandfather against the young aristocrat was long. Relations between them soon became further complicated by financial issues. According to legal provisions agreed to on 2 April 1810 concerning the division of the late Philip Raczyński's estate, Athanasius and Edward were obliged to pay their grandfather each year 'for St. John' (on 23 June) sums amounting to 'three thousand fifty red zlotys, and five thousand Dutch guilders, and ten thousand Polish zlotys.' They thus assumed the obligations of their father, who was required to pay his father-in-law a lifetime annuity exactly equivalent to the value of the landed property he had earlier received from him. Kazimierz was very strict in his approach to these provisions and

⁴³ Instrukcja dla Pana Atanazego of 12 July 1806; BR, Poznań, ms 1996, p. 67.

ruthlessly demanded timely payment of debts, which Athanasius, who was supposed to pay half of the amount due, did not always meet. This was the cause of numerous claims and interventions by Kazimierz and a source of major tensions between them.

In conflict situations, Kazimierz reacted quickly and decisively, raising ethical arguments, pointing to the dangers of political and social turmoil, and accusing the young Raczyński of behaviour that defamed the good name of the family and was offensive to him personally. Letters written by Kazimierz in moments of anger were written in a categorical tone and sometimes contained very sharp language. Kazimierz accused his grandson of weakness, ill will, ingratitude, falsity of character, and a lack of reason and questioned his spiritual and mental capacities. For Athanasius, who experienced numerous moments of self-doubt in his youth, these were undoubtedly very unpleasant words. It is worth quoting here a more extensive fragment of one of Kazimierz's letters, written in the autumn of 1807, after Athanasius' return from his first military escapade, undertaken without the consent of the guardian. It indicates clearly how much energy Athanasius had to expend in his fight for independence:

I have nothing more to say, Sir, in response to your letter of the 13th of this month, sent from Rogalin. The reasons you give me, Sir, for explaining your actions, and which you attribute to frivolity, in particular, can provide you with no defence in the mind of any reasonable man, because, Sir, at your age, you should not follow the example of strangers, but rather, the will of all those who have assumed the place of your parents should guide your steps. All the more so, Sir, given that you more than any other person should have kept to your way because, in spite of your age, you lack experience, you are not equipped with reason and have less cause for pride than many people the same age as you. Moreover, your conduct, Sir, is not merely a consequence of your frivolity (and it is always quite reprehensible) because in it you have displayed above all an evil heart and a bad character. You, Sir, have worried me and the whole family [...]. Not only have you soured the days of my life, but you have shortened them as well. After your many declarations of attachment to me, what can I deduce from this but that you are hypocritical, false, and dishonest? In explaining my way of thinking, I declare to you, Sir, that I do not wish you ill, and, due to my duty as a Christian, I will certainly never delight in your suffering misfortunes. Still, having already once experienced your contempt for my opinion, which arose from my attachment to you, I do not want, Sir, to involve myself and will not do so, in anything concerning you, because, Sir, you do not deserve my favour, and having learned well your inclinations, Sir, I cannot be assured that you will be in a position to be deserving of them. However, you, Sir, are at an age at which no government law will allow you to direct your own affairs, and thus you should obey your Brother and your present and future guardians. If you were to disobey them, then you can be assured that I will find ways in every government to curb your insolence, Sir, not due to the fact that you are personally of interest to me, but out of respect for my name, which I cannot allow you to shame, as all your inclinations lead you to do. If, due to these, you do not abandon your ways, you will continue to experience terrible unpleasantness in your life. I do not wish this upon you, Sir, and would most certainly be pleased if you, Sir, were deserving of universal respect, and I would also take pleasure in feeling that I could call myself, Sir, your grandfather, and friend.⁴⁴

Although categorical and at times quite impassioned, Kazimierz's letters always gave Athanasius hope for the restoration of good relations between them and showed him a sure path to achieving this. The condition was total submission to the will of his guardian. Ultimately, Athanasius always chose this path, although sometimes only after a long struggle with himself. The decisions he made to meet Kazimierz's expectations were sometimes dramatic, such as when he abandoned his Parisian lover and travelled to Breslau to enter into an unwanted marriage forced upon him by his grandfather. The wedding never took place as the mother of the bride-to-be ultimately withheld her consent. Still, this situation shows to what extent Kazimierz Raczyński influenced the fate of his grandson. Until the end of his life, Kazimierz felt that his obligations and the law required him to guide the course of Athanasius' life.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius of 27 September 1807; BR, Poznań, ms 1996, pp. 73–74.

⁴⁵ In 1822 – at the age of 34 – Athanasius still had to defend himself against excessive interference in his life from his grandfather. He reached out to Edward for support, writing to him: I would be grateful, if you could persuade my Grandfather not to criticize my living in Galicia. At my age, it would be unlikely if I did not know what I was doing and it would be detrimental to my interests if I took up matters that do not fit my convictions, because in such matters I would not know how to proceed and would always be forced to rely in my actions on details provided by the same mind responsible for the general *modum agendi*,' Letter from Athanasius to Edward Raczyński of 30 April 1822, APP, Majątek Rogalin, 74, pp. 107–109.

4 Three Principles

Kazimierz saw in Athanasius a future active and prominent figure in the political life of Warsaw. At the same time, he was also long convinced that he himself would be successful in his ambitions. He believed that thanks to his strong personality, the memory of his past achievements, his loyalty to his King, and the influence of his old friends, he could return, if not to an active role in politics, then at least to a high-profile position in Warsaw society, and from there help advance his grandson's career. However, Athanasius suddenly had to re-evaluate these expectations. While staying in the capital of the Duchy in 1810, he noted: 'It will not be possible for me to seek to attain great things because the current government is badly disposed towards our name. Only an enormous fortune would allow me to obtain a position, as presently an office can be held by anyone but a Raczyński.'⁴⁶

Although this assessment may be exaggerated and has clear critical undertones, it remains a fairly sober one. Athanasius would indeed ultimately seek a position in political circles, but one far away from Warsaw: first as a Saxon and then a Prussian diplomat in foreign courts. Even in Saxony, Raczyński's name in some influential circles aroused resentment. In his diaries, Athanasius repeatedly quotes a rumour that a diplomatic position was to be denied to him due to opposition from the French Marshal Louis Nicolas Davout – the same man who in 1807 ordered Kazimierz Raczyński to leave Warsaw immediately, suspecting him of spying on behalf of Prussia.

Thus far, however, his grandfather had been certain the young Raczyński was destined to become a high-ranking government official, and his educational program was intended to prepare him for such service in terms of its subject matter, ideological content, and as a means of nurturing his ambitions. In other words, the educational program planned by Kazimierz for his grandson was derived directly from his vision of the position that Athanasius was to occupy in social and political life in accordance with his status and wealth.

The main points of this program are clarified by instructions issued by Kazimierz in Rogalin on 12 July 1806.⁴⁷ They order the young aristocrat to obey his appointed preceptor, Mr. Bordiga, they regulate his time-table (wake-up call at six AM, followed by prayers and breakfast, study from seven to eleven in the morning and from three to six in the afternoon), they provide a list of subjects to be mastered ('the most necessary lessons for Mr. Athanasius are these: the German and French languages, history and geography'), they indicate the

⁴⁶ DIARY, 4 April 1810.

⁴⁷ Instrukcja dla Pana Atanazego of 12 July 1806; BR, Poznań, ms 1996, p. 67; all quotes there.

ways he should spend his free time after lessons (reading, occasionally a trip to the theatre, but only if accompanied by a guardian, and on Sundays and holidays it was obligatory to attend Mass), they specify the allowance he was to receive ('one hundred and eighty Polish zloty per month'), and finally they contain general guidelines for his conduct that include a clear political subtext. The fifth point of the instructions reads as follows: 'It is recommended that while Mr. Athanasius should be as careful as possible to avoid offending anyone's sensibilities. He should avoid overfamiliarity or close friendship with any person lacking manners and a good reputation so that he can avoid becoming infected with his false philosophy and will not acquire the many principles of morality being disseminated today which damage respect for the Government, and which are the most obvious cause of the misfortunes so widespread in Europe today.' Kazimierz demanded from his grandson's teachers and Athanasius himself regular and detailed reports on the progress of his grandson's studies. He himself sometimes corrected letters in French sent by Athanasius. He also refused any requests from his wards to relax the rigour of their schooling.

Athanasius' grandfather tried to provide support not only with advice and admonitions but also more directly, indicating people in Dresden, Berlin, and Warsaw, who could be helpful in supporting his grandson's efforts to improve his political and social position. For example, in Dresden, thanks to the patronage of his guardian, Athanasius quickly established relations not only with the large Polish community there but also with prominent members of the city's political circles and representatives of other nations living in the Saxon capital. It is worth adding that Athanasius' political contacts were also meant to serve Kazimierz himself, who out of necessity had been living away from Warsaw since 1807, as previously mentioned. By sending his grandson as his deputy to meet individuals who were influential in public life, he was attempting to restore his own credibility and rebuild his social position. He wrote in a letter: 'I ask you, my dear, to say everywhere that I suffer greatly, that now I will not see the Monarch [Tsar Alexander] in Warsaw because people unfriendly to me could tell the Russians that I am not as attached as I should be to this Monarchy.'48 In this way, the roles were now somewhat reversed: the pupil had become a promoter of his teacher. This mutual interest bound the grandfather and grandson even more closely together and made them mutually dependent on each another.

⁴⁸ Letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius of 10 September 1816; BR, Poznań, ms 1996, pp. 117–118.

To sum up, the relationship between these men, let us refer to the two quotations below, one from Kazimierz Raczyński's letter to Athanasius, the other from the latter's diary. We can see in them a recommendation and a resolution, advice and a commitment, a guideline and a program of action (emphasis mine – M.M.).

Kazimierz: 'To briefly express my opinion: marry, but marry a well-born and not poor woman, manage your affairs, and try to be an important figure in your country. These are the three principles on which personal happiness, a handsome life, and the ambition proper to a well-born man to bring glory to his family's names should be based.'⁴⁹

And Athanasius: 'What interests me most is my family. I want to work on its behalf. I want to **create an entail** because it is the only way to prevent the disintegration of the family. But is it not necessary to demonstrate one's merit to the government in order to effectively implement such a plan? And thus, **one must have a career.** [...] Then [enter into] **a good marriage, taking into account one's state and fortune.** A high position would not hurt, either.'⁵⁰

These statements are essentially identical. As we have already seen, the young Raczyński took these guidelines very seriously and strived with unwavering consistency to realise them.

⁴⁹ Letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius of 5 January 1816; BR, Poznań, ms 1996, p. 109.

⁵⁰ DIARY, 2 March 1813.

Brothers

[Edward] needs love, and no one in the world besides you is as devoted to him as I am.

From Athanasius' letter to Konstancja Raczyńska dated 25 September 1843

• •

1 No One Else

It was an age of brothers. In the early nineteenth century, more than any other time, prominent siblings played a major role in shaping the cultural face of the cities and countries of Europe. These included eminent scholars and philosophers like Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt, Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel, and Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm; and artists and patrons of the arts such as Sulpiz and Melchior Boisserée, Franz and Johannes Riepenhausen, Rudolf and Wilhelm Schadow. Many additional examples could be cited.¹ This phenomenon reflected the development during this period of a new model of brotherhood based on a notion of mutual support that went far beyond mere nepotism and which was expressed through deep understanding, mutual inspiration, and creative competition. This new model grew out of a fundamental redefinition of the individual's place in society at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This resulted from both a progressive loss of faith in what had previously defined identity, above all religion and the absolute state, and from the influence of new intellectual currents, with Kant's subjective philosophy at the forefront.² 'The new ideal was not an integrated man who defined himself through his belonging to a community, but a rational, thinking man, oriented towards his own individual interests - homo

¹ For more on this issue, see an inspiring article by Stefan Trinks, "Dioskuren einer kunstvillen Wissenschaft. Die Gebrüder Raczyński und Humboldt im strukturellen Vergleich," in Adam S. Labuda, Michał Mencfel, Wojciech Suchocki, eds., *Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy*, 51–87.

² Reiner Zuch, "Nischen, Dyaden und das Geheimnis der Zwillinge. Künstlergeschwister seit Romantik und Aufklärung," in León Krempel, ed., Künstlerbrüder von den Dürers zu den Duchamps, exh. cat. (Petersberg: Imhof, 2005), 51–95.

economicus.'³ The price that had to be paid for this ideal – as well as for inner freedom as understood by Kant, which required the suppression of an individual's desires and drives in the name of rationality, self-discipline, and self-control, in the name of 'man's emergence from his self-incurred immaturity'⁴ – was a sense of a loss of clear reference points and a shattering into pieces of the individual. The response to these changes included, among other things, the idealization of the closest family, which in the world where rationality guided public and professional affairs would become a safe haven for the expression of emotions and feelings and for close relations of a sentimental nature: 'a warm interior as against a cool exterior.'⁵ This led to an appreciation of family ties both between parents and children and between siblings and to a general appreciation of childhood and youth. The romanticism that was born at that time consequently reflected this process. Childhood, youth, and finally brotherhood (whether real or 'ideal' based on friendship) became its favourite themes. A new model of fraternity would become both a social reality and a literary and cultural ideal. Its importance and universality were also evidenced by the extraordinary popularity of various associations, sometimes referred to as fraternities (Bruderschaften), which, especially in German-speaking areas, were a very important element of social life.⁶ One such association, an artistic cooperative called the Brotherhood of St. Luke, will be discussed more closely later.⁷ Such a model of brotherhood soon found its visual expression in a specific iconographic form.⁸ Edward and Athanasius Raczyński embodied this model. The most striking visual representation of this fact is the monumental Raczyński Family Portrait painted by Carl Adolph Henning in 1839 (Fig. 9).9

8 See Lutz Driever, "Bruderbildnis und Doppelporträt. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein: Einer den andern gemalt;" in Arnd Friedrich, Fritz Heinrich and Christine Holm, eds., Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein (1751–1829). Das Werk des Goethe-Malers zwischen Kunst, Wissenschaft und Alltagskultur (Petersberg: Imhof, 2001), 103–117, esp. 113–116; Mitchell Benjamin Frank, German Romantic Painting Redefined. Nazarene tradition and the narratives of Romanticism (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001): 15–17.

³ Reiner Zuch, "Nischen, Dyaden und das Geheimnis der Zwillinge," 52.

⁴ Immanuel Kant, *Political Writings*, edited by Hans Reiss, transl. by H.B. Nisbet (Cambridge: University Press, 2003), 54.

⁵ Reiner Zuch, "Nischen, Dyaden und das Geheimnis der Zwillinge," 53.

⁶ For Poles as well, both in Poland and in exile, especially after 1831, 'fraternities' constituted an important element of social life; see Janina Kamionka-Straszakowa, *Nasz naród jak lawa. Studia z literatury i obyczaju doby romantyzmu* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1974), 143–148.

⁷ On the subject of nineteenth-century artistic fraternities see: Laura Morowitz, William Vaughan, eds., *Artistic brotherhoods in the nineteenth century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

⁹ For more on the painting see: Anna Dobrzycka, "Poznańscy Medyceusze;" Ewa Leszczyńska, "Dlaczego 'poznańscy Medyceusze' zatrzymali się w drodze?," in Adam S. Labuda, Michał Mencfel, Wojciech Suchocki, eds., *Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy*, 89–101.



FIGURE 9 Carl Adolph Henning, *Raczyński Family Portrait*, 1839 Raczyński foundation at the national museum in poznań, inv. no. MNP fr 635

The brothers are depicted in the foreground, on the left side of the painting. Edward is sitting in a chair, with Athanasius standing behind him. The arrangement of the figures and Athanasius' right hand, resting on the backrest of the armchair, compositionally and symbolically integrate and close off the pair, conferring an air of fellowship and inseparability. The two Raczyńskis are facing models of statues of the first Polish rulers, Mieszko and Bolesław, which are standing on a pile of books of Edward's authorship placed on a table covered with a rich fabric with an oriental pattern. The brothers' sons, Roger and Karol, who are standing in the background and also looking towards the sculptures, are also participants in this scene. The location of the scene is Athanasius' gallery in Berlin, and the background for the characters is Wilhelm Kaulbach's monumental painting The Battle of the Huns. The brothers and their works are depicted, but there is no distinction made between Edward and Athanasius' spheres of creativity. In fact, the image suggests the personalities and achievements of the brothers are complementary and collective. The pair of sculptures the characters are contemplating, though commissioned by Edward, were, in fact, a joint project. This also applies to other achievements depicted in the picture: the sculptures of Mieszko and Bolesław, symbolically representing the burial chapel of the first Piasts in the Cathedral in Poznań; Edward's publications; Athanasius' gallery - all of these were created on the initiative of one of the brothers, but, as we will see, involved cooperation between them both.

The fairly widespread opinion based on nineteenth-century diary entries, that relations between the brothers had cooled after Athanasius left for Berlin and that their paths had diverged, had no basis in fact.¹⁰ At no time does the correspondence between Edward and Athanasius cease or lose its intensity or warmth. None of Athanasius' other relationships – not with his wife, his children, or any of his friends – can be compared to the bond he shared with his brother. 'Who in the world could replace either of us at the side of the other?' Athanasius asked in a letter to his brother in early 1816.¹¹ They both knew perfectly well: no one else.

2 Mirror

The Raczyński brothers' close relationship is easily explained in the light of the findings of modern psychology. Stephen P. Bank and Michael D. Kahn have identified in their research several key factors fostering close ties between

¹⁰ See Marceli Motty, Przechadzki po mieście, vol. 1, 138–139.

¹¹ From Athanasius' letter to Edward Raczyński dated 11 February 1816, reprinted in his DIARY.

siblings. 'Sibling bonds will become intense and exert a formative influence upon personality when, as children or adolescents, the siblings have had plentiful access and contact *and* have been deprived of reliable parental care. In this situation, siblings will use one another as major influences, or touchstones, in a search for personal identity. When other relationships – with parents, children, or spouses – are emotionally fulfilling, the sibling bond will be weaker and less important. Thus, when other relationships cannot be relied upon, intense sibling relationships are activated. The results of this intensification can be helpful or harmful, depending upon the circumstances of each family, the personalities of the children, and the actions and attitudes of parents.'12 The slight age difference between Edward and Athanasius - just over two years – and their family situation led the siblings' relationship to become one of, using the terminology of Bank and Kahn, 'very high access.' They also spent the first twenty years of their lives together; Athanasius' writings in his diary, when relating to memories of their childhood and early youth, include repeated use of the phrase: 'mon frère et moi, nous ...' After the death of their mother in 1790, both boys were sent to Chobienice to live on the estate of their paternal grandmother, Wirydianna née Bnińska. The boys returned to Rogalin in 1797 to live with their father and be educated under his supervision (Fig. 10). After his death in 1804, they studied together in Frankfurt (Oder), and a year later began studying under private tutors in Berlin. It was there in 1806 that their paths finally diverged: Edward returned to Rogalin to manage the family estate, while Athanasius went on to study and embark on a political career in Dresden. The boys grew up without a mother, whose place in their lives was taken to some extent by their aunt Estera. Their relationship with their father was, as previously mentioned, chilly and oppressive. Both in Chobienice and even more so in Rogalin, they relied mainly on each other for company. Philip Raczyński led a solitary life, with family and friends rarely visiting his palace - and thus, although it was a fully staffed house, it did not offer the boys many opportunities for contact with their peers. Under such circumstances, it is understandable that they exerted a strong influence on one another and remained a point of reference for each other in their search for identity. The close-knit relationship the brothers built proved a helpful and constructive one.

¹² Stephen P. Bank, Michael D. Kahn, *The Sibling Bond* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 19. The term 'access' is used here. One of the key terms in Bank and Kahn's analysis, it refers to the set of factors conducive to building emotional bonds between siblings, such as a small age difference, being of the same gender, sharing a room or even a bed, shared toys and clothes, a shared group of friends, etc.



FIGURE 10 Jan Gładysz, *Portrait of Athanasius and Edward Raczyński as Children*, 1797 Raczyński foundation at the national museum in poznań, inv. no. MNP FR 611

This does not mean, however, that their relationship was always exemplary. Both men adhered strictly to their principles and were often overbearing, which stifled their ability to build relationships with others. Their own friendship was also (unavoidably, so it would seem) thorny. 'I have never confessed the feelings I have for my brother,' Athanasius wrote in his diary in January 1810, shortly before his twenty-second birthday, a time when he was tormented by various passions, 'but they are so difficult to define. I often love him to the point of worship, but I also often feel completely indifferent toward him.'¹³ Both Raczyński brothers fully realized that the complexity of their relationship was one of its essential features. However, this never raised any doubts as to its intensity or its extreme importance to them both.

The brothers shared certain fundamental beliefs, which provided a broad ideological framework for their thoughts and actions.¹⁴ Unconditional fidelity to royal authority, general disapproval of any attempt at radical political change, faith in the legitimacy of the traditional social order, a readiness to participate in public life, and concern for the prestige of their family name were all characteristics common to both brothers. Moreover, they both had a wide range of interests, powerful ambitions, and a strong sense of individualism and ancestral pride, and both shared a determination to achieve their intended goals. Yet, in many respects, they differed significantly from one another. They had different temperaments, different ambitions, and different ideas about their obligations to their family and their nation. These differences in character were reflected in their lifestyles. Family tradition, influenced by Athanasius' writings, generally portrayed Edward as a man who lived very modestly, almost ascetically, limiting his personal needs to what was necessary, sleeping on a sackcloth mattress, and wearing an old, worn-out coat.¹⁵ Athanasius, on the other hand, had a tendency – to which he openly admitted – toward sybaritic behaviour and a taste for elegant interiors and decorative furnishings. He was a lover and connoisseur of fine cuisine (as well as a good cook; he particularly relished Polish cuisine, especially noodles and dumplings, and schooled his chefs in the proper preparation of these dishes), wore elegant and at times eccentric clothing, and surrounded himself with beautiful objects.

Athanasius held Edward in high esteem and admired his character and mental prowess. In recollections in his diary of their shared education, he depicts his brother as being more capable and more conscientious than himself. In correspondence from the 1840s, he called Edward a 'sage' and a 'philosopher.' Of course, there is also a note of sympathetic irony in his use of these terms,

^{13 &#}x27;Even though they may share a room, friends, and adventures throughout childhood, high-access, close-in-age siblings are often at a loss to understand the ambivalent and contradictory feelings they have toward one another;' Stephen P. Bank, Michael D. Kahn, *The Sibling Bond*, 49.

¹⁴See: Michał Mencfel, "Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy," in Małgorzata Omilanowska, ed.,
Obok. Polska-Niemcy, 1000 lat historii w sztuce, exh. cat. (Köln: Du Mont, 2011), 450–455.

¹⁵ Athanasius Raczyński, *Geschichtliche Forschungen*, 461; Edward Raczyński, *Rogalin i jego* mieszkańcy, 105. See also: Andrzej Wojtkowski, *Edward Raczyński i jego dzieło*, 56–57.

but it seems clear that he had some sort of inferiority complex in relation to his older brother.

Edward's seniority was of no little importance in this respect. Alfred Adler, a student and proponent of Sigmund Freud – who expanded the Viennese analyst's concepts of personality development and child socialization, which focused on the child's relationship with its parents - was the first leading psychologist to draw attention to the vital role played by relationships between siblings. He strongly emphasized the importance of seniority and identified a child's birth order as a key determining factor in the process of its socialization.¹⁶ The position of the eldest child, especially in the case of a son, was, according to Adler, of particular significance. In the earliest period of its life, as an only child, the eldest child receives all the parents' attention. When that child is later 'dethroned' following the birth of a sibling and loses its privileged status as an only child, it often retains - and fights to maintain the privileges associated with this status.¹⁷ As previously mentioned, Edward continually received greater affection from his father than Athanasius; he was always considered more able, more obedient, and a better child in general. However, being a first child involves not only privileges but also burdens. The firstborn must bear the weight of the trust and high expectations placed in it by its guardians. It must assume the responsibilities of inheriting not only the family property or title but also of upholding its traditions and spiritual legacy. The firstborn child is therefore expected to adopt a conservative posture. Seen from a historical perspective, the primacy of the eldest child was additionally manifested in political and economic privileges, such as the inheritance by the first-born male of paternal position and property (primogeniture). Although most of these privileges were gradually abolished in the nineteenth century, the concept of the privileged position of the eldest son remained in force. It must have been important for the Raczyński brothers, too. Both were convinced that an essential condition for the advancement of civilisation was a political

¹⁶ Alfred Adler, *Menschenkenntnis* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1966), 138–145 (first edition 1927). Although later research considerably complicated the picture painted by Adler, pointing to several other factors affecting the formation of relations between siblings, the essential themes of his work nevertheless still seem to be valid. A very critical analysis of the state of research on the theory of consequences of birth was carried out by Cécil Ernst and Jules Angst, *Birth Order: Its Influence on Personality* (Berlin-New York: Springer 1983). The credibility of this theory is recognised, among others, by Frank J. Sulloway, *Der Rebell in der Familie. Geschwisterrivalität, kreatives Denken und Geschichte*, aus dem Amerikanischen von Klaus Binder und Bernard Leinweber (Berlin: Siedler, 1997), 73–98.

¹⁷ See Heinz L. Ansbacher, ed., Alfred Adlers Individualpsychologie. Eine systematische Darstellung seiner Lehre in Auszügen aus seinen Schriften (München-Basel: Reinhardt, 1995), 304–305.

and social order grounded in a set of inalienable and transcendently legitimized principles upon which family life should also be organised. Athanasius' image of the family as a strictly regulated and strongly hierarchical structure is expressed in a letter he wrote to his daughter in 1836 in response to her plans to enter into what he considered an inappropriate marriage: 'Change your mind, there is still time, marry wisely, and think of your husband as your master, as a friend heaven has given you and whose authority over his wife according to the laws of God and man replaces that of the parents.'¹⁸ Raczyński defined his relationship with his children in similar terms. The French word 'maître' originally used in the quoted correspondence means 'master' or 'teacher,' but also 'superior' or 'ruler.' In Raczyński's opinion, the family was a place for exercising rightful authority 'bestowed by God,' based on relations of dependence: of children on their parents, of a wife on her husband, and, to some extent at least, of a younger brother on his older brother.

Edward was undoubtedly an authority for Athanasius, though by no means an unquestionable one. In some letters, Athanasius speaks frankly of his subordination to his brother, though always with a certain degree of characteristic distance and irony, which only enriches and confirms his message. Thus, for example, in a letter from Copenhagen dated 15 August 1830: 'every time our surname is mentioned it is to speak of you with praise and respect. But, when it comes to me, it is only as your brother. This is good for the family, good for our children, and the best thing in the world for me.'¹⁹

Indeed, Edward sometimes assumed the mentoring role of the older brother, giving Athanasius advice or instruction. Athanasius listened to it and sometimes heeded it, but other times rebelled, resolutely defending his independence. 'Neither of us is more stupid or worse than the other. In many cases, you can see things better than I can. In others, I have the advantage over you. Just between us, seeing things correctly is truly a matter of chance, just like making the correct choice in one's actions,' wrote Athanasius in a late letter to Edward, defending his autonomy in actions.²⁰

At the same time, there were moments when, in addition to admiration for Edward, Athanasius entertained negative feelings towards his brother and made very critical judgments about him as shown in the following diary entries: 'My brother often speaks and acts correctly, but he thinks too much about how

¹⁸ Athanasius' letter to his daughter Wanda dated 3 March 1836; reprinted in his DIARY.

¹⁹ Letter from Athanasius to Edward Raczyński dated 15 August 1830; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 78, pp. 105–108.

²⁰ Letter from Athanasius to Edward Raczyński dated 7 February 1844; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 79, pp. 419–422.

it will benefit him. He appears to lack tact, but this only serves to hide his true intentions. I haven't felt close to him for some time. That's because I regard him as someone lacking independence, submissive, and ingratiating – but despite all his peevishness he has a perfect heart;²¹ 'Edward is completely lacking in sensitivity. He has no sense of either good or bad. He'll never put general principles into practice. At every occasion, he yields to outside influences and examples or relies on his own imagination, which always leads him astray.²²

In March 1815, Athanasius composed an insightful literary portrait of his brother for his own use.²³ This is worth citing for at least two reasons. Firstly, because it shows how Athanasius' admiration for and criticism of Edward converge or rather collide, and how his brother's personality and conduct gave rise to various, often contradictory feelings. Secondly, because these characteristics make us aware of the diligence, engagement, curiosity, and regard with which the younger Raczyński viewed his brother and how he tried to get to know him and understand him. Athanasius' portrait of his brother reads as follows:

He loves virtue. When he convinces himself or when someone convinces him that something is right, that something should be done, he will do it. He desires to be virtuous, and above all, desires to appear virtuous, but he rarely has a sense of what is right, and in his actions is guided by other people's opinions. He doesn't always have sincere intentions. He eagerly attributes his actions to noble motives, when in reality, they are nothing more than the result of his fantasies or love of himself. He also likes to attribute the sacrifice of one individual to many people simultaneously. He is full of crazy ideas, some of which are good and to which he admits, while others are bad, and these he keeps to himself because he believes that he should have them but shouldn't talk about them. To the first group belongs his inviolable discretion towards women (which I will talk about). Others can only be guessed at, but I think he would not dare to deny such an example: You can afford to do something bad when you are convinced that no harm will come to anyone (this is for others), and when you are sure that it won't be revealed (this is for yourself). He loves all those whom he is obligated to love and is dedicated to them.

²¹ DIARY, 4 June 1811.

²² DIARY, 18 June 1816.

²³ This portrait was more interesting and multidimensional than two descriptions of Edward written by Athanasius at a later date. One dated 8 June 1823 is a more extensive portrait than that recorded in his diary but is devoted mainly to his brother's initiatives and 'eccentricities.' A second, 'official' memorial biography, written after his brother's death was published in *Geschichtliche Forschungen*.

I believe that he has an outstanding mind, which one would not suspect. He has, above all, a brilliance of mind, though he has no comprehension of this fact. He has a lively imagination and a good memory, which gives him certain ease in understanding anything that does not require any special diligence, of which he is incapable. Nobody has ever been able to teach him algebra. He's got strange ideas. When you think you've begun to understand him, he somehow loses you again. He tends to exaggerate because he lacks empathy. He imagines he is free from self-love and believes this with such force that it has become a conviction. But I don't know many people who have more of it than he does. His heart craves tenderness. He is very easy to excite, has a lot of energy, and persists with one perception or another.²⁴

This analysis was composed at a difficult time for the young Athanasius during his return journey from Warsaw, where he was to enter into an unwanted and ultimately unrealized marriage, to Paris, where his greatest and most difficult love, Fanny de Vaubois, awaited him. The text was written in a state of emotional excitement, and while it maintains the appearance of cool analysis, it reveals traces of his mental state. However, these circumstances only make his description more credible. Under the pressure of these complicated circumstances, Raczyński once again attempts to define himself, his attitude towards life, and his place in the world. His characterisation of Edward is preceded by a merciless, very gloomy self-analysis. Thus, on almost adjacent pages in his diary, Athanasius compares himself with Edward. His brother, the person closest to him, was simply bound to serve as his point of reference. Through Edward, Athanasius looks at himself as if in a mirror, treating him, using the language of psychology, as if he were a 'significant other,' a means of comparison that helped him define his own personality.

3 Herr Bruder, Write to Me

Aside from Athanasius' diary, the most important testimony to the profound bond he shared with Edward available to the biographer is the correspondence between the brothers. Incomplete but very extensive, it comprises several thousand letters written from 1806 to 1845.²⁵ In the letters, Edward and Athanasius present various faces, depending on their age and circumstances. They are

²⁴ DIARY, 7 March 1815.

²⁵ APP, Majątek Rogalin, 74–79; MNP, MNPA-1414-48; BR, Poznań, ms 4223.

direct and vulgar when as young men they report their erotic adventures; they are cordially ironic when they comment on each other's achievements and failures; they are meticulous and precise when they write on business matters; they are caring and ready to help when they think the other needs advice or support; they are determined and sharp when it comes to defending their rights. All this convinces us of the strong trust the brothers had in one another and of the intimate nature of their relationship. The language of the letters itself testifies to this. Not that he was particularly sensitive - there are relatively few passages written in such a tone, except for letters written near the end of Edward's life. The brothers communicated using a specific code they developed early on and, while modifying it over the years, they continued to use it to the end of their lives. In order to arrive at a basic understanding of it, let us look at how the brothers addressed one another. They most often, of course, used the customary 'my dear Edward,' 'dear Athanasius,' 'dear friend,' 'my dear friend,' 'my dear,' and 'my dear brother.' But Edward also jokingly addressed Athanasius as 'Fish,' 'Little fishy,' and 'Canary.' They did not spare each other friendly chidings and often made allusions to experiences they had either shared or which were only known to the two of them. Here is an excerpt from a letter Athanasius sent from Debica on 16 April 1822:

You want me to write a treatise on your virtues and perfection, I will do so in three words. You are godless, a braggart and an ingrate. Godless because you've been a scoundrel all your life, and you've not married. A braggart because you boast that only you can attend to my interests properly. I have never seen you fall at my feet for the favours I do you. Despite your faults and shortcomings, I assure you of my good graces. And I don't doubt that the Enthusiasm and Happiness you will feel from such a gracious declaration will motivate you to get into a carriage, the kind on which you sprained your hand, because this kind is faster, and come as soon as possible to Dębica.²⁶

The same humorous tone that characterises the passage quoted above resonates in many of Athanasius' letters, including the late ones written shortly before Edward's tragic death when the correspondents were fully mature. 'I kiss your feet if they're clean, and if they're not – I'm limiting myself to a

²⁶ Letter from Athanasius to Edward Raczyński dated 16 April 1622; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 75, pp. 94–95.

hug.' This is how he ends a letter to his brother written in Lisbon in late 1843.²⁷ Edward also liked to engage in playful humour. In a letter from the summer of 1842, he wrote to his brother: 'I received your letter in which you report to me on the effects that ravioli have had on you. I regret that I had to erase a good part of this letter in order to show it to my wife, who greatly enjoys your letters. Please write in such a way that they can be shown to her verbatim.'²⁸

This correspondence shows the very close relationship that existed between the brothers, but also the differences mentioned above in their personalities and temperaments. These differences reveal themselves both in the content and form of the letters, as well as in their visual appearance: the very look of them, even before one reads them, reveals two very different characters. Edward's letters are written in a careless, impatient, even violent hand as if written in a hurry. In many cases, they consist of very short or even elliptical sentences – fragmentary, repetitive, nervous. Some letters give the impression of expressing thoughts written down 'off the cuff,' which have not been subjected to the organising powers of composition and form.²⁹ The visual look of the letters is in line with their content. Big, clumsy letters, reduced to their rudimentary forms, flow into one another, with the endings of words becoming a restless, almost abstract pattern. Edward was prone to such awkward handwriting from his early youth, but as the years passed, it worsened due to the hand injury to which Athanasius alluded in one of the letters quoted above. Letters written by him during his mature years border on illegibility and often become completely illegible.

Athanasius' correspondence is much more elaborate. His sentences are longer and more complex. In his letters, more attention is paid to the compositional structure, rhetorical effect, witty jokes, and, to put it in one word, style. The writing is also clearer, regular, small, and quite legible, though without any attempt to make it decorative.

If we read the entries in Athanasius' diary alongside his correspondence, we get a fuller picture of their fraternal relationship. In his diary, the younger

²⁷ Letter from Athanasius to Edward Raczyński dated 3 November 1843; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 79, pp. 382–385.

²⁸ Letter from Edward Raczyński to Athanasius dated 27 July 1842; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 79, p. 39.

Excitability and impatience were characteristic among Edward's many behaviors. He was remembered as such by Leon Dembowski: 'Of average height, he had something wild in his eyes, his speech was sharp and his words pronounced rapidly [...] He always seemed to be short of time, fidgety, always yearning for change, he could never stay in one place, when he attended social events, he would only stay for an hour and then disappear,' *Pamiętniki Leona Dembowskiego*, vol. III, BCz, Kraków, ms 3809b IV, pp. 236–237.

brother gives voice to feelings that are only rarely expressed outright in his letters: his empathetic concern for Edward's health and his pride in his actions and convictions (as well as a certain sense of animosity or resentment, as mentioned above). 'I couldn't help myself. I felt myself turning red as if on fire. Then tears began to flow from my eyes,' Athanasius wrote on 28 December 1810 about his reaction to the news that Edward would never regain full use of the hand he had sprained while travelling in Scandinavia. 'My heart and my love derive satisfaction from the fact that I can call him my brother,' he wrote in 1822 in response to positive comments on Edward's newly published book on his journey to Turkey.³⁰ A rush of particularly intense, fraternal feelings was brought about by Edward's death by suicide in 1845.

In 1817 Athanasius, a hypochondriac by nature, was awaiting his own death (his fears soon proved to be baseless; he was suffering not from incurable heart disease – though he was convinced of this, despite having been told otherwise by doctors – but from a gastric disorder). He thus wrote a farewell letter in which he bequeathed to Edward, and not to his newlywed wife or to the son, who was to be born soon, his most important possessions, those that had a particular symbolic meaning: 'my stallion, my mount [...] and all of my paintings' as well as – out of hysterical fear of being buried alive while in a coma – his own physical body. Several times Athanasius asks his wife:

Convince Edward that I should not be buried, but that I should be treated as if I had fallen into deep lethargy. I explained everything to Edward most precisely, and he promised me most solemnly to take care of it. I hope he won't refuse to grant the last request of the brother he so loves and by whom he was always loved. [...] Edward is skilful enough to know how to deceive priests and the police, who will both try to prevent him from doing so. There are thousands of ways to hide the truth about me from them.³¹

Thus, as evidence of his great trust, Athanasius bequeaths to his brother his mortal remains. In his will, Edward also bequeathed his most precious possessions to Athanasius.

Edward's extensive will, drawn up three days before his death, contains only one paragraph devoted to his brother. Not much. But it has a special status in the document. Aside from a reproachful passage about his fellow citizens

³⁰ DIARY, 16 February 1822.

³¹ Letter from Athanasius to his wife Anna Radziwiłł dated 12 June 1817; reprinted in his DIARY.

having spurned him, it is the only section of the text strongly marked by emotion. The rest was written in a calm, objective, almost cool tone. Moreover, it is the only passage that goes beyond Edward's material legacy, speaking about his spiritual one as well. At stake here is the memory of the deceased:

In addition, I bequeath to my brother a rifle and a pair of pistols in my armoury, once owned by Michał Raczyński, of blessed memory, which he should find and take. My memories of my brother in my final moments are bitter ones. He loved me constantly and actively, but I hurt him, though unintentionally, unwillingly, and with despair in my heart. I was under the sway of vicious tendencies, or rather of wantonness, but how reprehensible this is at my age and in my relations with my Brother, my beloved Brother! Let him forgive me, and let him not call me Raca. Let him remember that Raca would do more harm to him who is innocent than to me who is guilty.³²

A key word for interpreting this text is 'Raca.' Edward uses it to refer to the Sermon on the Mount in the version given in the Gospel of Matthew. In the New International Bible, the corresponding passage reads as follows:

You have heard that it was said to the people long ago, 'You shall not murder, and anyone who murders will be subject to judgment.' But I tell you that anyone who is angry with a brother or sister will be subject to judgment. Again, anyone who says to a brother or sister, 'Raca,' is answerable to the court. And anyone who says, 'You fool!' will be in danger of the fire of hell.

Therefore, if you are offering your gift at the altar and there remember that your brother or sister has something against you, leave your gift there in front of the altar. First go and be reconciled to them; then come and offer your gift.

Mt, 5, 21–24

The Aramaic word 'raca' here refers to a man who is worthless, one worthy of contempt. This biblical passage is recalled by Edward as a means of evoking very strong, forceful language to ask his brother for forgiveness and reconciliation. It allowed him to avoid doing so directly by using a code, one whose meaning he was convinced would be understood by Athanasius. He may have been relying here less on Athanasius' theological erudition – though he was

³² Reprint of Edward Raczyński's will in: APP, Majątek Rogalin, 79, pp. 620–627.

a practicing Catholic with interest in religious matters – than on experiences or conversations they had shared and situations in which the derisive biblical 'raca' was used either seriously or jokingly. However, it is not possible for us today to determine his intentions with any certainty. Besides, something else was more important to Edward: in his will, he called on Athanasius to cultivate an untarnished memory of him, a memory free of blemishes, free from disgrace.

In this situation, at the threshold of imagined or actual death, both Raczyńskis did the same thing: they asked their brother to take care of what was most valuable to them in symbolic terms. This is a testimony to their deep mutual trust. In Edward's reminiscences in *Historical Research*, it is precisely this aspect of their relationship, apart from love, on which Athanasius will place the greatest emphasis: 'We loved each other the most and trusted each other the most.'³³

In 1806, the brothers' paths diverged. Edward returned to his home in Rogalin to manage the family estate, while Athanasius went on to study and pursue a political career in Dresden. From that point on, Edward would spend his time mainly in Wielkopolska, travelling often only to Berlin (although he took more spectacular trips, in particular, to Lapland and Turkey). Athanasius was characterised by greater mobility. He stayed in Warsaw, Dresden, Paris, London, Berlin, Copenhagen, Lisbon, and Madrid. Despite the distance, they kept in touch by letter and also looked for opportunities to meet: 'Dear Edward, if you also wanted to come and visit me, how grateful I'd be to you.' (Athanasius in Dębica, 11 April 1821); 'Your coming to me, dear Edward, would make me happy a la lettre.' (Athanasius in Debica, 9 June 1822); 'Try to come here to me as soon as you open the library ...' (Athanasius from Berlin, 19 March 1829); 'We are very grateful to you for your visit to Poznań. I'll be coming to Berlin to say goodbye soon ...' (Edward from Rogalin, 5 February 1842); 'My dear Edward, what a pity! If you had come by steamboat, which brought me your letter, it would not have taken more than three and a half days. You'd spend ten days with me. This would not delay your return by more than eighteen days, and you would see a very interesting country and fill me with joy. Maybe next spring? (Athanasius from Lisbon, 2 September 1842).

The last quote comes from a late letter written by Athanasius from Portugal. This is a time when the brothers corresponded very intensively with one another. Athanasius, in particular, wrote to Rogalin often, even several times a week. With a serious concern for his brother's health in the background, almost all his letters contain urgent requests for Edward to come to Lisbon for a few

³³ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichtliche Forschungen, 462.

months. The stay away from Rogalin and Poznań, far from the local affairs,³⁴ was intended by Athanasius as a therapeutic remedy for Edward's disastrous state of mind and depression (which Athanasius sensed from his brother's letters and about which his sister-in-law informed him on an ongoing basis). In his letters from Lisbon, Athanasius provided his older brother with tempting images of Portugal's warm sun and carefree atmosphere, as well as the local porridge Edward liked so much, and planned his stay in detail:

It's certain, dear Edward, that if you come here now, besides the pleasure of my company in a country where, in terms of politics, nothing will cause you worry, you'll enjoy a mild climate and great opera [...]. I have already given orders for a room to be prepared for you and one for Basil [Edward's manservant]. Your room will be a little higher up, but you'll have a beautiful view of the Tagus and lots of sunshine. If you're not warm enough, we'll put in a stove. If you come here this autumn, you'll have here [the singer Giovanna] Rossi, your porridge, me, oranges, sunshine, and peace and quiet. On April 15 you'll go to Alcobaça, Bathalia, and Coimbra, and on your way back, you'll stay in Caldas for four weeks.³⁵

Edward's plans to visit Lisbon never materialised, however. In fact, meetings between the brothers took place rather infrequently. Over the years, such reunions became harder and harder to arrange, leaving correspondence as their primary means of maintaining contact. When their correspondence ceased temporarily as a result of neglect on the part of one of the brothers, the other

The last years of Edward Raczyński's life were marked by a painful struggle to defend his 34 reputation following public attacks by individuals in Wielkopolska, who accused him of vanity and self-interest in connection with work supporting the construction of a burial chapel dedicated to the first Piast rulers, the so-called Golden Chapel, in the Poznań Cathedral. In 1833, Edward became the de facto chairman of the committee responsible for the construction of the chapel, conceived of as a national votive offering. When the amount raised from public contributions proved insufficient to complete the work, Raczyński used his own funds to finance it. He paid for a statue of Mieszko I and Bolesław Chrobry, designed by the Berlin sculptor Christian Daniel Rauch. He had an inscription etched on the statue pedestal: "Edward Nałęcz Raczyński made a donation for this chapel." This became the subject of fierce controversy and the source for ruthless attacks against the sponsor; it was ultimately removed at his request. The bitterness of the dispute over the chapel and the unfortunate inscription was probably one of the main reasons why Edward decided to commit suicide in early 1845. The issue is discussed in detail by Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska, Dzieje Kaplicy Królów Polskich czyli Złotej w katedrze poznańskiej (Poznań: Wydawnicwo PTPN, 1997), 171-188.

³⁵ Letter to Edward Raczyński dated 20 October 1843; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 79, pp. 379–381.

immediately demanded its resumption, as when Edward wrote half-jokingly, half-seriously in a letter dated 19 April 1812: 'Herr Bruder, write to me.'

What does their correspondence contain, and what does it tell us? Firstly, it includes references to everyday events, meetings, business trips, etc., and is, therefore, a source of scattered but detailed biographical data. Secondly, significant space is dedicated to requests for small favours, advice, and information, showing us how the brothers helped one another and how they cooperated in both minor and serious matters. Their requests are quite varied. They ask for information about friends and acquaintances; for involvement and support in dealings with people better known to the other; for help in obtaining necessary documents; for assistance and mediation in business dealings; for books, maps, and engravings. They both value each other's abilities and offer advice on numerous issues. For example, Athanasius writes to Edward in the spring of 1822 concerning the management of his estate:

I'm running to you for advice. I'm in an awkward situation. I cannot guarantee that I will follow your advice but discussing the matter may help clarify my own views. As matters with me now stand, carrying on affairs as usual will suffice to ensure that the estate will continue to prosper and to ensure the security of our property – we will soon have a year's permanent income in reserve for an unforeseen event. This is the state of affairs if I consider Dębica to be home – but not if I were to acquire Ludomy. I want to acquire Ludomy because it would simplify the management of my property, because I would like to see a larger entailed estate, because I would like, if it were possible, to obtain for this property the status of a principality or county – because I foresee the creation of a new peerage in Prussia and I wouldn't want this honour to pass our family by. (...) So, should I buy it or not?³⁶

In subsequent letters on the subject of Ludomy, Athanasius not only relies on the opinion of his brother but even entrusts him with the running of the affairs, placing total confidence in him and giving him complete authority: 'I would like to ask you, finally, to undertake this endeavour and that you use the legal services of no one but Gizicki (...). I repeat, however, that you are to use Gizicki only for strictly legal matters while I entrust to you alone matters

³⁶ Letter from Athanasius to Edward Raczyński dated 10 April 1822; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 75, pp. 88–90.

of greater consideration.³⁷ On many occasions, both earlier and later, Edward managed his younger brother's property and administrative affairs.

Thirdly and finally, the letters contain frequent commentary on the various initiatives of the two brothers and show how much they supported each other. We owe to Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska's comprehensive study on the so-called Golden Chapel our knowledge of the vital role played in its construction inside the Poznan Cathedral by not only Edward, who for years was the spiritus movens of the project, but also by Athanasius.³⁸ As an aficionado of art, well-connected in Berlin's art circles, Athanasius was involved from the very outset in conceptual and organisational work on the chapel. He acted as an intermediary, for example, between Edward and the artists Karl Friedrich Schinkel, an architect, and Christian Daniel Rauch, a sculptor. Correspondence between the brothers confirms that this was the case with almost all the Raczyński brothers' undertakings. Both were individualists who had difficulty - especially Edward – in subjecting themselves to the rigors of teamwork, and their work bears the unmistakable mark of their strong personalities. But their accomplishments would have been different, and some might not have come about at all, had it not been for the involvement of both the brothers. On Edward's side, there were many such initiatives, including the publication of his own and others' works, the building of a church-mausoleum and reconstruction of the palace in Rogalin, the founding of a palace-library in Poznań, and oversight of work on the aforementioned chapel of the first Polish rulers in the city's cathedral. Athanasius' output was also significant. He built an impressive art collection, attempted to establish a public picture gallery in Poznań, expanded and furnished the palace in Zawada, published works on German and Portuguese art, built a palace and gallery in Berlin, and wrote a history of his family. Endorsed and spurred on by one brother or the other, almost all of these undertakings were, to some extent, their joint achievement. In a nutshell, if we were to simplify the image a little, one could say that Athanasius provided advice and assistance to his brother, especially in the field of art. At the same time, Edward offered support mainly with administrative and propertyrelated issues.

During stays in Berlin, Paris, and Rome, Athanasius worked on drawings for books Edward intended to publish on his journey to Turkey and the history and monuments of Wielkopolska. In Paris, he tried to find a model for Edward's library and advised him on how it should be organised ('I have thought long

³⁷ From Letter from Athanasius to Edward Raczyński dated 30 April 1822; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 75, pp. 105–106.

³⁸ Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska, Dzieje Kaplicy Królów Polskich, 58–67, 84–94.

and hard about your library. This is the result of my thinking ...^{'39}). In Berlin, he acted as an intermediary between his brother and the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel when Edward and Konstancja drew up plans for introducing structural changes to the Rogalin palace ('I gave your drawings to Schinkel and told him everything your wife and you told me. We shared the following observations ...^{'40}). He also directed his brother to people who could be helpful in his historical research and editorial work. Edward, in turn, apart from his repeated assistance in matters relating to the family estate, helped Athanasius obtain books in such fields as art and genealogy.⁴¹ He invested a great deal of energy in obtaining permission to have a monument to Bishop Ignacy Raczyński, funded by Athanasius, to be placed in Poznań Cathedral.⁴² Finally, Edward actively supported Athanasius' passion as a collector of art. On 13 August 1080, he wrote:

How glad I am that you are looking forward to enjoying the painting I bought for you. Write to me as soon as you receive it. In my opinion, the view of the sea is splendid, though the architecture is a bit lavish. [...] If you find you like my taste, and I believe my taste in seascapes is quite good, I will deeply regret that I did not buy a seascape for you in London, somewhere around two feet long, depicting a fisherman and the characteristic English sun, which even in good weather, looks as if it's being viewed through a mist. The painting was as faithful and beautiful as Schummann's works of this type and was available for the ridiculous sum of three and a half guineas. But I was already out of money, and I'm not such an expert as to buy something on your account.⁴³

Although it was never completed, the picture gallery in Poznań was to have been a joint project of the two brothers in the full sense of the word.

³⁹ Letter from Athanasius to Edward Raczyński dated 8 March 1824; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 76, pp. 38–40.

⁴⁰ Letter from Athanasius to Edward Raczyński dated 8 March 1830; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 78, pp. 89–91.

⁴¹ Letter from Athanasius to Edward Raczyński dated 22 October(?) 1822; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 75, pp. 206–211.

⁴² Letter from Edward Raczyński to Athanasius dated November/December 1842; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 79, pp. 128–129. The monument was ultimately erected in the church in Obrzycko. Raczyński also donated a painting of the Last Supper by the Baroque painter Eugenio Caxés, purchased in Spain, to the church in Obrzycko.

⁴³ From a letter from Edward Raczyński to Athanasius dated 13 August 1830; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 78, pp. 109–112.

4 My Poor, Poor Brother!

Edward's death by suicide in January 1845 was a milestone event in Athanasius' life. His first recorded reaction to the tragic news was anger. His behaviour was understandable as anger is an inseparable part of mourning and a valid response to loss: Edward took his own life under very strong public pressure from people hostile to him. Athanasius aimed to free Edward, initially for his own purposes, from charges that he was mentally incompetent and to point out who was truly responsible for his death. In a 'documentary-style' but emotional narrative, he describes his brother's involvement in building a monument to the first Polish rulers in the Golden Chapel of Poznań Cathedral. He emphases the opposition Edward faced, particularly the accusations levelled against him by the parliamentary deputy Pantaleon Schuman in connection with the inscription placed by Edward on the pedestal of the statues of Mieszko and Bolesław. In Athanasius' description, Schuman is portrayed as the embodiment of all evil. He is described as 'a repulsive individual who (probably in 1806 and 1807) became known for his hatred of Poles, a great liar, a Jacobin to the bone;' fifteen years later in Historical Research Athanasius' called Edward's accusers - including in addition to Schuman, another parliamentary deputy Andrzej Niegolewski – outright murderers. Athanasius' anger soon widened to include the person closest to Edward, especially in the last years of his life his wife.

After his brother's death, Konstancja became in Athanasius' eyes a dangerous trouble-maker 'with a diabolical instinct,' ominously linked to ill fortune (her first husband, traveller and writer Jan Potocki, also committed suicide). Although relations between the two had improved by the late 1840s, they soon became very tense again. This time it was due to the idea of legitimising a child born out of wedlock to Edward's son Roger and Princess Zeneida Lubomirska by marrying Roger to a seriously ill woman near to death.⁴⁴ The person behind this project was said to be Konstancja, who Athanasius wrote at the time was 'without principles, without religion, without morality.' The extensive portrait of his sister-in-law he then recorded in his diary is outright merciless. It contains allegations of her hatred of the Raczyński family, of being disingenuous in her relations with her husband, of an 'infernal instinct' for destruction, and an unrestrained tendency toward evil.⁴⁵ In late 1850 Raczyński broke off all contact with his sister-in-law. His response to the news of Konstancja's death two years later on 25 December 1852, and her request in her last will to be

⁴⁴ For more information on this subject, see pp. 138–139 in the present book.

⁴⁵ DIARY, 8 June 1850.

buried at the side of her husband in Zaniemyśl was brief: 'She wanted to continue the comedy even after her death.'⁴⁶ His resentment towards Konstancja never cooled. In 1860 he wrote in *Historical Research*:

I pressed him [Edward] to leave Poznań and seek some peace and quiet with me in Lisbon. I am convinced that only distancing himself from Poznań and Rogalin could calm his nerves and restore his health. If his wife had not thwarted this plan, then – I am sure – Edward would have carried it out because he loved me warmly and believed in my love for him.⁴⁷

Athanasius' interpretation of the circumstances of his brother's death is very one-sided. Edward's biographers point to the complicated and varied motives for his decision to commit suicide. The conflict surrounding the Golden Chapel was a crucial factor in his decision, but certainly not the only reason for it. Serious health problems, recurring depressive moods, and a deepening sense of social alienation also had a major impact.⁴⁸ In studies devoted to Edward, the role that Konstancja played at Edward's side is recognised as having been a positive one. According to his biographers, she was a caring, understanding, and supportive spouse.⁴⁹ Similarly, Pantaleon Schuman, despite his supposedly 'notorious' speech against Raczyński, enjoyed wide recognition and great trust from his fellow citizens due to his courageous and consistent patriotic and social actions, and even contemporary historical research generally views him in a favourable light or at least reveals various nuances of his personality and activity.⁵⁰

After his death, Edward almost disappears from his younger brother's diary – except for repeated charges levelled against his wife Konstancja. He is otherwise very rarely called to mind in Athanasius' diaries. The memory of Edward plays no part in Athanasius' current concerns. Athanasius apparently was unable to find words to express the loss he had suffered. The one exception was a complaint he expressed in the aforementioned letter to Konstancja:

⁴⁶ DIARY, 7 January 1853.

⁴⁷ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichtliche Forschungen, 468–469.

⁴⁸ Witold Molik, Edward Raczyński, 1786–1845 (Poznań: Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna, 1999), 229–238.

⁴⁹ Andrzej Wojtkowski, Edward Raczyński i jego dzieło, 57–60; Bogumiła Kosmanowa, Edward Raczyński. Człowiek i dzieło (Bydgoszcz: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna, 1997), 104; Witold Molik, Edward Raczyński, 84–85.

⁵⁰ Andrzej Kwilecki, *Ziemiaństwo wielkopolskie. Między wsią a miastem* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2001), 248–254.

'My poor, poor brother! How unhappy were the last years of his life! And yet his greatest happiness was being able to do good and being useful to others!' It was not until many years later in his book Historical Research that Athanasius finally penned an 'official' literary memoir of his deceased brother. In it, he repeated the accusations made earlier in his diary against envious fellow countrymen and softened his charges against Konstancja. He outlined the characteristics of Edward's personality and activity and briefly mentioned his close relationship with him. In its composition and poetics, this characterisation is very similar to the portrait of Prince Józef Poniatowski he had recorded in his diary almost half a century earlier. It is a composed and objective conventional panegyric. As in many other moments of strong emotional excitement in his life, Athanasius escapes to the safe embrace of form. Did Edward disappear from Athanasius' life during the last decades of his life? Of course not. He carried on a quiet, hidden existence in his memory but always remained very important to him. He even came to him - in a dream. 'Two dead persons appeared to me in a dream: my brother and Cadé [a close yet mysterious friend of Raczyński's in the later part of his life]. They were the only ones to whom my soul was so closely bound ...'51

51 DIARY, 21 January 1861.

CHAPTER 3

Apprenticeship and Journeyman Years

Let there be war, so that I may distinguish myself in it. *Diary*, 15 April 1809

...

1 The Fist, Rod, and Cane, or Education

In accordance with aristocratic custom, young Athanasius began his education at home in Chobienice, under the supervision of a private tutor.¹ His first teacher was Fr. Marcin Pluciński, a violent and unpleasant man ('a tall and strong man with an irascible temperament, who taught us by the rod and cane'), although, as Raczyński later acknowledged, he was well-versed in history, geography and especially Latin. Indeed, his qualifications must have been strong, or at least sufficient - and in early nineteenth-century Poland, it was not at all easy to find a good private tutor in the provinces – since it was decided that he would live with Edward and Athanasius and continue their education at their father's palace in Rogalin. Providing the boys with a comprehensive, high-quality education was a matter of particular interest to Philip Raczyński. He himself took an active part in the boys' education and favoured didactic methods like those used by Father Pluciński: 'the fist, rod, and cane' (it is worth noting, however, that the direct involvement of a father in the upbringing of his sons – though this was encouraged by progressive pedagogical thinkers - was by no means common in Polish aristocratic circles in the

¹ On home schooling in Polish manor houses in the nineteenth century, see: Adam Winiarz, "Polskie rodziny arystokratyczne i szlacheckie w XVIII i XIX wieku jako środowiska wychowawcze," in Juliusz Jundziłł, ed., Wychowanie w rodzinie od starożytności po wiek XX (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uczelnianej Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1994), 241–255; (1795– 1918), in Krzysztof Jakubiak, Adam Winiarz, eds., Nauczanie domowe dzieci polskich od XVIII do XX wieku. Zbiór studiów (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Akademii Bydgoskiej im. Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2004), 111–151; Krystyna Wróbel-Lipowa, "Nauka domowa możnowładztwa i ziemiaństwa polskiego w XIX w.," in Krzysztof Jakubiak, Adam Winiarz, eds., Nauczanie domowe dzieci polskich od XVIII do XX wieku. Zbiór studiów (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Akademii Bydgoskiej im. Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2004), 152–165; Anna Pachocka, Dzieciństwo we dworze szlacheckim w I połowie XIX wieku (Kraków: Avalon, 2009), 103–150.

early nineteenth century).² Other members of the palace household were also involved in the boys' education. These included both the leader of the estate's musical ensemble, Antoni Wajnert, a former court musician to the last King of Poland, Stanisław August, as well as a composer and talented flautist, who was brought to Rogalin to help in the education of the young Raczyński boys,³ and Johann Gommert, a member of the Rogalin Palace orchestra. In his memoirs, Athanasius describes this stage of his education as follows:

At eight o'clock in the morning, my lessons began with Father Pluciński -Latin, German, French (of which he had a poor knowledge), history, geography, and domestic law. These lessons lasted until ten o'clock. We rarely made it through them without a beating. Most often, these involved close-fisted blows to the neck, while at other times he [Father Pluciński] pulled my hair savagely, and then, in either case, he would proceed to use a cane, with which he beat me with ruthlessly. I had bruises all over my body, but I didn't dare show them to my father. He would have forbidden him, I think, to beat me with a cane and to punch me with his fist, but he would have accepted the use of a rod in their place, which I feared even more. I endured this treatment without complaint, but it filled my young heart with hatred and aversion toward the man who caused me such suffering. At ten o'clock there were violin lessons. I learned to play quite well, and they cost me no more than a few light raps over the knuckles. At eleven o'clock, I went to my father to read and translate Metastasio or Guarini. During these lessons, I usually knelt by my father's side, and whenever he deemed it necessary, he would pinch or pull my ear sharply. My ear sometimes bled for the sake of my education. Finally, the hour approached for my riding lessons, then dancing lessons, and the reading of religious texts aloud. Afterwards, there were marching drills under the watchful eye of my father, who had a fondness for all things military, and, in the afternoon, lessons with Father Pluciński, which were conducted much like those in the morning. Lastly, there were piano lessons.

It was undoubtedly an ambitious and comprehensive programme, relatively modern in its content and very similar in quality to that found in those homes

² Anna Pachocka, Dzieciństwo we dworze szlacheckim, 47-49.

³ This information can be found in biographical notes on Wajnert written shortly after his death in 1850; See: Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki, *Cmentarz Powązkowski pod Warszawą*, vol. I (Warszawa: S. Orgelbrand, 1855), 214–217; Maurycy Karasowski, *Rys historyczny opery polskiej poprzedzony szczegółowym poglądem na dzieje dramatycznej powszechnej* (Warszawa: M. Glücksberg, 1859), 201–203.

of the Polish aristocracy and landed gentry where education was valued.⁴ However, at no time, not even after many years had passed, did Athanasius ever describe his education at home as a positive experience. He considered the educational methods used to have been not only unpleasant but in his case also ineffective.⁵ In general, he did not have a high opinion of his own intellectual abilities and claimed that the pressure he felt from his father prevented even those abilities he possessed from fully developing:

I was endowed with a weak memory, so I made little progress in the learning of languages and history. Moreover, fear stifled my mental faculties. I was not a diligent student. I couldn't remember things and learned very little. At the age of 15, I wasn't very advanced. In general, my intellectual development progressed very slowly, so I was told over and over again that it was my destiny to be an idiot all my life. In the end, I became convinced of this.' Although corporal punishment's effectiveness had been questioned in pedagogical writings since the Enlightenment, it remained a frequently practiced educational 'tool' in the early nine-teenth century.⁶

If Athanasius, who knew the realities of his day, was so adamant in his criticism of these violent teaching practices, they must have exceeded what was generally accepted even in those times. While Athanasius' memory or intellectual capabilities may not have been outstanding, he was endowed with something that he was as yet unable to recognize, a talent that would become a major asset: a keen eye and intuition in artistic matters that rarely failed him.

⁴ Adam Winiarz, "Nauczanie domowe dzieci polskich w dobie niewoli narodowej," 126–132; Krystyna Wróbel-Lipowa, "Nauka domowa możnowładztwa i ziemiaństwa polskiego w XIX w.," 153–156.

⁵ Whether due to a lack of talent, his own negligence, or the misconduct of his teachers, Raczyński made substantially less progress in his education than expected. A letter from Kazimierz from late 1806 confirms this. In it the grandfather writes to his grandson: 'You yourself know how much time you need to learn French, German, History and Geography well, and without these you cannot be useful to your country or yourself. Ce n'est pas votre faute, mon cher Athanase, que vous êtes encore trop arrière, en tout ce qu'il vous faut savoir, j'en conviens, il faut donc tacher a présent, work on what you are behind in;' from a letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius of 10 December 1806, in: BR, Poznań, ms 1996, p. 72.

⁶ Irena Szybiak, "O rodzicielskich zaletach i wadach w oświeceniowej polskiej publicystyce edukacyjnej," in Krzysztof Jakubiak, Adam Winiarz, eds., *Nauczanie domowe dzieci polskich od XVIII do XX wieku. Zbiór studiów* (see note 1), 35–45, esp. 41; Anna Pachocka, *Dzieciństwo we dworze szlacheckim*, 143–145.

The humiliations Raczyński suffered as a boy would leave their mark on his future life. The recollections of them returned later during his bouts of depression. They also provided an explanation for some of his actions. In an entry in his diary dated 17 May 1836, written during a painful period when he was experiencing the collapse of his political career and family life, he wrote: 'When I was fourteen, I was often told that I was an ass. I blushed every time I saw this animal.' The unpleasant experiences Raczyński suffered during his childhood and youth seem to have been essential sources of some of his character traits. They had the positive effect of awakening his ambition and determination to pursue his goals. But they also led him to be extreme in his self-criticism.

After the death of Philip Raczyński in 1804, Edward and Athanasius were placed in the care of their grandfather Kazimierz. Following the last wishes of their father that the money from the lease of the family's landed estates be used for the 'education and upbringing of my sons,' the boys were sent away to begin their studies.⁷ This period can be reconstructed only cursorily. On 30 July 1804, Athanasius was enrolled in the Faculty of Law of the University of Frankfurt (Oder). A year later, on 8 June 1805, he passed his final exams.⁸ He then went with his brother to Berlin to continue his studies. During this time, he was placed under the care of Fr. Bernard Perreau, an Alsatian and one of the many clergymen who had fled post-revolutionary France and settled in the Prussian capital. He had been appointed as the boys' tutor by Philip and also had the trust of their grandfather.⁹ Kazimierz followed grandchildren's education closely from Warsaw, seeing to it that they were fully engaged in their studies. In a letter from February 1805, he wrote to Athanasius: 'As for the desire you expressed to come to Warsaw, this likewise cannot be fulfilled. In spite of the winter break, there is plenty to learn, during this time as well, even if no lessons are being held; for example, working on your French, improving your spelling, pronunciation, and style, it's better to put this time to use rather than spending it idly.'10 While in Berlin, Athanasius received support and backing

⁷ Such a condition was included by Philip Raczyński in his will of 21 August 1802. More precise instructions 'on how their [i.e. Edward's and Athanasius'] education shall be completed' were to be included in a codicil to the will, but were never written down. A copy of the will in Polish and German, prepared in January 1805, can be found in: APP, Majątek Rogalin, 58, pp. 21–45.

⁸ Documents on the matter: APP, Majątek Rogalin, 55, p. 2 and 3.

⁹ For more on Fr. Perreau see: Jacques Leviste, "Le testament de l'abbé Perreau," Bulletin de la Société des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles de l'Yonne, Années 1965 et 1966 (1967): 33–48.

¹⁰ Letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius of 26 February, in: BR, Poznań, ms 1996, p. 58.

from Marianna Ożarowska, the widow of the Piotr Ożarowski, who was executed in Warsaw in 1794.

In the summer of 1806, several months after receiving the advice cited above from his grandfather, Athanasius left for Dresden to continue his studies, this time under the patronage of Princess Magdalena Lubomirska. In the Saxon capital, he studied outside an institutional setting under the guidance of a new tutor named Bordiga, who had received very detailed instructions on how the programme of study should be organized:

Every day Mr. Athanasius will be obliged to wake up at six o'clock in the morning, and, after saying his morning prayers and eating breakfast, from seven to eleven o'clock in the morning, he will attend lessons prepared by Mr. Bordiga, reading and memorizing the material in the assigned subjects. In the afternoon from three to six o'clock, further time will be spent studying and reading books selected by Mr. Bordiga. [...] The most necessary subjects for Athanasius are the German and French languages, history, and geography. Having studied these [subjects] for two years in Frankfurt and Berlin, as well as a few years at home, considerable progress should be made in them. So in these two languages, his attainments should be excellent, not only in terms of sentence construction but also in terms of pronunciation and style, it would be most useful for him to practice translating from one language to the other. Moreover, he should possess an exact knowledge of not only general history but also the history of particular states, as well as of geography. In addition to his lessons, he should read books related to the study of these subjects during his free time.¹¹

Political events forced Athanasius to leave Dresden in October 1806 and travel with his teacher Mr. Bordiga to Kraków. This date – which we could consider to be symbolic – marked the beginning of a new period in Raczyński's life. It was a period of growing maturity and growing independence, a time spent seeking adventure, consciously forming his identity, engaging in chaotic actions, and composing a life programme.

¹¹ Instruction for Mr. Athanasius of 12 July 1806, in: BR, Poznań, ms 1996, p. 67.

CHAPTER 3

2 'A Model Young Pole'

Who was Athanasius at that time? In his own words (as he stated a few years later), he was a 'model young Pole,' who, while not especially eager to work, was nevertheless enthusiastic about the national cause. 'My mind was uneasy, and the rebirth of Poland had awakened my 18-year-old imagination' (Fig. 11). The events taking place in the Prussian Partition following the entry of French troops in November 1806 inspired him to adopt a strong patriotic stance.¹² He was also influenced by the example of his older brother, who was fighting under Napoleon, and also by the patriotism of the youth of Galicia, many of whom, upon learning of Jan Henryk Dąbrowski and Józef Wybicki's call for Poles to take up arms and fight at Napoleon's side 'under the flag of their Homeland,' were overcome, as Leon Dembowski later recalled, by 'a sense of consternation, astonishment and a feverish desire for action.'13 Young men from the landed gentry crossed the border illegally to enlist in the Polish legions under Napoleon, eager for adventure and a chance to fulfill their patriotic duty.¹⁴ As with other young recruits, the motives that induced them to take part in the war, alongside a fascination with Napoleon, included dreams of heroic action, longing for recognition, a desire to taste personal freedom and to free themselves from the restrictive conventions of social and family life.¹⁵

Athanasius was also inspired to take action by a meeting with the somewhat older Stanisław Czapski, the son of the Voivode of Chełmno and heir to the renowned family tradition of good citizenship. He had lately arrived in Kraków from Paris ('whence,' according to Raczyński, 'he brought fashionable clothes and recollections of whores and rodents') and later served as a Colonel in the army of the Duchy of Warsaw. According to the account in his diary, encouraged and accompanied by Czapski, Raczyński fled in January 1807 from Bordiga's care, purchased a horse, and set off towards the Prussian border. After spending a few days at Czapski's estate in Gąszcz, north-east of Bydgoszcz, he joined a volunteer cavalry unit commanded by General Michał Sokolnicki. After several skirmishes with Prussian forces, the unit moved north, first to Słupsk (which

¹² After victories at Jena and Auerstedt (14 October 1806) and the taking of Berlin (27 October 1806), Napoleon's army entered Wielkopolska in pursuit of the Prussian army. Napoleon himself entered Poznań on 27 November. The victory of the French over the Prussians raised the hopes of many Poles about the possibilities of regaining independence.

¹³ Leon Dembowski, *Moje wspomnienia*, vol. I (Petersburg: K. Grendyszyński, 1898), 277.

¹⁴ Józef Załuski, *Wspomnienia*, wstęp i opracowanie Anna Palarczykowa (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1976), 58–59.

¹⁵ See Jarosław Czubaty, *Księstwo Warszawskie*, 259–261.



FIGURE 11 Constantin Cretius after Marcello Bacciarelli, *Portrait of Athanasius Raczyński at the Age of 21*, 1809 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 615

was occupied by insurgent forces after being taken on February 18), then to the most important and most heavily defended Prussian fortress in Pomerania -Gdańsk. Raczyński took part in the siege of the city, including bloody battles for the Wisłoujście Fortress. The taking of Gdańsk was a key moment in the Pomeranian campaign of 1807. It was of major significance for the future fate of the war, as, among other things, it enabled the French army to better prepare for the coming Battle of Friedland.¹⁶ In Raczyński's later accounts of these events, his personal history and that of the war became enmeshed. In his diary, he wrote: 'On the 1st or 2nd of May, Gdańsk capitulated. I just turned nineteen.' On May 2nd Athanasius was indeed nineteen years old, but the fortress surrendered almost three weeks later, on May 24th, and three days later was abandoned by its Prussian garrison. However, Raczyński's stay in liberated Gdańsk was not a fortuitous one. During his first days in the city, he fell seriously ill with typhus and was confined to his bed for several days, suffering from a high fever and periodic losses of consciousness. Following a partial recovery, he returned to Rogalin to place himself in the care of his brother.

General Sokolnicki provided an epilogue to Athanasius' military service by mentioning him in a comprehensive report prepared for General Jan Henryk Dąbrowski as having been among those 'officers, non-commissioned officers and knights who, following the disintegration of the corps, reported personally to headquarters and whose conduct and bravery, along with their perseverance and zeal, deserve to be recommended for recognition by the highest authority.'¹⁷ On 1 January 1808, Sokolnicki recommended that the Emperor award him the *Légion d'honneur*, France's highest military honour in recognition of his actions in the battle for Gdańsk, where he showed 'great devotion and he was among those soldiers who particularly distinguished themselves in the battle of May 15 at Wisłoujście.'¹⁸ Ultimately, however, Raczyński was not awarded the medal.

The price he paid for his part in the military campaign included not only health problems but also a bitter conflict with his grandfather Kazimierz that poisoned their relations for several months. However, neither circumstance

¹⁶ See Gabriel Zych, *Rok 1807* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1957), 207–220.

Sokolnicki describes Athanasius in his report as 'a volunteer, a young man full of beautiful hopes. His natural vitality has made him bold as much as his good upbringing has endowed him with prudence. He has distinguished himself in many actions, especially in this one [the siege of Gdańsk].' The report, written in late 1807, was published by Janusz Staszewski, "Udział pospolitego ruszenia w walkach na Pomorzu i pod Gdańskiem w 1807 r.," *Rocznik Gdański* 9/10 (1935/1936): 486–510, quotes 495, 508.

¹⁸ APP, Majątek Rogalin, 55, p. 5.

prevented Athanasius from taking part in later fighting during the Austro-Polish war of 1809.

If we are to believe Raczyński's claims, his decision to serve once again in the army was motivated not by patriotism but by personal considerations. 'I will become a soldier: not because I am disposed to do so, but because of Miss Turno [Athanasius' difficult love interest at the time] and the indifference I feel towards my family.'¹⁹ In mid-March, a month before Austrian troops crossed the border of the Duchy of Warsaw, Athanasius asked Prince Józef Poniatowski, the commander-in-chief of the Polish Army, to accept him into his service. His request was approved but, due to pressure from members of the public and to his great bitterness, he was accepted in the army as a common rank and file soldier, albeit with the promise of a quick promotion to the rank of officer. This promotion was indeed soon attained. On 7 April 1809, Prince Józef Poniatowski signed the commission naming Raczyński, then a cadet in the third cavalry regiment, as 'an unpaid auxiliary ensign.'²⁰ Athanasius was sent by Colonel Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz to serve as an aide-de-camp to General Aleksander Rożniecki, commander of the first brigade. On 16 April, he left Warsaw by way of Raszyn for Tarczyn, the general's headquarters.

In his diary, Raczyński provides a lengthy description of the 1809 campaign, briefly mentioning his part in it serving under General Rożniecki. Just three days after his arrival at the camp on 19 April, he took part in the Battle of Raszyn, the most dramatic and bloodiest battle in the entire campaign.²¹ He then headed with Rożniecki's forces for Galicia - the area in former southern Poland now under Austrian rule - passing through the cities of Kock and Lublin along the way and finally reaching Sandomierz. During the night of 17–18 May, the city was taken following a well-coordinated attack by units under Generals Sokolnicki and Rożniecki. Sokolnicki's soldiers attacked the fortress itself, while Rożniecki's unit was tasked with establishing a bridgehead on the outskirts of Sandomierz.²² Raczyński then took part in a victorious though tactically flawed expedition by Rożniecki's cavalry to Eastern Galicia, which ended successfully with the occupation of Lwów. The situation there was very dynamic. On 16 June, the Austrians re-captured Sandomierz. However, forced by necessity to shift their forces to the war's main front, they began to withdraw their troops to the west. The Polish headquarters, therefore,

¹⁹ DIARY, 11 March 1809.

²⁰ Documents concerning the recruitment of Raczyński into the army and the course of his service are in APP, Majątek Rogalin, 55, pp. 6–13.

²¹ Gabriel Zych, *Armia Księstwa Warszawskiego 1807–1812* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1961), 99–107.

²² Gabriel Zych, Armia Księstwa Warszawskiego, 157–161.

decided to concentrate their forces and pursue the Austrians. Rożniecki's brigade was one of the first to reach the left bank of the Vistula River and, serving as the avant-garde of the Polish forces, began harassing the Austrian army's rearguard. In early July, the now concentrated Polish army headed for Kraków. Raczyński was among the soldiers who on 15 July entered the city, which had been abandoned by the Austrians. The next day, news reached Kraków of the defeat of Austrian troops at Wagram. The resulting ceasefire included a provision that all forces participating in the war were to remain in the positions they occupied when they learned of the truce. The July offensive, which ended with the occupation of Kraków, was the last action by the Polish army in the war of 1809. On 4 November 1809, Prince Józef Poniatowski accepted Raczyński's resignation, 'allowing him to wear the uniform of a decorated veteran, with the gold insignia indicating his rank attached, as a reward for his outstanding performance in the course of his service.'23 He was also decorated with the golden cross of the Military Order of Virtuti Militari.²⁴ This cross is visible in a portrait of Raczyński painted 17 years later by Karl Wilhelm Wach. It is pinned to Athanasius' Prussian uniform just below a second-class Order of the Red Eagle awarded to him in 1820 by Frederick William III (Fig. 12).

Commenting on the events of 1809 almost forty years later, Raczyński wrote about his military achievements with great reserve, even somewhat ironically, without a hint of pathos or any attempt to embellish them: 'the memories I have of the campaign are not very interesting.' The most difficult moments were the Battle of Raszyn and combat with the Austrians 'on the heights of Sandomierz,' though he admits that 'throughout the entire campaign I was never under heavy fire.' His position with General Rożniecki is characterized as follows: 'The aides-de-camp were Gutakowski and Kicki. Artur Potocki, Władysław Tarnowski, Henryk Zabiełło and I were the remaining errand boys. We understood each other very well. Kicki was the funniest of us, while I did better in the kitchen.'²⁵ Of course, when he made this assessment of his participation in the war in 1848, he represented a completely different worldview from that of his youth; he perceived the events of the Napoleonic era very differently, but his description is probably credible.

It is worth asking at this point what Raczyński's attitude was towards Napoleon and his actions. It was dynamic and evolved over time. While

²³ Letters from Prince Józef Poniatowski in APP, Majątek Rogalin, 55, p. 14.

²⁴ The order in this matter was signed on 9 September 1809 by the Chief of Staff, General Fiszer. The official royal patent, signed by the Minister of War, Prince Józef Poniatowski, is dated 1 January 1810 See: APP, Majątek Rogalin, 55, pp. 11–13 and p. 15.

²⁵ A comment in his DIARY dated 18 June 1848.



FIGURE 12 Karl Wilhelm Wach, *Portrait of Athanasius Raczyński*, 1826 Raczyński foundation at the national museum in poznań, inv. no. MNP fr 616

initially an enthusiastic supporter, his feelings gradually cooled, and by 1812 his sentiments included clearly critical elements.

When will the calamities plaguing my poor country come to an end? Peasants are dying of hunger. The nobility's wealth is melting away day-by-day. We maintain an army that we cannot afford, but does anything await us in the future that might provide some sort of compensation for all these misfortunes? Illusions, only illusions! I can see Poland as if through a mist, but I can see neither success, peace, nor prosperity. I see the Fatherland, but I don't see a place in it for the national honour, although the people who serve it have good ideas. Napoleon wants these but wanting what he wants does not necessarily mean wanting what is best for us. It is not by desiring the good that we repel the evil that he brings. We have to go along with it because we know that in spite of ourselves, we will let him carry us away, and the damage this will cause will be all the greater and more severe. Devil be damned! Hail Napoleon! Hail Poland! Hail to our homeland! *March, march Dąbrowski from the Italian lands to Poland*. The Polonaise, Kościuszko, and applause, and forward march!²⁶

The failure of the Russian campaign in 1812 and the events of the next three years further complicated his assessment of the French Emperor. From the summer of 1813 to the autumn of 1815, Raczyński lived for the most part in Paris, the nerve centre of the historic events reshaping Europe. He followed their course attentively, and his journal from that time reads largely as a chronicle of political events, based on press reports, news passed on by word of mouth, and finally his own observations. Napoleon was undoubtedly a figure that fascinated Athanasius. However, he gradually rid himself of any illusion that the Emperor offered any hope for Poland and ultimately came to see him as a threat to her. In March of 1814, following a string of victories by French troops in battles against allied armies, Raczyński was convinced that Napoleon would once again successfully overcome the difficulties he faced. However, he no longer saw this as an opportunity for Poland: 'My poor country! What is to be your fate? There is no telling how this will end. The future terrifies me.'²⁷

A few months later, after Napoleon was exiled to Elba, Raczyński tried to put together a synthetic assessment of his actions. His account was forgiving, but it contained a clear note of resentment based on his feeling that a great opportunity had been lost:

I generally forgive Napoleon for the evil he caused and for not doing the good he could have done. When he took the throne, he had the public behind him; he had opportunities within easy reach. If he so desired, the world would be a happy place, and he himself would be great for all times. Enlightened institutions, true freedom for all people, a balance

²⁶ DIARY, 11 March 1812.

²⁷ DIARY, 10 March 1814.

between political powers, and universal peace would have provided for laws that would have earned him the gratitude of whole nations. Instead, he won battles, established a royal court, and dressed in gold. He plundered Europe without enriching France.²⁸

The events of 'the Hundred Days' further complicated the image of the former French Emperor. Raczyński observed these events with great concern, considering them a threat to the still volatile political and social order in France and Europe. Napoleon had become, in his eyes, a dangerous and ruthless troublemaker, driven by unsated ambitions, who was paving the way for further violence and despotism. He was a 'wolf' seeking to devour the nations of Europe. Yet Athanasius also saw him as a potential defender against an even greater threat – Jacobin terror. The dramatic events of the spring of 1815 and the spectre of another European war and a potential Jacobin coup led to a consolidation of Raczyński's anti-liberal and anti-revolutionary views.

Recalling the events of 1812 almost fifty years later, Raczyński evaluated his attitude as follows:

How much of a supporter of Napoleon was I at that time? [...] I don't regret it. At that time, I still dreamt of a Poland under the strong rule, as one would expect from Bonaparte's iron fist. Poland could then be separated from Russia without leaving it at the mercy of the Jacobins. Things have changed a lot, and I have changed with them.²⁹

3 In Warsaw Circles

Between 1808 and 1812, Raczyński spent most of his time in Warsaw, except for his aforementioned stint in the military, as well as several months spent in Vienna and Paris and shorter stays in Rogalin and Dresden. He led an intensive social and emotional life, and gradually built up his social position, drawing up plans for a beneficial marriage and making preparations to enter politics. The atmosphere and the situation in Warsaw favoured such activities. By 1806, after the disastrous decade that followed the Third Partition, when the city was depopulated and neglected, despite countless difficulties related to the disastrous state of the city budget, weak municipal institutions, and the presence of

²⁸ DIARY, 26 June 1814.

²⁹ A comment in his DIARY dated 14 July 1849.

a large number of foreign and Polish troops, Warsaw was slowly being reborn.³⁰ The number of inhabitants gradually increased, and political life intensified, expressed in the form of ceremonies, celebrations and parades, especially after the establishment of the Duchy of Warsaw. Warsaw's *beau monde* became active once again: 'all the wealthier families comprising the *beau monde* of Warsaw at that time would gather together at each other's homes, salons and social circles were revived.'³¹ 'The younger circle made merry. We all know that the pursuit of pleasure is what drives the urban social elite,' was Wirydianna Fiszerowa's apt diagnosis.³²

Raczyński's friends and acquaintances in Warsaw frequented the elegant salons of Anna Countess Aleksander Potocka (née Tyszkiewicz), Anna Countess Seweryn Potocka (née Sapieha, who rented rooms with her daughters in Kazimierz Raczyński's palace) and Aleksandra Countess Stanisław Potocka (née Lubomirska). These were places of importance in the city's social topography. Members of the Potocki family, which was abundantly represented in the capital city and formed 'a social circle of their own,'³³ hosted balls and theatrical productions in their homes for Warsaw's high society, and Athanasius, 'a very beautiful young man, very talented and high-spirited, [...] was quite enthralled by earthly things and elegance.'³⁴ The people closest to him were more or less his age. These included his cousin Marceli Lubomirski (until his tragic death in 1809); the brothers Alfred and Artur Potocki, sons of the eccentric Jan Potocki, who was also the first husband of Athanasius' future sister-in-law; Franciszek Potocki ('although he does not seem to me very intelligent he has nice manners, expresses himself easily, and has a lot of

³⁰ On Warsaw in the period 1806–1815 see: Jarosław Czubaty, Warszawa 1806–1815. Miasto i ludzie (Warszawa: Neriton, 1992). Also: Bronisław Pawłowski, "Warszawa w r. 1809," Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu 45–50 (1948): 3–21; Jarosław Czubaty, Księstwo Warszawskie, 42–45.

³¹ For a more detailed description see: Juliusz Falkowski, Obrazy z życia kilku ostatnich pokoleń w Polsce, 25–64, 173–217. See also: Fryderyk Skarbek, Pamiętniki Seglasa, opracował i posłowiem opatrzył Kazimierz Bartoszyński (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1959), 129–148.

³² Wirydianna Fiszerowa, Dzieje moje własne i osób postronnych, 300.

Karolina Nakwaska (née Potocka) recalled: 'In Warsaw at that time there were twelve married men with families with this surname. [...] The members of the Potocki family were hand in hand with one another and formed a kind of social circle of their own [...]. When there was a ball or a party at the home of one of them, the Potocki family would all contribute to make it more glamorous, lend each other silverware and servants, and so the whole staff wore the same family colours;' Karolina z Potockich Nakwaska, *Pamiętnik o Adamie hr. Potockim, pułkowniku n pułku jazdy Księstwa Warszawskiego* (Kraków: J. Wildt, 1862), 48–51.

³⁴ Juliusz Falkowski, *Obrazy z życia kilku ostatnich pokoleń w Polsce*, 210.

self-confidence and charm'); Henryk Zabiełło ('the best boy, the noblest man, but how boring!'); and 'good' Leon Dembowski.³⁵ Among Athanasius' women friends were his favourite cousin, Teresa Jabłonowska (née Lubomirska),³⁶ Urszula Turno, Sydonia Potocka, Józefina Czartoryska, Ewa Sułkowska (née Kicka), Róża Potocka, Teresa Kicka, Zofia Czosnowska, and the sisters Aniela and Zofia Roztworowska.

He was particularly close friends with Alfred Potocki, a gallant, easymannered man, and a perfect companion in salon events.³⁷ He confessed: 'I like Alfred and can boast that I enjoy his favour.'³⁸ He had a much more complex relationship with Artur Potocki, the idol of Warsaw and Galicia's 'golden youth,' an 'incomparable party companion,' 'oracle of the salons,' 'favourite of the street,'³⁹ a ladies' man, 'whom all the beauties of Warsaw were crazy about.'⁴⁰ Raczyński admired his zest, sense of humour, excellent manners and easy-going attitude, but did not feel any close attachment to him and was probably not especially fond of him. He also had a low opinion of Potocki's intellectual qualities (Potocki, we should add, was not portrayed sympathetically during his youth by diarists, who nonetheless acknowledged his virtues⁴¹).

³⁵ All quotes in: DIARY, 18 December 1809.

³⁶ Teresa (née Lubomirska), who married prince Maksymilian Piotr Jabłonowski in 1811, was the daughter of prince Michał Lubomirski and his wife Magdalena (née Raczyńska). Magdalena was the daughter of Kazimierz Raczyński and the sister of Michalina Raczyńska, Athanasius' mother. During the period in question, Teresa Jabłonowska was staying at the Raczyński Palace, where she held a popular aristocratic salon.

³⁷ See the biographical note in: Jerzy Zdrada, "Potocki Alfred," in *Polski Słonik Biograficzny* XXVII (Wrocław et al.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1983), 760–762.

³⁸ DIARY, 5 February 1810.

³⁹ This is the portrait of Artur Potocki painted by Stanisław Schnür-Pepłowski: 'the count was an excellent horseman, a keen skater, a connoisseur of paintings, and above all, an incomparable companion at parties, an excellent *causer*. His dress was seemingly careless, but always elegant, he was courteous with everyone, he was both highly esteemed in salons and loved in the streets;' Stanisław Schnür-Pepłowski, *Obrazy z przeszłości Galicji i Krakowa (1772–1858)*, vol. II (Lwów: Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, 1896), 309.

⁴⁰ Wirginia Jezierska, Z życia dworów i zamków na Kresach, 1828–1844, z autografu francuskiego przetłumaczył i wydał dr Leon Białkowski (Poznań: Dziennik Poznański, 1924), 100.

⁴¹ Sabina Grzegorzewska, in a rather extensive portrait of Artur Potocki, wrote: 'One should not be surprised at any of his eccentricity, he was a man spoiled by success and affluence, jaded with luxury and life, and bored with the world.' (Sabina Grzegorzewska, *Pamiętniki Sabiny z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewskiej* (Warszawa: Kronika Rodzinna, 1889), 58). Aleksander Fredro, who knew Potocki from his military service, though valuing his 'honor, wit and kindness' and admiring, not without jealousy, his temper, added that 'it was enough to look at his undone uniform, his loosely tied scarf, his crooked ammunition pouch, and his out of place pendant to recognize him as a spoiled child of Warsaw society' (Aleksander Fredro, *Trzy po trzy*, opracowała i wstępem poprzedziła Krystyna

In spite of this, Raczyński spent a great deal of time in Potocki's company. He also devoted more space to him in his diary than to any of his other friends. He attempted several times to paint a portrait of Potocki in words, trying to somehow capture his personality, which was both engaging and irritating.⁴²

Raczyński thus socialized in the company of youth from the families of Warsaw's wealthy social elite. This, of course, had its price. It required Athanasius to maintain a very high standard of living, a standard which sometimes exceeded his financial possibilities. The consequences were inevitable: '19 March 1809. Yesterday was a day of important events for me. I began by increasing my debt by 350 ducats...'

Raczyński continued to cultivate his most important Warsaw acquaintances after he had left the city. He had a special bond with Teresa Jabłonowska, whom he met rarely, but who for decades was one of his most important and trusted correspondents. He also maintained close relations especially during the Galician period, that is in the mid-1820s, with the brothers Alfred and Artur Potocki. The relatively short distance between the Potocki residences (Alfred's Łańcut and Artur's Krzeszowice) and Raczyński's estate in Zawada was conducive to visits. Contact with Artur intensified, among other matters, in connection with plans to reconstruct the Krzeszowice Palace. Raczyński mediated in the establishment of contacts between Potocki and Berlin architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel, who was hired to design the residence and the attached church and burial chapel (which he did though the work was not completed as we know from Schinkel's Collection of Architectural Designs).⁴³ In a letter to his brother Edward dated April 10, 1823, he wrote with satisfaction: 'Alfred and Artur were here. It was decided that Schinkel from Berlin would build a huge palace in Krzeszowice on rocks in the Gothic style. I gave it to him and I'm extremely content with this because it's going to be a delightful thing. I believe this because of Schinkel's talent and the surrounding area.'44

Czajkowska (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1987; first published 1877), 94). See also: Anna Palarczykowa, "Potocki Artur," in *Polski Słonik Biograficzny* XXVII (Wrocław et al.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1983), 795–797.

⁴² See, among others: DIARY, 23 May and 15 December 1816.

⁴³ See letter from Raczyński to Karl Friedrich Schinkel of 24 December 1822; BR, Poznań, ms 2729/II, p. 19. On Raczyński's contacts with the Berlin architect see: Tadeusz J. Żuchowski, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel und Athanasius Graf Raczyński." On projects for a castle in Krzeszowice, see: Waldemar Baraniewski, Tadeusz S. Jaroszewski, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel i Polacy*, exh. cat. (Warszawa: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 1987), 103–111.

⁴⁴ Letter from Athanasius to Edward Raczyński dated 10 April 1823, in: APP, Majątek Rogalin, 75, pp. 237–240. A few years later, Raczyński also mediated in contacts between Schinkel and Tytus Działyński, who was thinking of remodelling his residence in Kórnik (see Raczyński's letters to Tytus Działyński of March 23rd and June 23rd 1828) in: BK, ms

4 Smelling of the Antechamber

Athanasius Raczyński's professional plans began to crystallize during his time in Warsaw, where he saw a place for himself in the Saxon diplomatic service. While staying in Dresden, he wrote in his diary: 'I've got diplomacy in my head. We'll see where it takes me. In any case, I solemnly promise myself to stand by this.'⁴⁵

At the time, Athanasius already had contacts with high-ranking officials in both Warsaw and Dresden, including the Minister of State in the Duchy of Warsaw Stanisław Breza and the Saxonian Cabinet Minister of Foreign Affairs Count Friedrich Christian von Senfft. With their support, in the spring of 1810, he began applying for posts in the Saxon diplomatic service in the royal courts in Vienna and Madrid.⁴⁶ During a stay in the Saxon capital in 1811, thanks to these contacts, he was introduced to the Royal Family and the Cabinet Minister and Senior Stable Master (*Oberstallmeister*) Count Camillo Marcolini. A few weeks later (11 May 1811), already in Warsaw, he was called to serve, in the words of the official message, 'in light of his faithful service and becoming disposition,' in the office of Chamberlain. A decree on this matter was issued by Frederick Augustus I at Pillnitz Castle on 18 May 1811.⁴⁷ Raczyński received his nomination from the King's hand during an audience in Warsaw on 15 October.

Much seemed to indicate that his plans to join the diplomatic service would soon be realized. In early November, Raczyński was convinced that he would be assigned to the diplomatic offices in Kassel.⁴⁸ Although this destination did not arouse his enthusiasm (he was dreaming of Paris, of course), he treated it as an opportunity and a personal challenge. 'It's been decided that I will go to Kassel to work as an attaché. I'm not very happy about this, but if it's not too awful, I'm determined to spend three years there. If, after that time, I am not assured of an imminent appointment to the post of minister, then I swear to God, I will become a landlord. If positions don't come to me on their own,

^{7349/2,} pp. 311–313; also: Waldemar Baraniewski, Tadeusz S. Jaroszewski, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel i Polacy*, 126–127.

⁴⁵ DIARY, 17 April 1811.

⁴⁶ Correspondence on this matter with Breza and Senfft in APP, Majątek Rogalin, 55, pp. 17–19.

Sächsische Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10007, Oberkammerherrdepartament, Cap. 02 (*Kammerherrernennungen und –entlassungen, Personal, Besoldung, Pensionen*), No. 19, f. 27. See also documents concerning the nomination signed by Stanisław Breza in: APP, Majątek Rogalin, 55, p. 23 and 27; see also p. 26, 28, 29.

⁴⁸ Correspondence on this matter with Breza in APP, Majątek Rogalin, 55, p. 31.

I won't be the sort who chases after them.'⁴⁹ Life would later prove to Raczyński that it was necessary to chase after positions, sometimes for many years....

However, Raczyński had to wait another year to be assigned to a diplomatic mission. Finally, on 29 October 1812, he left Warsaw to travel via Rogalin to Dresden, and from there, he assumed, to Kassel. While initial talks with Count von Senfft had indeed confirmed such a plan, a few weeks later, he was given the opportunity to choose another destination, namely Copenhagen. Raczyński decided to accept this offer because, as he later remarked, Denmark was 'the only second-rate country that still had diplomacy.'⁵⁰ However, in this case also, his plans ultimately came to nothing. Raczyński was indeed appointed a legation counsellor in Copenhagen, but he did not go there due to the complicated political situation in Saxony.

Instead, on 1 January 1813, Athanasius assumed his duties as Chamberlain.⁵¹ Feeling somewhat bitter, he wrote in his diary in a slightly ironic tone about his duties and more generally about the Saxon Court itself, which despite its organizational structure, was towards the end of the introverted Frederick Augustus' long reign fairly unremarkable.⁵²

The Saxon court looks rather grotesque. Most of those comprising it are veritable caricatures. The King himself and the whole Royal Family would be comical if they weren't so deserving of respect. The King is pious, conscientious, educated, and fully committed to his position. He's rational, just, righteous, and unbending. He's always serious but also kind; he's stiff but polite. He's restrained and simple in his manners. The Princess combines an active and penetrating mind with all the qualities of her father. Prince Maximilian is said to be the most distinguished of the three brothers, while Prince Anthony is the least. But everyone, young and old, makes up a family more worthy of respect than any other in the world. The purpose of this lengthy introduction is to say that they have made me, one seeking to serve in diplomacy, an *attaché* to the Royal Court, and having assumed this role, it is only fitting for me to ask to be allowed

⁴⁹ DIARY, 4 November 1811.

⁵⁰ DIARY, 17 December 1812.

⁵¹ Sächsische Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10007, Oberkammerherrdepartament, Cap. 05, No. 28.

⁵² Karlheinz Blaschke, "Hof und Hofgesellschaft im Königreich Sachsen während des 19. Jahrhunderts," in Karl Möckl, ed., *Hof und Hofgesellschaft in den deutschen Staaten im 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert*, Büdinger Forschungen zur Sozialgeschichte 1985 und 1986 (Boppard am Rhein: Boldt, 1990), 177–206, esp. 182–183. For more about the organization of the Saxon court in the early nineteenth century, see pp. 185–188.

to perform my duties. I have served in this office for one month under the Queen and one month under the King. These would have been the two most boring months of my life if not for the pleasure I found in getting to know the ruling family, who treated me with kindness and who cannot be treated disrespectfully in view of their merits as well as their rank. [...] The duties of a Chamberlain in Saxony are limited to just a few things. When the King goes to church – I walk ahead of him; when he drinks tea – I serve it to him. At the table, I serve him soup; at the theatre, I stand behind his chair. And that's roughly everything this important service involves. I accompany the Queen when the King is hunting [...] and I have the pleasure of eating with the King, Queen, Princess [Maria] Augusta, the chief hunter, and the royal aide-de-camp. At breakfast, the King speaks just a few times, while the Queen's mouth never shuts.

The office of Chamberlain (Kammerherr) was an honorary post held by representatives of the nobility, serving under a Prince or King. 'It involved,' we read in volume 33 of Johann Georg Krünitz's Oekonomische Encyklopädie, published in 1785, 'the performance of so-called "service," i.e., stationing oneself in the antechamber and constantly remaining at the disposal of the Prince, helping him dress and undress, accompanying him during trips, rides and other travels, announcing applicants for private audiences, receiving letters with requests addressed directly to the Prince, cutting up his food at the table, etc. In some Courts, more is demanded of the Chamberlain; in others, less is required.'53 Known in German royal courts since the sixteenth century, the Chamberlain's office in Dresden was introduced in the mid-seventeenth century. Raczyński, as we have seen, served for two months, first (in January) in the service of the King and then (in February) in the service of the Queen. Depending on the court and the epoch, the number of Chamberlains could vary, from a few to as many as 500. When Raczyński began his court career in 1812, the Chamberlain's key, a symbol of his office, was held in the Saxon court by one hundred and five representatives of the nobility.⁵⁴ According to Krünitz, it was a dignity of high rank which brought with it prestige and respect, both 'in the Court and outside it,' and the privilege of being close to the ruler, being with him in his

⁵³ Johann Georg Krünitz et al., *Oekonomische Encyklopädie oder allgemeines System der Staats- Stadt- Haus- und Landwirthschaft*, vol. 33 (Berlin: Joachim Pauli, 1785), 384.

⁵⁴ Königlich-Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Kalender auf das Schaltjahr 1812, pp. 46–50.

private apartments and during his daily activities, was considered a reward for one's service.⁵⁵

Despite the privileges involved, such service was, of course, below the expectations of the ambitious Raczyński. He viewed it with exceptional distaste the function he served, calling it 'a pathetic profession, smelling of the antechamber.' He, nevertheless, mobilized himself and treated this as a step towards achieving his principal aim: 'my goal is diplomacy.'

However, this goal would soon be slipping away. This time it was due to political events, namely, the military campaign of 1812 and Napoleon's defeat in Russia and the counterattack by Russian troops and their occupation in March 1812 of Dresden as the capital of a state allied with Napoleon. Raczyński left the city on 26 February, travelling first to Teplice and then to Regensburg. He did not return to the capital of Saxony until the end of May when he reapplied for a post in the diplomatic corps. However, the King refused his application for a post at the diplomatic mission in Madrid. It was not until his letter of June 1813, in which he asked to be sent to the mission in Paris, that, thanks to the support of Secretary of State and Minister of Foreign Affairs Prince Detlov von Einsidel, he received a favourable reply from the monarch. On 5 July, he left Dresden. A week later, on 12 July, just before midnight, he finally found himself in the French capital as Secretary of the Saxon Legation led by Baron Wilhelm August von Just.

Raczyński's stay in Paris was very important to him, but this was for reasons other than professional ones. The function of the secretary of a second-rank mission – at that time, Saxony was not a key player in great-power politics – was not, as can be inferred from Athanasius' diary entries, particularly demanding. The Parisian period, on the other hand, was significant mainly for different reasons. First of all, it gave Raczyński an opportunity to participate in major events that would decide the political situation in Europe. He watched and described what would prove to be Napoleon's last campaigns with great attention, trying to put together a comprehensive description of the actions of the great and controversial leader. He would later refer to these experiences on many occasions. Secondly, he was experiencing a very intense period in his personal life at that time, associated with his most important youthful affair with the Countess Catherine-Françoise de Vaubois, whom he called Fanny. Raczyński's time spent in Paris was marked by great politics and great love.

⁵⁵ In 1816 a new, five-stage division of courtly ranks in the Saxon court was adopted; chamberlains were assigned the third class, together with senior officials from central and provincial institutions, colonels and lieutenants, as well as a court preacher; Karlheinz Blaschke, "Hof und Hofgesellschaft im Königreich Sachsen," 190–191.

Rapture

I know nothing more beautiful and, above all, more touching than *The Sorrows of Young Werther*.

Diary, 7 May 1813

• •

1 Wasteful Times

'1808, Warsaw, December 5th

I received a bill of exchange for 1,000 thalers, which I was very happy about because I was starting to get a bit short of cash. [...] I need only three things here: money, money, and more money. So, do whatever you can to get some. Your advice is excellent, but I was happier about the bill of exchange.'¹

Increasing indebtedness, a hyperactive social life, duels, numerous romances (one of which resulted in an illegitimate child), a 'nasty disease' – this was how someone ill-disposed toward Athanasius, or at least with little tolerance for his youthful, could have summed up his time in Warsaw between 1808 and 1812 and in Paris between 1813 and 1815. Such a portrait would not have been far from the truth, as the young Raczyński, who at that time was subject to strong passions, did indeed engage in behaviour that was, sometimes at the very least, controversial. There was, we might add in his defence, no lack of temptation. As Józef Krasiński wrote years later in recalling the excesses of Warsaw youth during that era: 'debauchery, gambling, carousing, and late-night orgies, brawls, duels, and quarrels over romantic intrigues with married women or with women given various names by the youth of the day such was fashionable life in the big city.'² However, the fact that Athanasius was able to clear his educational backlog at this time casts some doubt on the accuracy of this portrait. This involved extensive and insightful reading, traces of which can be

¹ From Athanasius' letter to Neumann, Edward's secretary, of 5 December 1808; a copy is found in his DIARY.

² Józef Krasiński, Pamiętniki Józefa hrabiego Krasińskiego od roku 1790–1831, skrócone przez dr. Fr. Reuttowicza (Poznań: J.I. Kraszewski, 1877), 39.

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found scattered throughout his diary and correspondence, and classes in physics he attended with Leon Dembowski.³ This was also a time when Athanasius was working intensively on himself, getting to know himself better, defining himself as a social figure and his life goals and principles. Such was the dialectic of Raczyński's Warsaw and Parisian periods: an apparent tension existed between his inconsistent, reckless, and often irresponsible actions and – most likely in reaction to these – his striving for self-discovery, self-discipline, and self-control.

A reader of Raczyński's diary from 1808-1815 would have no difficulty in identifying its most important and most intensively exploited topic. This is the women desired, conquered, loved, and abandoned by Athanasius (or lusting after, conquering, loving, and abandoning him). The women who evoked the strongest emotions in Raczyński were those who at once fascinated and irritated him (they often first fascinated, then irritated him, or even both fascinated and irritated him simultaneously), who gave him moments of great happiness, or at other times – and more often – drove him into a deep melancholy. The point of focusing attention on them here is not to compile a catalogue of our protagonist's erotic conquests and defeats, much less to pass moral judgments on these pursuits. Romantic culture, an important element of the aristocratic milieu of Raczyński's era, remains poorly documented and understood today. Therefore, judging it by modern-day ethical criteria would be unwarranted. Marriage in the nineteenth century was based on considerations of property, position, custom, and the pressure of rational arguments and remained primarily a political institution.⁴ Its overriding aim was to secure the family fortune and maintain the continuity of the family line by ensuring legal offspring. There was often little or no love involved. Marriage was not intended, at least not primarily, to meet one's emotional needs. This is probably the reason for the acceptance of actions taken to satisfy such needs - a desire for tenderness, closeness, erotic fulfilment - in romantic and extramarital relationships.⁵ In contemporary assessments, these were rarely

³ Pamiętniki Leona Dembowskiego, Vol. III, BCz, Krakow, ms 3809b IV, p. 238.

⁴ Andrzej Szwarc, "Rygorystyczne normy i swobodne obyczaje. Małżeństwo i związki pozamałżeńskie w opiniach ziemiańsko-arystokratycznej elity w połowie XIX wieku," in Anna Żarnowska, Andrzej Szwarc, eds., Kobieta i małżeństwo. Społeczno-kulturowe aspekty seksualności. Wiek XIX i XX (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2004), 89–101, esp. 90–93. Also: Dariusz Rolnik, Portret szlachty czasów stanisławowskich, 60–70.

⁵ On the subject of marital infidelity among 19th-century Polish landowners, its motives, consequences and social reception, see especially: Nina Kapuścińska-Kmiecik, *Zdrada małżeńska w dziewiętnastowiecznych pałacach i dworkach ziemiańskich* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2013).

met with condemnation but much more often with accepting indifference.⁶ The Englishman George Burnett, whose writings about Poles were based on his observations of the Galician courts of Count Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski and Prince Adam Czartoryski, noted in the early nineteenth century with more surprise and amusement than disapproval (and probably with a great deal of exaggeration) that 'Chastity, even in married women, is considered ridiculous, and an unlimited latitude is admitted on both sides.'⁷

The purpose of this chapter is to take a closer look at the extremely important emotional side of Athanasius Raczyński's personality. Without seeing this side of him or making an effort to understand it, it would be impossible to fully appreciate his political behaviour and attitude towards art. Professionalism, reliability, meticulousness, scrupulousness, principled attention to facts – all of these traits are characteristic of Raczyński's activity in the spheres of both politics and art. But they were deeply grounded in a very emotional approach to the world around him.

When we encounter Raczyński as a diarist for the first time in the autumn of 1808, he was entangled in a love affair with the wealthy Urszula Turno (née Prusimska), the wife of Adam Turno. The word 'entangled' is deliberately used here, suggesting an oppressive situation because this is how Athanasius experienced it at the time. His love for Madame Turno, as he always called her in his diaries, was initially intense ('I was madly in love') but had already faded and, as Raczyński records with a sense of trepidation and distaste, slowly changed to aversion. Soon, his situation became even more complex. In mid-December 1808, Urszula gave birth to a son, Piotr, who was fathered by Raczyński and was to take his name. Athanasius' feelings, as he wrote at the time, 'weakened with every passing day, and soon nothing was left of them.' His proposal that Urszula leave Warsaw and settle in Dresden at his expense was rejected by her. Urged on by the 'devil's clique' of her friends⁸ – in Athanasius' version - and lacking any prospect of marriage to Raczyński (which he had promised a few months earlier), Turno demanded money or land in compensation for the wrongs he had inflicted upon her. She also demanded that the will

⁶ Andrzej Szwarc, "Rygorystyczne normy i swobodne obyczaje," 96; Nina Kapuścińska-Kmiecik, Zdrada małżeńska w dziewiętnastowiecznych pałacach, 25–26.

⁷ George Burnett, *View of the Present State of Poland* (London: Longman, Hurt, Rees, and Orme, 1807), 324.

⁸ The main schemer in this intrigue was Elżbieta Schulz (Szulc), widow of the banker Karol Schulz, probably the same one whom Fryderyk Skarbek recalls in his diaries as having been involved in many other Warsaw lover's quarrels; see: Fryderyk Skarbek, *Pamiętniki Fryderyka hrabiego Skarbka*, opracował, wstępem i przypisami opatrzył Piotr Mysłakowski (Warszawa: Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopina, 2009), 73.

Athanasius had made bequeathing her a considerable fortune be respected. An annoyed Raczyński wrote in March 1809: 'It is hard to feel more aversion for a woman than I do for Madame Turno. I have never been more blind than when I believed she was a person worthy of respect. I credited her with possessing reason, but she wants to start a war with me. She wants to benefit from the legacy I left her in my will, and she is a fool to threaten me. Powerless rage!'⁹

Raczyński was rescued from his 'oppression' by Alexandre Alphonce, 'a polonised Frenchman, a colonel in the Polish Army headquarters,' and at the same time a draughtsman, builder, and amateur gardener, who made Urszula an offer of marriage.¹⁰ The union was sealed in May 1810. A few months later, having assured himself that his affair with Urszula was a thing of the past, Raczyński described the affair in detail on several pages of his diary. This confession conveys a clear sense of expiation and self-justification. The narrative proper (there is also a short postscript) concludes with a clear expression of relief that reads like a fairy tale ending: 'and now the couple lives happily in Warsaw.'

Raczyński's story is undoubtedly heavily biased and requires a great deal of interpretive caution. Although we do not have any record of Urszula's views on what would have been the best choice for her, we do have written records from the husband she betrayed, Adam Turno, which, naturally, are far from cool and objective, too.¹¹ In them, the role and behaviour of Athanasius are described in entirely different terms from those in his own narrative. Here Raczyński appears not as the unfortunate victim of his passions and later of scheming Warsaw mischief-makers, but as a 'rascal' and 'little snot' who, taking advantage of the temporary absence of Urszula's husband, fell in love with her, and then deceived and forsook her. In doing so, he did not hesitate to resort to vile and brutal methods. Namely, he hired a man named Wasilewski, 'a factotum of his grandfather Marshal Raczyński, an acquaintance of the scoundrel,' to steal from Urszula's desk documents confirming the bequest Raczyński had made to her. Once the problematic papers were back in Athanasius' hands, he abandoned her – 'he left her with a bastard son and [...] the rascal simply never returned.' Regardless of the role she played in this story, for Urszula, this must have been a harrowing experience, and the words of her (then) former husband written in the spring of 1809 ring true: 'I saw her looking sad, feeling

⁹ DIARY, 2 March 1809.

¹⁰ For more on Alfonce, see Alexander Kraushar, Typy i oryginały warszawskie z odleglejszej i mniej odległej przeszłości. Tom I: Z czasów Królestwa Kongresowego 1816–1831 (Warszawa: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii, 1913), 39.

¹¹ *Pamiętnik Adama Turno z lat 1775–1851*; Ossolineum, Wrocław, ms 13814/I and III, I, pp. 28–31 and p. 38. All quotes there.

abandoned, robbed, left with a nameless son by this scoundrel Athanasius Raczyński.' Meanwhile, Athanasius was already caught up in a completely different relationship.

