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## POLISH RESEARCHES ON THE HISTORY OF BUILDING TILL THE END OF THE 18th CENTURY

### I

The history of building as a branch of the industrial activity of man did not at all interest Polish historians for a long time.

A history of building has had to be a collective work of sciences and for many reasons it was difficult to attain such co-operation in the 19th and early in the 20th century; in addition, the historians' demands in this respect only rarely met with response of representatives of other branches of learning. Moreover, the traditional view that the history of building was the domain of the historians of art and architecture (who, for their part, were interested only in its certain aspects) hampered the development of studies in that field; all problems of economy and technology were particularly neglected.

However, technical progress was accompanied by a growing world interest in the history of technology and organization of work (including the technology and organization of work in building), and the development of historical studies required a widened scope of the subjects of study, far beyond the traditional limits, a classic set of sources, and new scientific methods. In the 20th century it was impossible to ignore the history of building any longer, and it was necessary to search for the ways to overcome all the obstacles that obstructed the development of studies in that field.

The initiative by no means originated from the historians who turned out to be very conservative. On this occasion we should mention the services of Professor Oskar Sosnowski (1880—1939), an expert in architecture and founder of the Polish Architecture Institute at Warsaw Polytechnic, who was not only keenly interested in the history of building and encouraged many of his pupils and colleagues to take up this line of study, but also (what is the most important) initiated regular co-operation of architecture and art historians, pure historians and archaeologists. The Polish Architecture Institute at Warsaw Polytechnic, founded in 1922, was a pioneer centre of studies of the history of building in

Poland and a model for similar departments and institutes at other polytechnical schools. It remains the most important centre of study in this field, to this day.<sup>1</sup>

Another large centre of archaeologists, historians, architects, art historians and technicians was the Committee for the Study of the Origins of the Polish State, founded after the war and in 1953 re-organized as the Material Culture History Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Obviously, the work on the history of building was only one of the many tasks of the Committee and the Institute, and it was confined to early mediaeval building, as closely connected with the studies of the beginning of the Polish State. However, it was most important that close co-operation of experts in various fields had been established, and accurate and modern research methods applied with a view to making a thorough and detailed study of the development of pre-Romanesque and Romanesque building. Later the scope of study was widened to cover other periods.<sup>2</sup>

Yet another organization is the Mediaeval Poland Study Group of Warsaw University and Polytechnic, established in 1959 and working on the monuments of mediaeval building in Poland, according to a well defined programme of co-operation between the archaeologists and historians from the University, on the one hand, and the architects and technologists from the Polytechnic on the other.<sup>3</sup>

On the part of the historians, studies of Polish building of the feudal period were initiated by the Study Group for the History of Handicrafts and Commerce, led by Professor Marian Małowist from the Historical Institute of the University of Warsaw. The Group, which had already published a number of detailed monographs of various branches of Polish industry, in 1955 began working on the history of building from the 13th to the 17th century, with special attention given to the economic side, investment problems, and the organization of work, the situation of masons and carpenters and the formation of their trade organizations.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the work of the Polish Architecture Institute of Warsaw Polytechnic in post-war years see *Sprawozdanie Zakładu Architektury Polskiej Politechniki Warszawskiej za lata 1953/4 i 1954/5* [*Reports of the Polish Architecture Institute of Warsaw Politechnic for the Years 1953/4 and 1954/5*], 'Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki', vol. I, 1956, No. 2, p. 193—214; *ibidem* a bibliography of reports on the pre-war work of the Institute published in 'Architektura i Budownictwo' and in 'Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury'.

<sup>2</sup> Reports on the Committee's work were published in 'Przegląd Zachodni' of 1951, 1952 and 1953, and reports on the work of the Material Culture History Institute in 'Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej' and other periodical publications of the Institute.

<sup>3</sup> See W. Antoniewicz, *Sprawozdanie przewodniczącego Zespołu badań nad polskim średniowieczem UW i PW z prac Zespołu w latach 1959, 1960 i 1961* [*Report of the Chairman of the Mediaeval Poland Study Group of Warsaw University and Polytechnic on the Group's Work in the Years 1959, 1960 and 1961*], in the report of 3rd Scientific Conference of April 13—14, 1962 (ronoeed typescript).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. M. Małowist's foreword to the first volume of *Badania z dziejów rzemiosła i handlu w epoce feudalizmu* [*Studies on the History of Handicrafts and Trade During the Period of Feudalism*]; B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa żelaznego XIV—XVII wieku* [*The History of Iron Works in Malopolska in the 14th—17th Centuries*], Warszawa 1954, p. 5—7.

In spite of the existence of a number of research centres, the number of scholars specializing in the history of building is still small; for many of them the history of building is only a margin of their other studies. There is no general plan of study; research work is very often conducted accidentally which results in a considerable waste of effort. In the circumstances, a review of the studies of the history of Polish building cannot be confined to a presentation of the results of the work of the historians of building, for there are no historians of building strictly speaking, but it has to give an appreciation of the state of studies in the field of history, archaeology, art history, the history of architecture and of technology.

## II

Since so little interest was shown for the history of building, there were no important publications of relevant sources. On the other hand, the absence of such publications made it difficult to initiate studies or to awaken the interest of larger numbers of students in this line of study.

