

Muz., 2022(63): 95-105
Annual, eISSN 2391-4815

received – 05.2022
reviewed – 05.2022
accepted – 06.2022
DOI: 10.56004/01.3001.0015.9467

FORGOTTEN HERO: JAN MORAWIŃSKI (1907–1949). PART TWO*

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Wounded in the Pruszków action, Jan Morawiński was recovering in a hospital in Pruszków¹ until 19 January 1945, yet already on 24 January he showed up at the Wilanów Palace, where he found Bohdan Marconi and Adam Stebelski who had been authorized by the new regime to take care of the Palace and the artistic collection (Marconi) as well as of the archives and library (Stebelski).² Morawiński soon formally took over Marconi's responsibilities as the curator of the newly-established Wilanów Museum, Branch of the National Museum in Warsaw (MNW).³ The Wilanów collections had been looted and dispersed, while their owners, the Branicki family, had been interned at Nieborów,⁴ from where in January 1945 they were deported by NKVD, first to Moscow (Lubyanka Prison), and later to Krasnogorsk.⁵ The deserted Wilanów Palace was not seriously damaged, and soon became home to several institutions, with merely a single wing adapted for the purposes of the museum.⁶ The first tasks of the new/old curator of the Wilanów Branch were: to secure the remaining historic pieces left in the Palace, like the paintings packed by the Germans and ready for transportation,⁷ to recover the historic pieces taken from the Palace, and also to secure the collection parts left unguarded in other palaces and estates located around Wilanów. According to the 'Chronicle of the National Museum written from 18 January 1945', on 6 February, Morawiński received permission to bring to Wilanów the historic objects amassed in the Potulicki Palace in Obory near Konstancin.⁸ In March 1945, he transported to Wilanów books from the Obory library⁹ and the Wilanów set of Aubusson furniture taken by the Germans to Zalesie. In April 1945, on the instruction of the Ministry of Culture and Art, Morawiński transported to Wilanów the abandoned book collection composed of 2.501 volumes from the palace at Mała Wieś near Grójec which belonged to the Morawski family.¹⁰

Morawiński's actions formed part of the so-called restitution action conducted by the special Bureau for Restitution and Reparations headed by Prof. Władysław Tomkiewicz created within the structure of the General Authority of Museums and Monument Preservation.¹¹ The main goal of the Bureau was the restitution of Polish cultural assets taken by the aggressor to Germany and Austria, and working out plans for restitution in culture, however, as it turned out later, in the course of search for historic pieces taken from Poland, also former German and former manorial property was brought to depositories in Warsaw and Krakow.¹² For example, MNW inventoried restituted historic pieces, marking in the same manner the restituted MNW pre-war collection pieces and those of other institutions, e.g., State Art Collections or Zachęta Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts, objects brought from Silesia, or former manorial collections from Kwilcz or Mała Wieś, as well as collections secured by random individuals and submitted to MNW.¹³

Morawiński was assigned to conduct restitution on a larger scale in early 1946. Until then he had been involved in seeking and recovering the robbed Wilanów property. He had also participated in Prof. Michał Walicki's mission to Gdansk Pomerania, looking for priceless mediaeval heritage pieces. Later he went to Łańcut and Krakow where a temporary repository of cultural assets restituted from Lower Silesia was located at the Wawel.¹⁴ Apart from this, Morawiński worked out the list of Wilanów collection losses.¹⁵ He remained curator of the Wilanów collection for about a year, until he was delegated by the Ministry of Culture and Art to join the Polish Military Mission by the Allied Control Council in Berlin as a specialist for the restitution of Polish cultural assets from Germany.¹⁶ Based on the Hand-over Protocol dated 10 January 1946, Morawiński formally transferred *the whole of the Wilanów Museum agendas*¹⁷ to Kazimierz

RADA NARODOWA
M. ST. WARSZAWY
WYDZIAŁ KULTURY I SZTUKI

Warszawa, dnia 27 stycznia 1945 r.

Z a ś w i a d c z e n i e . . .

Zaświadcza się, że dr. Jan Morawiński pełni obowiązki dyrektora Muzeum w Wilanowie i jako taki powołany jest do opiekowania się zbiorami, budynkami i parkiem w Wilanowie i Natolinie.