Early in 1809, while still engaged in his affair with Madame Turno, Raczyński met Countess Sydonia Potocka, who had married his friend Franciszek Potocki only a dozen or so months earlier. After a few weeks, there was no longer any doubt: 'my inclinations towards Madame S. have grown into love.'¹² And it was a complicated love: full of doubts, disappointments and, above all, fits of jeal-ousy, which Raczyński resented in himself:

I'm angry! The reason I'm so angry is heartfelt. I'm jealous! But good Lord, jealous of whom! Of Madame Sydonia, who is ugly, flirtatious, doubtless hungry for men, and clearly utterly impervious to my earnest efforts to court her. I'm furious with myself. If I could take my revenge, how eagerly I would do so! I could have done so easily if I hadn't considered this ignoble a decent man: to speak ill of her, to open her husband's eyes and convince everyone that we're in a close relationship. Oh, wretched vanity, it's again you who gives me these moments of suffering!¹³

There were, of course, also moments of delight and joy, traces of which are found in diary entries revealing the young Raczyński's sentimental side: 'She promised me a lock of her hair. This gave me great pleasure ...'¹⁴

His love for Sydonia Potocka gently faded toward the end of 1809, but only to give way to another object of fascination: Princess Józefina Czartoryska, who arrived in Warsaw at that time with her mother and sisters. This time Raczyński seriously considered marriage. He wrote about this prospect in a characteristically ironic but elevated manner: 'I don't know what begat in me the desire to marry Princess Józefina ... But in fact, I do know. Her name and her dowry. Vanity, it's always vanity. But I put these benefits out of my mind in order to see her alone, to desire her alone.'¹⁵ In an effort to achieve his matrimonial goals, Raczyński took certain steps, though these ultimately proved ineffective. Czartoryska eventually became the wife of Alfred Potocki (Raczyński was also unsuccessful in winning the hand of Princess Klementyna Sanguszko's daughter, Dorota). Nevertheless, if one were to judge by the rhetoric of his diary entries, Athanasius' love for Czartoryska was the most passionate expression

¹² DIARY, 30 March 1809.

¹³ DIARY, 29 November 1809.

¹⁴ DIARY, 9 December 1809.

¹⁵ DIARY, 6 January 1812.

of feelings from his Warsaw period. At the same time, this relationship was not free of ambiguity: 'Princess Józefina occupies me to such a degree that I don't feel the need to eat, drink or sleep. I think only of her ... I think about her even when I find myself in the arms of Mrs. Czosnowska'¹⁶ Only in Paris did Raczyński fall in love with greater intensity.

His time in Warsaw was not only a time for love affairs (of which some were serious and others fleeting). As mentioned earlier, it also involved living beyond his means and incurring debts, several minor scandals, and two duels with pistols. Yet despite this, and even as a result of it, this period also represented an important stage in Raczyński's path towards self-knowledge.

2 Melancholy Self-Portrait

A tool for self-analysis and self-improvement – this was how Raczyński described his diary. Athanasius began writing it in the autumn of 1808, which was a difficult time for him, one in which he was plagued by self-doubt. The first entry in the diary, dated 15 November, reads as follows: 'Why this lack of faith in myself? When I see two people exchanging smiles, I always think I'm the object of their derision. Thinking about this, tormenting myself senselessly over it, making displays – all this induces precisely what I fear, and, as a result, provides the mockers with grounds for mockery, and their victory encourages its continuation. The only way to avoid mockery is to ignore it, and at the same

DIARY, 8 December 1811. Zofia née Potocka was the wife of Wincenty Czosnowski (until 16 1810) and at the same time a famous lover of Prince Józef Poniatowski. Although she was one of the leading ladies in Warsaw's most refined social circles and was adored in salons, did not enjoy a stainless reputation. Fryderyk Skarbek published the following, extremely unfavorable portrait of her in his diary: 'of a greater birth, extraordinarily pretty, devoted to a quite cheerful life, full of superficial charms without any intrinsic value, a shallow mind, in a word, an animated statue - and extraordinarily animated - but only by that which is of the life of the senses, without the noble feelings that characterize a more elevated woman, for whom shortcomings in life could be forgiven. She was Prince Józef's lover, [which] she not only did not hide, but about which she even boasted, and she openly brought up her son, being the fruit of these relationships. No one condemned her, no one indulged her, because she did not demand indulgence and had no notion of contempt and condemnation by noble people, because she never dreamed of virtue and morality, never had a clear conception;' Fryderyk Skarbek, Pamiętniki Fryderyka hrabiego Skarbka, 72-73. See also the extensive and very critical characterisation in: Kazimierz Girtler, Opowiadania. Tom II: Pamiętniki z lat 1832–1857, przedmowa i wybór tekstu Zbigniew Jabłoński, opracowanie tekstu Zbigniew Jabłoński i Jan Staszel (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1971), 150–156, and: Józef Krasiński, Pamiętniki Józefa hrabiego Krasińskiego, 118-119.

time, to correct one's past errors and foolish mistakes that might possibly provide opportunities for such actions.' The next entry, dated 20 November, reads: 'I am finally certain that I'm a joke in the eyes of my companions, but I don't understand what I have done to them. I can't hold back my bitterness. Spleen will return. What can I do? I have to surrender and seek consolation in solitude.'

And later entries: 'What a misfortune it is to be tormented by vanity! I am so displeased with myself, with everything that surrounds me! I simply cannot go on;'¹⁷ 'At times I feel my lack of worth so intensely that I become utterly desperate, but at the moment, after having come to believe the worst opinions about me, I'm neither sad nor discouraged, but simply tell myself cheerfully that I'm a fool and always will be. But let's see what leads me to think of myself so badly. It is always an event that drives me to depression or presumption. [...] I can keep telling myself that spontaneous feelings about my virtues and flaws have nothing to do with common sense and will continue to return and torment me;'¹⁸ 'I was created to be unhappy. When I have no reason to suffer, my character drives me to look for one and often finds one fabricated by my imagination. I can't remain calm, especially when I am in love. My mistrust, my doubts, my jealousy all cause me to suffer continually.'¹⁹

Numerous entries in the first volumes of the diary are written in a similar tone. Raczyński attempts to paint a psychological self-portrait of himself on various occasions. Is the image formed credible? It is certainly consistent and provides a rich source of information about the author. But what is important is not only what Athanasius says about himself, but also, perhaps even more importantly, how he says it. The picture with which he provides us is, for the most part, painted in gloomy colours. It is one written during moments of depression and melancholy, one full of resentment and bitter words. Raczyński reproaches himself for the same faults of which his guardians, first his father, then his grandfather Kazimierz, had accused him: vanity, indecision, a lack of determination, weakness, and an unstable character. In his own opinion, these characteristics make him a figure of fun exposed to the mockery of his companions. His awareness of these faults and the resulting feelings of alienation are a source of suffering and anxiety. This was how Athanasius perceived, experienced, and understood himself.

However, to quote Maria Janion, 'it is not enough to perceive, experience or even understand something. You also have to know how to recount it. A story, whether artistic or non-artistic in its intent, strives for form – whether it wants

¹⁷ DIARY, 8 December 1809.

¹⁸ DIARY, 26 August 1810.

¹⁹ DIARY, 23 January 1814.

to or not. If it does not seek form, it becomes incomprehensible.²⁰ Raczyński, of course, wants to be intelligible. This is the intention of his various intimate portraits – to understand and get to know himself. He is thus looking for a form and language by which he can adequately express his thoughts and feelings. He finds these in sentimental and early Romantic literature. The entries in his diary resemble, consciously or unconsciously, the confessions of a romantic hero. Thus, sentimental literature, or more broadly, 'the sentimental and romantic spirit,' becomes the main point of reference for his personal experiences. This does not mean, of course, that Raczyński is not honest in his writings. It only means that in constructing his identity, he uses specific matrices, reaches for topoi, and chooses from among available codes and cultural patterns those that are closest to him. In this way, he assumes roles he feels he was destined to play. This is well illustrated by the following excerpt from his diary dated 4 February 1810:

I found among the letters and thoughts of Prince [Charles-Joseph] de Ligne [the following passage], which, with a few minor changes, could be a portrait of my nature.

I'm by no means shy despite the obeisances, embarrassment, and feelings of timidity I sometimes express. I'm neither gentle nor natural, though I often seem to be. Despite these bursts of sincerity, I rarely have pure intentions. I will not say that I seek to justify myself because my opinion of myself changes with my achievements. I do not seek to justify myself and others because both hatred and friendship, and prejudices in general, lead me to seek flaws or virtues in them [others]. It requires a great deal of virtue in somebody for me to quench my desire to slander him. I've become accustomed to lying whenever my selflove can benefit from it. In spite of all these shortcomings, I at times seem polite and often quite sensitive. These shortcomings are not found within me until I am in the company of others. They are expressed in words rather than deeds, but they are unbearable when encountered in others. These defects give rise to vanity and a lack of spirit, which are often utterly destructive in social situations and relationships.²¹

²⁰ Maria Janion, *Niesamowita słowiańszczyzna. Fantazmaty literatury* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2006), 9–10.

²¹ This passage was taken by Athanasius from 'Letters and thoughts of the Marshal Duke of Ligne' (*Lettres et pensées du maréchal prince de Ligne*), a selection of letters made by Madame de Staël and reprinted multiple times, including in London in 1808 and in Paris and Geneva in 1809.

Athanasius finds an image of himself in a literary work and becomes, in a sense, a literary figure himself. His fits of melancholy, feelings of social rejection, conflicts with the world around him which hardened his will and created a rift between his personal pride and his conviction of his own insignificance, his conflicted emotional states, his contempt for mediocrity, his passionate and inevitably painful loves, and, finally, somewhat later, his embroilments in history - Raczyński, as he presents himself in his diary, seems to lack none of the qualities of a romantic hero. To this, we can add the language of his descriptions: exalted, pointed, grandiloquent, with a characteristic hint of mockery, self-irony, and brutality. The romantic Raczyński undoubtedly took a perverse pleasure in the swings in mood and the states of melancholy that afflicted him. Thanks to these intense feelings, he can say of himself that he was a man who was loving, sensitive, and lost, a man who was rejected by others and tormented by his passions. These, however, also have another role in the life of the young Athanasius. Perceived as a threat and a negative phenomenon, they provoked him into adopting a positive programme for himself. Steeped in melancholy, Raczyński tried to subject his emotions and himself in general to a cool, rational assessment in order to reach a diagnosis and propose a remedy. On 14 December 1808, he wrote:

I've finally formed an opinion of myself that is by no means flattering. It is that, in general, I lack any sort of principles. I don't act and don't think except under the influence of impressions that come and go as circumstances change. I dare say that if I were among thieves, I'd become one of them. Nevertheless, I hope to work out such principles as I grow older. If they are good, I hope I can remain faithful to them forever.

Raczyński is thus slowly crystallising his code of conduct, his *modus vivendi*. At the time, this mainly involved systematically analysing his behaviour and noting the mistakes he made: 'Why are my faults always the same! Vanity, nothing but vanity. Either a lack of self-confidence or excessively high self-esteem. The lack of discipline in my spending: here frivolousness, there stinginess.'²² 'Love itself is killing me. It's a terrible passion that gives me no respite and is ruining my career. There is no cure for this disease; a vain man will never rid himself of this vice. Waiting in the midst of suffering for the mere appearance of happiness, which has come with time along with a few small successes ... This is his fate ... This is my fate ...'²³ 'What a dreadful character I have. How I torment

²² DIARY, 5 August 1810.

²³ DIARY, 18 October 1811.

myself! The slightest disappointment leaves me broken. Success causes me to lose my head;' 'I have a vague notion that I am an egotist, or at least that I have a clear tendency to become one.'²⁴

Soon, however, positive thoughts that could be characterised as a kind of maxim for life, or at least a potential basis for one, became increasingly common. These include both passages from works read by Raczyński, and his own reflections on virtue, goodness, and happiness: 'A noble man does not do evil, a virtuous man does good;' 'You must not place your trust in others, but, above all, in yourself; you must be in control of yourself. These are principles underlying knowledge that are truly essential;'²⁵ 'In order not to fall further into depravity, one needs to have a noble heart, all other glory is fleeting and borders on ignomy: it is separated by a thin line that is crossed at the slightest failure;'²⁶ 'One must bear with courage the flaws in one's character, and not try to hide from them,'²⁷ etc.

Particularly important in this context is an entry in his diary dated 20 December 1816 because of its content, form, and the circumstances under which it was written. This was several weeks after Athanasius' marriage and a few days after he learned that his wife was pregnant, thus at a pivotal moment. It is both a summary of his reflections on his life principles to date and an ambitious programme of action for the future. In its form, it resembles a set of clearly expressed laws proclaimed in an emphatic manner.

There are a number of ways to be generous without the need to reach into your pocket. Don't keep mentioning your good deeds. Don't assign more value to your merits than they deserve. Don't boast about your actions to many people. Don't seek to be seen as doing good at someone else's expense. Don't seek to appear better than you are. Admit that you are wrong even when you are certain you are right if this will bring you some benefit, but be sure that no one recognizes the motives for your concession. Don't be haughty if you think someone might suffer from it, and don't be humble when someone is haughty towards you. Be willing to be polite and do a good turn for someone from whom you don't expect anything in return, just as you would from someone who can be of use to

²⁴ DIARY, 27 April 1814.

²⁵ DIARY, 27 January 1814.

²⁶ DIARY, 10 February 1814.

²⁷ DIARY, 2 April 1814.

you. Such generosity is not bought, not taught; you need to have its seed planted in you at birth. $^{\rm 28}$

These high-minded and often obviously insolent maxims may seem to suggest a certain naivety in Raczyński. Yet, in fact, they were an essential part of his formation. When considered as an expression of commitment, they provide an ideological foundation or framework on which he was to inscribe his life programme, one which already incorporated the pragmatic principles of *Realpolitik*. In his early period, he sought to implement them by observing his actions carefully and attempting to define his nature. He records both his successes and, even more often, his failures: 'Often the fear of appearing affected makes me angry and impatient, and I suddenly assume an attitude that is contrary to my nature; however, I soon grow weary and return to my old habits, to my character, because you cannot long oppose what drives you on, your natural inclinations, and in the end, I always do what suits me.'²⁹

The young Raczyński made a quite ambitious and often painful attempt at self-description, intended as a path to self-improvement. Athanasius' inclination toward psychological self-analysis, as well as – despite everything – his openness to criticism, a certain severity towards himself, and finally his great sensitivity are all important features of his personality. It is necessary to bear this in mind when examining his views, behaviour, and the actions that followed. This context never revealed itself with more clarity than when Raczyński fell in love.

3 Wertherism

Sentimental and romantic love had different faces.³⁰ Réné, Saint-Preux, Werther, Harold, Gustav, Kordian ... each loved differently. There was love based on deep understanding, the divine harmony of souls, spiritual union. There were also – more often – dramatic, unhappy, and unfulfilled loves associated with the most acute anguish and suffering. In fact, romantic love brought both sublime moments and drama, happiness, and pain. It has always been characterized by its intensity, radicalism, passion, sensuality, heightened sensitivity,

²⁸ DIARY, 20 December 1816.

²⁹ DIARY, 22 April 1814.

³⁰ On romantic love, see above all: Marta Piwińska, Miłość romantyczna (Kraków-Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1984). Also: Bożena Płonka-Syroka, Edyta Rudolf, eds., Miłość romantyczna jako figura wyobraźni, Antropologia miłości t. III (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Arboretum, 2009).

inspiration, dignity (sometimes fatal), and a tendency towards extremes, but also danger, impermanence, distrust, and impossibility. It contains an element of protest and rebellion against compromises and social conventions. 'In Romanticism, love is no longer merely a sociological and social category, but also a metaphysical, philosophical, and emotional one, binding people in an inseverable spiritual union: a harmony and communion of souls. This was realized externally through exaltation and emotional sublimation, extreme "soulful" manifestations, and a fatalistic or demonic sealing of the lovers' fate.'³¹

Thus, Raczyński writing about his love affairs passes them through literary and cultural filters, clothing them in romantic rhetoric. And he may well have genuinely felt these emotions in this romantic manner. Romanticism, as Janina Kamionka-Straszakowa emphasizes, 'is actually a literary and artistic trend which – and this is decisive for romantic culture – embraced a much wider area of a social activity than just literature and art, permeating people's mentality and customs. Romanticism brought about a fundamental transformation in the function of literature, which in addition to direct pedagogical and recreational purposes, also set itself the task of shaping the human personality. It did this so precisely through its enhanced "literariness" and specific "avant-garde" artistic means, such as the use of powerful metaphors, symbols, and masks. That is why romanticism was able to penetrate the sphere of politics and customs so widely both in official ideologies and in everyday life.'³²

Fascinated by Princess Czartoryska, Raczyński addressed her – or rather her image, her memory – in his diaries in the following words:

How I love you, Józefina …! I see nothing but you, you alone, just you! If you knew my heart, a heart that you made better, a heart that burns all through, a heart that dies for you, a heart that owes what it is to your efforts! This heart should please you; it's your creation; it's better since it became filled with such beauty. I feel breathless. Not a quarter of an hour passes without my feeling a tightness in my chest. I am moved by waves of uncertainty and hope. What would I become if I gave up hope? Sadly, I can sense this. It's not far away at the moment. The anguish of love! Oh! May you shield me from those enchanting looks, which are perhaps only signs of coquetry. May you prolong my dream of happiness, or rather,

³¹ Janina Kamionka-Straszakowa, *Nasz naród jak lawa. Studia z literatury i obyczaju doby romantyzmu* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1974), 104.

³² Janina Kamionka-Straszakowa, Nasz naród jak lawa, 29–30.

may you look tenderly on my love, reciprocate it, and make me happy. And you will, I promise you. $^{\rm 33}$

He himself apparently felt a bit embarrassed by his exaltations. He ends this confession with quite surprising words as if calling himself to order and freeing himself from conventional romantic rhetoric: 'I must be mad to talk such nonsense. I am outraged by my weakness.' Well, are these indeed surprising words? In fact, they may be both necessary and crucial for understanding the passage as a whole, indicating how it should be read. They distance the narrator from his statements and introduce a note of self-irony, which is an integral and indispensable element of the style. After all, what we are dealing with here is nothing more than romantic stylistics.

There is no romantic love without suffering. 'Romantic love never promised anything good to anyone on this earth. It had already failed at the level of plot: affairs ended badly. And it failed programmatically: if it was transcendental, it could not be fulfilled on earth, where love cannot be had but only known with a rapture which renders everything else repugnant. In practice, therefore, romantic love promises only misery and suffering, despair, and madness.'34 Indeed, suffering and despair accompanied all the young Raczyński's relationships. The source of this suffering was, above all, jealousy, which Athanasius considered to be one of his most troublesome and ruinous flaws. He sometimes blames himself for this jealousy and sometimes the women he adores. 'Are you aware of the anguish you experience when the one you love turns her gaze on another? How peculiar, how incomprehensible is the feeling of love. Life is a burden to me.^{'35} 'My misfortune is that I get attached to women who are coquettes and are thus unworthy of my love and usually incapable of loving themselves. Love has been nothing but suffering for me thus far. The object of my love may be entirely worthy of it, yet the torment of jealousy is thereby no less diminished, while with coquettes, jealousy is ever present. Last night how I was tormented!' 'How can I know someone else's heart when I don't know my own. I cannot get to know it. Jealousy, suffering, a new degree of contempt only they can increase my love. [...] I have not yet known anything but the sufferings of love. The happiness of feeling for the object of my love - I have not yet known this.'36

³³ DIARY, 11 February 1812.

³⁴ Marta Piwińska, Miłość romantyczna, 527.

³⁵ DIARY, 11 February 1812.

³⁶ DIARY, 10 March 1814.

His strongest emotions came to the surface in Paris when Raczyński fell in love with Catherine-Françoise (Fanny) de Vaubois, whom he met in the summer of 1813. She was six years older than he and the wife of General Claude-Henri Belgrand de Vaubois. For Athanasius, this feeling – passionate, sublime, difficult, with a hint of mystery, risk, and rebellion against social conventions – was like a lens that focused his romantic notions of perfect love. It brought him moments of great happiness, such as the morning of 3 October 1813, described with bombast in his diary. This was a moment of love on the borderline between dream and reality, a union of souls, the escape of the lover through a secret passage:

I awaken. The pale light of the bedside lamp brightens the room. This is not my room. This is not my bed. I'm at the home of my lover, of Fanny, whom I love passionately. My body touches her body; her hand rests on my body. She gives a sweet shiver. She feels how much I'm in love with her. She awakens completely, and we are happy in each other's arms. I'm happier for her than for myself. What a delightful passion! How beautiful she is in this state. Our souls are joined together. We are outside ourselves [...] when we return to ourselves, we laugh, chatter, fall asleep again and wake up again a moment later in more or less the same manner. It's finally getting late; it's starting to chime ten. Fanny doesn't get up late. The maid must be called. I dress in a hurry and slip into her boudoir, connected to the stairs by a small passage. I have to go out without being seen by anyone ...

However, his love for Fanny also brought countless professions of frustration and worry. Jealous, uncertain of his beloved's fidelity, doubting the sincerity of her feelings, Raczyński experienced periods of deep pain and anxiety. He wrote from England in May 1814:

Oh, dear God, protect me from this misery. Isn't it sufficient misfortune to be away from her, not to see her, not to be able to embrace her ... We are divided by the sea. I'm consumed by the idea that she'll prove to be unfaithful. What a terrible fear! I'm trembling all over! Oh! I'm losing my mind, my Fanny. My love for you is tearing at my heart, I'm burning, I torment myself, and you, you remain indifferent at the moment ... maybe you're making plans that are unknown to me. Hell knows no torment equal to mine; hell has moved itself into my heart. What passion, what madness! My beautiful angel, my sweet Fanny!³⁷

³⁷ DIARY, 22 May 1814.

The culmination of Raczyński's love-related suffering over Fanny was the moment when in November 1814 Raczyński left the French capital via Wrocław for Warsaw, where he was to enter into a marriage arranged by his guardians, Kazimierz Raczyński and Teresa Moszczeńska. After arriving in Silesia, he wrote a letter to his 'dear Fanny,' which, he assures her, 'portrays the state of my soul well, there is not a word of exaggeration in it.'

How unhappy I am, my dear Fanny. I had to go to Warsaw. My guardians were so good to me; I can't make them sad. My dear angel, how unhappy I am. I swear to you, on my honour, that I recoil at the very thought of marriage. My Fanny, I would do anything to have this misfortune taken from me. There is no future for me. I would give to misfortune the rest of my days if I could enjoy my Fanny for a little while longer, but I don't have the courage to cause such pain to my guardians. They're so old. But believe me, dear Fanny, if I could assume the burden of the ridicule of refusal, I would put aside this cursed marriage and return to you, my beloved. Fanny, my heart is torn. Fanny ... then I will confess everything to my guardians; they will show me mercy, they will not force me to marry. Anyway, my dear Fanny, I'll return to you and not get married. My Fanny, if you felt a quarter of my sufferings, your health couldn't bear it, you would die. [...] Oh, Fanny, I must protect you. You must become my wife, my wife forever. If I could live happily without you, I would sacrifice myself for the sake of my guardians. But no, I cannot, I definitely cannot. Oh, my Fanny, I have your image under my eyelids. I can see you, delicate, sweet, gentle. Oh, my dear angel, I suffer torments, I swear to you. If you were here to dry my tears, my dear Fanny! The weeping chokes me, and I cannot see the paper. Oh, my angel, how I suffer. I would try to throw myself at my grandfather's feet. But old people don't understand love; they won't let me return ...³⁸

Making allowances for differing literary talent, does this letter not resemble other correspondence that in Polish culture has become almost emblematic of intense and impossible love?

They pushed, they pushed, this is what they wanted. Who was more honest than me? Who expressed more disgust than me in my looks and words? They brought the fighting to the point where it is necessary for either the eagle or the canaries to die. They'll die! But who knows, maybe Amor can get in here by himself. Amor will lay down the conditions, and

³⁸ DIARY, 14 December 1814.

then *Addio per sempre* – I already declared this to my brother and sister yesterday! Yes, *addio per sempre*.

You alone know, only you know how much I suffer. Orcio sees it, he sees, he looks at it, but only you know all my heart's torment. I can barely write. I've been so sick since yesterday. Blood just rushed to my head. [...] You keep saying that nothing's settled. It is a great relief for me not to have to talk about it in front of people because if I did, I would have to shed tears of pain or laugh derisively. But now those evenings, those deadly hours of conversation – with a creature for whom I feel only indifference or cruelty in my soul, who seems to me a lower creature, empty inside. I am not saying anything that could stir my passions because there is no woman on the planet who could do this or even one who could make these two hours of conversation bearable, less deadly.³⁹

This is an excerpt from a letter from the famed Romantic poet Zygmunt Krasiński to Delfina Potocka, written shortly before the poet's wedding, arranged by his father, to Elżbieta (Eliza) Branicka. Of course, there is no question here of mutual inspiration or imitation; Krasiński's letter is much later. It is simply that both these people in love live, feel, and write within the same culture of unfulfilled passion and speak its language. So could Raczyński, an indispensable borderline romantic figure, have failed to possess a trace of a peculiar *delectatio morosa* – namely of a corpse?⁴⁰ Death out of love? Ultimately, 'romantic love is about death – as all well know.'⁴¹

Raczyński wrote in Warsaw: 'I seem to carry the seed of death in my breast. I have irregular heartbeats. It's because of her, I think, this tumult in my blood. I've never had it before.'⁴² And in Paris:

My Fanny. I'm suffering. I have death in my heart. Sleep never comes. Wounded love knows no comfort. I've read all your letters again, almost all of them. I looked carefully and found only sweetness, goodness, and in a few, tenderness. But love?! I can find nothing about it, not even one word [...] If I die, I want to be sent to my brother in a coffin not completely closed. If I absolutely have to be embalmed, will you take care of it? And the day after my death ... what will you do?⁴³

³⁹ From a letter from Zygmunt Krasiński to Delfina Potocka dated 21 April 1843.

⁴⁰ Maria Janion, Maria Żmigrodzka, Romantyzm i egzystencja. Fragmenty niedokończonego dzieła (Gdańsk: Słowo/Obraz Terytoria, 2004), 99–117.

⁴¹ Marta Piwińska, *Miłość romantyczna*, 545.

⁴² DIARY, 23 October 1812.

⁴³ DIARY, 13 January 1814.

This fantasy, verging on the macabre and grotesque concerning his own death, is not merely a form for expressing love's indecisions. It also reveals – or rather hides – Raczyński's real fear of annihilation, of a life close to death, to use Maria Janion and Maria Żmigrodzka's term, a 'suspended, sepulchral existence.'⁴⁴ The image of a coffin being sent back half-closed to his brother resonates with another vision haunting Athanasius at that time – an image of lethargy, a fear of being buried alive, a phobia from which, as mentioned earlier, Edward was once again to protect him. In these statements, the older brother is given the status of the final court of appeal.

4 A Keen Eye

Predictions of imminent death did not prevent Athanasius from remaining calm and writing just four days after his dramatic confessions addressed to Fanny: 'The notion to which I am still most drawn is that of marrying well ...'⁴⁵

These words and his attitude, which guaranteed their credibility, should not come as a surprise - Raczyński was not a man guided by romantic orthodoxy. Love, yes, was important to him. He experienced it passionately, gave it a romantic, bittersweet allure, increasing its intensity and pungency. Still, he did not make romantic love the centre of his life or the main building block of his identity. It was helpful to him in defining himself in relation to the outside world and his own being, but it was not the foundation of his world. There was much game playing and masquerading and much stylization in Raczyński's stance. This was, after all, a fairly high-stakes game. Love, or more broadly, a romantic attitude, through which he channelled his intense emotional life, equipped him with tools (topoi, models, concepts) that allowed him to name and understand his emotions, and at least to some extent - to master them. Alongside this was a vast field of common sense: politically correct behaviour and views that were socially acceptable and economically effective. In formulating his mature life program, Raczyński gave them a priority, but he never fully stifled the romanticism within himself. This was probably impossible anyway. His 'romanticizing' approach to reality would underlie many of his convictions and undertakings.

There were many more romances in Raczyński's mature life. Some were fleeting and others long lasting, some treated lightly and others were highly absorbing. His marriage proved unsuccessful and quickly fell apart, and, as

⁴⁴ Maria Janion, Maria Żmigrodzka, Romantyzm i egzystencja, 109.

⁴⁵ DIARY, 17 January 1814.

he noted in his diary unabashedly but with a characteristic wink, at the age of 58, 'nature demands its rights.'⁴⁶ In his notes, Raczyński gives a detailed account of his subsequent relationships with women. The language in which he describes them changes, most of the Wertherian style disappears. However, the emotions associated with love and affection do not become any weaker or less passionate. 'The nervous exasperation in which I found myself paralyzed me to such an extent that during moments that should have determined the nature of our relationship, I felt a chill that took hold of my whole being. A terrible sweat covered my body. I was in such a state of nervous excitement that I was on the verge of madness,' the fifty-year-old Raczyński wrote in recalling a recent emotional state of mind associated with a short and intense relationship with an unnamed 'terrible woman I loved.'⁴⁷ And as he was writing these words, the current object of his erotic fascination was a young dancer from the Berlin opera named Malvine.

Raczyński's affairs continued to influence his behaviour and undertakings. Let us recall, for example, that it was Athanasius' desire to free himself from a difficult love that justified his decision to join the army in 1809. He also described his later erotic entanglements - and there is no reason to doubt the credibility of these declarations – as a wake-up call. Art would be his primary way of escape and place of shelter. His third trip to Italy, rich in artistic repercussions, served mainly therapeutic purposes and provided an escape from a difficult, emotionally engaging, and embarrassing affair with the young and promising Berlin actress Caroline Sutorius. 'I spent yesterday without seeing her. I decided to go to Italy. I think I will be able to free myself from her,' Raczyński wrote on 29 September 1828.48 However, the journey did not end the affair, which was revived shortly after Raczyński's return from Italy at the beginning of 1829. Only then did he finally manage to finish it. What Athanasius' departure and its repercussions for the relationship meant for Caroline, then only nineteen years old, we can only guess, as we have no account in which she is given a voice. However, there was surely no lack of drama: on 16 October 1829, Auguste Berger, the illegitimate son of Athanasius and Caroline Sutorius, was born.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ DIARY, 3 January 1846.

⁴⁷ DIARY, 7 August 1839.

⁴⁸ DIARY, 29 September 1828.

⁴⁹ The boy, according to Athanasius' accounts – and in those aspects that are verifiable, they are accurate – was taken by his father and brought up on his estate in Grabów in Wielkopolska. In 1829 Caroline left Berlin and joined theatres in Wrocław, Leipzig, and Dresden, respectively, and in 1831 moved to Hamburg. There she was very successful as an actress for a dozen or so years. In 1836 she married the well-known actor and writer

If one were to take a cursory look at Raczyński's biography and work, one might conclude that he looked at reality with a cool eye and had a restrained attitude towards it, that he was 'calm and always composed.'⁵⁰ That, however, would be an error. In fact, he looked at the world and at life situations with a keen emotional eye. Of course, he wrote about art and politics in a different language from that which he employed when writing about his feelings. Still, his judgements in these areas were imbued with a similar emotionalism – not in character but intensity. Only by bearing this in mind can they be seen and understood in a proper light.

Jean Baptista Baison. She maintained occasional correspondence with Raczyński until the 1840s.

⁵⁰ Donata Ciepieńko-Zielińska, Klaudyna z Działyńskich Potocka. Ludzie i czasy (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1973), 120.

PART 2 Politics

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CHAPTER 5

The Aristocrat

My greatest aspirations are all bound up with increasing respect for my name.

Diary, 8 July 1817

1 Decorum

Raczyński was imbued with elitism. He had a strongly developed sense of belonging to the gentry class (in Polish *Szlachta*), specifically to its highest, aristocratic stratum. He cultivated the privileges accruing from this and accepted the attendant obligations. His wide-ranging spheres of activity – principally his economic, political, and collecting undertakings – he saw in terms of, and wholly in the context of, his elevated social position. He openly and often declared that the highest payment he received for, and indeed the ultimate aim of, all his undertakings, from the point of view of his aristocratic scale of values, was the prestige which thereby attached to his name and his family.

For Raczyński, being a member of the nobility and the aristocracy entailed more than just possessing a title and a coat of arms. Those who failed to take on the responsibilities that their noble rank in his view entailed risked being accused by him of vanity. In 1817, the young Athanasius (his title of Count not yet officially confirmed) called the Polish aristocracy's love of titles simply 'ridiculous.' For him, nobility was primarily an ethos, a set of political and social attitudes and accepted behaviour that needed to be practiced and maintained within the estate. The nobility was therefore governed by the principle of decorum – suitability, appropriateness, and compliance with 'noble' etiquette. Raczyński was very sensitive to matters of aristocratic decorum, an attitude that could be termed an 'aroused aristocratic awareness.' This notion and its manifestations and consequences will be the subject of this chapter.

The aristocracy, understood as a stratum of the nobility distinguished by a family title (that of Prince/Duke, Count/Earl, or Baron), was a late development in Polish society, one that grew in significance only in the last years of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Neither the Crown nor Lithuania had baron's and count's titles of native origin. The title of a prince was first granted by a resolution of the Sejm of 1638, but only to those families whose members held the title when they signed the Union of Lublin in 1569. It was not until 1764, in connection with the election of Stanisław August, that the Sejm granted the title of prince to members of the Poniatowski family. The subsequent Sejm in 1768 and 1775 also gave this distinction to members of several other noble families. Titles began to be conferred on Poles in greater numbers in the latter half of the eighteenth century, first by the Austrian and Prussian rulers and then by Napoleon in the early nineteenth century.¹

In Wielkopolska, where a magnate class in the full sense of the word had never really existed and where the custom of accepting titles from foreign monarchs had never been prevalent in the times of the Commonwealth,² aristocratic titles were more widely conferred in the 1780s when the Prussian rulers Frederick II and Frederick William II granted titles to representatives of several influential families.³ These titles were an important tool in a political game being played by the monarchs. In short, the titles helped the Prussians win over an influential group of what proved to be loyal supporters.⁴ Throughout the nationally and religiously divided Prussian state, the policy of granting aristocratic titles had proved to be a successful means of managing potentially fractious regional and religious particularisms.⁵ On 6 July 1798,

¹ Although from the early sixteenth century on, members of the high Polish nobility (magnates) received aristocratic titles from foreign rulers, especially princely titles from the Emperor's hands, this practice was not very widespread and met with reluctance on the part of the nobility (Teresa Zielińska, *Poczet polskich rodów arystokratycznych*, 10). Many of the titles granted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were later confirmed early in the post-partition era by the rulers of Austria and Russia.

² The Sułkowski family attained an exceptional position among the *Szlachta* of Wielkopolska in the first half of the eighteenth century. Aleksander Józef Sułkowski, a highly influential figure in Polish public life, was awarded the titles of Count in 1733, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire in 1752 and a hereditary princely title in Bohemia in 1754, confirmed by the Polish Sejm in 1774. See: Andrzej Kwilecki, *Wielkopolskie rody ziemiańskie* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2010), 291–299.

³ In 1819 the hereditary title of prince was given to August Paweł Sułkowski. By the end of the nineteenth century counts' titles had been given to members of the Działyński, Kwilecki, Potulicki, Poniński, Potworowski, Grudziński, Gurowski, Skórzewski, Bniński, Ostrowski and Mycielski families, among others. See Manfred Laubert, "Standeserhöhungen und Ordensverleihungen in der Provinz Posen nach 1815," *Zeitschrift der Historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen* 23 (1908), 177–216; Andrzej Kwilecki, *Wielkopolskie rody ziemiańskie*, 20–22.

⁴ Bogdan Wachowiak, ed., *Prusy w okresie monarchii absolutnej* (1701–1806) (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2010), 730–734.

⁵ Heinz Reif, Adel im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (München: Oldenbourg, 2012), 35.

the title of Count was awarded to Kazimierz Raczyński, while Athanasius was made a Prussian Count on 1 February 1824. 6

During the First Republic of Poland, the principle of equality was maintained among members of the noble estate. Given the enormous disparities in wealth, position, and influence among individuals and families in the nobility, this principle was more myth than reality. It was nevertheless a vital element of the nobility's identity, one that members of the estate highly cherished and tenaciously defended.⁷ The same was true of another *de facto* fictional notion that was attractive to the nobility: the idea that 'the entire noble estate consisted of families connected by blood and distinguished by a coat of arms.'⁸ Arising out of this but also from wholly pragmatic considerations, which manifested themselves when it came to dividing estates, contracting marriages, or allocating official positions, the *Szlachta* were signally obsessed with genealogy requiring of them to track (and honour) even the most distant blood and marriage relationships, and this served superbly to strengthen the sense of family and *Szlachta* kinship. This served as an excellent means for strengthening a sense of belonging to particular family lines and the noble estate itself.

The formation of the aristocracy (as well as other processes taking place at that time, such as the decision of the Four-Year Sejm of 1788–1792 to strip impoverished landless individuals and smallholders among the nobility of their voting rights) was a watershed change in the nobility wrote's self-conception. Conferring the title of Baron or (much more often) Count was a blatant violation of the long-standing principle of equality among the *Szlachta*. By distinguishing the families who received such a title, this act, in practice, broke their 'family ties' with the Polish nobility to build a relationship with a new collective: the supranational, cosmopolitan, pan-European community of the titled aristocracy. Sabina Grzegorzewska, recalling the period after 1794, observed: 'In a word, our nation took on a different character over the course of a decade.

⁶ Edward (elevated to the position of a Prussian Count, along with his brother) and Athanasius Raczyński used and were honoured with Counts' titles before 1824 because their maternal grandfather Kazimierz Raczyński held the title of Count. Extensive documentation related to the granting or confirmation of both the Raczyńskis' Counts' titles can be found in: GStA, Berlin, I HA. Rep. 89, no. 1430 and no. 31049. See also Adolf Maximilian Ferdinand Gritzner, *Chronologische Matrikel der Brandenburg-Preußischen Standeserhöhungen und Gnadenakte von 1600 bis 1873* (Berlin: Mitscher & Roestell, 1874), 88; Manfred Laubert, "Standeserhöhungen und Ordensverleihungen in der Provinz Posen nach 1815," 186.

⁷ Andrzej Zajączkowski, *Szlachta polska. Kultura i struktura* (Warszawa: Semper, 1993), 56–58; Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, *Queen Liberty: The Concept of Freedom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, trans. from Polish by Daniel J. Sax (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012), 6–7.

⁸ Adam Winiarz, "Polskie rodziny arystokratyczne i szlacheckie w XVIII i XIX wieku jako środowiska wychowawcze," 242.

Titles, even those of ancient Polish lineage disappeared, while foreign Princes, Counts, and Barons appeared on the scene.^{'9} In a perhaps exaggerated assessment, another diarist claimed that aristocrats were 'slowly becoming foreigners in their own land.'¹⁰

This international aristocratic community had its own collective identity, expressed in a shared language (French), similar upbringing, lifestyle, cultural life, customs, behaviour, tastes, means of administering property, and marital practices.¹¹ The latter provides evidence of the supranational connections and ambitions of Polish aristocratic families. Ksawery Prek, a Galician diarist, wrote in the mid-nineteenth century with a mixture of curiosity and apprehension about the fashion for international marriages prevailing among Polish aristocrats.¹² He mentions in this regard the wedding of Raczyński's daughter Teresa to Count Jan Nepomuk Erdödy from a well-known Austro-Hungarian family. We should add that Athanasius' two other children were married to members of foreign aristocratic families, his son Karol to Princess Caroline von Oettigen-Wallerstein, and his daughter Wanda to Samuel Festetics de Tolna.

Athanasius Raczyński had a strong sense of belonging to the European aristocratic community and shared its hopes and fears. For the aristocracy and the nobility in general, the long nineteenth century was a paradoxical period. It was a century of defeat because its role and position, constantly being questioned, inevitably declined, but also a time of triumph since it was able to take advantage of the opportunities created for it by the post-Vienna European order. And it survived, extending its existence by a full hundred years, to 1918.

The nobility undoubtedly paid the highest price during the revolutionary changes that took place around 1800 as a result of pressures from Enlightenment thought and from the aftermath of the French Revolution (for many representatives of the nobility, including Raczyński, the revolution and its social consequences were their primary point of reference). Although the nobility's distinguished social position and main prerogatives were not abolished – in Prussia, they were even demonstrably confirmed by the General State Laws

⁹ Sabina Grzegorzewska, Pamiętniki Sabiny z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewskiej, 90.

¹⁰ Henryk Bogdański, Pamiętnik 1832–1848, z rękopisu wydał, wstępem i przypisami opatrzył Antoni Knot (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1971), 429. See also: Henryk Cieszkowski, Notatki z mojego życia (Poznań: Tygodnik Wielkopolski, 1873), 13; Kazimierz Girtler, Opowiadania, vol. 1: Pamiętniki z lat 1803–1831, przedmowa i wybór tekstu Zbigniew Jabłoński, opracowanie tekstu Zbigniew Jabłoński i Jan Staszel (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1971), 57.

¹¹ Teresa Zielińska, Poczet polskich rodów arystokratycznych, 22.

¹² Franciszek Ksawery Prek, *Czasy i ludzie*, 236–237.

of 1794 (Allgemeines Landrecht für die preußischen Staaten)¹³ – its status in Europe's slowly democratizing societies was permanently undermined. An eminent expert on the topic, Heinz Reif, described this phenomenon as follows: 'Their legal privileges were being lost one by one; their participation in government was quickly waning; their privileged position, legitimized by the Church was no longer assured; the symbols of their lifestyle (clothing, weapons) had become marketable goods, competing with the luxury goods of the affluent bourgeoisie, and were gradually losing out to them. Thus, although the nobility maintained its own separate culture throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, distinguished by distinctive ways of thought, perception, behaviour, and action, the unity of this noble lifestyle was being increasingly eroded.'¹⁴ There were also other phenomena threatening the existence of the aristocracy. Some were political in nature – such as the formation of strongly bureaucratic state systems; others, finally, were economic - related to urbanization, industrialization, capitalization, and the professionalization of the economy; others were social - resulting from the transformation of the countryside following the emancipation of the peasantry, as well as from the birth and rise of the bourgeoisie and the creation of broad proletarian masses in the cities.¹⁵ Throughout these hundred years, the aristocracy remained under pressure from tensions, conflicts, and turbulence and recognized the need – a new experience for its members – to seek a means of justifying its privileged position.

In the face of these processes, the aristocracy had a choice: it could either open up more widely to the affluent bourgeoisie and work with it to form a new type of social elite, or – and this was the model adopted by most representatives of the German high nobility, especially after 1820 – pursue a policy of separation from other social classes and consolidation within its own, while striving for some form of 'internal renewal' of the noble estate, with the aim – to

¹³Robert M. Berdahl, The Politics of the Prussian Nobility. The Development of a Conservative
Ideology 1770–1848 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), 97–106.

¹⁴ Heinz Reif, Adel im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, 29.

¹⁵ See: Volker Press, "Adel im 19. Jahrhundert. Die Führungsschichten Alteuropas im bürgerlich-bürokratischen Zeitalter," in Armgard von Reden-Dohna and Ralph Melville, eds., Der Adel an der Schwelle des bürgerlichen Zeitalters 1780-1860 (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verlag, 1988), 1–19; Rudolf Braun, "Konzeptionelle Bemerkungen zum Obenbleiben: Adel im 19. Jahrhundert," Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Sonderheft 13: Europäische Adel 1750–1950 (1990), 87–95, esp. 90–95; Dominic Lieven, Abschied von Macht und Würden. Der europäische Adel 1815–1914, translated by Walter Brumm (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1995), 27–53.

use Werner Sombart's already classic term – of 'staying on top' (Obenbleiben).¹⁶ In comparison with most other German and European countries, Prussia offered exceptionally favourable conditions for achieving this objective by creating a new legal, institutional, and moral framework for the traditional noble way of life. In Prussia, after a short period early in the century of liberalizing reform that undermined the nobility's privileged position, after 1815, tendencies that were highly favourable to members of this estate were revived and strengthened.¹⁷ The consolidation of the noble estate did not, however, necessarily mean its isolation, and there were spheres in which coexistence and intermingling between the aristocratic and bourgeois strata of society could occur, such as in the urban salons so dear to Raczynski. Nevertheless, a certain dividing line remained, which only a few dared to cross. 'Work for the internal stabilization of the noble estate has focussed on several main areas: maintaining demographic continuity and family assets as a basis for a lifestyle compatible with the demands of the estate, control of the representative actions of all members of the estate, and maintaining a division between it and the bourgeoisie, that is, protection of the "symbolic capital" accumulated by the nobility.'¹⁸ In practice, this meant, among other things, preserving inheritance rights in order to prevent the loss of property, maintaining the traditional model of marriage within the estate, and strengthening the nobility's privileged position in the distribution of high offices and distinctions. We should recall that Athanasius himself included these issues among the main points in his personal agenda: 'I want to create an entail, [...] then build a career. [...] Later, [contract] a good marriage with regard to position and property.' Fulfilling these requirements was a condition and basis for continuing to enjoy the aristocratic lifestyle, one of its most important – because symbolic – elements being the right to a life a leisure in the Veblenesque sense of the word.¹⁹ Before discussing how Raczyński pursued his policies regarding property and family (his career will be analyzed in another part of the book), an attempt will be made to reconstruct his aristocratic thinking, which he expressed in statements and actions that reveal his beliefs regarding the position, role,

¹⁶ For more on this term and concept see: Rudolf Braun, "Konzeptionelle Bemerkungen zum Obenbleiben."

¹⁷ Volker Press, "Adel im 19. Jahrhundert," 6; Heinz Reif, *Adel im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 42.

¹⁸ Heinz Reif, *Adel im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 30 and 101. See also: Idem, "Adelserneuerung und Adelsreform in Deutschland 1815–1874," in Elisabeth Fehrenbach, ed., *Adel und Bürgertum in Deutschland 1770–1848* (München: Oldenbourg, 1994), 203–230.

¹⁹ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of Leisure Class and economic study of Institutions* (New York: Modern Library, 1961), 34–62.

and duties of the aristocracy, and to examine it in a broader social and ideological context.

Raczyński's stance in regard to the tense historical situation in the early nineteenth century was a clearly defined one. He attributed a pivotal role to the aristocracy in social and political life, ascribing to it an almost civilizing mission. In an entry in his diary dated 20 November 1817, he wrote:

There is a strong desire to destroy the nobility. As a result of the upheavals of our times, the aristocracy of power and position [*l'aristocratie du pouvoir et des places*] has become the heir of the hereditary aristocracy [*l'aristocratie des rangs héréditaires*]. The aristocracy of power rules wherever, as in Russia, the threshold of civilization has not yet been reached or wherever, as in France under Bonaparte, it has been crossed. Experience shows that an aristocracy of some kind is unavoidable. The hereditary aristocracy has accompanied civilization everywhere: this leads one to believe that it is the least bad model.

This statement is, of course, primarily part of a polemic within the noble estate.

The nineteenth-century nobility, although it shared a certain consciousness, was far from being an integrated whole. It was divided, for instance, by differences in world views. Conservatives, though dominant, did not have a monopoly among members of the aristocracy; liberals represented an influential faction, especially in England, while supporters of democratic thought comprised a marginal group. Lines of division also ran between the high and low nobility, and within the former, between urban and rural nobles, court and 'peripheral' aristocrats, and those whose place in the aristocracy was based on blood (birthright, inheritance) rather than merit – this last branch of the nobility constituted an important social and political entity in the Napoleonic era. This last distinction was also crucial for Raczyński. He defined aristocracy, as did many of his contemporaries among the high nobility, as a system that ensured the continuity of family traditions and the inheritance of certain virtues. These virtues were not so much the characteristics of a given individual (as was the case in the bourgeois civic ethos) as shared traditional values acquired within the family.²⁰ This was an anachronistic way of thinking, firmly

²⁰ William D. Godsey Jr., "Vom Stiftsadel zum Uradel. Die Legitimationskrise des Adels und die Entstehung eines neuen Adelsbegriffs im Übergang zur Moderne," in Anja Victorine Harmann, Małgorzata Morawiec and Peter Voss, eds., *Eliten um 1800. Erfahrungshorizonte, Verhaltensweisen, Handlungsmöglichkeiten* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 371–391, esp. 372–374; Monika Wienfort, *Der Adel in der Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 29. In an entry in his DIARY dated 25 May 1818, Raczyński wrote: 'Nobility

rooted in the early modern tradition. By the nineteenth century, such thinking was becoming increasingly disconnected from contemporary social relations; by the century's end, it had virtually disappeared, replaced by the notion of nobility more suited to conditions in a class-based society. Though in the first half of the century, it still had a broad social impact.²¹ According to this concept, a nobleman or aristocrat was the heir and transmitter of traditional virtues and values, a link in a 'chain of generations.' The longer and stronger this chain was, the further back a family history reached, the more important were the individuals within it, and the more legitimate the family's claim to a privileged social and political position, both in the present and in the future.²² Therefore, in the crisis-stricken nineteenth century, the nobility's interest in genealogy had become almost emblematic of it. Evidence of this fixation is provided by a whole mass of publications produced by aristocratic amateur historians. These comprised a largely separate 'alternative' branch of research in the nineteenth century, distinct from the scholarly discourse of professional historiographers within the academy. They served not merely to unearth facts about the past but also, and to an even greater degree, as a means of confirming the distinction of the noble estate.²³ These studies include Raczyński's genealogical and heraldic research, many traces of which have been preserved in his correspondence and diary. For years he assembled a specialist library, commissioned archive searches, and made copies of source materials. The culmination of all these efforts was the publication in 1860–1863 of the two-volume Historical studies, a monumental work devoted to the history of Polish noble and magnate families, in particular, unsurprisingly, to the Raczyński family. The first volume ended with a section containing 'biographies and images from nature' of various members of his family. This family history was both

is a privilege, but if you think it is wrong, appeal to the public, to common convictions. They proclaim: nobility is nothing more than a testimony to the position one's ancestors held in society. Are not you, critics of nobility, more unjust when you want to remove Jews from all positions, even baptized Jews, and even the sons of baptized Jews? Do you dare to see it as a handicap that someone's father had a different religion from yours, and do you not want to see it as an advantage that a family has achieved respect, esteem and fame through its more or less prominent members who were virtuous, generous, courageous, selfless, influential, or wealthy?

²¹ See: William D. Godsey Jr., "Vom Stiftsadel zum Uradel."

²² William Doyle, *Aristocracy. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: University Press, 2010), 9–13.

²³ See: Gabriele B. Clemens, "Obenbleiben mittels Historiographie: Adeligkeit als Habitus," in Gabriele B. Clemens, Malte König, and Marco Meriggi, eds., *Hochkultur als Herrschaftselement. Italienischer und deutscher Adel im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2011), 189–209, esp. 197–199.

extensive and detailed and supported by a rich collection of source materials documenting the gradual economic, social, and political rise of the Raczyński family.

Raczyński viewed the aristocracy, as a guarantor of peace and advancement for estates and nations, as a governing class *par excellence*. In propagating such a view, he generally used negative argumentation. He did not so much enumerate the virtues of the aristocracy as point out the weaknesses of other social classes and their inability to assume the tasks performed for centuries by the nobility. A fairly undefined concept of the 'masses' was particularly subjected to criticism by Raczyński, at times referred to as 'public opinion' and sometimes more bluntly as 'the mob.' In contrast to the masses, the aristocracy appeared above all as a group that reacted rationally, consistently, and predictably and was guided in its actions by such positive values as honour, courage, and loyalty to the sovereign. As such, from the perspective of Raczyński's worldview, it was an essential element of society.

However, Raczyński was not uncritical in his support for the aristocracy. According to him, members of the nobility had to meet the high standards of the estate to fulfil their intended role. In late 1832, he wrote in his diary:

Birth is a great privilege, but one must beware of the temptation to draw greater profits from it than it can provide; to risk losses by making excessive claims. Money, knowledge, beauty, courage, strength, each of these has its limits; their effectiveness has its limits, its established, sanctioned sphere of influence. In order for rightful benefits not to be lost, one must be able to restrain oneself.²⁴

It appears that he was not content with merely making declarations to this effect but was also seeking to realize this ideal of a self-restrained aristocracy in practice.

Over time, Raczyński expressed fewer and fewer opinions like those discussed above, seeking instead to create a model for the noble estate, not by declarations, but through his actions. As one of his American friends put it, 'He lives in the style of a nobleman of the first class.'²⁵ Some aspects of this lifestyle will be examined below. The primary subject of interest will be property and family matters. In summing up reflections on Raczyński's thinking on the noble estate, an interpretation of the gallery of family portraits will be put forward that he established at one of his residences in Wielkopolska.

²⁴ DIARY, 6 December 1832.

²⁵ George Ticknor, Life, letters and journals of George Ticknor, vol. 1, 495.

CHAPTER 5

2 Estate

Athanasius Raczyński was a wealthy man. From the local perspective of Wielkopolska, he was among the very rich, but even on a Prussian or European scale, he was perceived as the owner of a great fortune. Apart from his love of art, his estate was Athanasius' most important attribute in the eyes of his contemporaries.²⁶ Late in life, Raczyński estimated his fortune at the enormous sum of almost one and a half million thalers.²⁷ Like the vast majority of aristocrats all over nineteenth-century Europe, the most important source of Raczyński's wealth was his landed property. However, at a mature age, he also had successes on the stock market, investing in companies servicing railway lines.

Land for the aristocracy meant more than just wealth – it also meant stability and continuity.²⁸ As such, it not only provided this social class with security, it was also an important building block in the identity of the noble estate. In England, which was the most consistent in this respect, landed property was *de facto* – although there were, of course, exceptions – a necessary (but insufficient) condition for obtaining and maintaining a title.²⁹ For Raczyński, especially later in life, the value of his land was significantly more valuable when calculated in the currency of the symbolic capital than the thalers it produced in annual income.

Raczyński possessed extensive estates in both Wielkopolska and Galicia. Their high level of profitability was supported by the economic demand for agricultural products, which continued in Europe for most of the nineteenth century.³⁰ The exceptions to this were the crisis of the 1820s, the consequences of the peasant revolts in Galicia in 1846, and the difficulties experienced during the last quarter of the century. At the same time, it was an intensive era of modernization in agriculture, which had been sweeping across Europe following the English models since the 1820s. This resulted in a significant increase in agricultural efficiency. For example, in Prussia, between 1800 and 1860, the grain crop yields per hectare increased by an average of 45 percent.³¹ Raczyński also owed some of his fortune to skilful management. Contrary to popular

²⁶ See, e.g.: George Ticknor, *Life, letters and journals of George Ticknor*, vol. 1, 495; Ferdinad Denis, *Cartas dirigidas pelo Conde de Raczynski a Ferdinand Denis*, 146–147.

²⁷ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichtliche Forschungen, vol. 1, 477.

²⁸ John V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England* 1660–1914 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 43; William Doyle, *Aristocracy. A Very Short Introduction*, 40–43.

²⁹ John V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England* 1660–1914, 44–49.

³⁰ Dominic Lieven, Abschied von Macht und Würden, 123–126.

³¹ Dominic Lieven, Abschied von Macht und Würden, 119–120.

opinion, many nineteenth-century nobility and aristocracy members, among them Raczyński (as he repeatedly and proudly emphasized), were able to efficiently manage their landed property and achieve financial success during this period of rapidly changing economic conditions.³² Particularly after 1852, after he had resigned from the Prussian diplomatic service, he paid a great deal of attention to economic affairs, visiting his estates regularly, as often as twice a year, improving their management and equipping them with new machinery.

The basis of Raczyński's landed fortune was the estate he inherited from his father. The eighteenth century had been the period of the greatest economic and political advancement for the Raczyński family. Philip Raczyński already possessed a substantial estate, comprising three towns and about 60 villages and manor houses.³³ Even after it was divided between his sons, it guaranteed each of them a strong foundation for financial success.

On 12 August 1802, Philip drew up his Will, which contained only general provisions regarding the division of assets.³⁴ This matter was supposed to be elaborated in more detail in a separate document, but Philip never managed to produce this. Consequently, a draft proposal for the division of the estate was only drawn up by Kazimierz Raczyński in early 1810, six years after Philip's death.³⁵ A settlement was reached in Warsaw on 2 April of that same year.³⁶ According to its terms, Athanasius Raczyński would receive estates in Niemieczkowo and Wyszyny, as well as the towns of Obrzycko and Stobnica in the Oborniki district, the town of Szamocin in the Kamień district, and an estate located in Arciechów in the Warsaw district. The combined value of these properties was estimated at 2.8 million Polish zlotys, although, since all

This fact was the first recognised and most thoroughly examined in relation to the English nobility, see David Spring, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century. Its Administration* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1963); Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England* 1540–1880 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 400–405; John V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England* 1660–1914, 134–156; Idem, "The Aristocratic Contribution to Economic Development in Nineteenth Century England" in *Les noblesses européennes au XIX^e siècle*, edited by École française de Rome (Rom: École française de Rome/Università di Milano, 1988), 281–296. On the German nobility, see Arno J. Mayer, *Adelsmacht und Bürgertum. Die Krise der europäischen Gesellschaft 1848–1914* (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1988), 19; Dominic Lieven, *Abschied von Macht und Würden*, 133–134. The attempts by the Wielkopolska *Szlachta* to adapt farms to the requirements of a capitalist economy were shown by Witold Molik, *Życie codzienne ziemiaństwa w Wielkopolsce w XIX i na początku XX wieku* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1999), 25–62 and 281–316.

34 APP, Rogalin Estate, 58, pp. 21–45 (copy from January 1805).

³³ Witold Molik, Edward Raczyński, 1786–1845, 20–21.

³⁵ APP, Rogalin Estate, 62, pp. 7–12 and 17–20.

³⁶ APP, file no. 16, pp. 52–79 (copy from 1820).

of them had dues owed to churches, monasteries, schools, etc., their actual value was calculated to be 2.636 million zlotys. In 1810, these inherited estates produced an annual income for the 24-year-old Athanasius Raczyński of 132,000 zlotys, a huge sum. His property also included a palace in Warsaw worth 200,000 zlotys.³⁷

Although not listed as part of his father's estate, Athanasius also inherited the village of Przyłęk and then purchased the village of Gaj from his brother in 1818. His wedding to Anna Radziwiłł on 31 October 1816, and the signing of a matrimonial settlement less than three years later with Prince Michał Radziwiłł, the bride's uncle, brought him an extensive group of properties in Galicia that included the town of Dębica and its surrounding villages, among them Zawada which for several years became the couples' principal residence. There was, in addition, an estate in Grabów.³⁸ When drawing up a balance sheet of his business activities later in life, Raczyński valued the assets he and his wife had inherited at over 938,000 thalers.

Raczyński bought and sold his properties. In early 1811 he sold the Arciechów estate ('the only wealth in this land was truffles,' he wrote³⁹), soon afterwards he sold Szamocin, and then in 1827, his palace in Warsaw. In that same year, he bought Kiekrz (which he sold near the end of his life) outside Poznań. He two years later purchased the Połjewo estate in the Oborniki district, followed by Kaliszkowice in the Ostrzeszów district, and in 1858 the Chocz estate in the Kalisz district. He gave both Kaliszkowice and Chocz and the Przyłęk and Grabów estates to his daughter Teresa in 1869. Raczyński's most spectacular real estate transaction, namely the exchange of his estates in the Grand Duchy

- A separate settlement regulated the division between the brothers of the movable property at Rogalin. In accordance with this agreement, Athanasius received the following property: 'all the engravings without exception, all but two cups, the gilded harness ornamented with coral beads, and a shaprack, two trunks from the wardrobe, 2 Leopard skins, the Berlin carriage for 2 people, the carriage for 4 people, the coach for 2 people, the Parisian cabriolet;' APP, Rogalin Estate, 68, p. 64. On the subject of the palace in Warsaw see: Zbigniew Rewski, *Pałac Raczyńskich w Warszawie, obecnie siedziba Ministra Sprawiedliwości* (Warszawa: Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, 1929); Maria Irena Kwiatkowska, *Pałac Raczyńskich* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980).
- 38 A copy of the settlement is found in: APP, Rogalin Estate, 87, pp. 47–58. Dominium Dębica included: the town of Dębica, the villages of Bobrowa, Braciejowa, Brzeźnica, Dulcza Wielka, Góra Motyczna, Grabiny, Kawęczyn, Leszcze, Nagawczyna, Paszczyna, Pustynia, Sepnica, Stasiówka, Stobierna, Straszęcin, Wola Bobrowska, Wola Brzeźnicka, Wola Wielka, Wólka Dulecka and Zawada, part of the village of Słotowa, and the hamlets of Kędzierz, Kochanówka and Kozłów. See: Krzysztof Ślusarek, *W przededniu autonomii. Własność ziemska i ziemiaństwo zachodniej Galicji w połowie XIX wieku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2013), 117 and 344.
- 39 DIARY, later commentary to the entry dated 28 January 1811.

of Poznań for land in another part of Prussia, never came to fruition, despite years of efforts (which will be discussed later). Based on a list of his assets from 1872, towards the end of his life, Raczyński was one of the largest landowners in Wielkopolska, with a total of over 85,000 morgens of land (nearly 22,000 hectares), for which he paid an enormous tax bill of almost 30,000 thalers annually.⁴⁰

In the early 1850s, Raczyński also acquired shares in rail transport companies in the Netherlands, serving the line between Amsterdam and Rotterdam (opened in 1847) and in France, operating on the route from Strasbourg to Basel (opened in 1841). These were very profitable investments. For example, the *Compagnie des chemins de fer de Strasbourg à Bâle* issued 2,775 thousand-franc bonds for the construction and subsequent operation of the Strasbourg line, which were then redeemed for 1,250 francs each.⁴¹ Therefore, after just a dozen or so months, Raczyński noted with satisfaction: 'My financial situation is excellent. [...] The Amsterdam-Rotterdam Railway rose by 20%, as did the Strasbourg Railway.'⁴² In addition, he owned a sumptuous palace in Berlin. He also possessed considerable capital in the form of mortgage bonds, Russian state bonds, and various securities and term deposits in German and English banks.⁴³

Yet more interesting than these figures is how Raczyński disposed of his wealth, namely his creation of an entail, a form of legacy trust.

The entail (in German *Fideicommiss* or *Majorat*, in Polish *Ordynacja*) – a legal form used to secure the integrity and inalienability of property by establishing detailed rules for its inheritance according to the principle of primogeniture – had existed since early modern times in both Poland and German-speaking countries but was not extensively used. This state of affairs changed radically in the nineteenth century when the entail became one of the most important instruments for the disposal of property by wealthy members of the nobility.⁴⁴ In 1914 there were 1,311 entails in Prussia, the vast majority

⁴⁰ Wykaz alfabetyczny wszystkich posiadłości ziemskich w W. Księstwie Poznańskiem. Adressbuch des Grundbesitzes im Grossherzogthum Posen dem Areal nach von 500 Morgen aufwärts (Berlin: F. Bürde & Co, 1872), 31, 105, 127 and 131. For comparison: Antoni Wilhelm Radziwiłł paid about 25,000 thalers in tax; August A. Sułkowski – about 25,000; Jan Działyński, Ignacy Bniński, Leon Mielżyński, Teodor Mycielski and Leon Skórzewski – about 18,000 each.

⁴¹ For details on the Strasbourg-Basel line see: Otto Föhlinger, *Geschichte der Eisenbahnen in Elsass-Lothringen und ihres Transport-Verkehres* (Strassburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1897), 10–21.

⁴² DIARY, 17 May 1852.

⁴³ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichtliche Forschungen, vol. 1, 477.

⁴⁴ Monika Wienfort, "Gerichtsherrschaft, Fideikommis und Verein. Adel und Recht im 'modernen' Deutschland," in Jörn Leonhard and Christian Wieland, eds., *What Makes the*

of which were established in the nineteenth century, almost half of them after 1870.⁴⁵ The rise of the *Fideicommiss* was a response to profound demographic, social, and economic changes taking place during this period, including rapidly changing property ownership in rural areas. The *Fideicommiss* provided a means of ensuring a family's financial security and maintaining its prominent position. Moreover, 'in Prussia, throughout the nineteenth century, legislation on the *Fideicommiss* was a subject of dispute between liberals, who sought to challenge the political privileges of those possessing hereditary estates by promoting the principles of civic equality and the general right to enter into contracts and appoint heirs, and conservatives, who defended specific forms of ownership to protect the interests of their order and ensure social stability in rural areas.'⁴⁶ Given these circumstances, the establishment of an entail was not only a pragmatic act but also a declaration of one's world view.

Raczyński took steps in mid-1817 to establish a *Fideicommiss* for his property in Obrzycko, exchanging correspondence with officials in the Prussian Ministry of Justice and the courts in Berlin and Poznań.⁴⁷ Raczyński's efforts to set up an entail (as well as his efforts to join the diplomatic service) were partly responsible for his repeated sojourns in the Prussian capital between 1817 and 1825. Athanasius' motives were clear: his overriding goal was to strengthen the prestige and position of his family. This is explicitly stated in an entry in his diary dated 8 July 1817:

Nobility Noble? Comparative Perspectives from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 90–113, esp. 98–103. On the entails in Prussia see: Klaus Heß, Junker und bürgerliche Großgrundbesitzer im Kaiserreich. Landwirtschaftlicher Großbetrieb, Großgrudbesitz und Familienfideikommis in Preußen (1867/71–1914) (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990), 101–214; René Schiller, Vom Rittergut zum Grossgrundbesitz. Ökonomische und soziale Transformationsprozesse der ländlichen Eliten in Brandenburg im 19. Jahrhundert (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2003), 299–333.

⁴⁵ Monika Wienfort, "Gerichtsherrschaft, Fideikommis und Verein," 99. These entails were mostly created by members of the nobility, though Prussian law since the so-called 'October Edict' of 1806, 'to facilitate the possession and free use of landed property' allowed this legal instrument to be used by owners outside of the noble class. For details on Prussian legislation on the *Fideicommiss* in the early nineteenth century see: Katarzyna Sójka-Zielińska, *Fideikomisy familijne w prawie pruskim (w. XIX i pocz. w. XX)* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1962), 114–141. Within the Prussian partition before 1918 there were 45 entailed estates, of which 19 belonged to Polish families (see: Marian Kozaczka, *Gospodarka ordynacji rodowych w Polsce 1918–1939* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1996), 25).

⁴⁶ Monika Wienfort, Der Adel in der Moderne, 71–72. See also: René Schiller, Vom Rittergut zum Grossgrundbesitz, 299–300.

⁴⁷ The is extensive documentation of Raczyński's *Fideicommiss* in: GStA, Berlin, I HA Rep. 84 a, Justizministerium no. 45517 and 45518 and I HA Rep. 89 Geh. Zivilkabinett no. 31049; also in: BR, Poznań, manuscripts 2721, 2722, 2725, 2726.

My greatest aspirations are all bound up with increasing respect for my name. I can think of nothing but creating an entail, adding titles to it, organising it in such a way as to ensure its survival, joining together properties that generate 200,000 florins in income. [...] If all of this is successful, I will be doing those who come after me a favour because the privileges that I will ensure for them will not only increase respect for the family member who owns them but will also affect all the other members of the family and make their paths in life easier – not just philosophically [figuratively], but in real terms, as well.⁴⁸

In considering the practical merits of the entail, he noted in an official letter dated 2 December 1825 addressed to Frederick William III that the goal of his efforts was 'that my descendants and the members of my family appointed to this foundation, remaining under the rule of Your Majesty's house, would be able to support themselves in the future as owners of the estate.'⁴⁹ Three weeks after that date, on 24 December 1825, the foundation act for the *Fideicommiss* was issued. It was subsequently confirmed by the court on 5 January 1826 and approved by King Frederick William III on 11 October 1826.⁵⁰

The following estates were included in the entail: the town of Obrzycko, the villages of Zielonagóra, Ordzin, Obrowo, Koźmin, Piotrowo and the Athanasienhoff grange (today Antoniny), which comprise the Obrzycko administrative group of villages; the villages of Stobnica, Bronczewo, Osowo, Podlesie, Jaryszewo, Przeciwnica and Sycyno, which comprise the Stobnica administrative group of villages; and the estates in Niemieczkowo, Sławno and Gaj and the Peckowo grange. The entail encompassed in total almost 14,000 hectares of land, as well as buildings, equipment, movable property, and livestock. Obrzycko - I am quoting here from Ludwik Plater's 1841 Geographicalhistorical-statistical description of the Poznań Province – had '240 houses, a population of 1,700, including 1,000 Christians and 700 Jews. A Catholic and evangelical church and a synagogue. Many weavers and potters live here. It belongs to the third class for the procedural tax.' (Fig. 13). According to the same source, the population of Zielonagóra was 605, Ordzin 239, Obrów 151, Koźmin 168, Piotrów 293, Stobnica 232, Bronczew 110, Osów 113, Podlesie 161, Jaryszewo 167, Sycyn 168, Nimieczkowo 158, and Gaj 287.51

⁴⁸ DIARY, 8 July 1817.

⁴⁹ GStA, Berlin, I на Rep. 84 a, Justizministerium no. 45517, pp. 59-61.

⁵⁰ Copies in: APP, Majątek Rogalin, 5, and BR, Poznań, ms 2725.

⁵¹ Ludwik Plater, *Opisanie jeograficzno-historyczno-statystyczne Województwa Poznańskiego* (Paris, 1841), 93–98 and 102.



FIGURE 13 Athanasius Raczyński, *Panorama of Obrzycko*, watercolour included in volume five of Raczyński's *Diary*, 31 March 1847

The third paragraph of the foundation act stated categorically: 'Of the goods covered by the *Fideicommiss*, including all equipment, rights, and property, nothing may ever and under any circumstances be altered, sold, converted, or otherwise detached or separated, but the whole must be preserved as recorded in this foundation act.' The obligation to preserve the unity of the whole property – movable and landed – as well as to take due care of it and strive to improve its condition through efficient management was imposed on successive heirs. The rules of inheritance were the key feature of an entail ensuring its continued existence in the hands of a single individual (called in German *Majoratsherr*, in Polish *Ordynat*).⁵²

In specifying them, Raczyński made reference to the provisions on primogeniture outlined in Prussian general national law. The title to the entail was therefore accorded: first of all, to Athanasius and his male descendants, in order of birth, then, if Athanasius' male line were to die out, to his brother Edward and his male descendants. If this line too were to extinguish, the estate would pass to Wincenty Raczyński of the so-called Courland line of the family and his male descendants.⁵³ Women were excluded from inheritance, except in special cases of marriages within the family, as were illegitimate male descendants, and, finally, persons judicially recognised as mentally ill. If no member of the family met these conditions, the estate was to become the property of the prince from the Prussian reigning house, who was first in the line of succession to the throne.

By virtue of the Act of 29 May 1847, amended by three annexes from 1853– 1855, changes were made to the entail. The first concerned the inclusion of subsequent lands and movables in the entail. It was expanded to include the estate in Wyszyny (including the manor house and family portraits located there), which was valued at more than 161,000 thalers, as well as Raczyński's Palace in

⁵² René Schiller, *Vom Rittergut zum Grossgrundbesitz*, 318–324; Monika Wienfort, "Gerichtsherrschaft, Fideikommis und Verein," 100–101.

⁵³ The Courland family line was started by Wincenty Raczyński (1771–1857), son of Józef Raczyński and Karolina née Bońkowska. Born in Byszki near Ujście and raised in Rogalin under the guidance of Kazimierz Raczyński, Wincenty travelled to Malta in 1793 at the behest of his guardian to join the Order of Malta. In 1797 he agreed to become a knight of the same order and was soon named a commander of the order by Tsar Paul I. Wincenty moved from Malta to Russia and finally settled in Courland in estates he purchased in Zenhof and Rothov near Yeglawa (Mitau). In 1806, he married Baroness Luisa Maria Wilhelmina von Ludinghausen-Wolff, a member of the local aristocracy. In 1841, he was accepted into the Courland knighthood. Wincenty Raczyński had four children from his marriage to Luiza Maria, including Wilhelm Leopold (1808–1889) and Alexander (1813–1895). Wilhelm Leopold's son, Sigismund Edward (1861–1937), eventually became heir to Athanasius' estate and the title of third principal heir (*Ordynat*) of Obrzycko.

Berlin, along with the movable property it contained, in particular, the works of art, family portraits, library, and archives concerning the Count's collecting activities.⁵⁴ The total value of the assets covered by the entail between 1847 and 1854 was estimated at just over 271,000 thalers.⁵⁵ The annexes also set out the rules governing the succession to the property. An extensive section devoted to this issue was added in an annex dated 27 May 1853.⁵⁶

Raczyński's family situation in 1853 was very different from what it had been three decades earlier. With his son, Karol, now thirty-six years old and still a bachelor, Athanasius faced the risk of his entail being passed on to one of the other family lines listed in the foundation documents. Moreover, while his brother's family was second in line in the succession, Edward had been dead for eight years, and his son's behaviour and grandson's status were both sources of serious concern to Athanasius. Ultimately, the behaviour of his nephew Roger led Raczyński to make major changes to the documents relating to the entail.⁵⁷

Roger, the son of Edward and Konstancja née Potocka, was born out of wedlock in 1820. His status was later legalized following his parents' marriage, and he was initially accepted by Athanasius as a potential inheritor of the entailed estate. 'In the meantime, however,' the Count wrote in a document from 1853, 'circumstances arose that forced me to change my decision.' These 'circumstances' were Roger's attempts to legalize his own illegitimate son, Edward Aleksander, by marrying the daughter of a Dresden city official, Maria Gottschall. According to Athanasius, who conducted an extensive investigation into the case with the help of lawyers he had hired, the facts were as follows: Roger, the father of a child born in 1847 from an illicit relationship with the Princess Zenaida Lubomirska, was persuaded by his mother, Konstancja Raczyńska, to enter into a marriage of convenience with a terminally ill woman with whom he had no emotional ties. The sole purpose of the marriage, which was fated to be short-lived due to the wife's foreseen early death, was to quickly

⁵⁴ The inclusion of the gallery and picture collection in the entail was the direct result of a contract signed by Raczyński on 19 May 1847 for the development of a plot of land leased to him in the Exercierplatz in Berlin, with Ignaz von Olfers, Director General of the Royal Museums, who was acting on behalf of the Prussian king, and Friedrich Ludwig von Müffling, Chairman of the Ministerial Construction Commission. Paragraph three of the contract read: 'Der Herr Graf von Raczyński verpflichtet sich ferner, das Etablissement und die Gemäldegalerie seinem Majorate einzuverleiben.' The contract can be found in: GStA, Berlin, HA Rep. 84a, Justizministerium no. 45518, pp. 219–225.

⁵⁵ Precise calculations can be found in: GStA, Berlin, HA Rep. 84 a, Justizministerium no. 45517, pp. 132a–132b.

⁵⁶ GStA, Berlin, на Rep. 84 a, Justizministerium no. 45517, pp. 276–282; в R, Poznań, ms 2722.

⁵⁷ See extensive correspondence on Roger in: BR, Poznań, ms 2727.

legitimize the child. In this manner, Roger would gain a legitimate son and heir without entering into a binding marriage. These facts, which in Athanasius' opinion, threatened the good name and the integrity of the Raczyński family, together with a conflict which had arisen after his brother's death between himself Edward's wife, Konstancja, prompted him to make changes to the entail. He wrote these down in an official document:

I hereby resolve that a) my nephew, Count Roger Maurycy Raczyński himself and b) his son, Edward Aleksander, allegedly legitimized by his marriage to Maria Gottschall, who has died in the meantime, [...] are wholly excluded from the line of succession to the *Fideicommiss* I have established, and can by no means be considered claimants to it.⁵⁸

He did not completely rule out the representatives of Edward's line succeeding to the entailed estate, but he made it a condition that Roger should contract a new marriage, this time one that was legal and genuine. His firstborn son and his male descendants could then be taken into consideration as heirs to the entailed estate.

Shortly after these events, the case of Roger and his son temporarily ceased to be important. In January 1854, Athanasius' son Karol married Princess Caroline von Oettingen-Wallerstein, raising Raczyński's hopes for the continuation of his own family line. 'Please God, give them offspring,' Athanasius wrote at the time, 'and may there be sons among their number.'⁵⁹ These expectations, soon abandoned by Raczyński, were not to be fulfilled. Given this situation, Raczyński once again returned to his charges against Roger and his son Edward Aleksander – this time in his testamentary bequests, which show how deep

Disagreements between Athanasius and his nephew had already arisen in connection with Roger's letter from 1843. Roger was critical of his uncle's political views, describing them as dishonourable, cynical and crazy. Athanasius recalled this situation when the issue of Roger's marriage to Maria Gottschall arose (see the violent and categorical tone of Athanasius Raczyński's letter to Konstancja Raczyńska of 29 September 1850 in: BR, Poznań, ms 2727, pp. 6–7). A few years later, however, Raczyński, in spite of not having reconciled with his nephew and being critical of his political views, was able to talk about him with some regard. He noted in his diary in 1857: 'I broke with him completely, but from what I've heard and seen in the country, it seems to me that there is nothing low in this man, that he has an extraordinary mind, much in order, that he is bold and has more positive features than any Coryphaeus of liberalism and patriotism in Poznań.' He therefore envisioned a political career for Roger, which, due to his eccentric disposition, was fated to end in disaster – 'he will probably break his neck one way or another' (DIARY, 22 March 1857).

⁵⁹ DIARY, 12 January 1854.

and intransigent was his resentment towards them. Subsequent amendments to the Will not only repeated the provisions of the entail on the exclusion of both of Edward's descendants from the list of successors to the entail but also included a new and unexpected provision. In the codicil of 13 September 1869, Athanasius made dispositions concerning the fate of his body after death. His final resting place was to be Obrzycko as initially planned, but his body was not to be placed there until Edward Aleksander has been recognised in the courts as Roger's illegitimate child; until then, his body was to lie at rest in the Catholic cemetery in Berlin. What were his motives for this? 'I want at least,' Raczyński explained, 'to prevent my body, having been left under the guardianship of Edward Alexander and his successors, from being exposed to mockery and insults.'⁶⁰

Raczyński's body was buried and remained in the cemetery in Berlin. Karol's marriage remained childless. The conditions set for Roger were not met, too. Thus, following Karol's death in Kraków on 13 March 1899, the third master of the entailed estate (*Ordynat*), in accordance with the provisions of 1825, confirmed in documents dated 1853, would be Count Sigismund Raczyński from the Courland line of the family.

Athanasius Raczyński's attitude towards his nephew and his son can be fully explained by his beliefs concerning the aims and duties of the family, which leads us to the question of Athanasius' own family life, including his marriage and his relationship with his children.

3 A Scandalous Picture: The Fiasco of Family Politics

In aristocratic family politics, with its guiding principles of continuity, integrity, and hierarchy, the institution of marriage played an essential role. Only marriage could start a family dynasty (line) and provide legal successors to ensure its survival. The nobility's thinking about the family was characterized by a dual perspective. On the one hand, it looked to the past because the family's history gave legitimacy to the status of its current members. On the other hand, it was also oriented towards the future because it sought to ensure the

⁶⁰ The codicil to Athanasius Raczyński's Will of 13 September 1869, in: LAB, Berlin, A Pr. Br. Rep. 005 A – Stadtgericht Berlin, no. 6909, pp. 38–39. A few years earlier, Raczyński had made a commitment to Edward Aleksander and Kajetan Morawski, who represented him, that he would not take any action to undermine Edward Aleksander's social position until he made claims to the right to inherit the entail or took other actions to the detriment of Athanasius. See letter from Raczyński to Kajetan Morawski dated 16 December 1864, in: BR, Poznań, ms 4223, pp. 87–88.

family's continued existence and status. Of course, marriage had its own quantifiable value, and as an element of the politics of the noble estate, it represented an investment in the full sense of the word. These objectives could only be achieved through unions within the nobility and by taking into account the financial position of the spouses. These were the considerations that Kazimierz Raczyński had in mind when he ordered his grandson to 'marry, but marry a well-born woman and one who was not penniless,' and that Athanasius was himself considering when he wrote that he wanted 'a good marriage taking into account both estate and wealth.'⁶¹ In the nineteenth century, endogamous marriages not only failed to disappear, their practical and symbolic significance grew. Faced with the progressive loss of the (legal and economic) privileges that had thus far guaranteed the distinctiveness of the nobility, such marriages were among the most important tools – being one of the last means and generally impervious to external pressures – for maintaining a distance from other social strata.⁶²

For these reasons, Raczyński's youth was largely influenced by his search for a suitable candidate for a wife. Athanasius' grandfather and guardian Kazimierz Raczyński and his wife Teresa née Moszczeńska were involved in these efforts. But even during the period of his greatest youthful passions and most eccentric romances, Athanasius himself never lost sight of his primary matrimonial goal, that is, marriage to a woman of proper social and financial standing. Of course, this did not mean that he was not looking for love in a relationship, but he knew that feelings were an insufficient reason for entering into one.

Raczyński himself was an attractive candidate, and his name was notable in the aristocratic matrimonial market. In his diary, he considered his chances with such candidates as the Czartoryski princesses, the daughters of Józef Klemens Czartoryski and his wife Dorota née Jabłonowska. However, these efforts ended in failure. Soon afterwards, he failed to gain the favour of the parents of the young Princess Dorota Sanguszko, and in June 1816, he was refused the hand of Zofia Branicka. However, on August 30 of that year, he noted: 'Today was not the least interesting day of my life. I told Anetta Radziwiłł that I loved her, and she welcomed my declarations. I don't believe her mother took it badly. She treats me too well and seems to want this. My relatives will be

⁶¹ In his DIARY under the date 17 January 1813 Athanasius wrote: 'All this time, I was most excited by the thought of entering into a beneficial marriage.'

⁶² This role of endogamous marriages, having become an independent socio-cultural practice, was preserved in some European countries up to the 20th century, even after the formal abolition of the nobility and aristocratic titles. See: Monika Wienfort, *Der Adel in der Moderne*, 111–112.



FIGURE 14 Karl Wilhelm Wach, *Portrait of Anna Raczyńska (née Radziwiłł*), 1827 Raczyński foundation at the national museum in poznań, inv. no. mnp fr 532

overjoyed by this news.'⁶³ This proved to be true. The proposed marriage was approved by the guardians on both sides, and on 31 October 1816, Athanasius Raczyński became the husband of Anna (Anetta) Radziwiłł, daughter of Prince Dominik Radziwiłł and his wife Marianna née Czechnicka. The church wedding took place in Warsaw on 3 November. Raczyński was 28 years old at the time, Anetta was three years younger. In the unanimous opinion of her contemporaries (and judging by the excellent portrait of her by Karl Wilhelm Wach, this opinion was entirely justified), she was a great beauty (Fig. 14). The Raczyńskis' marriage proved to be turbulent and ultimately unsuccessful. Though it is difficult to say much about it. The point here is that the surviving testimonies regarding this relationship are exclusively those of Athanasius himself. Any of Anetta's letters or writings that would present her side of the story have been found.⁶⁴ The voices of third parties are too few and limited to signal a bad relationship between the spouses.⁶⁵ Therefore, the following part discusses not Athanasius Raczyński's marriage but the view of his family life he recorded in his diary and correspondence.

The story of Raczyński's marriage to Anetta Radziwiłł, in Athanasius' version, is marked by two contrasting statements. 'I am happy beyond all expression,' wrote Raczyński on 12 November 1816; 'My home life presents a scandalous picture,' he noted almost exactly twenty years later, on 22 January 1837. Both statements were made in particular circumstances that help explain their exalted tone. The first one was made in a state of honeymoon euphoria; the second one – during a challenging period when Raczyński faced both a crisis in his career and many personal setbacks. Nevertheless, they also reflect the facts: within a dozen or so years, the Raczyńskis' marriage, though not formally dissolved, had fallen apart.

When he married, Raczyński was initially happy and in love with his chosen partner. But after just a few weeks of marriage, the first words of criticism appear in his diary, and such sentiments were repeated many times afterwards. Raczyński accused his wife of spending too much time tending to herself, of spending whole days at her toilet, of vanity, timidity, laziness, secrecy, insincerity, of the weakness of character, spiritual emptiness, an unrestrained desire to please. 'The flaw in her soul is falsehood. The flaw in her disposition is caprice. The flaw in her habits is dawdling.'⁶⁶ At the same time, ashamed of his accusations and looking for qualities that would balance out Anetta's weaknesses, he mentions her goodness, gentleness, delicacy, simplicity, kindness, and attachment to her mother. The first years of marriage were marked by an alternating pattern of resentment and excuses, of pointing out her faults and emphasizing her merits, of impatience and love. Gradually, negative emotions prevailed. Raczyński's accusations grew more severe, and the tone of his statements became increasingly harsh. A few years into the marriage, Athanasius

⁶⁴ Anna Raczyńska's correspondence with Konstancja Łempicka née Sołtyk from the late 1820s is preserved in the National Library in Warsaw. Konstanty's letter of 13 March 1827 mentions quarrels between Raczyński and his wife, but in too little detail to offer a different vision of the marriage and the sources of its crisis that varied from that provided by Athanasius. BN, Warsaw, ms III 10014, pp. 48–50.

⁶⁵ Ferdinad Denis, Cartas dirigidas pelo Conde de Raczynski a Ferdinand Denis, 147.

⁶⁶ DIARY, 9 January 1920.

viewed his wife solely as a destructive force frustrating his efforts and threatening his life plans: 'If she'd just settle for being useless! But she is an impediment to everything that can be done for the family. The organization of the house, the education of the children, the charms of life – she makes everything impossible. She interferes with everything.'⁶⁷ Beginning in the mid-1820s, the entries in Athanasius' diary about Anetta and the letters he sent to her contain a constant stream of criticism of her character, attitudes, and behaviour. 'This woman indeed has the devil in her,' he wrote on 21 December 1823.

In the mid-1830s, the couple began living apart, spending only brief periods of time together to tend to their children's illnesses or settle property matters. After a decade or so of living separate lives, their mutual grudges began to fade, and their relations improved. A meeting between the couple in June 1851 in Warsaw, where Raczyński was spending a few days on his way from Galicia to Berlin, even elicited some warmth between them. In Madrid, a few months later, Athanasius wrote in a letter to Jadwiga Lubomirska, the daughter of a dear long-standing cousin and friend, Teresa Jabłonowska, of the signs of respect shown to him by his wife. He expressed a sense of relief because he was seeing so many dramatic family situations around him; Jadwiga herself was in such a situation. He wrote: 'The heavens treat me better. I need to be thankful for that and not let pride get the better of me.'68 In the autumn of 1854, Athanasius and Anetta, who were trying to find a bride for their son Karol, managed to spend two weeks together harmoniously in Berlin. However, this period of reconciliation was short-lived. By the early 1860s, Anetta had once again become nothing more than a source of conflict, anxiety, and shame in Athanasius' eyes. Writing retrospectively late in life about his marriage, Raczyński described it using a religious metaphor: 'So I lived with her from 1816 to 1835, but after we left for Rome in 1821, we were in purgatory, and once we began living in Berlin in 1826, in hell. In that year, I freed myself ... it was a mistake, but it was impossible for me to continue living with her ... her lack of reason, her lies, her instinctive tendency to do evil reached enormous proportions. Anyone who finds himself close to her thinks only of getting away.'69

For Raczyński, the disintegration of his marriage was a difficult and painful experience. This pain was soon compounded by problems in his relations with his children. According to Raczyński, in this case, as well, the main culprit again was Anetta, who was a bad influence on their children.

⁶⁷ DIARY, 2 December 1823.

⁶⁸ Letter to Jadwiga Lubomirska dated 28 August 1851, a copy is found in Raczyński's DIARY.

⁶⁹ DIARY, 6 January 1866.

She had three children with Raczyński. Their son Karol Edward was born on 19 August 1817 (Fig. 15), their elder daughter Wanda Izabella (later famous for her great beauty (Fig. 16)) on 23 January 1819, and their younger daughter Teresa on 21 April 1820 (Fig. 17). Raczyński's relationship with his children, too, was not free from dramatic tension, grudges, angry and threatening letters, and disillusionment on both sides.

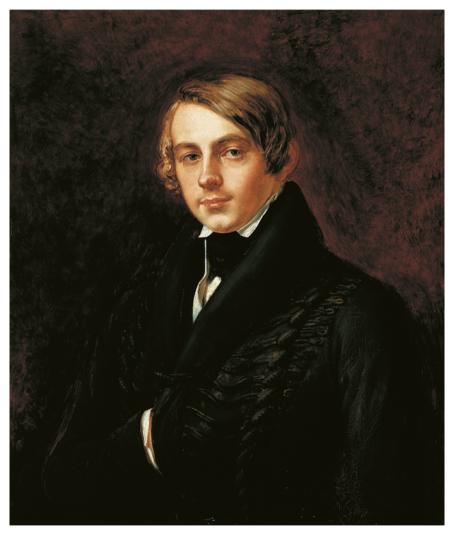


FIGURE 15 Carl Begas, *Portrait of Karol Raczyński*, 1836 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 544



FIGURE 16 Anton Einsle, *Portrait of Wanda Raczyńska*, 1845 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 621

This was due, to a large extent, to differences in their characters and their complicated family ties, but undoubtedly also due to the father's high expectations of his children – expectations that they could not or did not want to meet, and which were themselves an expression of a demanding, strictly prescribed lifestyle rooted in long-standing notions of the aristocracy. Any opposition from

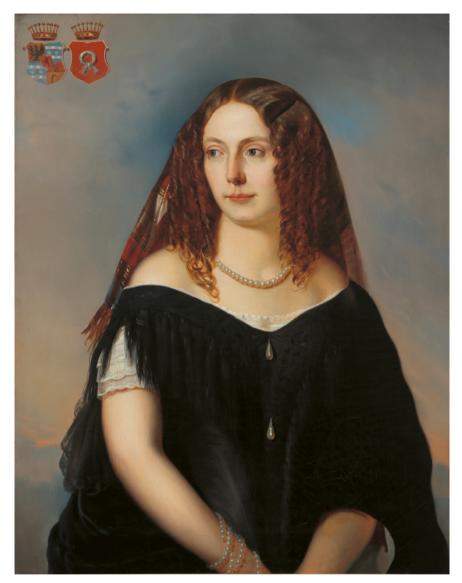


FIGURE 17 Adolph Schlesinger, *Portrait of Teresa Raczyńska*, c.1841 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 623

the children to their father's plans was perceived as a rebellion against the parent's authority, whose will Raczynski considered to be unquestionable and non-negotiable. However, resistance did occur, and Athanasius' response was very similar to the accusations he had levelled at Anetta – that the children were timid, vain, lazy, selfish, and lacking in ambition.

Raczyński's expectations of his children were a direct consequence of his conviction that it was necessary to live a life appropriate to one's class, position, and wealth. His daughters' destiny was to marry well, that of his son – to obtain an education in law, have a career in the state administration, and ensure the family line's continuation and importance.⁷⁰ However, these objectives were slipping out of reach. In early 1838, Raczyński wrote in his diary: 'I am utterly tormented. [...] Karol does not want to study. He continues to resort to tricks and lies to avoid having to apply himself. None of my daughters wants to get married.' Other issues also tormented Athanasius at the time: his wife's debts and scandals, the crisis in his diplomatic career, a conflict in terms of world-view between himself and his compatriots, and finally, the painful awareness of a fifty-year-old: 'Time is running short, old age approaches, and with it a thousand troubles that overwhelm me.'⁷¹

A subject of particular concern, and later great anxiety, to Raczyński was the attitude and behaviour of his son as heir to the family name and property. Early on, he saw in Karol features similar to those he loathed in his wife, to which he added extreme disobedience. By the time his son reached adulthood, Athanasius felt he no longer had any control over his son's life. In December 1838, he wrote:

My son is giving me a lot of trouble. Things are about as bad as possible. He's a liar, an idler. He's got it into his head to marry the daughter of a Protestant pastor. He's in a state of rebellion against me; he's completely out of control. All his opinions are contrary to mine. He doesn't show an ounce of magnanimity; there is no nobility in his feelings, his character lacks strength and energy. If he does not change, he will be a pathetic being. I'm preparing myself for a lot of shame and a lot of worries.⁷²

Maxe von Arnim, who, together with his mother, the writer Bettina von Arnim, lived in a rented apartment at the Raczyński Palace in Berlin and became friends with Teresa, recalled: 'Since the Count wanted to marry off his daughter quickly, she began socialising much earlier than we did, but none of the candidates pleased her. When one day she told us about her troubles and we tried to comfort her, she said: "You've got it easy! You don't have the misfortune to be rich like me." She finally chose Count Erdödy of Hungary. In her letters, she was enthralled by the happiness that had befallen her, and there was only one thing that made her jealous: the sheep, as her spouse focused much more of his attention on his flock than he did on her.' Maxe von Arnim, Maxe von Arnim, Tochter Bettinas, Gräfin von Driola 1818–1894. Ein Lebens- und Zeitbild aus alten Quellen geschöpft von Prof. Dr. Johannes Werner (Leipzig: Koehler & Ameland, 1937), 46.

⁷¹ DIARY, 26 February 1838.

⁷² DIARY, 14 December 1838.

Similar or even harsher sounding pronouncements can be found throughout his diary and correspondence. Fearing his son's upbringing might end in complete failure, Raczyński tried to come up with a corrective programme: he appealed to him in letters to come to his senses, applied financial pressure, hired tutors and guardians, transferred him for some time from Berlin to Magdeburg in an effort to focus his attention on his studies, asked his relatives for assistance and mediation, especially Edward and Konstancja, but also friends who were supposed to try to influence Karol's behaviour, either personally or through third parties.⁷³

The drama and complexity of Raczyński's situation can be seen in his extensive correspondence with his brother and his wife. Athanasius' disappointment, dejection, and anger towards his son are most evident, but so also is the belief, fuelled by occasional good news, that Karol would come to his senses and improve. 'This devil of a boy is giving me a lot of trouble. Anyway, we need to keep hoping,' he wrote from Lisbon to his sister-in-law in April 1843.⁷⁴ Konstancja and Edward looked at Athanasius' situation each in a slightly different way. His sister-in-law had more faith in Karol and a happy resolution to the family drama. Edward, who seemed more aware of the situation and more directly involved in it, sounds almost resigned in his letters.

'I promised you,' Edward reported to his brother in May 1843, 'that out of my attachment to you, I would go to Berlin to sort out your son's affairs. I'm writing to you now from Berlin, but I have no good news for you. Karol owed 848 thalers in Berlin to tailors, cobblers, restaurant owners, and others. [...] It is already very bad, but what is incomparably worse is his indolence and aversion to work.' It was thus difficult for him to advise what to do with Karol: '1. If you take him to Lisbon, he won't do anything there. If you scold him harshly, he'll spread gossip. He might run away.

⁷³ In his book, left-wing writer and columnist Ernst Dronke, a friend of Karol's from his law studies in Bonn and Berlin, a restless spirit and later an active communist activist, provides colourful testimony to the young Raczyński's lifestyle. He describes a card game that took place one night in a restaurant on Unter den Linden. Raczyński, who appears in the book as Mr. v. R, together with a few young friends, took a table and began playing cards, though gambling in such places was forbidden in Prussia. Raczyński had been losing and forced to borrow money when the gendarmerie entered the premises. All those present were interrogated by the police, and their money was confiscated. Other than this, there were no consequences. Raczyński, 'who drank very quickly and quite heavily, behaved nonchalantly throughout the incident, and in the gendarme's opinion, "not like a nobleman." Ernst Dronke, *Berlin* (Frankfurt am Main: Literarische Anstalt, 1846), 57–61.

⁷⁴ Letter from Athanasius to Konstancja Raczyńska dated 3 April 1843; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 79, pp. 217–219.

This will turn *Societé* against you, and you'll lose your position. 2. If you give him a village in the Duchy [of Warsaw] or Galicia, he won't do anything. He'll run up debts with the Jews of Brody, and sooner or later, you'll have to pay them. 3. Mr. Gepert and I were thinking about looking for a brave man, an iron man, to take Karol in as a boarder, to keep his money, to press him to take his lessons seriously, to press him to repeat his studies, in a word, to be a Mentor for this Telemachus. But this project faces many difficulties: a. your assent is needed, b. finding such a man won't be easy because he needs to be a man of iron, c. the high cost, because who would agree to endure this maddening dawdling without receiving a good return, d. what if Karol refuses to agree or runs away, what then?'⁷⁵

In fact, it was not until the early 1850s that relations between Raczyński and his son became more or less settled. Although Karol's father continued to pay his debts, he no longer aired his grievances or made accusations in his correspondence but expressed the hope that Karol's expected marriage would persuade him to live an honourable and productive life.

His son's family situation was one of Raczyński's main concerns at that time. However, the conflicting desires and aspirations of the father and son – though the will of the mother also played a role – over the choice of a suitable wife often led to conflicts between the two men. In the early 1850s, if we are to believe the poet Zygmunt Krasiński, Karol was eager to wed 'Miss Iceberg,' that is, Princess Izabella Czartoryska, daughter of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, leader of a large political faction of Polish emigrants in Paris. Arrangements for this had advanced 'so far that he and his mother were sure they would win. He was supposed to propose officially to close the negotiations. Suddenly, he receives from Mr. Athanasius an order forbidding him under threat of damnation to touch or ask for her icy hand. He almost went crazy, not knowing what to do, how to back down.'⁷⁶ Perhaps it was this story that led Athanasius to devote so much attention and space in his diary a few years later to the tribulations associated with Izabella's marriage to Jan Działyński, a nobleman from Wielkopolska.

⁷⁵ Letter from Edward Raczyński to Athanasius dated 9 May 1843; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 79, pp. 259–265.

⁷⁶ Letter from Zygmunt Krasiński to Jerzy Lubomirski dated 17 February 1853. (Zygmunt Krasiński, *Listy do Jerzego Lubomirskiego*, edited by Zbigniew Sudolski (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1965), 579). See also: letter from Zygmunt Krasiński to Izabela Sanguszkowa dated 11 July 1851. (Zygmunt Krasiński, *Listy do Jerzego Lubomirskiego*, 667–668).

In terms of family politics, the choice of a suitable wife was, as we have seen, a matter of the utmost importance, one that would decide the continuation of the family line and its position in the future. Just how important it was in Raczyński's case is shown by, among other things, the following statement, made in reference to Princess Caroline von Oettingen-Wallerstein, who was also considered as a potential candidate at the time:

From the point of view of wealth, this marriage is not perfect, but from the point of view of nobility, it could not be more beneficial. The grandmother of this young girl was the Duchess of Württemberg, the cousin of the Russian Emperor [Maria Feodorovna], mother of Tsar Nikolai. Her mother is a Trautmansdorf. One of her sisters married [Karl Joseph] Schwarzenberg, the other married Prince [Georg de] Buquoy. I firmly believe that all these great connections will not become a source of disappointment and will not put my son in an awkward position.⁷⁷

The wedding of Karol to Princess Caroline von Oettingen-Wallerstein took place on 7 January 1854 in the cathedral in Prague (Fig. 18 and 19). His father wrote at the time: 'Karol is happy to be married. The young couple is happy to belong to each other. I am full of hope that this marriage will make Karol wiser and better.' He added immediately afterwards: 'I want him to have a son and my family not to extinguish.'⁷⁸ As we already know, this hope was never realized.

If we think strictly in terms of Athanasius' family interests, the break-up of his marriage and later his awareness that his male line would die out were more than just a personal drama. It meant the failure of a carefully planned project that was *par excellence* political in nature. His guiding principle in life always to act in such a way as to maintain the prestige of his family name faced an extreme challenge and had perhaps lost its *raison d'etre* entirely. In this situation, Raczyński had to rethink the ideals he professed. In doing so, he did not reject or even modify them but instead sought a new formula for manifesting them. The most important tool for this revision and its most important result – as well as the summation of Raczyński's aristocratic beliefs in general – was the gallery of family portraits created in the 1860s in his estate in Gaj.

⁷⁷ Caroline's grandmother was Wilhelmina Friedrich Elisabeth, Duchess of Württemberg (1764–1817); her mother was Maria Anna née von Trauttmansdorff-Weinsberg (1806– 1885); Caroline's elder sister Gabriele Sophie Theresa married Count Georg de Longueval von Buquoy, and her younger sister Wilhelmine Marie Eleonore married Prince Karl Joseph von Schwarzenberg.

⁷⁸ DIARY, 12 January 1854.

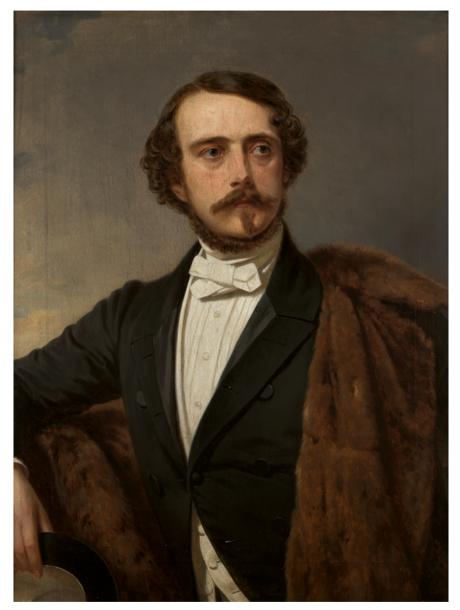


FIGURE 18 Julius Muhr after Franz Krüger, *Portrait of Karol Raczyński*, 1858 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 624



FIGURE 19 Constantin Cretius after Friedrich Kaulbach, *Portrait of Caroline Raczyńska*, 1862 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 625

4 Manifesto: The Portrait Gallery in Gaj

Raczyński's portrait gallery in Gaj is a singular summing up of his reflections on the essence and role of the aristocracy in a changing world. It was a personal statement referring directly to Raczyński and his family, but it can also be interpreted much more broadly – as a manifestation of Athanasius' attachment to traditional ideas about the place, role, privileges, and duties of the aristocracy in general.

Raczyński created the gallery of family portraits between 1865 and 1870 in a specially constructed building on his estate in Gaj Mały near Obrzycko, a dozen or so kilometres north of Poznań.⁷⁹ While referring back to the traditional model for such a gallery, he also updated it, giving it an original form and providing it with very valuable contents.

Raczyński had tried to create a gallery of family portraits many years earlier. In the 1820s, when he was furnishing the palace in Zawada, which he treated as his main residence at that time, he wanted to decorate it with images of family members.⁸⁰ It is impossible to discover from the documents exactly where and in what order these images were to be hung, but there is no indication that they were to form part of some kind of specific exhibition. They were probably intended to function as decoration for a dining room or perhaps an entrance hall, following a long-established model for the arrangement of a gallery of ancestors in the seat of Polish nobility. The collection in Gaj, Raczyński's last museum initiative, was not only much more mature and sophisticated, but in many respects quite original.

⁷⁹ On this subject, see especially: Elise F. Grauer, "Bridging the Gap – Count Athanazy Raczyński and His Galleries in Poland and Prussia," 35–46. On the collection of family portraits see: Mateusz Pawlaczyk, "Portrety Raczyńskich. Przyczynek do dziejów rodziny i jej kolekcji," *Studia muzealne* XI (1984), 81–128.

⁸⁰ On 9 June 1822, he wrote to Edward about this matter: 'I ask you to please assemble the portraits I've written to you about, as it will be my pleasure to surround myself with my relatives. If it is in Warsaw, please take your portrait to Rogalin and entrust it along with the others to Kampard to send to me. Let Fuhrman copy Archbishop [Ignacy Raczyński] from what is in the house of the Castellan [Estera Raczyńska], the Commander [Wincenty Raczyński] from what is in the house of Hermanówna. I'd like to have these paintings as soon as possible. If you have an opportunity to go to Dębica, then I would ask you [to take] the portraits which are ready, and not wait for those which are still not, because what I care about most is you and Zygmunt.' APP, Majątek Rogalin, 75, pp. 145–148. More than two decades later, a significant number of family portraits adorned the private rooms of the Raczyński Palace in Berlin. The paintings are listed in Annex F to the 1847 foundation act for the Wyszyne mail; see BR, Poznań, ms 2726: Abschrift der Fideicommiss-Stiftungsurkunde des Wyszyner Majorats und Annexen A bis H.

In his mature years, the estate in Gaj acquired a special significance for Raczyński. Since returning to Berlin in the autumn of 1852 from his ten-year diplomatic stay on the Iberian Peninsula, Athanasius travelled to Gaj very often, sometimes several times a year. Initially, it was mainly administrative matters that brought him there, but soon the Wielkopolska estate became his favourite place of rest. Just three days after his son Karol's wedding, having spent only a dozen or so hours in his Berlin palace, Raczyński went to Gaj 'to rest after all the emotions, concerns, worries, fears, and anger' of the last few months. He noted in his diary at the time: 'I feel wonderful here. Everything interests me, and nothing irritates me.'⁸¹ Gaj (like Zawada before it) became the fulfilment of a desire he had expressed in his early youth of owning a country palace or chateau.

Gaj had been the property of the Raczyński family since the mid-18th century. In the early 19th century, Philip Raczyński built a small manor house with a simple, austere exterior distinguished only by a mansard roof. The plans for the building were revised and expanded in several stages by Athanasius. In 1845, he erected a new palace much more spacious than his father's mansion. In the 1860s, he built the gallery connected to the palace by a narrow passage in the tower and a monumental gate tower linking the manor house and the palace. Shortly after 1860, the new buildings' window frames were decorated with stylistically surprising neo-rococo terracotta forms, while the facades of the gate tower and gallery building were enriched with modest but interesting sculptures. The result was an interesting asymmetrical composition, eclectic in style, that produced a picturesque effect (Fig. 20, 21 and 22).

The gallery building was simple in design but with an interesting façade due to the variety of forms used in the roof section (Fig. 23). The north-facing façade featured two large windows enclosed within a semicircular arch; the owner's coat of arms in relief was located above them in a rectangular niche. The western wall was relatively richly decorated with sculptures. Inside, there were two rooms: a narrow vestibule, which was entered from the tower, and the gallery proper, which had a surprising layout. The gallery's small space was broken up by two columns made of grey granite with bronze capitals, which divided the ceiling into six bays. The walls were devoid of decoration, with only a modest frieze running along the top, with the names and titles of those portrayed written in golden lettering on a black background. The vault, on the other hand, was richly ornamented, covered with painterly decoration

⁸¹ DIARY, 12 January 1854.



FIGURE 20 Athanasius Raczyński's Palace in Gaj Mały, colour lithograph in Alexander Duncker, *Wohnsitze, Schlösser und Residenzen der ritterschaftlichen Grundbesitzer in der preussischen Monarchie*, vol. 15, 1880



FIGURE 21 Athanasius Raczyński's Palace in Gaj Mały, present state PHOTO MICHAŁ MENCFEL

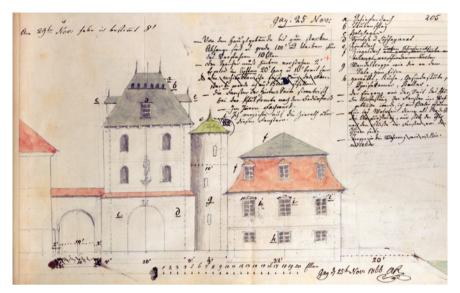


FIGURE 22 *Plans for the Expansion of the Palace in Gaj,* drawing placed by Raczyński in his *Diary* under the date 25 November 1866

reminiscent of the Raphael Loggias in the Papal Palace in the Vatican (Fig. 24). The interior was dark. The northern windows gave little light, and originally there was even less as the windows were fitted with stained-glass panes with heraldic themes that darkened the room still further. The overall effect brings to mind sacral architecture and seems to support Elise Grauer's theory that the gallery was 'a family sanctuary.⁸²

In the space he had thus arranged, Raczyński hung on the walls in two rows 46 portraits. Some of them were original works taken from his collection in Berlin, the palace in Wyszyny, and the church in Przyłęk, while others were copies of works located in Rogalin or the churches and palaces of his family, relatives, and friends. The composition of this collection can be accurately reconstructed; it is listed in documents relating to the entail as well as in a special catalogue issued by Athanasius in 1866. Close attention should be paid

⁸² Elise F. Grauer, "Bridging the Gap – Count Athanazy Raczyński and His Galleries in Poland and Prussia," 42–43.

to this puny little book, as its contents provide important clues to the assumptions underlying the composition of the collection.⁸³

The fact that a catalogue of the works in the gallery in Gaj was published is quite surprising. Raczyński had indeed regularly printed catalogues of the pictures in his Berlin gallery. But that gallery was widely open to the public, and its catalogues served as guides for visitors (they were also available for purchase at the doorkeeper's booth). The situation was different in Gaj. The exhibition space here - due to its location off the beaten track, the difficult path to the exhibition room that led through a narrow passageway in a 'defensive' tower (the present entrance to the main gallery room was created much later), the poor lighting conditions - somewhat ostentatiously discouraged viewers, manifesting the private, intimate nature of the space. But the catalogue itself, a small, thirty-page booklet, had a very specific layout. Its emphasis was generally not on the portraits (paintings) themselves but on the characters portrayed (the paintings' subjects). It is, in fact, a genealogical work, a collection of biographies of selected family members, that seems to complement Athanasius' monumental Historical research printed around the same time. We are thus dealing with a project in Gaj that was primarily genealogical. But why was Raczyński determined to create such a gallery so late in life, and why was it established in Gaj and not in his Palace in Berlin (where there were already

⁸³ Athanasius Raczyński, Katalog der Familien-Portraits in Gay (Posen: J. Leitgeber, 1866). The catalogue lists images of the following people: Jan Dabski (ca. 1590–1660), Stefan Czarniecki (1599-1665), Zygmunt Raczyński (1592-1662), Wojciech Bniński (1687-1755), Michał Kazimierz Raczyński (1650-1737) (two), Krystyna (née Krasowska) Raczyńska (1674-1724), Leon Raczyński (1700-1756), Wirydianna (née Bnińska) Raczyńska (1719-1797) (two), Augustyn Działyński (1715–1759), Justyna (née Raczyńska) Moszczeńska (1711-1782), Kazimierz Raczyński (1739-1824) (two), Teresa (née Moszczeńska) Raczyńska (1744-1818), Magdalena (née Raczyńska) Lubomirska (1761-1847), Philip Nereusz Raczyński (1747–1804), Michalina (née Raczyńska) Raczyńska (1768–1790), Katarzyna (née Raczyńska) Radolińska (1744–1792), Estera Raczyńska (1749–1831), Ignacy Raczyński (1741-1823) (three), Edward and Athanasius Raczyński (two), Edward Raczyński (1786-1845) (two), Konstancja (née Potocka) Raczyńska (1781-1852), Athanasius Raczyński (three), Anna (née Radziwiłł) Raczyńska (1793-1879), Dominik Radziwiłł (1747-1803), Marianna (née Czechnicka) Radziwiłłowa (1764–1858), Wanda (née Raczyńska) Festetics (1819–1845), Jan Nepomucen Erdödy, Teresa (née Raczyńska) Erdödy (1820–1909), Karol Edward Raczyński (1817-1899), Caroline (née Öttingen-Wallerstein) Raczyńska (1831-1898), Anna (née Festetics) Lamberg, Wincenty Raczyński (1771–1857), Luise Wilhelmine (née Ludinghausen-Wolff) Raczyńska, Franciszek Raczyński (1648-1689), Anna Urszula (née Heidenstein) Raczyńska (d. 1685), Wilhelm Leopold Raczyński (1808-1889), Maria Ida (née Ludinghausen-Wolff) Raczyńska (1823-1899), Edward Athanasius Raczyński (1824-1854).



