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Ancient Engraved Gems in the National Museum in Krakow

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Introduction

The National Museum in Krakow preserves a collection of engraved gems numbering more than three thousand, which is the biggest set of this kind in Poland. The core of it is a part of the Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński cabinet acquired under very favourable conditions in 1886. This assemblage originally comprised exactly 2517 specimens including 301 gems set in various types of rings (both ancient and modern). In the same year, Mathias Bersohn (1824–1908), a Polish art and culture historian living in Warsaw, donated another sizeable collection.¹ This set, exactly 100 pieces, is made up, almost entirely, of gems with coats of arms of Polish noblemen and some post-classical intaglios. In 1903, the National Museum in Krakow incorporated the palace and the collections of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski (1828–1896), a renowned art collector and expert in numismatics. His large collection of coins and medals as well as an enormous set of precious manuscripts and books is now preserved in the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum, a department of the National Museum in Krakow.² The collector possessed 300 engraved gems.³ Similarly to Mathias Bersohn's, this assemblage comprised mostly of intaglios with coats of arms of Polish noblemen.⁴ The last rather large collec-

tion entered the Museum in 1947 when it received 212 engraved gems from Leon Kostka (see: p. 60–66). The ancient objects from this set have been included in this volume (see: nos. 50–51, 180, 218, 353–54, 357, 384, 467, 633, 687 and App. II.7).

Over the course of the National Museum's 136 years of existence various Polish collectors, archaeologists, travellers and enthusiasts of ancient art made small donations of one or several objects. However, they deposited only post-classical cameos and intaglios. The only collection containing ancient pieces was acquired by the National Museum in Krakow in 1895 from Stanisław Czajkowski. The small set included only two magical gems that were published by Joachim Śliwa.⁵ Therefore, apart from the ancient gems from the Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński and Leon Kostka collections, only one ancient cylinder seal could be included in this catalogue (no. 1). Originally, Władysław Jabłonowski donated it to the Museum of Technology and Industry in Krakow, but in 1950 the cylinder was transferred to the National Museum in Krakow together with other collections of this institution.

This situation is not surprising because collecting engraved gems was not particularly popular in Poland; the gems (especially genuine ancient ones) were not easily accessible on the Polish art market in the late nineteenth and twentieth century, contrary to numismatics, for example. The only way to obtain them was while travelling to the countries of the Mediterranean Basin or to the Near East territories (like Władysław Jabłonowski). Alternatively, one could make use of the contacts with foreigners. Leon Kostka is a good example of this. The Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński collection is an exception, but the cabinet had been created abroad where the collector had fortuitous conditions to acquire a number of ancient gems.

All the gems went through a very turbulent history, especially during the First and the Second World War. The result was a disorganised blend of the collections, but in 1950s, all the glyptic material was transferred from the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum to the new Department of the National Museum in Krakow – Department IV of Decorative Art and Material Culture (now Department N4 of Decorative

1 *Czas* 173: 3, 9 July 1886, (*Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna*), [retrieved: 27 July 2015]. Mathias Bersohn was a keen collector of artwork and craftsmanship. He donated a majority of his set to the Society for the Promotion of Fine Arts in Warsaw, but some items ended up in the National Museum in Krakow; among them were engraved gems.

2 For more information about the collector and his impressive collections, see: F. Kopera, M. Czapska, "Hutten-Czapski Emeryk." In *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 4, ed. W. Konopczyński (Warszawa-Kraków, 1938), 181–82; M. Kocójowa, "Zarys historii zbiorów Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego." In: *Rozprawy i sprawozdania Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, vol. XI, ed. Z. Gołubiewowa (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 1976), 124–84; Eadem. "Emeryk Hutten-Czapski – zbieracz i badacz rosyjskich numizmatów," *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* XX, no. 4 (1976): 193–215; Eadem. *Pamiętkom ojczystym ocalonym z burzy dziejowej: Muzeum Emeryka Hutten Czapskiego* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1978); Eadem. "The Numismatic Passion of Count Emeryk Hutten-Czapski," *Notae-Numismaticae-Zapiski Numizmatyczne* 1 (1996): 9–22; Bodzek and Popielska, *Memoriae donatorum*, 41–49; Skorupska-Szarlej, J. (ed), "*Monumentis patriae ...*": *Emerykowi Hutten-Czapskiemu w 110. rocznicę śmierci Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie* (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe, 2006); J. Bodzek, J. Nowak, A. Perzanowska, M. Woźniak, *Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego – Przewodnik* (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2013); Anon., "Niewydany katalog Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego," *Przegląd Numizmatyczny*, no. 2 (2014): 42.

3 Kiljańska, *Kolekcja gemm*, 443–52 and 817–21.

4 The only ancient piece could have been a magical gem published by Śliwa in: *Magical Gems*, no. 105, p. 123, but according to Alicja Kiljańska, the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski collection includes only two types of objects: 253 intaglios and seals bearing the coats of arms of Polish noblemen and 47 intaglios and seals with coats of arms of

the Courland aristocrats engraved upon them (Kiljańska, *Kolekcja gemm*, 443). Therefore, it seems that the magical gem attributed by Śliwa to the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski collection, in fact belonged to Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński one.

5 Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, no. 16, p. 59 and no. 69, p. 97. Stanisław Czajkowski (1878–1954) was a painter educated in Krakow and München and became a professor of the Warsaw Academy of Arts (see more: Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 8, note 7 and J. Derwojed, "Czajkowski Stanisław." In *Słownik artystów polskich*, vol. I, ed. J. Maurin-Białostocka et al. (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1971), 389–90.

Art, Material Culture and Military Items), where it has been housed until the present.⁶ The process of reconstruction of the former sets is still ongoing. In recent years, the current staff of the Department N4 has made a great effort to properly attribute a majority of the gems to their former collections.⁷

Regarding the display of the gems, only the specimens from the Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński collection were partially exhibited before the First World War (see: pp. 50–53, and 59–60 here). Now only very few late Roman and Byzantine cameos and intaglios are put on public display in the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum. Very few groups of objects have been studied and published.⁸ The National Museum in

Krakow collection of engraved gems is crucial from the both scientific and artistic points of view. It is hoped that once all the gems are elaborated and the structure of the assemblages finally reconstructed, it will be possible to show them to the broader audience on exhibition once again and make them accessible for everyone to study.

This book is a *catalogue raisonné* of ancient engraved gems assembled in the National Museum in Krakow. The project's initial aim was to elaborate only Hellenistic and Roman pieces from the Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński set, but as the work has proceeded (providing me better insight into all the collections), I came to the conclusion that it would be more sensible to write a catalogue of all the ancient engraved gems. Joachim Śliwa already published the Museum's Egyptian scarabs, amulets and magical gems in 1989, 2014 and 2015. Barbara Kaim-Malecka elaborated and published the Mesopotamian and Iranian cylinder- and stamp-seals as well as the Sassanian gems in 1993. Therefore, they are omitted in this book.⁹ Yet, recently, I and Alicja Kiljańska, and Maria Wałach from the National Museum in Krakow have been working on the gems' provenances. As a result, we discovered some previously unknown magical gems and Sassanian seals. I decided to include them in this volume in the form of two appendices at the very end of the catalogue.

6 Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 44, note 85.

7 For instance, this is the case of the Leon Kostka's collection which is completely reconstructed. The Emeryk Hutten-Czapski collection is almost completely reconstructed. The works on the Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński collection are close to being finished.