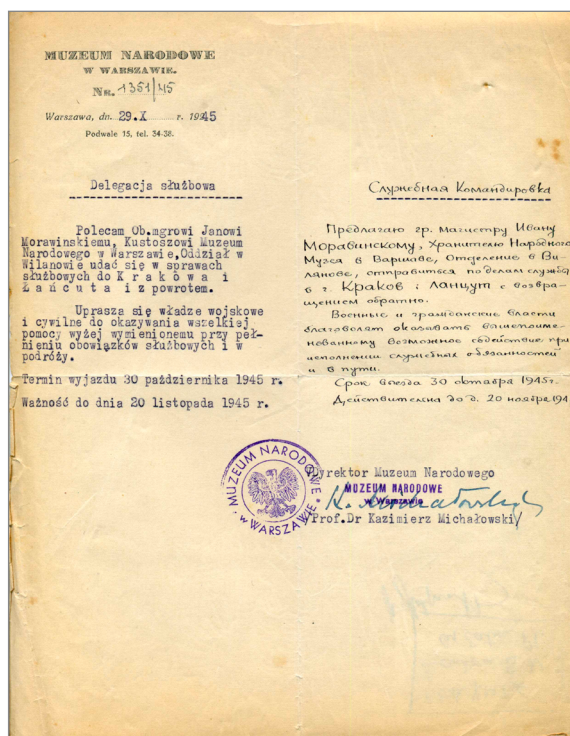
Naczelnik Wydziału Kultury i Sztuki

/-/ Jan Kaczmarowski

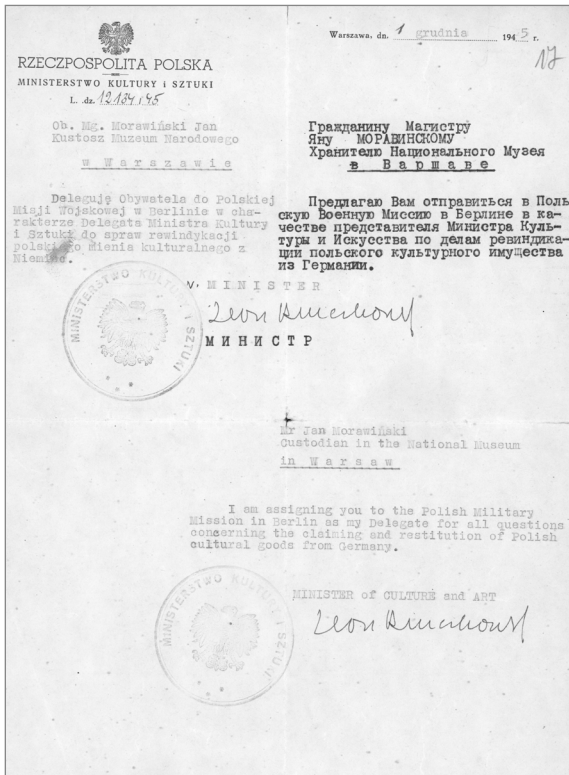
1. Certificate issued on 27 January 1945 by the Department of Culture and Art of the National Council of Warsaw Municipality, Agnieszka Morawińska's Archive

Zawanowski, and this is how his life fragment bonded to MNW came to a close.

The new tasks of delegate Jan Morawiński were formulated by Deputy Minister of Culture and Art Leon Kruczkowski. These were to include *issues related to the restitution of Polish cultural assets taken by the aggressor from Poland to the territory of the former Reich*. Additionally, Kruczkowski instructed Morawiński to *exhaust all the resources for the Polish cultural goods to return to Poland as soon as possible*. All the efforts should be made to regain for domestic collections so-called *Polonica*, namely the objects connected with the history of culture, Polish art, now in German public and private collections from before the outbreak of WW II. The purpose-allocated budget has to be used for the purchase of truly valuable art works available in the free market, giving priority to so-called *Polonica*. The regained or purchased objects should be directed to Warsaw to the repositories of the National Museum; the transportation issues are to be discussed with Berlin representatives of the Ministry of Industry. Monthly activity reports and monthly allowance calculations should be submitted to the Ministry of Culture and Art, and in urgent and dubious questions communication through the quickest means with the Ministry, namely through the Department of Restitution and Reparations, is recommended.¹⁸ Additionally, the delegated was to travel across all the four occupation zones and generally reach smaller towns in order to establish communication with lower ranking occupation zone authorities.¹⁹ In practice, Morawiński was unable to fulfill the fourth task, and from the beginning of his mission he focused first of all



2. Assignment issued on 29 October 1945 to Jan Morawiński to go on business to Cracow and Łańcut, Agnieszka Morawińska's Archive



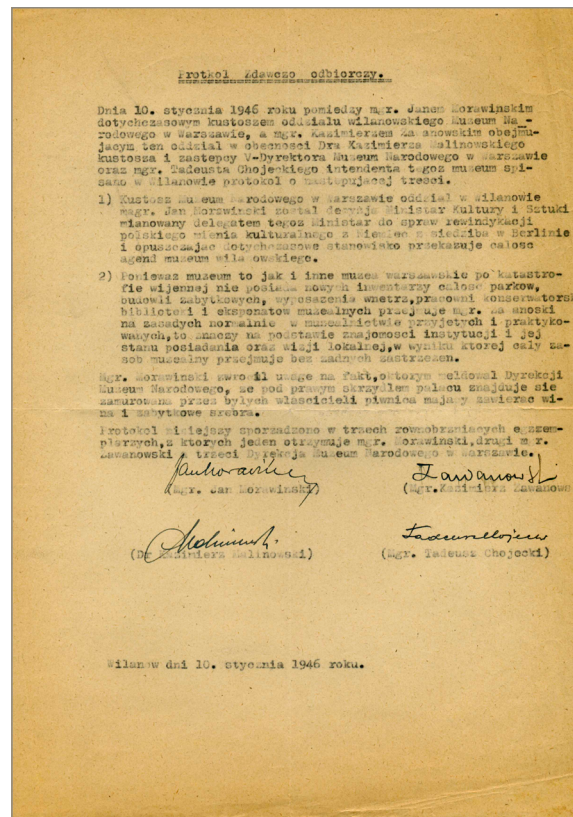
3. Assignment issued on 31 December 1945 to Jan Morawiński to go on business to Berlin, Central Archives of Modern Records, cat. no. 387/53a, p. 17

on acting with the British Occupation Zone, practically avoiding the American one where Karol Estreicher was operating.²⁰

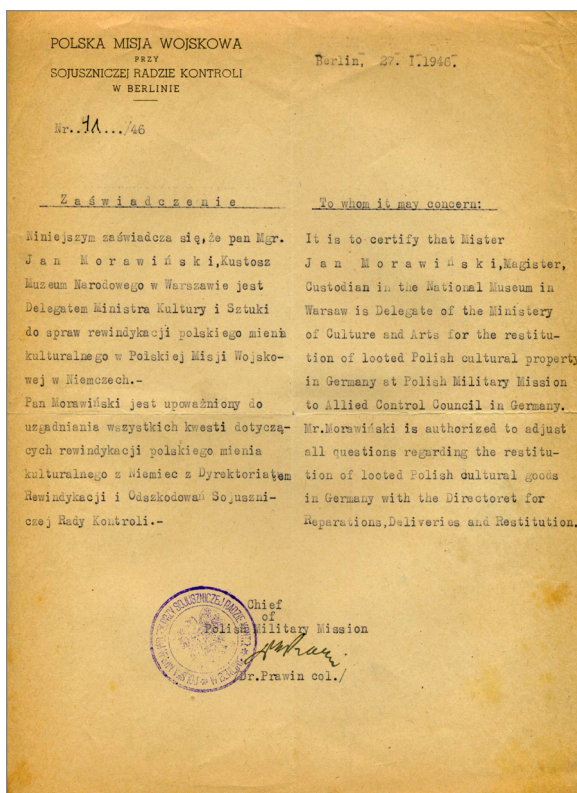
On 13 January 1946, delegate Morawiński, equipped with a diplomatic passport and 150,000 AM-Marks, left on a train for Berlin,²¹ where the Restitution Mission of the Ministry of Industry had already been installed; it was soon transformed into the Bureau of Restitution and Reparations headed by Stanisław Szenica, PhD, assigned to coordinate all the restitution from the territory of the former German Reich.²² Having realized that he would have problems with the fulfillment of his tasks if he worked only at the Polish Military Mission, Morawiński decided to base his operations at the above-mentioned Restitution Mission.²³