FIGURE 23 Building erected by Raczyński in Gaj to house his family portrait gallery, present state PHOTO MICHAŁ MENCFEL

some family portraits)? The answers to these questions are hidden in the very concept and external circumstances associated with the gallery's creation.

As mentioned earlier, the gallery acquired a modest but interesting group of sculptures that serve as a path leading to its interpretation. There are three sculptures of human figures. The terracotta figures are set in niches on the western wall, otherwise devoid of any decoration. These were made using a technique that enjoyed great popularity in Berlin in the mid-nineteenth



FIGURE 24 Interior of the portrait gallery in Gaj Mały, present state Photo Michał Mencfel

century, mainly due to Karl Friedrich Schinkel.⁸⁴ The sculptures were made in Berlin by the March factory (Ernst March's Thonwaaren Fabrik), the largest local ceramic manufacturer and the same company from which Raczyński had ordered the statues to decorate the facade of his Berlin palace.⁸⁵ The figures in Gaj represented, moving from left to right: a half-naked elderly man holding a dead lamb in his hand, a woman in a draped robe with a wreath on her head and a sheaf of wheat in her hand, and a young man with a naked torso supporting himself on a lush thicket of vines (Fig. 25). The models for these figures were provided by sculptures produced by the Berlin artist Julius Franz in the mid-1860s. In the March factory's 1869 catalogue, these sculptures complemented by a fourth figure presenting a woman with a horn of plenty in her hand – were presented as an ensemble on a single page (Fig. 26). Since they were intended for mass production and could be used for different purposes, their meanings could change depending on the context and setting. For example, the model for the sculpture of the old man was a personification of November produced in 1865 by Eduard Stützel (after a model by Franz) to decorate the royal orangery in Potsdam.⁸⁶ A terracotta copy of the work, made produced a little later than the one in Gaj, stood on the so-called Four Seasons Fountain in the town of Radebeul in Saxony, this time as a personification of Winter.⁸⁷ The figure was also offered by the company simply as 'a hunter.' Other characters had similarly varying identities.

Precise identification of the figures in Gaj is the more unimportant as they carry easily readable meanings related to nature, fertility, and agriculture. They speak of the abundance coming from the farm from sheep and hunting and tillage and gardening, all subject to the unchanging rhythm of nature (expressed in sequence: young man – mature woman – old man). This is complemented

⁸⁴ Katharina Lippold, *Berliner Terrakottakunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2010), 56–180.

⁸⁵ On the 'Ernst March's Thonwaren-Fabrik zu Charlottenburg bei Berlin' see: Birgit Jochens, "Die Firma ,Ernst March, Söhne' in Charlottenburg," in Birgit Jochens and Doris Hünert, eds., Von Tonwaren zum Olympiastadion. Die Berliner Familie March ... eine Erfolgsstory (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 2000), 13–79; Katharina Lippold, Berliner Terrakottakunst des 19. Jahrhunderts, 99–103.

⁸⁶ Elise F. Grauer, "Bridging the Gap – Count Athanazy Raczyński and His Galleries in Poland and Prussia," 41.

She was accompanied by, among others, the figure of a young man from Gaj, used here as a personification of *Autumn*. The figure of the young man was also used in a slightly earlier decoration in a park at one of the vineyards near Radebeul, in which he can be interpreted simply as a winemaker or perhaps Bacchus. For more on the Radebeul sculptures see: Gudrun Täubert, "E. March & Söhne und das *Sächsische Nizza*," in *Von Tonwaren zum Olympiastadion*. *Die Berliner Familie March* … *eine Erfolgsstory*, 135–147, esp. 141–144.



FIGURE 25 Teracotta statue of an elderly man with a dead lamb, a woman with a sheaf of grain, and a young man leaning against a grapevine, decorating the courtyard elevation of the family portrait gallery in Gaj from the courtyard side, present state PHOTO MICHAŁ MENCFEL

by ornamentation in the form of lushly interwoven leaves and flowers along the window frames. Personalized and stylized artificial nature was accompanied by real nature. The palace itself was situated in an English park, and its walls, as evidenced by the hooks preserved in them, were thickly covered in ivy or vines. Raczyński is therefore clearly emphasizing here the rural character of the palace in Gaj.⁸⁸

The work undertaken in Gaj is in harmony with some of Raczyński's statements from that time. In a letter from 1865, he invited Jan Koźmian, a clergyman, a conservative political thinker, and an insightful commentator on current events, as well as something of an expert on economic matters,⁸⁹ to visit his estate in Wielkopolska. He wrote: 'I just want to spend a few days

⁸⁸ See Elise F. Grauer, "Bridging the Gap – Count Athanazy Raczyński and His Galleries in Poland and Prussia," 40–41.

⁸⁹ On the life and thoughts of Jan Koźmian see: Przemysław Matusik, *Religia i naród: życie i myśl Jana Koźmiana 1814–1877* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1998); Bogdan Szlachta, *Szkice o konserwatyzmie* (Kraków: Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, 2008), 167–196.



FIGURE 26 Gaj teracotta statues in March factory's 1869 catalogue *Ernst March's Thonwaaren Fabrik Charlottenburg bei Berlin*, Berlin, 1869, table 4

with you, to show you my cows and rams, my modest buildings, my forests, to seek your advice and learn.'⁹⁰ In this correspondence, Raczyński, at the time a worldly man who had lived in various European capitals for forty years, presents himself as a landowner, though not only as one who is an experienced estate manager (though he mentioned his talents in this regard quite often) but also as a simple farmer. Of course, his landed estates, as we know, were the primary source of Athanasius' enormous fortune which was the financial foundation of his existence and various activities. But it was not merely economic considerations but also a sense of self-identity that led him to define his estate in such terms.

In the mid-1860s, the decision to expand the rural residence and increase its symbolic value by creating a portrait gallery was the declaration of a worldview and even of a political stance. The middle decades of the nineteenth century

⁹⁰ Letter of 10 January 1865; Scientific Library of PAN and PAU in Kraków, ms 2213, vol. 9 (*Correspondence of Jan Koźmian*).

were a period of rapid industrialization in Central European countries known as the Gründerzeit in German historiography. Before the great stock market crash of 1873 brought it to an end, factory production was in full swing, a network of railways was being developed, and industrial empires were being formed. This resulted not only in technological progress but also profound social and political change: the domination of capital, large-scale migration, the pauperisation of the proletarian classes, and, on the level of political theory - both the advancement of the ideals of classical liberalism and the development of socialist and communist thought. In Berlin, all of these processes were highly visible throughout the city, significantly affecting its character. 'Berlin has long been known only as of the residence of the Hohenzollern family, but it has now become a completely modern city [...] whose lifeblood is profit, competition, trade, and industry. So now it is growing in size and future potential, the shape of which cannot even be imagined,' wrote Friedrich Saß as early as 1846.⁹¹ Depicted here is a photographic panorama of the Prussian capital from the mid-1860s, taken from the west: in the foreground is Raczyński's Palace, in the background – the industrial metropolis (Fig. 27).

Raczyński's rural seat, erected in historical forms and entwined with an idyllic discourse, was an alternative to the industrialized city – at the same time an escape from it and in competition with it. Even more importantly, it expressed sympathy with the traditional political, social, and economic order. This is the interpretive framework through which Raczyński's portrait gallery should be viewed. It was a very traditional realization, in typological terms as well. However, Raczyński was not an opponent of technological progress; on the contrary, he did not hesitate to take advantage of its benefits, including the railways and telegraph. But he did not hold the concept of progress as absolute. Unlike many nineteenth-century optimists, he did not identify technological progress with the improvement and liberation of man. On the contrary,

91 Friedrich Saß, Berlin in seiner neusten Zeit und Entwicklung 1846 (Leipzig: J. Koffka, 1846), 148. Here are some data on Berlin at that time: between 1849 and 1875 the number of steam machines used in industry increased from 113 to 1034. Large machine plants were established: August Borsig, soon to be the city's largest industrialist, opened a foundry in 1837 and a machine and locomotive factory in 1838; Friedrich Adolph Pflug opened a machine and wagon factory in 1838, followed by Friedrich Wöhlert's machine factory in 1843, and Louis Schwartzkopff's in 1852. The number of people employed in heavy industry rose from about 4,500 in 1856 to almost 8,000 in 1871. In 1861, a total of about 120,000 people worked in industry, crafts and transport, i.e. almost half of all those employed in this city of more than half a million people. See *Geschichte der revolutionären Berliner Arbeiterbewegung. Band 1: von den Anfängen bis 1917*, edited by Heinz Habedank (Berlin: Dietz, 1987), 102–105; *Geschichte Berlins*, edited by Wolfgang Ribbe (München: C.H. Beck, 1987), vol. 1, 573–581.



FIGURE 27 Raczyński's Palace against a panoramic view of Berlin, photo c.1870 LANDESARCHIV BERLIN, F REP. 290 (02) NR. 0230051

he was terrified by the social changes and, more broadly, the civilisational changes that progress brought with it, changes that were taking place more rapidly and with more dramatic effect due to the complicated political situation driving them.⁹²

Where it is concerned with politics, Raczyński's correspondence from the 1850s and 1860s is maintained almost without exception in a pessimistic and even catastrophic tone. 'I believe,' he wrote in 1860, 'that the world is heading towards an abyss.'⁹³ He had not completely lost hope of maintaining the traditional political and social order in Europe that was so dear to him. He reposed what was left of his hopes – a man who half a century before had been correctly described as a staunch Russophobe! – in the politics of the Tsars of

⁹² One of Raczyński's closest friends and most important correspondents, Juan Donoso Cortés, drew attention in his writings to the threats posed by technological progress, and its impact on civilisation itself. In general, the numerous dilemmas of an economic, social, political, and finally, moral nature caused by industrialization and civilisational progress were among the major themes of the nineteenth century. See on this subject: Jerzy Jedlicki, *A Suburb of Europe. Nineteenth-Century Polish Approaches to Western Civilization* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999).

⁹³ Letter from Athanasius to Ferdinand von Galen dated 22 November 1860; copy in DIARY.

Russia, Nicolas I and Alexander II. However, his thinking was dominated by the image of a Europe subjected to the tyranny of one of two – as he called them – *infernal powers (puissances infernales*), Napoleon III's France or Lord Palmerston's England. He believed the victory of either of them would mean for the continent 'the degradation or collapse of thrones, the destruction of all order, the ruin of trade and industry, revolutionaries as the lords of the situation.'⁹⁴ In response to this state of affairs, Raczyński formulated a programme of political minimalism for his own use. He expressed it most openly in a letter to a friend dated 10 April 1860: 'To have funds at my disposal, to keep everything that I can, not to interfere in anything that does not concern me and to remain passive – this is my whole political programme.'⁹⁵ Viewed in this context, his provincial residence in Gaj can be seen not only as a real refuge but, above all, as a symbolic one enshrining traditional values, ideals, and customs, a place of escape and meaningful passivity.

This turn towards tradition, an attachment to values and ideals sanctioned in the past, gave the gallery a retrospective quality. Yet, seen from a different perspective, it reveals its prospective potential. It looks towards the future, sanctioning certain changes in its aspect resulting from the succession following Athanasius' death.

In the late 1860s, when Raczyński was building the gallery in Gaj, his son Karol was already a mature man in his fifties and, as mentioned earlier, still childless. Although Athanasius' nephew Roger had a son, Edward Aleksander, Raczyński had excluded both of them from his line of successors. Given this situation, the sons of Wincenty Raczyński, representing the Courland line of the family, which had no connection with Wielkopolska, were designated as his heirs. These family politics, as Mateusz Pawlaczyk has noted, were reflected in the gallery.⁹⁶ There were no portraits of Roger or Edward Aleksander, while the Courland line was strongly represented by Wincenty Raczyński, his wife Luise, and their two sons, Wilhelm and Edward, as well as Wilhelm's wife, Maria. The gallery thus spoke of the line's place within the immediate family and, in so doing, sanctioned Athanasius' decision regarding the succession. At the same time, it imposed an obligation on his heirs to care not only for Athanasius Raczynski's material but also for his spiritual and ideological legacy, of which the gallery and the holdings in Gaj were the embodiment.

⁹⁴ Letter from Athanasius to Alphonse d'Antioche dated 26 March 1860; copy in DIARY.

⁹⁵ Letter from Athanasius to Alphonse d'Antioche dated 10 April 1860; copy in DIARY.

⁹⁶ Mateusz Pawlaczyk, "Portrety Raczyńskich. Przyczynek do dziejów rodziny i jej kolekcji," 85.

CHAPTER 6

Political Creed

Legitimate power wielded by an individual can only be superseded by chaos or the most brutal tyranny wielded by the dregs of society. Diary, March 5, 1851

• •

1 The Flight from Warsaw in 1794: The Spectre of Revolution

'It was a very special day in my life, and although I don't fully recall all of the circumstances that foreshadowed it, I will tell you as much as I remember or as much as I was told about it afterwards. Nobody expected such a turn of events, and to this day, nobody knows who the ringleaders were. It was surely a mere coincidence, and not fear, that led us to set the date for our departure on that very day. Nevertheless, the night before our departure, my grandfather was warned that a revolution was about to break out and made the wise decision to leave Warsaw with the entire family. If he hadn't done so, he would have been hanged like so many others because, as a supporter of Russia, he had been accused of conspiring with the Court in St. Petersburg and receiving a salary from it. [...] Our luggage was packed in the blink of an eye, and at three o'clock in the morning, we set off towards the Wola tollgate. We had ten carriages and forty horses. [...] When we reached the gate, we saw a hundred Russian kibitkas laden with goods, ready to pass through. If they had already started moving and had already been on their way, nobody would have stopped them, and we would have been delayed by half an hour. Luckily, an officer from my father's regiment had a guard on duty there. He stopped the kibitkas just as the long string of carriages was about to block the crossing, allowing us to pass. Another officer next to him tried to talk him out of it. He seemed to know about the revolution and wanted to stop us. Fortunately, this guard didn't make trouble, and we were able to pass through. The minute we were past the toll gate, the sound of a cannonade reverberated. It was a signal for the revolution to begin. We had not yet reached Wola, half a mile from Warsaw when additional explosions erupted. [...] I looked at my grandfather's thoughtful face. He sat motionless in the carriage and tugged at his ear, as he always did when deep in thought. My father, on the other hand, was quite stirred up, excited, and above all, ready to lead. He galloped from one end of the caravan to the other, maintaining order and discipline. Father Pluciński was as pale as a ghost, and his entire body trembled with fear. Members of our household were talking among themselves, most probably about politics [...]. We reached Sochaczew, eight miles from Warsaw, without having to stop. Despite the great distance, we could still clearly hear the roar of cannon fire.'¹

Did the events that took place in Warsaw on 17 April 1794, the night before the outbreak of the Warsaw Insurrection, when the Polish army and citizens of Warsaw rose up against the Russian occupying forces, really look like this? For our purposes, the answer to this question is of no great importance.² What is important is how Athanasius remembered these events because they strongly influenced his worldview and personality. The events at the tollgate in Wola – as the family took flight in the dead of night amidst the chaos, fear, and civilian bloodshed - were traumatic, and it was with these that Raczyński would associate revolution from that day onward. In 1848, he wrote in a letter: 'I recall somewhat vaguely the feelings of horror and indignation I felt when news reached me of the execution of Marie Antoinette. I also remember the revolution in Warsaw, the daughter of the French Revolution, which led to the partition of Poland. I was still a young boy during the reign of Bonaparte, who tamed revolutionary passions in his country and then subjugated Europe. I was twenty-six [in fact: thirty-six] years old when Louis XVIII lost his life in the name of liberal principles, leading to the fall of the monarchy in 1830.'³ In retrospect, Raczyński's flight from Warsaw in 1794 was a rite of passage into adulthood. It was a defining moment when he was forced to take a stand and pledge his allegiance to one side or the other. Raczyński chose the side of order, rejecting revolution, violent change, and lawless violence.

Raczyński's fear of revolution and his insurmountable disgust with political and social unrest are documented in countless diary entries and private and official letters, including many that concern other matters, for example, art. He engages in recurring tirades against the revolution, repeating the same accusations and criticisms and expressing the same fears again and again, to the point of obsession. But Raczyński was convinced that at stake was nothing

¹ DIARY, Souvenirs d'enfance.

² In his description of the situation in Warsaw on the eve of the outbreak of the uprising, Wacław Tokarz also mentions the departure from the capital of Russia's allies, including Raczyński. He describes this as the flight of those who were afraid of being imprisoned or even killed. See: Wacław Tokarz, *Warszawa przed wybuchem powstania 17 kwietnia 1795 roku* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1911), 202–208.

³ Deux diplomates le comte Raczynski et Donoso Cortès, 43-44.

less than everything for which he stood. In his eyes, a 'liberal revolution,' as he called it, would bring about the collapse of civilization. He saw the revolution's success or failure as a matter of life or death. In a sense, Athanasius was right: the revolution would mean the end of the world – the end of *his* world, the world he knew and understood, in which he believed and of which he felt he was a citizen.

Vehement opposition to revolutionary upheavals was an essential element of Raczyński's political programme. In order to provide context for Athanasius' views, it should be noted that this was also the driving force behind the development of nineteenth-century conservative thought in general.⁴

In his classic work *Conservatism: A Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge* (1925/27), Karl Mannheim makes a distinction between traditionalism and conservatism.⁵ In his view, traditionalism is a 'universal human attribute' and 'a general psychological state of affairs,' which manifests itself in a strong attachment to well-known forms and a distrust of the new. Conservatism as a political stance, on the other hand, is 'a specifically historical and modern phenomenon,' created in specific social and historical conditions. It took shape in its mature form in the wake of the French Revolution. Traditionalism may, but need not, be the basis for political conservatism, which thus extends beyond traditionalism. Traditionalism manifests itself mainly in passive and 'almost purely reactive behaviour,' while conservatism is marked by a conscious will to actively shape reality – 'conservative action is action oriented to meanings.'⁶

Nineteenth-century conservatives knew there was no return to the prerevolutionary and pre-Napoleonic order.⁷ This is not what they sought. Instead, they wished to identify and strengthen values and institutions that

⁴ Ludwig Elm, *Konservatives Denken 1789–1848/49. Darstellung und Texte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1989), 28–31.

⁵ Karl Mannheim, *Conservatism. A Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge, Collected Works Volume Eleven*, edited and introduced by David Kettler, Volker Meja and Nico Stehr, translated by David Kettler and Volker Meja (Oxon, New York: Routlegde, 1986), 72–77. See also a critical analysis of Mannheim's concept in: Martin Greiffenhagen, *Das Dilemma des Konservatismus in Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1986), 51–61. On the creative character of conservatism see also: Bogdan Szlachta, *Szkice o konserwatyzmie* (Kraków: Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, 2008), 21–25.

⁶ Karl Mannheim, *Conservatism*, 97. See also: Marek A. Cichocki, *Ciągłość i zmiana. Czy konserwatyzm może nie być rewolucyjny?* (Warszawa: Biblioteka "Więzi," 1999), 14–18.

⁷ On the nature of German and especially Prussian conservatism see the collection of essays in Larry Eugene Jones and James N. Retallack, eds., *Between Reform, Reaction and Resistance. Studies in the History of German Conservatism from 1789 to 1945* (Providence and Oxford: Berg, 1993), and chapters by Thomas Stamm-Kuhlmann, David E. Barclay, and Hermann Beck in Philip G. Dwyer, ed., *Modern Prussian History 1830–1947* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).

would guarantee the preservation of traditional structures and models within the modern state and modern society. Of course, conservatism as a movement encompassed a great deal of diversity, and, as Phillip G. Dwyer has argued, 'it is misleading to speak of conservatism in a generic sence.'⁸ Its description here is, of necessity, a simplified one. However, it provides a sufficient basis for making two points that are highly relevant to Raczyński's political beliefs. First, although it was concerned with the past, conservatism was not a retrospective or passive movement. It recognised the conditions created by modernising forces and actively sought to inhibit them. Secondly, it was not propelled by a desire to preserve traditional privileges but by fear: conservatism was primarily a reaction to a spectre haunting Europe – the spectre of revolution. The memory of 1789 played a central role here.⁹

According to Raczyński, revolution was propagated by democratic forces, or, as he called them, 'liberal forces.' He saw these as destructive. They threatened the political and social order, bringing chaos, bloodshed, terror, and injustice. Raczyński wrote in his diary on 22 March 1815: 'Liberal ideas: they are on everyone's lips. I call them Jacobinism. These ideas, if they were to spread, would lead to the overthrow of monarchies and the ruin of society.' Raczyński believed it was impossible to realise the liberals' calls for equality and individual freedom. He categorically rejected the mechanisms for constitutional governance they promoted, such as a distribution of authority between the legislative and executive branches and the election of political representatives. He saw their calls for freedom of the press and the accountability of ministers to the nation as dangerous and destructive. The fulfilment of such demands would only bring 'war, revolution, and conflict between the monarch and his subjects.'10 He considered the leaders of the liberal movement to be political charlatans whose only ambition was to rise to power by deceiving and lying to the people. 'The rules that liberals artificially impose on nations, like all their maxims, are nothing but a pretext for achieving the only goal they actually wish to achieve: social decay and chaos, which would allow them to quickly gain power and wealth.'11 Raczyński's political thought, however, was not limited to repeated and ruthless attacks on 'liberalism.' His resistance to democratic tendencies

⁸ Philip G. Dwyer, "Introduction: Modern Prussia – continuity and change," in Philip G. Dwyer, ed., Modern Prussian History, 5.

⁹ Axel Schildt, Konservatismus in Deutschland. Von den Anfängen im 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart (München: Beck, 1998), 36–38; Ryszard Skarzyński, Konserwatyzm. Zarys dziejów filozofii politycznej (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 1998), 84–92.

¹⁰ DIARY, 24 April 1815.

¹¹ DIARY, 3 June 1837.

in combination with the system of values he professed slowly gave rise to a consistent, coherent, and categorical political programme rooted in radical conservatism, monarchism, and loyalism.

It was based on principles instilled in Athanasius by his guardians, above all, by his grandfather Kazimierz. Raczyński's diary and letters allow us to reproduce the dynamics of this development. His political reflections became increasingly fervent in response to the dramatic events taking place on the continent. These included the end of the Napoleonic era and the building of a new order in Europe after 1815; a series of democratic upheavals in the Apennine and Iberian peninsulas in the years 1819-1820; the July Revolution in France and the November Uprising in the Kingdom of Poland in 1830; the attempted assassinations of Louis Philippe in Paris in 1835 and 1836; and finally, the events of the Springtime of Nations in 1848 and 1849. The Napoleonic era, the first great historical turbulence, which Raczyński followed closely and in which he even participated, prompted him to produce after 1815 his first writings on the threat that democratic forces posed for a nation's political and social order. Revolutions on the Italian peninsula and coups in Spain and Portugal, which Raczyński closely followed and commented on, led the Count to reflect on the constitutional system, the nature of public opinion, the participation of the masses in exercising power, and the role of religion in the life of the state and society. In the 1820s and the first half of the 1830s, Raczyński's political beliefs consolidated. He further deepened and expanded his political views in the 1830s. The outbreak of the November Uprising of 1830 in Poland and the dilemmas that Raczyński faced in its aftermath led him to finally address the complicated problem of Polish political life and the question of being Polish in general. The Revolutions of 1848 consolidated and radicalised Raczyński's political worldview and led him to reflect on the political situation in different European countries. In many cases, Raczyński expressed his thoughts in high-quality texts. They were insightful, brilliant, persuasive, and written in an emotional yet elegant style. It is in these texts, as well as in his letters from the 1850s and 1860s that Raczyński excels as a political writer.

In addition to the revolutions in question, Raczyński was also shaped by other experiences: conversations and letters to his brother Edward, the first provincial Sejm in Poznań (in 1827), during which Raczyński confronted his ideas of a representative political system with real-life politics, letters to his sister-in-law Konstancja Raczyńska, whose impassioned patriotism inspired Athanasius to formulate arguments challenging her ideals.

Raczyński's political views were documented in their most mature form in later entries in his diary and letters. Deserving of special attention is Raczyński's correspondence from the late 1840s and early 1850s with Juan Donoso Cortés Marquis de Valdegamas and Count Alphonse de Brotty d'Antioche, with whom he continued to correspond until the end of his life.

2 The Last Absolutist

If we were to sum up the evolution of Raczyński's political thought in a single sentence, we could say that its framework, the general principles, and guidelines at its core were formulated early in life, but they gained precision, depth, and clarity only with time. Likewise, the language Raczyński used to describe social and political phenomena also developed over time, becoming increasingly clear, concise, and expressive.

At the core of Raczyński's political programme was his belief that certain essential elements of the traditional social and political order needed to be preserved and protected in order to avoid the threat of a revolutionary upheaval, which in his opinion, brought only injustice, destruction, tyranny, and war. His was an order based on a clear hierarchy and a clear division of roles: the monarch, who was in control of both the legislature and the executive, was supported by an advisory council, a privileged group of politically aware individuals who provided political advice. The people, for their own good and in the name of peace, harmonious development, and the common interest, would renounce, or rather, be deprived of, certain of their freedoms. They would not take part in public life and would submit to the will of the monarch. Raczyński considered such an order to be natural and stable: 'since time immemorial, there have existed certain natural rights of the monarch and obligations of the subject.'12 However, the source of this order was not the nature as such – which was itself an abstract and autonomous entity; in fact, the idea of natural rights as advocated by Enlightenment thinkers was utterly alien to Athanasius - but nature defined as an order governed by divine law, le droit divin.13 'We question the very notion of divine law,' he wrote in 1850, 'but we accept that there are natural and organic laws in society, that is, laws that govern society. The sovereign power of the monarch is one such law. Power implies obedience. War is also a law of nature. But a balance of power, elections, voting, constitutional guarantees, and majority vote cannot be considered natural rights. They

¹² DIARY, 30 November 1827.

¹³ On the providentialist concept of the world – according to which there is a hierarchical order on earth preserved by a personal and active God, in which the political and social sphere is secondary to the metaphysical order – as one of the most important premises underlying conservative thought see: Bogdan Szlachta, *Szkice o konserwatyzmie*, 15–17.

are not a condition of existence, and no one can ever make them organic or divine rights. They will never be God's laws.'¹⁴ Because of the divine origin of the natural order and the social order that reflects it, Raczyński believed that religion played a vital political role as a means of upholding the established order: 'Religion is the most indispensable condition of order in society.'¹⁵ The rule of a sovereign is also legitimized by God: 'The legitimacy of the crown comes from God.'¹⁶

During the time of Raczyński's political maturation, the archaic notion of the divine origin of the social hierarchy and royal power underwent a process of updating. In 1819, Friedrich von Gentz, one of the greatest political writers in early nineteenth-century Germany and a close associate of the Austrian Chancellor Metternich, published to great acclaim an essay entitled *Concerning* the Difference between Constitutions Based on Estates and Representative Constitutions (Über den Unterschied zwischen den landständischen und Repräsentativ-Verfassungen).¹⁷ In it, Gentz offered a brilliant yet conservative interpretation of Article 13 of the Deutsche Bundesakte (German Federal Act or Constitution of the German Confederation) of 1815, in which all German states pledged to adopt constitutions and representative systems of government. Gentz stated that a distinction should be made between constitutions and representative governments of two kinds. One is based on estates of the country, where the rights and interests of different social groups are represented by delegates and conditioned by their social status, prerogatives, and limitations; the other is based on representation, where the undifferentiated nation, treated as a perfect unity, is the political subject. Gentz favoured the estate system because it was based on 'the natural foundation of a well-organized society.' As such, it stabilized and protected the traditional political and social order. Reprecentative constitutions, according to Gentz, were rooted in the 'distorted notion of the ultimate sovereignty of the people.' They created the dilusion of universal freedom and equality before the law yet, in fact, they destroyed the 'social order and the principle of subordination' and questioned

¹⁴ DIARY, 18 May 1850.

¹⁵ DIARY, 24 October 1824. On the place of religion in nineteenth-century thought see: Bogdan Szlachta, *Szkice o konserwatyzmie*, pp. 115–141.

¹⁶ DIARY, 10 November 1824.

¹⁷ Friedrich von Gentz, "Ueber den Unterschied zwischen den landständischen und Repräsentativ-Verfassungen," in Johann Ludwig Klüber, Karl Welcker, eds., Wichtige Urkunden für den Rechtszustand der deutschen Nation mit eigenhändigen Anmerkungen (Mannheim: F. Bassermann, 1845), 213–223. See also: Matthew Levinger, Enlightened Nationalism. The Transformation of Prussian Political Culture 1806–1848 (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 149–159.

the 'irrevocable differences between estates, established by God Himself.' Thus, it inevitably led to revolutions, rebellions, and chaos. Even if Raczyński had not read Gentz's essay (which is highly improbable because Gentz and his work occupied a prominent position in Germany's public life),¹⁸ he must have read numerous texts that were inspired by it. Such texts were very popular around 1820 in Germany. Adam Müller's essays from the years 1816-1829 and Karl Ludwig von Haller's magnum opus, entitled Renewal of the science of the state or theory of the natural-social state contrasted with the chimera of the artificial-bourgeois state (Restauration der Staatswissenschaft oder Theorie des natürlich-geselligen Zustands, der Chimäre des künstlich-bürgerlichen entgegengesetzt), written in 1816-1822 and published in full in 1843, as well as essays by Friedrich Ancillon, Joseph von Görres, the brothers Leopold and Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach, and Friedrich Julius Stahl, explained in detail why a state ruled by the sovereign, supported by the church and religion, was the best political system.¹⁹ After Frederick William IV, with whom Raczyński had close relations for years, became King in 1840, the idea of 'King by God's grace' became an official element of the Prussian political doctrine. Interestingly, this notion had not earlier been part of the Prussian monarchical tradition, according to which monarchy found its legitimacy in law and not religion.²⁰

Raczyński knew well that references to the divine were becoming increasingly less convincing in the face of the progressive secularisation of society and political discourse. Indeed, his arguments for maintaining traditional power structures and against democratic tendencies were primarily pragmatic.

One of the pillars of Raczyński's political programme was his call for restrictions on freedom. He explained his position thoroughly, taking into consideration the broader context of the new social order. Referring to an article from *Österreichischer Beobachter*, Raczyński compared freedom to oxygen in the atmosphere: in the right proportions, it allows you to breathe freely; in excess, it induces a short-term euphoria, only to cause light-headedness and loss of consciousness.²¹ According to Raczyński, restricting the freedoms of the lower classes was meant to prevent them from becoming an active political entity that would inevitably stand in opposition to the sovereign and thus create a permanent state of conflict:

¹⁸ For more on Gentz, see e.g.: Harro Zimmermann, *Friedrich Gentz. Die Erfindung der Realpolitik* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2012).

¹⁹ Axel Schildt, Konservatismus in Deutschland, 47–62.

²⁰ David E. Barclay, Frederick William IV and the Prussian Monarchy, 1840–1861 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 51.

²¹ DIARY, 18 August 1831. See also: "Miszellen," *Oesterreichischer Beobachter*, No. 230, Donnerstag, den 18. August 1831, 1132.

The essence of every well-organized society is that the most populous class – I call it the servile class, *classe servile* – does not enjoy full practical freedom. For it does not respond to stimuli other than those originating from within its own class, and in this way brings ruin to society; either it will respond to stimuli from a leader who leads the government and makes it an instrument of his tyranny; or, finally, it will respond to ambitious people who flatter it and lead to the replacement of the government by a group of parties, which, if not out of predilection, then out of necessity, will become tyrannical. Thus, when the servile class is granted complete political freedom, it will dismantle either society or the government.²²

However, if traditional social structures prevail and keep subversive forces in check, the lower social classes will continue to serve the state and society well. Raczyński neither scorned nor resented the servile class. He was convinced that its destiny and, more importantly, its real desire was to work under the supervision of a just government. In *Guide to Morality and Political Economy for the Working Classes*, Raczyński, who co-financed the publication of the book, was referred to as a 'friend of the working classes.'²³

When interpreted in the light of constitutional theories from the first half of the nineteenth century, Raczyński's statements carry clear polemical overtones. He questions one of the fundamental premises adopted by the Prussian advocates of democratisation in the early nineteenth century, including the great reformers Freiherr vom Stein and Karl August von Hardenberg, namely the conviction that the will and aspirations of the sovereign and the people are essentially the same. It should be added that the people in question were not the people of the present but the people of the future: educated, politically aware, and committed to the notion of citizenship. Belief in harmonious cooperation between the monarch and the people was first questioned in the mid-nineteenth century. Raczyński did not believe in such cooperation at all. He was convinced that the people en masse, even when educated, would not overcome their destructive instincts towards the state. In other words, he believed that human culture was incapable of overcoming nature and that human nature was egoistic, unstable, and prone to dangerous emotions: 'For republican forms [of government] to be adopted in society, it is not sufficient

²² DIARY, 9 March 1818.

²³ Karol Forster, *Przewodnik moralności i ekonomii politycznej dla użytku klass roboczych, ułożony podług dzieła francuzkiego P. Rapet* (Berlin: E. Beher, 1861), XI.

to make people virtuous, they also need to possess a sense of the law and not give in to their emotions.'^{24}

Raczyński accuses 'the people' of three things in general. He believes that the masses are unruly and impossible to educate, and by nature focused on their particular interests. He also points out that the lower classes are highly diverse and essentially lack individuals who would be competent to participate in public life. Lastly, 'the people' are prone to manipulation. All three accusations had important consequences for the formulation of Raczyński's political programme. When combined with his distrust of majority rule, these three accusations led Raczyński to reject every form of representative (constitutional) government. In 1830, Raczyński thus described 'the people':

We must give up the guarantees and balances provided by constitutional forces. We must seek not illusory freedom but justice and order. Certain words must have their former meanings restored because the new meanings lead to misunderstandings; such is the case with the word 'freedom.' Nor should we ascribe meanings to the term 'the people' (*Volk*), which leads to false conclusions. The term 'the people' refers to the general population, including women, children, the elderly, the infirm, madmen, villains, the lower classes, and the educated upper classes. We should therefore not talk about 'the people' as if they were a person; the people have no obligations, no rights, they are neither wise nor foolish. You cannot say: 'the people think' or 'the people are' such and such because every personification of the people distorts the true meaning of the word.²⁵

Because society is a heterogeneous structure, torn by passions, conflicting interests, and egoism, both in terms of groups and individuals, Raczyński believed that faith in the credibility of the voice of 'the people' or so-called public opinion was based on a dangerous fiction. For him, public opinion was not the voice of the people but a tool used by liberal ideologues to manipulate the masses. While Raczyński recognised the growing importance of public opinion, he also consistently questioned its legal validity and reliability, arguing that the voice of the people is prone to manipulation, a change of heart, and indecision. In a portrayal of the possible downfall of the monarchy, Raczyński wrote in the 1830s: 'it is not easy to cast off slavery on this earth, and a merciless tyrant will rise from the ruins of the throne – this tyrant will be public opinion.

²⁴ DIARY, 7 February 1834.

²⁵ DIARY, 2 December 1830.

It will be "guided" by indecision, ignorance, emotions, and boredom – every human weakness.²⁶ During the turmoils of 1848, Raczyński wrote:

Public opinion is like the sea: it is calm by nature, but it can become dangerous and stormy when the wind blows. Its colour changes, depending on whether or not the sun is shining. It consists of millions of drops of water. They do not have a colour of their own – they only reflect the sunshine. The sea is calm and shiny during good weather and dark and rough during a storm. It is a bottomless abyss filled with uncountable waterdrops, inconceivable and elusive, in which drops or particles separate, modify, mix, evaporate, and transform into beneficial rain or a storm, into a bright stream or a puddle, into life-giving juices or decay, into blood, sweat, dew or ice. Everything ultimately returns to a common reservoir fed by a thousand arteries, and all these things vanish into it: drops in the sea, opinions formed in countless human minds.²⁷

According to him, newspapers, in particular, influenced public opinion in a negative way. He, therefore, considered effective, though not excessive, censorship to be a necessary means of protecting the values he cherished most, namely order and peace. On 23 January 1824, he wrote to General Karol Kniaziewicz in an early letter from Paris: 'Freedom of the press is a dangerous thing. However, I also believe that governments should restrict the freedom of expression as little as possible.'²⁸

Raczyński's argument was therefore primarily based on his belief in the incompetence of the masses, one that had been shared by critics of democracy since Plato. These critics believed that the vast majority of people did not have the mental qualities (knowledge) or character traits (virtues) necessary to govern.²⁹ Raczyński adds to this traditional accusation two newer ones, namely the dangers of the representative system and the threats posed by public opinion, whose power had grown considerably over the ages. His vision of democracy was thus as follows: the people, who are incompetent, namely devoid of knowledge and virtue, and therefore prone to manipulation under the influence of indecisive and untruthful public opinion, are led by persons who are its most dangerous (that is the most egoistic and subversive)

²⁶ DIARY, 2 May 1836.

²⁷ Deux diplomates le comte Raczynski et Donoso Cortès, 10–11.

²⁸ From a copy in his DIARY.

²⁹ For an extensive (and polemical) discussion of this belief see e.g. Robert A. Dahl, Democracy and Its Critics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 65–81 and 97–105.

representatives, and who seek to use it to abolish the existing political and social order, and thereby create a new disastrous order of tyranny. According to Raczyński, democracy does not lead to the replacement of minority rule with majority rule, but to the replacement of a rational authority sanctified by tradition and grounded (theologically) in the divine, with authority that is irrational, destructive, and egoistic. The alternative to monarchy is the tyranny of the mob.

All these premises led Raczyński to oppose a constitutional representative system. A traditional monarchical system was the only alternative. This does not mean that Athanasius rejected the value of a constitution as a legal document. He accepted the concept of a constitution, defined as a list of 'fundamental principles,' when it was established by an independent monarch. He rejected it when it was the result of negotiations, a pact, or an agreement between the monarch and his subjects or their representatives. The constitution 'should be established by the throne and not by representatives of the people. The monarch has a greater right to act in the name of the lower classes and the masses than liberal groups, than advocates of rebellious opinions and political caprice, than ambitious doctrinarians who explore imaginary realms for their own benefit,' he wrote in the aforementioned letter to Kniaziewicz. A representative system, argued Raczyński, is based on false premises, on erroneous convictions about the disinterestedness and rationality of the masses and the legitimacy of majority rule. On the contrary, the people are constantly engaged in a ruthless struggle between self-interested factions. They are led by egoists and fools at best, and radical despots, tyrants, and new Robespierres and Saint-Justs at worst:

The biggest drawback of representative government is that there have always been more people who misconceive where their true interests lie and are unable to effectively deal with their affairs than people who can be deemed capable in these matters; there are fewer brave people than weak ones. It is thus futile to attempt to represent everyone's interests. Each group, consisting mostly of people who lack both courage and common sense, tends to send to the national congress persons whom the majority values or knows the least in order to demand that which is unattainable. This fault cannot be avoided by increasing the number of people who are allowed to vote. The proportion will remain the same. Wherever there are completely free elections, free from the influence of those in power or the powerful and enlightened aristocracy, we will witness the victories not of real positive change, but of the whims and caprice of political parties, and sometimes the triumph of a madman from among these groups, because during a revolution fear is more powerful than anything else. I speak of revolution because, during the whole of my life, all constitutional states have been either in a state of permanent revolution or have been on the brink of revolution.³⁰

According to Raczyński, only a strong monarchy could prevent a repeat of the revolution that shook Europe in 1789. 'It is the fear of tyranny that makes me love and serve the monarchy,' he confessed in a letter to his sister-in-law.³¹ This does not mean that he did not see the vices and weaknesses of the monarchy, but he saw no safe alternative to it. In the mid-1830s, he wrote:

The following accusation is levied against absolute monarchy: If one could be certain that the King was wise, then absolute monarchy would be the most desirable form of government. However, because the King may be insane, brutal, and eager to conquer other countries, we should have tools that could be used to prevent this. I would say that establishing such safeguards would be desirable, but as we have seen so far, these safeguards pose a greater threat than the disadvantages associated with royal power. It is clear that an effective safeguard must be more powerful than the forces it is to counter. Thus, this new force would, in turn, become arbitrary, as groups are unfortunately always less wise than an individual, as long as the individual is worthy of respect. [...] There is no state in which supreme power is wielded in the absence of any fears and restrictions. Kings realize, now more than ever, that the abuse of power and excessive oppression lead to crises that result in the overthrow of governments and the destruction of order. The King does not rule alone. The monarchy represents the rule of tradition; it is a slow march, it is an order of things less exposed to sudden changes and revolutions. [...] Monarchs are sometimes repulsive, but representative governments are always repulsive.32

As we will later see, at some point, under the influence of Juan Donoso Cortés, Raczyński even considered absolute monarchy to be insufficient in the face of the challenges facing it and began to support (a specifically understood form of) dictatorship.

³⁰ DIARY, 20 January 1831.

³¹ A letter from Konstancja Raczyńska dated 22 July 1834; MNP, MNPA-1414-48, pp. 14–15.

³² DIARY, 27 December 1836.

A few years after Raczyński's death, Lionel von Donop mentioned the Count's 'diehard conservatism' in a short biographical note he wrote for Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.³³ The European, and even Prussian, conservative movement was quite diverse. What made Raczyński a 'diehard' advocate of the movement was his uncompromising opposition to all forms of constitutionalism and representative government. Most conservatives supported or at least took into account the establishment of a constitution in some form and some form of national (estate) representation. Raczyński's uncompromising attitude was to a large extent a response to his own particular definition of liberalism. Raczyński drew on many sources to arrive at a unified, simplified and above all very controversial concept of liberalism. In 1843, he wrote: 'I abhor the liberals' concept of freedom because it is a form of oppression; I hate constitutional guarantees because these guarantees guarantee only turmoil. Modern constitutions ensure impunity for the wicked, while hardworking, good, conscientious, religious, faithful, privileged and conservative people are oppressed.'34 By radicalizing the beliefs of his opponents, Raczyński was forced to adopt a radical attitude himself.

The fear of revolution was as strong among German liberals as among conservatives. Only the most radical democrats demanded the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republican form of government in Prussia. Such views were not at all popular in Prussia at the time. Even in the dramatic years of 1848–1949, the vast majority of liberals there were in favour of maintaining the monarchy, though they called for change in the spirit of constitutional transformation, with the nation (the people) becoming an active political entity. Even if liberals advocated the creation of a 'republic,' this was little more than a slogan devoid of any real political 'content.'³⁵

However, a less hostile view of the liberal fraction was beyond Raczyński. Like other heralds of the dangers of revolution, including Joseph de Maistre, Louis de Bonald, and Juan Donoso Cortés, Raczyński perceived modern reality in terms of an immutable conflict – a great struggle, *la gran contienda*, as his Spanish friend Donoso called it – between the forces of tradition and the forces of revolution, between order and chaos, the rule of law and usurpation, justice and bloodshed, good and evil.³⁶ This was a time, especially the

³³ Lionel von Donop, "Raczynski, Athanasius Graf."

³⁴ DIARY, 7 August 1843.

³⁵ Matthew Levinger, *Enlightened Nationalism*, 217–220.

³⁶ Günther Maschke, "Endzeit, Zeitende. Zum Spätwerk von Juan Donoso Cortés," in Juan Donoso Cortés, Essay über den Katholizismus, den Liberalismus und den Sozialismus und andere Schriften aus den Jahren 1851 bis 1853, herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Günther Maschke (Wien und Leipzig: Karolinger Verlag, 2007), XII–LI, esp. XX–XXIII.

year 1848, of radicalisation and polarisation in political attitudes throughout Europe. 'Europe seemed to have split into two mutually hostile camps: into the international force of order and the international force of revolution; into two intransigent and irreconcilable positions which [...] would soon have to engage in a mortal battle which would settle everything.'³⁷ In regard to this final life or death fight, one had to take a definitive stance, make a decision, choose a side. Any compromise would result in catastrophe, as the middle ground was quicksand – it was an either-or situation. Therefore, when Frederick William IV attempted in the 1840s to reconcile the conflicted camps, making concessions to the liberals to maintain absolute power, Raczyński immediately recognized the contradictions of such a position and expressed his disappointment: 'I do not understand my sovereign.' For this reason, in the late 1840s, he criticizes extensively in his diary the idea of the monarch taking an oath to uphold the constitution. In a letter to a friend, he described himself with bitter irony as 'the last absolutist.'

What was it like for Raczyński to stand firmly by his political beliefs 'in practice'? It meant – and this is clearly visible after 1848 – living in a state of permanent dilemma and internal conflict. This was also a moral dilemma, one to which Raczyński often referred in his diary. For example, he wrote in January 1852:

I have two guiding principles, two banners, regarding my political beliefs. I respect two things: the King and the common good. The common good is the prosperity of society, the triumph of truth, the destruction of modern and parliamentary systems, a distrust of novelties and utopias, warfare in the spirit of English politics etc., etc. I usually understand the King to be the common good and the common good to be the King. However, these two principles were often not complementary, and I had to choose one over the other. Such as when I believed the King was not contributing to the greater good or when those working for the greater good looked unfavourably upon the King, though their working for good did not require this. So, when the King took the side of parliamentarism and liberalism, and abandoned, due to his personal views or in the hope of strengthening Prussia, the cause of the greater good, I did not see how I could agree with such a policy. When, on the other hand, I see that Prince Schwarzenberg, who has worked for the greater good, is ruining Prussia and the power of my King, I cannot help but detest him.³⁸

³⁷ Jerzy Jedlicki, A Suburb of Europe, 140.

³⁸ DIARY, 23 January 1852.

If there is an element of heroism in Raczyński's attitude, it results from his hopelessly uncompromising nature: he was certain he would fail, but he never compromised his beliefs. If he had done so, he would have acted against principles he had cherished for many years. 'I will remain faithful to them, as I will to my oaths,' Athanasius wrote in describing his 'old ideas and old hopes' (*mes anciennes idées e mes anciennes espérances*), principle to which he truly remained faithful. The above quote comes from his letter to Dezydery Chłapowski, written just before the outbreak of the November Uprising of 1830 in the Kingdom of Poland. During the uprising, some Poles rebelled against Russian rule.³⁹ Although Raczyński followed the events of 1830–1831 from distant Copenhagen, they nevertheless embodied for the Count the first truly dramatic collision of his ideals with reality, and in general, the uprising marked a critical moment in the development of his political beliefs.

3 Attitude towards the November Uprising in the Kingdom of Poland

In issue 35 of Kwartalnik Historyczny (Historical Quarterly) from 1921, Józef Frejlich describes an event that took place during the November Uprising.⁴⁰ On 8 March 1831, 'upon news of the first victories of the Polish army,' an anonymous poem entitled Call to Poland was published in the Danish daily Kjøbenhavnsposten. It encouraged Poles to continue their revolutionary struggle, anticipating their victory over the partitioning powers represented by 'three enemy eagles.' 'This poem,' Frejlich writes, 'which was passed by the Copenhagen censor either by mistake or because he did not recognize it as a possible threat to the state and the law, offended the Prussian envoy to Copenhagen - Count Athanasius Nałęcz Raczyński.' Alarmed by the poem the verses about the fall of the three eagles, including the Prussian eagle, were particularly disturbing - Raczyński sent an unofficial letter of protest to the Danish Secret Counsel of the Legation, Frederik Danckwart, who assured him that he would take steps with regard to the publication. Athanasius then handed over all his correspondence about the incident to his supervisor in the Prussian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Friedrich Ancillon. He, in turn, received Raczyński's letters 'with pleasure' and had a warm-hearted thank-you letter sent to his envoy to the Copenhagen court, which Athanasius received on 26 March 1831. 'The affair relating to the anonymous poem which offended the

³⁹ A letter from Athanasius to Dezydery Chłapowski dated 19 November 1830; BR, Poznań, ms 4048, p. 81.

⁴⁰ Józef Frejlich, "Odgłosy listopadowe w Danji."

Prussian state ended with a warning letter being sent to the Copenhagen censor and a thank-you letter to Raczyński,' Frejlich writes, considering it to have been 'a small matter, but characteristic of Raczyński's persona.'

Frejlich briefly describes 'Raczyński's persona' while trying to understand the Count's motivations: 'he was a diehard conservative. He expressed his profession of political faith in one sentence – *vouloir le bien, être fidele a son souverain* [desire good and be faithful to your sovereign] – regardless of who the monarch was and what his political interests were. Apart from his ultra-conservative political views, his profession of faith clearly defined the relationship between Raczyński, the envoy of the Prussian King, who was an ally of Russia and the father-in-law of Tsar Nicholas I, and the November Uprising, a revolutionary act that indirectly threatened Prussian state interests.' This description is essentially accurate, but it requires a more thorough analysis. There is no doubt that Raczyński's attitude towards the uprising can only be understood in the context of his political beliefs. This is an important issue because Athanasius' critical assessment of revolutionary events in Poland ultimately led to his decision to leave Poland and live in Berlin.

In the first days of December 1830, news of the outbreak of an uprising in the Kingdom of Poland reached Raczyński in Copenhagen, where he was the representative of the King of Prussia with the rank of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. As one can read in the pages of his diary and official documents related to his various activities, he responded to this news with a mixture of dismay and confusion. The first diary entry devoted to the uprising dates from 14 December and reads:

There is a revolution in Poland, we have known about it for eight days. I am trying to distance myself from this thought, it is so frightening, but it is necessary to record this event and give it my attention, as it greatly affects us. Either Russia will be unable to suppress the uprising, and devastating turmoil will spread step by step so that next year no throne will remain, or it will quell the turmoil, and the country will be left in ruins. If Poland were to be reborn with the help of liberalism, it would know no inhibitions; it would plunge into the discord and anarchy that have plagued it for so many centuries. I can see from here who the leaders are, and their rule will certainly not be gentle.⁴¹

Underneath, Raczyński quoted a speech addressed to Poles on December 6 by General Józef Chłopicki, the appointed dictator during the uprising, and

⁴¹ DIARY, 14 December 1830.

an excerpt from an anonymous letter describing the first days of the uprising in Warsaw.

From the beginning, Raczyński tried to get the most reliable information possible about the uprising. In addition to the press, his most important information sources were the accounts given by his relatives, his brother Edward, his sister-in-law Konstancja, and cousin Teresa Jabłonowska *née* Lubomirska. At Athanasius' request, both women sent him very long and detailed letters about the battles being fought, the mood in the army and among the civilian population, and the most important leaders of the uprising.⁴² While both ladies were very insightful, they nevertheless differed in their attitudes towards the rebellion. Teresa Jabłonowska's letters were more dramatic. She expressed a worldview similar to that of Athanasius and confirmed his fears. Konstancja Raczyńska's attitude towards the uprising was more complex and ambiguous. She thought the uprising should not have been organized, but since it had been, she considered it her duty to support her countrymen in their armed struggle ('I am afraid of the revolution and I hate it, but the wine has been poured and someone has to drink it,' she wrote⁴³).

Nevertheless, in many of her letters, she expresses genuine patriotic enthusiasm and hope for the revival of the Polish state: 'We are buying weapons, gunpowder, and cannons, all to be paid for in blood. Only a few units are needed, and Diebitsch's army will be defeated, and we will take the first step towards our existence as a nation.'⁴⁴ Raczyński did not share the views of his sister-in-law, neither her enthusiasm nor hope. Still, he valued the letters from her because, when read alongside Teresa Lubomirska's accounts, they forced him to clarify and reassess his justifications of his own position.

The subject of the uprising returns many times in Raczyński's diary, sometimes in the form of accounts of events, sometimes in the form of reflections. These reflections, as Józef Frejlich has insightfully noted, are firmly rooted in Raczyński's worldview – his unconditional loyalty to the rightful King and fear of social revolution. Raczyński, to some extent, understands the reasons

⁴² See e.g. letters from Konstancja Raczyńska to Athanasius dated 14 December 1830 (BR, Poznań, ms 4223, pp. 69–70), dated 10 April 1831 (APK (Wawel), Zbiory Katarzyny i Andrzeja Potockich z Tulczyna, AKPot 3312, pp. 45–47) and letters from Teresa Lubomirska dated 22 September (APK (Wawel), Zbiory Katarzyny i Andrzeja Potockich z Tulczyna, AKPot 3312, pp. 1–3) and 10 October 1831 (APK (Wawel), Zbiory Katarzyny i Andrzeja Potockich z Tulczyna, AKPot 3312, pp. 3–21; BR, Poznań, ms 4048, pp. 127–145).

⁴³ Letter from Konstancja Raczyńska to Athanasius dated 14 December 1830; BR, Poznań, ms 4223, pp. 69–70.

⁴⁴ Letter from Konstancja Raczyńska to Athansius dated 10 April 1831; APK (Wawel), Zbiory Katarzyny i Andrzeja Potockich z Tulczyna, AKPot 3312, pp. 45–47.

behind the uprising, pointing to Poles' deeply rooted and almost natural hatred of the Russians. However, for him, there is no justification for the actions of the officers who, in supporting the revolution, have broken their oath of allegiance to the monarch. For Raczyński, this is simply treason. Above all, however, the Count is convinced that anti-Russian resentments have become a tool in the hands of cynical liberals seeking to abolish social order solely in their own interests. Thus, Raczyński interprets the November Uprising in political and social terms. For him, 'the revolution in Poland is the most important branch of this great association, which is preparing to bring an end to the established order, the monarchy, stability, heritage, property.'⁴⁵ Seen in this context, one can understand why Raczyński, in his diary, is only one step away from acknowledging the tsar's right to suppress the uprising. Ultimately, he limits himself to a fairly extensive justification for the tsar's actions and praises Russian policy towards the Kingdom of Poland and the 'noble character' of its governor, Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich.

His beliefs and position as a high-ranking official of one partitioning power did not cause Raczyński to feel any conflict of conscience when Poles living in the territories under partition by a second power rose to fight for their freedom. This does not mean, however, that he remained indifferent.

News of the outbreak of an uprising in the Kingdom of Poland reached Berlin on 3 December 1830.⁴⁶ As in many parts of Germany and Europe, this news was welcomed in Prussia by the liberal bourgeoisie and many senior officers.⁴⁷ The court and government circles naturally reacted with greater scepticism, though the news was received rather calmly. The uprising was generally seen as a Russian internal affair; the Prussian strategy was to wait and observe the situation.⁴⁸ In Berlin, the Russian envoy Count David von Alopeus was assured that Russia and Prussia shared common interests. Patrols on the Prussian-Russian border were strengthened, and the 5th Prussian Army stationed in the Duchy of

⁴⁵ DIARY, 7 January 1831.

⁴⁶ On the reception of the November Uprising in Prussia see: Henryk Kocój, Prusy wobec powstania listopadowego (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980); Gotthold Rhode, "Preußen und der polnische "Novemberaufstand' 1830/31," in Oswald Hauser, ed., Zur Problematik "Preußen und das Reich" (Köln et al.: Böhlau, 1984), 299–330.

⁴⁷ On expressions of pro-Polish sympathies in German public opinion see: Ludwig Geiger, Berlin 1688–1840. Geschichte des geistigen Lebens. Zweiter Band: 1786–1840 (Berlin, 1895), 547–548; Georg W. Strobel, "Die deutsche Polenfreundschaft 1830–1834: Vorläuferin des organisierten politischen Liberalismus und Wetterzeichen des Vormärz," in Reiner Riemenschneider, ed., Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen 1831–1848: Vormärz und Völkerfrühling (Braunschweig: Limbach, 1979), 126–147; Henryk Kocój, Prusy wobec powstania listopadowego, 59–69.

⁴⁸ Gotthold Rhode, "Preußen und der polnische Novemberaufstand," 310–321.

Poznań was kept in a state of combat readiness. Still, these steps were relatively limited and largely symbolic. The situation was exacerbated at the beginning of 1831 following two events that directly affected the Prussian royal family. On 25 January, the Polish Sejm adopted a resolution deposing the Russian Tsar Nicholas I as the Polish King. This extended to all other members of the Romanov dynasty, including his wife, Princess Charlotte of Prussia (who as empress took the name of Alexandra Feodorovna), the daughter of Frederick William III and Louise Hohenzollern, who on 24 May 1829, had been crowned Queen of Poland. Her deposition and that of her husband, the son-in-law of the Prussian King Frederick William III and brother-in-law of the Crown Prince Frederick William, had to be condemned by the court in Berlin. Moreover, just a few days earlier, the court had suffered another affront from the authorities of the Kingdom of Poland when the Polish Sejm appointed Michał Radziwiłł, the younger brother of Prince Antoni Radziwiłł, a high Prussian official, governor of the Grand Duchy of Poznań (the Radziwiłłs were connected by close family ties to the House of Hohenzollern), leader though for a short time only of the insurgent forces. There were also additional circumstances, such as the fact that many citizens of the Grand Duchy of Poznań fled into the Kingdom of Poland to join the insurgent forces, which increased Prussia's involvement in Polish affairs. These issues forced Prussia to react more decisively. A special military staff was created in Poznań, and a number of decrees were issued directed at those inhabitants of the Duchy of Poznan who had taken part in the uprising. However, in general, Prussia remained neutral towards the events in the territories under Russian partition and distanced itself from the uprising.⁴⁹

Despite the reserved attitude of the King and the Prussian government, Raczyński perceived his position as problematic. As evidenced by the above-mentioned history of his intervention concerning the short anonymous poem, he did not follow in the footsteps of his revolutionary countrymen. For this reason, in his official correspondence, the uprising is rarely mentioned. This silence is even more profound because the uprising was at that time being openly and extensively discussed in the Copenhagen press and in Danish diplomatic circles.⁵⁰ Raczyński did not address the uprising until 18 December, and

⁴⁹ Since a potential victory by the insurgents was not in the interest of Prussia, and it remained dependent on Russia in certain areas, the Prussian government supported the Russians more or less openly throughout the war. As a consequence, the attitude of Prussia contributed in no small degree to the final defeat of the insurrection. See Henryk Kocój, *Prusy wobec powstania listopadowego*, 11–43.

⁵⁰ See e.g. the extensive set of reports sent out every few days from Berlin by Count Eugen von Reventlow (or Secretary Frederik Ernst Løvenørn) to the Danish Foreign Minister Hans Krabbe-Carisius, in which the situation in the Kingdom of Poland is extensively

not in a diplomatic note, but in a private letter to Foreign Minister Heinrich Werther. In it, he explained:

I did not dare to write extensively about my Polish affairs in my last letter because I decided that I should not mention them in official reports except to describe the impression they are making here [in Denmark]. I did not think it necessary at that point to reassure you that I remain devoted and loyal to the King because my attitude has not changed, and I will never allow myself to think that His Majesty could think otherwise. Nevertheless, allow me, Your Excellency, to speak more openly with you. When I began my service to His Majesty, I did not make a prompt or hasty decision. I was continually waiting for the outbreak of what has now finally occurred. This crisis was inevitable, and it seems to me that it could have happened in the circumstances much more unfavourable than those in which it manifested itself; for example, an uprising in Russia could have broken out as well.⁵¹

Raczyński's letter, as befits a diplomat, is cleverly composed, because in essence it says the opposite of what it seems to be saying at first read. It should be interpreted as follows: Athanasius did not say anything because he was afraid that he would be accused of supporting the uprising; and any accusation of that nature could make others question his loyalty to the King. Contrary to what he wrote in the letter, Raczyński could not be at all sure what the monarch or, more likely, his courtiers thought of him and his loyalty.

Later in his letter to Werther, Raczyński gives his assessment of the events in Poland – it will be discussed below – and makes the following remark:

I am far from indifferent to my homeland. I will always think that it is in the interest of peace in Europe to restore Poland (*reconstituer la Pologne*) with strong institutions, taking care to ensure that the political balance in Europe and the monarchical principle are guaranteed. But in the current state of affairs, I see only one thing: I see a terrible threat to civilization and social order, I see the mob rising up against the authorities, the ties that bind us are one step away from being broken, I see this to be a matter

discussed; RA, Copenhagen, v. 302. Departament for udenlandske anliggender, Preussen, Indberetninger 1831, call no. 1771.

⁵¹ Letter from Athanasius to Heinrich Werther dated 18 December 1830 in: AA, Berlin, Acta betr. die persönlichen Angelegenheiten des Grafen von Raczinsky, 01609 (copy in: BR, Poznań, ms 4048, pp. 89–93).

of life or death. And I now have only one wish: to see civilization saved from destruction and Europe restored to order.

The first sentence, in particular, could easily be misunderstood, so Raczyński ends his letter by hastening to assure Werther that 'regardless of my political principles and beliefs, I will never forget that the province to which I belong has the good fortune to be ruled by His Majesty, and to be under his wise and able administration.' He adds that he will always uphold the oath of loyalty he swore to the King.

Only after he had been given permission by his supervisor to report on the events in the Kingdom of Poland did Raczyński address the issue of the uprising. However, he limited himself to presenting views prevailing among Danish public opinion, which were predominantly in support of the Poles.

Raczyński only addressed the issue of the uprising in detail two years after its collapse. At the end of September 1833, he sent the King (apparently acting on his own authority) a report entitled *Observations rélatives à la Pologne*, in which he analysed the causes and nature of the events that had taken place in the Kingdom of Poland in the years 1830–1831. He also examined the current and future state of Poland, divided into three partition territories.⁵² Raczyński wrote the report during his three-month stay in Galicia in the summer of 1833. It was quite a radical text. Probably in no other document, other than his diary entry written three years later in which he discusses what it means to be Polish, does Raczyński criticize the national character of Poles so passionately and categorically, and in no other document does he suggest taking such drastic countermeasures. His writing is at its finest – it is brilliant and imaginative. Certain fragments of the report are examples of Raczyński's best political writing.

In analysing the reasons for the outbreak of the uprising in 1833, Raczyński both repeats and extends the theses he formulated *ad hoc* back in December 1830. He blames a group of liberals for the outbreak, claiming that their slogans were accepted by Poles because of their emotional, chimeric, destructive, and anarchic nature: 'Poles are very unstable: they lack constancy, except for a certain restless disposition, which often makes them act without a clear goal. Nothing suits the Polish character more than new liberal ideas because they bring unending upheavals. The words "constitution" and "freedom" remain utterly vague, with the boundaries and conditions of both not being subject to any rules other than those created by the imagination and changing in

⁵² *Observations rélatives à la Pologne*, GStA, Berlin, III. HA Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten I, No. 4606, pp. 144–157.

accordance with one's whims. The goal is a dream, restlessness – an irresistible need; it is an endemic disease, peace and order drive people mad with boredom.'

Poles all the more readily acted on their natural dispositions because demagogues gave them an excellent tool for suppressing doubts, dilemmas, hesitations, and remorse. This tool was patriotism: 'Patriotism was proclaimed the greatest virtue. It is said that this feeling should not know any limits; even morality and honour are seen as being subject to patriotic feelings. Crime ceases to be a crime when committed for the greater good of your country; obligations can be forgotten, treason and treachery permitted.' Patriotism, sometimes sincere and other times opportunistic, was strengthened by another powerful force – an overpowering and equally inspiring fear. 'Fear makes people act bravely! Fear turns people into heroes! Even the bravest and the most noble people were afraid not to be considered patriots in the eyes of the Lelewels and Puławskis, in the eyes of the mob who was subject to their principles and satanic influence, in the eyes of high school students and heroes of the Belvedere.⁵³ The most noble people fear exposing themselves to their insults and mockery, to their hatred, to their daggers.' Athanasius did not believe that the leaders of the uprising had good intentions. According to him, Polish independence was only a 'camouflage' that had fooled honest and naive patriots. The real goal and driving force of the uprising were to destroy the political and social order and gain financial benefit. There were, of course, noble people among the insurgent forces, perhaps even many of them, but they had been deceived or threatened from the very outset. This is what Raczyński saw as the greatest threat of liberalism in general: it inevitably leads to conceptual confusion and a crisis of values that must end in the rule of terror.

In the second part of the report, Raczyński briefly analyses the policies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria in regard to the uprising, describes the current mood in the partition territories, and, finally, describes possible future developments. Raczyński is particularly critical of the Austrian government, accusing it of leniency towards the revolutionary aspirations of Poles and thus of disloyalty to its ally, Russia. The Count praises the attitude of Prussia and also speaks highly of Russia. More important than these assessments, however, are Raczyński's postulates regarding the future. Recognizing the preservation of peace and the social *status quo* as the primary goal, he proposes a categorical

⁵³ The November Uprising began with an attack on the evening of 29 November 1830 by a group of conspirators, mainly students and members of the military, on Belvedere Palace, which was then the seat of the governor of the Kingdom of Poland, Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich.

solution. For him, the denationalisation of Poles (*dénationalisation*) is the only chance. According to Raczyński, due to its fainter spirit of resistance, government policy, and finally, geographical conditions, in Prussia, this process will be a rather peaceful one. The Polish lands will slowly assimilate with neighbouring provinces: Silesia, Pomerania, and the March. The situation in Russia was different. In Russia, Polish lands will be for many years a territory of political turmoil, insubordination, and hidden or open conflict. However, there is no other way: the next revolution can only be prevented if the Kingdom of Poland is absorbed by the Russian empire:

I have said elsewhere that the denationalisation of Poles would be difficult, if not impossible, using ordinary means, but this is the single goal that the Russian government must seek to achieve because it will know neither peace nor security until it succeeds. Kindness will do nothing [...]. Justice, which is the first need of governments and nations, through control and strength, may over time allow Russia, if foreign revolutionaries do not interfere, to eliminate the Polish revolutionaries, but only denationalisation can lead to this because the words 'liberal' and 'Polish' have always been synonymous. [...] Thus, denationalisation is possible in the Grand Duchy. In the Russian part of Poland, it can be achieved only in the very distant future, and the Russian government will have to overcome great difficulties in order to make this come about. Both in Prussia and Russia, it should be the most important goal of the government. Meanwhile, if the French revolutionaries or other liberals arrive before denationalisation is achieved, nothing will stop the revolt, and if the government is not strong enough, the whole nation will join the revolution.

The experience of the November Uprising was very important to Raczyński's life as a whole. The outbreak of the revolution in the Kingdom of Poland was final proof that he could neither identify nor sympathise with Polish public opinion. The sense of being different from other Poles, or at least those Poles who were active in public life, as well as the fear of 'Polish Jacobinism,' prompted Raczyński to make categorical decisions. The count decided to live in Berlin. He also decided to take a much more radical step, which, as it turned out later, did not carry any consequences but was nevertheless taken with conviction and determination. If Raczyński had managed to implement his intended plan, his problematic relationship with his native Wielkopolska, and to some extent also with Poland, would have come to an end.

On 30 June 1831, Raczyński issued a written request to Frederick William III to exchange his estates in Wielkopolska for equivalent estates in Silesia. I could not find this document, but diary entries and numerous subsequent letters make it clear that Raczyński thought only in terms of politics. He wished to distance himself from other Poles, who were so unpredictable, dangerous, and, mentally, so distant from him. He wanted 'to flee from Polish harassment.'⁵⁴

However, the King did not like Raczyński's idea and, pursuant to a cabinet order of 7 August 1831, his request to exchange the estates was rejected. Raczyński renewed his appeal in the spring of 1835, indicating 'if it were possible, Old March, Saxony or the Magdeburg District, where the population is least mixed in terms of origin' as a new desirable place of residence.⁵⁵ Instead, he was offered the estate of Vandsburg in West Prussia (today Wiecbork) or the estates of Palowo and Nosalin in the Koszalin district in Pomerania. However, none of these offers, however, lived up to the applicant's expectations, who again expressed his desire to be granted an estate in Silesia - it could be one of the estates taken over by Prussia as a result of the secularisation of church lands. The monarch accepted this new proposal and, in anticipation of realising a transaction, ordered a detailed valuation of Raczyński's assets. This process did indeed begin, but it soon led to a misunderstanding between Raczyński and Philipp von Ladenberg, the head of the estate and forest management board. Athanasius did not agree to bear the full cost of the valuation and did not show, at least this was the opinion of the Prussian officials, a willingness to compromise. Raczyński, in turn, pointed out the defects of the 'equivalent' Silesian estates chosen by the Prussian government: they were dispersed and in part indebted. As a result of this dispute, in which the treasury minister and even the monarch were forced to intervene, as documented by the numerous letters exchanged between Raczyński and Ladenberg, the exchange was never finalised.⁵⁶ Raczyński tried again a few years later, in 1846, as evidenced by

⁵⁴ DIARY, 22 January 1837. See in particular an extensive file containing documentation concerning a proposal by Raczyński for an exchange of properties in: GStA, Berlin, I HA Rep. 89, Geh. Zivilkabinett, jüngere Periode, No. 31460. In the documents referred to in the following footnotes the pages are not numbered.

⁵⁵ Raczyński in a letter to King Frederick William III dated 20 May 1835.

⁵⁶ The issue of exchanging Raczynski's estate gained some notoriety in Prussian political circles. It is recalled by Heinrich Küpfer, among others, in his memorandum from 1837 on the need for full Germanisation of the Grand Duchy of Posen. In his opinion, Raczynski's project should be supported, as the acquisition of his property by German owners would strengthen Prussian land ownership in the Duchy – he considered this issue to be one of the key elements in the province's de-nationalisation. Although Küpfer's memorandum was never published, it was presented to several influential Prussian politicians.

another of his letters and a very comprehensive report by Minister Anton zu Stolberg-Wernigerode. In his letter addressed to the King, Stolberg not only extensively reports on the history of the failed transaction and the problems involved but also advises the King to consider the case closed and refuse any requests from Raczyński to discuss it further.⁵⁷ That was indeed the case: on 22 September 1846, Frederick William IV sent Athanasius Raczyński a very polite letter in which he informed him that the negotiations on the exchange of estates had ended.

The fact that such negotiations had been conducted, with varying degrees of intensity, for fifteen years proves that the decision to exchange estates, though motivated by the uprising, was not a momentary, impulsive decision by a terrified anti-revolutionary. It was a genuine plan for which Raczyński took full responsibility. In such a context, Athanasius' repeated plans to emigrate should be taken seriously. Indeed, as a stranger among his own people, he sought ways to escape from Polish affairs. At the same time, and this remains a significant characteristic, he never stopped feeling Polish.

4 *Cara Patria*: Being Polish as a Burden and a Challenge

'In what way does an individual belong to the nation?' the Polish Catholic priest, scholar, and publicist Stefan Kantak asked at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁵⁸ His answer: not by birth alone and not by upbringing, although both are important. 'So what factor is decisive in determining one's nationality? Choice. In other words, one's will.' This choice can be influenced by many factors, 'everything depends on the circumstances.' One should not judge others because 'to change one's nationality is not a crime.' Nationality is influenced mainly by two circumstances: 'tradition and education.' If they are in harmony, the choice is usually straightforward, but when they are in conflict, the choice becomes very problematic. The case of the Poles over the last hundred years was, however, a singular one. 'Unfortunately, there is no national education in Poland. On the other hand, there are traditions to the

See: Manfred Laubert, "Eine Denkschrift des Legationsrats Heinrich Küpfer über die Germanisierung der Provinz Posen (1837)," Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte. Neue Folge der Märkischen Forschungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg XIX (1906): 187–221, esp. 201.

⁵⁷ Letter from Anton zu Stolberg-Wernigerode to King Frederick William III dated 8 August 1846.

⁵⁸ Stefan Kamil Juliusz Kantak, Państwo – naród – jednostka (Poznań: Drukarnia i Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, 1911), 81–88.

highest degree.' 'There is no state, but the memory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth has been preserved in the soul of a sovereign self-governing nation: every Pole has in himself some royalty, some national majesty.' This is why a conscious Pole 'almost never rejects his nationality.' Because 'to reject one's nationality means breaking all ties with the living and the dead, breaking away from everything, and committing your soul not into God's hands, but into the hands of a foreign world that is often hating and always indifferent.' If one takes such a step, Kantak writes, one needs to have a 'truly superhuman, cruel soul' and 'despair in regard to oneself and everything else.' And he adds with compassion and without anger: 'Athanasius Raczyński must have experienced a terrible tragedy to make him write at the end of his life, "Of all the hopes I had throughout my life, I have only one left: my attachment to the Prussian court.""

In his insightful assessment of Raczyński, Kantak quotes the former's radical opinion from his *Historical Studies*. The entire quote reads:

The royal house and Prussia are the last symbols and last anchors of my political principles. What binds me to them is, on the one hand, the gratitude I owe to the ruling house which I want to faithfully cherish and, on the other, the wise and honest rule which, despite growing liberalism, still prevails in Prussia, and finally – my innate desire for order and conscientiousness, which are with a few exceptions still preserved in Prussia. Down with liberal and national antics! Down with Czartoryski and Mierosławski! Down with Bonapartism and Palmerstonian politics! If it is no longer possible to go in my former direction, then, until death comes, all that remains for me is expatriation.⁵⁹

Kantak is right when he interprets these words as a reflection of Raczyński's tragic struggle with his nationality, expressing bitterness, doubt, and resentment. And we can find even more expressive and categorical statements in Raczyński's texts: 'I don't want to have anything to do with Poland [...] Since I am rejected, I will live far away, though always in Prussia.'⁶⁰ It is easy to treat such statements as the declarations of an expatriate; they seem to say everything about Raczyński's attitude towards his country of birth and his compatriots. Could he have expressed his thoughts more clearly and more explicitly? However, such an assessment would be premature. Many of Raczyński's statements further complicate this hastily constructed image of his attitude towards Poland and Poles. The quote from *Historical Studies* cited

⁵⁹ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichtliche Forschungen, 481.

⁶⁰ DIARY, 19 May 1837.

above is preceded in the book by another citation, one even more important for Raczyński because he described it as 'a political profession of faith.' It starts with the words, 'The person who says I do not love my country is either wrong or lying.'⁶¹ And by 'my country,' Raczyński here and always meant Poland.

In this section of the book, I cover Raczyński's struggle with being Polish, understood as an obligation, a burden, and a challenge that he experienced throughout his entire life. His attitude to being Polish was dynamic and evolved in response to historical circumstances and his personal experiences. As a young man, inspired by an authentic and emotional patriotism, his faith in Napoleon's destiny, and the example of his older brother (as well as rebellion against his guardian), Raczyński fought for Poland in the Napoleonic army and the army of the Duchy of Warsaw in 1807 and 1809. As a more mature man, in the changed political conditions after the Congress of Vienna, he believed that Poland could benefit from its alliance with Prussia. He actively encouraged this by sending petitions and memorandums to high officials in the Prussian administration. After 1830 and in the face of the events of 1848 and 1863, the Polish question seemed secondary to the almost civilizational challenge posed by growing revolutionary and liberal tendencies in Europe. At that time, he focused on maintaining political and social order, even at the expense of Polish interests. Before explaining the subsequent stages of Raczyński's development in more detail, three introductory remarks should be made.

First of all, Raczyński never rejected being Polish. It was a problematic issue for him, and he struggled with it throughout his adult life, treating it as a burden and an obstacle to achieving his goals. Indeed, he was extremely critical of Poles and did not understand them. They embodied *en masse* features and aspirations which he strongly opposed and fought against and which he considered both silly and disastrous in their consequences. Nevertheless, Raczyński was neither indifferent nor ignorant regarding Polish matters.

Secondly, Raczyński never gave up the dream of Poland's independence; although for him this was a question which he relegated to some undefined point in the future and which was dependent on the existence of very specific geopolitical conditions. During times of great agitation, he was just a step away from questioning the right of Poles to a sovereign state. And yet, in several difficult situations, he was courageous enough to make daring declarations about Polish independence.

Thirdly, Polish independence was not the most important issue for Raczyński. He valued legal and social order above all. Absolute loyalty to his lawful sovereign, which Raczyński regarded as crucial in maintaining this

⁶¹ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichtliche Forschungen, 479.

order, was equally important to him. He could not be loyal to both the King and the nation in a situation where the two were in a state of disharmony. Raczyński valued his loyalty to the King more than his loyalty to the nation. He summarized his attitude in 1826 in a short motto: 'I will do everything for my homeland as long as it is consistent with Christianity and the law.'⁶² After 1830, such an approach led him to align himself with Prussia.

Young Raczyński was an ardent patriot who considered the question of Polish independence to be a crucial issue. During that time in his life – in the era of the Duchy of Warsaw – he fought by means of both weapons and rebellious ideological declarations. Raczyński's military episode has already been discussed. He was first inspired to reflect on what it meant to be Polish and on the nation as a whole during his tenure at the Saxon diplomatic mission in Paris from 1814 to 1815. In Paris, Athanasius witnessed the fall of Napoleon and the triumph of the Allied army and observed the behaviour of the Polish elite during this historical moment. Raczyński criticised Poles in his diary entries from that period. He observed with disgust that many among the Polish elite quickly and easily changed their political alliances and sympathies. People who were prepared to die for Napoleon were quick to loyally serve Tsar Alexander. People who had previously received salaries from the French government did not hesitate to accept money from the Russians. Faced with the disloyalty, opportunism, and servility of his countrymen, the 26-year-old Raczyński declared: 'No, I will never be base. I will never be paid by anyone but the government of Poland, but it will be the government of an independent Poland, a government that will not be a disgrace to Poland.'63 When he reread those words several decades later (in 1849), he added the following commentary: 'And here I am the Prussian ambassador in Madrid, who has been in service for twenty years, who applied for service 30 years ago, who is devoted to the Prussian King, who does not want to interfere in Polish affairs - here I am, I wrote these words, I read them now, and I rewrite them.' These words best summarise the evolution of Raczyński's views on Polish affairs over several decades.

Nevertheless, as a young man, Raczyński considered acting for the greater good of his country to be his duty. However, historical circumstances changed drastically after 1815. The Congress of Vienna established a new stable balance of power in Europe as well as new political entities, such as the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Poznan. This did not mean that Raczyński abandoned his dreams of an independent Poland. He believed that Polish independence was not only possible but also necessary to maintain peace

⁶² DIARY, 5 March 1826.

⁶³ DIARY, 28 May 1814.

and the balance of power in Europe. Poles, despite, as Raczyński claimed, all their vices, were considered worthy of living in an independent country. The only question was: How to achieve this goal? Raczyński did not believe that Poles could achieve independence without allies. He thought that Prussia or even the entire German Confederation under the hegemony of Prussia could be a good ally for Poland. Raczyński believed that the two nations had similar political interests in the face of a (supposedly) inevitable armed conflict between Prussia and Western Europe in general, on the one side, and Russia on the other. 'A coalition, open war between Germany and the European powers against Russia: this is our only hope,' he wrote in a letter to Dezydery Chłapowski in early 1826.64 At that time, Russia embodied for him a spirit of unstoppable expansion and barbarism unknown to Western European societies, temporarily kept in check by the seemingly benign but in fact cunning Tsars Alexander and later Nicholas. When the time came, Raczyński predicted, the charade would end, the dams would break, and Europe would face the deadly civilizational danger posed by the Russian empire.

Holding such beliefs, Raczyński tried to interest the Prussian government in Polish affairs. To this end, between 1819 and 1830, he sent four memoranda to high-ranking Prussian officials. In 1819, he sent a letter to the Governor of the Grand Duchy of Poznań, Prince Antoni Radziwiłł. In 1827, he sent a letter to Friedrich Ancillon, an influential official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1828, he wrote to the head of Prussian diplomacy, Count Christian Bernstorff, and finally, in March 1830, he wrote to the heir to the throne (Prince and later King) Frederick William IV.65 While they differed in some details, the logic of all his letters adhered to the same principles and outlined the same plan of action. Ruled by the House of Hohenzollern, Poles were to be granted a number of freedoms and privileges that would allow them to preserve their national identity and, at the same time, prove their loyalty to the Prussian monarchy. Consequently, convinced of the grace and goodwill of the Prussian King, Poles living in all three partition territories would choose Prussia over Russia during a time of war between Russia and the civilized Western world. 'The most important thing,' Raczyński wrote, 'is that in the case of [Russian] aggression, all Poles should take the side of Germany, and Polish independence would be the long-term goal.' A reborn and independent Poland would become a

⁶⁴ Letter from Athanasius to Dezydery Chłapowski, undated; copy in DIARY.

⁶⁵ Copies of memorandums titled *Eduard et Athanase Raczyński. Question polonais. Aphorisme, 1819–1832* in: BR, Poznań, ms 4048, pp. 1–80. Memorandums addressed to Radziwiłł and Ancillon were published by Stefan Kieniewicz, "Dwa memoriały Atanazego Raczyńskiego z lat 1819 i 1827," and analysed by Tomasz Nodzyński "Antoni Radziwiłł i Atanazy Raczyński: idea kompromisu z Prusami – projekty i działania," 154–158.

bulwark, a buffer, protecting Germany and Europe from the aggressive expansion of the Russian empire, which 'by its nature can destroy everything close to it.' 'The question of Poland and Polish independence,' Raczyński argued in his memorandum to Ancillon, 'could become a matter of life or death for Prussia.'

This could be a realistic scenario, Raczyński argued, if the freedoms granted to the citizens of the Grand Duchy of Poznań were greater than those given to Poles living in the Kingdom of Poland under the rule of Tsar Alexander. The Grand Duchy, Raczyński further argued in a memorandum addressed to Radziwiłł, should be granted a constitution ('more national than liberal') that would guarantee it considerable autonomy, including its own army, legislative bodies, and a separate educational system. In later memorials prepared for Ancillon and the Crown Prince, written in different historical circumstances, namely after the failed Decembrist Revolt in Russia in 1825 and the royal edict establishing the provincial parliament in Poznań in 1826, Raczyński reconsidered his plan and lowered his expectations of the Prussian government. Nevertheless, he still postulated that the Prussian government should not, as a rule, discriminate against Poles who lived in the Grand Duchy of Poznań. Germanisation should come to an end ('One should renounce the desire to destroy the language and nationality'), and Prussia should benefit from the energy of Polish youth by enabling them to pursue careers in the Prussian administration, the judiciary, and the army. Last but not least, the council of the Grand Duchy of Poznań should be established: 'the most respected and trustworthy people from the province of Poznań should be asked to become its members.' As a result, Poles would become less distrustful of the authorities and would thus oppose the growing revolutionary and liberal tendencies, which due to the current political situation at the time, were very popular in the province of Poznań.

How should we evaluate the plan for Poland developed by Raczyński between 1815 and 1830? As Tomasz Nodzyński argues, it can be seen as a reference or even *sui generis* a continuation of Antoni Radziwiłł's programme in which Poland would regain independence with the help of Prussia.⁶⁶ However, Radziwiłł's concept as well as other similar scenarios based on the involvement or support of either Prussia, Austria, or Russia – such as Adam Czartoryski's 'Puławy plan,' according to which Russia would be Poland's key ally – were formulated in the Napoleonic era, that is, in a period of political turmoil in which numerous political scenarios were seen as realistic. The Congress of Vienna stabilised the political situation in Europe by narrowing the 'playing field.' Belief in an

⁶⁶ Tomasz Nodzyński "Antoni Radziwiłł i Atanazy Raczyński: idea kompromisu z Prusami – projekty i działania," 154.

inevitable armed conflict between Prussia and Russia, crucial for Raczyński's thinking, thus became merely wishful thinking. The current political situation ruled out the possibility of such a conflict. It was in the best interests of both countries to coexist peacefully and maintain civil relations, as guaranteed by the Treaty of Potsdam between Alexander 1 and Frederick Wilhelm 111 in 1805 and by marriage in 1817 between the daughter of King Frederick, Charlotte, and Prince Nicholas Romanov, the future Tsar Nicholas I. Stefan Kieniewicz thus sums up the situation: 'almost the entire nineteenth century was a time of alliance between Berlin and Petersburg, which was detrimental to the Polish cause.'67 Also, official Prussian policy towards the Polish citizenry was not based on the principles enumerated by Raczyński - Prussia did not wish to maintain the political independence of the Grand Duchy of Poznań. On the contrary, the Prussian government sought to merge it with other provinces. Raczyński's concept, in short, was highly idealistic, hence the failure of his proposal and the ineffectiveness of his memoranda. 'We can guess,' Kieniewicz observes, 'that they [were] submitted ad acta since they had no effect on the course of events, namely they did not influence Prussian policy concerning the Grand Duchy of Poznan.'68

Raczyński's concept also addressed Polish domestic issues and represented his response to growing revolutionary tendencies within independence circles that he found terrifying. 'I will never,' he wrote in a letter to Chłapowski from 1826, 'acknowledge that it [Poland] is legitimate and useful [for Europe] if it is created through revolt and built on democratic principles.' Prussia was also supposed to impede the spread of Polish liberalism; this is especially visible in memoranda Raczyński wrote for Ancillon and the Crown Prince.

It was during this time, in the mid-1820s, that Raczyński first recognised the dangers of Polish patriotism being corrupted by deceptive liberalism: 'The principles of patriotism, nationalism, and liberalism have become synonymous.' According to Raczyński, patriotism (or rather: 'patriotism') had become more and more compromised, serving as camouflage for democratic ideas and every sort of weakness and wickedness: 'In our time, calling oneself a patriot is a means of justifying any wrongdoing.'⁶⁹ According to Raczyński, patriotism had taken on a dangerous subversive aspect. Since the 1820s, Raczyński had become increasingly torn between the ideals of order and the ideals of independence. He identified order with unquestioning loyalty to the King, while independence was for him synonymous with the destructive actions of alleged

⁶⁷ Stefan Kieniewicz, "Dwa memoriały Atanazego Raczyńskiego z lat 1819 i 1827," 106.

⁶⁸ Stefan Kieniewicz, "Dwa memoriały Atanazego Raczyńskiego z lat 1819 i 1827," 106.

⁶⁹ DIARY, 10 November 1825.

'patriots.' This conflict became apparent, as we have seen, when the November Uprising broke out. In Raczyński's opinion, the uprising put paid to his political vision of Poland regaining its independence: 'This dream,' he wrote many years later, 'was destroyed by the revolution of 1830 and the attitude of Polish political leaders. It will never come to pass unless the European community frees itself from the influence of the Jacobin party.'⁷⁰

During the fifteen years between the Congress of Vienna and the November Uprising, Raczyński had tried to reconcile these two important yet opposing ideals: loyalty to Prussia and Polish patriotism. Personal experiences made these attempts even more dramatic. Polish nationality and a declared attachment to Poland, according to Raczyński, were to be one of the reasons, or perhaps he thought, the reason, that discredited him in his efforts to be admitted to the Prussian diplomatic service. Being Polish likewise prevented Raczyński from fulfilling his ambitions and implementing his professional plans. In turn, Raczyński's sympathy for Prussia and his loyalty to the House of Hohenzollern had gradually made Poles detest him. He first realized this in the early 1820s. In 1827, during a session of the provincial parliament, he witnessed overt hostility for the first time. He tried to remain faithful to the principle he had clearly stated in his letter, written in 1821 to an employee of the Prussian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Maximilian Friedrich Schöll: 'As a Pole, I sympathise with my country, and although I do not see Poland anywhere, the Polish nation exists, and, being convinced that its interests, or rather hopes [...] are inseparable from the interests of Prussia, I believe that to serve Prussia means to serve my partitioned country.⁷¹ The only problem was that such a plan was rejected by both the Prussian authorities and Polish patriots.⁷² Raczyński could not help but feel bitter, all the more so because many people both in Prussia and Poland interpreted his behaviour as cowardice and servility. Raczyński believed that he was heroic because, as he wrote in the early 1840s to his sister-in-law, 'it takes a lot of courage to go all the way in the opposite direction to what public opinion demands.'73

The outbreak of the November Uprising marked the end of Raczyński's political dreams of Poland being both independent and law-abiding. In his opinion, the fight for independence was monopolised and thus discredited by

⁷⁰ Eduard et Athanase Raczyński. Question polonais. Aphorisme, 1819–1832 in: BR, Poznań, ms 4048, p. 1.

⁷¹ Letter from Raczyński to Maximilian Friedrich Schöll dated 24 March 1821; GStA, Berlin, III HA Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten III, No. 343/1: *Athanasius Raczynski, 1821.*

⁷² Raczyński writes about this extensively in a letter to Schöll.

⁷³ Letter to Konstancja Raczyńska dated 2 November 1841; copy in DIARY.

the revolutionary party. As a result, he could no longer support that fight. Since 1830 Raczyński had gradually distanced himself from Polish affairs. 'The revolution of 1830,' he wrote in 1864 after witnessing the January Uprising, 'finally opened my eyes to their nature [the nature of Polish affairs], the disastrous tendencies associated with them, the dangers and evil inherent in European demagogy. [...] I love my country, but I am disgusted with Polish politics because it is a product of the so-called national party.'⁷⁴

Raczyński gradually began to view the revolutionary independence movement in absolute terms, seeing it as representative of Polish society as a whole. Consequently, he focused his attention and his writings on this current in politics. In doing so, Raczyński shifted his attention away from people and beliefs closer to his own worldview, which could broadly be referred to as conciliatory. In spite of this, Athanasius must have been aware that in the Kingdom of Poland, Galicia, and the Grand Duchy of Poznań there was a large group of Poles who, for various reasons, either voluntarily or involuntarily, or for ideological or pragmatic reasons, adopted an attitude of submissiveness, opportunism, and loyalty to the Austrian, Prussian or Russian governments.75 In addition to soldiers and low- and middle-ranking officials, who were often politically indifferent and granted privileges by these foreign powers as trusted officers in their state apparatus, this 'conciliatory' group also included prominent political figures. These included some outstanding writers who formulated political projects based on loyalism, or, as they would have put it on realism, such as Aleksander Wielopolski in the Kingdom of Poland, Agenor Gołuchowski in Galicia, Wilhelm and Bogusław Radziwiłł and Józef Grabowski in the Grand Duchy of Poznań. However, Raczyński mentions only Wielopolski in his writings, focusing not on his political vision (discrediting it as a utopian manifestation of pan-Slavism) but on his dominant and pathologically ambitious personality.76

Raczyński found it challenging to give up his concept for Polish independence and frequently discussed his position in his diary and letters. In 1841, he wrote in a letter to Konstancja Raczyńska: 'I do not want to meddle in Polish

⁷⁴ Eduard et Athanase Raczyński. Question polonais. Aphorisme, 1819–1832, BR, Poznań, ms 4048, p. XII.

⁷⁵ In relation to the Kingdom of Poland see Andrzej Chwalba, *Polacy w służbie Moskali* (Warszawa-Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1999), in relation to Galicia – Waldemar Łazuga, *Kalkulować ... Polacy na szczytach c. k. monarchii* (Poznań: Zysk i S-ka 2013).

⁷⁶ DIARY, 22 December 1861. Apart from Wielopolski, other subjects of thorough reflection by Raczyński included Adam Jerzy Czartoryski and his ideological heir Władysław Zamoyski.

affairs because I feel strongly that these efforts are pointless; moreover, I think that everyone involved in them is merely harming the Polish cause. I also find it difficult to separate the Polish question from liberalism, which, I believe, has always been its greatest enemy.⁷⁷ And in the dramatic year 1848, he explained retrospectively:

I never wanted to meddle in Polish affairs because it seemed to me that the rebirth of Poland could not be achieved except as a result of chaos and social disorder. In my opinion, a Poland that would emerge by such means would be anarchic: this would be a misfortune for Poles and a misfortune for Europe. Nobody would like to see an independent Poland more than I do. Still, I am convinced that it could regain independence, survive and be useful to the European community only if it were ruled by a single strong, central authority, if it was an absolute monarchy wielded by strong hands.⁷⁸

The question of Polish independence, therefore, became secondary to the threat to political and social order posed by liberal forces. 'I cannot,' wrote Raczyński at the time, 'support Polish independence and disregard the greater good of nations, order, civilization, the law, religion, and society.'79 In exceptional situations, this belief led him to take actions aimed at extinguishing revolutionary sentiments. Protecting the social order was his most important objective. Athanasius believed that Tsarist Russia and Prussia were destined to achieve this goal because he considered them to be, to quote from Historical Studies, 'the last symbols and last anchors of my political principles.' Raczyński, however, maintained his interest in the situation of Poland. He discussed this in letters to his friends, often making use of oversimplifications or even distortions in his overall picture of the situation and the domestic political forces involved, as well as in his assessments of some of the leading figures in Polish politics. However, his perspective ceased to be 'Poland-centric.' This became especially evident in the 1840s and later years when he began to regard Poland as a secondary player in European power politics. Poland was the object, not the subject, of a grand political game in which the continent's future was at stake: Europe could be saved by monarchy or destroyed by growing democratic and revolutionary tendencies. The leading players in that game were Lord Palmerston's England, which was purposefully lighting

⁷⁷ Letter from Athanasius to Konstancja Raczyńska dated 2 November 1841; copy in DIARY.

⁷⁸ DIARY, 10 May 1848.

⁷⁹ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichtliche Forschungen, 480.

revolutionary fires in different parts of Europe; the France of Louis Napoleon – unstable, unpredictable, and unreliable; Russia, ruled by Tsar Nicholas I, who assumed the role of the last guarantor of the traditional political and social order; and, finally, Prussia, which sought to secure its state interests within this complex international landscape. In this milieu, Raczyński's main concern was Prussia, and, unsurprisingly, given his hierarchy of values, he pledged his absolute loyalty to the Prussian monarch – with all the consequences this entailed. He symbolically manifested this loyalty in the spring of 1834, when he asked permission to add two 'Prussian' black eagles as supporters to his coat of arms. The King granted him permission on 23 May (Fig. 28).⁸⁰ Even some years after Raczyński's death, people still widely believed that he was one of the few Poles on whom 'Prussia could rely absolutely.' This statement is highly significant given that it was expressed in 1887 by Chancellor Otto von Bismarck himself.⁸¹

What exactly did such loyalism entail during the time of the partitions? Wojciech Wrzesiński has explained this in detail.⁸² According to Wrzesiński, loyalism recognises the need to comply with current political decisions and legitimate state power. Presented by its supporters as a rational choice, it was meant to provide an alternative to political and national fanaticism. It grew out of a sense of opposition to revolutions, which were associated with wanton destruction. Instead of radical change, it argued for the slow evolution of political and social institutions. It was sometimes used to justify passivity, apathy, and a lack of political will. It sometimes also led to collaboration and even to 'national apostasy.' It was sometimes used merely to secure one's own political or economic interests. However, sometimes, as exemplified by Raczyński and the most outstanding advocates of loyalism, it actively pursued 'a different future for the nation and the state, hoping to achieve independence gradually, but only after other more realistic current goals have been achieved: civilizational advancement, economic strength, and material resilience.' Loyalism could indeed potentially be and often was a positive tendency, but it was rarely recognised as such by Raczyński's fellow Poles.

Loyalism came at a price. Treated as a manifesto or a political programme, it generally found neither understanding nor respect in the most influential Polish circles. The more ostentatiously it was displayed, the more it alienated

⁸⁰ GStA, Berlin, I HA Rep. 89 Geh. Zivilkabinett, jüngere Periode, No. 1430, p. 15.

⁸¹ Otto von Bismarck, *Les mémoires de Bismarck recueillis par Maurice Busch*, Tom second: *Entretiens et souvenirs* (Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1899), 294.

⁸² Wojciech Wrzesiński, "Wokół pojęć: lojalność – kolaboracja – irredenta," in Sławomir Kalembka, Norbert Kasparek, eds., *Między irredentą a kolaboracją. Postawy społeczeństwa polskiego wobec zaborców* (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego, 1999), 11–22, esp. 12–16.



FIGURE 28 Raczyński coat of arms with the motto "Vitam impendere vero" and two black "Prussian" eagles as supporters, anonymous painter, c.1884 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 546

its Polish representatives. In the Grand Duchy of Poznań, as Tomasz Nodzyński has shown, attempts to 'offer loyalty in exchange for concessions in relation to national distinctness or even support for independence' mainly were treated as despicable acts of servility.⁸³ This antipathy, however, varied in intensity, ranging from disregard to open hostility, with the most serious accusations being charges of high treason. Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, a politician and publicist, and a great personality in nineteenth-century Berlin, wrote in 1854: 'A Pole, Mr. Taczanowski, who a few years ago became a Prussian chamberlain, has now also become a Prussian count. His countrymen think well of

83 Tomasz Nodzyński, Naród i jego przyszłość w poglądach Polaków, 248.

him and do not consider it a serious offense that he has won the court's favour. Count Raczyński is completely different: they consider him a vile traitor and spit on him.'⁸⁴ Taczanowski, who did indeed gain the favour of the Prussian court and receive multiple honours from the King (hereditary membership of the Prussian Chamber of Lords; receipt of the Order of the Red Eagle and the Cross of the Legion of Honour; being appointed Queen Augusta's chamberlain), never became an unpopular figure. On the contrary, he was considered a friendly person and was very active in society – people 'generally had a high opinion of him.'⁸⁵ In contrast, people did not like Raczyński because he declared his attachment to Prussia so openly and, more importantly, because he did not attempt to hide his very unfavourable opinion of a great many Poles who actively worked for Poland's independence.

However, it is difficult to determine precisely just how much other Poles detested Raczyński. Undoubtedly, negative opinions, accusations that Athanasius 'lived in Berlin, hating other Poles with all his heart;' that 'he was devoted to the Prussian court and the highest Prussian government circles with all his heart and soul [...], and out of disgust for everything that is Polish, he did not allow his children to learn Polish and married his daughters to Germans or Hungarians;' and that he 'shamefully renounced the country of his birth, [...] that he completely forgot Poland, he shamelessly rejected it' indeed were representative of the views of most Poles.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, more objective opinions were also voiced. For the most part, however, these were not concerned with Raczyński's political views but his competence and excellent reputation as an art expert. His gallery of paintings and writings on art often seemed to protect him from categorically one-sided critical opinions.⁸⁷ However, this does not alter the fact that the atmosphere around Raczyński in the Grand Duchy of Poznan was bad or that he was almost universally disliked. In the

⁸⁴ Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, *Tegebücher: Aus dem Nachlass Varnhagen's von Ense* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1869), 129.

⁸⁵ Andrzej Kwilecki, Ziemiaństwo wielkopolskie, 362. See also: Andrzej Kwilecki, Wielkopolskie rody ziemiańskie (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2010), 316–318.

⁸⁶ Franciszek Gajewski, Pamiętniki pułkownika wojsk polskich, 134; Marceli Motty, Przechadzki po mieście, vol. 1, 138; Edward Rastawiecki's letter to Józef Ignacy Kraszewski dated 19 April 1851. (BJ, Kraków, 6477 IV: Korespondencja Józefa Ignacego Kraszewskiego. Seria III. Listy z lat 1844–1862, vol. 18, pp. 146–147). See also: Józef Łoś, Na paryskim i poznańskim bruku,197–198.

⁸⁷ See e.g. Raczyński's obituary in Tygodnik ilustrowany xv, no. 377, 20 March 1875, 185. Also: Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, Kartki z podróży 1858–1864 roku. Księga druga: Włochy – Neapol – Francya – Belgija – Niemcy (Warszawa: J. Unger, 1874), 424–425; Julian Bartoszewicz, Dzieła Juliana Bartoszewicza. Tom II: Historja literatury polskiej potocznym sposobem opowiedziana, vol. 2 (Kraków: W. Kornecki, 1877), 257.

summer of 1842, after Adolf von Arnim-Boitzenburg had resigned as governor (*Oberpräsident*) of the Province of Poznań, the press reported on rumours that Raczyński could become the next governor. Commenting on these reports, the Augsburg edition of *Allgemeine Zeitung* soberly pointed out that this nomination was highly unlikely. Although Raczyński had many estates in Wielkopolska and many connections in Prussian governmental and official circles, he was 'quite isolated' in the province, and Poles would not welcome this choice.⁸⁸ This was undoubtedly an accurate assessment.

Yet, despite all the discomfort associated with such a stance, Raczyński was neither willing nor able to free himself completely from his attachment to Poland and being Polish, which he undoubtedly treated as a burden, but also as an obligation. In a letter to a friend in 1851, Athanasius called Poland his dear homeland, his *cara patria*.⁸⁹ We can read these words as being either ironic or critical, but they also convey a perhaps instinctive sense of attachment.

88 Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 272, Donnerstag, 29 September 1842, 2175.

⁸⁹ Letter to Theodor von Schöppingk dated 10 October 1851; copy in DIARY.

CHAPTER 7

A Pole in Berlin

The people of this country reject me, they treat me like a pariah, like a baptized Jew.

Diary, 26 February 1838

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1 Decision

Raczyński's decision to move to Berlin was an inevitable one. While some scholars claim the outbreak of the November Uprising of 1830 played a crucial role in his decision,¹ the event, in fact, merely recast it as having been motivated by ideological rather than pragmatic considerations. Even before the uprising, Raczyński was complaining about the inconveniences associated with living in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Poznań, indicating how highly he valued the opportunities available to him in the Prussian capital.

Athanasius openly expressed his dislike of Warsaw and was convinced the city offered him no career prospects. He rightly believed that the reputation of his grandfather Kazimierz would hinder his efforts to realize his political ambitions there. After the Kingdom of Poland was established, he felt like an outsider in Warsaw and negatively assessed the situation prevailing in the city. 'I never travel there without feeling disgust,' he wrote at the end of 1822 before a planned two-month stay in the city. Soon afterwards, he painted a very emotional and extremely critical picture of the capital in his diary: 'A terrible city that seems to reject anything that could offer it salvation. Elsewhere providence delivers a cure for evil, an antidote for poison – here evil reigns supreme. Cocottes attract a band of bastards, and together they engage in incest and adultery. This is the height of feminine elegance there. The worst sorts of rogues are treated with respect. Ministers accept Jacobinism: they even act as its apostles. The country's political life is no less deplorable. How can one have

¹ Agnieszka Pufelska, "Zwischen Ablehnung und Anerkennung. Das polnische Berlin im widerspruchsvollen 19. Jahrhundert," in Roland Berbig, Iwan-M. D'Aprile, Helmut Peitsch, Erhard Schütz, eds., *c. Ein Metropolen-Kompendium* (Berlin: Akademie Veralag, 2011), 29–47, esp. 34.

a noble heart and love this city?'² Raczyński did not treat his palace in Warsaw, which he inherited after the death of his guardian in 1824, as his family home. In early 1826, he wrote in a letter to his brother: 'I would like to sell the house. Ask if anyone would like to buy it. I want 280,000 Prussian thalers, either in bonds or other Prussian stocks.'³ Several months later, he wrote: 'I believe that my house in Warsaw will be sold.'⁴ Indeed, the palace was soon sold for almost 250,000 zlotys to the government of the Kingdom of Poland. It became the seat of the Government Commission on Justice (today, it houses the Central Archives of Historical Records at 7 Dhuga Street).

Raczyński also believed his native Wielkopolska did not offer any enticing prospects. His stay there was further complicated by the growing problems he was having in the local court of public opinion due to his political beliefs. The conflict intensified during the provincial parliament of 1827, in which Raczyński took part 'as the collective voice of those who would later create entails.' Shortly after the parliamentary debate began, deputy Andrzej Niegolewski asked that the parliament vote on a petition proclaiming that 'Polish was being unlawfully replaced by German in schools as the language of instruction.' The petition had not been referred to a parliamentary committee in advance. Still, Niegolewski was convinced that many Polish deputies would vote in favour of it and the law would be passed. However, several Polish representatives, including Raczyński, voted against the petition. This decision was harshly criticized by Polish public opinion: 'there were many bitter and critical comments [...], and in some cases personal conflicts arose that almost ended in duels.'⁵ Athanasius wrote about being in a difficult position in a letter addressed to the Prussian minister of foreign affairs, Count Christian von Bernstorff, dated 16 September 1828. Even if we assume that the portrait painted by Raczyński in his letter was somewhat exaggerated (his problematic situation in the province was used as an argument in favour of granting Raczyński a position in Prussian diplomatic structures), it was undoubtedly based on Raczyński's experience:

- 3 From a letter to Edward Raczyński dated 20 January 1826; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 77, pp. 1–2.
- 4 From a letter to Edward Raczyński dated 22 and 25 June 1827; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 77, pp. 130–133.

² DIARY, 23 February 1823. Raczyński wrote these sentences after Edward Lubomirski, with whom he was close, died in pain after being wounded in a senseless duel. Athanasius blamed the death of his friend on the degeneration of customs in Warsaw, which further fuelled his aversion to the city.

⁵ Ludwik Żychliński, Historya Sejmów Wielk. Ks. Poznańskiego do r. 1847, vol. 1 (Poznań: L. Merzbach, 1867), 39–52, cited on 41. See also: Bogumił Wojcieszak, "Z dziejów sejmu prowincjonalnego Wielkiego Księstwa Poznańskiego w latach 1827–1845," Poznański Rocznik Archiwalno-Historyczny X/XI (2004): 137–168, esp. 140–146.

Count, please be informed that my position in the Grand Duchy of Poznań has become highly unpleasant due to the views I hold and the opinions I invariably represent. It is not up to me to decide whether these views support the interests of the province or the government (that is up to the authorities to decide), but it is certain that they are met with resentment and received unfavourably. My staying in Poznań can only bring me disillusionment and distress, without any benefit for the government or the province. My memories of the first parliament in Poznań do not instil in me a desire to participate in the next one to be convened next year because my beliefs will not become any less resolute or more flexible by that time, and my respect for legitimate power and my love of order will not become weaker. Therefore, the only alternative for me is a [diplomatic] post that would take me away from my homeland for a while and protect me from aimless travel and from shutting myself away in the countryside on the estates I own in Galicia.⁶

For some time in the early 1820s, Athanasius did indeed consider settling down in Zawada near Dębica in Galicia. He dismissed the critical observations and advice of Kazimierz Raczyński, who claimed that Zawada was too far away from the centre of political life in the Kingdom of Poland (Fig. 29). However, Athanasius derived great satisfaction from renovating and furnishing the palace in Zawada. He described this work in enthusiastic letters to his brother. In a letter from December 1821, the Count explained that he had to leave Warsaw in January 1822 to look after his 'factory' in Zawada. He wished to avoid any delays and move into the palace there as soon as possible. He described the palace as 'indeed a wonderful place to live, because of its elegant exterior and comfortable interior and because of its location and the works of art on display there.'⁷ In June 1822, he wrote:

I will move into the palace on the first [of July]. You will be amazed at how beautiful the salon is. Its paintings and marble are its greatest ornaments, but the cornice is also exceptionally beautiful, and the symmetry of the whole is not bad. The rosettes in the salon and the bedroom are also very beautiful. I am certain that you will copy these from me – you

⁶ From a letter to Christian von Bernstorff dated 16 September 1828; AA, Berlin, Acta betr. die persönlichen Angelegenheiten des Grafen von Raczinsky, 011609.

⁷ From a letter to Edward Raczyński dated 7 December 1821; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 75, pp. 41–42.



FIGURE 29 Michał Bogusz Stęczyński, *Castle in Zawada in the Tarnów District from the North*, lithograph in Michał Bogusz Stęczyński, *Okolice Galicji*, 1847

always say you cannot find the right ones. The rosette in the salon is truly divine, and if you like, you can make a model of every single one.⁸

Franciszek Ksawery Prek, an amateur painter and a well-liked (though rather mediocre) writer who visited Zawada in the summer of 1827, gives us a somewhat naïve description of the palace in which he expresses both surprise and admiration: 'Its exterior surprised me because I have never seen anything like it before. There are little towers at each corner of the building, similar to a mosque, as I have seen in drawings. The palace is surrounded by a lovely newly planted garden. The interior furnishings reflect an exotic taste in beauty. Mr. Raczyński has travelled to many foreign countries, and he brought many things from abroad, especially many beautiful paintings from Italy. [...] I also saw there a statue of Ganymede made of Carrara marble by Thorvaldsen, which I find strangely pleasing. Mr. and Mrs. Raczyński were very kind to me during my stay'⁹ (Fig. 30). In November 1838, an engraving of the palace was published on the front page of *Przyjaciel Ludu*. The accompanying text was, however, very cursory because the newspaper could not obtain detailed

⁸ From a letter to Edward Raczyński dated 18 June 1822; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 75, p. 153.

⁹ Franciszek Ksawery Prek, Czasy i ludzie, 68.



FIGURE 30 Castle in Zawada, photo c.1905 NATIONAL LIBRARY, WARSAW, INV. NO. F.7955/II

information about the palace.¹⁰ In response, Athanasius sent a brief description of the palace and its history to the newspaper. *Przyjaciel Ludu* published this in July 1839. In it, Raczyński wrote:

When I took over the property in 1819, I found the Castle in Zawada partly in ruins and partly used for storing grain. Two towers had been levelled to the ground, while the other two were not as tall as they are today. In 1820, I began restoration work and ordered that some of the walls be rebuilt. The eastern façade was designed by the architect Schinkel [...], and other façades were designed by me. The annex is largely new, but the main building has been completely preserved in its former shape.¹¹

Although the castle in Zawada was destroyed in the early twentieth century and only sections of it have survived, it occupies an important place in the history of architecture. In the opinion of Tadeusz Jaroszewski, it was 'the first eminent neo-Gothic residence in Poland'¹² (Fig. 31).

¹⁰ Przyjaciel Ludu, no. 20, 17 November 1838, 1.

¹¹ *Przyjaciel Ludu*, no. 3, 20 July 1839, 24.

¹² Tadeusz Stefan Jaroszewski, "Siedziby ziemiańskie w Polsce od schyłku wieku XVIII do roku 1914. Przegląd najważniejszych koncepcji," in Tadeusz Chrzanowski, ed., *Dziedzictwo.*



FIGURE 31 Athanasius Raczyński, *View of the Church and the Castle in Zawada, Seen from Zwierzyniec,* watercolour, 13 June 1823 RACZYŃSKI'S CASTLE SEEN IN THE BACKGROUND ON THE LEFT, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Ziemianie polscy i udział ich w życiu narodu (Kraków: Znak, 1995), 141–167, citation p. 152. The palace was looted and severely damaged during the First World War. Tadeusz Szydłowski wrote shortly afterwards in Ruiny Polski [Poland's Ruins]: 'Rarely does an example of architecture occur in which an attempt to resurrect long dead forms manages to yield an effect that is at least somewhat original, picturesque, and not lacking in charm, as is the case with the palace in Zawada, located between Tarnów and Rzeszów. This palace is interesting as a monument from the Romantic era, exhibiting a poetic longing for medieval times and giving the construction of this country estate the shape of a defensive castle, flanked by towers and bristling with battlements, to evoke an echo of older times. The direction the flight of the builder's artistic fantasy took is best seen in a view of the side of the building, with its picturesque grouping of architectural motifs, gables, porches, turrets, battlements, and buttresses, which adorn both the towers and the adjoining palace chapel to the left. This palace was burnt down by the Russians, having previously been looted of any valuable furnishings and works of art. It would be a pity if it were not rebuilt, as it is, after all, an interesting document of an era.' Tadeusz Szydłowski, Ruiny Polski. Opis szkód wyrządzonych przez wojnę w dziedzinie zabytków sztuki na ziemiach Małopolski i Rusi Czerwonej (Warszawa-Kraków: Gebethner i Wolff, 1919), 168. For more on the castle see: Tadeusz Stefan Jaroszewski, O siedzibach neogotyckich w Polsce (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1981), 321-325; Idem, "Zamek w Zawadzie," in Raczyński clearly liked his palace in Zawada and enjoyed living there. The palace was his safe haven – a place where he could seek respite in between his successive attempts to obtain a position in Prussian diplomacy. He also visited Zawada in later years. The Count painted the palace and its surroundings several times. They were 'as picturesque as could possibly be,' he wrote.¹³ (Fig. 32, 33).

