

The political changes of 1989 paved the way for the restoration of the Raczyński residence in Rogalin to its historical, pre-war form<sup>2</sup>. Although since 1948 it had served as a museum, one of the branches of the National Museum in Poznań, the circumstances of the communist regime caused the content presented there to distort the history of the place and omit its former owners<sup>3</sup>. As a result of the institution's activities being subordinated to the dictate of the Polish United Workers' Party,<sup>4</sup> two exhibitions were organised which from the outset aroused opposition and controversy among some museologists and conservators.<sup>5</sup> The first, on show in the years 1949–1956, was a primitive propagandistic presentation entitled 'Muzeum wieku Oświecenia' [Museum of the Age of Enlightenment], which consisted of an exhibition by the Department of Arts and Crafts and the Documentation of Progressive Thought, located in the main body of the palace, and

## ASSUMPTIONS, ARCHIVAL FOUNDATIONS AND CONSERVATION PREMISES FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE RACZYŃSKI RESIDENCE AT ROGALIN, A BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ, TO ITS HISTORICAL SHAPE<sup>1</sup>

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- 1 Being one of the co-authors (with Joanna Nowak and Maciej M. Putowski) of the most recent renovation and modernisation of the Rogalin residence, I am aware that even with an attempt to retain scholarly objectivity, this article is still an expression of my personal convictions. This is because, as it has long been noted, 'even if a historian absolutely wishes to be "objective" and when he is absolutely convinced he is conveying the truth – because this pursuit, too, is an ideology, and this pursuit is the more eager the more it is connected with the historian's belief that there exists some truth towards which we are heading, that is, with his professing the so-called naïve realism' (J. Topolski, *Jak się pisze i rozumie historię. Tajemnice narracji historycznej* [Warszawa, 1998], p. 368). In this context, it could be assumed that the critique of the first post-war ventures in Rogalin as presented below is unjustified. The crux of the problem, however, lies in the fact that, being done in the name of political and/or aesthetic considerations, they infringed on the historic substance of the Rogalin complex and heavily distorted the tradition of the place. This is what we tried to avoid during the recent ventures, curbing (incidentally: in the course of many heated discussions) various creative proclivities and personal convictions in favour of premises grounded in history. I hope that, despite all the limitations, these efforts allowed us to arrive at a vision of the residence which is the closest to its pre-war shape.
- 2 E. Leszczyńska, *70. rocznica otwarcia Muzeum Pałacu w Rogalinie Oddziału Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu* (Poznań, 2019), p. 58; eadem, 'O przezorności, odkłamywaniu historii, żmudnych badaniach i miarkowaniu ambicji, czyli o odtwarzaniu domu Raczyńskich w Rogalinie', article submitted for publication in conference papers to follow a conference at the Royal Castle in Warsaw in 2022; A. Rottermund, 'Polskie muzealnictwo w okresie przemian 1968–1996', in: *Muzeum XXI wieku. W stulecie I zjazdu muzeów polskich w Poznaniu*, ed. M. Gołąb (Poznań, 2022), p. 157
- 3 M. Pawlaczek, 'Wnętrza pałacu w Rogalinie. Problemy ekspozycji, a znaczenie przekazów historycznych i tradycji', *Muzealnictwo*, 1983, no. 26/27, pp. 41–66; E. Leszczyńska, *70. rocznica otwarcia Muzeum*, pp. 10–51; eadem, 'O przezorności'.
- 4 Rottermund, 'Polskie muzealnictwo w okresie przemian'.
- 5 Pawlaczek, 'Wnętrza pałacu w Rogalinie', p. 58; K. Kalinowski, 'Zdzisław Kępiński 1911–1978. Wspomnienie pośmiertne', *Studia Muzealne*, 1982, fasc. 13, p. 178.

a second exhibition, by the Department of Folk Culture and Art, occupying the former building of the Picture Gallery.<sup>6</sup> The second was an aesthetic and artistic creation of the then director of the MNP, Zdzisław Kępiński; it included both the new layout of the palace and the Picture Gallery, as well as the architecture of these buildings, modernised in accordance with his ideas.<sup>7</sup> This otherwise interesting modernist attempt to turn historical artefacts into a total work of art<sup>8</sup> – to produce which Kępiński employed some other contemporary artists beside himself, including Zbigniew Bednarowicz<sup>9</sup> – from the point of view of the scientific and ethical duties of the Museum was even more dangerous than the previous one,<sup>10</sup> because it created the illusion of a true mag-nate residence, which in this form had little in common with the tradition of the Rogalin residence (or any other residence for that matter).<sup>11</sup> Besides, Kępiński's exhibition-staging activities were accompanied by a reprehensible interference in the historical substance of the complex,<sup>12</sup>

6 Leszczyńska, 70. rocznica otwarcia Muzeum, pp. 16–27, 104.

7 Ibidem, pp. 28–33.

8 Kępiński the painter constructed this work of art like a painting, making use of the available museum objects, but disregarding or even contradicting their original function and neglecting to ground them in the history of the place; cf. K. Kalinowski, 'Zdzisław Kępiński (ur. 9 IV 1911 w Pruszkowie zm. 1 I 1978 w Poznaniu)', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 40, 1978, no. 2, pp. 202–203; idem, 'Zdzisław Kępiński 1911–1978', pp. 178–179; Pawlaczyk, 'Wnętrza pałacu w Rogalinie', pp. 59–60. Unfortunately, neither Kępiński's exceedingly rich legacy of scholarly publications nor the archival documents held at the National Museum in Poznań (Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, hereinafter: MNP) contain any authorial comments on his work at Rogalin and Gołuchów.

9 This seems to betray Kępiński's familiarity with the recommendations of the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians on Historical Monuments, held in Paris on 6–11 May 1957, according to which the renovation of monuments should also involve contemporary artists; cf. J. Zachwatowicz, 'Międzynarodowy Kongres Architektów-Konserwatorów oraz Techników Konserwacji Zabytków w czasie od 6 do 11 maja 1957', *Ochrona Zabytków*, vol. 10, 1957, no. 3 (38), pp. 205–207.

10 As shown by the favourable assessment of his Rogalin and Gołuchów creations, which keeps being expressed to this day; cf. W. Suchocki, 'Słowo na otwarcie konferencji', in: *Oko i myśl. O Zdzisławie Kępińskim*, ed. M. Haake, Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki, vol. 38 (Poznań, 2012), p. 8; Rottermund, 'Polskie muzealnictwo w okresie przemian'. This is perceived very differently by Małgorzata Szyk, who in the conclusion to her article on Kępiński's work at Gołuchów Castle stated that his activities had been 'an example of interference in the historicity of the building by creating history "anew"'; cf. M. Szyk, 'W starciu ideologii, czyli arystokratyczny Gołuchów na ludowo', in: *Oko i myśl*, p. 203.

11 Leszczyńska, 70. rocznica otwarcia Muzeum, pp. 28–33.

12 This pertains to the restructuring of three ground-floor interiors in the main building of the palace, conducted immediately after the palace was taken over in 1948 on the basis of designs by Dominik Merlini which the Raczyński family had never implemented. This resulted in the destruction of stucco decorations, fireplaces and stoves dating from the beginnings of the palace's existence or the period of renovations conducted by Zygmunt Hendel in the late nineteenth century. Stoves and fireplaces, as well as eighteenth-century stuccos, were removed also from other rooms; their

which had survived the Second World War almost intact, since during that period it housed a Hitler Youth school.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the destruction Kępiński caused – which he did in complete disregard of the provisions of the Athens Charter<sup>14</sup> – contributed to the dissemination of a false image of the palace's architecture. What Kępiński did was classicise the palace, making use of designs by Dominik Merlini and Jan Chrystian Kamsetzer which had been commissioned but not implemented by the Raczyński family. This was in line with the concept of a 'Museum of the Enlightenment', of which, judging by his beliefs and achievements, he was not only the author but also a great admirer.<sup>15</sup> It is significant that Kępiński never published any comments whatsoever on his museum creations in Rogalin and Gołuchów, which is all the more striking given the richness of his literary legacy.<sup>16</sup>

Within a short time, the removal of certain pieces from display or their relocation resulted in the degradation of Kępiński's exhibition, which in the following decade was transformed into a chronological, didactic display of residential interiors from the Renaissance to the nineteenth

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traces and niches left by their removal were obliterated. In the years 1959–1961, in turn, J.Ch. Kamsetzer's design for the modernisation of the garden stairs, which had not been implemented in the period of the Raczyński ownership, was carried out. This resulted in the removal of the earthwork terrace from ca. the middle of the nineteenth century and the remnants of the original stairs discovered underneath; Kępiński did not permit to even inventory the latter, despite Zofia Ostrowska-Kęłłowska's efforts to do so. The same concerned the décor of the eighteenth-century shell grotto in the Oval Parlour on the ground floor, which was removed at the same time, and the following installation of a terrazzo balustrade – devoid of any historical justification – of the terrace before the new stairs, to which the Rococo sculptures were moved from the garden parterre. Concurrently, Kępiński completely changed the colour palette of the palace's elevations and interiors, which were adjusted to fit his ahistorical, aestheticising concept for the exhibition. In 1965, Kępiński had the eighteenth-century three-span rustic bridge connecting the palace's courtyards blown up; he replaced it with a one-span decorative bridge from a random nineteenth-century pattern book. The above conclusions arise from the analysis of conservation research as archival materials in combination with inspections of the structure conducted by the author of the present text during the modernisation and renovation of the whole complex in 1996–2015. This was because the MNP archive seems to hold no designs, inventories or documents from the period of Kępiński's activity (with the exception of the design for the reinforcement of the bridge). In addition, during his second term as director, i.e. in the years 1956–1966, the *Studia Muzealne* periodical – a valuable source of data on various aspects of the Museum's activity, including exhibitions and renovation/conservation ventures – ceased to be published.