In late January, Morawiński established communication with British officers handling the restitution questions to whom he presented Polish claims. They were Col. H.G. Jennings Bramly heading the Liaison & Protocol Section²⁴ and R.H. Parker, Deputy Head of the Reparations, Deliveries and Restitution Directorate.²⁵ Parker decided that *many of the things that were sought might not be in the Zone anymore, because before the British army seized the territory, storages had been thoroughly plundered.*²⁶ Then, on 29 and 30 January, Morawiński met with Col. Geoffrey Fairbank Webb, (Chief of the Monuments and Fine Arts Section),²⁷ who promised that *it is his point of honour not to let Poland come in this respect to any least harm.*²⁸ Unfortunately, these were but words... Morawiński wasted most of his energy on fruitless contacts with British officials who hardly had anything in common with the American protagonists of George

Clooney's film *The Monuments Men*. The overall attitude of the English towards today's Poland and its representative in this territory is negative. You can sense it in the mistrust demonstrated to us everywhere, resentment, and making every action difficult, wrote Morawiński in his report to the Ministry of 9 November 1946²⁹. None of the English has the slightest idea how the Germans looted and each shows equal disbelief and surprise when I explain to them that the Germans took things without protocols or receipts, or two-party commission. That they also took inventories and files, that we were not allowed to take pictures, that there was actually no one available for shooting necessary photos. You can explain this to two-five individuals, yet you cannot induce awareness and understanding in everybody, and it will not alter identification methods and demands of the English as for documentation. An Englishman will always be equally surprised that there is no invoice available for the purchase of the machines by the factory of the Borkowski Brothers in Warsaw. After all, if the machine is truly yours, you can have the invoice original sent from Warsaw. And so I have to start again, how things were commandeered, who was there when it was happening, about the Uprising, burning down the city. Each time anew, the same. And finally I hear: it's really strange in your country, because invoices are always kept in a safe.³⁰ Furthermore, Morawiński pointed to a great contribution of the Germans to the administrative work: *The [British] officer who was responsible for a certain domain usually does neither know how to or want. He uses the Germans who are outstanding employees*



4. Hand-over Report of 10 January 1946, Agnieszka Morawińska's Archive



5. Certificate dated 27 January 1946, Agnieszka Morawińska's Archive

*of marvellous qualities winning all the Anglo-Saxon hearts [...]. Any looking for objects on your own is out of the question.*³¹

The restitution procedure assumed first submitting a report by the Polish party on the objects robbed from Poland, with precise data on those objects and a potential place where they could have been taken. *This report is sent to local authorities ordering search in the field. After the objects have been localized, the applicant is informed that a part or all of the reported things have been found, after which the applicant is demanded to provide more detailed information, or an expert visitation is allowed. Only then is it allowed to submit a 'claim'. After it has been analysed, the decision to release the object and decide on the means and methods of its transportation is made. The role of the restitutor is, thus, limited to two activity moments: submitting the report and preparing the claim.*³² In early February 1946, Morawiński submitted the overall Polish claims in writing. They mainly applied to Polish bells found in Hamburg and cultural assets collected in Graslleben.³³

In May 1946, Morawiński received information on almost a thousand bells of Polish provenance having been identified in Hamburg.³⁴ However, it was only on 7 October that he received authorization to go to Hamburg. *The arrival date was assigned for 9, which at the last moment/an hour before my departure/ was changed to 11. I had to show up at the border at a definite hour, there a British officer was waiting for me and accompanied me all the way to the Head Quarters in Bad-Salzuffen. The formalities, telephones, documents, and passes from there to Hamburg caused that*

*the distance Berlin-Hamburg amounting to 315 km turned into 760, and the car trip's duration of 4 hours turned into 36 hours, as a result the time I was permitted to stay within the English Zone /3 days/ was used up even before I was able to reach Hamburg. Accompanied by an officer to the border barrier, I left, not having sorted anything.*³⁵ Undaunted by this failure, Morawiński went to Hamburg on 29 October–1 November 1946. Having arrived at his destination, he found that the bells from the Polish territories were stored in three repositories: Norddeutsche Affinerie, Reiherstieg Holzlager, and Getreidelager Michael. *All the bells/also ours/were divided in the factory into 4 categories: A, B, C, and D. A stood for not extremely interesting bells from the 17th and 18th centuries, and all from the 19th and 20th centuries, whereas the remaining categories covered older bells according to their importance as for formal and historical-cultural values. The bells from Poland have been classified as category A, with the exception of three classified as B. Regardless of their provenance, category A bells were classified for immediate melting [...]. From among the bells mainly the Polish ones have remained in the greatest number, since as containing the least concentration of the useful metal they were left until the most 'lean years' of the German industry. They are easily distinguishable among a large mass of German bells representing B, C, and D categories, constituting a set of exquisite and not found here specimens of Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque bells featuring unusual noble forms, richness of decoration, and inscriptions. Thus, despite the lack of any documented data and few criteria our bells are easily and correctly distinguishable among those amassed at the facilities. In two full days I visited all non-Polish bells, and despite being slightly biased in my attitude, I experienced loyalty and honesty of the German employees.*³⁶ Morawiński emphasized that Polish claims based on surveys concerned a thousand bells, while the English, represented by the Administrative Director of the Norddeutsche Affinerie Dr Prior had a list registering all the bells which had reached the factory from the Polish territory. That list featured 8,000 bells weighing over 750 tons, thus substantially exceeding the estimates sent in by the Ministry. Morawiński was hopeful that the Polish bells would soon be released and ready for restitution. However, still in 1947 the process had not been fully completed.³⁷

