



KRZYSZTOF MORDYŃSKI
THE EMBLEM
OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF WARSAW

THE HISTORY OF THE EMBLEM ON THE UNIVERSITY'S SEALS
IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE UW MUSEUM

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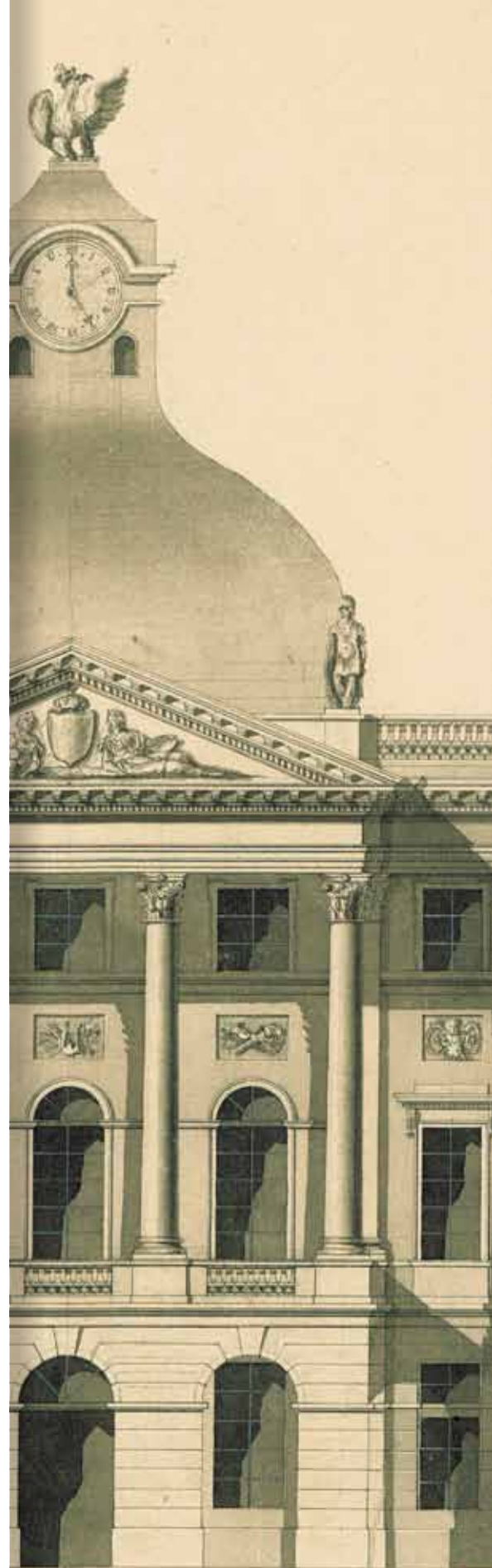
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I. Sculpture of an eagle crowning the dome.
Design of the new facade of the Kazimierzowski
Palace, drawing: Hilary Szpilowski,
Wacław Ritschel, c. 1820, Print Room
of the University of Warsaw Library (BUW)







STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS
Rex Poloniae, magnus Dux Lithuanicae &c.

Simb:
pro
Fide & Legi
Grege.

Martens pinx. Porsevia.

Matth. Perini fec. Gdani.

Historical context surrounding the establishment of the University of Warsaw

Founded in 1816, the University of Warsaw was established in an age of wars, political upheavals and social revolutions. The history of the university – like the fate of Poland – is somewhat turbulent and shaped by the contradictory ambitions of competing factions. It was a product of both the lofty ideas of the Enlightenment and the pragmatic calculations of the authorities. The political elites sought to eliminate the political defects of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but had to deal with the lack of full sovereignty of the then Kingdom, which was dependent on the Russian Empire. The university was to represent another milestone in the history of Polish culture and academia, while making a significant contribution to the construction of a modern state, the Congress Kingdom of Poland. The university's organizers built it with the intention that it would last for many years, but its activities were interrupted very quickly for the first time after only fifteen years. The university was closed in 1830 by the Russian emperor in retaliation for the outbreak of the Polish uprising in defence of the Kingdom's autonomy and constitution. However, the institution's liquidation by the Russians could not stop the process that had already begun in Polish society. The university's alumni supported the advancement of learning from the grassroots and brought about the university's reactivation in 1862. Despite the turbulent history of the following decades, fraught by Russification, the need to fight for Poland's identity, wartime destruction and looting, the University of Warsaw survived and is today the country's largest university at the forefront of Polish academia. Its patron and symbol is a white eagle surrounded by five stars – the same one chosen in 1817. Understanding the hopes that were pinned on the university, the purposes it was to serve and its intellectual, state-building and emotional significance is not possible without knowing

Fig. 1. *Stanisław August, King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania*, engraved by Matthäus Deisch, 1764, BN

the historical context. The most important aspects here are, on the one hand, the rejection of the organization of the state based on the *szlachta* (the estate comprising the nobility, to which both powerful magnates as well as those of inferior economic status belonged) in favour of an administration composed of qualified officials, and, on the other hand, Poland's loss of independence and subsequent attempts to regain it.

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, i.e. the union of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was the most powerful state in the eastern part of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, its system, known as a noble democracy, carried the seeds of future problems that led to the collapse of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and loss of independence at the end of the eighteenth century. The Polish *szlachta*, observing the bloody religious wars in Western Europe and the strengthening authoritarian power of the kings of France, England and Spain, focused its efforts on preventing this type of situation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Each new ruler had to swear to abide by the principle of religious tolerance. Royal power was severely limited, the monarch did not have a large budget or a large regular army. The state's armed forces were provided by the *szlachta*, which when necessary organized a *levée en masse*. Representatives of the *szlachta* also played a significant role in passing laws and taxes at the Sejms (two-house parliaments) convened every two years. In order to prevent the despotism of kings, in the sixteenth century the principle of free election was introduced, i.e. the election of the ruler of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at a specially convened Sejm, attended by members of the *szlachta* from all over the country. The representatives of this social class also acquired an absolute advantage over the burghers, retaining only for themselves the right to hold state offices and higher clerical positions.

The noble democracy thrived as long as the *szlachta* were dominated by a group of moderately wealthy members who felt responsible for the state and could raise a well-equipped army. The wars of the seventeenth century – which were unfavourable for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – in particular the Swedish invasion in 1655–1660, known as the 'Deluge', led to a change in the political landscape. Due to the impoverishment of a large part of the *szlachta*, aristocratic factions began

to play the leading role in the state. In the second half of the seventeenth century, deputies bribed by aristocrats began to use a long-standing right, not previously exercised, known as the *liberum veto*. It allowed the sessions of the Sejm to be aborted without justification, which in theory was supposed to be protection against royal tyranny; however, the more responsible members of the szlachta knew that it threatened disrupting the proceedings and paralyzing any decision-making. Neighbouring powers meddled in the election of rulers, especially Russia, which thrice helped its preferred candidates (August II the Strong – 1697, August III – 1733, Stanisław August – 1764) by bringing its troops into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Even when the majority of the szlachta chose a different candidate, the one supported by foreign powers took the throne by force.

King Stanisław August (who reigned from 1764 to 1795) and some of the szlachta saw the need for reform and replacing the existing monarchy with a constitutional one which would involve other social groups in caring for the state. The royal court initiated efforts in the field of education, which were to translate into the better political and patriotic education of society. In 1773, the king established the Commission of National Education, which replaced the previous conservative education run by the Jesuit Order with a system of secular schooling that met the needs of the new times. Three levels of schools were introduced: parochial – elementary education, which could be attended by peasants and townspeople; secondary schools (called ‘wydziałowe’) – where the szlachta and the most talented pupils in the parochial schools studied; and higher education – namely the academies in Kraków and Vilnius. The king also sought to establish a university of an artistic nature in Warsaw. To this end, he began building up collections of sculptures, paintings, coins and medals, prints and architectural drawings.

These attempts at reform provoked a negative reaction from the conservative members of the szlachta who defended their ‘freedoms’, which was exploited to the advantage of Russia, Prussia and Austria. As a result of the civil war known as the ‘Bar Confederation’ (1768–1772), the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was unable to defend itself. The three powers took part in the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772, dividing one third of the state’s territory among themselves.



J. C. W. Neumann, par et sous l'œil de l'Art.

The attempt to change the system, which the king and supporters of the reforms made at the Four-Year Sejm (1788–1791), was successful only temporarily. In 1791, the Constitution of 3 May was adopted – the first constitution in Europe and the second in the world – which removed some of the most significant defects in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth’s political system. Free elections were abolished, the *liberum veto* was abolished, and it was decided to finance the formation of a 100,000-strong regular army. However, Russia did not allow the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to regain its sovereignty – it began hostilities in 1792, before Poland and Lithuania managed to raise an army. The war ended with the defeat of the defenders of the constitution. In 1793, Russia and Prussia carried out the second partition. The last attempt to regain independence, i.e. the uprising against the invaders led by Tadeusz Kościuszko in 1794, also ended in defeat for the Poles. In 1795, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was annihilated in the third partition, in which Russia, Prussia and Austria divided the rest of the territory.

It was difficult for Poles to accept this situation. Many of those involved in the failed uprising emigrated to France, Turkey and Italy. Revolutionary France, in conflict with the European monarchies that had formed an alliance against it, was perceived by Polish refugees as a natural ally. Therefore, in 1797, in agreement with the French government, a Polish army was established alongside the troops fighting under General Napoleon Bonaparte in Italy against the Austrians. It was organized and commanded by General Jan Henryk Dąbrowski, and politically supported by lawyer Józef Wybicki. Polish soldiers believed that by fighting Austria, they would liberate Italy from its rule and then, together with France, restore the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The army, called the Polish Legions in Italy, soon amassed 7,000 volunteer soldiers, and over the next decade of fighting on various fronts, approximately 35,000 people passed through the Legions. In 1797,

Fig. 2. *The Troelfth Cake or Allegory of the First Partition of Poland*, etched by Johannes Esaias Nilson, after 1773, BN

Wybicki wrote a song for the soldiers, which later became – and still is – Poland’s national anthem.

Dąbrowski’s hopes were partially fulfilled. Napoleon took power in France and defeated Poland’s partitioners in several wars. In 1806, Dąbrowski organized a victorious uprising in the Prussian partition (in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth occupied by Prussia), which enabled Napoleon’s army to quickly occupy Greater Poland. In 1807, under the peace treaty in Tilsit between France, Russia and Prussia, a Polish state was established – but it was not called the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or the Kingdom of Poland. Due to political alignments, Napoleon decided to call it the Duchy of Warsaw. It occupied only a small part of the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was also not a sovereign body, because it remained under the protectorate of France, and the authorities had to take into account Napoleon’s views. The latter established a constitution for it based on the French model. For the emperor, this state was just a political game, and Polish ambitions mattered in so far as they could be exploited to supply the French army far from home with provisions and to raise a Polish army. Burdened with such tasks, the Duchy allocated a large part of its budget for wars.

Despite the unfavourable situation, the Duchy’s authorities took steps to establish an efficient administration and enable the development of academia. The School of Law was established in Warsaw in 1808, and in 1811 it was combined with the School of Administration to create the School of Law and Administration. In 1809, the School of Medicine was established. Both of these institutions were treated as the first faculties of the future university. Stanisław Kostka Potocki, the head of the Ministry of Education, an aristocrat and erudite, endeavoured to continue educational reforms in the spirit of the Enlightenment. He also ensured staff for the future university, organizing a system of scholarships thanks to which Polish youth could study at foreign universities to learn about the latest academic developments.

In 1812, Napoleon began an expedition to Moscow, which, from the point of view of the Polish elites, was supposed to lead to the recovery of the lands lost during the partitions and the rebirth of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Poles sent

100,000 soldiers into battle. However, Napoleon suffered a defeat. This threatened the existence of the Duchy, which in 1813 was occupied by the Russians. In 1815, a new order for Europe was established at the Congress of Vienna. The partitioners' earlier decisions that the name Poland should never return to the maps were not upheld. Emperor Alexander I of Russia decided to create the Kingdom of Poland with its capital in Warsaw from part of the lands of the Duchy of Warsaw and to assume the royal throne there himself. It was to be hereditary in the Romanov dynasty, and the kingdom was to be permanently united with the empire. In this way, the idea of Polish statehood was maintained, although the kingdom was far from sovereign, because the king-emperor exercised executive power and the state could not conduct its own foreign policy. The emperor established a constitution, according to which the official language of the kingdom was Polish, it had an autonomous state apparatus, a separate parliament, laws and judiciary, and its own army.

At the outset, Alexander I made many gestures that were intended to win over Polish public opinion. He accepted the Polish troops, which fought until the end alongside Napoleon, into service in the army of the Congress Kingdom. He allowed the soldiers to retain their national symbols – the symbol of the army was the White Eagle. Finally, in 1816, at the instigation of Stanisław Kostka Potocki, he agreed to establish a university in Warsaw. This matter was very important because three former universities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – in Kraków, Vilnius and Lwów – remained outside the borders of the Congress Kingdom established in 1815. Meanwhile, the Polish political elites hoped to organize a modern and efficiently managed state. This would not be possible without an extensive clerical apparatus, which was missing in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Suitably educated lawyers, officials, administrators, builders, industrial development specialists, as well as artists and humanists could only be provided by a national university organized anew, according to Enlightenment ideas. Offices in the national administration were to be assigned to qualified people with the necessary knowledge and skills, not to those privileged due to noble birth. The Polish authorities of the Congress Kingdom therefore regarded the university as a source for educating cadres necessary to carry out the reforms.

The University of Warsaw consisted of five faculties. Two of them were created from existing schools: law and administration (which were combined), and medicine. The next three were the faculties of theology, philosophy (where scientific subjects were also taught) and the sciences and fine arts (where humanities and subjects related to the arts were taught). The organization of the university was carried out by Stanisław Kostka Potocki, as Minister of Education, and Stanisław Staszic, a widely respected scholar. The university departments were filled with outstanding secondary school teachers, former scholarship holders and several foreign academics. Many professors hoped that the university would become a 'temple of learning' and that there would be relative freedom to conduct research work.

Several years of peace and autonomy in internal and economic affairs allowed the Congress Kingdom of Poland to successfully carry out major industrial investments. New roads and bridges were built, the country was connected via mail coaches, public and commercial buildings were built, and numerous city squares were modernized. The general improvements, however, did not address the most important issue – a sense of freedom. The belief of the Polish elites in the need to obey the constitution and laws came into conflict with the Russian despotic style of governance. At the Sejm of 1820, government projects were discussed during the session, which Alexander I viewed as an insult and an expression of disobedience. Members of the legally operating opposition were placed under house arrest. Alexander I stopped convening sessions of the Sejm at the time specified in the constitution – every two years. He introduced censorship and abolished freedom of the press, suspended the freedom of assembly, and made the proceedings of the Sejm secret. The secret police (*okhrana*) led by the Russian Nikolay Novosiltsev searched for people violating the restrictions. The oppressive system hit the students hardest and they formed educational societies and social associations. Novosiltsev sought out conspirators among them in particular, because, under the pressure of unfavourable events, they actually began to organize secret patriotic circles. Students were obliged to wear uniforms at all times, they were monitored during classes, and they were not allowed to visit cafes and eateries. Changes were introduced at the university that were intended to limit independent thinking in favour of educating faithful subjects. The Ministry of Education, headed from December 1820 by Stanisław



Fig. 3. *Napoleon Conferring the Constitution of the Duchy of Warsaw in 1807*, engraved by Franz Seraph Hanfstaengl, 1843, BN

Grabowski, who was subservient to the Russians, had plans to split the University of Warsaw into several smaller universities, but Rector Wojciech Szweykowski prevented this.

Alexander I left his brother Grand Duke Constantine in the kingdom permanently as commander-in-chief of the Polish army. He was very unpopular among the military because he did not understand Polish customs and did not respect the dignity of the officers. He insulted them publicly, which allegedly led to several suicides. As a result, a conspiracy was formed in the army and among academic circles, triggering an insurrection on 29 November 1830. Politicians sceptical of an armed uprising tried to calm the situation and an envoy was sent to Emperor Nicholas I, the successor of Alexander I, asking for the restoration of a government that respected the constitution. Nicholas I, however, rejected mediation and demanded unconditional surrender. In response, the Polish Sejm deprived him of the right to the crown. The war of 1830–1831 was initially won by Polish troops, but strategic errors led to the Russians approaching Warsaw in September 1831 and its capture.

After the fall of the uprising, Polish society was subjected to repressions. The properties of participants in the insurrection were confiscated and many of them were sent to Siberia. In place of the constitution, the emperor introduced the Organic Statute liquidating the autonomy of the Congress Kingdom of Poland. The University of Warsaw was closed and its most valuable collections were taken to Russia. However, these repressions did not manage to stop the intellectual and patriotic work that the university had started. Graduates led to the reactivation of the university in 1862 under the name of the Main School, and later generations restored the Polish University of Warsaw in 1915, when the Russians withdrew from the city during the First World War. Despite subsequent political turmoil and wartime tragedies in the twentieth century, the university survived, retained its identity, and today successfully fulfils its mission.

Fig. 4. *Equestrian Portrait of Stanisław Kostka Potocki*, painted by Jacques Louis David, 1781, Museum of King Jan III's Palace in Wilanów





II. Seal matrix of the Faculty
of Sciences and Fine Arts, 1817 design,
UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

Intaglio matrix for use with sealing wax.
The wax fills the incisions creating
a relief reproduction of the drawing
on the matrix. The precisely cut details
on the eagle's plumage draw the viewers'
attention.



Introduction

This catalogue is the result of research into the oldest seal matrices of the University of Warsaw.

Only six copies of these priceless artefacts have survived to this day from the first set of sixteen made in 1818.¹ They are housed in the collections of the University of Warsaw Museum (UW Museum) and are on display in the permanent exhibition. The matrices used for sealing documents, although small in size, are impressive due to the finely engraved and detailed images of the university's emblem. This attention to detail, the finely rendered proportions of the eagle and its placement in the circular field of the matrix attest to the excellent skills of the die sinker who created what are indeed small works of art. On the ink seals, the emblem is drawn as a low relief, while on the matrices for use with sealing wax, the university's symbol takes the form of an intaglio composition that is incised into the plate of the matrix.

¹ Each surviving artefact is described separately in the 'catalogue' section. In addition to the first set from 1818, the catalogue presents further sets and other seals relevant to the subject that are in the collection of the University of Warsaw Museum.

The task of compiling a study of these museum objects was initially rather modest in scope, but has expanded with the study of archival records, seals and other sources relating to the origins of the university's emblem. This made it possible to supplement and, in some cases, reinterpret previous findings on the founding of the university's most important symbol in 1817. This was possible above all thanks to first-hand contact with museum artefacts, which is invaluable for the historian. It was the differences between the actual appearance of the artefacts and their descriptions in the archives – the source of existing knowledge and the basis for interpretations established hitherto – that provided the impetus to expand the research. As a result of the analyses carried out, one of the fundamental reasons for the use of the White Eagle emblem on the university's coat of arms differs from what had been assumed to date.



Fig. 5. Seal of the Royal University of Warsaw for use with ink, 1818, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

The preparation of this publication and finding relevant materials would not have been possible without the support, knowledge and advice of many people. I would like to thank them all for their kind assistance which often went well beyond the scope of their duties. My particular gratitude goes to: Dr Paweł Grzesik of the National Museum in Kielce, Aneta Kołodziejczuk and Danuta Miehle of the National Museum in Warsaw, Andrzej Kazberuk of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, the Kolberg Family, Agnieszka Zarychta-Wójcicka of the O. Kolberg Museum in Przysucha, Adam Lajdenfrost of the State Archives in Łódź, Jarosław Suleja of the University of Wrocław Museum, Aleksandra Wróbel of the Museum of Polish History, Juliusz Zacher of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, the staff of the University of Warsaw: Prof. Dr Hab. Barbara Wagner and Dr Olga Syta of the Faculty of Chemistry, Dr Elżbieta Wichrowska of the Faculty of Polish Studies, Izabela Wiencek and Zbigniew Olczak of the University of Warsaw Library, Dr Adam Tyszkiewicz, the staff of the Rector's Office, and staff of the UW Museum: Maya Běspalova (intern), Dagmara Dąbrowska, Monika Dunajko, Aleksandra Stępień-Dąbrowska, Dr Przemysław Deles, Łukasz Kamiński and the Director of the Museum, Dr Hubert Kowalski, UW Professor.

I would also like to express my special thanks to the reviewers of the work, Dr Hab. Paweł Gut, Professor of the University of Szczecin, and Dr Hab. Sławomir Górczyński, for their kind and detailed comments, which helped determine the final structure of this monograph.



III. Ceremonial seal of the University of Warsaw,
c. 1958, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

The seal for making ceremonial imprints in sealing wax from around 1958, intended to decorate doctoral diplomas, most likely did not survive, and is not in the collection of the UW Museum. However, a number of the impressions have survived. The seal was placed in a skippet with a lid, and was attached to the diploma by a cord.

FOUNDING OF THE EMBLEM

Need for research

Despite its important symbolic role in the history of the university, the emblem of the University of Warsaw has not been the subject of many academic studies. Although information on the establishment, abolition and restoration of this emblem, as well as an explanation of its symbolism can be found in works on the history of the university or education in the time of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, the only comprehensive monographic study to present it in historical terms was published by Stefan K. Kuczyński.² However, because it covered a rather vast span of time – from the founding of the university to the end of the twentieth century – there was no room for an in-depth study of the circumstances underlying the establishment of the emblem itself.

The university's emblem – the eagle of the former Kingdom of Poland, surmounted by a closed crown and surrounded by five stars, holding a laurel branch in its right talon and a palm leaf in its left – was adopted in November 1817 at the behest of the Government Commission for Religion and Public Education.³ The decision to adopt an emblem invoking the White Eagle – the historical emblem of the former Crown of the Polish Kingdom – was by no means an obvious choice, because, as Kuczyński ascertained, other academic institutions were typically represented by a variety of symbols more characteristic of universities and academies: books symbolizing the Bible or the laws and statutes of universities⁴ or objects related to official ceremonies.⁵ The use of the White Eagle as an emblem had clear patriotic connotations, and could raise serious concerns in the legal order of the time. After Grand Duke Constantine's intervention, the university could no longer use this emblem. The imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland was introduced on the university's seal in 1823. The circumstances underlying the adoption of the original emblem and the fact that it was replaced by another invite questions that are aimed at gaining a deeper understanding of its meaning in the first years of the Congress Kingdom's existence. One of the main arguments put forward by Kuczyński was that the university's right to use the emblem of the White Eagle was a special privilege that only two bodies could exercise: the university and the Polish Army.⁶ This claim, however, becomes questionable after analysing more extensive source materials than those used in earlier studies.

² S.K. Kuczyński, 'Godło Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego', in: *Kultura artystyczna Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Ars et educatio*, ed. J. Miziołek, Warsaw 2003, pp. 131–142.

³ Hereafter, this body of the executive authorities is written in abbreviated form as 'Commission', synonyms are also used: department, ministry, and only exceptionally, where the context requires, is the full name used. The four other Government Commissions are written out in full.

⁴ This depiction appears on the seal matrix of the Supervisory Council of the School of Law and Administration in charge since 1811. The School became a department of the Royal University of Warsaw in 1816. Cat. no. 2.

⁵ S.K. Kuczyński, 'Godło...', p. 132.

⁶ Id., 'Orzeł Biały i barwy biało-czerwone w polskich powstaniach narodowych XIX wieku', *Niepodległość i Pamięć* 1998, no. 10, p. 38.

Determining the reasons for the use of the historical White Eagle on the university's emblem requires that leading questions also be asked in order to broaden the scope of the discussion: What associations did this decision trigger? Were other alternatives considered? What was the role of specific public bodies or individuals in its adoption? Answers to these questions were sought both in the source materials known to us – which at times require a new perspective – as well as in those not yet studied with regard to the history of the university's emblem.

Another consideration is the hitherto imprecisely defined association between the university's emblem and its seal. Their simultaneous establishment has been pointed out by many authors. This connection requires clarification because the current widespread use of the emblem in the form of a simplified logo makes it difficult to understand the unique status of seals as symbols of authority. Not only was the design of the first seal drawn up at the same time as the university's emblem, but also – as we shall endeavour to prove – it should be considered identical to the university's principal identifying mark. What, then, was it considered to be after the abolition of the original design? An analysis of the seal impressions found on documents and the matrices used to make them provide a great deal of information supplementing or correcting that derived from the archival documents cited so far.

Particularly noteworthy here is the collection of antique matrices housed in the UW Museum. These are exceptionally valuable artefacts. They include three sets of matrices made before the November Uprising according to designs from the years 1817, 1823 and 1830. The set consisting of the six oldest matrices is of the greatest importance for this study, while the others provide important background information. Although not all of the matrices from these sets have survived – they are incomplete – those in the museum make it possible to form a judgment about the entire collection. ●

IV. Small seal of the University of Warsaw,
with the imperial and royal emblem of the Congress
Kingdom of Poland with the five stars
of the university, 10 July 1823, UW Museum

i obowiazanie
dla lepszej wiary w tasnowe czynu
dopuszczam i pieczac i niewymagaj
dowierzan.

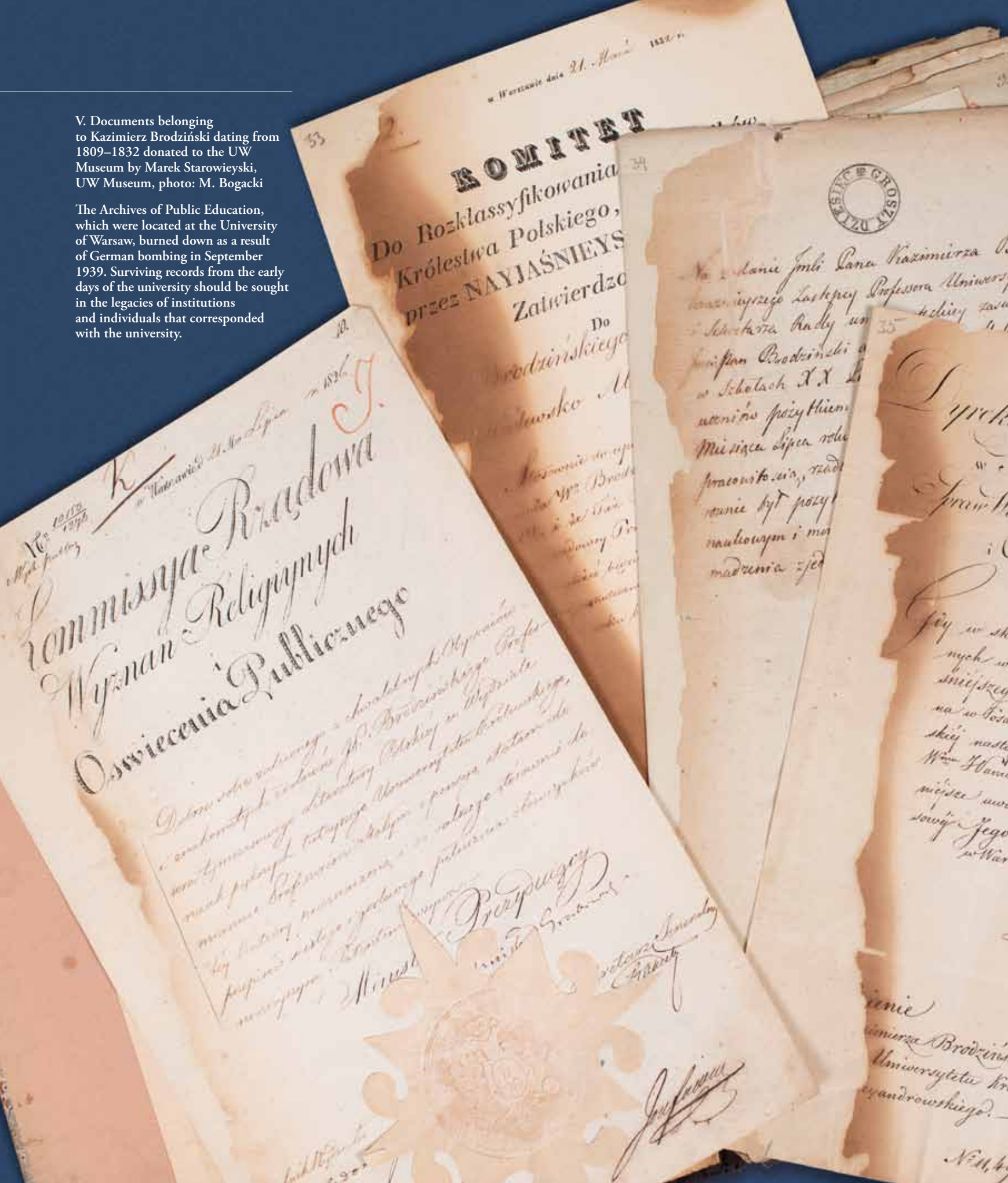
W Warszawie dnia 10. lipca 1823. roku
W zastępie Rektora Dziekan
Wydziału Nauk i Sztuk piśmnych
Lech Bentkowski



Trzeński
ferre

V. Documents belonging to Kazimierz Brodziński dating from 1809–1832 donated to the UW Museum by Marek Starowieyski, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

The Archives of Public Education, which were located at the University of Warsaw, burned down as a result of German bombing in September 1939. Surviving records from the early days of the university should be sought in the legacies of institutions and individuals that corresponded with the university.