8 A brief overview of the collection was presented by: Sokołowski, *Zbiór gemmo-gliptyczny*, 179–201, Bulanda, *Kilka gemm* and Laszka, *Kolekcjonerzy i grawerzy*, 26–29. The group of 83 gems signed by modern artists was published in two articles by Fredro-Boniecka: Fredro-Boniecka, *Gemmy z podpisami cz. 1*, 278–92 and Fredro-Boniecka, *Gemmy z podpisami cz. 2*, 53–84. It is noteworthy that, presently, a new study of these objects is being prepared by Katarzyna Kopera-Banasik (emeritus employee of the National Museum in Krakow). The group of the Egyptian scarabs and magical gems from the Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński collection was presented in: J. Śliwa, *Egyptian Scarabs and Magical Gems from the Collection of Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński*, *Prace Archeologiczne*, no. 45; *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, no. 917, Warszawa-Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe/Nakład Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1989. Recently, the magical gems from the Schmidt-Ciążyński collection have been republished alongside some specimens from Leon Kostka, Stanislas Czajkowski and magical gems from other Polish collections in: Śliwa, *Magical Gems*. The group of the Egyptian scarabs has been republished together with the specimens from other Krakow Museums by the same author as well: Śliwa, *Egyptian Scarabs and Seal Amulets*. The group of Babylonian and Iranian cylinder-seals and stamps as well as Sassanian gems from the Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński collection were published by Kaim-Malecka, *Catalogue*. The Byzantine specimens from the Schmidt-Ciążyński collection were presented in two articles by Myśliński: *Sceny gonitw*, 49–54 and *Gemmy późnoantyczne*, 229–33. In addition, Dorota Malarczyk has been working on the publication of gems with Arabic and oriental inscriptions. Apart from these groups of objects, some single specimens became a subject of several articles: J. Śliwa, "Eine unbekannte Abraxasgemme aus der Sammlung von Konstantin Schmidt-Ciążyński." In *"Nubia et Oriens Christianus", Festschrift für C. Detlef G. Müller zum 60. Geburtstag*, (Köln, 1988), 445–49; Idem, "Gemma z przedstawieniem 'Pantheosa' z kolekcji Konstantego Schmidta-Ciążyńskiego," *Eos* 78 (1990): 163–67; Idem, "Bahram Gor and Azade: an unknown Sassanian gem in the collection of Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński," *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 1 (1991): 49–52; Idem, "Three magical gems with representations of Chnoubis from the collection of Konstanty Schmidt-Ciążyński," *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* 3–4 (1999): 25–30; Idem, "Gnostische Gemmen in den Krakauer Sammlungen" In *Gemme gnostiche e cultura ellenistica, Atti dell'incontro di studio*, Verona 22–23 ottobre 1999, ed. A. Mastrocinque. (Bologna: Patron, 2002), 271–79; Idem, "Gemma magiczna z formułą CTOXBΘAH z kolekcji Konstantego Schmidta-Ciążyńskiego (1818–1889)," *Classica Cracoviensia* 14 (2011): 343–49, pl. 1; P. Gołyźniak, "A Problematic Cameo with a portrait of Augustus from

the Collection of Constantin Schmidt-Ciążyński," *Notae Numismaticae-Zapiski Numizmatyczne* VIII (2013): 217–26; Gołyźniak, *Monsters*; Gołyźniak, *Three Greek*; Gołyźniak, P., Natkaniec-Nowak, L., Dumańska-Słowk, M., Naglik, B. "A multidisciplinary study of a group of post-classical cameos from the National Museum in Krakow, Poland," *Archaeometry* 58, no. 3 (June 2016): 413–26; Gołyźniak, *The Rediscovered Poniatowski Gems*.

9 It is suggested that many of the gems published by Śliwa in his books (*Egyptian Scarabs and Magical Gems* and *Magical Gems*) as magical, should be classified as regular, Roman ringstones (Henig, *Review*, 154–55) and therefore, maybe, they should be incorporated to our book. However, we mainly focused our efforts on the unpublished material.

Abstract

This book is a *catalogue raisonné* of ancient engraved gems housed in the National Museum in Krakow including also a study of the history and character of the collections. It is divided into two parts.

The first one consists of three chapters, each devoted to a collector who contributed to the National Museum in Krakow gems assemblage with ancient specimens. The first chapter presents a study of the life and collection created by Constantine Schmidt-Ciażyński (1818–1889), who was a well-known and appreciated connoisseur of Old Master paintings and antiquities, and an antiquarian active for almost fifty years in various places like St. Petersburg, Moscow, Paris, Vichy, Nice, Torino, Venice, Rome, Naples and London among others. As he approached the end of his life, he decided to select half of his very best gems and present them in 1886 to the National Museum in Krakow in exchange for a modest pension. This essay answers the question why Schmidt-Ciażyński collected gems; he attempted to create an assemblage which would reflect the development of glyptic art from the beginning up to contemporary times. He sold a part of his collection to the National Museum in Krakow because he meant the gems to be a scientific aid for the emerging academic circles of archaeologists and art historians in Krakow. The discovery of his two dactyliothecae as well as other facts confirm that Constantine should be regarded as one of the most important gem collectors of the second half of the nineteenth century alongside Count Michael Tyszkiewicz (1828–1897), Friedrich Julius Rudolf Bergau (1836–1905) and Heinrich Dressel (1845–1920). While Schmidt-Ciażyński was a collector with international reputation, Leon D. Kostka (1871–1948) is an example of a local enthusiast trading with antiquities and various curiosities (including engraved gems) in Krakow. The second chapter is devoted to his figure. His passion towards art emerged during his stay in Paris, where he studied at the College of Commerce. He attended the École du Louvre as well and visited local museums actively. Despite the fact that after the return to Poland his occupation had nothing in common with art, he bought and exchanged various pieces of art throughout his life. In 1947, he donated his collection to the National Museum in Krakow. It included 212 engraved gems, among which only a few turned out to be ancient and are presented in the charts of this book. The last chapter in the first part of the book tells the story of Władysław Jabłonowski (1841–1894). He was a Polish doctor and ethnographer as well as a traveller and amateur archaeologist active in the Near East. He donated some objects of ancient art that he excavated to various Polish museums. The National Museum in Krakow got one cylinder-seal.

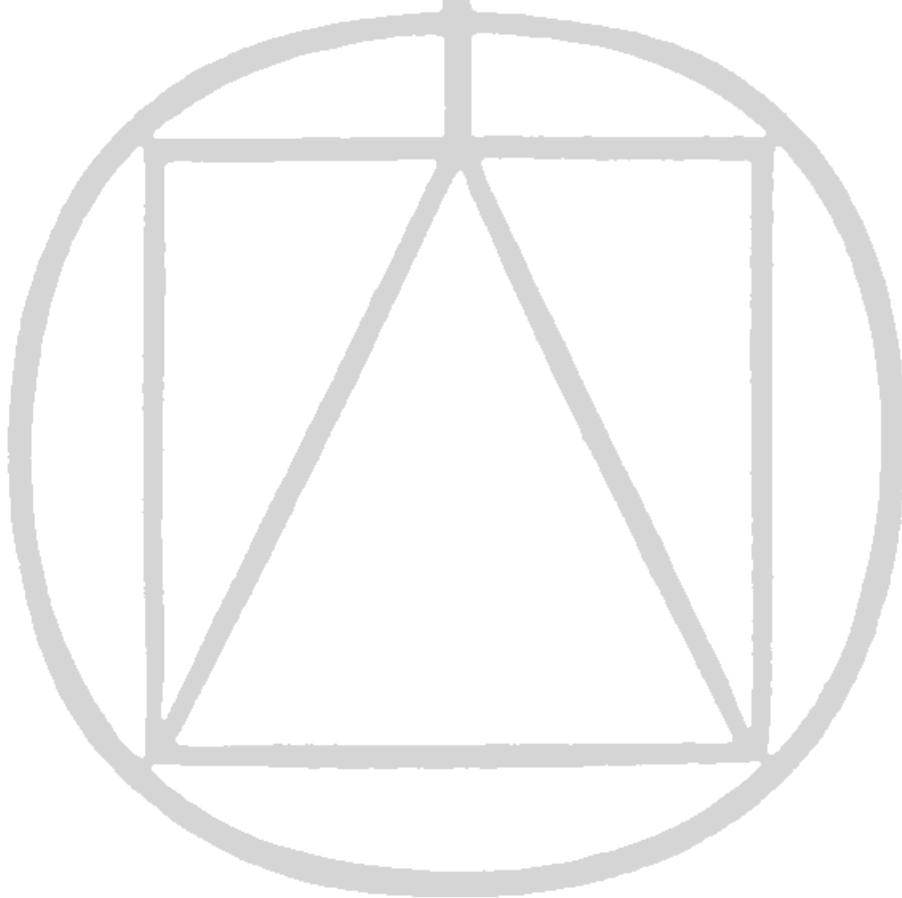
The second part of the book is a catalogue of 769 ancient gems and 7 more of uncertain dates. They concern single items

related to the Babylonian, Egyptian and Mycenaean cultures. Archaic and Classical Greek scarabs and ringstones are presented only by few specimens, but there is a rather numerous group of Hellenistic gems (with one gold finger ring and some interesting portraits of Hellenistic rulers and queens). They are followed by some Etruscan scarabs and ringstones. Next, a numerous group of Italic and Roman Republican gems is presented. Subsequently, an interesting assemblage of intaglios executed in the Augustan era is described. The largest group in the collection are gems from the Roman Imperial period. It is comprised of 424 objects of various styles and traditions; the themes vary from the representations of deities (both, as full figures as well as busts and heads) to short inscriptions cut on the surfaces of the stones. The group of Roman cameos has been distinguished separately and it includes five *Staatskameen* with portraits of the members of imperial families. The catalogue terminates with a group of eleven early Christian gems and 7 gems which dates are uncertain. Additionally, some magical and Sassanian gems and stamp-seals are included to the catalogue in the form of two appendices. Apart from very few objects, the gems presented in this book has never been investigated and published.