The objects amassed in Graslleben were in turn restituted by Estreicher from the American Zone beyond Morawiński's knowledge. *During the last conversation with [Christopher] Norris in Berlin, and particularly with him and Miss [Anne Olivier] Popham at the Minden Headquarters, they were both unpleasantly reproaching me for insisting on the return of things Poland had long received through the American authorities. When I expressed my surprise, they showed me correspondence with the American authorities where they were asking whether the Americans had not accidentally come across the objects I was pestering them about claiming they were in Graslleben. They showed me the American reply that both the crates with treasures (monstrances, chalices, and other objects) from the Poznan and Gniezno Dioceses as well as the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Poznan had already returned to Poland on 3 May. I did feel uncomfortable.*³⁸

During his mission, Morawiński also operated within the Soviet Zone. In a factory building in Nossen, Saxony, he



6. Rafał Hadziewicz (1803–1866), *Scene from Oriental Drama*, oil on canvas, property of the Wawel Royal Castle, State Collection of Art, ACNO PZS on Wawel 8549, Photo Anna Stankiewicz



7. Alexandre-Jean Dubois-Drahonet (1791–1834), *Portrait of Countess Pulla*, oil on canvas, property of the Wawel Royal Castle, State Collection of Art, ACNO PZS on Wawel 1718, Photo Anna Stankiewicz

found nine paintings which had come from Krakow; in 1947, he dispatched them to MNW. The majority of these paintings were returned to their owners only in the early 21st century at the initiative of the author of the present paper. Interestingly, the paintings unreturned until the 2000s were regarded by



8. Ignaz Wenzel Prasch (1708–1761), *Skirmish with the Turks*, oil on board, National Museum in Cracow, ACNO MNK XII-A-865, Photo Paweł Czernicki



9. Johann Heinrich Roos (1631–1685), *Pastoral Scene against Ruins*, oil on canvas, National Museum in Cracow, ACNO MNK XII-A-864, Photo Tomasz Fiołka

the Wawel Royal Castle and the National Museum in Krakow as lost during WWII. These were as follows:

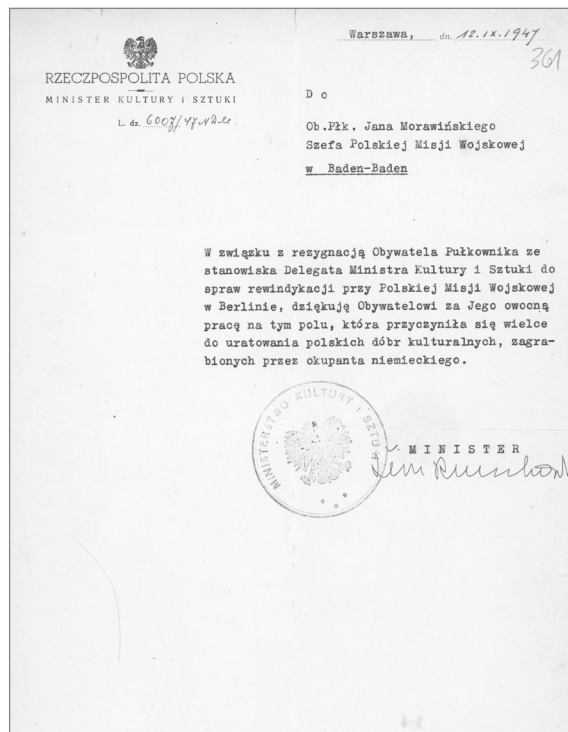
1. Rafał Hadziewicz, *Oriental Scene*, oil, canv. Wawel No. 1757 Mycielski Collection.³⁹
2. A.J.du Bois, *Portrait of a Lady*, oil, canv, Wawel No. 1644 Mycielski Collection.⁴⁰
3. S.Bieszczad, *Inn Keeper*, No. 58620 (Wawel?, MNK?).⁴¹
4. *German 18th c. Battle*, oil. board. MNK.5862.⁴²
5. H.Roos, *Landscape with Animal Staffage*, oil, canv. MNK, No. 58619.⁴³
6. *French 18th c. Male Portrait*, Wawel No. 1662.⁴⁴
7. *Dutch? 17th c. Portrait of an Old Man*, MNK. No. 124077?⁴⁵
- 8–9 *Unknown, Two Landscapes Pendant*, oil, canv. No. ?⁴⁶

Furthermore, at the Dresden *Gemäldegalerie*, Morawiński found three bases for cake stands in the form of the three graces which had come from the Royal Castle in Warsaw. He also obtained information from the Gallery's Director Dr Ernst Zimmermann that Joseph Mühlmann had sent three paintings from Warsaw to Dresden: Nicolas de Largillière's *Portrait of a Lady with a Dog and Monkey* enumerated in the 1938 Catalogue of the Gallery of Foreign Painting at MNW at number 73;⁴⁷ *Lamentation of Christ* from ca. 1520 by a Netherlandish painter (cat. no. 120);⁴⁸ and an unspecified Netherlandish triptych. In spite of Polish markings, Largillière's painting and the Netherlandish one were taken to the Soviet Union and returned to Poland only in September 1956 among the 12,000 of Polish heritage pieces.