13 Leszczyńska, 'O przezorności'.

14 With which he must have been perfectly familiar, since in 1945 he served as the Provincial Monument Conservator in Poznań.

15 Cf. the critical assessment of Kępiński's texts in the materials from the 2008 conference *Oko i myśl* devoted to his activity.

16 His intentions are reported only in a few sentences in later information materials: *Muzeum w Rogalinie* (Poznań, 1967); T. Jakimowicz, *Gołuchów* (Poznań, 1973).

century.<sup>17</sup> It was only in the late 1970s that it proved possible to add a number of portraits of the Raczyński family to the display and, in a few cases, to refer to the former functions of the interiors.<sup>18</sup> Yet this still timid attempt to make a reference to the former shape of the residence, authored by Mateusz Pawlaczyk,<sup>19</sup> did not essentially change the exhibition, which continued to be displayed in the same form until 1986; in that year, it began to be dismantled in connection with the renovation of the main body of the palace, which was scheduled to begin in the following year.<sup>20</sup>

This renovation was a new and most significant stage of the disastrous major renovation – or, more aptly, ruination – carried out in the years 1975–1989 by the Poznań branch of the Monument Conservation Atelier (Pracownia Konserwacji Zabytków). As a result, the architectural fabric of the complex was further damaged or destroyed.<sup>21</sup> This also affected the interiors of the palace, which underwent demolition, reconstruction and serious structural alterations. As a result, the static balance of the main body and the southern wing of the palace was compromised and in the following decades these structures had to be reinforced, generating additional costs and prolonging the renovation process.

This situation was influenced by the implementation of projects approved in 1974, which, in addition to museum functions, envisioned a part of the residence being used for recreational and ceremonial purposes for what was then called the ‘nomenclature’: the top cadres of the Party. This process was accompanied by a lack of proper supervision of the renovation works, which were carried out by unqualified subcontractors. This coincided with a deepening economic crisis, which led to a series of abuses and irregularities. The National Museum’s management did not have enough clout to stop the progressive degradation of the building, and the head of the Rogalin branch of the Museum was not authorised to enter the construction site.

The political conditions that determined the subordination of the renovation plans to non-museum objectives influenced the nature of the future

17 Leszczyńska, 70. rocznica otwarcia Muzeum, pp. 34–45.

18 The difficulty of this task is signalled in a letter from Ostrowska-Kębowska to Edward B. Raczyński dated 15 June 1966 reporting that ‘the thought of devoting one of the rooms at the Rogalin Palace to the memory of E.R. is finally close to fulfilment’; letter in the London archive of the Raczyński family.

19 From 1971 an assistant at the Rogalin Museum, later, until 31 Aug. 1982, its director.

20 Leszczyńska, 70. rocznica otwarcia Muzeum, pp. 34–45.

21 This involved, among others, replacing the historic farmhand quarters and woodshed with similar new buildings, but also introducing into the palace and park complex some ahistorical garage and staff buildings and structures of small-scale architecture. Expert opinions and full design and post-completion documentation concerning all works conducted by the Monument Conservation Ateliers are located in the MNP archives, but quoting them would exceed the framework of this article.

exhibition as well, since it only vaguely referred to the tradition of the place and its owners: 'What weighed heavily here was the conviction [one certainly very convenient to the authorities of the time – E.L.] that little is known about the historic interiors at Rogalin, and in view of the destruction of the Raczyński family's pre-war archive, nothing more can be learnt'.<sup>22</sup>

In the absence of reliable architectural and archival research, which Prof. Zofia Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska had long sought, this assumption was unjustified. Such research could not be replaced by the otherwise valuable attempt to develop principles for arranging residential interiors, undertaken by Prof. Kazimierz Malinowski, then director of the National Museum in Poznań. This was to be achieved by the conference 'Wyposażenie wnętrz rezydencjonalnych XVIII i XIX wieku' [Furnishings in the interiors of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century residences], which took place on 24 June 1974 during the celebrations of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the Museum in Rogalin and the approval of renovation plans. According to Prof. Malinowski's intention, the conference was to provide an answer to the question of what the principles of arranging this type of interior should be, as conditioned by the existing architecture, available archival materials and information on its former inhabitants and their lifestyle – but also by the relationship between contemporary taste and historical aesthetics. Mateusz Pawlaczyk's view, however, was that the conference did not bring the expected results, as it did not address the problems of Rogalin in any way. He expressed this opinion in the already mentioned 1983 article devoted to the palace's interiors, in which he summarised the results of his research to date, which made it possible to consider a reconstruction of the historical appearance of the Raczyński family home, and set out the basic directions for this venture.<sup>23</sup> By then Pawlaczyk was no longer affiliated at the Museum, because, being one of the co-founders of the Museum's 'Solidarity' union, he had been dismissed from it in the period of martial law. He therefore had no influence on what he postulated in his article, namely the necessity of verifying the 1974 renovation plans in terms of his proposed coherent concept for the Museum's operation and the design of the palace's interiors, for which the common denominator was to be 'the history of Rogalin and the activity of its owners'.<sup>24</sup>

Pawlaczyk could not enjoy Poland's newly regained freedom or participate in the revitalisation of the Rogalin residence, the first sign of which was the 1987 exhibition of horse-drawn vehicles in the former coach house, designed by Mariusz Kondziela, which he had also envisaged in his

<sup>22</sup> Pawlaczyk, 'Wnętrza pałacu w Rogalinie', p. 41.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, p. 63.

concept: he died in the autumn of 1988, when the most valuable part of the Rogalin Palace, to which he had devoted so much commitment, was still being ravaged with impunity during the so-called 'renovation', which was only halted in the following year, a turning point not only for Poland, but for the palace as well (Fig. 1). However, he left behind his research results and his reflections, including the already mentioned article on the interiors of Rogalin; this study laid the groundwork for further action.<sup>25</sup>

Pawlaczyk began his reflections by discussing the 1974 conference, which provided no answers either on the historical appearance of the Rogalin interiors or on the principles of arranging such rooms. It was still in progress when Prof. Kazimierz Malinowski stated:

In short, the issue here is very broad and very extensive [...], but we all seem to agree that some conclusions must finally be reached and an attempt to establish the compositional principles for arranging these interiors must be made; because from these problems arise many purely practical difficulties, to mention establishing the profile of the purchase policy or certain preferences as to conservation [...]. Something reasonable could perhaps be decided on, something that would possess the credentials of a more serious scientific substantiation, and this would guide our policy in these respects.<sup>26</sup>

Of course, times being as they were, in his comments on this statement Pawlaczyk could not say that political conditions were still an obstacle to formulating these principles (incidentally, those conditions chimed with the ideological stance of Prof. Malinowski himself, otherwise an outstanding museum curator and museologist, to whom the Rogalin case was extremely important throughout, starting with his long-term efforts to have it taken over by the Museum until his death in 1977). In addition, Malinowski shared the widespread misunderstanding of, and aversion to, nineteenth-century historicism, a trend that had a significant impact on the appearance of the palace's pre-war interiors. Pawlaczyk therefore limited himself to stating:

Prof. Malinowski's question remains unanswered. I am far from daring to formulate such an answer. In fact, I believe that this is an impossible task; but it is necessary to provide a thorough and comprehensive review of the state of research on the four issues mentioned

25 M. Pawlaczyk, '25 Lat Muzeum w Rogalinie', *Studia Muzealne*, 1975, fasc. 11; idem, 'Nieznana kaplica w pałacu Raczyńskich w Rogalinie', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 41, 1979, no. 4; idem, 'Ze studiów nad ikonografią zespołu pałacowego w Rogalinie, cz. I. Plany i projekty architektoniczne ze zbiorów dawnego Archiwum Raczyńskich w Rogalinie', *Studia Muzealne*, 1977, fasc. 12; idem, 'Ze studiów nad ikonografią zespołu pałacowego w Rogalinie, cz. II. Pomiary inwentaryzacyjne, szkice i projekty z tzw. Teki Z. Hendla', *Studia Muzealne*, 1984, fasc. 14; idem, 'Portrety Raczyńskich. Przyczynek do dziejów rodziny i jej kolekcji', *Studia Muzealne*, 1984, fasc. 14, pp. 81–128..