Out of the experts best fitted for studies of building and for editing and publishing relevant sources, the historians showed no initiative in this sphere, since they regarded building as the domain of the historians of art and architecture. Naturally, source publications containing documents, chronicles, court and inspection records, tax registers, etc. included important information on the development of building, but they were scattered and relatively few. No attempts were made to publish sources of special interest to the historian of building, such as building accounts, building chronicles or treatises on architecture. Other experts, art historians and architects, had no necessary editorial equipment to undertake this kind of tasks. Since for art historians and architects the building itself, and not written sources, is the basic object of study, they very often did not feel the need to publish written sources, or regarded source publications as collections of records or selections of information which were to relieve the researcher of the duty to search through larger publications or archives.<sup>5</sup>

The position as regards written sources to the history of art in Poland (including the history of architecture) up to 1939 was presented by A. Gieysztor in an article published in 'Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury' in 1946. He writes there that the publications up to 1939 are characterized by the absence of special publications or series of sources relating to the history of art, and by the publi-

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. Kopera's suggestions in his work *O potrzebie zbiorowego wydania piśmiennych źródeł odnoszących się do sztuki, archeologii i kultury XI—XIII w.* [*On the Need of a Collective Publication of Written Sources Relating to Art, Archaeology and Culture of the 11th—13th Centuries*], in: *Pamiętnik III Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Krakowie*, vol. I: *Referaty*, Kraków 1900, p. 1—2; Z. Batowski, *Ważniejsze potrzeby historii sztuki w Polsce* [*More Important Needs of Art History in Poland*], 'Nauka Polska', vol. I, 1918, p. 412 ff.

cation of fragments of sources, miscellaneous information and appendices in numerous periodicals and serial publications, as well as the absence of plan or organizational framework, wrong hierarchy of sources, to be published and editorial imperfections.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, up to 1939 (apart from a large number of fragmentary sources scattered in various periodicals) only one important publishing plan was realized, namely the series 'Źródła do Historii Sztuki i Cywilizacji w Polsce' [Sources for the History of Art and Civilization in Poland]<sup>7</sup> planned by M. Sokolowski and L. Lepszy as early as 1893. Out of this series, worth mentioning are only last two volumes, ie. *Cracovia artificum*, excellently published by J. Ptaśnik and after his death continued by M. Friedberg; they contain a selection of sources for the history of artistic handicrafts in Cracow in the 14th—16th centuries. Although only excerpts from Cracow municipal records, they include all the items relating to the artistic handicrafts (with a large proportion of them concerning masons, stone-masons and carpenters) that could be found in the municipal archives, and thus form a coherent whole. The other three volumes of the series are not much of a success, since volumes I and III, prepared by A. Chmiel and S. Tomkowicz, contain a rather haphazard selection of sources, and volume II, edited by F. Bujak, was included in the series only through a misunderstanding.

Although A. Gieysztor not only gave a critical review of the source publications available at the time but also presented a rational plan for future publications, and in spite of the fact that the need of special source publications relating to the history of building is now felt and recognized by all researchers, very little progress has been made since 1946.

A small number of sources important for historians of building have been published. These are the excellently published accounts of the construction of Nowy Korczyn castle of the years 1403—1408,<sup>8</sup> the accounts of the construction

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<sup>6</sup> A. Gieysztor, *Stan, potrzeby i plan wydawnictw źródeł pisanych do dziejów sztuki w Polsce* [The State, Needs and Plan of Publication of Written Sources to the History of Art in Poland], 'Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury', vol. VIII, 1946, No. 1—2, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Źródła do Historii Sztuki i Cywilizacji w Polsce [Sources to the History of Art and Civilization in Poland], vol. I: A. Chmiel, *Rachunki dworu królewskiego 1544—1567* [Royal Court Accounts 1544—1567], Kraków 1911; vol. II: F. Bujak, *Materiały do historii miasta Biecz (1361—1632)* [Materials for the History of the Town of Biecz (1361—1632)], Kraków 1914; vol. III: S. Tomkowicz, *Materiały do historii stosunków kulturalnych w w. XVI na dworze królewskim polskim* [Materials for the History of Cultural Relations at the Polish Royal Court in the 16th Century], Kraków 1915; vol. IV: J. Ptaśnik, *Cracovia artificum 1300—1500*, Kraków 1917; vol. V: J. Ptaśnik, *Cracovia artificum 1501—1556*, Kraków 1936—1948.

<sup>8</sup> *Rachunki z prac budowlanych na zamku w Nowym Mieście Korczynie w latach 1403—1408* [Accounts of Building Work at the Castle at Nowe Miasto Korczyn in the Years 1403—1408], ed. by J. Karwasińska, 'Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej', vol. IV, 1956, No. 2, supplementary fascicle, p. 409—490.

of Warsaw Castle of the years 1569—1572,<sup>9</sup> the accounts of the construction of a church at Biskupice of the years 1711—1733,<sup>10</sup> and very well edited *Krótką nauką budowniczą* [*A Short Manual of Building*], the first Polish treatise on architecture by an unknown author of the 17th century.<sup>11</sup> However, all these publications owed their appearance to the individual initiative of the researchers and they were not part of a general publication plan.

In recent years the State Art Collections at Wawel Castle in Cracow have begun the publication of a series named 'Źródła do Dziejów Wawelu' [Sources for the History of Wawel Castle].<sup>12</sup> In the three small volumes published so far selection of sources is rather accidental. The last volume is undoubtedly the most interesting. Modelled on *Cracovia artificum* it contains excerpts from the archives of the Chapter and Bishopric of Cracow, relating to the history of Wawel Castle buildings. It is likely that, after more volumes have been published in this series, they will form an important collection of sources to the history of Wawel Castle and will assume more scientific importance.