There are many interesting, important and valuable pieces in the collection of ancient engraved gems of the National Museum in Krakow. The cabinet significantly contributes to our knowledge of glyptic art as well as Classical culture and art in general because it includes at least some gems typical for almost every cultural circle and period of time. Although on a miniature scale, the wide spectrum of representations that appear on the gemstones gives us the unique opportunity to examine all aspects of private life, beliefs, ideas and even politics of ancient people. Furthermore, the book presents the figures of three very different collectors. The aim was not only to write their biographies, but also to present a detailed study of their collecting practices. For instance, the reconstruction of Constantine Schmidt-Ciażyński's network of contacts led to an increase in the value of some of the pieces presented in the book since it has been proved that they originate from celebrated assemblages, sometimes created as early as the seventeenth century. In addition, the essay on Constantine Schmidt-Ciażyński and his collection provides a piece of valuable information regarding the history of gem trade in general. While the Italian art market as well as Paris and London centres have been studied from various perspectives for a long time, this book gives an opportunity to see the mechanisms that ruled the art trade in lesser known places like St. Petersburg and Moscow. Finally, the chapter devoted to this collector explains Constantine motivations for collecting and goals that he set himself, which is a rare opportunity in studies on collecting practices.

Therefore, the first part of the book provides not only a sort of background for the objects presented in the catalogue section, but it is also an important contribution to the studies of the art market and attitudes towards collecting in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. In

summary, this book is intended to be useful not only for scholars interested in gems, but also those who study the history of the art market and collecting as well as all the enthusiasts of Classical art and archaeology.



The Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński collection

The recently published study by Śliwa *Catalogue of Magical Gems from the Collection of Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński and from other Polish Collections* (2014) includes the newest biography of the collector.¹⁰ The researcher assembled his previous works devoted to the life and collection of Schmidt-Ciążyński, expanded some issues and corrected the mistakes.¹¹ However, new documents discovered in the Archive of the National Museum in Krakow and the National Archive in Krakow provide deeper knowledge of some aspects of Schmidt-Ciążyński's life and occupations. The discoveries of new gems previously belonging to the collector, analysis of the *Inventory Book* (1886), two dactylotrochae partially reproducing his gems, and clues for existence of its second part contribute a lot of essential, novel information. Thus, this essay below is a comprehensive biography merged with a study of Schmidt-Ciążyński's collecting practices and political activities. Apart from Constantine's great connoisseurship and exceptional interpersonal skills, politics turns out to be the key-factor in his successful career as an art dealer. This text is designed to show the collector as a glyptics explorer and true connoisseur to boot.

Furthermore, the network of collector's contacts is reconstructed and a commentary is given on the collection as a whole. All of this helps to present Schmidt-Ciążyński as one of the key-figures of the nineteenth century gem trade and collecting, and to understand his collecting practices, goals and patriotic motives as well as willingness to contribute to the emerging circles of archaeology and art history in Krakow. Naturally, some issues still require deeper analysis or extension beyond the scope of this book. Sometimes, it proved challenging to find some information or it was impossible to establish anything more certain. There is hope that in the

course of future studies, these issues will be clarified and new information discovered.

The life of Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński

Early life

Constantine Alexander Victor Schmidt-Ciążyński was born in Warsaw on 18 February 1818.¹² He was the son of a French physician from Lorraine, Louis Schmidt and an aristocrat from Greater Poland, Louise Rosalie Ciążyńska. His father was a medical doctor in the service of the Empress Joséphine de Beauharnais, the first wife of Emperor Napoleon I. He was involved in the Emperor's military campaigns such as the assault of Somosierra in 1808. After the defeat of the Grand Army in 1812, he was held captive several times, but managed to escape and settled in Warsaw eventually. During his stay in the so-called Congress Poland, Louis fell in love with and married Louise Rosalie Ciążyńska; the reason he stayed in Warsaw for good. He became an important visiting physician for the hospitals in Krakow, Radom, Miechów and Warsaw, and slightly later in Kiev and Kamieniec Podolski.¹³ Grzegorzewski reported that Louis Schmidt took part in the Russo-Turkish war in 1828.¹⁴

The parents of Constantine must have belonged to high society due to the fact that the godparents of the collector were: Countess Alexandra née Lubomirska Potocka (the wife of Count Stanislas Kostka Potocki)¹⁵ and Constantine Pavlov-

10 Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 17–44.

11 It must be highlighted that prof. Joachim Śliwa is the person who rediscovered the figure of Schmidt-Ciążyński and who put the greatest merits into research on his collection. Compare mainly: Śliwa, *Egyptian Scarabs and Magical Gems*, 14–33 and: Idem. "Konstanty Schmidt-Ciążyński (1817–1889) i jego zbiory gliktyki starożytnej," *Filomata* 388 (1988): 418–26; Idem. "Konstanty Schmidt-Ciążyński (1817–1889). Zapomniany kolekcjoner i znawca starożytnej gliktyki," *Meander – Miesięcznik poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego* Year XLIII, nos. 9–10 (1988): 437–51; Idem. "Zur Geschichte der Gemmensammlungen im 19Jh. Die Sammlung von Konstantin Schmidt-Ciążyński (1817–1889)," In *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988*, Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1990: 402–3, pl. 61:3–4; Idem. "Schmidt-Ciążyński Konstanty." In *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 35, edited by H. Markiewicz. (Warszawa-Kraków, 1994), 554; Idem. "Konstanty Schmidt-Ciążyński (1818–1889). Zapomniany kolekcjoner i znawca starożytnej gliktyki." In *Badacze-kolekcjonerzy-podróżnicy. Studia z dziejów zainteresowań starożytniczych*, Regiony, Historia, Kultura vol. 7, ed. J. Śliwa (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2012), 301–21.

12 The exact date of Constantine's birth is written on his baptismal certificate. The ceremony took place in the church of St. Cross in Warsaw on 3 October 1818 (see: <http://metryki.genealodzy.pl/metryka.php?ar=9&zs=9243d&sy=130&ckt=4&plik=246.jpg> [retrieved 9 May 2015]). As Śliwa stated in *Magical Gems*, 17–18, note 1, the date 3 October 1817 was previously mistaken with the collector's baptism and taken as the date of his birth, but one year had been deducted (even by the authorities of Gorizia, the place where Constantine died). Śliwa's view is supported by the information given by Grzegorzewski (Grzegorzewski, *Rzeźba w klejnotach*, 339), who made it known that Schmidt-Ciążyński came into the world in Warsaw in 1818 (providing no precise date).

13 Grzegorzewski, *Rzeźba w klejnotach*, 339–40. This information is confirmed by the Mayor of Krakow, Mr. Józef Friedlein in his reply to the letter sent by Mr. Johann Ritter von Deskur on 21 November 1894, see: the National Archive in Krakow, doc. no.: 29/539/7, pp. 467–68. Apart from that, however, there is no other trace of Louis Schmidt's occupation, see: Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 18, note 2.

14 Grzegorzewski, *Rzeźba w klejnotach*, 340; Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 18, note 2. The conflict between Russia (which France and the United Kingdom later joined) and the Ottoman Empire took place in the years 1828–1829.