26 Pawlaczyk, 'Wnętrza pałacu w Rogalinie', p. 42.

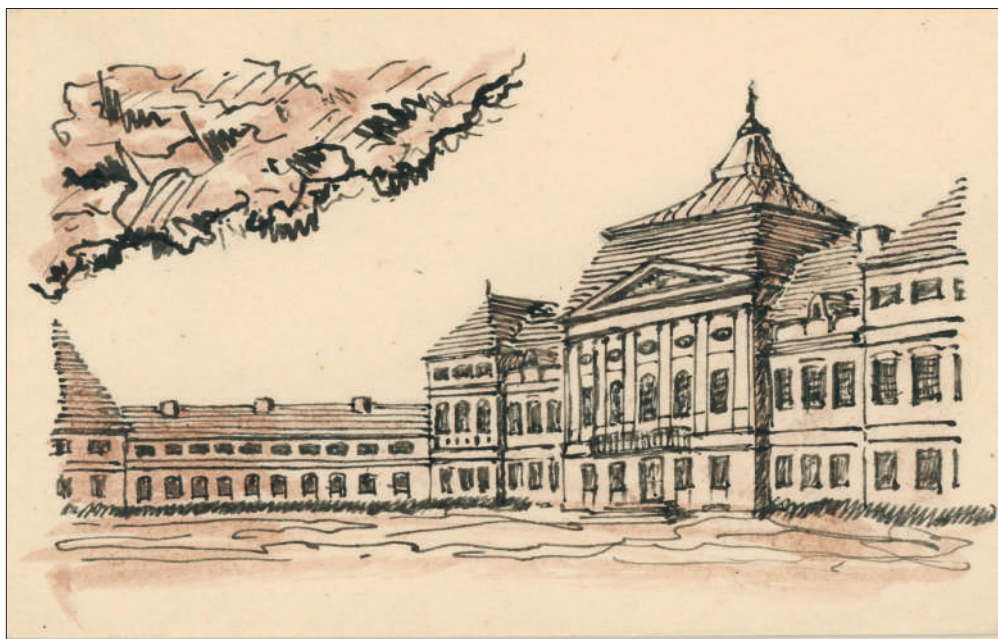


Fig. 1

Mateusz Pawlaczyk, *View of the Rogalin Palace*, 1969, National Museum in Poznań

in the introduction in relation to Rogalin, which, according to Prof. Malinowski, are factors that determine the character of a residential-type exhibition. This is all the more important because the first two of them have not yet been the subject of detailed research in relation to Rogalin, and it is only in recent years that many previously unknown facts have come to light. These are the results of architectural research conducted in the palace complex since 1975 and, above all, the results of iconographic and archival research, as well as a re-analysis of previously known or overlooked sources, or those that had been misinterpreted [...]. As a result, even though the research is not yet complete, new research perspectives have been gained, thanks to which it is now possible to reconstruct the appearance of the former Raczyński residence, to trace in detail the changes that took place during the one hundred and fifty years of its existence, to specify the historical functions of particular interiors, and to reconstruct their former architectural design and, to a lesser extent, their movable furnishings. Despite this, the current picture of the Rogalin residence is not, and cannot be, complete. It has many gaps; it is also chronologically inconsistent. However, I believe that it covers the most important achievements and contains those ideological, artistic and utilitarian values that have the greatest significance to the history of Rogalin. The aim of this article is therefore to collect and critically categorise all the research material concerning the former interiors of the palace [...], to formulate conclusions and proposals regarding the new exhibition, and to submit it to public discussion.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, pp. 42–43.

Among the three issues raised by Pawlaczyk, the most extensively discussed were the historical interiors of Rogalin in the light of iconographic and written sources he had collected, taking into account the transformations of their decoration, function and ideological message. Pawlaczyk supplemented them with a description of the post-war exhibitions in the palace, including his first random and incomplete attempts to restore the historical character of selected rooms (which attempts, let it be added, were still censored by the directors). Assessments contained in this part of the article provided an ideal starting point for later detailed research and explorations, which mostly confirmed Pawlaczyk's discoveries.

Most importantly, however, Pawlaczyk developed a concept for the renovation of historical interiors based on scientific premises rather than on the personal and non-substantive considerations that governed Rogalin's post-war exhibitions. To this end, he distinguished six basic models of museum exhibitions that were present in the most important aristocratic residences taken over by the state after the Second World War. He also defined the relationship of a single piece to the entire exhibition as present in each model, and drew attention to the dangers of translating contemporary aesthetic preferences and common knowledge into the arrangement of reconstructed interiors. In the summary, he wrote that

the purpose of a museum exhibition is to create a relatively objective picture of history, or at least a fragment of it. We have no right to correct the so-called 'mistakes' of history in the name of contemporary ideological preferences. After all, history as a science is not called upon to 'correct' the past, but to discover it, and museology should objectively present these discoveries and disseminate the image of the past reconstructed on their basis. This is, therefore, nothing more than the implementation of the 'historical narrative' postulate put forward by Jerzy Topolski, and in this respect it can be understood as another criterion for shaping a museum exhibition.<sup>28</sup>

Hence, when 'formulating the idea and conceptual framework for a future exhibition', it is necessary to make a 'scientific assessment of historical values, which, being based on the verified research on the piece, would serve to evaluate the usefulness and expediency of historical postulates in the implementation of the agreed-on conception'.<sup>29</sup>

With regard to Rogalin Palace's pre-war interiors, which were of undeniable artistic and historical value, Pawlaczyk therefore proposed 'as the most reasonable way, or type, of designing an exhibition [...] options II

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<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, p. 50.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, p. 47.

and III' from among the six models he had identified.<sup>30</sup> The first three were historical models in which 'historical factors, such as the historic décor, furnishings, original content and functions of the interior, are of significant importance to the conception and formal layout of the exhibition. In the last three, in turn, those factors are taken into account only to a small extent or simply ignored'.<sup>31</sup>

Examples of the latter options were, in Pawlaczyk's view, the post-war exhibitions at Rogalin and Gołuchów, and of the former, the preserved interiors of Łańcut, Nieborów, Kórnik and Pszczyna (following Model I) or the partially reconstructed interiors of Łazienki and Wilanów (following Model II and III).<sup>32</sup> The principle to be applied in the method of arranging an exhibition following Model II, was: 'Reconstructing partially preserved interiors using original or replacement furnishings based on detailed historical accounts [...] with the option of [making] some categorising and organising corrections'. The achieved effect was to be similar to that in Model I: 'Presenting historical interiors with all or most of the furnishings preserved. [...] in this case, the museum curator's activity is limited to guarding them [...]'.<sup>33</sup>

The principles of Model III, in turn, were as follows:

Incorporating into an interior preserved with its architectural design of content which is consistent with its original historical function, but which does not arise directly from the source materials; introducing original, replacement or new furnishings, arranging them in contexts and groupings consistent with the guidelines [governing] interiors of the given era. The prerequisites for such an arrangement are the preservation of indirect source materials and the high artistic and historical value of the interior's architecture and its design, as well as the unquestionable semantic value of the historic building. The role of the exhibition designer is relatively significant in this case, depending only on the level of detail in the sources and his so-called 'knowledge of the era'. An example of this type of exhibition is the design of the interiors at Wilanów, especially those from the Sobieski era.<sup>34</sup>

Pawlaczyk wrote that adopting Model II and Model III as templates for the future exhibition at Rogalin was

justified by scientific reasoning that [was] the most credible in this case; one resulting from the assumption that the historical and artistic

30 Ibidem, p. 60.

31 Ibidem, p. 46.

32 Ibidem, pp. 45–46.

33 Ibidem, p. 45.

34 Ibidem.

content contained in the image of the Rogalin residence as shaped throughout its [...] history is so important and valuable that it not only authorises but obliges us to cultivate it. Therefore, everything that is most valuable to this palace and distinguishes it from other magnate residences of that time, i.e. [everything] that constitutes its individuality, should be protected here at Rogalin. On the other hand, since it was the seat of people living in a specific period, it is also necessary to highlight all the elements that were typical of that era and milieu. Only then will the image of Rogalin be historically true and authentic, and thus valuable.<sup>35</sup>

The implementation of this conception was to be achieved by the following means:

1) reconstruction of all architectural elements of the interior design that have not been preserved but are known from iconographic sources and existed before 1939 (wall tapestries, stucco decoration, fireplaces, stoves, etc.); 2) restoration of the interiors to their former, historical functions arising from source materials and traditions, as well as from the architectural layout itself; 3) filling the interiors with objects and equipment in an arrangement consistent with the function and style of the reconstructed or preserved décor, as well as with extant sources and historical accounts, with the general assumption that primarily those elements of equipment whose provenance can be linked to Rogalin or the Raczyński family will be used; 4) introducing (in the narrative layer only) into each interior some content related to a specific person from among the former residents or a specific stage or fact from the history of the palace; of course, also this sphere of the exhibition must be historically justified.<sup>36</sup>

Owing to the importance of these rooms, Pawlaczyk deemed the most important endeavours to be not only the reconstruction of the Armoury with its entire historical collection (Fig. 2), but also the library on the first floor, designed by Zygmunt Hendel in 1892–1894 (Fig. 3). To this purpose, he planned to use archival photographs and, in addition, the original design documentation which he had discovered at the National Museum in Cracow. Other important interiors for which reliable records were extant were to be reconstructed in a similar manner. Where such information was absent, as for instance in the case of the so-called Ceremonial Suite on the first floor, the extant architectural features, indirect historical information and the typical manner of furnishing such interiors were to serve as guidelines.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, p. 61.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, pp. 61–62.



