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In the circle of the intellectual elites of Galicia and Poland: the value system of Stanisław Tarnowski in the light of posthumous reminiscences and funeral speeches (1873–1917)

The aim of the article is to review the issues present in funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences that constitute a significant aspect of Stanisław Tarnowski's work. The basis for these considerations were works available in Digital Libraries Federation. The article focuses on the motifs of creating funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences, factors shaping human life, politics, and modernization. Funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences were an important source revealing Tarnowski's political and philosophical views. They served as a source of his reflections and observations based on participation in many events of social, scientific, and political life.

Keywords: intelligentsia, Tarnowski family, funeral speeches, posthumous reminiscences, Galicia's autonomy

Introduction

Stanisław Tarnowski (1837–1917) belonged to the group of individuals engaged in active scientific, political, and social activities. He can be seen as an institution himself and a political and moral authority of Polish and Galician lands in the 19th and early 20th centuries. He authored numerous publications on the history of Polish literature, political works, and was also a publicist associated with significant journals such as "Czas" and "Przegląd Polski". He exerted a significant influence on the mindset of Galician elites as one of the political entities of Austria-Hungary and other partitions. His biography, activities, and role place him among the intelligentsia and intellectuals of Galicia and Poland. The first of these terms, 'intelligentsia', has a long history, is ambiguous, can be defined based on various criteria, has different applications, and serves different functions in the structure

of this study. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, one of the researchers of the history of the intelligentsia, posed the question of whether this group constituted a social class, and she recognized “internal connections” and “propagation of specific ideas and values” as criteria for its existence.¹ Such an assumption should be approached sceptically. It would be difficult to find a social group that meets such a criterion, for instance – peasants. The distinguishing feature of this group was its social status, thus its legal position and economic roles. Although there were internal connections within it, such as familial or economic ties, it would be challenging to find a perfect ideological and worldview community. Within individual social groups, there is usually a large diversity of views and attitudes. There is also significant economic diversity. The criteria for distinguishing individual social groups are usually formal considerations, such as legal status or the type of work performed, for example, as a hired intellectual worker.² Representatives of the intelligentsia can be recognized among professionals such as lawyers, doctors, civil servants, teachers, and journalists. Their social and economic status varied greatly. There was significant diversity even among civil servants. R. Czepulis pointed out that the term “intelligentsia” is also used in relation to individuals distinguished by mental qualities.³ However, a group with such characteristics is also often referred to as ‘intellectuals’. It is perceived very often as opinion-forming, shaping social attitudes of other circles and social environments. One of the significant conditions for playing such a role, however, is publishing works and articles in the press, and therefore various forms of intellectual presence in the social space.

S. Tarnowski believed that the intelligentsia are “enlightened” and “educated” individuals.⁴ According to his opinion, Polish society consisted of various social groups. The intelligentsia was one of them. The roles of individual groups, their wealth status, and education varied significantly. The social group closest to the intelligentsia, in S. Tarnowski’s view, was the nobility (gentry). It was they who were “more representative of the nation”⁵ than the rural population – peasants.⁶ Such views indicated a significant attachment to

¹ R. Czepulis-Rastenis, *Ludzie nauki i talentu. Studia o świadomości społecznej inteligencji polskiej w zaborze rosyjskim*, Warszawa 1988, p. 5.

² *Ibidem*, p. 7.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

⁴ S. Tarnowski, *Rząd pruski i książdz Prymas Ledóchowski*, in: *Stańczycy. Antologia myśli społecznej i politycznej konserwatystów krakowskich*, selection of texts, introduction and notes by M. Król, Warszawa 1985, p. 180–181 (first published in „Przegląd Polski” 1874).

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 182.

⁶ For more about the issues in these relations see: A. Kosicka-Pajewska, *Szlachta i włościanie* [in:] A. Kosicka-Pajewska, T. Sobieraj, *Stanisław Tarnowski. Szkice do portretu*, Poznań 2019, p. 51–75.

the idea of treating the nobility as a social and national elite, despite significant changes in the condition of peasants through their emancipation and discussions about their role and the necessity of their active inclusion in the national and political community, as seen in the thought of the January Uprising and in the public discourse of all partitions. The introduction of parliamentary systems in Polish lands in the 19th century served as a factor intensifying discussions about the role of various groups in society. The assembly of potential voters required better understanding to more effectively conduct political campaigns preceding elections. In the context of these considerations, values should be considered virtues, desirable qualities shaping the actions of a specific personality.

While S. Tarnowski can be considered an active supporter of the ideology of Triple Loyalty (a concept emphasizing the necessity of shaping a broad understanding of Polish identity depending on the conditions in various partitioned states), he also had a concern for the entire national community, a sense of distinctiveness, and enduring bonds between the Polish society of individual partitioned states that constituted the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before 1772. This concern was reflected in his interest in the political situation in all three partitions. Despite his involvement in the January Uprising of 1863–1864, he did not support the idea of independence and sovereignty. He was known for his scientific and press publications, as well as his parliamentary activities in the Parliament of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, the Vienna-based All-Austrian Council, and his roles as rector of the Jagiellonian University, president and general secretary of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU), and head of the Department of Polish Literature History at the Jagiellonian University. He held and demonstrated distinct political views, belonging to the Kraków milieu of conservatives, to the generation and circle with experience in the January Uprising, known as “*stańczycy*” (the *Stońcycy* political faction). This group opposed those gathered around the Kraków-based “*Czas*” newspaper and found their unity through “*Przegląd Polski*”. In his literary and political activities, the prevailing conviction was that the above mentioned ideology constituted the best model of actions which can shape worldviews and lead to peaceful and nonviolent social development, both collectively and individually. S. Tarnowski is known as one of the active members of the Kraków conservatives, referred to as “*stańczycy*”. This political orientation has been the subject of numerous historical reflections. S. Tarnowski, as an individual and political personality, has been the subject of many attempts to create sketches for his biographical monograph.⁷ A comprehensive assessment of the activities and work of S. Tarnowski is a challenging project

⁷ The following works may be chronologically indicated: F. Hoesick, *Stanisław Tarnowski: rys życia i prac*, vol. 1, 2, Warszawa, Kraków 1906; *Stanisław Tarnowski 1837–1917. Materiały z posiedzenia naukowego PAU w dniu 14 listopada 1997*, ed. R. Majkowska, Kraków 1999;

due to the richness of his scientific and journalistic publications, as well as his intensive involvement in academic and political life. Special mention should be given to the editions of works by S. Tarnowski⁸ as well as the Stańczycy political faction,⁹ with which he was associated. Marcin Król recognized that S. Tarnowski's most important political works were his publications *Obrachunek „Przeglądu Polskiego” po dziesięciu latach jego istnienia* [Assessment of the 'Przegląd Polski' after ten years of its existence] and *Z doświadczeń i rozmyślań* [From experiences and reflections] (1892).¹⁰ Bogdan Szlachta's essay "Stanisław Tarnowski jako myśliciel polityczny" [Stanisław Tarnowski as a political thinker] is also worth noting.¹¹ It mentioned and discussed the basic ideas of the political thought of the thinker who is the subject of this study.

The aim of these considerations is to review the issues present in one of S. Tarnowski's forms of literary creation, namely funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences. It should be noted, however, that these speeches contain many themes of philosophical, political, and social nature. Therefore, it is not possible to fully present them, especially since each of these themes also involves an interpretation, to which every scholar analysing such sources is entitled. Funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences, constituting a significant aspect of S. Tarnowski's work, have not been subject of separate analyses. The present considerations focus on the following issues: motives for creating funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences, factors shaping human life, political matters, and related problems. The article also presents a posthumous reminiscence about the Governor of Galicia, Andrzej Potocki, who was shot in 1907 by Mirosław (Myrosław) Siczynski, as a form of reflection on a political event. Engaging in politics, active participation in the activities of various representative institutions and others, was an essential element of S. Tarnowski's life and work. This was the reason why this issue was singled out among many others contained in posthumous reminiscences and funeral speeches.