15 Count Stanislas Kostka Potocki (1755–1821) was a nobleman, art collector and pioneering Polish researcher in the fields of archaeology and history of art. He wrote *O sztuce u dawnych czyli Winkelman*

ich – the grand duke of Russia, viceroy of Congress Poland and the second son of Emperor Paul I, and Sophie Dorothea of Württemberg. Constantine received his first name after his godfather, whilst the second name was given to him after his godmother.¹⁶ Unfortunately, not much more is known about his family. The only person that could be tracked down was his father's uncle, a mysterious man named Kellerman, whose portrait in watercolour was donated by Constantine to the National Museum in Krakow in 1888, among other works of art and family heirlooms.¹⁷

Like his family, there is not much information about the Constantine's childhood. He is said to be an extraordinary child who inherited a gift for foreign languages from his father. Apart from his native Polish, he spoke French, Russian, Turkish and Ukrainian. At age of 10, he was already accompanying his father not only on various medical journeys around the country, but also in the aforementioned Russo-Turkish war in 1828. He played the role of a dragoman – a translator, guide and connector between the Russian army and local people. He continued mastering languages so that during his later journeys across the Europe, he was also able to speak English, German and Italian.¹⁸

The stay in Russia: Dorpat/Tartu, St. Petersburg, Moscow?

Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński studied in Dorpat (Tartu, Estonia at present), most likely in the years 1835–1839.¹⁹ The University of Dorpat was especially popular among Polish intelligence in the nineteenth century.²⁰ Therefore, it is not a surprise that Constantine's parents decided to send him there. As Śliwa states, he must have been an unenrolled student or attended to the classes for a relatively short period of time because he was never registered as an official student.²¹ However, in one of his notes (now preserved at the Archive of the National Mu-

seum in Krakow) Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński writes that he was already active in St. Petersburg in 1835 and there is no mention of the studies in Dorpat at all.²² Śliwa points out that such an early date is puzzling because Constantine was only 18 years old. He explains that the analysis of other papers related to the collector indicates the year 1839 as the beginning of his stay in St. Petersburg.²³ Besides, Grzegorzewski claimed that: 'in 1851 Schmidt-Ciążyński left St. Petersburg after a 12-years stay' – that results in 1839 eventually.²⁴ Therefore, Śliwa presumes that Constantine appeared in St. Petersburg for the first time in 1839. This issue only becomes more complicated if one analyses some newly discovered documents.

In the Archive of the National Museum in Krakow, there are two intriguing messages, three meaning letters and an interesting envelope that provide some information regarding Constantine's studies in Dorpat and the beginning of his stay in St. Petersburg (Figs. 1–6). The two messages are written by Prince Ogiński and addressed to Louis Schmidt, Constantine's father.²⁵ The first one is written in French, addressed to "A Monsieur le Docteur Schmidt" and its content is entirely personal. It broached the issue of Prince Ogiński's and Louis Schmidt's relationship.²⁶ It may be deduced that Prince Ogiński was a patient or a friend of the physician. Louis must have visited him regularly as the message is finished by the sentence: "Je Vous attends à 10.h. et demi" and Prince Ogiński used the phrase: "Tout à Vous" which sounds more personal than formal. On the document, there are two seals of Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński (this seal appears on every document which he donated to the National Museum in Krakow in 1888) and a sentence in Polish (in different ink than the message) in his handwriting: 'St. Petersburg, year 1836' (Fig. 2). The second message is written in German by

polski (1815) – based on a monumental work of J.J. Winkelmann: *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764).

16 Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 18.

17 Łuszczkiewicz, *Inwentarz*, 122, no. 770. The mentioned uncle, Kellerman, could have been François Christophe de Kellermann, first Duc de Valmy (1735–1820). Like Louis Schmidt he served in the army of Napoleon I, obtaining the marshal title. Alternatively, it could have been François Étienne Kellermann, second Duc de Valmy (1770–1835) a cavalry general serving in the army of Napoleon I.

18 Grzegorzewski, *Rzeźba w klejnotach*, 340; *Raporty Szpiega*, vol. I, 225–26, 228–29, vol. II, 49.

19 Grzegorzewski, *Rzeźba w klejnotach*, 340.

20 For more information about the University of Dorpat/Tartu see: K. Siilivask (ed.), *History of Tartu University 1632–1982*, (Tallin: Tallinn Perioodika, 1985). For more information about Polish students in Dorpat, see: R. Pullat, "Rola Uniwersytetu w Dorpacie w kształtowaniu się inteligencji polskiej w XIX w. – 1917 r.," *Zapiski Historyczne* XXXIX, no. 2 (1974): 31–40.

21 Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 18–19 and especially note 6. In 1828 the first Polish academic corporation named *Konwent Polonia* was established there. Those days it was an association of the students originating from the territories of the past Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. However, Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński was never registered to this organisation.

22 The documents related to the figure of Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński have no inventory number in the Archive of the National Museum in Krakow. They are all assembled in one block of papers with the headline 'Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński'. These documents were given to the National Museum in Krakow by the collector in 1888. The document evoked here is a list of sellers from whom Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński purchased intaglios and cameos. It includes 64 names and starts with a group of people from St. Petersburg with the annotation 'since 1835'.

23 Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 19, note 7.

24 Grzegorzewski, *Rzeźba w klejnotach*, 341.

25 The sender is most likely Prince Tadeusz Ogiński (1800–1884) who was a composer like his very famous father Prince Michał Kleofas Ogiński (1765–1833). After the November Uprising (1830–1831), he moved firstly to Vilnius and then to St. Petersburg where he lived with his brother Xavier Ogiński (1798–1837).

26 The message is as follows: "*Mon chère Docteur! Je suis tout étonné de ce que Vous m'avez écrit. Vous avez vu que j'ai fait pour Vous hier matin, tout ce que j'ai joué l'oublier. Enfin Vous connaissez l'état de mes affaires, tout aussi bien que moi. = Venez, je Vous prie chez moi. Vous ne doutez pas, que je ferai pour Vous tout ce que je pourrai. Si Vous ne venez pas, je croirai que Vous êtes fêché contre moi et Vous n'avez pas raison de l'être. Je Vous attends à 10.h. et demi. Tout à Vous Prince Ogiński*"

the same hand as the French one.²⁷ It is signed 'Fürst Ogiński', so the author evidently is the same person. This letter was clearly sent by a messenger. The writer complains about a bill of the sum of 15 rubles. Perhaps the word 'Ma[?]ler' stands for a person to whom the money was to be paid. Again, Prince Ogiński offers an appointment to Louis Schmidt between 9 and 10 o'clock. Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński's seal again appears twice accompanied by the sentence (in different ink than the message): 'St. Petersburg 1838 year' (Figs. 3–4). It is important to notice that, originally, there were no dates or addresses on those messages.²⁸ They appear to be very brief notices exchanged between two people living close to each other (e.g. in the same city).

The aforementioned three letters are addressed to Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński himself, not to his father. The letter dated 1 March 1838 is written in German by Leonhardt Höhlenberg, a merchant from St. Petersburg, saying that Schmidt-Ciążyński was employed as his assistant for 5 years, had good manners and did a good job (Fig. 5).²⁹ Two more letters were sent to Constantine by a mysterious person (L. Oppermann?) from St. Petersburg in 1839. The first is an invitation to visit the house of the sender who must have been a friend of the collector (Fig. 6).³⁰ The interesting thing is that the wife of General Volkov is mentioned in the document. General

Volkov can be found on the list of people from whom Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński acquired engraved gems during his stay in Russia.³¹ In the second letter, the writer informs Schmidt-Ciążyński that he will not be in the country in the near future and proposes that instead he should visit his father and mother-in-law (Fig. 7).³² Finally, an interesting envelope has survived. It is sealed by Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński and his name ('C. Schmidt') is written on it. The item was signed by the collector most likely in 1888 as: 'the evidence from the year 1835 from St. Petersburg'.