Raczyński did not make Zawada the main family seat solely because the legal status of the property was complicated. It was not owned by Athanasius but by his wife, who had brought the palace as part of her dowry after winning a legal claim against Prince Michał Radziwiłł in 1819. With this in mind, Athanasius wrote to Edward on 10 April 1822: 'Dębica is the property of my wife, and although I love her today, you never know what the future will bring.'



FIGURE 32 Athanasius Raczyński, *View of the Castle in Zawada*, watercolour, 31 June 1839 PRIVATE COLLECTION

Waldemar Baraniewski, Tadeusz S. Jaroszewski, eds., *Karl Friedrich Schinkel i Polacy*, exh. cat. (Warszawa: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 1987), 67–73.

13 From a letter to Edward Raczyński dated 23 October 1821; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 75, pp. 50–51. (Maciej Bogusz Stęczyński wrote about the gardens and the greenery which surrounded the palace in 1847: 'However, the view of the entire area is even more beautiful [than the castle] [...]; it offers a broad view of the surrounding forest-covered hills, through which a wide brick road winds, every now and again presenting the traveller's eye with new and more beautiful views of this extraordinarily diverse landscape.' Maciej Bogusz Stęczyński, *Okolice Galicyi* (Lwów: K. Jabłoński, 1847), 74.)



FIGURE 33 Athanasius Raczyński, *View of Gościniec Cesarski from the Second Floor of the Eastern Tower of the Castle in Zawada*, watercolour, 5 July 1823 NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAN, INV. NO. MNP GR 798/25

Raczyński's intuition here proved accurate: a growing conflict between him and his wife soon effectively brought their marriage to an end, and, as a result, the Count's rights to the palace became limited. He bitterly and ironically commented on this situation in an inscription he had engraved above the main entrance to the palace: 'Anna Raczyńska *de domo* Radziwiłł, owner, Athanasius Raczyński, administrator.'¹⁴

Raczyński's plans in the early 1820s to settle in Galicia were closely linked with the disappointing beginnings of his career in Berlin and his failure to be admitted into the Prussian diplomatic service. In a letter to his brother dated 28 March 1821, Athanasius states:

The difficulties associated with buying a finished house, the time it takes to build and furnish a new home, the political instability in Prussia, and the general anxiety in the world made me spend the summer months in Dębica and winters in Berlin. It will be difficult, but it will also increase

¹⁴ Edward Raczyński, Rogalin i jego mieszkańcy, 115.

my income. I will repay my debts, which currently equal 300,000, and I will still have about 50,000 *écus* from Szamocin, which will act as security if the nobility that opposes disorder were to be deprived of their fortunes. I have given up my political career, and it is difficult to express how wonderful I feel since I finally made this important decision.¹⁵

In a letter he wrote to Edward a year later, Athanasius tried to convince either his brother or himself – it is not known exactly which:

Believe me, my Edward, that I am not angry at the Prussian Government, since it was far from denying me the diplomatic post I sought, but was simply unable to honour my request (I am convinced of this). I live here for no other reason than administering my estate effectively and the pleasure this brings me. I don't need to make any declarations in this regard because I have already made such declarations to President Zerboni and the Chancellor, and this year I have a sincere desire to go to Berlin for no other purpose than to show myself to the King and the Government and repeat my reasons for taking this decision. In today's political climate, I am far from regretting the fact that I do not hold a high diplomatic office, and I am very happy that delays have provided me with a good excuse for changing my plans.¹⁶

The determination with which Raczyński fought to secure a job in Prussian diplomacy indicates, however, that the pleasure administering his estate brought him was either not so great or was merely temporary. Or perhaps Raczyński had talked himself into believing this in order to help him cope with his vexing situation. In both his private diary and official correspondence with the Prussian minister Bernstorff, Raczyński wrote that he had decided to live in the countryside because of his failure to obtain a position in the diplomatic service. Apart from his short 'administrative' stay in Zawada, in his mature years, Raczyński considered Berlin and Prussia to be the primary base for his activities. In early 1826, he declared he had made a final decision: 'I want to spend my life in this country. The decision has been made, and I will not change my mind.'¹⁷

The Prussian capital seemed to offer Raczyński real opportunities for a political career that would satisfy his burning ambition. Berlin also provided

¹⁵ From a letter to Edward Raczyński dated 28 March 1821; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 75, pp. 12–15.

¹⁶ From a letter to Edward Raczyński dated 30 April 1822; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 75, pp. 107–109.

¹⁷ DIARY, 3 January 1826.

Raczyński with a chance to pursue his career goals within an ideological milieu in line with his own worldview. In the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, reform movements were becoming very popular in Prussia. They were represented by such prominent figures as Karl Baron vom und zum Stein and Prince Karl August von Hardenberg. These movements, in short, sought to transform the Prussian state into a modern constitutional monarchy with representative institutions and an educated and politically aware society.¹⁸ However, these efforts ultimately failed, and since the 1820s, mainstream Prussian politics had witnessed a fundamental shift towards conservative positions. The processes of democratisation, constitutionalisation, and, to an extent, modernisation of the state were all stifled. The concept of the 'monarchical principle' and a traditional notion of a hierarchical society constituted the main pillars of Prussian politics at that time.

In 1827, the same year Athanasius received his difficult lesson in parliamentary politics in Poznań, Frederick William III in Berlin made a Last Testament in which he laid out his political agenda. The idea of the sovereignty of royal power, Frederick William III wrote, was the pillar on which the monarchy rested: 'I inherited unlimited royal power from my crowned ancestors, and I will pass it on unaltered to my successors. The experience of other countries has convincingly shown that those princes who altered the system of government in their countries and relinquished a share of their power often lost other parts of it and even deprived themselves of the ability to do good. [...] Prussia's position in the general system of states depends above all on the unlimited character of royal power, and hence, since altering this foundation pillar of the monarchy would adversely affect it and undermine it, I have decided that no future monarch is entitled to take steps that could cause or consolidate a change in the state's current political system, especially in regards to relations between the estates and limitations on royal power, without seeking advice from all male members of the royal house.'19 The 'monarchical principle' was also the pillar on which Raczyński's worldview rested. Raczyński believed that only a strong monarch endowed with absolute power, one who could uphold

¹⁸ For more on this subject see: Maria Wawrykowa, Dzieje Niemiec 1789–1871 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980), 91–105; Reinhard Kosseleck, Preußen zwischen Reform und Revolution: Allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung und soziale Bewegung von 1791 bis 1848 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981), 163–216; Otto Büsch, ed., Handbuch der preussischen Geschichte. Band II. Das 19. Jahrhundert und Große Themen der Geschichte Preußens (Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1992), 19–31; Matthew Levinger, Enlightened Nationalism, 17–68.

¹⁹ Cited after: Ernst Heymann, "Das Testament König Friedrich Wilhelms III.," *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* (1925): 127–166, citation p. 157.

traditional social structures, could protect the state from the lethal threat posed by democratic forces. 'The royal house and Prussia are the symbol and anchor of my political principles,' Raczyński would write many years later in his diary and in *Historical Studies*. But Prussia in the 1820s already seemed to embody his beliefs.

Professional and ideological considerations were one thing, the lifestyle Raczyński desired was another. In the mid-1820s, with his future still uncertain, Raczyński already had a clear vision of where his place would be in society. He had also discovered his greatest passions, namely art and politics. Raczyński enjoyed the aristocratic high life in the Prussian capital. Salons, conversations, art, science, and high politics, just the right amount of elegant trumpery – Raczyński enjoyed all of these things. 'Art, literature, German, French. Singers, Italy, music' – this is how Rahel Varnhagen, one of the leading figures in Berlin's social and intellectual elite in the first half of the nineteenth century, summarised her first conversation with Athanasius.²⁰ Poznań in the 1820s was a city with a population of 25,000. Its intellectual and artistic life (perhaps with the exception of music) was almost non-existent and offered little opportunity for such sophisticated conversations,²¹ unlike Berlin, which, having survived the political and social crisis of the 1820s, was becoming a vibrant social and intellectual centre.

In the latter half of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, Berlin grew from a local capital, one of three royal residential cities of old Prussia and a secondary German 'city without features,' to the rank of a European metropolis.²² The number of people living in Berlin had almost doubled in half a century and totalled some 172,000 in 1800. In terms of size, Berlin had become the ninth biggest city in Europe, comparable to Rome, Madrid, or Lisbon. Among the other cities of the Reich, only Vienna was more populous. Other important German cultural centres such as Hamburg, Dresden, and Weimar were much smaller. In the mid-nineteenth century, Berlin already had

²⁰ Rahel Varnhagen in a letter to her husband dated 7 March 1829; Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, *Aus dem Nachlas Varnhagen's von Ense. Briefwechsel zwischen Varnhagen und Rahel* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1875), 372.

²¹ For more on the cultural and social life of early nineteenth-century Poznań see Maria Trzeciakowska, Lech Trzeciakowski, W dziewiętnastowiecznym Poznaniu. Życie codzienne miasta 1815–1914 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1982).

On this subject see the articles contained in: Iwan D'Aprile, Martin Disselkamp, Claudia Sedlarz, eds., *Tableau de Berlin. Beiträge zur "Berliner Klassik" (1785–1815)*, Berlin Klassik. Eine Großstadtkultur um 1800, Bd. 10 (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2005) (esp. Etienne François, *Berlin im 18. Jahrhundert. Die Geburt einer Hauptstadt*, p. 7–17) and Roland Berbig, Iwan-M. D'Aprile, Helmut Peitsch, Erhard Schütz, eds., *Berlins 19. Jahrhundert. Ein Metropolen-Kompendium* (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2011).

419,000 inhabitants. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was a truly unique city and not only in Germany – it was an open and diverse city in terms of nationality, denominations, and beliefs. Contrary to what Madame de Staël claimed, Berlin was not just a military and philosophical centre.²³ Matthias Hahn thus describes the process of Berlin's rapid growth, painting a portrait of the city in the early nineteenth century: 'These were the years between the death of Frederick II and the Congress of Vienna [1786–1815]. From the point of view of politics and culture, it was the most important period. During this time, the city experienced an extraordinary and wide-ranging cultural boom. Berlin became one of Europe's new spiritual and cultural centres. The names of Karl Philipp Moritz, Aloys Hirt, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Carl Gotthard Langhans, David and Friedrich Gilly, Johann Gottfried Schadow, Martin Heinrich Klaproth, Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland, and Franz Karl Achard, and the achievements of these men (establishing archaeology and aesthetics as independent academic disciplines; opening a humanities middle school and the University of Berlin; Brandenburg Gate; products from the royal iron foundry and carved plank roof structures; discovery of the element uranium and the production of sugar from beets; discovery of the smallpox vaccine) shaped Berlin as a metropolitan centre and were regarded as an inspiration to others. These unprecedented advancements in the arts and sciences in Berlin were made possible by the creative and innovative intellectuals who had moved to the city – their new and above all different homeland. [...] As a result, around 1800, Berlin experienced rapid urban and intellectual growth, which manifested itself primarily in Berlin's transformation from a royal residential city into a modern metropolis. New cultural, social, and communicative spaces led to the creation of new and unprecedented types of intellectual networks and discussion forums.'²⁴ Berlin in the early nineteenth century indeed had all the features of a European cultural metropolis. It boasted a thriving intellectual and literary scene, a university (since 1809/1810), an academy of sciences (reorganized thoroughly from 1806 to 1812), an art academy (reformed after 1808), an academy of architecture (since 1799), a renowned theatre (since 1802 housed in the prestigious building on Gendarmenmarkt), a thriving publishing

²³ The image of Berlin that emerges from Madame de Staël's unpublished letters, however, is completely different. The city presents itself as interesting, full of life and intriguing contradictions; see Brunhilde Wehinger, "Madame de Staël. Eine europäische Intellektuelle in Berlin," in Anne Baillot, ed., *Netzwerke des Wissens. Das intellektuelle Berlin um 18*00 (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2011), 347–368, esp. 357–363.

Matthias Hahn, Schauplatz der Moderne. Berlin um 1800 – Ein topographischer Wegweiser, Berliner Klassik. Eine Großstadtkultur um 1800, Bd. 16 (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2009), 11–12.

market (among German cities, second only to Leipzig), and numerous associations, clubs, salons, Masonic lodges, etc.²⁵

Catastrophic defeats suffered by Prussia at Jena and Auerstedt (14 October 1806), the French occupation of the capital from 1806 to 1808 and again from March 1812, draconian payments imposed on Prussia by Napoleon at Tilsit (7 and 9 July 1807), huge state and city budget deficits, the new political balance of power in Central Europe established at the Congress of Vienna, the fiasco of economic and administrative reforms and Prussia's conservative political agenda after 1815 - all of these circumstances caused Berlin to descend into a political and social crisis. Understandably, social life was also affected by the crisis. In November 1819, a few weeks after returning to Berlin from a long stay in Vienna, Rahel Varnhagen wrote in a letter to a friend: 'The whole constellation of beauty, grace, coquetry, sympathy, love, wit, elegance, cordiality, a desire for deep thoughts, noble dignity, casual visits and meetings was destroyed. All the ground floors are now occupied by shops, all meetings are parliaments or assemblies, almost all discussions - you can tell by the dash that I am searching for the right word [...] [However,] there are still very many intelligent people here – and remnants of social life have survived, there's nothing else like it in Germany.' In the mid-1820s and 1830s, when Raczyński began regularly spending time in the city, Berlin was once again acquiring the feel of a European metropolis. The city was growing and developing rapidly, which led to the restoration of its metropolitan status in the 1850s.

Raczyński had first come to know Berlin as a student in 1805. Since 1817 he had spent time in the city quite often, first to obtain royal consent for the creation of an entail and then in connection with his efforts to be admitted to the Prussian diplomatic service. Since the mid-1820s, he and his family had spent several autumn and winter months in Berlin almost every year. It was apparently then that he took his first steps toward the purchase of a house in the city. Raczyński would need to have a permanent domicile in Berlin if he wanted to become a Prussian diplomat – he needed to become acquainted with the right people and establish closer ties with the royal court. In the late 1820s, as he noted in his diary, not without some satisfaction, Raczyński was already recognized as an 'equal partner' among the Prussian political elite and, as a Prussian count, he was granted the right to participate in court life (*hoffähig*).²⁶ 'The

²⁵ See: Theodor Ziolkowski, *Berlin: Aufstieg einer Kunstmetropole um 181*0 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2006) and the articles contained in: Anne Baillot, ed., *Netzwerke des Wissens*.

²⁶ On the court of Frederick William III and the relations within it see: Thomas Stamm-Kuhlmann, "Der Hof Friedrich Wilhelms III. von Preußen 1797 bis 1840," in Karl Möckl, ed., Hof und Hofgesellschaft in den deutschen Staaten im 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert, Büdinger Forschungen zur Sozialgeschichte 1985/1986 (Boppard am Rhein: Boldt, 1990),

day before yesterday,' he wrote in February 1828, 'I was invited by Crown Prince [Frederick William] for dinner in his private office next to the concert hall. Princes Charles and Albrecht, the prince of Lucca [Charles Louis], the princes of Mecklenburg Gustav [Wilhelm] and Charles [August Christian], the grand duke and heir-apparent to the throne of Mecklenburg [Paul Friedrich], Prince von Braunschweig-Oels, princes [Alfred von] Croÿ, Schöneberg and [Antoni Paweł] Sułkowski, Mr. Humboldt, myself and several other persons from the courts of the prince of Lucca and Prince Frederick William attended the dinner party.'27 A few weeks later, he observed with satisfaction: 'The court treats us well, and we frequent it often. Tonight, we are spending the evening with the King. There will be a play, a dinner, and a ball. This week, we had dinner with the Duke of Cumberland and were invited by Prince Charles to visit him the day the princess gave birth to a son.²⁸ I also had dinner with Prince August.'²⁹ Raczyński seems here to be expressing his pride and joy because he knew very well that a position in the court hierarchy was the most authentic test and the most positive confirmation of his social status in general. In Prussia, as in most German states in the nineteenth century, a person's position in the court hierarchy determined his social rank. Thus, attaining a high position in that hierarchy was by no means an easy task. A wide range of individuals and interest groups, including representatives of the Brandenburg gentry, high aristocracy from outside the Margravate, and members of the increasingly powerful state bureaucracy, were all constantly vying for favour in the court of Frederick William III.³⁰

In addition to members of the royal family and individuals associated with it, Raczyński met with people related to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including the future head of the Ministry Heinrich August Baron von Werther (although as a Prussian envoy, at that time he was spending more time in Paris than in Berlin), the former secretary of the Legation in London (and also the writer) Karl Otto Ludwig von Arnim, and the young Heinrich Alexander von

^{275–320;} Kay-Uwe Holländer, "Vom märkischen Sand zum höfischen Parkett. Der Hoff Friedrich Wilhelms III. – ein Reservat für die alte Elite des kurbrandenburgischen Adels?," in Ralf Pröve, Bernd Kölling, ed., *Leben und Arbeiten auf märkischem Sand. Wege in die Gesellschaftsgeschichte Brandenburgs* 1700–1914 (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1999), 15–48.

²⁷ DIARY, 12 February 1827.

²⁸ On 20 March 1828 Prince Friedrich Karl, the first son of Prince Charles von Hohenzollern and Princess Marie of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, was born.

²⁹ DIARY, 20 March 1828.

³⁰ Gabriele B. Clemens, Malte König, Marco Meriggi, eds., Hochkultur als Herrschaftselement. Italienischer und deutscher Adel im langen 19. Jahrhundert (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 201) 3.

Redern, who would later have a great diplomatic career as head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Raczyński found it easy to establish ties with the Berlin political elite because of his family ties. Initially, these included his grandfather Kazimierz, his former guardian, but most helpful was the support he received from Prince Antoni Radziwiłł, a relative of Raczyński's wife. While his relations with Radziwiłł were at times strained, Raczyński turned to him first for support in his efforts to join the diplomatic service. Radziwiłł had close ties to the royal court because he was married to Princess Louise of Prussia. The Radziwiłł home was a very popular meeting place in Berlin, and the state elite visited them on a daily basis: 'people fought for permission to pay evening visits without prior invitation,' Caroline von Rochow wrote.³¹ Perhaps it was also his connections with Radziwiłł that allowed Raczyński to enter the best Berlin salons.

2 'A Nobleman of the First Class'

The nineteenth-century Berlin salon, like the eighteenth-century French salon, was a social gathering often presided over by an educated hostess. This form of social activity was not regulated by any statute but solely by the rules of custom and etiquette, the essence of which was casual discussion of literature, art, philosophy, or politics. One of the unwritten rules of the salon was inclusive-ness: members of various social strata, professions, and worldviews could meet there and converse. The salon was not a political institution *par excellence*, but opinions voiced by the social elite in attendance impacted the political, social, and cultural life of the city and the state.³² Although more recent studies have shown that in practice the salon exhibited some forms of exclusion, based, for example, on one's nationality, it was intended to be governed by the principles of freedom, liberty, and non-dogmatism.³³ The salon was one of the most important realms where aristocratic and bourgeois culture intersected.

³¹ Caroline von Rochow, Vom Leben am preußischen Hofe 1815–1852. Aufzeichnungen von Caroline von Rochow geb. v. d. Marwitz und Marie de la Motte-Fouqué, bearbeitet von Luise v.d. Marwitz (Berlin: Mittler, 1908) 130.

³² Petra Wilhelmy, Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert (1780–1914), Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, Bd. 73 (Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1989), 25–26.

³³ Among the rich literature on salon culture see in particular: Konrad Feilchenfeld, "Die Berliner Salons der Romantik," in Barbara Hahn, Ursula Isselstein, eds., Rahel Levin Varnhagen. Die Wiederentdeckung einer Schriftstellerin (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 152–167; Peter Seibert, Der literarische Salon. Literatur und Gesellschaft zwischen Aufklärung und Vormärz (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1993); Hartwig Schultz, ed., Salons der Romantik. Beiträge eines Wippersdorfer Kolloquium zu Theorie und Geschichte des

Salon life in Berlin began to flourish around the year 1800. After the crisis the 1810s, it began to slowly revive in the late 1820s in different circum-

of the 1810s, it began to slowly revive in the late 1820s in different circumstances and a different political atmosphere, gaining momentum around the middle of the nineteenth century. It is difficult to determine to what extent Raczyński participated in salon life in his early days in Berlin. Certainly, by the late 1820s, he had already been accepted by the salon *beau monde*. He visited, among others, the salons of Bettina von Arnim (described in more detail below) and Seraphine Ebers. It was in the salon of Seraphine Ebers that, in early March 1829, he first met Rahel Varnhagen, a nineteenth-century writer and major personality in Berlin.³⁴ Short, plain, in poor health, and advanced in years (born in 1771, she was older than Raczyński by seventeen years), Rahel, as we know from historical sources, possessed a powerful and magnetic personality. The poet Franz Grillparzer, a contemporary of Athanasius, described his first visit to the Varnhagens' home in 1827: 'I had been wandering through the city all day and felt dead tired, so when we heard at the door that the lady of the house was not at home, I was relieved. But as we began walking down the stairs, a woman came out to meet us, and I accepted my fate. And then this aging woman, perhaps beautiful in her younger years, but now bent and twisted by illness, a bit like a fortune-teller or even a witch, began to speak and I was enchanted. My fatigue vanished and gave way to intoxication. [...] I have never in my life heard anyone speak more engagingly and more eloquently.'³⁵ Perhaps Raczyński experienced a similar 'infatuation' with the personality of Rahel Varnhagen? In any case, after a few weeks, he became a regular guest at her salon at 36 Mauerstraße. He visited the salon regularly during the few months he had spent in Berlin before leaving for Copenhagen in March 1830.

Rahel Varnhagen describes the regular guests at her salon in a letter dated 23 December 1829, written to her friend Princess Adheleid von Carolath, inviting her to spend the winter social season in the capital. In addition to local figures such as Bettina von Arnim, and the young Count Yorck von Wartenburg and his wife, there were also visitors from out of town: 'the unattractive but

Salons (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 1997); Reinhard Blänker, "Geselligkeit und Gesellschaft. Zur Theorie des Salons bei Eduard Gans," in Roland Berbig, Iwan-M. D'Aprile, Helmut Peitsch, Erhard Schütz, eds., *Berlins 19. Jahrhundert*, 161–178.

³⁴ For more on Rahel Varnhagen see: Herbert Scurla, Rahel Varnhagen. Die große Frauengestalt der deutschen Romantik (Düsseldorf: Claasen, 1978); Barbara Hahn, Ursula Isselstein, eds., Rahel Levin Varnhagen; Hannah Arendt, Rahel Varnhagen. Lebensgeschichte einer deutschen Jüdin aus der Romantik (München: Piper, 1997); Sabina Becker, ed., Rahel Levin Varnhagen: Studien zu ihrem Werk im zeitgenössischen Kontext (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2001).

³⁵ Cited after: Herbert Scurla, Rahel Varnhagen, 363.

intelligent' American Albert Brisbane (at the time a philosophy student at the University of Berlin, soon to become one of the foremost advocates of Fourierier's utopian socialism in the United States); Count Mocenigo, an Austrian diplomat of Italian origin; and, finally, Raczyński. Rahel describes her relationship with Athanasius thus:

I discovered in Count Raczyński, as soon as I met him for the first time last winter, some internal similarity [...]. It is not that we don't have different views on many important issues! – however, for me, these are only superficial differences. His position, nationality, the way in which he arrived at his beliefs, so different from the way in which I have arrived at my own, and his beliefs themselves, which are also different, but he has in him a kind of sensitivity, I should say a wound (*ein Wundes*) which my sensitivity, my tenderness, my wound immediately sensed; and he may have sensed mine. I am certain that I like his quiet gentlemanly world-liness as much as he relishes and cherishes in me some hidden internal subtle resemblance that relaxes him and attracts him, although he cannot ignore my eccentric behaviour, which manners cannot tame (and which often, though without my intention, causes him pain). We can cast off all that divides us like husks – and we both know this, drawing this knowledge from the source from which all certainty is drawn.³⁶

Rahel Varnhagen's home was considered one of Berlin's finest salons. Writers like Bettina von Arnim and Heinrich Heine, scholars like the historian Leopold Ranke, high government officials, and many interesting personalities such as the Prussian officer, writer, traveller, and gardener Hermann Prince von Pückler-Muskau³⁷ attended the salon regularly. Rahel's charm and her magnetic strength, emphasised by many, were rooted in her outstanding intelligence and excellent conversational skills. Raczyński's acquaintance with Rahel, which, according to the letter cited above, quickly developed into a close and deep friendship, indicates that he was accepted by the social elite of the Prussian capital.

³⁶ Rahel Varnhagen, Rahel. Ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde, Dritter Theil (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1834), 418–419.

³⁷ Petra Wilhelmy, Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert, 133–140 and 865–873. See also: Herbert Scurla, Rahel Varnhagen, 359–386; Konrad Feilchenfeld, "Die Berliner Salons der Romantik," Alexander Nebrig, "Ästhetische und soziale Bände. Die französische Klassik im Varnhagen-Kreis," in Anne Baillot, ed., Netzwerke des Wissens, 311–330.

As has been mentioned, the outbreak of the November Uprising of 1830, about which Raczyński learned in Copenhagen, reaffirmed his decision to move permanently to Berlin. He was granted leave and moved to the Prussian capital from Denmark in early April 1834. Two weeks later, on 19 April, he signed the title deeds to a house at 21 Unter den Linden. Raczyński had bought the house from a wealthy wine merchant named Johann Christoph Lutter for 85,000 thalers.³⁸ Soon afterwards, he went to Aachen for treatment at a local clinic and then stayed for a short time on his estate in Zawada. He returned to Berlin in October 1834. He never returned to Copenhagen.

The house purchased by Raczyński was a three-storey city palace erected in the late 1780s (Fig. 34). Athanasius carried out a major renovation on the building and hired the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel to draw up plans for the work. The staircase acquired lavish stucco decoration (*'putti* and trophies'), and



FIGURE 34 House at Unter den Linden no. 21 in Berlin, purchased in 1834 by Athanasius Raczyński, photo c.1910 BPK-BILDAGENTUR

38 For more on the subject of the home see: Hans Jürgen von Nolcken, Ein Haus unter den Linden: Festgabe zum fünfjährigen Bestehen d. Werberates d. dt. Wirtschaft (Berlin: Wiking Verlag, 1938).

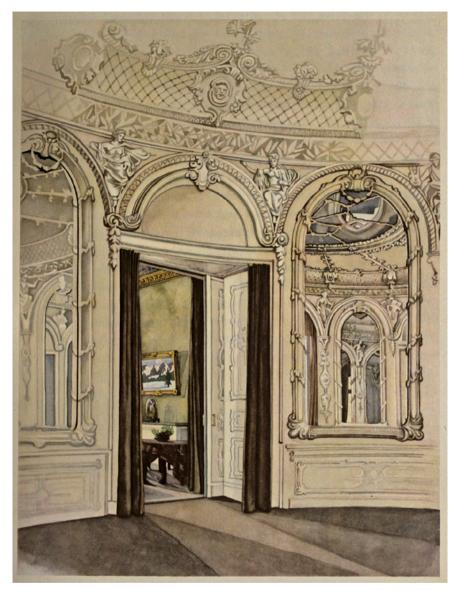


FIGURE 35Mirror Hall in the house at Unter den Linden 21, illustration in: Hans Jürgen von
Nolcken, Ein Haus unter den Linden: Festgabe zum fünfjährigen Bestehen
d. Werberates d. dt. Wirtschaft, 1938

a hall of mirrors was created on the first floor (Fig. 35). Most importantly, new rooms were added to the courtyard side, including a gallery in which paintings were exhibited.³⁹ The Raczyński family lived on the ground floor of the house.

39 Hans Jürgen von Nolcken, Ein Haus unter den Linden, 22.

The first floor was let in 1835 to the English ambassador, Lord George William Russell. The second floor was let in the spring of 1835 to the writer Bettina von Arnim. Very little is known about how the Raczyński family functioned in the palace at Unter den Linden. Athanasius lived in apartments on the ground floor with his wife and three children. They had servants: a *majordomo*, a cook, a servant named Mikołaj, and maids. Except for the gallery, we know very little about how the apartments were furnished. Karl Sieveking, a Hamburg lawyer and diplomat, wrote that during one of his visits to the palace he saw Count Raczyński's office, which was 'furnished with antique furniture.'⁴⁰ Other rooms may have looked similar – furnished with elegant and expensive furniture and decorations.

Owning a house on the representative avenue Unter den Linden, which was thoroughly redesigned in the 1820s and, as described in 1834, was considered 'one of the most beautiful and unique streets in our capital, [...] the favourite promenade of Berliners and the main meeting point for the capital's elegant society,'⁴¹ elevated Raczyński's social status in Berlin.⁴² Both the presence in the house of the writer and poet Bettina von Arnim, one of Berlin's most influential intellectuals, and Raczyński's opening of his gallery of paintings to the public in August 1836 gave the palace a prominent place on the social map of Berlin.

The fact that Bettina von Arnim lived in Raczyński's house was important for the Count's biography. She just became famous in Berlin due to publishing, to great acclaim, her first book, *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde*. In her literary salon, Raczyński could meet people from outside the political circles that dominated among his acquaintances and converse with young intellectuals and artists, who in the 1830s were prominent among Bettina's circle of friends. Petra Wilhelmy described the poet's salon as follows: 'Bettina did not host a salon in the strict sense of the word, but she gathered around her interesting, original, and very diverse people. The social spectrum represented by Bettina von Arnim's friends was very broad; both Prussian princes and democratic writers visited her home. [...] Many different social and political issues pertaining

⁴⁰ Heinrich Sieveking, Karl Sieveking 1787–1847. Lebensbild eines Hamburgischen Diplomaten aus dem Zeitalter der Romantik (Hamburg: Alster Verlag, 1928), 359.

⁴¹ Leopold Freiherr von Zedlitz-Neukirch, Neustes Conversations-Handbuch für Berlin und Potsdam zum täglichen Gebrauch der Einheimischen und Fremden aller Stände (Berlin: Eisersdorff, 1834), 423.

⁴² On the history of the avenue see in particular: Ursula Cosmann, "Vom Kurfürstlichen Reitweg zur Via Triumphalis – Zur Geschichte der Linden," in Birgit Verwiebe, ed., Unter den Linden. Berlins Boulevard in Ansichten von Schinkel, Gaertner und Menzel (Berlin: G-und-H-Verlag, 1997), 9–18.

to the situation in Berlin prior to March 1848 were raised and actively discussed in her house. [...] Many young writers and students in particular regularly visited her.'43 In Bettina's salon, one could meet members of the ruling houses: the Prussian princes Adalbert and Waldemar; prince and heir to the throne Karl von Württemberg; ministers; courtiers, including Alexander von Humboldt and Friedrich Karl von Savigny; scholars, such as Leopold Ranke, Karl Werder, and Max Müller; writers; artists and musicians, including Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Karl Gutzkow, Adolf Stahr, Fanny Lewald, and Franz Liszt. In the latter half of the 1830s, the 'social profile' of Bettina's salon changed. Fewer students came; in most cases, they had graduated and begun working in the state administration or had left the city. State officials and people with strong political opinions set the tone for discussions. Bettina intentionally invited people who held different views, wishing for an inspiring and stimulating conversation. One such meeting in the late 1830s, in which Raczyński also participated, was described by Max Ring. An extensive excerpt from his account should be quoted here:

Bettina loved to gather around her the most diverse, most opposing elements, and the more different minds collided, the greater her pleasure. On these evenings, her brother-in-law, a famous lawyer and the leading figure in the historical school, [Friedrich Karl] von Savigny, could be seen sitting next to the little doctor [Heinrich Bernhard] Oppenheim, who adored [Eduard] Gans, a representative of the [Hegelian] philosophy of law. A moderate freethinker and a proponent of Hegel's philosophy [Karl] Werder and radical theologian Bruno Bauer, known for his destructive attacks on orthodox Christianity, sat next to the conservative aristocratic Cup-Bearer (Obermundschenk) Pitt Arnim [Carl Otto Ludwig von Arnim]. The so-called court demagogue and liberal historian Friedrich Förster sat next to the [politically] orthodox Philipp Nathusius, future publisher of the ultra-reactionary magazine Hallisches Volksblatt. Also in attendance were: the former envoy to Lisbon [it should read Copenhagen] and well-known art connoisseur Count Raczyński, a good Catholic and a Pole, with his exceptionally beautiful daughter Wanda; the younger Savigny, a future diplomat and then opponent of Bismarck and co-founder of the Centre Party; and the extravagant Norwegian violinist

⁴³ Petra Wilhelmy, Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert, 157–158. See also: Bettine von Arnim, Werke und Briefe in vier Bänden. Band 3: Politische Schriften, edited by Wolfgang Bunzel, Ulrike Landfester, Walter Schmitz, Sibylle von Steindorff (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1995), 679–701.

Ole Bull. Several ladies were also present: Mrs. [Kunigunde] Savigny and Bettina's older daughters, Maxe and Armgard [...]. Of course, arguments, attacks, and retorts were to be expected among such a diverse group of people. The dignified Savigny, who was appointed justice minister shortly thereafter, often shook his beautifully coiffed Christ-like head doubtfully and looked with a mixture of sympathy, amusement, and admiration at the presumptuous youth and the odd sense of excitement in the salon of his brilliant sister-in-law.⁴⁴

Written years after the actual meeting took place, Ring's account contains some errors of fact. Not all of the important people Ring mentions could have participated in the discussion at Bettina von Arendt's home that evening (Bruno Bauer, for example, came to Berlin in 1841). Still, he accurately describes the 'profile' of the salon and the intensity with which the guests exchanged their views. It is easy to imagine that for conservative Raczyński, these meetings were also a source of intellectual excitement, fascination, and irritation. In addition, some of the acquaintances Raczyński made in Bettina's salon, particularly with both the father and son from the Savigny family, developed into meaningful long-term friendships.

At the time, Raczyński was still often received at court and maintained contacts with high state officials. He visited Count Albrecht von Alvensleben, the Finance Minister, and Friedrich Ancillon, a highly influential person with connections to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He also visited the Minister of Internal Affairs Gustav von Rochow many times. It must be said, however, that many of the acquaintances Raczyński made among Berlin's political circles were merely courteous or even opportunistic in nature. For example, Raczyński described Gustav von Rochow in his diary very critically as a pathologically ambitious, proud, vain, and highly unlikeable man. Yet, Raczyński also found some true and close friends among people who were not originally from Berlin and not Poles. For example, he maintained friendly relations with the Russian envoy Alexander Ribeaupierre and had a long-lasting friendship with the American Henry Wheaton.

Raczyński met Wheaton in the early 1830s in Copenhagen, where they both worked as diplomats. Wheaton, who was three years younger than Athanasius, was a native of Providence, Rhode Island. Educated in the U.S. and Europe, he had enjoyed a successful career as a lawyer in New York and later joined the American diplomatic service (Fig. 36). In 1827, he became *chargé d'affaires*

⁴⁴ Max Ring, Erinnerungen, vol. 1 (Berlin: Concortia, 1898), 119–120.



FIGURE 36 Martin Johnson Heade, *Portrait of Henry Wheaton, 1857*, oil on canvas, 50 × 39 inches BROWN UNIVERSITY: BROWN PORTRAIT COLLECTION, BP, 13

at the Copenhagen embassy, and in 1835 was appointed American envoy to the Prussian court. Raczyński and Wheaton were very close friends during the latter's entire 10-year stay in Berlin (until 1846). They often met in person and exchanged letters. One reason for their close friendship were the character traits the two had in common, as well as the shared interests that went far beyond political matters. Wheaton, like Raczyński, was a man of many passions. He was a sophisticated theoretician of law, an expert in languages and literature, an art connoisseur, and an expert in the history of the Scandinavian countries. In 1844, he was elected member of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin.

Raczyński was also friends with representatives of Berlin's intellectual circles, including the accomplished scholar Alexander von Humboldt;⁴⁵ Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, a professor of German literature at the local university; and outstanding art experts and art scholars, such as Gustav Friedrich Waagen, director of the museum commission, and Ignaz von Olfers, general director (since 1839) of the Royal Prussian Museums. Naturally, Raczyński also knew many artists, including Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Christian Daniel Rauch, Carl Joseph Begas, and Karl Wilhelm Wach. At the time, Raczyński's palace was one of the most important points on the social map of Berlin. George Ticknor, an American literary scholar, an outstanding specialist in Iberian culture, and an art connoisseur who visited the city in the spring of 1836, thus described his visit to Raczyński's house (arranged by Wheaton – a mutual friend of both gentlemen):

May 22. I dined today with Count Raczyński, a Pole of large fortune, a very handsome man, a man of letters, and one given to the arts [...]. He lives in the style of a noble of the first class, and gave us a very pleasant dinner. [Friedrich Heinrich] von der Hagen, editor of the *Niebelungen*, and the great scholar in whatever relates to the earliest German literature, dined there, with [Joseph Maria Anton] Brassier, the Prussian Secretary of Legation at Paris, Mr. [Henry] Wheaton, and one or two others of whom I took no note.⁴⁶

A few days later, Ticknor met again with Raczyński, this time at Friedrich Ancillon's house. Wheaton, Brassier, a former Prussian envoy to Constantinople, Baron Alexander von Miltitz, and the French politician and member of the chamber of deputies François Léopold Bresson were also there.

For Raczyński, the years between his return from the diplomatic mission in Copenhagen in 1834 and the beginning of his diplomatic service in Lisbon in 1842 were his most fruitful years in Berlin. How did Berlin's high society perceive him?

⁴⁵ On Raczyński's contacts with Humboldt see: Krzysztof Zielnica, *Polonica bei Alexander* von Humboldt. Ein Beitrag zu den deutsch-polnischen Wissenschaftsbeziehungen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004), 290–293.

⁴⁶ Georg Ticknor, *Life, letters and journals of George Ticknor*, ed. by George Hillard, Anna Ticknor and Anna Eliot Ticknor, vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), 495–496.

3 A Good Catholic and a Pole

In 1839, commissioned by King Frederick William III, Franz Krüger painted his second monumental painting of court ceremonies in Berlin: *Parade on the Opera Square in Berlin* (Fig. 37). He managed to incorporate several themes and iconographic solutions into his painting. It is an official painting of a state ceremony (in this case, an 'ideal' ceremony; the picture is not based on any actual event), a cityscape, and a collective portrait of the people of Berlin.⁴⁷ The inhabitants of Berlin were not portrayed as an 'anonymous' crowd but as a community of individuals: 240 figures from Berlin society can be identified in the picture. In *The History of Modern German Art*, Raczyński thus described this painting:

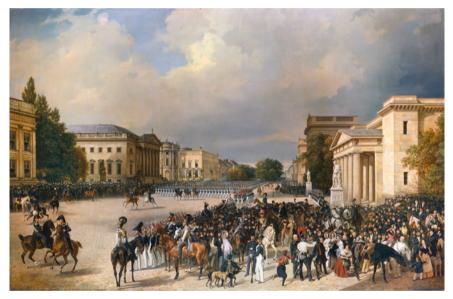


FIGURE 37 Franz Krüger, *Parade on Opera Square in Berlin (Prussian parade)*, 1839 STIFTUNG PREUSSISCHE SCHLÖSSER UND GÄRTEN BERLIN-BRANDENBURG, GK I 505, BPK-BILDAGENTUR

⁴⁷ For detailed information about the painting: Renate Franke, Berlin vom König bis zum Schusterjungen. Franz Krügers Paraden. Bilder preußischen Selbstverständnisses, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 28: Kunstgeschichte, Bd. 35 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1984), 191–270. See also: Gerd Bartoschek, ed., Der Maler Franz Krüger 1797–1857: Preußisch korrekt, berlinisch gewitzt., exh. cat. (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007), 177–182.

The painting contains a large number of portraits of Berlin's most famous personalities, regardless of their status: professors, artists, officials, actresses, actors, statesmen, military men, regular café-goers and people who customarily take walks on the city's boulevards, the most infamous onlookers; almost all of these portraits are quite recognizable.⁴⁸

Raczyński too is portrayed in the bottom right corner of the painting. He can be seen standing among lovers and patrons of art, including Wilhelm Wagener, a famous art collector; Peter Beuth, founder of the royal Craft Institute; and Gustav Waagen. Artists can be seen standing nearby, including the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel and painters Schadow, Henning, Schoppe, von Klöber, and Hensel. Further to the right, we can see a group of high Prussian officials, including the Minister of the Royal House Prince Sayn-Wittgenstein, the Finance Minister Count Alvensleben, Minister Rother, and Geheimrat Alexander von Humboldt. Athanasius must have liked how he was portrayed because he later ordered the painter Edward Czarnikow to paint a copy of 'his' fragment of the Parade, though with minor alterations. The painter Wilhelm Wach, who was in a different group in the original painting, was painted standing in Raczyński's circle (Fig. 38). Raczyński was portrayed in Krüger's picture as a member of Berlin's high society – he is standing in a group of his actual, more or less close acquaintances. However, as Angelika Wesenberg aptly noted, he was never really a member of this group.⁴⁹

Athanasius was painfully aware that he remained a stranger in Berlin and Prussia. In a critical assessment of his situation made in 1837, he considered his social status to be one of his failures in life. He was convinced that it resulted from unofficial yet purposeful actions directed against Polish aristocrats by the Prussian state. 'There is a law,' he wrote in his diary in 1837, 'which has never been openly announced but reads: Baptized Jews are only rarely allowed to hold public offices. Poles even less often. Jews never.'⁵⁰ A few months later, he wrote: 'The people of this country reject me. They treat me like a pariah, like a baptized Jew.' Raczyński also felt that he was not accepted by his fellow countrymen. He further wrote in his diary: 'Poles hate me because I do not want to participate in their antics.'⁵¹ Raczyński wrote these statements as if from a crevice in which he found himself unable or unwilling to feel he belonged to

⁴⁸ Athanasius Raczyński, *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst*, vol. 3 (Berlin: A.W. Schade, 1841), 117.

⁴⁹ Angelika Wesenberg, "Raczyński in Berlin," 70.

⁵⁰ DIARY, 3 June 1837.

⁵¹ DIARY, 26 February 1838.



FIGURE 38 Edward Czarnikow after Franz Krüger, *Athanasius Raczyński in the Company* of Berlin Artists and Art Lovers, 1844 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 551

either of the nations that defined his life. Having self-diagnosed his position in such a way, he attempted at least to mask this rift by using a strategy of mimicry and imitation. This strategy, however, only deepened the problematic nature of his position, exposing him to allegations of inauthenticity and insincerity. 'Mr. Rochow and especially the Crown Prince seem to think that I am committing a crime by being too Prussian and not Polish enough,' he noted in his diary on 22 January 1837. This is the paradox of Raczyński's situation: even the Prussian authorities accused him of not being a Polish patriot.

Raczyński based his diagnosis of his position in Prussian society on several premises. These were both personal (based on, for example, his failure to return to active diplomatic service, which he perceived as degrading) and political. In his comments in his diary on the situation of Jews and Poles, Raczyński does not shy away from exposing the problems of Prussian society. Jews and Poles were regarded as two categories of citizens, who, for different reasons and to different degrees, constituted the greatest challenge to the country's growing nationalism: they probed the limits of national unity and national identity.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the notions of the nation (*Nation*) and the people (*Volk*) had been leading concepts in official political discourse.⁵² Since Prussia was heterogeneous in terms of its social, religious, and ethnic make-up, clarifying the idea of the nation was not in its political interest. In many respects, it was an abstract, an ideal and undefined nation. However, in addition to official discourses, the problem of the nation was posed and discussed more thoroughly among members of the bourgeois intelligentsia with romantic inclinations. The nation was defined as a linguistic, cultural, religious, and spiritual community by such individuals as Johann Gottlieb Fichte in Address to the German Nation (1807-1808) or Ernst Moritz Arndt in The Spirit of the Times (1806-1818), or as an ethnic and racial community, as in the political writings of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn. The question of the social status and role of Jews within the nation defined in such terms was also discussed, and the answer was often, though not always, anti-Semitic. The question of Poles was treated somewhat differently. Although a racial view of identity remained a marginal concept throughout the 1830s and 1840s, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, this concept became increasingly popular and even dominant in public discourse, with a discussion of the Polish question assuming the form of an aggressive Kulturkampf. Raczyński, who followed Prussian and European politics closely and understood its ideological background, was fully aware of the nationalisation of political discourse and the growing importance of ethnic categories as a tool for individual and collective identification. The idea of a supranational, cosmopolitan aristocratic community, in which he so believed, was becoming increasingly anachronistic and incompatible with the growing nationalisation of states and societies. For this reason, Raczyński was generally seen, as Max Ring wrote in his account, as a 'good Catholic and a Pole' in Berlin. However, as evidenced by one of his diary entries, one in which we can feel a sense of embarrassment, Raczyński

⁵² See: Matthew Levinger, *Enlightened Nationalism*, 55–68 and 97–125.

desperately seeks acceptance from the Prussian elite. Having attended a dinner party at Baron von Senfft's house, with many prominent Berlin politicians and intellectuals in attendance, including Otto von Bismarck, Raczyński describes the guests: 'They demonstrated so well that they trust me and consider me one of themselves – and they are right ... I didn't need encouragement to become one of them. I wanted this with all my heart.'⁵³

His appointment as envoy to Lisbon in late 1841 and his trip to Portugal at the beginning of the following year marked the end of Raczyński's first 'Berlin period.' The decision to sell the house at Unter den Linden in December 1841⁵⁴ (where he nevertheless lived in later years during visits to the Prussian capital) and build a new grander palace marks its symbolic end.

4 The Old Count

King Frederick William IV personally advised Raczyński on the location of his new Berlin residence and gallery. In the spring of 1842, the King expressed his readiness to hand over to Raczyński a plot of land 'for a gallery of paintings' at 2 Exerzierplatz (which on 18 December 1864 was renamed King's Square, Königsplatz).55 The monarch's proposal was connected with development plans for lands outside the city centre, northwest of the Brandenburg Gate. According to the projects of the architect and garden designer Peter Joseph Lenné, prestigious and public buildings were to be built there. Raczyński claimed that the location of the plot was 'wonderful.' He accepted the conditions for its use and development and commissioned Johann Heinrich Strack, Schinkel's student, to design his new palace. The project was accepted in July 1844, and construction works began a few weeks later. During that time, Athanasius was on a diplomatic mission in Lisbon and could not personally oversee the works. Instead, he asked his brother, who sometimes visited Berlin, to act on his behalf. Although not without some difficulties, work progressed at a good pace, and when Raczyński arrived in the Prussian capital in the spring of 1847 during his leave from Portugal, his finished palace awaited him.

⁵³ DIARY, 22 February 1866.

⁵⁴ Raczyński sold his home on 14 December 1841 to Helmut von Heyden-Linden for 101,100 Thalers.

⁵⁵ I draw information on Raczyński's Palace at Royal Square mainly from the writings of Michel S. Cullen, especially his in-depth study: Micheal S. Cullen, "Das Palais Raczynski." See also: *Platz der Republik. Vom Exerzierplatz zum Regierungsviertel. Katalogbeitrag Michael S. Cullen*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Nicolai, 1992), 31–33.

Strack designed a symmetrical, elegant, and beautiful complex of three buildings connected by arcade galleries. The central building was a three-story palace and gallery. The lower side pavilions were intended as workshops for painters, including Peter Cornelius (north pavilion) and young artists who had received government scholarships (south pavilion) (Fig. 39). On 19 March 1847, a final agreement regulating the use of land and buildings was signed. It was agreed, among other things, that Raczyński would be the owner of the central building, that is, the palace and the gallery, which constituted its integral part. The plot of land on which the palace was built was given to Raczyński for use, but he was not its owner. The side pavilions belonged to the state (Kultusministerium) (Fig 40). Though such an arrangement imposed on Raczyński both obligations and serious restrictions, it was nevertheless satisfactory. The palace was located in a new prestigious section of the city, guaranteeing Raczyński relative privacy. At the same time, thanks to its location, the palace could be considered 'a public institution' and became an important point on the city's cultural map that was taken into consideration during the



FIGURE 39 Franz Alexander Borchel, *Count Raczyński's Picture Gallery and Royal Painting Ateliers before their Expansion*, lithograph, c.1848 LANDESARCHIV BERLIN, F_REP_250-01_NR_C_213

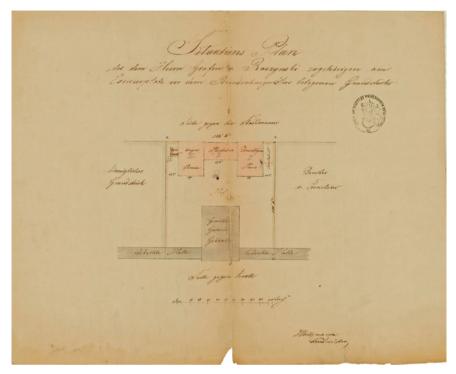


FIGURE 40 Situational plan of the plot of land belonging to Count Raczyński, located by Exercierplatz at Brandenburg Gate LANDESARCHIV BERLIN, F REP. 270, NR. 2294

making of official government policy. Athanasius must have also enjoyed the company of artists, especially since the building's architecture suggested, contrary to fact, that the Count was the guardian and patron of the painters who lived in the pavilions. Thus his public image as an art connoisseur and patron of the arts was strengthened – an image which Raczyński had been steadily building up over the years.

The palace had three stories. The kitchen, utility rooms, and servants' quarters were located on the ground floor. Representative rooms and the Count's private chambers, including a living room, large dining room, bedroom, and office, were located on the first floor. A gallery almost 200 square meters in size and divided into two rooms (Fig. 41) was located on the third floor. During his stay in Berlin in the summer of 1850, Raczyński made minor changes to the façade so that he could 'have a view of the square.' This included ordering the addition of two windows on either side of the central niche. He also selected the figures and vases to be used to decorate the façade. In the mid-1860s, the Count was given permission to renovate and extend his residence.

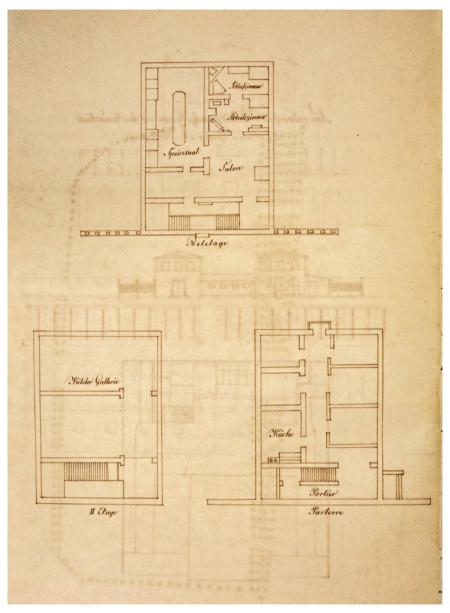


FIGURE 41 Functional lay-out of the Raczyński palace RACZYŃSKI LIBRARY IN POZNAŃ, MS 2726, P. 25



FIGURE 42 Johann Heinrich Strack, *Plan for the Addition of a Side Wing to the Raczyński Palace*, c.1866 LANDESARCHIV BERLIN, F REP. 270, NR. 2294

Strack designed two new almost identical two-story buildings to be added on both sides of the palace, partly replacing the arcades (Fig. 42). Raczyński now lived in a more comfortable residence, but, according to the opinion of both nineteenth-century authors and contemporary researchers, the building was made less aesthetically pleasing. The harmony and lightness of the original design were lost, and the body of the palace became excessively 'heavy' (Fig. 43).

Raczyński moved into his palace permanently in 1852 after being allowed to resign from his post in Prussian diplomacy. In the first years after returning from diplomatic missions, Raczyński spent only a few months in the year in his Berlin palace. He travelled frequently, mainly to his estates in Wielkopolska and, less often, to Galicia, but also to Germany (Vienna, Dresden, Munich, Cologne), Switzerland (twice), Paris (three times), London, and Lisbon. Thanks to an extensive and growing network of railways, Berlin became much 'closer' to other European cities.

In Berlin, Raczyński worked to rebuild his social position at court and in governmental and aristocratic circles. Though Raczynski frequently attended Frederick William IV's court in Berlin, he had probably begun to consider his presence at the King's court a problem because, as he noted several times in his diary, the monarch's policies and general attitude seemed to him increasingly



FIGURE 43 Athanasius Raczyński's Palace after its Expansion, anonymous watercolour, c.1870 BILDARCHIV FOTO MARBURG, AUFNAHME-NR.: 1.064.008

incomprehensible. Understandably, the Count felt more comfortable among friends who shared his beliefs. Raczyński's house soon became an important meeting point for Berlin's conservative social and political elite. Wilhelm Kaulbach, a painter from Munich, who between 1847 and 1866 worked every summer on monumental paintings in the staircase of the Berlin New Museum and who at that time was a frequent guest and periodically even a tenant in Raczyński's palace, described a dinner party given by the Count in the spring of 1864 in a letter to his wife: '[the invited] ministers, half a dozen Geheimrats and barons expressed their black-and-white, true Prussian views in the most violent and vivid manner.' Some '(including my host!) boasted that in [18]48 they had refused to swear to uphold the constitution and were prepared to resign from their office or position rather than submit to this diabolical invention of the masses. [...] Later, the Germans from the south and Napoleon were also taken to task!'56 During such parties and other meetings, Raczyński satisfied his natural desire for political discussion. The intimate space of the salon seemed to him much friendlier than the great hall of the parliament.

⁵⁶ Josefa Dürck-Kaulbach, Erinnerungen an Wilhelm von Kaulbach und sein Haus, 355.

Raczyński returned from Spain intending to withdraw from public life unless the monarch decided otherwise and granted him a governmental or administrative position. That indeed came about. When, under the monarch's legislation of 3 February 1847 (the February Patent), the Prussian parliament - the United Diet (Vereinigter Landtag) - was established, Raczyński was nominated to its upper chamber, the so-called Curia of Lords (Herrenkurie). The constitution promulgated by the King on 5 December 1848 and subsequent legal acts from 1849–1854 re-organized the Prussian parliament. The lower chamber was now called the House of Representatives, and its members were elected. The upper chamber was called the House of Lords (Herrenhaus, the name was first introduced in 1855), and its members were chosen by the monarch. Paragraph two of the royal decree of 12 October 1854 stated, among other things, that the hereditary right to sit in the upper chamber was held by 'princes, counts, and lords appointed by virtue of the decree of 3 February 1847 to the Curia of Lords of the United Diet.'57 Raczyński, who in the meantime (in 1849) had been awarded a star to his Order of the Red Eagle Second Class, and appointed (in October 1852) Wirklicher Geheimrat and granted the title 'excellency,'58 was thus awarded the lifelong and hereditary right to sit in the House of Lords of the Prussian National Assembly. He officially became a member of the House of Lords on 3 November 1854.59

In the Prussian political system, established under the constitution granted by the monarch (the so-called *constitution octroyée*), the House of Lords played a crucial role. The composition of the House of Lords was dependent on the

⁵⁷ On the Prussian House of Lords see in particular: Hartwin Spenkuch, *Das Preußische Herrenhaus. Adel und Bürgertum in der Ersten Kammer des Landtages 1854–1918* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1998). On Prussian parliamentarianism see: Lech Trzeciakowski, *Posłowie polscy w Berlinie* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2003), 17–101.

⁵⁸ Raczyński was awarded the Order of the Red Eagle, 2nd class (Rother Adler-Orden Zweiter Klasse) in 1820, and in 1849 (or 1850) the order was raised to include a 'star without oak leaves with swords' (Rother Adler-Orden Zweiter Klasse mit den Stern ohne Eichenlaub mit Schwerten); in 1862 he was awarded the Order of the Red Eagle, 1st class (Rother Adler-Orden Erster Klasse). In 1840 Raczyński was named a Privy Councillor of Legation (Geheimer Legations-Rath), and in 1852 a True Privy Councillor (Wirklicher Geheimer Rath). See: Handbuch über den Königlich-Preussischen Hof und Staat für das Jahr 1841 (Berlin: Decker, 1841), 166; Königlich Preussischer Staats-Kalender für das Jahr 1853 (Berlin: Decker, 1853), 76; Königlich Preussischer Staats-Kalender für das Jahr 1863 (Berlin: Decker, 1863), 95.

⁵⁹ Hermann Crüger, Chronik des Preussischen Herrenhauses. Ein Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an das dreißigjährige Bestehen des Herrenhauses (Berlin 1885), 47. On members with hereditary rights in the Prussian House of Lords see: Hartwin Spenkuch, Das Preußische Herrenhaus, 252–305.

King's will and thus dominated by the conservative aristocracy, which supported the monarchy. As such, it acted as a counterweight to the elective lower chamber. The ordinance under which the House of Lords was established 'reflected the symbiotic relationship between the Prussian monarchy and the high nobility [*ritterlischer Adel*] unlike any other nineteenth-century legal act. The monarchy and the high nobility eliminated all elective elements propagated by the liberals and defined the upper house as an institution dominated by land-owning aristocracy.'⁶⁰ Incorporated into Prussia's democratic structures, the House of Lords was an anti-democratic institution – 'a parliament against parliamentarism.'⁶¹

Therefore, as a royalist, Raczyński should have enjoyed his new role. However, in general, the Count had always been extremely critical of all forms of parliamentarism. When he left Lisbon on 3 March 1847 to attend the first meeting of the *Landtag*, as ordered by the monarch, he wrote that he was going to 'surrender himself to the parliamentary bitch in Berlin, who should best die!'⁶² In 1860 in *Historical Studies*, he openly, though not as graphically, wrote about the necessity to participate in this 'repulsive united assembly.' Immediately afterwards, he added a more general remark, observing that he had always believed that 'modern constitutionalism,' which for Raczyński was a synonym for parliamentarism,⁶³ was 'a repulsive and harmful farce.'⁶⁴ This was one of the milder terms used by Athanasius to describe the constitutional system. His diary entries from the turbulent years 1847–1849 and thereafter are full of insults directed at the constitution and Prussia's representative bodies. Raczyński believed they were mere 'hypocrisy and nonsense,' 'a demoralizing and costly lie,' 'a dangerous whim of our time,' and 'an English fashion.'

Taking part in parliamentary meetings also required considerable effort on his part. The Chamber met several times a year for very long sessions. If one did not work in committees and participated only in sessions concerning key issues, one still needed to devote between 15 and 20 days a year to parliamentary work.⁶⁵ We should remember that when Raczyński began his parliamentary career in Berlin, he was nearly seventy years old.

⁶⁰ Hartwin Spenkuch, Das Preußische Herrenhaus, 51.

⁶¹ Monika Wienfort, *Der Adel in der Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 42.

⁶² Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichtliche Forschungen, 475.

^{63 &#}x27;Debating the subtle differences between parliamentarianism and constitutionalism seems impractical and dangerous to me. Both are liberalism.;' DIARY, 1 April 1862.

⁶⁴ DIARY, 11 March 1847.

⁶⁵ Hartwin Spenkuch, Das Preußische Herrenhaus, 485.

Both of the above factors, his radical critique of parliamentarism and the general inconvenience involved, certainly played a role in Raczyński's 'passivity' in the House of Lords. The Count was generally physically present (though not always; Raczyński was often absent due to health reasons) and voted, but he was never an active member of the assembly.⁶⁶ According to the minutes, Raczyński did not play any special role in the chamber; he did not participate in the work of any committee and never addressed the assembly. Raczyński was not the only Pole in the House of Lords. Unlike most other Poles, however, he did not belong to the national faction and did not participate in the work of the so-called Polish circle.⁶⁷ He considered the latter to be a suspect organization, reminiscent of a secret revolutionary society. He commented on his 'outsider' position: 'I have nothing to do with their intrigues. Nobody is looking for me, nobody is interested in me.'⁶⁸

It is truly ironic that Raczyński, who opposed parliamentarism so vehemently, became so preoccupied with parliamentary issues in his later years.

Raczyński's last years in Berlin were bitter and dominated by a difficult fight for his palace and gallery. The establishment of the Empire and the reorganization of Germany's political life after 1871 gave rise to a serious problem, namely the need to build a new representative building for the parliament (*Reichstag*). As early as 17 May 1871, a special commission was established. Its task was to find a suitable location for the parliament building; functionality and prestige were decisive factors in the choice of an appropriate place. After approximately four weeks, the commission selected a plot of land next to the Royal Square. It was the plot on which Raczyński's palace had been built. The indignant and offended Count, who learned of the committee's decision from

⁶⁶ Raczyński was no different from most of the hereditary members of the House of Lords in this respect. This group was generally characterised by a lack of parliamentary activity. On average, only half of them took part in meetings and few took more decisive action. For this reason, hereditary members never achieved the importance in the Chamber that could have been expected given their numbers and social standing. See: Hartwin Spenkuch, *Das Preußische Herrenhaus*, 252–253.

⁶⁷ The literature on the activities of Polish members of the Prussian Parliament, including the House of Lords, is quite extensive; however, the figure of Raczyński is – and this is hardly surprising – at best briefly mentioned, and more often than not, not discussed. See: Roman Komierowski, *Koła polskie w Berlinie 1847–1860*, vol. 2 (Poznań: Dziennik Poznański, 1910); Idem, *Koła polskie w Berlinie 1847–1860*, vol. 3 (Poznań: Dziennik Poznański, 1913); Joachim Benyskiewicz, *Posłowie polscy w Berlinie w latach 1866–1890* (Zielona Góra: Wydawnictwo Uczelniane wsp, 1976); Lech Trzeciakowski, *Posłowie polscy w Berlinie*.

⁶⁸ DIARY, 22 March 1857.

the press, reacted very strongly. Citing the contract of 1847 and the act transferring ownership of the plot issued by Frederick William IV,⁶⁹ he objected to any attempts to remove him from the property or buy the building from him. Though Raczyński was in the right and based his case on legal documents, the building committee was insistent. Grounding their decision on a questionable legal opinion, the committee set the terms for the project, and in late 1871 announced the first architectural design competition for the new building. In a letter to Count Alphonse d'Antioche in November 1871 that provides a testament to Raczyński's determination and doubt, the 83-year-old Count wrote: 'My rights are indisputable, and I will not give them up for anything in the world. There is not much more that can be done in my lifetime, so this is merely a slight delay ...'70 Raczyński's rights to the palace and land were indeed confirmed the following year, but this did not put an end to his unpleasant experiences. In the autumn of 1872, the commission ordered a geodetic survey of the plot – again, without the consent or even knowledge of the owner. However, Raczyński managed to keep his palace for the remainder of his lifetime. As he predicted, the destruction of the palace was merely postponed.⁷¹ Ten days after Raczyński's death, the government began negotiations with his son Karol, who lived in Dresden at the time. Because of Athanasius' will, the foundation act of the entail, and the problematic legal status of the palace, negotiations continued (with interruptions) for several years.⁷² A settlement between the imperial authorities and Karol Raczyński was reached in March 1879. Four years later, the plot in Berlin was excluded from the entail. In November 1883, the demolition of the palace began.

In autumn 1871, during his struggle to save his house, Raczyński was visited in Berlin by the young Portuguese writer Joachim de Vasconcelos, who later

⁶⁹ Documentation on the subject: GStA, Berlin, I. на Rep. 151, нв No. 905.

⁷⁰ Cited after: Micheal S. Cullen, "Das Palais Raczynski," 37.

⁷¹ Almost immediately after Raczyński's death, press speculation appeared that the difficulties associated with acquiring the plot of land and palace disappeared once he died. The 'Berliner Börsen-Zeitung' on 23 August 1874, just two days after the Count's death, reported: 'Durch den Tod des Grafen v. Raczynski dürfte der von der Reichsregierung ursprünglich in Aussicht genommene Plan wegen Errichtung des Deutschen Parlaments-Gebäudes leicht seiner Verwirklichung entgegengeführt werden. [...] Die "D.R.-C." hört, daß die Erben des Grafen Raczynski der Erwerbung des Palais keineswegs Schwierigkeiten entgegen setzen werden, es dürfte sogar Aussicht vorhanden sein, die bekannte höchst werthvolle Bildergallerie zugleich mit dem Palais zu erwerben.' 'Berliner Börsen-Zeitung,' Sonntag, den 23. August 1874, p. 8.

⁷² Extensively documented in: GStA, Berlin, HA Rep. 84 a, Justizministerium No. 45518.

wrote the Count's biography. He described this visit in his book. This is the last known testimony about Raczyński:

He was a count, an old count, in all his grandeur, dressed comfortably, expressing himself in a friendly manner, greeting me with courtesy, with hat in hand. [...] Eighty-three years had not passed without leaving a trace. When he spoke, his frame, regular and of medium height, trembled a bit, his head nodded slightly following the cadence and rhythm of his sentences – but his face still expressed a sense of animation and spirituality, less in his tired eyes, more in the wrinkles on his forehead, and around his eyes and mouth. His fixed look, reserved gesture, and light and careful walk betrayed a great art lover who was used to walking silently in an art gallery. His whole character expressed two things: a gentle disposition and a kind nature. The way he talked corresponded with his character. The count seemed to live more in the past than in the present⁷³ (Fig. 44).

This image of Raczyński, a great aristocrat who was slowly nearing death among his paintings and memories, must be viewed with caution. Like the rest of Vasconcellos' book, this passage appears to reflect an effort at myth-making.⁷⁴ However, it also seems to reveal an important truth: the long life with which Raczyński was blessed was also a lonely life towards the end.

Raczyński died in his Berlin palace of pneumonia at 4.20 AM on 21 August 1874 'after a short battle with death.'⁷⁵ He was buried five days later, on Wednesday, 26 August, at 3 PM at St. Hedwig's Catholic cemetery at Liesenstraße in Berlin. The fact that Raczyński's body was buried in Berlin is evidenced only by a modest plaque found in the corner of the graveyard (Fig. 45). The original, more decorative tombstone was destroyed in the 1960s. Like many other graves, it had to make way for the Berlin Wall.

⁷³ Joaquim de Vasconcellos, Conde de Raczynski (Athanasius), 18–19.

For the sake of contrast and balance, we can turn to a different characterisation of Raczyński written twenty years earlier. Its author, Józef Łoś, is said to have written favourably about very few and whose criticism was often extreme. He described Athanasius as 'fat, with a rounded face that was flushed and lacking in expression, with greying sideburns.' He reminded Łoś not of a Count, but of 'a merchant or banker,' the embodiment of a 'well-polished parvenu.' Even Raczyński's artistic interests did not imbue him with dignity in the eyes of the diarist: 'After all, he is an amateur of the fine arts who has a picture gallery in Berlin and buys Murillos, [...] Canalettos. Is it difficult to write about and purchase [art] when you have such a massive fortune?;' Józef Łoś, *Na paryskim i poznańskim bruku*, 95–96 and 197–198.

⁷⁵ See Raczyński's obituary in: GStA, Berlin, VI. HA Nl K.F. v. Savigny, No. 208.

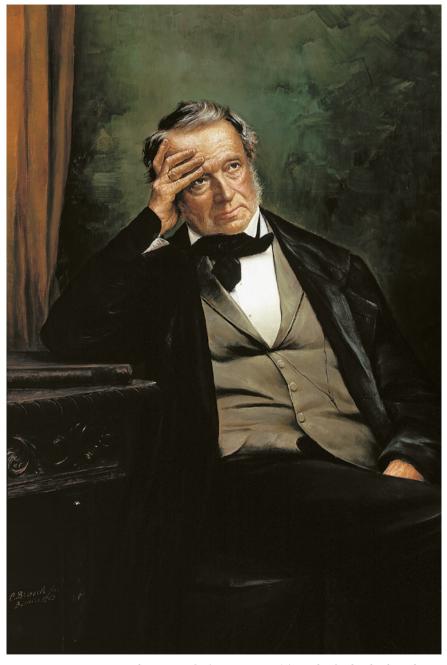


FIGURE 44 Hermann Brasch, Portrait of Athanasius Raczyński, made after his death on the basis of a photograph (from the 1860s?), 1903
 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 533



FIGURE 45 Athanasius Raczyński's gravestone in the Catholic cemetery at Liesenstraße in Berlin, present state PHOTO MICHAŁ MENCFEL

CHAPTER 8

Diplomat

I've got a career in diplomacy planted in my head. Let's see where it takes me.

Diary, 11 April 1811

• •

1 Early Endeavours

There were limited career opportunities available for an aristocrat in the nineteenth century, as few professions were considered appropriate for a member of the upper classes. In the late 1880s, Count Adolf Friedrich von Schack (who was himself a writer) listed the following possibilities: 'estate management, military service, or a legal, court, or diplomatic career.'1 Athanasius Raczyński had still fewer opportunities available to him for two reasons directly related to his grandfather and legal guardian, Kazimierz Raczyński. The first was his grandfather's plans for his grandson. Kazimierz wanted Athanasius to become a politician and thus planned an education for his grandson that would allow him to 'become useful to his country in the future, and qualified to hold public office.' It was for this reason that Athanasius was sent to study in Frankfurt, Berlin, and Dresden respectively and why Kazimierz advised his grandson to establish contacts 'with prominent people who were close to our good Emperor or to the Warsaw Government.' The second reason was Kazimierz's indirect influence, particularly the negative impression he had left people with after being forced to flee Warsaw in 1807. Athanasius quickly noticed that an aversion to his grandfather influenced the attitude of important public figures towards him as well, limiting his career opportunities. Educated for a political career but unwelcome in Warsaw, Raczyński was forced to look elsewhere for a chance to realise his professional ambitions. In the future, a growing and, to his mind, irreconcilable conflict with his fellow Poles in terms of worldview would

Adolf Friedrich von Schack, *Ein halbes Jahrhundert. Erinnerungen und Aufzeichnungen. In drei Bänden*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart und Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1888), 38. See also: Monika Wienfort, *Der Adel in der Moderne*, 88–107; Heinz Reif, *Adel im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 15–25.

also play a role in this process, preventing him from participating in Polish public life and causing him to assess the political situation in the Kingdom of Poland very critically. Athanasius explained his reasons for actively pursuing a career in Prussian diplomacy in 1819 in the following manner:

I don't advise ambitious people to pave their way forward amidst the crowd. There are always better places for those seeking to satisfy their interests. Warsaw and St. Petersburg are crowded for a Pole because this is where Poland is considered to be a valid [political] project. It's different in Prussia. It's better in Prussia, especially when it comes to the diplomatic service. This is my sphere of activity, and I will be making every possible effort to avoid having any contact with Russian Poland.²

This does not mean that Raczyński made the decision to work in diplomacy against his wishes or that he was guided solely by negative considerations. On the contrary, he considered the prospect of being sent to a foreign court a very attractive and prestigious career opportunity. The point is rather that his career in diplomacy had to 'fit' into a narrow space strictly delimited by a number of external factors.

In this section of the present book, Raczyński's political career will be outlined, placing particular emphasis on the factors that shaped it: its dynamics, turning points, and climaxes, and, finally, its consequences, which can be seen in other areas of his life, especially in his engagement with art and his social life.³

It is impossible to indicate precisely when Raczyński first envisioned pursuing a career in diplomacy. Nevertheless, by mid-1810, he had made up his mind and was actively seeking to turn his vision into reality. In the spring of 1811, Athanasius wrote in his diary: 'I've got a career in diplomacy planted in my head. Let's see where it takes me. In any case, I solemnly swear to stand by

² DIARY, 10 February 1819.

³ The purpose of this chapter is therefore not to present in detail Raczyński's political activities as a representative of the Kingdom of Prussia at the Danish, Portuguese and Spanish courts. Such a detailed presentation would need to be preceded by a meticulous reading of the extensive diplomatic documentation covering Raczyński's diplomatic activity. The conclusions derived from such a reading would then have to be inscribed into the context of the bilateral political relations between the countries involved, taking into account the state of international relations throughout Europe at the time. I did not have the opportunity – nor did I consider it advisable from the point of view of the intended biography – to carry out such a study. Basic information on the course of Raczyński's diplomatic service can be found in: Johann Caspar Struckmann, *Preußische Diplomaten im 19. Jahrhundert. Biographien und Stellenbesetzungen der Auslandsposten 1815–1870* (Berlin: Trafo-Verlag, 2003), 188–189.

this [decision] no matter what.'4 Later entries of similar nature are found quite often in Raczyński's diary and writings. Athanasius initially wished for a career in the Saxon diplomatic service. Several years later, in the spring of 1813, he finally managed to obtain the position of Saxon attaché in Paris. Yet Athanasius spent only a few months in Paris. Historical events: the defeat of Napoleon and the occupation of Warsaw by the Prussians resulted in Raczyński being dismissed de facto from the Saxon diplomatic service in 1814, without, as he observed, 'having received any definitive decision on this matter despite his numerous inquiries and requests.^{'5} The prospect of an uncertain future combined with historical circumstances - the formation of a new balance of power in Europe after the Congress of Vienna - is probably what caused Raczyński to wait several years before taking steps to resume his diplomatic career. He made his first effort to do so in 1819 when he applied for a position in the foreign service of the Kingdom of Prussia, of which he was then a citizen and subject. Ten years passed from Athanasius' initial application to join the Prussian diplomatic service to the assumption of his first post as a Prussian diplomat. This was a decade of démarches and petitions, as well as of hopes and disappointments. Because this was an important period in Raczyński's life, it is worth examining more closely. First, however, to better understand his situation, it is necessary to outline briefly the legal and organisational framework within which Athanasius functioned as a diplomat.

The Prussian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Das Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten*), which was responsible for the organisation of the diplomatic service, was established as an independent political entity in the autumn of 1810 and elevated to a ministry in 1814.⁶ Its first Minster was Karl August von Hardenberg (1814–1818), followed by Count Carl Friedrich Heinrich von Wylich und Lottum, who served for just a few months (July–December 1818). Next, Christian Günther von Bernstorff (1819–1832), to whom Raczyński wrote when he applied for a job in the Prussian diplomatic service, was appointed to head the ministry. The minister's remit, however, was severely limited. Throughout the entire period in question, it was the Prussian monarch, first Frederick William 111, and afterwards (from 1840) Frederick William 1V, who both formally and practically made all decisions concerning Prussian foreign policy,

⁴ DIARY, 11 April 1811.

⁵ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichtliche Forschungen, 474.

⁶ On the structure of the Ministry, its organisation, division of competences, rules for personnel recruitment, etc. during the period concerned, see comprehensive and well documented study by Dietmar Grypa, Der Diplomatische Dienst des Königreichs Preußen (1815–1866). Institutioneller Aufbau und soziale Zusammensetzung, Quellen und Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte, vol. 37 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2008).

not only regarding major developments and key issues but often also about the people who were to hold diplomatic posts. Even when the existing vague criteria and procedures for selecting candidates for service were redefined and made more transparent in 1827 (primarily by conducting a multi-stage state examination), it was still the King who made the final decision whether to accept a given candidate. Naturally, the King often acted on the advice of his minister and ministerial officials (above all Johann Carl Heinrich Philipsborn, who from 1820 until his death in 1848, was responsible for the organisation and staffing of diplomatic missions), as well as the members of his Cabinet and other prominent people in his court (especially Jean Pierre Frédéric [Friedrich] Ancillon), but the King was nevertheless autonomous in his decisions. This meant that candidates had to win the monarch's favour. However, they rarely addressed him directly, as it was customary to ask the foreign minister to act as an intermediary. Future diplomats were required to 'fulfil their representative duties with dignity, carry out loyally and accurately the instructions of their superiors, report to the ministry on all significant matters with clarity, demonstrating sensitivity and powers of judgment, and to show initiative, tact, and intelligence in various negotiations.'7

In an entry dated 10 February 1819, Raczyński wrote in his diary:

Ten days ago, I wrote to Count Bernstorff to offer the King my services in diplomacy. Today, I visited Mr. Ancillon, one of the closest advisors to the Ministry, who told me several things that led me to believe that my proposal had been well received and that I would not have to wait long for my appointment. It seems that there will soon be a vacancy at the court in Madrid, and I have reason to believe that I will be sent there. Prince Antoni Radziwiłł treats me with unimaginable effusiveness. I asked him to pass my letter on to Mr. Bernstorff. He led me to believe that he carried out my request very assiduously.⁸

This marks the point when Raczyński began to work actively to obtain a position in the Prussian diplomatic service. The short entry from his diary above demonstrates that he operated through various channels and that he acted in accordance with his understanding and appreciation of court custom in Berlin. Raczyński's official application to work in diplomacy was not submitted directly to the minister. To ensure success, Athanasius acted through Antoni Radziwiłł, with whom he had close relations. His choice of intermediary seems

⁷ Cited from Dietmar Grypa, Der Diplomatische Dienst des Königreichs Preußen, 19.

⁸ DIARY, 10 February 1819.

to have been a wise one. Athanasius' wife Anna was related to Prince Radziwilł, who, in turn, had a direct connection to the royal family through his marriage to Princess Frederica Dorothea Louise Philippine of Prussia, the niece of King Frederick the Great.⁹ Although Antoni Radziwiłł's political position at the court was not particularly strong and his influence relatively limited - since as Governor of the Grand Duchy of Posen he resided primarily in Poznań rather than in Berlin – he was still a prominent figure in the social circles of the Berlin elite and a close associate of Minister Bernstorff.¹⁰ Raczyński's intention was, of course, to secure the help of people who could assist him in his efforts. The members of his 'lobby group' included his brother Edward and later Theodor Bauman, who since 1825 had served as President (Oberpräsident) of the Posen province. Athanasius visited Friedrich Ancillon for the same reason. Ancillon, a theologian, scholar, and educator of the Crown Prince, held a special position in the court of Frederick William III. Although in 1819, he was neither an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (he would later run this department from 1832 to 1837) nor a member of the Royal Cabinet, he was nevertheless a member of the monarch's inner circle, and because the King trusted him, he had a significant influence on Prussian foreign policy.

This first letter to Minister Bernstorff, quoted above from Raczyński's diary, as well as many later documents relating to Athanasius' diplomatic career have been archived in his personal file, held in the Political Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes*) in Berlin. It is worth citing here an extensive excerpt from this letter, as Raczyński's subsequent letters concerning the course of his career were written using similar poetics and lines of argument:

Your Excellency, as an inhabitant of the Grand Duchy of Posen, I wish to express through the intermediary of the royal lieutenant, His Highness Prince Radziwiłł, my desire to work in the diplomatic service of His Majesty the King.

I served as an *attaché* to the Saxon mission in Paris when the events of 1814 severed the ties between the Duchy of Warsaw and Saxony. Being now 31 years of age and married, I do not wish to return to service as an *attaché*, but I would be pleased to put my enthusiasm and resources to

⁹ See: Adam Galos and Alina Nowak-Romanowicz, "Radziwiłł Antoni Henryk (1775–1833)," in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. xxx (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińsich, 1987), 156–160.

¹⁰ Andrzej Kwilecki, Ziemiaństwo wielkopolskie, 386-398.

good use under the auspices of a chief who has upheld the reputation of a name that has become so prominent in diplomacy.

It would be my greatest wish to be entrusted with a mission in the south. I do not have a title to justify such a request, but I would be happy to make myself available for a probationary period set by His Excellency. I would be extremely happy to see that my new homeland allowed me to hold such an honourable position and act on behalf of the public good.

I have an income of 45,000 *écus*, most of which is used to cover expenses related to family matters. At present, I cannot guarantee I would be able to allocate more than 24,000 to public service, though in three years' time, all my income will be allocated to tasks His Majesty will graciously entrust to me.¹¹

After a year had passed with no response to his letter, Raczyński decided, in January 1820, to write another, very similar in content, this time addressed to Prince Antoni Radziwiłł. A reply came from Prince Radziwiłł in early March that included a passage that Raczyński would later use as a bargaining counter in his negotiations with the Prussian administration:

I have the honour to inform you [...] that His Majesty has positively received your request to serve His Majesty and enter into the diplomatic service. [...] I regret to inform you, however, that due to the absence of vacant posts, I am unable to be of service to you in this matter. In the meantime, since all the posts that might suit you are now occupied, and I hope to bring you soon into the service of the Kingdom of Prussia, I have instructed His Excellency Count Bernstorff [...], head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to add your name to the list of approved candidates.¹²

For Raczyński, this letter attested to his being in His Majesty's favour and assured him that he would be deployed to a diplomatic mission once an appropriate post became available. Thus, whenever he learned of a vacant post, he made every effort to secure it. When the Madrid post became vacant in late September 1824, Raczyński wrote directly to Frederick William to express 'with renewed zeal my wishes and hopes' for a diplomatic post. A month later, he

¹¹ Letter from Raczyński to Minister Christian Günther von Bernstorff of 4 February 1819 in: AA, Berlin, Acta betr. Die persönlichen Angelegenheiten des Grafen von Raczinsky, 011609.

¹² Letter from Antoni Radziwiłł to Raczyński of 8 March 1820 in: AA, Berlin, Acta betr. Die persönlichen Angelegenheiten des Grafen von Raczinsky, 01609.

sent a similar letter to Bernstorff, enclosing a copy of the letter he had received from Radziwiłł four years earlier. Raczyński wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs again in the autumn of 1825, 1827, and 1828. In the last of these letters, which he sent in connection with an opening in Lisbon, Raczyński refers for the first time to his difficult situation in the Grand Duchy of Posen, a point he would raise again in future correspondence. Raczyński explained the high price he had paid for his staunch loyalty to the Prussian monarch and government - incurring the hatred of his fellow countrymen - and how this motivated his strong desire to go abroad. In this letter, Raczyński also expressed for the first time in his official correspondence signs of doubt: 'In any case, I will never regret that I have declared myself a loyal subject of the King, and the blessings I receive from him will not be outweighed by the sadness I feel when I see that my applications for diplomatic service are being rejected, although they are always graciously reviewed. Even if my seeking the honour of sacrificing my fortune in the service of His Majesty for the past ten years and the actions I have taken, and the zeal I have expressed for Him have been in vain, then perhaps one day my son will have the satisfaction of enjoying the fruits of my devotion and my perseverance.'¹³ Such disappointment and dissatisfaction are absent from another letter sent in the spring of 1829, in which Raczyński assures that he is 'far from giving up my professional projects' and that 'ten years of waiting have only strengthened in me the desire to serve the King.'14 Athanasius was optimistic because the monarch had promised he would be granted the first vacant diplomatic post; he, in fact, did receive such a nomination early the following year, in January 1830. The post, however, was not in Madrid, Rome, Lisbon, or Constantinople, the southern cities he had described as the most desirable in his correspondence over the last decade, but in the north - in Copenhagen.

Yet in mid-January, Raczyński's nomination had yet to be confirmed, and the list of possible candidates was long. The well-informed Danish envoy in Berlin, Count Eugen von Reventlow, wrote in a secret report (dated 19 January 1830) addressed to his superior, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark, Baron Ernst Heinrich von Schimmelmann:

It is not yet in my power to report to Your Excellency anything certain about a possible successor to Count Meuron [the deceased Prussian

¹³ Letter from Raczyński to Christian Günther von Bernstorff of 16 September 1828 in: AA, Berlin, Acta betr. Die persönlichen Angelegenheiten des Grafen von Raczinsky, 011609.

¹⁴ Letter from Raczyński to Christian Günther von Bernstorff of 26 May 1829 in: AA, Berlin, Acta betr. Die persönlichen Angelegenheiten des Grafen von Raczinsky, 011609.

envoy to Copenhagen]. Needless to say, there are many applicants for this post. I have reason to believe that the main candidates with the best chances to succeed are: Count Raczyński, a Pole from an old family from the Grand Duchy of Posen, who has long been promised a ministerial position abroad; Baron [Otto Friedrich Helmuth von] Maltzahn, the current *chargé d'affairs* in Turin, who has several times served as the acting first secretary of Legation and *chargé d'affairs* in Copenhagen; Baron Lottum, son of the minister of the same name, who also worked in the Prussian mission in Copenhagen a few years ago; Mr. [Carl Gustav Ernst von] Küster, first secretary of Legation in St. Petersburg, who currently resides here and previously worked under General Müffling in Constantinople; Count [Mortimer von] Maltzahn, chargé d'affairs in Darmstadt and son-in-law of Graf von Goltz, etc., etc., etc., etc. I allow myself to inform Your Excellency that Baron Bernstorff seems to favour Count Raczyński, who, as I mentioned above, has long been promised a position of this kind and who has both the necessary means and abilities and is blessed with the advantages of elegant looks, a good name, and a great fortune. Nevertheless, although Baron Bernstorff possesses independence in the ministry entrusted to his care, it is the King himself who nominates candidates for such posts, so one should not be surprised if His Majesty chooses someone else. It is very likely, for instance, that he will be influenced by persistent petitions to show favour to the son of the old Count Lottum.¹⁵

The relevant cabinet order to appoint Raczyński envoy to Copenhagen was issued three days later. Three more days passed before Minister Bernstorff sent an official letter to Athanasius.¹⁶

Why had Raczyński failed in his efforts for so many years? To a certain extent, the reasons were objective ones. The pool of applicants for diplomatic posts had quickly doubled after 1815 in part due to a rapid increase in the number of law students, for whom state service, including jobs in diplomacy, was the only viable career path. Yet, the number of diplomatic posts was subject to only minor, generally insignificant changes. In 1818, Prussia maintained 24 missions with the status of diplomatic agency and three additional stations. Thus, only a tiny percentage of the population could serve in diplomacy. In the case of the nobility, by far the most strongly represented group, only 0.8 percent

¹⁵ Rapport confidentiel, No. VI, Berlin, le 19 Janvier 1830; RA, Copenhagen, IV. 302. Departament for udenlandske anliggender, Preussen, Indberetninger 1830, call no. 1770.

¹⁶ BR, Poznań, ms 2719, p. 15.

held such posts. Moreover, the structure of the diplomatic service was quite static. Ambassadors and envoys were dismissed from their posts only in exceptional cases. Vacancies were created when they resigned, either because of their advanced age or for health reasons; however, many of them remained in office until their deaths (during the reign of Frederick William III, 15 out of 28 high-ranking diplomats died in the course of diplomatic service in a foreign court¹⁷).

Nevertheless, Raczyński had reason to believe that his efforts would ensure him success. He possessed significant financial resources, which he emphasised in his letters. He also had advantages that Reventlow listed in his report: education, wealth, determination, training, suitable character traits, and contacts with people in circles close to the minister and the King. Moreover, Raczyński was assured early on that he was in the King's favour.

Faced with the prospect of failure, Raczyński tried to explain the situation to himself. In his official correspondence, apart from the letter quoted above, he carefully concealed his annoyance, disappointment, and discouragement. However, he did allow himself to express his feelings in his diary and letters to his brother. In addition to Prussia's excessive bureaucracy, Raczyński also blamed his failure on the current political situation, above all, on the attitude of Prussia towards Poland and Russia. It was during this period that Raczyński allowed himself for the first time to think that his nationality might be the reason behind his failures. Perhaps this was the point at which he first came face-to-face with a problem that would later become the great drama of his life: how to be a good Pole in the face of historical circumstances and his own personal ambitions. Athanasius' situation was further complicated by the fact that the failure of his efforts coincided with other painful events in his life: family problems; a stormy, dramatic, and painful romance that lasted several years, one that he described differently to his youthful infatuations, but which he experienced intensely nevertheless; and finally, the dilemmas he faced in terms of whether or not he should actually leave Poland. In April 1829, he described his situation thus:

I suppose at no point in my life have I ever felt so intensely how life can become a burden, how it can be so filled with bitterness. The scandal with Radzimiński, who challenged me to a duel because I sued him. The delays in my employment prospects. A lack of favour from the court and society. Family problems. The fact that I'm getting older. Boredom. I feel terrible. I haven't accomplished anything. I'm distracted, and I don't

¹⁷ Dietmar Grypa, Der Diplomatische Dienst des Königreichs Preußen, 329-330.

know what I'm doing. I can't find any way to make use of myself. Oh, what a pathetic life. $^{\rm 18}$

The news of his appointment as envoy to Copenhagen reached Raczyński while he was staying with his brother in Rogalin. The nomination, as he wrote, 'fulfilled all my wishes.'

2 The Power of Circumstances or 'a Place Apart'?

After taking an oath of allegiance and obedience to the King, Raczyński left Berlin for Copenhagen on 12 March 1830 to assume the diplomatic post he had been granted; his wife joined him a few weeks later. His arrival was preceded by an official letter from Frederick William III to King Frederick IV, informing him of Raczyński's appointment as the envoy of the Kingdom of Prussia to the Danish court at the highest possible rank of 'envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary minister' (außerordentlicher Gesandter und bevollmächtiger Minister).¹⁹ Raczyński was to receive a salary of 10,000 thalers per year; the first payment was to be increased by 2,000 thalers. This was no small sum, but it was far from sufficient to cover all the costs of the mission's representative functions. However, as mentioned earlier, Raczyński had expressed from the outset his willingness to spend a significant portion of his income from his landed property on expenses related to his service. In fact, diplomats were generally expected to spend part of their income on official costs because the Prussian state required its officials to support the state and its politics. Especially in diplomacy, it was unthinkable to have a career without spending one's own money. What one paid in cash, one gained in symbolic capital.

Danish diplomats saw Raczyński's appointment as a good choice. The envoy of the Kingdom of Denmark to Berlin, Reventlow, reported to the Foreign Minister in Copenhagen:

¹⁸ DIARY, 2 April 1829.

¹⁹ Although according to the law, there existed the even higher position of Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador (*Außerodentlicher und Bevollmächtigen Botschafter*), until the 1860s this title was *de facto* never awarded. The first diplomats to be awarded the rank of ambassador were those assigned to the missions in Paris and London in 1862. Letter from Frederick William III to King Frederick IV on the appointment of Raczyński in: RA, Copenhagen, I. 302. Departament for udenlandske anliggender, Preussen, Preussens repraesentation 1783–1848, call no. 1691.

I think I can assure Your Excellency that this nomination is highly desirable. In addition to the essential merits that were decisive in his selection by the noble ruler, Count Raczyński comes from a noble family, is blessed with a vast fortune and most distinguished demeanor. Therefore, the eminent court should be nothing but satisfied with the choice and the zeal with which it was made and the lack of undue delay.²⁰

Contrary to these expectations, however, Raczyński ultimately proved to be a demanding and difficult political partner, especially when Hans Krabbe-Carisius took over as Danish Foreign Minister in May 1831. Apart from political tensions caused by such things as Raczyński's claims that the Danish government favoured Austria over Prussia or his attitude towards events on the Iberian Peninsula, personal factors also played a role in this process. Raczyński accused Krabbe-Carisius openly and not without grounds of indecisiveness, vacillation, irresolution, and excessive caution.²¹ Georg Nørregård, an eminent expert in the history of Denmark, claims that the growing conflict between Raczyński and Krabbe-Carisius was one of the main reasons behind Raczyński's decision to resign as envoy in Copenhagen.²²

Raczyński headed the Danish mission for four years, officially until the middle of 1834, but *de facto* until the beginning of that year. Theodor von Seckendroff was assigned to act as his secretary. However, for most of this time, the Count, as he later complained, had to manage without him and carried out von Seckendroff's duties himself.²³ On three occasions, Athanasius took a three-month leave of absence, during which he left Denmark and travelled to Berlin and his estates in Wielkopolska and Galicia.

When Raczyński arrived in Copenhagen, a city with a population of 150,000, the damage remaining from the British bombardment and occupation of 1807 was relatively minor, while the city itself was still enclosed by the city walls erected by Christian IV in the seventeenth century (Fig. 46 and 47). Steen Bo

²⁰ Report from Reventlow (No. 7) of 26 January 1830; RA, Copenhagen, IV. 302. Departament for udenlandske anliggender, Preussen, Indberetninger 1830, call no. 1770.

²¹ Georg Nørregård, *Danmark mellem Øst og Vest 1824–39* (København: Gyldendal, 1969), 94–95 and 129–131.

²² Georg Nørregård, Danmark mellem Øst og Vest 1824–39, 130.

A strong candidate for the position of Secretary of the Prussian Legion in Copenhagen was initially the young Albrecht von Bernstorff, son of Foreign Minister Christian Bernstorff. He enjoyed the support of Raczyński himself, but eventually, in accordance with his father's wishes, the Danish-born minister's son declined the nomination (see Im Kampfe für Preußens Ehre: Aus dem Nachlaß des Grafen Albrecht von Bernstorff und seiner Gemahlin Anna geb. Freiin von Koenneritz. Mit 2 Bildnissen in Lichtdruck und der Nachbildung eines Briefes, herausgegeben von Karl Ringhoffer (Berlin: Mittler, 1906), 16).



FIGURE 46 Athanasius Raczyński, *View of the Port in Copenhagen*, watercolour, July 1830 RACZYŃSKI LIBRARY IN POZNAŃ, MS 2719



FIGURE 47 Athanasius Raczyński, *Christiansborg Palace in Copenhagen*, watercolour, 26 July 1832 RACZYŃSKI LIBRARY IN POZNAŃ, MS 2719

Frandsen thus described Copenhagen in the first half ot the nineteenth century: 'At first glance, the capital city presented itself as the centre of the entire country. The King's residence, the administrative centre, the most important fortress, and the only military port were all located within the city. The oldest university [...] and all other educational institutions, such as the university of technology, the veterinary and forestry academy, trade schools, and the military academy, were all located in the city as well. All state art collections and museums were located there, too. It was also the most important industrial and trade centre in all the monarchy. [...] The overwhelming accumulation of institutions and personalities made Copenhagen the undisputd centre of the kingdom. [...] With its enormous concentration of elites and state facilities, the capital generally made a good impression on foreigners. They were not so impressed with the cultural life, however.'24 It was a time when Copenhagen underwent 'significant reconfiguration as an architectural and topographical structure,' 'a period of transition between traditional and modern culture' -Copenhagen as a modern city was emerging.²⁵

The Raczyńskis rented a luxurious two-storey apartment in a large house at Holmens Kanal 259 (Fig. 48), in the centre of the city, close to the royal castle (Christiansborg Palace), which had just been restored after a fire of 1794 (Fig. 49). A press advertisement published at the beginning of 1834, just after the Raczyńskis' departure, noted that the house had ten grand rooms with amenities on every floor. The home also had a barber's room, a laundry room, and a mangle room. In the courtyard were two stables, for five and three horses respectively, equipped with small rooms for the rider and the servant, and two carriage houses for a total of five carriages. 'Everything is kept up in excellent condition.'²⁶

During Athanasius' time in Copenhagen, the Danish political elite was primarily occupied with domestic affairs, especially the situation in the troubled region of Holstein.²⁷ Since 1767 Holstein (as well as Schleswig) had been an

Steen Bo Frandsen. Dänemark – der kleine Nachbar im Norden. Aspekte der deutschdänischen Beziehungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994) 39–40, 43. See also: Henriette Steiner, The Emergence of a Modern City: Golden Age Copenhagen 1800–1850 (London: Routledge, 2016); Roar Skovmand, Vagn Dybdahl, and Erik Rasmussen, Geschichte Dänemarks 1830–1939. Die Auseinandersetzungen um nationale Einheit, demokratische Freiheit und soziale Gleichheit, übersetzt v. Olaf Klose (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1973) 13–17.

²⁵ Henriette Steiner, The Emergence of a Modern City, 1–5 and 19–63, quotations p. 2, 4.

²⁶ *Kjøbenhavns kongelig alene privilegerde Adrescomptoris Efterretninger*, No. 65, Tirsdagen, d. 18 Marts 1834, p. 12.

²⁷ See: Ulrich Lange, ed., *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1996), 281–287 and 427–444.



FIGURE 48 View of Holmens Kanal, the house in which Raczyński lived on the right (No. 259, later No. 12), with Christiansborg Palace in the distance, illustration c.1850 DET KGL. BIBLIOTEK, BILLEDSAMLINGEN. TOPOGRAFISK SAMLING, KØBENHAVN, 8°, HOLMENS KANAL, 11

integral part of the Danish kingdom. The events of the Napoleonic era and the actions taken at the Congress of Vienna did not eliminate Denmark's suzerainty over the region (Holstein was linked to Denmark by a personal union), but they did affect its status: Holstein was included as a member of the German Confederation established by the Congress in 1815. Pursuant to article 13 of the Deutsche Bundesakte (German Federal Act), all of the Confederation's member states were to adopt a constitution. Since the Kingdom of Denmark, as an absolute monarchy, failed to meet this condition, a strong pro-constitutional and liberal movement took root in Holstein. The revolutionary events of 1830 in France, Belgium, and later Poland provided this movement with new impetus. The claim made by Uwe Jens Lornsen, one of the leading representatives of Danish liberal thought at the time and the author of a famous brochure titled Writings Concerning Constitutional Matters in Schleswig-Holstein (Ueber das Verfassungswerk in Schleswigholstein), that the country was on the verge of revolution was somewhat premature, but the situation was nevertheless quite tense. In response to these pressures, the Danish authorities announced on 28 May 1831 the creation of state assemblies in four of the kingdom's provinces: the Danish islands, Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein; a constitution was adopted on 15 May 1834. Emerging national ideologies among both the Danish

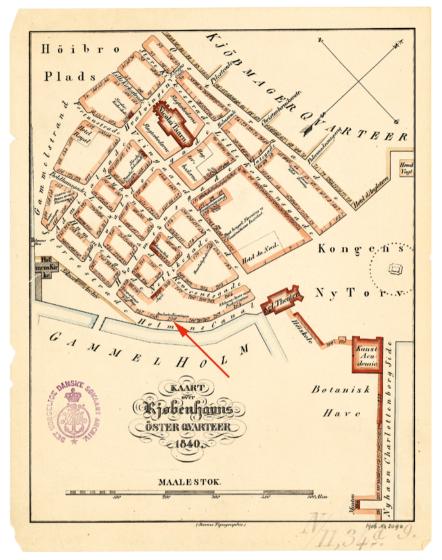


FIGURE 49 Nicolai Severin Sterm, *Plan of the Eastern Quarter of Copenhagen*, 1840 Det Kgl. Bibliotek, KbK k enk. lok., øster kvarter-0-1840/1 ARROW INDICATES THE LOCATION OF THE HOUSE IN WHICH RACZYŃSKI LIVED

and German subjects of the kingdom had made the atmosphere much more heated. These tensions intensified in the 1840s, culminating in the bloody civil war of 1848–1851 (the First Schleswig War), but they had already had a strong impact on Danish politics since the early 1830s. These political developments were also of great interest to Prussia, not only because the states were neighbours but also for reasons of their political interests. In addition to the political situation and balance of power in the Baltic Sea region, matters connected with Holstein and the adoption of a constitution in absolutist Denmark were the main issues to which Raczyński devoted his attention.

Raczyński's main tasks in Denmark – and he would be required to perform similar ones during his two later diplomatic missions - can be divided into four groups. First, Raczyński had to prepare weekly reports, several pages in length. In them, he described current events, commented on Denmark's domestic and foreign policy and the state of the country's finances, and analysed the local press and public opinion.²⁸ Second, Raczyński was required to prepare detailed reports on specific topics, including the strength of the Danish fleet, shipping safety and security in the Baltic Sea, and Denmark's trade balance. Third, Raczyński acted on behalf of his monarch, presenting Prussia's position to Danish policymakers, either in person or more often through official letters. In this capacity, he negotiated matters of varying importance (commercial, military, personal, etc.) and intervened when the interests of Prussia seemed threatened. Fourth, Raczyński coordinated the work of lower-ranking officials (consuls) and other individuals connected with Prussia who lived in various parts of Denmark. Diplomatic work was a very time-consuming and demanding job, and Raczyński was required to spend long hours in his office collecting information (reading the international press), preparing reports, and writing and reading numerous letters. Raczyński's diplomatic work in Copenhagen is archived in thousands of pages of documents. However, Athanasius' work as a diplomat did not prevent him from having an active social life. His salon soon became a popular meeting place for diplomats residing in Copenhagen (it was in Denmark that Raczyński met Henry Wheaton, who would remain his close friend for many years) and representatives of the local elite (the poet Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger, among others, wrote about sitting at Raczyński's 'welcoming table' and praised his host as 'a connoisseur of art, a lover of poetry'29). Perhaps the author of the press report of the Count's departure from Copenhagen was not exaggerating in stating that 'refined circles in the capital will truly miss this witty and sophisticated diplomat.'30

As we can recall, when Raczyński first tried to secure a diplomatic post, he expressed his wish to work in the South, claiming that 'posts in the North

A complete set of draft and clean copies of these documents can be found in: GStA, Berlin, 111. HA Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten I, No. 4604–4607 and No. 460.

²⁹ Adam Oehlenschläger, Meine Lebens-Erinnerungen. Ein Nachlaß von Adam Oehlenschläger, vol. 4 (Leipzig: C.B. Lorck, 1850), 93.

³⁰ Den til Forsendelse med. Brevposterne Kongelig allernaadigst alene privilegerede Aarhuus Stifts-Tidende, No. 48, den 25de Marts 1834, p. 2.

disagree with the state of my wife's health.^{'31} Raczyński made the same point in his letters from Copenhagen, including a letter from 1832 to Bernstorff in which he asked about the possibility of moving to The Hague due to Copenhagen's harsh and unhealthy climate. In the spring of the following year, he asked to be transferred from Copenhagen to Vienna or Munich. Health problems, in this case not his wife's but his own, were the deciding factor in Raczyński's decision to resign as the head of Prussian diplomacy at the Danish court. In early 1834, he requested a three-month leave for reasons of health. Shortly afterwards, on 27 March, he boarded the steamboat Frederik VI 'together with his wife, a butler and seven servants' and travelled via Kiel and Hamburg to Berlin, and then, on 23 April, on to Aachen (Fig. 50 and 51) for health treatments. Raczyński left Copenhagen convinced that he would not return. He vacated the house he was renting, and the things he left behind began to be auctioned off in April. These included 'very beautiful tea and coffee pots, candelabra, candlesticks, *plat-de-menage*, varnished and bronze items, such as floor and table lamps,



FIGURE 50 Theodor Kloss, *Port in Copenhagen*, drawing given to A. Raczyński on 27 March 1834, on the day of Raczyński's departure from the Danish capital RACZYŃSKI LIBRARY IN POZNAŃ, MS 2719

³¹ Letter from Raczyński to Antoni Radziwiłł of 23 January 1820 in: AA, Berlin, Acta betr. Die persönlichen Angelegenheiten des Grafen von Raczinsky, 011609.



FIGURE 51 Athanasius Raczyński, *View from the Window of Athanasius' Lodgings in Aachen,* watercolour, June 1834, during Raczyński's recovery in the city PRIVATE COLLECTION

mahogany and other types of furniture, such as bureaus, wardrobes, bookshelves, sofas, chairs, dining tables, tea and gaming tables, a beautiful sideboard, mirrors, commodes, wash-stands, cupboards, standing and table clocks, a piano,' 'a gorgeous mahogany bookcase with silk curtains and two smaller bookcases with glass doors,' 'elegant pieces made of porcelain and faience,' and finally 'a beautiful Berlin carriage and two wagons, harnesses, saddles, one saddle horse and two bay carriage horses.'³² This list gives us at least a general idea about the conditions in which Raczyński lived in the Danish capital.

In Aachen, Raczyński wrote letters to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and then to the King, requesting to be excused from returning to Copenhagen due to his poor health. Raczyński also asked to be granted an indefinite leave until he was assigned another diplomatic post. The monarch granted the Count

Kjøbenhavns kongelig alene privilegerde Adrescomptoris Efterretninger, No. 77, Tirsdagen,
 1 April 1834, p. 6; Kjøbenhavns kongelig alene privilegerde Adrescomptoris Efterretninger,
 No. 86, Torsdagen, 10 April 1834, pp. 1–2.

the leave in mid-June 1834; however, the Count would have to wait for a new post for almost a decade. Raczyński, who was not prepared for such a wait and found it very frustrating, was forced to rethink his place in the structures of the Prussian state and society.

Before describing Raczyński's efforts to return to active service, I would like to first comment on the financial aspect of his leave, which provides us with insights into the Count's personality. Since he was not released from service but only granted a leave of absence, Raczyński received a salary (a so-called *Wartegeld*) of 3,000 thalers per year. Raczyński accepted the money because, as he later explained in a letter to the minister, he thought it represented the 'valuable bond' that linked him to the ministry and the government.³³ The Count used the money to create a fund 'for widows and orphans of lower-ranking officials of the ministry [of foreign affairs].' A salary of 3,000 thalers was a significant sum of money given that the annual salary of the secretary in the ministry at that time was 400 to 500 thalers, so the fund was able to provide support for the families of many lower-ranking officials. Documentation of payments from the so-called 'Raczyński Fund,' archived in three large folders in the *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes* in Berlin, is evidence of the scale of the fund's operations.

Raczyński's status in the 1830s differed from what it had been in the 1820s when he first applied for a position in Prussian diplomacy. In the 1830s, he was an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He thus had access to many influential people in Prussian political circles, and, as he believed and wrote several times in his letters, he was well liked by Minister Ancillon. For this reason, he was all the more disappointed that, despite these circumstances, he found himself now in almost the same position as ten years before: that of an applicant waiting for a positive decision from his superiors.

When Raczyński asked the King in spring 1834 to be excused from his obligation to return to the Danish mission, he also requested 'to be assigned a different post that Your Majesty, in his infinite wisdom, would consider suitable in view of my modest abilities.' The Count indicated he wished to take up a

³³ Letter from Raczyński to Minister Werther of 22 January 1838: 'Wenn ich bis jetzt mich nicht entschließen konnte, das Wartegeld zu entnehmen, so geschah es, weil ich entschiedene Abneigung empfand, unter den persönlichen Umständen, in denen ich mich befinde, ein Salarium zu beziehen, ohne daß Mindeste dafür thun zu dürfen. Wenn ich andererseits nicht unbedingt auf dieses Wartegeld verzichtet habe und verzichte, so geschah es und geschieht noch, weil ich darin ein mir theures Band erblicke, welches mich an das Ministerium und an die Regierung knüpft;' AA, Berlin, Personalakt 01609.

post in the Hague or Constantinople.³⁴ In the same year (1834), he was assured that he would receive the post of ambassador to the Spanish court as soon as the political situation would allow Prussia to renew its diplomatic relations with Spain.³⁵ This promise was a source of satisfaction for Raczyński and a bargaining counter in his correspondence with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, it also became an obstacle in his diplomatic career. The political situation in Spain was tense, and there was no quick solution in sight. Raczyński's return to active service was therefore dependent on uncertain future outcomes.

For this reason, Raczyński began taking more decisive steps in early 1837 to obtain a post in a different country. In letters to the directors of the second and third branch of the ministry, Johann Ludwig von Jordan and Johann Albrecht Eichhorn, and shortly afterwards in a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Heinrich August Baron von Werther, he asked to be assigned a post in one of the German countries or 'any other post that would put a stop to the unpleasant and forced idleness to which I have been sentenced for three years' or 'even some, even extraordinary, employment in a ministry' that would 'serve as proof to me and others that I have not been sentenced to futile, endless waiting, that I have not been dismissed because of my mistakes, suspicious views or blatant incompetence. I wish to be seen as an active subject of the state.'³⁶ In February 1840, after two years of silence, he decided to write official letters to Werther and the monarch himself. Raczyński documented his efforts in recent months in an extensive and detailed report entitled Steps I took at the beginning of 1840 to end the humiliating idleness that I have been experiencing for six years.³⁷ This document is particularly interesting because Raczyński not only describes his situation but also explains the causes behind his 'idleness.' He suspects that Minister Werther is not fond of him and is trying to discreetly

See Raczyński's extensive correspondence from the years 1834–1840 related to his efforts to return to active diplomatic service in: AA, Berlin, 011609 and BR, Poznań, ms 2720. Quote from a letter to the King of 13 June 1834, BR, Poznań, ms 2720, pp. 9–10.

³⁵ In the late 1830s, the anticipated nomination of Raczyński to serve as envoy in Madrid generated even greater controversy, and the issue was even discussed in the Spanish and European press. See e.g.: *El Estafeta*, Num. 290, jueves 31 de Agosto 1837, p. 4; *El Español*, Num. 682, sabado 16 de setiembre 1837, p. 1; *El Católico*, Num. 125, 3 de julio 1840, p. 270; and also: *Der Schweizer-Bote*, Nr. 62, Samstag, den 5. August 1837, p. 251.

³⁶ Letters to Johann Ludwig von Jordan of 1 May 1837 and Heinrich August von Werther of 22 January 1838; both are in: AA, Berlin, 011609, copies in BR, Poznań, ms 2720, p. 68 and pp. 79–80.

³⁷ Des démarches que j'ai faites au commencement de l'année 1840, pour mettre fin à l'inactivité dont je subis l'humiliation depuis six ans, APP, Majątek Rogalin, 117. An abridged copy can be found in the Raczyński Library in Poznan, ms 2720, pp. 114–122; Raczyński included a transcription of the document in his DIARY. All quotations are based on the version in APP.

end his career in diplomacy 'so that he could assign my post to one of his protégés, even though this would make everyone see me as incapable and unworthy of serving in the ministry of which I am a part.' In Raczyński's opinion, the fact that he had received an unofficial proposition to become a *Geheimrat* and member of the State Council, which would *de facto* mean the end of his active diplomatic service, proved this. In the end, Athanasius accepted the nomination to the Geheimer Legationsrat. Raczyński continued to see himself as the victim of a political game involving slander, gossip, powerplays, personal interests, and a 'hunt for offices,' which he euphemistically referred to as the 'power of circumstances' (die Macht der Verhältnisse). Raczyński was convinced that he was the victim of a foul powerplay motivated by the 'place apart' he occupied in Prussian society: 'He wants to let me know that "the power of circumstances" creates obstacles for me, but I think that it is my lonely position which creates obstacles for me.' This somewhat enigmatic observation becomes clearer when it is read in the context of his diary entries, especially those from the year 1837, which he perceived as a year of crisis:

I am the only one in my family and the only one in my province who has been asking to be assigned to a position of public service for eighteen years. For eighteen years, I have been trying to break through this barrier, which, on the one hand, is posed by national sentiments, fuelled and distorted by liberal views, and, on the other, is reinforced by an instinctive animosity. I am the only one, believe me, and all those who hold positions in public service oppose my aspirations as if I was going to soak up all their jobs and salaries. I am the only one in my family and the only one in my province who has been asking to serve the King for eighteen years. I mean something in my province. I demand neither a high position nor a high salary. I would be happier working in a ministry than as a diplomat at a post where there is nothing to do, like in Naples or Copenhagen. These are my wishes, these are my requests, and for eighteen years I have been unable to obtain a position in public service.³⁸

It is very difficult to tell whether the image painted by Raczyński in his report and diary is truthful: whether his 'lonely position' as a Pole and a declared conservative was indeed the main reason for his failures. He was undoubtedly involved in a political powerplay, the extent of which was probably unknown to him. This is evidenced in an extensive letter from Werther to the King dated

³⁸ DIARY, 13 July 1837.

