

I The January Uprising of 1863 and Its Fighters in the Cameos from the Collection of Henryka Capelli, née Dzieduszycka. The Reception of Graphic and Photographic Prototypes

The Glyptothèque and Its Creator

The collections of the National Museum in Warsaw include a very interesting set of cameos carved in seashells, which represent prominent Polish figures and events in national history. This glyptothèque comes from the collection of the Polish Museum in Rapperswil, Switzerland, which received it in 1879 from Henryka Capelli, née Dzieduszycka.¹ It comprised 271 pieces: 40 scenes from history, as well as portraits: 52 Polish kings, 11 the wives of kings of the Jagiellonian dynasty and Jagiellonian princesses, 35 Polish military leaders, 95 fighters in the November Uprising, 31 participants in the January Uprising and seven prominent eighteenth- and nineteenth-century personalities. The founder of this Polish museum in Switzerland, Władysław Broel-Plater, as well as its visitors, commented on the cameos' originality and emotional power.² After the museum's collections were taken over by the

¹ *Roczne zdanie sprawy Zarządu Muzeum Narodowego w Rapperswylu z dnia 29 listopada 1879 roku*, (Zurich: s.n., 1879), pp. 8–9; [Wacław Karczewski], *Muzeum Narodowe Polskie w Rapperswylu* (Kraków: Dyrekcja Muzeum, 1906), pp. 38, 39–48, fig.

² Władysław Broel-Plater wrote: "The cameo collection (271), on which images illustrating Polish history from Piast, to whom angels appeared, all the way to the sad scene of the march to Siberia represented according to Grottger's painting have been carved expertly. Other cameos represent portraits of all the kings of Poland, princesses from the House of Jagiellon, Polish hetmans and statesmen who acted exceptionally during the uprisings of 1831 and 1863, as well as portraits of men of inspiration and of learning. This is Polish history carved in stone, a collection that no other Museum owns, a truly royal gift from Mrs Henryka Capelli, née Countess Dzieduszycka from Florence." *Roczne zdanie sprawy...*, op. cit., pp. 8–9. In 1891 Maria Konopnicka wrote from Zurich in a letter to her uncle: "[...] the section of cameos is important and beautiful, they are carved with extreme subtlety, and mostly represent moments in our history. Some of them according to Matejko's paintings: *The Union* [of Lublin], *The Prussian Homage* and others. The series concludes with a cameo of the strangest beauty representing Grottger's *The March to Siberia*," Maria Konopnicka, *Listy do Ignacego Waśkowskiego* (Warsaw: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, 2005), p. 323. In his memoirs from a journey to Switzerland in 1903, Father Dr Jakub Górka also wrote about the Rapperswil collection: "Precious cameos made out of seashells. Bianchini from Naples worked on them for 17 years. They are the gift of Mrs Henryka Capelli, née Countess Dzieduszycka, from Florence. The collection comprises 271 pieces. It has embellished the Museum since 1879. It is the Museum's real jewel. These lovely cameos represent Polish kings, then our hetmans and heroes of the 1831 uprising. We may surmise their value from the fact that some English people wanted to pay 300 thousand francs for ¼ of them." Jakub Górka, *Wspomnienia z podróży. Odczyty wygłoszone w Sali Kasynowej w Tarnowie* (Tarnów: self-published, 1904), p. 15. The writer Stefan Żeromski, the museum's librarian in 1892–96, was quite critical of its collection, writing in *Nowa Gazeta*: "A non-Pole can only really see two things of any great value there, the Rubens portrait of Ladislaus IV and cameos carved in onyx telling the history of Poland, [...]" quoted after Tadeusz Rutowski, *Rapperswyl* (Lvov: Gebethner i Wolff, 1911), p. 13.

Polish government in 1923 and brought to Poland, the cameos were incorporated into the collections of the Museum of the Polish Army, and in 1929 were deposited at the National Museum in Warsaw.³ Since then, they have been shown only in temporary exhibitions, and some of them for longer periods in the permanent displays of other museums.⁴

The use of the unusual form of the glyptothèque to illustrate the history of Poland made us want to learn more about its funder and to find the models she chose for the glyptic objects.⁵ We do not yet know very much about Henryka Amalia Marianna, Countess Capelli, née Dzieduszycka (1832–1903), a daughter of Count Henryk Dzieduszycki Sas (1795–1845) and Teodozja, née Mielżyńska (d. 1878). Henryka's father, a landowner in Poznań Province and Galicia, was one of the founders of the Polish sugar industry. After his death, in 1849, Teodozja sold the family's Tłumacz estate in Galicia and left for Italy with her children, Henryka, Michał, Maria and Amelia, thereby founding the Italian line of the Dzieduszycki family, the so-called Florentines.⁶

In 1858 in Florence, Henryka married Maurycy Capelli (b. 1823), owner of the Signa estate near Florence. His father, Alojzy Ludwik Capelli (1777–1838), had spent nearly thirty years teaching law at the University of Vilnius.⁷ He married in Vilnius and, apart from Maurycy,

³ *Zbiory Polskiego Muzeum Narodowego w Rapperswilu. Katalog XXV wystawy Towarzystwa Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości w kamienicy Baryczków* (Warsaw: Towarzystwo nad Zabytkami Przeszłości, 1928), p. 14, cat. nos 101–2. Cameos carved in seashells, 5.1 × 4 cm (portrait cameos) or 7 × 8.2 cm (historical scenes), The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. nos 34161/1–52 MNW, 34162/1–11 MNW, 34163/1–40 MNW, 34164/1–35 MNW, 34165/1–7 MNW, 34166/1–31 MNW, 34167/1–95 MNW. Three cameos were lost in wartime; they are portraits of King Sigismund I the Old (inv. no. 34161/40 MNW) and his daughter Zofia (inv. no. 34162/5 MNW) and the scene of Skarbek Habdank at the court of Heinrich V (inv. no. 34163/7 MNW; see n. 27). A handwritten list of the cameos bound in green cloth was appended to the collection (inv. no. 19510/49/75 MNW), its numbers corresponding to small tags with numbers and titles glued to the backs of the cameos. Unfortunately, some tags have been destroyed or lost over time, and the list lacks descriptions of the January insurgents.

⁴ Including a series with the portraits of Polish rulers, which was part of an exhibition at the gallery of the presidential palace in Warsaw in 2005, see *Począty władców polskich. Tradycja państwowości*, exh. cat., Galeria Pałacu Prezydenckiego w Warszawie, June–September 2005 (Warsaw: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 2005), p. 75, cat. no. 51 (Ewa Martyna), p. 47, fig., and the series of portraits of the fighters in the January Uprising in the permanent exhibition of the Polish Museum in Rapperswil in 1990–2012, see Janusz S. Morkowski, *Historia Polski ryta na muszli* [online] [retrieved: 28 February 2013], at: <www.nasza-gazetka.ch/_Menu_NG/ngi999/ngi999_6/historia-pol.htm>.

⁵ The authors wrote about this subject earlier in: Ewa Martyna, Anna Grochala, “Kamee z pocztom polskich władców,” *Spotkania z Zabytkami*, nos 1–2 (2011), pp. 18–25, and Anna Grochala, Ewa Martyna, “Dzieje Polski zaklęte w kameach,” in *Curiosità – zjawiska osobliwe w sztuce, literaturze i obyczaju*, Anna S. Czyż, Janusz Nowiński, eds (forthcoming).

⁶ Teodor Żychliński, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, vol. 4 (Poznań: Jarosław Leitgeber, 1882) p. 84; Feliks Pohorecki, “Dzieduszycki Henryk,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 6 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1948), p. 108; Teresa Zielińska, *Poczet polskich rodów arystokratycznych* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 1997), p. 101; Kazimierz Karolczak, *Dzieduszyccy. Dzieje rodu. Linia poturzycko-zarzecka* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2000), p. 221.

⁷ Czesław Falkowski, “Capelli (Capeli, Kappelli) Ludwik Alojzy,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 3 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1937), pp. 200–2; Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, *Rachunki z roku 1868. Rok trzeci przez B. Bolesławitę* (Poznań: Księgarnia Jana Konstantego Żupańskiego, 1869), pp. 1005–8; Daniel Beauvois, *Wilno – polska stolica kulturalna zaboru rosyjskiego 1803–1832* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2010), pp. 86, 124, 127, 133, 141, 239–41. We know of two portraits of Alojzy Ludwik Capelli from his time as a professor of law in Vilnius. The first, an oil painted in c. 1823 by Jan Rustem (Lietuvos Dailės Muziejus, Vilnius, inv. no. T 2034); see *W kręgu wileńskiego klasycyzmu*, exh. cat., Elżbieta Charazińska, Ryszard Bobrow, eds, The National Museum in Warsaw, December 1999 – January 2000, Lietuvos Dailės Muziejus, Vilnius, March–September 2000 (Warsaw: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 2000), p. 335, cat. no. 53, fig., the second is a post-1833 lithograph made in Antoni Klukowski's studio after a drawing by Karol Rypiński (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. Gr.Pol.16424 MNW).

had a younger daughter, Bianka. He died after returning to Italy. He appears in the memoirs of many individuals with connections to Vilnius, fellow professors and students. The writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski mentions Maurycy in his *Kartki z podróży*, noting in 1858: "Of the people who are somehow linked to our country, I must also mention the son of University of Vilnius professor, Capelli, who lives in Florence and is married to a Pole."⁸