Literature and sources

In historiography to date, the original emblem and the first university seals have been discussed almost exclusively based on written accounts rather than an analysis of the artefacts themselves. The university's records were destroyed at the beginning of the Second World War in a fire at the Archives of Public Education in Warsaw⁷ (hereafter: Education Archives), but fortunately Józef Bieliński⁸ had made use of them at the beginning of the twentieth century. This distinguished scholar wrote a three-volume monograph on the Royal University of Warsaw, in which he quoted extensively from the archives, thanks to which his work is not only of great value,⁹ but is also the only one that gives any indication of the contents of documents which no longer exist.¹⁰ Unfortunately, Bieliński – who usually devotes a great deal of space to various detailed topics – presented the information on the emblem and seals in a very succinct manner – on just three pages of the first volume giving rudimentary information concerning their establishment. Despite the minimal amount of detail, the possibility of having indirect access to the contents of the burnt files was so valuable that almost all scholars who later dealt with this topic referred to Bieliński's work. We, too, owe a great deal to this indefatigable scholar, and although his work is not the sole source on this subject, it should be consulted along with others. The aforementioned seals are a particular example of this – some scholars already knew of their existence and even illustrated their work with photographs of them.¹¹ However, they did not discuss some of the differences between information in the archives and the artefacts cited as illustrations – material proof of the past. So far the seals have not been studied separately, which is a significant gap in Polish academic literature not only in the case of these particular artefacts, but these types of sources in general. Seals (matrices) are often perceived as tools used to impress an image of the ruler, the coat of arms or emblem and therefore do not generate as much interest as the seal impressions on a document.¹² Scholars have often drawn attention to the underestimated role of the matrices themselves. Zenon Piech suggested they should be recognized due to their ideological function – as signs of authority and

⁷ T. Manteuffel, 'Archiwum Oświecenia Publicznego w Warszawie', in: *Straty archiwów i bibliotek warszawskich w zakresie rękopiśmiennych źródeł historycznych*, ed. K. Konarski, Warsaw 1956, vol. 2, pp. 212–213; Archiwum Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (Archives of the University of Warsaw; further: AUW), Wystawy, pokazy, AUW-691, J. Szymańska-Pętala, 'Wstęp', in: J. Szymańska-Pętala, E. Rose, *Materiały archiwalne do dziejów Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w zasobie Archiwum UW. Katalog wystawy 26.06.1979–13.10.1979*, TS.

⁸ Józef Bieliński (1848–1926), physician, amateur historian and archivist, from 1915 head of the University Archives, from 1918 to 1926 director of the Archiwum Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego w Warszawie (Archives of Religion and Public Education in Warsaw), into which the university collection was incorporated. The archive was located in the Former School Superintendent Building on the grounds of the University of Warsaw. A. Suligowski, *Józef Szeliga Bieliński. Jego działalność i jego prace*, Warsaw 1931, p. 15.

⁹ It would be difficult to expect Bieliński to use the full critical skills of a historian, since he did not study the subject. In his work he not only referred to documents of interest to him but also raised questions which he strove to resolve.

¹⁰ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vols. 1–3 and index, Warsaw 1907, 1911, 1912, 1913.

¹¹ S.K. Kuczyński, 'Godło...', pp. 131–132; J. Miziołek, *The University of Warsaw. History and Traditions*, Warsaw 2017, pp. 58–59.

¹² If we compare this situation to the study of insignia of authority: crowns, sceptres, rings or chains, the tools with which these objects were made may be of interest to historians of technology, while no ideological function is attributed to a jeweller's hammers, pliers or tongs. In the case of seals and matrices there is a different relationship – the matrix itself is an attribute of power, and a work of art.

- ¹³ Z. Piech, 'Zbiory pieczęci jako przedmiot badań sfragistycznych', in: *Zbiory pieczęci w Polsce*, ed. Z. Piech, W. Strzyżewski, Warsaw 2009, p. 9.
- ¹⁴ J. Giersz, 'Pieczęcie – niedoceniana i nie do końca znana działalność Mennicy Warszawskiej', *Biuletyn Numizmatyczny* 2018, no. 4, p. 263.
- ¹⁵ M. Szmit, 'Kancelaria i archiwum Królewskiego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (1816–1831) i Szkoły Głównej Warszawskiej (1862–1869)', *Roczniki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* 1973, pp. 43–63.
- ¹⁶ A figure hitherto known only by name. The General Council decided to employ him as secretary of the university chancellery on 11 January 1817. At the same time he was secretary of the Commission's journal in 1818 and the following years, he was also responsible for the Commission's seals. M. Szmit, 'Kancelaria...', p. 126; *Nowy Kalendarzyk Polityczny na Rok 1819*, Warsaw 1818, p. 139. The name was established based on: J.F. Piwarski, *Opis żałobnego obchodu po wiekopomnej pamięci Najjaśniejszym Aleksandrze I, Cesarzu Wszech Rosyi, Królu Polskim w Warszawie, w dniach 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 19, 23 kwietnia 1826 roku uroczyste odbytego*, Warsaw 1829, p. 28.
- ¹⁷ Adam Antoni Jacyna (1758–1822), monastic name Augustyn (Dominican), pedagogue, philologist, priest, doctor of philosophy and master of the liberal arts (University of Leipzig, 1818), secretary of the deputation for the statutes of the Royal University of Warsaw (1821). He was appointed secretary of the university chancellery on 29 October 1817. He countersigned documents relating to the university as 'Jacyna Secr.'. M. Manteuffel, 'Jacyna Adam Antoni', in: *Polski słownik biograficzny* (further: PSB), vol. 10, Wrocław 1990, pp. 283–284.
- ¹⁸ Kazimierz Brodziński (1791–1835), poet, translator, literary critic and literary historian, served in the army of the Duchy of Warsaw in the years 1809–1813, and in the years 1815–1822 worked as secretary to the Government Directorate of the National Theatre. From 1822, he taught literature at the Royal University of Warsaw. He was appointed first secretary of the university chancellery on 16 December 1822 (nomination letter in the collections of the UW Museum, inv. no. MUW/606/19). He countersigned documents relating to the university as 'Casimirus Brodziński. Secr: Univer.'. Z. Ciechanowska, 'Brodziński Kazimierz', in: PSB, vol. 2, Kraków 1936, pp. 451–453; E.Z. Wichrowska, 'Kazimierz Brodziński 1791–1835', in: *Portrety uczonych. Profesorowie Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1816–1916*, ed. M. Wąsowicz, A.K. Wróblewski, Warsaw 2016, pp. 106–125 (*Monumenta Universitatis Varsoviensis 1816–2016*).
- ¹⁹ M. Osiecka, 'System kancelaryjny i archiwalny komisji rządowych w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1867', doctoral thesis written at the Faculty of History of UW under the supervision of Dr Hab. Stefan Ciara, Warsaw 2020. UW Repository: <https://depotuw.ceon.pl/handle/item/1143> (accessed 12 January 2022).

credibility,¹³ and more recently Janusz Giersz, in his work devoted to the study of the history and products of the Warsaw Mint, urged that artefacts of this type should be preserved and not destroyed or left to fall into oblivion.¹⁴ It was in the medal workshop of this institution that at least some of the pre-1830 university seals stored in the UW Museum were made.

The seals were used by the chancellery. A history of the chancellery of the Royal University of Warsaw was written by Małgorzata Szmit.¹⁵ She was able to ascertain how this small administrative unit of the university functioned and also identify the first secretaries in charge of the running of the chancellery: Wincenty Kamieński¹⁶ (1817–1818), Rev. Adam Antoni Jacyna¹⁷ (1818–1822) and Kazimierz Brodziński¹⁸ (1822–1831). However, the work did not cover the seals or the way they were used to authenticate documents. Małgorzata Osiecka somewhat compensated for this lack in her recently published doctoral dissertation which – although it does not focus on matters concerning the university – allows the reader to become acquainted with a broader scope of issues related to the functioning of the chancelleries of the Government Commissions during the time of the Congress Kingdom of Poland.¹⁹ Osiecka's detailed study – by analogy – can provide a better understanding of the less well documented university chancellery.

Information about the university eagle and seals can be found in studies containing concise accounts of the university's history. It should, however, be noted that not much attention is given to the establishment of the emblem, compared to matters such as the organization of the school, the methods used in teaching and learning or the life of the academic community. The university's most important emblem is treated as a rather obvious element of the university's tradition.

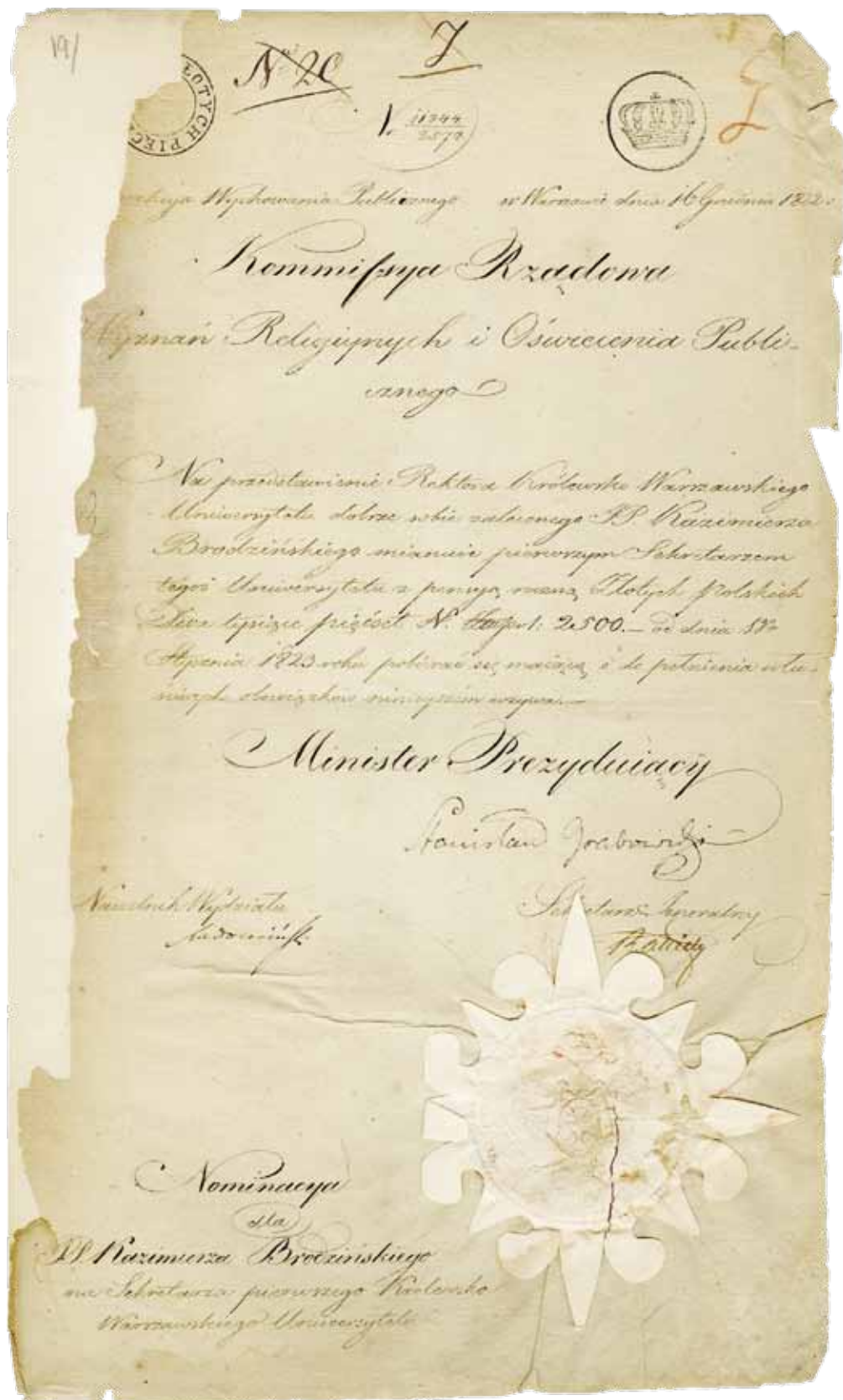


Fig. 6. Nomination of Kazimierz Brodziński as 1st secretary of the Royal University of Warsaw, 16 December 1822, UW Museum

The oldest of the university's seals were mentioned by Maria Wawrykowa, author of a chapter on the history of the Royal University of Warsaw in the most extensive work devoted to the history of the university to be written in the second half of the twentieth century. She took into account information gathered by Szmit, quoted some facts after Bieliński, such as the appearance of the emblem and the inscription on the seal, as well as including the information that 'the chancellery seals all documents and letters ... with a large or small seal'.²⁰ This information was most probably in the University of Warsaw's statute at that time,²¹ but – as will be shown later – this does not fully reflect the hierarchical division of the university's seals. It should be noted, however, that this is the second example of a discrepancy between information found in the written sources and the actual state of affairs, which can be ascertained by analysing the preserved artefacts.

Jerzy Miziołek and Hubert Kowalski became interested in the seals from the university's former chancellery while conducting a search on the collections of the university housed at the National Museum in Warsaw. The seals were located there together with others belonging to the university which had been given to the museum in 1918 as a loan. As a result of the search, photographs of some of the seals were first published in a collective work devoted to the University of Warsaw's artistic culture.²² This publication also included the aforementioned article by Stefan K. Kuczyński whose invaluable findings and remarks are accompanied by a photograph of one of the oldest of the university's seals. The photograph here serves only as an illustration since a careful analysis of the description of the seal in the archives and the image visible in the photograph – the inscription around the rim – shows they are not identical. This difference is not explained in the main text of the article.

However, the discovery of the historic seals, or rather, Miziołek and Kowalski drawing the academic world's attention to their existence, was a significant step towards gaining a better understanding of the issue. In a concise work discussing the history and tradition of the university, Miziołek included information about the emblem, matrices and seals in a lecture on the establishment of the university – and emphasized their symbolic significance. In this way, images of the artefacts were popularized, and their role was appropriately acknowledged in deliberations concerning the organization of the school.²³

On the occasion of the bicentenary of the founding of the university, the multi-volume *Monumenta Universitatis Varsoviensis* was published. The part devoted to the Royal University of Warsaw, by Maciej Mycielski,²⁴ is currently the most complete and concise picture of the first period of the university's existence – from its founding to its dissolution after the November Uprising. It describes the circumstances underlying the choice of emblem,

²⁰ M. Wawrykowa, 'Uniwersytet Warszawski w latach 1816–1831', in: *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1807–1915*, ed. S. Kieniewicz, Warsaw 1981, p. 78.

²¹ 'Tymczasowe Urządzenie Wewnętrzne Uniwersytetu Królewsko-Warszawskiego (Provisional internal regulations of the Royal University of Warsaw)' of 15 April 1818, para. 215, in: *Księga protokołów Rady Ogólnej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1817–1819*, ed. R. Gerber, Warsaw 1958, p. 195.

²² *Kultura artystyczna...*, pp. 81, 132.

²³ J. Miziołek, *The University of Warsaw...*, pp. 22–23, 50–51.

²⁴ M. Mycielski, 'Uniwersytet Królewski 1816–1831', in: *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1816–1915*, ed. T. Kizwalter, Warsaw 2016, pp. 53–361 (*Monumenta Universitatis Varsoviensis 1816–2016*).

which, being very useful for this discussion, will be referred to frequently herein. The very establishment of the emblem was not taken up by Mycielski in his work, so all the more reason to discuss it when analysing source materials, both those already known to us as well as those still requiring detailed study. The inscription (legend) on the seal is mentioned by Adam Winiarz²⁵ in his monumental book about education. It is a repetition of Bieliński's account, and because it was quoted indirectly – not from the source – an error has crept into the legend. In Winiarz's otherwise very valuable and synthesized work there was no room for a detailed discussion about the emblem and the seal.

²⁵ A. Winiarz, *Szkolnictwo Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego (1807–1831)*, Lublin 2002.

The discussion of the sources used in the writing of this book will also outline the research methodology. As already mentioned, the most important sources on the history of the university's emblem and seals were burned in a fire in 1939 along with the Education Archives located in the Former School Superintendent Building on the university grounds. These included documents and records of the Commission, schools and, above all, the university. Not only did the fire destroy written sources with valuable information on the subject of the seals, but also examples of their use. Therefore it was necessary to make use of sources that referred to the subject indirectly.

Nonetheless, the starting point for this research was the fragmentary collection of historic seals preserved in the university's museum as they are material evidence of the past. Their previous curators at the National Museum only assigned approximate dates to the objects and brief descriptions. Therefore, the first task to be carried out was to identify the images and inscriptions on the seals, determine the differences and similarities among the surviving specimens, and establish criteria for dividing them into seals for use with sealing wax and those for use with ink. Other basic, easily discernible features were also identified: differences in the sizes, the inscriptions and the images depicted on the seals. Furthermore, the materials used to make the seals were found to be similar: brass matrices attached to wooden handles resembling small balusters.

It was believed that any disparities would be explained in historical studies on the subject, however it turned out that they did not take into account the various features of the artefacts but simply repeated what Bieliński had written. This will be analysed in more detail later. To date, neither the hierarchy of the seals nor their legal force has been established in historiography. The searches, therefore, were initially focused on analysing accounts in the sources concerning the provenance of the university's seal and emblem. Bieliński gave an account – or at times even provided full transcriptions of what was in the Education Archives – of other sources that were helpful in learning about the history of the

²⁶ AUW, Komisja Rządowa Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego – Wydział Oświecenia (Government Commission for Religion and Public Education – Education Department; further: KR/WO) 1, Minutes of the meeting of the general council of the Main School in Warsaw from 4 January 1817 to 14 March 1818 and minutes of the council of the Royal University of Warsaw from 16 March 1818 to 12 March 1819 in Warsaw.

²⁷ *Księga protokołów...*

²⁸ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Central Archives of Historical Records; further: AGAD), Rada Administracyjna Królestwa Polskiego (Administrative Council of the Kingdom of Poland; further: Rada Adm. KP) 1/188/0.

²⁹ AGAD, I Rada Stanu Królestwa Polskiego (First Council of State of the Kingdom of Poland; further: I RS) 1/184/0.

³⁰ Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego (Journal of Laws of the Kingdom of Poland; further: DPKP), accessed on-line Podlasie Digital Library.

³¹ 'Dyploma Królewskiego uniwersytetu w Warszawie', *Pamiętnik Warszawski czyli Dziennik Nauk i Umiejętności* 1817, vol. 7, pp. 544–546. *Księga protokołów...*, pp. 175–176.

³² Tymczasowe urządzenie wewnętrzne Uniwersytetu Królewsko-Warszawskiego (Provisional internal regulations of the Royal University of Warsaw), Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Gabinet Rękopisów (University of Warsaw Library, Manuscripts Department; further: BUW, Rps), call no. 160; *Księga protokołów...*, pp. 179–195.

³³ 'Ustawa Konstytucyjna Królestwa Polskiego', *Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego* 1815, no. 1, pp. 2–103.

³⁴ AGAD, Komisja Rządowa Spraw Wewnętrznych (Government Commission for Internal Affairs; further: KRSW), 1/191/6278, *Używanie pieczęci urzędowej*, vol. 1; AGAD, Rząd Tymczasowy Królestwa Polskiego (Provisional Government of the Kingdom of Poland; further: RTKP), 1/183/0/173, Uchwały Rządu Tymczasowego Królestwa Polskiego (Decrees of the Provisional Government of the Kingdom of Poland).

university's emblem, not just the passages about the establishment of the symbol, which are the most relevant and most frequently used in studies. This was primarily information about the institutions directly related to the university and their emblems, thereby making it possible to gain valuable insights into circumstances underlying the establishment of the seal.

Next, archival sources that may have contained information on the procedure for adopting the emblem, a justification for the project or discussions on it, were analysed. The most valuable artefact is the minutes book (*Księga protokołów*) of the council responsible for the organization of the university from 1817–1819 which contains information related to the establishment of the emblem and seal.²⁶ This source, along with other documents dating from the time, was published by Rafał Gerber.²⁷ It was compared with the minutes of the Administrative Council,²⁸ the Council of State,²⁹ as well as with the Journal of Laws of the Kingdom of Poland.³⁰ Information about the emblem was also sought – and analysed – in the university's foundation act,³¹ its statutes,³² and the Constitution of the Kingdom of Poland³³ – granted to the Congress Kingdom of Poland in 1815 – as well as regulations on the use of the seal.³⁴ The information found did not fully clarify the issue of the emblem's provenance but did reveal its complex nature, thus suggesting further research was necessary.

This research was carried out in two directions. The first objective was to reconstruct the system used by the university to classify its seals by finding examples of their use. Secondly, it sought to identify the contexts in which the seals were used by establishing the legal basis and practice regulating the use of seals in this period at other universities, Government Commissions and other institutions, as well as reviewing information about depicting the university's emblem or elements thereof in other settings. It was anticipated that information about the provenance of the emblem would also be found in sources concerning the organization and functioning of education in the Congress Kingdom.

Pursuing the first of the aforementioned objectives proved difficult due to the destruction of the archives containing the records and documents concerning education. In today's university archives, the sources relating to the oldest period of the university only contain a few surviving fonds.

In addition to the minutes book, these include the files of certain professors³⁵ and the documents of the administrator of the Kazimierzowski Palace.³⁶ The UW Museum also does not have a sufficient sample of such objects in its collections. Although it is the successor of the former university museum, for historical reasons its institutional continuity was interrupted.³⁷ Among the relics of interest here are two diplomas and one student identification document,³⁸ as well as Kazimierz Brodziński's personal files with the seals of the various custodians.³⁹ In the course of these deliberations, reference is made to other indirectly related artefacts in the university museum.

Therefore, it was necessary to look for seals applied by the chancellery of the university on personal documents, such as diplomas, student identification papers, certificates, and compare them with other authenticated documents. These were largely issued to students and academics, who then returned to their hometowns, continued their studies or work at other universities, or began careers as civil servants. Ascertaining whether their legacies have survived and in which group of fonds they could be found is very difficult, despite the tremendous assistance of Gerber's biographical dictionary of students which contains some three thousand names.⁴⁰ Whenever a person is identified, a reference to this very dictionary is included.

In the course of the searches, various leads had to be checked, many of which contributed nothing new to the discussion. These are not described in detail, except for the figure of Kazimierz Brodziński, who held the position of secretary for almost a decade and was custodian of the seals. His name appears next to the seals on documents. He left behind many writings which became the subject of countless analyses by literary historians. He also wrote memoirs which covered his time at the university,⁴¹ and was the subject of a biography.⁴² Unfortunately, despite his rich legacy, Brodziński did not refer to his work in the chancellery in any great detail in any of the accounts known to us, nor did he describe the regulations governing the use of the university's seals.

The documents most likely to have survived were those of greatest importance, that is, master's diplomas. Individual certificates of this kind can be found in various archives, museums and libraries, and probably also in private collections. When researching the topic, diplomas kept in the National Archives in Kraków, the State Archives in Lublin, the State Archives in Łódź, the State Archives in Piotrków Trybunalski, the State Archives in Warsaw, the Archives of the Polish Academy of

³⁵ AUW, KR/WO, 1–7.

³⁶ AUW, Murgrabia Pałacu Kazimierzowskiego (Governor of the Kazimierzowski Palace; further: MPK), 1–9.

³⁷ In the first half of the 19th century, the name 'museum' referred to the university's scientific collections. In the second half of the same century there was a museum at the university, the subject of which has not yet been sufficiently researched. The current University of Warsaw Museum was established in 1980.

³⁸ MUW/601; MUW/602; MUW/659.

³⁹ Documents related to Kazimierz Brodziński dating from 1809–1832, MUW/606/1–34.

⁴⁰ R. Gerber, *Studenci Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1808–1831. Słownik biograficzny*, Wrocław 1977.

⁴¹ K. Brodziński, *Wspomnienia mojej młodości*, ed. A. Łucki, Kraków 1928.

⁴² A. Witkowska, *Kazimierz Brodziński*, Warsaw 1968; E.Z. Wichrowska, 'Kazimierz Brodziński...'.

Sciences, the Jagiellonian Library, the Main Library of the University of Warsaw (BUW), the Provincial Public Library in Lublin, the National Museum in Kielce and the collections of the University of Warsaw were used.⁴³ No doubt many more diplomas have survived, but they were all authenticated with only one type of seal, so the search had to be broadened to find documents authenticated with other types of seals.

⁴³ Diplomas are listed in the Annexe at the end of the book.

⁴⁴ AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich (Zamoyski family fonds; further: AZam), 1/358/0.

⁴⁵ BUW, Rps, item 162. Transcript cards of University of Warsaw students from 1821 with certificates of attendance and examinations taken.

⁴⁶ Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie (State Archives in Warsaw; further: APW), Uniwersytet Warszawski – Ogród Botaniczny w Warszawie (University of Warsaw – Botanic Garden in Warsaw; further: UW-OB), 72/215/0.

⁴⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi (State Archives in Łódź; further: APŁ), Archiwum rodziny Bartoszewiczów (Bartoszewicz family fonds; further: ArB), 39/592/0.

⁴⁸ Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach (State Archives in Kielce; further: APK), Archiwum Ordynacji Myszkowskich (Archives of the Myszkowski family entail; further: AOM), 21/288/0/1/41.

⁴⁹ AGAD, KRSW, 1/191/6278.

⁵⁰ J.N. Janowski, *Notatki autobiograficzne 1803–1853*, Wrocław 1950.

⁵¹ K.W. Wójcicki, *Warszawa i jej społeczność w początkach naszego stulecia*, Warsaw 1875, pp. 229–242.

⁵² W.F. Szokalski, *Wspomnienia z przeszłości, vol. 1: 1811–1837*, ed. A. Wrzosek, Vilnius 1921.

⁵³ K. Dunin, *Romualda Hubego pisma poprzedzone zarysem biograficzno-krytycznym*, Warsaw 1905, pp. XI–XV.