Source publications are still in a state of chaos. It is still fashionable to publish miscellaneous information, fragmentary sources, results of entirely accidental finds, source appendices, etc. in various periodicals and serial publications. Sometimes, important works can be found there, as e.g. inspection records for Warsaw Castle edited by W. Tomkiewicz, or materials for the history of the erection of ramparts at Tarnów published by J. E. Dutkiewicz.<sup>13</sup> In many cases,

<sup>9</sup> *Materiały archiwalne do budowy zamku warszawskiego. Rachunki budowy z lat 1569—1572* [Archive Material Relating to the Construction of Warsaw Castle. Building Accounts of the Years 1569—1572], ed. by M. Hałówna and J. Senkowski, 'Teki Archiwalne', vol. II, 1954, p. 192—400.

<sup>10</sup> *Regestr wydatków na budowę kościoła w Biskupicach (1711—1733)* [Register of Expense on the Construction of the Church at Biskupice (1711—1733)], ed. by J. Kowalczyk and J. Zawadzka, 'Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej', vol. V, 1957, No. 3/4, supplementary fascicle, p. 721—845.

<sup>11</sup> *Krótką nauką budowniczą dworów, pałaców, zamków podług nieba i zwyczaju polskiego* [Short Manual of Building Manor-Houses, Palaces, Castles According to Polish Custom], ed. by A. Miłobędzki, Wrocław 1957. Teksty Źródłowe do Dziejów Teorii Sztuki, vol. VII. Cf. M. Piwocka, *Polscy teoretycy architektury XVI—XVIII w.* [Polish Theoreticians of Architecture in the 16th—18th Centuries], Warszawa 1952.

<sup>12</sup> *Źródła do Dziejów Wawelu* [Sources for the History of Wawel Castle], vol. I: *Rachunki budowy zamku krakowskiego 1535* [Accounts of the Construction of Cracow Castle 1535], ed. by O. Łaszczynska, Kraków 1952; vol. II: *Rachunki generalne Seweryna Bonera 1545* [General Accounts of Seweryn Boner 1545], ed. by O. Łaszczynska, Kraków 1955; vol. III: *Wypisy źródłowe do dziejów Wawelu z archiwaliów kapitulnych i kurialnych krakowskich 1440—1500* [Sources to the History of Wawel Castle: Excerpts from Archives of Cracow Chapter and Bishoprics 1440—1500], ed. by B. Przybyszewski, Kraków 1960.

<sup>13</sup> W. Tomkiewicz, *Dwie lustracje zamku warszawskiego* [Two Inspections of Warsaw Castle], 'Biuletyn Historii Sztuki', vol. XVI, 1954, No. 3, p. 295—314. J. E. Dutkiewicz, *Materiały źródłowe do budowy murów obronnych miasta Tarnowa z lat 1513—1545* [Sources to the Construction of Defence Walls of the Town of Tarnów of the Years 1513—1545], 'Rocznik Historii Sztuki',

appendices relating to sources which are added to particular works, are a necessity dictated by the absence of published sources. However, these fragmentary reprints of the sources are very often purposeless; the sources are quoted inaccurately, contrary to the elementary principles of editorship; Latin sources are often reprinted in Polish translations, without comments or critical remarks. But above all, the fact that the sources are scattered over many different publications, and the absence of proper bibliographical information makes it impossible for a researcher to find his way to the published material.<sup>14</sup> There is also a lack of popular selections of sources to the history of building in Poland, similar to foreign publications of V. Mortet, J. Schlosser or O. Lehman-Brockhaus, which both popularize the subject and provide some assistance in historical research.

### III

Inventories of monuments of architecture are to historians of building still more indispensable than they are to art historians. Studies of the history of building cannot be based upon fragmentary material, however, representative and well selected it may be. These studies ought to cover the whole production of building crafts of the given period, even if the works of the builders were mediocre and did not attain a high artistic standard.

The question of making inventories of monuments of architecture in Poland dates back to the end of the 18th century when the interest in historical monuments was first aroused and Father Ksawery Zubowski published the first Polish inventory questionnaire in 1786.<sup>15</sup> The first important move in this field was the appointment of the Delegation for the Description of Ancient Monuments in the Polish Kingdom under the chairmanship of K. Stronczyński. The Delegation was appointed in 1844 by the Government Commission (Ministry) of Home and Spiritual Affairs. A special instruction was then worked out.<sup>16</sup> Stronczyński set to work with all his energy but, because of the lack of funds and of expert inventory makers, as well as of difficulties in organization the work was not completed and the efforts of Stronczyński and his assistants were practically wasted since the results were never published. At present, the information collected by Stronczyński is nothing more but archive material for art historians.

Work on inventories of monuments of architecture initiated in Galicia (Austrian

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vol. I, 1956, p. 237—301. I mention these two publications as particularly interesting, although I do not regard them as a right method of publishing sources to the history of building.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the chapter on bibliographies.

<sup>15</sup> M. Walicki, *Sprawa inwentaryzacji zabytków w dobie Królestwa Polskiego (1827—1862)* [*Inventories of Monuments of Architecture in the Polish Kingdom (1827—1862)*], Warszawa 1931, p. 32 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 49 ff.

Part) by S. Tomkowicz towards the end of the 19th century was more successful. Tomkowicz published inventories of monuments of art in three districts (Cracow, Grybów, and Gorlice) and in two Cracow churches (St. Nicolas' and St. Thomas'). The scientific standard of the inventories was very high.<sup>17</sup> However, the task Tomkowicz set to himself was far beyond the financial, organizational and scientific possibilities of the art historians in Galicia and his work was never completed.

Roughly at the same time, i.e. towards the end of the 19th century, German scholars made inventories of the monuments in the area then under Prussian rule. Their work covered Silesia, Pomerania, Poznań region and East Prussia.<sup>18</sup> That was a very thorough work, although not without some non-scientific tendentiousness expressed e.g. in the omission of typically Polish monuments of art. At present, however, it is inadequate and outdated.