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Polish community in Florence was not very large. The poet and sculptor Teofil Lenartowicz settled there in 1860 and became close friends with both Henryka Capelli and her mother, Teodozja Dzieduszycka. Kordian Ujejski, who visited Lenartowicz at his home in 1874, saw him "in a jacket with a red scarf wrapped around it, a little cap on his head, standing and cleaning a bust of Mrs Capelli he had made years ago."⁹ Lenartowicz also made a sculpture portrait of Teodozja Dzieduszycka,¹⁰ while his wife, the painter Zofia, née Szymanowska (a step-sister of Celina Mickiewicz, the poet's wife), painted her portrait.¹¹ Henryka Capelli helped Lenartowicz, both with his art (for instance, financing some of his sculptures¹²) and in personal matters (when his wife died in 1870, the distraught poet stayed at her villa near Florence¹³). In letters to various people, Lenartowicz mentions both ladies, at times very warmly and at times bitterly.¹⁴ His letter to Tekla Zmorska written in 1877 shows the nature of this long friendship: "There is a lady, Mrs Capelli, née Dzieduszycka [in Florence], but our relations are always based on simple acquaintance and salon courtesy [...]."¹⁵

Both Henryka and her mother maintained their homes in the Polish style, which was noted by visitors from Poland. Ujejski wrote that Easter Sunday lunch was put on by "Mrs Capelli every year in the simple Polish style, bringing together around the holiday table the entire Italian aristocratic and diplomatic elites, graciously displaying traditional Old Polish

⁸ Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, *Kartki z podróży 1858–1864*, vol. 1, notes and afterword by Paweł Hertz (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1977), p. 338.

⁹ *Głosy o Lenartowiczu 1852–1940*, selection, notes, annotations and introduction by Paweł Hertz (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1976), p. 397. For the story of the now-lost portrait of Henryka Capelli, see Anna Król, *Teofil Lenartowicz – rzeźbiarz. Katalog wystawy monograficznej*, exh. cat., The National Museum in Kraków, November 1993 – January 1994 (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 1993), p. 64, cat. no. 70.

¹⁰ The 1870 portrait of Teodozja Dzieduszycka is a medallion showing her in profile, made of white marble (21.5 × 18.5 × 3 cm), The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 34439 MNW. It came from the Polish Museum in Rapperswil, where Henryka Capelli had donated it with her cameo collection (inscription on the reverse of the medallion: "Je crois faire plaisir au Comte Plater / en ajoutant la Collection, le don / de la tête de ma mère exécuté / par Theophile Lenartowicz en 1870 / Henriette Cappelli"). See Król, op. cit., p. 51, cat. no. 45, fig. 1/18.

¹¹ Aleksandra Melbechowska-Luty, "Lenartowiczowa Zofia," in *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających*, vol. 5 (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 1993), pp. 33–5. The location of the portrait of Teodozja Dzieduszycka is unknown. Another painting by Zofia Lenartowicz, *Portrait of Adam Mickiewicz*, belonged to the Capellis. See also a letter from Lenartowicz to Tekla Zmorska of 19 October 1870, *Listy Teofila Lenartowicza do Tekli Zmorskiej 1861–1893*, introduction, annotations and publication from a manuscript, Jadwiga Rudnicka, afterword by Stanisław Szwalbe (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978), p. 80.

¹² For example, in 1868 she paid for a bronze cast to be made from the bas-relief *The Return of God's People to the Promised Land* and for it to be sent to Paris. See letter from Lenartowicz of 11 May 1868 to Tekla Zmorska, *Listy Teofila Lenartowicza...*, op. cit., p. 60.

¹³ Villa delle Selve, where Galileo had lived for four years. See Kraszewski, *Rachunki...*, op. cit., p. 1008.

¹⁴ The temperature of Lenartowicz's feeling for mother and daughter largely depended on their commissions and financial assistance. See letters to Tekla Zmorska of 11 May 1868, 6 August 1870 and 9 October 1870 (*Listy Teofila Lenartowicza...*, op. cit., pp. 60, 76, 79) and to Józef Ignacy Kraszewski of 16 January 1871 and 8–16 October 1871 (Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, Teofil Lenartowicz, *Korespondencja*, Wincenty Danek, ed. and commentary [Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1963], pp. 201, 217).

¹⁵ *Listy Teofila Lenartowicza...*, op. cit., p. 229.

hospitality and warmth on the banks of the Arno.”¹⁶ Maria Walewska, née Przezdziecka, remembered “the welcoming salons at Countess Dzieduszycka’s, who has settled in Florence, and whose daughter married an Italian, Mr Capelli.”¹⁷

It appears that the political-patriotic demonstrations of 1861 and the outbreak of the January Uprising in 1863 were a powerful, if not an immediate, catalyst for Henryka and her mother¹⁸ to create their glyptothèque to illustrate Poland’s history. This was a time of intensified patriotic propaganda, which used the press and graphic and photographic technologies, both in Poland and in the émigré community. According to information scattered in the memoirs of various people and to Lenartowicz’s correspondence, the Capellis and Countess Dzieduszycka assisted the insurrectionists who found their way to Italy. As early as 1863, Lenartowicz wrote in a letter to Kraszewski: “A few men from the school at Cuneo [a Polish military school, whose pupils joined the ranks of the insurrectionists – AG, EM] came to ask me to organize a crossing to Turin gratis, and so I went to see Capelli, who met with the prefect, and they were given a crossing and some money for the journey.”¹⁹ After the defeat of the uprising, in late autumn of 1864, General Józef Hauke, pseudonym Bosak, settled in Florence, and he and Lenartowicz became very good friends. Mrs Dzieduszycka hosted a solemn commemoration of the second anniversary of the uprising, which included decorating the heroic general with a bronze medallion with a portrait of his head designed by Lenartowicz. Maria Walewska, née Przezdziecka, wrote about the ceremony: “Mr and Mrs Karol Przezdziecki [came] with their children, as did the Orpiszewskis, that famous lady Maria Wodzińska, who had once served as the inspiration for the poet of musical tones and the poet of words. Mr and Mrs Sierakowski from the northern regions of Poland, the insurrectionist priests Drohojowski and Wołyński, and a handful of others [...]. When all had gathered, the poet opened the ceremony. He came up to Bosak and, offering him the cast on behalf of his compatriots, he recited that beautiful poem, which has not appeared in print yet and which we cite here [...]. ‘For the exiles, too, hope will glimmer, / As a sign of God’s triumph, / When on the peoples’ banners will shine, / Courageous Bosak’s noble name!’ [...].” Then all paid homage to the general, while Mrs Orpiszewska played compositions by Chopin, including “the triumphant polonaise of Poland’s noble march, as it strides down the road of Truth.”²⁰

Many more Poles settled in Florence after the uprising, especially in the 1870s. According to Lenartowicz’s letters, they were regrettably not always respectable people. Maurycy Capelli and Teodozja Dzieduszycka fell victim to one of them. A troublemaker, in Lenartowicz’s words, who went by the name of Count Sulima Czarnecki Czernik and claimed to have fought with Garibaldi, borrowed large amounts of money from Capelli and Dzieduszycka, went into debt using Mrs Capelli as a reference, and fled to Switzerland, where he was eventually apprehended and incarcerated.²¹

¹⁶ *Głosy o Lenartowiczu 1852–1940*, op. cit., p. 398.

¹⁷ Maria Walewska, née Przezdziecka, *Polacy w Paryżu, Florencji i Dreźnie. Sylwetki i wspomnienia*, introduction by Michał Sokolnicki (Warsaw: Księgarnia F. Hoesicka, 1930), p. 92.

¹⁸ We are assuming that Henryka Capelli not only donated but also commissioned the items for her glyptothèque. But it is possible that Teodozja Dzieduszycka also played a role in its creation, since she bequeathed the entire collection to the Rapperswil museum immediately after her daughter’s death.

¹⁹ Kraszewski, Lenartowicz, op. cit., p. 82.

²⁰ Walewska, op. cit., pp. 91–4.

²¹ Letter from Teofil Lenartowicz to Józef Ignacy Kraszewski of 21 September 1871. See Kraszewski, Lenartowicz, op. cit., p. 213.

The Cameo Manufacturers

The description of the Rapperswil museum's collections lists one Bianchini as the producer of the cameos. Yet he was more likely only their distributor, who would order them from an anonymous lapidary, presumably in Torre del Greco, Italy's largest centre of their production. His name appears in a narrative about Florence in Kraszewski's *Kartki z podróży*. The writer remarks that "one of this city's more important trades were works of art, paintings, bronzes and Florentine mosaics made with hard stones [...]. Florentine mosaics [...] are not made of [...] glass, but of hard stones, which are selected and cut into differently sized shapes so they can be made into a sort of paintings, which most often depict flowers, animals, dishes, imaginary decorations, cut into flat and even convex shapes [...]. On a smaller scale, setting precious stones in furniture, table etc. decorations began in Florence during the rule of Cosimo I, the manufacture has operated continuously since then and has been virtually one of a kind." The writer continues: "There were three principal merchants who sold these products in 1858, Bianchini, Bosi and Corsi, and very many minor ones. As soon as a person arrived in Florence, he would immediately be given an address, often also receive a visit from a polite little man with a box under his arm. Almost no one left without a mosaic, at least a paper weight or a brooch for the lady [...]."²² It would seem from this description that Bianchini, who was active in Florence selling objects made out of precious stones, may have served as the intermediary for Henryka Capelli's orders.