The chances of finding documentation of lesser importance were considerably lower. Some of the objects to which the seal was applied were temporary, while others – such as letters written on sheets of paper folded into an envelope – necessitated the destruction of the mark of authentication when opened. Fortunately, a set consisting of dozens of student identification documents authenticated with seals dating from the 1821/1822 academic year, which were obtained from students, is preserved in the Central Archives of Historical Records in the Zamoyski family fonds.⁴⁴ A similar collection of seal impressions dating from 1821 can be found in the Manuscripts Department at BUW.⁴⁵ However, these are exceptions that prove the rule that valuable sources concerning the subject of university emblems are rare. A few examples of surviving seals of other institutions can be found, including in the State Archives in Warsaw fonds concerning the Botanic Garden,⁴⁶ the Bartoszewicz family fonds in the State Archives in Łódź⁴⁷ and the legacy of Aleksander Wielopolski in the State Archives in Kielce.⁴⁸ There are certainly many more seal impressions, but finding them would require extensive searches beyond the scope of the present task.

The second objective of the search seeking to analyse the place of the university seal among other symbols of this type necessitated searches that were particularly fruitful at the Central Archives of Historical Records where the files of individual Commissions are located, as well as at the National Library and the Jagiellonian Library, whose extensive collections include diplomas of other schools. Unfortunately, the files on the legal regulations governing the use of the seals do not include documents from the period when the emblem of the university was established.⁴⁹ The search for other objects that could bear an image of this symbol, such as a banner, an award medal or buttons, necessitated searches in various sources, including the photographic resources of the National Digital Archives, the collection of coins and medals at the Royal Castle in Warsaw, the National Museum in Warsaw, the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg, but also written accounts, such as the memoirs of Jan Nepomucen Janowski,⁵⁰ Kazimierz Wójcicki,⁵¹ Wiktor Szokalski,⁵² Romuald Hube,⁵³

Eugeniusz Skrodzki,⁵⁴ Kazimierz Brodziński, and Eustachy Tyszkiewicz's and Feliks Bentkowski's work on coins and medals.⁵⁵ Searches were also carried out for iconographic representations of the emblem of the university and – for comparative reasons – of the White Eagle and the coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, among other things, in university publications, as well as other sources from the era, such as prints, paintings, coins, watermarks, stamp marks, and architectural details.⁵⁶

The Potocki Public Fonds⁵⁷ include files containing drafts, notes, reports and correspondence pertaining to Stanisław Kostka Potocki's post as minister of the Commission. Information relevant to this publication is supplemented by files relating to educational authorities⁵⁸ and the Society of Friends of Science.⁵⁹ Other sources included published speeches and reports,⁶⁰ teaching curricula,⁶¹ citations and newspaper articles,⁶² some of which in the form of clippings have been collected in the Collection of the Korotyński family,⁶³ or guides such as *Rocznik Instytutów Religijnych i Edukacyjnych w Królestwie Polskim*⁶⁴ and *Przewodnik Warszawski*.⁶⁵

In the course of this work, every endeavour was made to ensure that all analyses of written and material sources directly relating to the topic were accompanied by comparative research, which presented the issue of the emblem in a broader context. This was necessary due to the very brief nature of the information available in many of the sources of most interest. Without the ability to comment on them, explain the context, compare them to similar objects dating from the same period, and, in addition, the ability to reflect on the differences between people's perception of similar occurrences would imply

⁵⁴ W.[E. Skrodzki], 'Kilka wspomnień o Szopenie z mojej młodości', *Bluszcz* 1882, nos 32, 33, 36.

⁵⁵ E. Tyszkiewicz, *Sammlung von Medaillen. Welche sich auf die Geschichte der Länder und Städte der ehemaligen Republik Polen beziehen und von ihrer ersten Theilung bis zum Tode des Kaisers Nicolaus I. geprägt sind 1772–1855*, Riga 1871; Biblioteka Naukowa PAU i PAN w Krakowie (The Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Kraków), 1414; F. Bentkowski, *O nagrodach i znakach honorowych w Polsce od najdawniejszych czasów do r. 1835 r.*, MS; id., *Spis medalów polskich lub z dziejami krainy polskiej stycznych, w gabinecie Król. Alex. Uniwersytetu w Warszawie znajdujących się, tudzież ze zbiorów i pism rozmaitych lub podań zebrany i porządkiem lat ułożony*, Warsaw 1830.

⁵⁶ Among the many valuable scholarly publications helpful in the study of the subject, two should be mentioned in particular: S. Górczyński, *Orzeł Biały 1815–1914*, Warsaw 2021 (*Orzeł Biały. Źródła do historii herbu państwa polskiego (1815–2015)*, ed. M. Adamczewski, vol. 1); exh. cat. Royal Castle in Warsaw: *Orzeł Biały – 700 lat herbu Państwa Polskiego*, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warsaw 1995.

⁵⁷ AGAD, Archiwum Publiczne Potockich (Potocki Public Fonds; further: APP), 1/335/0.

⁵⁸ AGAD, Władze Centralne Oświatowe Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego (Central Education Authority of the Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland; further: CWO), 1/253/0.

⁵⁹ AGAD, Towarzystwo Królewskie Przyjaciół Nauk (Royal Society of Friends of Science; further: TKPN), 1/199/0/-/56.

⁶⁰ The speeches by Wincenty Bandtkie, Stanisław Kostka Potocki, Adam Michał Prażmowski, Wojciech Anzelm Szweykowski delivered on the occasion of the ceremony are published in: *Księga protokołów...*, pp. 196–236. Other speeches and reports can be found in two series of the university's annual publications, which were published for the beginning and end of the academic year: 'Posiedzenie publiczne Królewskiego Uniwersytetu na pamiątkę założenia jego przy rozpoczęciu nowego kursu nauk odbyte'; 'Posiedzenie publiczne Królewskiego Uniwersytetu na uczczenie pamiątki uczonych mężów, a mianowicie Polaków przy ukończeniu kursu rocznego nauk odbyte'.

⁶¹ Annual publications of *Index Praelectionum in Universitate Literarum Regia Varsaviensi, inde... Habendarum* 1818–1830 (BJ, 103863 II) as well as pamphlets with a title beginning with the words 'Plan nauk całokursowy...' with an elaboration on a specific Faculty or Division; BUW, Gabinet Dokumentów Życia Społecznego (Ephemera Department), DU XVII P.28 [2996–3007].

⁶² The most extensive among them is a series of articles on the history of the university published in: J.J. [Józef Łukasiewicz?], 'Opis historyczno-statystyczny byłego Uniwersytetu królewsko-warszawskiego do roku 1830', *Przyjaciół Ludu* 1845, Ann. 11, vol. 2, nos 41–52; Ann. 12, nos 1–14.

⁶³ APW, Zbiór Korotyńskich (Collection of the Korotyński family; further: ZKor), 72/201/0/40-44; *Kurier Warszawski*, *Gazeta Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego*, *Gazeta Polska*, *Gazeta Warszawska*.

⁶⁴ *Rocznik Instytutów Religijnych i Edukacyjnych w Królestwie Polskim* 1824, no. 1.

⁶⁵ *Przewodnik Warszawski*, Warsaw 1826.

⁶⁶ This was consistent with the meaning of the word at the time. In his dictionary Samuel Bogumił Linde defined a 'coat of arms' as, among other things, 'a distinctive sign granted to families as a badge of nobility' and 'the chivalric insignia on shields, that is, coats of arms, were a mark of the advance of people who excelled in military service, and their subsequent posterity.' However, the term 'emblem' does not refer to heraldic signs in Linde's dictionary. In the examples he cites, it would seem to describe conventional signs, slogans, of a rather arbitrary, transient, and short-lived nature, while heraldic signs are a permanent feature in the life of a noble family. Linde repeats the definition after Ignacy Krasicki, who uses the words 'sign' or 'symbol' rather than the word 'emblem': 'knights began to bear distinctive signs or symbols on their shields and helmets, hence, according to the rules of heraldry, the field or place on which the coat of arms is emblazoned is called an escutcheon, and is surmounted by a helmet or a Pappenheimer (also called a Zischägge or lobster-tailed pot helmet)'. I. Krasicki, *Zbiór potrzebniejszych wiadomości porządkiem alfabety wyrażonych*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1781, p. 363. The author of a heraldic textbook from 1841 also uses 'coat of arms' in a similar way to Linde. N.E. Malinowski, *Heraldyka, to jest nauka o herbach*, Warsaw 1841, p. 10.

⁶⁷ *Opracowanie materiałów sfragistycznych w archiwach*, ed. P. Gut, M. Hlebionek, Warsaw 2020, where there is a sigillographic dictionary on pp. 129–133. A more extensive explanation can be found in: *Vocabularium internationale sigillographicum*, ed. L. Vrtel et al., Bratislava 2016.

⁶⁸ S. Górczyński, *Orzeł Biały...*, pp. 14–42; J. Szymański, *Nauki pomocnicze historii*, Warsaw 2012, pp. 653–654; A. Jaworska, *Orzeł Biały. Herb Państwa Polskiego*, Warsaw 2003, pp. 15–16, 108–109. *Orzeł Biały – 700 lat herbu...*, and in particular articles by: Z. Piech, 'Wokół genezy Orła Białego jako herbu Królestwa Polskiego', pp. 15–32; S.K. Kuczyński, 'Treści i funkcje Orła Białego', pp. 33–42.

the acceptance of an insufficient understanding of the meaning of the university's emblem, its origins and evolution. There are many pitfalls along the way. The reader will be able to judge how many of them have been avoided. These include even basic issues such as terminology. Both Józef Bieliński and Stanisław Kostka Potocki used the term 'coat of arms' when describing what is now called a heraldic emblem.⁶⁶ This at times gave rise to misunderstandings but will be explained in later chapters.

Thus, in these considerations, the matter of certain established historical narratives will also have to be touched upon since a re-examination will make it possible to better elaborate on the book's main topic. With regard to sigillographic terminology, the guidelines recently published by the academic board appointed by the Supreme Directorate of State Archives were adopted.⁶⁷ Heraldic terminology is, however, based on the work of contemporary scholars.⁶⁸ In these texts the original source language is used, but all commentaries use the current terminology.

All readers of this publication should be warned that when reflecting upon the emblem of the University of Warsaw it was necessary to verify circumstantial evidence and examine topics that go beyond the narrowly understood subject of sigillography or heraldry. Both of these disciplines deal with the analysis of symbols, and these symbols represent content relating to many areas of life. The study of the origins and changes of the university's emblem therefore required an outline of the university's organization and the first years of its existence, while also covering political, social, economic, administrative and artistic issues. There is hope, however, that the reader will recognize that every deviation from the main topic of this work is necessary and justifiable in order to learn about the circumstances which influenced the appearance of the university's emblem. ●

VI. One of the letters drawn up in the university chancellery and preserved in the collection of the State Archives in Warsaw, 5 March 1832, APW

1436.

46

110

111

Rektor
Królewskiego Aleksandrowskiego
Uniwersytetu

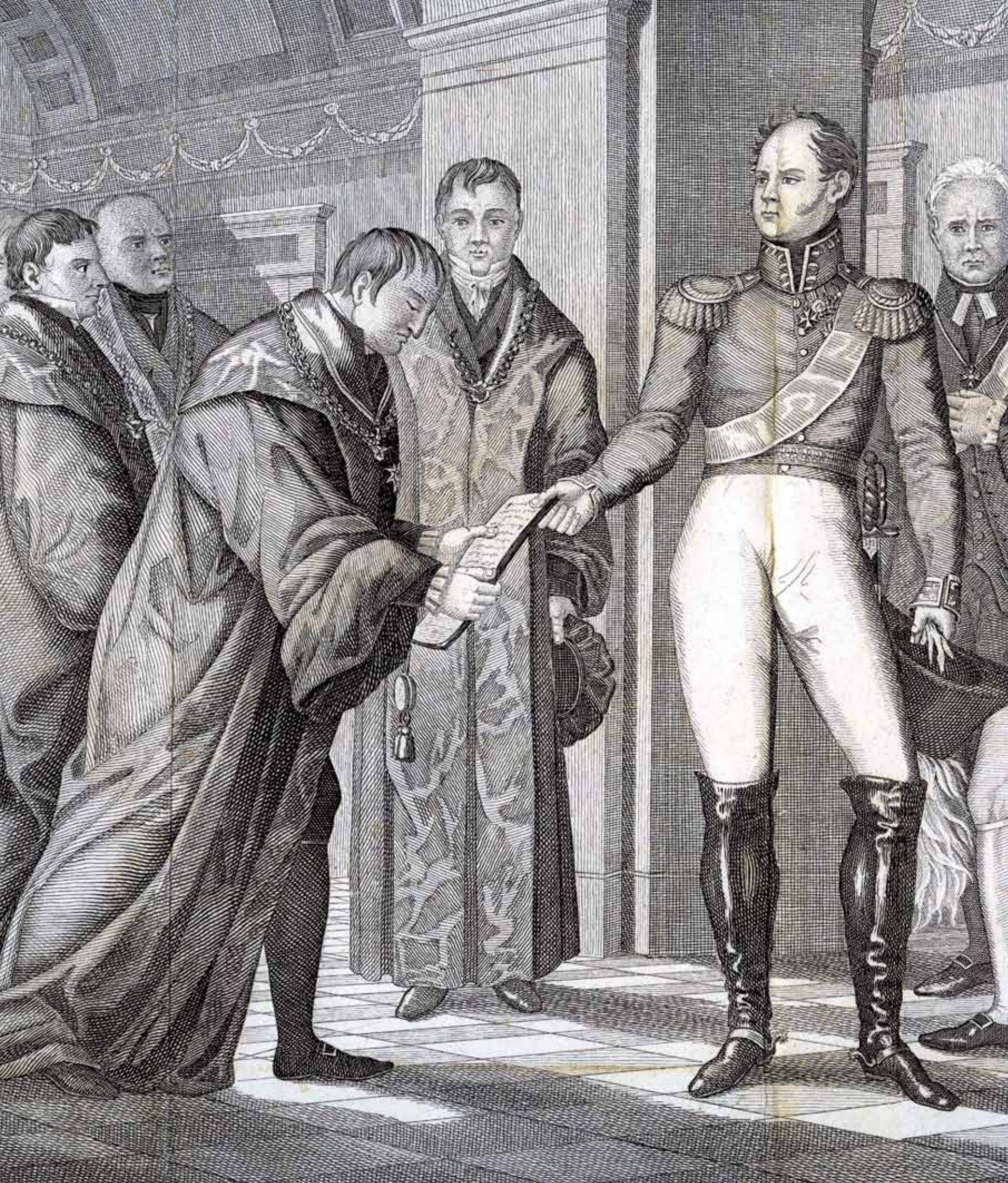
Przepraszając W. Dyrektorowi Ogrodu Botanicznego
w wierzytelnym kopii rękopisu w przedmiocie wykonania
w roku poprzedzającym rozprzedaży owoców i roślin ludzkich
złożenia usprawiedliwionego rachunku z użycia awansowa-
nej w 1830 roku summy 11000 zł. ma honorować
aby takowym żądaniem Komisji Rządowej starano się
jak najprędzej raczyć uczynić. —

W Warszawie dnia 3. Marca 1832r.

A. Suweykowski

Do
W. Dyrektora Ogrodu
Botanicznego

Trzciński



Relationship between emblems and seals

Images of the emblems and coats of arms of various owners and entities – rulers, states, cities, the nobility, bishoprics and voivodeships – were placed on many objects for public display: on shields, banners, insignia, luxury and artistic objects. They were carved in wood or stone as architectural elements, engraved or embossed on coins to guarantee their authenticity, and displayed on cannons as a visible sign of the threat of use of force by those in power. Seals occupied a special place on the very long list of armorial bearings. They were used to authenticate treaties, foundations, diplomas and to prevent tampering with correspondence. They differed from money minted with the emblem of the ruler in that they were not intended to pass from hand to hand, but were applied to a specific document, usually with a given recipient in mind. As a result, they had a unique value, even though they were created by applying a matrix – intended for re-use – to the face of the document. They were countersigned by the issuer or his representatives. In the case of signet-seals, this connection was even more personal.⁶⁹

Therefore, before examining the provenance of the university emblem, it is necessary to determine the relationship between the emblem and the seal.

Did the university's seal only bear an image of the emblem, which was designed independently, or functioned as an idea, or was the emblem designed specifically for the seal and did it exist primarily as a seal impression?

At least twice in the university's history – in 1936 and 1950 – committees were appointed to address the issue of the lack of a coat of arms, i.e. an emblem in the field of the shield, each of a specific tincture.⁷⁰ To this day the university has never had a symbol

⁶⁹ Signet seals belong to private individuals and are used in the name of the owner to validate documents executed in their name; their authenticity has no bearing on the office held by the owner.

⁷⁰ In the 1930s, a committee tried to decide on a heraldic description of the university's coat of arms, however no decision was made whether to separate the coat of arms from the emblem on the seal, so the matter was not resolved either formally or legally. When the Academic Senate established another committee to discuss the emblem and seal in 1950, Aleksander Gieysztor and Władysław Tomkiewicz proposed that the UW coat of arms should bear the traditional emblem on a blue field. The shield was to be neoclassical or neo-Gothic in shape, as these were the types used by the Herald's College in the Congress Kingdom of Poland. This information is taken from a paper prepared by the two historians for the commission's discussion. Archiwum PAN (Archives of PAS; further: APAN), III, 280, Materiały Władysława Tomkiewicza (Documents of Władysław Tomkiewicz), fol. 19.

VII. Detail from the print *Alexander I Presenting the Act of Founding of the University of Warsaw to the Polish Deputation*, engr.: F. Corsi, drawing: A. Kolberg, 1831, UW Museum

The symbolic scene of Tsar Alexander I's presentation of the foundation act to Rector Wojciech Szwejkowski shows the document authenticated with a seal, most likely a wax seal attached to a cord and enclosed in a skippet. The engraving repeats a detail from a painting, now lost. It is not known whether the painter actually reproduced the appearance of the deed, but the corroboration formula on the document does mention 'an imprint of the seal of Our Kingdom of Poland' ('wyciśnięcie pieczęci Królestwa Naszego Polskiego').

⁷¹ 'Herbem Uniwersytetu, a zarazem pieczęcią był ...' (The coat of arms of the university, and at the same time the seal, was ...). J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 402. Bieliński's terminology requires clarification. According to today's terminology, the image of the university eagle is the device on the coat of arms, not a full coat of arms. Nevertheless, in the case of a semantic interpretation, as presented in this chapter, Bieliński may have considered the emblem on the seal as equivalent to a coat of arms. However, in his discussion of seals which bear coats of arms, Marcin Hlebionek warns against automatically equating the two terms: 'it must be strongly emphasized here that the device on a seal is not always identical with a coat of arms, and the relationship between coats of arms and devices on seals is quite complex.' M. Hlebionek, 'Pieczęć jako medium, dzieło sztuki i źródło historyczne', in: *Opracowanie materiałów sfragistycznych...*, p. 62. Hence, among other things, the need for a detailed examination of the conditions for the creation of the seal and emblem of the University of Warsaw and their relationship.

⁷² Paragraph 5(1) of the Statutes defines the symbols of the university, which are 'the emblem, seal and banner of the university'. 'Statut Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego uchwalony 26 czerwca 2019 r. uchwałą nr 443 Senatu Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego', *Monitor Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* 2019, item 190. The description of the emblem and permissible use are described in: 'Wzory symboli Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego', Appendix no. 1 to the Statutes, para. 1.

⁷³ 'The historical (traditional) seal of the university is the one bearing its emblem, which is applied to documents of special importance, including honorary doctorates and renewals of doctoral degrees.' 'Wzory...', para. 2.

in this form; it uses only an emblem. Meanwhile, Bieliński – thanks to whom the contents of no longer existing archival records concerning the establishment of the university's principal symbol are known to us – wrote about the approval in 1817 of the design of the 'coat of arms'⁷¹ and a seal as an inseparable set. Other researchers into the history of the university who saw no need to comment on this information, followed in his wake. This may cause confusion or lead to misunderstandings for today's readers, especially those unfamiliar with the complex workings of sphragistics and heraldry. This is because today's use of university emblems differs significantly from that of two centuries ago. Meanwhile, present-day realities affect our perception of history, as they often lead to implicit assumptions. Therefore the contemporary use of the university's emblems will be examined and the role of seals bearing two images that are closely and historically related to the university's emblem will be brought to the reader's attention.

Today, the emblem of the University of Warsaw – as well as the aforementioned heraldic signs – appears in many places and on numerous objects, both ceremonial and of everyday use. It can also be found on the Rector's insignia, is embroidered on the banner and reproduced on the wall of the meeting room of the University Senate in the Kazimierzowski Palace. In the public space, the most well-known image of the university eagle tops the main gate on Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, leading to the university's historic grounds. The emblem in the form of a standardized logo is used on diplomas (on the cover), paper used for official correspondence and business cards, as well as on commemorative items, bookmarks, sweatshirts, bags and pens. The university's principal symbol is not dependent on any of these objects; its legal status is defined by the university's current statutes, while a two-century-old tradition endows it with emotive power.⁷² The fact that diplomas and other documents are stamped – in keeping with the law – with the state emblem rather than the university's emblem is no obstacle to seeing the university eagle as a sign that contributes to the identity of the academic community. The statutes also mention a special seal, but it is for ceremonial purposes so is rarely used.⁷³

When searching for an example of the relationship between the emblem and seal dating directly from the era in which the University of Warsaw was founded, for comparative purposes, reference can be made to the establishment of the imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland in 1815. This



Fig. 7. Emblem of the University of Warsaw on the main gate, photo: H. Kowalski

is a close example not only chronologically, but also functionally, as it was the symbol of the state that replaced the university's eagle on the seal a few years later. Furthermore, both the Congress Kingdom and the university used the symbol of the White Eagle as an essential component of their armorial bearings, although its role differed in both cases. It was incorporated into both emblems, which carried two different messages. The eagle was the main element on the oldest university emblem. On the state emblem, the two symbols were combined: the Russian Empire and historical Poland, based on the state's hierarchical structure, where the former element



Fig. 8. Imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland on a document of the Heraldic Commission of the Congress Kingdom of Poland confirming the ennoblement of Ignacy Nosarzewski, 1837, ANK

dominated over the latter. Approved by Alexander I, the design was first presented to the public in Warsaw on 20 June 1815, during a ceremony in which officials took an oath of allegiance to the new monarch.

⁷⁴ K. Bartoszewicz, *Utworzenie Królestwa Kongresowego*, Kraków 1916, p. 163.

⁷⁵ These are mentioned by Kuczyński: S.K. Kuczyński, 'Orzeł Biały i barwy...', p. 38.

⁷⁶ 'Attached for each Department is one standard Coat of Arms of the Kingdom of Poland, copied from the original, by the hand of the Most Excellent Emperor of All Russia the King of Poland signed.' AGAD, RTKP, 1/183/0/173/53. Cf. G. Trafalski, 'Herb Królestwa Polskiego w 1831', *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* 2019, vol. 18, p. 224, fn. 4.

Flags and plaques bearing this sign were displayed in three important places in the capital of the Congress Kingdom: at the Royal Castle, the city hall and the Krasińskich Palace.⁷⁴ The inhabitants of Warsaw and members of delegations arriving from various parts of the country, seeing the symbols both in the urban space and in many other places where they were on display, could familiarize themselves with the design chosen by the emperor of Russia, and now also the king of Poland.⁷⁵ However, it was the coins minted at the Warsaw Mint that contributed most to the spread of the new symbol. The emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland was placed on the reverse. The state emblem was used on stamped paper which citizens had to use when filing motions with government offices. The image was sent to departments in the form of coloured sample drawings constituting the 'norm'.⁷⁶ It was also to be found on the seals of government offices. The chancelleries of the central authorities quickly complied with this obligation, but in the case of towns and municipalities, enforcing the

provision was met with great resistance and dragged on for over several years.⁷⁷ This did not change the fact, however, that regardless of the actual state of the seals of the government office of the Congress Kingdom, the state's emblem existed as a symbol accepted by Alexander I, introduced under Article 37 of the Constitution of 1815.⁷⁸ It should be noted that seals played an important but not exclusive role in this system of symbols.⁷⁹

The problem of the relationship between the university emblem and the seal is complicated by the fact that the university's symbol was not a completely new design; its most important and predominant component was another emblem – the White Eagle – with a long history and an established tradition.⁸⁰ Originally, it was more closely associated with the charge on the coat of arms than the seal impression. The oldest depiction of the White Eagle as the emblem of the Kingdom of Poland is known from the reverse of the seal of King Przemysław II (1257–1296), where the eagle was depicted on a triangular-shaped knight's shield. Thus, the seal served as the carrier of an image of the coat of arms, and not as a presentation of the emblem. The symbols of princes and knights were painted on battle shields and embroidered on banners, mounted as a jewel, i.e. an ornament and insignia on the helmet. It was not until the next rulers of Poland that the emblem was used as an independent component on their seals, made with great artistic finesse and craftsmanship for Kings Władysław Łokietek and Kazimierz the Great. In the following centuries the White Eagle appeared on myriad utilitarian objects and works of art (some of which are at times difficult to categorize); seals occupied a special place among them.

The question of the relationship between the emblem of a state or institution and the image on its seal is therefore unclear. The objective of the discussion begun here is to determine whether the university's oldest seal merely repeated the image of the emblem, or whether the seal and the emblem should be regarded as one inseparable symbol, both ideological and physical, expressed in the form of the most important of the university's seals. If the emblem was an independent, approved sign, then the subsequent order to remove it from the seal did not officially redefine the university's symbol, but merely eliminated one of the spaces on which its image was used. In the second case, the removal of the emblem from the seal actually meant the elimination of the original symbol of the university which would have significant consequences and far-reaching implications.

⁷⁷ K. Dorcz, 'Pieczęcie miejskie i gminne oraz wykonawcy pieczęci w Księstwie Warszawskim i Królestwie Polskim (do 1830 r.)', *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* 2004, vol. 6, p. 65.

⁷⁸ The constitution did not specify the design, but directed that a design chosen by the monarch be used.

⁷⁹ In the collection of the UW Museum there is an appointment signed by Alexander I himself and authenticated by a wafer seal with an image of the emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland. It is a document issued to Charles Varenne, a professor of painting at the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts of the Royal University of Warsaw, appointing him a Knight of the Order of St Stanislaus – Fourth Class. The document is in French and Polish, issued 11/23 January 1823 in Warsaw, on Alexander I's return journey from the congress in Verona to Russia. MUW/610. My thanks to Dagmara Dąbrowska for pointing out this document.

⁸⁰ *Orzeł Biały – 700 lat herbu...*, in particular the following articles: Z. Piech, 'Wokół genezy...'; S.K. Kuczyński, 'Treści...'; P. Mrozowski, 'O stylizacji Orła Białego w sztuce polskiej', pp. 43–53.

⁸¹ Although the foundation act has not survived, its contents are known: *Pamiętnik Warszawski, czyli Dziennik Nauk i Umiejętności* 1817, vol. 7, pp. 545–546, cf. excerpt from the minutes of the Secretariat of State of the Kingdom of Poland in: J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 22–23. For comparison, the foundation acts of the Joseph University in Lwów and the Lwów Lyceum contained a detailed description of the seal. F. Jaworski, *Uniwersytet Lwowski. Wspomnienie jubileuszowe*, Lwów 1912, pp. 56, 71.

⁸² ‘On the motion of the deans of the academic faculties, the General Council decided that henceforth the local Main School, hitherto called the Royal University, should be called the Royal University both in writing and in all circumstances, and this in accordance with the royal diploma [foundation act – note by K.M.] publicly announced.’ *Księga protokołów...*, p. 37. Later it was common – also in the Council’s minutes – to use the name ‘Royal University of Warsaw’. In the present work the modernized name Royal University of Warsaw is used. The Council was not consistent in this respect. The name ‘Uniwersytet Królewski’ was used in the headers of only ten sets of minutes, which documented the meetings of the General Council from 29 March to 7 June 1817. On another dozen or so surviving minutes, the university was referred to as the ‘Uniwersytet Królewsko-Warszawski’ and this is the form that can be found the most often in sources from that time. In addition, the same term appeared in the headings of six sets of minutes even before the name change was passed.