28 April 1840 and an anonymous *pro memoria* letter from around that time.³⁹ In his letter, Werther openly states that he does not see a place for Athanasius in Prussian diplomacy, 'because when Count Raczyński was out of active service, the demands of those who were expecting promotions for their uninterrupted service increased.' Instead, as a symbolic confirmation of Raczyński's relationship with the Ministry, Werther proposed to grant Raczyński the title of *Geheimer Legationsrat* and offered to assign minor tasks in the Ministry to the Count, especially 'those that are not directly related to current politics.' In the second document, the possibility of granting Raczyński the high title of *Wirklicher Geheimrat* and the title of 'Excellency' is discussed. Raczyński could also be named an extraordinary member of the State Council but not assigned to any of its departments. 'If this were to happen, could the Count demand a better confirmation of trust from the government? One condition would then be, of course, that he give up his diplomatic career for good.'

Raczyński knew about many of these behind-the-scenes games or at least suspected that they were taking place. He was convinced that he was right and found it difficult to accept that his efforts were in vain:

For ten days I've been torturing myself miserably. I felt like ending everything. I wished to leave, sell my house and paintings, and not beg any longer for employment, or for grace, or for trust. However, my character does not allow me ever to give up on anything or to change my mind. Indeed, my desire to make myself useful and my love for my paintings has triumphed over my fits of anger. I've decided to stay, to not give up on anything, not to change anything, to wait and continue to suffer until I die.⁴⁰

A letter written by Raczyński to his friend Count Karl Friedrich von Klinkowström in 1840 demonstrates that not only character traits played a role in Raczyński's efforts to return to public service. Raczyński describes his diplomatic career in connection with the question of social status, something the Count considered important. A career in diplomacy is a means to 'winning the King's good graces and thus of gaining respect.' 'Personal respect' was at stake, and in Prussia, it was impossible to gain respect without holding a prominent

³⁹ Both documents can be found in: GStA, Berlin, I на Rep. 89 Geh. Zivilkabinett, jüngere Periode, Nr. 12993.

⁴⁰ Des démarches..., pp. 20–21.

government position, 'because in Prussia, as in Russia, personality without office means nothing.'⁴¹

Raczyński paid a high price for his determination. This was documented mainly in his diary. Raczyński was subjected to humiliation and also a (yet another) crisis of confidence in his strength and abilities. He also experienced a final and painful conflict with Poland, Poles, and his understanding of being Polish.

Another year and a half passed following the events described above before Raczyński finally received a nomination to head a diplomatic post from the hands of Frederick William IV. However, it was not Spain, as he had been promised, but Portugal, with which Berlin had renewed diplomatic relations following a 14-year hiatus. On 9 December 1841, the monarch informed the newly appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joachim Karl Ludwig Mortimer Graf von Maltzan, that he wished to appoint Raczyński as envoy to Lisbon.⁴² Athanasius eventually went to Madrid six years later.

3 Iberia

Raczyński embarked on his, as he called it, 'grand tour' in mid-March 1842. He left Berlin and arrived in Lisbon almost two months later, in the early morning of 13 May 1842, having travelled through Brussels, Paris, and London.⁴³ The journey took a long time because of Athanasius' almost four-week stay in London. As Raczyński explained in a letter to Minister Maltzan, 'I think it would be in the interest of my service to examine Portugal and the [Iberian] Peninsula from London first and prepare myself for my diplomatic service in the British capital'⁴⁴ (Fig. 52). Raczyński did indeed prepare himself to be the envoy to Lisbon by reading English texts, of which there were many in view of the very strong political contacts that existed between the two countries. The diplomatic task that Raczyński had to fulfil in Lisbon was clearly defined in

⁴¹ Letter to Karl Friedrich von Klinkowström of 4 February 1840 r., copy in DIARY.

⁴² Copy of a letter from Frederick William IV to Minister Maltzan of 9 December 1841; GStA, Berlin, III. HA Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten I, Nr. 6210.

⁴³ Raczyński wrote about a planned 'great journey' in a letter to Karl Friedrich von Klinkowström of 6 January 1842. (copy in DIARY). On the subject of Raczyński's stay in Portugal see: Maria Danilewicz Zielińska, "Atanásio Raczynski – 1788–1874. Um historiador de arte portuguesa;" Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, "Athanase Raczynski au Portugal, 1842– 1848. Luz e Sombra;" and also: Janina Z. Klawe, "Os Polacos em Portugal no século XIX," *Itinerarios* 3/2 (2000): 62–64.

⁴⁴ Letter from Raczyński to Minister Maltzan of 24 December 1841; GStA, III. HA Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten I Nr. 6210.



FIGURE 52 Athanasius Raczyński, *Seascape in Falmouth*, watercolour, 8 May 1842, on the day he left for Portugal PRIVATE COLLECTION

an extensive explanatory letter written by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on 14 March 1842:

In resuming diplomatic relations between Prussia and Portugal, the King, our Excellent Monarch, gracious appointed you as the first extraordinary envoy and plenipotentiary minister at the side of Her Majesty. The task that you are to fulfil in connection with that function is clear. Your first concern is to convince the Portuguese Court that the intentions of our excellent monarch toward Queen Dona Maria are by all means kind and friendly. [...] I am certain that you understand, Count, that you should do everything in your power to gain the favour and personal trust of Her Majesty.

Maltzan also instructed Raczyński to maintain good relations with King Ferdinand and Princess Mariá Amélia, as well as with the foreign diplomats and ambassadors in Lisbon, especially those from Austria, Russia, England, and France. Maltzan also expected reliable reports on Portugal's domestic and foreign policy. The Minister also forbade Raczyński to intervene in Portugal's



 FIGURE 53 August Roquemont, Portrait of Athanasius Raczyński as a Prussian Envoy in Lisbon, 1843
 MUSEU NACIONAL DE SOARES DOS REIS, PORTO, INV. NO. 1552 PIN MNSR, DIREÇÃO-GERAL DO PATRIMÓNIO CULTURAL / ARQUIVO DE DOCUMENTAÇÃO FOTOGRÁFICA, PHOTO BY JOSÉ PESSOA

internal affairs, asking him to act with 'careful and considerable distance'⁴⁵ (Fig. $_{53}$).

⁴⁵ Letter from Minister Mortimer von Maltzahn do Raczyński of 14 March 1842; GStA, Berlin, I. HA Rep. 81 Gesandtschaften (Residenturen) u. (General-) Konsulate nach 1807, Generalkonsulat Gesandtschaft Lissabon I, Nr. 38.

Although Maltzan's guidelines sounded ambitious, Raczyński considered the post in Portugal, especially in comparison to his previous diplomatic mission in Copenhagen, where he had immediately become involved in a high-stakes political game surrounding Holstein, to be rather unexciting. After more than six months in Portugal, he wrote to his sister-in-law: 'Politics offers few subjects to consider. For the first time since I arrived in Portugal, I have sent a short report to the King. It was two-pages long.^{'46} The first months of Raczyński's stay in Portugal are best summarised in a watercolour self-portrait made by the Count in late August 1842. In it Athanasius can be seen sitting in a slumped position in an armchair; it looks as if his flaccid, seemingly lifeless body is about to slide out of the armchair. With his right hand, he has placed a book on his knees, as if in a sign of resignation. His face expresses fatigue and discouragement. 'It's hot,' the Count is saying, and you can almost hear the heavy sigh with which he speaks these words. If the image together with the 'comic word balloon' were not enough, Raczyński also added an inscription: 'The Prussian Ambassador to Lisbon is resting after three and a half months of doing nothing (22 August 1842)' (Fig. 54).

Immediately after he arrived in Lisbon, Athanasius moved into a palace on the Tagus (Fig. 55), and a few days later moved to an apartment on Rua do Moinho de Vento (today's Rua Dom Pedro v) in the northern part of the city (Fig. 56 and 57). What did his house look like? 'Here it is. The architecture is simple and uncomplicated. It is not "Greek" or "Schinkel-like" at all. The house is yellow, and the entrance is green, with a small green balcony at each window.' This is how Raczyński described the house in a letter to a friend, to which he also attached a simple drawing (Fig. 58).⁴⁷ Raczyński spent his entire six years in Lisbon in this house, even though it was neither prestigiously nor conveniently located. 'My house is located in one of the highest points in the city; it is therefore very far away from the water. The façade overlooks a disgusting, smelly street [Rua da Rosa]. From the rear, however, a magnificent view opens up over the largest valley within Lisbon's city walls; there are large monasteries on all the hills, while a beautiful promenade shaded by trees runs along the middle of the valley.'⁴⁸ This description was not written by Raczyński but by

⁴⁶ Letter to Konstancja Raczyńska of 15 January 1843; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 79, pp. 160–163.

⁴⁷ Letter from Raczyński to Henry Wheaton, which the latter then passed on to Catharine Wheaton in a letter sent from Berlin dated 14 February 1843; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Henry Wheaton, Autograph letters signed: Washington, Providence, New York, Berlin, London etc. to Catharine Wheaton, 1814–1847.

⁴⁸ Karl Friedrich von Savigny, 1814–1875. Briefe, Akten, Aufzeichnungen aus dem Nachlass eines preußischen Diplomaten der Reichsgründerzeit, ausgewählt und herausgegeben von Willy Real, vol. 1 (Boppard am Main: Boldt, 1981), 208.

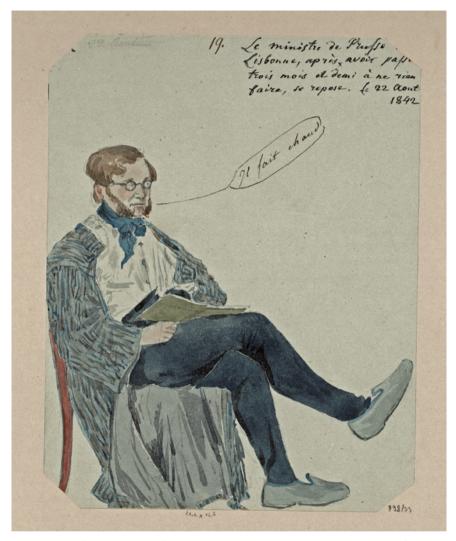


FIGURE 54 Athanasius Raczyński, Self-portrait as a Prussian Envoy in Lisbon, watercolour,
 22 August 1842
 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO.
 MNP GR 798/33

Karl Friedrich von Savigny, who was assigned to the Count as a secretary. The young man described his first Portuguese experiences extensively in letters to his parents.

Unlike in Copenhagen, in Lisbon, Raczyński had secretaries who assisted him during his entire stay in Portugal. For the first two years, Raczyński's secretary was Savigny, son of a well-known Prussian lawyer and politician,



FIGURE 55 Athanasius Raczyński, *View on Tagus from the Window of Madame de Belem's Palace*, watercolour, 13–24 May 1842, on the first day of his stay in Lisbon PRIVATE COLLECTION



FIGURE 56 W.B. Clarke and J. Henshall, *City Map of Lisbon*, c.1840, London: Chapman and Hall, 1844 BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE PORTUGAL, INV. NO. CC-594-V ARROW INDICATES RACZYŃSKI'S PLACE OF RESIDENCE

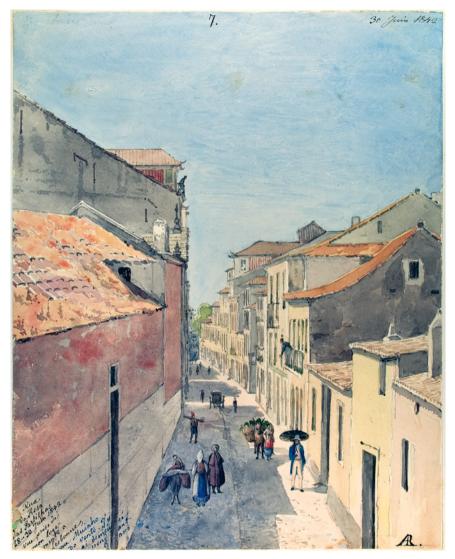


FIGURE 57 Athanasius Raczyński, *View from Raczyński's Apartment at Rua do Moinho de Vento on the Rua da Rosa*, watercolour, 30 June 1842 PRIVATE COLLECTION

Friedrich Karl von Savigny, who had just been appointed Justice Minister. Then, Prince Wilhelm Paul von Löwnstein was Raczyński's secretary for a short time, and finally, until the end of Raczyński's diplomatic mission, Count Carl von Pourtalès-Gorgier. The secretaries greatly assisted Athanasius. In the case of Savigny, their initially purely professional relationship evolved into

Ma maison? bois a que e'est. Marchitectur et d'un complique, try per style simple, trisper gree et tuisper le contre 2 la mairon DDDDDDDDDDDDDDDD de janne, te pote (à chaque faister en peter baleon point a de marion jaune he poty BEGGGBBBBBBBBBB Dentria Hotes) n. n. typang la chemine (II MININE) Interest Interest It m' g a par plus de lage d'antituture que ala. a. b. et al mon cabinet d'atude; c, d, c. la salor, l g h un autre salon qui su tive me surt de table à manyer can I auter cote de la maison al freid i anticharder de Mer de Savigny to chandre à concher se der à darigny l' me, son cabinet d'étude . J'ai fait une finition de turps son cabinet d'étude d'aura la préside de fortient de la sour de forte de la source de préside de la forte de la gran la gran la part la gran la gran la part la conjunction de la constance de la contra de constante de constante de la constante de la constante de la constante de c

FIGURE 58 Athanasius Raczyński's Apartment in Lisbon, drawing in a letter from A. Raczyński to Henry Wheaton wheaton, henry, 1785-1848. Autograph letters signed: washington, providence, new york, berlin, london, etc., to catharine wheaton, 1814-1847, box 3, folder 48. The Morgan Library & Museum. MA 995

a friendship that lasted for many years, even after Savigny had left Lisbon.⁴⁹ Savigny, who had travelled to Portugal not without fears (Johann Ludwig von Jordan warned Savigny that 'it is impossible to live well with [Raczyński], and a conflict in a foreign country would be unbearable'⁵⁰) found in the Polish aristocrat not only an understanding boss but also a hospitable host and a considerate protector. Contrary to the opinions of others, Raczyński proved to be 'a nice and open man' who was 'nothing but friendly.'⁵¹ Athanasius, in turn, valued Savigny as a diligent worker but also as a cultured man and a trustworthy

⁴⁹ See the extensive collection of letters from Raczyński to Karl Friedrich von Savigny in: GStA, Berlin, VI. HA Nl Karl Friedrich von Savigny, Nr. 208. Pieces of correspondence between Raczyński and Savigny were published by Willy Real, see: *Karl Friedrich von Savigny*, 1814–1875. Briefe, Akten, Aufzeichnungen, vol. 1, 191–193, 196–197, 247–248, 264–265, 293, 301–303, 305–306, 312, 324 and 471.

⁵⁰ Letter from Johann Ludwig von Jordan to Karl Friedrich von Savigny of 13 December 1841; Karl Friedrich von Savigny, 1814–1875. Briefe, Akten, Aufzeichnungen, vol. 1, 189.

⁵¹ Letter from Karl Friedrich von Savigny to his parents of 15 October 1842; *Karl Friedrich von Savigny, 1814–1875. Briefe, Akten, Aufzeichnungen,* vol. 1, 216. In other letters to his parents and other recipients, Savigny also complimented his superior.

confidant. Raczyński did not value and respect his subsequent secretaries in the same way. His relations with Pourtalès were tense; Raczyński and his secretary differed not only in their political views but also in their ideas about the level of professionalism needed in carrying out their assigned duties, as well as their scope.

In order to understand better Raczyński's duties when he first arrived in Lisbon, the letters he wrote to his brother should be analysed. Edward wished to know as much as possible about Portugal and demanded detailed reports from Athanasius: 'I have always known that the country is beautiful, that it is warm, that it has more water than in Gaj, but you have to tell me more. I want to know what kind of menu you had during your National-Portuguese dinner and how one makes love in Lisbon. Describe the army, uniforms, parades, and parade tunes. What is the fleet like, what is the theatre like? Those are the questions to which you have to give thorough answers.'⁵² Athanasius answered his brother 'thoroughly' by means of sketches about Portugal that he attached to his letters (he wrote them in English and treated them as a linguistic exercise). At least, this is what we suspect because these sketches could not be found in the archives. Nevertheless, Raczyński's letters inform us both about his impressions of Lisbon and his duties and pastimes there. In August 1842, Athanasius described a typical day for him in detail to his brother:

I get up between seven and eight. I write all morning until lunch. Sometimes I eat only in the company of Mr. Savigny, but often at the house of Mr. Ricci, the envoy from Piedmont, or at the home of Count Luckner, the Danish *chargé d'affaires*. These gentlemen also often eat with me. After lunch, we talk, smoke, and at half past nine, we go to the Italians for a play, three times a week. [...]

On days when there is no play, I used to spend part of the evening with Baron Mareschall, the Austrian envoy, and with Mr. Mollerus, the envoy from the Netherlands. I eat ice cream, walk with Ricci and Luckner, and at 11 o'clock, I lie down comfortably, drink a glass of orangeade and fall asleep without a care in the world ... and sometimes ... everything depends on digestion and heat.

Every fifteen days or every three weeks, I go to Sintra to bow to the Queen and the King. I stay there for two or three days and go back to Lisbon to live my life. Sometimes His Majesty comes to the city to celebrate some anniversary, for example, those marking the shipping of

⁵² Letter from Edward Raczyński to Athanasius of 8 June 1842; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 79, pp. 23–25.

troops, of adopting the constitution, of the victory over Don Miguel. Then you have to go to court: there is a party for diplomats; the kissing of hands for subjects; in the evening the Queen and the King appear on a big loggia, Don Pedro's anthem is played, at noon the guns are fired, and the ships are decorated with flags.

Today, I had dinner with Mr. Cappacini, a charming man, and his secretary Mr. Viscardelli. Ricci was also there, but that was all. I rarely see Portuguese people. They are not pleasant to us foreign diplomats, and I do not wish to impose myself on them. Nevertheless, there is one person whose company I am very interested in and who seems to respect me. His name is Count Lavradio, but I'm not sure if this half-friendship will grow. He is an amiable man, though I don't know if I will be able to convince him to exchange external courtesies for real feelings in the long run. In general, Portuguese people are accused of being 'smooth' on the surface but not capable of deeper and nobler feelings. I do not like how reserved they are. But the way I live here suits me completely, and I wish for nothing else. My needs are simple. I write a report every eight days. They are sometimes short and sometimes long. They are sometimes interesting and sometimes not interesting. At first, there were a lot of office matters to attend to, but since I am not alone anymore, there is almost nothing left to do.53

Raczyński's duties in Lisbon were similar to those in Copenhagen. The only difference was that the reports and letters he prepared were considered less important, primarily because relations between Prussia and distant Portugal were not as close as the relations between Prussia and its neighbour Denmark. Following a period of intense, primarily commercial contacts between the German countries and Portugal over the past few centuries, the nineteenth century was a period of deep crisis.⁵⁴ Political and economic dependence on England and the loss of Brazil, which became an independent empire in 1822, resulted in Portugal's status being reduced. Although the bond with the German countries was maintained through a series of marriages between representatives of the Portuguese dynasty and German princely dynasties, these relationships were devoid of any real political significance (although they were

Letter from Athanasius to Edward Raczyński of 8 August 1842; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 79, k.
 44–49.

⁵⁴ About German-Portuguese relations in the nineteenth century see: Manfred Kuder and Heinz Peter Ptak, eds., *Deutsch-portugiesische Kontakte in über 800 Jahren und ihre wechselnde Motivationen* (Bammental/Heidelberg: Klemmerberg-Verlag, 1984), 46–63.

conducive to strengthening cultural relations, which intensified in the nineteenth century). Portugal did not play an important role in Prussian foreign policy, as evidenced by the fact that the post in Lisbon was from time to time unstaffed or staffed by low-ranking diplomats.⁵⁵ After three years in Portugal, Raczyński had no illusions: 'I feel,' he wrote in a letter to a friend, 'that I occupy the least significant of all the posts, and that instead of going forward I'm now being pushed in the opposite direction.'⁵⁶

From Raczyński's perspective, these circumstances had two consequences. First, a lighter workload and fewer responsibilities allowed him to devote more time to getting to know the country, its customs, and, especially, its artistic heritage. Second, contrary to the declarations he made in his letters to Edward, they aroused his ambitions and desire for a more prestigious position. During his Lisbon years, Raczyński closely observed the situation in neighbouring Spain and, when he considered it appropriate, probed the possibility of moving to Madrid. He also contemplated taking the diplomatic post in Antwerp and even talked to the King about it during his stay in Berlin in the spring of 1847.

Before we allow Raczyński to speak again, it is worth quoting an excerpt from the journal of Count Adolf Friedrich von Schack, who arrived in Lisbon only five years after Athanasius had left (in 1853). His observations not only give an idea of what first impressions a German person might have had of Portugal and Lisbon in the mid-nineteenth century but also tell a great deal about the place Portugal occupied in the European consciousness at that time:

A visitor arriving in Portugal from Spain, especially from Andalusia, would feel somewhat disappointed. People do not appear to be lively and animated; the streets are not full of cheerful bustle in the evening or at night. Although large and populous, Lisbon seems barren and frozen compared to even the smallest Andalusian town. A deep melancholy surrounds the wide squares and streets of the Portuguese capital, stretching seemingly endlessly into the valley and the hills along the Tagus. Since the terrible earthquake that destroyed the city almost completely in the previous century, it has been impressively, almost wonderfully restored. But even before that terrible natural disaster, Portugal was a ruin. Its greatness was a thing of the past, and since the country did not rise again, its newly built capital could only be a washed corpse, despite all its architectural

⁵⁵ See: Dietmar Grypa, Der Diplomatische Dienst des Königreichs Preußen, 482.

⁵⁶ Letter from Athanasius to Karl Friedrich von Savigny of 3 May 1845; GStA, Berlin, VI. HA Nl K.F. v. Savigny, Nr. 208.

splendour. One might think that Portugal lies in a different part of the world from the rest of Europe, so little news of it reaches us in Europe. Between Spain and Portugal, which, after all, border each other, there is a wall higher than the one which separates Norway from Sweden. [...] In the rest of Europe, Portugal is thought to be lying somewhere, spiritually dead. And yet, since Maria da Gloria came to the throne, and the horrible events connected with it, and since then the horrors of Dom Miguel's times, the Portuguese people have experienced more respite and peace than most other peoples. The wounds inflicted on the Portuguese people by the civil war and the revolution have healed. The people remember the days of glory, and a renewed spiritual life has found its expression in literature.⁵⁷

Raczyński travelled to Lisbon with knowledge of Portuguese politics, but what did he think of the country, its culture, and level of development? Perhaps in some areas, he held views similar to those expressed by Schack. However, his first impressions of Lisbon were different (Fig. 59). As he repeatedly emphasised in his diary, he found the capital and the country delightful at first sight. They did not seem to him lifeless and empty; instead, they gave him an impression of freshness, lightness, and exuberance. He later described his first day in Lisbon in this way: 'I arrived in Lisbon on the morning of 13 May 1842. The location of the city and the purity of the air put me in a state of intoxicating enchantment that I will never forget. The sensation that the air caused in me can be compared to a bath after intense exertion. And so, I left the steamboat, a disgusting box in which I nearly expired from the rocking and the smell of grease. I fell in love with the country the moment I arrived there. I'm still very fond of Portugal and the Portuguese people.'⁵⁸

Raczyński and Schack reacted differently because of clear differences in their personalities, characters, and sensibilities, as well as their knowledge of the country and its neighbours. In a sense, somewhat paradoxically, Athanasius' ignorance was to his benefit. Unlike Schack, Raczyński travelled to Lisbon not

⁵⁷ Adolf Friedrich von Schack, *Ein halbes Jahrhundert. Erinnerungen und Aufzeichnungen*, 353 and 365.

⁵⁸ Short excerpt from Souvenirs de Portugal contained in an essay on Spanish architecture titled Coup d'oeuil rapide jetté sur l'histoire de l'Architecture en Espagne. The essay, which features numerous drawings and watercolours, was written based on observations made during travel throughout the country in the early autumn of 1849 and was intended as a gift for King Frederick William IV. The original has been lost. The citation is based on a copy found in Raczyński's DIARY.



FIGURE 59 Joaquim Pedro de Sousa, *View of Lisbon, from the East Side of the Garden of St. Pedro da Alcantara Church*, lithograph, 1844 BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE PORTUGAL, INV. NO. EA-94-8-A

by land, via Spain, but on that 'disgusting' ship, a paddle steamer called the Lady Mary Wood, launched just a few months earlier in the Liverpool shipyard (Fig. 60). The Lady Mary Wood left Falmouth for Lisbon, which meant that Raczyński deprived himself of the possibility and temptation of comparing Portugal with its more powerful neighbour (Schack, it should be noted, did so in a very subtle, delicate way, with respect to Portuguese culture). Such a comparison would show Portugal in a bad light, as the country might not only appear to be poorer and more neglected but also dependent on Spain in terms of its social, cultural, and technological development. Raczyński experienced Portugal as an autonomous entity, not merely as a semi-independent province of Spain but as a truly sovereign state. This was important in regard to his views of the country and, above all, its art. I agree with Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, who claims that if Raczyński had first visited Spain and only then travelled to Portugal, his book on Portugal's art history would have been completely different, or perhaps it would not have been written at all. Maybe Raczyński would have seen Portuguese art as merely a variant or subdivision of Spanish art; he



FIGURE 60 Charles Chabot and W.A. Delamotte, *Steamer Lady Mary Wood in the Straits of Gibraltar*, colour lithograph, c.1845 NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, GREENWICH, LONDON PAH0232

would not have been the only one to judge it in such a way.⁵⁹ Fortunately, he did not have to face such a problem. Unlike Schack, who had travelled in the Middle East, Greece, and the islands of the Mediterranean, Raczyński did not know the southern countries, except for Italy (though he had never visited Naples or Sicily), with which Portugal could be compared. Without such experience, he was delighted to see that the country was completely different from what he had seen before: 'I would have to write a thick book for you because nothing here is as it is back home. I will only tell you that everything here is new to me and that I find everything interesting,' he wrote in a letter to his nephew Roger in June 1842.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, "Athanase Raczynski au Portugal, 1842–1848. Luz e Sombra," 32.

⁶⁰ Letter from Athanasius to Roger Raczyński of 22 June 1842; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 79, pp. 31–33.

The sketches he wrote for Edward, as well as numerous drawings and watercolours, were testimony to an exciting encounter with the unknown. Alongside Raczyński's diary and letters, they allow us to quite precisely describe what caught Raczyński's attention. First, as evidenced by his diary entries, Raczyński was fascinated by the country's landscape and climate, which (apart from temperature) manifested itself in a rich and varied play of light and colour. Second, he fell in love with the country's art and architecture. The majority of Raczyński's works from his Portuguese period are urban and coastal landscapes and views of architecture, depicted under a blazing, southern sun. Athanasius must have also been interested in the customs, clothes, and faces of the Portuguese people. In no other period in his life (at least as far as we can tell, as not all of his artworks have survived) did he paint so many genre scenes documenting everyday life and portraits of 'ordinary people.'

His impression of the novelty and uniqueness of the country was reinforced all the more by the sense of being far away from home, far from what was known and familiar. Naturally, this feeling was also associated with melancholy and sadness ('I do not expect to feel completely at home here ...') but also with relief. His problems at home and in Berlin now seemed far away: 'I'm a thousand miles from Unter den Linden. There is no Babette whom I expect to meet in the hallway. I do not ask Mikołaj [Raczyński's servant in Berlin] to light a fire in my stove. I do not see the Spree, which is covered with ice in the autumn and turns into a swamp surrounded by a sea of sand in the summer. I can see the Tagus, a thousand miles from home, at the opposite end of Europe. I'm mesmerised.'⁶¹

Raczyński spent six years at the opposite end of Europe. He only left Portugal twice for a longer period of time, in 1845 and 1847, when he stayed for a few months in Berlin and on his estates in Wielkopolska and Galicia. He did not use the leaves he was granted in 1844 and 1846. He travelled around Portugal several times, mainly to satisfy his artistic interests. He also visited Spain for several weeks in August 1842 for the same reason. He enjoyed his everyday life and made friends among foreign diplomats. Besides those mentioned in the aforementioned letter to his brother, he also befriended the Danish envoy Count Johann Heinrich Luckner, the envoy of the Kingdom of Sardinia Marquis Alberto Ricci, and the papal nuncio Francesco Cappaccini. He also became acquainted with the British envoy Lord Howard de Walden and the Russian

⁶¹ DIARY, 13 May 1842.

envoy Count Alexander Stroganov. He made acquaintances with Portuguese aficionados of art and artists, especially those from the Academy of Fine Arts. He quickly found female companions, too: 'On the 12th of July, I met Julia and paid her 20 coins in advance for two months' (the local *chronique scandaleuse* was full of exciting gossip; among the diplomats who lived in Lisbon, only Lord Howard is said to have led a virtuous life).

Contrary to initial fears, Raczyński found the political situation in Portugal interesting. The year 1846 and the first months of 1847 were particularly turbulent and eventful. In the spring of 1846, the Revolution of Maria da Fonte (*Revolução do Minho*) broke out. Within a few months, the Prime Minister was replaced twice. The Queen's favourite, António Bernardo da Costa Cabral, Marquis Tomar, was replaced by Pedro de Sousa Holstein, Duke of Palmela, and soon afterwards by João Carlos, Duke of Saldanha. Portugal descended into civil war (the so-called 'little civil war,' *Guerra da Patuleia*) until foreign troops restored peace under the Convention of Gramido of June 1847.

Despite all the advantages of Portugal, however, Raczyński never lost sight of his goal of obtaining a position in Madrid. In January 1844 and May 1845, he wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, declaring his readiness to become envoy to Spain once diplomatic relations were resumed between Prussia and Spain.

Raczyński's Portuguese career ended unexpectedly in 1848. On 2 April, he sent a dramatic letter (though it appeared to be a calm and cool report) to the newly appointed Prussian Foreign Minister, Baron Heinrich Alexander von Arnim, asking to be dismissed from his post. The letter read as follows:

I learned of your appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the *Allgemeine Preußische Staatszeitung* from the 22nd of last month. I also learned from this and previous issues of the newspaper, as well as from a ministerial circular dated 19th [of March] and *The Times*, which reported on the situation in Berlin before the 23rd [of March], about the turn of events in our homeland.

I have reached the age of 60 and am too old to join a movement that requires youthful strength. So I am humbly asking Your Excellency to submit to my most gracious King and Ruler my respectful and humble application to be dismissed from state service.

May the most gracious of all princes succeed in halting the terrible, destructive storm which has spread over Prussia, Germany, and all of Europe and restore the peace, serenity, order, and personal and material security that Prussia has enjoyed for so long. [...]

I must immediately express my resolve to withdraw entirely from public life and no longer participate in my or any other country's internal or external policies. 62

The outbreak of revolutionary events in the Prussian capital had greatly influenced Raczyński's decision.⁶³ As the diplomat indicated, The Times had been reporting on the situation in Berlin since the first days of March. On 16 March, the newspaper reported: 'Germany is now thoroughly roused. From Hamburg to Vienna, from Aix-la-Chapelle to Königsberg, she petitions with one voice for constitutional reform and a united representation of her whole race. She principally desires two things: a new civil and criminal code (including free press, jury, etc.), and a Diet, or Parliament, wherein the whole people shall be fairly represented. [...] [In Berlin] the King has promised freedom of the press, and a convocation of the States-General at the earliest moment. I believe he will not stop there, and that he will proceed onward in the cause of Reform.'⁶⁴ A few days later, the newspaper published the following report from the Prussian capital: 'The populace there are stated to be still in a state of turbulence, if not actual insurrection. On Wednesday night there had been a very serious collision between the people and the military, the students being very prominent among the people acting as their leaders, and bearing the brunt of the conflict. Ten deaths resulted, and there were upwards of a hundred wounded.'65 The situation calmed down after a few days thanks to the actions of Frederick William IV, who made substantial concessions to the protesters. The Times from 23 and 24 March wrote about the decrees issued by the King guaranteeing full freedom of the press, amnesty for political prisoners, the establishment of a civic guard, and announcing the date for convening a national parliament.

In Raczyński's opinion, the events in Berlin represented the victory of hostile, destructive, and revolutionary forces in a city that had been up to then one of the last and certainly the most important strongholds of resistance against them. In this context, Raczyński's request to resign was a dramatic but unavoidable move. At stake was his remaining true to ideals of which Prussia had

⁶² Letter to Minister Heinrich Alexander von Arnim of 2 April 1848; GStA, III. HA Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten I, Nr. 6210.

⁶³ On the Revolutions of 1848–50 in Prussia see David E. Barclay, "Revolution and counter-revolution in Prussia, 1840–50," in Philip G. Dwyer, ed., *Modern Prussian History 18*30–*1947*, 66–85.

⁶⁴ The Times, Thursday, 16 March 1848, p. 6.

⁶⁵ *The Times*, Monday, 20 March 1848, p. 5.

long been (even if imperfect) the physical embodiment. The presence of liberals in the political life of Prussia and, as Raczyński predicted, the inevitable democratisation of the country made him realize that there was no place for him in this new world. For Raczyński, it was an either-or situation.

Although, as Arnim expressed in his letter, the diplomat's request met with the monarch's understanding and even 'deeply moved him,' Raczyński was not dismissed from state service. Instead, he was told: 'it is precisely in these terrible times that His Majesty recognizes your greatest value and expresses his strong wish that you continue to serve Him and your homeland in a new prestigious and important post.'66 This new and prestigious position was the post in Madrid, the same one Raczyński had been actively seeking to secure for many years. The Count could not refuse the King's order precisely because it had been issued by the monarch himself. To disobey the King was unimaginable for the aristocrat, and in the turbulent year of 1848 any act of disobedience might have been misinterpreted and seen in a negative light. But there were other reasons, connected above all with Athanasius' personal ambitions, which made him take the post in Spain. For the first time in his career, a position in diplomacy had been offered to him – without any applications, requests, humiliation, or waiting. It was probably more than just a rhetorical device when Raczyński wrote that the letter from the monarch moved him and even 'moved him to tears;' moreover, as he reported to a friend, he simply could not refuse the King's kind request.⁶⁷

Indeed, we should also remember that the post in Madrid was more important and prestigious than the ones in Copenhagen and Lisbon. Raczyński was able to assess his position realistically. He was painfully aware that the most important and prestigious posts in Paris, London, Vienna, and St. Petersburg were beyond his reach. 'The four great diplomatic missions require a great deal of trust, which, it seems, I have not earned,'⁶⁸ he had written in 1836. The diplomatic mission in Madrid was, therefore, one of the most prestigious missions available to him.

Raczyński travelled to Madrid directly from Lisbon. He set off on 23 May, reaching Cádiz on a steamboat, and then headed for Seville. From the outset, he was received in Spain with great honours. In Cádiz, he was greeted by

⁶⁶ Letter from Heinrich Alexander von Arnim to Athanasius of 26 April 1848; GStA, III. HA Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten I Nr. 7031.

⁶⁷ See letter sent from Madrid by Raczyński to Karl Friedrich von Savigny, dated 16 June 1848 in: GStA, Berlin, VI. HA Nl Karl Friedrich von Savigny, Nr. 208.

⁶⁸ DIARY, 27 January 1836.

the royal guard, which later escorted him to the country's capital. Raczyński arrived in Madrid on the evening of 31 May 1848.

He arrived in a city that had been growing and changing rapidly over the past two years. The urban layout had been rearranged, new edifices had been built, and new inventions and solutions had been introduced to improve the comfort of life, such as waterworks and gas lighting (first installed a few months after Athanasius' arrival; by the time of his departure, it illuminated the entire city centre). As local newspapers reported, Raczyński stayed in an apartment on the second floor of Madrid's most prestigious hotel - the newly built Casa de Cordero. He then moved to an apartment at Ramona Calle Maior. Next, he successively rented two houses at Calle de las Rejas. He lived in the second one, at Calle de las Rejas No. 2, situated just across from the palace of the Queen Mother María Christina, from June 1849 until the end of his mission in Spain (Fig. 61 and 62). On 2 June, he was received by the Queen during a special audience. Two weeks later, the Spanish Prime Minister Ramón María Narváez, Duke de Valencia, held a large reception in honour of the Prussian diplomat. Many participants in the country's political life, including all the government ministers, attended the event.



FIGURE 61 Juan Noguera, *City Map of Madrid*, 1849 BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA, MADRID, MR/34/1207 ARROW INDICATES RACZYŃSKI'S PLACE OF RESIDENCE



FIGURE 62 Athanasius Raczyński, *Prussian Embassy at the Calle de las Rejas in Madrid*, watercolour, 17 May 1852 PRIVATE COLLECTION

Secretaries of Legation, who changed every few months, helped Raczyński fulfil his official duties. From 1848 to 1852, this function was held successively by Count Lazarus Carl Friedrich Henckel von Donnersmarck, Count Georg von Werthern-Beichlingen, and Friedrich Alfred von Zander. As an experienced diplomat, Raczyński knew what his diplomatic duties were: he had to participate in court and diplomatic life, analyse the political situation without getting involved in the country's internal affairs, represent the Prussian government before the Spanish authorities, and write reports and letters regularly. Athanasius' diary during his stay in Spain demonstrates how great politics and everyday matters intertwined and influenced one another. Raczyński and other diplomatic players paid nearly equal attention to major political events and the scandals concerning the private life of the young Queen Isabella 11. Both at court and within the international community of diplomats, rumours were often commented on with the same level of interest as important political events.

Raczyński left Spain only once during his service there. During this leave of absence, he travelled to Berlin in mid-April 1851 and then to Dresden in

connection with the marriage plans of his son Karol. Next, he went to Galicia and Wielkopolska to check on his estates. On 23 August, he returned to Madrid. Just as in Portugal, he took advantage of his diplomatic service to learn about Spain and especially Spanish art. He left Madrid several times to visit the palace and library in the Escorial (in July 1848 and August 1850), the architectural monuments in Toledo (in May 1849), Valladolid, Léon, and Oviedo (in late September and early October 1849), and finally Segovia (in September 1850). In the spring of 1850, he also went to San Sebastian to meet Jadwiga Lubomirska, daughter of his beloved cousin Teresa Jabłonowska. Lubomirska had once been famous in Warsaw's esoteric circles as a medium. Unfortunate events had forced her as an older woman to wander about southern Europe and led her to come to Spain.⁶⁹ His trips to Valladolid, Léon, and Oviedo inspired Raczyński to put together a bound volume of his watercolours and drawings. In December 1849, he gave this album to King Frederick William IV as a gift. Apart from Raczyński's sketches, the album also included works by the artists who accompanied him: Roberto Frasinelli, an illustrator, antiquarian, bibliophile, and researcher of old Spanish architecture; and Valentín Carderera, a painter, art collector, and art historian. The text that accompanied the paintings (unfortunately, only the text survived) shows how extensive and detailed were Raczyński's studies on Spanish art.70

Raczyński's first impressions of Spain and its political life were favourable, as he believed the mood in Spain was very close to his own: 'There is no other country where reasonable people speak of freedom with less respect than in Spain. They know the meaning of freedom, and they are convinced that modern constitutionalism is a juggling act, an impossibility, a huge threat to the country's security and the work of the people. There are, I have been informed, very few fools and naive politicians left in Spain. Only those with ambitions but lacking position express their love of freedom and the constitution, all the more since their love is by no means disinterested. There are many among them who have never renounced the label of "progressivist." There are also others who have already previously changed their views.'⁷¹ The present state of affairs was, in Raczyński's opinion, a reaction to many years of internal conflict.

⁶⁹ Natalia Kicka, *Pamiętniki*, 188–189.

⁷⁰ The album has been lost. The text it contained was copied by Raczyński into his diary in the autumn of 1849. The illustrations by Athanasius that accompanied the essay can be assumed to look like those found elsewhere in his diary and to the numerous views and architectural studies by Carderera preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, among other places.

⁷¹ Report from 3 June 1848; GStA, Berlin, III. HA Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten I, Nr. 7106.

Indeed, the first half of the nineteenth century was an extremely turbulent and dramatic period in Spanish history.⁷² The country was torn apart by war and conflicts: invasioned and occupied by Napoleon's troops; liberated in the bloody War of Independence of 1808–1814; destroyed during a period of domestic strife between liberal (progressive) forces and the supporters of King Ferdinand VII, who sought to reinstitute absolute monarchy; and plagued by dramatic economic crisis after Spain lost control of most of its American colonies (the islands Cuba and Puerto Rico were all that remained of the Spanish Empire in America). Spain's situation in the late 1820s seemed catastrophic. Moreover, the fight for succession to the throne after Ferdinand VII's death led to the outbreak of a civil war - the first of the so-called Carlist Wars between the supporters of the Oueen Mother María Christina, who had been ruling on behalf of the infant Isabella, and supporters of Ferdinand's younger brother Carlos, who had been removed from power. In addition to pressure from ultra-conservative Carlists, the Queen Regent was also under strong pressure from progressive forces. As a result, in 1836, she was forced to accept a constitution that had been written back in 1812 by the Cortes of Cádiz. In 1837, she passed a new constitution that consolidated the constitutional system in Spain. Government troops, supported by the British army, achieved significant victories over the Carlist forces but were unable to force them to surrender fully. Although the war ended with the treaty of 31 August 1839, the underlying conflicts that caused it remained unresolved. In the meantime, progressive forces gained a dominant position in the country, forcing María Christina to leave the country and seek exile in France. The hero of the Carlist Wars, General Baldomero Espartero, became the regent on behalf of Infanta Isabella. However, he was unable to take advantage of the liberals' support, which led to further unrest, and Spain once again descending into chaos. The situation began to stabilize when Isabella became Queen at the age of 13. In December 1843, González Bravo effectively began to rule the country. He acted on the advice of the (future) long-time prime minister and one of the most important ideologists of the new political order, Ramón María Narváez. The decade of so-called *moderantismo* began in Spain. This was a period of relative political stability and a strong centralisation of state and economic development. Reactionary tendencies triumphed over liberal reforms. The

⁷² For essential information on this topic see Richard Herr, An Historical Essay on Modern Spain (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974): 50–98; Isabel Burdiel, "The liberal revolution, 1808–1843," in José Álvarez Junco & Adrian Shubert, eds., Spanish History since 1808 (London: Arnold, 2000): 18–32; William D. Phillips, Jr. and Carla Rahn Phillips, A Concise History of Spain (Cambridge: University Press, 2010): 206–2018.

new constitution of 1845 openly strengthened the power of the monarch and the upper, aristocratic and conservative chamber of parliament (the Senate) at the expense of the lower chamber (the Congress of Deputies), violating the nation's sovereignty. The progressive party was now marginalised, but it did not disappear from Spanish political life.

Raczyński found himself in this political reality. As we have seen, he believed in the ultimate victory of the anti-democratic forces. Upon examining the country more closely, however, he was forced to reconsider his views. Raczyński's time in Spain was full of conflicts and unrest. The moderate conservative forces were losing momentum and had exhausted their possibilities. This prompted Raczyński to make very pessimistic forecasts. He watched the political situation anxiously, anticipating a return of liberalism. Three years later, in a report to the King dated 8 April 1851, he noted:

What is happening here now is of great concern to me. In the near future, it will become clear that the scheming of the progressive party and the politics of Lord Palmerston are effectively reinforcing one another. Order, calm, and economic progress in the upcoming years are at stake. The progressive party is not hiding its joy. [...] Will the government support them or control them or become their victim? I'm equally afraid of the independent MPs, although I value them more. Passions and madness will erupt more strongly than ever. Either [Spain] will have to turn to Narváez once again, or the ship of state will be crushed by the waves, and its fate will rest solely with chance. And what about the court, the generals, revolutionary France, and the precarious situation in the rest of Europe! ... Wherever I look, I see only threats.⁷³

Raczyński was depressed not only by political events but also by his conviction that European culture was in crisis. In his private letters from that time, he drew a most pessimistic picture of contemporary times. However, he did not give up his faith in the future, trusting deeply in Providence, but, as he observed in a letter to Juan Donoso Cortés dated 29 December 1849,⁷⁴ the evil forces of hypocrisy, pride, contempt, and self-love filled him with terror.

I discuss the above matters to indicate Raczyński's mental state when he submitted his second request for the King to accept his resignation. On 1 June 1852, the Count sent a long letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Otto

⁷³ Report from 8 April 1851; GStA, Berlin, III. HA Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten I, Nr. 7109.

⁷⁴ Deux diplomates le comte Raczynski et Donoso Cortès, 28–30.

Theodor Manteuffel, asking the monarch to excuse him from service, or alternatively, if this request were unacceptable to the King, to be granted indefinite leave. In his letter, Raczyński listed his health problems, which he was experiencing more and more acutely every winter. He also wrote about the difficulties he had in managing his estate, mainly due to the need to determine the principles for setting up an entail and to resolve family matters. Raczyński thus mentioned only personal motivations. However, the tone of his other writings from that time, his diary and letters to his friends, suggests that Raczyński had grown tired of active diplomatic service. He noted in his diary in July 1852: 'I wished to leave my post in Madrid for many reasons, but above all, because I had become overwhelmingly discouraged by the people and affairs of Spain.'⁷⁵ And in a letter to Donoso Cortés from the same time, he further explained:

All those who are sympathetic to me do not like the decision I have made. You, Ayllon, Werther, Antioche, and others agree, especially Baron Minutoli, the Prussian Consul General for Spain, who seems to like me a lot. Only my last secretary of Legation (who is admittedly a little bit crazy) thinks that I'm doing the right thing. I haven't ceased serving the King and the Prussian cause – I try to be as useful as I can – but anyone could do my job here. I'm not useful, I'm disgusted, and I don't want this job anymore. Your climate is killing me, and estate and family matters require that I go back to Prussia. If after two years I regret this, it will mean that I've done a foolish thing. But if I'm happy with my decision, it will mean that I made the right choice. A sound judgement will take some time.⁷⁶

Developments on the continent only deepened Raczyński's aversion to further service. Nevertheless, as he wrote, and we have no reason to doubt the credibility of these words, he made the decision to leave the post without doubts or regrets and was ready to serve the King in any position and capacity of the monarch's choosing.

A letter from Manteuffel informing Raczyński that he had been granted an indefinite leave is dated 1 August 1852. A few weeks later, on 11 October, a royal decision was issued to dismiss Raczyński from his post in Madrid definitively. This marked the end of his diplomatic career, which had lasted more than twenty years. Raczyński was also granted the title of *Wirklicher Geheimrat*

⁷⁵ DIARY, 17 July 1852.

⁷⁶ Raczyński's letter to Juan Donoso Cortés of 30 July 1852; Archivio Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, Madrid, call no. 499318/041.

and the title of 'Excellency' by Frederick William IV. Raczyński was already in Berlin at that time, having left the Spanish capital on 26 August.⁷⁷

A few months later, he managed to sum up his ten-year stay in Iberia. He bitterly observed that: 'The position of the Prussian envoy to Portugal or Spain has little to do with politics. The position of an observer – this is how one could politely express its lack of importance. I never complained because the best way not to do stupid things is to do nothing.'⁷⁸

4 Friendships: Juan Donoso Cortés and Alphonse de Brotty d'Antioche

Raczyński left Madrid with an in-depth knowledge of Iberian politics, a good understanding of Spanish art, and the Grand Cross of Charles III, the most distinguished civil award, bestowed upon him by Queen Isabella on 13 July 1852. However, what he valued most were the acquaintances ha had made in Madrid. Undoubtedly, the two most important male friendships of Raczyński's mature and later years were with Juan Donoso Cortés, Marquis de Valdegamas, a Spanish diplomat, political writer, ultra-conservative 'philosopher of radical dictatorship,' and, as Carl Schmitt observed, 'one of the greatest political thinkers of the 19th century,'⁷⁹ and with Count Charles-François-Alphonse

After his return to Berlin, Raczyński did not end his contacts with the Ministry of Foreign 77 Affairs. After returning from Paris in mid-April 1855, he reported to the head of the ministry, Otto Theodor Manteuffel, on the political situation in France, predicting the imminent fall of Emperor Napoleon III. However, this assessment was met with scepticism on the part of Manteuffel, and with a very critical reception on the part of the Prussian envoy in Paris at that time, Count Hatzfeldt (see Heinrich von Poschinger, ed., Preußens auswärtige Politik 1850-1858. Unveröffentlichte Dokumente aus dem Nachlasse Ministerpräsidenten Otto Frhrn. v. Manteuffel, vol. 3: Von der Beendigung der orientalischen Krisis bis zum Beginn der neuen Aera. Vom 15. Dezember 1854 bis zum 6. November 1858 (Berlin, 1902), 100–103 (Letter from Manteuffl to Hatzfeld of 21 April 1855, in which he discusses Raczyński's views) and 113-114 (Hatzfeldt's reply of 2 May 1855)). Raczyński also submitted his reflections in the form of a bound volume titled Ten Days in Paris (3-13 April) to General Leopold von Gerlach, who also expressed little interest in them (see: Leopold von Gerlach, Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben Leopold von Gerlachs, Generals der Infanterie und General-Adjutanten König Friedrich Wilhelms IV, nach seinen Aufzeichnungen herausgegeben von seiner Tochter, vol. 2 (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1892), 306-307).

⁷⁸ DIARY, 9 November 1852.

⁷⁹ Carl Schmitt, "The Unknown Donoso Cortés," translated by Mark Grzeskowiak, *Telos. Critical Theory of the Contemporary*, No. 125 (Fall 2002): 80–86, quotation p. 85.

de Brotty d'Antioche, a Savoy politician and statesman, who was then envoy of the Kingdom of Sardinia to the Madrid court.

Like many more or less important ones, these friendships were connected with Raczyński's position as a diplomat. From the outset, he used his diplomatic accreditations to make his way into exclusive social circles and salons. Already during his stay in Paris from 1813 to 1815 as secretary of the Saxon Legation, as a secondary official at a secondary diplomatic mission, the young Athanasius boldly entered high society and the world of international politics and diplomacy. Shortly after arriving in Paris, thanks to the help of General Dezydery Chłapowski, he found himself among the regular visitors to the salon of Madame Hamelin. Next to the salons of Madame Récamier and Madame Tallien, Madame Hamelin was third among the most important *salonières* of Paris during the First French Empire. The most influential people from France and Europe visited her salon. When Raczyński came to Paris in the autumn of 1823 for a couple of months in a private capacity, his acquaintances in diplomatic circles again opened the doors of houses that were important on the city's social map and even helped him gain access to the court of Louis XVIII.

Raczyński returned to Paris, this time as a diplomat, in 1842 as the envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary minister of Prussia, on his way to Lisbon. The journey to Portugal through Paris and London was marked by audiences, receptions, and important meetings. During the several days he spent in the French capital, Raczyński visited the *Palais des Tuileries* a number of times. He also visited King Louis Philippe, the Minister of Foreign Affairs François Guizot, and the Prussian Envoy Baron Heinrich Friedrich Arnim-Heinrichsdorff. During his four weeks in London, he met with diplomats from several countries as well as with local public figures. He visited Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, the third Marquess of Lansdowne, who had been Lord President of the Council for many years; Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington, the commander of the British army during the Napoleonic Wars, who led the House of Lords at that time; and Lord William Egerton.

Naturally, these were official and courtesy meetings, governed by etiquette and often superficial: 'all bankers, most diplomats and even many friends whom I have met thanks to my connections in high society and whom I barely know are equally polite to me.'⁸⁰ The acquaintances made at such occasions usually did not last. However, Raczyński also made lifelong friends during his diplomatic service in Copenhagen, especially with the American Henry Wheaton, and on the Iberian Peninsula. During his ten years in Portugal and Spain, Raczyński also made many new friends.

⁸⁰ Letter from Athanasius to Henry Wheaton of 14 April 1842, copy in DIARY.

Both in Lisbon and Madrid, Raczyński spent his time mainly in diplomatic circles, which were understandably close-knit, and was forced to interact often. 'We live here,' Raczyński's Lisbon secretary Karl Friedrich von Savigny wrote, 'as if we were one family, namely Raczyński, Ricci, the Danish *chargé d'affaires* Count Luckner, and the Russians Strogonoff and Oubril. We see each other every day, and each of us participates closely in all the affairs of the other.'⁸¹ Raczyński quickly made friends in Spain, as well. This was easier because the diplomatic community was in part made up of politicians he had met previously. In his letters, he mentioned the 'old friends' he had found in Madrid, including Ferdinand de Lesseps, the French envoy and later developer of the Suez and Panama canals; Sir Loftus William Otway, a member of the English Legation who had been in Spain and Portugal off and on for more than forty years; Olinto dal Borgo, an Italian in the service of Denmark; Miguel Martins Dantas, the Secretary of the Portuguese Legation, and 'others.'

He also made new and important friendships that he continued to cultivate for many years. These included his friendship with the Austrian envoy, Count George (György) Esterházy (Fig. 63), and especially with the aforementioned Juan Donoso Cortés and Alphonse d'Antioche. For many years, both Donoso and Antioche became Raczyński's most important and inspiring discussion partners, both in person and on paper. Raczyński remained friends with the Spaniard up to his death in May 1853 and nurtured his close relationship with d'Antioche for a quarter of a century.

When he met Raczyński, Donoso Cortés was soon to become famous throughout Europe (Fig. 64).⁸² The dramatic revolutionary events of 1848 and 1849 made the Spaniard realize the new and powerful shape of his philosophy.

⁸¹ Karl Friedrich von Savigny, 1814–1875. Briefe, Akten, Aufzeichnungen, 226.

⁸² On the life and thought of Juan Donoso Cortés see: classic but still valid biographical study by Edmund Schramm, Donoso Cortés. Leben und Werk eines spanischen Antiliberalen, Ibero-Amerikanische Studien 7 (Hamburg: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, 1935); insightful interpretation of Spanish political theology by Dietmar Westemeyer, Donoso Cortés: Staatsmann und Theologe. Eine Untersuchung seines Einsatzes der Theologie in die Politik (Münster: Regensberg, 1940); and the collection of essays on the place of Donoso Cortés in the history of European political thought by Carl Schmitt, Donoso Cortés in gesamteuropäischer Interpretation. Vier Aufsätze (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2009). On the reception of Donoso Cortés' legacy in Spanish intellectual thought, Francisco Suárez's works remain excellent sources. All of these studies contain numerous references to the correspondence between Donoso Cortés and Athanasius Raczyński. An extensive bibliography on the life and work of the Spanish thinker is provided in Juan Donoso Cortés, Essay über den Katholizismus, den Liberalismus und den Sozialismus und andere Schriften aus den Jahren 1851 bis 1853, herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Günther Maschke (Wien und Leipzig: Karolinger Verlag, 2007), 430-494. For more on Donoso Cortés' relationship with Raczyński see: Michał Mencfel, "Juan Donoso Cortés y Atanazy



FIGURE 63 Athanasius Raczyński, *Portrait of Georg Esterhazy as Abdelkader*, watercolour, 24 October 1844 PRIVATE COLLECTION



 FIGURE 64 Germán Hernández Amores, Portrait of Juan Donoso Cortés, oil on canvas, c.1870, 73 × 59 cm
 COLECCIÓN DEL ATENEO CIENTÍFICO, LITERARIO Y ARTÍSTICO DE MADRID, AM/00141-A

His insightful intellect and visionary rhetoric developed fully. His texts became increasingly important for his contemporaries and began to be seen as anti-revolutionary manifestos. 'At that time of revolutionary emotion in

Raczyński: historia y consecuencias de su Amistad," *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia* LXXIX, No. 261 (2019): 127–156.

1848 and 1849,' José María Benevto writes, 'a short period (1849-1853) began in Donoso's life when he suddenly became a speaker and political thinker renowned throughout Europe. Outside of Spain, he became famous because of several speeches he made in the Spanish Parliament, especially the speech he made on 4 January 1849 about dictatorship in the context of the current political situation, and the address he made on 30 January 1850 about the social issues in Spain and its links with Europe. These speeches [...] were recognised throughout Europe, especially in those countries where [...] the revolution of 1848 had political consequences (in France, Germany, and Italy). Donoso's speeches were received with appreciation not only by politicians, such as Duke Metternich or Count Montalembert, but also by scholars, such as Ranke and Schelling. Even King Frederick William IV of Prussia read them with satisfaction. The Russian envoy in Berlin, Meyendroff, sent the French translation of the speech on the general situation in Europe to his superior in St. Petersburg, Count Nesselrode, describing at length the impression that it had made on him. The Essay on Catholicism, Liberalism, and Socialism (Ensayo Sobre El Catolicismo, El Liberalismo Y El Socialismo), published simultaneously in Madrid and Paris in 1851, also caused quite a stir.'83 Over the course of a few years, the very years of his friendship with Raczyński, Donoso Cortés developed or brought to maturity concepts that made him one of the most intellectually sophisticated and most recognised representatives of European reactionary thought. He wrote about the desacralisation of the world and the ongoing catastrophic religious, and thus civilizational, crisis; the inevitable and final conflict between 'Catholic' and 'philosophical' civilization; the imminent deadly liberal-socialist alliance; and dictatorship as the only possible form of defence against the tyranny of the revolutionary masses.⁸⁴ His path to becoming a conservative was a winding one because he was a moderate liberal in the beginning.

Donoso Cortés was a generation younger than Raczyński. He was born in 1807 into a wealthy intellectual and landowning family that had lived in Don Benito in the Extremadura region in western Spain for years. He left his family

⁸³ José María Beneyto, Apokalypse der Moderne. Die Diktaturtheorie von Donoso Cortés, Sprache und Geschichte 14 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1988), 56. Donoso Cortes' thought was also known on Polish soil. Excerpts of his writing were published at the turn of the 1840s and 1850s in the monthly magazine Przegląd Poznański ("Mowa P. Donoso Cortes w Madrycie," Przegląd Poznański VIII (1849): 438–440; "List Margr. Valdegamas do wydawcy dziennika Herlado (Univers z 21. kwietnia 1852 r.)," Przegląd Poznański XVI (1853): 5–7). See also: Bogdan Szlachta, Szkice o konserwatyzmie, 117–141.

⁸⁴ For an introduction to the 'late' thought of Donoso Cortés, during the period of his association with Raczyński, see: José María Beneyto, *Apokalypse der Moderne*; Günther Maschke, "Endzeit, Zeitende. Zum Spätwerk von Juan Donoso Cortés," in Juan Donoso Cortés, *Essay über den Katholizismus, den Liberalismus und den Sozialismus*, XII–LI.

home early - he was sent to schools in Salamanca, Cáceres, and, finally, Seville. His university years in Seville (1824–1828) were crucial. Even more important than his legal studies were the friendships he made at that time, particularly that with Joaquín Francisco Pacheco, who later became a renowned lawyer and influential politician. Pacheco awakened in Donoso Cortés a lifelong interest in literature, philosophy, and politics. The mind of the young Donoso Cortés was also strongly influenced by his father's friend Manuel José Quintana, one of the most important Spanish liberal political writers at the time. In mid-1832, Donoso left for Madrid, which was in flames due to the political events described above. The Spaniard's first political essay, Memorial about the current situation of the monarchy (Memoria Sobre La Monarquía), dedicated to the King, dates back to this important time. As a result of his publication, Donoso Cortés was admitted into the civil service. He held different public posts for many years, though with some breaks.85 In his Memorial, Donoso Cortés presents himself as a representative of conservative-liberal thought, heavily indebted to French theoreticians such as Guizot and Royer-Collard. The Spaniard maintained this political line for over a decade. In subsequent political writings, press articles, and lectures at the Madrid Institute of Liberal Political Thought, called Ateneo, Donoso attempted to find a middle ground between absolutism and democracy, advocating 'the sovereignty of reason,' i.e. monarchical rule supported by the bourgeois intelligentsia. In the early 1840s, he had gradually freed himself from the influence of French doctrinal rationalism in favour of strong state authority. However, he was not yet prepared to renounce democracy or challenge the parliamentary system (he had been an MP in the Cortes since 1837).

In late 1840, Donoso Cortés left for France, which marked the beginning of a three-year period of partly voluntary and partly forced emigration. As an expatriate, he kept close to the Spanish Queen Mother María Christina, who had been forced to resign as Queen Regent and leave Madrid. This was a time when Donoso Cortés played an essential role in Spanish moderate party politics. He returned to Madrid after the fall of Espartero in the autumn of 1843, devoting himself primarily to parliamentary work. He also actively advocated the return of the Queen Mother to Madrid, which indeed took place, with honours, in early April 1844. The speeches he made at this time in the Cortes, which drew the public's attention, demonstrate that the Spaniard was growing more and more distrustful of liberal ideas. During this time, Donoso Cortés also experienced a renewed interest in Catholicism. His final break came, however, in the year 1848. The French Revolution of 1848, the fall of the monarchy, and the

⁸⁵ John J. Kennedy, "Donoso Cortés as Servant of the State," *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (October 1952): 520–555.

establishment of the French republic, as well as the dramatic events that followed in many European countries, including Spain, surprised and frightened him, forcing him to revise his political credo. *Speech on Dictatorship (Discurso Sobre La Dictadura*), delivered in the Cortes on 4 January 1849, was a manifesto for a new, extremely anti-liberal worldview. It constituted a 'decisive stage in Donoso's spiritual path' and allowed the thinker to 'finally free himself from the cobweb of liberal and eclectic ideology.²⁸⁶

On 6 November 1848, Donoso Cortés was appointed envoy to Berlin. He fulfilled this mission without satisfaction or success for just a few months. In November 1849, he returned to Madrid and became an active parliamentary speaker. The appointment of Donoso in January 1851 as Spanish envoy to Paris marked the beginning of the final stage of his career. He died unexpectedly in the French capital on 3 May 1853.

Raczyński met Donoso Cortés in Madrid in the autumn of 1848, but their initial acquaintance was by no means promising. Raczyński was 'hurt' (blessé) by the Spaniard's nomination as envoy to the Prussian court. In a report to the King, dated 8 November 1848, he portrayed Cortés – and it must be added that he had never met him before, and based his report on rumours – as an 'advocate of constitutionalism' and a vain and almost ridiculous political charlatan, who tried to hide behind his erudition and eloquence. However, after the first meeting and a 'long conversation' with the Spanish diplomat, which took place a few days later, he was forced to thoroughly revise his judgment and admit that Cortés' views reflected 'an excellent assessment of contemporary problems.' Raczyński later read Cortés' political writings and found them very insightful. On 13 January 1849, Raczyński gave a gala dinner in Madrid in his honour. He then reported to the King: 'I admit that since I became acquainted with Donoso Cortés, most of my prejudices against him have disappeared. I think he is a very intelligent, good, and very original man. His imagination is somewhat eccentric and, if I may say so, vague, but his talents are undeniable, even if they are of a sublime rather than a useful nature.'87 As proof, Raczyński sent to Berlin Donoso Cortés's comprehensive discours on the parliamentary rule. Over the following months, Raczyński's admiration for the Spaniard increased. The acquaintances soon became close friends. His meeting with Donoso was greatly cherished by Athanasius, if only because he rarely found interlocutors who held views that were so similar to his own. Indeed, Donoso

⁸⁶ Edmund Schramm, Donoso Cortés. Leben und Werk, 75.

⁸⁷ Raczyński's report of 14 January 1849; GStA, Berlin, III. HA Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten I, Madrid, Nr. 7106.

Cortés expressed such ideas with even greater determination, radicalism, and uncompromising attitude.

Count Adhémar d'Antioche, son of Alphonse, who later published the letters the two diplomats had exchanged, described their relationship, emphasizing how their worldviews were similar and how their characters differed:

Although the Marquis de Valdegamas and Count Raczyński shared many political views, they differed in many respects. Imagination, poetry, and a kind of sweetness, affection, and charm characterised the Marquis. I would dare to say that Count Raczyński's nature was exactly the opposite: clarity and firmness were his most characteristic qualities. He possessed many French features that Donoso Cortés lacked: finesse, a liveliness of style, precision of thought, originality in his expression and way of reasoning. Donoso Cortés may be described as possessing many charming talents, while Raczyński possessed intelligence, knowledge, and strength. Donoso Cortés attracts and enchants you, while the Count stimulates reflection and helps one develop talent. Both are honest, selfless, and worthy of equal respect. [...] There was only one major difference between them. Donoso Cortés believed that the world would always be involved in an endless conflict. Count Raczyński, in turn, believed that after a period of turmoil there would be an era of peace and reconciliation, that one day people would grow tired of mutual hatred and struggle, that there would be peace, that they would reject falsehood, that they would grow tired of being ripped off and cheated.88

We can say that Raczyński's discussions with Donoso Cortés, a suggestive writer and visionary, refined the Count's political ideas. Raczyński began to express himself freely, using brilliant and apt aphorisms and metaphors. Above all, he was able to formulate general conclusions of an almost historiosophical nature. Raczyński treated his discussions with the Spaniard, although they were often provocative and heated, as a fascinating and eye-opening intellectual duel. Donoso's angry, uncompromising, and radical speeches against human nature and his apocalyptic visions of the future of Europe⁸⁹ went far beyond the pessimistic worldview of Athanasius. A thorough and relentless criticism of Prussia and Frederick William IV⁹⁰ also challenged the views of Raczyński, who, as

⁸⁸ Deux diplomates le comte Raczynski et Donoso Cortès, xxx1-xxx11.

⁸⁹ Carl Schmitt, Donoso Cortés in gesamteuropäischer Interpretation, 28–30 and 70–72.

⁹⁰ Deux diplomates le comte Raczynski et Donoso Cortès, 306; Carl Schmitt, Donoso Cortés in gesamteuropäischer Interpretation, 49–57.

a high Prussian official, still wished to believe that Prussia and the Prussian monarch were an almost perfect embodiment of his political and social ideals.

Despite the differences in their character and ideology, Raczyński quickly adopted some of the decisive points of Donoso's political program. Without going into detail on how the Spaniard influenced Raczyński's way of thinking, one important aspect of this issue must be discussed here. In early 1849, Raczyński wrote a letter to his friend in Berlin, asking him to warmly welcome the Spanish diplomat, who was to come to the Prussian capital from Madrid. Raczyński described Donoso Cortés as follows:

He is very brilliant and very good. He is very sensitive. Sometimes eccentricity gets the better of him, but even then he retains an appealing and friendly nature. My political views have changed so much that I no longer consider absolutism to be enough. As long as demagogues remain unaffected, only the regime of the sabre (*le regime du sabre*) can protect society. Then it will be possible to return to a possibly liberal form of Prussian absolutism and bureaucracy, but we are still too immature for that.⁹¹

Raczyński adopted the belief that absolutism 'was not enough' in the face of the deadly threat posed by revolution (atheists, liberals, and socialists) and took the concept of the 'regime of the sabre' directly from the writings of Donoso Cortés. The 'regime of the sabre' is a euphemism for the idea of dictatorship, which Cortés introduced with wide-eyed gusto into modern political discourse in a speech dedicated to the concept.⁹² He expressed this idea in a single short sentence: *Cuando la legalidad basta para salvar la sociedad, la legalidad, cuando no basta, la dictadura* ('If legality is sufficient to save society, then legality, if it is insufficient, then dictatorship').⁹³ Donoso Cortés, and soon after Raczyński, had no doubt that legality was insufficient: the answer to the 'tyranny and unrestrained despotism' of the revolted masses, to the 'dictatorship of the dagger and the mob' could only be a dictatorship, the 'regime of the sabre'⁹⁴ legitimised by divine powers.

⁹¹ Letter from Athanasius to do Karl Friedrich von Savigny of 26 January 1849; in: GStA, Berlin, VI. HA Nl Karl Friedrich von Savigny, Nr. 208.

⁹² *Discurso sobre la Dictadura*, delivered in the Cortes on 4 January 1849, just three weeks before the cited letter from Raczyński.

⁹³ Cited from: Günther Maschke, "Endzeit, Zeitende. Zum Spätwerk von Juan Donoso Cortés," XXVIII.

⁹⁴ On the Donoso Cortés' concept of dictatorship, see in particular: José María Beneyto, Apokalypse der Moderne, esp. 57–66. Also: Edmund Schramm, Donoso Cortés. Leben und Werk, 66–75; Ryszard Skarzyński, Konserwatyzm. Zarys dziejów filozofii politycznej,

In recalling the Spaniard years later, Raczyński wrote: 'There was something in this man that surpassed his intellect, which was after all very powerful. It was the sweetness of his character, the goodness of his heart, his faithfulness to the truth, his disgust with false principles. I saw only two flaws in him: vanity and weak nerves. It belittled him and made him seem like a child. But what a good child! And how wonderfully inspired this child was! I loved him passionately. I'm honoured to say that he always showed me so much trust and affection.' Raczyński included this description of Donoso Cortés in a letter to Alphonse d'Antioche,⁹⁵ who in a sense took his place in Athanasius' life after Cortés' death. 'I still find in him,' Raczyński wrote in his diary about Count Antioche, 'that which was taken away from me by the death of Bergh [Alfred Bergh, a friend of Raczyński from Berlin, who died in 1860] and Valdegamas: a unanimity of beliefs I have never found in anyone else.'⁹⁶

We are not able to trace the beginnings of Raczyński's friendship with Count Alphonse d'Antioche as precisely as in the case of his friendship with Donoso Cortés. It is known, however, that Donoso Cortés, who was a friend of both Raczyński and d'Antioche, played the role of intermediary between them. Antioche had met him in Berlin in the late 1840s on a diplomatic mission. Charles-François-Alphonse de Brotty, Count d'Antioche, had come to Madrid, like Raczyński, as an experienced diplomat.⁹⁷ He was born in 1813 into an old and influential Savoy family, which had maintained close ties to the royal court for several generations. In keeping with family tradition (his father, François-Gaspard-Ferdinand d'Antioche, had been a diplomat and officer in the army of the Kingdom of Sardinia), Alphonse was early on destined to become a public officer.

Having graduated from the Jesuit college in Chambéry, he began studying law and received a doctoral degree in civil and canon law. He later joined the diplomatic service and made his professional debut as an *attaché* to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Turin. He was then given the post of a secretary, *chargé d'affaires*, and finally ambassador at the diplomatic missions of

^{178–185;} Alberto Spektorowski, "Maistre, Donoso Corés, and the Legacy of Catholic Authoritarianism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63 (2002): 283–302, esp. 294–298; Günther Maschke, "Endzeit, Zeitende. Zum Spätwerk von Juan Donoso Cortés," xxvIII–xxxI.

⁹⁵ Letter from Raczyński to Alphonse d'Antioche of 15 March 1861; copy in DIARY.

⁹⁶ DIARY, 8 August 1861.

⁹⁷ On the little-known biography of Alphonse d'Antioche see: Édouard Dufresne, Notice sur le cte d'Antioche (Chambéry: Chatelain, 1882); idem, "Notice sur le comte d'Antioche," Le Courrier des Alpes, 18 novembre 1882: 3; Amédée de Foras, Armorial et nobiliaire de l'ancien Duché de Savoie, vol. 1 (Grenoble: Édouard Aller, 1873), 279–281; André-François-Joseph Borel d'Hauterive, Annuaire de la noblesse de France et des maisons souveraines de l'Europe, Quarante-troisième année (Paris, 1887), 296–303.

the Kingdom of Sardinia in Naples, Lausanne, Vienna, Brussels, Paris, Berlin, and, ultimately, for six months beginning in August 1851, in Madrid. The post in Spain marked the end of his career. Critical of the situation on the Apennine Peninsula, he withdrew from active politics before 1860.

Apart from politics and diplomacy, his lifelong passion was literature, especially classical literature. He even wrote quite good poems in Latin. The author of an article published in the two subsequent issues of *Courrier des Alpes* shortly after Antioche's death in August 1882 described him in a pane-gyric style as a man 'possessing to a significant degree the leadership qualities that characterise a true statesman. He was quick to comprehend matters, seeing the broad view, illuminating specific details, and pointing out possible solutions. Having learned to remain cool and distant, he mastered the art of interacting with people. He was polite towards everyone, never sacrificing his natural kind and pleasant disposition. He combined simplicity, even modesty, with a legitimate sense of pride. Later, when he was able to free himself from ceremonial *decorum* and unavoidable tensions, people noticed that the dominant feature of d'Antioche's character was his kindness. His friends and those who were lucky enough to get close to him in those years experienced this in the most pleasant way.^{'98}

The character traits listed in the article certainly played a role in Raczyński's becoming friends with d'Antioche. But they were not the only reason. Raczyński also recognised and valued his knowledge and competence in the field of international politics, his passion for art, and, what might have been most important for the Count, his possession of a conservative worldview that was so similar to his own. All this made d'Antioche an excellent conversation partner. Raczyński had been discussing the most important political events of his time, either in person or in writing, with his Savoy friend for years, including Spanish affairs, the course and consequences of the Crimean War, the situation on the Apennine Peninsula, French policy during the rule of Louis Napoleon, England's imperial ambitions, and the triumph of democracy and constitutionalism in Europe. D'Antioche and Raczyński often met in person in the latter's Berlin residence, in one of Europe's major cities, most often Paris or Zurich, or in Antioche's palace in the (already) French Nernier.

Raczyński particularly enjoyed his stays in Nernier in August 1858, July and August 1861, May 1862, and July 1863. He knew and had liked Lake Geneva and its surroundings from an early age. And Nernier itself? Here is a description of it from the mid-nineteenth century:

⁹⁸ Édouard Dufresne, "Notice sur le comte d'Antioche."

The village of Nernier is located on the Savoy shore of Leman, 18 kilometres from Geneva and 12 kilometres from Thonon. Its population is 250 people, a number of fishermen and boatmen live there. It is a poor village. However, there is lively communication between Nernier and Nyon, thanks to boats and barges that can dock at a good port that was enlarged a few years ago. There is also a haven for steamers, which bring passengers to and from [the port] several times a day. There are five taverns here, three of which offer travellers overnight accommodation. Moreover, there are several merchants, produce sellers, butchers, etc., [and] one tannery, several weavers and shoemakers; and that is all the industry there.⁹⁹

In one of Raczyński's watercolour paintings, Antioche's palace is depicted as a large house made of stone, devoid of particular qualities; however, it is picturesquely situated close to the lake, on its very shore (Fig. 65). In the 1860s,



Chatcan in Mornier on Rooye, our le las de Genive, on face de Myon Hun Co d'actioche . On est en train de l'agrandier et de l'embellin 19-29 Juille

FIGURE 65 Athanasius Raczyński, *View of the Castle of Count Antioche in Nernier*, watercolour, 19–29 July 1861 PRIVATE COLLECTION

⁹⁹ M. le Comte d'Antioche et les gens de Nernier, Archives Départementales de Haute-Savoie, Annecy, Bib. 978, pp. 4–5.



FIGURE 66 Palace in Nernier after its expansion, photo c.1890, in: A. Rouget, *Les Monuments historiques de Haute-Savoie*, Lyon 1895 DÉPARTEMENT DE LA SAVOIE, ARCHIVES DÉPARTEMENTALES, 5Fi5

the owner expanded the house, making it look more like a genuine *chateau* (Fig. 66).

Raczyński valued his stay in Savoy with Antioche so much that for a short time he was even tempted to buy a castle near Evian, close to his friend's estate.¹⁰⁰ Finally, the importance of that friendship was confirmed by the fact that, as we remember, in his will, Raczyński bequeathed most of his writings to Antioche. In Raczyński's Last Will and Testament, the following commentary is given next to this disposition: 'I have never loved anyone more than him in my entire life.'¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ DIARY, 21 July 1861.

In the codicil to the will, signed 15 September 1869, in: LAB, Berlin, A Pr. Br. Rep. 005 A – Stadtgericht Berlin, Nr. 6909, pp. 41–57.

PART 3 Art

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CHAPTER 9

Raczyński as an Artist

I have spent some delightful days in the Escorial [...] and made three good drawings.

Diary, 25 August 1850

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1 Picturesque and Sublime Nature

Drawing lessons were a regular feature of an aristocratic education, and many members of the European and Polish social elite mastered the art of drawing.¹ The numerous drawings and watercolours produced by Athanasius Raczyński show that he truly excelled in this field. According to the accounts of the painter Wojciech Korneli Stattler, who met Raczyński in 1820 in Rome, 'the finest artists in Rome recognized Raczyński as a brilliant landscape painter.'²

Drawing was one of Raczyński's favourite pastimes from an early age. He took his artistic skills seriously enough to arouse concern in his grandfather and guardian Kazimierz Raczyński. In a letter dated 13 September 1806, written in response to his grandson's request to include drawing lessons in his curriculum, Kazimierz, a practical man, wrote:

As far as drawing is concerned, I would definitely prioritize architecture over it, because for a man who will own and manage an estate, it is pleasant and gratifying to have the ability to build things without having to look for an architect, be it for reasons of convenience, pleasure, or economy. As long as I am convinced that you do not want to become a professional painter or sell prints to earn money and merely want to satisfy your

¹ Wolfgang Kemp, "... einen wahrhaft bildenden Zeichenunterricht überall einzuführen." Zeichen und Zeichenunterricht der Laien 1500–1870. Ein Handbuch (Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat, 1979), 37–74; Alexander Rosenbaum, Der Amateur als Künstler. Studien zur Geschichte und Funktion des Dilettantismus im 18. Jahrhundert (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2010).

² Wojciech Korneli Stattler, Pamiętnik Wojciecha K. Stattlera. Studya malarskie w Krakowie i Rzymie przed 100 laty, wydał Maciej Szukiewicz (Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 1916), 95.

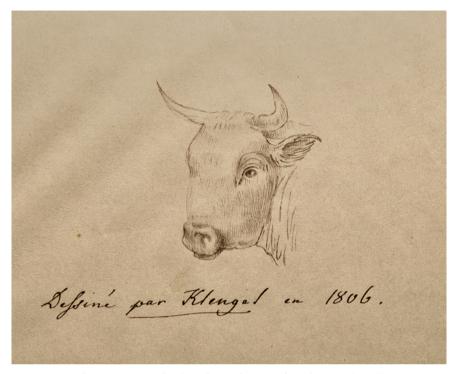


FIGURE 67 Athanasius Raczyński after Johann Christian Klengel, *Head of a Bull, c.*1806, drawing in Raczyński's *Diary (Souvenirs d'enfance)*

whim and follow your predilections, then, my dear Athanasius, I am not against the idea of your having drawing lessons. However, I am sure that in the future you will find out that I was right.³

Indeed, Athanasius soon took drawing lessons in Dresden under the supervision of Johann Christian Klengel, a professor at the local academy of fine arts who specialized in pastoral landscapes (Fig. 67).

Being a professional artist, rather than merely a talented amateur, was not part of the aristocratic social *decorum*, to the rules of which Kazimierz adhered and which he wished to instil in his grandson. Athanasius himself was also aware of this fact. Consequently, he soon developed a system of engaging in art that would fully comply with aristocratic standards – instead of becoming a professional artist, he became an art collector and patron of the arts. He never

³ Letter from Kazimierz Raczyński to Athanasius dated 13 September 1806; BR, Poznań, ms 1996, p. 71.

stopped drawing and painting, however, and took pleasure in practicing these forms of expression until his older years. These, alongside his writing, were a means of self-expression. It should be added that Raczyński also tried his hand at printmaking, as evidenced by a very early (1805) and, in truth, mediocre artwork he made depicting the personification of friendship.⁴

Raczyński's drawings and watercolours are indeed the works of an amateur; he did not refer to himself nor consider himself an artist. However, despite some minor technical shortcomings, his works are of good, if not excellent, artistic quality, as evidenced by their clean lines, harmonious colours, and general expressiveness.⁵ Raczyński had the ability to depict things synthetically and reveal the essence of his subjects while avoiding painterly fussiness. This is evidenced by the sketch portraits of friends found in his diary. Using just a few lines, Raczyński was able to convey not only the looks but also the essential personality traits of his subject (for example in his portrait of the melancholic Wilhelm Kaulbach (Fig. 68)). The same level of artistry can be seen in his romantic minimalist landscapes, where the mood is created with the use of a few delicate colour fields (like in watercolour landscapes of the island of Heligoland from 1839 (Fig. 69)), and in cityscapes and landscapes of the South, in which colour and atmospheric effects are perfectly captured (for example in the charming view of the Portuguese town of Santarém (Fig. 70) or his landscape showing the area around Sintra (Fig. 71), painted freely and with feeling).

Apart from their artistic value, Athanasius' sketches also have documentary value. Many of them were created for such a purpose: as visual notes on his journeys and excursions, visual reports on places he visited and people he met. The panoramas of European cities – meticulous, detailed, with additional explanatory descriptions – seem to be a mnemonic tool, helping him to remember precise views of streets and buildings.

All these paintings can be treated as iconographic sources for Raczyński's biography. They tell us about his travels and the people he met. But they can also be used to gain a sounder knowledge of him as a person. Athanasius himself might have encouraged such an interpretation. What was a painting to him? It was much more than a fragment of reality rendered by means of a

⁴ A graphic print titled 'L'Amitié' with the annotation 'A. Raczyński invenit et sculpsit Francofurti 1805' is held in the collection of the National Museum in Poznań, inv. no. MNP Gr 798/7.

⁵ For more on this subject, see: Anna Dobrzycka, "Polonica w Londynie. Album Atanazego Raczyńskiego," in *Nobile claret opus. Studia z dziejów sztuki dedykowane Mieczysławowi Zlatowi*, edited by Lech Kalinowski, Stanisław Mossakowski, and Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1998), 413–425; Jolanta Polanowska, "Atanazy Raczyński."

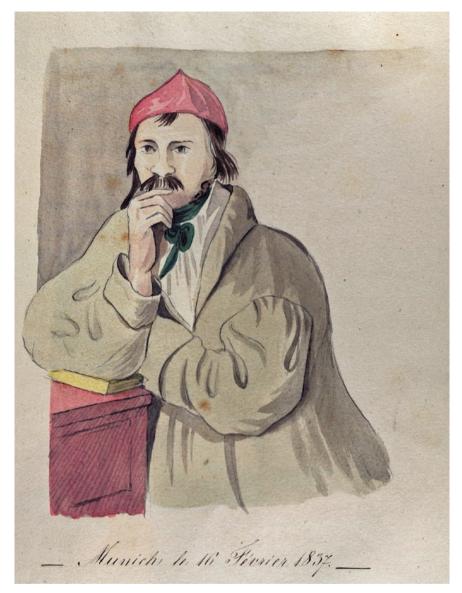


FIGURE 68 Athanasius Raczyński, *Portrait of Wilhelm Kaulbach*, watercolour in *Diary*, 16 February 1837



FIGURE 69 Athanasius Raczyński, *View of Heligoland Island*, watercolour, 31 August 1839 PRIVATE COLLECTION



FIGURE 70 Athanasius Raczyński, *Landscape of the Environs of the Town of Santarém*, watercolour, 10 October 1843 NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP GR 798/40



FIGURE 71 Athanasius Raczyński, *Landscape of the Cintra and its Environs*, watercolour, 19 July 1842 NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP GR 798/41

line or colour on a flat surface. It was much more than a source of aesthetic satisfaction. It documented the thoughts of its author. It was also a tool for both acquiring and transferring knowledge. This is why Raczyński attached such importance to, among other things, the frontispiece to his *chef-d'oeuvre* on German art. The complex title pages of its three volumes were in themselves a visual treatise on the essence, sources, and aims of art. In this sense, Raczyński's drawings and watercolours, whether found in his diary or not, are not simply 'illustrations,' but a tool for analysing the world (both its nature and culture), people, and oneself.

For all of these reasons, the paintings made by Athanasius Raczyński should be examined in more detail. We should start with the aristocrat's favourite theme, namely the landscape. Yet, before moving to these paintings, Raczyński's texts devoted to nature should be discussed. They provide us with insights into Athanasius' sensitivity and his emotional approach to nature, but they also testify to a specific, historically conditioned manner of perceiving it.

The most extensive and probably the most interesting of Raczyński's descriptions of nature was inspired by a hike in the mountains in the early autumn



FIGURE 72 Athanasius Raczyński, Pissevache Waterfall in the Swiss Alps, pencil and ink drawing, September 1815 NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP GR 798/50

of 1815.⁶ Raczyński was visiting the Swiss city of Geneva and decided to take a multi-day hike in the Alps. He planned to walk from the valley of the Arve River, through Bonneville (Fig. 72) and Chamonix, to the foot of Mont Blanc (Fig. 73). Then, he would continue his hike along the southern shore of Lake Geneva, to Saint-Maurice, travelling through the valley of the Rhône (Fig. 74) to the town of Brig, then to the Simplon massif and along Lago Maggiore to Italy. Understandably, Raczyński chose to hike around Mont Blanc as many enthusiasts of wild mountain landscapes had chosen a similar route since Horace Bénédict de Saussure's expedition, or indeed since its beautiful, poetic description was published in 1787.⁷

The very fact that Raczyński went on a hike to appreciate the beauty of a mountain range, that is, for aesthetic reasons and not merely to reach a specific

⁶ DIARY, 19 September 1815; likewise for all the quotations that follow.

⁷ Horace Bénédict de Saussure, *Relation abrégée d'un voyage à la cime du Mont-Blanc. En août* 1787 (Genève: Barde, Magnet & Compagnie, 1787).



FIGURE 73 Athanasius Raczyński, *La mer de glace near Chamonix*, drawing, 1815 NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP GR 798/17



FIGURE 74 Athanasius Raczyński, *La perte du Rhône*, drawing, 18 September 1815 NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP GR 798/68

destination, can be considered a sign of the times. A few decades earlier, the idea of hiking in the mountains would have seemed eccentric, to put it mildly. When Athanasius' grandfather, Kazimierz Raczyński, left Switzerland, he noted with relief: 'At last, we left the gloomy mountains behind and were greeted by gentle hills and fertile fields; the land has a pleasant and warm disposition.'⁸ In fact, it was not until the latter half of the eighteenth century that the 'impractical' idea of mountain hiking was born and popularised. Mountains, perceived through a modern eye and a modern mind full of new aesthetic concepts, gradually revealed their majestic and dangerous beauty. To refer to the title of an excellent book by Marjorie Hope Nicolson, 'mountain gloom' gave way to an appreciation of 'mountain glory.'⁹ Viewed in such terms, mountains soon

⁸ Cited after: Edward Raczyński, Rogalin i jego mieszkańcy, 68.

⁹ Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory. The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959). The author took the concepts of Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory from John Ruskin, who devoted a large part of his Modern Painters (1843–1860) to his fascination with contemporary paintings featuring mountain landscapes. Jacek Woźniakowski, Góry niewzruszone. O różnych wyobrażeniach

revealed their poetic power, documented in the works of romantic writers of the nineteenth century, including Goethe, Byron, Shelley, and Wordsworth, and, among Polish authors, Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Goszczyński, and Krasiński.¹⁰

Raczyński's expedition and remarks are situated in the interregnum between the reign of classicist and romantic aesthetics, during the proto-Romantic or sentimental era (if we were to use the overly simplistic, schematic, and somewhat crude 'epoch' model). Jacek Woźniakowski characterised the sentimental attitude to nature as egocentric, aesthetic, and analytical, as oscillating 'between the desire to settle down in one's favourite nook and the hunger for new impressions' and seeking 'in nature a consonance for moods and stimuli for feeling.'¹¹ This seems to be an apt characterisation of Raczyński's attitude.

Sentimentalism was connected to two key concepts which led to the redefinition of the mountain landscape: the idea of the Picturesque (*pittoresque*, *das Malerische*) and the one of the Sublime (*das Erhabene*). Both of them expressed an affinity with irregularity, contrast, variability, monumentality, and subjectivity.¹² These two categories define the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century relationship to nature in general and reveal its somewhat paradoxical character. In the Picturesque, artificiality is perceived as an indispensable element of a landscape. When can a landscape be considered picturesque? When it is possible to indicate its fundamental 'subject,' when it is characterised by its 'composition' and 'palette of colours,' in a word – when it looks like a painting. To put it more precisely, a landscape can be considered picturesque when one can find certain patterns and motifs from landscape painting in it. The Picturesque, as defined in 1801 by George Mason, a friend and long-term correspondent of William Gilpin, probably the most important

przyrody w dziejach nowożytnej kultury europejskiej (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1974) also wrote eloquently and with erudition about modern man's difficult relations, expressed in word and image, with 'unyielding mountains.'

Alina Kowalczykowa, *Pejzaż romantyczny* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1982), 88–96 and 284–339. On the vision of nature found in the descriptions of Polish travellers in the early nineteenth century, see: Agnieszka Maciocha, "Romantyczna miłość do natury. Rozważania na podstawie polskich dzienników podróży z przełomu XVIII i XIX wieku," in Bożena Płonka-Syroka, Edyta Rudolf, eds., *Miłość romantyczna jako figura wyobraźni*, Antropologia miłości III (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Arboretum, 2009), 109–123.

¹¹ Jacek Woźniakowski, *Góry niewzruszone*, 27–28.

¹² See: Jacek Woźniakowski, *Góry niewzruszone*, 65–75 and 200–211; Alina Kowalczykowa, *Pejzaż romantyczny*, 21–24; Jörg Heininger, "Erhaben," in Karlheinz Barck, Martin Fontius, Dieter Schlendstedt, Burkhart Seinwachs, Friedrich Wolfzettel, eds., *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe. Studienausgabe*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart-Weimar: Metzler, 2010), 275–310; Friedrich Wolfzettel, "Malerisch, pittoresk," in Karlheinz Barck et al., *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe*, vol. 3, 760–790.

advocate of the Picturesque in art,¹³ is: '1. What pleases the eye; 2. Remarkable for singularity; 3. Striking the imagination with the force of painting; 4. To be expressed in painting; 5. Affording a good subject for a landscape; 6. Proper to take a landscape from.'¹⁴ The search for art (artificiality) in nature served the purpose of taming it. Seen as a source of aesthetic pleasure and fascination, 'wild nature' lost its sinister attributes. It became a 'domesticated wildness.' It continued to instil horror, but it was a controlled horror. And such horror was the essence of the Sublime – a fascination with a raw, powerful, infinite, terrifying, but also 'delightful' nature. 'The passion caused by the great and sublime in nature, when those causes operate most powerfully, is astonishment; and astonishment is that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror.' 'When we have an idea of pain and danger, without being actually in such circumstances,' pain and danger are the source of delight. 'Whatever excites this delight, I call sublime,' wrote Edmund Burke, the most important theoretician of the Sublime before Kant.¹⁵

At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these concepts were filters through which nature was perceived. For seeing is not objective, nor is it conditioned only physiologically and psychologically, but also culturally: when two people from different cultural backgrounds look at the same thing, they will see something different. So what did Raczyński see in the Alps, and how did he verbalise his observations? Here are some quotes from his description:

Nature changes its appearance at every turn. It is alluring. Then, in an instant, it is dark and even sublime. The wandering eye stops at the

¹³ See in particular: Carl Paul Barbier, *William Gilpin. His drawings, teaching, and theory of the picturesque* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

¹⁴ George Mason, A Supplement to Johnson's English Dictionary: Of which the Palpable Errors Are Attempted to Be Rectified, and its Material Omissions Supplied (London: C. Roworth, 1801), unpaginated. See also: Carl Paul Barbier, William Gilpin, 98.

Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful and Other Pre-Revolutionary Writings, edited by David Womersley (London: Penguin, 1998), 101, 97. Half a century before Burke, Joseph Addison wrote in a famous excerpt from his description of the Swiss Alps around Geneva of 'an agreeable kind of horror,' with which he is filled by the sight of mountain cliffs and chasms: 'At one side of the walk you have a near prospect of the Alps, which are broken into so many steps and precipices, that they fill the mind with an agreeable kind of horror...;' (Joseph Addison, Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c. In the Years 1701, 1702, 1703 (London: 1767), 260–261). Kant, on the other hand, while pondering the sublimity of nature, added: 'We can, however, consider an object as fearful without being afraid of it;' Immanuel Kant, Critique of the power of judgement, edited by Paul Guyer, translated by Paul Guyer and Eric Matthews (Cambridge: University Press, 2000), 144.

shining summit of Mont Blanc. The sun shines on a delightful nature, and a thousand different effects are created by this magic of light. [...]

We climbed at 952 *toises* above sea level, 400 *toises* above Chamonix. A sad but wonderful sight appeared before our eyes. There was a vast white field before us, pierced with grey veins. This sea of ice wound its way down the slope between the rocks to the foot of the mountain. Above – sharply-pointed ice columns, below – the wavy surface cut with bluish crevices. At the bottom – an abyss. Barren rock and sheer slopes rise up on all sides, their tops covered with snow. Other rocks form steep peaks, which only eagles and vultures can reach. An avalanche can be heard in the distance. [...]

We then approached the shore of Lake Geneva. Nature became picturesque, the horizon narrowed. [...] Lake Geneva is the most beautiful lake in Europe due to its size, clean water, rich coastal vegetation, and the surrounding mountains, which owe their majestic appearance to their proximity to Mont Blanc, whose silver summit towers over the whole landscape. [...]

Further up, nature displays its majesty. Sharply hewn rocks rise up into the clouds; spruces crown their peaks. Huge blocks of stone, alone or laying atop one another, assume the most complex forms. They seem to be hanging in mid-air, about to crush us. Flowing from a source beyond sight, a stream rushes downward, leaping from stone to stone. It seems in a rush to plummet into the abyss, with a foamy wave forming on the brink of the precipice. It hurtles itself down into the abyss, a thunderous roar echoing across the mountains as it falls ... The falling waters resound in deep pools carved out by a constant stream of water flowing over thousands of years. This delightful, most sublime natural phenomenon can be witnessed many times over the space of just a few miles.

Nature is unpredictable ('Every step reveals new beauty'), filled with infinite forms ('The character of the mountains changes unceasingly'), full of contrasts ('This beautiful plain (...) contrasts delightfully with the wild mountains that surround it'), brought to life with light and colour ('The sun has just fallen from view below the horizon, and the sky is adorned with rich colours'). Raczyński's eye is sensitive to all such phenomena. His other senses are also sharpened, especially his hearing, as he includes auditory impressions in his description. Looking for words to aptly describe nature, Athanasius quotes extensively from the pre-Romantic dictionary of his era: nature is grand, majestic, sublime, dark, savage, charming, and picturesque (*grandiose, imposante, sublime, sombre, sauvage, riante, pittoresque*).

The mountain landscape thus experienced is a source of intense emotion and brings back memories of the Count's lost love for his Parisian mistress Fanny de Vaubois:

Whose paintbrush could render such wondrous beauty. I experienced inexpressible emotions. I have no idea how one can find oneself in a place where nature seems to repel you with all its might. I don't know what this inscrutable feeling is that has awakened in me a murky desire to cast myself into the abyss, into the welter of waves and foam. A man's life is so pitiful. Petty vanities, desires, and even ambitions seem meaningless here. Nature's beauty ennobles the soul. Everything else disappears, but feelings remain in the depths of one's heart, stronger than ever. Grand images of nature silence all feelings, except for love and suffering. I was alone with my pain and my bitter regrets. My heart tightened up in a knot; my imagination was intoxicated, desiring what even all this power could not render possible – to have her with me at this moment.

When in 1336, almost four centuries earlier, Francesco Petrarca, more commonly known in English as Petrarch, described in a letter to his friend Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro his (imagined or actual) climbing of Mont Ventoux in Provence, he pointed to the metaphysical dimension of his mountain expedition: it made him reflect on the transience of earthly things and human life, on the soul and God. But it was not the landscape, which was described by the poet rather superficially and in some parts of the text practically ignored, but the road itself that was for him a source of elation – it became a metaphor for the journey of the soul towards the ultimate source of the divine.¹⁶ Petrarch exemplifies the Renaissance model for the interpretation of a mountain expedition. Raczyński's soul does not long for God, but for his lover; however, that is not what is most important. More importantly, Athanasius' emotions are stirred up by nature, its beauty and grandeur. The wanderer's sensitivity responds to other stimuli. 'To me, high mountains are a feeling,' the hero of

^{16 &#}x27;And I seemed somehow forgetful of the place to which I had come and why ...': Francesco Petrarca, Rerum familiarium libri I–VIII, translated by Aldo S. Bernardo (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975), 177. See also: Jacek Woźniakowski, Góry niewzruszone, 89–92.

Byron's poem observes during his trek in the Alps (and it should be pointed out that Byron and Raczyński were contemporaries).¹⁷ This was a modern model.¹⁸

Raczyński's observations are also important because they lead us from the realm of nature into the realm of art, from the experience of the 'natural' landscape to the experience of the 'painterly' landscape. After all, when Athanasius is looking at nature, he is essentially seeking out its painterly qualities. He speaks directly of 'the great paintings of nature,' *les grands tableaux de la nature*.¹⁹ Let us therefore move from a description of the views enjoyed by Raczyński and created by nature-the-painter to an analysis of paintings created by Athanasius-the-painter depicting nature. In expressing his admiration for a 'picturesque and sublime' nature, Raczyński writes repeatedly about 'romantic beauty' (*d'une beauté romantique*), 'romantic effect' (*d'un effet très romantique*), 'romantic location' or, finally, 'romantic landscape' (*un paysage romantique*, *un site romantique*). 'Romantic' means here, as was often the case in late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century literature, 'picturesque' and

17 Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto III, LXXII. Such intertextual play could easily be extended to include Raczyński's description in the dialogue with many other statements from this period about the Alps. In Raczyński's wrods, one finds echoes of de Saussure's book, which was widely read in the early nineteenth century, and so was very possibly known to Athanasius. And if we look at literary works (though de Saussure's *Voyage à la cime du Mont-Blanc* is primarily a scientific text): does Raczyński's desire to throw himself into the foamy waters not closely correspond with that of Emily, the heroine of Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, (1794), who composed on an alpine bridge 'with the cataract foaming beneath it' a sonnet about a lone traveller who falls into a chasm (Volume 2, Chapter I)? Or: is Athanasius' anguished memory of his beloved not akin to what is expressed by the lyrical subject in Adam Mickiewicz's poem: 'So never may I bid thee now farewell [...] I see thee on the Alpine glaciers tall / I hear thy voice in every waterfall' (*To *** Upon the Alps in Splügen*, 1829, trans. Jarek Zawadzki)?

- 18 The term 'modern' should be, of course, viewed with a critical distance and treated as a useful but also overly simplistic category for describing reality. The problematic nature of the term is seen in the description of Jacob Burckhardt, a nineteenth-century historian of European culture, of Petrarca's climbing Mont Ventoux, in which he calls the great Italian poet 'one of the first truly modern men' (Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, translated by S.G.C. Middlemore, with a new introduction by Peter Burke, and notes by Peter Murray (London-New York: Penguin, 2000), 158). Peter H. Hansen, *The Summits of Modern Man. Mountaineering after the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2013) has devoted a great deal of study to the complex relationship between mountaineering and modernity.
- 19 He does so also in other places. For example, while discussing the landscape in the vicinity of the Swiss town of Interlaken, he wrote: 'Les nuages quoique fortement dessinés se confondaient dans le lointain avec les montagnes et tout ce tableau se réfléchissait dans le lac' (DIARY, 12 September 1820).

'sublime.'²⁰ These categories from romanticism should therefore be the starting point for analysing selected landscape paintings produced by Raczyński. After all, he was respected by artists in Rome for his mastery of 'the art of painting landscapes.'

2 The Romantic Landscape

While the adjective 'romantic' does not often appear in Raczyński's writings, it is nevertheless used in interesting configurations and to define various phenomena. Depending on what it refers to, it carries both positive and negative overtones. Raczyński's attitude to Romanticism as a worldview was complex and ambivalent. The apparent aversion to Romanticism seen in some of his writings was politically motivated. Romanticism was acceptable to Athanasius when it focused on the self and spoke about the dilemmas and struggles faced by an individual in confronting himself and the outside world. Romanticism was not acceptable, however, when it became an inspiration for mass movements of a social or political nature, i.e. when it revealed its explosive potential. Raczyński's assessment of the public figures who were emblematic of the early Romantic movement in the early nineteenth century, including Madame de Staël and especially Jean-Jacques Rousseau, illustrates this perfectly.

In 1815, during his stay in Geneva, Raczyński praised the author of the *New Heloise* in his diary: 'Rousseau was born here. So this is the landscape that inspired this honest, subtle, and lovely man.'²¹ The Count was later greatly surprised by this commentary. In 1838, he added to it the following footnote: 'I've changed my mind, and I don't know how I could have written something like that at the time, when it is in complete disagreement with what I've said elsewhere.' And 'elsewhere' Raczyński described Rousseau as a ruthless destroyer of the social and political order. In 1820, during his subsequent stay in Switzerland, Raczyński wrote:

From a political point of view, Geneva is an arena of wild turmoil. It is the home of Jean-Jacques and Madame de Staël. If these two had lived at the same time, they would have caused even greater harm to the world! Madame de Staël attacks reason, while Rousseau attacks the heart. Hatred and jealousy inspired Rousseau to write of love, while his rags made him

²⁰ Lothar Pikulik, Frühromantik. Epoche – Werke – Wirkung (München: C.H. Beck, 1992), 74–75; Gerhard Schulz, Romantik. Geschichte und Begriff (München: C.H. Beck, 2002), 11.

²¹ DIARY, 19 September 1815.

loathe the golden ornamentation of others. In contrast, Madame de Staël's dangerous teachings were dictated by sincere feelings and a good heart. She is not as deep as Rousseau, while he is not as inventive as she. He revives liberal madness, while she is a poet. Rousseau paved the way for disarray, while Madame de Staël sowed it with flowers.²²

What made Raczyński change his attitude towards Jean-Jacques so dramatically was his political reflections – the revolutionary potential contained within his literary and philosophical work. Raczyński was fully aware that such a subversive message was an indispensable component of Romanticism, perhaps even its main principle.²³ When in the late 1820s he was looking for a formula that would succinctly characterise the Romantic worldview, he proposed the following brilliant and accurate aphorism: 'The question: what is romantic? Answer: everything that is hostile to the police!'²⁴ What seems surprising in this context is the fact that when he added a motto to his coat of arms in the 1830s, he chose the words *Vitam impendere vero* (Dedicate your life to truth). Jean-Jacques Rousseau chose the same words as his motto. Though Athanasius rejected Romanticism as an intellectual concept, he nevertheless admired its aesthetic aspects, themes, and conceptions.

For example, Raczyński, like other critics, referred to the Nazarene School of painters as 'New Romantics' (in contrast to the 'Old Romanticism' of the Middle Ages). Raczyński believed that the Nazarene Painters inspired the great revival of German art in the early nineteenth century. Yet Raczyński very often described certain trends in landscape painting as romantic. He described Carl Blechen as 'the romantic Raphael of this genre,' noting that Blechen's landscapes expressed the inexhaustible forces of creation.²⁵ Raczyński also referred to Carl Philipp Fohr and his paintings as romantic, primarily because of his use of medieval motifs.²⁶

While Raczyński admired Blechen's works, he sought to achieve a different effect and a different vision of nature in his own drawings and watercolours. He chose not to depict nature as grand, spectacular, and sometimes even dangerous, rendered through multiple forms and shapes and an abundance of colour and light. Instead, he preferred a calmer, gentler vision, full of inner tension

²² DIARY, 24 September 1820.

²³ Janina Kamionka-Straszakowa, Nasz naród jak lawa. Studia z literatury i obyczaju doby romantyzmu (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1974), 215–242.

²⁴ DIARY, 20 March 1829.

²⁵ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 3, 97–99.

²⁶ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 3, 321–322.

and life, expressed with subtlety, rather suggested than expressed directly. Raczyński looked for a different kind of romanticism in nature, closer to that described by Goethe in *Maxims and Reflections*: 'The so-called Romantic aspect of a region is a quiet feeling of sublimity under the form of the past, or, what is the same, a feeling of loneliness, absence, isolation.'²⁷ In Athanasius' works, the past and isolation were represented by ruins and castles, and I would like to examine these depictions in more detail.

Raczyński's fascination with ruins and castles was shared by many of his contemporaries.²⁸ During his travels across Europe, Saxony, and southern Germany in 1818 and 1820, Switzerland in 1820, England and Wales in 1824, and Savoy in the early 1860s, ruins invariably drew Raczyński's attention and filled him with delight. He claimed that he was under their 'spell' all his life. 'What I wouldn't give for my country to have such beauties, such a wonderful climate and old castles in ruins. I would rebuild them. I would buy Vufflens Castle and devote myself to preserving the ruins of all the others,' he noted in Switzerland in October 1820.²⁹ More than four decades later, also during a stay in Switzerland, he wrote: 'I passed Oron [...] where I saw an old, very picturesque castle, owned by Mr. Alberti [the actual owner of the castle was Edouard Roberti]. The castle is abandoned but has not been destroyed. I have always wanted to buy everything that seems to have been properly built in a picturesque landscape. The Oron Castle has also awakened this whim in me ...'³⁰

Between 1810 and 1820, Raczyński drew a series of similar landscapes in his diary: a castle, very often in the form of picturesque ruins, is depicted on a high rock, sometimes dominating the surroundings, sometimes surrounded by lush greenery (Fig. 75). If these drawings are interesting, it is less because of their artistic value and more because they show Raczyński's taste for a certain kind of view and the unique, melancholic (Athanasius will even use this term later) atmosphere it evokes. This predilection will find a more perfect expression in his later, more mature, and, in many respects, more interesting watercolours: in a view of Allaman Castle in Lugrin surrounded by lush greenery, near Evian in Savoy (Fig. 76), or in a boldly composed view of Nyon Castle in Switzerland, where this monumental building, drawn from below, dominates among modest greenery (Fig. 77).

²⁷ Cited from: Robert J. Richards, *The Romantic Conception of Life. Science and Philosophy in the Age of Goethe* (Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 21.

²⁸ Paul Zucker, "Ruins. An Aesthetic Hybrid," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 20, no. 2 (1961): 119–130, esp. 125–127; Alina Kowalczykowa, *Pejzaż romantyczny*, 31–36.

²⁹ DIARY, 1 October 1820.

³⁰ diary, 9 July 1863.



FIGURE 75 Ruins of Schönberg and Fürstenberg Castles, drawings from Athanasius Raczyński's Diary



FIGURE 76 Athanasius Raczyński, *Allaman Castle in Lugrin*, watercolour, 23 July 1861 PRIVATE COLLECTION



FIGURE 77 Athanasius Raczyński, *View of Nyon Castle*, watercolour, 22–24 June 1864 PRIVATE COLLECTION

In a sense, the undated watercolour depicting Tuczno Castle in Pomerania (Fig. 78) sums up Raczyński's attempts to render a castle in a landscape. This is, in fact, an architectural fantasy. Although the shape of the building was faithfully depicted, its topographic context was transformed; the hill on which the castle stands is rendered in monumental proportions and has grown to the size of an actual mountain. In this watercolour, Raczyński uses a composition scheme known from earlier works: the castle can be seen in the distance on a steep rock, towering over the surrounding area. What distinguishes this work from his earlier watercolours is his utter mastery of the brushwork, the richness of colours, and a dramatic effect rarely seen in Athanasius' works. The sky plays an important role. Grey, stormy clouds, painted with wide brush strokes, literally overwhelm the blue sky, a fragment of which is still visible on the right-hand side of the painting. The dramatic effect is also intensified by his play with forms. That is especially visible in the lower part of the painting, where we can see trees that should provide an optical foundation for the building. The castle seems to be threatened, subjected to the pressure of the storm above, while below it is deprived of stable support. This is what this watercolour is about: man's submission to nature. I will discuss this issue further below.



FIGURE 78 Athanasius Raczyński, *View of the Castle in Tuczno*, watercolour, 1860s(?) PRIVATE COLLECTION

In 1819, Raczyński became the owner of the castle in Zawada in Galicia. Situated in a landscape 'as picturesque as could possibly be,' after it was renovated, the castle became the subject of several interesting works by Athanasius. In June 1839, Raczyński made two watercolour paintings of it. The long façade of the castle is presented from two sides, from the perspective of the courtyard and from the perspective of the garden. Painted at different times of day and in different weather conditions, both paintings also depict the castle in different



FIGURE 79 Athanasius Raczyński, *View of the Castle in Zawada*, watercolour, 13 June 1839 PRIVATE COLLECTION

colours: on the watercolour dated 13 June, the light is sharper, the colours more replete and saturated, and the contrasts clearer (Fig. 79). The second work is more subdued, cooler (see Fig. 31). As in the vast majority of Raczyński's paintings of castles, people are nowhere to be seen; buildings and nature are the only subjects. In both watercolours, nature is more than just an accessory. It seems to be organically connected with architecture, permeating it (in the painting dated 13 June) or framing it (in the picture dated 31 June). The earlier work, in particular, clearly shows the 'intermingling' of architecture and nature.

This idea – and something more is at stake here than simply an attractive composition: what matters here is the thought expressed – is characteristic of many of Raczyński's landscape paintings. Modest buildings, such as the church in Zawada, or more impressive buildings like the castle in Lugrin, present themselves 'in' nature, as organically connected to it. Raczyński depicts even monumental buildings, such as the Spanish Escorial, as being 'pressured' by nature. Athanasius' watercolours express the idea of an essentially romantic and thus dynamic, creative, and powerful nature that determines human actions, though this is a much older concept.³¹

³¹ Alina Kowalczykowa, *Pejzaż romantyczny*, 37–40; Maria Janion, *Gorączka romantyczna* (Gdańsk: Słowo/obraz terytoria, 2007), 209–243.



FIGURE 80 Athanasius Raczyński, *Aachen Cathedral*, watercolour, 1834 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 377

Let us look from this perspective at Raczyński's watercolour from 1834, depicting the Palatine Chapel in Aachen (Fig. 80). Presented as a pile of monumental blocks, the building literally emerges from a green clump of trees. As it rises upwards, its features gradually assume a more decisive, clearly defined shape. The architectural forms are crowded because the space in the picture has been scaled down. The shimmering manner in which the lower part of the painting (the trees and the lower parts of the walls) is painted makes the Chapel itself seem almost like an organic entity, like Strasbourg Cathedral in the young Goethe's famous description.³² Raczyński was staying in Aachen, where he painted this watercolour, because he was undergoing therapy there after his return from Copenhagen. The treatment was successful, but just a few months earlier, Raczyński was suffering greatly and was convinced that his illness, possibly cancer, would prove fatal. This experience may have made Raczyński, already sensitive, prone even more to reflect on man's dependence on natural forces. He expressed this notion in his painting of the Palatine Chapel in Aachen.