The basis for these considerations were works made available in the Digital Libraries Federation. This repository contains 35 funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences published between 1873 and 1917. They concern the

R. Stachura-Lupa, *Poglądy ideowo-estetyczne Stanisława Tarnowskiego*, Kraków 2016, A. Kosińska-Pajewska, T. Sobieraj, *Stanisław Tarnowski. Szkice do portretu*, Poznań 2019.

⁸ S. Tarnowski, *Królowa opinia. Wybór pism*, introduction by B. Szlachta, selection of texts by J. Kloczkowski, Kraków 2011.

⁹ *Stańczycy. Antologia myśli społecznej i politycznej konserwatystów krakowskich*, selection of texts and notes by M. Król, Warszawa 1985; *Teka Stańczyka*, scientific edition and introduction by A. Dziadzio, Kraków 2007.

¹⁰ *Stańczycy...*, p. 109–121, 236–260.

¹¹ B. Szlachta, *Stanisław Tarnowski jako myśliciel polityczny*, in: S. Tarnowski, *Królowa opinia. Wybór pism*, p. VII–XXXIX.

following figures: Józef Badeni (1878),¹² Włodzimierz Czacki (1898),¹³ Marcelina Czartoryska (1895),¹⁴ Roman Czartoryski (1887),¹⁵ Władysław Czartoryski (1894),¹⁶ Albin Dunajewski (1894),¹⁷ Julian Dunajewski (1907),¹⁸ Zygmunt Goliań (1885),¹⁹ Stanisław Grocholski (1907),²⁰ Bernard Kalicki (1885),²¹ Walerian Kalinka (1887),²² Leon Kapliński (1873),²³ Józef Kasznica (1887),²⁴ Hieronim Kaysiewicz (Kajsiewicz)(1897),²⁵ Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (1887),²⁶ Ignacy Łoboś (1900),²⁷ Jan Popiel (Chościak Popiel) (1911),²⁸ Paweł Popiel (Chościak Popiel) (1892),²⁹ Wincenty Popiel (Chościak Popiel) (1912),³⁰ Katarzyna Potocka (1907),³¹ Alfred Potocki (1889),³² Andrzej Potocki (1908),³³ Artur Potocki (1890),³⁴ Stanisław Puszet (1907),³⁵ Iza Sanguszkowa (1890),³⁶ Leon Sapieha (1878),³⁷ Jadwiga Sapieżyna (1890),³⁸ Sylwester Sembratowicz (1898),³⁹ Piotr Semenenko

¹² S. Tarnowski, *Mowa hr Stanisława Tarnowskiego podczas wyprowadzenia z Krakowa zwłok ś.p. Józefa Badeniego dnia 14 października 1878 r.*, Kraków 1878.

¹³ S. Tarnowski, *Kardynał Czacki (wspomnienie pośmiertne)*, Kraków 1888.

¹⁴ S. Tarnowski, *Księżna Marcelina Czartoryska*, Kraków 1895.

¹⁵ S. Tarnowski, *Księżę Roman Czartoryski (wspomnienie pośmiertne)*, Kraków 1887.

¹⁶ S. Tarnowski, *Mowa na pogrzebie ks. Władysława Czartoryskiego w Sieniawie 26 lipca 1894*, Kraków 1894.

¹⁷ S. Tarnowski, *Kardynał Dunajewski. Księżę biskup krakowski. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1894.

¹⁸ S. Tarnowski, *Julian Dunajewski. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, „Przegląd Polski”, Kraków [1907].

¹⁹ S. Tarnowski, *Ksiądz Zygmunt Goliań (Wspomnienie pośmiertne)*, Kraków 1885.

²⁰ S. Tarnowski, *Stanisław hr Grocholski. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1907.

²¹ S. Tarnowski, *Bernard Kalicki*, Kraków 1885.

²² S. Tarnowski, *X. Walerian Kalinka. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1887.

²³ S. Tarnowski, *Wspomnienie pośmiertne o Leonie Kaplińskim*, Kraków 1873.

²⁴ S. Tarnowski, *Józef Kasznica. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1887.

²⁵ S. Tarnowski, *Ksiądz Hieronim Kaysiewicz*, Kraków 1897.

²⁶ S. Tarnowski, *Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (wspomnienie pośmiertne)*, „Przegląd Polski” 1887, p. 192–199.

²⁷ S. Tarnowski, *X. Ignacy Łoboś, biskup tarnowski. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1900.

²⁸ S. Tarnowski, *Jan Popiel. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1911.

²⁹ S. Tarnowski, *Paweł Popiel. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1892.

³⁰ S. Tarnowski, *X. Wincenty Chościak-Popiel. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1913.

³¹ S. Tarnowski, *Pani Adamowa Potocka. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1907.

³² S. Tarnowski, *Alfred Potocki: wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1889.

³³ S. Tarnowski, *Andrzej Potocki. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1908.

³⁴ S. Tarnowski, *Artur hr Potocki. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1890.

³⁵ S. Tarnowski, *X. Stanisław Puszet. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1907.

³⁶ S. Tarnowski, *Księżna Iza z Lubomirskich Sanguszkowa*, Kraków 1890.

³⁷ S. Tarnowski, *Leon Sapieha*, Kraków 1878 (przedruk z „Czasu”).

³⁸ S. Tarnowski, *Księżna Jadwiga z Zamoyskich Sapieżyna*, Kraków 1890.

³⁹ S. Tarnowski, *Kardynał metropolita Sylwester Sembratowicz. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1898.

(1886),⁴⁰ Lucjan Siemieński (1878),⁴¹ Henryk Wodzicki (1884),⁴² Ludwik Wodzicki (1894),⁴³ Waclaw Zaleski (1914),⁴⁴ Andrzej Zamoyski (1874),⁴⁵ Fryderyk Zoll (1917).⁴⁶ The first editions of posthumous reminiscences and funeral speeches took place in “Czas” and “Przegląd Polski,” magazines associated with the author’s journalistic activities. Presenting a complete registry of funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences would require a more in-depth query in these two journals. The works appearing in the Digital Libraries Federation (FBC) should be considered a representation of this type of creative output primarily for figures from the political sphere. S. Tarnowski also authored biographies of individuals known for their public activities. These biographies contained comments and assessments of their actions. However, they were not subtitled “posthumous reminiscences.” It is worth noting here the biographical reflections concerning, among others, Józef Szujski,⁴⁷ Fryderyk Chopin,⁴⁸ Artur Grottger,⁴⁹ Julian Klaczko.⁵⁰ Longer and shorter separate works were also dedicated to individuals about whom S. Tarnowski wrote posthumous reminiscences, including Walerian Kalinka.⁵¹ Such texts were not included in these considerations.

From the presented compilation, it can be inferred that among the individuals to whom S. Tarnowski dedicated funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences were representatives of political circles in Galicia and emigration, less frequently from other partitions, clergy including church administration, bishops, archbishops of the Catholic and Greek-Catholic rites, aristocracy, wealthy landowners, mostly associated with conservative ideology. Among them were deputies and marshals of the National Parliament (Sejm), deputies to the State Council, governors who played a significant role in the contemporary world,⁵² influencing decisions and shaping various dimensions of reality such as

⁴⁰ S. Tarnowski, *X. Piotr Semenenko (wspomnienie pośmiertne)*, Kraków 1886.