In conclusion, the correspondence between Prince Tadeusz Ogiński and Louis Schmidt suggests that Constantine's family moved to St. Petersburg. Louis Schmidt clearly visited the Prince in the city regularly and he could have done this only if he lived there, certainly since 1836, maybe even earlier (1835 or 1833 or even in 1831?). Noteworthy is also the fact that the Mayor of Krakow, Mr. Józef Friedlein in his reply to the letter sent by Mr. Johann Ritter von Deskur on 21 November 1894 informs that Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński lived in St. Petersburg in the years 1836–1839.³³ Perhaps it was after the November Uprising (1830–1831) when Constantine's whole family moved to St. Petersburg. Although there is no direct information about the involvement of Louis Schmidt or his wife Louise Rosalie Ciążyńska or Constantine himself in this military affair, in one of his notes the collector writes: *"Already in my childhood I had a great passion for the fine arts, but having no funds, because my parents lost their fortune, nothing more left to me than having the hope to purchase some for the money I spent for living. Therefore, I decided to start to work very early and I proceeded to fulfill my dreams by saving the money scrupulously."*³⁴ One guesses that his parents lost their fortune in the course of the Uprising and then they moved to St. Petersburg where Louis continued his career as a physician (like Prince Tadeusz Ogiński did, see: note 25 here).³⁵ This would explain

27 *"Guten Morgen lieber Schmidt! Da Sie einmal selbst [darauf] bestanden haben, daß ich brauche nicht dem Ma[?]ler zu bezahlen, da verstehe ich nicht, wozu ich jetzt 15.Rubl. umsonst herauszugeben soll. Da mir aber die Sache gänzlich fremd und unbekannt ist, so wäre es am besten, wenn wir uns darüber abreden möchten mündlich. Desto mehr, daß ich habe etwas wichtiges Ihnen zu sagen. Eine Stunde lang, nämlich bis 10. Uhr, will ich Ihnen, lieber Doktor erwarten in meiner Wohnung
Ihr ergebenster Diener
Fürst Ogynski"*

I am deeply grateful to Erika Zwierlein-Diehl who read this message and helped me to understand it.

28 As mentioned above, the later insertions including the place, the year, and the seals were added by Constantine himself most likely in 1888, when he sent all the documents related to his cabinet of gems to Krakow (see: p. 52, note 254 here).

29 *"Daß Vorzeiger dieses, der Herr Constantin Schmidt, binnen fünf Jahre bey mir Unterzeichneten als Gehülfe in Condition gewesen ist, und sich während dieser Zeit hindurch, nicht nur das Lob einer vollkommen guten Aufführung erworben; sondern auch seine Geschäfte, mit Aufmerksamkeit und Fleiß zu jeder Zeit pflichtmäßig betrieben so, daß derselbe verdient hiermit bey Jederman zu seinem ferneren Unternehmen empfohlen zu werden. Solches bescheinige hier mit mit meines Namens Unterschrift, und Beydrückung meines Petschafts.
St. Petersburg den 1sten Maerz 1838.*

*Hiesiger Kaufmann
Leonhardt Höhlenberg"*

I am grateful to Erika Zwierlein-Diehl who kindly read the writing and helped to ascertain what this and the two next documents are about.

30 *"Bester Herr Schmid! Es thut uns unendlich leid, daß sie vergangenen Sonntag[?] bey uns zu mittag nach Ihre [?] haben, daher bitte ich Sie recht sehr [?] uns Mit[t]woch d. 25ten zu besuchen. Mein Schwieger-Vater läßt sie bitten Mit[t]woch um 12 Uhr mit Ihrem Kleinen zu ihm zu kommen und er bringt Sie hierher und wieder zurück in seiner[?] Calèche. Mein [?] Schwieger Vater wohnt in der Calomna[?] gegenüber Nicolo Mortday[?] im Haus der Generalin Wolkoff, fragen*

sie nach dem Mirten[?]. – Adieu bis Mit[t]woch ich hoffe[?] bestimmt das Vergnügen zu haben Sie zu sehen.

*Ihr sehr ergebener
L. Oppe[?]"*

31 See: p. 36, note 70 here.

32 *"1838 1 July Bester Herr Schmid! Damit sie nicht umsonst den Weg zu mir aufs Land machen, so benachrichtige ich Sie, daß ich auf längere Zeit jetzt ins Lagn[?] fahre, bis ich es Ihnen wissen lasse bemühen Sie sich nicht aufs Land zu mir zu kommen, wenn Sie aber Zeit haben alsdann besuchen Sie meinen Schwieger [?] Vater u. meine Schwieger Mutter in ihrem Hause in der Stadt. Sie essen [?] um 3 Uhr. Adieu leben Sie wohl bis auf Wiedersehen
Ihr ergebener
[?] L. Oppe[?]"*

33 See: the National Archive in Krakow, doc. no.: 29/539/7, pp. 467–68.

34 This document is now preserved in the Archive of the National Museum in Krakow. It is basically devoted to the dispute between Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński and Count Władysław Plater (see pp. 48–52 here), but with some retrospective narration.

35 Regarding the reason why Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński moved to St. Petersburg, his own involvement into the November Uprising is denied by the Mayor of Krakow, Mr. Józef Friedlein in his reply to the letter sent by Mr. Johann Ritter von Deskur on 21 November

why Constantine later entered the State Hermitage Museum and why he was so well connected with the very best art collectors living in St. Petersburg those days. It is possible that part of those contacts had been already established by his father like the contact with the Prince.

Constantine's mention of being active in St. Petersburg in 1835 should not be ignored. The three letters and the envelope described above suggest that he knew some people from St. Petersburg (maybe even from Moscow! – General Volkov) and kept in contact with them. Moreover, the recommendation letter by Leonhardt Höhlenberg seems to be incontestable proof that Constantine started living (probably with his family) in St. Petersburg in 1833 or 1835 and that he could be engaged in the art trade very early.³⁶ It also proves what the collector says about his family and lack of money to be truth. Only Grzegorzewski mentioned Constantine's studies in Dorpat in the years 1835–1839; no other source confirms that. Maybe then, Schmidt-Ciążyński had already started living in St. Petersburg in 1833 or 1835 and was just visiting Dorpat for short periods of time (like an academic semester) to study there or enrolled as a student, but must have quickly resign. This could have been the reason he had not been listed among the regular students.

Taking into account Constantine's further occupation in St. Petersburg, it can be only speculated that on the one hand, he could have learnt some arts in Dorpat. However, on the other hand, Grzegorzewski wrote that after studies he was able to pursue either a diplomatic or military career.³⁷ It seems to be more probable that he studied something related to these kinds of occupations, whereas art history and conservation could have been practiced later during his stay cooperation with Leonhardt Höhlenberg and at the State Hermitage Museum.³⁸ Nevertheless, because of his resistance to instruction, he decided to remain independent. Therefore, he moved (or rather went back) to St. Petersburg in 1839 where he pursued a career in the arts.³⁹

During his stay in Russia, Constantine worked as a supernumerary, extraordinary employee at the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. He entered the very famous and exclusive school of the restorers of the Old Master paintings.⁴⁰

Constantine worked under the supervision of the famous Eduard L. Sievers.⁴¹ He was given free rein to choose the subject of his work and could leave Sievers' atelier at any time. His skills must have been greatly appreciated because Sievers' workshop focused on one of the most demanding and difficult techniques of painting restoration – the transfer of a painting from old canvas or wood panels to new ones.⁴² This privileged position might have been due to the contacts established by his parents.

Constantine stayed in Russia until 1851. During this rather long period of time, he acquired not only particular skills in

Labensky (1769–1850), the curator of the Hermitage Picture Gallery from 1797 till 1850, arranged a restoration studio with a permanent staff to work on the Imperial painting collection. Labensky's assistant, a restorer Andrey Filippovich Mitrokhin (1766–1845) was nominated as the first supervisor of this school. After his death in 1845, his successor was Fedor Tabuntsov (1810–1861). For more information, see: M. Nikogosyan, "The Restoration of Paintings at the Imperial Hermitage (Saint-Petersburg) at the Beginning of the 19th Century." In *La restauration des oeuvres d'art en Europe entre 1789 et 1815: pratiques, transferts, enjeux. Actes du colloque international tenu à l'Université de Genève en octobre 2010*, ed. N. Étienne (CeROArt (Conservation, exposition, Restauration d'Objets d'Art), 2012) [<http://ceroart.revues.org/2344?lang=en#ftn3>, retrieved on 15 May 2015].