Although the making of inventories of monuments of art and architecture was after 1918 regarded as one of the most urgent tasks of art historians in reborn Poland,<sup>19</sup> work on inventories was very slow because of lack of funds and imperfections of organization. During the 10 years of its existence the Central Inventory Bureau (established in 1929) collected a wealth of material, particularly photographs, but published inventories for only two districts (Nowy Targ and Rawa Mazowiecka); the prepared inventory for Żywiec district was published only after the war.<sup>20</sup> So, after the end of World War II, art historians were faced with the necessity to make a full inventory of monuments of art for the whole territory of Poland. The task was all the more urgent as it was necessary, as soon as possible, to assess war damage and the condition of the monuments of art in order to make possible rational conservation work. At a conference held in 1945 it was decided temporarily to give up the idea of costly and tedious work on topographical inventories, and to begin quick work on a catalogue as proposed by J. Szablowski. Unlike the inventories, the catalogue was to be only a scientific list covering all the movable and immovable monuments of art in a topographical arrangement, with the exclusion of private and museum collec-

<sup>17</sup> «Teki grona konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej», vol. I, 1900; vol. II, 1906.

<sup>18</sup> H. Lutsch, *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schlesien*, vol. I—V, Breslau 1886—1903; J. Kohte, *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Posen*, vol. I—IV, Berlin 1896—1898; *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Westpreussen*, Danzig 1884—1919; *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Pommern*, Teil I: H. Lemcke, *Der Regierungsbezirk Stettin*, Stettin 1898—1914; Teil II: L. Böttger, H. Lemcke, *Der Regierungsbezirk Köslin*, Stettin 1889—1911.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. statements of Z. Batowski, J. Wojciechowski, W. Podlacha, O. Sosnowski, S. Tomkowicz, A. Szyszko-Bohusz, F. Kopera in 'Nauka Polska'.

<sup>20</sup> *Zabytki sztuki w Polsce. Inwentarz topograficzny [Monuments of Art in Poland. A Topographical Inventory]*, vol. I: T. Szydtowski, *Powiat nowotarski [Nowy Targ District]*, Warszawa 1938; vol. II: W. Kieszkowski, *Powiat rawsko-mazowiecki [Rawa Mazowiecka District]*, Warszawa 1939; vol. III: J. Szablowski, *Powiat żywiecki [Żywiec District]*, Warszawa 1948.

tions. Detailed measurements and photographs, as well as archive documentation were to be omitted. The catalogue also omitted non-existent monuments. It was to include monuments of art from the 10th to the middle of the 19th century, and of the more recent only the works of outstanding artistic value, of well-known authors or more interesting works of folk art. Work on the catalogue began immediately first with the help of Cracow art historians; later, larger numbers of specially trained staff from outside Cracow were employed. By 1950, two more topographical inventories (for Piotrków and Opoczno districts)<sup>21</sup> were completed. Then, work on inventories was suspended and all effort concentrated on the early completion of the catalogue. In 1951 the Inventory Bureau which supervised this work was merged with the State Art Institute (now the Art Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences)<sup>22</sup>. Up to 1962 catalogues were published for the voivodships of Cracow and Łódź, large parts of the voivodships of Kielce and Poznań, and parts of the voivodships of Katowice, Opole, Lublin and Szczecin. In addition, materials have been collected for a catalogue of monuments of art the city of Cracow (five volumes), and in the voivodships of Olsztyn, Warszawa and Rzeszów. Work is in progress on catalogues for other voivodships.

Although the catalogue was criticised on many occasions,<sup>23</sup> the publication is indisputably of a high scientific standard, very well edited and most useful. From the point of view of the historian of building some shortcomings can be mentioned, e.g. as regards information about building materials and techniques, as well as omissions of certain objects of less importance which, although with no artistic value, are important for the history of building. The catalogue as a rule omits economic and industrial buildings. In order to fill this gap the Material Culture History Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences has undertaken to work out a catalogue of monuments of industrial building in Poland.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Only the inventory of the district of Piotrków was published in Warsaw in 1950. The inventory of the district of Opoczno is still in manuscript.

<sup>22</sup> Information about the work on the catalogue until 1954 is given in a report by J. Z. Łoziński, *Inwentaryzacja zabytków sztuki w Polsce. Stan i potrzeby* [*Inventories of Monuments of Art in Poland: The Actual State and Needs*], 'Biuletyn Historii Sztuki', vol. XVI, 1954, No. 3, p. 342—347.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the discussion on the catalogue in 'Biuletyn Historii Sztuki', vol. XVI, 1954, p. 348—358; a review by H. Samsonowicz in 'Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej', vol. II, 1954, No. 1/2, p. 267—269; a review by Z. Ciekliński in 'Ochrona Zabytków', vol. VII, 1954, No. 4, p. 278—286.

<sup>24</sup> The need of such a catalogue was emphasized in the above quoted discussion on the catalogue of monuments of art. The programme of the catalogue of monuments of industrial building in Poland was presented in the first fascicle of this publication, worked out by T. Ruzczyńska and E. Krygier, Wrocław—Warszawa 1958, and in an article by the same authors, *Uwagi nad zasadami i sposobem realizacji katalogu zabytków gospodarczych* [*Remarks on the Principles and Ways of Compiling the Catalogue of Monuments of Industrial Building*], 'Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej', vol. III, 1955, No. 1, p. 124—131.

Three fascicles have been published so far, describing the districts of Gostyń, Końskie, Hża and Kielce. The catalogue obviously includes mostly buildings dating from the 19th century, since in the earlier centuries, because of the predominance of small handicraft production, there was no need to erect special buildings for workshops, and those which had to be built (mills, forges, etc.) were of wood and only very few of them survived.