⁴¹ S. Tarnowski, *Mowa nad grobem ś.p. Lucyana Siemieńskiego*, Kraków 1878.

⁴² S. Tarnowski, *Mowa na pogrzebie hr Henryka Wodzickiego*, Kraków 1884.

⁴³ S. Tarnowski, *Ludwik Wodzicki. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1894.

⁴⁴ S. Tarnowski, *Waclaw Zaleski. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1914.

⁴⁵ S. Tarnowski, *Mowa przy pogrzebie ś.p. Andrzeja hr Zamoyskiego w dniu 31 października 1874 roku*, Kraków 1874.

⁴⁶ S. Tarnowski, *Fryderyk Zoll (wspomnienie pośmiertne)*, Kraków 1917.

⁴⁷ S. Tarnowski, *Szujskiego lata szkolne*, Kraków 1885, S. Tarnowski, *Józef Szujski jako poeta*, Warszawa 1901.

⁴⁸ S. Tarnowski, *Chopin i Grottger. Dwa szkice*, Kraków 1892.

⁴⁹ S. Tarnowski, *Artur Grottger*, Kraków 1886.

⁵⁰ S. Tarnowski, *Julian Klaczko*, vol. 1, 2, Kraków 1909.

⁵¹ S. Tarnowski, *Książdz Walerian Kalinka*, Kraków 1887.

⁵² M. Godlewski, *Czacki Włodzimierz (1835–1888)* [in:] PSB vol. 4, 1938, p. 146–147; W. Hordyński, *Czartoryska Marcelina (1817–1894)* [in:] PSB vol. 4, 1938, p. 246–248; J. Sokulski, *Czartoryski Roman Adam August Wilhelm (1839–1887)* [in:] PSB vol. 4, 1938, p. 295–296;

politics, science, education, religion, and economy.⁵³ This group also included collaborators and friends of S. Tarnowski, such as Lucjan Siemiński, Paweł Popiel, Ludwik Wodzicki associated with the Stańczycy milieu. The proceeds from the publication of the mentioned posthumous reminiscence of Princess Jadwiga Sapiieżyna were intended for the activities of the St. Teresa Institute in Lviv.⁵⁴

M. Kukiel, *Czartoryski Władysław (1828–1894)* [in:] PSB vol. 4, 1938, p. 300–303; T. Glemma, M. Tyrowicz, *Dunajewski Albin (1817–1894)* [in:] PSB vol. 5, 1939–1946, p. 462–465; S. Głąbiński, *Julian Adam Dunajewski (1822–1907)* [in:] PSB vol. 5, 1939–1946, p. 465–468; J. Groblicki, *Golian Zygmunt (1825–1885)* [in:] PSB t. 8, 1959–1960, p. 219–220; M. Tyrowicz, *Kalicki Bernard (1840–1884)* [in:] PSB t. 11, 1964–1965, p. 445–446; S. Kieniewicz, *Kalinka Walerian (1826–1886)* [in:] PSB vol. 11, 1964–1965, p. 449–452; W. Kalinowska, *Kapliński Leon (1826–1873)* [in:] PSB vol. 11, 1964–1965, p. 635–637; S. Kieniewicz, *Kajsiewicz (Kaysiewicz) Hieronim (1812–1873)* [in:] PSB vol. 11, 1964–1965, p. 424–426; B. Leśnodorski, *Kasznicza Józef (1834–1887)* [in:] PSB vol. 12, 1966–1967, p. 204–206; W. Danek, *Kraszewski Józef Ignacy (1812–1887)* [in:] PSB vol. 15, 1970, p. 221–229; Cz. Lechicki, *Lobos (Loboś) Ignacy Józef (1827–1900)* [in:] PSB vol. 18, 1973, p. 377–378; S. Kieniewicz, *Popiel (Chościak Popiel) Jan (1836–1911)* [in:] PSB vol. 27, 1983, p. 555–556; S. Kieniewicz, *Popiel (Chościak Popiel) Paweł (1807–1892)* [in:] PSB vol. 27, 1983, p. 568–572; R. Bender, A. Gałka, *Popiel (Chościak Popiel) Wincenty Teofil (1825–1912)* [in:] PSB vol. 27, 1983, p. 580–582; A. Palarczykowa, *Potocka z Branickich Katarzyna (1825–1907)* [in:] PSB vol. 27, 1983, p. 742–743; J. Zdrada, *Potocki Alfred Józef (1822–1889)* [in:] PSB vol. 27, 1983, p. 762–766; J. Buszko, *Potocki Andrzej (1861–1908)* [in:] PSB vol. 27, 1983, p. 778–782; J. Zdrada, *Potocki Artur (1850–1890)* [in:] PSB vol. 27, 1983, p. 797–799; C. Bąk-Koczarska, *Puszeta (de Puget-Puszeta) Wojciech Stanisław (1841–1907)* [in:] PSB vol. 29, 1986, p. 451–452; J. Marszałska, *Sanguszkowa z Lubomirskich Izabela (1808–1890)* [in:] PSB vol. 34, 1994, p. 521–522; S. Kieniewicz, *Sapieha Leon (1803–1878)* [in:] PSB vol. 35, 1994, p. 76–81; S. Kieniewicz, *Sapieżyna z Zamoyskich Jadwiga (1806–1890)* [in:] PSB vol. 35, 1994, p. 167–168; A. Zięba, *Sembratowicz Sylwester (1836–1898)* [in:] PSB vol. 36, 1995–1996, p. 212–217; B. Micewski, *Semenenko Piotr Adolf Aleksander (1814–1886)* [in:] PSB vol. 36, 1995–1996, p. 219–223; E. Kiślak, *Siemiński (Siemiński) Lucjan Hipolit (1807–1877)* [in:] PSB vol. 37, 1997, p. 23–28.

⁵³ The mentioned figures and their works have been the subject of many publications – articles and monographs. Particularly noteworthy is Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, who has been the subject of numerous publications. Listing them, even in a narrow selection, would exceed the scope of this article and footnote. Among others, it is worth mentioning recent biographical monographs dedicated to Z. Golian – W. Baliński, *Kaplan Bożego Miłosierdzia; ksiądz Zygmunt Golian (1824–1885)*, Kraków 2022; H. Kajsiewicz and P. Semenenko – K. Wójtowicz, *Kapłaństwo pierwszych zmarłychwstańców (Semenenki i Kajsiewicza)*, Kraków 2010; J. Guzdek, *Idea narodu i jego wolności w kazaniach księdza Hieronima Kajsiewicza CR (1812–1873)*, Kraków 1998; A. Kardaś, *Droga charyzmatyczna Hieronima Kajsiewicza*, Kraków 2006; W. Kalinka – J. Maternicki, *Walerian Kalinka (1826–1886) i jego badania nad epoką porozbiorową*, Rzeszów 2013; S. Walasek, *Działalność pedagogiczna Waleriana Kalinki*, Wrocław 1993; L. Kapliński – Ł. Krzywka, *Sztuk–mistrz polski: Leon Kapliński (1826–1873)*, Wrocław 1994; A. Potocki – A. W. Korusiewicz, *Cesarski i Królewski Namieśnik: życie i działalność polityczna hrabiego Andrzeja Potockiego*, Kraków 2008. The lives and activities of these figures have been the subject of many analyses in textbooks, syntheses, and monographs dedicated to parliamentarism, ideologies, ideas, Church history, and other issues.

⁵⁴ S. Tarnowski, *Księżna Jadwiga z Zamoyskich Sapieżyna*, Kraków 1890.