⁸³ The General Council of the Main School was established on 31 December 1816, and, in addition to Staszic, its members included: Samuel Bogumił Linde, Bishop Adam Prażmowski, Józef Sierakowski, Wawrzyniec Surowiecki, and the deans: Józef Dziarkowski (Faculty of Medicine), and Jan Wincenty Bandtkie (School of Law and Administration). Later, its meetings were often attended by other university officials: the Rev. Wojciech Szweykowski (as deputy dean of the Faculty of Theology), the Rev. Antoni Dąbrowski (dean of the Faculty of Philosophy), Marcello Bacciarelli (dean of the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts). The council met from 4 January 1817 to 14 March 1818, *Księga protokołów...*, p. 5.

⁸⁴ Stanisław Staszic (1755–1826), Catholic priest, writer, administrative and educational activist, naturalist, geographer, geologist, member of the Chamber of Education (1807–1815, from 1811 as the Directorate of National Education), in December 1808 applied to the State Council of the Duchy of Warsaw for the establishment of the Main School, was co-organizer of the Faculty of Medicine (1809), member of the Commission for Religion and Public Education (1815–1824), Minister of State of the Kingdom of Poland (1824–1826), president of the Society of Friends of Science (1808–1826). M. Czeppe, Z.J. Wójcik, ‘Stanisław Wawrzyniec Staszic’, in: PSB, vol. 42, Warsaw–Kraków 2003–2004.

In an attempt to resolve this issue, it will be analysed on two levels.

One concerns the historical context: the establishment of the symbol in the early years of the university. The other relates to the design of the emblem submitted by the Commission, which will be examined using rudimentary heraldry and sphragistics.

What is known of the circumstances in which the university symbol was established? Due to the limited information in the sources, it is only possible to trace the emblem’s history from the time it was presented as a concrete design submitted by the Commission to the Viceroy on 4 November 1817. There is no information about it in the university’s foundation charter although the history of some other universities would suggest that this is where it should have been decided. The foundation act signed on 19 November 1816 by Alexander I, emperor of Russia and king of Poland, made no mention of a principal emblem or seal.⁸¹ This act gave the kingdom’s highest educational institution the name Main School, which the Council of the university officially changed to the Royal University in March 1817, but again this was not connected with the establishment of an emblem.⁸² Nor can any mention be found in the minutes of the Council’s meetings of any official steps being taken regarding the emblem and seal until 8 November 1817, when the issue was under consideration in response to the news that it had become a matter of interest to the highest state authorities. And if scholars had discussed it earlier, it was either informally or on the occasion of other matters, so it was not put on record. As a result, the issue of the emblem appeared rather late in the Council meeting minutes, thereby making it possible to get only a partial picture of the actions undertaken regarding this topic. It can be concluded that the university was without a principal symbol for almost a year, which would mean that having its own emblem was not a necessity during this period. The organizers of the school were focused on other matters.

The University’s General Council,⁸³ chaired by Stanisław Staszic,⁸⁴ was established by the Ministry of Education, headed by Stanisław

Kostka Potocki.⁸⁵ Both these patrons of learning and public activists made tremendous contributions to education and the process of establishing the university. The Council's activities can therefore be seen as a continuation of their earlier efforts, but this time organized as a specific body and directed towards a specific goal. In the first year of the university's existence, the General Council dealt with the basic organization of the school, acquired teaching materials, vetted and hired staff at various levels, searched for suitable professors to head the faculties, drew up the statutes and curriculum, and scrutinized student applications.⁸⁶

In 1816, there were two faculties at the university: Medicine and Law & Administration, which had been organized during the Duchy of Warsaw. As more units of the university began work, the matter of the university having its own seal must have become more pressing. Although the university's official inauguration did not take place until 18 May 1818, the 'classes', or academic year, had already begun twice before: the first on 1 February 1817 ending a few months later, in July.⁸⁷ At that time, there were still many vacancies among departmental heads (chairs). The second session opened on 13 November 1817,⁸⁸ which appears – not coincidentally – to be linked to the presentation of a design for a seal which took place in the same month. It can therefore be assumed that the motivation to establish an emblem was the need to authenticate documents issued by the university with a seal. The Faculty of Medicine had its own seal without the word 'uniwersytet' (university) to authenticate the credentials (patents) of students who had taken courses in medicine there. This may have raised concerns among graduates about the document being honoured on a par with the diplomas of other European universities.⁸⁹ Students in all the faculties should, on the other hand, have received papers confirming their acceptance as students in the new academic year, which allowed them to avoid conscription.⁹⁰ These circumstances suggest that it was the need of a mark of authentication that led to a deeper reflection on the image that should be engraved on the matrix and, consequently, on the symbolic message the emblem was to convey.

⁸⁵ Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755–1821), politician, administrative and educational activist, publicist, freemason, deputy, member of the Patriotic Party at the Four-Year Sejm, president of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Duchy of Warsaw, president of the Senate of the Kingdom of Poland (1818–1821), head of the Chamber of Education (1807–1812), the Directorate of National Education (1812–1815), and the Commission for Religion and Public Education (1815–1820). B. Grochulska, 'Potocki Stanisław Kostka', in: PSB, vol. 28, Wrocław 1985, pp. 158–170.

⁸⁶ These matters appear in the *Księga protokołów...* most often, but the Council also dealt with other issues, ranging from very important ones, such as drafting the university's statutes, through disciplinary ones (student brawls), to supplies for university janitors.

⁸⁷ J.J., 'Opis historyczno-statystyczny...', no. 44, p. 348.

⁸⁸ Ibid., no. 45, p. 354.

⁸⁹ The dean of the Faculty of Medicine did not give the rector the three seals formerly used at the Faculty of Medicine until April 1818, after receiving the new university seals. The records do not specify whether these were three seals from the set dating from 1815, or three seals of which two dated from the time of the Duchy of Warsaw and one from the time of the Congress Kingdom. More information about impressions made using these seals can be found later in the article. These artefacts are not in the collection of the MUW. *Księga protokołów...*, p. 107.

⁹⁰ The General Council requested the Commission to 'suspend the military conscription of students of the Royal University of Warsaw who had matriculation papers, and for the year for which such are issued to them.' *Księga protokołów...*, p. 117. This matter required the establishment of further procedures, as some students only applied for matriculation papers to avoid the army, and did not attend lectures. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 123.

It can be assumed with a high degree of certainty that this was exactly how the process unfolded, not the other way around, as there are no known sources that suggest the symbol was first adopted and was used on the seal only after a period of time had elapsed. However, this possibility should be examined, as this is exactly how the official change was made to the university's name. The General Council initially used the term Szkoła Główna Warszawska (Main School in Warsaw) as in the foundation act.⁹¹ From 8 February 1817, the name: Uniwersytet Królewsko-Warszawski (Royal University of Warsaw) was introduced into the headings of the minutes of the Council's meetings, although it was not formally voted on until almost two months later, on 29 March 1817.⁹² In this instance, the name 'Uniwersytet', which seemed more appropriate, first started to be used, and was only later formally approved at the behest of the deans.⁹³

⁹¹ The foundation act used the name 'Szkoła Główna' (Main School). The official reason for the name change was a sentence in the act that read: 'We hereby establish the Main School, honouring it with the name of Królewski Uniwersytet (Royal University).' *Księga protokołów...*, p. 175.

⁹² Interestingly, a week earlier (22 March), the University Council had established and sent to the Commission the regulations for its functioning, which used the term Królewska Szkoła Główna Warszawska (Royal Main School in Warsaw), and it was approved in this form by the Ministry. Following this approval, the Council carried out the procedure of changing the university's name at the behest of the deans, also incorporating it post factum into the regulations. The name 'Szkoła główna warszawska' (Main School in Warsaw) was on the version of the regulations known to Bieliński. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 241. However, the name 'Uniwersytet' is given in the bylaws mentioned in the Council's minutes. Minutes of the 12th meeting of the General Council, 29 March 1817, item 6, in: *Księga protokołów...*, p. 37. Cf. Minutes of the 11th meeting of the General Council, 15 March 1817, item 6, in: *Księga protokołów...*, p. 36.

⁹³ Minutes of the 12th meeting of the General Council, 29 March 1817, item 6, in: *Księga protokołów...*, p. 37.

⁹⁴ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 402.

In the case of the university emblem, no such consensus was reached. At the time of the known discussions on the design, the important issue – i.e. what exactly should the emblem of the university be – was still not clear. In November 1817, the matter of the emblem was formally raised by the Commission, brought up for discussion at the Administrative Council, and also at the University's General Council. Notably, however, while there were doubts about the emblem, one aspect of the issue remained unchallenged: the emblem was considered in the context of establishing a design for a seal.

Further insights on the relationship between the emblem and the seal can be found in an analysis of the content of the design prepared by the Commission. The only source for learning about it is Bieliński, who gives a description of the symbol presented for approval: 'An ancient Polish eagle, crowned, with outspread wings, holding in its left talon a palm leaf and in its right a laurel branch, marks of perseverance and reward; surrounded by a pentagon of five stars signifying the five academic faculties, and around the edge the inscription Sigillum Universitatis Regiae Varsaviensis MDCCCXVI'.⁹⁴

It is interesting that the design does not so much describe the emblem as depict the appearance of the planned seal – the main part is the image of the university's principal symbol. However, the seal and emblem are inseparable, and the symbol is immediately accompanied by an inscription containing the Latin word *sigillum*, meaning seal. Therefore, in putting forward the symbol, the Commission was at the same time specifying its use to authenticate the school's

documents. This may originally have been the only intended use of the symbol, as the other uses of the image of the university's emblem that we know of date from a later period and are definitely influenced by the one on the seal. In 1819 an award medal was established for students, the reverse of which depicted the university emblem.⁹⁵ The matter of the students wearing eagle buttons and the alleged use of the university emblem on the university flag is discussed later. The publicizing of the image was undoubtedly not as widespread as it is today, and could not compare with the depiction of the coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom on many objects. The main space for displaying the coat of arms was the university's seal, and the source of the images impressed on documents were the seals in the custody of the secretary and the deans.

Another important feature of the Commission's design was pointed out by Aleksander Gieysztor and Władysław Tomkiewicz in 1950, when they were preparing a paper for a panel appointed to standardize or even change the images on the emblem and seal of the University of Warsaw. The authors of the 'historical and heraldic argument'⁹⁶ were of the opinion that the university's coat of arms had never been distinctive of the emblem on the seal. They observed that the 1817 design described the university's principal symbol without specifying tinctures, i.e. it omitted the emblem's requisite heraldic features, which, however, are irrelevant for impressions made in sealing wax, on paper or applied in ink. This means that from the outset, the Commission under Potocki's leadership strove to establish the university symbol not as a heraldic sign placed on a heraldic shield, but as an emblem on a seal associated strictly and exclusively with the seal.

This view is also confirmed by Kuczyński's research, who, referring to the symbols of European universities, mentioned that 'some universities did not produce their coats of arms in the heraldic sense, i.e. emblems placed on a shield and subject to the rules of heraldic art. They used only the emblem itself and the seals bearing it. This raised the importance of the university's principal seal, giving it the rank of the supreme symbol of the school.'⁹⁷

The design of a symbol not in the form of a coat of arms, but only in the form of a seal emblem, was by no means an affront to the University of Warsaw, but resulted in part from the tradition of the schools, and in part from a real need of the university, which confined the use of its emblem mainly to the authentication of diplomas and certificates. From the perspective of sphragistic research, as Marcin Hlebionek points out, it is not possible to talk of a significant discrepancy between a symbol in the form of

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 401.

⁹⁶ The paper was prepared for a meeting of the committee convened by the Academic Senate on 11 October 1950 to consider the matter of the emblem and seal of the University of Warsaw. It had the character of an internal draft document. For this reason, it lacks any academic substance and, unfortunately, does not develop many of the interesting themes mentioned by the authors. APAN, III, 280, Materiały Władysława Tomkiewicza, fols. 18–19.

⁹⁷ S.K. Kuczyński, 'Godło...', p. 131.

a coat of arms and a seal image, as long as it is an emblem. ‘In the case of emblems, it is assumed that the obverse of the seal is semantically equivalent to the shield on the coat of arms (an intrinsic element of a coat of arms)’.⁹⁸ This means that the image of the seal of the University of Warsaw was treated similarly to a coat of arms, which is why Bieliński wrote about establishing the university’s coat of arms and the seal at the same time, not noticing any discrepancy in this.

⁹⁸ M. Hlebionek, ‘Pieczęć...’, p. 62.

⁹⁹ P. Mrozowski, ‘O stylizacji...’, pp. 45–53.

It is also not difficult to notice that, graphically, it was the round shape of the seal that predetermined the university’s emblem. It would have had different proportions had it been inscribed in the triangular field of a coat of arms, as was the case in the earlier images of the emblem of the White Eagle,⁹⁹ or in the oval field in which the former emblem of the Crown had appeared in the coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom since 1815. The seals housed in the UW Museum therefore belong to a group of objects which are not only material evidence of the emblem and its oldest known carrier, but should also be treated as the most important and oldest symbols of the university. The absence of the most important of them – the matrix of the great seal – is an irreparable loss, so it is all the more reason why the surviving seals deserve to be better appreciated and popularized.

Summing up this part of the discussion, it can be concluded that the university’s emblem established in 1817 and its seal were inextricably linked. The approval of the design for the seal by General Józef Zajączek, viceroy of the Congress Kingdom, should be understood as tantamount to the granting of an emblem to the university. Moreover, as shall be observed later in the analysis, the order to remove this emblem from the seal in 1823 had the effect of revoking the right to use it in its original form in general, not only on the seals. However, due to the need to maintain the chronological order in these deliberations, thus making it possible to demonstrate certain cause-and-effect relationships, we will first address the possibility of selecting another principal symbol for the university. ●

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Adalbertus

Joan



VIII. Great seal of the University of Warsaw according to the 1817 design on a master's diploma dated 1 December 1819, BUW

IX. Seal matrix of the Faculty of Medicine,
1817 design, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

Cameo matrix for making ink impressions.
When making the matrix, the die sinker draws
an outline of the emblem and letters, and then removes
the unnecessary parts of the disc. The ink covers
mainly the parts of the matrix that are raised above
the surface, and the ink is transferred from the matrix
to the paper thereby reproducing the drawing.



Proposals for an emblem for the university

By tracking the process by which the emblem was established, it is possible to identify more closely the roles played by the various institutions at successive stages, and to identify the alternative proposals put forward in the search for the university's principal symbol. What is interesting is the range of meanings ascribed to the symbols under discussion, as it is a reflection of how the university, its position, distinctiveness and the tasks accomplished were perceived at the time. The most interesting component of the seal – the emblem – was the most contentious in the course of the debate.

Bieliński's concise account describes the course of events; he presented the matter of establishing the emblem as a simple and one-way process: the institution superior to the university, i.e. the Commission, submitted a design for a coat of arms and seal to the highest authority, i.e. the king's viceroy, on 4 November 1817.¹⁰⁰ General Józef Zajączek must have given his approval for it on 15 November at the latest because on that day the Commission notified the university's General Council of the design of the coat of arms and ordered that it be implemented. The university's governing body then proceeded to set the wheel in motion. Bieliński also gave a detailed list of the seals that were ordered. As far as he was concerned, the whole procedure was very straightforward – it did not cause any problems. In his account, the proposal was approved, enacted and then executed.

This view is undermined by information that can be found in the minutes of the General Council's meetings. Gerber mentioned this source and it was used by Kuczyński, but only within the scope of their own deliberations; they did not further elaborate upon the issue of the emblem's establishment. Before the viceroy approved the Commission's design there were at least two counter-proposals. Bieliński does not refer to them although they are known from a transcript of the minutes of the university's General Council meeting held on 8 November 1817. Item two reads: 'A member of the Council [Wawrzyniec] Surowiecki announced that at the meeting of the Administrative Council ^[a]it was said that^{[a]101} the eagle of the present-day Kingdom should be used for the university seal, the General Council also suggested that an eagle from Niemcewicz's *Pieśni* (Songs) could be used, and if the Administrative Council did not find this suitable either, it would agree to the eagle of the present-day Kingdom.'^{[b]102, 103} The entry in the minutes ended with the words 'Kingdom of Poland', but the words 'of Poland' had been crossed out.

¹⁰⁰ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 402.

^{101[a-a]} In the original, this passage was in a different place but was moved by the author of the transcript for stylistic reasons. This most probably occurred when editing the minutes before they were transcribed – most probably for the Commission.

^{102[b]} In the original the words 'of Poland' were deleted. The deletion probably occurred when editing the document, see above.

¹⁰³ *Księga protokołów...*, p. 70. Meetings of the University Council were held late on Saturdays, at 4 p.m., in Samuel Linde's apartment located in the building now known as the Former Rector's Building, as had been decided at the Council's first meeting. Meetings of the Administrative Council were held at the seat of the viceroy (Viceroy's Palace, now the Presidential Palace) on Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, probably at an earlier time, so the meeting Surowiecki refers to most likely took place on the same day.

The minutes contain information inferring that the Administrative Council, i.e. the Cabinet of Ministers at the time, discussed the university seal. In addition, the General Council of the university, having become aware of this fact, put forward its own proposal for an emblem.

In November 1817, therefore, various proposals were under consideration for a university emblem; these proposals came from three bodies: The Commission, the Administrative Council and the University Council.

First we should return to the text concerning the design put forward by the Commission – quoted in full above after Bieliński – in which the image proposed is described as ‘the former Polish eagle in a crown with outspread wings ...’.¹⁰⁴ The heraldic interpretation of this description does not appear to create any major difficulties. In line with Kuczyński, this symbol is understood as a historic emblem – the White Eagle.¹⁰⁵ What is worth mentioning is the emphasis on its defining feature – ‘former’. The ‘former’ Polish eagle was the emblem of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland in the period before the partitions. The same symbol is described in other texts from the period, quite often in publications on numismatics. Feliks Bentkowski,¹⁰⁶ conservator of the University’s Cabinet of Coins and Medals, compiled a list of medals related to the history of Poland in 1830. In it, he used the expression ‘Polish Eagle’ to refer to the White Eagle. What mattered to him was the symbol’s heraldic classification, not the stylistic or historical variation. He used this term to refer to various images of the White Eagle, both from the last decades of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and from Jagiellonian times or during the reign of the Vasa dynasty.¹⁰⁷ Bentkowski saw no need to add that the images he was describing were ancient as it was obvious from the context. The term omitted by Bentkowski was obviously of great importance to the Commission, which decided to clarify that the identifying feature of the proposed image of the eagle was to be its historical dimension, and not its contemporary one, i.e. in line with the current development of the state symbol. The latter was far more elaborate and the ideological message it conveyed was very different.

What was the relevance of hinting at the symbol’s remote provenance? Throughout its history, there have been many artistic elaborations of the White Eagle, which have evolved over the centuries and under the rule of successive monarchs. The emblem of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland, combined with the initials of the ruler

¹⁰⁴ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 402.

¹⁰⁵ S.K. Kuczyński, ‘Godło...’, p. 132.

¹⁰⁶ Feliks Bentkowski (1781–1852), historian, literary scholar, philologist, numismatist, awarded an honorary doctorate by the Jagiellonian University (1814), professor at the Royal University of Warsaw, conservator of the Cabinet of Coins and Medals. A.K. Guzek, ‘Feliks Jan Bentkowski 1781–1852’, in: *Portrety uczonych...*, pp. 80–91.

¹⁰⁷ For example: F. Bentkowski, *Spis...*, p. 3, item 7 (‘Polish Eagle’, medal from the time of Zygmunt I), p. 7, item 19 (‘Polish Eagle’, medal from the time of Zygmunt August); cf. E. Raczyński, *Gabinet medalów polskich oraz tych, które się dziejów Polski tyczą*, vol. 3, Poznań 1841, no. 262: ‘Orzeł Polski w koronie’ (Polish Eagle, crowned).

or the family coat of arms on the eagle's breast, also represented the king personally. The choice of this rather than another form could therefore be seen as a reference to a particular ruler, his triumphs and failures, or his political allegiances. At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, history was perceived through the persona of the ruler and not, as today, through processes of a political, social, economic or cultural nature. This was reflected in the series of annotated drawings of rulers popular in the Polish lands at the time.¹⁰⁸ However, the Commission did not choose to make an ideological reference to any of Poland's past rulers.

According to Bieliński, the Ministry of Education presented the viceroy with a drawing of the design along with a description, but he did not reproduce this drawing, or include a likeness of any of the seals to illustrate his work. Instead, he claimed that the university's symbol was similar to the eagle depicted on the 1819 award medal. Bieliński's work included an illustration copied from Eustachy Tyszkiewicz's work on coins and medals – as can be seen from a comparison of the engravings.¹⁰⁹ The Commission's proposal thus depicted a neoclassical-style White Eagle, with raised wings and a naturalistic and compact silhouette. It was an emblem that could be described as old, dating from the last decades of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or from the time of the Duchy of Warsaw, but at the same time it was still recognizable and familiar to early nineteenth-century Poles. Its ideological message was not intended to refer to a chosen ruler or moment of history, but the timeless, non-judgmental value of identity, the connection between the contemporary and past generations through the use of the same symbols within the Kingdom of Poland (the Crown) since the end of the thirteenth century. It is worth noting that the phrase 'former Polish eagle' left no doubt that only the White Eagle was to be used as the university's symbol, not the eagle used to identify the state after the Congress of Vienna.

According to the aforementioned transcript of the minutes of the General Council's meeting, the image for the university seal was discussed by the Administrative Council in the first days of November. This news was conveyed to the academics by Surowiecki. He was active in the fields of education, publishing and politics, and had been in charge of administrative affairs at the Ministry of Education since 1812,¹¹⁰ but did not attend government meetings. These were attended by Staszic (in place of Potocki) who must have been well versed in the Commission's current affairs.¹¹¹ During Cabinet meetings, ministers of the various Commissions submitted more important matters falling within the purview of their

¹⁰⁸ 'Series of Polish kings and princes were painted and drawn starting from the Middle Ages throughout early modern times. They were given a literary form, were used as illustrations in books, series of portraits painted on walls and canvas, carved in stone and stamped on metal.' A. Grochala, *Poczty władców polskich. Tradycja państwowości* (exh. cat. National Museum in Warsaw), Warsaw 2005, p. 7. Publications concurrent with the events described: T. Waga, *Historia xiążąt y królów polskich krótko zebrana z niektórymi uwagami nad dziełami narodu polskiego*, Warsaw 1816; K. Słotwiński, *Potok genealogiczny królów i xiążąt polskich*, Lwów 1819; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Śpiewy historyczne z muzyką i rycinami*, Warsaw 1816.

¹⁰⁹ E. Tyszkiewicz, *Sammlung...*, p. 115, no. 75.

¹¹⁰ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 230. A. Gella, *Wawrzyniec Surowiecki*, Wrocław 1958, pp. 27–31. Surowiecki's role as a messenger or informant about what went on at government meetings is explained indirectly by his involvement in the administration of the highest authorities of the state.

¹¹¹ In 1817, Staszic deputized for Tadeusz Mostowski, the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Police at 12 meetings between 11 March (CXXII) and 21 April (CXXXV), and later deputized for Potocki at 31 meetings between 3 June (CXXXVI) and 18 September (CLXXVI). AGAD, Rada Adm. KP, 1/188/0/4, fols. 175–228, 250, 329–394; AGAD, Rada Adm. KP, 1/188/0/5, fols. 1–146.

¹¹² Neither the Minister of Religion and Public Education nor any other member of the Administrative Council raised the issue of the university emblem at the meetings of the Administrative Council on 4, 8, 11 and 15 November 1817. Nor was it possible to find any mention of the issue in the minutes of the Council's earlier meetings that year. AGAD, Rada Adm. KP, 1/188/0/-/4-5. According to the Statute of the Council of State, which also regulated the proceedings of the Administrative Council, every matter and every sentence referring to the issue should be noted in the minutes (Art. 8). The Statute of the Council of State allowed for two ways of dealing with cases: if the matter was beyond the competence of a particular Commission, it had to be submitted to the Administrative Council for a decision by the viceroy (Art. 3), and if it was a minor matter, the viceroy could issue a decision directly, without bringing it before the Council (Art. 9). Perhaps the matter of the university emblem belonged to the latter group. DPKP, 1816, vol. 1, no. 4, *Statut organiczny dla Rady Stanu przez Najjaśniejszego Cesarza Wszech Rosyi i Króla Polskiego, pod dniem 19. Listopada/1. Grudnia 1815 r. wydany* (Organic Statute for the Council of State issued by His Imperial Majesty Emperor of Russia and King of Poland, on 19 November/ 1 December 1815), pp. 245–270.

According to the description of the files prepared by the AGAD staff, 'throughout the constitutional period of the Kingdom, the minutes were very brief and did not reflect the course of the discussions (motions on specific issues were as a rule entered into the minutes when they were put into writing).' It also does not seem that in the minutes the Administrative Council was confused with the Council of State, since the establishment of the university's emblem was a matter of too little importance for a meeting of the Council of State, and there is no trace of this matter in the surviving records from October–December 1817: AGAD, I RS, Protokoły posiedzeń Ogólnego Zgromadzenia Rady Stanu, 1/184/0/2/432; AGAD, I RS, Rejestr kontrolny wszelkich aktów i spraw w Ogólnym Zgromadzeniu Rady Stanu przedstawianych i załatwianych, 1/184/0/2/494; AGAD, I RS, Kontrola na kwartał IV 1817 r., 1/184/0/2/498; AGAD, I RS, Dziennik Ogólny Komisji Podań i Instrukcji w Radzie Stanu, 1/184/0/2/514.

ministries, which required the approval of General Zajączek. Unfortunately, the Administrative Council's minutes contain no information on the discussion about the university's emblem. This may be because not all comments made by participants at the Cabinet meetings were recorded before 1830; the subject matters discussed were written down, as were the viceroy's decisions – provided the matter had been brought forward officially in writing.¹¹² Less important requests and motions were addressed directly to the viceroy. Zajączek most probably decided to consult ministers verbally on the project the Commission had sent directly to him. Surowiecki learnt of the discussion, or was informed of it intentionally.



Fig. 9. Imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland from 1815–1830, author unknown, 19th century, BN



Fig. 10. Wafer seal of Alexander I with the imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, on a document granting the Order of St Stanislaus, fourth class, to Charles Varenne, 1823, UW Museum

The minutes of the University Council state that Surowiecki came to the university with news that at a government meeting the idea of using the ‘eagle of the current Kingdom of Poland’ for the university’s seal was under discussion. Subsequently, during the editing of the minutes, presumably to give Minister Potocki a clean copy, the words ‘of Poland’ were crossed out. This account, which is very important, is unfortunately not explicit, so it is not clear whether Surowiecki was describing the White Eagle or rather the imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom. And by the same token whether the Administrative Council supported Potocki’s design, or whether there was an alternative idea. The key to solving this conundrum lies in a heraldic analysis and the invaluable clue provided by the hand deleting the word ‘of Poland’ from the minutes of the University Council.

The problem stems from the ambiguity of the term: Kingdom of Poland. This is because it existed as a current political creation conditioned by the international situation at the time and also as the idea of a centuries-old state retaining its identity despite changes to its borders.

At the same time the emperor approved and used the symbol of the Kingdom of Poland (Congress Kingdom) which was the imperial eagle, which can be simply described as consisting of two symbols: the imperial two-headed black eagle with attributes, on whose breast there was an oval escutcheon bearing the White Eagle. In sources from

the period known to us, this symbol is described by the term ‘coat of arms’ and the adjuncts ‘of the kingdom’, ‘of the Kingdom of Poland’, ‘of the State’.¹¹³ However, the expression ‘eagle ... of the Kingdom of Poland’ is not among them.

¹¹³ The example of normative sources is telling here: S. Górzyński, *Orzeł Biały...*, pp. 102–107.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.