The work on a catalogue of monuments of art in Poland makes doubtful the need of working out another topographical inventory; on the other hand, chronological inventories covering certain types of monuments, or monuments of a certain period would certainly be useful. A volume devoted to the monuments of Romanesque art at Opatów and Kościelec,<sup>25</sup> published by Z. Świechowski, and a catalogue of Romanesque architecture in Poland by the same author (in print), as well as *Architektura na Śląsku do połowy XIII w.* [*Architecture in Silesia up to the Middle of the 13th Century*]<sup>26</sup> are examples of such chronological inventories.

#### IV

The lack of adequate bibliographical information for art historians, historians of architecture and of building has been felt for a long time,<sup>27</sup> the more so as a large number of small source publications was scattered wide in various periodicals. Bibliographical information concerning the history of Polish art was to be found in a variety of periodicals as e.g. 'Wiadomości Bibliograficzne Warszawskie' of the years 1882—1886, 'Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne' of the years 1889—1900, 'Kwartalnik Historyczny' (with the bibliography of the history of Poland), 'Przegląd Historii Sztuki' (bibliography worked out by H. Lipska), 'Sprawozdania Komisji Historii Sztuki', and even the French 'Répertoire d'art et d'archéologie' published by Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie in Paris. It was given either as notes on the recently published works, or as lists of contents of the given periodical. This could not replace systematic and complete bibliography. A bibliography of the history of building in Poland, either as a separate reference work or as part of a general bibliography of the history of Poland or of Polish art, is still to be compiled. Some move in this direction has been made by the Material Culture History Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences which has been publishing (since 1958) *Materiały do biblio-*

<sup>25</sup> *Kościelec, kościół p.w. św. Wojciecha. Opatów, kolegiata p.w. św. Marcina* [*St. Adalbert's Church at Kościelec. St. Martin's Church at Opatów*], ed. by Z. Świechowski, Warszawa 1954.

<sup>26</sup> Z. Świechowski, *Architektura na Śląsku do połowy XIII wieku* [*Architecture in Silesia up to the Middle of the 13th Century*], Warszawa 1955.

<sup>27</sup> See statements of Z. Batowski, W. Podlacha, O. Sosnowski, J. Dobrzycki in 'Nauka Polska' of the years 1918—1939. Cf. A. Gieysztor, op. cit., p. 47.

*grafii historii kultury materialnej Europy średniowiecznej* [*Bibliographical Materials for the History of Material Culture of Mediaeval Europe*], a very useful publication containing a section devoted to the history of building. However, it gives only current bibliographical information covering the most important historical periodicals. It is, on the one hand too extensive, as it includes works relating to other countries, and on the other hand incomplete, since it does not include all the publications that may be of interest to the historian of building.

There are no Polish encyclopaedias, dictionaries or special reference books on the history of building. Technical dictionaries of K. Podczaszyński and T. Zebrawski,<sup>28</sup> compiled in the last century, have never had any scientific value. General or historical encyclopaedias contain very little interesting information. It would be most desirable to begin work on an exhaustive encyclopaedia of Polish architecture, modelled on the famous *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française* by Viollet-le-Duc, but it is just a dream. What would be quite feasible and equally useful is a popular dictionary explaining the basic terms and notions used in building.<sup>29</sup> To the historians, generally not so familiar with special terminology, it would make it easier to understand and interpret the written sources relating to building, and to use correct special terms in historical works. At present, the part of such a handy encyclopaedia of architecture is to a degree played by Z. Mączyński's *Elementy i detale architektoniczne* [*Architectonic Elements and Details*]<sup>30</sup> which gives explanations of a number of terms and provides useful information on the history of architecture and on building techniques.

Another encyclopaedic publication is a *Dictionary of Architects* compiled by S. Łoza.<sup>31</sup> Working on existing monographs and source publications, Łoza compiled biographical information on Polish and foreign architects active in Poland. Łoza's dictionary is not free from mistakes and one of its most important defects is that he uncritically repeats after old literature all unconfirmed information

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<sup>28</sup> K. Podczaszyński, *Nomenklatura architektoniczna, czyli słowniennik cieślących polskich wyrazów* [*Architectonic Nomenclature or Glossary of Polish Building Terms*], 1st ed. 1839, 2nd ed. 1854; T. Zebrawski, *Słownik wyrazów technicznych dotyczących się budownictwa* [*A Dictionary of Technical Terms Relating to Building*], Kraków 1883. Both works contain only explanations of technical terms.

<sup>29</sup> The need of compiling a dictionary of Polish architecture was emphasized by O. Sosnowski in his *Potrzeby historii architektury polskiej* [*The Needs of the History of Polish Architecture*], 'Nauka Polska', vol. X, 1929, p. 447, and of a dictionary of technical terms relating to art Z. Batowski, *Ważniejsze potrzeby historii sztuki w Polsce* [*More Important Needs of the History of Art in Poland*], *ibidem*, vol. I, 1918, p. 418 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Z. Mączyński, *Elementy i detale architektoniczne w rozwoju historycznym* [*Architectonic Elements and Details in Historical Development*], Warszawa 1956.

<sup>31</sup> S. Łoza, *Słownik architektów i budowniczych Polaków oraz cudzoziemców w Polsce pracujących* [*A Dictionary of Polish and Foreign Architects and Builders in Poland*], 1st ed. Warszawa 1930; the same author, *Architekci i budowniczowie w Polsce* [*Architects and Builders in Poland*], 2nd ed. revised and enlarged, Warszawa 1954.

which finds no substantiation in the sources and often is simply legendary. In spite of that it cannot be denied that the publication is very useful.