Posthumous reminiscences and various forms of biographies, as assessed by R. Czepulis-Rastenis, politically “filled many columns of nineteenth-century journals and other publications.”⁵⁵ Therefore, it should be acknowledged that the development of printing capabilities also contributed significantly to the growth of this type of literature. It served to preserve the memory of individual personalities, thereby increasing interest in their role in history. The motives for creating funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences by S. Tarnowski were diverse. Among them were both a sense of duty towards the deceased and the desire to present oneself at funeral ceremonies, which usually gathered a large number of participants and were considered an important religious ritual. Funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences dedicated to friends and collaborators fulfilled a sense of obligation arising out of friendship. They often became reflections attempting to answer questions about the meaning of life, the meaning of history, transience, the forms of relationships and social development, and key social issues that shaped the rhythm of past events. In funeral speeches, not only facts were significant but also their interpretation. Reflections on the lives of individuals were intertwined with considerations about the circumstances and conditions in which these figures lived and acted. Political issues frequently appeared in many funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences, as they were a subject of fascination for the author. The death of individuals was treated as a pretext for expanding reflections on ideas and political life. Funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences should be regarded as works that do not belong to the mainstream publications of this eminent historian of literature and culture. Some posthumous reminiscences can be seen as expressions of gratitude, especially those concerning Bernard Kalicki. This official and publicist published a dissertation in defence of S. Tarnowski in 1877,⁵⁶ a response to accusations of a pro-Russian stance found in lectures dedicated to Romanticists and Polish Romanticism, directed at him by Lviv democrats.

In creating works dedicated to the deceased, S. Tarnowski operated under the assumption that individual units comprising the human collective play different roles in history. He regarded the death of an individual as the closing of one page or only a smaller or larger fragment of it. However, the merits of the deceased were highly varied. There was no equality in this field. Depending on the quality of their merits, individuals inscribed different-sized fragments into the book of history. S. Tarnowski thus depicted the relationship between the history of humanity and the histories of individuals: “the great book of history consists of pages on which people write entire chapters: some, the most numerous, write

⁵⁵ R. Czepulis-Rastenis, *Ludzie nauki i talentu...*, p.232.

⁵⁶ See: B. Kalicki, *Dążności rossyjskie profesora Stanisława Tarnowskiego*, Lwów 1877.

by verse, by word, by letter, while some receive a whole page.”⁵⁷ Adopting the assumption of varied contributions to history by different individuals allowed S. Tarnowski to make choices based on his own value system, where criteria could depend on his current assessments of situations, beliefs, and the activities of the deceased person. In his assessments, humanity was dominated by individuals who did not have a significant contribution to history.

S. Tarnowski regarded speeches and remembrances as duties toward the deceased. The death of close individuals-friends, collaborators-became an especially difficult experience. In bidding farewell to Ludwik Wodzicki, he wrote: “Losing friends, burying with them all the memories and illusions of those young years when a person knows only pain and hardship by name, becoming increasingly abandoned by companions over the years—it is difficult. Writing about them is a bitter addition to sorrow. The wound is there and it hurts; one bears it as best as one can.”⁵⁸ For him, passing away took on a particular form when it came to the death of friends. S. Tarnowski believed, however, that the sadness and sorrow accompanying the death of friends should not prevent the publication of memories about them. It became the duty of publicly known individuals, especially writers, to remind others of the deceased, their merits, even though as he wrote: “(...) those for whom it costs the most, therefore, are called upon and obliged to testify about the deceased to those who knew them less, who will not know them at all.”⁵⁹ Caring for the memory was to become “a small compensation for unfulfilled duties of friendship.”⁶⁰ Writing memories about friends was portrayed as an activity during which it became impossible to separate oneself from emotions. It led to a lack of proper “concentration of thought” and “holding feelings” “in power”.⁶¹ However, this emotional state did not exempt one from the obligation to perpetuate the memory of loved ones, to present them in a positive light, and to point out the significance of their actions and contributions to society.

Due to the prevalence of posthumous reminiscences, it cannot be excluded that S. Tarnowski, for whom journalistic activity was an important component of existence in the public sphere, also desired to express himself in such works. They provided broad opportunities to engage the reader, to reach them through biographies of specific individuals whose lives were guided by conservative values. B. Szlachta also pointed out that the reason for S. Tarnowski’s fascination with many individuals, their personalities, and individualism in action, from the

⁵⁷ S. Tarnowski, *Leon Sapieha (przedruk z „Czasu”)*, Kraków 1878, p. 3.

⁵⁸ S. Tarnowski, *Ludwik Wodzicki. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1894, p. 5.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

circle of collaborators, was these currents of liberal thought in which reflections on the role of the individual in history were visible.⁶² These factors were significant reasons for creating posthumous remembrances. It should also be noted that S. Tarnowski, as a literary historian, was the author of biographical works dedicated to significant writers of the 19th century and other epochs.⁶³ The Romantic literature, which enjoyed his particular interest due to its connections with the current situation of the national community and as the basis for the programmatic idea of independence and freedom, was treated as the history of outstanding writers who created it – Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, or Zygmunt Krasiński. Knowledge about Romantic literature formed the basis for constructing many oppositional theses regarding its patriotic and social content, including the idea of armed struggle for freedom and the necessity of social change towards egalitarianism. Therefore, S. Tarnowski had a well-mastered, practiced, and constantly improved research methodology for analysing human destinies and literary creativity. The history of literature was for him a collection of the histories of individuals shaping it. Such skills were utilized in funeral speeches and posthumous reminiscences.

Considerations about the factors shaping human destinies

While writing a posthumous remembrance of Leon Sapieha (1803–1878), the longtime Marshal of the Sejm of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria (1861–1875), emphasis was placed on presenting the life and activities of this politician as “an example” and “a lesson for the future”.⁶⁴ Therefore, the idea of public education accompanied S. Tarnowski. Reflections on the fate of political elites were meant to serve this purpose as well. Both funeral speeches and posthumous remembrances provided occasions for creating such reflections. In the remembrance dedicated to Bernard Kalicki (1840–1884), an official of the National Department, publicist, and history enthusiast, Tarnowski listed several qualities that could be considered ideal. He emphasized that Kalicki possessed not only intelligence but also “qualities of a manly character”.⁶⁵ He believed that there are separate ethical requirements for women and men. Among the aforementioned masculine traits, he listed “truth”, “honesty”, “verbal commitment”, “steadfastness”, “courage”, “consistency between word and

⁶² B. Szlachta, *Stanisław Tarnowski jako myśliciel polityczny...*, p. I–XXI

⁶³ See for example: B. Szlachta, *Stanisław Tarnowski jako myśliciel polityczny...*, p. XII.

⁶⁴ S. Tarnowski, *Leon Sapieha...*, p.3.