¹¹⁵ My thanks to Dr Hab. Sławomir Górzyński for pointing out the need to emphasize the difference between the idea of the Kingdom of Poland and the political state at the time.

¹¹⁶ The word ‘current’ used in documents in the early 19th century can be narrowed down to mean: ‘current, existing as a result of recent changes’, especially to emphasize the contrast with a previous situation. For example: ‘everyone who had civil rights during the rule of the Duchy of Warsaw will keep them under the current constitutional government’ or the matter of supplying the secretariat with seals for use with ink and sealing ‘with the current coat of arms’ from 5 May 1831. After: M. Osiecka, ‘System...’, pp. 64 and 117. In his dictionary under the headwork ‘current’ Samuel Bogumił Linde gave the example: ‘Teraźne Jeruzalem daleko jest mniejsze niżeli ono dawne’ (The current Jerusalem is far smaller than the former), S.B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 2, part 3, Warsaw 1812, p. 619.

On the other hand – as Sławomir Górzyński explained in a recently published work – according to heraldic principles, the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Poland was the White Eagle, and not the entire symbol described above.¹¹⁴ This follows from the idea that the basic version of a coat of arms consists of the shield or escutcheon, and the charges placed on it. This can be extended to form a grand coat of arms by adding supporters, a helm, a crest, a motto and a banner; however, these objects are treated as additional and are not components of the coat of arms proper. The function of the imperial (two-headed) eagle, according to Górzyński, was therefore reduced to a supporter or compartment on which the coat of arms was placed. In this sense, the eagle of the Kingdom of Poland was the White Eagle.

Nonetheless, from 1815 onwards, an elaborate version of the symbol of the state was commonly depicted – i.e. imperial and royal. It was this form that was accepted as the primary and obligatory one, rather than the ceremonial one, rarely used or reserved only for the seal of the sovereign. This was due to the fact that the imperial and royal eagle symbolized the then current political structure of the Congress Kingdom of Poland as a dependent state, united with Russia and the Romanov dynasty through the person of the king – i.e. the tsar of Russia – under a Constitution. Meanwhile, the principle described by Górzyński referred to the Kingdom of Poland as a political idea, a national community and an inherited territory. This idea – the aspirations of the Poles under the Partitions – was symbolized by the White Eagle, heraldically the same emblem as established by King Przemysław II in 1295.

Thus, in this instance, it is the eagle of the Kingdom of Poland (a timeless concept, i.e. the White Eagle) and the symbol of the Congress Kingdom of Poland (of the then present-day state, i.e. the imperial and royal emblem).¹¹⁵ Establishing this difference makes it possible to correctly interpret the words used to describe the seal proposed for the university. In the Commission’s proposal it was ‘the former Polish eagle’, whereas the Administrative Council were contemplating ‘the current eagle of the Congress Kingdom’. These are two very different definitions, referring to different historical and political circumstances. In the Commission’s proposal, the eagle is defined by its ‘antiquity’, whereas the Administrative Council’s proposal refers to a symbol that was then ‘current’ and therefore – based on documents dating from that period and Linde’s dictionary – was currently in use, and had been established in the context of recent changes.¹¹⁶ It can, therefore, be assumed that

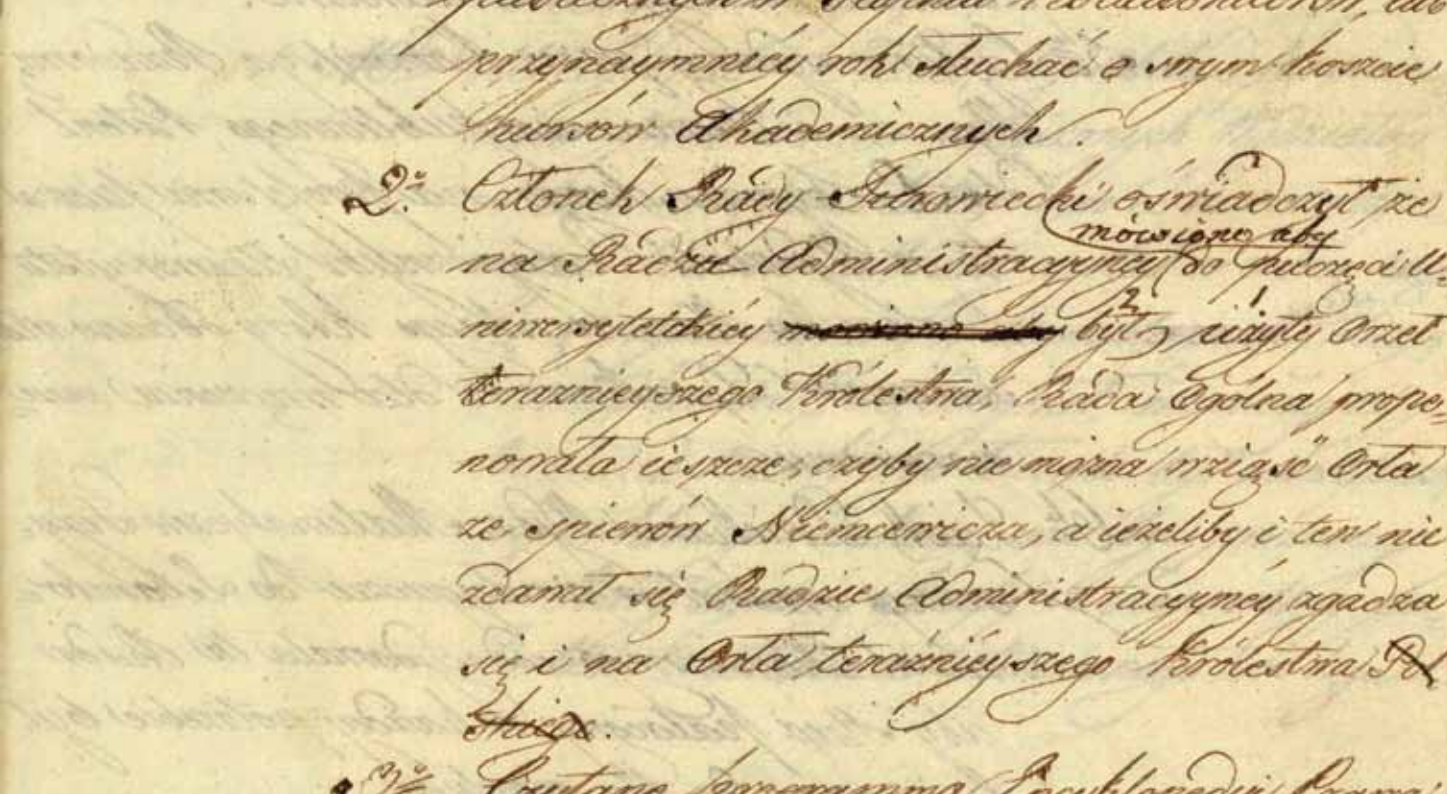


Fig. 11. Excerpt from a page of Minutes of the University Council with an item relating to the design of the emblem, 1817, AUW

the words ‘the current eagle of the Kingdom’^{117[a]} refer precisely to the extended imperial and royal form of the state emblem.

In this context, deleting the words ‘of Poland’ from the description of the symbol that was to be considered for the seal is not an inconsequential editorial correction, but most likely captures how the symbols were perceived. The eagle of the Kingdom of Poland could only be called the White Eagle, while the imperial and royal emblem was a symbol of the then ‘current Kingdom’, i.e. the state as is. The deletion of the adjunct ‘of Poland’ removed this ambiguity: the Administrative Council was planning to use the imperial and royal emblem on the university’s seal.

At the meeting of the Administrative Council someone must have challenged the Commission’s project and tabled a motion to use the imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland on the seals. The limited materials available in the sources say nothing about the course of the discussion or the invaluable arguments presented by the parties. All that is known are the relevant facts, which were undoubtedly related to the issue being considered by the Administrative Council, so only an educated guess as to the positions taken by the participants can be made.

Article 37 of the 1815 Constitution stipulated that ‘all public records of courts, tribunals and magistrates of whatsoever kind shall be issued in the king’s name. Coins and stamps shall bear the insignia designated by him.’¹¹⁸ It can, therefore, be assumed that the Constitution did not

^{117[a]} The words ‘of Poland’ were deleted from the original.

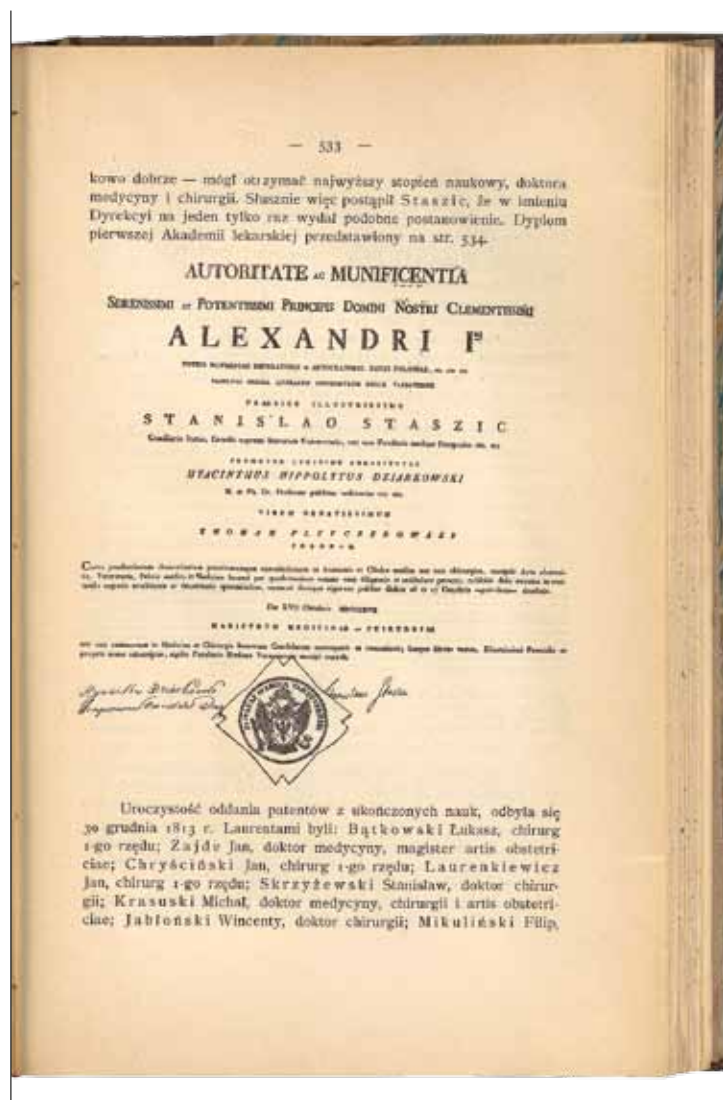
¹¹⁸ ‘Ustawa Konstytucyjna...’, p. 22.

¹¹⁹ During the course of searches, letters on stamp paper with a watermark with the imperial and royal eagle were repeatedly encountered.



Fig. 12. Seal of the Faculty of Medicine with the emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland authenticating the diploma of Master of Medicine and Surgery for Tomasz Flejczerowski dated 17 October 1817, BN

specifically define this insignia, but left it to the discretion of the monarch. If, indeed, according to heraldic tradition, the coat of arms should be the White Eagle, Alexander I, without explicitly abolishing the tradition, introduced an elaborate version of the coat of arms, in which the main symbol was placed on the breast of the imperial eagle and the whole composition was precisely the one specified by the ruler. It was a well-established norm to use a symbol with the same content – emblem, coat of arms, monogram – on coins, stamp paper (special sheets of paper for writing official letters addressed to the public authorities – the paper was stamped with a government stamp during its production) as well as watermarks¹¹⁹ and seals. It would seem, therefore, that the discussion at the



Administrative Council concerning the university emblem stemmed from the problem of whether the symbol specified by the king should be used on the university seal or whether another one could be used. The university issued diplomas in the name of Alexander I, was subject to the Government Commission, and was maintained from public funds. On these grounds, it can be assumed that the Administrative Council was of the opinion that the said article of the Constitution should also apply to the university.

A major precedent had been established earlier: the university's Faculty of Medicine had complied with the rules under the Constitution. It had been operating since 1809 as a school for training medical practitioners and surgeons, and therefore used its own seal to authenticate diplomas. It needed a seal even before the university seal was decided upon – i.e. when the university was still in the early stages of organization. The faculty made a seal bearing the emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland in 1815 which was in use until 1818.¹²⁰ This could serve as an argument supporting the proposal for the use of the eagle of the 'current Kingdom' as a device on the university seal.

As is generally known, the viceroy ultimately approved the emblem put forward by the Commission which probably led historians Gieysztor and Tomkiewicz to conclude that the terms of the Constitution did not apply to the university. In their opinion, the Commission 'was undoubtedly guided by the idea of restoring the former state coat of arms wherever administrative regulations did not prescribe the use of the official coat of arms of the [Congress] Kingdom'.¹²¹ Article 37 of the Constitution did not explicitly mention schools, but courts, tribunals and municipal offices. The latter were defined by the not entirely clear, in this situation, term 'any', i.e. all of them, but was the management of the university – its Council – also to be considered an office?

The vacillation and uncertainty of the decision-makers is discernible: the discussions of the Administrative Council aimed at giving the university a state emblem, the Commission's conflicting design, upheld by the decision of the viceroy, and finally the removal of the emblem a few years later as a result of the intervention of Grand Duke Constantine, who again invoked the regulations – all these facts lead to the conclusion that this matter was unclear, had not been settled from a legal perspective, and was therefore a debatable issue, conditional upon the interpretation of the Constitution. These facts have hitherto been perceived primarily as the manifestation of a political struggle to retain the symbol of the White Eagle in public space or to eliminate it. However, the issue appears to be far more complicated, having a legal and ideological dimension that is almost independent of political issues. A key element was whether or not

¹²⁰ Meeting of the University Council of 3 April 1818, item 7, *Księga protokołów...*, p. 107.

¹²¹ APAN, III, 280, Materiały Władysława Tomkiewicza, fol. 16. My thanks to Dr Hab. Hubert Kowalski for kindly directing me to these materials.

the university was to be classified as an office. In other words: whether it was an ‘office’ or its equivalent, or whether it did not qualify for this category.

These very seemingly formal and legal issues were a reflection of a much deeper conflict of an ideological nature, pertaining to the various groups’ perception of the university and how it should be structured. This topic was discussed by Mycielski in his aforementioned work, so does not require further elaboration.¹²² Instead, it is necessary to outline the attitudes that may have influenced the choices regarding the emblem and seal, and to examine whether they can – with circumspect – be linked to specific proposals.

The intellectual and political elites of the Congress Kingdom criticized the traditional autonomy of the former universities which dated back to the Middle Ages and which they saw not so much as a guarantee for the free development of academia, but as a means of abuse and negligence on the part of professors who focused on managing the university’s assets and safeguarding their privileged position.¹²³ The organizers and co-founders of the University of Warsaw therefore overwhelmingly agreed that the university should be a school of a different type, more strongly linked to the needs and tasks of an era which, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had already appeared to be a time of education and enlightenment, change and progress, organization and systematization. Perceptions of these concepts differed depending on the position held in relation to the university and the state administration.

The university could be seen as a vehicle of progress. Some of the professors of the Main School, such as Adam M. Kitajewski¹²⁴ and Michał Szubert,¹²⁵ had first-hand experience during their own time spent at the University of Berlin, where critical research was paramount and the quality of the education received hinged on the students’ own initiative in choosing their classes. Had the school in Warsaw pursued this course, it would have been representative of the German model, close to the ideas of Wilhelm von Humboldt. According to Bieliński, the person to most consistently advocate academic criticism among the graduates was the otherwise very contentious Professor August Zinserling.¹²⁶ Mycielski, however, when analysing the issue of the teaching model, paid particular attention to a telling speech by the

¹²² The establishment of the University of Warsaw coincided with a moment of great change in the institution of the university in Europe. At that time, there were two distinct models that were familiar to the Polish elite: the German and the French. M. Mycielski, ‘Uniwersytet Królewski...’, pp. 78–80.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 76.

¹²⁴ Adam M. Kitajewski (1789–1837), chemist, mineralogist, pharmacist, teacher at the Warsaw Lyceum, professor at the Royal University of Warsaw, lecturer in chemistry, head of the chemical laboratory. H. Ligocka, ‘Adam Maksymilian Kitajewski 1789–1837’, in: *Portrety uczonych...*, pp. 268–277.

¹²⁵ Michał Szubert (1787–1860), botanist, educator, professor at the Royal University of Warsaw, creator of the university’s Botanic Garden, author of the first Polish textbook on forest botany and an inventory of plants. T. Majewski, ‘Michał Szubert 1787–1860’, in: *Portrety uczonych...*, pp. 453–457.

¹²⁶ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 3, pp. 334–335; M. Mycielski, ‘Uniwersytet Królewski...’, pp. 198–203. August Ernst Zinserling (1780–1831), German classical philologist, historian, professor at the Royal University of Warsaw. Autobiography in: J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 3, pp. 411–414.

rector, Wojciech Anzelm Szweykowski, at the inauguration of the 1818 academic year, during which he separated the roles of officials and scholars.¹²⁷ He positioned the university in the role of a ‘temple of supreme learning’,¹²⁸ whose authority allows scholars to suggest ideas and set goals for implementation by the administrative authorities reduced to the role of executors.¹²⁹ This attitude of elevating the university and its professors seems to be in line with the proposal of the University Council to use the ‘eagle from Niemcewicz’s *Pieśni...*’ as an emblem, which will be further analysed later in this chapter.

However, government representatives, as well as some professors, shared a rather different, more realistic and pragmatic vision of the university, drawing on the French model of vocational schools. The authorities of the Congress Kingdom viewed the university primarily as a school, subordinated to the administrative structures, to train cadres necessary for the functioning of the state.¹³⁰ The demand for well-trained civil servants was high, as the administratively reformed Congress Kingdom was to differ markedly in terms of its governance from the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and to benefit from some of the endeavours begun during the Duchy of Warsaw. Rector Szweykowski explained the Commission’s priorities in his annual report: ‘The academic degrees awarded at our university are not intended as a mere accolade for scholars, but, above all, as a proof of their aptitude for various ministries in the country and a prerequisite for obtaining suitable positions.’¹³¹

This mindset was already strongly emphasized in the project for the organization of the education system in 1815 and significantly influenced the organization of education in the Congress Kingdom. On the one hand, successive stages of education were linked to the specific professions for which they were to prepare. On the other hand, university titles were likened to positions in the state administration, so that it would be clear how they ranked in the official hierarchy. The Rector of the Main School was to be on a par with the President of the Court of Appeals, while university professors with a doctoral degree were to be equal to judges of the appellate courts.¹³²

From the government’s point of view, each of the university’s faculties, not just the Faculty of Law and Administration, was to be of direct use to the state apparatus. The professors were the teachers educating useful and trustworthy subjects, while the students owed the country a debt of gratitude for their

¹²⁷ ‘It is enough for officials to know the spirit of the times and know how to apply themselves to it, scholars should strive to direct it and hasten the achievement of its goal’, *Księga protokołów...*, p. 216.

¹²⁸ Szweykowski’s words. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

¹²⁹ For Mycielski’s absorbing analysis of this speech in terms of the ambitious vision of scholars as ‘legislators’, see M. Mycielski, ‘Uniwersytet Królewski...’, pp. 84–87.

¹³⁰ Bieliński is perhaps too radical in his assessment that ‘the university was and remained to the end of its existence a mere school, educating government officials’, J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 15.

¹³¹ *Księga protokołów...*, p. 230.

¹³² J. Lipiński, *Projekt do urządzenia hierarchii akademickiej w krajach Księstwa Warszawskiego*, Warsaw 1815, pp. 18–19, BN, 54.511. Mieczysław Pater, who researches the history of the University of Wrocław, is of the opinion that ‘[t]he University of Wrocław, created in 1811, was becoming a state institution, the professors thus gained the status of state officials, but ranked very high in the official hierarchy. This emphasized their high position not only academically, but also in the state and socially’. M. Pater, *Historia Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego do roku 1918*, Wrocław 1997, p. 69.

¹³³ Adam Prażmowski (1764–1836), bishop of Płock, member of the Chamber of Education, the Commission, the General Council of Universities, co-founder of the Society of Friends of Science in Płock, senator of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, in 1831 he signed the act of dethronement of Tsar Nicholas I, M. Manteuffel, 'Prażmowski h. Belina Adam Michał', in: PSB, vol. 28, Wrocław 1985, pp. 371–374.

¹³⁴ *Księga protokołów...*, p. 208.

¹³⁵ M. Mycielski, 'Uniwersytet Królewski...', p. 77. Niemcewicz's project and the reaction of the professors is described in: J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 408–412.

education. They were expected to express it by enthusiastically embarking on a life of public service. The status of graduates was well reflected by the term still used for the medical profession in the Duchy of Warsaw: 'health official'. This term was used by Adam Prażmowski,¹³³ a member of the Council on behalf of the Commission, when he publicly reported on the organizational activities of the university during its official inauguration in May 1818, saying that the Faculty of Medicine was to 'provide the army and the provinces with health officials'.¹³⁴

The perception of professors primarily as – to paraphrase – 'education officials' can also be seen in the reaction to Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz's project of 1818 for the dress of university teachers. These were togas, which were intended to follow tradition and emphasize the uniqueness and prestige of the professorial vocation. The deans, however, were very critical of the project, fearing that such attire would make them an object of ridicule.¹³⁵ In 1821, the Commission applied King Solomon's method to resolve the

Fig. 13. Uniforms of university professors of the first and second class, *Rocznik Instytutów Religijnych i Edukacyjnych w Królestwie Polskim* 1824



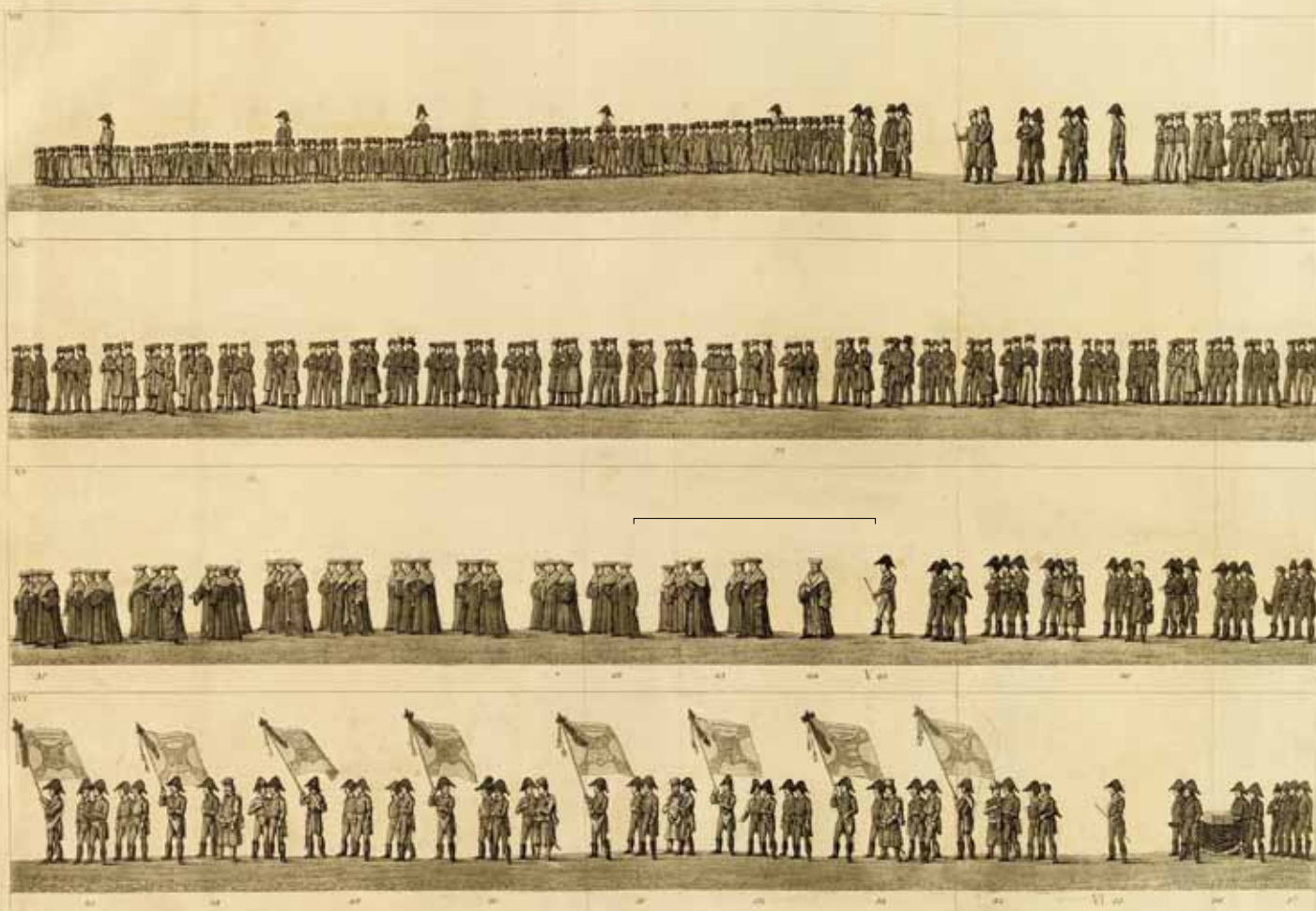


Fig. 14. University deans and rector in togas with chains on their chests during the funeral of Alexander I in 1826, J.F. Piwarski, *Opis żałobnego obchodu po wiekopomney pamięci Najjaśniejszym Aleksandrze I, Cesarzu Wszech Rosyi, Królu Polskim w Warszawie, w dniach 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 19, 23 kwietnia 1826 roku uroczyscie odbytego*, Warsaw 1829, BN



problem: during lectures and ceremonies, professors wore togas, while outside the walls of the university they dressed in military-style uniforms with swords at their sides.¹³⁶ This was in accordance with Bentkowski's suggestion, who claimed: 'the mood of the present time is a military one'¹³⁷ and required such clothing. Teachers and pupils were divided into classes, not according to military rank, but in a manner similar to the hierarchy of official positions. Officials at the Commission wore similar attire.¹³⁸

In this context, the university could be regarded as an institute with its own place in the Commission's administrative structure. The notion of it using a common seal for all offices was therefore natural and justified.

Which of the seven members of the Administrative Council could have proposed a design for the university seal with the national emblem? It was not Minister Potocki, who was in favour of the use of the Polish eagle. The viceroy sought the opinion of others rather than make a decision himself. Had he wanted to take this responsibility upon himself, the Council would not have considered the matter at all, and the viceroy would have addressed Potocki personally. Of the other members of the Cabinet it was Tadeusz Mostowski, Minister of the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police – who was responsible for the administration of the Kingdom of Poland – who appears to have been most interested in introducing the state emblem on the university seals.¹³⁹ Since the state (Kingdom of Poland) had been established, his ministry had struggled with little success to equip all the offices with seals with a common emblem and standardized inscriptions. According to Krzysztof Dorcz, the process of replacing old seals would drag on until the early 1820s, and the greatest problems in this regard were posed by municipal and communal offices.¹⁴⁰ The cost of making new seals was the responsibility of their users, which discouraged mayors and aldermen from incurring the expense and prompted them to look for cheaper solutions. Most of them ordered new seals but, to save on costs, hired low-skilled die sinkers to manufacture them. The important components of the new seals, namely the emblem according to the design and the requisite inscription: 'Kingdom of Poland', were reproduced carelessly.¹⁴¹ In 1818, the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police issued a decree ordering the replacement of the old and shoddily made seals with new ones – but this proved ineffective. So the matter was revisited in 1822, when a new order appeared, even threatening prison sentences for failure to replace the seals. The process only sped up, however, when a monopoly

¹³⁶ M. Mycielski, 'Uniwersytet Królewski...', p. 77.