3 Travel Notes

The vast majority of Raczyński's drawings and watercolours were made during his travels and stays in various European countries. 'This morning, I finished drawing the view of the Clwyd Valley, which I started during my journey. I also drew and coloured the view of Conwy Castle, and in the evening, I made a second drawing of it with crayons. This is a good way to use my time,' wrote Athanasius in Wales in 1824.³³ He would collect the works created during a given journey into an album. He made such albums documenting his travels through Norway in June 1832, through Galicia in the summer of 1833, through England in the spring of 1838, and through Portugal in the autumn of 1844. Raczyński gave his *Spanish Album* as a gift to King Frederick William IV of

^{&#}x27;How freshly it shone in the morning rays, how joyfully I stretched my arms towards it, 32 surveying its vast harmonious masses, animated by countless delicate details of structure! As in the works of eternal Nature, every form, down to the smallest fibril, alive, and everything contributing to the purpose of the whole!;' Johann Wolfgang Goethe Goethe's Literary Essays, A selection in English arranged by J.E. Spingarn, with a foreword by Viscount Haldane (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co, 1921), 9. Stefan Trinks has drawn attention to another peculiarity of Raczyński's watercolour, manifested in their iconography and framing. Unlike in the vast majority of representations of the palace chapel, where it has been subjected to monumentalisation and a kind of absolutisation, here 'the attention of the observer is directed [...] to the presence of the chapel among a horizontally oriented complex of buildings, highly heterogeneous in terms of style, including the unexposed rear of the building;' Stefan Trinks, "Dioskuren einer kunstvollen Wissenschaft. Die Gebrüder Raczyński und Humboldt im strukturellen Vergleich," in Adam Labuda, Michał Mencfel, Wojciech Suchocki, eds., Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy. Dzieła – osobowości –wybory – epoka, 51–87, esp. 85.

³³ DIARY, 13 August 1824.



FIGURE 81 Athanasius Raczyński, *Mr. Wellard's Cottage*, watercolour NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP GR 798/44

Prussia in December 1849. It has not been possible to trace any of these albums. Only individual (numbered) drawings and watercolours that were most likely once part of such albums have survived (Fig. 81). His Portuguese Album, or to be more exact, Iberian Album, has been reconstructed almost in its entirety.³⁴

Paintings were for Raczyński what photographs are for today's tourists – souvenirs from his travels. They served different functions. Apart from the pleasure derived from drawing and painting, these works functioned as a memory aid to document particular views and memories. For this reason, almost all of them were provided with inscriptions that included the date, place, and, occasionally, other details connected with the creation of a given artwork. There is also a group of works depicting particular panoramic or fragmentary views of cities, in which individual places and buildings have been marked with letters referring to a key located at the bottom of the page. This provides information about these places and buildings. An example of such a work is a panorama of Madrid made in July 1852 (Fig. 82).

For more on this subject see: Maria Danilewicz Zielińska, "Atanásio Raczynski – 1788–1874.
 Um historiador de arte portuguesa;" Anna Dobrzycka, "Raczyński au Portugal," 417–424.

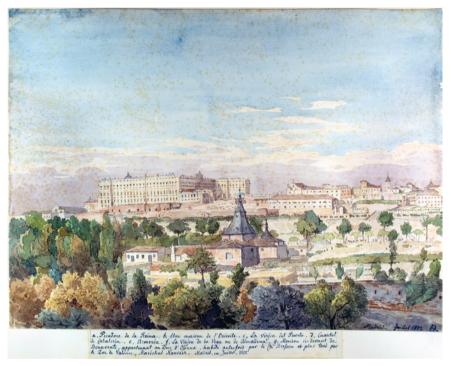


FIGURE 82 Athanasius Raczyński, *Panorama View of Madrid*, watercolour, July 1852 PRIVATE COLLECTION

Raczyński also made drawings where he came to the conclusion that spoken language was unable to describe particular objects or situations adequately and was thus, in some circumstances, inferior to art as a means of expression. While visiting the Milan Cathedral, he noted in his diary: 'To convey the idea of the cathedral, one would have to draw it. A description would be boring.'³⁵ It would also be, one might add, imperfect, less accurate and less convincing. The fact that Raczyński made such an observation while viewing an architectural work of art is not without significance. It was precisely the descriptions of architecture that proved to be challenging to translate into words, while an illustration conveyed them better. Since the 1840s, architectural works had been one of the main subjects of Raczyński's pictures. Many of these pictures were made for study purposes; their crucial issue was the accuracy of the representation. These drawings included architectural details drawn to expand his knowledge of art history. Some of them were likely to be made with a view to compiling a study on Iberian architecture. Yet even when his drawings of

35 DIARY, 7 October 1820.

architecture were not made with a scientific goal in mind, Raczyński attached great importance to their accuracy and veracity. Unlike his landscape watercolours from the same period, which were painted freely, sometimes solely by means of colour, contours play an essential role in his drawings of architecture. Raczyński first made a pencil sketch. Carefully, slowly and with a steady hand, he drew precise outlines, which he then filled in with colour, gradually applying various hues – first various shades of blue, then green, etc. This is evidenced by his unfinished works.³⁶

Genre scenes, some with humorous overtones, constitute a separate group of pictorial travel notes. Many of these were created during his Iberian period (Fig. 83). These representations fulfilled yet another important function: they allowed Raczyński to understand the new, the unknown, and the exotic. They were a tool for domesticating the strange. I will not examine this group of works in detail, but I would like to take a closer look at a series of Raczyński's watercolours created during his stay in Portugal in the mid-1840s.

Most of these works were created during his travels throughout the country. Raczyński made four longer journeys around Portugal, travelling north and east of Lisbon.³⁷ During his first trip, from 22 August to 11 September 1843, he travelled from Lisbon through Vila Franca, Ota, Sancheira to Caldas, and then to Alcobaça, Batalha, Leiria, Pombal, Coimbra, and Figueira, and from there by sea back to the capital. From Batalha, Raczyński brought back a decorative Renaissance window surround as a souvenir; in 1857, it was walled into the outer wall of the town hall in Obrzycko, where it remains to this day.³⁸

The fact that Raczyński's unfinished watercolours are signed by him, numbered and 36 included on equal terms in larger collections of works, i.e. treated equally to finished works, shows once again that he accurately diagnosed and understood the artistic trends of his era. It was in the early nineteenth century that 'unfinished' landscape sketches acquired a previously unseen status and level of popularity, expressing artists' views on fundamental issues concerning the status and origin of a painting. At least some of Raczyński's paintings - such as his Portuguese period view of the Tagus River in Santarém and of the cathedral in Lamego, where the 'empty,' unpainted section of paper is by no means neutral, but demands the attribution of semantic value, can be interpreted according to such a key. These works pose questions about the nature of visual representation and the status of the image plane, stress the temporal dimension of the painting process, and testify to the topicality of the discourse on line and colour, sketch and picture. See: Reinhard Wegner, "Die unvollendete Landschaft," in Markus Bertsch and Reinhard Wegner, eds., Landschaft am "Scheidepunkt". Evolution einer Gattung in Kunsttheorie, Kunstschaffen und Literatur um 1800 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010), 437-450, esp. 442-443.

³⁷ For more on Raczyński's travels see: Maria Danilewicz Zielińska, "Atanásio Raczynski – 1788–1874. Um historiador de arte portuguesa," 64–68.

³⁸ Raczyński also brought other 'souvenirs from Lisbon' (*Erinnerungen aus Lisabon*) to his Wielkopolska estate. In the palace in Gaj one could find furniture, mirrors, and paintings



FIGURE 83 Athanasius Raczyński, *"Important and Pleasant Conversation,*" watercolour, Lisbon, 12 June 1842 PRIVATE COLLECTION

(Fig. 84). Raczyński was accompanied on his journey by a German teacher from Württemberg who lived in Portugal, named Dardalhon. In the autumn of 1843, Athanasius undertook his second journey. From 5 October to 9 October, he visited Santarém, Golegã, and Tomar. This time his companions were Karl Friedrich Savigny and the Lisbon artist João José dos Santos. Finally, in the summer of 1844, Raczyński went first, from 6 July to 11 July, to Evora and Setubal, and then took a sea journey to Porto from 24 July and 9August, and from there, travelled through Albergaria and Talhadas to Viseu, Lamego, and Regua. Santos and another young artist from the Academy of Fine Arts in Lisbon, António Tomás da Fonseca, accompanied Raczyński on this journey.

Raczyński described his life on the road in *Les arts en Portugal* and letters to his friends. Except for an incident in the mountains, when he 'miraculously'

from Lisbon. See: *Abschrift der Fideicommiss-Stiftungsurkunde des Wyszyner Majorats und Annexen A bis H*, aneks B: *Inventarium Verzeichniß von Wyszyn nebst Torn*; BR, Poznań, ms 2726.



FIGURE 84 Renaissance window frame brought by Raczyński from the Portuguese town of Batalha and placed in 1857 in the exterior wall of the town hall in Obrzycko, present state PHOTO MICHAŁ MENCFEL

avoided falling into an abyss, where 'as so much pulp, I would have taken a freezing plunge into the stream that wound down below,' the journeys turned out to be safe. The inns in the country, with few exceptions, were decent. The food was also good, and his travel companions were not tiresome. Raczyński generally travelled either on horseback or on a mule. In the north of the country,

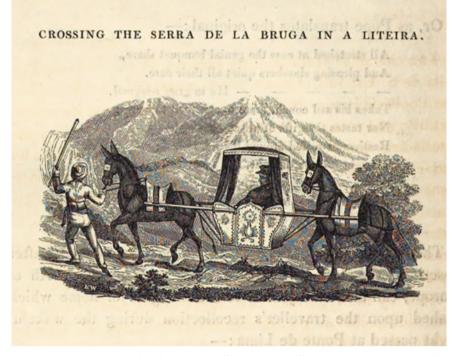


FIGURE 85 Portuguese sedan-chair (*literia*), illustration in William Morgan Kinsey, *Portugal illustrated*, 1828
 BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN, 4 BIBL.MONT. 2125, P. 272, URN:NBN:DE:EVB:12-BSB10718851-0

he travelled in a *liteira*, a small litter carried by mules. Raczyński sketched it in his diary; a drawing in William Morgan Kinsey's *Portugal illustrated* from 1828 demonstrates how such a vehicle was 'operated' (Fig. 85).

All these journeys primarily served an educational purpose. Raczyński wished to learn more about the history of Portuguese art. In general, however, he also got to know the country better, its natural formations and inhabitants, and met prominent people who lived outside Lisbon. To give one example: in Porto, where he spent almost a week, he became acquainted with the elite of the local English colony, which included John Francis (João) Allen, a renowned art collector, and Joseph James Forrester, an art lover and collector, an amateur artist, photography enthusiast, cartographer and explorer of the Douro Valley (Raczyński wrote that his stay at the Forresters' house was 'one of his most pleasant memories')³⁹ (Fig. 86).

³⁹ On the topic of Forrester see: John Delaforce, Joseph James Forrester. Baron of Portugal 1809–1861 (Maia: The Author and Christie's Wine Publications, 1992); Fernando Maia



FIGURE 86 Charles-Louis Baugniet, *Portrait of Joseph James Forrester*, lithograph, 1845 INSTITUTO DOS VINHOS DO DOURO E DO PORTO, PORTO

Raczyński made drawings and watercolour paintings during all of the above-mentioned trips and, of course, in and around Lisbon. I was unable to locate all of them, but I have nevertheless managed to identify over twenty works. If we were to divide them according to their subject matter, we could distinguish three groups: extensive panoramas of suburban areas; views of squares, streets, and alleys of the cities; and watercolours of historical architecture. The latter group comprises the most works.

The first group comprises two landscapes, one painted near Sintra and the other made near the town of Santarém. They are very similar in composition. They show a wide view of the hills in the foreground and a vast plain in the background; the line of the horizon is drawn more or less in the middle of the picture. In the landscape around Sintra, the main protagonist is nature, its lush vegetation and pale blue sky. In the landscape of Santarém, nature is infused into the panorama of the town. What seemed to interest Raczyński most in both cases were the colours, the play of different shades of green and blue. In the third landscape, which I would also include in this group, Raczyński creates images primarily with the use of colour: the landscape depicts a fragment of the Tagus coastline with the Belém Tower in Lisbon set against the pink evening sky (Fig. 87).



FIGURE 87 Athanasius Raczyński, *Belém Tower*, watercolour, 2 September 1842 NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP GR 798/52

Pinto, ed., *O barão de Forrester. Razão e sentimento. Uma história do Douro (1831–1861*), exh. cat. (Porto: Museu do Douro, 2008).



FIGURE 88 Athanasius Raczyński, *Rossio de Pombal in Estremoz*, watercolour, 31 August 1843 NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP GR 798/36

Among the most interesting of Raczyński's townscapes are his view of the main street (Rossio de Pombal) in the town of Estremoz, near Evora (Fig. 88), and his panorama of Leiria (Fig. 89). In the first, the lazy atmosphere of a hot day in a southern city is perfectly conveyed; both motifs and colours are used sparingly. We can see a wide sandy, deserted road in the foreground and a pale sky, which occupies more than half of the picture. The view of Leiria, on the other hand, differs from Raczyński's other watercolours in that a large number of motifs and figures are arranged on many planes. In the foreground, we can see a riverside boulevard with, unusually for Raczyński's work, numerous figures. In the middle ground, we can see the city with its buildings and cathedral on the right. Finally, in the background, we can see a castle hill towering in the distance. The composition of the whole is clever yet natural, conveying a sense of space and preserving correct proportions.

The views of Estremoz and Leiria show architecture integrated into the landscape. However, Raczyński did not usually draw buildings in such a manner. He was more interested in drawing a 'portrait' of a given structure, treating it as a completely independent work, separated from its surroundings. Undoubtedly, the watercolours of architecture represent the most important group in Raczyński's Portuguese works.



FIGURE 89 Athanasius Raczyński, *Leiria*, watercolour, 29–30 August 1843 PRIVATE COLLECTION

4 Views of Architecture

Of all Raczyński's works from his Portuguese period, watercolours of architecture were the most closely related to his study of Portuguese art, though these were not made primarily for research and educational purposes. Raczyński hired João José dos Santos, an engraver from the Lisbon academy, to produce works strictly for documentary purposes. And while, as mentioned earlier, Santos accompanied the Count on his journey through Portugal, it appears he did not consider Santos to be sufficiently skilled as an artist. In a letter to his Parisian friend Ferdinand Denis, Athanasius asked Denis to recommend an artist who specialised in views of architecture. Raczyński wanted the artist to produce illustrations for a book on Portuguese art he planned to compile. Raczyński probably treated his own depictions of architecture, like many of his other works, as mnemonic tools and a source of entertainment. They were also a testimony to his admiration for Portuguese architecture, which he expressed later in *Les arts en Portugal*.

Raczyński devoted two separate chapters and many shorter passages in *Les arts en Portugal* specifically to architecture. Chapter twenty-one is particularly interesting. In it, Raczyński provides a general history of Portuguese architecture, pointing to its two greatest periods: the first decades of the sixteenth century (the reign of Manuel I and John III, when the Portuguese late Gothic architecture called the Manueline developed) and the latter half of the eighteenth century (the times of the Marquis de Pombal, when modern Portuguese architecture was born). 'These two are the only architectural styles that seem to me truly characteristic and national.'⁴⁰ Raczyński was particularly fond of the architecture of the first period, the Manueline, with its technical sophistication and abundance of richly encrusted carved ornamentation. He believed the Manueline had 'infinite charm,'⁴¹ and buildings and ornaments from the period were the subjects of his numerous watercolours.

Athanasius preferred religious over secular architecture, always presenting an external view. He usually focused on the façade, which was drawn in an en face or a foreshortened three-quarter view. Elements beyond the main building were usually reduced: the surroundings were often rendered in a sketch-like manner and people were rarely included. The list of works created in accordance with this pattern, arranged chronologically, includes views of the Hieronymites Church and Monastery in Belém (Fig. 90); the churches in Tomar, Golegã, Alcobaça, and Batalha; the cathedrals in Evora and Lamego (Fig. 91); and the Franciscan church in Porto (Fig. 92). There are also paintings that do not follow this pattern, including views of the church in Coimbra, the Convent of Christ in Tomar, and the church in Batalha. Buildings in Raczyński's paintings were faithfully reproduced, and their shapes and proportions were rendered with great accuracy (Fig. 93 and 94). Only the architectural details were simplified, in part due to the painterly effects Raczyński sought to achieve. Raczyński did not reproduce ornamental motifs meticulously. Instead, he strived for a more general effect of decorative splendour, using vaguely defined, delicate and minute forms. The overall impression is one of lightness, airiness, and delicacy. The picturesque qualities of the building are foregrounded. For example, the sculptural decoration on the famous portal of the church in Belém near Lisbon is depicted as an accumulation of tiny, enigmatic, vibrating spots. The colours – pink with a touch of grey – are subdued.

Raczyński also made a significant number of watercolours of architecture during his stay in Spain. The works that have survived to our times, such as his artistically successful paintings of the Escorial and the Cathedral of Toledo, demonstrate that Athanasius continued to make use of themes and perspectives found in his earlier works (such as depicting a vast panorama with

⁴⁰ Athanasius Raczyński, Les arts en Portugal. Lettres adressées à la Société artistique et scientifique de Berlin, et accompagnées de documens (Paris: J. Renouard, 1846), 409.

⁴¹ Athanasius Raczyński, Les arts en Portugal, 408.



FIGURE 90 Athanasius Raczyński, *Jerónimos Monastery in Belém*, watercolour, 1–2 September 1842 PRIVATE COLLECTION



FIGURE 91 Athanasius Raczyński, *Lamego Cathedral*, watercolour, 31 July 1844 NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP GR 798/38

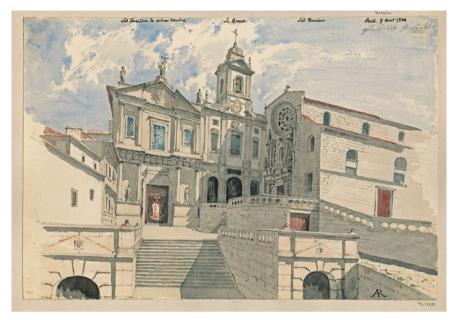


FIGURE 92 Athanasius Raczyński, *Church of San Francis in Porto*, watercolour, 9 August 1844 NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP GR 798/39



FIGURE 93 Alcobaça Monastery in a watercolour by Raczyński (from 26 August 1843) and a contemporary photograph PHOTO MICHAŁ MENCFEL

architecture inscribed into lush greenery; producing a 'portrait' of the building's façade) (Fig. 95). But among the works from his Spanish period some are quite unlike those he had produced previously, including several carefully drawn depictions of architectural details (portals, capitals) and paintings (Fig. 96). These were created during his journey to Valladolid, Léon and Oviedo in the autumn of 1849. During this trip, Raczyński sought to learn more about Spanish art, and the nature of his drawings reflects this desire – they

RACZYŃSKI AS AN ARTIST



FIGURE 94 Convent of Christ in Tomar in a watercolour by Raczyński (from 7 October 1843) and a contemporary photograph РНОТО MICHAŁ MENCFEL



FIGURE 95 Athanasius Raczyński, *Toledo Cathedral*, watercolour, 7–14 April 1852 PRIVATE COLLECTION

are detailed, precise, and executed using clean lines. These drawings were a tool for both recording and analysing architectural and painterly forms. They were undoubtedly created under the influence of the painter and architectural scholar Valentín Carderera, an outstanding specialist in studies of architecture in paint and pencil, who accompanied Raczyński on his journey through Spain.

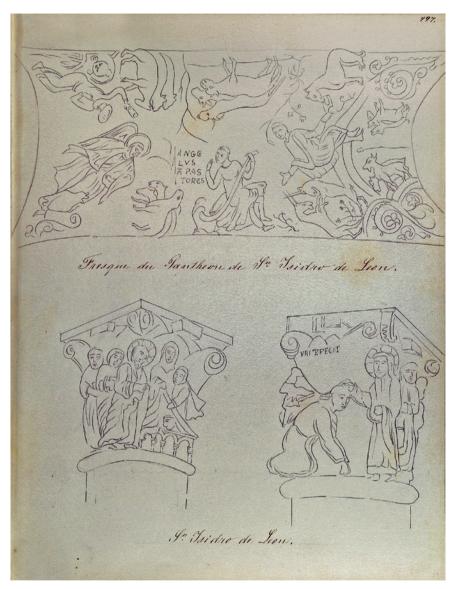


FIGURE 96 Athanasius Raczyński, *Sketches of a Fresco and Column Capitals in* S. Isidoro Church in Léon, drawing in Diary

Many of Raczyński's watercolours and drawings, both those made in Spain as well as a number from other parts of Europe, embody traditions of antiquarian illustration. The idea of creating an album – a collection of pictures of historical monuments, usually accompanied, as in the case of Raczyński's *Spanish Album*, by critical commentary – is also connected with practices used by antiquarians. Such an album was meant to present the history of the art and culture of a given region or country in a relatively short yet insightful form.

Antiquarianism - the study of the past through material relics, historic buildings, and landscapes - was the domain of amateurs in the nineteenth century: aristocrats, landowners, librarians, writers, and artists.⁴² Illustrations, first in the form of watercolours or drawings, and later, since the mid-nineteenth century, in the form of photographs, had been an essential element of the antiquarian tradition since its very beginnings. In Poland, the origins of antiquarian illustration date back to the times of Stanisław August Poniatowski. By the early nineteenth century, antiquarian projects were already being produced. These included Zygmunt Vogel's album of drawings from 1806;43 Kazimierz Stronczyński's collection of watercolours; and (ambitious as a project though modest in form) Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's Iconotheka. There is no doubt that Athanasius was acquainted with the tradition of antiquarian studies. After all, his brother Edward wrote Wspomnienia Wielkopolski [Memories of Wielkopolska], one of the most important publications in this field. Volumes three and four of Wspomnienia Wielkopolski contained illustrations depicting the historical monuments described in the first two volumes. Most of the engravings were made after drawings by Konstancja Raczyńska; however, two illustrations, the castle in Tuczno and the tombstone of Andrzej and Barbara Górka in Poznań Cathedral, were based on sketches made by Athanasius (Fig. 97).

Raczyński's connection in his drawings and paintings with the antiquarian tradition was not just the result of his predilection for specific motifs: ruins, castles, temples, tombstones, ancient buildings, and memorial sites. Not only were the poetics or aesthetics of these images similar, but their aims were as well. Raczyński likewise sought to read the history of a given country and nation encoded in its culture, in particular, in its monuments and architecture.

⁴² On antiquarianism see: Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Berkeley and Oxford: University of California Press, 1990); Stuart Piggott, *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1989); Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries. The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004); Noah Heringman, *Sciences of Antiquity. Romantic Antiquarianism, Natural History, and Knowledge Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁴³ Zbiór widoków sławniejszych pamiątek narodowych jako to zwalisk, zamków, świątyń, nagrobków, starożytnych budowli i miejsc pamiętnych w Polsce was put together by the Warsaw Society of Friends of Learning in 1806.



FIGURE 97 Górka Family Tomb in Poznań, illustration in Edward Raczyński's *Wspomnienia Wielkopolski, to jest województw poznańskiego, kaliskiego i gnieźnieńskiego*, after a drawing by Athanasius (1842)

While Raczyński created interesting and diverse artworks, he left his dominant mark on the nineteenth-century art world in a different capacity – that of a writer, collector, and patron.

Aesthetic Views, Writings on Art, Patronage

Majesty and grandeur, combined with simplicity, guided by pure feeling and honouring the limits of moderation and good taste – these are, I believe, the qualities most commonly used in the language of art to express the notion of style.

The History of Modern German Art, vol. 1, p. 339

1 Basic Concepts: Beauty and Taste

While it is true that Athanasius Raczyński wrote about the essence and purpose of art in his letters and published writings, we need to remember that he was not a theoretician of art. His comments did not create an artistic doctrine in the full sense of the word. They were more of a loose collection of coherent but fairly general beliefs and ideals. Nor did Raczyński ever aspire to be a theoretician of art; in fact, he expressed a certain reluctance towards excessively theoretical discussions. 'I once started reading Goethe's Farbenlehre, but I found it too difficult to finish...,' he wrote in a letter (from November 1868) to the painter Emil Löwenthal in which he thanked him for some useful tips he offered on the use of colour and light in painting.¹ Nevertheless, Raczyński's remarks on art provide us with a theoretical backdrop to his various artistic activities. His observations are, therefore, for the most part supplementary and 'practical' in nature. They represent a set of general guidelines and declarations, which provided a framework for his actions as an art collector, patron, critic, and writer. This notwithstanding, they deserve to be analyzed in greater detail.

Raczyński expressed his thoughts on art, beauty, and taste most fully in his introduction to *The History of Modern German Art*. He emphasized that this was only a provisional and general outline without any claims to being exhaustive,

Letter from Athanasius to Emil Löwenthal dated 22 November 1868; LV, vol. 25: Löwenthal, MNP, MNPA 1414/25, p. 26.

original, or insightful.² Raczyński's declared goal was merely to explain to the reader the perspective from which he formulated his views on painting and thus indicate the subjectivity of his judgments. For this reason, the reconstruction of Raczyński's 'theory of art' presented below may not always seem precise and clear.³

According to Raczyński, the essence of art is beauty and expression, art's goal is to arouse feelings, and the path to achieving this goal is the imitation of nature. The principles underlying beauty are universal, inalienable, and divine. When beauty 'corresponds to its purpose' (when the form of a thing appears suited to its purpose) and when it is in harmony with man's deepest feelings, it provides an expression of God's idea, and thus becomes 'whole' and can be called 'positive beauty.' This may also be called 'true beauty.' Sensual beauty derives from shape and colour, movement and stillness, a wealth of colours, and harmony among them. It manifests itself in terms of balance (a carefully weighed distribution of forces), relations (the compatibility of elements within a thing and harmony between that thing and other things set in relation to it), grace (lightness, elegant and effortless movement), and ornamentation that attests to the dynamism and wealth of its form. Moderation is the key property: beauty shuns all exaggeration. Raczyński, therefore, defines beauty – in keeping with a long-standing tradition dating back to ancient philosophy – as harmony, order, and proportion.

Beauty is an objective feature of a thing, but it is connected to subjective response – it is experienced by man. When it is in harmony with the most intense emotions in man's soul, beauty is a source of amazement and joy – 'the sight of beauty awakens admiration and joy, which are, like love, irresistible.' Raczyński refers to this harmony and the resulting ability to arouse feelings as 'expression.' Beauty without expression is incomplete and offers only fleeting pleasure.

The principle of *mimesis* governs art, especially painting and sculpture. Beauty is achieved by imitating nature – not its external manifestation, but

² Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 1, 3-42.

³ For more on Raczyński's concept of art see: Helmut Börsch-Supan, "Die ,Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst' von Athanasius Graf Raczyński;" Anna Dobrzycka, "Atanazy Raczyński," in *Myśl o sztuce*; Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska, "Galeria Atanazego Raczyńskiego. Na marginesie wystawy w Muzeum Narodowym w Poznaniu," *Studia Muzealne* XIV (1984): 13–28, esp. 16–20; Frank Büttner, "Athanasius Graf Raczyński als Apologet der Kunst seiner Zeit," 51–55; Anna Lewicka-Morawska, *Między klasycznością a tradycjonalizmem. Narodziny nowoczesnej kultury artystycznej a malarstwo polskie końca XVIII I początków XIX wieku* (Warszawa: Neriton, 2005), 202–206 (which however contains numerous inaccuracies); Uta Kaiser, *Sammler, Kenner, Kunstschriftsteller*, 261–276.

rather its essence because nature is a manifestation of the intentions of its divine Creator. 'Imperishable wonders constantly reappear [in nature], they charm us each day, elevate our soul to infinity, awaken a love for God, make beauty manifest and the soul receptive to it.' Therefore, the artist must transcend the external aspects of visible nature, in which 'one sees only action and hostile counteraction,' 'the war of all against all,' and reach divine, ideal nature, characterized by moderation, peace, and submission to laws. If the artist is able to achieve this and thus 'fully understand the intentions of the Creator,' his work will be a manifestation of a beauty that Raczyński calls 'sublime beauty.' If such work is at the same time 'a reflection of what is noblest in the human soul' and touches the most sensitive strings of the soul, it is a manifestation of beauty that is 'both positive and sublime.'

Based on the above, Raczyński defines the goal of art as follows: 'Express lofty feelings, recognize the perfection and symmetry of forms, understand the effects of light, understand how to represent nature without exaggeration of expression, shape or colour – this is, I think, the highest goal that art in the noblest, most dignified and truest sense of the word can achieve.'

In order to make these general guidelines more concrete and connect them with actual examples from the world of art, Raczyński used the category of style, which was of crucial importance in the theory of art and art history in the nineteenth century.⁴ Raczyński defined it best in his journal: 'Style is a visible sign of specific principles the artist is able to make his own. It is a visible sign of a specific artistic mental approach that the artist either possesses intrinsically or manages to instil in himself. [Style] is a reflection of everything the soul experiences as truly sublime and characteristic. No style means no expression, no character, and no greatness.'⁵ Style, Raczyński added in *The History of German Art*, following on from Winckelmann's ideal of beauty in art, is a harmonious combination of grandeur, quiet, and simplicity, adhering to the principles of moderation and good taste. The source of style is 'pure feeling.'⁶ Style for Raczyński was not a historical phenomenon, i.e. a set of specific artistic solutions that manifested themselves in various works created in a given era. Raczyński termed such a phenomenon 'fashion.' For him, style was normative,

⁴ Henrik Karge, "Zwischen Naturwissenschaft und Kulturgeschichte. Die Entfaltung des Systems der Epochenstile im 19. Jahrhundert," in Bruno Klein and Bruno Boerner, eds., Stilfragen zur Kunst des Mittelalters. Eine Einführung (Berlin: Reimer, 2006), 39–60; Wolfgang Brückle, "Stil (kunstwissenschaftlich)," in Karlheinz Barck, Martin Fontius, Dieter Schlendstedt, Burkhart Seinwachs, Friedrich Wolfzettel, eds., Ästhetische Grundbegriffe. Studienausgabe, vol. 5, 681–686.

⁵ DIARY, 1 January 1836.

⁶ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 1, 339.

timeless, and universal.⁷ In true works of art, style manifested itself regardless of when they were created: 'Style has always existed and will always exist. One may like renaissance and rococo, braids and wigs, Borromini, trimming and chic, but never at the expense of style – a strong and genuine feeling, noble tastes, an ideal, sublime or dignified direction in art.'⁸

According to Raczyński, an ideal concept (archetype) of beauty and a sense of beauty are innate in man, though natural inclinations and upbringing may encourage or hinder their advancement. Raczyński attached particular importance to the latter. False teachings and following contemporary fashions, dismissed by Athanasius as 'the greatest confusion in our soul,' numb one's sense of beauty and spoil artistic tastes. On the other hand, understanding and consciously developing one's abilities, proper education, developing one's tastes, and moral conduct foster a sense of beauty that becomes 'delicate, proper, and in harmony with the laws of nature.' According to Raczyński, aesthetics and ethics are inseparable and remain in a dialectical relationship: morality awakens the ability to discover and appreciate true beauty, while the experience of beauty strengthens morality. For Raczyński, the main task of art museums and state patronage is to shape and promote good taste and, as a result, moral conduct.

According to Raczyński, a carefully nurtured experience of beauty unspoiled by harmful influences is sufficient to allow a legitimate judgment of it – this applies to art as well. No special knowledge or eloquence is required to make judgments about the beauty of art. When abused, learning and eloquence distort judgement and are testimony to excessive pedantry and pride rather than true understanding and a love of art. 'Refined taste, inner feeling, independent thinking, a love for the thing itself and not for passing judgement on it, the ability to rise above one's personal views – I think these are what characterize an art expert. One in whom erudition and pride become a substitute for feeling ceases to be an expert the day such a change occurs.'⁹ Nonetheless, in-depth

⁷ On Raczyński's concept of style see: Frank Büttner, "Athanasius Graf Raczyński als Apologet der Kunst seiner Zeit," 53–54.

⁸ DIARY, 18 December 1844.

⁹ In expressing such an opinion, Raczyński places himself on the side of a rather broad criticism at that time of 'apparent knowledge,' i.e. a pretence to knowledge in art matters based on pride, empty erudition and ignorance. A testimony of this phenomenon is Johann Hermann Detmold's satire *Einleitung zur Kunstkennerschaft oder Kunst in drei Stunden ein Kenner zu werden*, published in 1834 and reissued in 1845 (Johann Hermann Detmold, *Einleitung zur Kunstkennerschaft oder Kunst in drei Stunden ein Kenner zu werden*, published in 1834 and reissued in 1845 (Johann Hermann Detmold, *Einleitung zur Kunstkennerschaft oder Kunst in drei Stunden ein Kenner zu werden. Ein Versuch bei Gelegenheit der zweiten Kunstausstellung herausgegeben* (Hannover 1834)). It is stylized as a guide of sorts and contains, in addition to a general introduction of 58 ready-made 'academics,' formulas to be uttered by 'experts' in relation to a work of art. Criticism of false

and comprehensive study and experience, knowledge of painting schools, and a trained eye, as well as patience and humility, are indispensable to acquiring a professional knowledge of the Old Masters.

According to Raczyński, undoubtedly drawing again on Winckelmann, art remains in a close relationship with prevailing customs, governments, and the current *Zeitgeist*: 'In general, art, like literature, is an expression of the state of society.' Therefore, its development is not immanent but follows the general logic of history: 'all nations experience an era of poetry and art, an era of religious fervour, an era of science and, finally, an era of sophistry, heartless scepticism, and arbitrariness. The last era marks the end of everything that is noble, beautiful, and sublime because vanity triumphs over feeling.' Raczyński recorded similar observations in his journal two decades earlier during the turbulent Napoleonic era, which he interpreted, inspired by the works of Montesquieu, whom he greatly admired, in terms of historical regularity: all nations experience periods of glory and decline.

Raczyński presents the history of art as successive cycles of birth, development, culmination, decline, and rebirth: 'The human spirit perpetually moves in the same circle.' It even seems as if processes, situations, models, behaviours, and even characters repeat themselves in accordance with the rhythm of history. Thus far, art has achieved perfection twice, as exemplified by ancient Greek sculpture and the painting of the High Renaissance. Inspired by pagan epic poetry, ancient Greek sculpture embodied the perfect beauty of the human body. Inspired by Christianity, the painting of the High Renaissance embodied faith and love. 'Neither one nor the other deviates from the truth; both remained as close as possible to what is the most sublime in nature.' Art in the nineteenth century, Raczyński writes, was at the threshold of its next great era: it would achieve greatness thanks to German artists.

This conviction or indeed this discovery was of paramount importance to Raczyński as a writer and collector. However, before we comment on this, let us first discuss the inspirations and influences relevant to Raczyński's concept of art.

In view of the general nature of Raczyński's comments, it is difficult to identify their source.¹⁰ Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska has argued that Raczyński's views on art 'were shaped not so much by reliable studies of aesthetic and philosophical works or his own philosophical enquires, but rather during extensive

knowledge was also expressed by Wilhelm Schadow, a close friend of Raczyński (Wilhelm von Schadow, *Der moderne Vasari. Erinnerungen aus dem Künstlerleben. Novelle* (Berlin: Hertz, 1854), 120–121).

¹⁰ Frank Büttner, "Athanasius Graf Raczyński als Apologet der Kunst seiner Zeit," 53–54.

social and artistic contacts as well as by his extensive reading of "fashionable" works.' It is clear that Raczyński was influenced by 'the views of artists who were his friends, especially Schadow and Schinkel; one can also see the influences of Winckelmann, Rousseau, Wackenroder, Goethe, Chateaubriand, Jean Paul, and others.'11 However, I believe that Raczyński arrived at his vision of art as a result of thorough reflection (although we have to bear in mind that Athanasius was an art lover and not a philosopher) and careful reading of ambitious and sometimes old-fashioned books. Of course, as Ostrowska-Kębłowska rightly observes, Winckelmann and Goethe also influenced Raczyński. An important role was undoubtedly also played by Karl Friedrich Schinkel and Wilhelm Schadow. To the letter Raczyński explicitly referred in The History of Modern German Art, claiming that their art theories were in many respect similar.¹² However, one more potential source of Raczyński's inspiration may be identified, namely French reflections on art and literature from the latter half of the eighteenth century, primarily the writings of Charles Batteux, which were even more popular in Germany than in France.¹³

Batteux's *The Fine Arts Reduced to a Single Principle* was first published in 1746 and was re-published in 1800 with two additional essays. Batteux explains in the work his theory of *mimesis*, arguing that the most important goal of art is to imitate nature – the imitation of nature is the titular 'single principle' underlying all of the fine arts.¹⁴ The model for the fine arts is not imperfect nature, as it appears to our eyes, but an idealized, perfected nature. Batteux calls it 'beautiful nature' (*la belle Nature*) and claims that it is governed by order. Taste recognizes beautiful nature as it recognizes the beauty of art. Both are its proper and only subject. Taste is inherent to man: 'it is an inborn part of our minds whose function is to carry us towards the good.' The domain of taste is the emotional part of man – the soul that desires what is good and beautiful. The soul wants to elevate and refine itself, 'but it wants to do so effortlessly.' The means

¹¹ Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska, "Galeria Atanazego Raczyńskiego," 17.

¹² Athanasius Raczyński, *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst*, vol. 1, 145. In volume one of *History of Modern German Art* Raczyński published as an annex two treatises by Schadow: 'Thoughts on the Consistent Education of the Painter' (pp. 319–330) and 'On the True Spirit of Judging Art' (pp. 331–334). See also: Helmut Börsch-Supan, "Die ,Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst' von Athanasius Graf Raczyński," 19.

¹³ On the reception of Batteux's thought in Germany see: Irmela von der Lühe, Natur und Nachahmung: Untersuchungen zur Batteux-Rezeption in Deutschland (Bonn: Bouvier-Verlag, 1979).

¹⁴ Charles Batteux, *Les beaux arts reduits à un même principe* (Paris: Durand, 1746), 78–79, 89, 92. Citations after the English edition: Charles Batteux, *The Fine Arts Reduced to a Single Principle*, translated by an introduction and notes by James O. Young (Oxford: University Press 2015).

to this end is an art that imitates beautiful nature: '*belle nature*, as it must be represented in arts, contains all beautiful and good qualities.' This is because, above all, art shows things that are perfect in themselves, and 'this perfection has always consisted in variety, excellence, proportion, and symmetry of parts, united in the work of art as naturally as they are in something completely natural.' Secondly, this is also because art creates an 'intimate connection' (*un rapport intime*) between representation and the human soul, enriching and improving it.

In general, the views of Raczyński and Batteux were in many respects similar. The main difference lay in the importance of religion; religion was important for Raczyński, while Batteux ignored it in his essay. Indeed, religion was widely discussed in German philosophy of art in the early nineteenth century, above all in the concepts of Friedrich Schelling and the Schlegel brothers.¹⁵ Religious (Christian) inspiration was also decisive for the work of the so-called Nazarene Art Movement, in which Raczyński, like many of his contemporaries, saw the renewal of German painting.

2 Modern German Painting

Raczyński was convinced that his ideals would soon find their realization in German art.¹⁶ True beauty and style were to manifest themselves in historical painting, sculpture, and architecture. 'German artists herald a revival of the arts, which corresponds to the principles I have just expressed,' he wrote in volume one of *The History of Modern German Art*.¹⁷ Art, claimed Raczyński, was revived thanks to the religious spirit expressed by German painters who worked in Rome in the early nineteenth century – they were known as the Nazarenes.

¹⁵ See: Christa Steinle, "Die Rückkehr der Religiösen. Nazarenismus zwischen Romantik und Rationalismus," in Max Hollein and Christa Steinle, eds., *Religion, Macht, Kunst. Die Nazarener*, exh. cat. (Köln: König, 2005), 15–35, esp. 21–26.

¹⁶ On Raczyński's views on contemporary German art see: Helmut Börsch-Supan, "Die ,Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst' von Athanasius Graf Raczyński;" Frank Büttner, "Athanasius Graf Raczyński als Apologet der Kunst seiner Zeit;" Bertsch Markus, "Zur Historisierung und Musealisierung der Gegenwart. Athanasius Graf Raczyński als Sammler, Mäzen und Kritiker zeitgenössischer Kunst," in Adam S. Labuda, Michał Mencfel, and Wojciech Suchocki, eds., *Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy. Dzieła – osobowości – wybory – epoka*, 221–241; Uta Kaiser, "Die ,Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst' des Athanasius Graf Raczyński (1788–1874)."

¹⁷ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 1, 13.

In 1809, six young German, Austrian and Swiss painters (who could be described as Raczyński's peers¹⁸), students at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts, led by Friedrich Overbeck and Franz Pforr, founded the artistic Brotherhood of Saint Luke (Lukasbund), thus opposing academic teaching and the dominant tendencies in contemporary art.¹⁹ The name of the Brotherhood was in honour of St. Luke the Evangelist, the legendary author of the first image of the Virgin Mary and the patron of the medieval painters' guilds. In 1810, the group left Vienna for Rome. At first, the artists lived together at the Villa Malta on Monte Pincio and soon moved to the abandoned post-Franciscan monastery of Sant'Isidoro. They called themselves brothers and lived and worked together. Soon, more German artists joined the founders, including Wilhelm Schadow, Philipp Veit, Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, and especially Peter Cornelius, who, after the death of Pforr in 1812 at the age of only 34, took his place alongside Overbeck. The Roman public referred to this artistic brotherhood as the Nazarenes. Initially conceived as a derisive joke, the nickname was soon adopted by both the artists themselves and the critics who wrote about them.

The Nazarenes' ideals were religious painting, as an expression of a deeply felt Christianity, and historical painting, addressed to the general public and forming an integral part of the nation's life – leading them to attribute great importance to monumental fresco painting. Art was to be based on truth: the letter *W* for *Wahrheit* (truth) was displayed on the Brotherhood's emblem, depicting St. Luke in a modest cell, immersed in his work. The Nazarenes sought inspiration from masters of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance who, in their opinion, were not overwhelmed by excessive theorizing and still possessed immediate access to the truth.²⁰ Inspired by the Old Italian and

¹⁸ Franz Pforr was born in the same year as Raczyński (1788), Friedrich Overbeck was one year younger.

¹⁹ They established it together with Konrad Hottinger, Joseph Sutter, Ludwig Vogel, and Joseph Wintergast. On the Nazarenes see: Keith Andrews, *The Nazarens. A Brotherhood of German Painters in Rom* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964); Klaus Gallwitz, ed., *Die Nazarener in Rom. Ein deutscher Künstlerbund der Romantik*, exh. cat. (München: Prestel, 1981); Mitchell Benjamin Frank, *German Romantic Painting Redefined*; Norbert Suhr and Nico Kirchberger, eds., *Die Nazarener – Vom Tiber an den Rhein. Drei Malerschulen des 19. Jahrhunderts, exh. cat.* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2012); Cordula Grewe, *The Nazarenes, Romantic Avant-Garde and the Art of the Concept* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015).

For more on the subject see studies by Cordula Grewe: "Re-Enchantment as Artistic Practice: Strategies of Emulation in German Romantic Art and Theory," *New German Critique* No. 95 (Winter 2005): 36–71; "Die Geburt der Natur aus dem Geiste Dürers," in Markus Bertsch and Reinhard Wegner, eds., *Landschaft am "Scheidepunkt*," 331–353.

German Masters, the Nazarenes moved away from the dynamic line they were taught to use at the academy and instead employed simple lines and strong outlines. A more nuanced and complex colour palette gave way to the brightness and clarity of primary colours. Firm and daring brush strokes gave way to a fine finish and attention to detail. 'Early painting has become a real source of rejuvenation for art,' Raczyński wrote.²¹

The Nazarenes gradually gained recognition, especially after the execution of two prestigious commissions, the fresco decoration of Casa Bartholdy in Palazzo Zuccari (1816-17) and the villa in Laterano called Casino Massimo (1818-29). The road to fame and greatness was open to them. In the late 1820s and early 1830s, the members of the Brotherhood gradually returned to Germany. Propelled by the acclaim they had won in Rome, they took up important positions in German artistic institutions, primarily in art academies. In 1819, Cornelius was appointed head of the Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf, and then, in 1825, head of the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich. In 1826, Wilhelm Schadow, professor at the Berlin Academy of Arts since 1819, was appointed head of the Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf. Schnorr von Carolsfeld also became a professor at the Munich Academy. After some time, he became a professor at the Dresden Academy and the director of its famous picture gallery. Veit became head of the Städel Art Institute in Frankfurt. Only the introvert Overbeck remained in Rome, avoiding 'institutional' temptations. Art that had grown out of resistance to the academy ultimately ended up in academic institutions. In the meantime, however, the academy underwent fundamental and beneficial transformations.²² The former Nazarenes quickly achieved a dominant position in the German artistic world, exercising a decisive influence on German art. The Munich Academy, led by Cornelius, and the Düsseldorf Academy, led by Schadow, became Germany's most important art institutions. The Munich Academy was famous for its monumental historical painting with strong influences from Classicism, while the Düsseldorf Academy specialized in religious and historical oil paintings.²³

Raczyński described the rise of the painters associated with the Brotherhood of St. Luke in Germany in the following words: the 'holy fire' kindled by the Nazarenes in Rome spread to the North, to Munich, Düsseldorf, and Berlin. 'In these three cities, it is now shining brightly.'²⁴ However, according to

²¹ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 2, 306.

²² On the German art academies in the nineteenth century see: Ekkehard Mai, *Die deutschen Kunstakademien im 19. Jahrhundert. Künstlerausbildung zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde* (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2010).

²³ Ekkehard Mai, Die deutschen Kunstakademien im 19. Jahrhundert, 121–142.

²⁴ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 1, 107.

CHAPTER 10

Raczyński, though German art was being advanced by Cornelius, Schadow, Bertel Thorvaldsen (whom Raczyński considered being a German artist), and Schinkel, it had not yet reached its full potential. It was to truly flourish thanks to artists of the next generation: 'German art is close to its peak and the next two decades will be the greatest in the new era. Kaulbach, Lessing, Schwanthaler, Hildebrandt, Bendemann, and the Schraudolph brothers are still young, but in twenty years' time their talent will reach its full potential.'²⁵ German art, closely associated with the academies in Munich, Düsseldorf, and Berlin, but also Dresden, Hamburg, and Vienna, became the most important subjects of Athanasius Raczyński's artistic interests (Fig. 98).

Since the 1820s, Raczyński had greatly been inspired in his writings by his conviction that German painting would soon reach its apogee. As a writer, collector, and patron, Raczyński was committed to supporting and praising the great rise of German art, and thus, art in general. The monumental and laudatory *History of Modern German Art*, according to the author, 'had no other purpose than to draw the attention of other nations to German artists.'²⁶ In Raczyński's gallery, the focus shifted from Old Masters to modern German art. Raczyński protected and supported his favourite German artists. The Count wanted to play (if only a modest) part in this great artistic and cultural process, which he considered so important for the history of art. But more than just a triumphant revival of the arts was at stake. As we have seen, for Raczyński, art was connected with morality, and thus the rebirth of art was the first step on the road to the regeneration and renewal of civilization.

Raczyński's enthusiasm for modern German painting and the exalted and prophetic tone in which he spoke about it can only be fully understood in the context of his beliefs and his view of modernity. Raczyński was disillusioned: he was convinced that he was living in an era of deep crisis and decay – he was witnessing the downfall of civilization. Not only were political and social life in crisis (although the collapse manifested itself most prominently in these areas), but culture, customs, religiosity, and even civilization as a whole were also affected. Entries in his diary from the late 1820s and the 1830s, so from the period in which he wrote his euphoric history of modern German painting, are predominantly gloomy in tone. The present is described in them as a time of regression, degeneration, and confusion: 'Our century is dwarfed by the glory of the past.'²⁷

²⁵ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 2, 203.

²⁶ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 1, 41.

²⁷ DIARY, 26 March 1835.

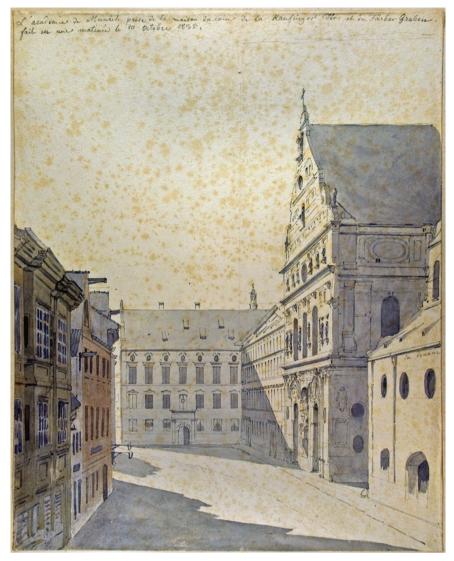


FIGURE 98 Athanasius Raczyński, *Academy of Fine Arts in Munic in Wilheminum (former Jesuit college)*, watercolour, 10 October 1835 PRIVATE COLLECTION

Raczyński, however, was not a hopeless pessimist. He believed that this crisis would be followed by a revival – an era of peace, reason, and virtue. He probably best expressed his views on the world around him in a letter to Donoso Cortés. The document was written later (in 1849), but the judgments expressed in it are essentially similar to those voiced by Raczyński several years earlier. The letter is worth quoting extensively:

The times in which we live are above all characterized by the fact that we never openly state the goals we have set ourselves. We never refer to things by their proper name. We lie to ourselves because we allow pride to guide us. What relations will exist between people when such prejudices dominate? Pride will always be accompanied by contempt – destructive, insulting, and brutal. Whoever is touched by it is filled forever with contempt. Even if one's heart remains free, the mind grows numb and feeble. Other times, we are held back by self-love. Self-love is a better child, but it is more unruly. It is much more active; it is always on the alert, argumentative, suspicious. It is kind to those who flatter it, but it attacks as soon as its thin skin is as much as brushed. Self-love does not reject reason - it distorts it. [...] Vanity is on the last and lowest step at this ladder. It adorns itself with flowers and tinsel that the imagination creates and provides in abundance. It is happy, cheerful, innocent. It could become a virtue but it would be a useless, ridiculous, and stupid virtue. In short, vanity is the desire to show off, ambition is the desire to be well-known, self-love is in the belief that one is well-known, and pride is knowing what one wants. And although we live in a lie, instinct tells me that Providence will once again save Europe. You might ask: and what is instinct? Instinct is, I believe, nothing more than a sense that is more sensitive than smell, hearing, and sight.²⁸

Raczyński identified a profound moral crisis but also saw (sensed 'instinctively') a chance to overcome it with God's help. Inspired by deeply felt religion and thanks to beauty, which brings goodness and virtue, art could become a herald and, at the same time, a tool for saving the world. Indeed, Raczyński's artistic programme, which involved contemporary German art, had not only an aesthetic but also an ethical dimension.

Raczyński was not alone in his enthusiasm for contemporary German art. On the contrary, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, such feelings were widespread in Germany, where people recognized the importance of the great artistic breakthrough that had taken place there. This was the case abroad, too, with the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz noting that in Paris 'Overbeck and Cornelius are recognized as the greatest masters,' and 'the paintings of the Düsseldorf school were well received by the local public.'²⁹ Following the crisis

²⁸ Letter to Juan Donoso Cortés dated 29 December 1849; cited in: *Deux diplomates le comte Raczynski et Donoso Cortès*, 28–30.

²⁹ Letter from Adam Mickiewicz to Wojciech Stattler dated May 1837; cited in: Adam Mickiewicz, *Dzieła*, vol. 15, 183.

of art in the eighteenth century, seen in the decline of both the Baroque and Classicism, art was on the verge of experiencing a rebirth. A turning point in art around 1800 was considered the beginning of a new and better era. Among the general public, there was a conviction that 'Romantic artists,' a term that until the 1870s referred primarily to the Nazarenes, would play a leading role in this process.³⁰ This belief was in keeping with the general atmosphere of optimism that prevailed in Germany after its victory in the Wars of Liberation against Napoleon. This corresponded to a widespread support for profound social renewal and a belief in the revival of religion as a driving force in public life.³¹ Until the 1870s, the Nazarene Art and the Academic art inspired by it were considered the most important phenomena in nineteenth-century painting, and Friedrich Overbeck and Peter Cornelius, the 'leaders' of the Nazarenes, were universally praised as that century's most distinguished painters.

Of course, there were opponents of the Nazarene Art Movement, too, including prominent writers and thinkers like the classicist Johann Wolfgang Goethe³² or the so-called Young Hegelians, who since the 1830s had been associated with the Leipzig magazine *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Kunst und Wissenschaft*. However, compared with the enthusiasts for this new art, they were in the minority, and their opinions were much less resonant.

Nevertheless, at the turn of the 1830s and the 1840s, supporters of the Nazarenes began to question whether the hope they had placed in the movement had been misplaced. Disappointment, and even a sense of failure, were palpable. This did not mark the end of the movement's influence on artistic thinking, but its programmatic aims were called into question.³³ Raczyński himself was also confronted with such dilemmas. He noted certain negative developments in German art, including in the most important and most closely watched artistic centres, such as Düsseldorf, Munich, and Berlin.

During a visit to Düsseldorf in March 1847, he described the painting there as being in a 'torpor.' Few patrons and collectors were commissioning

³⁰ On the reception of the art of Romantic painters, especially Nazarene painters, in German art history, criticism and art-related journalism in the 19th century, see the insightful and well-documented study by Christian Scholl, *Revisionen der Romantik. Zur Rezeption der "neudeutschen Malerei"* 1817–1906 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2012).

³¹ Christian Scholl, Revisionen der Romantik, 71–79.

See in particular in an article written jointly with Johann Heinrich Meyer titled 'Neudeutsche religiös-patriotische Kunst,' published in the second issue of the Weimar journal *Über Kunst und Alterthum* in 1817. See: Ulrike Krenzlin, "Zu einigen Problemen nazarenischer Kunst. Goethe und die nazarenische Kunst," *Städel-Jahrbuch*, Neue Folge 7 (1979): 231–250; Frank Büttner, "Der Streit um die 'Neudeutsche, religiös-patriotische Kunst," *Aurora. Jahrbuch der Eichendorff-Gesellschaft* 43 (1983): 55–76.

³³ Christian Scholl, Revisionen der Romantik, 93.

new paintings and, as a result, artists were disheartened. Wilhelm Schadow, the spiritus movens of the Academy, did little to address this situation. When Raczyński visited the city seven years later, he bitterly observed that 'historical painting had almost disappeared in Düsseldorf.' He also could not help but regret that many local artists had moved to other artistic centres - the local art scene was almost non-existent, and only a few artists seemed to him worthy continuators of the local school of painting.³⁴ At the same time, however, each time Raczyński visited Düsseldorf, he discovered what he viewed as excellent paintings. He especially admired the works of Carl Friedrich Lessing, Theodor Hildebrand, and Andreas Achenbach. He considered the monumental frescoes in the Apollinariskirche near Remagen, which were painted by students of Schadow, Ernst Deger, Franz Ittenbach, and the brothers Andreas and Carl Müller, 'delightfully beautiful.'³⁵ He considered the works of Deger in the chapel at Stolznefels Castle as even more impressive and continued to hold Schadow's pictures in high regard. Similarly, he never questioned the greatness of Friedrich Overbeck or Peter Cornelius and the achievements of the Munich school. Even among adepts of the Berlin school, which he criticized the most, he found great works of art. He thus continued to believe that the changes which occurred in German art in the first half of the nineteenth century were all-important and never stopped seeing the accomplishments of Nazarene and the post-Nazarene art as laudable.

He assessed this art movement in a personal 'balance sheet' in 1858, two decades after the publication of *The History of Modern German Art*. In it, he wrote that if the Nazarene school had suffered a partial failure, it was not the artists' fault. The inordinate demands of their audience were to blame:

If the new German art did not meet all expectations, it is not to blame; to blame is the excessive exaltation of its audience at that time. So many great and beautiful things have been created in the past 35 years that

³⁴ See 'Journal de mon excursion sur le Rhin entre le 26 Août et le 3 Septembre [1847],' contained in Raczyński's DIARY.

Raczyński visited the Apollinariskirche twice, first in 1847, when the frescoes were not yet finished, then in 1854 after the works had been completed (the paintings were made between 1843 and 1853). For more on the frescoes see: Bettina Baumgärtel, "National, regional und transregional. Die Monumentalmalerei der Düsseldorfer Malerschule – Apollinariskirche und Schloss Heltorf," in Bettina Baumgärtel, ed., *Die Düsseldorfer Malerschule und ihre internationale Ausstrahlung 1819–1918*, vol. 1 (Petersberg: Imhof, 2011), 114–139; Irene Haberland, "Der Einfluss der Düsseldorfer Nazarener in Rheinland-Pfalz," in Norbert Suhr and Nico Kirchberger, eds., *Die Nazarener – Vom Tiber an den Rhein. Drei Malerschulen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2012), 47–63, esp. 47–52.

the tastes of the audience had become more sophisticated. It is also extremely easy to demand absolute sublimation without any trace of imperfection. But when and where was such sublimation possible? Art in Germany is still moving towards the sublime and the ideal with more success and better results than in any other country. [...] Here and there the quality of the contouring, modelling, or colouring leaves something to be desired. This or that artist seems now less sublime than earlier in his career. I would note, however, that two artists, namely Cornelius and Overbeck, remained in their later years as great as they promised to be 35 years ago. They never became different or less great. [...] Indeed, more than painting, the art of architecture rose from a deep decline early in this century to significant heights. [...] Thus, the hopes we had at the beginning of the nineteenth century were also fully realized in architecture. In this respect, our era has nothing to be ashamed of in comparison with previous eras.³⁶

The title page of the second volume of *The History of Modern German Art*, published in 1838, featured images of Cornelius and Schadow, Schinkel and Thorvaldsen. According to Raczyński's 'balance sheet,' two decades later the importance of these artists had not diminished (Fig. 99).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the artistic accomplishments of the nineteenth century underwent a thorough re-evaluation in German art history.³⁷ As Christian Scholl wrote, 'In just a few decades, the importance of nineteenth-century art was radically re-evaluated, including practically everything that had been previously considered representative of the renewal of German painting. The verdict issued by the modernists challenged everything that up until then had been considered valuable. Not only art criticism but also art history underwent a re-evaluation. We can speak here of a shift in the canon.'³⁸ The Nazarenes lost their prominent position; they were now marginalized. Their enterprise to revive religious art was dismissed as a dead-end. 'Taking together, these criticisms sketch an image of Nazarene art as little more than historicist kitsch born of a nostalgic revival of moribund ideas,' as Cordula Grewe summed up the views of the movement expressed by most twentieth-century scholarship.³⁹ The new masters of Romantic painting

³⁶ DIARY, September 1858.

³⁷ Mitchell Benjamin Frank, *German Romantic Painting Redefined*, 143–176; Christian Scholl, *Revisionen der Romantik*, 475–661.

³⁸ Christian Scholl, *Revisionen der Romantik*, 494.

³⁹ Cordula Grewe, "Historicism and the Symbolic Imagination in Nazarene Art," *The Art Bulletin* 79 (2007): 82–107, quotation p. 83.

 FIGURE 99 Wilhelm Kaulbach, Cornelius and Schadow, sketch for a section of the title page of volume two of Raczynski's Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, pencil drawing, 1836
 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 399 were Caspar David Friedrich and Philipp Otto Runge. Other celebrated artists of the latter half of the nineteenth century were Arnold Böcklin, Adolph Menzel, and Max Liebermann. A major exhibition of nineteenth-century painting organized in Berlin in 1906, the so-called German centennial exhibition (*Die deutsche Jahrhundertausstellung*), was a testament to the new canon of nineteenth-century art: only seven paintings by Cornelius, twelve paintings by Overbeck, and one painting by Schadow were displayed. In turn, twelve paintings by Runge, thirty-eight paintings by Friedrich, and forty-six paintings by the symbolist Arnold Böcklin were shown.⁴⁰

To a large extent, we continue to be influenced by the canon of nineteenthcentury art established around 1900.⁴¹ We need to bear this in mind if we are to evaluate Raczyński's endeavours as an art theoretician, art collector, and writer in their proper context. The last of these activities, Raczyński's writings on art, will be analyzed in the following section.

3 Writings on Art

The English essayist, translator, critic, and art historian Elizabeth Rigby wrote in July 1845 in a letter to a friend in connection with her intended trip to Germany: 'Also will you tell Mr. Grüner that I am exceedingly interested in Count Racynsky's German Art & that it has greatly increased my desire to become acquainted both with the art & artists of the Düsseldorf school.'⁴² Rigby's reaction seemed to best express the idea behind the publication of Raczyński's *History of Modern German Art*. The monumental, exclusive, and

⁴⁰ Ausstellung deutscher Kunst aus der Zeit von 1775–1875 in der Königlichen Nationalgallerie Berlin 1906, herausgegeben vom Vorstand der deutschen Jahrhundertausstellung, vol. 1–2 (München: Bruckmann, 1906). For more on the exhibition, see in particular: Sabine Beneke, Im Blick der Moderne. Die "Jahrhundertausstellung deutscher Kunst (1775–1875)" in der Berliner Nationalgalerie 1906 (Berlin: Bostelmann und Siebenhaar, 1999); also: Christian Scholl, Revisionen der Romantik, 604–619.

An attempt at a (subsequent) revision has been made by German and European art history since the 1970s, with an intensification of research on artistic phenomena marginalized by modern currents in art, including historical painting and the art of the Nazarenes. A recent spectacular but also critical attempt to present a synthetic picture of nineteenth-century German art was a major exhibition held in 2013 at the Louvre in Paris, titled *De l'Allemagne. De Friedrich à Beckmann.* It included one painting from Raczyński's collection, Friedrich Overbeck's *The Marriage of the Virgin.* See: Sébastien Allard and Danièle Cohn, eds., *De l'Allemagne. De Friedrich á Beckmann*, exh. cat. (Paris: Hazan, 2013).

⁴² Letter from Elizabeth Rigby to John Murray (111) dated 19 July 1845; cited in: Elizabeth Eastlake, *The Letters of Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake*, edited by Julie Sheldon (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 97.

laudatory monograph was meant to arouse curiosity about German art and promote it in Europe and worldwide. 'When I published this work,' Raczyński declared, 'I had no other purpose than to draw the attention of other nations to German artists.'⁴³

However, Elizabeth Rigby's interest in German art did not bring the results that Raczyński had envisioned. Rigby's trip to Germany, mentioned in the above-quoted letter, was a part of her research for an article. The essay entitled 'Modern German Painting,' published anonymously in the London *Quarterly Review* in 1846, may be read as an extensive, brilliant, and categorical polemic against *The History of Modern German Art.*⁴⁴ While Raczyński saw in contemporary German painting the ultimate embodiment of an artistic ideal, Rigby saw in it, above all, a lack of originality, imitation, artificiality, excessive passion for detail, and pointless virtuosity. Rigby mainly criticized Düsseldorf painters but also their apologists, especially – and she often referred to him directly – Raczyński, whom she treated kindly but not without ironic indulgence. Athanasius, who read the French translation of the essay in *Revue Britannique*, wrote bitterly in his journal: 'I am considered a fool and she ridicules my work.'⁴⁵ Ultimately, as we will see, in her polemics, Rigby repeatedly touched a raw nerve with Raczyński.

Elizabeth Rigby's critical response should not be treated as symptomatic or typical, but it does speak volumes about *The History of Modern German Art* and its reception, which oscillated between curiosity and consternation. Raczyński's work aroused considerable interest in Europe, as evidenced by the reviews published in most German art magazines and literary supplements

⁴³ Athanasius Raczyński, *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst*, vol. 1, 41. In fact, it is very difficult to answer the question to what extent Raczyński managed to achieve this goal. The book met with critical interest, but the actual scope of its impact was probably quite limited. The features that made it exceptional, such as the incredible exclusivity of the edition, were at the same time obstacles to its popularisation. As we know from Raczyński himself, the book sold poorly – it was simply too expensive. The first volume was a luxury edition, printed on so-called Chinese paper and supplemented with large-format engravings, cost the considerable sum of 100 francs in Paris. One could say this about the book: many knew about Raczyński's work, but few had ever obtained a copy of it and had the chance to read it thoroughly. The problems Raczyński experienced in trying to sell the book are illustrated well by his correspondence with the Leipzig bookseller Rudolf Weigel from 1840–1841; BR, Poznań, 2729/II, pp. 22–40.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Rigby, "Modern German Painting," The Quarterly Review LXXVII (1846): 323–348. (French Edition: "La peinture en Allemagne," Revue Britannique. Choix d'articles extraits des meilleurs écrits périodiques de la Grande-Bretagne, Sixième serie, Tome troisième (Mai 1846): 38–79).

⁴⁵ DIARY, 3 January 1847.

to the most important German newspapers,⁴⁶ as well as by the reviews that appeared in French, English, and even American and Polish periodicals.⁴⁷ The general public was interested in the book for two main reasons. First of all, it was a beautiful and lavishly edited work. Secondly, it was published at the best possible moment, when the growing reputation of German art in Europe was arousing people's hunger for expert knowledge, and there were no other publications devoted to it on the market at the time. At the same time, as can be seen in Rigby's essay and some reviews of *The History of Modern German Art*, many readers and critics were somewhat confused. By both its surprising form and its poetics, the book defied all contemporary labels associated with art criticism and art history. Before I explain the reasons for this state of affairs, I will describe the monograph in more detail.⁴⁸

The History of Modern German Art was the first comprehensive attempt to systematically present German art in the first decades of the nineteenth century.⁴⁹ It was published in three volumes, between 1836 and 1841, simultaneously

48 For more on this subject, see in particular: Uta Kaiser, Sammler, Kenner, Kunstschriftsteller, 123–259.

⁴⁶ See e.g.: Zeitung für die elegante Welt, no. 141, den 22 Julius 1837, 364; Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände, no. 187, Montag, den 7. August 1837; Kunst-Blatt, no. 36, Donnerstag, den 2. Mai 1839, 144, and no. 37, Dienstag, den 7. Mai 1837, 145–148; Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 196. Stück, den 9. December 1837, 1958–1960; Ost und West. Blätter für Kunst, Literatur und geselliges Leben, no. 22, Samstag, den 14. März 1840, 103; Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung, no. 50, Sonnabend, 19. Februar 1842, 197–199 and no. 51, Sonntag, 20 Februar 1842, 201–202.

⁴⁷ See e.g.: Journal des artistes. Revue pittoresque consacré aux artistes et aux gens du monde, XI^e Année, vol. 1, no. 1, 1^{er} Janvier 1837, 16; Bulletin Littéraire et scientifique, 5^e Année, no. 2, Février 1837, 64; Journal de débats politiques et littéraires, mardi, 19 decembre 1837, 3; Revue Britannique. Choix d'articles extraits des meilleurs écrits périodiques de la Grande-Bretagne, Sixième serie, Tome troisième, Mai 1846, 38–79; The Athenaeum. Journal of English and Foreign Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts, no. 464, September 17, 1836, 675–676; Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. 18, October 1836 and January 1837, 109–118, and vol. 25, April and July 1840, 406–419; The Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences etc., Saturday, July 1, 1837, 419; London Quarterly Review, vol. 61, January to June, 1838, 85–86; L'Artiste. Journal de littérature et des beaux arts, 2nd series, vol. 6, 1840, 317–319; The Monthly Review, September to December inclusive, 1844, vol. 3, 74–90; North American Review, vol. 55, 1842, 426–462; The New York Review, vol. 10, no. 20, April 1842, 448–474; Rozmaitości, no. 47, 25 November 1837, 375.

⁴⁹ On the subject of *Geschichte* see above all: Helmut Börsch-Supan, "Die 'Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst' von Athanasius Graf Raczyński." Also: Markus Bertsch, "Zur Historisierung und Musealisierung der Gegenwart," 224–230; Uta Kaiser, "Die 'Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst' des Athanasius Graf Raczyński (1788–1874)." A few years before the publication of Raczyński's work (in 1833), the Paris-based magazine *L'Europe littéraire* published an essay by the poet and art critic Karl Immermann from Düsseldorf titled 'De la painture en Allemagne au XIX^e siècle,' which was also an attempt to present

in Paris in French and in Berlin in a German translation by Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen. The three large-format volumes contained almost 1800 pages in total. They were accompanied by a portfolio with an additional 38 engravings and an index of names published in a separate volume. The volumes were edited with great care. The intricate title pages, both in terms of design and iconography, were designed by outstanding German artists (Adolph Schroedter, Wilhelm Kaulbach, and Adolf Menzel, respectively)⁵⁰ (Fig. 100, 101 and 102). The pages were elegant and easy to read: the font was large, the margins wide, and the text field was enclosed in a double frame (Fig. 103). Apart from the title pages and decorative vignettes, the volumes contained more than two hundred illustrations executed using different graphic techniques. Almost forty illustrations were full-page images. In the opinion of many contemporary readers, they were 'more perfect than anything that has been published thus far.⁵¹

The title of the book refers to contemporary German art, but it is devoted primarily to painting. Raczyński presents different schools of painting, arranged topographically, then subdivided into thematic and biographical themes.⁵² The

as complete a panorama of contemporary German painting as possible. Its reception, however, was quite limited and it did not play a major role in the discussion on new German art, in which Raczyński's book was a very important voice (Karl Immermann, "De la painture en Allemagne au XIX siècle," *Immermann-Jahrbuch. Beiträge zur Literaturund Kulturgeschichte zwischen 1815 und 1840* 3 (2002): 9–33. For more on Immermann's article see: Henrik Karge, "Karl Immermanns Zeitgeschichte der deutschen Malerei," *Immermann-Jahrbuch. Beiträge zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte zwischen 1815 und 1840* 3 (2002): 34–50).

⁵⁰ The title pages of Raczyński's work have been thoroughly analysed. On this subject see: Werner Busch, *Die notwendige Arabeske. Wirklichkeitsaneignung und Stilisierung in der deutschen Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1985), 75–89; Stefan Trinks, "Die Geschichtskonstruktionen in den Illustrationen zu Athanasius von Raczyńskis ,Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst;' Menzel als Kritiker und Historiker der Kunst," in Robert Born, Adam S. Labuda, and Beate Störtkuhl, *Visuelle Erinnerungskulturen und Geschichtskonstruktionen in Deutschland und Polen 1800 bis 1939: Beiträge der 11. Tagung der Arbeitskrieses deutscher und polnischer Kunsthistoriker und Denkmalpfleger in Berlin, 30. September–1. Oktober 2004* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2006), 161–182; Werner Busch and Petra Maisak, eds., *Verwandlung der Welt. Die romantische Arabeske*, exh. cat. (Petersberg: Imhof, 2013), 325–327.

⁵¹ Bulletin Littéraire et scientifique, 5e Année, No. 2, Février 1837, p. 64.

⁵² The main inspiration for Raczyński in arranging the material and composing the book was undoubtedly Luigi Lanzi's well known and widely recited topographic and biographical history of Italian painting titled *Storia pittorica della Italia*, first published in 1792, later issued in three volumes in 1795/1796, and subsequently reissued and expanded several times. It was translated into German by Adolf Wagner; subsequent volumes were published in Leipzig from 1830 under the title *Geschichte der Malerei in Italien vom Wiederaufleben der Kunst bis Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*. For more on Lanzi's publications see: Gabriele Bickendorf, "Luigi Lanzis "Storia pittorica della Italia"

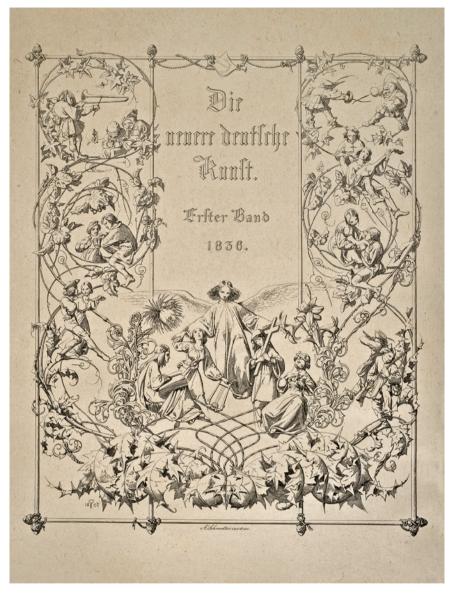


FIGURE 100 Adolph Schroedter, title page of volume one of Athanasius Raczyński's Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, 1836



FIGURE 101 Wilhelm Kaulbach, title page of volume two of Athanasius Raczyński's *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst*, 1838



FIGURE 102Adolph Menzel, title page of volume three of Athanasius Raczyński's
Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, 1840

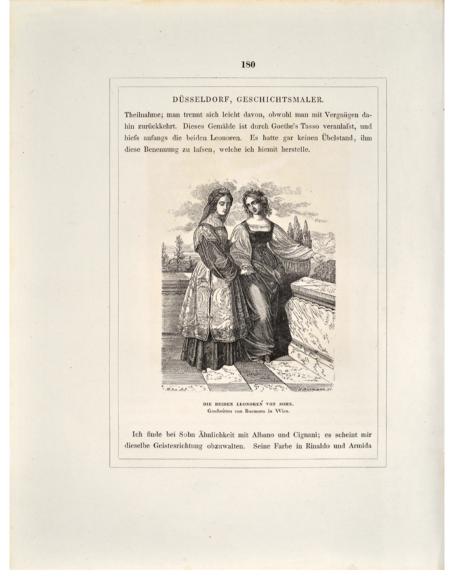


FIGURE 103 Page from volume one of Raczyński's *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst* showing a reproduction of Karl Ferdinand Sohn's painting *Two Leonores*

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first volume thus focuses on the Düsseldorf school, the second on the Munich school, and the third on the Berlin school. Each volume also contains information about artistic centres in other German cities, reports on the state of art in selected European countries (as points of comparison), and finally, adds other reflections of a historical or theoretical nature. For example, the first volume opens with Raczyński's methodological creed, which I have already analyzed. This is followed by a synthesized presentation of the advancement of German art from the late eighteenth century to the present day; a history of changes in artistic tastes over the past three decades; a presentation of various trends and artistic personalities in the Düsseldorf school; information about the artistic circles in Cologne, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, and Mannheim; two supplements devoted to the education of painters; and finally, included as an annex, a description of Raczyński's study trip to Paris in 1836. The second volume contains, among other things, a eulogy of one of the greatest patrons of the German arts, Ludwig I of Bavaria; extensive excerpts from old German literature; and an account of a trip to Italy. In the third volume, Raczyński discusses such topics as the influence of literature on German art, the role of artistic societies, and the arrangement of paintings in the Royal Museum in Berlin.

Not all the texts were written by Raczyński. Certain essays were the work of other authors, some of whom remained anonymous. The authors who were named in the book were renowned German art scholars and artists: Franz Kugler, Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, Ernst Förster, Otto Friedrich Gruppe, and Wilhelm Schadow. Despite the fact that Raczyński did not write all of the texts, he must have exerted a great deal of energy to amass such an extensive body of information (taken from the existing literature on the subject, from art experts, and in many cases, from painters themselves) and coordinate the various activities associated with the publication. This included commissioning a number of German artists to draw reproductions of paintings. Most of the illustrations were later engraved in London and printed in Paris and Berlin. At each stage, Raczyński faced difficulties, delays, and controversies.⁵³ Working on the

und das Entstehen der historisch-kritischen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung," Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte II (1986): 231–272.

A good picture of the obstacles and complications involved in making the illustrations for the book is provided by Raczyński's extensive correspondence with the Düsseldorf painter Ferdinand Theodor Hildebrandt. For example, in his letter of 25 December 1835, Raczyński wrote: 'Most artists would like me to yield to each of their opinions in terms of time, form, view, and, essentially everything I do, and since I am dealing with hundreds [of artists], difficulties arise from this, which I am not always able to overcome. If it weren't for Mr and Mrs Stilke in Dusseldorf and Kaulbach and Thäter in Munich, I would have to give up everything. And still in my present state, I am not very happy with the result

book demanded time and resources, if only to make the necessary research trips to Germany and elsewhere in Europe. Raczyński proved to be a man full of passion and enthusiasm. Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz thus commented on Raczyński's research trip to Paris in April 1836: 'Athanasius Raczyński [...] came to Paris like hell and high lightning, he visited a museum, bought two paintings and was gone.'⁵⁴ Although Niemcewicz was being ironic and did not like the Count, he nevertheless managed to capture Raczyński's energy.

The results of Raczyński's efforts were as spectacular as they were surprising. The shape of the work was determined to a large extent by the promotional aims of the book, as well as the methodological dilemmas associated with characterizing and analysing the contemporary art scene. One of the unique features of *The History of Modern German Art* is its predominantly laudatory tone. In the opinion of some contemporary and later readers, this was not only problematic but also unacceptable, as it demonstrated that Raczyński had no critical distance to the subject of his study and, by extension, did not possess the academic competence required to undertake such an endeavour.

I will illustrate this problem with one particularly instructive example, namely Raczyński's description of the Düsseldorf school and the reactions of critics to this description. In his narrative, written in an enthusiastic tone, Raczyński praises the Düsseldorf school and its mentor Wilhelm Schadow.55 Raczyński describes Schadow as not only an outstanding artist but, above all, as a strong personality and a great and charismatic moral authority. He also claims the strong bond between the teacher and his students, as well as between the students themselves, is the distinguishing feature and most significant merit of the Düsseldorf school. 'The master truly loves his students. He acknowledges their merits without feeling jealous. He praises them willingly and joyfully expresses the admiration that their works sometimes arouse in him. [...] What the students feel for the teacher is reflected in the feelings the teacher has for his students.' According to Raczyński, this relationship is grounded in the gratitude the students felt for Schadow and their unwavering trust in his authority and guidance. However, it is the relationships between the students, which are 'brought to life by the master's tender and noble heart,'

because I have had to give up many things that would have made the work fuller and more interesting.' See: LV, vol. 19: *Ferdinand Theodor Hildebrandt*, MNP, MNPA 1414/19, p. 9.

⁵⁴ Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Dzienniki 1835–1836*, do druku przygotowała i przypisami opatrzyła Izabella Rusinowa (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2005), 281.

⁵⁵ Athanasius Raczyński, *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst*, vol. 1, 119–151. This section is dominated by an apologetic text written by Otto Friedrich, titled *Ausstellung der Königlichen Akademie der Künste. Schadowsche Schule. 18*38.

that are said to be the greatest merit of the Düsseldorf school. 'This school is different from other schools because jealousy has been banished from it, and the vast majority [of students] have never known pride.' Further on, Raczyński paints a truly idyllic picture of their academic practices: 'All artists readily help one another and give advice. Whoever asks for advice receives an immediate, honest, willing, and understanding response. All these young people trust one another completely. Schadow promptly gives cordial and kind advice to anyone who asks for it and accepts advice from everyone whom he deems worthy of giving it.' The young artists work together, and after work, they find pleasure and respite in their own circle, which includes their wives and families: 'Friendly conversations, disputes, and discussions devoid of hatred and bitterness, walks in shady avenues or strolls among [their] vegetable patches, a pipe, a mug of beer, sour milk, bread and butter, bowling and races suffice to satisfy their simple tastes.' They do not follow trends and do not desire luxuries. They live and work modestly, choosing art over material goods. Their talents and predilections may have differed, but they share a common artistic ideal. Hence, Raczyński writes, 'when we see this academy as a whole, it immediately becomes clear that it constitutes a true school of painting more than any other artistic community.'

The sentimental image of the academy that Raczyński paints is, yes, charming but not entirely true. When it was formed, the Düsseldorf school was already torn by tensions, conflicts, and misunderstandings. As a result, in 1835, a group of artists led by Andreas Achenbach left the academy. Others soon followed, including Alfred Rethel, Phillipp Veit, Eduard Friedrich Bendemann, Johann Wilhelm Preyer, and Johann Peter Hasenclever. The Düsseldorf school consequently changed its artistic profile. Instead of sentimental and naturalistic historical and religious compositions, it became known for genre scenes and landscapes.⁵⁶ Raczyński certainly knew about the controversy around the academy and the disputes that were tearing it apart, but he did not mention these tensions because he wished to present a specific vision of this artistic centre. He wanted to describe the creative spirit of comradeship and harmony, which he believed to be the driving force behind contemporary German painting. But he had other goals as well. By presenting the Düsseldorf school as a utopian artistic community, united around a master and unified by the professed ideals of brotherhood, selflessness, and mutual support, Raczyński clearly placed them in opposition to another artistic model that was popular in the first half of the nineteenth century, namely one of the outsider artist who lives outside the community, or even in defiance of the community, ignoring

⁵⁶ Ekkehard Mai, Die deutschen Kunstakademien im 19. Jahrhundert, 129.

conventions and social norms. I agree with Elke von Radziewsky when she writes that Raczyński's utopian vision of the Düsseldorf academy was to serve as an example for both artistic communities and social life in general: people should all lead a harmonious life under the guidance and authority of a sovereign master.⁵⁷

Readers immediately recognized and sometimes criticized Raczyński's ethical and idealistic intentions. As early as in 1839, the poet and art critic Friedrich von Uechtritz somewhat ironically compared Raczyński to a new Tacitus, who, by referring to the utopian vision of the Düsseldorf school, wanted to challenge the corrupt world with 'the image of virtuous German barbarism.'⁵⁸ Elizabeth Rigby was much more ruthless in her response to Raczyński's idyllic vision. The English author criticized Athanasius' argument in a humorous and mocking tone. Even more important, however, was the fact that she questioned the fundamental premises on which Athanasius' book rested. She accepted Raczyński's arguments only to draw conclusions which opposed those he had formulated:

Count Raczynski dwells with peculiar satisfaction upon the edifying spectacle of so many artists living together in peace and unity. In Dusseldorf, according to him, there is no envy, malice, or uncharitableness. From Schadow downwards to the lowest "second-class" the artists present one unbroken line of Christian excellence. Two painters share one atelier. Four or five work together on one picture (we should have thought at least five hundred). Their manners are patriarchal - their pleasures simple. After the labour of the day is over, a walk, a pipe, a glass of beer, is all their recreation. They sit conversing together 'sans aigreur et sans envie' [without bitterness or envy], their wives knitting by their sides [...] Even [...] if they had no other motives for becoming first-rate geniuses, the love with which Schadow has inspired them would be enough. 'On peut être sur que, ne fut-ce que par affection pour leur maitre, tous feraient toujours de leur mieux' [We can be sure that, if only out of affection for their master, everyone would always do their best]. How very amiable of them! And how very virtuous, too, of M. Raczyński! Upon us, we are ashamed to say, all this wonderful unanimity makes a less satisfactory impression. [...] Even the sweet little picture of domestic happiness fails to touch us as it

⁵⁷ Elke von Radziewsky, *Kunstkritik im Vormärz. Dargestellt am Beispiel der Düsseldorfer Malerschule* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1983), 46–47.

⁵⁸ Friedrich von Uechtritz, *Blicke in das Düsseldorfer Kunst- und Künstlerleben*, vol. 1 (Düsseldorf: I.H.C. Schreiner, 1839), 52.

ought [...] There is no exaggeration in all that M. Raczyński has said – four or five artists do work together on one picture like brethren, and nestle two together in one atelier like doves, and praise and admire indiscriminately all each other's performances like so many Magazine poetasters. They would do anything also to oblige their director, and prepare him all sorts of little surprises for his *jour de fête*, or his Christmas tree. It is true, too, that they make most excellent husbands, and that their wives knit them the best possible stockings in return; but if the Dusseldorf style of picture be the especial result of all these Christian virtues operating in conjunction with the arts, we must say, give us a little vice! M. Raczyński calls this a '*vie d'artistic*.' We see nothing in it that does not apply equally to a '*vie d'artisan*' – honest, well-conducted artisans, who have each their set work, do not interfere with one another, and are sure of a good market – and that market the Art-Union. For it is on this line of patronage that Dusseldorf principally depends for existence.⁵⁹

Rigby believed that the unity, unanimity, and perfect harmony among the painters of the Düsseldorf school that Raczyński praises so much was, in fact, problematic because great art is created amidst a spiritual frenzy, competition, and tension. In her opinion, Schadow's strong will and the blind devotion of his students were not a source of inspiration but an instrument of enslavement and one of the main causes of the artistic mediocrity of the Düsseldorf school of painting. The perfect unity of artists did not stimulate but rather shackled the creative spirit.

Raczyński would have rejected such an interpretation, but he must have taken Rigby's accusation of excessive idealism into consideration, especially since similar complaints were made by other readers, even those who were more sympathetic to his vision. One of the few Raczyński's own comments on *The History of Modern German Art* had to do with this aspect of his writing. It was merely a coincidence that Raczyński formulated it in a letter to the painter, theoretician, and art historian, the leading figure in the artistic life of Victorian London, Charles Eastlake, who was a friend and later husband of Elizabeth Rigby.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Elizabeth Rigby, "Modern German Painting," 343–344.

⁶⁰ It is not known under what circumstances Raczyński made contact with Eastlake, who was five years younger in age. It is possible that he first came into contact with Eastlake in the 1820s, during one of his stays in Rome, where the English painter lived with short breaks for several years since 1816. This is all the more likely because, thanks to his friendship with Karl Bunsen, secretary and later head of the Prussian delegation to the apostolic capital, Eastlake had close ties to German culture and art. He also studied German,

Not many letters exchanged between Athanasius and Eastlake have survived. Those remaining are mostly from the years 1838–1841 and concern *The History of Modern German Art*.⁶¹ In one letter, Raczyński asks Eastlake for expert advice on an article devoted to art in England. This initial request gave rise to a much broader general reflection on the book. The most interesting in this context is found in Raczyński's letter of 19 August 1838, which constitutes only a small fragment of a more extensive discussion between the two gentlemen. Like many readers, Eastlake must have been struck by the peculiar and exalted tone of Raczyński's book. When Eastlake asked Raczyński about it (the original letter from Eastlake had not survived), the Count replied as follows:

What you write about my enthusiasm is certainly true. I have always praised what I felt, and nobody knows whether I feel too much or too little – I know it the least. Is it possible to formulate positive judgments about works of art that would be true for all people and all times? How often have I changed my mind about the things I thought I liked! Judgments and reasoning are clothing in my book; facts, names, dates constitute the body. Do not trust my eulogies! Let everyone come, see, and judge for themselves! [...] The index of names and illustrations will be the best part of my book.

Considering Raczyński's other statements, it is somewhat surprising that he half opens the door here to aesthetic relativism. However, the last sentence, in which he reduces his work to an illustrated lexicon, is the most interesting. In some ways, Raczyński correctly predicted that *The History of Modern German*

maintained contacts with the colony of German artists working in Rome, made the acquaintance of numerous German art lovers and connoisseurs visiting the Eternal City, including August Kestner, John David Passavant, and probably also Karl Friedrich von Rumohr. In 1828, while travelling about Germany, he also met Gustav Waagen, with whom he later developed a close and long-standing friendship. In this way, Eastlake established relations with leading representatives of German artistic and scientific life; English critics even accused him of being overly attached to German culture. Early on he may have also counted Raczyński among his friends. If not, one of their common friends, such as Rumohr or Waagen, may have played a role as an intermediary. In any case, in the late 1830s, Raczyński and Eastlake made contact via correspondence; they met in person in London in 1842 at the latest. For more on Eastlake see: Susanna Avery-Quash and Julie Sheldon, *Art for the Nation. The Eastlakes and the Victorian Art World* (London: National Gallery, 2011).

⁶¹ NAL V&A, London, MSL/1922/416: Charles and Elizabeth Eastlake: Correspondence, 1823–1882.

Art would indeed be recognized as such over the next few decades,⁶² even though he did not always provide actual 'facts' and the illustrations were not, strictly speaking, documentary in nature. These illustrations are worth looking at more closely.⁶³

Illustrations play a very important role in Raczyński's book. They do not simply illustrate the text. Rather, they add to the narrative and, in some cases, constitute narrative structures in themselves. In regards to the latter, Raczyński often selected a particular motif from a given painting to enhance his argument and present it as an autonomous work of art. Respectively, other times he freely combined motifs taken from different paintings within a single composition. For example, the illustration on page 78 in the first volume of *The History of Modern German Art* is a combination of motifs from paintings by Jean-Germain Drouais, Jacques-Louis David, and Pierre Narcisse Guérin. This image can be read as a summary of Raczyński's critical views on French painting in the late eighteenth century⁶⁴ (Fig. 104).

All the illustrations, both faithful copies and 'creative collages,' are closely related to the text. This integration of image and text is visible at the editorial level. The illustrations are carefully placed on the page in relation to the text. They are put in precisely designated fields and appear exactly where the reader expects to find them. Today, such a layout does not seem original, but this manner of illustrating books on art was a novelty in the first half of the nine-teenth century.⁶⁵

Séroux d'Agincourt's *Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments* is often considered a landmark illustrated work in the field of art history. The illustrative material

62 An example is J. Beavington Atkinson's *The Schools of Modern Art in Germany* (London 1880), where Raczyński's book – elsewhere described by Atkinson as a 'standard work' (*The Portfolio. An Artistic Periodical*, vol. 9, 1878, p. 137) – is mentioned first among a list of reference works, and then referred to repeatedly in this role.

- 64 See on this subject: France Nerlich, "Ein kühner Blick. Athanasius Raczyński und die französische Kunst seiner Zeit," in Adam S. Labuda, Michał Mencfel, and Wojciech Suchocki, eds., Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy. Dzieła – osobowości – wybory – epoka, 263–276, esp. 265–268.
- 65 See: Georg Kauffmann, Die Entstehung der Kunstgeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1993), 37–39; Paul Raabe, "Einige Anmerkungen über Franz Kuglers Anteil an der Geschichte der Buchillustration," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 57, H. 3 (1994): 474–479; Katharina Krause, Klaus Niehr, and Eva-Maria Hanebutt-Benz, eds., Bilderlust und Lesefrüchte. Das illustrierte Kunstbuch von 1750 bis 1920, exh. cat. (Leipzig: Seemann, 2005). Improvements in the means for illustrating books was greatly facilitated by the development of graphic techniques developed or advanced in the late eighteenth century, including lithography, invented by Alois Senefelder, and woodcut, improved by Thomas Bewick.

⁶³ See on this subject: Uta Kaiser, *Sammler, Kenner, Kunstschriftsteller*, 180–217.

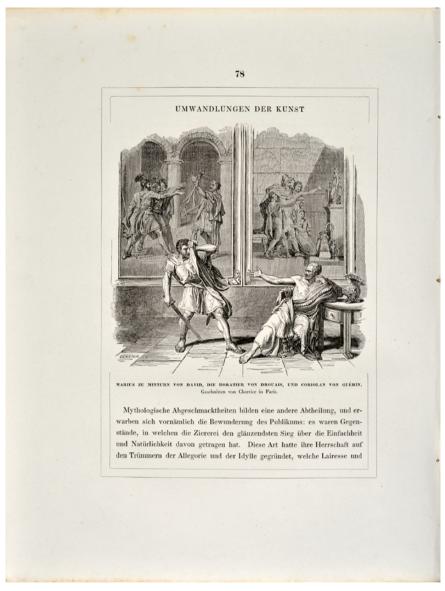


FIGURE 104 A combination of motives from paintings: J.L. David's *Oath of the Horatii*, J.-G. Drouais' *Marius at Minturnae* and P.N. Guérin's *Coriolan* – drawing in volume one of *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst*

was indeed used innovatively and intentionally in the book, but the illustrations were not integrated with the text.⁶⁶ Heinrich Dilly, drawing on Paul Raabe, a great expert in the history of the book, claimed that Franz Kugler in his *Small Writings and Studies (Kleine Schriften und Studien)* and especially in the third edition of *The Handbook of the History of Art (Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte)* and *The History of Architecture (Geschichte der Baukunst)* was the first author in Germany to use illustrations in academic texts on art in a modern manner, with the pictures corresponding to the text.⁶⁷ However, these books were published in 1853, 1857, and 1858 respectively – several years after the publication of Raczyński's work. Sadly, both Paul Raabe and Heinrich Dilly ignored Raczyński's book.⁶⁸

Why was it ignored? Perhaps because *The History of Modern German Art* was not an academic text *per se*. As has already been mentioned, Raczyński's classifications posed (and still pose) serious difficulties. A reviewer for the Parisian *Journal des Débats* perhaps most aptly described Raczyński as an amateur with a superior understanding of art of which he has constituted himself the historian and his patience and enlightened taste justify this title (*Cet amateur entend supérieurement l'art don't il se fait l'historien et il en est l'historien par tous les titres que donnent la patience et le gout éclairé des beaux-arts*).⁶⁹ Undoubtedly, in comparison with the most renowned of Berlin's art historians from the first half of the nineteenth century, Raczyński was an ambitious dilettante. However, compared to the writings of other aristocratic amateur art scholars, his book must have seemed ambitious and exceptional.

⁶⁶ On the illustrations to *Histoire de l'Art* see: Daniela Mondini, *Mittelalter im Bild. Séroux d'Agincourt und die Kunsthistoriographie um* 1800 (Zürich: Zurich InterPublishing, 2005), 233–298. Also: Susanne Müller-Bechtel, *Die Zeichnung als Forschungsinstrument. Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle* (1819–1897) und seine Zeichnungen zur Wandmalerei in Italien von 1550 (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 203–206.

⁶⁷ Heinrich Dilly, "Kunsthistorische Studien, "weniger mit der Schreibfeder als mit dem Zeichenstifte gemacht. Franz Kuglers Zeichenkunst," in Michel Espagne, Bénédicte Savoy, and Céline Trautmann-Waller, eds., *Franz Theodor Kugler. Deutscher Kunsthistoriker und Berliner Dichter* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010), 45–68. esp. 56–59. See also Paul Raabe, "Einige Anmerkungen über Franz Kuglers Anteil an der Geschichte der Buchillustration," 474–479.

⁶⁸ Raczyński's book was also missing from the extensive catalogue accompanying an exhibition of illustrated books on art written between 1750 and 1920, organised in 2005 at the Gutenberg-Museum in Mainz (Katharina Krause, Klaus Niehr, and Eva-Maria Hanebutt-Benz, eds., *Bilderlust und Lesefrüchte*).

⁶⁹ Journal des débats politiques et littéraires, mardi, 19 decembre 1837, 3.

Indeed, Raczyński soon formulated a (somewhat peculiar) response to professional, academic histories of art – in particular, the type represented by the Berlin school – in the form of a book entitled *The Arts in Portugal*.⁷⁰

Published in 1846, *Les arts en Portugal (The Arts in Portugal*) is a singular book – quite archaic or modern, depending on one's interpretation. Viewed as an edited collection of letters, excerpts, comments, and footnotes, it continues the tradition of early modern collections of letters published by scientific societies. However, in the mid-nineteenth century, it seemed eccentric and old-fashioned. Interpreted, however, as a loose and dynamic narrative that shows not so much 'the truth' about Portuguese art, as 'the path to reaching the truth,' it contains some features of, or at least it anticipates, the modernist narration.

The book consists of 29 letters, originally written to members of the Berlin Scientific Society of the Arts (Wissenschaftlicher Kunstverein) that seem to have been edited only slightly,⁷¹ and 49 sometimes very extensive annexes. The whole, composed of texts written by Raczyński, texts written by foreign authors, and excerpts from different sources with original comments, reads like a 'mosaic.' The narrative is dynamic, fragmented, and non-linear; there are many interruptions, relapses, repetitions, and contradictions. Raczyński comments on his own texts and argues with himself. Fabien Pillet, a literary columnist for the Parisian Le Moniteur universel, writes about the 'irregular plan' behind Raczyński's work. This 'irregularity,' perhaps caused by haste, made the book very difficult to analyze: 'This epistolary march, constantly interrupted by documents, lists, and sources, is unfortunately marked by certain flaws, for example, when the author repeatedly refers to imprecise facts in order to disprove or verify them. [...] The composition is fragmented; one would wish for a less interrupted narrative.'72 At the same time, Pillet does not question the informational value of the book or the competence of the author, who he describes as a 'true expert.' In turn, Carl Justi, a renowned scholar of Spanish art who became interested in Portuguese painting forty years after Raczyński

Athanasius Raczyński, Les arts en Portugal. Lettres adressées à la Société artistique et scientifique de Berlin, et accompagnées de documens (Paris: J. Renouard, 1846). For more on Les arts ... see: Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, "Athanase Raczynski au Portugal," 31–53; Ewa Łukaszyk, "Atanazy Raczyński, historiógrafo de arte portuguesa," Estudios Hispánicos XI: España en Europa. Historia, contactos, viajes (2003): 77–90.

⁷¹ The cursory nature of the editing of the letters intended for the book is indicated by their form. The actual degree of editorial work could only be properly assessed by comparing the correspondence addressed to *Wissenschaftlicher Kunstverein* with the relevant parts of the book. This is, however, proved impossible, as Raczyński's original letters could not be found.

⁷² I am quoting here from a copy in Raczyński's DIARY (entry dated 2 May 1846).

and relied on the Count's book during his studies, thus reviewed it: 'It is an archive, alas a disordered one. Notes, excerpts, journal pages, annotations, one after another. It seems as if there was no organizing principle and the author's views were in a state of continuous evolution. It is thus a collection of materials put together for use in the author's later studies. Though it is not without charm, vitality, directness, and a certain inconclusiveness that encourages one to study the matter at hand further.'⁷³ The contemporary reader, probably even more than the nineteenth-century reader, will find the book challenging to read. It is tedious and often irritating and requires effort and determination to complete.

The principle governing the organization of the book, as Justi rightly recognized, is simple. It essentially follows a chronological principle, but one that has nothing to do with the chronology of Portuguese art. It instead reflects the timeline of Raczyński's research on Portuguese art. Raczyński presents Portuguese art in the same order in which he learned about it. The Count explains several times in the book why he decided to adopt such an epistolary form: its greatest advantage is providing the author with more freedom, as if 'more room for manoeuvre,' in storytelling.⁷⁴

Why did the book have such a structure? Why did Raczyński, a 'true expert,' not make his work more accessible to the reader? Why did he not organize the information better? Why did he not structure his argument? Why did he not make the narrative more coherent? If we take into account Raczyński's character and the character of his other works, any accusation of incompetence, carelessness, or haste should be rejected outright. What then was the idea behind the unique structure of *Les arts en Portugal*?

Raczyński himself provides the first possible answer. He always envisioned his history of Portuguese art as a trilogy. *Les arts en Portugal* was the first volume. The second volume, a methodically compiled dictionary of Portuguese artists, was published in Paris in 1847 under the title *Dictionnaire historico-artistique du Portugal*.⁷⁵ The third volume, in a sense the key book in the series, summarising and completing the series as a whole, was intended as a systematic illustrated history of Portuguese art. It was never published, however.⁷⁶ Seen in relation to the others, each of these volumes would have

⁷³ Carl Justi, "Die portugiesische Malerei des XVI Jahrhunderts," Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen 9, H. 3 and 4 (1888): 137–159 and 227–238, quotation 141.

⁷⁴ Athanasius Raczyński, Les arts en Portugal, 119.

⁷⁵ Athanasius Raczyński, *Dictionnaire historico-artistique du Portugal pour faire suite à l'ouvrage ayant pour titre: Les arts en Portugal* (Paris: J. Renouard, 1847).

⁷⁶ When Raczyński was questioned near the end of his life by Portuguese art enthusiast and author Joachim de Vasconcelos about this third volume, he was reported to have said that

played a different role. The first volume would present the source material and document the history of Raczyński's studies in Portuguese art; it would mark the subsequent stages on his path to understanding it and, at the same time, introduce Raczyński's research method. The second volume would organize the factual material according to a simple biographical scheme. And the third volume would offer a coherent history of art in Portugal.⁷⁷ Together, they would provide the reader with, as Raczyński himself observed, 'an almost complete picture of Portuguese arts of all times.'⁷⁸

This explanation, however, is incomplete and needs to be expanded. The overall editorial and publication history of the book appears to be a crucial factor here. Indeed, if we compared it to *The History of Modern German Art*, we could say that *The History of Modern German Art* was intended for the **general public** and written by **an enthusiast** of contemporary art. *Les arts en Portugal*, by contrast, was addressed to a small group of **art experts** associated with progressive connoisseur and intellectual circles in Berlin and was written by a **scholar** of historical art.

Raczyński was first inspired to study Portuguese art, and probably also to write a book about it, in 1842 by a group of art experts associated with the Berlin Scientific Society of the Arts (*Wissenschaftlicher Kunstverein*).

In terms of its goals and operating principles, *Wissenschaftlicher Kunst*verein stood out among other German artistic societies. Established on

it would never be written. The Count was weary and discouraged by the poor reception of the first two parts of the trilogy and by criticism and even threats that continued to reach him from Portugal long after *Les arts en Portugal* had been published. It is very difficult to assess the credibility of this peculiar account; in any case, nowhere else is any mention made of Raczyński being the target of resentments and threats provoked by the publication of his history of Portuguese art; Joaquim de Vasconcellos, *Conde de Raczynski* (*Athanasius*), 19–20.

In a letter to Friedrich Savigny dated 12 August 1845. Raczyński explained: 'The first part of my work on Portuguese art is ready and will be printed in Paris in June. This part consists exclusively of letters and explanatory notes. The second part will be a dictionary, similar to Bermudez's book, and the third part will be a historical presentation of art in Portugal with lithographic illustrations.' (GStA, Berlin, VI. HA NI K.F. v. Savigny, no. 208). Raczyński wrote in a similar tone at the end of *Les arts en Portugal*: 'Not everything has been clarified yet, but I believe that I have gathered materials on the basis of which I will be able in the *résumé* [in the third volume] to overcome the chaos, tone down to a realistic level the exaggerated and delusive assessments that have entered public opinion, establish the facts, pay homage to truth, show the importance of Portuguese art under Manuel I and John III, and present a general picture of the arts in this country.' Athanasius Raczyński, *Les arts en Portugal*, 450, also: 76–77.

⁷⁸ Letter to an unknown addressee dated 30 March 1844; LV, vol. 47c, MNPA-1414-47c, pp. 2146-2049.

15 October 1827, it was an elite society whose members were artists and art experts, those - as the statute stated - who 'deal with art scientifically or practically.⁷⁹ The most prominent Berlin intellectuals and artists belonged to the society, including university professors Alois Hirt, Heinrich Gustav Hotho, Ernst Heinrich Toelken, Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, and Gustav Friedrich Waagen; the artists Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Christian Daniel Rauch, Gottfried Schadow, Franz Krüger, and Karl Wilhelm Wach; and high government officials, such as Johann Daniel Uhden and Johannes Schulze. Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt were honorary members.⁸⁰ The society periodically held lectures and discussions on art, in accordance with the fifth article in the statute: 'the society meets once a month, namely always on the first Monday of every month between 7 and 9 PM, for a working meeting during which lectures on philosophy or history of art shall be given; works of art and reviews of works of art shall be presented; writings on art shall be discussed, etc.; sketches, drawings, paintings, copperplates, lithographs, etc. by different artists shall be presented; and everything that may support art shall be discussed.' As the short but precise articles in *Kunstblatt*, the society's journal, inform us, discussions about art among experts indeed took place on the first Monday of every month. Raczyński regularly attended these meetings. In a letter to the painter Peter Cornelius from August 1842, he even allowed himself to make fun of them, writing about the 'highly renowned, nicely decorated place' where the meetings took place and the 'delicious lunches and dinners' that were served on these occasions.81

In the same letter, Raczyński first mentions his plans to study 'early and modern Portuguese art' with a view to presenting the results during the meetings of *Wissenschaftlicher Kunstverein*. After only ten or so months, Raczyński sent first reports on his artistic studies to Berlin.⁸²

^{79 &#}x27;Statuten des wissenschaftlichen Kunstvereins in Berlin,' *Berliner Kunstblatt*, Siebentes Heft, Juli 1828, 199–201.

⁸⁰ Berliner Kunstblatt, Erstes Heft, Januar 1828, 36.

⁸¹ Raczyński in a letter to Peter Cornelius dated 18 August 1842 in: LV, vol. 14: *Peter Cornelius,* MNP, MNPA 1414/14, p. 16.

⁸² It seems unlikely that all the letters received from Raczyński were subjects of discussion among *Kunstverein* members. However, it is apparent that at least some evening meetings, namely on 15 June 1843 and on 15 April 1844, were devoted to them. During the first meeting, the General Director of Berlin's museums, Ignaz von Olfers, read Raczyński's account devoted to Grão-Vasco (*Kunstblatt*, No. 59, Dienstag, den 25. Juli 1843, 248), while at the second meeting Friedrich Förster presented the plan sent by Raczyński for his book on Portuguese art and an excerpt from Francisco de Hollanda's manuscript (*Allgemeines Organ für die Interessen des Kunst- und Landkartenhandels*, No. 17, 22. April 1844, 67).

CHAPTER 10

At the time when Raczyński first became interested in Portuguese art, studies on it were not very advanced. Indeed, a large number of errors, inaccuracies, simplifications, prejudices, and fantasies surrounded the subject. Very few books on the history of Portuguese art had been written until the mid-nineteenth century.⁸³ These included James Murphy's famous drawings of architecture;⁸⁴ the lives of artists compiled by Taborda and Machado;⁸⁵ monographs devoted to historical buildings, including the monasteries in Sintra, Batalha, and Belém;⁸⁶ sketches on the history of painting by Almeida Garrett and Francisco de São Luís;⁸⁷ and surveys of the history of Portuguese art by the directors of the art academies in Porto and Lisbon, João Baptista Ribeiro and Francisco de Sousa Loureiro. Hence, to quote José-Augusto França, one of the most renowned twentieth-century Portuguese art.⁸⁸ According to França, Raczyński was indeed the father of professional art history in Portugal.⁸⁹

Raczyński was the first to employ advanced analytical methods and tools to study Portuguese art, including developed research procedures and source criticism. He also initiated, or at least stimulated, discussion on problems that remain important for Portuguese art history even today, including the paintings of the so-called primitivists and their most illustrious representative,

José-Augusto França, A arte em Portugal no século XIX. Volume I, Primer aparte (1780–1835)
 e Segunta parte (1835–1880) (Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand, 1966), 390–392; Ewa Łukaszyk, "Atanazy Raczyński, historiógrafo de arte portuguesa," 85–86.

⁸⁴ James Murphy, *Travels in Portugal through the provinces of Entre-Douro and Minho, Beira, Estremadura and Alem-Tejo, in the years 1789 and 1790, illustrated with twenty-four plates of that Kingdom* (London: A. Strahan, T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, 1795).

⁸⁵ José da Cunha Taborda. Regas da arte da pintura (Lisboa: Impr. Regia, 1815); Cirillo Volkmar Machado, Collecção de Memórias, relatias a's vidas dos pintores, e escultores, architetos, e gravadores portuguezes (Lisboa: Victorino Rodrigues da Silva, 1823).

⁸⁶ Francisco de São Luis, "Memória Histórica sobre as Obras do Real Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória, chamado vulgarmente da Batalha," *Historia e Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa* x, parte 1 (1827): 163–232; António de Castro e Sousa, Descriçao do Real Mosteiro de Belém, com a notícia da sua fundação (Lisboa: A.S. Coelho, 1837); Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, *Notícia Histórica e Descritiva do Mosteiro de Bélem* (Lisboa: Typ. da Sociedade Propagadora dos Conhecimentos Uteis, 1842).

⁸⁷ Almeida Garrett, O Retrato de Vénus: poemas (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1821); Francisco de São Luis, Lista de alguns artistas portugueses coligida de escritos e documentos no decurso das suas leituras em Ponte de Lima no ano de 1825 e em Lisboa no ano de 1839 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1839).

⁸⁸ José-Augusto França, A arte em Portugal no século XIX, 392–396.

⁸⁹ José-Augusto França, "Historia de Arte Portuguesa até ao Conde de Raczynski," in A historiografia portuguesa anterior a Herculano. Colóquio. Programa e sumário das comunicaçõeos (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1977).

Vasco Fernandes. Lastly, he strongly emphasized the artistic merit and originality of early Portuguese art while recognizing its ties with European art.

During his research on Portuguese art, Raczyński employed scientific methods similar to the ones he used on *The History of Modern German Art*. He conducted extensive searches to collect historical material and gathered a group of efficient and competent collaborators. He visited the Academy of Fine Arts in Lisbon, where, apart from works by professors and students, he also saw religious art from Portuguese monasteries that had recently been secularized (1820–1834). He also visited the palaces of aristocrats in Lisbon and Porto and saw their private collections. The Count also visited many churches during his research trips around the country.

Many eminent intellectuals assisted Raczyński in his research: the archaeologist and clergyman António de Castro e Sousa and the historiographer Alexandre Herculano; professors at the Academy of Fine Arts António Manuel da Fonseca, João José dos Santos, and Auguste Roquemont; local librarians, archivists, and scholars; foreign experts on Portuguese affairs and other researchers, including James Forrester, an English painter and art scholar who lived in Porto, Ferdinand Denis, who lived in Paris, and Konstantin Falkenstein, who lived in Dresden. They provided Raczyński with access to libraries and archives, shared their documents and knowledge with him, and prepared (in the case of foreign correspondents) excerpts from specialist foreign literature. For example, it was almost certainly de Castro who led Raczyński to visit the library of the Academy of Sciences in Lisbon and read the sixteenth-century treatise On Antique Painting by Francisco de Hollanda. Raczyński subsequently published the treatise in Les arts en Portugal and thus, albeit imperfectly, in fragments and in a poor translation by August Roquemont, introduced it into scholarly and academic discourse.⁹⁰ Viscount Vasco Pinto Balsemão, the main curator of the Public Library in Lisbon during the first years of Athanasius' stay in Portugal, and João António de Lemos Pereira de Lacerda, Viscount de Juromenha, played a special role among Raczyński's associates, conducting detailed source and bibliographic research on the Count's behalf. Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa has argued that the participation of these scholars was so extensive that Les arts en Portugal should be considered a collective work.⁹¹

⁹⁰ See: Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, "Athanase Raczynski au Portugal," 42–45. On Hollanda's treatise see Charles Hope's introductory essay in: Francisco de Hollanda, On antique painting, translated by Alice Sedgwick Wohl, introductory essays by Joaquim Oliveira Caetano and Charles Hope, notes by Hellmut Wohl (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

⁹¹ Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, "Athanase Raczynski au Portugal," 33–42.

Raczyński was able to find collaborators due to his position as a prominent member of high society in the capital city and, more importantly, a recognized collector and art expert. In a speech given in December 1843 to honour an exhibition of works by professors and students at the Lisbon Academy of Fine Arts, the director of the Academy, Francisco de Sousa Loureiro, discussed the current artistic situation in various European countries. He particularly focused on German art and based this part of his speech on Raczyński's *History of Modern German Art*. At the same time, he complimented Raczyński, who was present in the hall among other prominent people who played an active role in the city's cultural life, including King Ferdinand 11.⁹² Indeed, Raczyński's studies on Portuguese art met with widespread interest. *Periodico dos Pobres* in Porto and the popular *Diario di Governo* in Lisbon published detailed accounts of the Count's study stay in the north of the country in the autumn of 1844.⁹³

Les arts en Portugal touches upon many subjects, and I will address only one here in more detail.⁹⁴ This is a subject that had special meaning for Raczyński, one he treated as his most significant discovery and described triumphantly in letters to his brother and friends. This subject was the legendary painter of the early modern period known as the Great Vasco (Grão-Vasco, Gran Vasco). According to a tradition dating back to at least the mid-eighteenth century, he was supposedly the author of a large number of paintings – the list of works traditionally attributed to Vasco, published by Raczyński, includes over two hundred items – and the proper founder of the school of early Portuguese painting. An analysis of how Raczyński approached the 'case of Gran Vasco' demonstrates his research skills and allows us to examine once again the peculiar structure of *Les arts en Portugal*.