41 Grzegorzewski, *Rzeźba w klejnotach*, 340 mentions only the name of famous Sievers. This must be Eduard L. Sievers (?–13 June 1868). He was a Danish citizen, who later received Russian citizenship (in 1857?). He was one of the assistants of Fedor Tabuntsov and his successor in the position of mechanical parts restorer in the school starting in 1861. He transferred paintings such as: 'Lamentation of Christ' by Sebastiano del Piombo or 'Susanna and the Elders' workshop of Rubens in 1849. For more information, see: A. B. Aleshin, *станковой масляной живописи в России. Ленинград, Художник/Restoration of easel oil painting in Russia, (Leningrad, 1989)*; M. N. Nikoghosian, *Экспертиза картин, переведенных на новое основание. Особенности техники перевода в России 19 века/Examination of paintings, transferred into new ground. Features of technology transfer in Russia from the 19th century*, [<http://pandia.org/text/77/495/48727.php>, retrieved on 15 May 2015]. In addition, Eduard L. Sievers conducted the restoration of the central ceiling 'The Ascension of Christ' in the Church of Resurrection in the Grand Palace at Tsarskoye Selo after the fire in 1863 (see: N. G. Korshunova, "Плафон 'Вознесение Христа' в церкви Воскресения Христова Большого Царскосельского дворца/Diffuser 'The Ascension of Christ' in the church of the Resurrection of the Big Palace at Tsarskoye Selo," In *Proceedings of the conference 'Museum Memorial Church' (St. Petersburg, December 5–6, 2005)*, 2005, 77–86. I owe my gratitude to Elena Arsenyeva from the State Hermitage Museum for her kind help in finding information about Sievers and Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński activities in the Hermitage.

42 The restorers used to sign the paintings that they transferred providing the date of the process and place where it was done. However, no painting signed by Schmidt-Ciążyński was found in the State Hermitage Museum. This may be due to the fact that only a part of the Hermitage collection of Old Master paintings has been analysed from this perspective so far. Sometimes the names of restorers are hidden under the frame while a number of signatures are illegible or have been badly preserved. I am very much indebted to Elena Arsenyeva from the State Hermitage Museum for her kind assistance in the research.

1894, see: the National Archive in Krakow, doc. no.: 29/539/7, pp. 467–68. He writes as follows: 'Concerning the reasons why he moved to St. Petersburg, he [Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński] never said, but he also never mentioned to take a part in the events of 1830'.

36 If the collector specified the dates of some documents only in 1888, it is easy to imagine that he could have made a mistake after such a long period of time. However, it seems to be enough proof to claim that he was in St. Petersburg earlier than 1839.

37 Grzegorzewski, *Rzeźba w klejnotach*, 340.

38 Leonhardt Höhlenberg could have been an art dealer (see p. 33, note 29 here). Perhaps then he introduced Constantine to the world of art trade.

39 Grzegorzewski, *Rzeźba w klejnotach*, 340; Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 19.

40 The beginning of the nineteenth century was a period of formation of restoration school in Russia and the very first atelier was established in the State Hermitage Museum. In 1819, Franz Xawery

painting restoration, but he also worked as a sculptor.⁴³ Since the very beginning of his stay, the collector was deeply involved in the trade of antiquities and various works of art.⁴⁴ Although there is no premise indicating that he founded any antique shop, he was surely taking active part in the trade. He became a more and more recognisable figure and specialist not only in terms of Italian Old Master paintings, but also Spanish, French, Dutch and Flemish ones as well as graphics and prints.⁴⁵ There, in St. Petersburg, Constantine started to collect engraved gems as well and promptly became a renowned specialist in glyptics. He was said to have possessed a considerable number of intaglios and cameos and his antiquarian activity was aimed at giving him financial independence.⁴⁶ In the scanty documentation related to Schmidt-Ciążyński's person, there is an extremely valuable note written by the collector himself where he listed 64 names of people from whom he purchased intaglios and cameos (Figs. 8–11).⁴⁷ His contractors are arranged not chronologically, but according to the place in which Constantine purchased from them. Regarding his stay in St. Petersburg, he mentioned 22 names including people from the highest social circles: Prince Urusov – 1839,⁴⁸ Countess Uvarov –

1846,⁴⁹ Count Shuvalov,⁵⁰ Prince Constantine Kantakuzen,⁵¹ General Derier,⁵² General Annienkov,⁵³ professor Müller,⁵⁴

43 Unfortunately, no trace of this activity has been found so far, see: Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 20, note 9.

44 Note the very early purchase from Prince Ursov[Urusov] in 1839 listed in the document described below and the recommendation letter from Leonhardt Höhlenberg (see: p. 33 here). Although the document does not specify which branch of trade was performed by Höhlenberg, there is a chance that he was an art dealer.

45 Rosset de, *Polskie kolekcje*, 280. The above mentioned fame acquired as the renovator of Italian Old Master paintings is also confirmed by the fact that, although considerably later (1883), Constantine donated some paintings of this kind to the Society of the Friends of the Sciences in Poznań (see: p. 49, note 222 here and Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 27–29, note 33). Among them were for instance: Madonna with the infant by Cesare da Sesto (though recently attributed to Antonio Pirri, see: M. Skubiszewska, *Malarstwo obce XVI-XVIII w. Wystawa malarstwa włoskiego, flamandzkiego i holenderskiego ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu, Koszalin 1962*, Catalogue (Poznań: Muzeum Narodowe; Koszalin: Muzeum w Koszalinie, 1962), no. 9; M. Skubiszewska, "Atrybucje kilku obrazów włoskich z Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu," *Studia Muzealne* 4 (1964): 25–26, fig. 22). The official document including acknowledgments for the donation to Poznań as well as three letters written by the director of the Society of the Friends of the Sciences in Poznań, are now preserved in the Archive of the National Museum in Krakow. In addition, Constantine's particular connoisseurship in terms of Spanish, French, Dutch and Flemish paintings as well as graphics, cartoons, watercolours etc. is also confirmed by the additional works of art handed over to the National Museum in Krakow just before the sale of his collection of engraved gems there (see pp. 49–50, note 229 here). It is known that the collector also possessed a considerable (almost 40 objects) collection of Old Master paintings (see pp. 48–49, note 220 here).

46 Grzegorzewski, *Rzeźba w klejnotach*, 341.

47 Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 36–37, notes. 59–69. On this note, Constantine stated that he bought engraved gems in St. Petersburg from 1835–1851. The document is now preserved in the Archive of the National Museum in Krakow.

48 According to Schmidt-Ciążyński's information, he purchased: 'A large topaz by Berini executed on the commission of his father-in-law, Count Tatishchev in 1839 for the amount of 4500

francs [the price is that agreed between Berini and Count Tatishchev]'. The mentioned 'Count Tatishchev' certainly is an employee at the Russian Embassy in Vienna and a famous art collector, Count Dmitry Tatishchev Pavlovich (1767–1845), see: O. Neverov, "Дактилютека дипломата Татищева/Dactylithoteca of the diplomatist Tatishchev," *Sovetskii muzei* no. 2 (1987): 65–66 (in Russian); Kagan, *Gem Engraving*, 6 and 439. He had a sister, Catherine Pavlovna Tatisheva (1768–1815), who was the wife of Prince Alexander Mikhailovich Urusov (1766–1853). Constantine may have acquired the mentioned topaz by Berini from their son Prince Mikhail Alexandrovich Urusov (1802–1883) since he was the confidant of Count Dmitry Tatishchev Pavlovich's debts and could get some gems from the ambassador as a sort of repayment or in an act of a personal gift (although we did not find any clue that Prince Mikhail married daughter of Count Dmitry Tatishchev, it seems possible). In any case, they were family; the gem could have also been passed to Prince Mikhail through his mother). The large (53 x 48 mm) topaz mentioned by Schmidt-Ciążyński bears a bust of Caius Cilnius Maecenas (ca. 70–8 BC) and is signed on the right shoulder: BERINI (inv. no.: MNK Ew-IV-Zl-1023). Two impressions of this gem exist. One is now preserved in the Medagliere delle Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche in Milan and on its backside, there is an information that this work was done on the commission, see: Tassinari, *Incisori in pietre dure*, 43 fig. 9 and also p. 45. The second cast is now in the Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, see: Tassinari, *Iconografie "antiche"*, 96, fig. 7. This intaglio proves that Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński did not sell all his gems while he was leaving St. Petersburg in 1851, see p. 38, note 95 here.