¹³⁷ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 411.

¹³⁸ Directives on this matter were published in: *Rocznik Instytutów Religijnych i Edukacyjnych w Królestwie Polskiem* (1824, pp. III–XIV). Cf. A. Kraushar, *Raporty i notatki o Uniwersytecie Królewskim w Warszawie 1816–1831* (from manuscript), Warsaw 1911, p. 18.

¹³⁹ Tadeusz Mostowski (1766–1842), politician, publicist and publisher. Active in the Four-Year Sejm, supporter of the Constitution of 3 May, Minister of the Interior of the Duchy of Warsaw (1812–1813), Minister of the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police of the Congress Kingdom of Poland (1815–1830). Among his greatest contributions in this role were the construction of the Augustów Canal and the establishment of the Agronomical Institute in Marymont. He was also active as a journalist, writing reviews of literary works and editing source materials. J. Skowronek, 'Mostowski Tadeusz Antoni', in: PSB, vol. 22, Wrocław 1977, pp. 73–78.

¹⁴⁰ K. Dorcz, 'Pieczęcie...', p. 66.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 69.



Fig. 15. Title page of Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz's work *Śpiewy historyczne z muzyką i rycinami* (Historical songs with music and drawings), Warsaw 1816, BN



Fig. 16. Bas-relief with a depiction of the emblem of the Kingdom of Poland from the time of King Zygmunt the Old on the exterior wall of the Zygmunt Chapel, 1524–1531, photo: J. Mehlich/Wikipedia

was established for the Warsaw Mint to make official seals. In this context, the person who could have been the most interested in deciding on a design for the university seal with the current national emblem rather than the old Polish eagle was the Minister of the Interior. The acceptance of such a proposal would have demonstrated the Administrative Council's consistency in the use of symbols by government institutions and its loyalty to the monarch. Ultimately, however, the viceroy accepted the project submitted by Potocki. The Minister of Education must therefore have had strong arguments at his disposal, which will be discussed below.

It is also clear from the passage in the aforementioned minutes that another proposal for a university emblem was put forward by members of the university's General Council. They suggested to the Administrative Council that: 'an eagle from Niemcewicz's *Śpiewy* be taken into consideration.' This was the image of the White Eagle on the title page of *Śpiewy historyczne z muzyką i rycinami* (Historical songs with music and

¹⁴² J.U. Niemcewicz, *Śpiewy...*

¹⁴³ A print run of 1,500 copies was sold within a few months as reported in *Pamiętnik Warszawski*. H. Mateusiak, 'Historia w dziewiętnastowiecznym wydaniu – edytorskie losy *Śpiewów historycznych* Juliana Ursyna Niemcewicza', *Sztuka Edycji* 2011, no. 1, p. 27.

¹⁴⁴ The semantic functions of the royal monogram combined with the White Eagle are analysed in detail by Aleksandra Jaworska: 'The close association of the state coat of arms with the person of the ruler occurred during the reign of Zygmunt I the Old. The royal monogram functioning as a personal signum was restored, referring to the old Casimiran tradition, and linked to the coat of arms with the White Eagle.' A. Jaworska, *Orzeł Biały...*, pp. 178ff.

¹⁴⁵ G. Zając, 'Śpiewy historyczne (zawierające dumy polskie)', in: *Oświecenie*, ed. A. Skoczek, vol. 2, Bochnia–Kraków–Warsaw 2006, pp. 207–212.

¹⁴⁶ J.U. Niemcewicz, *Śpiewy...*, pp. 16, 208.

¹⁴⁷ Andrzej Feliks Grabski notes that: 'the idea was to create a historical work that could be disseminated by oral means without requiring each recipient to be literate, and would thus transcend the relatively narrow circle of literary audiences of that time and later.' A.F. Grabski, *Mysł historyczna polskiego oświecenia*, Warsaw 1976, pp. 398–399.

¹⁴⁸ A. Grochala, *Począty...*, p. 19.

drawings), published by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz.¹⁴² The first edition dated 1816, printed in Warsaw, and therefore contemporaneous with the events described herein, sold out in a flash.¹⁴³ The drawing on the title page of this publication was described by the publisher as an 'Eagle from the Jagiellonian Chapel in Kraków'. And although – in terms of the accuracy of the depiction and artistic merits – it was nothing like the original, there can be no doubt that it is a well-known image of the emblems of the Crown dating from the time of King Zygmunt the Old. It is located on the outer wall of the aforementioned chapel and can be seen when approaching the gate of the Wawel Royal Castle. The exceptional beauty of the bas-relief, its privileged place of presentation, but probably also its inclusion in *Śpiewy...* contributed to the popularization of this image in the nineteenth century. The eagle's silhouette is greatly elongated and fills the hexagonal cartouche which has a predominant vertical axis. On the eagle's breast is a ribbon forming the monogram 'S', which personalizes the emblem therefore unequivocally associating it with King Zygmunt the Old.¹⁴⁴

The University Council's proposal was undoubtedly inspired by the meanings that were attributed to Niemcewicz's work and to the image of the Zygmuntian Eagle, so it is worth outlining the background. *Śpiewy...* occupied a special place in the history of Polish literature and music.¹⁴⁵ The collection opened with *Bogurodzica*, followed by thirty-two songs composed by Niemcewicz. Each was dedicated to a different figure from Polish history. The songs were arranged chronologically in line with the content and were illustrated with engravings and sheet music for voice and piano accompaniment. Each one was accompanied by a short commentary in the form of historical notes. In the preface, Niemcewicz stated the intended purpose of the work which was to present a unique history of Poland, not strictly speaking, but with the intention of invoking the patriotic feelings of its readers.¹⁴⁶ As the work was of practical use – the songs could be sung to an accompaniment – the collection rapidly became a very popular, accessible and sentimental version of Polish history.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, the publication was set in the tradition of the telling of history according to the stories associated with the series of drawings of Polish rulers. Anna Grochala's observation about this type of literature aptly demonstrates the value of Niemcewicz's songbook: 'What made the portrait series the best form of lecturing history? Undoubtedly its simplicity and flexibility, allowing new meanings to be introduced into a well-known format.'¹⁴⁸ The rapidly changing political situation at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the new goals to be pursued

by the Polish state after 1815, and thus the new model hero, required Niemcewicz to update the old content, but the traditional format of the portrait series remained the same. The reader therefore reached for the form to which he was accustomed, and the popularity of *Śpiewy...* was proof that the work was appreciated. This was not impeded by the fact that Joachim Lelewel, although he gave credit to the author's main intention, was nevertheless critical of the songs' contents which contained many errors and inaccuracies.¹⁴⁹ After years of wars, dashed hopes and failures, Polish society, which was undergoing changes, needed to be uplifted by an idealized picture of its homeland's history.

The intention behind the proposal put forward by the Council to select Niemcewicz's eagle as the emblem seems easy to understand. Although in November 1817 it may have been too early to predict that the social impact of this history of Poland in song would be so profound, the members of the university body were already justified in assessing its patriotic, didactic and knowledge-promoting value. Printed only a year earlier, *Śpiewy...* were, after all, long-awaited, and in part already known from excerpts. Niemcewicz had worked on the songs during the time of the Duchy of Warsaw, when they were commissioned by the Royal Society of Friends of Science, which was also of importance to the professors. Viewing the issue from a more distant perspective, it can be seen that, although this institution did not fulfil all the hopes placed in it, especially at the beginning of the Congress Kingdom, it was highly respected.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, it is probably true that the members of the Council wished – by associating the image of the university's emblem with the eagle from the title page of *Śpiewy...* – to position the university within a group of values which included patriotism, advancement of science, respect for Polish history, to benefit from the esteem in which Niemcewicz was held, but also to honour him.

The proposal to establish a coat of arms that referred directly to the form from the time of Zygmunt the Old was also justified by the foundation act of the University of Warsaw, as this king was the only ruler mentioned by name in Alexander's document.¹⁵¹ Zygmunt I held a special place in the academic community. It was at his behest that, from 1535 onwards, the professors of the Kraków Academy were able to enjoy the privilege of receiving noble titles as a reward for twenty years of dedicated teaching.¹⁵² Recalling this fact in the foundation act of the Warsaw Academy, Alexander went even further: he shortened the waiting period for ennoblement and gave the staff and students special protection. 'In addition, teachers are entitled to all honours and ornaments, namely, following the example of the laudable memory of King Zygmunt I,

¹⁴⁹ Lelewel had reservations that by using the attractive formula of song, Niemcewicz perpetuated 'perverse fables' and untrue opinions: 'which the voice of pleasant songs, in contempt of the truth, uses to support and ingrain prejudice'. J. Lelewel, 'Śpiewy historyczne Juliana Ursyna Niemcewicza pod względem historii uważane', *Dziennik Wileński* 1817, vol. 5, no. 27, p. 6. BN, 2.007.643 A.

¹⁵⁰ A. Witkowska, *Kazimierz Brodziński...*, pp. 171–179.

¹⁵¹ The text of the foundation act was drawn up by members of the Elementary Society as well as Potocki, Prażmowski and Jan W. Bandtkie. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 20.

¹⁵² K. Baran, 'Uniwersytet Jagielloński od fundacji Kazimierzowskiej do schyłku XVIII wieku', in: *Urbs Celeberrima. Księga pamiątkowa na 750-lecie lokacji Krakowa*, ed. A. Grzybowski, Z. Żygulski, T. Grzybowski, Kraków 2008, p. 452.

¹⁵³ *Księga protokołów...*, p. 175.

¹⁵⁴ Jan Wincenty Bandtkie (1783–1846), lawyer, legal historian, publisher of sources, professor at the School of Law and Administration, professor at the Royal University of Warsaw, dean of the Faculty of Law and Administration (1816–1831). A. Rosner, 'Jan Wincenty Bandtkie 1783–1846', in: *Portrety uczonych...*, pp. 56–71.

¹⁵⁵ *Księga protokołów...*, p. 200. Similarly, during the speech at the opening of the School of Law in 1808, Jan Nepomucen Małachowski, chairman of the school's Council and first president of the Court of Appeals of the Duchy of Warsaw, referred to the idea of resurrecting the Golden Age by establishing the school: 'We see in it a revival of those centuries of our Zygmunts, which, as in all kinds of skills, have clothed our nation with fame; so in particular in the deep and intricate science of law they have produced incomparable men.' J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 2, pp. 206–207.

¹⁵⁶ According to Article 27 of the Viceroy's decree dated 12 November 1816, concerning Examination Commissions, only candidates who could 'submit certificates of studies completed in their subject at the Main School and of examinations passed ..., both of studies at the relevant Academic Faculty, as well as practical work at the technical institute applicable to that Faculty', were entitled to apply for examinations which would admit them to the third, highest, category of government officials. The decree began with the words: 'Desiring to secure the Government and Citizens from unreliable choices, and to provide the country with a service founded on trust and proven fitness ...', DPKP, 1816, vol. 2, no. 10, pp. 240–241.

¹⁵⁷ *Księga protokołów...*, p. 198.

to current professors, non-nobles, the privilege of personal nobility, which after ten years of teaching is to bequeath to their offspring.¹⁵³ This symbol could, therefore, have been perceived as raising the prestige of the professors' professional position.

Although the original eagle from the Zygmunt Chapel had indisputable aesthetic qualities, the proposal to use it on the university emblem evoked associations primarily with Poland's Golden Age. In the nineteenth century, this period was believed to have coincided with the reigns of Zygmunt the Old and Zygmunt August, kings who strengthened the state, upheld religious tolerance and supported education. Such a conviction resounded in Professor Jan Wincenty Bandtkie's speech¹⁵⁴ included in the register of lectures of November 1817: 'Indeed, the University's inaugural act thus puts us in a position to restore the age of the Zygmunts and Augusts, to resurrect that prestige which all of Europe used to accord to Poland in homage.'¹⁵⁵ In his lecture, the distinguished lawyer indicated how the establishment of the university had to be linked ideologically and practically with the renewal of the state and the endeavour to restore its former greatness symbolized by the 'age of Zygmunts and Augusts'. The education of competent cadres in the native university would guarantee the efficient management of the kingdom and its advancement in every field. A reliable assessment of the knowledge and skills possessed by a candidate for state service¹⁵⁶ replaced the system of 'imprudent selection according to land',¹⁵⁷ i.e. reserving offices for the nobility, which in the scholar's opinion was one of the causes of the downfall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The university was therefore a cure for this disease of the state, and the eagle of the Zygmunt era its best symbol.

When considering the Council's proposal, not only intellectual and patriotic (emotional) motives, but also personal ones should be taken into account, especially as there is plenty of circumstantial evidence in this regard. Most members of the Council knew Niemcewicz well; he worked with many of them and was perhaps friends with some of them. *Śpiewy...* were not something they had learnt from bygone days (as they are for today's readers), nor were they an object of theoretical study, but something they experienced first-hand. Samuel Linde and Szweykowski, who

were present at the session, may have already listened to a performance of these songs or even sung them themselves, together with the music-loving Chopin family. Among the subscribers to the first edition – i.e. almost all the members of the University Council – was a professor of the Warsaw Lyceum, Mikołaj Chopin.¹⁵⁸ In 1817 he was given an apartment at the university, where he lived with his wife, daughters and son Fryderyk.¹⁵⁹ It was located in the same annexe as those occupied by the rectors and professors of the Warsaw Lyceum and the university (the occupants can be identified based on Jan Tańkowski's inventory drawings¹⁶⁰). It was here, on the first floor, that Council meetings were held in Linde's apartment.¹⁶¹ The rectors and the other professors who made up the academic community were neighbours of the Chopins, and subscribing for Niemcewicz's work – according to sources – was not in vain. Eustachy Marylski,¹⁶² one of the Warsaw Lyceum's pupils, who boarded with the Chopins, recalled evenings spent with them: 'At dusk, when we had some free time, away from our studies, we would recount events from Polish history, such as the deaths of King Władysław III, Żółkiewski, the battles fought by our commanders, and the young Chopin would play for everyone on the piano. Sometimes his music brought us to tears.'¹⁶³ Niemcewicz's work found fertile ground and catered to the emotional needs of the Polish intellectual elite.

The symbol of the Zygmunt eagle carried a wealth of meanings, which stemmed from the belief in the university's prominent role in the re-established kingdom. The emblem with the insignia from the Jagiellonian tomb chapel made it possible to associate the university with Niemcewicz's version of Polish history, presented in a popular and patriotic way, in the Enlightenment, which elevated the position of professors and pointed to the university as playing a key role in the building of the state. The Council must therefore have envisioned the multifarious benefits of its proposal. Ultimately, however, this version of the emblem did not gain the viceroy's approval – he opted for the version of the eagle suggested by Potocki. There may have been other ideological and political reasons behind this choice, but purely aesthetic issues

¹⁵⁸ J.U. Niemcewicz, *Śpiewy...*, p. 445. Subscribers included members of the Council: Bandtkie, Prażmowski, Linde, Szweykowski and probably Sierakowski (mentioned only by name). Staszic, head of the Society, commissioned the songs, so he did not have to subscribe. One can speculate there were many other motives of a personal nature that inclined the members of the Council to use Niemcewicz's eagle, as they were connected by their earlier cooperation from the time of the Directorate of National Education of the Duchy of Warsaw. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 223–224.

¹⁵⁹ J. Miziołek, H. Kowalski, *Uniwersytet Warszawski i młody Chopin*, Warsaw 2013, pp. 126–129, 136–137. Inventory of the Chopins' apartment signed by Mikołaj Chopin: AUW, MPK 3, fol. 182. Published in: H. Kowalski, J. Miziołek, *Kronika Pałacu Kazimierzowskiego Feliksa Pawła Jarockiego*, Warsaw 2016, pp. 81–93.

¹⁶⁰ AGAD, Zbiór Kartograficzny, Plany architektoniczne budynków Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (Cartographic Collection, Architectural plans of University of Warsaw buildings), 1/402/14-4/22-21. Jan Tańkowski (?–1833), student of the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts (1824–1829), master of arts in building and surveying (1829), builder in the Warsaw district (from 1830). R. Gerber, *Studenci...*, p. 409.

¹⁶¹ This information can be found under Item 2 of the first minutes of the General Council meeting on 17 January 1817. Linde's apartment was on the same floor as the university's chancellery. *Księga protokołów...*, p. 17.

¹⁶² Eustachy Marylski (1804–1871), landowner, traveller, author of works on famous Poles, member of the Geographical Society in Paris, the Fire Society in the Kingdom of Poland, counselor of the Land Credit Society. In 1820, as a fourth-year student at the Warsaw Lyceum, he was admitted to the Chopins' lodgings, where he lived for three years. From 1823 to 1826 he studied at the Faculty of Law and Administration, MA (1826). A. Przymusiła, 'Marylski Eustachy (1804–1871)', in: PSB, vol. 20, Wrocław 1975, pp. 108–109; R. Gerber, *Studenci...*, p. 140.

¹⁶³ Marylski's memoirs were published in *Kurier Warszawski*. F. Hoesick, 'Z pamiętników Eustachego Marylskiego', *Kurier Warszawski* 1903, no. 1, p. 23. Cf. J. Miziołek, H. Kowalski, *Uniwersytet Warszawski...*, p. 132.

may also have been decisive. The emblem does fit perfectly into the round shape of the seal. Any attempt to incorporate the oblong-shaped eagle from Niemcewicz's *Śpiewy*... into a circle would have been decidedly less successful.

One further point related to the establishment of the emblem requires clarification. The seemingly minor ambiguity, to which scholars have so far paid no attention, leads to thoughts aimed at more fully shedding light on the relationship between the University Council and Minister Potocki.

The enigmatic wording of the minutes of the General Council of 8 November gives the impression that the professors were taken aback by the course of events regarding the emblem. Previously, they had not officially deliberated upon the issue. However, Surowiecki informed them that proceedings in which they did not participate were already underway. This information did not concern the draft submitted by the Commission on 4 November; it related to the government's deliberations, which were momentarily proceeding in a different direction: i.e. the use of the state emblem on the university seal. An examination of the minutes of the Council's meetings shows a striking lack of information that would testify to the fact that the Commission officially asked scholars for their position on the issue of the university's most important emblem. Perhaps Potocki did not seek the advice of the scholars?

This lack of consultation prior to drafting departed from the customary manner in which matters were handled; the Ministry usually requested the Council's opinion on issues affecting the university, such as in matters relating to the employment of professors,¹⁶⁴ the Russian language curriculum¹⁶⁵ as well as the purchase of veterinary books and instruments.¹⁶⁶ The Council was obliged to obtain the Commission's approval for expenditure related to purchases or employment, however the Commission asked for recommendations in such instances, which were usually adequate guarantee of a positive resolution of the matter. A reading of the minutes of the University Council's meetings leads to the conclusion that many organizational issues were agreed upon by the Ministry with the Council rather than imposed by it.

This lack of traceable information on the matter of the emblem in the sources may be somewhat surprising,¹⁶⁷ in particular since as many as five members of the Council were seconded to it from the Ministry. These were Stanisław Staszic as chairman,

¹⁶⁴ M. Mycielski, 'Uniwersytet Królewski...', pp. 61–62.

¹⁶⁵ *Księga protokołów*..., p. 108.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

¹⁶⁷ This can be explained by the destruction of most of the sources, but knowing Bieliński's style of work, it can be assumed that if the now-defunct Education Archives contained documents concerning consultations or disputes over the image of the eagle between the Council and the Commission, he would probably have cited at least some of them. The reason for the lack of communication must be sought elsewhere.

and Józef Prażmowski, Józef Sierakowski, Samuel Linde and Wawrzyniec Surowiecki.¹⁶⁸ They may have already been familiar with the design for the emblem drawn up by the Commission, which is why it was not discussed at the Council meeting on 8 November. Surowiecki only notified his colleagues of a significant change that required a response from them. It is possible there was a more mundane reason. The Commission staff seconded to the university either had so much work to do in the Council that they could no longer keep abreast of the Ministry's ongoing projects or, on the contrary, were personally involved in much of the work – as was Staszic – that consultation was becoming unnecessary.¹⁶⁹

The Council's subsequent conduct, i.e. the steps taken in response to the message conveyed by Surowiecki, also draws attention and arouses curiosity. The scholars sidestepped the Commission – and thus their superior – and sent their own idea for an emblem directly to the Cabinet of Ministers. This course of action could be interpreted as a serious disregard for Potocki, which seems rather unlikely behaviour from Staszic and the other members of the Council. Had Potocki already known the opinion of the scholars or hadn't he? The latter was possible, since the suggestion of the Niemcewicz eagle had been made ad hoc, at the meeting of 8 November, when the Council learned about the government's work.

As we know, the Commission's draft design of 4 November depicted a different eagle to the one proposed by scholars four days later. This means there are two possibilities to consider: either the Council had submitted its proposal to Potocki earlier and he withheld his approval and chose a different image of the eagle, or the Council's idea was only conceived on 8 November influenced by a message from Surowiecki. The first option should be rejected because the Council would not have put forward the same proposal twice: first to the Commission and a second time to the Government. It would have been disrespectful to Minister Potocki had a rival proposal to his project, and one put forward by his subordinates, been considered at a Cabinet meeting, even though he himself had already voiced a negative opinion. Hence the conclusion that the Council did not air its views on the image of the emblem in the form of the eagle from the *Śpiewy...* until 8 November.

This seems all the more likely given the schedule of meetings of the Administrative Council and the University Council. In the time span of interest, the Cabinet of Ministers met on 4, 8, 11 and 15 November,¹⁷⁰ while the university's governing body met on 8 and 15 November.¹⁷¹ Given that the meetings of the University Council were held

¹⁶⁸ Their roles since their appointment on 7 January 1817 are presented by J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 230.

¹⁶⁹ There is an entry in memoirs dating from the period, admittedly of an anecdotal nature, but quite interesting, which leads to taking a more detached view of the duties of the members of the Commission. The chairman of the Council, Staszic, was reputed to be a very busy man, taking on many responsibilities, and because 'he was both in the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Commission for Education, of which he was the most active member, in disputes between the two committees he sometimes signed two opposing opinions, giving the impression that Staszic was stepping on Staszic's toes.' B. Szacka, *Stanisław Staszic*, Warsaw 1966, p. 175. It can be assumed that because Staszic combined the functions of chairman of the General Council and member of the Commission, it made it easier for him to conduct certain affairs, but also led to a conflict of interests.

¹⁷⁰ AGAD, Rada Adm. KP, 1/188/0/5, fols. 199–225.

¹⁷¹ *Księga protokołów...*, pp. 69, 72.

on Saturdays at 4 p.m., as had been decided at the first meeting, and the meetings of the Cabinet of Ministers probably at an earlier time, Surowiecki's announcement came at the last minute, i.e. on 8 November 1817, when both Councils – the Administrative in the Viceroy's Palace and the university one in the Former Rector's Building – were debating.

The third interesting ambiguity in the Council minutes is the last words of the item regarding the emblem. This is where the scholars consent to the variant of the seal image under consideration by the government, should their own proposal fall through. Again: it seems doubtful that they would independently give their consent on a topic on which no one had asked them for their opinion. This means that Surowiecki came not so much with an accidentally overheard message about the discussion ('it was said that'), but with an official enquiry from the government about the position of the University Council.

Summing up these considerations, we can conclude that the academics were somehow left out, at least officially, by the Commission and Potocki from the discussion regarding the most important university symbol. The minister presented his project to the viceroy without asking the academics for their opinion. The viceroy preferred not to make a decision himself (although Bieliński's account suggests that Zajączek simply accepted the submitted design), and brought up the subject of the emblem before the Administrative Council for consideration. Only then was it decided to ask the academics for their opinion, perhaps to settle the debate as to whether the 'former Polish eagle' or the 'eagle of the current Kingdom' should be chosen. When called upon for their opinion, the academics countered with a third suggestion: 'the eagle from Niemcewicz's *Śpiewy...*'. Ultimately, however, the viceroy approved the Commission's original suggestion.

The question of the emblem may also have belonged to the type of issues Potocki preferred to decide upon himself. By virtue of his position, age and major role in implementing the education programme in Poland, and the fact that he was a member of the aristocracy, he may have considered himself someone who could make independent decisions without being obliged to explain them to a group of university academics. Witold Dobrowolski, when sketching the minister's profile as an aesthete, observed that Potocki deemed himself outstanding and that he: 'firmly believed that nature had endowed him with infallible taste, enhanced and further cultivated by frequent contact with the best works of art.'¹⁷² This general opinion holds true when recalling two instances in the life of the university and the Commission through which the minister's conduct and his attitude towards the academics can be traced, allowing us to learn in the process about the broader context in which the establishment of the emblem took place.

¹⁷² W. Dobrowolski, 'Stanisław Kostka Potocki, kolekcjoner – klasycysta – minister', in: *Kultura artystyczna...*, p. 109.

The first event is settling the matter of the inscription on the medal commemorating the founding of the university. The initiative to mint a medal was taken by the University Council in 1818, i.e. after the debates on the emblem. In June, university philologists were asked to prepare a legend in Latin for the medal. Meanwhile, at a meeting of the council of the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts, Zinserling – on his own behalf and that of the professors – told Dean Bentkowski that since their thoughts or designs provided on other occasions, especially with regard to Latin inscriptions, were rejected or altered by the Government Commission, he therefore did not wish to ‘submit his project to the judgment of improper persons in the future.’¹⁷³ Bentkowski argued that the previous consultation had been private, whereas this time it would be the official opinion of the Council. In the end, Zinserling and Sebastiano Ciampi¹⁷⁴ agreed to prepare a proposal for the inscription on the medal, on condition that the Commission would not make arbitrary changes, as it was no more competent in Latin than philologists. Bieliński reported that Minister Potocki was not sympathetic to the professors’ objections. He rejected their proposal, and wrote in his own hand on the letter from the University Council what the legend was to be: *Caesare Felix*.¹⁷⁵ This was not the first time he had acted on his own volition, without any regard for the opinion of his colleagues. A similar situation arose in the case of a far more important and controversial document, the Statutes of the Commission, the content of which had been drafted, not without difficulty, by several ministry teams in 1816. ‘The result was a new draft statute, to which S[tanisław] K[ostka] Potocki made his own amendments unbeknownst to the members of the Commission. They concerned above all an increase in the powers of the Minister of Religion and Public Education.’¹⁷⁶ Adam Winiarz, who describes the case, comments that even Staszic, who usually supported the minister, disapproved of Potocki’s conduct. The dispute over the inscription on the medal was undoubtedly driven by ambition.¹⁷⁷ It shows that Minister Potocki was confident of his authority and unassailable position.¹⁷⁸ He was a man capable of rejecting all proposals and pushing through his own version of the university emblem. ●

¹⁷³ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 396–397.

¹⁷⁴ Sebastiano Ciampi (1769–1847), Italian philologist, expert in classical culture, collector, publisher of sources, professor at the Royal University of Warsaw, taught classical literature. P. Salwa, W. Tygielski, ‘Sebastiano Ciampi 1769–1847’, in: *Portrety uczonych...*, pp. 150–157.

¹⁷⁵ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 397.

¹⁷⁶ A. Winiarz, *Szkolnictwo...*, p. 36.

¹⁷⁷ Ciampi took revenge on Potocki by publishing an article in Italy criticizing the inscription ‘Caesare Felix’ which was met with a rebuke from the minister. A. Kraushar, *Raptularz...*, pp. 10–11.

¹⁷⁸ Editing the university’s ‘Urządzenie wewnętrzne’ (Internal regulations) is an interesting comparative issue here. The Council proposed that an academic senate be established at the university. The committee – as can be surmised, Potocki spoke personally on the matter – had the senate deleted from ‘Urządzenie...’, stating authoritatively that ‘there are other views concerning them.’ Similarly, scholars proposed printing the text of ‘Urządzenie...’, but the Commission decided that it should remain a working, unpublished document, which, on the one hand, allowed for the seamless elimination of its perceived inaccuracies, and, on the other hand, limited the university’s right to do so, since for the rest of its existence the university could not refer to a document approved by the king and announced in print. *Księga protokołów...*, pp. 96–97; J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 28–33.