Fig. 2

The Armoury, before 1939, National Museum in Poznań



Fig. 3

The Hendel Library, photograph ca. 1900, National Museum in Poznań

Additionally, in order to 'enliven' the exhibition arranged along these principles, Pawlaczyk proposed to fill it with small-scale objects that would illustrate the material culture of 'everyday life' and bring the former residents closer to the visitors.<sup>38</sup>

In light of his findings, Pawlaczyk pointed to the urgent need to modify the renovation plans and conservation activities of the Monument Conservation Ateliers; he stated that those plans and activities should be ruled by the verified state of research and the concept of a new exhibition scenario created on its basis. He therefore proposed that a new interior design be created, based on detailed guidelines resulting from the indispensable architectural research, historical and architectural studies, and new conservation recommendations.<sup>39</sup> He also believed that

[i]n order to more fully present the details of the conceptual framework for a new exhibition of palace interiors [...] it will furthermore be necessary to produce a summary-and-comparison sheet, which, in addition to the most important historical information, will also contain comments and proposals regarding the reconstruction of the architectural décor and the character and function of particular interiors and elements of their furnishings, together with a definition of the dominant style or era and the content presented (ideas, characters, facts). This sheet will allow us to look at the future exhibition of interiors in a synthetic way, to analyse it from a variety of perspectives: the historical and scientific one, the visual and artistic one (concerning both space and colour), as well as the narrative perspective, i.e. [to analyse] all aspects in which the exhibition will be commonly interpreted by visitors.<sup>40</sup>

This process was to be accompanied by the identification of 'possible needs in terms of exhibited pieces and providing suitable purchasing guidelines'<sup>41</sup> in order to supplement the interiors with historical collections; only those, working in concert with the décor, would produce an atmosphere appropriate to those interiors, 'even if it proves necessary to use, in part, reconstructions or fakes of some pieces'.<sup>42</sup>

Pawlaczyk emphasised that he was not addressing issues related to the garden or the park, nor the future exhibition in the gallery building or possibly in the coach house and woodshed (which he mistakenly identified as the no longer extant riding hall). However, he pointed out that the entire complex, which in the future was to serve multiple museum,

38 Ibidem, p. 62.

39 Ibidem, p. 60.

40 Ibidem, p. 62–63.

41 Ibidem, p. 63.

42 Ibidem, p. 62.

tourist and educational functions, had to constitute a coherent and harmonious organism, the way it had done before the war, and it should then be covered, as a whole, by a separate functional study.<sup>43</sup>

As 'an introduction to such a broad museum programme', Pawlaczyk envisaged an 'introductory exhibition' located in the north wing, which was to serve as a 'historical guide to the palace complex'. The programme was to illustrate, 'by means of iconography and documents, photographs and charts, as well as lapidaries and individual works of art (e.g. portraits), the history of Rogalin, both the history of the palace with a presentation of the results of architectural research and the course of conservation works, as well as the history of the Raczyński family'.<sup>44</sup> Pawlaczyk's intention was for that introductory display to relieve the main exhibitions of an 'excessive load of general historical content'.<sup>45</sup> The north wing was also to house a ticket office, a sales point for publications and a cloakroom,<sup>46</sup> as well as stairs leading to the cellars of the main building, where the tour of the most important part of the palace was to begin.

Contrary to his declaration in the article discussed above, Pawlaczyk's considerations even now constitute an important contribution to the discussion on the principles of interior design which began in 1974. They also provided an excellent starting point for the future restoration of the Rogalin complex and reconstruction of its interiors, as well as for certain detailed proposals which new scholarly findings, based on subsequent research, did not make outdated. This was one reason for such a broad treatment of these considerations here, the other being the desire to highlight Mateusz Pawlaczyk's crucial input into the later endeavours related to the Raczyński Museum at Rogalin.

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In 1989, the new director of the National Museum in Poznań, Prof. Konstanty Kalinowski, faced two serious challenges concerning the Raczyński residence and collections, subordinated to the Poznań museum since 1945.<sup>47</sup> In addition to continuing a renovation based on designs that needed to be reviewed, he had to settle relations with their rightful owner, Edward Bernard Raczyński, the last male descendant of the

43 Ibidem, p. 63.

44 Ibidem.

45 Ibidem.

46 Ibidem.

47 K. Kalinowski, *Fundacja im. Raczyńskich przy Muzeum Narodowym w Poznaniu – model nowej własności historycznej kolekcji*, w: *Zbiory publiczne, a kolekcjonerstwo prywatne. Problematyka ochrony dziedzictwa kulturowego w przeszłości i dzisiaj. Sesja naukowa w MNW zorganizowana przez pracowników Zbiorów Sztuki Starożytnej, listopad 1998*, ed. J. Lipińska (Warszawa, 2000), pp. 18–27.

Rogalin line of the family and President of Poland in exile, who was approaching his hundredth birthday. This resulted in the establishing, in 1991, of the Raczyński Foundation at the National Museum in Poznań, to which Raczyński transferred all rights to his family seat and pre-war collections.<sup>48</sup> According to the Statute of the Foundation, its main objective is 'to protect and make available to the Polish public the works of art and other collections of the Raczyński family and the entire palace complex at Rogalin'.<sup>49</sup> Its additional tasks include spreading the awareness of the family's achievements and protecting nature and the landscape, with particular emphasis on the entire area of the former estate, which, in the continuing absence of a reprivatization law, is still being leased from the State Treasury by the Foundation via the 'Majątek Rogalin' company. In this way, Edward B. Raczyński provided an exemplary solution to the issue of the coexistence of the Foundation and the Museum, paving the way for the restoration of the entire complex to its historical form.

The continuation of the renovation works was preceded by a historical and architectural study of the palace complex by Witold Gałka,<sup>50</sup> who compiled there the findings of Prof. Zofia Ostrowska-Kęłowska and Mateusz Pawlaczyk, as well as the results of previously commissioned architectural research.<sup>51</sup> However, taking the latter into account entailed certain risks, described by Prof. Ostrowska-Kęłowska in her review of

48 These consist of a set of items from the pre-war furnishings of Rogalin, among which ones from the palace, nearly 60 painted or sculpted portraits of family members, 14 paintings, 17 sculptures, ca. 100 works of artistic crafts (stoves, chandeliers, lamps, sconces with reflector shields, stained glass, pieces of furniture, weapons, a carriage, textiles, books etc.), and from the Rogalin Gallery: 301 paintings, 3 sculptures and a stained glass piece. Apart from that, after the Courland-Obrzycko line of the family joined the Foundation in 1997, the Foundation became the owner of Atanazy Raczyński's Gallery which forms the core of the Gallery of Foreign Painting on show in the Main Building of the Museum in Poznań, as well as the Gallery of Ancestors from Atanazy's palace at Gaj Mały (46 portraits) and from the collections in Courland and Obrzycko (85 pieces, mainly paintings and prints, currently displayed in the wings of the Rogalin Palace. Also, the Foundation owns the furnishings of the London Study and numerous mementoes of the Founder donated by the family, on display in the Foundation Room preceding the Study.

49 M. Pietraszak-Dmowski, 'Fundacja im. Raczyńskich przy Muzeum Narodowym w Poznaniu', *Kronika Wielkopolski*, 1993, no. 1 (64), pp. 75–81.

50 W. Gałka, *Zespół pałacowy w Rogalinie. Studium historyczno-architektoniczne opracowane na zlecenie Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu*, vol. 1–5, vol. 1–5, State Enterprise Monument Conservation Ateliers, Poznań Branch, typescript at the MNP (Poznań, 1989).

51 T. Kozioł, *Rogalin. Rezultaty badań sondażowych we wnętrzach palacu – Korpus główny*, State Enterprise Monument Conservation Ateliers, Poznań Branch, typescript (Poznań, 1985); A. Kąsinowski, *Zespół pałacowy w Rogalinie. Korpus Główny. Badania architektoniczne*, vol. 1–3, State Enterprise Monument Conservation Ateliers, Poznań Branch, typescript at the MNP (Poznań, 1986–1987).

Gałka's study.<sup>52</sup> While accepting most of the conservation proposals put forward in that study, she pointed out that they should be reconsidered

from the point of view of the stylistic character that has been preserved and dominates in particular interiors to this day, and above all from the point of view of the overall concept of the entire palace complex as a conservation project and a museum. The assumption underpinning this concept should be [...] not so much an attempt to summarise all the existing theses, hypotheses, discoveries, etc., but rather a firm intention to reveal the artistic values and historical traditions of this complex – undoubtedly one of the most outstanding in Poland and unique in the Greater Poland region. And this should be the starting point. In this regard, I find the trend of taking into account all the 'discoveries' made during architectural research to be dangerous, especially since the conclusions drawn from them are not always correct.<sup>53</sup> [...] I believe that the starting point for such proposals should not be the fact that these elements once existed, but rather our decision as to when the interior acquired its current character and dominant artistic form. Only then, with such a point of reference, can we decide what to restore and recreate, and what to abandon'.<sup>54</sup>

In addition, Prof. Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska considered it absolutely necessary to discuss the final renovation project in detail and thoroughly 'in a wider group consisting not only of museum employees, but also historians of eighteenth/nineteenth-century palatial architecture'.<sup>55</sup>

The importance of these postulates became clear soon after the renovation works resumed. They began with the front façade of the palace's main building, which in August 1993 became the backdrop for the funeral ceremony of Edward B. Raczyński.<sup>56</sup> The restoration of this façade, partially in the Rococo style,<sup>57</sup> carried out shortly before, even though

52 Z. Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska, *Recenzja studium historyczno-architektonicznego zespołu pałacowego w Rogalinie. Autor: mgr Witold Gałka, P.P. Pracownia Konserwacji Zabytków Oddział w Poznaniu, Poznań 1989*, typescript at the MNP (Wrocław, 7 Dec. 1989), p. 7.

53 Ibidem, pp. 7–8.

54 Ibidem, p. 10.

55 Ibidem, p. 5.

56 E.B. Raczyński was laid to rest next to his ancestors in the Rogalin mausoleum church. He was bid a final farewell, with all ceremony due to a head of state, by the highest authorities of Poland, with President Lech Wałęsa and Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka at the fore. After the decades of communist rule, his funeral became a great patriotic demonstration attended by crowds of the inhabitants of Greater Poland wishing to honour the late Mr Raczyński and his ancestors' input into the politics and culture of Poland, and to greet the representatives of free Poland for which they fought, each in their own time and manner.