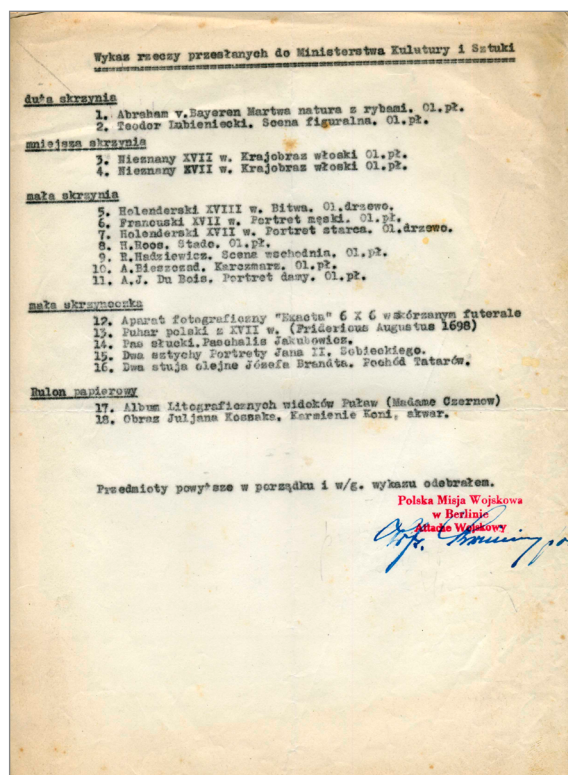
One of Morawiński's greatest successes was to obtain authorization to restitute archival records from the territory of Gdansk, Elbląg, Szczecin, and Toruń which could be found in German repositories. After months of endeavours, on 15–16 November, Morawiński went to Bad Salzdetfurth, Goslar, and Bünde, where he once again talked to the Englishmen: Norris and Cecil A.F. Meckings on the topic of Polish archival records. Those talks created a favourable atmosphere, and led to issuing a permit for the return of the archives to Poland, and to allowing an expert in archives to come from Poland for relevant consultancy. Thanks to Morawiński's efforts a document was signed in which the English agreed to release the archival records which had come from the Western and Northern Territories: around Gdansk, Elbląg, and Szczecin. His endeavours are described in Morawiński's correspondence with Witold Suchodolski, Archives General Manager. In the letter dated 28 November 1946 Morawiński pointed to Stebelski, Director of the Central Archives of Historical Records as an individual most appropriate to continue the restitution of the archival records.⁴⁹ From that moment on it was Stebelski whose mission was to supervise the return of the archival records to Poland; in December 1946, he left for the Goslar repository,⁵⁰ and in May 1947, he restituted 19 carriages of Polish archival records.

All his duties and exhausting work undermined Morawiński's health. In his January 1947 letter to Tomkiewicz he wrote about his heart attack which had interrupted his work for three weeks.⁵¹ Morawiński's next report of 1 April 1947 brings information on further search for Gołuchów vases and bells. The collected material was sufficient for a 'claim' in which he demanded *the return of all the still existing bells taken from Poland and belonging to the churches in the Regained Territories and the return of metal as compensation for the broken bells*.⁵² Furthermore, Morawiński mentioned he would resign from being a delegate for restitution: *over the last months, for having overworked and worked in bad conditions, my health has substantially deteriorated, and I will no longer be able to handle the questions of cultural restitution from the territory of the British Zone in Germany, and will shortly leave Berlin*.⁵³ In June 1947, Morawiński stopped being a delegate for restitution of the cultural assets of the Ministry of Culture and Art.

Apart from the main activities related to the restitution of Polish heritage Morawiński fulfilled other tasks. With the funds received from the Ministry of Culture and Art, he purchased the paintings: Teodor Lubieniecki's *Family in the*



10. Leon Kruczkowski expressing gratitude to Jan Morawiński, Central Archives of Modern Records, MKIS 387/53a, p. 361



11. List of items sent to the Ministry of Culture and Art, Agnieszka Morawińska's Archive



12. Teodor Lubieniecki (1654–1718), *Family in the Park Background*, before 1700, oil on canvas, National Museum in Warsaw, ACNO MP 2454 MNW, Photo Piotr Ligjere



13. Unknown glassworks, Chalice-glass of Augustus II, Saxony, 1698, National Museum in Warsaw, ACNO SZS 167 MNW, Photo Zbigniew Doliński

Park Background,⁵⁴ Abraham van Beyerens's *Still Life with Fish*,⁵⁵ oil studies by Józef Brandt *Tartar Procession*,⁵⁶ and Juliusz Kossak's watercolour *Feeding Horses (in Stable)*.⁵⁷ Furthermore, he purchased a chalice – glass of Augustus II from 1698 featuring the inscription: F.A.R.P.E.S. (Fridericus Augustus Rex Poloniae Elector Saxoniae),⁵⁸ a kontush sash from Paschalis Jakubowicz Manufactory,⁵⁹ Madame Czernow's album of lithographs containing 18 vistas of Puławy,⁶⁰ and two etchings by: Philibert Bouttats⁶¹ and Pieter



14. Jakubowicz Manufactory, kontush sash, silk, National Museum in Warsaw, ACNO SZT 798 MNW, Photo Krzysztof Wilczyński

Schenck⁶² showing John III Sobieski. All these objects together with the Krakow paintings found in Nossen were dispatched for Warsaw on 27 June 1947;⁶³ by 10 July 1947, they had been admitted into the National Museum.

In mid-June 1947, Morawiński was dismissed from the position of the restitutor of cultural goods.⁶⁴ He had earlier been in Warsaw at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MSZ) talking about a possible job changing.⁶⁵ He also considered going back to the Museum of Old Warsaw,⁶⁶ yet he finally stayed at MSZ. Having been commissioned colonel, he became Head of the Polish Military Mission in the French Zone in Germany (Baden-Baden),⁶⁷ for which he left on 28 June 1947.⁶⁸ *It is a little town in the mountains, he wrote, a well-known health centre for heart diseases in Europe, good conditions [...] I accepted the proposal because of that.*⁶⁹ Until May 1949 he focused on the socio-political situation within the Zone.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, he did not cease being interested in art, and continued focused on the benefit of Polish culture, this testified to, for example, by the purchase of two portraits in Baden-Baden: one by an unidentified painter from Marcin Kober's circle *Portrait of Stephen Bathory*⁷¹ and one by an unidentified painter from Quesnel's workshop *Portrait of Henry Walezy*.⁷² On 24 April 1951, the paintings were submitted to MNW by Maria Morawińska.⁷³ Later investigation proved that they originally came from Roman Potocki's collection from the Palace at Warsaw's 15/17 Krakowskie Przemieście Street. These paintings were returned by MNW to Potocki's heirs in 2013.