X. Seal matrix of the Supervisory Council of the Academic Faculty of Law and Administration, 1811–1815, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

The over-complicated emblem chosen by the Council – an altar with an open book – lacks the expressive power of the legible eagle symbol.

Arguments in favour of including the White Eagle on the university emblem

Studies dealing with the issue of the emblem of the University of Warsaw tend to implicitly assume that the presence of the White Eagle was due to the patriotic intentions of its designers. Without undermining the sincerity of either Potocki's or Staszic's feelings for their homeland, it should be noted that patriotism alone does not fully explain why the White Eagle, and not any other symbol, was used when designing the university's emblem. European academic tradition made it possible to choose from a wide range of symbols in which national emblems played an important, but not exclusive, role.

When preparing the statutes of the university, reference was made to the experience of a most venerable institution – the University of Kraków – which used a coat of arms consisting of two crossed sceptres under a crown.¹⁷⁹ Also affiliated schools, which were treated as branches of the university in Kraków, such as the Lubrański Academy in Poznań and the Academy of Chelmno, used a coat of arms with a motif consisting of two crossed sceptres.¹⁸⁰ Two other academies of particular importance to Polish science and culture, namely those in Vilnius and Lwów, used symbols derived from the national emblem. The university in Vilnius, which had been reformed and was experiencing its heyday, used a seal with a two-headed Russian eagle with the Pogoń (Charging knight) or St George on its breast.¹⁸¹ The University in Lwów (now Lviv, Ukraine), reformed by the Austrian Emperor Joseph II, was granted a seal in 1784 with the polygonal coat of arms of the House of Habsburg.¹⁸² This design was maintained after the university was transformed into the Lwów Lyceum, thereby attesting to the stability of the school's visual signs. The seal of the reorganized University of Breslau (now Wrocław, Poland) in 1811 bore an image of the Virgin and Child incorporated into an architectural motif.¹⁸³ A seal

¹⁷⁹ This is the historical coat of arms of the Jagiellonian University of Kraków (now the Jagiellonian University), found on seals authenticating documents in the first half of the 19th century. According to research undertaken by Zenon Piech, in the period 1808–1828 (the chronological range may be even wider) the university used only the seal with the emblem of two crossed sceptres to authenticate diplomas. Z. Piech, *Pieczęcie Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie*, Kraków 1917, pp. 43–45. Besides, the university used the traditional coat of arms with a representation of the White Eagle less frequently, but this took place in the second half of the 19th century, as part of an attempt to renew a 15th-century tradition. J. Wyrozumski, 'Najstarszy herb Akademii Krakowskiej', in: *Z najstarszych dziejów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego. Szkice*, ed. J. Wyrozumski, Kraków 1996, pp. 71–79. Seal with crossed sceptres under a crown in a skippet affixed to a doctoral diploma of the University of Kraków in theology awarded to Jan Stanisław Przybylski, from 3 October 1826, BJ, Rkp. Dypl. 183.

¹⁸⁰ Various symbols were used, elaborate coats of arms with the founder's emblem, as well as coats of arms (cartouches) only with crossed sceptres. P. Stróżyk, 'Decus Almae Academiae Posnaniensis. O herbie poznańskiej Akademii Lubrańskiego', *Roczniki Historyczne* 2012, no. 78, p. 267.

¹⁸¹ Bieliński had several wax seals of this type in his collection. J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński 1579–1831*, vol. 1, Kraków 1899–1900, p. 478.

¹⁸² Shield divided in four into a cross, in the heart field the archduke's coat of arms, on the quarters the coats of arms of Galicia, Lodomeria, Oświęcim and Zator. For a detailed description of the seals of the university and individual faculties, see L. Finkel, *Historia Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego*, Lwów 1894, p. 53.

¹⁸³ I would like to thank Jarosław Suleja of the University of Wrocław Museum for his help in collating the various seal images and the significance of the motif of the Holy Virgin for the university. Description and illustrations of the seal: E. Gritzner, *Die Siegel der deutschen Universitäten in Deutschland, Oesterreich und der Schweiz*, Nuremberg 1906, pp. 4–5, Pl. 4; [F. Andreae], *Aus dem Leben der Universität Breslau*, Wrocław 1936, p. 365. The seal with a not entirely clear impression of the image can be found on a University of Wrocław doctoral diploma in philosophy and a master's degree in the liberal arts awarded to Stefan Pawlicki, BJ, Rkp. Dypl. 576.

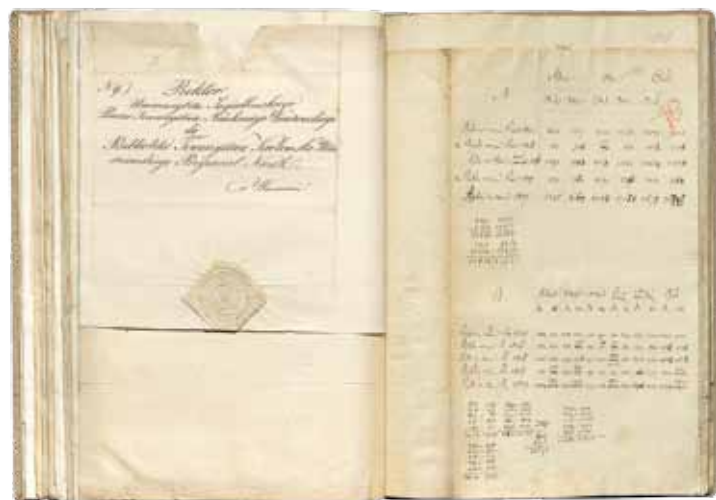


Fig. 17. Wafer seal of the University of Kraków on the back of a letter dated 12 May 1829, AGAD

¹⁸⁴ M. Lenz, *Geschichte der königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, Halle 1910, p. 284. Descriptions and illustrations of the seal: E. Gritzner, *Die Siegel...*, pp. 2–3, Pl. 2. I would like to thank Prof. Paweł Gut for pointing out this publication.

¹⁸⁵ S.K. Kuczyński, 'Godło...', p. 131.

with an image of King Friedrich Wilhelm III was designed for the University of Berlin.¹⁸⁴ Book symbols and images of rulers were popular among European universities. There were also universities in Europe that did not have their own symbolism.¹⁸⁵

There were three different points of focus in the argumentation that led to the Commission's choice of this design rather than another. Firstly, they are the arguments presented in the letter containing the design of the emblem which the Commission sent to the viceroy. Two other, no less important reasons were rooted in the emblem's historical context. In the case of one, it was people's perception of the White Eagle symbol at the time and its visual presence in Warsaw. In the second case, the use of symbols associated with the White Eagle already boasted a certain, albeit short, tradition at the university. All three points shall be considered in turn.

The first to be examined is the justification presented to Viceroy Zajączek by the Commission. Unfortunately, it is not very detailed and, at first glance, appears to be rather tenuous. However, its analysis has an advantage over other approaches



Fig. 18. Wafer seal of the Imperial University of Vilnius on a letter dated 6 May 1809, AUJ, photo: D. Dąbrowska



Fig. 19. Seal of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Wrocław impressed in sealing wax on a doctoral diploma dated 1865, BJ

because the arguments put forward by the designer and what he had in mind – even if concealing his true intentions – have to be taken into account.

No first-hand knowledge of the letter's contents is available – it was destroyed in a fire and is now known only through Bieliński's work. When referring to the description of the design, he did not say whether he was quoting from the letter, although the way in which he introduces this fragment of the text and its wording suggest that it is a transcription of a passage taken from the original.

We learn that the Commission put forward a proposal for an eagle for the university, 'recognizing, for its [the Commission's] part, that in view of the distinguished name of this national academic institute, it seems the most appropriate seal and coat of arms for it'.¹⁸⁶

Taking this brief sentence at face value, it can be assumed that the author was not merely looking for a courteous way in which to justify the design, but actually sought to demonstrate that the White Eagle should be an important component of the university's symbol.

¹⁸⁶ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 402.

The author of the design pointed to the university's 'distinguished name' as the reason for endowing it with the White Eagle symbol. Thus it can be concluded that granting the use of an emblem using a historical symbol was a certain privilege for the institution, and the distinguishing feature was the term 'national'. Therefore, in these deliberations, the focus will be on two key phrases: 'distinguished name' and 'national institute', which can be understood as keywords with a deeper significance.

¹⁸⁷ Alexander I also acted as a benefactor of the university's mineralogical cabinet, providing specimens not found in Poland. In 1820, he donated Siberian and Flemish minerals. This relationship was continued by Alexander's brother and his successor to the throne – Nicholas I. After a visit to the university in 1829, the emperor saw to it that the mineralogical cabinet was enriched. 'Tsar Nicholas was the principal donor. He sent rare pieces of native gold and platinum from newly discovered Siberian mines. This gift was very important also because it represented the various forms in which these two most precious metals could be found in nature'. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 539, 551.

¹⁸⁸ This matter is discussed further in the section on the 1830 set of seals.

¹⁸⁹ J. Lipiński, *Projekt...*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁰ After the reforms carried out by the Commission of National Education at the beginning of the 1780s, the Academy in Vilnius was renamed the Lithuanian Main School and the Kraków Academy – the Crown's Main School.

¹⁹¹ *Księga protokołów...*, p. 176.

The former should be understood as a reference to the name of the university, not necessarily taken literally (in Latin), but one whose meaning was encapsulated in the words: Royal University. Moreover, it should be noted that there is similar wording in the foundation act: 'ustanawiamy ... Szkołę Główną, zaszczycając ją imieniem Królewskiego Uniwersytetu' (we establish ... the Main School, by honouring it with the name Royal University). This special honour was thus linked to royal patronage and the implications associated with the use of the name 'university'.

Royal patronage was certainly of importance to the university. The fact that the foundation act was signed by Alexander I himself (rather than issued by another authority on behalf of the monarch) created a special bond between the monarch and the university. This was very beneficial for the school, which could count on generous donations from the king¹⁸⁷ and his protection, even after the founder's death. When, in the years preceding the November Uprising, the new educational authorities in the Congress Kingdom planned to split the university into separate schools, the Council asked Nicholas I to change the name of the university and for the new name to include a reference to Alexander I.¹⁸⁸ This seems to have prevented the early dissolution of Warsaw's university, as demolishing the king's work would have been at the same time an insult to the memory of the founder.

The use of the term 'university' was also intended to enhance its prestige. Admittedly, the foundation act and the educational reform project drawn up a year earlier by Józef Lipiński¹⁸⁹ referred to the Main School, and this name had its own justification in tradition.¹⁹⁰ However, in order to emphasize the university's stature, the foundation act included a mark of equivalence between it and 'the universities in our country, as well as those in other countries'.¹⁹¹ It should be remembered that in 1805 the university in Lwów was downgraded to a secondary

school and only re-opened as a university in 1817 when its name was restored in the new foundation act.

So, if the designer was pointing to the university's 'distinguished name' as justification for the use of the historical symbol on its emblem, this implied both royal patronage and the school's rank, which was hitherto unknown in Warsaw. In reality, it was the continuation of Potocki's earlier plans. He authored both the aforementioned documents: the design of the emblem and the foundation act, or at least he played an important role in drafting them. The founding of the university was in large part due to his personal courting of Alexander when he was in Warsaw in 1815. Therefore the term 'distinguished name' should not be taken to mean the literal name (Academy, Main School, University, Universitas Litterarum), but the significance of the institution that Potocki wanted to convey by using the term 'university'.

According to Potocki's original intentions, the university was to be granted the highest and supreme place in a hierarchically-structured educational system. It was not to be one of many of the kingdom's higher education institutions, but the only one at this level – a 'national institute' encompassing all the disciplines within five faculties. Only the Commission was ranked higher than the Main School – but its function was a managerial one, not a teaching one. The university was to excel not only in terms of the quality of teaching, but also in terms of administration, which, to a certain extent, was to allow it to control lower ranking schools.¹⁹² Stanisław Kostka Potocki made reference to this idea during the university's ceremonial inauguration in 1818: 'The university towers over other schools like the cedars of Lebanon over other mighty trees, surpassing them, because in schools pupils are made into men, and here men are turned into statesmen; in schools young people learn and here they become learned; there they acquire knowledge, here they perfect it and use it as it should be used. Other schools are a path to learning, and the university marks its end. And a young man having reached this point can say to himself: after a long and difficult journey I have reached the finishing line ...'.¹⁹³ This theme was also taken up by Rector Szweykowski: 'Standing at the pinnacle of the educational structure the university is fully aware of the magnitude of its duties, knows how to revere its intended purpose as granted in the privilege bestowed upon it by the benevolent Monarch, and will neglect nothing on its part, so that it can stand at the forefront.'¹⁹⁴ Thus there were good reasons for its 'distinguished name' to be honoured with a mark of special significance. However, there is still a lingering sense of inadequacy because the justification given in the draft does not explain why the symbol of the White Eagle was

¹⁹² M. Mycielski, 'Uniwersytet Królewski...', pp. 79–80. Such an arrangement referred to the tradition of the Commission of National Education, which gave the University of Kraków the authority to supervise all higher (departmental) and lower (sub-departmental), parochial, monastic, urban and rural schools. *Pieczęcie Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, ed. A. Chmiel, Kraków 1996, pp. 40–41.

¹⁹³ *Księga protokołów...*, p. 209.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 230, 212–213.

supposed to emphasize the university's unique position. After all, a figure of a saint, a state emblem or the face of a ruler could have been used to similar effect. A partial answer to this question may be found by looking at the alleged patriotic motivation behind the suggested choice of the emblem.

The fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth did not entail the total erasure of the old symbols from the public space. During the constitutional period of the Kingdom of Poland, the symbol of the White Eagle still remained in places that were widely accessible to the citizens of Warsaw. The symbol's visual presence on old palaces, churches and monuments perpetuated its recognizability and the memory of the past.¹⁹⁵ References to the symbol also appeared in the daily press, such as in the newspaper *Orzeł Biały* (White Eagle), published in 1819–1820. The first bound volume opened with an image of an eagle, with some modifications in relation to the emblem: without a crown, with its head turned to the left and with a laurel branch in its beak.¹⁹⁶ Alexander I decided to keep the White Eagle – as an exception – as the insignia of the identity of the Polish Army, which confirms its patriotic significance for soldiers at the time, and – in their wake – for Polish society. The image of the noble bird was also placed on new structures in Warsaw. It could be found on the wells erected on Krasińskich Square in 1824, where its stylization was reminiscent of the eagles of the Roman legions, which can be regarded as one of the manifestations of the artistic culture of late neoclassicism. However, according to Kuczyński, the wells' location, in front of the former Commonwealth Palace, the seat of the highest state authorities in the time of King Stanisław August, carried a hidden patriotic meaning.¹⁹⁷ Shields bearing coats of arms with the White Eagle, in an indubitably heraldic form, were also found on one of the most important state offices, namely the seat of the Government Commission for Income and Treasury, erected in 1825 on Bankowy Square. This building was one of the greatest architectural achievements in Warsaw, hence the message conveyed by its decoration acquired special significance. The porticos flanking the entrance to the main courtyard of the palace were adorned with two shields bearing the White Eagle, surmounted by a royal crown and supported by allegories of fame with a cornucopia.¹⁹⁸

It would certainly be possible to compile a much longer list of images of the historical emblem influencing the inhabitants of Warsaw, as well as other cities in the Congress Kingdom of Poland. Therefore, there was a tendency to use the old emblem despite the Congress Kingdom's established symbol in the form of the imperial and royal eagle.

¹⁹⁵ Kuczyński lists many such sites. S.K. Kuczyński, *Orzeł Biały w Warszawie*, Warsaw 1993, pp. 48–69.

¹⁹⁶ In addition there was a dark imprint on a lighter sheet of paper, however the title of the newspaper left no doubt as to the interpretation of the emblem. *Orzeł Biały* 1819, 1820.

¹⁹⁷ S.K. Kuczyński, *Orzeł Biały w Warszawie...*, p. 76.

¹⁹⁸ Sławomir Górczyński discusses this representation of the White Eagle in the form of a coat of arms on a government building, arguing that it was an official symbol of the Kingdom of Poland located on the breast of the imperial eagle in the imperial coat of arms. S. Górczyński, *Orzeł Biały...*, p. 17.

In view of the above, proposing the White Eagle as the main motif of the university's emblem was intended to inform Polish society that the university was not only an element of the state's renewal, but also a continuation of its traditions. The presence of the emblem in public space in various artistic forms and a certain flexibility in the rules of its use – i.e. the lack of strict codification that is necessary today – made it possible to add palm leaves and laurel branches to the main motif of the bird and surround it with five stars, to create a symbol that was more overt in character and which invited interpretation. As a whole, it was undoubtedly the emblem of the university, but it was still perceived primarily as the White Eagle. This is confirmed by the later withdrawal of the seal with the university's original emblem, caused by the fact that Grand Duke Constantine was in no doubt as to what the symbol conveyed.

The use of the White Eagle symbol as the university's emblem can also be understood as a means of safeguarding against the belittling of its significance in the new political landscape. The State Mint was located on Bielańska Street, not far from Bankowy Square over which the Polish eagles reigned supreme. The mint was erected in 1819, earlier than the Treasury Commission building. On the tympanum of the entrance portico was the huge imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland with a two-headed imperial eagle; this symbol was also minted on the coins made there.¹⁹⁹ Although Alexander I accepted the title of king of Poland, he did not embrace the traditionally used symbolism of Polish rulers, who regarded the emblem of the Crown – the White Eagle – as the mark of a ruler and placed their family coats of arms on its breast. Alexander I did not uphold this tradition, but instead arranged the black and white eagles to convey a meaning appropriate to the political situation. The new emblem symbolized the inseparability of the Polish lands from Russia and the Romanov dynasty's rule over them. This implied a visual demotion of the Polish sign. Given this context, the use of the White Eagle as the main motif on the university's emblem allowed it to be revered accordingly.

Since certain more general conditions may have influenced the design of the university's emblem, it is all the more important to point out that there was an established and widely known connection between the image of the eagle, the history of the university and the tradition of the place where it was located. A stone effigy of this symbolic bird – understood as being the White Eagle – topped the Baroque dome surmounting the central avant-corps of the Kazimierzowski Palace, towering over the space in which the building was located.²⁰⁰ The sculpture had adorned the palace since the time of the Wettins, was the patron of the School of Chivalry, and still occupied this prominent

¹⁹⁹ Art. 17: ... 'on the reverse side, the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Poland' The judgment establishing the Mint in the Kingdom of Poland, and designating the value, stamp and grade of Polish money, DPKP, 1816, vol. 1, p. 139.

²⁰⁰ J. Putkowska, 'Pałac Kazimierzowski', in: *Kultura artystyczna...*, p. 211; K. Załęski, 'Uniwersytet Warszawski w obrazach, rysunkach i rycinach', in: *Kultura artystyczna...*, p. 309.

place during the Duchy of Warsaw, when the Chamber of Education, headed by Stanisław Kostka Potocki, was located in the building, and later continued to tower over the courtyard, visible from Krakowskie Przedmieście Street during the time of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, when the university was founded in the palace.²⁰¹ Although the building was rebuilt in the 1820s by Hilary Szpilowski,²⁰² and its facade was given a neoclassical form, the Baroque dome with the eagle remained and continued to keep the academics company throughout the Royal University of Warsaw's existence. It was only dismantled after the November Uprising.²⁰³ Although the existence of the eagle's image on the university campus should not lead to too far-reaching conclusions, its presence in public space – which was difficult to ignore – should be compared to a similar tradition which emerged around the symbolism of the seals of the institutions that preceded the establishment of the university.

Kuczyński noted that the White Eagle emblem was used for the seal of the School of Medicine. The institution was established in 1809, was headed by a dean and was called a faculty, which gave it academic status. The opening of the school is considered to be the next step on the way to the foundation of the university,²⁰⁴ so the symbolism of the school and the later university may exhibit some continuity. It should be noted that the seal of the school imprinted on the 1809 certificate of acceptance as a student bears a mark described as an 'eagle in flight'.²⁰⁵ Unlike the figure of an eagle with outspread wings perpetuated by tradition, the one on

²⁰¹ The name 'Kazimierzowski Palace' referred both to the building and to the entire palace and garden complex, and later to the complex of university buildings. The building itself also housed the Warsaw Lyceum and the Public Library, with little space left for the university in practice. The university functioned mainly in the newly erected buildings.

²⁰² Hilary Szpilowski (1753–1827), architect, from 1807 builder of the Warsaw Department (administrative unit of the Duchy of Warsaw), between 1817–1823 lecturer at the Royal University of Warsaw, representative of classicism in architecture.

²⁰³ H. Kowalski, J. Miziolek, *Kronika...*, p. 194.

²⁰⁴ M. Mycielski, 'Uniwersytet Królewski...', p. 58.

²⁰⁵ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 2, p. 512.



Fig. 20. View of the Kazimierzowski Palace in 1824, Jan F. Piwarski, 1855–1859, UW Museum





Fig. 21. Seal of the School of the Medical Faculty in Warsaw, 1809, BN



²⁰⁶ Stylizations of the eagle as a popular heraldic sign appeared and passed by fashion in the circle of European culture. The sign in the form of an 'eagle in flight' or a similar one in the arrangement of an 'eagle taking flight' had already appeared earlier, and was popular on Prussian seals in the period under discussion. As Paweł Gut notes: 'The figure of the eagle in flight was borrowed from images of the Prussian eagle placed on military banners or other military symbols and was common as a seal image both in the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth'. P. Gut, 'System sfragistyki państwowej w Prusach w XIX i XX w.', in: *Dawne pieczęcie. Typologia – metody badań – interpretacje*, ed. Z. Piech, Warsaw 2015, pp. 496–497.

²⁰⁷ M. Wawrykowa, 'Uniwersytet Warszawski...', p. 43; S.K. Kuczyński, 'Godło...', p. 132. The caduceus is one of the attributes of Hermes (Mercury), messenger and herald of the gods; the caduceus is entwined by two serpents facing one another, and crowned with wings. The staff of Asclepius (Aesculapius, god of medicine) is entwined with only one serpent. Information that the emblem of the Faculty of Medicine included a caduceus became widespread thanks to an account in *Gazeta Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* (Warsaw and Foreign Correspondent's Gazette) on the school's ceremonial inauguration in 1810. This account, however, did not describe the seal, but a decoration made by Fryderyk Albert Lessel, depicting the 'Faculty coat of arms', under which was placed the motto 'Saluti Publicae'. *Gazeta Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1810, no. 48, p. 791.

²⁰⁸ Bieliński, as an experienced archival researcher, certainly distinguished between authentic documents and forgeries. The accuracy of the facsimiles in his work is also attested to by the appearance of Dean Dziarkowski's signature, which is very similar to that on his student's identity document and the minutes of the meetings of the General Council.

the seal of the School of Medicine is turned to the left with lowered wings. This stylization of the well-known image was quite popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and did not invalidate its symbolic significance.²⁰⁶ It should still be considered a variation of the White Eagle. One important detail was added to the faculty's seal to update the message conveyed by the symbol, namely the staff of Asclepius placed horizontally under the talons. The school's eagle, like the university's, was also subject to updates conditioned by the introduction of new features. As an aside, it should be noted that in the literature the eagle is not holding the staff of Asclepius, but a caduceus, which is due to a mistranslation of similar symbols by a journalist in 1810. This information was quoted by subsequent scholars as a source, but without an appropriate explanatory commentary, thus propagating the error.²⁰⁷ Although we know the document only from its reproduction in Bieliński's work, both this and subsequent facsimiles of others presented by him can be considered authentic.²⁰⁸

The comment made by Kuczyński – an outstanding expert in the history of heraldry – should be supplemented with the fact that although the school did not use this seal for more than four years, once chosen, further shaping

of the tradition proved quite enduring. On another document – a surgeon's diploma, also known from reproductions, issued on 31 December 1813 to Jan Laurenkiewicz²⁰⁹ – we see a seal according to the new design.²¹⁰ It is also a seal with the White Eagle, this time according to the type in force at the end of the Duchy of Warsaw, which was established by a resolution of the Supreme Council of 25 June 1813. This resolution abolished the previous coat of arms of the Duchy (the shared Saxon-Polish coat of arms) and made it compulsory to use the White Eagle emblem alone according to a specific design.²¹¹ The School of Medicine was diligent in implementing the authorities' orders, because – as observed by Krzysztof Dorcz – in many cases the resolution was implemented rather tardily, with some offices still failing to implement it in 1814, while in the following year the obligation to use the emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland was introduced, with which the school also complied and changed its seal for the third time.²¹²

²⁰⁹ Jan Feliks Laurenkiewicz (c. 1776–?), surgeon of the first order, studied at the Faculty of Medicine from 1809 to 1813. R. Gerber, *Studenci...*, p. 298.

²¹⁰ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 2, p. 534.

²¹¹ K. Dorcz, 'Pieczęcie...', p. 65. In the collection of the UW Museum there are letters with seals with an image of the coat of arms of the Duchy of Warsaw from the period 1813–1815. These are the seals impressed on paper of the Directorate of Public Education on a letter dated 24 January 1815 (MUW/606/9) and a wax seal of the Supreme Governing Council of the Duchy of Warsaw dated February 1815 (MUW/606/10).

²¹² K. Dorcz, 'Pieczęcie...', p. 65.



Fig. 22. Seal of the Faculty of Medicine in Warsaw, 1813, BN

We are convinced of this by the master's diploma in Medicine and Surgery awarded to Tomasz Flejczerowski²¹³ on 17 October 1817, shown in Fig. 12, authenticated with this very seal bearing the state emblem, and issued on behalf of the Faculty of Medicine.²¹⁴

²¹³ Tomasz Flejczerowski (1788 – after 1874), military physician, in the years 1814–1817 studied at the Faculty of Medicine. R. Gerber, *Studenci...*, p. 275.

²¹⁴ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 2, p. 533.

²¹⁵ Id., *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 243.

However, we can point to a circumstance that influenced the Commission's design even more strongly than the tradition of the School of Medicine. The seal bearing an image of the White Eagle was to be used by the University's General Council. This information is again provided by Bieliński's work, which is so packed with countless details that even important information such as this has eluded previous researchers into the history of the UW emblem. On 15 March 1817 the General Council adopted and sent to the Commission for approval a draft of its own regulations ('internal regulations'). The last, 14th point of the draft stated that: 'The seal of the Council, which is to remain in the custodianship of the Secretary, will depict the Polish eagle inscribed with the legend *Rada ogólna królewskiej Szkoły głównej warszawskiej* (General Council of the Royal Main School in Warsaw)'.²¹⁵ Staszic signed the regulations. The Commission accepted this design, although there are no known documents authenticated with a seal according to this design, and there is no such seal in the collections of the UW Museum. However, regardless of whether the design was implemented or whether the final appearance of the seal was altered for some reason, it would seem that the idea of using the White Eagle as the university's emblem was anticipated in the provisions of these regulations. Just as the General Council was a temporary body replacing the Rector and the Academic Senate, so too may the seal it used have been a substitute for the future emblem of the university.