49 Listed as: 'de domo Razumovskaya who inherited a collection of engraved gems numbering 43 pieces from her brother. I acquired them and then incorporated only 12 the best ones into my own collection'. Catherine Alexeyevna Razumovskaya (1783–1849) wife of Count Sergey Semionovich Uvarov (1786–1855) seems to be the best candidate. Apart from the name Uvarov on the list, in Schmidt-Ciążyński's collection there are two gems recorded as 'from the Razumowski collection'. They may be related to Catherine Alexeyevna Razumovskaya as well (maybe they are the trace of this acquisition?). It is a noteworthy fact that her husband, Count Sergey Semionovich Uvarov, was appointed Deputy Minister of the National Education in 1832, succeeding his father-in-law Count Razumovsky (the father of Catherine – Andrey Kirillovich Razumovsky (1752–1836)). The father was an envoy to Naples and owner of gems by Nathaniel Marchant, see: Kagan, *Gem Engraving*, 4 and 204. In the collection of Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński there are two intaglios by Marchant which perhaps once belonged to Count Razumovsky as well, see: Fredro-Boniecka, *Gemmy z podpisami cz. 2*, 76–78, pl. II.7 and 10.

50 Listed as: 'Count Shuvalov (P:P) who was married to Countess Naryszkin. Her mother was de domo Potocka'. This must be Count Pyotr Pavlovich Shuvalov (1819–1900) who was a large landowner belonging to the younger branch of Shuvalov family. In 1846, he married Sophia Lvovna Naryshkina (1829–1894), the only daughter of Lieutenant-General Lev Alexandrovich Naryshkin (1785–1846) and Countess Olga Stanislavovna Potocka (1802–1861).

51 Constantin Cantacuzino (?–died 1877) – a kaymakam and ruler of Wallachia briefly in 1848?

52 Listed as: 'a famous collector', unidentified person.

53 General Nicholas Nikolayevich Annenkov (1799–1865) or his son General Mikhail Nikolayevich Annenkov (1835–1899), listed as: 'a famous collector'.

54 Listed as: 'a professor at the university', unidentified person.

architects: de Montferrant⁵⁵ and Poirot,⁵⁶ antiquarians: Negri (Sen.) – 1840,⁵⁷ Palazzi (Sen.) – 1841,⁵⁸ Tamisier,⁵⁹ Provotorov,⁶⁰ goldsmiths and jewellers: Balin,⁶¹ Vaillant,⁶² Thomas⁶³ and other collectors like Troubat,⁶⁴ Civillatti,⁶⁵ Revett,⁶⁶ Zubrov,⁶⁷

Kononov.⁶⁸ In addition, the collector mentioned several people from Moscow: Vlasov,⁶⁹ Volkov,⁷⁰ Rodionov,⁷¹ Kirsunov,⁷² Kar-aeu,⁷³ Zanini,⁷⁴ Sonstov,⁷⁵ Bardin⁷⁶ and Billoin.⁷⁷ Perhaps then, Constantine lived not only in St. Petersburg, during that period of time, as it is believed,⁷⁸ but also in Moscow for a while, or at least he visited the city regularly.⁷⁹ The existence of such a great number of gem collectors from Moscow seems to prove the first option. It appears that Schmidt-Ciążyński mentions only the more important names of his sellers from places where he spent a longer period of time (compare the high number of collectors from Italy or Paris – pp. 40–44 here).

This list of names gives us fascinating insight into the Russian gem trade and the circulation of works of arts in this area in general. The imperial court's involvement into the collecting and production of cameos and intaglios is well documented since the eighteenth century.⁸⁰ But our knowledge of other Russian people keen to produce and collect engraved gems is considerably smaller. Therefore, it is interesting to see that not

55 Listed as: 'Demonferant, an architect who designed Saint Isaac's Cathedral. He was a famous collector and archaeologist'. The person mentioned is Auguste de Montferrand (1786–1858) who was a French Neoclassical architect working primarily in Russia. His two best known works are the Saint Isaac's Cathedral and the Alexander Column in St. Petersburg. He was a keen art collector mainly interested in Greek and Roman sculpture. See: V. K. Shuiskii, *Огюст Монферран: история жизни и творчества/Auguste de Montferrand: The Story of the Life and Work*, (in Russian), (Moscow, 2005). It seems that he appreciated engraved gems as well, some of his gems reached T. W. Kibaltchitch's collection, see for instance: Kibaltchitch, *Gemmes de la Russie*, no. 269, p. 49, pl. VIII.

56 Unidentified person. According to Schmidt-Ciążyński's list, it is known only that he was an assistant of Auguste de Montferrand. Constantine purchased a gem from him with head of Homer cut by Pichler (see: Fredro-Boniecka, *Gemmy z podpisami cz. 1*, no. 6, p. 282, pl. 1 – as bust of Sophocles, but it looks more like Homer indeed).

57 According to Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński's information, he was an Italian. Perhaps, he was a father of the Italian/American gem-engraver Ottavio Negri (?–1924), see: Kagan, *Gem Engraving*, 260.

58 Listed as: 'an antiquarian', unidentified person but judging by the name he was an Italian.

59 Listed as: 'having an antique shop where he was dealing antiquities', unidentified person.

60 Listed as: 'a famous antiquarian', unidentified person.

61 Listed as: 'a jeweller working on the Imperial Court in Bolshoi Moscow' (or rather meant near Bolshoi Theatre, the location of his workshop?), unidentified person.

62 Listed as: 'a famous goldsmith from Paris', unidentified person.

63 Listed as: 'a goldsmith and famous collector'. Could this be Vaughan Thomas, author of *Thoughts on the Cameos and Intaglios of Antiquity, suggested by a sight and survey of the Blenheim Collection by a Lover of the Fine Arts*. Oxford, 1847? See: Kagan, *Gem Engraving*, 244.

64 Listed as: 'an administrator of the properties of Mr Demidoff' (Anatoly Nikolaievich Demidoff, First Prince of San Donato (1813–1870), see: p. 44, note 164 here), unidentified person.

65 Listed as: 'an administrator of the properties of Mr Demidoff', it cannot be Antonio Civillotti (see: p. 42, note 140 here), unidentified person.

66 Unidentified person, but he is listed as 'a supplier of Prince Yusupov' (most likely Prince Nikolai Borisovich Yusupov (1827–1891), Marshal of the Imperial Court and a patron of the arts. He assembled a large collection of jewellery, including a 35.27 carat (7.2g), cushion cut, blue diamond known as the *Morocco Sultan*), see: Kagan, *Gem Engraving*, 5 and no. 31, p. 290. His wife, Tatyana Vasilevna Yusupova, née Engelhardt, later Princess Potemkina (1828–1879) was also a keen collector of intaglios and built her own cabinet, see: Kagan, *Gem Engraving*, 312. Perhaps, this supplier took part in the sale of the Stanislas August Poniatowski (1764–1795) collections of works of art (see: Laska, *Kolekcjonerzy i grawerzy*, 21; Neverov, *Kolekcje*, 65) and purchased some cameos and intaglios for Prince Yusupov. Although we were unable to identify any gems once belonging to the last King of Poland in Schmidt-Ciążyński's cabinet, one cannot exclude a possibility that they reached it through Yusupov collection (292 gems once in the royal collection had been catalogued by Jan Albertandi (1731–1808) but the descriptions are far too laconic to make any secure identification, see: Batowski, *Katalog*, 397–415).

67 Listed as: 'amateur of antiquities', unidentified person.

68 Listed as: 'a collector and archaeologist', unidentified person.

69 Listed as: 'a great collector whose sets gained European fame', unidentified person. Most likely a descendant of chamberlain A. Vlasov, a gem collector who in 1798 purchased some cameos and intaglios at the sale of the Stanislas August Poniatowski (1764–1795) collection (see: Laska, *Kolekcjonerzy i grawerzy*, 21; Neverov, *Kolekcje*, 65). We were unable to identify any gems once belonging to the last King of Poland in Schmidt-Ciążyński's cabinet, but one cannot exclude such a situation (292 gems once in the royal collection had been catalogued by Jan Albertandi (1731–1808) but the descriptions are far too laconic to make any secure identification, see: Batowski, *Katalog*, 397–415).