Polish Collectors of Cameos

We do not know who gave Henryka Capelli the idea of creating her unusual collection of gems to illustrate the history of Poland. It may have been Lenartowicz, who himself sought out subjects from his nation's history for both his poetry and his art. There had long been a great interest in collecting Classical, later contemporary, gems, but it was not an established tradition in Poland like in other countries in Europe. Apart from some episodes during the Renaissance (King Sigismund Augustus, Jan Łaski), it was only in the eighteenth century that intentional and methodical collecting began. Earlier, gems were collected as practical objects (seals), decorations (jewelry) or investments. Later, the trend of collecting them, spurred in Europe by archaeological discoveries in Herculaneum and Pompeii, also reached Poland. It was a very expensive hobby, however, and few could afford it. The recognized collectors in Poland included Michał Hieronim Radziwiłł, the king's nephew Prince Stanisław Poniatowski and King Stanislaus Augustus himself.

The dactyliotheca belonging to Poland's last king, Stanislaus Augustus, was one of the most precious in Europe, and must have been very large, even though the collection documented in a catalogue compiled by the priest Jan Albertandi includes only 292 objects. In the nineteenth century, Michał Tyszkiewicz, who brought back antiquities from his many voyages and archaeological expeditions, created a valuable collection of about a thousand gems. Konstanty Schmidt-Ciążyński, who lived in London, was their last great collector in the second half of the nineteenth century. He owned about 2,500 antique gems (about 300 of

²² Kraszewski, *Kartki z podróży*..., op. cit., p. 337.

them set into rings), ranging from Assyrian to Byzantine ones, as well as modern ones signed by the most prominent engravers.²³

The Prototypes

The most time-consuming task in studying Henryka Capelli's collection was to find their iconographic models. The most straightforward part of our pursuit were the graphic prototypes for the series of cameos with images of Polish rulers; they were engravings used to illustrate a 1594 publication by the Arnold Mylius publishing house, *Principum et Regum Polonorum Imagines*, and popular illustrations from that era representing the elected kings from Sigismund III to Stanislaus Augustus and the November insurrectionists (lithograph portraits published in Paris in 1832–34 by Józef Straszewicz in *Les Polonais et les Polonaises de la révolution du 29 novembre 1830*).²⁴ It was also easy to link the cameo portraits of the wives of the Polish Jagiellonians and their daughters to the photographs illustrating the publication by Aleksander Przezdziecki, *Jagiellonki polskie w XVI wieku* (published in a four-volume edition in Krakow in 1868). After a fruitless search through illustrations in popular nineteenth-century publications for the corresponding portraits of the Polish hetmans carved in sea-shells, our examination of a lithograph made by Józef Swoboda, *Galerya wodzów polskich* [A gallery of Polish leaders] (published in Lvov in 1863), representing a group of thirty-five eminent statesmen standing against a three-span arch, brought our first success. The lapidaries had copied the busts or only faces of the figures.

Finding the prototypes of the historical scenes was also problematic. After we located the most obviously similar designs, such as the illustrations to *Śpiewy historyczne* [Historical songs] by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (engravings in its 1816 Warsaw edition and 1830s steel engravings by Antoni Oleszczyński, most of which had appeared in his book *Wspomnienia o Polakach co słynęli w obcych i odległych krajach* [Reminiscences of Poles who became famous in foreign and faraway countries], published in Paris in 1843), as well as paintings by Józef Simmler, Jan Matejko and a cartoon by Artur Grottger, there still remained a dozen or so scenes with identifiable subjects, but not their models.²⁵ Our search through paintings led nowhere. Again, the solution lay in illustrated books about Polish history. The first was *Ilustrowany Skarbczyk Polski* by Maria Ilnicka,²⁶ published in Warsaw twice, in 1861 and 1863,

²³ Andrzej Łaska discusses the collecting of gems in Poland more broadly in "Kolekcjonerzy i grawerzy gemm w Polsce w XVI–XIX wieku," *Opuscula Musealia. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, 1 (1986), pp. 9–30; id., "Gemmy księcia Stanisława Poniatowskiego," *Opuscula Musealia*, 11 (2001), pp. 105–12.

²⁴ Already Stefan Żeromski wrote about this publication in a letter to Henryk Bukowski dated 5 October 1895: "one could put an elegant table underneath the cameo collection, and on it a book with the portraits of the heroes who were depicted in the cameos, that is, Straszewicz's *Les Polonais et les Polonaises*. It is a splendid publication, which would also explain the cameos [...]." See Stefan Żeromski, *Listy do Henryka Bukowskiego*, ed., introduction and commentary by Władysława Wasilewska (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1975), p. 254.

²⁵ These cameos with portraits and historical scenes and their prototypes are discussed more broadly in articles by Martyna, Grochala, op. cit., and Grochala, Martyna, op. cit.

²⁶ *Ilustrowany Skarbczyk Polski. Historia Polski opowiedziana wierszem przez Maryę Ilnickę z dodaniem do każdego panowania prozą wiadomości historycznych przez J.B.W.[agnera] i muzyki do niektórych Stanisława Moniuszki. Ozdobiony 45 drzeworytami, przedstawiającymi wizerunki królów polskich i 33 rycin z ważniejszych wypadków dziejowych* (Warsaw: Alexander Nowolecki w Warszawie Krakowskie-Przedmieście wprost kolumny Zygmunta Nr 457, 1861) [Krakowskie-Przedmieście across from Sigismund's Column at no. 457, 1861] (second edition, 1863). The following cameos were based on illustrations in this book: *The Baptism of Mieszko I in Gniezno*, *Leszek Biały Throws off*

and the second *Histoire populaire de la Pologne* by Leonard Chodźko,²⁷ which came out in over a dozen editions in the 1850s and '60s.

An analysis of the iconographic materials the lapidaries had used as models that we were able to identify allowed us to find the key to their selection. The lady who commissioned them had reached out primarily to series of graphic portraits as well as themes, choosing them mostly from publications appearing in that era and from illustrated Polish history textbooks. She most probably knew them from photographs. Finding this key allowed us to locate the models for the portraits of the January insurrectionists, photographs arranged as two tableaux and published in about 1868.

Of the collection of 271 gems, 39 had the theme of the January Uprising, seven were scenes and 32 portraits.

The January Uprising in Cameos, and Their Graphic and Photographic Prototypes

Scores of patriotic demonstrations preceded the outbreak of the January Uprising in 1861. They received much publicity at home and abroad, and became the subject of many paintings and graphics. A massacre in Castle Square in Warsaw on 8 April was one of the most dramatic events, yet another bloody clash between the Russian occupying power and Warsaw's civilians. In the early afternoon of that day, Ksawery Stobnicki, an exile to Siberia, was buried in Powązki Cemetery, and afterwards a rally of solidarity with the Jewish population took place in the Jewish cemetery. In the afternoon, several hundred people demonstrated against the dissolution of the City Delegation and Agricultural Society in Castle Square. Governor Mikhail Gorchakov followed tsarist instructions, as well as the regulations published a day earlier by the head of civil administration, Aleksander Wielopolski, to use force to control the situation. Five infantry units, a squadron of gendarmes and a sotnya of Cossacks (a total of about 1,300 armed men) marched into the square. They were told to disperse the crowd with rifle butts and whips. As the people did not flee, but instead dropped to their knees and prayed out loud, the infantrymen began shooting. Over a hundred protesters died in the pacification, which lasted over an hour.²⁸ Cameos of *The Massacre of 8 April 1861*,²⁹ showing the troops shooting at the crowd in Castle Square, were carved according to an anonymous painting. A photograph of this painting, widely available in the form of visiting cards, was no doubt its direct model.³⁰

His Crown, Casimir the Great Takes the Peasantry into His Care, The Death of Barbara Radziwiłł, Kordecki Defending Częstochowa and Marcin Kątski in Kamieniec Podolski.

²⁷ Léonard Chodźko, *Histoire de Pologne, septième série de La Guerre d'Orient illustrée par Janet-Lange et Gustave Janet, ornée d'une carte de la Pologne par A.-H. Dufour* (Paris: Gustave Barba, 1855), and again with the same illustrations as *Histoire populaire de la Pologne*, which was republished several times in 1863–66. Illustrations from this book were used for cameos representing *The Death of Ladislaus III of Varna*, *Trepka Being Burnt at the Stake by the Muscovites for Betraying the Tsar*, *Zamoyski at Byczyna Taking Archduke Maximilian Prisoner*, *Zółkiewski at the Sejm Chooses the Shuysky Tsars over Sigismund III* (which was believed lost because of an incorrect reading of its subject; missing are cameos representing *Skarbek Habdank at the Court of Emperor Heinrich V*), *The Defence of Trembowla*, *Imperial and Vatican Emissaries Asking Sobieski for Help Against the Turks* and *Sowiński's Death at Wola near Warsaw*.

²⁸ Stefan Kieniewicz, *Powstanie styczniowe* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1972), pp. 146–50.

²⁹ Inv. no. 34163/34 MNW.