Work on *Słownik historyczny sztuk plastycznych* [*A Historical Dictionary of Plastic Arts*] has been in progress since 1949. The dictionary is to contain not only explanations of special terms but also basic information on all kinds of plastic arts (including architecture) and on artists (including architects). It would, therefore, provide a good compendium for studies of the history of building. Unfortunately, the only fascicle of the *Dictionary* appeared in 1951; it is difficult to foresee when the work can be completed.<sup>32</sup>

## V

So far we have dealt with source publications, inventories and catalogues, bibliographies and dictionaries. These are only materials which make it possible to begin studies. There are still gaps in this equipment but in any case it is sufficient to initiate all-round studies of the history of building. Only very little use has been made of these possibilities so far. There are very few Polish works on the history of building as one of the branches of production, or on matters of organization of work, investments technology, etc.

Works on the history of building materials are among the most interesting and the most modern works on subjects connected with the history of building. Studies of old building materials developed in Poland only after the World War II in connection with conservation work and were intended to provide conservation experts with appropriate recipes and historical documentation. These studies have now considerably developed and become more independent.

The history of quarries, stone working and the use of stone in architecture is being studied by M. Kozińska, B. Pękalowa and N. Miks.<sup>33</sup> An interesting monograph of stone as an architecture and sculpture medium has been provided by W. Koziński who has used both the experience of the contemporary architect and historical data.<sup>34</sup> A detailed study by W. Tatarkiewicz concerning the black marble quarries at Dębnik near Cracow<sup>35</sup> is of a different character. The author

<sup>32</sup> *Słownik historyczny sztuk plastycznych*, zeszyt dyskusyjny [*A Historical Dictionary of Plastic Arts. Discussion fascicle*], Warszawa 1951.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. M. Weber-Kozińska, *Z problematyki historii kamieniarstwa w Polsce* [*Problems of the History of Stone Working in Poland*], 'Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki', vol. III, 1958, No. 1.

<sup>34</sup> W. Koziński, *Kamień w architekturze* [*Stone in Architecture*], 'Prace Instytutu Urbanistyki i Architektury', vol. IV, 1955, fasc. 3. In the same publication other articles important for the historian: J. Wilk, *Gips w budownictwie i architekturze* [*Gypsum in Building and Architecture*]; W. Szolginia, *Ceramika architektoniczna* [*Architectonic Ceramics*].

<sup>35</sup> W. Tatarkiewicz, *Czarny marmur w Krakowie* [*Black Marble in Cracow*], 'Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki', vol. X, 1952.

places emphasis on the artistic side of the Dębnik stone-masons' works. He says very little about the techniques of stone working or the organization of work in the quarries, although he had access to relevant sources. In consequence, this is a work on the history of art and not of building or building materials.

Z. Świechowski wrote about the use of bricks in the earliest Polish buildings.<sup>36</sup> Articles by M. Bogucka and A. Wyrobisz deal with the history of brick factories in the 13th—15th, and the 16th centuries.<sup>37</sup> More articles on the subject are expected. A number of works have been devoted to methods of studying mediaeval bricks.<sup>38</sup>

Particularly interesting are the results of the studies of old kinds of mortar, based on physical and chemical analyses. A new method of quick and large-scale analysis giving a clear picture of the results has been worked out by H. Jędrzejewska who has published a number of papers on the subject.<sup>39</sup>

Apart from historical works, many studies on the conservation of old building materials have also been published. These articles, dealing with contemporary methods of conservation, also give important information on old bricks, stone or mortars and greatly contribute to the knowledge of the history of building materials.<sup>40</sup>

Historians of economic and social relations showed very little interest in the building crafts and often ignored them entirely in their studies on the development of handicrafts in Poland. In text-books for the economic history of Poland there is practically no mention of building. In his book on Polish industry in the 16th century I. Baranowski makes no mention of masonry or carpentry. The

<sup>36</sup> Z. Świechowski, *Wczesne budownictwo ceglane w Polsce* [Early Brick Building in Poland], 'Studia z Dziejów Rzemiosła i Przemysłu', vol. I, 1961, p. 83—124.

<sup>37</sup> M. Bogucka, *Cegielnia gdańska w XVI wieku* [Gdańsk Brick Factory in the 16th Century], *ibidem*, p. 125—140; A. Wyrobisz, *Średniowieczne cegielnie w większych ośrodkach miejskich w Polsce* [Mediaeval Brick Factories in Larger Urban Centres in Poland], *ibidem*, p. 55—82.

<sup>38</sup> E. g. Z. Tomaszewski, *Badania cegły jako metoda pomocnicza przy datowaniu obiektów architektonicznych* [Brick Tests as Auxiliary Method of Assessing Age of Architectonic Objects], 'Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Warszawskiej', 1955, No. 11, Budownictwo, fasc. 4; T. Rudkowski, *Badania nad rozmiarami cegły średniowiecznego Wrocławia* [Studies of the Size of Bricks in Mediaeval Wrocław], 'Sprawozdania Wrocławskiego Tow. Naukowego', vol. VII, 1952 (1955), Supplement 5; N. Miks, *W sprawie badań nad cegłą średniowieczną* [On Studies of Mediaeval Bricks], 'Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej', vol. V, 1957, No. 1.

<sup>39</sup> H. Jędrzejewska, *Old Mortars in Poland: A New Method of Investigation*, 'Studies in Conservation', vol. V, 1960, No. 4; The same author, *Dawne zaprawy budowlane* [Old Mortars], 'Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki', vol. III, 1958, No. 1. See also Z. Świecki, *Badania zapraw z murów kościoła Salwatora w Krakowie* [Studies of Mortars from the Walls of Saviour's Church in Cracow], 'Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki', vol. I, 1956, No. 2.