⁶⁵ S. Tarnowski, *Bernard Kalicki*, Kraków 1885, p. 3.

deed with conviction”, “sincere zeal”, and “uncommon strength of feelings”.⁶⁶ However, this ideal and desirable set did not guarantee a good life. S. Tarnowski wrote about B. Kalicki: “He had many values, less success, and life was not easy”.⁶⁷

The life stories of individual people were seen as the result of many factors. These factors were mentioned during the funeral speech of Lucjan Siemieński and included: the “times” in which the person lived, their activities, their role as a link between the past and the present, and the values they conveyed through their life.⁶⁸ An important factor shaping the community of distinguished and meritorious individuals, according to S. Tarnowski, was Providence. In a funeral speech delivered for Andrzej Zamoyski in 1874, he pointed out: “For different times and different needs, God sends various people and grants them different natures, so that according to His arrangements, they may be effective instruments and serve as good examples for others”.⁶⁹ Personalities were treated as the result of a broader divine plan. They were perceived as instruments in the hands of God. Providence decided the fate of the world and humans, shaped history, moulded the personalities of individuals, and subordinated their activities to its own design, giving a specific individual the stamp, a sign of being an example worthy of emulation for others. In the stories of individuals, there were descriptions of both their successes and failures. Human life was portrayed as variable. Biographies were filled with examples of *per aspera ad astra*. They contained numerous stories of struggles, sacrifices, and suffering, the final result of which were extraordinary, memorable deeds. Analysing the biography of Bernard Kalicki mentioned earlier, S. Tarnowski pointed out that he was “the son of poor parents”.⁷⁰ One’s background significantly determined a person’s fate. S. Tarnowski wrote: “Poor, forced to work for himself, Kalicki found a way of earning a living that had a decisive and very fortunate influence on uplifting his mind and character, on his education and interests, helping and relieving his parents and younger siblings with his work”.⁷¹ People who did not have adequate financial support from their families had fewer opportunities to choose their careers or occupations.

S. Tarnowski was a proponent of the idea of connections between the dead and the living, based on faith. Such views were evident in the posthumous reminiscence dedicated to the Archbishop of Kraków, Albin Dunajewski. He

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁸ S. Tarnowski, *Mowa nad grobem ś.p. Lucyana Siemieńskiego*, Kraków 1878, p. 11.

⁶⁹ S. Tarnowski, *Mowa przy pogrzebie ś.p. Andrzeja Zamoyskiego w dniu 31 października 1874 r.*, Kraków 1874, p. 3.

⁷⁰ S. Tarnowski, *Bernard Kalicki*, p. 4.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*.

mentioned “the mourning Kraków” in this tribute.⁷² Under this term were concealed the close, deceased individuals from the elite circle –Józef Szujski, Walerian Kalinka, Mikołaj Zyblikiewicz, Artur Potocki, Paweł Popiel, Jan Matejko.⁷³ He demonstrated the belief that these deceased individuals, despite their physical absence, had a spiritual influence on the course of events and the attitudes of contemporaries. He stated: “Their love always burns, their request always rises, their care hovers over us, invisibly but always more effectively than on Earth.”⁷⁴ This attitude described here should be recognized as one of the significant motives for creating posthumous reminiscences.

S. Tarnowski, in his writings, aimed to depict the connections between human life and various ideologies, political events, and cultural phenomena. He was aware that he might not always accurately describe the history of personalities and individuality, including the psychological sphere. Writing shortly after someone’s death, he could not access all the information about that person. He wrote About Princess Marcelina Czartoryska that her works and activities were known, but her soul remained unknown.⁷⁵ The term ‘soul’ signified her inner life–reflections, and beliefs. This sphere became more difficult to describe. It could not be based solely on a register of affiliations with societies and associations, performed concerts or inspired publications and actions.

In the circle of politics and its issues

The political threads were treated as factors shaping historical events. One of the significant recurring themes was the position of Poles during the partitions, the lack of their own statehood, and existence only as a national community. According to S. Tarnowski, such a situation led to social preferences for a specific system of values, shaped by a series of events resulting from this enslavement of Polish society. It lacked, in his opinion, a place for knightly virtues. In the funeral oration for Andrzej Zamoyski, who spent his last years in Galicia, he wrote: “Today, when an eminent man in the country dies, he is praised not for leading to glory with a sword and banner, but for carrying his burden to the end without glory, without greatness, without comforts, and even without hope often but with courage and determination, teaching patience in the face of adversity”.⁷⁶ S. Tarnowski associated knightly virtues with the

⁷² S. Tarnowski, *Kardynał Dunajewski...*, p. 27.

⁷³ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁵ S. Tarnowski, *Księżna Marcelina Czartoryska...*, p. 7.

⁷⁶ S. Tarnowski, *Mowa przy pogrzebie ś.p. Andrzeja Zamoyskiego...*, p. 3.

possession of a sovereign state and independence. This meant that he did not link them to military activities aimed at regaining freedom. He did not show a positive attitude towards insurgent movements. In the mid-1870s, he did not want to see in them a symbol of sacrifice for the Fatherland. This interpretation is confirmed by the creation of the aforementioned thesis in the context of memories of Andrzej Zamoyski, a hero of patriotic demonstrations in 1861 that had a civilian character rather than that of armed combat. The funeral oration was meant to be a tribute to those politicians and such concepts that did not choose armed struggle as a political method for regaining independence. This attitude was the result of a critical assessment of the January Uprising. A. Zamoyski was portrayed as a “diligent” and “resourceful” hero, building on the foundations of “moral value of people” and “social order”.⁷⁷ In the eyes of S. Tarnowski, his greatest achievement was the creation of a social movement promoting economic development, including agriculture, industry, and trade.⁷⁸ He regarded him as a person devoid of egocentric attitudes, pointing out that he was characterized by “selflessness”, meaning “lack of self-interest”.⁷⁹ He remained for him the “moral leader of the country”.⁸⁰ S. Tarnowski’s assessment of A. Zamoyski’s character was subordinated to certain ideals. The hero of his considerations was a very complex personality. It would be difficult to associate his actions solely with the ideas formulated by S. Tarnowski. The figure of A. Zamoyski has received many assessments,⁸¹ often different from S. Tarnowski’s theses. His assessment was primarily associated with the search for heroes and the ideas they symbolized, alternatives to chivalrous values.

In S. Tarnowski’s considerations, there were numerous attempts to answer the question of what politics was and what its practice entailed. This theme also appeared in the account of Emperor Francis Joseph’s journey published in 1881 in the “Przegląd Polski” magazine, where S. Tarnowski pointed out what real politics entailed, especially in the absence of a sovereign state and the presence of spiritual and cultural communalities. He emphasized that the introduction of autonomy was a significant development. He wrote: “For us, in Galicia, it was also a victory, or at least a visible sign of the victory of politics, pursued since 1866. From the moment when it was understood among us that ideas themselves, like pure spirits on earth, do not live, but necessarily

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 5.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

⁸¹ One of the most serious analysts of the activities of this figure is S. Kieniewicz, who bases his reflections on a rich source material. See *idem: Między ugodą a rewolucją. Andrzej Zamoyski w latach 1861–1862*, Warszawa 1962.

require a body, material life, land, society, law, and government; from the moment it was understood that a homeland, which has long been only an idea, can forever remain an abstraction, a utopia, and finally nothingness, from the moment when it was asked, where is the monarch and the state to whom respect, obedience, and loyalty could be pledged, and in return, receive the necessary conditions of life”.⁸² S. Tarnowski did not consider ideas as enduring entities unless they were linked to the existence of a system based on them. Concrete and specific institutions, including monarchy, created real possibilities for political action. In 1881, he referred to them as “Austrian-Polish politics”.⁸³ The form of Polish identity within the Austrian monarchy was threatened by numerous real factors, including the power dynamics in the Viennese parliament that were not always aligned with the expectations of the Polish community, as well as the diversity of opinions among politicians representing Galicia.⁸⁴ The summary of the years 1867–1880 indicated the acceptance of the assumption about the necessity of cooperation between the Polish society of Galicia and the state authority. Proper relations between the country (Galicia) and the state (Austria) could become a source of specific benefits serving the idea of Polishness.

The question of the most advantageous formula for the existence of the nation as an ideological concept in partitioned states resurfaced repeatedly in various considerations. In a speech delivered at the funeral of Władysław Czarторыski in Sieniawa on July 26, 1894, S. Tarnowski pointed out: “It is bad when the politics of states and nations is concentrated in mighty houses: it should live in the continuity of their governments and parliament”.⁸⁵ Evidence of continuity and the endurance of the national community became certain institutions. They could not be replaced by aristocratic families.