³⁰ The c. 1861 photograph of the painting by an anonymous artist, *The Massacre on 8 April 1861 Outside the Castle at the Sigismund Column in Warsaw*, is in the collection of the Historical Museum of Warsaw (inv. no. MHW Arch. Fot. 16423; see *Powstanie styczniowe i zesłańcy syberyjscy. Katalog fotografii ze zbiorów Muzeum Historycznego m.st. Warszawy*, part 1, *Powstanie styczniowe*, Krystyna Lejko, ed. (Warsaw: Muzeum Historyczne m.st. Warszawy, 2004),

Patriotic-religious demonstrations multiplied on the anniversaries of national events. They included the Union of Lublin (established by King Sigismund on 4 July in a Sejm in Lublin, which met from 10 January to 12 August 1569). The cameo of *Celebrations of the Anniversary of the Union of Lublin in Kovno on 12.8.1861*³¹ represents the events in the main celebrations organized in Kovno in violation of police bans for all the Russian partition (part of the area of former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) that consisted of the Crown of Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The plan for that day consisted of joining Polish and Lithuanian marches on a bridge across the border river, the Niemen. To interfere with the demonstrations, the authorities ordered the middle part of the bridge disassembled. The Lithuanians arriving to take part in the demonstration stopped on the river bank and began to sing “Oh, Mother of God, who at the Gate of Dawn / Strengthens the Lithuanians with your miracles, / Accept our prayers as a sign of our grace, / Pray with us that Poland may revive!,” while on the other side of the river the people from the Kingdom sang “God Save Poland.” They prayed on their knees and threw flowers into the Niemen. Polikarp Gumiński recorded this event in his painting *One People and One Homeland*, made in Paris in 1861, which then became widely known thanks to photographs.³² This very composition was faithfully reproduced by the lapidary (figs 1-2).

In the pre-uprising period, the funerals of individuals who had served the national cause became a special occasion for exhibiting emotions. The first patriotic demonstration in Warsaw, which led to subsequent ones, was the funeral on 11 June 1860 of Katarzyna Sowińska, widow of the general who had become the legendary defender of Warsaw’s Wola district in the November Uprising. One of the most important events of 1861 was the funeral of Archbishop Antoni Melchior Fijałkowski (1778–1861), who had taken an uncompromising patriotic stand in the difficult period leading up to the uprising. After the Russian authorities bloodily suppressed a patriotic demonstration in Castle Square in Warsaw on 27 February 1861, he protested to Viceroy Karl Lambert, proclaimed universal mourning (which lasted all the way until the uprising in January 1863) and presided over the funeral ceremony for five men who had been killed in the demonstration. The archbishop refused to ban Masses for the homeland and patriotic homilies, despite pressure from the authorities. The Episcopate of the Kingdom of Poland followed the archbishop’s lead in drafting the “Memorial from the Polish Clergy”, which demanded freedom for the Catholic Church. His funeral on 10 October brought out thousands of Poles.³³ The Capelli collection does not include a cameo showing this event, but the series about the

p. 317, cat. no. 636, or at the National Library in Warsaw (sign. F.13740). The 1866 painting by Tony Robert-Fleury became the most popular representation of this subject; cf. Andrzej Ryszkiewicz, “Obraz Tony Robert-Fleury’ego Warszawa, 8 kwietnia 1861 r.,” *Rocznik Warszawski*, 13 (1975), pp. 161–9.

³¹ Inv. no. 34163/35 MNW.

³² In many collections, including the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. no. Gr.Pol.9751 MNW [very good quality, 12.4 × 15 cm, from the collection of J.I. Kraszewski, from 1869 of the Branicki and Tarnowski families in Sucha] and inv. no. DI 118989 MNW [5.5 × 6.6 cm]) and the Historical Museum of Warsaw (inv. no. MHW Arch. Fot. 14267 [cf. *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., p. 319, cat. no. 639, which also gives examples from other collections, made in different photographers’ studios]). Russian spy Albert Potocki reported on the dissemination of this image: “On 2 January 1862, Information: [...] I enclose: [...] 5. photograph of painting exhibited in Paris, representing the Union of Poland and Lithuania in Kovno on 12 August (Polikarp Gumiński, 107, rue de L’École de Médecine, Paris). Many photographs of this kind have been sent to Poland. An album of them will be made in Belgium, with a text in French and English,” see Julian Aleksander Bałaszewicz, *Raporty szpiega*, Rafał Gerber, ed., vol. 1 (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1973), p. 164.

³³ Kieniewicz, *Powstanie styczniowe*, op. cit., pp. 114, 120, 166, 199–200.

January Uprising includes the image by Fijałkowski,³⁴ which was based on a lithograph portrait by Maksymilian Fajans made in 1858. The lithograph, much like the compositions mentioned above, was disseminated as a photograph in visiting card format³⁵ (figs 3–4).

The uprising lasted from 22 January 1863 until the autumn of 1864. It turned into partisan warfare, with numerous clashes and skirmishes with the Russian army. French, German, Swedish and English periodicals played an important role in informing Europe's public opinion about the events in Poland. Their accounts and illustrations told about the Poles fighting for their country's freedom and the foreigners assisting them, as well as about the locations of the bloody encounters. Four cameos of insurrection scenes copied wood engravings from the influential Paris weekly *L'Illustration. Journal Universel*. Providing material to its graphic artists and engravers was its special correspondent, the journalist and illustrator Charles Lallemand, as well as Poles, most of whom were connected to the leadership of the émigré community at the Hôtel Lambert. Research in press illustrations of the day reveals two ways in which photographs were used: as models for woodcuts and as a medium to publicize prints that had appeared in periodicals.³⁶

Of the many woodcuts with the theme of the uprising, *The Battle of Miechów on 17 February 1863*,³⁷ *The Blessing Before the Battle*,³⁸ *The Departure of Insurgents from Grodno on 14 March 1863*³⁹ and *The Battle of Olszanka on 10 April 1863*⁴⁰ were chosen as prototypes for cameos.

The Battle of Miechów, Krakow Province, began with an attack by the Zouaves of Death, peasants with scythes, riflemen and cavalry led by Apolinary Kurowski. Kurowski had left Ojców, where he was stationed, a day earlier (16 February) and headed for Miechów, planning to beat Prince Bagration's Russian units. After the first assault by Kurowski's men, the Russians retreated to the town. The murderous battle continued under accurate and heavy enemy fire. The insurrectionists took huge losses and did not manage to take the town, despite their heroism. Historians tend to believe that Kurowski was mostly to blame.⁴¹ Jędrzej Brydak, a painter and lithographer working in Krakow, was the author of a sketch of the battle. It served as a prototype for a picture in *L'Illustration* of 21 March 1863 by illustrator Godefroy Durand and engraver Louis Dumont, and was used as the model for this cameo.⁴²

³⁴ Inv. no. 34166/10 MNW.

³⁵ Cf. lithograph in the National Museum in Warsaw collection, inv. no. Gr.Pol.1787 MNW. Photographs of the lithograph in the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. no. DI 90592/2 MNW), in the Historical Museum of Warsaw (inv. no. MHW Arch. Fot. 17059/alb. 3; MHW Arch. Fot. 14874, see *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., p. 77, cat. nos 87–8), in the Print Room of the National Ossoliński Institute in Wrocław (inv. nos I.f.: 3934, I.f.: 24414, see Leszek Machnik, *Fotografie powstańców styczniowych w zbiorach Gabinetu Grafiki Zakładu Narodowego imienia Ossolińskich. Catalogue* (Wrocław: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Ossolineum, 2002), p. 85, cat. nos 97–8).

³⁶ Leszek Machnik and Krystyna Lejko discuss this phenomenon in their introductions to catalogues of photographs of insurgents (Machnik, op. cit., pp. 20–1, and *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., pp. 19–20).

³⁷ Inv. no. 34163/37 MNW.

³⁸ Inv. no. 34163/38 MNW.

³⁹ Inv. no. 34163/36 MNW.

⁴⁰ Inv. no. 34163/39 MNW.

⁴¹ Kieniewicz, *Powstanie styczniowe*, op. cit., p. 413.

⁴² Woodcut, 14.5 × 21.8 cm, *L'Illustration. Journal Universel*, no. 1047 (21 March 1863), p. 181. Signature bottom left: L DUMONT, right: Godefroy Durand, inscription centre: *Événements de Pologne – COMBAT DE MIECHOW, LE 17 FÉVRIER – Croquis de M.J. Bridaki*. We also know of photographs of this woodcut made in studios including Franciszek Wyspiański's in Lvov in 1863–64; see Machnik, op. cit., p. 231, cat. no. 435.