57 In the central *avant-corps* of the façade, the lintel of the main entrance was restored to its original basket-handle form; on the level of the *piano nobile*, the side *porte-fenêtres* and doubled pilasters were reconstructed and the size of the balcony was reduced. This

based on architectural research,<sup>58</sup> was not preceded by in-depth reflection on its effects.<sup>59</sup> Historically, the architectural elements restored in 1993 had been in place for only a few years, matching the form of the original Rococo staircase and the main building's reception area that was attached to it. They were removed around 1790 parallel to the construction of a new, Classicist staircase designed by Kamsetzer, the architectural form of which influenced the concurrent Classicist alterations to the façade. In 1993, the appearance of the palace was thus falsified; it had never functioned in this version. A further consequence of such selective and ill-considered alterations towards bringing the areas to the Rococo style was the removal of the stairs designed by Zygmunt Hendel at the end of the nineteenth century, which used to lead to the side wings of the palace on the side of the courtyard. They were replaced by reconstructions of earlier stairs, known from nineteenth-century inventories which were discovered at that time. Preserved to this day, they match the reconstructed eighteenth-century square-patterned cobblestone paving in the *cour d'honneur*,<sup>60</sup> the remains of which were found and uncovered in 1993. As a result, the belt of greenery that used to stretch below the palace's front façade since at least 1861 was eliminated. Together with the large lawn with chestnut and linden avenues dating from around 1877, which was laid out at the same time and has been preserved to this day, this belt used to create a kind of additional garden interior. Thus, a conservation display of two developmental phases proved impossible to avoid (Fig. 4).

The attempt to return to the earliest phase of the palace's existence eventually caused further problems, which were pointed out by Grzegorz Cencek, the author of the architectural research on the palace's garden façade, who stated that

it seems right to restore the five *porte-fenêtres* on the first floor in the central *avant-corps* [...]. This would be a consistent measure in relation to [...] the solutions adopted in the restoration of the front façade, but it would be somewhat contradictory to the concept of recreating the former armoury inside the palace, which is of historical value from the point of view of the development and shaping of the palace interiors. After all, it was during the conversion of the ballroom into an armoury around the year 1820 that the *porte-fenêtres*

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resulted in the removal of a part of the Classicising rustication and the balcony stretching over the three main axes.

58 Z. Antezak, *Zespół pałacowy w Rogalinie. Korpus główny. Elewacja. Badania architektoniczne*, typescript at the MNP (Poznań, 7 Aug. 1992).

59 Which was also in contradiction with Art. 11 of the Venice Charter.

60 Seeing that it was a remarkably interesting example of eighteenth-century cobblestone paving, it was restored in 2013–2015.



Fig. 4

View of the palace from the  
courtyard, 2015, National  
Museum in Poznań

were removed. The above problem should be resolved in a broader context, and the results of this research cannot be the only basis for making a final decision.<sup>61</sup>

Unfortunately, a verification study on architectural research, whose author was Prof. Jan Skuratowicz, did not fulfil its role, as it was burdened with fundamental factual errors, resulting in false conclusions, and above all, the desire to reveal the results of discoveries without comprehensive consideration of the consequences of such action.<sup>62</sup> It therefore did not stop the demolition of the parapet walls and the restoration of the windows to their original *porte-fenêtre* form. However, it was possible to rebuild the original garden stairs on the basis of in-depth examination of the sources and iconographic research<sup>63</sup> which permitted to verify the con-

61 G. Cencek, *Zespół pałacowy w Rogalinie. Korpus główny. Elewacja ogrodowa. Badania architektoniczne*, typescript at the MNP (Poznań, 1993), pp. 8–9.

62 J. Skuratowicz, *Pałac w Rogalinie. Weryfikacja badań architektonicznych korpusu głównego*, typescript at the MNP (Poznań, 1996), p. 11–12; idem, *Koncepcja adaptacji i aranżacji wnętrza korpusu głównego*, typescript at the MNP (Poznań, 1996), p. 7.

63 Leszczyńska, 'Schody ogrodowe pałacu w Rogalinie', *Kronika Wielkopolski*, 1999, no. 4 (92), pp. 72–83. This article is an extended version of the study prepared in advance of the debate on the future appearance of the garden elevation, E. Leszczyńska, *Zmiany zachodzące w wyglądzie elewacji ogrodowej pałacu w Rogalinie na podstawie materiałów źródłowych, ikonograficznych oraz badań architektonicznych* (Rogalin, 1997/1998), typescript at the MNP. In the course of further research, these results prompted me to assert that the stairs reconstructed in 1999 had not been built in the late 1770s/early 1780s, but parallel to the construction of the main building of the palace in the years 1770–1774, cf. eadem, *Rezydencja Raczyńskich w Rogalinie. Od wielkopańskiej siedziby do „żywego muzeum”*, doctoral dissertation written under the

clusions contained in Prof. Skuratowicz's subsequent study.<sup>64</sup> The final say in this matter was given to the Conservation Commission, which was appointed by Prof. Kalinowski in the face of growing doubts about the correctness of the decisions made. In addition to the research staff of the Rogalin branch (Joanna Nowak, Ewa Leszczyńska) and the Provincial Conservator, the Commission included Prof. Ostrowska-Kęłbowska, Prof. Andrzej Rottermund, and the art historian and stage designer Maciej M. Putowski, who had previously been employed as a consultant and would later become the author of the artistic designs for the recreated interiors and the reconstruction of selected elements of the exhibition. At that time, Prof. Kalinowski also hired Zofia Maciakowska, MSc Eng. Arch., as his representative to supervise the proper conduct of the renovation works.<sup>65</sup>

The reconstruction of the stairs was necessitated by the need to remove Kępiński's pseudo-Kamsetzer stairs, whose faulty construction had from the very moment of their installation contributed to the dampening of the palace's façade. Restoring the earth terrace removed by Kępiński, which had already in the nineteenth century caused damp to rise in the palace's ground floor (resulting in the need to put in special drainage runnels, installed at some point after 1891), was not even considered.<sup>66</sup> Consequently, the reconstructed staircase matched the preserved form of the Rococo garden and the changes made to both façades, especially after the reinstallation of the parapet walls on the garden façade and the Classicising elements of the central *avant-corps* of the façade in 2007–2009,<sup>67</sup> and, in 2013–2015, the restoration of the rustic bridge. This compromise solution, which arose from earlier actions, resulted in achieving a coherent image of the residence from around 1840 (with the exception of the lawn and courtyard lane, which are of a later date) and, in addition, corresponds chronologically with the appearance of the ground-

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supervision of Prof. Zofia Ostrowska-Kęłbowska PhD(habil.) and Prof. Waldemar Okoń PhD(habil.), University of Wrocław, typescript (Rogalin, 2012).

64 J. Skuratowicz, *Pałac w Rogalinie. Badania architektoniczne pozostałości po dawnych schodach i tarasie od ogrodu*, typescript at the MNP (Poznań, 1997).

65 The inclusion of Prof. Rottermund, M.M. Putowski and Z. Maciakowska into the team made it possible to make use of their extensive knowledge and experience gained during the reconstruction and renovation of interiors at the Royal Castle in Warsaw, the Pszczyna Castle, the Uphagen House in Gdańsk and the Claaszen Villa in Sopot, in which they had participated.

66 This issue, as well as the desire to return the garden elevation to its original form, was probably the reason why Zygmunt Hendel was commissioned to design imposing neo-Baroque stairs, which the Raczyński owners ultimately decided not to build; cf. Leszczyńska, 'Schody ogrodowe', pp. 80–81.

67 Including the balcony stretching over the three main axes and the bricking-up of the lintels over the side *porte-fenêtres* of the central *avant-corps* and the restoration of rustication on the corners, which was used to cover the doubling of the pilasters.

floor interiors in the central part of the building, which, for structural reasons, had to be reconstructed in their original form. This pertains to the Oval Parlour on the garden side, situated on the axis of the palace, which around 1840 was enlarged at the request of Konstancja Raczyńska to include the adjacent study. This meant demolishing an important structural wall, which already then threatened a construction disaster, but this condition, after temporary securing, persisted until 1987. During the renovation conducted by the Monument Conservation Atelier the parlour and the study returned to their original form, as the wall was rebuilt for safety reasons. On this occasion, a mantelpiece of a marbleised fireplace with a putto was discovered in the parlour; this fireplace is one of the few surviving sculptural elements of the palace's original interior design. Apart from the indisputable structural considerations, the good condition of the mantelpiece and the availability of iconographic references allowing for the reconstruction of the stucco decoration destroyed by Kępiński were decisive in restoring the salon to its original character. This made it necessary to reconstruct the stucco stove with a putto to match the fireplace, reinstall the door to the vestibule, and furnish the parlour and study in a style typical of such interiors.<sup>68</sup>

Another persistent attempt to present selectively treated conservation findings occurred in connection with Kamsetzer's paintings being discovered under the Empire-style stucco decoration of the grand staircase.<sup>69</sup> Piotr Dybalski, who made the discovery, was determined to have these paintings permanently displayed, whereas the Conservation Commission, in accordance with the provisions of the Venice Charter, decided to leave the Empire decoration in place, with simultaneous 'reversible' protection of the paintings, preceded by their thorough inventory.<sup>70</sup> One argument in favour of this approach was their poor condition, which would have required far-reaching but also questionable reconstruction, resulting from the discrepancies between the discoveries and Kamsetzer's

68 Despite the survival of iconographic materials relatively well documenting the furnishings of these interiors from the turn of the nineteenth century, although not from the inter-war period, when the most valuable paintings were removed from there and moved to Roger Raczyński's parlour on the upper floor.