70 Unidentified person, listed as: 'the best antiquarian who has billions of rubles in his studio. He possessed the best objects of art of all kinds'. The name of his wife appears in one of the letters addressed to Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński from a mysterious person in St. Petersburg, see: p. 33 here.

71 Listed as: 'also a great antiquarian and archaeologist', unidentified person.

72 Listed as: 'a numismatist and archaeologist', unidentified person.

73 Listed as: 'a collector and numismatist', unidentified person.

74 Giannini? Listed as: 'an antiquarian from Lucca', unidentified person but his name and the city indicate Italian nationality.

75 Listed as: 'a numismatist', unidentified person.

76 Listed as: 'a numismatist', unidentified person.

77 Listed as: 'an antiquarian'. Śliwa (*Magical Gems*, 37, note 61) refers to the auction from 22–26 March 1886 (Lugt III, no. 45547), but there is insufficient information given to link it with the Billoin mentioned by Schmidt-Ciążyński. Lugt listed two more auctions where the name Billoin appears (III, nos. 51781 and 52471). None of these can be securely connected with the name mentioned by our collector neither. All these three auctions were held in Paris in the period of time when Constantine ceased to assemble engraved gems or was already dead.

78 Rosset de, *Polskie kolekcje*, 38; Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 19–20.

79 Ludwik Hass wrote that Constantine lived for a long time in both St. Petersburg and Moscow, but he did not present any proof of this, see: Hass, *Wohomularze*, 442.

80 On the collecting, see for instance: Kagan, Neverov, *Le destin*. On the production of engraved gems in imperial workshops, see: J. Kagan, *Cameos of the Ural Stone-Carvers*, (St. Petersburg, 1994); J. Kagan, *The Art of the Cameo at the Imperial Gem Cutting Workshops: Peterhof, Ekaterinburg, Kolyvan*, (St. Petersburg: ARS Publishing House, 2003).

only the affluent and influential people were collecting intaglios and cameos in those days but also those from poorer and less important social circles. A typical feature concerning the Russian art market is the presence of many amateur archaeologists. Sometimes they were regular scholars, but mostly not; rather travellers and enthusiasts of ancient civilisations. This phenomenon occurred among Poles as well and was typical for the nineteenth century.⁸¹ While the Poles of this time mainly travelled to Italy, Greece and the Near East, the Russians' destination certainly was the coast of the Black Sea where they could easily obtain interesting objects either conducting their own fieldworks or buying the items at the local markets. They even bought them directly from the local people. But above all, the most interesting information is that some serious Russian collectors were patrons of the European gem engravers. They tended to commission gems from the best artists like Luigi Pichler⁸² or Antonio Berini.⁸³

Another conclusion is that despite his young age, Schmidt-Ciążyński established contacts with the elites in short order. This is another argument for the hypothesis that the collector was active in St. Petersburg earlier than previously suspected. He managed to obtain a good education, was hired as an extraordinary employee at the State Hermitage Museum and quickly became a crucial player in the Russian art market. Considering his young age and difficult economic situation, this could not be obtained without some support from his parents.⁸⁴ Perhaps the fact that his father lived in St. Petersburg in 1836 (maybe even earlier) and knew the significant figures helped him a lot. The connections with the Russian elite and the knowledge that the collector acquired during his stay in St. Petersburg several years later made him a very dangerous agent and useful spy for the Polish Emigration.⁸⁵

Apart from the list described above, Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński's fame and great importance in the St. Petersburg art market is confirmed by another fact. Count Sergius Dolgorukij (half-brother of tsar Nicolas I of Russia) offered to design the artistic mansion where Count's collection of artwork would be displayed.⁸⁶ However, Constantine rejected this proposal and set off on a journey across Europe. He was another representative of the *Grand Tour* phenomenon.⁸⁷ Very little is known about that trip, but Schmidt-Ciążyński came back to St. Petersburg with an impressive collection of drawings, engravings and, of course, engraved gems. It can be only speculated when exactly it took place. Perhaps, it was in 1842 when Constantine left St. Petersburg as two intaglios survived in his collection which previously belonged to the famous and influential English collector, Dr. George Frederick Nott (see: nos. 22 and 110 in the catalogue part).⁸⁸ The engraved gems and coins, as well as other items from Nott's collection were auctioned off from February to June 1842 at Sotheby's in London.⁸⁹ It cannot be excluded that Schmidt-Ciążyński took part in the sale and acquired some objects. Nevertheless, the aforementioned gems could have entered his collection much later as well. For instance, he could have acquired some of the Nott's gems through the Bram Hertz or Tobias von Biehler's collections.⁹⁰ Furtwängler wrote that Bram Hertz purchased the gems from Dr. Nott's assemblage at auction in London in

81 For more information about the practices of Polish amateur archaeologists, see for instance: Mikocki, *Najstarsze kolekcje* – with further literature; Idem. *A la recherche de l'art antique: les voyageurs polonais en Italie dans les années 1750–1830*, (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, 1988); D. Kozłowska-Donder, *I viaggi dei polacchi in Italia attraverso i secoli*, (Biblioteca del Viaggio in Italia "Studi", 2006).

82 See: note 56 here. Considering the dates provided by Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński on his list, the mentioned Pichler must be Luigi Pichler (1773–1854), see for instance: H. Rollet, *Die drei Meister der Gemmolyptik, Antonio, Giovanni und Luigi Pichler*, (Wien: W. Braumüller, 1874); G. Tassinari, *Le pitture delle Antichità di Ercolano nelle gemme del XVIII e XIX secolo/The Paintings of the Antichità di Ercolano in 18th and 19th century Gem-Carving*, (Napoli: Associazione Internazionale Amici di Pompei, 2015), 90–92 (with further literature).

83 See: note 48 above and p. 42, note 142 below. Antonio Berini (1770–1861) was an Italian gem-engraver, working under Giovanni Pichler in Rome and later in Milan. For more information, see: Tassinari, *Incisori in pietre dure*, 27–49 (with further literature); Eadem. "La collezione di calchi di intagli e cammei di Antonio Berini ai Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte di Trieste," *Atti dei Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte di Trieste* 22 (2006–10): 449–74; Eadem. *Iconografie "antiche"*, 78–115 (with further literature).

84 See p. 33 here.

85 See: pp. 40 and 45 here; Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 24.

86 Śliwa, *Magical Gems*, 20.

87 The *Grand Tour* as the highly popular way to obtain life experience, broaden horizons and establish contacts with various people of importance, was practiced by young aristocrats. It also affected glyptic art a great deal, see for instance: G. Tassinari, "I ritratti dei viaggiatori del *Grand Tour* sugli intagli e i cammei di Giovanni Pichler," *Bolletino del C. I. R. V. I.* 51, no. 1 (2005): 11–79; K. London, "Glyptomania: Cameo and Intaglio Jewellery in the Age of the Grand Tour," *Newsletter of the American Society of Jewellery History* 28, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 3–7; G. Tassinari, *I viaggiatori del Grand Tour e le gemme di Giovanni Pichler* (Biblioteca del Viaggio in Italia; Bibliothèque du Voyage en Italie), Centro Interuniversitario di Ricerche sul Viaggio in Italia, (Moncalieri: Centro interuniversitario di ricerche sul "Viaggio in Italia," 2015).

88 Dr. George Frederick Nott (1767–1841) was a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford and Canon of Winchester (1810–1841) and since 1803 sub-preceptor to Princess Charlotte of Wales. For more information on his figure, see: Kagan, *Gem Engraving*, 236; Villani, *George Frederick Nott*, 785–920. The casts of the Nott's gems were prepared by Tommaso Cades (1772 or 1775–1850), see: T. Cades, *Impronte Gemmarie Museo Nott*, (Roma: Istituto Archeologico Germanico). Many of them were also included in another of Cades's valuable sets of impressions, see: Cades, *Collezione*; Villani, *George Frederick Nott*, 841–43.

89 After George Frederick Nott's death in the beginning of 1842, his library was auctioned off and scattered across the world. His set of antiquities, gems and coins shared the same fate. In May 1842, the British Museum acquired a singular collection of his coins. The collection of engraved gems was put to auction on 9 June 1942. For more information, see: Villani, *George Frederick Nott*, 875–80.

90 It is possible that no. 110 was purchased from the Tobias von Biehler collection, see its provenance (pp. 125–26 here).