<sup>40</sup> In their paper *Przegląd materiałów budowlanych używanych w dawnej Polsce* [A Review of Building Materials Used In Old Poland] read at a session of the Polish Academy of Sciences devoted to problems of building materials, Z. Mączyński, W. Tomaszewski and J. Zachwatowicz gave a tentative general study of the history of building materials. Roneoed typescript, Warszawa 1954.

authors of the monographs of handicrafts in particular towns not always described the history of bricklaying or carpentry because they either had no relevant sources, or attached no importance to the history of building. If some of them dealt with building crafts it was only in connection with the history of guilds and the internal structure of the guilds of masons, stone-masons or carpenters. The best study of these problems is given in the chapters dealing with carpenters and masons of the excellent history of craft guilds in Toruń written by Stanisław Herbst.<sup>41</sup> The same problems were much more superficially treated by Ł. Charewiczowa in her monograph of the guilds in Lwów.<sup>42</sup> T. Hirsch wrote about carpenters and masons in Gdańsk<sup>43</sup> and these problems were recently discussed, on the basis of an exhaustive source material and in wider chronological limits, by M. Bogucka.<sup>44</sup> E. Koczorowska-Pielińska wrote about building craftsmen in Warsaw in the 15th century,<sup>45</sup> and H. Łopaciński and J. Riabinin devoted their articles to Lublin masons of the 16th and 17th century.<sup>46</sup> Z. Rewski gave a detailed enough study of the guild of Cracow masons with emphasis on masterpieces and the artistic standard of the craft.<sup>47</sup> A. Wyrobisz also wrote about the Cracow guild of masons and stone-masons in the 17th century.<sup>48</sup> All these studies, mainly based upon analyses of the guild statutes and less frequently on court records, accounts or contracts with builders, present only one side of the problem, i.e. the formal and legal structure of the craft organization, and the basis of the guild's activity. No thorough analysis has been made of the social or economic structure, the differences between members of the guild, or internal and external conflicts. Problems of organization of work, the hire of workers or building costs have not been discussed at all. These problems

<sup>41</sup> S. Herbst, *Toruńskie cechy rzemieślnicze* [*Craftsmen's Guilds in Toruń*], Toruń 1933, p. 177—185.

<sup>42</sup> Ł. Charewiczowa, *Lwowskie organizacje zawodowe* [*Trade Organizations in Lwów*], Lwów 1929, p. 118—125.

<sup>43</sup> T. Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels- und Gewerbsgeschichte unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Leipzig 1858, p. 321—323, 329.

<sup>44</sup> M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny od XIV do XVII w.* [*Gdańsk as Industrial Centre From the 14th to the 17th Century*], Warszawa 1962.

<sup>45</sup> E. Koczorowska-Pielińska, *Warszawskie rzemiosła artystyczne i budowlane w XV w.* [*Artistic and Building Handicrafts in Warsaw in the 15th Century*], Warszawa 1959, p. 69—78.

<sup>46</sup> H. Łopaciński, *Z dziejów cechu mularskiego i kamieniarskiego w Lublinie* [*From the History of the Masons and Stone-masons Guild in Lublin*], 'Sprawozdania Komisji Historii Sztuki', vol. VI, 1900, p. 223—231; J. Riabinin, *Murarze, malarze i rzeźbiarze lubelscy w XVII w.* [*Masons, Painters and Sculptors in Lublin in the 17th Century*], Lublin 1939.

<sup>47</sup> Z. Rewski, *Majstersztyki krakowskiego cechu murarzy i kamieniarzy w XVI—XIX wieku* [*Masterpieces of the Cracow Guild of Masons and Stone-masons in the 16th—19th Centuries*], Wrocław 1954.

<sup>48</sup> A. Wyrobisz, *Ze studiów nad budownictwem krakowskim w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* [*Studies on Building in Cracow in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries*], 'Przeгляд Historyczny', vol. XLIX, 1958, No. 4, p. 647—680.

should be studied by historians anew, although it should be admitted that, because of the destruction of the major part of the guild records and of many files in the city archives, this is not an easy task.

Many historians were interested in problems of patronage over arts in Poland, particularly during the period of Baroque, i.e. at a time of enormous power of the magnates who willingly gave their support to artists and offered means to promote the development of art.<sup>49</sup> However, on the occasion of studies of the history of patronage and its importance for the development of art and for the spreading of new artistic trends, as well as studies of the social and political role of the patronage, no attention was given to the economic side of the problem, i.e. the amounts spent on promotion of arts or architecture, the sources of these funds and, consequently, the relation between the growing number of new building undertakings and the economic development of the country and the growth of the wealth of the magnates.<sup>50</sup> These questions still need more studies.

Relatively most advanced in their studies of the history of building are historians of architecture. However, since they nearly exclusively worked on analyses of preserved monuments of architecture or of plans and drawings and made very little use of descriptive sources, as their interest centred on artistic aspects of the development of architecture, they provided no solutions to any of the basic problems of the history of building. The works of the historians of architecture which can be divided into monographs of monuments and monographs of architects bring a wealth of information of much interest to the historian of building, but they give no adequate answers to the questions concerning building techniques, the organization of work, investments and many other problems.

The attainments of the Polish history of architecture were described by W. Dalbor.<sup>51</sup> We have no need here to summarize his opinions and we shall confine ourselves to a few remarks.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. C. Lechicki, *Mecenat Zygmunta III i życie umysłowe na jego dworze* [*The Patronage of Sigismundus III and Intellectual Life at His Court*], Warszawa 1932; W. Tomkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiego mecenatu artystycznego w wieku XVII* [*On the History of Artistic Patronage in Poland in the 17th Century*], Wrocław 1952 (excerpts from sources); S. Lorentz, *Mécénat et vie artistique en Pologne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 'Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations', vol. XV, 1960, No. 1.