The last period in Morawiński's life was the struggle against disease. Medicine proved helpless in the face of his health problems, unquestionably caused by the war

traumas and exhausting work. In May 1949, he returned to Poland, to continue in October that year to Rome where he was assigned a Cultural Counsellor at the Polish Embassy. His short-performed mission at the Embassy yielded e.g., a precise report on Polish cultural institutions operating in Rome at the time. Also, he dealt with establishing the Polish

Institute there.⁷⁴ He died suddenly on 13 December 1949 while in Warsaw... And this is the end of the story of Jan Morawiński, an individual of great merit for saving and regaining Polish cultural assets, albeit not fully appreciated in so-far literature.

Abstract: Having been discharged from hospital in January 1945, Jan Morawiński became a curator at a new Branch of the National Museum in Warsaw. His main task was guardianship of the collection and Palace's preservation. On 13 January 1946, Morawiński left for Berlin's Polish Military Mission as a specialist in restituting Polish cultural assets from Germany. Morawiński's scope of activities covered first of all the issues of the restitution of Polish cultural assets, acquisition of Polonica from German collections, and purchase of art works. In the course of his mission he operated mainly within the British occupation zone in Germany. The Polish claims submitted by Morawiński to the British were related mainly to the Grasleben depository and the bells amassed in Hamburg. After months-long efforts, he succeeded in leaving for Hamburg in order to ascertain the presence of about

a thousand bells of Polish provenance there. Furthermore, Morawiński operated within the Soviet occupation zone. In Saxony's Nossen he discovered nine paintings which had come from Cracow. One of his greatest successes was to win the permission of the English to recover the archival resources originally from Gdansk, Elbląg, Szczecin, and Toruń. With the financing provided by the Ministry of Culture and Art he purchased, among others, the painting by Teodor Lubieniecki Family in the Park Background, a cup of Augustus II (1698), and two etchings featuring John III Sobieski. Having finished his Berlin assignment, he became head of the Polish Military Mission in the French occupation zone in Germany. In May 1949, he returned to Poland to become a Cultural Counselor at Poland's Embassy in Rome. Morawiński died suddenly in Warsaw on 13 December 1949.

Keywords: Jan Morawiński, National Museum in Warsaw, restitution, Polish Military Mission, Wilanów Museum.

Endnotes

- ¹ Certificate issued on 19 January 1945 by Dr Michał Dobulewicz, Director of the County Hospital in Pruszków. Document is property of Agnieszka Morawińska (below: AM Archive).
- ² National Museum in Warsaw (below: MNW), Iconographic and Photographic Collection, ACNO MS 2146, Kronika Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie od 18 stycznia 1945 r. (below: Kronika), p. 12.
- ³ Morawiński's placement on the curator position or Director of the Wilanów Museum was conducted as if from several sides. On 24 January 1945, he was authorized by Lieutenant Colonel Ignacy Płażewski, Head of the Army Scientific Publishing Institute of the High Command of the Polish Army, *to secure and conserve the Palace, collection, and historic buildings and parks at Wilanów and Natolin*. Then, on 27 January 1945, a certificate was issued by the Department of Culture and Art of the National Council of the Municipality of Warsaw; on 22 March 1945, he received a certificate signed by Minister Wincenty Rzymowski, documents in the AM Archive. Prof. Stanisław Lorentz told the story of the circumstances in which the Wilanów Palace became an MNW Branch to Robert Jarocki. See R. Jarocki, *Rozmowy z Lorentzem*, Warszawa 1981, p. 286.
- ⁴ After the Branickis had been deported from Wilanów, it was e.g., Adam Stebelski who looked after the Palace. At that time he exchanged letters with Beata Branicka who worried: *I am concerned about Mr Morawiński, whether it is true that he may have his leg cut off; this would be terrible for him – poor man, he must have suffered a lot, and he worried so much he would become crippled, it is terrifying even to think about it*. Central Archives of Historical Records. Adam Stebelski's File, unsigned file. A letter from 15 December 1944.
- ⁵ They returned to Poland only in October 1947. A. Branicka-Wolska, *Listy niewysłane*, Łomianki 2012, p. 465.
- ⁶ Such a statement was formulated in the conversation of Morawiński with Prof. Lorentz during the on-site visit at Wilanów on 5 February 1945. Kronika, p. 26. This conversation was the grounds for the report on the situation of Wilanów prepared by Lorentz for the Ministry of Culture and Art, located then in Lublin.
- ⁷ B. Marconi, 'Wspomnienia z lat 1939-1945', *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, 11 (1967), (p. 277).
- ⁸ Kronika, p. 30.
- ⁹ MNW, Files of the Inventory Department of the National Museum in Warsaw, 'Mała Wieś' file.
- ¹⁰ *Ibidem*.
- ¹¹ On Tomkiewicz see M. Karpowicz, 'W. Tomkiewicz 1899-1982', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1 (1983), (p. 105); W. Kowalski, 'Władysław Tomkiewicz jako teoretyk i praktyk likwidacji skutków wojny w dziedzinie kultury', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 4 (1992), 126-128.
- ¹² L.M. Karecka, 'Mienie zwane podworskim w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie', *Muzealnictwo*, 53 (2012), 44-57.
- ¹³ *Eadem*, 'Akcja rewindykacyjna w latach 1945-1950. Spór o terminologię czy o istotę rzeczy', *Ochrona Zabytków*, 3-4 (2002), 404-409; L.M. Kamińska, 'Powojenne składnice przemieszczanych dóbr kultury w Polsce. Przyczynek do szerszego opracowania', *Muzealnictwo*, 57 (2016), 74-80; *eadem*, 'Wawelska i warszawska – największe powojenne składnice przemieszczanych dóbr kultury w Polsce. Przyczynek do szerszego opracowania', *Muzealnictwo*, 58 (2017), 249-256.
- ¹⁴ AM Archive, Business trip assignment of MKIS ref. no. 5296/45 of 20 August 1945; second copy: AMNW, cat. no. 12/41, p. 157; AM Archive, business trip assignment of MNW no. 1451/45 of 29 October 1945; also AMNW, cat. no. 12/41, p. 159. In łańcut his task was to check whether the