⁹² Raczyński included a transcription of the speech in *Les arts en Portugal*, but tactfully left out the fragments concerning him. The speech was published as an independent text in 1844: Francisco de Sousa Loureiro, *Discurso pronunciado pelo direktor da Academia das Bellas-Artes Francisco de Sousa Loureiro. Na sessão publica triennale de 29 de Dezembro de 1843* (Lisboa: Typ. Da Gazeta dos Tribunaes, 1844), 26–28.

^{93 &}quot;Visita artistica," *Periodico dos Pobres no Porto*, Numero 90, Sexta feira 26 de Julho 1844 and Segunda feira 5 de Augosto 1844; "Jornada artistica," *Diario do Governo*, Numero 215, quara feira 11 de Setembro.

⁹⁴ The spectrum of issues raised in *Les arts en Portugal* is very wide, and includes both the major themes in Portuguese art, such as early modern painting and the architecture produced during the reign of King Manuel I, but also issues that were less known, not to say niche, such as the terracotta sculpture. Raczyński also writes about the painter and art theoretician Francisco de Hollanda, the Lisbon Academy of Art and its exhibitions, the most important art collections in the country, miniature painting, the pillories standing in Portuguese cities, the famous glazed polychrome tiles called *azulejos*, etc.; finally, the last letter is devoted to Spanish art.

'It is no easy matter to wade through the voluminous and perplexing mass of memoranda relating to Gran Vasco and his reputed works, collected by Raczyński,' wrote John Charles Robinson, curator of the South Kensington Museum in London, who began his study of the works of the Portuguese painter twenty years after Athanasius and attempted to correct the findings of the Polish aristocrat.95 Robinson was right. Raczyński devoted six letters in *Les arts en Portugal* (letters seven, eight, nine, twelve, sixteen, and seventeen) and two extensive entries in *Dictionnaire historico-artistique*, a total of 101 pages to the subject of Gran Vasco. Of these, over half consist of copies of source materials, quotations, and third-party accounts only interspersed either in the main body of the text or in footnotes with Athanasius' comments. In the first two letters, Raczyński provides a systematic overview of paintings traditionally associated with Gran Vasco. He also compiles a list of sources and presents the current state of research on the Portuguese artist and his oeuvre. All the chapters in Les arts en Portugal follow a similar pattern – historical material is repeatedly compared with source materials, while formal analysis of works is conducted concurrently with a critical analysis of textual sources. Raczyński's use of such a methodology was undoubtedly inspired by the work of his German colleagues, especially professional art historians of the 'Berlin School,' such as Gustav Friedrich Waagen and Carl Friedrich von Rumohr. For these scholars, careful historical and critical reflection was crucial. Raczyński seems to have found Rumohr's Italian Studies (Italienische Forschungen), published in three volumes in 1827-1831, particularly inspiring. The respective chapters in Italian Studies are supplemented by annexes listing sources, and the entire book is structured in accordance with the notion that every statement about art should be supported by either a formal analogy or a source document.

Having conducted a preliminary, brief analysis of paintings allegedly painted by Gran Vasco, Raczyński was convinced that not all of them were painted by the same person. Comparative stylistic analysis and expertise – a comparison of the representation of robes, physiognomic types, colours, etc. – allowed Raczyński to divide the paintings into eleven groups. Each group was associated with a different painter or painters. While remaining careful in formulating any categorical conclusions ('we still have a long way to go in our research'), Raczyński stated that many native and foreign artists, and not just one extraordinarily prolific Gran Vasco, were busy at work in early sixteenth-century Portugal.

⁹⁵ J.C. Robinson, "The Early Portuguese School of Painting, with Notes on the Pictures at Viseu and Comibra Traditionally Ascribed to Grand Vasco," *Fine Arts Quarterly Review* 2 (October 1866): 375–400, esp. 15.

In subsequent parts of the book, we may find extensive excerpts from various sources and contemporary critical studies devoted to the legend of Gran Vasco. These are arranged in an order that is difficult to understand. Raczyński suggests to the impatient reader who would prefer to navigate his work with more ease that they should skip this entire passage and go straight to letter ten. Raczyński does not immediately provide a clearer and more orderly commentary because he wants, first, to show the chaos of opinions surrounding Gran Vasco and, secondly, to illustrate his research method – 'in good faith, I want you to accompany me during my research.'⁹⁶

An extensive account by Father José de Oliveira Berardo, an amateur historian from the mountain town of Viseu in northern Portugal, is particularly important among the collected source material. It was sent to Raczyński by Viscount de Juromenha97 and led Raczyński to study the paintings in the cathedral in Viseu. From that moment on, Raczyński was convinced that these works were the key to the painter's secret: 'There is nothing else for us to do but study the paintings attributed to Gran Vasco found in Viseu, and from their analysis, naturally draw valid conclusions.^{'98} Though Raczyński notes in letter eight that 'this is not yet the place to draw conclusions,' he goes on to conclude that Great Vasco was actually Vasco Fernandez do Cazal, who was born in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century in Viseu. Athanasius stands by this hypothesis until 30 May 1844, or – to follow the logic of the book – until letter twelve. In this letter, Raczyński reveals the information communicated to him by Fr. Berardo himself that the baptismal certificate of Vasco Fernandes, dated 1552, identifying him and not Fernandez do Cazal as Gran Vasco, was to be found in the archives of the church in Viseu. This was indeed a breakthrough as it meant that all the paintings created before 1570 should be attributed to other, older painters. There could thus not have been a 'school of Vasco' at that time, and it was more likely that 'a great number of meritorious artists lived in Portugal in the sixteenth century.'99 Raczyński now needed to confront the knowledge he had gained from his sources with the actual paintings and, based on this analysis, make an assessment of Vasco's 'output as a painter, his style, and his works.'100

Raczyński arrived in Viseu on 28 July 1844. He described his stay in the city in letter sixteen, which he begins by stating: 'I retract everything I have cited

⁹⁶ Athanasius Raczyński, Les arts en Portugal, 117.

⁹⁷ Athanasius Raczyński, Les arts en Portugal, 132–137.

⁹⁸ Athanasius Raczyński, Les arts en Portugal, 175.

⁹⁹ Athanasius Raczyński, Les arts en Portugal, 298.

¹⁰⁰ Athanasius Raczyński, Les arts en Portugal, 297.

above concerning Gran Vasco and anything that contradicts what you will read [below].'¹⁰¹ The remarks that followed were based on two premises: (i) Vasco Fernandes, i.e. Great Vasco, was born in 1552, and (ii) the *Crucifixion* in the cathedral of Viseu was undisputedly painted by him. Raczyński identified the artist's *oeuvre* and formulated conclusions regarding his style, artistic development, etc. on the basis of these two premises. I will not quote Raczyński's findings here. Suffice it to say that letter eighteen ends with the words: 'For me, the question of [Vasco] has been settled.'¹⁰²

In fact, it had not. Even Raczyński had some doubts because the premises on which he based his investigation were open to question. Although it seemed to Athanasius that the *Crucifixion* was painted before 1570, he later confessed that 'in the end, the documents have more authority than my impressions.'¹⁰³ I read these words as a declaration of Raczyński's scientific ambitions, expressed here almost in defiance of his temperament as an art lover. However, Raczyński should have trusted his eye and intuition: the painting was indeed made before 1570, while the date on the baptismal certificate, as it turned out fifty years later, had been misread by Fr. Berardo.

The incorrect dating of Vasco Fernandes' paintings was not, of course, the only mistake that Raczyński made. Nonetheless, this does not change the fact that his research on Portuguese painting and Portuguese art in general was ground-breaking and continued to inspire other scholars for over half a century. As Justi later wrote, 'a book written by a Polish Count taught us that there was a Portuguese school of painting.'¹⁰⁴ Numerous Portuguese and foreign art lovers and art experts, including José de Oliveira Berardo, Cristino da Silva, Téofilo Braga, Augusto Felipe Simões, Henrique das Neves, Joaquim de Vasconcellos, J.C. Robinson, Carl Justi, and others, all studied the case of Vasco. It was not until the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that Maximiliano Aragão corrected many of these inaccuracies and errors, writing the first reliable monograph on the artist.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Athanasius Raczyński, Les arts en Portugal, 365.

¹⁰² Athanasius Raczyński, Les arts en Portugal, 374.

¹⁰³ Athanasius Raczyński, Les arts en Portugal, 366.

¹⁰⁴ Carl Justi, "Die portugiesische Malerei des XVI Jahrhunderts," 140.

For research after Raczyński on the person and work of Vasco Fernandes see: Luís Reis Santos, Vasco Fernandes e os pintores de Viseu do século XVI (Lisboa: Edição do autor, 1946); Dalila Rodrigues, "Oficinas de Viseu e processos artísticos: Grão Vasco e Gaspar Vaz," in José Alberto Seabra Carvalho, ed., Primitovos Portugueses 1450–1550. O Século de Nono Gonçalves, exh. cat. (Lisboa: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 2011), 188–195, esp. 191–193.

The case of Gran Vasco perfectly demonstrates how Raczyński structured *Les arts en Portugal* and reveals his motivations. Raczyński wished to show the winding and difficult path of every scholar of early art towards – and Raczyński would not hesitate to use this term – historical truth. Accompanying the author on this journey, one not lacking a somewhat perverse intellectual pleasure, is, as Justi rightly remarks, a difficult but essential exercise of the virtue of patience.

4 Raczyński's Friend Wilhelm Kaulbach

Two drawings will act as an introduction.

Drawing one. Raczyński is sitting on a chair in a very relaxed pose, with his right leg forward. Underneath his unbuttoned coat, we can see elegant and fashionable clothing (Fig. 105). His extended right hand rests on an (invisible) pedestal, while the bent left arm rests on the arm of a chair. The left hand is 'melancholically' supporting his head, which is tilted slightly to one side. His eyes, gentle yet focused, are also sombre. The Count is looking straight ahead. What is he looking at? The drawing was made in 1835 in the studio of the Munich painter Wilhelm Kaulbach. Raczyński visited Kaulbach because he had heard about his famous sketch for the painting *The Battle of the Huns* – a dynamic and dramatic representation of a battle fought in 451 between the Hun army, led by Attila, and allied Roman and Gothic forces, led by Flavius Aetius. Described by the ancient writer Damascius and the Byzantine scholar Photius, the battle was seen as a legendary 'battle of ghosts.' Raczyński is gazing at Kaulbach's work with a pensive, focused look of adoration.

Drawing two. A sympathetic caricature sent by Kaulbach in a letter to his wife in August 1858 (Fig. 106). Raczyński, looking monumental and stout, and dressed in a luxurious and eccentric outfit, with a large cap on his head, is extending his arms and welcoming the artist to his home (more precisely, to his kitchen; in the background, we can see a cauldron over an open fire and chunks of meat and fish hanging above). The artist is thin, dressed in a simple coat, with a bag across his back and a cane in his hand. He is making the same gesture as if he wanted to throw himself into the arms of his host. Two burning hearts surrounded and united with a wreath of flowers can be seen between the two figures: we are witnessing the meeting of two close friends from different social classes.

In the second drawing, which was made almost 25 years after the first, Kaulbach shows a different side of Raczyński as a man of the arts. In drawing one, the Count is an art lover. He is watching the painter at work with keen



FIGURE 105 Wilhelm Kaulbach, *Portrait of Athanasius Raczyński*, pencil drawing, 1835 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 397



FIGURE 106 Wilhelm Kaulbach, Athanasius Raczyński Greets the Painter Wilhelm Kaulbach in his Home, caricature in a letter from Kaulbach to his wife Josephine from August 1846, in: Josefa Dürck-Kaulbach, Erinnerungen an Wilhelm von Kaulbach und sein Haus, 1921

interest and delight. In drawing two, he is the powerful protector and patron of the artist, graciously extending his protection. In drawing one, Raczyński is in thrall to Kaulbach's artistic vision, while in drawing two, he is the active party – he is the driving force in the scene. These two drawings show the two faces of Raczyński as a man of the arts. The Count was both a humble lover of talented artists and a demanding client, at once an attentive observer of contemporary artistic life and a patron of the arts. In this section, I will discuss Raczyński's place in the world of art, both among artists themselves and among devotees and connoisseurs of art.

The fact that these two drawings were produced by Wilhelm Kaulbach gives credence to their characterization of Raczyński. The artist and the collector shared a deep and long-lasting bond of friendship. This relationship should be discussed in more detail because it demonstrates how the Count treated artists in general and how he perceived his role as an art lover, patron, and collector.¹⁰⁶

Raczyński, who first saw Kaulbach's works in 1828, first met him in person in late spring 1835 (Fig. 107). The meeting took place in connection with plans

¹⁰⁶ See: Hans Müller, Wilhelm Kaulbach, 287-339.



FIGURE 107 Carl Adolph Hennig, *Portrait of Wilhelm Kaulbach* (from Athanasius Raczyński's collection), 1847 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 523

to paint *The Battle of the Huns* in a monumental format (Fig. 108). Josepha Dürck-Kaulbach, the painter's daughter, thus described the meeting:

A friend [the renowned architect Leo von Klenze] brought Kaulbach the works of Chateaubriand relating to the Battle of the Huns. He engaged this topic with enthusiasm; he read and studied for nights on end and made a small sketch that delighted his friends. However, he often complained that he would be unable to produce this painting, which had



FIGURE 108 Wilhelm Kaulbach, *The Battle of the Huns*, 1835–1837 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 535

aroused such great expectations, in such a larger format! One Sunday, we were sitting together, and he was complaining the usual way, when a carriage drove up to the house, and the coachman enquired if the painter Kaulbach lived there. I opened the window and answered that this was indeed true, and soon a man was standing before us – he introduced himself as Count Raczyński and wished to be shown the painting. He stood before it for a long time, said it was wonderful, and commissioned it in a large format for the price of four thousand guilders. How happy we were! Raczyński arranged for Kaulbach to be given an atelier by King Ludwig I. We were very happy and very grateful. [...] Count Raczyński visited us every year; he dined with us and gave me valuable cooking tips. When the cartoon [*Karton*] was ready and exhibited in the Count's gallery in Berlin, King Frederick William IV liked it so much that Kaulbach later received numerous commissions from him. But we have never forgotten that Sunday when the Count shouted from the street

"Does the painter Kaulbach live here?" Kaulbach has always remembered that Sunday, grateful for "his lucky day."¹⁰⁷

This account – an anecdote worthy of attribution to any most excellent painter, sculptor, or architect – is nevertheless credible. Kaulbach indeed adopted behaviour which he believed characteristic of a brilliant artist. This was not an attempt to exalt himself; on the contrary, it was in keeping with his natural disposition. There is in his biography a trace of poverty at the start of his career then the discovery, as we have seen, of his talent by a powerful patron and conflicts with the leading lights of the local art scene and the lack of understanding shown him by philistine academics and a tendency towards melancholy. In her memoirs, Josepha explains her father's behaviour in a warm and slightly ironic tone that was typical of her, claiming that '[father] fully exploited the artist's right to be moody and unpredictable.'¹⁰⁸ Raczyński repeatedly experienced the consequences of the painter's chimerical character.

In the second volume of *The History of German Art*, Raczyński thus recounted the story behind *The Battle of the Huns*:

Kaulbach addressed this subject using different shades of brown, in a large oil painting, twenty-one feet long and seventeen feet high, so that the figures in the foreground were represented in their natural size. The painting is beyond excellent and seems to me the most sublime and the most perfect work of art ever created. It was to be painted in colour. A colour sketch has already been made, but the person commissioning the work was too impatient and did not give the painter enough time to finish it. In spite of these circumstances, Kaulbach expressed his good-will, nobility, generosity, and modesty. His behaviour was touching and commendable.¹⁰⁹

This is what could be called the 'official version' of events. Although the account seems to be based on fact, it nonetheless contains gaps, as Raczyński chose strategically to omit certain facts. For one, he does not mention that he commissioned the painting – he was the impatient 'ordering party' who did not give the artist enough time to complete the work. What is even more interesting, however, is that he did not explain why he was so impatient. The explanation can be found in letters exchanged between the Count, the painter, and

¹⁰⁷ Josefa Dürck-Kaulbach, Erinnerungen an Wilhelm von Kaulbach, 30–31.

¹⁰⁸ Josefa Dürck-Kaulbach, Erinnerungen an Wilhelm von Kaulbach, 44.

¹⁰⁹ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 2, 269–270.

other people from his circle.¹¹⁰ In them, Athanasius accuses the artist of delays, failure to respond to his letters, dishonesty, capriciousness, and unreliability. He alternatively threatens and begs the artist to finish the painting. Kaulbach, in turn, makes excuses, explains, and apologizes, but also rebuts these charges and levels accusations of his own against the Count. In the end, Raczyński, having lost both his patience and faith that the commissioned work would be completed in the foreseeable future, decided in consultation with the painter to accept the unfinished painting in its current state (a monochromatic underpainting) in the summer of 1837.¹¹¹

Though difficult, the relationship between Kaulbach and Raczyński, between a painter and his employer, was based on a deep mutual understanding. Both parties clearly understood their rights and obligations. The relationship was also based on unwavering beliefs. Raczyński never had any doubts that the painter was very talented and considered him 'the greatest genius of our age and one of the greatest ever.'112 At the same time, Kaulbach never forgot the role the Count played in his career. In short, it was a relationship between an artist and his patron. 'Very quickly,' wrote a biographer of the painter Hans Müller in the nineteenth century, 'a truly friendly relationship developed between Raczyński and Kaulbach, based on fondness, gratitude, and understanding.'¹¹³ An excellent illustration of this relationship and, at the same time, of the conventions that governed it is a remark Kaulbach once made about Raczyński. Adelheid Carolath-Beuthen, a correspondent of the Count living in Munich, reported this in a letter to Raczyński: 'I could not be happier,' the artist supposedly said, 'if my father had visited me instead. He [Raczyński] is my father in a spiritual relationship [mein Vater in geistiger Beziehung]. I owe him everything, all my present life, especially the fact that I was able to escape poverty at a time when it seemed quite imminent.'114

Kaulbach had indeed much to be thankful for. Raczyński not only commissioned the ground-breaking *Battle of the Huns* for a very lucrative sum¹¹⁵ but

113 Hans Müller, Wilhelm Kaulbach, 301.

¹¹⁰ See in particular the documents collected in: LV, vol. 22: *Wilhelm Kaulbach*, MNP, MNPA 1414/22, and also his correspondence with George Ticknor, RSCL, Hanover, NH, call no. 837320.

¹¹¹ The history of the painting's creation is presented in detail by Hans Müller; see: Hans Müller, *Wilhelm Kaulbach*, 306–317.

¹¹² Raczyński in a letter to George Ticknor dated 20 May 1837, RSCL, Hanover, NH, call no. 837320.

¹¹⁴ Letter from Adelheid Carolath-Beuthen to Athanasius from December 1844; a copy is contained in DIARY, under the entry for 6 January 1845.

¹¹⁵ In his letters to Raczyński, Kaulbach repeatedly stressed the importance of his meeting with Raczyński. For example, in his correspondence of 18 May 1840, he wrote in an exalted

also paid for the artist's first studio in Munich, which, though damp, uncomfortable, and shared with the sculptor Johannes Leeb, enabled Kaulbach to continue to work. The studio even became an important centre of artistic life in Munich. Raczyński also paid for Kaulbach's trip to Italy in 1835, during which the artist honed his skills, studied the local art, and mastered the technique of fresco painting.¹¹⁶ This trip was crucial in Kaulbach's artistic development. Raczyński also popularized and promoted Kaulbach's work in Berlin and, thanks to the publication of *The History of Modern German Art*, the second volume of which was dedicated to Kaulbach, throughout Europe as well.¹¹⁷ Moreover, Raczyński contacted potential buyers and collectors, urging them to commission new works from the painter.¹¹⁸ Finally, the Count helped the painter obtain and execute a very prestigious commission to paint frescos on the walls of the staircase of the Royal New Museum (*Neues Museum*) in Berlin. For almost twenty years, this commission had a major impact on the painter's life. I will discuss the story behind this in more detail below.

When the Royal Museum of Art (*Königliches Museum*) first opened in 1830 in a building erected by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, it was already clear that there was no room to display all the noteworthy works from the royal collection, and that additional exhibition space would be needed. When Frederick William IV, who had a strong interest in art, was crowned in 1840, he immediately addressed this issue. On 31 June 1841, work began on a new museum building located next to the Museum designed by Schinkel. The decision to decorate the interior of the building with monumental frescoes depicting scenes from world history was made early on. On 15 May 1843, a final contract for executing the frescos was signed with Kaulbach.¹¹⁹ Under the terms of the agreement,

tone: 'You were the first such great gentleman to take seriously my aspirations and struggles in the field of art. With a keen eye you fathomed what I am capable of in art. Thanks to your wonderful order, I was able to take the path in art that I had dreamt of taking for years,' LV, vol. 22: *Wilhelm Kaulbach*, MNP, MNPA 1414/22, pp. 137–139.

¹¹⁶ See letter from Josephine Kaulbach to Raczyński from late July 1835 in: LV, *Wilhelm Kaulbach*, MNP, MNPA 1414/22, p. 2. On the subject of the artist's trips to Italy see: Hans Müller, *Wilhelm Kaulbach*, 340–383.

¹¹⁷ Hans Müller, Wilhelm Kaulbach, 303.

¹¹⁸ See letter from Athanasius to Wilhelm Kaulbach dated 10 June 1840 in: LV, *Wilhelm Kaulbach*, MNP, MNPA 1414/22, pp. 141–142. Also: letter from Raczyński to Charles Eastlake dated 10 June 1840 in: NAL V&A, London, call no. MSL/1922/416.

¹¹⁹ On Kaulbach's paintings see: Wilhelm Stoewer, Wilhelm von Kaulbachs Bilderkreis der Weltgeschichte im Treppenhause des Berliner Neuen Museums. Erläuternde Betrachtungen (Berlin: Kunstverlag St. Lukas, 1906); Hans Ebert, "Über die Entstehung, Bewertung und Zerstörung der Wandgemälde Wilhelm von Kaulbachs im Treppenhaus des Neuen Museum zu Berlin. Ein Dokumentarbericht," Forschungen und Berichte. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 26 (1987): 177–204; Annemarie Menke-Schwinghammer, Weltgeschichte als

the painter had ten years (1846–1856) to execute six large-format frescoes that were to depict: *The Tower of Babel, Homer and the Greeks, The Destruction of Jerusalem, The Battle of the Huns* (after the painting from Raczyński's collection), *The Crusaders at the Gates of Jerusalem* and one more scene, which was to act as a summing up and conclusion of the entire cycle (the theme was to be chosen later). Kaulbach was to start working immediately on sketches and cartoons. He was to receive a payment of 120,000 thalers.

Since the nineteenth century, all scholars who have written about this commission have emphasized that Athanasius Raczyński played a substantial role throughout the process. There is no doubt that *The Battle of the Huns*, which had been on display in the Count's gallery since 1837, made the Munich painter a household name in the Prussian capital. When the Crown Prince, the future Frederick William IV saw the painting in Raczyński's gallery, it 'inspired him to entrust the creator of this work with the said monumental commission.'120 Raczyński, as letters show, continued to encourage the monarch in his decision.¹²¹ He also tried to help Kaulbach throughout the years when the artist was painting the frescoes. Yet, rather than taking ten years, the work continued for nineteen years and was not completed until 1866. During those nineteen years, Kaulbach travelled to Berlin from Munich almost every year in the summer to work on the frescoes, first together with his colleagues and later alone. He usually stayed at Raczyński's palace and discussed his ideas with the Count. When a years-long conflict arose between Kaulbach and Ignaz von Olfers, director general of the Royal Museums, who was supervising the works on behalf of the monarch, Raczyński continued to support the painter. This conflict concerned the last painting, the theme of which was not specified in the contract. Kaulbach wanted to paint The Age of the Reformation, but Olfers refused and suggested a different topic. It was not until 1863 that the painter managed to resolve this conflict and paint the theme of his choice. As he wrote in a letter to his wife, 'all friends of the arts' admired the painting – 'even the very Catholic aristocrat Raczyński, who usually harshly criticizes works and artists of the middle class - even he expressed his deep admiration.'122

[&]quot;Nationalepos' Wilhelm von Kaulbachs kulturhistorischer Zyklus im Treppenhaus des Neuen Museums in Berlin (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1994).

¹²⁰ Hans Ebert, "Über die Entstehung, Bewertung und Zerstörung der Wandgemälde Wilhelm von Kaulbachs," 181.

¹²¹ Annemarie Menke-Schwinghammer, Weltgeschichte als ,Nationalepos, '168–169.

¹²² Josefa Dürck-Kaulbach, Erinnerungen an Wilhelm von Kaulbach, 351.

Nevertheless, Raczyński failed in his efforts to arrange an appointment to a Chair for Kaulbach at the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts¹²³ or to have him named head of an academy of arts in some other Prussian city.¹²⁴

We could say that Kaulbach 'thanked' his patron by depicting him in one of the monumental frescoes that decorated the facade of the Neue Pinakothek in Munich. Kaulbach received this commission from King Ludwig I. Raczyński was portrayed in it as an art expert and an art lover: somewhat apart, he is sitting at a small table with the second volume of his work on German art and looking down from the upper left corner of the painting at the work of painters specializing in religious, historical, landscape, and genre scenes (Fig. 109). The entire series of frescoes, including the one featuring Raczyński, has ironic and critical undertones, which makes Raczyński's presence somewhat ambiguous.¹²⁵ It thus accurately reflects the nature of the relationship between the painter and the patron, which was also based on a subtle game with social and society conventions.



FIGURE 109 Wilhelm Kaulbach, Artists Appointed by King Ludwig I to Realise his Ideas in the Field of Historical, Battle-scene, Landscape and Genre Painting, sketch for a fresco to be placed on the facade of the Pinacotheca in Munich, c.1849 BPK-BILDAGENTUR / BAYERISCHE STAATSGEMÄLDESAMMLUNGEN – NEUE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH, WAF 410

124 Letter from Raczyński to Kaulbach, dated 11 October 1841 in: LV, *Wilhelm Kaulbach*, MNP, MNPA 1414/22, pp. 143–144.

¹²³ Alexander von Humboldt und das Preußische Königshaus. Briefe aus den Jahren 1835–1857, herausgegeben und erläutert von Conrad Müller (Leipzig: Koehler, 1928), 130–131.

¹²⁵ On the subject of Kaulbach's frescos see: Frank Büttner, "Herrscherlob und Satire. Wilhelm von Kaulbachs Zyklus zur Geschichte der Kunst unter Ludwig I," in Herbert W. Rott and Joachim Kaak, eds., Ludwig I. und die Neue Pinakothek (Köln: DuMont, 2003), 83–122. Also: Werner Busch, Die notwendige Arabeske, 114–125.

CHAPTER 10

Raczyński's relationship with Kaulbach was intense and thus special, but the Count's genuine concern for the advancement of contemporary German painting and for his public image as a patron of the arts and artists motivated him throughout his life. One example can be provided here.

In the spring of 1842, during a diplomatic journey to Lisbon, Raczyński spent four weeks in London. Apart from political concerns, artistic matters were an additional motive for the trip. Like many people associated with artistic life in Germany, he had hopes that German painters would receive one of the most prestigious artistic commissions of the time, namely decorating the new seat of the British Parliament.¹²⁶ The Old Westminster Palace had burned down in 1834, and in 1840 work began on a new building designed by Sir Charles Barry. It was to be decorated with sculptures and paintings, and a Fine Arts Commission had been appointed to oversee the project.¹²⁷ German artistic circles were hopeful and excited because it was believed that European recognition of Germany's fresco painters and the support of Queen Victoria's husband, young Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, who was himself an art lover and chairman of the Fine Arts Commission, would open the way for German artists.

As we have seen, Raczyński had been corresponding with Sir Charles Eastlake, who later became secretary of the Commission. The Count soon also came into contact with Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne, an influential politician, well-known art lover, and an outstanding collector who later also sat on the Commission. The Count sent copies of *The History of Modern German Art* to both his English friends, hoping they would entrust German painters with the project in the British parliament.¹²⁸ During his stay in London, Raczyński met Lansdowne and Eastlake as well as other committee members, including Prince Albert, Francis Egerton, Count Ellesmere, Sir Robert Peel, and Sir Robert Inglis. He tried to persuade them to employ German artists. We do not know the details of Raczyński's negotiations; however, we can deduce from a letter to Peter Cornelius that they did not go well.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Kunstblatt, No. 91, Dienstag, den 12. November 1844, 377-378.

¹²⁷ For more on the decoration of the new Westminster Palace see: T.R.S. Boase, "The Decoration of the New Palace of Westminster, 1841–1863," *Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes* 17, No. 3–4 (1954): 319–354. On the procedures employed in entrusting German painters to produce it: William Vaughan, *German Romanticism and English Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), 54–56.

¹²⁸ Letter from Raczyński to Charles Eastlake dated 6 December 1841 in: NAL V&A, London, call no. MSL/1922/416.

¹²⁹ See: letter from Raczyński to Peter Cornelius dated 18 August 1842 in: LV, vol. 14: *Peter Cornelius*, MNP, MNPA 1414/14, p. 16.

Soon, politics rather than questions of an artistic nature began to intrude, and German painters were never asked to decorate the House of Parliament. The history of the project is less important here than Raczyński's long-term, consistent, determined, and coordinated efforts to advance and promote contemporary German art.

Read in such a context, positive opinions about the Count as a 'patron of the new times'¹³⁰ and a man endowed with a 'patron's intuitions'¹³¹ were much more than mere conventional politeness. The remarks of Peter Cornelius made in his letter to Raczyński were also not mere courtesy: 'You showed contemporary nobility how to be noble.'¹³² Raczyński thought exactly in these categories: he was fully aware that the duties of a patron of the arts were not always easy; being a patron was both a source of personal satisfaction and the responsibility of an aristocrat.¹³³

Indeed, it comes as no surprise that Raczyński made King Ludwig I of Bavaria one of the main 'protagonists' of the second volume of *The History of Modern German Art*. The monarch was both an art lover and a resolute, determined, and committed patron. He initiated large-scale construction and decorative projects, including the reconstruction of the royal residence, as well as the erection of a number of monumental buildings, the royal library, the royal church, the Church of St. Ludwig and the Church of St. Boniface. He was a major art collector, too. His collections were later exhibited in museums that were open to the public (the Glyptothek, the Alte Pinakothek, and the Neue Pinakothek). The patronage of King Ludwig I effectively changed the architectural and artistic face of Munich and Bavaria.¹³⁴ Contemporary critics actively discussed these new initiatives and expressed varying opinions, ranging from

131 Heinrich Stieglitz, Gruß an Berlin. Ein Zukunftstraum (Leipzig: F.U. Brockhaus, 1838), 27.

¹³⁰ Allgemeines Organ für die Interessen des Kunst- und Landkartenhandels, no. 48, 26. November 1842, 190.

¹³² Letter from Peter Cornelius to Raczyński dated 13 May 1840 in: LV, vol. 14: *Peter Cornelius*, p. 6.

¹³³ Raczyński's complicated relationship with Kaulbach has already shown that fulfilling these 'duties' was not an easy task. This is also evidenced by the following entry from 1842 in his DIARY: 'Experience shows me more and more each day that you should not place orders with artists. I fear that his health will not allow Cornelius to finish my painting, and this will cause many difficulties, because it has already been paid for in part. Steinle demanded a ridiculously large sum of money for a small picture he had made for me. Jordan wrote to me rudely, though I gave him no cause for this. Paul Delaroche is making something different for me than what I'd ordered, but I will have to accept the painting to avoid an argument.' DIARY, 7 April 1842.

¹³⁴ For more on this subject, see in particular, including its extensive bibliography: Hannelore Putz, *Für Königtum und Kunst: Die Kunstförderung König Ludwigs I. von Bayern*, Schriftenreihe zur Bayerischen Landesgeschichte 164 (München: C.H. Beck, 2013).

the commendatory to the increasingly negative.¹³⁵ According to Raczyński, 'King Ludwig [was] the soul of the artistic movement in Germany' and thus he embodied the ideal and the *topos* of the king who was also a patron of the arts.¹³⁶ It should be added that Ludwig had been consciously building such an image since his early youth.¹³⁷ Raczyński also wished for such recognition, bearing in mind, of course, that he was an aristocrat and not a king. When we compare the two art lovers and patrons, we can see, toutes proportions gardées, many striking similarities. Both King Ludwig I and Raczyński maintained close personal contacts with artists, paid visits to artists' studios, supported the artistic travels of young artists (in addition to the aforementioned financial help offered to Kaulbach, Raczyński organized and financed a study trip of Portuguese painters to Germany), commissioned works of art (specifying the conditions for their execution), and created collections that were open to the general public. Apart from opening collections to the public, all of these activities were the traditional and long-honoured tasks of a patron of the arts, some dating back to ancient times. In the nineteenth century, however, new collective and civic forms and institutions for supporting the arts were established. The most important were artistic societies, called *Kunstvereine* in Germany, and public art exhibitions. Both Raczyński and King Ludwig I played an active role in these institutions.¹³⁸ I will briefly discuss this issue below.

'We live in a time when widespread interest in art manifests itself with the greatest liveliness. It is so popular that it brings to mind the happiest times in the history of artistic creativity and demands immediate recognition. The most outstanding advocates and authorities of this widespread interest are the artistic societies that have been established in recent times.' This diagnosis, formulated by an anonymous author in an article published in 1836 in the

¹³⁵ See: Christian Scholl, *Revisionen der Romantik*, 267–279.

¹³⁶ Athanasius Raczyński, *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst*, vol. 2, 99–106. In 1868, a quarter of a century later, Raczyński's unflagging admiration for Ludwig I of Bavaria was expressed in his desire to display a statue of the monarch next to the statues of seven outstanding German artists on the facade of the count's palace in Berlin. This idea was ultimately abandoned by Raczyński as politically problematic: however, it seemed inappropriate for him to place a statue – made of burnt clay – of a recently deceased foreign ruler on a private residence in the Prussian capital. Ludwig's place in the pantheon of great figures in contemporary German art displayed on the palace's facade was taken by the painter Asmus Carstens. See the documents contained in: LV, vol. 45: *Statuen an meinem Hause*, MNP, MNPA 1414/45.

¹³⁷ Hubert Glaser, ",Schwung hatte er, wie Keiner!" König Ludwig I. von Bayern als Protektor der Künste," in Herbert W. Rott and Joachim Kaak, eds., *Ludwig I. und die Neue Pinakothek*, 11–41; Hannelore Putz, *Für Königtum und Kunst*, 266–282.

¹³⁸ Hannelore Putz, Für Königtum und Kunst, 277–278.

magazine Museum, was not an exaggeration. The first Kunstverein was established at the end of the 18th century. During the 1820s, Kunstvereine became one of the most important art institutions in Germany.¹³⁹ They grew out of and drew strength from an unwavering belief in the greatness of German art, which, it was believed, needed support and popularization in order to truly flourish. This was the main (most general and most important) goal of these societies – though they also had other specific goals. As stated in the first paragraph of the statute of the Berlin Kunstverein, the society was 'to facilitate the creation of significant works of art and to popularize them.^{'140} The second most important goal of these societies was to improve the artistic tastes of the general public. Their numbers indicate that people were indeed enthusiastic about these goals. Raczyński, who in the third volume of The History of Modern German Art devoted a separate chapter to the German Kunstvereine, estimates, quite reliably, that around 1838 they had almost 30,000 members. The societies in Berlin and Munich had slightly over 2,000 members each, while the *Kunstverein* in Düsseldorf (which had a population of 30,000 at the time!) had around 3,000 members. The society in Vienna had a record 4,300 members.¹⁴¹ Most Kunstvereine were established in the form of joint-stock societies, which meant they were financed by shares paid by members. *Kunstvereine* mainly organized temporary or permanent exhibitions, commissioned new works, and acquired paintings that were then distributed among members-shareholders by a lottery.

Raczyński was a member of three of the above-mentioned *Kunstvereine*: the Berlin Society of Friends of the Art in the Prussian State (*Verein der Kunstfreunde im Preussischen Staate*), founded by Wilhelm von Humboldt with a group of local artists in 1825 (Raczyński was a member since 1825);¹⁴² the Art Society for Rhineland and Westphalia (*Kunstverein für die Rheinlande*)

¹³⁹ On the Kunstvereine see: Thomas Schmitz, Die deutschen Kunstvereine im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: ein Beitrag zur Kultur-, Konsum- und Sozialgeschichte der bildenden Kunst im bürgerlichen Zeitalter (Neuried: Ars Una, 2001); Brigit Biedermann, Bürgerliches Mäzenatentum im 19. Jahrhundert. Die Förderung öffentlicher Kunstwerke durch den Kunstverein für die Rheinlande und Westfalen (Petersberg: Imhof, 2001); Christian Scholl, Revisionen der Romantik, 247–257.

¹⁴⁰ Statut für den Verein der Kunstfreunde im Preussischen Staate, Berlin 1829, § 1. The statute was adopted 11 June 1825 and signed by Wilhelm von Humboldt, Peter Beuth, Christian Daniel Rauch, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Johann Christian Jüngken, Karl Wilhelm Wach, Johann Gottfried Schadow, Carl Joseph Begas, and Friebe.

¹⁴¹ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 3, 388.

¹⁴² Namensverzeichniss der Mitglieder des Vereins der Kunstfreunde im Preussischen Staate am 10ten Februar 1826, Berlin 1826. Subsequent lists of members were published regularly until 1839.

und Westfalen), founded by Wilhelm Schadow in 1829; and the Munich Art Society (Münchener Kunstverein), founded in 1823. In 1837, as we already know, Raczyński was also admitted to the elite Berlin Scientific Society of the Arts (Wissenschaftlicher Kunstverein). Admission to the Berlin Scientific Society, as well as other distinctions which Raczyński received in the latter half of the 1830s in Germany and abroad were a testament to his high position in the artistic world in both Germany and Europe. These distinctions included being named: honorary member of the Royal Academy of Arts in Berlin (1836);¹⁴³ honorary member of the Kurland Society of Literature and Arts in Mitau (Kurländische Gesellschaft für Literatur und Kunst, 1837);¹⁴⁴ foreign correspondent of the Historical Committee for the Arts and Monuments in Paris (Comité *historique des arts et monuments*, 1837);¹⁴⁵ honorary member of the Academy of Fine Arts (Academia de Belas Artes) in Lisbon (1843); and, finally, member of the so-called Advisory Commission to the Royal Museums in Berlin (1859).¹⁴⁶ Of course, this all began with Raczyński opening his gallery of paintings to the public and publishing the first volume of his spectacular History of Modern German Art. This recognition in the artistic world, in turn, gave Raczyński the legitimicy to speak publicly on matters of importance to German artistic life. He exercised this right (among other times) in 1841, when he formulated his postulates regarding the reorganization of exhibitions organized by the Prussian Royal Academy of Arts.

The exhibitions organized by the Academy were the most important exhibitions of contemporary art in Berlin and played an important role in German and European artistic life in general. They had been organized since 1786, usually every two years. For a short period, at the turn of the 1830s and 1840s, they were held annually. Raczyński's involvement in the exhibitions was twofold. First of all, he visited them regularly. While, unlike many other art collectors, such as Joachim Heinrich Wagener, the Count did not buy the paintings that were on display (he preferred to commission pictures directly from artists), he visited exhibitions to learn more about contemporary art and find artists

¹⁴³ Museum. Blätter für bildende Kunst, no. 13, den. 28. März 1836, 97.

¹⁴⁴ DIARY, 8 July 1837.

¹⁴⁵ *Bulletin archéologique publié par le Comité historique des arts et monumens*, Premier volume, 1840–1841, 10.

¹⁴⁶ Beginning in 1859, Raczyński was elected several times as a member of the so-called *Beratungskommission*, established at the Royal Museums in Berlin. Alongside him there were, among others, architect Friedrich August Stüler, painter Peter von Cornelius, and scholars Karl Schnaase, Gustav Parthey and Heinrich Abeken. See: GStA, Berlin, 1HA Rep. 137, I no. 84: Königliches Museum in Berlin (Altes Museum). Unterhaltung und Organisation der Königlischen Museen in Berlin.

and works that were of interest to him. He was also the owner of the exhibited paintings – he lent pictures of his own accord or at the artists' request.

He acted 'out of character' only once when he publicly criticized the organization of the exhibitions. The exhibition in 1840 made such a very unfavourable impression on him. Moreover, he noticed that the number of visitors had been declining drastically in recent years. Moved by these facts, he presented, at a meeting of the Scientific Society of the Art in February 1841, a paper in which he attempted to diagnose the causes of the crisis and propose countermeasures. A few weeks later, the speech was published in the journal *Allgemeines Organ für die Interessen des Kunst- und Landkartenhandels* with a favourable commentary from the editor.¹⁴⁷ Although *Allgemeines Organ* was a new magazine – it had only begun appearing regularly from 1 January 1841 – Raczyński's views aroused great interest. The more readable specialist *Kunstblatt*¹⁴⁸ made a reference to them while a more extensive discussion of them appeared in the popular *Preussische Staatszeitung*.¹⁴⁹

The main reason for the declining interest in exhibitions organized by the Academy was obvious to Raczyński: there were no good paintings on display, and mediocre works were dominant. The reason for this, in turn, was poor organization. According to Raczyński, exhibitions were held too often, the committee too often selected works based on personal connections rather than merit, and, finally, there were too few works from other centres and foreign artists. Thus, lacking healthy competition and a fresh impetus, the local artistic community fell into complacency and stagnation. As a remedy for the crisis, the Count first suggested amending the rules governing the proceedings of the selection committee and the appointment of new members who were to be art lovers and art experts rather than artists. The decision to exhibit a given work was to be made in a secret ballot. Raczyński further postulated that exhibitions should be carefully arranged so that pictures representing different genres had their separate place because, in his opinion, studying historical paintings among genre and landscape paintings 'was annoying.' Finally, the Count postulated that more foreign works by French, English and Belgian artists and artists from the Düsseldorf school should be displayed. They should be admitted automatically: foreign works should be accepted out of courtesy, and the works of the Düsseldorf school should be accepted because the director of the local academy, Wilhelm Schadow, would never send 'unworthy' paintings to Berlin.

¹⁴⁷ Allgemeines Organ für die Interessen des Kunst- und Landkartenhandels, no. 9, 27 Februar 1841, 37–38; No. 10., 6. März 1841, 41–42; no. 11, 13. März 1841, 45.

¹⁴⁸ Kunstblatt, no. 25, Dienstag den 30. März 1841, 100.

¹⁴⁹ Preussische Staatszeitung, no. 56, den 25. Februar 1841.

Thus, although expressed in a calm and polite tone, Raczyński's opinions were categorical and critical. The unfavourable opinion of Raczyński and others had some effect, as in the following years, the Academy did indeed become more open to foreign works.

Yet, in order to fully understand Raczyński's criticism, it needs to be read in a broader context. It should be treated as a voice in an ongoing (since the 1840s) discussion on the Royal Academy of Arts and the deep crisis faced by this institution. Franz Theodor Kugler, an outstanding art critic and historian and, since 1843, head of the Department of Arts at the Ministry of Religious, Educationial, and Medical Affairs (Ministerium der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinalangelegenheiten), as well as the most important and ardent advocate for changes at the Academy, declared at the academic Senate in 1842: 'Relations [...] are so confusing, the entire current state of the Academy is so unstable that anyone who is even slightly familiar with the *status quo* must wonder why the Academy still exists. Thorough reforms are most urgently needed.'¹⁵⁰ However, since the head of the Academy, Johann Gottfried Schadow, who was over eighty years old at the time, objected, the monarch opposed Kugler's plans to reform the Academy. Internal attempts at reform by artists who opposed the Academy authorities also failed. Raczyński followed these disputes carefully and with distaste, subjecting the Academy to severe criticism in his journals and letters. In a letter to Wilhelm Kaulbach, he wrote: 'I consider the local Academy to be terminally ill. [...] Young people have the opportunity to educate themselves there, and it is useful in this respect. But four-fifths of all professors are terribly incompetent, and their missionary spirit, if not addressed, will suck everything and everyone into its mediocrity. The Academy should teach, but we should not allow it to influence art exhibitions, commissions, and artists who do not belong to it, in Düsseldorf, etc., because everything it touches rots.'151

Schadow's death in January 1850 not only failed to put an end to the conflicts and tensions at the Academy but even intensified them, especially from 1853, when a major conflict arose in connection with the need to appoint a new head of the Academy. Disputes, quarrels, consultations, and complications continued until 1875 when Friedrich Hitzig was named director. In the meantime, Raczyński was also mentioned as a possible candidate for the post. In

¹⁵⁰ See: Leonore Koschnick, "Kugler als Chronist der Kunst und preußischer Kulturpolitiker," in Michel Espagne, Bénédicte Savoy, and Céline Trautmann-Waller, eds., Franz Theodor Kugler. Deutscher Kunsthistoriker und Berliner Dichter (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010), 1–14, esp. 10–14. Also: Ekkehard Mai, Die deutschen Kunstakademien im 19. Jahrhundert, 176–181.

¹⁵¹ Letter from Raczyński to Wilhelm Kaulbach dated 12 May 1841; a copy is contained in Raczyński's DIARY. See also: Hans Müller, *Wilhelm Kaulbach*, 329.

reply to Duchess Augusta's inquiry about the state of the Academy, Alexander von Humboldt wrote in a letter in the autumn of 1858: 'For the renewal of the Academy, since no expert of world-renown may be found, an interesting solution would perhaps be to form a commission, Schrader, Magnus, old Herbig or Richter [they are all without exception Academy professors]? Artists fear Count Raczyński even more than Olfers. I am not afraid of the impression these words make.'¹⁵² Was Raczyński interested in taking over the Academy? Perhaps. Years earlier, he had written in his journal: 'I would be willing to give up my diplomatic career only if I were offered a directorial position at the Royal Museum.'¹⁵³ Thus, a prominent position in the state administration related to art management would have satisfied Raczyński's ambitions. Considering his critical remarks about the professors at the Academy, however, it comes as no surprise that artists deeply disliked Raczyński's candidacy.

¹⁵² Alexander von Humboldt und das Preußische Königshaus, 328.

¹⁵³ DIARY, 27 April 1840.

CHAPTER 11

Collector

I can and do live on a thousand *écu* a month. A significant surplus thus remains. I want to put this money towards a single goal, namely the creation of a collection of classic paintings that would bring my family renown.

Diary, 26 February 1822

1 The Queen of the Elves

Raczyński first heard about Hans Makart from a friend in Munich, Fernanda Prätorius.¹ In a letter describing to the Count recent works by Wilhelm Kaulbach, she also mentioned a painting she saw in Kaulbach's studio. It was an 'illustration for a fairy tale' by a young painter who had electrified the local artistic community. 'I think his name is Makart,' she wrote.² Acting on instinct, which rarely failed him in matters of art, Raczyński requested that a small sketch of the painting be sent to him immediately: 'I urge you – just an outline drawing.' However, Prätorius soon reported that in Kaulbach's expert opinion (an opinion seconded by Baron Georg von Werthern, who also lived in Munich and regularly wrote to Raczyński) this was in fact impossible: Makart's painting featured no outlines or contours; it was all based on colour. Kaulbach

¹ Raczyński's interest in Makart's painting has been analysed by art historians. Basic information on this subject is provided by Karl Simon, "Hans Makart und Graf Athanasius Raczynski," while a more thorough interpretation of the topic is offered by Anna Tomczak, "Hrabia z Wielkopolski i przyszły książę malarzy wiedeńskich."

² Letter from Fernanda Prätorius to Athanasius dated 5 December 1868, LV: Makart, MNP, MNPA 1414/28, p. 2. Born in Salzburg in 1840, Hans Makart came to Munich in 1859 to study at the city's Academy of Fine Arts, where he joined (in 1861) the studio of the famous painter of historical subjects Carl Theodor von Piloty. The works shown at the Munich Kunstverein exhibition in 1868 brought him a great deal of publicity, which led to an invitation to work at the Imperial Court. The following year Makart was called by Franz Joseph to Vienna, where he later had an extraordinary, though not uncontroversial, career. See: Doris H. Lehmann Historienmalerei in Wien. Anselm Feuerbach und Hans Makart im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Kritik (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2011), 40–50.

thus offered to borrow the original painting and bring it to Raczyński's gallery in Berlin so that he might see for himself the young genius's art. Athanasius agreed to this solution, but not without some hesitation, as he feared for the work's safety. He wrote in a letter from that period to the painter's wife Josephine Kaulbach: 'I look forward to the arrival of Makart's painting.' A few days later, he did indeed receive the work. It was a sketch for a monumental composition entitled *Modern Cupids* (*Moderne Amoretten*), a triptych depicting subject matter that was both mysterious and – due to its explicit erotic overtones – scandalous. When it was exhibited in Munich a few months earlier, it had created a sensation and excitement among art lovers.³

The painting made a strong impression on Raczyński when he viewed it for the first time. He shared his feelings with his friends in Munich. 'My ecstasy is immeasurable,' he enthused in a letter to Werthern; 'I am delighted,' he told Fernanda Prätorius; 'I cannot describe my pleasure,' he wrote to Josephine Kaulbach. He wrote about Makart and his art only in superlatives: 'It's like nothing that came before it: genius, taste, brilliant colour, a new style and effect, dreams, spells, somewhat akin to Rubens, but more subtle and delicate.'4 The shortcomings in the execution of the peripheral groups and deficiencies in the drawing did not affect Raczyński's overall enthusiastic assessment of the work. After some time, however, Raczyński gained a greater critical distance to the painting. While he did not question the extraordinary talent of the young master, in a letter to Baron Werthern, he coolly and precisely pointed out the weaknesses in his work. The background was too dark; there were errors in the composition, flaws in the execution of the figures portrayed, whose bodies were too round and faces lacking in character, while the drawing in some parts was 'worse than just incorrect.' 'At first glance, [the painting] is entrancing because it delights us with its colours, and this impression draws our attention to the subject. Now interested, I draw nearer and study it. I scrutinize the details and check them, and the delight vanishes, replaced by an aversion that grows ever stronger.'5

³ The triptych *Modern Cupids* was displayed at an exhibition at the *Kunstverein* in Munich in 1868. It caused a great sensation and almost overnight brought the author great notoriety. In autumn of the same year, the painting was shown in Vienna, where it also met with a very lively reception. Critics were by no means in agreement about Makart's work. Apart from enthusiastic opinions, there were also voices expressing reserve and even criticism; however, even most sceptics recognised the young painter's exceptional talent. See: Doris H. Lehmann *Historienmalerei in Wien*, 36–38.

⁴ Letter from Athanasius to Josephine Kaulbach dated 21 December 1868; LV: *Makart*, MNP, MNPA 1414/28, p. 55.

⁵ Letter from Athanasius to George von Werthern dated 24 December 1868; LV: *Makart*, MNP, MNPA 1414/28, pp. 57–58.

Raczyński did indeed wish to commission a painting from Makart, 'but his genius is so great and so eccentric that I would never wish to possess a painting I had not seen previously.' He, therefore, decided to commission another version of the *Modern Cupids*: not a replica, but a variation on a subject, namely a reproduction of the central part of the triptych – *The Queen of the Elves* – which Raczyński considered the most perfect. 'I do not want the painting as it is,' he wrote a letter to Wilhelm Kaulbach asking him to commission the painting on his behalf and laying out in precise detail both his expectations and the terms of the contract to be signed with the artist.

Raczyński's reactions to Makart's work can be broken down into the following stages: great curiosity aroused by a new painting style, joy mixed with eager anticipation, utter delight when viewing the painting for the first time, sober and critical judgment once his initial fascination had faded, precisely stated terms in the contract signed with the painter. All of these stages were characterized by the powerful emotions evoked by the work and the decisive actions taken in response to them: Raczyński was aroused, enthusiastic, and determined. We should note that these events took place late in 1868 when the Count was already eighty years old! Raczyński took possession of the commissioned painting – though, in fact, as modern research has shown, it was actually a photographic reproduction of the central part of the *Modern Cupids* glued onto a board and then coloured and gilded by Makart⁶ – in February 1870, four years before his death (Fig. 110).

The delight that Makart's painting aroused in him must have come as a surprise to Raczyński himself. In theory, the work of this Austrian master should not have appealed to him. Its Rubenesque ostentation, offhand drawing technique, and frolicsome colours were not in accordance with the Count's aesthetic criteria. And yet the painting did appeal to him. This is how Raczyński as a collector approached art throughout his life: although he had clearly defined tastes, he was also open to aesthetic surprises.

But why should we begin a description of Raczyński's activities as a collector with a work he acquired so near the end of his life? Because Makart's painting reveals some essential characteristics of the Count's approach to his role as a collector. Not only does it provide insight into his psychological profile as a collector, but it also highlights certain attitudes and behaviour that defined his activity in this field.

As mentioned above, once Raczyński made the decision to commission a painting from Makart, he drew up a contract that precisely defined the terms of the transaction. He was to receive a reproduction of the central part of the

⁶ M. Piotr Michałowski et al., Galeria Atanazego Raczyńskiego, 390.



FIGURE 110 Hans Makart, *Queen of the Elves*, 1869–1870 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 530

triptych with only minor changes as soon as possible. He inquired about the price and outlined the procedure to be followed in the event of his death. If the work were completed before the deadline set in the contract, Raczyński's son would be obliged to pay the painter in full, but if there were delays, the Count's heir would be released from this obligation. Raczyński also asked the painter to send him a handwritten letter. Finally, he agreed to order a suitable picture frame in Berlin and assured the painter that he had already found a perfect place in his gallery for the painting, one that would bring out its best qualities. 'You know,' he wrote to Kaulbach, 'how much depends on ensuring that the paintings in the gallery are hung in good company. How often it happens that two paintings hanging next to each other detract from one another!'⁷ Raczyński's words here illustrate the fact that he thinks like an experienced collector. He sees Makart's painting as an integral part of his gallery, as an element of a whole, and tries from the outset to guarantee that the work he is to acquire will satisfy his needs as a collector.

The terms of the contract proposed by Raczyński were, for the most part, typical of such a document. The Count specified the deadline and sum to be paid and provided precise guidelines concerning the painting's subject matter. However, two points are fascinating and require clarification: Raczyński's request for a variation rather than a faithful copy of the original work and for a handwritten letter from the artist. The significance of both points can only be fully understood within the context of a heated debate in the mid-nineteenth century among collectors and art scholars concerning the status of a copy and its place in an art collection, and the notions of originality and authenticity in relation to a work of art. The position the Count took on these issues needs to be examined more closely.

Raczyński's collection included several copies of works by Old Masters and replicas of contemporary paintings.⁸ Many other private and public galleries in the first half of the nineteenth century, including the largest and most prestigious museums in Berlin, Munich, or Dresden, owned and exhibited copies as well.⁹ Authors who wrote about collections at the time mention the presence of copies and replicas in them without any expression of surprise, criticism, or

⁷ From an attachment to a letter from Athanasius to Wilhelm Kaulbach dated 26 December 1868; LV: *Makart*, MNP, MNPA 1414/28, p. 63.

⁸ I propose the following distinction between a 'copy' and a 'replica': the former is a faithful reproduction of another artist's work, while the latter is an original reproduction of a previous painting. A copy does not conceal its secondary nature; if it does, it is not a copy, but a forgery.

⁹ Ilka Voermann, *Die Kopie als Element fürstlicher Gemäldesammlungen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Schriften zur Residenzkultur 8 (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2012), 85.

irony. Copies were treated as a special – viewers were informed that the works were not originals – but legitimate category of paintings to be included in art collections. Both contemporary collecting practices and art theory justified such actions.

Until the mid-eighteenth century, the position of the copy was strong and clearly defined. It was considered a reliable and valuable replacement for an unattainable original. This interpretation was logical because a good copy could successfully fulfil many of the key functions attributed to art: decorative, representative, illustrative, didactic, etc. Indeed, in the nineteenth century, the copy was still an important element of artistic culture. In keeping with at least two hundred years of tradition, it was one of the pillars of academic education,¹⁰ an important component in collections with representative and prestigious aspirations,¹¹ and an acceptable alternative to an unattainable original in collections with normative (e.g. model collections of plaster casts of antique sculptures)¹² or didactic (e.g. copies placed in collections to fill gaps to present the 'entire' or 'complete' history of art) functions.¹³ Replicas of contemporary works were also popular in the nineteenth-century iconosphere. The production of replicas by the author of the original work benefitted both the artist-producer and the collector-buyer. It provided income and popularity for the artist (the more copies of a work made available, the greater the audience for it), while the collector could acquire a well-known and renowned work with a predicate of authenticity. The fact that Makart made coloured mechanical reproductions of his works was only an inevitable consequence of this convergence of the interests of producers and buyers.

It thus comes as no surprise that a person who frequently visited art galleries in the mid-nineteenth century occasionally found in them the same or almost the same paintings. In Berlin alone, for example, Eduard Steinbrück's *Marie Among the Elves*, originally located in Wagener's gallery, could be seen in a slightly altered version in Raczyński's gallery and in Mathilde von Waldenburg's collection, as well. Respectively, Theodor Hildebrandt's *Murder of the Sons of Edward IV* (Fig. 111), which was on display in both Raczyński's and Waldenburg's galleries, was first completed (though the reproduction made for Athanasius was begun at the same time) in a monumental format

¹⁰ Anette Strittmatter, Das ,Gemäldekopieren' in der deutschen Malerei zwischen 1780 und 1860 (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 1998), 26–33; Ilka Voermann, Die Kopie als Element fürstlicher Gemäldesammlungen, 28–45.

¹¹ Ilka Voermann, Die Kopie als Element fürstlicher Gemäldesammlungen, 117–158.

¹² For more on this subject, see the articles contained in: Charlotte Schreiter, ed., *Gipsabgüsse und antike Skulpturen. Präsentation und Kontext* (Berlin: Reimer, 2012).

¹³ Anette Strittmatter, Das ,Gemäldekopieren' in der deutschen Malerei, 235–236.



FIGURE 111 Ferdinand Theodor Hildebrandt, *Murder of the Sons of Edward IV*, 1835 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 510

for Canon Werner Friedrich von Spiegel in Halberstadt. Copies of the painting were included in many German collections. An art lover viewing collections in various cities would quite often encounter familiar pictures. For example, a version of Léopold Robert's famous *The Reapers* (Raczyński owned an anonymous copy, perhaps by Edmund Wodick, and later acquired a replica by Robert himself) was part of the well-known collection of Adolf Heinrich Schletter in Leipzig.¹⁴

Despite their popularity, the status and rank of copies and replicas became more and more problematic during the nineteenth century. Since the mid-eighteenth century – at least since the publication of Edward Young's

¹⁴ France Nerlich, "Französische Bilder. Die Sammlung Wagener in Vergleich," in Birgit Verwiebe and Angelika Wesenberg, eds., Die Gründung der Nationalgalerie in Berlin. Der Stifter Wagener und seine Bilder (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2013), 99–120, esp. 104.

Conjectures on Original Composition (1759) – the originality of both one's actions (also in regard to art) and personality had become an important criterion for assessing their meaning and value.¹⁵ In the late eighteenth century, Kant described originality as an essential feature of genius – 'originality must be its primary characteristic' – while faithful reproduction was discredited as 'aping.'¹⁶ Romanticism, with its cult of the genius who did not follow norms and stereotypes, necessarily elevated originality to the rank of supreme virtue.

As a result of these processes and tendencies, in the mid-nineteenth century, when Athanasius was still an ardent collector, artistic reproductions (copies, replicas) enjoyed an indeterminate status. On the one hand, they were still accepted and even appreciated. On the other, they were being discredited and increasingly rejected. The fact that Raczyński commissioned a reproduction of Makart's painting with changes reflects the ambivalent status of the reproduction. Of course, additional circumstances also played a role. Raczyński demanded changes because he wished to avoid the flaws he had found in the original Queen of the Elves. Nevertheless, the fact that he had acquired a work dependent on another, but was nonetheless original, was certainly important to him. This is demonstrated by the fact that in the case of several other commissioned reproductions he also demanded minor modifications that were not justified by faults in the original. When he commissioned The Two Leonors from Carl Ferdinand Sohn, Raczyński asked that the reproduction be made by Sohn himself and that it vary from the original version so 'that it would not be possible to take my painting for a copy but, in accordance with my wishes, a creative repetition produced from memory and based on the same studies.'17 Much later, in the autumn of 1870, in a letter to Wilhelm Amberg regarding the commission of a painting based on *Reading from Goethe's Werther*, he clearly emphasized 'that the new painting should not be a copy but a creative repetition with changes.'18 Thus, Raczyński did not hesitate to commission a reproduction but wished to render it unique. In this way, he navigated the narrow

¹⁵ Reinhard Wegner, "Der Streit um die Präsentation der Bildenden Kunst. Alois Hirt und Gustav Friedrich Waagen," in Birgit Verwiebe and Angelika Wesenberg, eds., *Die Gründung der Nationalgalerie in Berlin*, 81–86.

¹⁶ Immanuel Kant, Critique of the power of judgement, edited by Paul Guyer, translated by Paul Guyer and Eric Matthews (Cambridge: University Press, 2000), 186–197, citations on 186 and 196.

¹⁷ Letter to Carl Ferdinand Sohn dated 22 November 1836; LV: *Carl Ferdinand Sohn*, MNP, MNPA 1414/40, p. 9.

¹⁸ Letter from Wilhelm Amberg to Athanasius dated 24 October 1870; LV: Wilhelm Amberg, MNP, MNPA 1414/12, p. 3.

path of compromise between the respect traditionally accorded to copies and replicas and the demands created by the growing importance of originality.

In the mid-nineteenth century, apart from originality, another quality demanded of good art was that of authenticity. During this period, a 'discourse on authenticity' culminated, literally and symbolically, in the well-known 'Holbein dispute' (*Holbein-Streit*), which reached its peak in 1871. The parties to the dispute were two major exhibition institutions – the museums in Dresden and Darmstadt. The authenticity of one of the two versions of Holbein's famous *Mayer Madonna* was at stake, and a wide range of modern analytical methods was used to determine which one was a copy. A side effect of the dispute was an unprecedented reverence for art historians, whose knowledge came to be valued more than the expertise of practitioners-painters.¹⁹ The controversy itself and even the verdict (the Pyrrhic victory of the Darmstadt painting) are not important here. But what is relevant is the fact that this debate erupted with such force, demonstrating how vital the requirement of authenticity was at that time.

Therefore, when Raczyński asked Makart for a handwritten letter that could be used, if necessary, as a certificate of authenticity, he wished to meet this requirement. Athanasius had made similar requests during his career as a collector. In the 1840s and 1850s, at Raczyński's explicit and repeated requests, Peter Cornelius provided confirmation in writing that *Christ in the Abyss* and *Allegorical Scene* were his own work.²⁰ Five years later, the Count demanded a 'handwritten, explicit, and large' note confirming the authenticity of Wilhelm Kaulbach's drawing.

Raczyński's concern for originality and authenticity in an artwork shows that as a collector he was endowed not only with inclinations, taste, and sensitivity but was also fully aware of changing tendencies in the fields of collecting and artistic theory and practice. Testimony to this fact is the extensive and

¹⁹ For more on the 'Holbein debate' ('Holbein-Streit'), see the monumental monograph by Lena Bader, *Bild-Prozesse im 19. Jahrhundert. Der Holbein-Streit und die Ursprünge der Kunstgeschichte* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2013). Also: Oskar Bätschmann, "Der Holbein-Streit: eine Krise der Kunstgeschichte," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996). Beiheft. "Kennerschaft. Kolloquium zum 150sten Geburtstag von Wilhelm von Bode," 87–100; Lena Bader, "Kopie und Reproduktion im Holbein-Streit. Eine wissenschaftshistorische Retrospektive aus bildkritischer Perspektive," in Wojciech Bałus and Joanna Wolańska, eds. *Die Etablierung und Entwicklung des Faches Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland, Polen und Mitteleuropa*, 145–164.

For more on this issue see: letter from Raczyński to Ernst Förster dated 20 April 1840 and to Peter Cornelius dated 7 May 1840, as well Cornelius' reply to Raczyński dated 13 May 1840; LV: Peter Cornelius, MNP, MNPA 1414/14, pp. 3–4, 13–14, 17–18.

meticulously detailed set of documents he kept concerning his activities as a collector.

We are able to reconstruct the history behind *The Queen of the Elves*, as well as behind other paintings in Raczyński's collection because the Count extensively documented transactions relating to them. We read about the picture in a set of letters compiled and ordered by Raczyński, then placed in a folder labelled 'Makart' – one of fifty bound collections of documents collectively entitled *Libri veritatis*.

Libri veritatis, or *Books of truth* – a compilation of letters, bills, extracts, press excerpts, and exhibition catalogues relating to Raczyński's activities as an art collector – was a curious title. What truth do these documents reveal? What does this truth concern? To whom is this title addressed?

In order to answer these questions, we must first understand the status of Libri veritatis. These volumes were not merely a supplement to the Count's picture gallery but an integral part of it, in both legal and (quite literally) spatial terms. Their integrity was assured both by notes made in the documents of the entail and in Raczyński's will. In the latter, the Count pointed to the aforementioned physical closeness between the paintings and the records: 'The gallery's library, contained in two cabinets and in the pedestal under Byström's vase, is inseparable from the gallery. In the pedestal, there are autographs, letters, notes, and evidence relating to the most important works in my collection of paintings.' 'Byström's vase' was a monumental antique-style vase commissioned by Raczyński in Rome from the Swedish sculptor Johan Niklas Byström in 1821. It was placed in one of the gallery rooms, and the Books of Truth were placed in its pedestal. In this manner, the paintings and words in the documents were engaged in a dialogue, complementing one another, strengthening the collection's artistic effect, and presenting Raczyński's attitudes toward both collecting and art. What was written in the Libri veritatis? Athanasius himself provides some succinct answers. In a letter to Cornelius dated 7 May 1840, he mentions the need for 'collecting and carefully storing' documents regarding his collection of artworks in the belief that they will be of 'keen historical interest to future scholars and, above all, to my heirs.²¹ However, the *Libri veritatis* did not merely play a role in the future but also, perhaps above all, in the present. The books endowed the gallery with an additional historical dimension: the paintings depicted scenes from the history of art, while the documents presented the collection as historical, i.e. having its own history and playing an important role in history. As mentioned above, the volumes were also proof

²¹ Letter from Athanasius to Peter Cornelius dated 7 May 1840; LV: *Peter Cornelius*, MNP, MNPA 1414/14, pp. 13–14.

of the authenticity, originality, and unquestionable authorship of the works in the collection, thus manifesting how important these issues were to Raczyński while simultaneously serving as a means of preserving the value of the works he had collected. As such, these documents could be – and were – used as evidence in disputes over the paintings. They thus had a rhetorical and prestigious value, as well. They also proved that the gallery's creator was a competent and recognized art expert, displaying the extent of Raczyński's historical and artistic knowledge, and demonstrating that he was well-read in the professional literature, possessed methodological competence, and was a committed professional. At the same time, the documents provided art lovers who visited the gallery with access to original documents and source materials that functioned as conveyors of historical truth.

It is also quite telling that Raczyński meticulously documented his actions as an art collector from the very outset.

2 Italian Journey

The earliest documented purchase of artworks by Raczyński took place in 1806: the 18-year-old Athanasius bought two landscapes by Rosa da Tivoli in Dresden. Then, in 1810, he purchased in Warsaw several works from the gallery of paintings once owned by the last King of Poland Stanisław August Poniatowski and later sold. He was not a collector par excellence at that time but rather heir to a long tradition (dating back to at least the sixteenth century) of young aristocrats purchasing artistic objects during their travels around Europe. Artworks were bought as souvenirs or with the intention of enriching family collections. Naturally, it is difficult to determine exactly when Athanasius was transformed from an occasional buyer into a conscious and dedicated collector, i.e. when he began to perceive the works he purchased as parts of a greater whole. In an autobiographical fragment of Historical Studies, Raczyński observes retrospectively - and thus even more reliably, since it is possible to talk about the inception of a collection only in retrospect – that such a shift took place in the year 1820. He wrote: 'That year, I purchased the first works for my picture gallery.'22 At the time, Athanasius was making his first artistic trip to Italy. In the context of the history of the collection and Raczyński's artistic interests in general, this trip can be called seminal and, therefore, should be discussed in more detail.

Athanasius set out with his wife Anna on a journey to Italy from Wyszyny on 30 July 1820. They visited southern Germany, Switzerland, Lombardy, and

²² Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichtliche Forschungen, 474.

Tuscany before arriving at their destination in Rome. The Raczyńskis generally stayed in cities and towns along the way for just a few days, rarely longer. During these visits, they saw monuments and art collections in Nuremberg (18 August), Augsburg (25 August), Zurich (6 September), Lucerne (10 September), Bern (17 September), Geneva (21 September), Milan (6 October), Bologna (12 October), Florence (13 October), and Siena (19 October). Finally, on 21 October, they arrived in the Eternal City, where they rented rooms in a house located at 17 Via dei Prefetti. Like other wealthy young aristocrats on the Grand Tour, Raczyński treated this journey as a learning or, more broadly, formative opportunity.²³ Getting to know the customs of the South, coming into direct contact with the remains of Roman antiquity, and becoming acquainted with Italy's rich artistic traditions were the main goals of his trip around the Peninsula.²⁴ Athanasius concentrated mainly on artistic matters, especially issues related to painting. In Italy he noted:

It is intimidating to see what a huge number of great painters Italy has produced. I do not know how I could acquire an in-depth knowledge of painting, but I would like to, and the five months I plan to spend in Italy should serve this purpose almost exclusively because my love for art is growing day by day.²⁵

Material evidence of such a journey, again in line with a tradition that was at least a century and a half old, was provided by acquired works of art; these will be discussed later in this chapter. Raczyński also kept notes during his journey – they were included in his diary but still retained some degree of autonomy. They differed slightly in their poetics from other fragments of the journal and were divided into independent chapters which did not follow the general organization of the diary. I will focus on an analysis of these notes in this part of the book.

Raczyński embarked on his journey well prepared for his encounter with Italian art. He had already collected a considerable number of works in his

For more on the era's Grand Tour, see e.g.: Chloe Chard, Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 9–39; Mathias Leibetseder, Die Kavalierstour. Adelige Erziehungsreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2004).

See: Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, eds., Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century, exh. cat. (London: Tate Gallery, 1996); Clare Hornsby, ed., The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond (London: British School at Rome, 2000); Jeremy Black, Italy and the Grand Tour (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

²⁵ DIARY, 15 October 1820.

musée imaginaire, having visited art galleries in Dresden, Vienna, and Paris. Raczyński repeatedly used them as points of reference and material for comparison when viewing new works of art for the first time. Having read Luigi Lanzi's Storia pittorica dell'Italia, Raczyński also had a sound knowledge of Italian art, including the basic trajectories of its development and the characteristics of its most important schools. Finally, based on his extensive knowledge of literature, he developed a sophisticated theoretical apparatus, the value of which was confirmed in his eloquent critique of the greatest works of European art. His critical talent allowed Raczyński to approach paintings in an active manner (because, as mentioned earlier, painting was far more important to him than sculpture or architecture). This included describing pictures and evaluating their artistic value, verifying their authorship, comparing them to other works he had encountered, and attempting to define the essence of the style of a given master. These ambitions were clear from the beginning of his journey and had already become apparent in his engagement in the arts in various German cities. However, they came to fruition during his stay in Rome, a city with an unparalleled reputation among art lovers, 'the capital of the world' as Goethe put it, or, as Athanasius observed, 'the home of the arts.' John Moore, the companion of Douglas Duke of Hamilton during his travels in Italy in the years 1772–1776 (the British were in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries among the greatest enthusiasts of the Eternal City and constituted a significant percentage of all visitors), observed: 'There are about thirty palaces in Rome, as full of pictures as the walls can bear. [...] There are also ten or twelve villas in the neighbourhood of this city, which are usually visited by strangers.²⁶ Half a century later, even despite the consequences of the turmoil of the Napoleonic period, Rome was still an outstanding artistic centre.

In short, during his stay in Rome, Raczyński aspired to be an 'amateur' in the eighteenth-century sense of the word, i.e. a man who was not professionally involved in art (though he might draw or produce graphic art for his amusement and might also have contacts with an academy of art), but who was able to talk about art competently and intelligently, see an artwork in the context of an artist's *oeuvre* and the school to which it belongs, make intellectually inspiring comparisons between works, and, finally, provide grounds for his enthusiastic or cool response to a work based on its compliance with the rules of good taste. Charlotte Guichard has observed that in the Age of Enlightenment such an 'amateur' would often provide artists with means of support, would travel to

²⁶ Cited from: Carole Paul, "Introduction. The Grand Tour and Princely Collections in Rome," in Eadem, ed., *The first modern museums of art: the birth of an institution in 18th- and early 19th-century Europe* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum 2012), 1–19, citation 2.

Rome, build a collection, and express judgements on matters of taste.²⁷ Indeed, Raczyński, especially in his mature years, did exactly that. He later described his ideal of communing with art *expressis verbis* in a passage in *The History of Modern German Art* in which he discusses the role of an art *connoisseur*.²⁸ His stay in Rome was essential – one might say, even necessary – for Raczyński's becoming an 'amateur.'

Due to the unique and extraordinary role played by Rome in the European collective consciousness, a journey to the city was always assigned special significance. It was like rediscovering an old acquaintance – one knew it from descriptions, had seen it in engravings, and listened to the stories about it. 'All old acquaintances, like friends I have made at a distance through correspondence, and who now are seen face to face,' Goethe wrote in his *Italian journey*. Since many visitors had a sound second-hand knowledge of the city, they planned their stay carefully and compiled detailed itineraries that included ancient monuments, Vatican museums, art galleries, palaces, and villas. Raczyński was obviously aware of this peregrinatory tradition. When his fascination with painting made him break away from it and distance himself from the city's ancient heritage, he felt he had to justify his actions:

How I wish that the admiration I feel for paintings was not so overwhelming, that it would allow me to enjoy the relics and the beauty of antiquities. I would love to discuss the Baths of Titus, but my head is full of what I have seen in paintings and frescoes and full of all the paintings that I hope and thirst to acquire.²⁹

Here, Raczyński is clearly gripped by a fever for the arts and collecting.

As noted above, Raczyński travelled to Italy by way of southern Germany and Switzerland. He described this stage of his journey extensively, commenting on the places he visited and the landscapes he admired, recalling historical facts, reflecting on politics, and finally, describing the works of art he saw. In terms of art, his stay in Nuremberg, where he saw paintings by Lucas Cranach, Albrecht Dürer, and Hans Holbein, was the most important. These were the first works Raczyński chose to describe, albeit briefly, in his journal. However, it was only after he began visiting the cities of Italy – a trip he had looked forward to with growing anticipation (he wrote in Bern: 'I'm beginning to tire

²⁷ Charlotte Guichard, Les amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIII^e siècle (Seysel: Champ Vallon, 2008), 17–18.

²⁸ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 1, 32-41.

²⁹ DIARY, 20 November 1820.

of Switzerland; I'm growing impatient because I so long to see Italy^{'30}) – that he began focusing his writings on art, nurturing his 'connoisseur' ambitions. Beginning with his stay in Milan, where he visited the local galleries (*Pinacoteca di Brera* and *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*), Raczyński focuses almost exclusively on describing paintings and documenting his impressions of them in his travel diary. These accounts vary in nature and are in many cases limited to 'enumerating the most noteworthy works' (mainly serving a mnemonic purpose), but at times they represent an ambitious attempt at ekphrasis or defining the constituent features of a given painting or painter. Indeed, even some of his short notes are interesting because they allow us to compile a catalogue of Athanasius' favourite painters and learn about his aesthetic preferences during the period when he first began to assemble his collection.

He undoubtedly most admired the works of the 'divine' Raphael. He also cherished Fra Angelico, Leonardo, Giorgione, Andrea del Sarto, Bernardino Luini, and the major artists of the Venetian school, namely Titian and Veronese. Among later artists, he admired Annibale Carracci and his students and collaborators – Guido Reni, Domenichino, and Guercino. He also valued Claude Lorrain and was fascinated by Caravaggio. He also surrendered to the power of the artistic genius of Michelangelo, though not without hesitation: 'Michelangelo was neither noble nor graceful in his works, but no ancient nor contemporary artist has ever endowed his works with such force and such life.'³¹ Thus, Raczyński most admired the works of the great Renaissance masters and artists representing classicizing tendencies in early seventeenth-century painting (interestingly, he has no kind words for the works of Nicolas Poussin). Although these preferences will change somewhat in the future (e.g. years later, the Count will mildly criticize his youthful admiration for Luini's *Holy Family*), Raczyński will generally stay true to them throughout his life.

When Athanasius looks at a painting, he pays attention primarily to its form rather than the subject, which he always describes perfunctorily. He focuses on beauty (*beauté*), greatness (*grandeur*), nobility (*noblesse*), charm (*charme*), grace (*grace*), transparency (*transparence*), simplicity (*facilité*), force (*force*), and expression (*expression*). He is also interested in the style (*style*), artistic conception (*conception*), composition (*ordonnance*), colour palette (*coloris*), use of light (*lumières*), the purity of drawing (*pureté de dessin*), and the manner in which details and draperies are represented. Therefore, as an art lover, Raczyński has a number of useful analytical and descriptive categories at his disposal. Generally speaking, these categories originated in the tradition of

³⁰ DIARY, 17 September 1820.

³¹ DIARY, 27 October 1820.

connoisseurship that grew out of the early modern academic discourse on art and was later developed by such authors as Giulio Mancini in Italy, André Félibien and Roger de Piles in France and Jonathan Richardson in England.³² A common practice among experts was a comparison of works of art. Raczyński was also not afraid to compare paintings and indicate which he liked more, always justifying his opinions by pointing to one work's more natural colours, more delicate composition or better drawing technique. Here is an example of such an evaluative comparison:

In popular opinion Andrea del Sarto's most excellent work is the painting known as *Quadro di Luco* or *The Descent from the Cross*. It is a great and beautiful composition in which all the characters are beautifully depicted, but I prefer his *Holy Family*, which hangs next to it. These two paintings have a dangerous neighbour though I think they do it more harm than good. This is Murillo's *Madonna*. The drawing is great and colour better, but all in all, this work is less graceful, less luminous, less clear, and less noble.³³

In the case of his favourite painters, especially Raphael, the painters of the Bolognese school, and Lorrain, Raczyński tries to describe their works in more detail and search for the essence of their work. A visit to the *Stanze* in the Vatican led to the following journal entry:

the paintings we had seen [earlier] were more than sufficient to learn to recognize Raphael's charm, but in order to appreciate his genius, one must see what we saw yesterday: The Raphael Rooms in the Vatican, *The Fire in the Borgo, The Deliverance of Saint Peter, The School of Athens, The Meeting of Leo the Great and Attila.* These works are so great and so graceful in detail that we feel ultimate respect for the divine author and his wonders. When I see Raphael's works, I keep reexperiencing what I felt about [the portrait of Beatrice] Cenci by Guido [Reni]. They are moving, heart-warming, and I don't understand what causes the feelings and emotions they arouse in us to manifest themselves. Raphael is never artificial. He is always about nature, nothing but nature, but nature that is full of grace, life, strength, and splendour. If Raphael could create the

³² Carole Paul, "Introduction. The Grand Tour and Princely Collections in Rome," 6–7. For more on connoisseurship see: Carol Gibson-Wood, *Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli* (New York-London: Garland, 1988).

³³ DIARY, 17 October 1820.

world anew with his brush, if he could endow it with movement, this world would be more charming, noble, and magnificent than the one we see and live in.³⁴

If, as Raczyński observes, the key to Raphael's painting is nature, the essence of Claude Lorrain's art is light:

On the other side [of Florence's *Galleria Uffizi*], among the paintings of the Flemish school, there is one of Claude's best landscapes. It is a seascape with a cluster of trees and some people who were not painted by him but are well executed. The sun is just above the horizon, with fog dimming its brightness and its pale rays being reflected on the sea. The whole landscape is shrouded in a delicate, warm fog.³⁵

Elsewhere, in talking about the paintings in the Doria Pamphilj Gallery in Rome, Raczyński adds: 'It would be difficult to define what is called style in painting, but the fact is that in the case of landscape, one need not look any further for perfection in style than the works of Claude Lorrain. [...] Claude is perfect in all the elements that constitute a good landscape.'³⁶

The observations above, supported by excerpts from Raczyński's diary, demonstrate that while in Italy, especially in Rome, the Count quickly matured as an 'amateur' of art. His observations on art became bolder. He undertook his first attempts to formulate synthetic assessments of artworks and attribute authorship to a work, in some cases challenging widely-held beliefs. At that time, Raczyński already had extensive knowledge of art history as well as a set of operative tools for describing and judging paintings. His aesthetic views were clearly formed, he owned works he considered to be models for a given genre, and finally, he also possessed good insights into contemporary Italian art. His opinions may often have been fairly unoriginal, but they were not the stereotypical observations of a tourist. Raczyński's views were also met with recognition in the artistic community.

Wojciech Korneli Stattler, a young Polish painter who had been living in Rome for almost two years when he met Raczyński in 1820, and who still felt somewhat lost in Rome's artistic world, observed that it was Athanasius who 'every day introduced me to some new master and opened me – hungry for

³⁴ DIARY, 27 October 1820.

³⁵ DIARY, 20 November 1820.

³⁶ DIARY, 20 November 1820.

knowledge – to all the sources of learning.³⁷ Stattler's words, despite their panegyric and exalted tone, which we may find artificial, were not unfounded. They find confirmation in the following, very interesting but little-known testimony.

A unique trace of Raczyński's contacts in Rome is Léopold Robert's painting from 1821³⁸ (Fig. 112). Not typical of the Swiss artist's work, the picture is a so-called 'conversation piece,' combining elements of portrait and genre painting.³⁹ While on public display today at the *Musée d'art et d'histoire* in Geneva, it was known only from a brief historical reference until recently. Robert wrote about the work in a letter to his mother dated 24 March 1821: 'I am now painting three portraits in one painting: the English ambassador to Naples Lord Drummond, a chamberlain of the King of the Netherlands, and a Polish count....' Although the physical resemblance is not evident, there is no doubt – there are simply too many telling signs – that Athanasius Raczyński was this 'Polish count.'⁴⁰

In the small painting, we see a conversation between three men in a modest but tastefully furnished office. Sir William Drummond, a British conservative politician and retired diplomat, as well as an erudite man of letters, is in the centre of the picture. Since the late 1810s, he had been an important figure among the cosmopolitan elite of the Eternal City. Sitting in an armchair, with a document or drawing in his hand, he turns to his younger companions, who are standing on the left. He seems to be addressing, in particular, Athanasius, who is standing closer to the centre of the painting. Without looking at him, Drummond is pointing with his left hand at a piece of paper he is holding in his right hand as if he wanted to explain something or consult on some matter with the young aristocrat. Raczyński thus plays here the prestigious role of the host's interlocutor.

³⁷ Cited from: Maciej Masłowski, Studia malarskie Wojciecha Kornelego Stattlera (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1964), 58. See also: Maria Nitka, Twórczość malarzy polskich w papieskim Rzymie w XIX wieku (Warszawa-Toruń: Polski Instytut Studiów nad Sztuką Świata, 2014), 208–209.

Information about the painting has been drawn primarily from the article by Paul Lang, "Lord Drummond et deux amis, un chambellan du roi des Pays-Bas et le comte Athanas Raczynski, 1821," Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Eidgenössischen Kommision der Gottfried Keller-Stiftung 2001 bis 2004 (2004): 24–27. The fate of the painting from its creation to the present day is unknown; it was rediscovered in 2001, when it was offered for sale in a Parisian gallery, where the following year, it was purchased for the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Geneva with funds provided by Gottfried Keller-Stiftung.

³⁹ For more on the genre see: Kate Retford, *The Conversation Piece: Making Modern Art In 18th-century Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

⁴⁰ This identification was first proposed by Stephan Bann in 2001, and supported by Paul Lang, "Lord Drummond et deux amis," 24–25.



FIGURE 112 Léopold Robert, Lord Drummond and Two Friends, the Chamberlain to the King of The Netherlands and Count Athanasius Raczyński, 1821 MUSÉE D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE, GENEVA, INV. NO. BA 2002-0022, DÉPÔT DE LA FONDATION GOTTFRIED KELLER, 2002

There are many details in the painting that should be analysed more thoroughly: Raczyński is wearing the uniform of a Prussian official (he would later instruct Karl Friedrich Wach to paint him in the same uniform), numerous medals function as markers of personal attributes, and there is nothing in the picture to confirm the identity of the third figure. For the purposes of this book, I can only say that we are dealing here with a visual representation of Raczyński's active participation in the social and artistic life of the Eternal City. The visit of the young people must have been important for Drummond as well since he chose to commission Robert to document it.

Moreover, during his stay in Italy, Raczyński not just took part in discussions and artistic meetings. As has been mentioned, he also made his first planned purchases as a collector in Italy. These acquisitions should be discussed in the context of Raczyński's views on art in general.

3 A Single Goal

Raczyński's project to build a collection is born, coalesces, and begins to materialize during his journey to Italy. Along the way, during a stay in Nuremberg, he purchased the *Madonna with Child and the Lamb*, at that time considered to be the work of Lucas van Leyden. However, the Count attributed the picture to Quentin Massys, a view today generally held to be correct.⁴¹ (Fig. 113). He later purchased, among other works, *Portrait of Cosimo de'Medici* by Bronzino, 'little Santi di Tito' and *Lot with his Daughters* by Bartolomeo Schedoni in Florence; three *Madonnas* by, respectively, Francesco Francia, Domenichino, and Innocenzo da Imola in Bologna; a *Madonna* by Bernardino Luini (today recognized as a copy by an anonymous artist after Luini's original) in Milan; *The Tribute Money* by Ludovico Mazzolino and *Pietà* by Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta in Rome.

Raczyński's travels in Europe in later years provided him with opportunities to make additional purchases. I will not list all the works of Old Masters he acquired; the catalogue of Raczyński's works compiled under the direction of

⁴¹ The painting's attribution has recently been questioned by Zygmunt Waźbiński, who considers the work in its present condition to be a product of comprehensive restoration work in the years 1816–1820, which lead to a repainting of the entire surface of the painting, i.e. the creation of a new object; Zygmunt Waźbiński, "Madonna z Dzieciątkiem Quintina Massysa ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu: obraz do kaplicy czy do galerii kolekcjonera?," in Adam Labuda, Michał Mencfel, and Wojciech Suchocki, eds., Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy, 396–429.



FIGURE 113 Quentin Massys, *Madonna with Child and a Lamb*, c.1520 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 441



FIGURE 114 Sofonisba Anguissola, *The Chess Game*, 1555 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 434

Piotr Michałowski allows us to accurately follow the timeline of his subsequent acquisitions.⁴² Instead, I will here mention only the most important of these.

Among the most fruitful early journeys in terms of picture purchases were Raczyński's stay in Paris from autumn 1823 to spring 1825 and a second trip to Italy from 1828 to 1829. In Paris, he bought, among other works, *The Chess Game* by Sofonisba Anguissola (Fig. 114) from Lucien Bonaparte's Gallery, a tondo *Madonna and Child* by Sandro Botticelli (or, more likely, produced in his workshop⁴³), and *Sacra Conversatione* by Vincenzo Catena. Among the works acquired by Raczyński in the late 1820s in Italy were the spectacular *Abduction*

⁴² M. Piotr Michałowski et al., Galeria Atanazego Raczyńskiego.

⁴³ Doubts about Botticelli's authorship have been raised several times by researchers, most recently by Damian Dombrowski, who attributed the painting to a pupil of the Italian master named Biagio; Damian Dombrowski, *Die religiösen Gemälde Sandro Botticellis. Malerei als pia philosophia* (Berlin-München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 230–232.



FIGURE 115 Bernardo Strozzi, *The Abduction of Europa*, c.1640–1644 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 430

of Europa by Bernardo Strozzi (Fig. 115), *Venus in the Forge of Vulcan* by Jacopo and Francesco Bassano, and *Jupiter and Io* by Benvenuto Tisi called Garofalo.

Raczyński's Italian purchases mark a certain turning point in his collecting activity. Thenceforth, the Old Masters were gradually marginalized, and the Count began to acquire more and more modern art. This does not mean, however, that he did not buy any new paintings by Old Masters. Such purchases, though limited, were also important to him. He continued to make purchases abroad, including a number made during visits to London and during the years he spent in Portugal and Spain. In Iberia, he bought such works as *Holy Martyrs* by Gregorio Lopes (acquired in Lisbon in 1843) and *The Assumption*, an excellent work by Juan Carreño da Miranda (bought in Madrid in 1852). In London, he purchased at auctions *John the Baptist*, then attributed to Alonso Cano, and today associated with Guido Reni and his circle, as well as the monumental *Virgin of the Rosary* by Francisco de Zurbarán. After 1852, Raczyński also made numerous acquisitions in Berlin, using the services of local art brokers, in particular those of the local art market mogul Louis Friedrich Sachse.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ On the subject of Sachse's business activities see: Annette Schlagenhauff, "Die Kunst zu Handeln: Louis Friedrich Sachse. Lithograph, Kunstförderer und Kunsthändler in Berlin," Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen 42 (2000): 259–294. Raczyński's correspondence with

I write here about the paintings purchased by Raczyński, but what did it generally mean in the nineteenth century to buy a picture by one of the Old Masters? Though this is not the place for a detailed analysis of the nineteenth-century art market, a few key points should be mentioned.⁴⁵ I will begin by describing the organization of the art trade in the most important centres where Athanasius made his purchases. I will then refer to two paintings from his collection, the *Pietà* by Siciolante da Sermoneta and the *Virgin of the Rosary* by Francisco de Zurbarán, to show how he made use of these market mechanisms, how he concluded transactions, and how transfers of paintings among collectors were made in the first half of the nineteenth century.

First of all, the process of buying a painting looked different in Paris, London, Rome, and Madrid. Local art markets were not only developed in varying degrees but also varied in how they were organised, thus requiring buyers to have specific knowledge and conduct transactions in different ways, depending on where the purchase was made.

In Paris, like in most other major European cities, including London and most large German cities, one could buy art either from influential art brokers, such as Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun and Alexandre-Joseph Paillet in Paris or Peter Coxe in London, or at art auctions organized by specialized institutions that provided extensive expert assistance during the purchase (e.g. Christie's in London). According to Guido Guerzoni's calculations, in Great Britain and France alone 118 auctions took place in 1800; 163 in 1820; and 438 in 1850; by the end of the century, over six hundred auctions were being organized each year.⁴⁶ In the early nineteenth century, nearly 10,000 Old Masters and contemporary paintings were put up for sale at British auctions each year;⁴⁷ fewer works were sold in Paris, but auctions held in the city were nevertheless

Sachse, but also with representatives of other firms in Berlin trading in art, such as *Buch-und Kunsthandlung von E.H. Schroeder* and *Kunsthandlung L. S. Lüderitz*, are contained in *Libri veritatis* (see e.g. LV 47b, MNP, MNPA-1414-47b).

⁴⁵ For more on the nineteenth-century art market see e.g.: Monica Preti-Hamard and Philippe Sénéchal, eds., *Collections et marché de l'art en France 1789–1848* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2006); Jeremy Warren and Adriana Turpin, eds., *Auctions, Agents and Dealers. The Mechanisms of the Art Market 1660–183*0, Studies of the History of Collections III (Oxford: Beazley Archive-Archaeopress, 2007); Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède, eds., *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present. A Cultural History* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

⁴⁶ Guido Guerzoni, "The British Painting Market 1789–1914," in Michael North, ed., *Economic History and the Arts* (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 1996), 97–132, esp. 129–131.

⁴⁷ Guido Guerzoni, "The British Painting Market 1789–1914," 107.

numbered in the thousands.⁴⁸ These auctions were addressed primarily to people like Raczyński – private collectors from aristocratic circles – and this group remained the principal clientele of auction houses until the 1850s.

The art market in Italy was organized differently. It had developed in response to the demand for art from the thousands of 'amateurs' who had been visiting Florence, Rome, and Naples for decades. There were no large institutions on the Italian market; instead, a key role in Italy was played by individual antiquarian-brokers. Possessing both an in-depth knowledge of local conditions and an extensive network of contacts, these brokers sought out paintings, negotiated prices, obtained expert opinions and certificates of authenticity, recommended art conservators, handled export formalities, etc. In almost every Italian city, one could find art agents who would conduct searches for potential clients and offer them their services.

The situation in Spain was quite different, as there was no distinct art market in that country.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, as Oscar E. Vázquez has shown, 'images and objects were bought and sold, collected and traded, via newer venues outside the domain of an officially sanctioned academy and without the aid of a formal dealer system.^{'50} Responsible for this circulation were antiquarians, booksellers, small traders, and people who exhibited works of art alongside other items at fairs like the Rastro or Plaza Antón Martín in Madrid. However, they rarely offered works of high artistic value or ones that could be unquestionably attributed to outstanding artists and which possessed certificates of authenticity (like those offered for pictures sold at auctions in Paris or London, where the most important Spanish collectors of that time bought many of their paintings). It was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that an official art market, organized with the participation of two state-owned art institutions, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando and Liceo Artístico y Literario, was established, following a long, slow process. And yet, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, Spain offered art lovers and collectors - as well as merchants, speculators, and fraudsters - excellent opportunities to make very profitable purchases of high-quality works. As a result of the closure of most Spanish monastic orders in the 1830s and the 1840s and the

⁴⁸ Burton B. Fredericksen, "Survey of the French Art Market between 1789 and 1820," in Monica Preti-Hamard and Philippe Sénéchal, eds., *Collections et marché de l'art en France* 1789–1848, 19–34, esp. 32.

⁴⁹ See: Oscar E. Vázquez, Inventing the Art Collection. Patrons, Markets, and the State in Nineteenth-Century Spain (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 31–96. Also: Mari-Tere Alvarez, "The Almoneda: the second-hand art market in Spain," in Jeremy Warren and Adriana Turpin, eds., Auctions, Agents and Dealers, 33–39.

⁵⁰ Oscar E. Vázquez, Inventing the Art Collection, 53.

confiscation and auctioning of their property (the so-called *desamortizacion*), thousands of religious works of art, including some true masterpieces, were traded on the art market at that time. Admittedly, after 1844 when Ramón María Narváez became Prime Minister, and especially after his government signed a new concordat with the Vatican in 1851, the situation began to stabilize, and confiscated artworks were returned to churches. However, when Raczyński was in Madrid, he could still choose from a wide range of excellent paintings. However, to take advantage of the situation on the market, one had to possess not only expert knowledge and superior artistic intuition but, above all, a good network of contacts. However, like most collectors of that time, Raczyński purchased the most important Spanish works in his collection in London.

The *Pietà* by Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta, an outstanding representative of Roman mannerism, was acquired by Raczyński in February 1821 during his first stay in Rome (Fig. 116). From a collector's point of view, the painting belonged to a category of privileged works. Its origin and attribution were both certain, and its artistic value had long been confirmed by references in the writings of authorities on art, including Giorgio Vasari in the second edition of his *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1568). Naturally, this also meant that the painting had a higher price tag, which, apart from certain administrative difficulties, was the primary reason it took several years to locate a buyer for it.

The painting had been painted by Siciolante in the 1640s as an altarpiece for the chapel of the Muti Papazzurri family at the Church of Santi Apostoli in Rome.⁵¹ In the mid-eighteenth century, due to reconstruction work on the church, it had been moved to another chapel owned by the same family. When the family decided to renovate this chapel in the early nineteenth century, they chose to sell the sixteenth-century painting and replace it with a new one. The proceeds from the sale were to be used to renovate the chapel. The Church authorities agreed to the sale on 2 January 1808. The author of the new altar painting was to be Francesco Manno. He was also entrusted with selling Sermoneta's work. The painting was expensive, and thus the buyer would most likely be a wealthy foreign collector rather than a local art lover. However, plans to sell the painting abroad were met with firm resistance from the papal administration. The Vatican had implemented a policy of protecting works of great cultural value to prevent the uncontrolled flow of ancient relics and works

For more on this subject, see in particular: John Hunter, *Girolamo Siciolante, pittore da Sermoneta* (1521–1575) (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1996), 127–131. Also: M. Piotr Michałowski et al., *Galeria Atanazego Raczyńskiego*, 84–87.



FIGURE 116 Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta, *Pietà*, 1540–1550 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 428

of art from Rome.⁵² In January 1750, a new provision was introduced, according to which paintings, sculptures, and antiquities were no longer considered duty-free goods. In the edicts of Pope Pius VII of 1 October 1802 and of Cardinal Camerlengo Bartolomeo Pacca of 7 April 1820, this provision was updated and expanded. These documents were the main legal acts regulating the art trade during Raczyński's stay in Rome. Among other things, they stipulated that before a transaction was concluded, an artwork had to be examined by experts to assess its artistic and historical value. Artworks considered by experts to be particularly important or outstanding could not be sold abroad. They were to remain in Rome and possibly be included in the collections of the papal museums. Manno, who greatly valued Siciolante, first made an offer to the administration of the Vatican Museums. After it was rejected, he asked Cardinal Pacca in early 1818 for permission to sell the painting abroad, which, according to his edict, meant that the work needed to be first evaluated by experts. Manno obtained the relevant expertise in mid-February. In an opinion provided by artists from the Accademia di San Luca (of which Manno was a member), and signed by the sculptor Antonio Canova, the president of the Accademia di San Luca Gaspare Landi, and its secretary Guiseppe Antonio Guattani, Siciolante was a secondary artist, and the *Pietà* was a painting devoid of significant artistic value.⁵³ Despite the indignation of many Roman art lovers, expressed in an official letter to the Camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church signed by several important figures in Rome's artistic circles, Pacca issued permission to sell the picture abroad.

Raczyński came across the painting by Sermoneta in February 1821 in Tomas Rubino's antique shop at via Condotti, where Manno must have put it up for sale. His *Libri veritatis* contains a brief correspondence with both traders. Raczyński decided to buy the painting, and on 24 February issued an order to pay the agreed price of 450 *scudi*. Because the work required restoration, he requested the services of the prominent Roman conservator Pietro Palmalori. Not only did Palmalori renovate the work (which cost Athanasius an additional

⁵² About papal regulations on the protection of works of art see: Peter Leisching, "Roma Restauranda. Versuch einer Geschichte des Päpstlichen Denkmalschutzrechtes," in Erwin Gatz, ed., *Römische Kurie. Kirchliche Finanzen. Vatikanisches Archiv. Studien zu Ehren von Hermann Hoberg. Erster Teil*, Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae 45 (Roma: Università Gregoriana Ed., 1979), 425–443; Peter Johannes Weber, "Kulturgüterschutz im Kirchenstaat bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," in Idem, ed., *Liber discipulorum et amicorum. Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Kurt Siehr zum 65. Geburtstag*, Schweizer Schriften zur Vermögensberatung und zum Vermögensrecht 2 (Zürich: Schulthess, 2001): 265–302.

⁵³ This expert opinion was published by John Hunter, *Girolamo Siciolante, pittore da Sermoneta*, 325–326.

100 *scudi*), he also finalized the transaction and applied for the required export licence on the Count's behalf. The licence concerned not only the *Pietà* but also seven other paintings Raczyński had purchased in Rome.⁵⁴ A few weeks later, Palmalori obtained the required written consent of the assessor Giovanni Antonio Pasinati, the commissioner for antique art Carlo Fei, and the treasurer of Cardinal Camerlengo Domenico Attanasio. Finally, on 10 April 1821, a permit to transport these paintings out of Rome by sea was issued. As we can see, the purchase of an old painting required Raczyński to complete a number of administrative procedures. However, this was no cause for concern for the collector. Specialized and well-organized dealers and brokers in various Italian cities who knew and 'ran' the local art markets handled all these details for him.

The art market in the major artistic centres in northern Europe was also well-developed, though it was governed by a different set of rules. As mentioned above, the institution of the public auction played a crucial role in northern Europe. At one such sale, organized in May 1853 by the famous London auction house Christie & Mason, Raczyński bought the *Virgin of the Rosary Adored by Carthusians* by the Spanish painter Francisco de Zurbarán. This purchase deserves to be discussed in more detail.

Unlike Siciolante's *Pietà*, which Raczyński purchased virtually directly from its original church location, the history of the purchase of Zurbarán's painting was much more complicated (Fig. 117). The *Virgin* was painted by the Spanish painter along with more than twenty other paintings in the late 1630s for the Carthusian monastery in the Andalusian Jerez de la Frontera. Endangered between the years 1810 to 1812 during the occupation of Spain by Napoleon's army, the painting was not removed from the monastery where it was held until after the monastery was secularized in 1835. In 1837, it was bought along with six other works by Zurbarán originating from Jerez by a certain Jose Cuesta. With the help of the painter Antonio Mesas, who had led the confiscation campaign on behalf of the Spanish government two years earlier, Cuesta sold the paintings to Baron Isidor Taylor.⁵⁵ A traveller, cosmopolitan, playwright, writer, art lover, and long-term general director of the French theatre, Taylor

⁵⁴ The license is preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome. Camerlengato (1816– 1854). Parte 1: 1816–1823, Busta 37: Roma – Licenze de asportare oggetti preziosi per arte o per antichità, 1814–1823, p. 67.

⁵⁵ See: Elias Tormo y Monzó, "El Despojo de los Zurbaranes en Cádiz, el viaje de Taylor y la efimera Galería Española del Louvre," *Cultura Española* XIII (1909): 29–39; Benito Navarrete Prieto, "Aportationes a los Zurbaranes de la Cartuja de Jérez," in José Antonio Buces et al., eds., *Zurbaràn. Estudio y Conservación de los Monjes de la Cartuja de Jerez* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Política Social y Deporte, 1998), 19–55.



FIGURE 117 Francisco de Zurbarán, *Madonna of the Rosary Worshipped by Carthusian Monks*, 1638–1639 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 433

had been living in Spain since November 1835 in the company of the painters Adrien Dauzats and Pharamond Blanchard as the envoy of the French King Louis Philippe entrusted with the task of purchasing paintings for a planned Spanish gallery in the Louvre. Taylor knew the local market well (he had visited the Peninsula in 1823 and 1833), was a well-known public figure, and had substantial financial resources. All these factors and the unstable political situation in Spain allowed Taylor to be very effective in his efforts. During his nineteen-month mission, he purchased almost 500 paintings, including many attributed to the greatest masters of the Spanish school, including Velázquez, Ribera, Murillo, Zurbarán, and Goya. The paintings were sent to Paris and on 7 January 1838, they were exhibited in five rooms on the first floor of the Louvre, in the so-called Spanish gallery.⁵⁶ Although French audiences had heard of Zurbarán's works – the beauty of his paintings had been praised by Alexandre de Laborde in Un voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne (1807–1820),⁵⁷ and the painter Frédéric Quilliet discussed the works of the Spanish painter in Dictionnaire des peintres espagnols $(1816)^{58}$ – the dark ascetic monastic religiosity of the Spanish master's works came as a visual shock to visitors to the Louvre in Paris. They aroused both consternation and great interest, and Zurbarán was mentioned in all the most important press reports concerning the gallery.⁵⁹ The Spanish gallery shared the fate of the July Monarchy: the fall of Louis Philippe in the aftermath of the Revolution of 1848 marked its end. The dethroned king fled to England, where he died at Claremont in August 1850. Two months later, the government of the Second Republic acknowledged that the heirs of the deceased monarch had the right to the Spanish collection, recognizing it as Louis Philippe's private property. Within six months, the paintings were taken to England, where they were sold at a public auction organized by the London auction house Christie & Manson from 6 May to 21 May 1853.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ For more on the Spanish gallery see: Jeannine Baticle and Christine Marinas, La Galerie espagnole de Louis-Philippe au Louvre, 1838–1848, Notes et Documents des musées de France 4 (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1981); Jeannine Baticle, "La Galerie espagnole de Louis-Philippe," in Manet-Velázquez. La manière espagnole au XIX^e siècle, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002), 139–152.

⁵⁷ Alexandre de Laborde, *Voyage historique et pittoresque de l'Espagne*, tome seconde, seconde partie (Paris: P. Didot l'aîné, 1820), 33–36.

⁵⁸ Frédéric Quilliet, Dictionnaire des peintres espagnols (Paris: chez l'auteur, 1816), 404–407.

⁵⁹ See: Jeannine Baticle, "La Galerie espagnole de Louis-Philippe," 145. Another half century would have to pass before the 'real' discovery and triumph of Zurbaran's art; the initial turning point was a monographic exhibition organized by the Prado Museum in 1905, and later, the publication of Paul Guianard's now-classic academic study 1960 (Paul Guinard, *Zurbarán et les peintres espagnols de la vie monastique* (Paris: Éditions du Temps, 1960)).

⁶⁰ H.C. Marillier, *"Christie's"* 1766 to 1925 (London: Constable, 1926), 36–37 and 261.

The auction was commented on in the press. *The Times* reported: 'The sale evidently created interest, as during the day the room was quite crowded.'⁶¹ Two extensive catalogues were published, one in English and one in French. The *Virgin of the Rosary* was listed in them as lot number 142.

Raczyński's presence at the auction was announced in a letter sent by the well-known London trading house Doxat & Co. to George Henry Christie and Edward Manson, who were in charge of the sale. In the letter, the Count was recommended to the organizers of the auction. Christie and Manson were also assured that Raczyński had the required financial means. Raczyński arrived in London on Wednesday, 4 May, and stayed in the city for a week until 11 May. He participated only in the first session of the auction, which took place on 6 and 7 May. He left Doxat instructions regarding possible further purchases. The Virgin of the Rosary was one of three paintings bought by Athanasius in London (the others were Judith, also attributed to Zurbarán at the time, and St. John the Baptist, then considered to be the work of Alonso Cano). Raczyński paid a significant sum of 165 pounds for the painting. While this was lower than the price paid for some paintings by Velázquez and especially Murillo, or for Zurbarán's Saint Francis, it was still much higher than the auction average of around 30 pounds. It should be added that the English press made some peculiar comments in connection with the purchase. The Times violently criticised the decision to purchase a second work by Zurbarán, Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata, for the collection of the London National Gallery. The price was too high, The Times wrote, while the painting was described as 'a small, black, repulsive picture.' Meanwhile, the author of the article argued that 'a capital picture by Zurbarán (No. 142), in his fine clear manner' was also available. It was said to have eventually been bought by a representative of the Prussian King (i.e. Raczyński, who was, in fact, acting on his own behalf): 'Thus England pays 100 € more for a bad picture than Prussia for a good one.'62

4 Contemporary Painting

The paintings Raczyński bought in London were among the few works by Old Masters he purchased after 1840. Since the late 1820s, the Count had focused increasingly on the works of contemporary painters, which ultimately comprised more than half of his collection (92 out of 156 paintings). For reasons previously discussed in detail, Raczyński became fascinated by German

⁶¹ The Times, Saturday, 14 May 1853.

⁶² The Times, Wednesday, 11 May 1853.

painting. In 1820, during a trip to Italy during which he bought his first works by Old Masters, Athanasius commissioned *Raphael's Dream* in Rome from the brothers Franz and Johannes Ripenhausen, who were affiliated with the Nazarenes. Five years later, he commissioned Karl Wilhelm Wach to paint *Christ Among his Disciples*. In 1828, he commissioned *The Marriage of Maria*, the so-called *Sposalizio*, modelled on a painting by Raphael (Fig. 118) from



FIGURE 118 Friedrich Overbeck, *The Marriage of the Virgin (Sposalizio)*, 1836 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 509

Friedrich Overbeck, and the *Poet of the Song of the Nibelungen* from Julius Schorr von Carolsfeld. Over the next few decades, Raczyński bought works by Peter Cornelius, Wilhelm Kaulbach, Wilhelm Schadow, Ferdinand Theodor Hildebrandt, Carl Friedrich Lessing, Carl Ferdinand Sohn, Emil Löwenthal, Carl Rottman, Carl Blechen, Adolph Menzel, and Hans Makart. Some of these paintings were outstanding and important works admired by contemporary art critics, such as Kaulbach's *Battle of the Huns* and Cornelius' *Christ in the Abyss*. The history of these purchases is well known, so there is no need to repeat it here.⁶³ Suffice to say that in just a few decades Raczyński created one of Europe's best and most interesting private galleries of contemporary German painting. Although it was not the largest in numerical terms, thanks to the artistic quality of the works and the sophistication of the collector's concept, it was on a par with that of the Consul Joachim Heinrich Wagener in Berlin, Count Franz Erwein Schönborn-Wiesentheid at the Reichartshausen castle, and even King Ludwig I of Bavaria in Munich.⁶⁴

The vision of contemporary German art offered by Raczyński's collection is interesting for many reasons. Dominated by the Düsseldorf and Munich schools, and, to a lesser extent by the Berlin school, it reflected the taste of the collection's owner, but, at the same time, it was a reflection of mainstream German art criticism of the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s. The arrangement of the exhibition made it even more attractive and original. In Raczyński's collection, German painting was 'in dialogue' with both the old European masters and contemporary French art.

For nineteenth-century German critics, including Raczyński, the works of French artists were an obvious, somewhat natural reference point for assessing domestic achievements in the field of art. A significant role was played here by Paris's unchallenged position as the capital of artistic culture and the undying rivalry on many planes between the Germans and the French. In line with a somewhat stereotypical view, the relations between French and German painting could be summarized thus: the French school was characterized by virtuosity, theatricality, splendour, verve, lightness, and freedom, but also by superficiality, shallowness, and triviality, while the German school was characterized by modesty, economy, attention to detail, seriousness, and reflection. Raczyński also made comparisons between the two schools, but he was

Konstanty Kalinowski, "Die Bildergalerie des Grafen Athanasius Raczyński," in Konstanty Kalinowski and Christoph Heilmann, eds., *Sammlung Graf Raczyński*, 18–32, esp. 25–27;
 M. Piotr Michałowski et al., *Galeria Atanazego Raczyńskiego*.

⁶⁴ See: Christoph Heilmann, "Graf Athanasius Raczyńskis Sammlung zeitgenössischer Malerei."

too refined in his assessments to be content with the simplistic picture outlined above. 65

Raczyński's complex attitude towards contemporary French painting need not be analysed in detail here, having been discussed thoroughly in France Nerlich's excellent monograph *La peinture française en Allemagne 1815–187*0.⁶⁶ However, several important points should be addressed.