<sup>50</sup> On this occasion it is worth recalling two aphorisms which are repeatedly told to the tourists visiting the Vaux-le-Vicomte and Versailles palaces, the most magnificent examples of the French palatial architecture of the 17th century. They say about Vaux-le-Vicomte that it is well understandable that Louis XIV, after having visited the palace, ordered the arrest of its owner and his Finance Minister, Fouquet. The saying about Versailles goes that after a visit to the palace and gardens one can easily understand the causes of the economic crisis in France under the last Bourbons.

<sup>51</sup> W. Dalbor, *Ocena dorobku architektury polskiej* [*An Appreciation of the Achievements of Polish Architecture*], 'Studia i Materiały do Teorii i Historii Architektury i Urbanistyki', vol. I, 1956. Cf. also A. Bochnak, *Zarys dziejów polskiej historii sztuki* [*A Short History of Art in Poland*], Kraków 1948, containing much biographical and bibliographical information on Polish historians of architecture.

Scientific research into the history of architecture in Poland was initiated by Władysław Łuszczkiewicz (1828—1900), a painter, archaeologist and museum expert, the founder of the Art History Committee of the Academy of Sciences in Cracow (1873), and of the publication 'Sprawozdania Komisji Historii Sztuki', (1877), a fundamental scientific publication in this field. In the 'Sprawozdania' Łuszczkiewicz published most of his works, a long series of monographs of monuments of Romanesque and Gothic architecture in Poland. To this day Łuszczkiewicz's works retain their great scientific value and in many respects still remain an unsurpassed model, especially as regards his ability to combine the descriptions of buildings with their history, and to connect the history of architecture with the whole of the historical process.

Excellent monographs of monuments of architecture and biographies of architects have also been written by M. Sokołowski, S. Tomkowicz, A. Szyszko-Bohusz, F. Kopera, T. Szydłowski, F. Klein, T. Mańkowski, W. Tatarkiewicz, A. Bochnak, J. Szablowski, Z. Hornung, M. Walicki, S. Lorentz, J. Starzyński, W. Kieszkowski, B. Guerquin, J. Zachwatowicz, Z. Świechowski, L. Lepiarczyk and many others. All these works are monographs written from the point of view of art history, dealing with the history of buildings, their origin and modifications, and above all analysing their artistic merits and trying to assign them to some artistic trend, style or period of culture. Problems of technology, organization of work or investments were practically ignored. Similarly, monographs of architects or collections of biographical information on architects of the given period or environment gave only biographies of artists and directions on their artistic development.

On this occasion we should once again mention the services of O. Sosnowski who was first to attract the attention of historians of architecture to a field of building, which had formerly been studied by ethnographers only,<sup>52</sup> namely wood building.<sup>53</sup> Sosnowski also demanded that monographs of monuments of architecture should be worked out on the basis of all-round studies: architec-

<sup>52</sup> There are numerous ethnographic works on folk wood building. They deal with contemporary folk building and do not go back beyond the 19th century. Consequently, they are of no interest to us. The history of Polish folklore studies, or an appreciation of their results cannot be given in this article.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. O. Sosnowski, *Uwagi o gotyckim budownictwie drzewnym w Polsce* [*Remarks on Gothic Wood Building in Poland*], 'Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury', vol. III, 1935, No. 3. Sosnowski's school included so eminent students of wood building in Poland as J. Raczyński (*Przyczynki do historii ciesielskich konstrukcji dachowych w Polsce* [*Contributions to the History of Wooden Roof Constructions in Poland*], 'Studia do Dziejów Sztuki w Polsce', vol. III, 1930), W. C. Krasowski [*Ciesielskie znaki montażowe w XV i pierwszej połowie XVI wieku* [*Carpenter's Marks in the 15th and the First Half of the 16th Century*], 'Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej', vol. V, 1957, No. 3/4; *Architektura drewniana w Polsce* [*Wood Architecture in Poland*], Warszawa 1961), W. Kalinowski, C. Krassowski, J. A. Miłobędzki, [*Z problematyki budownictwa drewnianego doby odrodzenia* [*Problems of Wood Building in the Renaissance Period*], 'Biuletyn Historii Sztuki', vol. XV, 1953, No. 3/4].

tonical, archaeological and historical. But it was only in recent years that the co-operation of historians, archaeologists and architects became closer and began to bring effects in the shape of modern scientific studies.<sup>54</sup> It was also only in recent years that adequate financial and organization foundations were provided for the development of many-sided studies. Such studies are now conducted by the Material Culture History Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and by the Mediaeval Poland Study Group of the Warsaw University and Polytechnic. It seems that traditional monographs based on formal analyses of the style of a building now belong to the past. We can hope, perhaps a little too optimistically, that modern studies of monuments of architecture will explain not only the directions of the artistic development of Polish architecture, but also technical, economic and social problems connected with Polish building.

*(Translated by Jerzy Eysymontt)*

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<sup>54</sup> This particularly applies to studies of pre-Romanesque and Romanesque architecture in Poland. In this field, the co-operation of archaeologists and architects is particularly successful. See J. Zachwatowicz, *Polska architektura monumentalna w X i XI wieku* [*Polish Monumental Architecture in the 10th and 11th Centuries*], 'Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki', vol. VI, 1961, No. 2. Cf. also A. Nadolski, A. Abramowicz, T. Poklewski, A. Kąsinowski *Łęczyckie opactwo Panny Marii w świetle badań z lat 1954—1956* [*The Virgin Mary Abbey at Łęczyca in the Light of Studies of 1954—56*], Łódź 1960.