- archive of Count Potocki had been preserved. AM Archive, Witold Suchodolski's letter of 29 October 1945. In the Wawel repository he confirmed the presence of some paintings brought by the Germans from Wilanów on 31 October 1944. The majority of Wilanów paintings returned from the USSR only in 1951 and 1956.
- ¹⁵ Central Archives of Modern Records, set of the Ministry of Culture and Art (below: AAN, MKiS), cat. no. 387/19, invoices for: *Study of the Wilanów archives and collecting archival materials for restitution* of 28 August 1945 and the papers: *The Wilanów Museum* of 21 September 1945 and *Gallery and Wilanów Collection during the Occupation* of 30 September 1945, pp. 8, 50.
- ¹⁶ *Ibidem*, cat. no. 387/53a, Delegation of 31 December 1945 signed by Minister Leon Kruczkowski, p. 17. The document features the erroneous date of 1 December.
- ¹⁷ AM Archive, Hand-over Protocol of 10 January 1946.
- ¹⁸ AAN, MKiS, cat. no. 387/53a, Letter of MKiS of 7 January 1946, p. 23.
- ¹⁹ AAN, MKiS, cat. no. 387/53a, Letter of MKiS of 7 January 1946, p. 23.
- ²⁰ On Karol Estreicher's mission many papers and studies have been written. See e.g., W. Kowalski, 'Działalność restytucyjna Karola Estreichera po II wojny światowej', *Muzealnictwo*, 31 (1988), 3-12; I. Lewek, 'Pierwsza podróż rewindykacyjna Karola Estreichera do amerykańskiej strefy okupacyjnej w Niemczech', *Muzealnictwo*, 45 (2015), 19-27.
- ²¹ He spent a part of this sum: 47.000 AA -Mark on *entire military clothing: a uniform, a coat, a hat, a belt, a shirt, a tie, and a purchase of a camera*. AAN, MKiS, cat.no.387/53a, Morawiński's letter to W. Tomkiewicz of 6 July 1946, pp. 118-119.
- ²² *Ibidem*, Report for 13 Jan-21 Jan 1946, p. 25.
- ²³ *Ibidem*.
- ²⁴ *Ibidem*, Note from the conversation with H.G. Jennings Bramly of 26 Jan 1946, p. 26.
- ²⁵ *Ibidem*, cat. no. 387/53a, Note from the conversation with R.H. Parker on 28 January 1946, p. 27.
- ²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 27.
- ²⁷ *Ibidem*, cat. no. 387/53a, Note from the conversation with Webb from 29-30 January 1946, pp. 28, 30.
- ²⁸ *Ibidem*, Note from the conversation with Webb of 30 January 1946, p. 30.
- ²⁹ The first 10 months of the restitution activity in Berlin are described in: *ibidem*, Morawiński's Report for the Ministry of Culture and Art of November 9, 1946, pp. 158-175.
- ³⁰ *Ibidem*.
- ³¹ *Ibidem*.
- ³² *Ibidem*.
- ³³ *Ibidem*, General list of looted Polish goods in Germany, British Zone, pp. 33-36. It was expected that in Grasleben the following collections had been deposited: of the Wielkopolskie Museum, of the Prehistoric Museum in Poznań, from Kórnik, Gniezno, Poznań archives, and from the Gniezno archives, Gołuchów vases, etc.
- ³⁴ AAN, MKiS, cat. no. 387/53a, phonogram of Col. Prawina and Morawiński to MKiS of 1 June 1946, p. 87.
- ³⁵ *Ibidem*, Sprawozdanie Morawińskiego...
- ³⁶ *Ibidem*.
- ³⁷ Letter of Maj. R. Kozłowski to the Bureau of Restitution and Reparation (Biuro Rewindykacji i Odszkodowań Wojennych) in Warsaw and in Berlin: *More than six months ago the Polish press informed that the bells had returned to Poland. Unfortunately, they have not, and it is unknown when they return unless you finally send over someone who tackles it with much honesty*. AAN, Biuro Rewindykacji i Odszkodowań Wojennych, cat. no. 287/262, p. 7. It was only in early 1948 that Tadeusz Gostyński left for the purpose.
- ³⁸ *Ibidem*, Sprawozdanie Morawińskiego...
- ³⁹ Property of the Royal Castle at the Wawel – State Art Collection (below: PZS-W). Rafał Hadziewicz (1803-1866), *Scene from Oriental Drama*, oil on canvas, no. PZS on Wawel 8549 (former 1757). Entered in the MNW book of deposits at no. 189746 MNW, returned to PZS-W on 5 December 2001, Protocol no. III-520/01, in 1965-1997 used for the decoration of the Grand Theatre in Warsaw.
- ⁴⁰ Property of PZS-W. Alexandre-Jean Dubois-Drahonet (1791-1834), *Portrait of Countess Pulla*, oil on canvas, no. PZS on Wawel 1718 (former 1644), it was given to PZS-W on 20 March 1968 with Protocol no. III-171/68.
- ⁴¹ Property of the National Museum in Krakow (below: MNK). Seweryn Bieszczad (1852-1923), *Jew an Inn Keeper*, oil on canvas, 60 x 44 cm, ACNO MNK II-a-1323 (former 58620). At MNW it was erroneously given ownership ACNO 130769 MNW, later MP 2315; passed to Krakow on 14 January 2002, with Protocol no. III-30/02.
- ⁴² MNK's property. Ignaz Wenzel Prasch (1708-1761), *Skirmish with the Turks*, oil on board, 45.5 x 63.5 cm, ACNO MNK XII-A-865 (former 58681). At MNW entered into the book of deposits at no. 189717 MNW, transferred as above.
- ⁴³ MNK's property. Johann Heinrich Roos (1631-1685), *Pastoral Scene against Ruins*, 2nd half of the 17th c., 49.3 x 44.5 cm, oil on canvas, ACNO MNK XII-A-864 (former 58686). At MNW entered into the book of deposits under no. 190030 MNW, in 1988-2002 on display at the Royal Łazienki Museum, returned as above.
- ⁴⁴ Property of PZS-W. Nicolas de Largillière's school, *Portrait of a Man*, oil on canvas, no. PZS on Wawel 636 (former 1642). At MNW entered into the book of deposits under no. 189716 MNW, returned to PZS-W on 5 December 2001 with Protocol III-520/01.
- ⁴⁵ MNK's property. Dutch School. *Portrait of an Old Man*, oil on board, no. 124077 MNK. At MNW entered into the book of deposits under no. 183991. At MNK erroneously regarded as a war loss; in reality it disappeared already after the war, lent for decoration of the edifice of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Peoples' Republic of Poland. In 1973, 17 painting borrowed from MNW were found missing, among them the *Portrait of an Old Man*. The conducted investigation of a potential robbery yielded no results. Upon the decision of MKiS, all the paintings were crossed out of the inventory. Regrettably, the image of the painting has been unpreserved.
- ⁴⁶ MNK's property. Unknown painter, Germany (?), *Italian landscape with an Aqueduct*, 18th c., oil on canvas, ACNO MNK XII-A-856 (former 124070) and Unknown painter, Italy (?), *Seascape (Italian landscape with a Sea Bay)*, 2nd half of the 18th c., oil on canvas, 86 x 154 cm, ACNO