Ruminations on the formula of freedom for the nation in partitioned states, where the state played the role of sovereign over it, were accompanied by S. Tarnowski’s search for “reasonable patriotism” in the actions of his heroes. B. Kalicki was included among the proponents of “reasonable love of the Fatherland”.⁸⁶ This term denoted the rejection of armed struggle and revolution as methods of regaining independence. It was related to S. Tarnowski’s quests and reflections, which boiled down to the question – what is patriotism? This concept was for him both an important criterion for assessing the activities of individuals and a specific political program. The question of patriotism appeared

⁸² S. Tarnowski, *Cesarz w Galicji*, „Przegląd Polski” 1881, vol. 2, p. 5.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁵ S. Tarnowski, *Mowa na pogrzebie Ks. Władysława Czarторыskiego...*, p. 6.

⁸⁶ S. Tarnowski, *Bernard Kalicki*, p. 5.

in many contexts. It was also linked to the question of the future and the search for effective forms of actions serving the preservation of the Polish national community.⁸⁷ The term “reasonable patriotism” was associated with positivist trends, indicating a focus on work in the field of economy or culture aimed at raising the level of economic development. It was supposed to be a condition for maintaining national identity. B. Szlachta also pointed to the connection with the ideas of Zygmunt Helcl and Aleksander Wielopolski.⁸⁸

An important motif recurring in posthumous reminiscences was the assessment of Polish society’s history during the partitions.⁸⁹ It was one of the recurring themes in his reflections, which took the form of a synthesis of the period’s history.⁹⁰ In the funeral speech for Henryk Wodzicki in 1884, he divided this era into the golden, silver, leaden, and iron ages. The golden age referred to the Napoleonic era, the silver to the Congress Kingdom period, the leaden to the times after the fall of the November Uprising, signifying both emigration and stagnation. He described the era in which he lived as “iron”, “hard”, “cold”, “without fleeting illusions of comfort”.⁹¹ This periodization was a result of political assessments. The main criterion was the degree of autonomy of Polish society determined by various forms of political existence, including the Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland (Congress Poland). Emigration and significant limitations on political freedom after the fall of the uprising were times particularly unfavourable for Polish identity. The era he lived in was seen as a time after the loss of independence dreams, unsuccessful military efforts such as uprisings, and diplomatic actions like those of the Hotel Lambert. He described W. Czartoryski as someone who inherited: “A chalice of the bitterness of fruitless labours, lost hopes, and wasted wise thoughts”.⁹² This assessment was tied to a critical attitude towards emigration. He believed that it was “a misfortune, its hopes were illusions, and its actions were mistakes”.⁹³

Reflections containing assessments of post-partition life were also included in the posthumous tribute to Walerian Kalinka. S. Tarnowski distinguished three epochs: the era of struggle, until 1831, the era of emigration after the fall of the

⁸⁷ See for instance: S. Tarnowski, *Obrachunek „Przeglądu Polskiego” po dziesięciu latach jego istnienia*, [in:] S. Tarnowski, *Królowa opinia. Wybór pism*, introduction by B. Szlachta, selection of texts by J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 2011, p. 145–156.

⁸⁸ B. Szlachta, *Stanisław Tarnowski jako myśliciel polityczny...*, p. XVII.

⁸⁹ S. Tarnowski in 1896 published the second edition of *Naszych dziejów w ostatnich stu latach*, Kraków 1896. There he included a comprehensive view on this era.

⁹⁰ S. Tarnowski, *Nasze dzieje w ostatnich stu latach*, wyd. 1, Kraków 1895.

⁹¹ S. Tarnowski, *Mowa na pogrzebie hr Henryka Wodzickiego*, Kraków 1884, p. 3.

⁹² S. Tarnowski, *Mowa na pogrzebie Ks. Władysława Czartoryskiego...*, p. 6.

⁹³ *Ibidem*.

uprising, and the current era, presented as an era of social and political work largely associated with parliamentary and associational activities.⁹⁴

S. Tarnowski returned to reflections on the epochs in the post-partition life of Polish society ten years later in the posthumous remembrance of Ludwik Wodzicki. He believed that Galician affairs constituted one of the significant chapters in Polish history.⁹⁵ The hero of the remembrance was treated as a person who played a significant role in this chapter.⁹⁶ This period, the result of experiences from the uprising, was referred to as “the most painful time”.⁹⁷ S. Tarnowski gave it this designation because during the patriotic fervour, it became apparent that “the best and holiest cause can be lost if not conducted wisely; it can even be stained if it is touched by less pure hands and hearts when it came to realizing that one cannot believe in any foreign help, cannot rely on any”.⁹⁸ The year 1863 was perceived as a mistake subjected to subsequent analyses, which were treated as “a reckoning of conscience, repentance, and a strong resolution to improve”.⁹⁹ This religious rhetoric was intended to strengthen the message of the uprising as an experience possessing only the desired ideological and spiritual dimension. S. Tarnowski emphasized that these analyses were particularly utilized in the life of Galicia after 1865. They allowed the emergence of a specific ideological environment striving to ensure that the undertaken actions were not futile and fruitless. This led to a situation where “the history and state of Galicia from 1865 to this day will not be the worst card in Polish history”.¹⁰⁰ He attributed a special role to the environment operating within the Galician system. It was based on the foundations of “repentance”, “will”, “honest and unyielding determination to improve our country and our fate”.¹⁰¹ In this circle, “reason” was supposed to embody the essence of merit for the country, signifying the utilization of opportunities created by the partitioner’s system.

In the remembrance dedicated to L. Wodzicki, there was a conviction about the community of fates and experiences of the generation of participants in the uprising. A strong bond that connected them was the events perceived as a painful encounter with politics. S. Tarnowski assessed: “Quietly, insignificantly, like a thief and like death, politics came upon us and drew us into its circles, from which it later threw out some without life and others without illusions about

⁹⁴ S. Tarnowski, *X. Walerian Kalinka (Wspomnienie pośmiertne)*, Kraków 1887.

⁹⁵ S. Tarnowski, *Ludwik Wodzicki. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Warszawa 1894, p. 6.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁷ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁸ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁹ *Ibidem.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem.*

life”.¹⁰² The first experience of engaging in politics by Polish society and its representatives could bring either death or a critical assessment of the ideas forming the basis of its practice, stripping away convictions about the strength of spiritual values, and realizing the necessity of analysing realities and using them in independence projects.

In the remembrance dedicated to Marcelina Czartoryska, it was emphasized that the time of partitions, characterized by life in a country in bondage, meant a non-heroic and therefore non-chivalrous time in which there was no space for great deeds. Only “fantasy” could spread its wings, but “energy” meaning the ability to act had “hands somewhat tied”.¹⁰³ These views were a continuation of thoughts expressed in the earlier speech at the funeral of Andrzej Zamoyski in 1874. In the remembrance of M. Czartoryska, there was also a clear distinction between merits allowing a given figure to be placed in history or only in civilization.¹⁰⁴ S. Tarnowski acknowledged that her activities could not be compared to queens, but they should also not be forgotten. He stated that “in Polish civilization at that time, this lady meant a lot”.¹⁰⁵ S. Tarnowski clearly delineated the sphere of politics and culture here. The former constituted an undisputed passage to history, while the value of the latter was different and subject to discussion.