Raczyński studied French art during his many visits to Paris. Some of them, such as his visit in the spring of 1836, were planned solely to serve this purpose.⁶⁷ Raczyński could also admire French painting in Berlin, where it enjoyed great popularity and was at times even more widely displayed than in France – at *Kunstverein* exhibitions, in galleries, and on the art market, where it was promoted by Friedrich Sachse.⁶⁸ Raczyński commented on contemporary French art primarily in the first volume of The History of Modern German Art, and more precisely, in the first chapter, where he recalls his stay in France in 1824 and his study trip to Paris at the turn of March and April 1836 (the account was first published in the journal Musaeum and then included as an annex to his book on German painting).⁶⁹ His second description is particularly interesting. It contains a list of the paintings currently being exhibited in the French capital, accompanied by a short commentary. Raczyński sees a variety of directions and aspirations in French painting. He recognizes its value: its spirit and originality, boldness, brilliance, careful observation, nobility, and truth.⁷⁰ He observes with satisfaction that artists, for the most part, had freed themselves 'from all the errors [...] that the revolutionary spirit had led French painters to commit in the late eighteenth century.'71 However, what Raczyński valued most in art – the ideal, the sublime, and style – could not be found in most French works. Art in France was too political; it was too dependent on changing moods and short-lived fashions. Historical painting often seemed too

⁶⁵ See in particular: Athanasius Raczyński, *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst*, vol. 1, 390–397. Also: Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "Französische Historien- und deutsche Geschichtsmalerei," 263–271.

⁶⁶ France Nerlich, *Le peinture française en Allemagne 1815–1870*, 101–103, 171–172, 297–308.

⁶⁷ Raczyński devotes several paragraphs to his stay in Paris ('pour voir l'état des arts en France') in a letter to his sister-in-law, Konstancja Raczyńska, dated 20 April 1836; MNP, MNPA–1414–48, pp. 82–83.

⁶⁸ France Nerlich, Le peinture française en Allemagne 1815–1870, 3. On the reasons for his situation see also 7–11.

⁶⁹ Museum, Blätter für bildende Kunst, no. 19, 21, 22 and 24–25 from 1836; Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 1, 337–397. For more on Raczyński's account see: Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "Französische Historien- und deutsche Geschichtsmalerei."

⁷⁰ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 1, 394.

⁷¹ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 1, 360–361.

anecdotal. Religious painting was unconvincing because it generally did not grow out of a real, deeply felt spiritual experience. Of course, Raczyński found artists in France whose works aroused his considerable enthusiasm, including Léopold Robert (who was, in fact, Swiss), whose 'genius was directed toward that which is ideal and sublime;' Paul Delaroche, who was free from 'all ornamentation, from all mannerism' (his *Execution of Lady Jane Grey* being 'one of the most beautiful works of new art'); Ary Scheffer, who did not paint in a classic style, but was endowed with a 'depth of feeling' that always protected him from 'arrogance, wickedness, and carelessness;' Victor Schnetz, who ever since Raczyński first saw his art 'maintained his great talent;' and Louis Etienne Watalet, who like no other landscape painter was able to 'represent nature with such truth in its overall impact.⁷² I list these particular artists because Raczyński had already acquired their works or would soon acquire them for his collection. In total, a dozen or so works by French artists, including ten oil paintings (the others were watercolours or gouaches), could be found in Raczyński's gallery.⁷³ However, what mattered most was not their quantity but their quality. Among them, there were true masterpieces that aroused powerful emotions in art lovers. This label was applied to two paintings in particular: a replica of the famous The Reapers by Léopold Robert, commissioned in 1834 but uncompleted at the painter's death by suicide in March 1835 (Fig. 119),⁷⁴ and Paul Delaroche's Pilgrims in Rome, commissioned during a visit to the artist's studio in the spring of 1836 and delivered more than a decade later.

Both paintings were put on display at major exhibitions in Berlin. *The Reapers* was shown at an exhibition at the Academy of Arts in 1836,⁷⁵ while *Pilgrims* was displayed at the *Kunstverein* exhibition in 1847. However, a truly appropriate context for their viewing was provided by Raczyński's collection. Since it included works by both old and contemporary German and French masters, it allowed viewers to study the paintings comparatively. As early as the 1830s, the outstanding Berlin art historian Friedrich von Rumohr had pointed to this unique comparative aspect of the Count's collection, which had been 'compiled with a most specific idea in mind, that the achievements of contemporary German schools could compete with well-made paintings from

⁷² Athanasius Raczyński, *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst*, vol. 1, 340, 342, 355, 358, 359.

⁷³ See: France Nerlich, *Le peinture française en Allemagne 1815–1870*, 299–308.

See: "Das letzte Gemälde von Léopold Robert," *Museum. Blätter für bildende Kunst*, No. 13, den. 28. März 1836, 100–102.

^{See the discussion of the painting in: "Bericht über die Berliner Kunst-Ausstellung (Eröffnet am 18. September 1836),"} *Museum. Blätter für bildende Kunst*, No. 40, den 3. October 1836, 313–319, 315–316.



FIGURE 119 Léopold Robert, Summer Reapers Arriving in the Pontine Marshes, 1834–1835 RACZYŃSKI FOUNDATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP FR 502

earlier eras.⁷⁶ The anonymous author of a series of articles devoted to the collection, published in 1842 in the journal *Allgemeines Organ für die Interessen des Kunst- und Landkartenhandels*, made similar observations.⁷⁷ Interested readers could easily verify the opinions of both authors and make their independent assessments of both individual works and the collection as a whole as the gallery was open to the public.

⁷⁶ Friedrich von Rumohr, *Reise durch die östliche Bundestaaten in die Lombardey und zurück über die Schweiz und den oberen Rhein, in besonderer Beziehung auf Völkerkunde, Landbau und Staatswirtschaft* (Lübeck: Rohden, 1838), 21–22.

⁷⁷ Allgemeines Organ für die Interessen des Kunst- und Landkartenhandels, No. 48, 26. November 1842, 190.

CHAPTER 12

The Gallery

I want this Gallery to be open to the public.

Athanasius in a letter to Edward Raczyński dated 5 July 1829

•••

1 A Temple to Art

Raczyński devoted a few paragraphs only to what he saw as the mission and essential features of an art museum or gallery. Read, however, in the context of his writings on the meaning and role of artistic creativity in general, and of the discourse of his contemporaries on the nature and social role of museums, these passages, despite their brevity, are very rich in meaning. Raczyński's views on art crystallized at a very specific moment in time. While he expressed his artistic views most fully in his *History of Modern German Art* (1836–1841), they were already well formed by the first half of the 1830s. It was the time when the Royal Museum in Berlin first opened its doors.

The establishment of this museum in the Prussian capital in 1830 was preceded by a fierce debate over its purpose, the proper means for selecting works, the rules governing their exhibition, and the relationship between an art collection and the architecture that housed it.¹ The most renowned public figures and scholars of the period took part in this debate, which continued even after the museum had opened. Raczyński's words can be treated as one voice in this discussion. However, to understand them more fully, we need to

See: Christoph Martin Vogtherr, "Das Königliche Museum zu Berlin. Planungen und Konzeptionen des Ersten Berliner Kunstmuseums," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, Neue Folge 39, Beiheft (1997); Idem, "Die Auswahl von Gemälden aus den preußischen Königsschlössern für die Berliner Gemäldegalerie im Jahr 1829," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, Neue Folge 47 (2005), 63–76; Hermann Lübbe, "Wilhelm von Humboldt und die Berliner Museumsgründung 1830," *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* XVII (1981), 87–109; Elsa von Wezel, "Die Konzeptionen des Alten und Neuen Museum zu Berlin und das sich wandelnde historische Bewusstsein," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, Neue Folge 43, Beiheft (2001); Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "Altes Museum, Berlin: Building Prussia's First Modern Museum," in Carole Paul, ed., *The first modern museums of art: the birth of an institution in 18th- and early 19th-century Europe* (Los Angeles: Paul Getty Museum, 2012), 285–303.

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go back in time to the 1780s and examine two examples of cities with longer histories as museum sites: Vienna and Dresden. First, however, let us read what Raczyński wrote.

Raczyński's most important observations on art museums may be found in the third volume of his *History of Modern German Art*. While the Count is commenting here specifically on an exhibition at the Royal Museum in Berlin, his views are mostly of a more general nature. His guiding thought seems quite programmatic: 'The museum is a temple to taste. It need not be complete or ordered chronologically if this can only be achieved at the expense of taste. I am therefore of the opinion that many paintings have to be moved so that their ugliness can be hidden away in buildings where one goes merely to study the history of art and which are visited only by those who devote themselves to this goal. I believe that a gallery's main purpose is to provide pleasure to those endowed with good taste, to develop good taste in those who lack it, and further reinforce and sharpen the good taste of those who already possess it.'²

Raczyński writes from the perspective of an aesthete. What he looks for first of all in a museum is beauty and its associated pleasures, not academic order or knowledge. The beauty of art was of great importance to him. He considered the experience of art to be something akin to a religious experience – and hence the comparison he draws between a museum and a temple. Taste, in turn, for him is nothing more than a sensitivity to beauty; it is the ability to recognize and appreciate beauty. Raczyński's views are thus very close to what has been labelled 'art-as-religion' (Kunstreligion). This was an aesthetic concept that postulated that art and religion were indeed connected and shared similar goals. In the early nineteenth century, Kunstreligion constituted an important trend in the theory of art. However, by 1830 it already seemed somewhat dated.³ However, the main reference point for Raczyński's views was not Kunstreligion, but a discussion on the proper arrangement and function of museum exhibitions inspired in large part by the reorganization in the late eighteenth century of the imperial picture gallery in Vienna, but which was also part of a broader discourse that continued in many European cities until the 1850s.

The imperial collection of paintings in Vienna underwent significant changes, initiated by Maria Theresa and Joseph 11 between 1772 and 1782. The

² Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 3, 18-19.

³ See texts included in: Albert Meier, Alessandro Costazza and Gérard Laudin, eds., *Kunstreligion. Ein ästhetisches Konzept der Moderne in seiner historischen Entfaltung, Band 1. Der Ursprung des Konzepts um 18*00 (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2011), and in particular: Detering, Heinrich. "Was ist Kunstreligion? Systematische und historische Bemerkungen," in *Kunstreligion*, 11–27.

collection was inventoried, catalogued, moved from Stallburg to new rooms

in the Upper Belvedere, and rearranged.⁴ Initially, Joseph Rosa was appointed director of the collection. Rosa was a painter specializing in landscapes and idyllic scenes who came from a Viennese family with long artistic traditions and had been in the service of Frederick Augustus 11 in Dresden for over twenty years. In 1779, Rosa was dismissed (we do not know why exactly), and Christian von Mechel was appointed the new director. Mechel was a Swiss engraver who was something of a jack-of-all-trades: having worked professionally as a successful publisher, manager of a prospering engraving workshop, and as an enterprising art dealer.⁵ When he became the director of the royal gallery, it was already preparing to re-open. However, over the next few months (until June 1781), Mechel thoroughly rearranged the gallery, much to the excitement of the general public. Mechel arranged the paintings in the Belvedere according to two principles: (i) by national schools (Italian, Netherlandish, and German), further divided into regional schools; and (ii) in chronological order, this being the first time such a system had been applied in Europe on such a grand scale. The first principle governed the organization of paintings on the ground floor, while the latter was used on the first floor. For the most part, the exhibition on the first floor documented the chronological development of Northern European oil painting. This was the most important, though not the only change made to the arrangement proposed by Rosa. The works were also displayed differently: they no longer covered every part of the walls but were instead hung at some distance from one other. Mechel used, or 'engaged,' the wall as an important element of the exhibition. The wall began to be seen

⁴ On the reorganization of the gallery in Vienna, see Debora J. Meijers' excellent study Kunst als Natur. Die Habsburger Gemäldegalerie in Wien um 1780, übersetzt von Rosi Wiegmann, (Wien: Skira, 1995). Also: Anette Schryen, "Die k. k. Bilder-Galerie im Oberen Belvedere in Wien," in Bénédicte Savoy, ed., Tempel der Kunst. Die Entstehung des öffentlichen Museums in Deutschland 1701-1815 (Mainz am Rhein: Zabern, 2006), 279-308; Debora J. Meijers, "Classification as a Principle. The Transformation of the Vienna K.K. Bildergalerie into a 'Visible History of Art' (1772-1781)," in Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert, Bernadette Collenberg-Plotnikov and Elisabeth Weisser-Lohmann, eds., Kunst als Kulturgut. Band II. "Kunst" und "Staat" (München: Wilhalem Fink Verlag, 2011), 161–180; Karl Schütz, "Die Einrichtung der Wiener Gemäldegalerie durch Christian von Mechel," in Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert, Bernadette Collenberg-Plotnikov, Elisabeth Weisser-Lohmann, eds., Kunst als Kulturgut. Band II, 145-159; Nora Fischer, "Kunst nach Ordnung, Auswahl und System. Transformationen der Kaiserlichen Gemäldegalerie in Wien im späten 18. Jahrhundert," in Gudrun Swoboda, ed., Die kaiserliche Gemäldegalerie in Wien und die Anfänge des öffentlichen Kunstmuseums, vol. 1: Die Kaiserliche Galerie im Wiener Belvedere (1776-1837) (Wien - Köln - Weimar: Böhlau, 2013), 23-89.

⁵ See: Lucas Heinrich Wüthrich, *Christian von Mechel. Leben und Werk eines Basler Kupferstechers und Kunsthändlers* (1737–1817) (Basel-Stuttgart: Hembing & Lichtenhahn, 1956).

as a neutral and passive background on which the dynamic story told by the paintings takes place.

These changes were not only technical. They were also an expression of a new way of thinking (but with roots in the eighteenth century) about the museum itself: its essence, function, role, and visitors. Mechel clearly expressed the aims of his novel approach in the introduction in the gallery catalogue published in 1783: 'The objective of all these efforts was to make use of this beautiful edifice, which is highly appropriate for the purpose through its divisions into numerous rooms, in such a way that both the arrangement as a whole and each of its parts would be educational and would approach most closely a visible history of art. Such a large collection, established to cultivate knowledge and not merely to provide passing pleasure, can be compared to a library in which a reader hungry for knowledge can enjoy works of all kinds and from all periods, not only what is attractive and perfect, but alternating contrasts. By contemplating and comparing such works – which is the only way to attain knowledge – one can develop into a connoisseur of art.'6 Historical knowledge over aesthetic experience, knowledge over pleasure, and expertise over passion: in order to better understand the meaning of these opposites, we can compare the gallery in Vienna with another extensive and famous art collection - the Dresden picture gallery. Raczyński knew both collections well.

Since 1746, the House of Wettin's collection in Dresden had been housed in its separate building. The collection was reorganised in 1763. The paintings were divided into two categories: the works of Italian masters displayed in an inner gallery leading from the courtyard, and the works of Northern European masters displayed in the outer gallery. Within these two groups, the paintings were not subject to further topographic or chronological classification. Their arrangement was governed by aesthetic concerns such as decorativeness, symmetry, and sympathetic association with neighbouring works. This arrangement, as the authors of the collection's catalogue, Johann Anton Riedel and Christian Friedrich Wenzel, explained was meant to help develop viewers' artistic taste.⁷ By comparing various works that were hung close to one another, the audience was able to enjoy their beauty and at the same time to form and verify artistic judgements. The Dresden Gallery was conceived as a collection of masterpieces, documenting the different stages of Europe's

⁶ Christian Mechel, Verzeichnis der Gemälde der Kaiserlich Königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien verfaßt von Christian von Mechel der Kaiserl. Königl. und anderer Akademien Mitglied nach der von ihm auf Allerhöchsten Befehl im Jahre 1781 gemachten neuen Einrichtung (Wien, 1783), XII-XIII.

⁷ Johann Anton Riedel, Christian Friedrich Wenzel, *Catalogue des tableaux de la Galerie Electorale à Dresde* (Dresden: H. Hagenmuller, 1765).

artistic development through its most perfect representatives. The assumed ideal was not a complete collection of historical and documentary value subjected to strict classification but a persuasive and visually pleasing exhibition. Naturally, the collection was also meant to educate the public. However, in his Viennese gallery, Mechel had a different understanding of what educating the public entailed.

The galleries in Dresden and Vienna not only pursued (or at least prioritized) different goals, these were also aimed at different audiences. The Dresden collection was intended for art experts and enthusiasts who were already knowledgeable about the subject and capable of dating and identifying the author of any given work and who considered art a source of aesthetic delight. Mechel's Viennese collection, in turn, was addressed to novice art students interested in a systematic study of art history. As an art expert and enthusiast himself, Raczyński found the Dresden model more appealing.

Mechel's system of classification became the subject of lively debate in the specialist press. Friendly and even enthusiastic opinions were widely expressed, mainly because Mechel's proposals fitted well with a temporal conceptualization of knowledge, a trend that was clearly visible in the natural sciences and humanities in the latter half of the eighteenth century. This was followed in the nineteenth century by the triumph of historical thinking. Chronological organization soon became the most important organizing principle for art museums throughout Europe.⁸ This does not mean, however, that this system was accepted without reservations, doubts, or protests.

Mechel left Vienna in 1781 under mysterious and apparently unpleasant circumstances. He moved to Berlin in 1805, hoping to advance his career by establishing an art museum in the Prussian capital. Contrary to his expectations, he did not play a major role in the city's cultural life, but the concept he devised for a museum was well received. It inspired Alois Hirt, who in 1797 presented a public petition to the Prussian King calling for the creation of an art museum in Berlin.⁹ The museum finally opened more than thirty years later, on 3 August 1830. The idea behind the institution had changed significantly over these decades. Initially conceived as being architecturally and ideologically linked with the city's art academy, the museum was ultimately housed in a separate building in the so-called *Lustgarten.*¹⁰ It was thus placed in a unique

⁸ This tendency proved to be long lived: it was not widely questioned until recent decades, when in the wake of changing expectations among the public and the so-called new museology, it faced a thorough critical reassessment.

⁹ Christoph Martin Vogtherr, "Das Königliche Museum zu Berlin," 39.

¹⁰ Christoph Martin Vogtherr, "Das Königliche Museum zu Berlin," 115–123.

urban context, manifesting its spatial and semantic ties not only with the art academy and artistic education but also with power (it faced the royal castle) and knowledge (its proximity to the university).¹¹ This new architectural context also signalled changes in the role of the museum. While both Hirt and Christian Karl Bunsen, a scholar, a long-time Prussian envoy in Rome and one of the prominent figures shaping Prussian cultural policy at that time, believed that a museum should be an educational institution and that its target audience were artists, for other key participants in the discourse on the role of the museum, such as Karl Friedrich Schinkel, the architect who designed the museum building, the art experts Gustav Friedrich Waagen and Carl Friedrich Rumohr, this was a secondary concern. In April 1829, an ideological and personal conflict led to Hirt's dismissal from the museum committee, the body supervising work on the new museum. The following month, Wilhelm von Humboldt became the committee's new chairman. His authority greatly influenced the final shape of the exhibition, including the layout of the picture gallery on the first floor (sculptures were housed on the ground floor).

We learn more about Humboldt's intentions from two documents he wrote while on the committee. The first document is a letter to Waagen dated 22 May 1829, the other the final report prepared for King Frederick William II, dated 21 August 1830. Like Waagen, Rumohr, and Schinkel, Humboldt sought to achieve some sort of harmony between aesthetic pleasure and the historical and artistic education offered by the museum and the works exhibited within it. In a letter to Waagen, he wrote:

I think that aesthetic and historical needs impose, in fact, similar requirements when it comes to the organization of the gallery. Anyone interested in the history of art would like no less than an art lover, unconcerned with the systematic study of art, to get a full and proper impression of every painting he views. Indeed, in matters of art, even a scholar can justify and base his judgment solely on his feelings and aesthetic impressions. An exhibition must therefore be able to create such an impression in a full and undisturbed manner, enhanced whenever possible by favourable combinations of [works] for both the expert and art lover.¹²

¹¹ See Horst Bredekamp and Adam S. Labuda, "Kunstgeschichte, Universität, Museum und die Mitter Berlins 1810–1873," in Horst Bredekamp and Adam S. Labuda, eds., *In der Mitte Berlins.* 200 Jahre Kunstgeschichte an der Humboldt-Universität ("Berlin" Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2010), 25–49.

¹² Cited from: Christoph Martin Vogtherr, "Das Königliche Museum zu Berlin," 61.

Consequently, the committee decided to divide the paintings into three main sections: Italian works and those connected with Italian painting; Dutch and German paintings; and 'antique artefacts and historical and artistic curiosities' (mainly early Renaissance Italian painting). Within these main categories, further divisions were introduced. These were governed by various criteria.¹³

As we have seen, Raczyński did not approve of the organization of the exhibition, but this is understandable given that he rejected its underlying premises. Nor did he believe in trying to seek a balance between the historical and aesthetic merits of an exhibition, but rather, he prioritised the latter. Raczyński believed that academic and historical goals were impossible to realise if matters of taste were neglected. In his assessment of Berlin, where artistic taste had given way to other considerations, he was highly critical. 'Our museum is a temple to deception and trickery,' he stated in 1841.¹⁴ Two years later, he wrote:

The right-hand side of the museum is two-thirds full of old relics of anti-Raphaelesque paintings that are so ugly that children may find them frightening. There is no need to cover all the walls with paintings. Keep these peculiar and terrible specimens in five, six, or seven rooms, and keep them securely locked so that no one will steal them from you, and don't show these paintings to the public, as they will make them hate art.¹⁵

Raczyński was so critical of the museum in Berlin because he believed that the essence and the main goal of art was to bring pleasure by means of beauty. Thus, in accordance with his theory of art, a museum of art should be dedicated to beauty. He believed a museum that favours chronological organization at the expense of aesthetic pleasure is fatally flawed. It only serves a secondary purpose and only benefits a small group of professional art historians. A museum must promote aesthetic criteria in order to accomplish its social mission of making people sensitive to beauty and, indirectly, to goodness, as well.

For Raczyński, aesthetics and ethics were inseparable. He associated beauty not only with truth but also with goodness. The Count wrote: 'beauty in art is what truth is in relation to religion and morality, or rather these are two truths

¹³ For more on this subject: Rainer Michaelis, Christoph Martin Vogtherr, "Die erste Anordnung der Gemäldegalerie im Alten Museum 1830," in Kunst als Kulturgut. Band II, 227–247.

¹⁴ DIARY, 13 May 1841.

¹⁵ DIARY, 3 November 1843.

that are actually one and the same.'¹⁶ The ability to recognize beauty, or artistic taste, was so desirable because beauty leads to virtue.

This long-standing concept was discussed in detail by eighteenth-century German aestheticians, including Immanuel Kant, Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, and Johann Georg Sulzer. The latter wrote: 'Reason and morality are the first requisites for those who would lift themselves out of the dust and elevate their nature, but this rising is consummated by taste, which completes both reason and morality. [...] Taste leaves nothing of man's natural rawness but makes him sensitive to all goodness.'17 Sulzer thus justifies the social and political role played by art: art makes individuals, and indirectly, societies, better. It seems that Raczyński fully agreed with Sulzer. Indeed, he too believed that art and politics were intertwined and saw the state authorities as being culpable for the mediocrity of contemporary art: 'Governments are responsible for the fact that bad taste is triumphant, and that bad taste is a stain on our nation's history.'¹⁸ Athanasius wrote extensively about the need to develop and cultivate good taste in art. He wrote about the importance of erudition in general, of learning how to perceive beauty and moral behaviour, and of avoiding passing trends ('the greatest cause of our souls going astray') and negative influences. Those who meet these conditions are able to discover within themselves an innate supreme ideal of beauty, das Urbild des Schönen, thanks to which their experience of beauty will be one that is 'delicate, proper, and in harmony with the laws of nature.'19 Naturally, when art is consistent with the essential ideals of truth and nature, it makes people better and more virtuous. For Raczyński, good taste and good morals were almost synonymous.²⁰ It is thus understandable that he believed that museums and art galleries played a unique role in society.

This does not mean, however, that Raczyński totally rejected chronological order as a means of illustrating the history of artistic developments. In his *History of Modern German Art*, Raczyński gives a voice to his critics; in it, he published two articles by the respected scholars Karl Wilhelm Wach and Johann Gottlob von Quandt, who were in favour of the chronological organization. In his commentary on the articles, Athanasius wrote:

¹⁶ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 1, 31–32.

¹⁷ Cited from: James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World. From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 8.

¹⁸ Athanasius Raczyński, *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst*, vol. 3, 15–16.

¹⁹ Athanasius Raczyński, *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst*, vol. 1, 31.

²⁰ Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska, "Galeria Atanazego Raczyńskiego," 18.

I am convinced, like Mr. Wach and Mr. Quandt, that chronological order is the only one suitable for a great gallery of paintings. Taste, as well as reason, would suffer if we saw Carl Maratti next to [Fra Giovanni da] Fiesole [Fra Angelico] or Perugino. I do not think, however, that the gallery should hold too many repulsive paintings, ones dating back to the earliest period of the revival of art and bearing traces of this. There should only be a few such paintings, even in an extensive collection. I also believe that works that do not fully represent a great artist should not be included in the Royal Museum.²¹

Raczyński thus recognized the value of the chronological arrangement. He simply objected to the fact that in some cases an excessive number of paintings that did not meet the required aesthetic criteria were included in a collection solely because they met certain historical criteria.

Several years later, in 1859, Raczyński once again publicly voiced his opinion on this issue as a member of the newly appointed Advisory Committee at the Royal Museums in Berlin. He argued that paintings that did not meet the aesthetic criteria did not belong in the museum. He explicitly named several works that were, in his opinion, unworthy of being displayed in a public institution and formulated more general remarks regarding the mission of a museum of art. Taste was again treated as a normative category and the ultimate criterion for selecting the works to be exhibited. 'In general, I think,' Raczyński wrote, 'that objects that cause an adverse impression do not belong in a museum, and if [they are included in the collection], then only for reasons that have nothing to do with art. Such objects confuse the concepts of virtue and hurt the feelings and taste of true art lovers and experts, as well as all people endowed by nature with artistic sensitivity.'²²

Raczyński's criticism also related to another important issue. According to him, 'repulsive' paintings by the Old Masters should be removed (though not literally, as they should be displayed in an area designated for them), and their place should be taken by outstanding works by contemporary painters. 'We should buy old paintings because our museum must possess good works by the greatest masters of the classical age. However, since costs must be appropriate to the goals and means, it is far more important to support the revival of modern art than to buy [older] works that are often less valuable than new paintings.'²³ If the museum followed such a policy in its purchases, Raczyński

²¹ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 3, 434.

²² A transcript of Raczynski's speech is contained in his diary: DIARY, 14 November 1859.

²³ Athanasius Raczyński, Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, vol. 3, 17.

argued, it would play an essential role in improving and promoting contemporary art. Indeed, the museum itself would change as well. By collecting both old and contemporary works, it would become a space for dialogue between old and modern art. It would educate the public about the ancestry of contemporary artists, and at the same time, emphasize their originality.

Raczyński was not the only critic to suggest similar postulates. Also, Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, an informal external advisor to the museum committee, claimed that one of the museum's departments should be devoted to 'the most outstanding contemporary artists.'²⁴ However, contemporary German art was not displayed in the museum until forty years later. And when it finally was the case, modern paintings were exhibited not alongside historical works but in a separate building of the National Gallery.

Apart from Rumohr, the painter Wilhelm Schadow, another important representative of German artistic life in the first half of the nineteenth century, expressed views close to Raczyński's. In fact, Schadow's ideas greatly influenced Athanasius' own.²⁵ Schadow refers to all the main points listed by Raczyński in his discussion on the concept of the museum. He believed that galleries and museums played an important role in 'raising and improving the human spirit;' he questioned chronological ordering, saying it was detrimental to aesthetic value; he argued that mediocre old paintings were over-represented in museums and 'that there is little or no room left for the works of talented living artists;' and he criticized the doctrinal approach of incompetent art 'experts.' The views of both Schadow and Raczyński are indeed quite similar. While this convergence of views was no coincidence, it does not mean that the latter drew upon the former for ideas, but rather that both men voiced similar positions as a result of earlier discussions between them. This is all the more probable given that Schadow expressed his mature views only in 1854 in a fictionalized treatise entitled The Modern Vasari (Der moderne Vasari. Erinnerungen aus dem Künstlerleben. Novelle). The above quotes come from this text.²⁶

What Raczyński found lacking in the Berlin museum, he adopted in his private gallery. In one room, there was a dynamic interaction between old and contemporary paintings that were hung next to one another. These had been

²⁴ Pia Müller-Tamm, "Rumohrs Verhältnis zur Kunst seiner Zeit," in Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert, Bernadette Collenberg-Plotnikov and Elisabeth Weisser-Lohmann, eds., *Kunst als Kulturgut. Band III. Musealisierung und Reflexion* (München: Wilhalem Fink Verlag, 2011), 87–98, esp. 87.

²⁵ Helmut Börsch-Supan, "Die 'Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst' von Athanasius Graf Raczyński," 19.

²⁶ Wilhelm von Schadow, Der moderne Vasari. Erinnerungen aus dem Künstlerleben. Novelle (Berlin: Hertz, 1854), 118–121.

selected according to an aesthetic key that was meant to allow one to experience the essence of art and beauty and thereby satisfy and refine one's good taste. Raczyński's reflections on the museum and its organizing principles constituted the theoretical background for his exhibition praxis. While he fully developed his concepts in Berlin, it was in Poznań that the notion of an art gallery open to the public was first conceived.

2 A Joint Undertaking: The Gallery in Poznań

On 26 February 1823, Edward Lubomirski, a relative and close friend of the Raczyński brothers, died as a direct result of a duel with Ignacy Grocholski. In 1827, acting on behalf of Athanasius, Edward Raczyński bought the plot of land in Poznań where his brother's gallery would be built.²⁷ There are indications that these two events were, in fact, closely related.

Before his death, on 24 January, Edward Lubomirski dictated a letter containing instructions regarding the division of his property.²⁸ Edward Raczyński, who was the letter's addressee, was to play a special role in this process. Since Edward was 'his best friend,' Lubomirski asked him to execute his will. Raczyński was also requested to publish his friend's book about England and to found a hospital with money Lubomirski had set aside for this purpose. Lubomirski also left his friend: 'All my books, all the papers that are in Warsaw, Radzymin, and Dubno are yours, my beloved Edward, [...] and my paintings.'²⁹ Raczyński took his obligations seriously.³⁰ He published Lubomirski's book,

²⁷ Unfortunately, documentation concerning the history of the Poznań gallery is scarce: a few remarks are found in letters between the brothers and the modest correspondence between Athanasius and the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel, preserved among Athanasius' notes (LV, vol. 47a: *Correspondenz mit Künstlern und Kunsthändlern, Belege, Notizen, Manuskripte,* MNP, MNPA 1414/47a, pp. 693–699). There are as well as two iconographic sources, a drawing by Julius Minutoli and a more detailed drawing in Edward Raczyński's *Memoirs of Wielkopolska*. The building itself ceased to exist and the design drawings have been lost as well.

²⁸ APP, Majatek Rogalin, 68, no. 1–2.

²⁹ Edward Lubomirski bequeathed to Athanasius 'all drawings and engravings in Warsaw, Dubno and Radzymin.'

³⁰ See a file from the former archive in Rogaliń containing documents related to the inheritance proceedings conducted by Edward Raczyński after the death of Prince Edward Lubomirski, contains materials relating to, among other things, bequests of assets, the construction of a church in Radzymin, the sale of his estate in Radzymin and the establishment of an ophthalmic hospital in Warsaw; APP, Majatek Rogalin, 68.

entitled *Statistical and Political Outline of England* in 1829 and wrote a preface to it.³¹ Several months later, an ophthalmic hospital (the Prince Edward Lubomirski Eye Institute) was opened in Warsaw.³² Edward also took great care of the books and works of art he inherited from Lubomirski. Had he added them to his family collection and housed them in the palace in Rogalin, they would have been reduced to a mere intimate memento of his late friend. He had no desire to do this as his aim was to build up and preserve the memory of Lubomirski in the collective consciousness. This could only be accomplished if these works of art were displayed in a gallery that was open to the public in the main city in the province. Edward's intention was to show these works as a distinct group and to commemorate their previous owner with an inscription. Ultimately, Athanasius felt he had to intervene because he considered the inscription proposed by his brother to be too grandiloquent. In a letter from December 1827, when the concept behind the gallery was materialising, he wrote:

Don't you think that an inscription under the paintings which reads *from the collection* etc. would be too pompous, because *collection* implies something more. I think that the following inscription would be better: *From Prince Edward Lubomirski* and at the bottom of the frame, not on the gilded part, but on this side: *Count Edw. Raczyński inherited this painting from Prince Edw. Lubomirski in* 1823 and added it to the Gallery of the Raczyński entail in 1827.³³

It seems that Edward Raczyński played as important role in creating the gallery in Poznań as Athanasius. His contribution was perhaps even decisive. Edward Raczyński wished to commemorate Lubomirski by creating a gallery open to the public where the works he had inherited from his friend could be displayed. The fact that he would be creating a perfect *pendant* for, or even extension of, the palace and library he was building must have been an incentive as well. While it is true that his younger brother Athanasius was the owner of the plot of land on which the building was erected and the official founder of the gallery, Edward was very probably its inspiration and the driving force behind the project. Edward lived in Poznań and Rogalin and

³¹ Edward Lubomirski, *Rys statystyczny i polityczny Anglii przez Edwarda Xcia Lubomirskiego* (*Dzieło pogrobowe*) (Poznań: W. Decker i Kompania, 1829).

³² *Tygodnik ilustrowany*, no. 282, 18 February 1865, 60–62 (the article contains an illustration depicting the hospital).

³³ Letter to Edward Raczyński dated 30 December 1827: APP, Majątek Rogalin, 76, p. 206.

could thus supervise the construction works, discuss various technical solutions, and motivate Athanasius to allocate money for construction purposes. Edward's letters testify to his deep commitment to and emotional involvement in the construction of the gallery. Athanasius, on the other hand, seems more reserved. It is also telling that there is no mention at all of the gallery in Poznań in his diary. While the gallery was under construction, Athanasius was living in Berlin and, in fact, wanted to move to the Prussian capital permanently. His stay in Poznań in 1827 and the unpleasant proceedings in the provincial parliament only made him distance himself from the hometown, with which he already had a problematic relationship. This does not mean that Athanasius simply obeyed his brother. He too thought the prospect of opening a publicly accessible gallery exciting; in 1827, he already owned a number of significant works of art and believed that they should be displayed in public. Nevertheless, he could not have completed this project without Edward's encouragement and involvement.

Architecturally and ideologically, the gallery was most closely associated with the palace and library founded by Edward Raczyński. At the end of 1816, Edward Raczyński made his first attempt to purchase a plot of land in Poznań in the prestigious Wilhelm Square (Wilhelmsplatz, now Plac Wolności), where he wished to build a representative building combining a residence and a library.³⁴ Due to administrative difficulties, negotiations between Raczyński and the Prussian authorities continued for several years and only ended in the spring of 1821. Finally, an agreement between the parties was signed on 27 October 1821. Construction works were completed in 1829. The library was officially opened on 5 May 1829 following a symbolic ceremony, while it opened to the public three years later. At the same time, Edward also made efforts to buy an adjacent plot of land at Wilhelm Square for Athanasius where the gallery would be built. When this transaction fell through due to the objections of the Interior Minister Friedrich Schuckmann, Athanasius purchased a different plot of land in 1827. It was also adjacent to the plot of land on which the palace and the library had been erected, but it was on Wilhelm Street (Wilhelmstrasse, now Aleje Karola Marcinkowskiego). The gallery was erected on that plot of land as a wing of the palace. Construction works began in 1828 and ended in 1829.

On the history of the palace and library see: Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska, Architektura i budownictwo w Poznaniu w latach 1780–1880 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Miejskie, 2009), 192–203; Tadeusz J. Żuchowski, "Biblioteka w Poznaniu – fundacja i forma architekton-iczna" in Adam S. Labuda, Michał Mencfel and Wojciech Suchocki, eds., Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy. Dzieła – osobowości –wybory – epoka, 162–179.

The idea of combining the gallery, palace, and library was an excellent one. Seen as a private residence, the buildings carried a powerful symbolic message, demonstrating the prestige and wealth of the family. As a public institution, it was part of a long-honoured tradition, dating back to the Alexandrian *museion*, of combining a library and a museum.³⁵

The gallery building was commissioned from the Berlin architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel in late 1827. In a letter from 30 December, Athanasius informed his brother: 'Schinkel will come to me on Thursday. We will decide on the concept of the room, the façade, and the lighting.' The expression 'we will decide' (nous arreterons) may be a rhetorical convention but it more likely indicates Raczyński's active participation in the design process. Detailed design drawings were made by Schinkel's pupil and collaborator Carl Friedrich Reichardt. On-site works under the supervision of Edward were conducted by the building contractor Abicht, who also worked for Raczyński on the library. Edward, as has already been emphasized, was very involved in the construction works. 'Your gallery impresses me,' he wrote enthusiastically in January 1829, assuring his brother that: 'we will get a lot done this year.'³⁶ A few weeks later, he inquired: 'You spent three thousand *écus* in 1829 [on the gallery], how much will you spend in 1830?' In one of his subsequent letters concerning the roof, he encouraged Athanasius to allocate additional money for construction works: 'a thousand *écus* more and we could finish the building on the outside and protect the walls from moisture next winter. You decide, and I will do it.'³⁷ In a letter from Dresden dated 5 July 1829, Athanasius commented extensively on the financing of the building:

You ask me, my dear Edward, am I spending a lot of money on the building in Poznań where I plan to display my paintings. [...] I allocated 10,000 thalers for this building, from which it is necessary to deduct what has already been spent on it. Next, then, every St. John's Day and every New Year Kananowski will pay you 1000 Rthl [thalers] until the money mentioned above runs out. I promised the *Oberpräsident* [Theodor von

³⁵ On the museum-library tradition see: Jörg-Ulrich Fechner, "Die Einheit von Bibliothek und Kunstkammer im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, dargestellt an Hand zeitgenössischer Berichte," in Paul Raabe, ed., Öffentliche und Private Bibliotheken im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Raritätenkammern, Forschungsinstitute oder Bildungsstätten? (Bremen und Wolfenbüttel: Jacobi, 1977), 11–31.

³⁶ Letter from Edward Raczyński to Athanasius dated 30 January 1829; BR, Poznań, ms 4223, pp. 14–15.

²⁷ Letter from Edward Raczyński to Athanasius, undated, from late February or early March 1829, APP, Majątek Rogalin, 78, pp. 17–19.



FIGURE 120 Edward Raczyński's Library and Athanasius' Gallery in Poznań, drawing in Edward Raczyński's Wspomnienia Wielkopolski, 1843

Baumann, the President of the Grand Duchy of Poznań] that the outside of the building would be finished by October 1831, and I would like to keep this promise.³⁸

From what can be reconstructed based on an engraving from *Memories of Wielkopolska* (Fig. 120), the new gallery was a horizontal two-storey building measuring approximately 35 by 10 metres and was slightly lower than the palace.³⁹ The façade overlooking the street was austere: the uniform rhythm of the rusticated lower storey was interspersed by eight windows grouped in pairs, while the much higher upper storey was dominated by the large rectangular pilaster-framed windows of the exhibition rooms, separated by stretches of smooth wall. The only decorative elements were two antique-style

³⁸ Letter to Edward Raczyński dated 5 July 1829; APP, Majatek Rogalin, 78, p. 45.

³⁹ On the gallery's architecture see: Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska, Architektura i budownictwo w Poznaniu, 203–207; Eva Börsch-Supan, Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Die Provinzen Ost- und Westpreußen und Großherzogtum Posen (München-Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2003), 143–145.

statues placed in niches on the edges of the second storey. Perhaps, as Eva Börsch-Supan and Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska claim, these were personifications of painting and drawing.⁴⁰ The whole elevation was crowned with a moulding and an attic. The caretaker's apartment and, probably, the artists' studios were on the ground floor, while the exhibition rooms were on the first floor. The paintings were to be displayed in bigger rooms overlooking the street, while graphic works and drawings were probably intended to be displayed in smaller rooms overlooking the courtyard.⁴¹ The building's simplicity and excellent proportions testified to its artistry. The large windows on the first floor and the sculptural decorations indicated the building's intended destiny as an art gallery.

Raczyński gave a vivid description of how he pictured the layout and functioning of the gallery in a letter he wrote to his brother from Dresden in the summer of 1829:

I'll reveal to you what I intend for this picture gallery. The number and organization of paintings are indicated in the plan I showed you in Berlin. These paintings, together with the building, are to be included in the entail. 1st and 2nd class [paintings] are non-transferable. 3rd and 4th class can be replaced by the entail holder, but no painting can be removed unless it is replaced by a different one, and I ask that my successors replace the paintings they take down with better ones. I want this Gallery to be open to the public, but I do not impose this obligation on the entail holder. During a war, the paintings should be taken out of Poznań by the entail holder or guardians, but they must return to the gallery in Poznań when the war ends. The paintings and sculptures cost me nearly 20,000 Rthl [thalers], and the building cost me 10,000.

As we can see, already during construction works, Raczyński had a clear vision for the gallery, including its organization, management, and the arrangement of paintings. Athanasius also wished to ensure that his project would survive: the building and collection were to be included in the entail and treated as an inalienable part of the family property. As far as the collection was concerned, Raczyński's plans were successful.

⁴⁰ Eva Börsch-Supan, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 144.

⁴¹ Marceli Motty described the gallery building as follows: 'The building was in fact built and furnished [the rooms holding the paintings – M.M] especially for this purpose; I was there several times and saw inside two large, high rooms with large windows; there were some small rooms on the low ground floor;' Marceli Motty, *Przechadzki po mieście*, 138.

Unfortunately, the drawing mentioned in the letter showing how the paintings in the gallery were grouped and organised could not be located. Therefore, we can only speculate on their possible layout. We know that the pictures Edward inherited from Lubomirski and the works of old and contemporary masters collected by Athanasius were to be displayed. Among the latter, as we have seen, many were true masterpieces. However, the gallery was conceived from the outset as a dynamic structure – it was thus meant to grow. In March 1828, Athanasius wrote to his brother:

I have a small assignment for you. In the Carmelite or Camaldolese church in the meadow [St. Joseph's church in Poznań] there are two ancient paintings from the thirteenth or fourteenth century depicting a king and a queen. They are hung quite high. Take a look at them with Fuhrman. Make sure you know when they were painted. Write to me whom the paintings depict and let me know whether I could possibly acquire them but in such a way that I would not have to hide my ownership afterwards ... Baumann and the city would have to agree to that. We could give them copies. Do you think it would be a good plan for acquiring and displaying these paintings in the gallery?⁴²

As evidenced by a letter from autumn 1832, Edward was also involved in buying paintings. While the gallery is not mentioned in the letter, the artworks in question were most likely acquired to be displayed in Poznań:

I wrote to Ulrich about Canaletto and Orłowski, but it occurred to me that the Russians would be prepared to purchase the painting and take it to St. Petersburg. That is why I wrote to your wife yesterday, asking her and her sister to do all they could to buy it outside of the auction. We could buy it cheaper at auction, but in this way, we can be certain we'll get it. This painting is so important that I would walk 15 miles for it. The auction of Baron Mohrenheim's paintings will be equally important. I think you saw them. He was a minister in Spain and had some real Velázquez and several other strangely beautiful easel paintings. In any case, I wrote to Ulrich in your name, asking him to send me a catalogue, and I will write to my wife, asking her to pick up the catalogue on her way back through Warsaw. When it is so difficult to have something good done

⁴² Letter to Edward Raczyński dated 18 March 1828; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 77, pp. 237–238.

on commission, you have to stick to auctions, at least you know what you're getting. $^{\rm 43}$

This letter is important because it shows that in 1832 the gallery was still a work in progress. The pictures mentioned by Edward were indeed purchased. Athanasius bought Canaletto's large historical painting depicting the *Election of Stanislas II Augustus of Poland at Wola*, originally from the collection of the last Polish king, and two gouache drawings by Aleksander Orłowski, originally from the collection of the late Aleksander Bniński.⁴⁴

But why did the Raczyńskis even consider building a gallery that would be open to the public in Poznań? I have already discussed Edward's motives. Meanwhile, Athanasius' decision to make the collection public was based on two premises. First of all, it is very likely that Athanasius' belief that art played an important role in society made him want to display his collection in public for the moral betterment of humanity. Secondly, the decision to show the collection to the public was connected with his social status and standing. As has been mentioned above, Raczyński stated in 1822 that the collection 'would be a claim to fame for my family.'

The link between social status and collecting art was fully recognized during the Renaissance. Indeed, since the mid-sixteenth century, art had become a token of power and high social standing.⁴⁵ However, in the mid-eighteenth century, this belief was significantly redefined. As a result of ongoing political and social processes – the formation of public opinion and its recognition as a powerful political force, and pressure from artists, scholars, and art enthusiasts – more and more private collections, primarily those owned by

⁴³ Letter from Edward Raczyński to Athanasius from ca. 15 October 1832; APP, Majątek Rogalin, 78, pp. 374–376.

Raczyński paid a substantial sum of 5300 florins for the Caneletto painting and 600 for the gouache by Orłowski; both works were purchased from Aleksander Bniński's widow, Duchess Maria née Radziwill (see LV: *Canaletto*, MNP, MNPA 1414/3). The auction mentioned by Edward of paintings and artistic objects from the estate of Baron Paul Mohrenheim took place in Warsaw on 4 March 1834 (see Korespondent, no. 59, 2 March 1834, p. 238); the Raczyńskis, however, did not take part in the auction.

⁴⁵ See: Renate Zedinger, "Sammeln, forschen, fördern – Aspekte adeliger Lebensgestaltung im konfessionellen Zeitalter," in Herbert Knittler, ed., Adel im Wandel. Politik-Kultur-Konfession 1500–1800, exh. cat. (Wien: Amt der Nö Landesregierung, 1990), 461–467; Gerrit Walther, "Adel und Antike. Zur politischen Bedeutung gelehrter Kultur für die Führungselite der Frühen Neuzeit," Historische Zeitschrift 266, H. 2 (1998), 359–385; Karl Siegbert Rehberg, "Weltrepräsentanz und Verkörperung. Institutionelle Analyse und Symboltheorien – Eine Einführung in systematischer Absicht," in Gert Melville, ed., Institutionalität und Symbolisierung. Verstetigungen kultureller Ordnungsmuster in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2011), 3–49.

rulers and public officials, were becoming open to the public.⁴⁶ In German states, to use an example close to Raczyński, almost all galleries owned by princes were already available to the public by the end of the eighteenth century, sometimes with restrictions ('the public' was, in fact, generally limited to the social, intellectual and increasingly financial elite). Rulers were being forced to redefine their cultural role and find new propaganda tools to legitimize their actions: they gradually became the guardians of public culture. The traditional role played by art and art collections in princely courts (glorification of the ruler) did not disappear but instead changed once the collection was opened to the public. Possessing luxurious and beautiful objects was no longer a prince's only possible claim to fame. In order to attain recognition, he had to open the collection to the general public (and not just to the elite). In the nineteenth century, 'the museum age,' as Germain Bazin puts it,47 in most European countries, this process culminated in the transformation of royal collections into public institutions under the auspices of the state. Aristocratic collectors from Italy, England, France, Russia, and other European countries recognized these changes and opened their galleries to the public. Athanasius Raczyński was also well aware that for art to become a mark of social status, it must be publicly displayed, not merely owned.

However, Raczyński's paintings were never displayed in the gallery in Poznań. In the spring of 1834, the Count decided to move to Berlin and buy a house there. This effectively meant that the plan to display his paintings in the gallery in Wielkopolska would not come to fruition.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the building erected by the brothers functioned for some time, at least periodically, as

⁴⁶ See the studies contained in: Carole Paul, ed., *The first modern museums of art.* Also: James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World.*, 14–25.

⁴⁷ Germain Bazin, *Le temps des Musées* (Liège: Desoer, 1967).

⁴⁸ Konstancja Raczyńska's comments in a letter to Athanasius dated 27 June 1834 on his decision to abandon the project to open a gallery in Wielkopolska is often quoted (after Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska) in the literature: 'And now, dear Mr. Athanasius, I am here in Rogalin, returning happily from Podole. I stopped in Poznań and saw with regret that the Poznań Medicis have halted their progress and there will be no gallery. I heaved a sigh because I don't like disappointments, and I pictured this as something already finished, with you walking among the artists, (...) our city, at last, elevated in status, honoured and blessed;' MNPA 1441–48, p. 12. Marceli Motty later ironically commented on Raczyński's decision in the following words: 'Mr. Athanasius Raczyński, a Prussian diplomat, and later an envoy in Madrid, who devoted heart and soul to the highest court and governmental circles in Prussia, was most likely angry with his fellow countrymen, for whom he never had any weakness, for showing him such rudeness in the 1830s and in exile, and in order to punish them, he abandoned the idea of sending his paintings to Poznań, and ended up giving them to the government or to Berlin, where you have probably seen them more than once;' Marceli Motty, Przechadzki po mieście, 138-139.

a gallery where the public could see selected paintings from Athanasius' collection. From 1837, biennial public exhibitions of contemporary painting were organized in Poznań by the Society of Fine Arts for the Grand Duchy of Poznań, established in 1836.⁴⁹ The first four exhibitions were organized by the Society in Raczyński's gallery (which was also occupied at the time by the Drezdeński Hotel). It was only due to the reconstruction of the building in the mid-1840s that these exhibitions were moved to the Saski Hotel. Raczyński was among the founding members of the Society and lent his works for its exhibitions. Among the 800 paintings put on display in 1837, he was the owner of works by Wilhelm Schadow, Karl Sohn, and Hermann Stilke. Two years later, Raczyński lent Léopold Robert's famous painting *The Reapers* to the Society. During the first two exhibitions, Raczyński almost certainly had a decisive influence on the selection of the works.⁵⁰

At the time, Raczyński already had a gallery that was open to the public. However, it was not located in Poznań but in Berlin.

3 A Small but Tasteful Picture Gallery

The context in which Raczyński's gallery functioned in Berlin was completely different from that in Poznań, where his gallery would have been a one-of-a-kind initiative without any rivals.⁵¹ In Berlin, however, it would be just one part of an extensive and dense network of artistic and exhibiting institutions. Among these was a museum opened in 1830 to make available to the public the collections previously held in royal residences and an academy that organized cyclical exhibitions. There were also many artists' studios, antique shops, and private collections of different sizes with varying levels of public access, some of which enjoyed a high public profile and an established position on the cultural map of the capital city. Leopold von Zedlitz-Neukirch described them in 1834, shortly before the opening of Raczyński's gallery:

⁴⁹ Magdalena Warkoczewska, "Towarzystwo Sztuk Pięknych w Poznaniu w latach 1837–1848. Przyczynek do problemu kształtowania się mecenatu zbiorowego w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku," *Studia Muzealne* 9 (1971), 7–20, esp. 10.

⁵⁰ Magdalena Warkoczewska, "Towarzystwo Sztuk Pięknych w Poznaniu," 12.

⁵¹ A permanent public exhibition of artwork was not established in Poznań until 1881, when the first gallery of the Mielżyński Museum at the Society of Friends of Science was opened. See: Magdalena Warkoczewska, "Zbiory historyczno-artystyczne Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk do roku 1914," in Dorota Suchocka, ed., Ars una species mille. 150 dzieł na 150-lecie Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu ze zbiorów Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, exh. cat. (Poznań: Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, 2007), 7–14.

Berlin is home to many wealthy private individuals with beautiful collections of paintings, engravings, antiquities, and weapons. The collection of his excellency Mr. Nagler, head of the post office, is excellent both in terms of the variety of objects and their value. Among the distinctive items in his collection are many autographs and other literary rarities. It is with great pleasure that visitors and locals admire Count von Ross's collection, which, displayed in beautifully decorated rooms, boasts an unusual number of Persian, Indian, Chinese, and Japanese objects, works made of gold, silver, mother of pearl, amber, and ivory – some of which are inlaid with precious stones – as well as furniture and valuable fabrics. When it comes to private picture galleries, the banker M. Wolff's picture gallery stands out. The picture gallery of the banker and consul Wagener is equally grand and impressive, though he owns beautiful paintings of living masters only. The collections of the banker von Halle and the merchant Thiermann are also exquisite but small. The collections of paintings and engravings owned by the Arnous brothers (traders), the banker Bendemann, Geheimrat Beuth, city councillor Friedländer, Count von Redern, and the widow von Lilienern, as well as the pharmacist Rose's collection of engravings, etc., are also worth a visit. To this group we should add General Minutolli's collection, which boasts paintings and Egyptian artefacts as well as antiquities from other parts of the world.⁵²

In Berlin around the year 1830, institutions publicly exhibiting art were but a small part of a much larger artistic milieu, comprising painters, sculptors, and architects, many of whom had ties with the Royal Art Academy and the Building Academy, as well as scholars, experts, and critics.⁵³ Some scholars, such as Gustav Friedrich Waagen (the first director of the Berlin *Gemälegalerie*) and Karl Friedrich von Rumohr, were highly renowned experts. From the outset (i.e. from 1810), the theory and history of art were included in the university curriculum and was allotted a Chair in the Faculty of Philosophy. In the 1830s, lectures on the history of art were given by Aloys Hirt (associated with the university from its establishment until 1836), Heinrich Gustav Hotho (who also published *Lectures on Aesthetics* by his teacher Georg Wilhelm Hegel),

Leopold Freiherr von Zedlitz-Neukirch, Neustes Conversations-Handbuch für Berlin und Potsdam zum täglichen Gebrauch der Einheimischen und Fremden aller Stände (Berlin: A.W. Eisersdorff, 1834), 399–400.

⁵³ On the character of Berlin's artistic landscape around 1830 see: Cyrus Hamlin, "Philosophie der Kunst, Kunstmuseum, Kunstwissenschaft: Die Stadt Berlin um 1830 und danach," in *Kunst als Kulturgut. Band III.*, 119–137.

and Franz Kugler.⁵⁴ The art market was thriving, thanks in large part to Louis Friedrich Sachse, who not only traded in art but also introduced in Prussia a new technique for making large-scale lithographic reproductions of paintings.⁵⁵ In 1825, the Society of Friends of Art (*Verein der Kunstfreunde im preußischen Staate*) was founded by members of artistic circles close to Wilhelm von Humboldt. Almost twenty years later, the Society had nearly 2,500 members. All of this proves that the art scene in Berlin was indeed lively. This provided the context for Raczyński's activity in the field of art after 1834.

Raczyński quickly found a distinguished place for himself in the art scene, or more precisely – the gallery scene of the Prussian capital. From the early 1840s to the 1870s, his collection, first exhibited in an annexe to his house at Unter den Linden, and then in his palace at Exercierplatz, was described in travel guides as one of the most important art collections open to the public in Berlin. In 1842, Louis Weyl mentioned it among eight private galleries 'that visitors and locals can visit at certain times,' and listed 51 works on display in it.⁵⁶ Similarly, in an extensive and punctilious description of Berlin institutions holding exhibitions from 1856, Max Schasler devotes much attention to 'Count Raczyński's gallery of paintings.^{'57} It is also mentioned in Karl Baedeker's guidebook from 1855, Hermann Alexander Müller's guidebook from 1857, Hans Wachenhusen's guidebook from 1869, Friedrich Morin's guidebook from 1860, Robert Springer's guidebook from 1861 (which also includes an illustration of Raczyński's palace), K.L. Kapp's guidebooks from 1869 and 1871, and others.⁵⁸ Raczyński's museum was also recommended in foreign guidebooks,

⁵⁴ See: Horst Bredekamp and Adam S. Labuda, eds., *In der Mitte Berlins.* 200 Jahre Kunstgeschichte an der Humboldt-Universität.

⁵⁵ France Nerlich, Le peinture française en Allemagne 1815–1870, 107–124; Anna Ahrens, "Vom ,Kunstsinn für die Jetztzeit." Ein Blick auf den Kunstmarkt in Preussen während der 1830er und 1840er Jahre," in Birgit Verwiebe and Angelika Wesenberg, eds., Die Gründung der Nationalgalerie in Berlin. Der Stifter Wagener und seine Bilder (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2013), 45–60.

⁵⁶ Louis Weyl, Der Führer durch die Kunstsammlungen Berlins. VIII. Privat-Kunstsammlungen. Ein unentbehrlicher Anhang zu allen Beschreibungen und Fremdenführern der Residenz (Berlin: Oehmigke, 1842), 34–37.

⁵⁷ Max Schasler, Berlin's Kunstschätze, Abtheilung II. Die öffentlichen und Privat-Kunstsammlungen, Kunstinstitute und Ateliers der Künstler und Kunstindustriellen von Berlin. Ein praktisches Handbuch zum Besuch des Königlichen Schlosses, des Palais vom Hochseligen Könige, der sämmtlichen öffentlichen Galerien, Sammlungen, Künstlerateliers u.s.f. (Berlin: Nicolai, 1856), 284–292.

⁵⁸ Karl Baedeker, Handbuch für Reisende in Deutschland, Mittel- und Nord-Deutschland. Nach eigener Anschauung und den besten Hülfsquellen (Coblenz: K. Beadeker, 1855), 4; Hermann Alexander Müller, Die Museen und Kunstwerke Deutschlands. Ein Handbuch für Reisende und Heimgekehrte, Erster Theil: Norddeutschland (Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1857),

including in subsequent editions (from the ninth edition, published in 1853) of John Murray's popular travel guide.⁵⁹ After Raczyński's death – until the palace was demolished – the gallery continued to be recognized internationally. An engraving and a brief description of it were published, for example, by Henry Vizetelly in his socio-cultural portrait of Berlin from 1879.⁶⁰

The growing success of Raczyński's gallery - the poet Heinrich Stieglitz devoted an extensive and enthusiastic passage to it in his poem Gruß an Berlin⁶¹ in 1838 and Princess Dorothea von Dino two years later in her diary called it 'the best private collection in Berlin'62 – came about as the result of several factors. Firstly, the collection was from the outset displayed in a separate and carefully designed room. It was in a close and symbolic relationship with the Count's residence, though architecturally and ideologically distinct from it. Secondly, since its first days, the collection had been made widely available to the public. Its public nature was emphasized by a printed catalogue, the first edition of which was published in 1838, with subsequent updated editions being issued in later years. These two characteristics gave Raczyński's gallery a quasi-museum character (Stieglitz simply calls it 'a private museum') and situated it along with the royal and princely collections and those of Joachim Heinrich Wagener, Pierre Louis Ravené (from 1850), and a few others, in the small and prestigious group of galleries of the mid-nineteenth century which though privately owned were also public spaces. It was this fact, more than the

^{305–307;} Hans Wachenhusen, Illustrierter Fremdenführer durch Berlin und Potsdam. Mit einem Vorwort und einer Schilderung des Berliner Volkslebens (Berlin: J.C. Huber, 1859), 60; Friedrich Morin, Berlin und Potsdam im Jahre 1860. Neuster Führer durch Berlin, Potsdam und Umgebung. Ein Taschenbuch für Fremde und Einheimische (Berlin: Nicolai, 1860), 42–43; Robert Springer, Berlin. Ein Führer durch die Stadt und ihre Umgebungen (Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1861), 303–304; K.L. Kapp, Kapp's Berlin im Jahre 1869. Neuer und vollständiger Führer mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Verkehr, Handel, Industrie, Kunst u. Oeffentl. Leben (Berlin: K.L. Kapp, 1869), 171–172.

⁵⁹ John Murray, A Handbook for Travellers on the Continent: Being a Guide to Holland, Belgium, Prussia, Northern Germany, and the Rhine from Holland to Switzerland, Ninth Edition (London: J. Murray, 1853), 345.

⁶⁰ Henry Vizetelly, Berlin under the New empire. Its institutions, inhabitants, industry, monuments, museums, social life, manners, and amusements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), vol. 1, 201.

⁶¹ Heinrich Stieglitz, Gruß an Berlin. Ein Zukunftstraum (Leipzig: F.U. Brockhaus, 1838), 27–29.

⁶² Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord, Herzogin von Dino, *Aus der Chronik der Herzogin von Dino späteren Herzogin von Talleyrand und Sagan 1840–1862*, herausgegeben, mit Anmerkungen und biographischem Index versehen von der Fürstin Anton Radziwill geborene von Castellane, einzig autorisierte Uebersetzung von Freiherr von Cramm (Berlin: C.A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1911), 31 (entry in the DIARY dated 8 June 1840).

quality of the works on display, that distinguished Raczyński's gallery from the other numerous private galleries in Berlin (in 1842, Louis Weyl listed eight such galleries, while the meticulous Max Schasler several years later listed almost a hundred). Raczyński's collection was all the more popular because the Count was quick to incorporate new works that excited the audience. The first was the enthusiastically received Battle of the Huns by Wilhelm von Kaulbach, which, according to press reports, 'aroused the greatest interest among all art lovers and artists, so that the [gallery] room was packed with visitors each day.'63 A couple of years later, it was followed by the slightly less enthusiastically received *Christ in Limbo* by Peter von Cornelius.⁶⁴ It was apparently Kaulbach's monumental painting that led Princess Dino to express the words of praise for Raczyński's gallery quoted above, as the remaining works did not seem to suit her tastes. Last but not least: Raczyński's gallery was accorded recognition by the general public and art experts because in the same year as it opened, the first volume of his monumental and widely discussed *History of* Modern German Art was published. Athanasius thus made his debut in Berlin simultaneously as a collector and an art expert, which effectively elevated the status of his gallery. As a reviewer of Raczyński's book wrote in Kunstblatt, the most important German art magazine of the nineteenth century, 'Raczyński is a happy collector of young artists, endowed with a keen artistic sense, who sees works of art not as a luxury or an object of accidental preference, but as a means of elevating the heart and mind and as a subject for philosophical

⁶³ Friedrich Förster, "Die Hunnenschlacht. Großer Carton von Kaulbach in München (gegenwärtig im Besitze des Grafen Raczyński in Berlin)," Ost und West, Blätter für Kunst, Literatur und geselliges Leben, no. 18, 1837, 138–139. Discussions concerning the painting, meticulously compiled by Raczyński in his Libri veritatis, also appeared in the following journals: Museum, Blätter für bildende Kunst, no. 40, 2 Okt. 1837, 313–315 (Franz Kugler's article "Die Hunnenschlacht. Grosser Carton von Wilhelm Kaulbach"), Erste Beilage zur Königl. Privilegirten Berlinischen Zeitung, no. 244, 25 Okt. 1837 (Friedrich von der Hagen's article "Die Hunnenschlacht") and in the London daily The Morning Post, 30 Oct. 1837 (an anonymous article entitled "The Battle of the Ghosts"), and later, also in Allgemeines Organ für die Interessen des Kunst- und Landkartenhandels, no. 4, 23. Januar 1841, pp. 18–19 (anonymous article entitled "Wilhelm Kaulbach") and No 40, 1. October 1842, pp. 157– 158 (anonymous article entitled "Kaulbach"). See also: Hans Müller, Wilhelm Kaulbach, 319–323.

⁶⁴ The press devoted significant attention to this image as well. See e.g.: *Kunstblatt*, no. 2, Donnerstag, den 4 Januar 1844, 5–7 (M. Unger's article "Ein Blick auf die Kunstrichtung der alten und neuen Zeit, mit Verziehung auf das neuste Gemälde von Peter von Cornelius: 'Christus erscheint in der Vorhölle, um den Geistern, die im Gefängnisse dem Erlöser entgegen haarten, zu predigen' (1. Brief Petri 3, 19);" his discourse is continued in the following editions: no. 3, Dienstag, den 9 Januar 1844, 9–11; no. 4, Donnerstag, den 11. Januar 1844, 13–15; no. 5, Dienstag, den 19 Januar 1844, 17–18).

reflection.^{'65} All this was taking place as art was becoming increasingly popular in Germany. The same year Raczyński opened his gallery, an anonymous author wrote enthusiastically in the magazine *Museum*: 'We live in a time when universal interest in art is manifesting itself with the greatest liveliness. It has become so popular that it brings to mind the happiest periods in the history of artistic creativity and calls for explicit recognition.'⁶⁶

Raczyński's gallery was opened in the summer of 1836. On 2 August, Athanasius wrote in his diary: 'My picture gallery is ready. I finished hanging the paintings yesterday.'⁶⁷ A few days earlier, several friends from the worlds of art and politics received the following invitations: 'On the third of August, I hope to see my Old Master paintings hanging on the walls. I would be very pleased if you would sit at four o'clock that day at my small round table in the grand hall (which has yet to be completed) to drink to our King's health with a few friends.'⁶⁸ The dinner party was attended by the sculptor Christian Daniel Rauch, the painters Karl Wilhelm Wach and Carl Joseph Begas, university professor of literature Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen (who at the time was translating Raczyński's work on German art), and the director of the royal picture gallery Gustav Friedrich Waagen. Friedrich Rumohr was also invited but could not come. Thus, on 3 August 1836, on the birthday of Frederick William III and among toasts in his honour, Raczyński's, in his own words 'small but tasteful picture gallery' was opened at 21 Unter den Linden.⁶⁹

I am not recalling this occasion merely as an amusing detail. The inauguration ceremony had its significance. Raczyński's inviting just a handful of guests, mainly artists and people from the world of art, shows that although the gallery was open to the public, it was primarily intended for art lovers and experts. Furthermore, the fact that the opening ceremony coincided with the

⁶⁵ Kunstblatt, no. 36, Donnerstag, den 2 Mai 1839, 144.

^{66 &}quot;Ueber die Kunstvereine," *Museum. Blätter für bildende Kunst*, no. 11, den 14 März 1836, 81–84.

⁶⁷ In a letter sent a few days earlier, on 28 July 1836, to Karl Friedrich Rumohr, Raczyński wrote: 'My paintings were sent on the 12th of this month from a village in Galicia [i.e. from Zawada – M.M.] and I am expecting them today or tomorrow. It won't take me more than four or five days to get them in order;' UBA, Amsterdam, OTM: hs. 86 M 8.

⁶⁸ A copy of the invitation for Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen is found in: BR, Poznań, ms 2729/II, p. 43.

^{69 &#}x27;eine kleine aber gediegene Gemäldesammlung;' from Athanasius' letter to Edward Raczyński dated 3 August 836; MNP, MNPA 1414–48, pp. 100–101. The address Unter den Linden 21 was already known to Berliners interested in art and had its own connection to art collecting. Before the house was owned by Johann Christoph Lutter, from whom Raczyński purchased it, it was the home of an art dealer and collector named Lesser, who was the owner of a 'museum of art.' See: Valentin Heinrich Schmidt, *Wegweiser für Fremde und Einheimische durch Berlin und Potsdam und die umliegende Gegend, enthaltend eine kurze Nachricht von allen daselbst befindlichen Merkwürdigkeiten* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1821), 209.

CHAPTER 12

King's birthday was also certainly no accident. Raczyński surely planned to hold the event on this date in order to place the opening not only in a public context, but also an official, state context.

The gallery building and its arrangement can be precisely reconstructed based on diary entries, gallery catalogues, and reliable iconographic sources, such as a situational sketch made by Raczyński in a letter to Karl Friedrich Schinkel (Fig. 121) and a painting by Adolf Hennig (see Fig. 9). It contained a rectangular room that measured about twenty by eight metres and was roughly six metres high. The walls were painted red with a faux marble plinth at the bottom and a stucco cornice decorated with delicate ornaments at the top. This was complemented by a simple profiled portal frame on the side of one of the longer walls (Fig. 122). On the wall opposite the entrance, between the windows, three large paintings of Old Masters were hung: Canaletto's Election of Stanisław II August of Poland at Wola, Bernardo Strozzi's Abduction of Europa, and Jacopo Bassano's Venus in the Forge of Vulcan. Wilhelm Kaulbach's monumental Battle of the Huns was to be displayed on one of the side walls, to the left of the entrance. Its counterpart on the right-hand side was to be an author's replica of a great and widely discussed painting by Carl Friedrich Lessing depicting Jan Hus Before the Council of Constance.⁷⁰ These spectacular works by followers of Germany's two leading art schools - Munich (Kaulbach) and Dusseldorf (Lessing) - were meant to gaze at one another as if engaging in a dialogue. This was a very bold and timely idea because the relationship between the two schools was one of the key subjects of German artistic criticism in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The Munich and Dusseldorf schools, which both traced their roots to the same source (the paintings of the Nazarenes), were presented as being engaged in a heated debate, with each school bringing to the fore very different and, in some sense, opposing artistic ideals, which can be expressed in such binary oppositions as drawing versus colour, content versus visual appeal, heroism versus sentimentality, epicity versus lyricism, etc.⁷¹ This opposition was all the more piquant

The painting belonged to a series of Lessing's paintings that were very widely discussed – both for their artistic qualities and their political context (religious unrest in Prussia) – depicting episodes from the history of Hussitism and the life of Jan Hus (*The Hussite Sermon*, 1836; *Jan Hus Before the Council at Constance*, 1842; *Jan Hus Before the Stake*, 1850). Raczyński probably saw a sketch for *The Hussite Sermon* during his stay in Dusseldorf in 1833. For more on these works see: Ingrid Jenderko-Sichelschmidt, *Die Historienbilder Carl Friedrich Lessing* (Köln, 1973), 28–119; Vera Leuschner, *Carl Friedrich Lessing* 1808–1880. *Die Handzeichnungen* (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 1982), 158–193; Elke von Radziewsky. *Kunstkritik im Vormärz*, 118–125.

⁷¹ Ekkehard Mai, *Die deutschen Kunstakademien im 19. Jahrhundert*, 132–142; Christian Scholl, *Revisionen der Romantik*, 104–118.

16848/2 Behrenstr, Copenhagen in 9th you 1831 It shuts for Justenstyntone merticelight wift ba walfailare kour fo will if Sal an, unfure 33 ar nigs enninger all 90 chigo Sounds need the Behren Oto mulfaller, within find she fin auban a. S. c. So Marques deing graning and and by the say his it to in a find and a single the day of the lafe and and and the say and the THUR DEFINITION OF THE PARTY OF the finition for the juiged will it will Sinfe Ofraining Said with langer all plefor Saylatan Sayton . Dan als Sugar gurfact algement our de for pate in parent anim Pormelingo finanting any the Aring it win Way flag whe gradific entry for it win under den Lindan (Inch (21?) in for minner laffrankhan Rainer ; with , Caber renew advant garing unigen figt me she Chagan bequeen un lefton deman . Weyou Chuifs in Helling said Stafany The Infollow glich if interne soften quiffer d. e. mystanfr. Si Anthingh is & thereit definities frie carbe Sugar willfrilen. Ancefangen wais marofrity for far gafnimment allacky nil. 1. J. Mon the flat 88 Long & Something fill for theme the gauge flan bis to plan the face by a . an Andyern Gafrimmet Schinkel

FIGURE 121 Athanasius Raczyński, *The Gallery Building at Unter den Linden 21*, sketch in a letter to Karl Friedrich Schinkel, dated 24 January 1834 STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN, INV NO. SMB-ZA, IV-NL SCHINKEL 154

since Lessing with his Hussite paintings was presenting himself as some sort of artistic dissident, going beyond the principles formulated by the Dusseldorf Academy and shaking things up on the German art scene.⁷²

⁷² Christian Scholl, Revisionen der Romantik, 118–129.



FIGURE 122 Reconstruction of the walls and placement of paintings in Raczyński's first gallery in Berlin, set up in his home at Unter MADE BY MICHAŁ MENCFEL den Linden 21

Raczyński, however, managed to implement his idea only in part. While *The Battle of the Huns* was put on display in the gallery in September 1837, Raczyński ultimately decided not to acquire Lessing's painting due to the high asking price. Instead, another monumental painting, namely Peter Cornelius's *Christ in Limbo*, would later function as a kind of replacement. This painting was also placed in dialogue with *The Battle of the Huns*, though the aim was no longer to contrast differences between the two schools (both Cornelius and Kaulbach were members of the Munich school) but rather to compare works by the most prominent members of two generations of the same school.⁷³

The remaining paintings, some 25 in total, were arranged in two rows along the entrance wall. Raczyński placed them in accordance with very clear rules that represented a compromise between pragmatic, aesthetic, art-historical considerations. Large paintings were hung on the upper row; smaller ones were hung on the bottom row, at roughly eye-level. The works were arranged according to topographic, chronological, and (in part) thematic criteria, although these criteria were often subordinated to the demands of favourable context and visual appeal. Both Italian artists and Northern European masters were displayed together. Old Masters and contemporary painters, in turn, were hung separately. The exhibition was to be 'read' from left to right. The opening image was Sandro Botticelli's Madonna Among the Angels in the upper row. A sequence of Italian religious paintings (including Bergognone's Madonna and St. Christopher and St. George, Innocenzo de Imola's Holy Family, Sermoneta's Pietà, and Domenichino's Madonna and Child) followed. On the bottom row, from the left, were several Netherlandish religious paintings (attributed by Raczyński not without hesitation to Hans Baldung, Jan van Scorel, and Quentin Massys), followed by a group of small Italian religious works (including The Holy Family from the Bellini's workshop and Francia's The Holy Family), mythological paintings (Garofalo's Jupiter and Io), portraits (Portrait of Cosimo de'Medici from the Bronzino school), and genre scenes (Sofonisba's Chess Game). Paintings by contemporary German and French artists (Victor Schnez's Youth of Pope Sixtus V, Hermann Stilke's Pilgrims in the desert, Theodor Hildebrandt's Murder of the Sons of Edward IV, Léopold Robert's Reapers, and Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld's Song of the Nibelung) were hung on the right. This arrangement was rounded off by family portraits at the top (the portrait of Anetta Raczyńska painted by Karl Wilhelm Wach and a portrait of Raczyński's son Karol, which was added later). Friedrich Overbeck's Sposalizio and, apparently, Wach's Christ and the Pharisees were in the bottom row.

Letter to Peter Cornelius dated 7 May 1840: LV, vol. 14: Peter Cornelius, MNP, MNPA 1414/ 14, p. 4.

With its division into Italian and Northern European paintings and general respect for chronological order, Raczyński's gallery was organized following the rules governing most contemporary exhibiting institutions at the time. As we have seen, the paintings in the Berlin museum were arranged according to similar principles.⁷⁴ Perhaps Raczyński also borrowed the idea of selecting a spectacular work as the starting point for the exhibition from the Berlin Museum. In the museum, this role was played by paintings by Antonello da Messina (for the Italian works) and Jan van Eyck (for the Netherlandish paintings). In Raczyński's gallery, this role was played by Botticelli's tondo. As we can recall, Athanasius was critical of the Berlin Museum and questioned its strict (or, according to Raczyński, too strict) organizational criteria. However, this did not mean that he could not find inspiration in a prestigious royal institution. The relationship between Raczyński's gallery and the Berlin Museum was visible, for instance, in the room's decoration. The main rooms of the Royal Museum were covered with burgundy wallpaper (with an intricate floral motif) with a dark green faux marble plinth at the bottom, and a gilded profiled cornice at the top.⁷⁵ The interior design of Raczyński's gallery was very similar; it was certainly partly because Karl Friedrich Schinkel designed both buildings. However, the thought that his gallery called to mind Berlin's most important exhibiting institution must have appealed to Athanasius.

Raczyński's collection was on display in the gallery at Unter den Linden for over a decade and also after the house was sold in December 1841. In the contract signed with the new owner, Raczyński reserved the right to use the gallery for the following six years until a new exhibition room was ready.⁷⁶ Even after the six years had elapsed, it did not cease to function as a gallery. As in Poznań, Raczyński's gallery in Berlin was used by the Society of Art Lovers, *Verein der Kunstfreunde im Preussischen Staate*. From autumn 1845, the Society held its exhibitions in Raczyński's old gallery building.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ For a more detailed treatment of this subject see: Rainer Michaelis, Christoph Martin Vogtherr, "Die erste Anordnung der Gemäldegalerie im Alten Museum 1830."

Rainer Michaelis, Christoph Martin Vogtherr, "Die erste Anordnung der Gemäldegalerie im Alten Museum 1830," 228–229. A dark red background was also considered appropriate for the presentation of paintings in other important European exhibitionary institutions in the first half of the nineteenth century. During renovation work at the Louvre between 1805 and 1810, most of the rooms had their previously olive-coloured walls repainted dark red. In Germany red painted walls were featured in the Munich-based Alte Pinakothek (opened in 1836), in the Stafford Gallery in England, and since the late 1840s in the National Gallery in London (founded in 1824).

⁷⁶ *Kunstblatt*, no. 23, Dienstag, den 22 März 1842, p. 92; *Zeitung für den deutschen Adel*, Vierter Jahrgang, no. 12, Februar 1843, p. 34.

⁷⁷ Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen, no. 231, 15 November 1845.

4 The Museum: 2 Exercierplatz

As the collection grew, Raczyński decided to build a new and more magnificent palace to house his newly acquired works of art. During a meeting with Frederick William IV on 14 March 1842, the monarch offered to let a plot of land to Athanasius at 2 Exercise Square (Exercierplatz), later called Royal Square (Königsplatz, today Platz der Republik), for the construction of a new residence to house his gallery. In documents from this time, the words 'museum' and 'picture gallery' are used no less frequently than the word 'palace' to describe the new building. The fact that Raczyński's palace was also a museum was ultimately confirmed following its expansion in the 1860s. The sculptural decoration on the facade of the new wings was significant in this respect. Following the example of many museums, including the museums of sculpture and painting in Munich and Berlin,⁷⁸ full-sized statues of artists were placed atop the crowning balustrade. The terracotta statues were designed by different sculptors and made by the March company in Berlin. They depicted the contemporary German artists valued highly by Raczyński (from left to right): Peter Cornelius, Johann Friedrich Overbeck, Wilhelm Kaulbach, Asmus Jakob Carstens, Christian Daniel Rauch, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Bertel Thorvaldsen, and Wilhelm Schadow.⁷⁹ In this way, Raczyński not only made it clear that the art collection contained within was a defining feature of the

The walls of Munich's museum of ancient and contemporary sculpture, known as the 78 Glyptothek, built between 1816 and 1830 at the behest of Ludwig I of Bavaria and designed by Leo von Klenze, were decorated with full-body figures: from the front - ideal and legendary artists and patrons of the arts: Prometheus, Vulcan, Daedalus, Phidias, Pericles, and Hadrian; from the west - masters of Renaissance sculpture: Ghiberti, Donatello, Michelangelo, Benvenuto Cellini, and Giovanni da Bologna; and from the east - contemporary sculptors: Antonio Canova, Bertel Thorvaldsen, Pietro Tenerani, John Gibson, Michael Ludwig Schwanthaler, and Christian Daniel Rauch. Even closer to Raczynski's concept was the solution chosen for the decoration of the painting museum, opened in 1836 by Leo von Klenze, the so-called 'Old Pinakothek' (Alte Pinakothek), whose façade was crowned with a balustrade decorated with 24 statues of artists who - in the words of the author of the sculptural programme, Johann Georg von Dillis, 'were responsible for new directions and forward progress in Christian painting.' See: Adrian von Buttlar and Bénédicte Savoy, "Glypothek and Alte Pinakothek, Munich: Museums as Public Monuments" in Carole Paul, ed., The first modern museums of art, 304-329, esp. 308 and 325.

⁷⁹ Models for the sculptures were provided by: Erdmann Encke, Julius Franz, Alexander Calandrelli, Gustav Blaeser, Friedrich Dracke and Wilhelm Stürmer; all of the statues were made between 1866 and 1869 by the Berlin-based March terracotta company. The figures depicting Carstens, Thorvaldsen, Cornelius and Schadow have been preserved and are kept in the Berlin National Gallery. Documentation on the palace decoration is collected in Volume 45 of *Libri veritatis* (LV, vol. 45: *Statuen an meinem Hause*, MNP, MNPA 1414/45). See also: Bernhard Maaz, ed., *Nationalgalerie Berlin. Das XIX. Jahrhundert.*



FIGURE 123 Franz Alexander Borchel and Joseph Maximilian Kolb, *Eine Partie am ehemaligen Exercierplatz in Berlin*, Raczyński's Palace-Gallery on the right, coloured steel engraving, 1854 LANDESARCHIV BERLIN, F REP. 250-01, NR. C 206-2

new building but also proposed an aesthetic profile for the collection in the form of a canon of contemporary German artists. Consequently, the building that was erected could be described, following Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska, as a residence-museum.⁸⁰

The new gallery was located on the third floor of Raczyński's palace (Fig. 123).⁸¹ It was finally opened in 1852 after Raczyński had returned to Berlin from his diplomatic mission in Spain. The gallery was initially open to the public for two hours a day, between noon and 2 PM, and later, four hours,

Bestandskatalog der Skulpturen (Leipzig: A.E. Seemann, 2006), vol. 1, 96, 145, 210–211, 218; and: Katharina Lippold, *Berliner Terrakottakunst des* 19. *Jahrhunderts*, 180.

80 Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska, "Siedziby-muzea. Ze studiów nad architekturą XIX w. w Wielkopolsce," 98–106.

⁸¹ For more on the gallery see: Elise F. Grauer, "Bridging the Gap – Count Athanazy Raczyński and His Galleries in Poland and Prussia," 24–35.

between 11 AM and 3 PM.⁸² A small fee was charged at the entrance. The gallery soon became one of the most popular and successful private museums in the Prussian capital. The English writer George Eliot, for example, considered visiting Raczyński's gallery and viewing his 'small but very choice collection of pictures' to be 'one of the greatest art-pleasures' during her stay in Berlin in March 1855.⁸³

Max Schasler described the gallery in 1856 as follows: 'There are some 130 paintings in the gallery. They are ordered by schools and divided into five main groups. When one enters the gallery [in fact, the palace], one can see stained-glass windows, in part old, in part new. At the top of the stairs, on the upper balustrade, there is a beautiful marble statue of *Ganymede* by Thorvaldsen. There is a large hall, about 24 feet high, with a timber roof truss. It is divided into two rooms by a low wall that does not reach the ceiling. Tall windows and a window in the roof let in a fine and strong overhead light that is excellent for viewing the paintings.'⁸⁴ To supplement this description, we could add that the windows – three in each room – had a northern aspect and were located in the upper part of the room.

A typical visit would have looked as follows: a visitor who arrived at the palace in the afternoon hours first addressed himself to the doorman. He then paid the entrance fee (in 1868, it was seven silver groschen) and received a catalogue to the collection, which was included in the fee. Next, he ascended the staircase, which was beautifully illuminated by the stained-glass windows and decorated with frescoes depicting Sybils and an Allegory of the Arts, designed by Kaulbach.⁸⁵ Once he reached the third floor in the company of a servant, he could admire the graceful sculpture of Ganymede on the balustrade. He then entered the gallery through a side door.

Unfortunately, we are not able to reconstruct fully the design of the room and the arrangement of the paintings. We should not assume that the works were hung on the walls in exactly the same order in which they were listed in the catalogues compiled by Raczyński or in Schasler's extensive inventory,

⁸² Max Schasler, Berlin's Kunstschätze, 284; K.L. Kapp, Kapp's Berlin im Jahre 1869, 172.

⁸³ George Eliot, *The Journals of George Eliot*, edited by Margaret Harris and Judith Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 254.

⁸⁴ Max Schasler, Berlin's Kunstschätze, 284.

⁸⁵ Produced in the latter half of the 1850s by Michael Echter, Wilhelm Peters, and Julius Detmers, the frescos depicted two sybils, one according to a drawing by Friedrich Overbeck, the other according to a fresco by Michelangelo, and a scene depicting the Allegory of Arts, designed by Wilhelm Kaulbach; *Die Dioskuren. Zeitschrift für Kunst, Kunstindustrie und künstlerisches Leben*, Jahrgang I, no. 10, 15 Aug. 1856, 98.

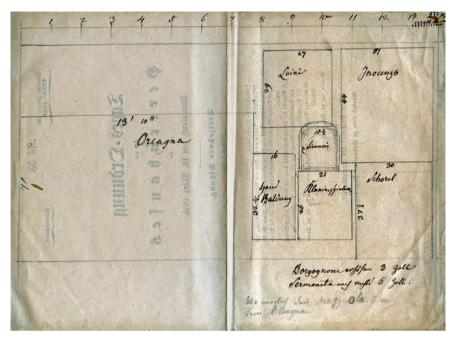


FIGURE 124 Athanasius Raczyński, *Sketch of the Placement of Works Exhibited in Raczyński's Gallery*, 1859, drawing in Libri Veritatis, vol. 47b, p. 937 NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, INV. NO. MNP MNPA-1414-47B

but the order was certainly at least partly consistent with these source documents. A sketch made by Raczyński in 1859 showing a section of a gallery wall and the planned arrangement of paintings on it demonstrates that the Count wished to coordinate the exhibition parameters (the viewing conditions, the sizes and formats of works, the reasons for determining which works should be displayed next to other works, etc.) with the means of classifying paintings (Fig. 124). The classifications were as follows: contemporary German painting, divided into regional schools; old Italian, German, Spanish, and Netherlandish painting; and modern French and Netherlandish painting. Was this system indeed followed? According to Joachim de Vasconcellos, who visited the gallery in 1871, at least in later years, this classification system was not followed. The Portuguese author wrote that 'the walls of both rooms were literally covered with canvases of different schools which were promiscuously arranged (*dispostas promiscuamente*), undoubtedly due to limited space.'⁸⁶ There was simply not enough room to hold this collection of almost 160 paintings. Moreover,

⁸⁶ Joaquim de Vasconcellos, Conde de Raczynski (Athanasius), 18.

as I have already mentioned, an integral part of the collection was an art history library and documents relating to Raczyński's activities as a collector.

As mentioned earlier, the Berlin palace and collection were added to the entail in 1847. The first paragraph of the foundation document of 22 May 1847 reads: 'as a special part of the estate, the museum I erected in Berlin in front of the Brandenburg Gate should be included and incorporated into it [the entail], along with the works of art on display in it, which are listed in Annexe C.' The existence and integrity of the collection thus seemed secure. But only to a limited extent as the continued functioning of the gallery in the future was expressed as a wish and not as an obligation. In a special note to Annexe C, the Count wished that the museum remain open to the public ('however, I will not impose such an obligation on myself or my successors'), open to artists who might wish to copy the works displayed within it ('however, only if they do so without taking the pictures home or removing them from their designated location'). He also wished the paintings to be lent for exhibitions only in exceptional cases ('because the paintings could be damaged in the process and the gallery could lose its integrity').⁸⁷

In 1879, Athanasius Raczyński's heirs sold the plot of land in the Royal Square and the palace to the German state. When the decision was made to demolish the residence, the future of the collection housed there was called into question. The conditions of the entail created in 1854 imposed on successive holders of the entailed estate the obligation to maintain the gallery as a public institution in Berlin. This obligation, in turn, resulted from the terms of the contract concluded in 1847 between Raczyński and royal proxies regarding the use of the land on which the palace was built (the plot of land was a gift from the monarch). As a result of negotiations conducted in the early 1880s by Karol, Athanasius' son, heir, and current owner of the entailed estate, with representatives of the Prussian administration, it was agreed that the collection should be lent to the state for twenty years and displayed in the National Gallery in Berlin.⁸⁸ This agreement, the so-called *Verwahrungs- und Verwaltungsvertrag*, was concluded on 7 September 1882. While the legal proceedings took several years to complete, the museum took possession of the collection on 2 April 1883 (except for seven paintings, mostly family portraits which were excluded from

⁸⁷ Abschrift der Fideicommiss-Stiftungsurkunde des Wyszyner Majorats und Annexen A bis H, BR, Poznań, no. 2726.

⁸⁸ A set of documents concerning this matter, including copies of relevant documents from years 1847–1903 are found in: GStA, Berlin, HA Rep. 84a, Justizministerium, no. 45518, pp. 131–133 oraz 212–255. Extensive documentation is also found in: SMB, Berlin, I/NG 1013–1014.

the entail in September 1885). It was exhibited in five rooms on the third floor of the Nationalgalerie at the beginning of the following year. Count Raczyński's family crest was placed above the entrance to the first room. A new catalogue for the collection was prepared by Lionel von Donop in the form of a booklet prefaced by a biographical note on the collection's creator.⁸⁹ At the beginning of the twentieth century, when the twenty-year contract obliging the state to maintain the collection was due to expire, the artworks' future was once again in doubt. The museum was no longer interested in the collection (with the exception of Botticelli's Madonna with Child and Singing Angels) and did not plan to renew the agreement. 'The nineteenth-century paintings in the collection,' the Kultusminister Affairs Konrad von Studt explained in a letter to Emperor Wilhelm II in 1901, 'are not nearly as good as the works in the National Gallery, while the older paintings, separated from the paintings in the Royal Picture Gallery, do not receive due recognition in an environment alien to them.'90 Raczyński's collection thus fell victim to a fundamental re-evaluation of nineteenth-century art and to the changes taking place at that time in collecting culture. In spite of changes made to the arrangement of the works in the collection in 1883, this seemed archaic. As noted in an anonymous report from 1902, 'as a whole, it no longer holds the meaning it once did for artistic life in the capital.'91 While the collection seemed archaic in Berlin, we read in the report that it could play an important cultural role in provincial Poznań, which was 'lacking in art treasures.' Under an agreement concluded on 14 March 1903. between the current inheritor of the Obrzycko entail and the owner of the collection Sigismund Raczynski, the Prussian Ministry for Clergy, Education and Sanitation, and the National Starostwo of the Poznań Province,92 the collection (191 objects in total) was moved from Berlin to the new provincial museum in Poznań (Fig. 125). Established in 1894, the museum was renamed

⁸⁹ Lionel von Donop, Verzeichniss der Gräflich Raczynski'schen Kunstsammlungen.

⁹⁰ Letter (presumably) from Konrad von Studt to Kaiser Wilhelm II dated 10 September 1901 in: GStA, Berlin, I на Rep. 89 Geh. Zivilkabinett no. 31049, pp. 78–81.

⁹¹ Denkschrift betreffend die Gräflich Raczynski'sche Gemäldesammlung, September 1902, in: GStA, Berlin, на Rep. 84a, Justizministerium, no. 45518, pp. 212–218.

⁹² See: Marian Gumowski, "Historja zbiorów Muzeum Wlkp. (z 3-ma anneksami: Umową z 1898 r., ze statutem z 1899 r. i umową co do galerji Raczyńskich z 1903 r.) z 2 tabl," *Muzeum Wielkopolskie w Poznaniu. Rocznik* I (1925), 5–26, esp. 8, a reprint of the contract is found on pp. 20–26; Idem, *Galerja obrazów A. hr. Raczyńskiego*, 12–13.



FIGURE 125 Athanasius Raczyński's Picture Collection in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Poznan, 1904, postcard UNIVERSITY LIBRARY IN POZNAŃ

the *Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum* in 1902. Under Polish rule, the museum was renamed the Wielkopolska Museum, and today it functions as the National Museum in Poznań. The Museum still holds the collection as a deposit of the Raczyński Foundation. Thus, after many vicissitudes, Athanasius' collection has finally found itself in the city for which it was initially intended.

Conclusion

In this book, based on a large and for the most part hitherto unknown body of source materials, I have attempted to describe the long and rich life of Count Athanasius Raczyński by exploring his complicated personality, his way of thinking, and his wide-ranging and at times significant accomplishments.

In the first part, I aimed to describe Raczyński's personality, highlighting traits of his character that will help one better understand his work as a politician, art collector, and patron. Attention was paid, therefore, to two men who had the greatest influence on the formation of Atanazy Raczyński's character and mindset: his grandfather Kazimierz and his brother Edward. Further on, the analysis covered Raczyński's educational path (home-schooling, studies in Frankfurt, private tuition in Berlin and Dresden) and his first work experience – the rather sluggish start of his diplomatic career in the institutions of the Saxon Kingdom.

Then, I analysed Raczyński's initiatives in the field of broadly understood politics and the political theory he developed. I attempted to shows the effect that Atanazy's wealth and high social position, his financial and family policy in particular, had on his life. The example of the portrait gallery, established by Raczyński in the family estate in Gaj Mały in Wielkopolska, demonstrates his method of managing aristocratic symbolic capital. Subsequently, the book followed Raczyński's gradual assimilation into Berlin social circles and the complicated and at times dramatic development of his career within diplomatic institutions of the Kingdom of Prussia. This part also presented a comprehensive overview of Raczyński's political thought as a supporter of strong conservatism and an account of his struggle with Polish identity which continued throughout his adult life.

In part three, I described Raczyński's artistic projects and focused on his activity as art collector, writer, and art patron. I began with a study of Atanazy's own paintings and drawings, which allowed for a tentative characterisation of his sensitivity and aesthetic preferences. Lastly, the ideas of Atanazy concerning the essence and purpose of art were reconstructed, followed by an analysis of the actual influence Raczyński exerted as an author of texts on art (the monumental *Histoire de l'art moderne en Allemagne* and *Les arts en Portugal*), protector of artists (especially Wilhelm Kaulbach, who enjoyed a complex and close relationship with Raczyński that went far beyond the simple relation between the patron and the artist), art collector, and creator of a public gallery in Berlin.

Raczyński was a man with a rich and complex personality and a perspicacious intellect, a man with diverse talents, great energy, courteous manners, and refined tastes - of this there can be no doubt. These features were noted by almost everyone with whom he came into contact and who recorded their encounters with him in their writings, memoirs, or correspondence. Yet few people knew that he was also a man deeply troubled by various passions, inner tensions, contradictions, and doubts. He grappled with an array of conflicting feelings. These included great pride and self-love, but also extreme self-criticism and low self-esteem; his rampant ambition was at times tempered by a conviction that his accomplishments were meaningless; his desire to subject his actions to the rule of reason was challenged by strong bodily desires; and finally, a complicated but strong sense of Polishness that often led him to harshly criticize the beliefs, positions, and actions of his fellow Poles. Traces of these struggles can be seen in almost every sphere of Raczyński's activity discussed in this book: in his personal life, especially his family life; in his political life and work; and even in the field of art, namely in his activities as a collector, patron, and author.

The issue of national identity, which grew in importance over the course of the nineteenth century, was of particular significance both for Raczyński himself and for his contemporaries – especially his Polish compatriots. It also had a major impact on how he would be assessed in the future. It is therefore worth returning once again to this issue.

The views and ideals Raczyński held and openly professed were problematic for his fellow Poles in his own time, and his legacy remains a subject of contentious debate in Poland to this day. It is clear that after a period of youthful patriotic enthusiasm and ideological dilemmas, he adopted a 'Prussian' persona, becoming what Edward Rastawiecki critically termed 'an out and out German,'¹ that is, he assessed political events and phenomena from a Prussian standpoint and identified the Polish national interest with that of the Prussian state. However, we should ask ourselves what his reasons were for taking such a stance.

Personal ambitions certainly played a role here: the desire for a career in the Prussian state administration, the temptations of being close to the royal court, an interest in holding a highly visible social position, with all its attendant distinctions and prerogatives. Ideological considerations, however, were the decisive factor. First, there were the beliefs instilled in him by Kazimierz

¹ A letter from Edward Rastawiecki to Józef Ignacy Kraszewski dated 19 April 1851; BJ, Kraków, 6477 IV: Correspondence of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski. Series III. Letters from 1844–1862, vol. 18, pp. 146–147.

CONCLUSION

Raczyński at once his grandfather, guardian, and friend – a man whose guiding principle was unquestionable subordination to the highest lawful authority, whose legitimacy was conferred upon him by God himself. Next was an insurmountable aversion to any kind of revolutionary activity, even if undertaken for the purest of motives. Finally, there was his conviction that many members of the Polish elite were politically immature and irresponsible dreamers. All of this prompted Raczyński in his later life, especially after the revolutionary experiences of 1830–1831, to view the Polish national question without any special passionate desire for the restoration of an independent Polish state.

For Raczyński, the national question soon became secondary to the what he viewed as the catastrophic consequences for civilization of the dangers threatening Europe. The offensive launched by democratic and liberal forces in Europe, with their 'pernicious' demands – a representative system of government, constitutionalism, freedom of the press, recognition of public opinion as a real political force, etc. – would surely lead to the destruction of the traditional political and social order, offering terror, injustice, and destruction in return. No sacrifice was too great in order to salvage the existing structures. In his later years, Raczyński's abandoned his local perspective in favour of a global one: the existence of a state, and even a nation, may (though only temporarily) be sacrificed, because the stake in this deadly game is humanity itself. This was a radical belief, but an inevitable consequence of Raczyński's ideals.

For that he was an idealist – there can be no doubt.

Athanasius Raczyński: Timetable

1788, May 2	Athanasius Raczyński born in Poznań, Wielkopolska, Poland
1790	Death of Athanasius' mother, Michalina Raczyńska, née Raczyńska, in Rogalin
1790–1797	Lived in Chobienice; under the care of his grandmother Wirydianna Mielżyńska, née Bnińska, and his aunt Estera Raczyńska
1797–1804	Lived in Rogalin; educated by tutors under the supervi- sion of his father Philip
1804	Death of Philip Raczyński in Rogalin
1804, July–1805, June	Studied at the Faculty of Law of the University of Frankfurt (on the Oder)
1805, June–1806, October	Privately educated in Berlin and Dresden
1807, January–May	Joined a cavalry unit commanded by General Michał Sokolnicki and took part in the military campaign of 1807
1808–1812	Lived mainly in Warsaw; numerous travels to Wien, Dresden, and Paris
1808	Love affair with Urszula Turno, née Prusimska
1809, April–November	Took part in the military campaign of 1809 as aide-de- camp to General Aleksander Rożniecki
1809, December 13	Birth or his illegitimate son by Urszula Turno
1810, January 1	Awarded the golden cross of the Military Order of Virtuti Militari for the campaign of 1809
1810, September–1811, April	Lived in Paris
1811, June 20	Appointed Chamberlain in the Court of Frederick Augustus I, King of Saxony
1812, November–1813, July	Lived in Dresden; made moves to join the diplomatic service of the Kingdom of Saxony
1813, July–1815, September	Lived in Paris as an <i>attaché</i> to the Saxon Mission; dur- ing this period travelled to London (1814, May 12–25) and to Warsaw, Wrocław and Rogalin (November 1814– February 1815)
1813, August–1816, August	Liaison with Catherine-Françoise (Fanny) de Vaubois

(cont.)

1815, September–December	Travelled from Paris, via Switzerland, North Italy, and Austria, to Warsaw
1816, October 31	Married Anna (Anetta) Radziwiłł in Warsaw
1817, August 19	Birth of his son Karol Edward
1819, January 23	Birth of his daughter Wanda
1819, May 16	Signed property settlement with Prince Michał
	Radziwiłł under the terms of which his wife received
	the properties of Dębica and Zawada
1820	Awarded the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle, 2nd class
	(Rother Adler-Orden Zweiter Klasse)
1820, April 21	Birth of his daughter Teresa
1820, August–	Travelled to Italy; from October 1820 to April 1821 lived
1821, September	in Rome; bought numerous paintings, among them
	Portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici by Angelo Bronzino and
	Pietà by Giorolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta
1821, September–	Lived in his castle in Zawada in Galicia; short visits to
1823, September	Warsaw and Krakow
1823, November–	Lived in Paris; bought numerous paintings, among
1825, March	them The Chess Game by Sofonisba Anguissola and
	Madonna and Child by Sandro Botticelli
1824, February 1	Received the title of Count (Graf)
1824, June–August	Travelled to England
1824, November 25	Death of his grandfather, Kazimierz Raczyński
1825, November–	Liaison with Berlin actress Caroline Sutorious
1829, January	
1825, December 24	The Obrzycko-entail established
1827–1831	Building of the projected picture gallery erected in
	Poznań
1828, October–	Travelled to Northern Italy; bought numerous paint-
1829, January	ings, among them Adoration of the Magi by Bonifazio
	Veronese, Venus in the Forge of Vulcan by Jacopo
	and Francesco Bassano, and <i>Abduction of Europa</i> by
	Bernardo Strozzi
1829, October 16	Illegitimate child of Athanasius Raczyński and Caroline
	Sutorius born

(cont.)

1830, January 23	Appointed envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary minister of the Kingdom of Prussia in Denmark
1830, March–1834, March	Diplomatic mission in Copenhagen
1831, May–July	Leave of absence; travelled to Berlin and Wielkopolska
1833, Summer	Leave of absence; travelled to Galicia, Hungary, and Austria
1834, April 19	Bought a house at 21 Unter den Linden in Berlin
1834, June 15	Indefinite leave from diplomatic service granted by Frederik William 111 of Prussia
1835, May–September	Lived in Munich, working on <i>The History of Modern</i> <i>German Art</i> ; on June 20 commissioned Wilhelm Kaulbach to paint <i>The Battle of the Huns</i>
1836	First volume of his <i>Histoire de l'art moderne en</i> <i>Allemagne</i> published in Paris; simultaneously, the German edition published in Berlin; the next two volumes published in 1839 and 1841 respectively; <i>Dictionnaire d'artistes pour servir à l'Histoire de l'art</i> <i>moderne en Allemagne</i> followed in 1842
1836, January 30	Became a honorary member of the Academy of Fine Arts in Berlin
1836, March–April	Study trip to Paris
1836, August 3	Athanasius Raczyński's picture gallery at 21 Unter den Linden 21 in Berlin opened to the public
1837, January–April	Travelled via Munich to Northern Italy
1838, April–June	Study trip to England
1839	Became a foreign correspondent of the Historical Committee for the Arts and Monuments in Paris (<i>Comité historique des arts et monuments</i>)
1840, May 4	Was named a Privy Councillor of Legation (<i>Geheimer Legationsrat</i>)
1840, July 30	His daughter Teresa married to Jan Nepomuk Erdödy in Dresden
1841, December	Appointed envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary minister of the Kingdom of Prussia in Portugal
1842, March–May	Travelled via London to Lisbon
1842, May–1848, April	Diplomatic mission in Lisbon
1843	Became a honorary member of the Academy of Fine Arts (<i>Academia de Bellas Artes</i>) in Lisbon

(cont.)

1843, August 22–	Undertook his first study trip around Portugal
September 11	(Alcobaça, Batalha, Leiria, Pombal, Coimbra); following
	trips: October 5–9, 1843, (Santarém, Golegã, Tomar),
	June 6–11, 1844 (Evora, Setubal), and July 24–August 9,
	1844 (Porto, Viseu, Lamego)
1842, August	First study trip to Spain (Cádiz, Granada, Valencia)
1844–1847	New palace with picture gallery built at 2 Exerzierplatz in Berlin
1845, January 20	His brother Edward committed suicide
1845, April–July	Leave of absence; travelled via Paris to Berlin and
	further on to his estates in Wielkopolska
1845, May 16	Death of his daughter Wanda
1846	His book Les arts en Portugal published in Paris;
	publication of his Dictionnaire historico-artistique du
	<i>Portugal</i> in the following year
1847, March–July	Leave of absence; travelled to Berlin, then to his estates
	in Wielkopolska
1847, May 29	The Wyszyny-entail established
1848, April 28	Appointed envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary
	minister of the Kingdom of Prussia in Spain
1848 May–1852 August	Diplomatic mission in Madrid
1848, November 17	Met Juan Donoso Cortés Marques de Valdegamas for the first time
1849, September–October	Second study trip to Spain (Valladolid, Léon, Oviedo)
1851, April–August	Leave of absence; travelled to Berlin, Dresden, and his estates in Wielkopolska
1851, September	Made the acquaintance of Alphonse de Brotty Count d'Antioche
1852, July 13	Awarded the Grand Cross of Charles III (Gran Cruz de
	<i>Carlos Tercero</i>) by Queen Isabella 11 of Spain
1852, October 12	Appointed a True Privy Councillor with the title 'excel-
	lency' (Wirklicher Geheimer Rat mit dem Prädikate
	"Excellenz")
1853, May 1–20	Travelled to London to take part in the sale of the
	picture collection of King Louis Philippe

(cont.)

1853, May 27	An annex debarring his nephew Roger and Roger's son, Edward Alexander, from the succession added to the Obrzycko entail document
1854, January 7	His son Karol married to Princes Caroline von
	Ottingen-Wallerstein in Prague
1854, November 3	Became a member of the Prussian House of Lords
1855, April 1–15	Travelled to Paris
1856, April 27–May 11	Travelled to Paris
1857, June 18–July 3	Travelled to Switzerland
1858, August	Visited Alphonse d'Antioche in Nernier; further visits in
	July–August 1861, May 1862 and July 1863
1859, May–August	Travelled via Paris to Lisbon
1860	First volume of his Geschichtliche Forschungen pub-
	lished; (volume two published in 1863)
1862	Awarded the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle, 1st class
	(Rother Adler-Orden Erster Klasse)
1865–1866	His palace in Gaj expanded
1874, August 21	Died in his palace in Berlin
1874, August 26	Buried in St. Hedwig's Catholic cemetery, Liesenstraße in Berlin

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Berlin

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- Nr. 4565 (Gelegenheiten der preußischen diplomatischen Vertretung in Kopenhagen und ihres Personals, 1830–1860)
- Nr. 4604–4607 (Schriftwechsel mit der preußischen diplomatischen Vertretung in Kopenhagen, Jan. 1829–Dez. 1834)
- Nr. 6210 (Preußische diplomatische Vertretung in Lissabon, 1824–1850)
- Nr. 6245–6250 (Schriftwechsel mit der preußischen diplomatischen Vertretung in Lissabon, März 1842–Jan. 1850)
- Nr. 7031 (Preußische diplomatische Vertretung in Spanien, Apr. 1848–Sept. 1856)
- Nr. 7106–7110 (Schriftwechsel mit der preußischen diplomatischen Vertretung in Madrid, Mai 1848–Dez. 1852)

1. НА Rep. 81 Kopenhagen: Gesandtschaft Kopenhagen nach 1807

Nr. 136 (Rescripte an den Grafen von Seckendroff resp. den Grafen von Raczynski und Concepta der Relationen derselben)

Nr. 137–139 (Rescripte an den Grafen von Raczynski und Concepta der Relationen derselben, 1831–1833) Nr. 140 (Rescripte an den Grafen von Raczynski resp. denn Grafen Redern und Concepta der Relationen derselben, 1834)

1. HA Rep. 81 Lissabon: Gesandtschaft/Generalkonsulat Lissabon nach 1807

Nr. 38–44 (Concepta der Relationen Raczynskis, Rescripte an ihn und andere Correspondenzen desselben 1842–1848)

1. нА Rep. 81 Madrid: Gesandtschaft Madrid nach 1807

- Nr. 15 (Korrespondenz mit dem Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten, 1848–1857)
- Nr. 23 (Beurlaubung des Gesandten Grafen von Raczynski, 1850–1851)
- Nr. 24 (Anfragen Raczynskis an en Geh. Rath Hahn zu Berlin über persönliche Angelegenheiten, 1850–1852)
- Nr. 52 (Korrespondenz mit dem spanischen Hofe, Ministerium und Behörden, 1848–1857)

1. НА *Rep.* 151, НВ

Nr. 905 (Ankauf eines Teiles des gräflich Raczynskischen Grundstückes am Königsplatze, 1867)

I. HA Rep. 84 a, Justizministerium

Nr. 45517 (Graf von Raczynski Fideikomiß-Stiftung, Vol. 1: Okt. 1817–Nov. 1882) Nr. 45518 (Graf von Raczynski Fideikomiß-Stiftung, Vol. 11: Dez. 1882–Dez. 1913)

I. нА Rep. 89, Geheimes Zivilkabinett, jüngere Periode

Nr. 1430 (Adelstitel Raczynski, 1823-1905)

Nr. 12993 (Geheimer Legations-Rath Graf von Raczynski, 1840)

Nr. 31460 (Die Gütertauschangelegenheit des Grafen Athanasius von Raczynski)

Nr. 31049 (Die Verleihung der Grafenwürde an den Grafen Eduard und Athanasius von Raczynski und des letzteren Fideikommiß-stiftung)

VI. HA Nl Karl Ernst Wilhelm von Canitz und Dallwitz Nr. 28 (Personalia preußischer Diplomaten) Nr. 95 (Athanasius Raczynski, Diplomat, 1846)

v1. нА Nl Karl Friedrich von Savigny

Nr. 208 (Briefe des Grafen Raczynski an K. F. von Savigny, 1841–1849)

2. Landesarchiv Berlin (LAB)

A Pr. Br. Rep. 005 A – Stadtgericht Berlin

Nr. 6909 (Testamentsakte des Wirklichen Geheimen Rates Athanasius Graf von Raczynski, 1854–1874)

3. Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (AA) Nr. 011609 (Acta betr. die persönlichen Angelegenheiten des Grafen von Raczynski)

4. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Zentralarchiv (SMB) I/NG 1013–1014 (Sammlung Raczynski) I/GG 266 (Raczynski gegen Fiskus)

Hanover, New Hampshire, USA

Rauner Special Collection Library – Dartmouth College (RSCL) Sygn. 837320 (Athanasius Raczyński's letters to George Ticknor, 1837 May 20– 1856 September)

Copenhagen

Statens Arkiver: Rigsarkivet (RA) 302. Departament for udenlandske anliggender, Preussen Nr. 1691–1692 (Preussens repraesentation 1783–1848) Nr. 1711 (Andre sager 1825–1836) Nr. 1770–1774 (Indberetninger 1830–1835)

Lisbon

Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT) Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros liv. 261 (Registo da correspondência enviada para a lecação da Prússia em Lisboa,

1822–1859)

Krakow

 Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Wawel (АРК)
 Zbiory Katarzyny i Andrzeja Potockich z Tulczyna,
 AKPot 3312 (Copies of letters by and to Athanasius Raczyński, Edward Raczyński, Teresa Jabłonowska, née Lubomirska, 1830–1843)

2. Biblioteka Naukowa PAN I PAU W Krakowie (BN PAN/PAU) Rkp. 2159 (Materiały do słownikach biograficznego Michała Frąckiewicza, t. 16.) Rkp. 2213, t. 9 (Korespondencja Jana Koźmiana) Rkp. 7457 (Materiały do słownika biograficznego Cypriana Walewskiego, XIX–XX w., t. 19)

3. Biblioteka Jagiellońska (вJ)

Rkp. 7538, p. 65–68 (Atanazy Raczyński o materiałach archiwalnych w Kopenhadze; odpis sprawozdania z 8 IX 1830 r., przesłanego Adamowi Czartoryskiemu [?], sporządzony nie ustaloną ręką)

4. Biblioteka Ks. Czartoryskich (BCz) Rkp. 3808 IV–3812b IV (*Pamiętniki Leona Dembowskiego, 1800–1842*, t. 1–VIII)

London

1. Catherina Raczyńska's private collection Athanasius Raczyński's Diary, manuscript, vol. 1–12

2. National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum (NAL V&A) MSL/1922/416 (Charles and Elizabeth Eastlake: correspondence, 1823–1882)

Munich

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB) Kaulbach-Archiv II: Raczynski Kaulbach-Archiv IV: Raczynski

Poznań

1. Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (APP)

958: Majątek Rogalin

Nr 68 (Interessa ś.p. Księcia Edwarda Lubomirskiego)

Nr 74-79 (Correspondence between Edwarda and Athanasius Raczyński, 1806-1845)

- Nr 117 (Athanase Raczynski, Des démarches que j'ai faites au commencement de l'année 1840, pour mettre fin à l'inactivité dont je subis l'humiliation depuis six ans)
- Nr 4565 (Gelegenheiten der preußischen diplomatischen Vertretung in Kopenhagen und ihres Personels, 1830–1860)
- Nr 4604–4607 (Schriftwechsel mit der preußischen diplomatischen Vertretung in Kopenhagen, Jan. 1829)

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