On 11 March, Marian Langiewicz took over as dictator in the camp at Goszcza. In the following days, foreign correspondents, photographers and illustrators were received in his headquarters at Sosnówka.⁴³ On 14 March 1863, *L'Illustration* editor Edmond Texier wrote in the "Revue politique de la Semaine" column⁴⁴ that the paper's special correspondent Monsieur Lallemand, travelling in Poland, reports that he had successfully reached Krakow and promises to send another packet of drawings. These soon reached Paris, for already on 21 March the paper published his account of visiting Langiewicz's camp, which was accompanied by woodcut portraits of the Zouaves of Death commander, the Frenchman Rochebrune, the Battle of Miechów and the blessing of the insurgents in Langiewicz's camp. The last illustration, by Jules Worms and the xylograph company Best Cosson Smeeton, based on Lallemand's sketches, shows the insurgents, armed with scythes and rifles, gathered around a hill, on which a priest stands at a cross speaking to the men, his arms raised.⁴⁵

The scene of volunteers leaving Grodno to join the insurrectionary army shows actual events that took place in Grodno Province. In the first months of the uprising, several units fought there, including one commanded by Ludwik Narbutt, which on 9 March had fought a battle against an overwhelming Russian force at Rudniki (near Vilnius). This drawing may represent the group of young men who joined Narbutt's unit after this victory. On 24 April *Wiadomości z Pola Bitwy* reported that "dozens of young people from Grodno have joined this unit, took over a railway station, boarded a train under fire from the Moscow army, fought off the attack and departed on the train."⁴⁶ In fact, only one car pulled out of the station, since the driver had slyly uncoupled the others. The army attacked the young people left in the station in the remaining cars. Two volunteers were killed in the ensuing shoot-out, several were held and the rest fled, only to be captured and arrested shortly. Only a small group of them reached Narbutt. The illustration based on a sketch by "Monsieur K.," drawn by Jules Worms and engraved by Best Cosson Smeeton, appeared in *L'Illustration* of 2 May 1863⁴⁷ (figs 5–6).

In late March and in April 1863 Colonel Konstanty Ramotowski (pseudonym Wawer) was sent to Augustów Province, where he gathered Padlewski's and Zameczek's scattered soldiers into a formation. He was persistently tracked by tsarist armies, twice fought off attacks from the enemy's overwhelming forces, at Białaszewo manor (on 31 March) and near Wielkie Jaszville (2 April), and then retreated into the forests near Sztabin. Throughout April he engaged in minor skirmishes in the area of Wilki, near Wierzbolowo and Olszanka. Almost nothing is

⁴³ Wanda Mossakowska, *Walery Rzewuski (1837–1888) fotograf. Studium warsztatu i twórczości* (Wrocław–Warsaw–Krakow: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1981), pp. 151–4.

⁴⁴ *L'Illustration. Journal Universel*, no. 1046 (14 March 1863), p. 162.

⁴⁵ Woodcut, 31.6 × 48.5 cm, *L'Illustration. Journal Universel*, no. 1047 (21 March 1863), pp. 184–5. Signature bottom left: *Best Cosson Smeeton*, right: *JWorms*, inscription bottom centre: *Événements de Pologne – BÉNÉDICTION D'UNE BANDE DE FAUCHEURS ALLANT REJOINDRE LE DICTATEUR LANGIEWICZ. D'après un croquis de Notre correspondant spécial*. Photographs of the drawing in the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. DI 118995 MNW, see *Światłoczułe. Kolekcje fotografii w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie. Wystawa w 170-lecie ogłoszenia wynalazku fotografii*, exh. cat., Danuta Jackiewicz, Anna Masłowska, Magdalena Bajbor, eds, The National Museum in Warsaw, 10 September – 15 November 2009 (Warsaw: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 2009), p. 175, cat. no. 374, and Historical Museum of Warsaw (see *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., p. 331, cat. no. 652).

⁴⁶ *Prasa tajna z lat 1861–1864*, part 1, Stefan Kieniewicz, Ilya Solomonovič Muller, vol. eds (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1966), p. 476.

⁴⁷ Woodcut, 31.8 × 48.2 cm, *L'Illustration. Journal Universel*, no. 1053 (2 May 1863), pp. 280–1. Signature bottom left: *J Worms*, right: *BEST. COSSON. SMEETON*, inscription bottom centre: *Événements de Pologne – BANDE DE VOLONTAIRES QUITTANT GRODNO POUR REJOINDRE L'ARMÉE INSURRECTIONNELLE – D'après un croquis de M. K. [Juliusz Kossak?]*.

known about the latter clash.⁴⁸ A woodcut of it signed by the graphic artist Jules Worms and the engraver Louis Dumont appeared in *L'Illustration* of 25 April 1863.⁴⁹

By late 1864 a single unit, commanded by Father Stanisław Brzóska, was still fighting, but the uprising had been suppressed. A wave of repressions swept Poland. *The March to Siberia* by Artur Grottger, a drawing made in 1867 in black and white chalks, is the most evocative image of the Poles' fate.⁵⁰ Jan Działyński bought its cartoon for his collection in Gołuchów Castle. It was put on display at the Society for the Friends of the Fine Arts in Krakow, and later reproduced in Munich as a lithograph, the society's "presentation plate."⁵¹ A cameo in Henryka Capelli's collection represents a beautiful copy⁵² (figs 7-8).

The crushing of the uprising spurred a new wave of emigration. Fearing repressions, about 8,000 people left Poland, most of them for France (c. 3,400). About 300 went to Italy. They included Józef Hauke, pseudonym Bosak (1834-71),⁵³ a general in the uprising, and from 29 September 1863 the insurrectionist commander of Krakow and Sandomierz Province, chief of the Second Corps created under Traugutt's rule. In 1865-67 he lived in Florence with his family, where in 1865, the Polish community honoured his heroism with the medallion made by Lenartowicz at the home of Teodozja Dzieduszycka in the ceremony described earlier. It was reproduced as a cameo.⁵⁴

Aleksander Nowolecki, a bookseller and a historian of Warsaw, the publisher of books intended for society's poor and for young people such as *Illustrowany Skarbczyk Polski* by Maria Ilnicka, chose a different method of memorializing those who had taken part in the uprising. Forced to leave Warsaw in 1863, he spent time in Dresden, where he stayed in contact with Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, and then in 1866 settled in Krakow, in the Austrian partition. While abroad, he continued to collect materials for a large work on *Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich. Krótkie wiadomości [...] zebrał i ułożył Zygmunt Kolumna. Z wstępem [...] przez B. Bolesławitę* [A souvenir for Polish families. Brief information... assembled and organized by Zygmunt Kolumna. With an introduction... by Bolesławita], which came out in two volumes in Krakow

⁴⁸ Stanisław Zieliński, *Bitwy i potyczki 1863-1864* (Rapperswil: Fundusz Wydawniczy Muzeum Narodowego Polskiego, 1913), p. 257.

⁴⁹ Woodcut, 22.2 × 31.6 cm, *L'Illustration. Journal Universel*, no 1052 (25 April 1863), p. 260. Signature bottom left: J.Worms, right: L.DUMONT, writing below the engraving, centre: *Événements de Pologne. - PREMIER ENGAGEMENT DE LA BATAILLE D'OLSZANKA DANS LE GOUVERNEMENT D'AUGUSTOWO. - D'après un croquis de notre correspondant spécial.*

⁵⁰ Artur Grottger, *The March to Siberia*, 1867, black, white chalk, cartoon, The National Museum in Poznań, inv. no. GR 42.

⁵¹ Franz Seraph Hanfstängl made the lithograph after Artur Grottger's drawing, *The March to Siberia*, 1869, paper, lithograph, 36.7 × 61.9 cm; signatures, bottom left: *Rysował Artur Grottger*, right: *Litografował Franciszek Hanfstängl*, bottom centre: *Z galerii obrazów J.W. z Czartoryskich Hr. Izabelli Działyńskiej. I Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Sztuk Pięknych w Krakowie Członkom swoim za Rok 1869.* Cf. copy in the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. Gr.Pol.15806 MNW.

⁵² Inv. no. 34163/40 MNW.

⁵³ Stefan Kieniewicz, "Hauke Józef Ludwik," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 9 (Wrocław-Warsaw-Krakow: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1960-61), pp. 305-7.

⁵⁴ Inv. no. 34166/4 MNW. Medallion, currently lost, shows the portrait in left profile, at bottom is a scythe crossed with an uhlan's lance with a pennant, below the date 1865, around it the inscription: *JÓZEFOWI HAUKE-BOSAKOWI RODACY WE FLORENCYI.*, see Król, op. cit., p. 38, cat. no. 7, fig. I/3. J.I. Kraszewski wrote about a photograph of this medallion in *Tydzień*, no. 11 (12 March 1871), see Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, *Listy do Adama i Joanny Miłaszewskich, rodziny Langie, Walerego Eljasza-Radzikowskiego*, Wincenty Danek, ed. (Wrocław-Warsaw-Krakow: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1966), p. 291, n. 6 to a letter to Walery Eljasz-Radzikowski dated 25 April 1871. Cf. photograph by S. Wiktor, made in Paris, The National Library in Warsaw, inv. no. I.F. 14756/W.

in 1867–68. Unable to publish under his real name, Nowolecki took on the nom de plume Zygmunt Kolumna (after the address of his bookstore in Warsaw, “Krakowskie-Przedmieście across from King Sigismund’s [Zygmunt’s] column, at no. 457”), while Kraszewski hid behind the pseudonym Bolesławita.⁵⁵ The book, the first attempt to gather information about the fates of as many of the insurrectionists as possible, assembled over 4,000 names. Accompanying the book were tableaux of photographs of the men, published in c. 1868.⁵⁶ Nowolecki included *Objaśnienie dwóch tablic fotografij Seryi I szej*⁵⁷ [An explanation of the two tableaux of photographs of the first series], giving detailed information about the photographs, since they included some “completely unknown ones,” which “have not been in circulation.”

Walery Eljasz-Radzikowski, a Krakow painter, designed the tableaux, grouping fifteen oval portraits in each, surrounding them with a symbolic decoration made of thorn branches, laurel leaves, ivy, figures of insurrectionists and mourning women, coats of arms and religious symbols. The compositions were photographed in Walery Rzewuski’s and Awit Szubert’s studios in Krakow and published as tableaux for Nowolecki’s book (the photographs measured 18 × 11 cm, their mats 22.6 × 15.2 cm), and were also sold in a smaller size.