Parliamentarism was considered one of the significant factors enabling the presentation of various political views through the opportunity of forming associations, creating political parties, and participating in elections. Activity in this field was seen as worthy of special interest and recognition and was perceived as a form of national existence. Both the national parliament and the overall Austrian parliament allowed the representation of the interests of various social groups in Polish society, although in the curial system, these were primarily the aristocracy, landowners, and wealthy bourgeoisie. S. Tarnowski dedicated posthumous memoirs to the marshals of the National Sejm – Leon Sapieha, Ludwik Wodzicki, and deputies of this parliament, including Artur Potocki. The death of L. Sapieha, the marshal of the National Sejm, became an occasion to remark on the end of a certain era, marking the closure of an important chapter in history.¹⁰⁶ Analysing L. Sapieha’s biography, S. Tarnowski reflected on his decision to stay and not emigrate in 1831, which meant arriving in Galicia and settling there, bringing with him “the spirit of Warsaw”.¹⁰⁷ This

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 17.

¹⁰³ S. Tarnowski, *Księżna Marcelina Czartoryska...*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁶ S. Tarnowski, *Leon Sapieha (przedruk z „Czasu”)*, Kraków 1878, p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

was a figure meant to symbolize the role of inter-partition bonds, their strength, and vitality as evidence of Polish identity. L. Sapieha's activities were also seen as serving the creation of a political centre around the Sejm that would serve the entire society, both Polish and Ruthenian (Ukrainian), while also showing respect for the state authority.¹⁰⁸ The figure of Alfred Potocki, as the governor of Galicia (1875–1883), was presented as an example of a politician who balanced his interest and activity for both the state (Austria) and the region (Galicia), which became an important characteristic of the activities among the Polish social elite in Galicia.¹⁰⁹ Ludwik Wodzicki's character was meant to symbolize prudence, wise behaviour towards society, and care for the well-being of Galicia and the entire state.¹¹⁰ S. Tarnowski emphasized that Wodzicki was devoid of "political smallness", which he described as vanity and jealousy.¹¹¹ He regarded him as "thoughtful and skilful, thoroughly honest and upright".¹¹² Wodzicki was seen as an ideal worthy of emulation by others, possessing desirable qualities for engaging in politics understood as acting for the common good. For S. Tarnowski, the high social prestige of Wodzicki did not result solely from holding high positions but was a consequence of his "values and abilities".¹¹³

Parliamentary activity became one of the significant reasons for Artur Potocki's social merits (1850–1890)¹¹⁴ alongside his particular interest in economic matters.¹¹⁵ His activity was meant to symbolize qualities of diligence, ingenuity, and dedication.¹¹⁶ This figure was intended to symbolize the idea of economic modernization. In the text dedicated to A. Potocki, modernization was perceived as the work of associations inspired and led by landowners aimed at improving the management of revenues and allocating them to social purposes.

Many posthumous reminiscences reflected the issues of charitable activities and religious education. These themes were visible in texts dedicated to figures such as Princess Iza Sanguszko¹¹⁷ and Father Stanisław Puszet.¹¹⁸ In the case of the former, a sort of catalogue of conservative requirements for women and perfect femininity was defined in 1890. A woman should be good, kind, beautiful, possess splendid grace, be polite, cheerful, have a lovely

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 14–16, 22–23.

¹⁰⁹ S. Tarnowski, *Alfred Potocki: (wspomnienie pośmiertne)*, Kraków 1889.

¹¹⁰ S. Tarnowski, *Ludwik Wodzicki*, p. 6.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹¹² *Ibidem*.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁴ S. Tarnowski, *Artur hr Potocki. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, 1890, p. 24.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

¹¹⁷ S. Tarnowski, *Księżna Iza z Lubomirskich Sanguszkowa*, Kraków 1890.

¹¹⁸ S. Tarnowski, *X. Stanisław Puszet, Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1907.

and captivating appearance, and engage in charity work.¹¹⁹ She had to be an ornament of the home, husband, and household.

Writing in 1895 about Marcelina Czartoryska, S. Tarnowski pondered whether she would approve of such a text. He clearly indicated her views on this matter by posing a question on her behalf: “How come? Don’t you understand that women, even after they have passed away, should be talked about as little as possible, and never publicly? If there are those about whom history speaks, or others whom the Church praises and holds up as examples due to exceptional virtue, then they deserve a mention in history or a funeral oration from the pulpit. But none of them should be the subject of public gossip, which even when taken in good faith cannot separate itself from that indifferent, commonplace curiosity that is not offensive but which women do not like or want to subject themselves to. A man has his place in the public sphere with his deeds, but a woman’s memory, like her life, should stay within the home”.¹²⁰ In the context of the quoted thoughts of the heroine of the memoir, the question arises: Did S. Tarnowski share her views, meaning a clear indication of the public sphere where news about heroines—women—should not appear, or was it just a way to signal that his actions are not in line with her beliefs, and his views on these matters are different? The publication of the memoir allows pursuing the latter thesis. The inclusion of the princess’s doubts was both an expression of awareness of her worldview and of ongoing social changes. Marcelina Czartoryska née Radziwiłł, the wife of Aleksander Romuald Czartoryski, son of Konstanty, grandson of Adam Kazimierz and Izabela née Fleming, was a figure engaged in various fields, most notably known as a pianist, collaborator, and interpreter of Fryderyk Chopin’s works, a guardian of his memory.¹²¹ In S. Tarnowski’s memoir, she was associated with a series of virtues. She became the epitome of “noble feelings”, “refined taste”, having her own “convictions” and “principles”, “artistic” and “worldly” customs, “humility”, and “pride”.¹²² Her life was guided by “a strong urge for self-improvement”, “passionate love of learning”, “talent”, “zealous spirit of piety”, “great wealth of talents and virtues”, the ability to make sacrifices, attachments, and friendships.¹²³ These qualities served her well in effective social communication with various circles, enabling the promotion and dissemination of F. Chopin’s work in Poland and beyond, in Europe and around the world. The following formulation aimed to highlight the multifaceted nature of her character: “She embodies both a Polish

¹¹⁹ S. Tarnowski, *Księżna Iza z Lubomirskich Sanguszkowa*, p. 3–6, 13.

¹²⁰ S. Tarnowski, *Księżna Marcelina Czartoryska...*, p. 3.

¹²¹ W. Hordyński, *Czartoryska Marcelina (1817–1894)* [in:] PSB vol. 4, 1938, p. 246–248.

¹²² S. Tarnowski, *Księżna Marcelina Czartoryska...*, p. 3.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

woman, a servant of the poor and sick, an artist, and a grand lady from the highest circles of society (...).¹²⁴ Posthumous reflections on women clearly indicated S. Tarnowski's view of the clear differentiation of roles between women and men in society, the distinctiveness of goals, and methods of action.

The figure of Archbishop of Kraków, Cardinal Albin Dunajewski, became an opportunity for reflections on the position and impact of the Catholic Church in society. S. Tarnowski pointed out "the decline of the spirit of faith and piety"¹²⁵ visible in the second half of the 1870s. This was the diagnosis presented in the memoir about A. Dunajewski, who was nominated for the position of metropolitan of Kraków. This crisis of faith meant a departure of clergy from the church spirit and laypeople "from zeal".¹²⁶ The cardinal was faced with the question of how to act to maintain the Church's influence among the masses, thus among a wide and diverse group of believers. S. Tarnowski outlined a series of methods employed by A. Dunajewski to overcome the crisis. These included tours around archdioceses, direct knowledge of the situation in individual parishes, contact with the faithful through joint participation in religious services, "maintenance and enhancement of church discipline", "repairing what came from clubs", catechising through confirmation, directing teaching to all members of the community.¹²⁷ The use of new means of communication within the community of believers was aimed at strengthening direct ties between the diocesan leader and both the faithful and the clergy. It required constant personal contacts and a new language understandable also to groups not constituting intellectual elites. A. Dunajewski's attitude and program were in line with the teachings of Pope Leo XIII. It was thanks to him that he received the nomination, which was the result of a personal meeting. A. Dunajewski aimed to present the face of a new Church directed towards all believers regardless of their social status.