69 A. Lewandowski, *Ekspertyza technologiczno-konserwatorska stropu klatki schodowej palacu w Rogalinie*, typescript at the MNP (Poznań, 1993); P. Dybalski et al., 'Odkrycie i badania osiemnastowiecznych malowideł ściennych w klatce schodowej palacu w Rogalinie. Problem zakresu rekonstrukcji oraz aranżacji wnętrza zabytkowego z zachowanymi elementami wystroju pochodzącymi z różnych epok', in: *Piękno odzyskane. Konserwacja zabytków*, catalogue accompanying the exhibition and the II Wielkopolskie Spotkania Konserwatorskie conference, 5–21 June 1998, National Museum in Poznań (Poznań, 1998).

70 J. Grzelachowska, *Dokumentacja stanu zachowania malowideł ściennych odkrytych w westybulu oraz na klatce schodowej palacu w Rogalinie*, vol. 1–2, typescript at the MNP (Poznań, 2000).



Fig. 5

View of the palace from the garden, 2023, National Museum in Poznań

extant design.<sup>71</sup> Above all, however, this decision was motivated by the awareness of the great artistic and ideological value of the almost completely preserved Empire-style decoration<sup>72</sup> which Edward Raczyński (1786–1845) intended to be an introduction to the Armoury he had created in the former ballroom.<sup>73</sup> The conservation experts' idea of simultaneously exhibiting older paintings and Empire-style decorations was rejected, as it would have been completely incompatible with the concept of restoring the pre-war character of the Rogalin residence (Fig. 5).

Equally inconsistent with this concept would be to refrain from placing the surviving family portraits, whose arrangement which was known from pre-war photographs, in the stairwell. Opponents of this solution, including Prof. Ostrowska-Kęłbowska, believed that, as a rule, portraits had not been hung in such places. However, the opinion which prevailed in this case was that it was more important to show the special character of the place resulting from the Raczyński family's decisions than to present typical solutions.

The formulation of the final version of the detailed programme for the reconstruction of interiors was also preceded by a heated discussion on how to arrange the four rooms of the former State Apartment on the first floor,

71 This refers especially to figural representations, modified by Kamsetzer in the course of their execution.

72 A part of the painted decoration was destroyed during Prof. Skuratowicz's search for concealed openings used for loading fuel from the back side of tiled stove hearths, cf. Skuratowicz, *Pałac w Rogalinie. Weryfikacja badań*.

73 E. Leszczyńska, 'Skarbnica pamiątek wielkopolskich, czyli rzecz o Zbrojowni w Rogalinie', in: *Materiały z Sesji Naukowej z okazji 60-lecia Muzeum Zamkowego w Pszczynie, 11–12 maja 2006 r.*, ed. M. Kluss (Pszczyna, 2010), pp. 201–215.

whose furnishings, according to Pawlaczyk, were unknown and therefore opened up a wide field for creative freedom. Following this line of thinking, Putowski wanted to furnish them as Classicist interiors with a set of furniture that had already been borrowed from the National Museum in Wrocław. Neither Pawlaczyk nor Putowski noted that the recollections of Edward Bernard Raczyński which they used as a source concerned the period of his youth, which meant the appearance of the interiors before the First World War.<sup>74</sup> Consequently, these recollections did not take into account the changes made to the palace after the death of his father, Edward Aleksander Raczyński, in 1926, when the ownership of the Rogalin residence passed to his older brother Roger Adam, the voivode of Poznań and Polish ambassador to Romania. At that time, not wanting to interfere with the private section of the interiors occupied by his mother, Róża née Potocka, on the ground floor, Roger Adam decided to adapt the former State Apartment to his needs. The furnishing of two bedrooms and two official parlours was supervised by his wife Helena née Rohozińska, known for her excellent taste and artistic sensibility. Recreating the rooms in this form meant that the last pre-war owners could be included in the narrative of the Rogalin home. It was, after all, in those interiors that they received numerous guests, cultivating Rogalin's long-established hospitality, shown not only to representatives of the world of politics, culture and science, but also to visitor groups and researchers interested in the architectural and natural values of the residence and the museum collections located in the palace and the Picture Gallery.<sup>75</sup>

The restoration of the pre-war character of these interiors was made all the more possible by the fact that most of the archival materials and accounts of the pre-war service staff concerned precisely this period.<sup>76</sup> In conjunction with the results of supplementary conservation research<sup>77</sup> and further historical and iconographic findings, this led to a change in

74 E. Raczyński, *Rogalin i jego mieszkańcy* (London, 1964); correspondence and interviews with Edward Bernard Raczyński, conducted since the 1950s by Dr Zofia Ostrowska-Kęłbowska and Dr Anna Dobrzycka from the Department of Foreign Painting, National Museum in Poznań, subsequently by Mateusz Pawlaczyk and Maciej M. Putowski.

75 In this period, Rogalin was visited by Primate Hlond, the ambassador of France Mr. Laroché, Jerzy Giedroyc, Józef Mehoffer with his wife, Prof. Zygmunt Batowski and many others; cf. E. Leszczyńska, 'Roger Adam Raczyński (1889–1945)', *Kronika Wielkopolski*, 2018, no. 1, pp. 213–228.

76 The process of interviewing former members of the palace staff was initiated by M. Pawlaczyk.

77 P. Dybalski, *Badania odkrywkowe i ustalenie kolorystyki Saloniku Zielonego oraz Zbrojowni palacu w Rogalinie*, typescript at the MNP (Poznań, 1997); idem, *Badania technologiczne tynków, sztukaterii i warstw malarskich z wybranych pomieszczeń i elementów wystroju wnętrza oraz elewacji korpusu głównego palacu w Rogalinie*, typescript at the MNP (Poznań, 1997); J. Grzelachowska, *Dokumentacja badań technologicznych tynków i polichromii w wybranych pomieszczeniach oraz stolarki wewnętrznej korpusu głównego palacu w Rogalinie*, vol. 1–2 and a drawings section, typescript at the MNP

the original concept, as well as affected the way visitors are currently admitted – not, as had been planned, through the right wing and basement, but through the main entrance. This allows visitors to enter directly into the reception area, a part of the palace specially designed for the purpose of receiving them. The same purpose is served by reversing the previously agreed tour route: instead of starting from the butler's room to the right of the entrance, visitors go to the left, along the grand staircase, to the largest reception room on the ground floor, i.e. the dining room, which had served this function since the palace was built.<sup>78</sup>

The lengthy discussions surrounding the above issues made it clear that, apart from the previously raised need to have the reconstruction conform to a single, coherent and consistent idea resulting from the artistic and historical value of the building, it was equally important to adopt a single time limit that would protect against the temptation to treat the achievements of former owners in a selective, evaluative manner.<sup>79</sup> These assumptions laid the foundation for the development of a new programme for the restoration of the palace complex and a functional concept that took into consideration the requirements of modern museology. The fundamental assumption of the programme was that the historical interiors in the main building would be restored in the form given to it by the owners, taking into account the changes they made until 1939. Priority was given to preserving the historical layers that were an expression of the respect held by successive generations of the Raczyński family for the work of their ancestors, since it was this respect that determined the individuality and unique atmosphere of their ancestral seat. This approach provided a relative guarantee of interpreting the multi-dimensional cultural and historical quality created by this type of building: a structure which combines various fields of art, space and nature on the one hand, and human thought on the other, since the latter not only contributed to its creation, but also flourished on its foundation, creating the individual tradition of the place. The adopted programme ended the discussion as to the personal preferences of the authors of the restoration programme; preferences which depended on the level of preparation and taste of these persons, but also on the state of research on the Rogalin structure and the possibilities of various interpretations this research engendered.<sup>80</sup> In addition, considering

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(Poznań, 1999); I. Swaczyna, H. Nowak, *Opinia dotycząca konstrukcji i datowania boazerii palacu w Rogalinie. Oddziału MNP* (Warszawa, 2000).

78 With a stop in the cloakroom, established in the former guest room, whose décor in the Raczyński period is virtually unknown. This is also where the visitors can collect audioguides if they are not availing themselves of guided tours by members of the Rogalin Palace Museum's Section of Education.

79 This assumption finds confirmation in Article 11 of the Venice Charter.

80 Assuming, of course, that these persons were guided by objective premises and not by non-substantive considerations of the kind seen after the Second World War; yet in full awareness that all our actions are entangled in some ideology.

that there was some haste and that unexpected discoveries were being made, this approach facilitated making important decisions, for which the point of reference should always be the decisions of the owners themselves, and not art historians or other specialists.