A comparison of the cameos and the tableaux portraits for *Pamiętki dla rodzin polskich* allowed us to find two tableaux, which Henryka Capelli had chosen as prototypes for the series devoted to the January insurgents. The initial obstacle to identifying the cameo portraits and the photographs came from the fact that the lapidaries introduced changes as they carved the portraits to adjust them to the forms of the cameos and to fit in their half-figure takes. In modelling their work on images that were significantly cropped, some filled them in quite incompetently (torsos, hands, props), making the figures appear stiff and unnatural.

According to the photographs from the tableau made in Awit Szubert’s studio in Krakow entitled *FOR FAITH AND HOMELAND 1863, THE FALLEN*, shown in the cameos were: Stefan Bobrowski, Franciszek Godlewski, Bolesław Dehnel, Gustaw Wasilewski, Kazimierz Mielęcki, Ludwik Narbutt, Marcin Maciej Borelowski (pseudonym Lelewel), Teodor Cieszkowski, Kazimierz Konrad Błaszczński (pseudonym Bończa), Walenty Mańkowski (Father Benvenuto), Aleksander Szaniawski, Paweł Michał Suzin, Kazimierz Unrug, Władysław Eminowicz and Dionizy Czachowski⁵⁸ (fig. 9). Nowolecki described this tableau in

⁵⁵ Zygmunt Kolumna, *Pamiętki dla rodzin polskich. Krótkie wiadomości o straconych na rusztowaniach, rozstrzelanych, poległych i zmarłych na wygnaniu syberyjskiem i tułactwie ofiar z 1861–1866 roku...* [A souvenir for Polish families. Brief information about those who have been executed on gallows, shot, have fallen on the battlefield and died in prisons, as emigrants or in Siberian exile from 1861 to 1866. From official sources, Polish newspapers, as well as from oral accounts by trustworthy persons and comrades in arms], part 1 (Krakow: printed in Władysław Jaworski’s printshop, published by the editors of *Kalina*, 1867); id., *Pamiętki dla rodzin polskich. Krótkie wiadomości biograficzne o straconych na rusztowaniach, rozstrzelanych, poległych na placu boju, oraz zmarłych w więzieniach, na tułactwie i na wygnaniu syberyjskiem od roku 1861–1866. Ze źródeł urzędowych, dzienników polskich, jak niemniej z ustnych podań osób wiarygodnych i towarzyszy broni...*, part 2 (Krakow: printed in Władysław Jaworski’s printshop, published by the editors of *Kalina*, 1868).

⁵⁶ There were six of them; see Edward Chwalewik, *Katalog wystawy pamiątek powstania styczniowego otwartej 3-go lutego 1918 r. w Kamienicy ks. Mazowieckich* (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii, 1918), pp. 197–8: cat. no. 1531 (“Casualties in 1863,” photograph, 180/110 mm, tableau I), cat. no. 1532 (“Ofiary z 1863 r.” photograph, 180/110 mm, tableau II), cat. no. 1533 (“Ofiary z 1863 r.” photograph, 180/110 mm, tableau III), cat. no. 1534 (“Ofiary z 1863 r.” photograph, 180/110 mm, tableau IV), cat. no. 1535 (“Ofiary z 1863 r.” with the caption “the fallen,” photograph, 180/110 mm, tableau V), cat. no. 1536 (“Ofiary z 1863 r.” with the caption “executed – hanged,” photograph, 180/110 mm, tableau VI), all these tableaux were the property of Eugeniusz de Phull.

⁵⁷ The authors would like to thank Mr Leszek Machnikow for lending them this text.

⁵⁸ Stefan Bobrowski – inv. no. 34166/2 MNW; Franciszek Godlewski – inv. no. 34166/12 MNW; Bolesław Dehnel – inv. no. 34166/7 MNW; Gustaw Wasilewski – inv. no. 34166/30 MNW; Kazimierz Mielęcki – inv. no.

Objaśnienie and reported which photographs he had in his possession and from whom he had received them.

Stefan Bobrowski (1841–63)⁵⁹ (**fig. 10 a**), a leader of the uprising in Warsaw, who in the first few months in fact served as the leader of the insurrection, is shown in a bust cut out of a full-figure photograph in which he sits in a chair, his arm leaning on a table. According to Nowolecki, this was “a copy of the Kiev original made in Krakow,” and “there is a total similarity.” But according to historians of photography, the original had been taken in Vaillat’s atelier in Paris in 1862, during Bobrowski’s stay in France.⁶⁰

The portrait of Franciszek Godlewski (1834–63)⁶¹ (**fig. 10 b**), one of the initiators of the patriotic demonstrations, who was arrested and sent into exile and who in the uprising fought in a unit commanded by Antoni Jeziorański, shows him wearing a military greatcoat. Nowolecki wrote that he had been “photographed with a group of men assigned to forced labour units in 1861, on their way into exile. Copies were widely disseminated in Warsaw. I think that his image was also photocopied separately in Warsaw. Even with the changed expression and character of his face, the similarity remains.” His individual picture, which presents Godlewski in full figure, sitting at a table, is known from photographs in the visiting card format and from many occasional tableaux.⁶²

The next insurrectionist who died in battle, Bolesław Dehnel (Denel) (1830–63), a columnist and founder of the underground publication *Strażnica*⁶³ (**fig. 10 c**), according to *Objaśnienie* “had been photographed in Warsaw and in Italy, [the photograph] here is the Warsaw original.” This information cannot be confirmed (incidentally, in *Objaśnienie* Nowolecki mistook his Christian name for Bronisław). We do not know whether Dehnel went to Italy. We also have no photographs of him that would tell us in what foreign or Warsaw studio his photograph was taken and cropped to be used in the tableau.

Interestingly, sometimes photographers retouched pictures to bring them up to date. This was the case with the most ubiquitous image of Kazimierz Mielecki (1836–63), one of the earliest organizers of uprising units in the Kingdom of Poland and in Poznań Province⁶⁴ (**fig. 10 d**). In the tableau, the colonel appears in a jacket with loop closings. Here, the picture was touched up to present him in full figure, in a frock coat instead of fighter’s dress. Nowolecki reported

34166/17 MNW; Ludwik Narbutt – inv. no. 34166/18 MNW; Marcin Maciej Borelowski (pseudonym Lelewel) – inv. no. 34166/14 MNW; Teodor Cieszkowski – inv. no. 34166/5 MNW; Kazimierz Konrad Błaszczyński (pseudonym Bończa) – inv. no. 34166/3 MNW; Walenty Mańkowski (Father Benvenuto) – inv. no. 34166/1 MNW; Aleksander Szaniawski – inv. no. 34166/23 MNW; Paweł Michał Suzin – inv. no. 34166/22 MNW; Kazimierz Unrug – inv. no. 34166/27 MNW; Władysław Eminowicz – inv. no. 34166/9 MNW and Dionizy Czachowski – inv. no. 34166/6 MNW.

⁵⁹ Justyn Sokulski, “Bobrowski Stefan,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 2 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1936), pp. 161–3.

⁶⁰ Machnik, op. cit., pp. 60–1, cat. no. 40; *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., p. 53, cat. no. 31.

⁶¹ Stefan Kieniewicz, “Godlewski Franciszek,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 8 (Wrocław–Kraków–Warsaw: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1959–60), p. 175.

⁶² See photograph in the National Museum in Warsaw collection, inv. no. DI 118874 MNW. See also *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., pp. 242–3, cat. nos 513–5.

⁶³ Andrzej Wojtkowski, “Dehnel Bolesław,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 5 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1939–46), p. 49.

⁶⁴ Zdzisław Grot, “Mielecki Kazimierz,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 20 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1975), pp. 773–4.

that the photograph used in the tableau had been taken in Poznań, perhaps in the studio of August and Fryderyk Zeuschner.⁶⁵

The questions of retouching and of photocopying in different photography studios also comes up with the portrait of Gustaw Wasilewski (1839–63)⁶⁶ (fig. 10 e). The picture Nowolecki used of him is “a copy of the Paris copy made from the original. The copy was altered somewhat by retouching, but has lost nothing of its likeness. Wasilewski studied at the Polish military school in Genoa, then stayed in Paris before returning to Poland in early 1863. The picture was most likely brought to Poland, where it was copied and retouched in a photo laboratory.