Father S. Puszet, associated with the education system in Lviv, a catechist, theorist, and didactic of catechesis, was presented as an example of a quiet and humble heart, avoiding publicity, fulfilling his mission in education, an excellent "high school catechist".¹²⁸ The memoir about this figure aimed to honour the work of teachers of religion possessing talent in building strong foundations of faith in students.¹²⁹ He was not widely known. The posthumous memoir by S. Tarnowski was intended to be an important factor in popularizing the achievements of Father S. Puszet, his contributions to the promotion of faith

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁵ S. Tarnowski, *Kardynał Dunajewski...*, p. 18.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

¹²⁸ S. Tarnowski, *X. Stanisław Puszet*, p. 3.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*.

through catechesis, the development of reflection around it, the methods used, and thus an important form of religious education.

S. Tarnowski was the author of a posthumous memoir of Archbishop of Warsaw Wincenty Teofil Chościak Popiel, a controversial figure accused of excessive loyalty to the Russian authorities. Tarnowski's reflections contained elements of justification. In his opinion, the life of the archbishop was "long, virtuous, and painful".¹³⁰ In his memoir, Tarnowski tried to explain why his figure did not support the boycott of Russian schools in 1905. He believed that endorsing such a stance would negate the role of education in human life.¹³¹ He acknowledged that the archbishop made many mistakes, but attributed them to the difficult conditions under which the Church operated in the Kingdom of Poland due to the repressive policies of the Russian government.¹³² This factor was considered to be the determinant in the archbishop's attitudes. Under his leadership, the Church faced crises, one of which was the situation in the Pauline Order at Jasna Góra, where thefts occurred, and the public was shocked by a murder committed by one of the brothers. This situation contributed to the Archbishop's breakdown.¹³³

A posthumous memoir could also take the form of reflection on a political event. Such texts can include a memoir dedicated to Andrzej Potocki, the Governor of Galicia, who was assassinated in 1908 by Myroslaw Siczynski, a student at the University of Lviv and a member of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party. It can be considered as a reflection on a political event and an attempt to answer why it occurred.¹³⁴ In his memoir about the deceased, S. Tarnowski referred to ideologies prevalent in Europe and Russia, especially those he termed as revolutionary.¹³⁵ In his opinion, these ideologies were a response to the ineffective governance of contemporary societies by governments in various countries. Assessing revolutionary ideologies, he wrote: "Injustice in governance gave rise to the injustices of revolution, the result and offspring of which are the epidemic of murder, fanaticism, and the apotheosis of crime as if heroism and vision, the foul and foolish cruelty, contagiously spreading across Europe from Lisbon to Petersburg".¹³⁶ He regarded the secularization of societies, moving away from belief in God, as one of the significant sources of the popularity of parties and ideologies labelled as revolutionary. He wrote: "Man becomes

¹³⁰ S. Tarnowski, *X. Wincenty Chościak-Popiel...*, p. 6.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

¹³² *Ibidem*, p. 10–11.

¹³³ *Ibidem*, p. 13–16.

¹³⁴ S. Tarnowski, *Andrzej Potocki. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1908.

¹³⁵ Characterization of Stańczycy's views on socialist ideology. Zob. M. Głuszko, *Stańczycy wobec rozwoju ideologii socjalistycznej w Galicji 1870–1893*, Rzeszów 2018.

¹³⁶ S. Tarnowski, *Andrzej Potocki*, p. 5.

savage and turns into an animal when he ceases to consider himself a creation and child of God, taking divine law and his conscience as a constraint and harm to his freedom, which these philosophical and political theories teach. To erase the sign of the cross from human societies, to deny and expel God, is the goal, and the means are to tear apart consciences, to unleash all desires and all hatred in man”.¹³⁷ The philosophical and ideological background of the assassination was linked by him to secularization and atheism, viewing them as ideological currents leading to a kind of moral chaos and a lack of understanding in the relations between authority and society, which in turn led to attempts to solve political and social problems through violence. Such attitudes, according to S. Tarnowski, hindered the implementation of political programs aimed at social balance, increasing the wealth of the country, and eliminating tensions between the nationalities of Galicia – Poles and Ruthenians (Ukrainians), the creator of which was A. Potocki.¹³⁸ Revolutionary movements were accused of lacking the ability to dialogue and resolve many issues through negotiation, political talks, and reconciling positions and views. He presented a negative assessment of the “Ruthenian national consciousness”,¹³⁹ associating it with actions such as threats, incitement of disturbances at the University, agitating villages, and fuelling conflicts through discussions on electoral reform.¹⁴⁰ S. Tarnowski did not present his own solution to these tensions but encouraged Poles to be prudent, vigilant, and to control their emotions. He expected that the final resolutions of nationality issues would be worked out in Vienna.¹⁴¹ He believed that tensions were instigated by both the Prussian press and some Viennese titles, indicating a lack of trust in Austria, Prussia, and Russia.¹⁴² It also reflected the assumption of the significant role of partitioning powers in shaping nations and nationalities in the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Conclusion

Funeral speeches and posthumous memories were important works that reflected the political and philosophical views of S. Tarnowski. Published in newspapers like “Czas” and “Przegląd Polski,” they reached a wide audience of readers of these periodicals. Their construction was related to the search for and

¹³⁷ *Ibidem.*

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 14–15.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibidem.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

¹⁴² *Ibidem.*

description of an ideal system of values aimed at perfection and the cultivation of virtues – desirable qualities in humans. Their didactic message was very clear and directed to various social groups, especially to those for whom the welfare of society was an important element of attitudes and ideology. His reflections were based on human experiences described by him in biographies that interpreted their lives, decisions, and activities. They also addressed factors shaping human biographies, including: a.) The influence of specific communities, prevailing ideas, and attitudes within them; the influence playing a significant role in shaping a person's personality and individuality; b.) The search for God, his image; c.) The pursuit of ideal models of politics, including the role of parliamentarism in solving social problems; d.) Analysis of the causes of social and ethnic tensions. Galician personalities played a significant and inspiring role for him. They were a source of his reflections and observations based on participation in many events of social, scientific, and political life. S. Tarnowski sought personalities characterized by strong individualism and the pursuit of original solutions among clerical, ecclesiastical, and scientific elites.

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W kręgu elit intelektualnych Galicji i Polski. Świat wartości Stanisława Tarnowskiego w świetle wspomnień pośmiertnych i mów pogrzebowych (1873–1917)

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest dokonanie przeglądu problemów występujących w mowach pogrzebowych i wspomnieniach pośmiertnych stanowiących istotny nurt twórczości Stanisława Tarnowskiego. Podstawą niniejszych rozważań były utwory udostępnione w Federacji Bibliotek Cyfrowych. W artykule skoncentrowano się na motywach tworzenia mów pogrzebowych i wspomnień pośmiertnych, czynnikach kształtujących ludzkie życie, polityce i modernizacji. Mowy pogrzebowe i wspomnienia pośmiertne stanowiły ważne źródło ukazujące poglądy polityczne i filozoficzne Tarnowskiego. Były źródłem jego refleksji i obserwacji opartych na uczestnictwie w wielu wydarzeniach życia społecznego, naukowego, politycznego.

Słowa kluczowe: inteligencja, Tarnowscy, mowy pogrzebowe, wspomnienia pośmiertne, autonomia Galicji