It was therefore extremely important – as had already been postulated by Pawlaczyk – to bring together all the available information regarding the successive construction phases and the evolution of the Rogalin residence's appearance, taking into account architecture and garden art, and with regard to the interiors, their architectural decoration, artworks and movable furnishings.<sup>81</sup> This was accompanied by a hunt in the collections of the National Museum in Poznań for all kinds of pieces belonging to the old furnishings of the palace which after the Second World War landed in a number of its branches. The ultimate result of these efforts was the emergence of two documents: *Wtyczne historyczne do projektu plastycznego rekonstrukcji wnętrza pałacu* [Historical guidelines for the visual design for reconstructing the palace's interiors]<sup>82</sup> (the task of developing these guidelines was entrusted to Maciej M. Putowski<sup>83</sup>) and *Projekt historycznego wystroju wnętrza Pałacu w Rogalinie z wykorzystaniem obiektów ze zbiorów MNP oraz Fundacji im. Raczyńskich przy MNP* [Design for the historical décor of the Rogalin Palace interiors making use of pieces from the collections of the National Museum in Poznań and the Raczyński Foundation at the National Museum in Poznań].<sup>84</sup>

81 Leszczyńska, 'Schody ogrodowe'; eadem, *Studium Historyczne Założenia Ogrodowo-Parkowego w Rogalinie*, vol. 1–2, held at the MNP (Rogalin, 2000); M. Szafrńska, *Recenzja studium historycznego założenia ogrodowo-parkowego w Rogalinie*, Autor: Ewa Leszczyńska, Rogalin 2000 (Rogalin, 2001), ms at the MNP; E. Leszczyńska, 'Rezydencja Raczyńskich w Rogalinie. Od wielkopańskiej siedziby do „żywego muzeum”', in: *Muzea-rezydencje w Polsce. Materiały sesji naukowej zorganizowanej w Muzeum Zamoyskich w Kozłowie 14–16 października 2004*, abridged doctoral dissertation synopsis (Kozłówek, 2004), pp. 274–296, and eadem, *Rezydencja Raczyńskich*, doctoral dissertation, 2012; Z. Maciakowska, *Zestawienie informacji na temat zmian wystroju wnętrza pałacu w Rogalinie*, typescript (Gdańsk, undated); eadem, *Szkic artykułu nt. chronologii budowy pałacu w Rogalinie*, typescript (Gdańsk, 1999/2000); J. Nowak, E. Leszczyńska, 'Dzieje pieców kaflowych w pałacu w Rogalinie', in: *Piecy kaflowe w zbiorach muzealnych w Polsce. Materiały konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Muzeum Mikołaja Kopernika we Fromborku w dn. 5–7.09.2008* (Frombork, 2010).

82 J. Nowak, E. Leszczyńska, *Wtyczne historyczne do projektu plastycznego rekonstrukcji wnętrza pałacu w Rogalinie*, typescript at the MNP (Rogalin, 2007).

83 M.M. Putowski, *Projekt odtworzenia historycznie zasadnego charakteru wyposażenia oraz wystroju tkaninami i wybranymi elementami stolarki, wnętrza w korpusie głównym i skrzydle południowym zabytkowego pałacu Raczyńskich w Rogalinie*, typescripts at the MNP (Warszawa, 2002 [initial project]) and 2008 [final project]).

84 J. Nowak, E. Leszczyńska, *Projekt historycznego wystroju wnętrza Pałacu w Rogalinie z wykorzystaniem obiektów ze zbiorów MNP oraz Fundacji im. Raczyńskich przy MNP opracowany w oparciu o „Wtyczne historyczne do projektu plastycznego rekonstrukcji wnętrza pałacu w Rogalinie” autorstwa J. Nowak i E. Leszczyńskiej* (Rogalin, 2007) and the initial project: M.M. Putowski, *Projekt odtworzenia historycznie zasadnego*



Fig. 6

The Oval Parlour, 2023,  
National Museum in Poznań

In the first stage of the renovation, which resumed in 2007, it was possible to restore those architectural and stucco elements of the interiors that had been destroyed after 1939. At the same time, more than 40 percent of the original floorboards, already scheduled to be incinerated, were saved and the missing sections of the flooring were reconstructed.<sup>85</sup>

At the same time, on the initiative of Joanna Nowak and Agnieszka Lewandowska (current surname: Kunicka-Goldfinger), research and conservation procedures continued on selected remains of several palace fabrics from a chest discovered in the basement of the palace during the renovation works conducted by the Monument Conservation Atelier.<sup>86</sup>

*charakteru wyposażenia oraz wystroju tkaninami i wybranymi elementami stolarki, wnętrz w korpusie głównym i skrzydle południowym zabytkowego pałacu Raczyńskich w Rogalinie*, typescript at the MNP (Warszawa, 2002), made in consultation with the designer and research staff of the Museum of Applied Arts, Rogalin 2011. An integral part of the project are the cost estimate tables concerning the conservation of museum pieces, reconstructions and copies, compiled on the basis of estimates prepared by the staff of the Conservation Atelier of the National Museum in Poznań (A. Lewandowska, A. Maciejewska, J. Kokoć, Ł. Błażczek, M. Kozielnicki, T. Pokorski, M. Peda, W. Baruch, L. Grupa), K. Kurek (clocks) and cost estimate tables concerning the purchase of pieces not in the National Museum in Poznań's collection.

85 Information on the process of renovation of the complex and recreation of the interiors, as well as the companies that conducted reconstruction and conservation works, can be found in: E. Leszczyńska, 'Pałac w Rogalinie – otwarcie po latach', *Kronika Wielkopolski*, 2015, no. 4(156), pp. 5–18; eadem, 'O rewaloryzacji i modernizacji rezydencji Raczyńskich w Rogalinie', *Renowacje i Zabytki*, 2016, no. 4(60), pp. 146–170.

86 E. Soszko, *Dokumentacja prac konserwatorskich i restauratorskich. Makata z herbami Nałęcz i Ogończyk – część centralna, ok. 1770*. MNP Pałac Raczyńskich w Rogalinie,



Fig. 7

The palace staircase, before 1939, reproduction in National Museum in Poznań



Fig. 8

The palace staircase, 2023, National Museum in Poznań



Fig. 9

View of the Armorial Parlour towards the Study, 2023, National Museum in Poznań



Fig. 10

The Hendel Library, 2020, National Museum in Poznań



Fig. 11

View of the large room of Rogalin Gallery with *The Maid of Orleans* by Jan Matejko, 2024, National Museum in Poznań

Research and consultations were also carried out on archival materials relating to lost wall textiles from the palace, whose pre-war inventory commissioned in 1938 by Edward B. Raczyński survived at the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London<sup>87</sup>. Wall fabrics in seven rooms of the main building could be reconstructed as a result.

Accounts of pre-war employees of the palace and earlier, very reliable stratigraphic studies of the walls, ceilings, panelling and door and window joinery<sup>88</sup> made it possible to ascertain and recreate the colours of these elements as they had been in the 1930s, including the raspberry colour in the Garden Parlour, retained there since the eighteenth century. The tiles and parts of the fireplaces preserved in storage rooms were also studied; combined with comparative material and consultations, this research made it possible to conduct an *in situ* conservation and restoration of three fireplaces and four tiled stoves preserved almost in their entirety, and to reconstruct a marbleised stove and the lower section of the fireplace in the Oval Parlour as well as the remaining thirteen tiled stoves. During their reconstruction, original elements,

diploma thesis under the supervision of H. Hryszko, Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, Faculty of Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art, Chair of Heritage Textile Conservation and Restoration, vol. 1–2, typescript (Warszawa, 2002); N. Zawisza, *Wstępna ocena tkanin z palacu w Rogalinie* (Łódź, undated); H. Hryszko, M. Stachurska, A. Makulec, A. Krzemińska-Maciejko, *Dokumentacja prac konserwatorskich i restauratorskich. Obicia meblowe z palacu w Rogalinie (XIX w.)* (Warszawa, 2010); M. Malinowska, *Dokumentacja prac konserwatorskich. Tkanina obiciowa broszowana z palacu w Rogalinie, ok. 1740*, typescript, Ethnographic Heritage Conservation Atelier, National Museum in Poznań (Poznań, 2010); A. Michnikowska, *Badania muzealiów (żyrandol empirowy i latarnia z przedsionka Zbrojowni)*, National Museum in Poznań, typescript (Poznań, 2009); all typescripts held at the MNP.

<sup>87</sup> N. Zawisza, *Uwagi na temat tkanin, archiwaliów i dokumentacji fotograficznej tkanin z palacu Raczyńskich w Rogalinie – oddział MNP* (Łódź, 2009), typescript at the MNP.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. studies cited above.



Fig. 12

The London Study in the north wing of the Rogalin Palace, 1999, National Museum in Poznań

of which in some cases there were very many, were incorporated into them as ‘witnesses’.<sup>89</sup>

The reconstruction of the library bookcases designed by the architect Zygmunt Hendel was based on a contemporary design<sup>90</sup> developed from Hendel’s original drawings held at the National Museum in Cracow.<sup>91</sup>

Separate queries and designs were required for selected items of movable equipment, some of which needed to undergo conservation and have lost elements supplemented, while others required complete reconstruction based on archival photographs, comparative materials or partially preserved objects (including particularly characteristic and important pieces of furniture, lighting fixtures, stained glass, etc.).

Another major challenge was the correct reconstruction of four sculptures that had not survived and were known only from archival photographs. Comparative research established that three of them were copies of ancient originals of Polyhymnia, Diana of Gabii and the Medici Venus,

89 J. Nowak, E. Leszczyńska, ‘Dzieje pieców kaflowych w pałacu w Rogalinie’, in: *Pieće kaflowe w zbiorach muzealnych w Polsce*; E. Leszczyńska, ‘Historia Muzeum w Rogalinie ciepłem pisana’, *Świat Kominków*, 2017, no. 2(51), pp. 92–97.

90 J. Borwiński, *Projekt odtworzenia historycznego wnętrza Biblioteki Hendlowskiej za-bytkowego pałacu w Rogalinie wykonany na podstawie źródeł historycznych*, typescript at the MNP (Poznań, 2009).

91 During the works it turned out that the author of the reconstruction project failed to notice that the set of archival drawings did not contain a part of the design for the balustrade, whose appearance differed from that of the other parts; the design was swiftly updated by the Rogalin Museum’s research team.



Fig. 13

The Armoury, 2023, National Museum in Poznań

while the fourth, depicting Bacchus, was a compilation of several early-modern sculptures. The latter two were successfully reconstructed in their original form in bronze, while the others, unfortunately, were reconstructed in the form of plaster casts rather than marble sculptures.