Here, Nowolecki’s emphasis on “likeness” referred not so much to persons as to the original pictures that were photocopied. But in the case of Marcin Borelowski, pseudonym Lelewel (1829–63)⁶⁷ (fig. 10 g), who during the uprising served as military commander in Podlasie and Lublin Province, the author of *Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich* emphasized the authenticity of someone he had personally known. Borelowski “had his picture taken in Warsaw, when he managed a joint partnership with Sporny, a well and pump factory, but at that time he did not wear a beard, which he only grew in the uprising; but since we know that no photos were taken of him later, we conjecture that the photograph representing him with a beard is a makeover of the one made in Warsaw, with the beard added. The facial features and expression resemble the Borelowski we knew personally, but the alterations have diminished the likeness. For all our efforts, we were unable to obtain the Warsaw [photograph].” Researchers continue to investigate the authorship of the photograph Nowolecki writes about.⁶⁸

Nowolecki wrote in *Objaśnienie* about his attempts to find the most faithful images of Ludwik Narbutt (1832–63)⁶⁹ (fig. 10 f), Teodor Cieszkowski (1833–63)⁷⁰ (fig. 10 h) and Władysław Eminowicz (1837–64)⁷¹ (fig. 10 n). In the case of Narbutt, who served as a colonel and commander of Lida District, the photograph that was used “had been given by a close relative of the late Narbut [sic!], who stopped over in Dresden and responded to the many requests from our compatriots by giving permission to have it copied in Mr L Krakow’s photography studio.” It seems that this photo of Narbutt was not circulated since there is no evidence of it as a visiting card, but the photograph reproduced in studies of the January Uprising shows him beard-less, in military uniform and not in civilian dress.⁷² In the case of Teodor Cieszkowski, a colonel in the uprising and the commander of a unit that fought in some important battles, Nowolecki

⁶⁵ Machnik, op. cit., p. 134, cat. no. 217; *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., p. 137, cat. nos 238–40. Cf. full-figure photographs in civilian dress, inv. nos DI 118810 MNW and DI 90621/2 MNW.

⁶⁶ Kolumna, *Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich...*, op. cit., part 2, *Dodatek*, pp. 78–9.

⁶⁷ Justyn Sokulski, “Borelowski Marcin Maciej (Lelewel),” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 2 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1936), pp. 322–4.

⁶⁸ Machnik, op. cit., pp. 37–8, 62, cat. no. 44; *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., p. 54, cat. nos 33–5.

⁶⁹ Stefan Kieniewicz, “Narbutt (Ostyk-Narbutt) Ludwik,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 22 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1977), pp. 535–6.

⁷⁰ Justyn Sokulski, “Cieszkowski Teodor Leon,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 4 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1938), p. 68.

⁷¹ Justyn Sokulski, “Eminowicz Władysław,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 6 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1948), pp. 266–7.

⁷² See J. Grabiec [pseud. Józef Dąbrowski], *Rok 1863* (Poznań: Zdzisław Rzepecki i Ska, 1913), p. 301, fig.; Krystyna Lejko has published a photograph of the insurgent Kazimierz Narbutt (1838–1903) with moustache and beard, who does not appear to be the same man as the one in the tableau, cf. *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., p. 142, cat. no. 252.

also found help from someone who knew him well because Cieszkowski “had himself photographed twice in different costumes; we present him here according to the first picture, which is similar to the portrait given to the photographer by a close friend; the other, in military dress with a plumed bearskin, a sash across his shoulder, is markedly different from the first.” The first photograph, which is used in the tableau, shows the full figure of a young man, turned to the right, wearing a kepi, a dolman, with his trousers tucked into tall boots, a sabre in his hand.⁷³ But the portrait of lieutenant-colonel and unit commander Władysław Eminowicz (*Objaśnienie* gives him a wrong name, Julian) is “the original photograph from Warsaw, given to us by the brother-in-law of the late Eminowicz,” whose original we are not familiar with.

Nowolecki’s introduction to the tableaux states that he used pictures from photography studios in different cities, Krakow, Warsaw, Poznań, but he does not provide the names of the photographers. Only the original photos allow us to identify them. It turns out that some of the portraits were made in the early 1860s by the well-known Warsaw photographer Karol Beyer. It is most likely that the portrait of Kazimierz Konrad Błaszczński (Bończa) (c. 1834–63)⁷⁴ in a Russian officer’s uniform, sitting at a table, holding a sabre in his left hand, with his right hand resting on the table top (**fig. 10 i**), was made in his studio. Nowolecki mentions that he used the Krakow original, but researchers believe that it was a photocopy glued onto a card in Rzewuski’s studio, since there exists a copy of it with Beyer’s company stamp.⁷⁵ It was certainly this photographer’s studio that produced a photograph of the Bernardine Father Benvenuto (1816–63)⁷⁶ (**fig. 10 j**), the chaplain of Apolinary Kurowski’s and then Teodor Cieszkowski’s units, full-figured, standing with his hands joined on his chest.⁷⁷ Nowolecki used “the Poznań copy, well executed,” which most likely was made in the Zeuschners’ shop.⁷⁸

Another prominent Warsaw photographer appears among the authors of the portraits discussed here, Jan Mieczkowski. Dionizy Czachowski (1810–63)⁷⁹ (**fig. 10 o**) was photographed in Mieczkowski’s studio with the characteristic white mourning bow, which people wore to the funeral of five men who fell on 2 March 1861.⁸⁰ Numerous photocopies were made from this original, in studios including Rzewuski’s in Krakow, as well as in Poznań.⁸¹ Nowolecki knew this when he wrote that Czachowski (a colonel and war commander in Sandomierz Province

⁷³ See Machnik, op. cit., p. 67, cat. no. 55 (wearing a kepi), p. 68, cat. no. 57 (wearing a fur cap decorated with a bow).

⁷⁴ Wiesław Caban, “Działalność powstańcza pułkownika Bogdana Bończy w województwach sandomierskim i krakowskim w 1863 roku,” in id., *Powstanie styczniowe. Polacy i Rosjanie w XIX wieku. Wybór studiów z okazji czterdziestolecia pracy naukowej i 65. rocznicy urodzin*, Lidia Michalska-Bracha, Stanisław Wiech, Jacek Legieć, eds (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego Jana Kochanowskiego, 2011), pp. 121–30.

⁷⁵ Machnik, op. cit., p. 59, cat. no. 37; *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., p. 52, cat. no. 30.

⁷⁶ Wiesław Murawiec, “Mańkowski (Mańko) Walenty, imię zakonne Benwenuty,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 19 (Wrocław–Warsaw–Krakow–Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1974), p. 514. These authors adopted the monastic form “Benvenuto” after the usage of most sources from that time.

⁷⁷ *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., p. 134, cat. nos 230, 231.

⁷⁸ *Portrety i fotografie z „Salonu szklanego” A. & F. Zeuschnerów 1855–1910*, exh. cat., Magdalena Warkoczewska, ed., Ratusz Oddział Muzeum Historii miasta Poznania, September–October 1996 (Poznań: Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, 1996), p. 17, cat. no. 7.

⁷⁹ Justyn Sokulski, “Czachowski Dionizy,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 4 (Krakow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1938), pp. 138–9.

⁸⁰ *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., p. 62, cat. nos 56–8.

⁸¹ See *Portrety i fotografie...*, op. cit., p. 21, cat. no. 32.

during the uprising) had been “photographed in Warsaw in 1861, when he came to the funeral of the 5 fallen men as a representative, in national dress, a mourning bow on his shoulder, we are publishing a copy made in Poznań. The similarity is great, but the copy has robbed his face of its characteristic liveliness and fire.”

Aleksander Witkowski, who also worked in Warsaw in the early 1860s, is the last of the photographers who could be identified. He shot the organizer of a unit of peasants armed with scythes and the military commander of Biała Podlaska District, Aleksander Szaniawski (1819 or 1820–63)⁸² (**fig. 10 k**), in national dress, standing in his studio with a landscape screen as background.⁸³ Nowolecki gives the date when the photo was taken as 1862.

Two of the pictures, according to Nowolecki, were taken in Poznań. Most active in that city was the already mentioned shop run by August and Fryderyk Zeuschner, from which came the photograph of Kazimierz Unrug (1834–63)⁸⁴ (**fig. 10 m**), who fought in the unit commanded by Edmund Taczanowski. It represents him in full figure, standing next to a small table, a walking stick in hand, leaning on a chair, with a curtain and a panel with a painted landscape in the background.⁸⁵ But we do not know what studio the former Russian officer and organizer of uprising units Paweł Suzin (1837 or 1839–63)⁸⁶ (**fig. 10 l**) used, since we have only seen a photocopy of his photograph (standing, leaning on a rifle, in insurrectionary dress, with his right hand bandaged).⁸⁷

The next fifteen cameos were sculpted according to tableau IV, entitled *CASUALTIES of 1863*, made in Walery Rzewuski’s studio, and including: Józef Wallisch (Walisz), Stefan Giebułtowski, Witold Pintowski, Antoni Lipczyński, Teofil Władyczański (pseudonym Zaremba), Kazimierz Trąpczyński, Władysław Waga, Wojciech Szulc (Father Serafin), Gustaw Olizar, Władysław Ostaszewski, Juliusz Tarnowski, Karol Libelt, Wojciech Elgöt (pseudonym Wieniawa), Stanisław Krzesimowski and Bolesław Dłuski (pseudonym Jabłonowski)⁸⁸ (**fig. 11**).

Nowolecki does not explain this tableau. The photographs used to make this arrangement have been identified primarily on the basis of recently published catalogues of photographs of the January insurrectionists, which have been thoroughly researched by Leszek Machnik and Krystyna Lejko. These publications led us to the original pictures of six of the men, which were all made in the Krakow studio of Walery Rzewuski.

The first is the photograph of Stefan Giebułtowski (1839–63) (**fig. 12 b**), a student at the Jagiellonian University and Jan Matejko’s brother-in-law, which shows him in full figure,

⁸² Kolumna, *Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich...*, op. cit., part 2, *Dodatek*, p. 74–5.

⁸³ *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., p. 186, cat. no. 379.

⁸⁴ Kolumna, *Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich...*, op. cit., part 2, *Dodatek*, pp. 74–5.