- MNK XII-A-857 (former 124071). Both paintings were lent to decorate MKiS on 26 July 1951 with Protocol no. III-425/51; painting no. 124070 was returned directly to MNK from MKiS on 22 August 1990, while painting no. 124071 (book of deposits no: 190032 MNW) was returned to Krakow from MNW on 25 April 1991 with Protocol no. III-246/91.
- ⁴⁷ ACNO M. Ob. 686 MNW (former 47186 MNW). Purchase for MNW from Kazimierz Zdziarski in 1925.
- ⁴⁸ ACNO M. Ob. 825 MNW (former 126259 MNW). Purchase for MNW from Katarzyna Nędzyńska and Aniela Cholewińska in 1938.
- ⁴⁹ AAN, MKiS, cat. no. 387/53a, p. 268.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, Business trip assignment for Stebelski of 5 March 1947, p. 329. His work was described by W. Stępiak, *Misja Adama Stebelskiego. Rewindykacja archiwaliów polskich z Niemiec w latach 1945-1949*, Warszawa-Łódź 1989.
- ⁵¹ AAN, MKiS, cat. no. 387/53a, Letter of 18 April 1947, p. 313.
- ⁵² *Ibidem*, Report of 18 April 1947, p. 342.
- ⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 342.
- ⁵⁴ ACNO MP 2454 MNW (former 164062 MNW).
- ⁵⁵ ACNO M. Ob. 675 MNW (former 186896 MNW). Current attribution Giuseppe Recco.
- ⁵⁶ ACNO 131124-131125 MNW.
- ⁵⁷ ACNO Rys. Pol. 4414 MNW (former 146261 MNW).
- ⁵⁸ ACNO SZS 167 MNW (former 188504 MNW).
- ⁵⁹ ACNO SZT 798 MNW.
- ⁶⁰ ACNO Gr. Pol. 2317 MNW (former 145001 MNW).
- ⁶¹ ACNO Gr. Pol. 15684 MNW.
- ⁶² ACNO Gr. Pol. 15379 MNW.
- ⁶³ MNW Inventory Department, Restitution materials, vol. 11. In Morawiński's letter of 27 June 1947 there is an interesting description of the story behind this action: *Before my departure for Baden-Baden I prepared paintings for transportation and arranged numerous complicated border crossing formalities. The paintings were to be taken in the lorry of Mr. Żmijewski who transports our food across the country, Having arrived in Berlin, I realized that no papers helped, and the border guarding Soviet soldiers did not allow anything across from the moment when our people had seized their pork fat from several lorries. Accidentally, Military Attaché Col. [Kazimierz] Sidor who often transported different things to the Staff in their lorry and had his own ways with the allies, happened to be there. Besides, the vehicle is assisted by a convoy. We decided to send paintings as diplomatic packages with a consignment note, under a wax seal, which was said to be highly respected.* AAN, MKiS, cat. no. 387/53a, p. 349.
- ⁶⁴ His successor was Tadeusz Kułakowski, followed by Czesław Stefański, who operated until 1951 already in the territory of GDR formed in 1949. The bells were in the responsibility of Tadeusz Gostyński.
- ⁶⁵ *I was offered a quieter post: the places in question were either Belgium or Switzerland.* AAN, MKiS, cat. no. 387/53a, Letter of 4 April 1947, p. 344.
- ⁶⁶ *How to think about organizing the work place already existing today and for a long time to continue on paper only, I mean here the Museum of Old Warsaw, this running after things, begging for budget, staff, construction credits.* *Ibidem*, p. 314.
- ⁶⁷ Polish Military Mission in Baden-Baden was created on 1 August 1946. Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (below: AMSZ), fonds 6, series 106, file 1716, p. 53.
- ⁶⁸ S. Konarski, 'Morawiński Jan (1907-1949)', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 21, Wrocław 1976, p. 696: erroneous date given of Morawiński's arrival in Baden-Baden: *from June 1948*; also an erroneous date: 15 June 1948, was given by Z. Rewski, 'Jan Morawiński 6.II.1907-13.XII.1949', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 4 (1951), (p. 208).
- ⁶⁹ AAN, MKiS, cat. no. 387/53a, p. 344.
- ⁷⁰ His last sent report was dated 1 April 1949; the report of 27 May 1949 was signed by the new Mission Head Jan Jastrzębski. AMSZ, fonds 6, series 111, file 1751.
- ⁷¹ ACNO 189679 MNW.
- ⁷² ACNO M. Ob. 2458 (former 185963 MNW).
- ⁷³ AM Archive.
- ⁷⁴ AMSZ, fonds 8, series 7, file 112.

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Word count: 4 178; **Tables:** –; **Figures:** 14; **References:** 74

Received: 05.2022; **Reviewed:** 05.2022; **Accepted:** 06.2022; **Published:** 08.2022

DOI: 10.5604/01.3001.0015.9467

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Competing interests: Authors have declared that no competing interest exists.

Cite this article as: Olkowski R.; FORGOTTEN HERO: JAN MORAWIŃSKI (1907–1949). PART TWO. Muz., 2022(63): 95-105

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