Parallel to the above efforts, a search was conducted for paintings intended to decorate the palace, which were restored and hung according to detailed notes made by Prof. Zygmunt Batowski around 1938<sup>92</sup> and other archival records. Paintings that were lost or changed owners after the Second World War were replaced with several works from the collection of Atanazy Raczyński and sixteen canvases from the Krasiński–Raczyński palace in Warsaw which the daughters of Edward B. Raczyński, Katarzyna, Wirydianna Rey and Wanda Dembińska, had recovered from the National Museum in Poznań with special intention of placing them at Rogalin. Conservation of their frames, or reconstruction of the frames that had been lost, was an important part of this process; the most spectacular feat in this respect was the recreation of the frame for *The Maid of Orleans*, the largest canvas ever painted by Jan Matejko.

According to the first version of the restoration programme, almost all Rogalin furniture lost or burnt during the Second World War was to be replaced with items purchased at the antiquarian market. During the preparations it turned out, however, that the EU funds obtained by the Museum could only be used to reconstruct historical objects or to subject its own

92 Held at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.

objects to conservation. This resulted in a huge amount of additional work, consisting of selecting several hundred pieces of furniture and other works of artistic craft from the National Museum in Poznań collection that could replace the lost pre-war furnishings, and then preparing conservation programmes for them, which included specifying the scope of necessary conservation procedures and searching for replacement fabrics in the case of upholstered furniture.<sup>93</sup>

The results of queries and research on reconstruction and conservation with regard to architecture and recreated furnishings were included in the very detailed specifications stated in the 'essential terms and conditions of the contract' document (Polish: *specyfikacje istotnych warunków zamówienia*, SIWZ) for about a hundred tender procedures initiated and orders placed during the process of restoring the historical character of the Raczyński residence; they were also included in the conservation documentation of the works done.<sup>94</sup> As in the case of the restoration concept, this served to clarify the detailed requirements for potential contractors and closed the door to possible discussions with entities that would not want to comply with them.

The importance of specifying such expectations became apparent during the development phase of the project to restore the garden and park in Rogalin, which was to be the basis for its implementation immediately after the completion of the palace renovation in 2015. However, the restoration works have not started to this day, because the presented project was not in line with the specifications arising from research as specified in the SIWZ document. This ended in a court case, which resulted in a settlement with the designer after she corrected the errors and removed creative ideas that had nothing to do with the history of the place. However, nothing can bring back the lost time or compensate for either the stress experienced by the employees responsible for the implementation of this task or the missed opportunity to obtain further EU funds for its implementation at that time. This also applies to the implementation of the previously prepared project for the reconstruction of the shell grotto on the ground floor of the palace, which was to be recreated with funds allocated for the restoration works in the garden and the park.

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Finally, one more significant effect of the efforts of the Raczyński Foundation at the National Museum in Poznań in the process of restoring the

93 T. Pokorski, M. Peda, W. Baruch, M. Kozielnicki, *Ramowy program prac konserwatorskich, opracowany przez zespół pracowników Pracowni Konserwacji MNP pod kierownictwem A. Lewandowskiej* (Poznań, 2010–2011).

94 The works were conducted in two stages, first 2007–2009, then 2013 and 2015, from the Norwegian and EU funds and with financial input from the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage.

residence to its pre-war form must be mentioned, namely, the recovery of paintings from Edward Aleksander Raczyński's gallery in Rogalin, many of which were still in the National Museum at the time the Foundation was instituted. The accompanying long-term research conducted by the Museum's employees resulted in the publication of a scientific catalogue of the Gallery<sup>95</sup> and a major exhibition dedicated to it, which was presented in the Museum's seat in Poznań in the late 1997 and early 1998.<sup>96</sup> After its closing, the paintings went to Rogalin, to the gallery building the collector had raised for that purpose in 1910; this was followed by the first attempt to recreate their original arrangement according to a guidebook published ca. 1926.<sup>97</sup>

In 1999, the London Study, a faithful recreation of a room in Edward B. Raczyński's London apartment, was opened to the public in the north wing of the palace. The authors of this first fully historical exhibition (albeit one only indirectly related to Rogalin), were Maciej M. Putowski and Konstanty Kalinowski, in collaboration with Joanna Nowak. The same wing also houses the Gallery of Ancestors, which in its final version from 2015 contains the entirety of Atanazy Raczyński's collection of family portraits from his gallery at Gaj Mały. A project for a historical exhibition proposed for this location by Mateusz Pawlaczyk, and already partially developed by Nowak and Putowski, was abandoned, as it was not justified given the richness of the final version of all the recreated interiors of the complex. Also, even though this wing used to be a service area, it proved impossible to recreate its original character,<sup>98</sup> as no historical elements of its furnishings, iconographic records or archival documentation have survived. Currently, apart from the historical exhibitions described above, it houses a museum shop, offices, public toilets, emergency stairs and a lift for the disabled.

In contrast to that, it was possible not only to renovate, but also to recreate part of the historical décor and function of the south wing, which now,

95 M. Gołąb, A. Ławniczakowa, M.P. Michałowski, *Galeria Rogalińska Edwarda Raczyńskiego. Katalog zbiorów* (Poznań, 1997).

96 E. Leszczyńska, 'Galeria rogańska Edwarda Aleksandra hrabiego Raczyńskiego', in: *Kronika Wielkopolski*, 1998, no. 2(85), pp. 153–157.

97 In 2015, after the refurbishment of the Gallery, this arrangement was corrected again in order to reconstruct it more faithfully. The reconstruction is, regrettably, incomplete, since only 306 works survive of the original 466 that hung there in 1926. Also, several best works from the Rogalin collection are currently in the Gallery of Polish Painting in the main building of the National Museum in Poznań.

98 It used to house the kitchen (on the ground floor of the annexe) and above it, on the mezzanine, the cook's flat; the quarter-circle connector building housed the milk-room in the basement, the servants' common room on the ground floor, drying areas in the attic rooms, and the palace owners' bathrooms established in the late nineteenth century, adjoining the main building.

as before Second World War, houses numerous guest<sup>99</sup> and staff rooms, and above all, the fully preserved Oval Library of Edward Raczyński from ca. 1830. In 2017, the décor of selected interiors of this wing was enhanced with paintings from the collection of the Courland-Obrzycko line of the Raczyński family, and in 2023, with financial assistance from the Raczyński Foundation, the bathroom was reconstructed, with sunken bathtubs of brick discovered there during construction works in 2015.<sup>100</sup>

The woodshed, adapted in 1976–1977 to serve as an exhibition space modelled on the Poster Museum at Wilanów, was converted into a museum warehouse for the entire National Museum in Poznań, and the former stable into a modern Furniture Conservation Atelier plus public toilets. The coach house, apart from an exhibition of carriages, contains a reception room/education space and a restaurant. The former farmhand quarters were converted into staff apartments and guest rooms, a museum ticket office and a guardroom.<sup>101</sup> This created, as had once been postulated by Pawlaczyk, a modern, harmonious museum complex that allows visitors to immerse themselves in the microcosm created by members of the Raczyński family and the world of values they professed. However, research is still ongoing, as are the hunt for missing items of Rogalin furnishings,<sup>102</sup> the work on recreating lost pieces, and the preparations for the aforementioned restoration of the garden, park and grotto.

Accompanying these activities is an awareness of the value of each item originally belonging to the palace, especially in view of the substantial number of reconstructions and replacements that currently fill it. The decision to introduce those, apart from aesthetic considerations, was primarily motivated by the desire to capture the unique character of this historic house, which since the institution of the Armoury in 1823 combined residential functions with those of a museum, in 1910 additionally enhanced by the erection of the Picture Gallery. These patriotic initiatives – ones carried out, let it be noted, in a family seat that remembered the times before the Partitions – were thus valuable in themselves, and the highlighting and enhancing its meaning may be compared to such momentous reconstructions as the rebuilding of the Royal Castle in Rydzyna or the

99 Members of the Raczyński family stay in some of those rooms a few times every year, by permission from the director of the National Museum in Poanań, who concurrently is the chairman of the Foundation.

100 The great value of this find, dating most probably from the 1930s and linked to balneotherapy (a healing method that contributed to Roger Raczyński's restoration to health), determined the decision to display the sunken baths under reinforced glass panes while concurrently restoring the furnishings of a late nineteenth-century bathroom.

101 The ahistorical, post-war garage complex currently houses a boiler room, a workshop and rooms for the gardeners and their gear.

102 The greatest challenge is the recovery of weapons from the Armoury, which were deposited in the National Museum in Warsaw in 1939 and later moved to the Museum of the Polish Army in Warsaw.

Royal Castle in Warsaw, that is, to recreating a historic complex which the society perceives as an extremely valuable symbol of the former Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania and a memento of the struggle in its defence. Fortunately, the scale of the reconstruction at Rogalin is immeasurably smaller; but even so, it requires a continuous commentary that draws attention to authentic versus reconstructed elements. This commentary is present in publications,<sup>103</sup> audio guides and information provided daily by the educational team of the Rogalin Palace Museum.

The validity of the restoration work undertaken at Rogalin in recent decades was clearly confirmed by the Rogalin Palace Museum being nominated a Historic Monument in 2018; in 2020 this title was extended to include the entirety of the former estate.

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103 Among the most recent of those is E. Leszczyńska, *W cieniu rogalińskich dębów. Muzeum Pałac w Rogalinie* (Poznań, 2023).

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