⁸⁵ *Portrety i fotografie...*, op. cit., p. 36, cat. no. 143.

⁸⁶ Anna Brus, “Suzin Paweł Michał,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 46 (Warsaw–Krakow: Polska Akademia Nauk and Polska Akademia Umiejętności joint publication compiled by Instytut Historii PAN, 2009), pp. 111–3.

⁸⁷ *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., p. 184, cat. no. 373.

⁸⁸ Józef Wallisch (Walisz) – inv. no. 34166/29 MNW; Stefan Giebułtowski – inv. no. 34166/11 MNW; Witold Pintowski – inv. no. 34166/20 MNW; Antoni Lipczyński – inv. no. 34166/16 MNW; Teofil Władyczański (pseudonym Zaremba) – inv. no. 34166/31 MNW; Kazimierz Trąpczyński – inv. no. 34166/26 MNW; Władysław Waga – inv. no. 34166/28 MNW; Wojciech Szulc (Father Serafin) – inv. no. 34166/24 MNW; Gustaw Olizar – inv. no. 34165/5 MNW (this cameo was included in the series of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century personalities); Władysław Ostaszewski – inv. no. 34166/19 MNW; Juliusz Tarnowski – inv. no. 34166/25 MNW; Karol Libelt – inv. no. 34166/15 MNW; Wojciech Elgöt (pseudonym Wieniawa) – inv. no. 34166/21 MNW; Stanisław Krzesimowski – inv. no. 34166/13 MNW; Bolesław Dłuski (pseudonym Jabłonowski) – inv. no. 34166/8 MNW.

standing at a small desk with a four-cornered hat lying on it, resting his left hand on its surface.⁸⁹ The photograph of the chaplain of Teodor Cieszkowski's unit, the Bernardine priest Wojciech Szulc (1831–1905) (**fig. 12 i**), sitting in a monk's robe and cut off at the knees,⁹⁰ comes from the same studio. Rzewuski also made a photocopy of the original photograph of Juliusz Tarnowski (1840–63) (**fig. 12 k**), which had probably been taken abroad, in one of the cities in which Tarnowski had studied before joining the uprising as an adjutant to Colonel Zygmunt Jordan. The elegant youth who is sitting at a table and holding a small walking stick was photographed in full figure.⁹¹ Rzewuski's next subject is Wojciech Elgöt, pseudonym Wieniawa (c. 1830–63) (**fig. 12 m**), who initially served as a chaplain, then a captain in the uprising, the commander of a unit of peasant recruits fighting with scythes, standing in the atelier, dressed in a belted *czamara* and wide trousers tucked into his boots, a soldier's four-cornered hat with a lambskin trim and decorated with a bow and white plume on his head.⁹² The last photograph taken in Rzewuski's studio is the one of General Stanisław Krzesimowski (1787–1865)⁹³ (**fig. 12 n**), showing him in full figure, sitting in an armchair, wearing a *czamara*, a medal on his chest, holding a four-cornered hat in his right hand, a sabre in his left. A screen with a mountain view serves as background.⁹⁴

The growing field of research on Polish photography and its publications will certainly help to locate the originals of more of the figures in the tableau *CASUALTIES of 1863*. We still need to find those of Major Józef Walisz (Wallisch) (1827–63), chief of staff of the unit led by Marcin Borelowski⁹⁵ (**fig. 12 a**), Witold Pintowski (c. 1841–63)⁹⁶ (**fig. 12 c**), who died in the Battle of Miechów; Antoni Lipczyński (1808–63)⁹⁷ (**fig. 12 d**), “commander” of the city of Krakow in the January Uprising, a lieutenant-colonel in the cavalry; Teofil Władyczański (Zaremba) (1834–63),⁹⁸ a former Russian army officer and in the uprising the commander of a volunteer unit (**fig. 12 f**); Kazimierz Trąmpczyński (1833–63)⁹⁹ (**fig. 12 e**), trained as a lawyer, fighting in Kazimierz Mielecki's unit; Władysław Waga (1836–65)¹⁰⁰ (**fig. 12 g**), a poet, Colonel Aleksander Waligórski's adjutant; Karol Libelt (1843–63)¹⁰¹ (**fig. 12 l**), killed in the Battle of Brdów, son of the prominent philosopher Karol Fryderyk; and Bolesław Dłuski (Jabłonowski)

⁸⁹ Machnik, op. cit., p. 89, cat. no. 106.

⁹⁰ *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., p. 189, cat. no. 386.

⁹¹ Machnik, op. cit., p. 190, cat. no. 348.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 82, cat. no. 90.

⁹³ Eligiusz Kozłowski, “Krzesimowski Stanisław,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 15 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1970), pp. 531–2.

⁹⁴ Machnik, op. cit., p. 118, cat. no. 177.

⁹⁵ Kolumna, *Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich...*, op. cit., part 2, p. 288.

⁹⁶ Kolumna, *Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich...*, op. cit., part 2, *Dodatek*, p. 49.

⁹⁷ Marian Tyrowicz, “Lipczyński Antoni,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 17 (Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków-Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1972), pp. 382–3.

⁹⁸ Kolumna, *Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich...*, op. cit., part 2, *Dodatek*, pp. 82–3.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 69–70.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77.

¹⁰¹ Kolumna, *Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich...*, op. cit., part 2, pp. 153–4.

(1826–1905),¹⁰² who fought in Samogitia and Lithuania (**fig. 12 o**). But in the case of the portrait of Władysław Ostaszewski (1823–63)¹⁰³ (**fig. 12 j**), who died during an ambush on an armoured train in Kietlanka near Czyżew, it is possible to compare the image from the tableau to a slightly larger version of the same photograph in a tableau by an anonymous author.¹⁰⁴ The original picture shows Ostaszewski sitting at a table, his right hand resting on its top. But unfortunately we do not know when it was made.

The placement of Gustaw Olizar (1798–1865)¹⁰⁵ (**fig. 12 h**), a poet and memoirist who settled in Dresden in about 1853 and lived there for the rest of his life,¹⁰⁶ among men who had fought or been otherwise engaged in the uprising is astonishing. A possible explanation may lie in Olizar's description by Nowolecki in the annex to the second volume of *Pamiętki dla rodzin polskich*: "Even though the late Olizar, who had once been one of the emigrants, did not participate actively in the last uprising, we are recalling his life and death here because of his great services after the defeat of the uprising to his new emigrant brothers, providing help to the needy with the most noble emotion, closing his heart to no one. This good citizen was the most active and important member of associations watching over indigent émigrés in need of support. He was the first founder of a dues-collecting organization, whose funds were distributed to the needy. There were times when it was necessary to hand out aid to an arrival persecuted by Moscow, and the money had been exhausted, Count Olizar, unable to assist them immediately, would sell his wife's jewels, so as not to leave the unfortunate fellow wanderer in need."¹⁰⁷ Having lived in Dresden for a few years already, Nowolecki had no doubt met the poet and may have himself benefitted from his assistance. The photograph used in the tableau had been taken in Dresden.¹⁰⁸

Conclusion

Henryka Capelli was guided by patriotic motivations when she created the collection of cameos that was donated to the museum in Rapperswil. She chose easily recognizable scenes and portraits in order to represent the history of Poland in the most accessible way. Well-known paintings by Matejko, Simmler and Grottger, illustrations from popular books and images of rulers and heroes of the November Uprising, which were imprinted in Polish minds, served this goal best. In the case of the January Uprising, being fought as the collection was being

¹⁰² Stanisław Kościółkowski, "Dłuski Bolesław Roman, pseud. Jabłonowski," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 5 (Kraków: Polska Akademii Umiejętności, 1939–46), p. 187.

¹⁰³ Kolumna, *Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich...*, op. cit., part 2, p. 202.

¹⁰⁴ *Powstanie styczniowe...*, op. cit., pp. 244–5, cat. no. 516.

¹⁰⁵ Franciszka Sawicka, "Gustaw Olizar, poeta, publicysta, działacz społeczno-polityczny," *Czasopismo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich* (Wrocław), 14 (2003), pp. 7–90.

¹⁰⁶ In Rapperswil, the cameo with Olizar's portrait was added to the series of prominent eighteenth- and nineteenth-century personalities.

¹⁰⁷ Kolumna, *Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich...*, op. cit., part 2, *Dodatek*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁸ See a similar take with the head turned *en trois quarts* to the right, full-figured in photographs in the National Library in Warsaw collection (*Portrety światłem malowane. Katalog wystawy. Fotografie z kolekcji Józefa Ignacego Kraszewskiego. Zbiory Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie*, exh. cat., Muzeum Józefa Ignacego Kraszewskiego w Romanowie, 10 September – 25 November 2011 (Romanów: Muzeum Józefa Ignacego Kraszewskiego w Romanowie, 2011), p. 252, cat. no. 398 – Olizar's photo is among those of unidentified persons) and the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. no. Dep.6730 MNW).

created and new cameos were being commissioned, the collector was limited to contemporary illustrations. This is not to say that these illustrations always showed the most important events in the insurrection, as we understand now with our historical knowledge. Because Capelli did not have this perspective, she could not make a more balanced choice of actors in this patriotic struggle. For this reason, in her collection, among well-known commanders and patriotic activists appear men who did not enter the national pantheon, while many deserving men whose names have become permanently linked to the uprising are missing. In fact, this glyptothèque illustrates the awareness in its era of this key event in Poland's history.