There were, therefore, many different arguments for the use of the White Eagle on the seal of the University of Warsaw. The emblem was treated as part of its identity, no longer an emblem of the state, but one of a revered tradition to be cherished at the most important university in the Congress Kingdom of Poland. The symbol of the eagle blended naturally with the founding space of the Kazimierzowski Palace, crowning the dome surmounting the former royal residence. The eagle also appeared on the earlier seals of the School of Medicine, one of the faculties of the planned university, and the General Council, which was the university's organizing body. ●

XI. Seal of the Imperial University of Vilnius, imprinted in 1809, AUJ, photo: D. Dąbrowska

breptum Pszko (Cracoviensem)
MDCCCLX, cum plurima eademque egre-
a, examinis legibus praescripti loci, dedis-
Magistrum dicimus, designamus, renun-
Academiae Vostae sigillo munitas,
Pridie Nonas Maii MDCCCLX

Josephus Mich-
Decanus Ord-
Canonius





XII. Detail of the flag
of the University of Warsaw
from 1936, UW Museum,
photo: M. Bogacki

The image of the emblem –
based on the seal
of 1817 – was embroidered
with silk threads
on both sides of the
banner.

Primary reason for the choice of the White Eagle

In his works on the White Eagle, Stefan K. Kuczyński often gave the university emblem as an example. He presented the University of Warsaw's ability to use the traditional symbol as a special privilege, a 'far-reaching concession'²¹⁶ in favour of the school which constituted something akin to a 'Polish enclave'.²¹⁷ According to him, this privilege was only shared by the Polish Army, which Alexander I had granted the use of the national colours and insignia.²¹⁸ Today, thanks to extensive archival research, it appears this theory requires modification.

The main source which Kuczyński referred to is an account of the procedure of abolishing the university emblem from which the relevant details of its establishment can be learnt. Much of this information was provided by Bieliński who was the first to describe the procedure for the establishment of the emblem; he listed the seals that were made, and recounted the events that gave rise to the change of the emblem. In September 1822, Grand Duke Constantine 'declared his deepest displeasure at the fact that the minister, the Government Commission and its subordinated schools were using seals which depicted only the White Eagle – which could be used only by the army with the express permission of His Imperial Majesty – instead of using the seal of the Government of the Congress Kingdom, the Government Commissions and all other authorities, i.e. a White Eagle on the breast of the black Russian eagle with the appropriate inscription'.²¹⁹ In Bieliński's account, this information was incorporated into the history of the university emblem in a manner strongly suggesting that it applied only to the university emblem – which is how it has been interpreted to this day.²²⁰ These facts, which Bieliński presented in a rather convoluted manner, were later interpreted by historians solely in terms of the history of the university and therefore require clarification. Constantine approached Viceroy Zajączek – rather than addressing the university directly – who in turn sent General Franciszek Ksawery Kossecki to Minister Stanisław Grabowski,²²¹ first to announce the grand duke's 'displeasure', and then to deliver the viceroy's instructions: that 'the king's viceroy instructs that **this seal** be changed forthwith and that such an order be issued' (emphasis by K.M.). Officially, it was Minister Grabowski, as the head of the Commission, who was able to order the university to change the seals. One important detail that alters this interpretation of the incident is that neither Zajączek's instructions nor Constantine's remarks

²¹⁶ S.K. Kuczyński, 'Godło...', p. 132.

²¹⁷ Id., 'Orzeł Biały i barwy...', p. 38.

²¹⁸ This was guaranteed by Art. 156 of the Constitution, DPKP, 1816, vol. 1, p. 94.

²¹⁹ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 403.

²²⁰ In his work on images of the emblem of Poland in Warsaw, Kuczyński edits the original text taken from Bieliński's work, which we have quoted above, as follows: 'He [Constantine] expressed "his utmost displeasure" at the fact that the university uses on its seals the White Eagle, which "only the army can use with his Imperial and Royal Majesty's permission".' The original text was replaced by Bieliński's own interpretation. This was certainly intended to simplify the narrative and make the text more understandable for the reader. However, it led to perpetuating his interpretation, which can be considered inaccurate today. S.K. Kuczyński, *Orzeł Biały w Warszawie...*, p. 76.

²²¹ Stanisław Grabowski (1780–1845), politician, natural son of King Stanisław August, member of the Sejm (1818), senator (from 1819), minister of education (1820–1830).

mention the university; they refer to 'this seal', so which seal were they referring to?

²²² Małgorzata Osiecka has pointed out that in practice, letters in the chancellery were rarely authenticated with a seal, and correspondence, even important correspondence, was not sealed. The most common form of confirming a letter's authenticity was the signature of the decision-maker. The seal was affixed to letters of legal import: contracts, purchase and sale contracts, deeds of ennoblement. M. Osiecka, 'System...', pp. 243–244.

²²³ Adam Bartoszewicz (1792–1878), teacher at the three-year secondary level school in Biała (1817–1833), where he taught mathematics, Polish, Latin and belles-lettres, later a professor at the six-year secondary level voivodeship school in Łuków and inspector of the county level school in Warsaw. He retired in 1850. Father of Julian Bartoszewicz (1821–1870), historian and encyclopaedist. K. Bartoszewicz, *Dawna Biała na Podlasiu w wspomnieniach mego dziadka Adama (1792–1878). Przyczynek do dziejów miasta i gimnazjum*, Biała Podlaska 1928, p. 3.

²²⁴ Associate was a lower rank in the teaching hierarchy.

²²⁵ The three-year secondary level school was the third step in the educational structure, above the elementary and two-year secondary level school and below the six-year voivodeship secondary level school. The school in Biała had a rich history. It was founded in 1628 as the Biała Academy, a secondary level school associated with the Kraków Academy, and subsequently changed names several times depending on the educational structure at the time. Its tradition is continued by the Józef Ignacy Kraszewski First High School in Biała Podlaska.

²²⁶ Biała – today Biała Podlaska, *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. F. Sulmierski, B. Chlebowski, W. Walewski, vol. 1, Warsaw 1880, pp. 168–170, there information about schools in the second half of the 19th century.

²²⁷ APŁ, ArB, 39/592/0/2.1/732, fol. 8.

Grand Duke Constantine did not mention the university by name, but blamed the minister, the department subordinated to him and schools (in the plural) for the use of the unauthorized symbol. It is not clear whether the grand duke deliberately over-dramatized his comments to compel the viceroy to react swiftly by magnifying the alleged offenses of the Minister of Education, or whether it was a much broader issue and not just about the university. Searches in the archives show that the latter possibility is true, which changes the existing perception of the university emblem.

Before 1822, not only the university, but above all the Commission for Religion and Public Education used a seal with an image of the White Eagle, rather than the imperial and royal emblem of the state.

Moreover, it is likely that in the Commission's wake, the seal with the former symbol of the Kingdom of Poland was also used by some schools subordinated to the ministry. If this went unnoticed by Kuczyński or other scholars working on the subject, it was because documents bearing this type of impression are rare, largely due to the destruction of the Ministry of Education's archives and the fact that most of the surviving documents are copies or originals that did not require authentication with a seal.²²² Some copies were found during a search for potential addressees of the Commission's outgoing correspondence. Letters from this institution bearing seals have been preserved, for example, in the State Archives in Łódź in a set of documents containing the legacy of the Bartoszewicz family, among the files concerning teachers.

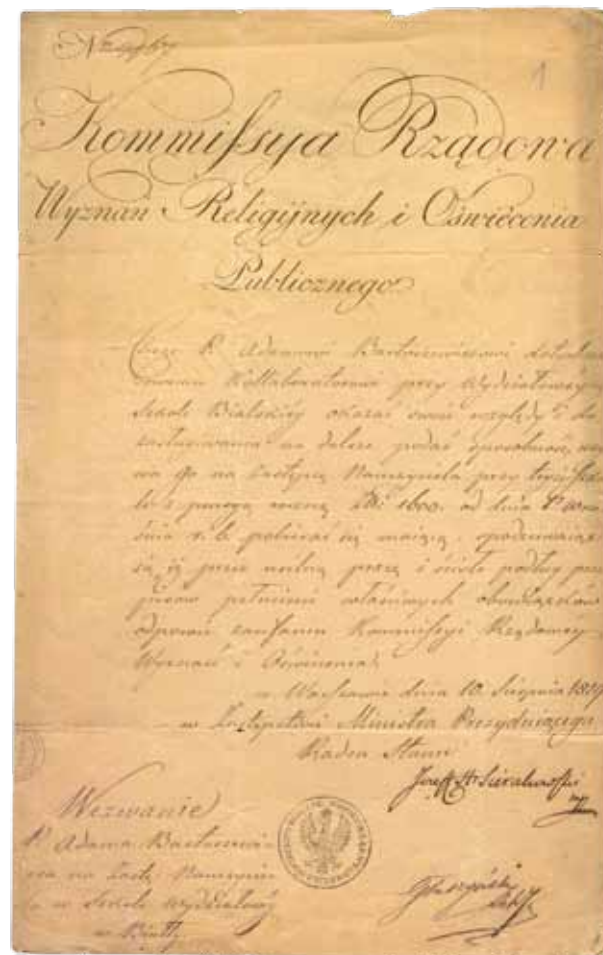
In a letter dated 18 January 1817, Minister Potocki authorized Adam Bartoszewicz²²³ to work as an associate²²⁴ at the three-year secondary level school²²⁵ in Biała.²²⁶ This letter was authenticated with an embossed wafer seal, which has survived in a very good condition.²²⁷ On the obverse is an image of the White Eagle surrounded by an inscription with the Commission's name. In another letter dated 10 August 1819, signed by Józef Sierakowski in the minister's stead, the Commission appoints Bartoszewicz as a substitute



Fig. 23. Wafer seal of the Commission on a letter dated 18 January 1817 authorizing Adam Bartoszewicz to take up the post of assistant at the three-year secondary level school in Biała, APŁ



Fig. 24. Ink seal of the Commission on a letter dated 10 August 1819 calling on Adam Bartoszewicz to take up the post of a substitute teacher at the three-year secondary level school in Biała, APŁ



²²⁸ APŁ, ArB, 39/592/0/2.1/733, fol. 1. Ink seal of the Commission also in: AGAD, TKPN, vol. 1, 1/199/0/-/55, fol. 296.

²²⁹ Tomasz Welinowicz (1789–?), awarded an MA in Philosophy by the Royal University of Warsaw (diploma 1822, APŁ, ArB, 39/592/0/1.6/293), teacher at schools in Sandomierz, Wąchock and Radom (until 1825), clerk of the towns' division (1837), head of the towns' division in the Government Commission for Internal Affairs (1851). R. Gerber, *Studenci...*, p. 448.

²³⁰ APŁ, ArB, 39/592/0/1.6/286, fol. 9; APŁ, ArB, 39/592/0/1.6/289, fol. 2; AGAD, TKPN, 1/199/0/-/56, fol. 30.

²³¹ APW, UW-OB, 72/215/0, fasc. 2, fol. 10.

²³² The Commission's postal seal on the back of a letter to Kazimierz Brodziński concerning a collection of religious songs dated 3 September 1821, MUW/606/17.

²³³ APAN, 302/158/0, (III-35), fol. 14, The Commission's postal seal on the back of a letter addressed to Wacław Maciejowski on his appointment to the Warsaw Lyceum as deputy professor, 16 October 1818.

²³⁴ AGAD, APP, 1/335/0/-/307, fols. 261, 264, these are: a copy of the viceroy's decree of 27 January 1816 countersigned by Minister Potocki and authenticated with the Commission's embossed wafer seal, and an extract from the annual report submitted by the Commission on the acquisition of an art collection, authenticated with the Commission's ink seal, the original signed on 18 February 1818 by Minister Potocki, and the excerpt authenticated by the Secretary of the Commission [Paweł] Głuszyński (1783–1845).

teacher at the same school.²²⁸ This letter was authenticated with an ink seal with a very clear image of the White Eagle and a legend bearing the name of the Commission. The Adam Bartoszewicz and Tomasz Welinowicz files²²⁹ also contain cards on which the ink seals of the Commission's postal department have been impressed.²³⁰ Some of these are more legible than others, but in the years (1815?)1817–1822, the Commission was using a seal with the White Eagle and not the emblem of the Congress Kingdom. Furthermore, a very clear ink impression of the Commission's seal with the historic emblem of Poland was used to authenticate the budget of the University's Botanic Garden for the year 1821.²³¹ Another impression of this seal can be found in the UW Museum among the documents of Kazimierz Brodziński,²³² another on a letter from the Commission to Wacław Maciejowski in the Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences,²³³ and yet another in the Potocki Public Fonds at AGAD.²³⁴ Also a subordinate unit of the Commission, the Kasa Ogólnego Funduszu Religijnego Województwa Mazowieckiego (Office of the Masovian Voivodeship's Religious Fund),



Fig. 25. Seal of the postal department of the Commission on the back of letter no. 10221 dated 26 September 1822 addressed to Adam Bartoszewicz, APŁ

used a seal with the White Eagle.²³⁵ It should be noted that the Commission's seals and the images on them were changed later – in 1822,²³⁶ when the department of education began to use the emblem of the Congress Kingdom. Whereas, in the period during which the fate of the university's seal image was being decided, the Commission used the historic emblem of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland.

There is also the question of which symbol was used on school seals at the end of the 1820s. Looking through the lists of voluntary contributions made by citizens of the Congress Kingdom to the Copernicus Monument to be installed in front of the seat of the Royal Society of Friends of Science, it is evident that at least some schools subordinated to the Commission used the White Eagle. An impression of this kind was affixed to a list of pupils' contributions dated 16 May 1817 by the Rev. Marcin Bazyli Kowalski, rector of the Pińczów two-year secondary level school.²³⁷ Other schools, however, used seals bearing the state emblem, such as the three-year secondary level school in Wąchock;²³⁸ a clear, legible impression made in sealing wax authenticates the list of contributions collected. Furthermore, the UW Museum has two seal impressions – one made in sealing wax, the other in ink – of the three-year

²³⁵ Ink seal. 15 June 1821. AGAD, TKPN, 1/199/0/-156, fol. 8.

²³⁶ The Commission's letter to Kazimierz Brodziński nominating him as first secretary bears the Commission's wafer seal with the emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland. MUW/606/25.

²³⁷ The school is described in *Rocznik Instytutów Religijnych i Edukacyjnych w Królestwie Polskiem* (1824, no. 1, pp. 147–149). According to *Rocznik* the Rev. Marcin B. Kowalski (?–1838) was rector of a two-year secondary level school in 1817, but before that he had established an elementary school in Pińczów. Cf. L. Hajdukiewicz, 'Szkoły pińczowskie w latach 1586–1914', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* 1979, no. 62, pp. 95–160; id., 'Z przeszłości szkół pińczowskich (1586–1914)', *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* 1959, Ann. 2, pp. 95–149; AGAD, TKPN, 1/199/0/-155, fol. 300.

²³⁸ The rector of the three-year secondary level school in Wąchock authenticated the list of contributions with a seal bearing the emblem of the Congress Kingdom, 18 January 1818. AGAD, TKPN, 1/199/0/-155, fol. 375.



Fig. 26. Seal of the Schools in Pińczów under the list of pupils' contributions to the Nicolaus Copernicus Monument, 1817, AGAD

²³⁹ The school was located in the Dominican monastery in Warsaw's Nowe Miasto (New Town) district. From the 1823/1824 school year onwards, the Commission placed it under the complete management of the Dominicans, supporting its running only with 'an allowance from educational funds'. Nevertheless, the school had a seal with the emblem of the Congress Kingdom, *Rocznik Instytutów Religijnych i Edukacyjnych w Królestwie Polskiem* 1824, no. 1, pp. 137–138.

²⁴⁰ MUW/839 and MUW/351. Both seals are presented in the catalogue at the end of this publication.

²⁴¹ Six-year secondary level voivodeship schools were obliged to authenticate documents issued on stamp paper with a seal; such documents confirmed that a student had left school either without completing his studies or after completing his studies. *Wewnętrzne urządzenie szkół wojewódzkich 1820 roku*, [Warsaw 1820], paras. 41, 42 (pp. 23–24). The seal was also affixed to matriculation certificates (*testimonium maturitatis*), a specimen of which is reproduced at the end of the collection (p. 58), and the place of the seal was marked with the letters S.L. (altered abbreviation *loco sigilli*, i.e. 'in place of the seal').

²⁴² J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 406–407.

secondary level school run by the Dominican Fathers in Warsaw.²³⁹ Both were made according to the same design with the emblem of the Congress Kingdom on the matrix.²⁴⁰ There was a total lack of consistency among institutions of the time and although the White Eagle did appear on at least some of the seals of schools subordinated to the Commission²⁴¹ – as pointed out by Grand Duke Constantine – most of the known school seals depicted the state emblem.

The same die sinkers who made seals for institutions also made buttons. The image of the White Eagle appears on these particular items of student clothing. Officials at the Commission, teachers, students and pupils were obliged to wear uniforms, the form of which was regulated by a royal decree of 14/26 May 1821.²⁴² Students wore a Class VIII uniform with buttons which had to



Fig. 27. University button with the White Eagle, Zygmunt Munchheimer metalware factory, 1820–1829, MW, photo: A. Czechowski

be inscribed: Uniwersytet (University). Similar uniforms were to be worn by school pupils except that the inscription on the buttons was to indicate the type of school. Looking through collections, it is obvious that both students and pupils of the voivodeship schools tried to place an image of the White Eagle on the buttons with a ribbon beneath it bearing the appropriate inscription.²⁴³ The eagle had a closed crown, with palm leaves and laurel branches encircling the upper half of the rim, unlike in the university emblem, where they were held in the bird's talons. Since this item was so small, it can be assumed that this solution was used to ensure both the greater legibility and decorativeness of the button. None of the known examples bear five stars. Rector Szweykowski intervened in the matter of non-regulation buttons; on 10 July 1823 he called on students to comply with the regulations: 'Buttons for all Honourable Students and Pupils; both on uniforms and frock coats should bear the inscription "University" but not an eagle.'²⁴⁴ Both students and pupils were quite impetuous about making their patriotic feelings known, so they did not shy away from breaking rules and regulations despite the threatened consequences.

It would seem, therefore, that the source of the design of the university emblem should be sought not in a single act of concession granted to the university, but in Stanisław Kostka Potocki's consistent and all-encompassing

²⁴³ K. Gładki, *Guziki szkół wojewódzkich, wydziałowych, liceum, uniwersytet, prawo*, Łódź 2012, p. 37 (buttons of two-year secondary level schools), p. 61 (university buttons), p. 81 (Institute of Elementary Teachers), p. 103 (buttons of the Public Library in the Kazimierzowski Palace). The portal www.buttonarium.eu presents buttons from the constitutional period of the Congress Kingdom of Poland from the university, and secondary level schools and other entities.

²⁴⁴ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 414.

²⁴⁵ APW, UW-OB, 72/215/0, fasc. 1, fol. 77, ink seal of the Government Commission for Income and Treasury with the emblem of the Kingdom of Poland enclosing a letter of 7 April 1819 to Prof. Michał Szubert. The seal is broken.

²⁴⁶ Embossed wafer seal of the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police with the emblem of the Kingdom of Poland on appointing Kazimierz Brodziński a teacher of literature at the Drama School issued on 28 May 1819, MUW/606/6.

²⁴⁷ Seal authenticating an exemption from military service issued to Second Lieutenant Xawery Biskupski, signed on 30 December 1815, BN, G.11559/II.

policy. In his ministry he introduced a seal with a White Eagle of a different design than that used by the Ministries of Justice, of Income and Treasury²⁴⁵ and of Internal Affairs and the Police.²⁴⁶ Although the Ministry of War used a seal with the White Eagle, it was a specific image – the kingly bird was placed among numerous panoplies as if ensconced in a nest.²⁴⁷ The outline of the eagle on the Commission's seal was far more modest, depicting a simple neoclassical-style bird with nothing in its talons, the only addition being a closed crown. In this way it made a direct reference to the historical form of the emblem of the former Polish Crown.

The University of Warsaw was therefore not the only institution – apart from the Polish Army – to use the White Eagle in its emblem. Rather, the symbol of the university should be regarded as a special manifestation by the Ministry of Education, as it referred to the most important university in the country. Additional circumstantial evidence supporting this argument is the use of eagle buttons by students and pupils, despite the ban. We find in this behaviour a demonstration of patriotic feelings, but this was probably not the only reason. The students may also have been tempted to identify themselves with other groups dressed in uniform despite the risk of exposing themselves to the school authorities. Each department had designed its own dress code. The uniforms worn by the pupils conveyed information to the public that they belonged to a group under the supervision of the state, but were at the very bottom of its hierarchical structure. In such circumstances, the White Eagle buttons raised their public prestige, which was associated with belonging to the Ministry of Education and the symbol on the seal it used. At the same time, the symbol was combined with representations of palm leaves and laurel branches, typical of education, also present in the emblem of the university. Buttons from three-year secondary level schools and six-year secondary level voivodeship schools testify to the fact that the idea of using the eagle symbol was widespread among young people at different stages of their education.

It is not known how it became possible for the Commission to use the seal in this form. This was most likely due to the high position and esteem in which Stanisław Kostka Potocki was held. For years he had been associated with the Ministry of Education, also as head of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers during the Duchy

Fig. 28. Wafer seal of the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police on a letter dated 28 April 1819, UW Museum

611
N^o 320 z Kwietnia 1819

DYREKCYA Przemysłu i Kunsztów

Działo się w Warszawie

dnia 28. Mca Kwietnia 1819. Roku

KOMMISSYA RZĄDOWA

Spraw Wewnętrznych i Policyi.

Na przedstawieniu Dyrekcji Teatru Narodowego, mianem J. P. Brodzińskiego
Kierownika tejże Dyrekcji, Naczelniem Literatury w J. P. Drammatycznej,
opracowując się: iż p. sw. gortnowi w użyciu, przystoić się do dobra, wzrostu
i ulepszenia samej sztuki —

Minister Pracy i Górnictwa
C. M. W. W. W.

Secretarz Generalny.
Przełomski





Fig. 29. Wax seal of the Government Commission for War on a letter dated 30 December 1815, BN

of Warsaw. Potocki consulted directly with Alexander I regarding his initiative to establish a university and develop education in the Congress Kingdom. His position was therefore likely to be very strong. It should also be noted that Grand Duke Constantine only demanded that changes be made to the seals after Potocki's death, when Stanisław Grabowski, widely regarded as more subservient to the partitioners, became Minister of Education.

The order to change the image on the Ministry of Education's seals resulted directly from a wider campaign carried out in 1822 to standardize seals used by entities belonging to the state administration. Initiatives to align the designs had already been instigated earlier. The order from the Ministry of Internal Affairs that all offices use the state emblem was very difficult to implement and enforce. Municipalities and towns, especially the smaller ones, were concerned about the costs associated with replacing the old seals. Krzysztof Dorcz showed that some municipal offices were still using their own coats of arms until the 1820s, and even those that tried to keep up with the demands of the authorities ordered seals with variously redacted inscriptions and bearing non-standardized images of the state emblem.²⁴⁸ The lack of clear guidelines from the authorities led to some latitude in these depictions. Until 1826, when the Polish Mint was granted the monopoly on the manufacture of official seals, private die sinkers of various levels of craftsmanship were often employed to carry out the work.

On 11 October 1822, the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police gave an order requiring the voivodeship commissions to collect the unofficial seals from their subordinate offices and to destroy them, and to ensure they were replaced by seals bearing the national emblem and standardized inscriptions.²⁴⁹ Interestingly, these changes were promoted by one of the founding fathers of the University of Warsaw, Stanisław Staszic, who had signed the draft rules and regulations of the General Council in 1817, containing a proposal for a seal bearing the White Eagle. In 1822, he signed the decree as Councillor of State deputizing for the Minister of Justice.

The order to change the emblem, which was sent by the viceroy through General Franciszek Ksawery Kossecki,²⁵⁰ and which was a reaction to Grand Duke Constantine's intervention and dissatisfaction, was dated 18 September 1822, so was most probably the result of a discussion on the lack of uniformity of the seals of the various offices. According to Bieliński, the Government Commission for Religion and Public Education issued a directive to change the image on the university's seal on 11 October 1822, i.e. the same day as the Commission for Internal Affairs. It is therefore highly likely that the two Commissions agreed on the content of the directive, and it is also possible that the action involved other ministries, although no trace of such arrangements could be found in the minutes of the Administrative Council. Thus the action was not aimed only at the University of Warsaw or Potocki's department, but was intended to implement a greater degree of standardization among official seal images. ●

²⁴⁸ K. Dorcz, 'Wykonawcy pieczęci w Księstwie Warszawskim i Królestwie Polskim', *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* 2003, vol. 6, pp. 63–72.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 66–67.

²⁵⁰ Franciszek Ksawery Kossecki (1778–1857), officer, collector, politician; he participated in the struggle for independence in the Kościuszko Uprising, served in the Polish Legions, the Danube Legion, the army of the Duchy of Warsaw, and then in the Congress Kingdom (1823, major-general). From 1816, counsellor of state in the Administrative Council, he carried out the special orders of Viceroy Zająček.



XIII. Seal matrix of the Royal University of Warsaw for use with sealing wax, 1823 design, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

On the matrix dating from 1823, the die sinker had to make five crowns. The largest of them is ornamented with fleurons.

University emblems after 1823

The White Eagle was the dominant feature on the university's emblem, but there were three other details which distinguished this particular version from others depicting the historic eagle. The bird held palm leaves and laurel branches in its talons and was surrounded by five stars. Since the former emblem of the Polish Crown was used by the Commission and presumably also by some of the schools subordinated to it, it was these other elements that contributed to the originality of the university's emblem and around which the university built its identity.

Palm leaves and laurel branches have long been popular symbols in European culture and have also acquired many meanings, which do not necessarily add to but may rather blur the sense of their use.²⁵¹ Hence, the primary focus of interest is the arguments which the Commission presented in its proposal to the viceroy. One of these stated that they were 'symbols of perseverance and reward'. On the medal awarded to students for the best theses, the palm symbolized academic triumph achieved through hard work, as the award was only given out to students who had prepared a thesis suitable for publication. The interpretation of the symbols presented in the proposal was obviously of a scholastic nature, indicating the effort that had to go into studying, the importance of patience and the need to make sacrifices, but also hope for a commensurate reward. The steps taken by the organizers of education in the Congress Kingdom to make certain offices available only to university educated people were intended to guarantee just such a reward.

²⁵¹ For the various symbolic meanings of the palm and laurel, see S.K. Kuczyński, 'Godło...', p. 132.

The five stars symbolized the first five faculties of the university. This was something to be proud of, because according to the categorization of the time, a university with five faculties encompassed all the important disciplines and prepared students for all professions requiring intellectual aptitude. Other schools in the Congress Kingdom, such as the School of Mining and the Agronomic Institute, also prepared specialists needed by the state, but in a scope that was largely specific to their field.

The removal of the White Eagle from the university emblem did not mean that the university was deprived of its own symbolism. This remained primarily in the form of the five stars with the palm and laurel leaves in an auxiliary role.

The seals made in 1823 according to the new design featured the imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom, although the details deviate from the standard. What remained was an aspect of the university's identity which distinguished the university's seals from those

of the state authorities. This was more than just the wording of the legend. Surrounding the two-headed imperial eagle were five stars – which had previously encircled the White Eagle – and arranged in such a way that they comprised a homogeneous composition with the state symbol. It is therefore difficult to consider this representation as a new emblem of the university, since it was introduced on the assumption that all government offices and administrations were to be represented by the symbol of the Congress Kingdom. Nevertheless, retaining the stars on the seal implied that they had earned the right to symbolically represent the university. It was not simply a pictorial enumeration of the faculties, but a hallmark of the university's identity.

In 1821, before the White Eagle was removed from the university's seal, the Commission decided to establish the insignia for the rector, deans, university professors and school teachers. These would complement the clothing introduced by Royal Decree of 26 May 1821. The symbols were intended to be hung on chains worn around the neck or sewn to gowns. The rector's mark of identity was the most elaborate, while the others consisted of compositions with an increasingly lesser number of components corresponding to the successively lower ranks of the university and educational representatives. Thus, the head of the university could be recognized by a pendant in the form of 'two gold palms with a silver laurel joined together, with five stars, on a triple gold chain.'²⁵² Deans were to wear the same sign, but with only one star on a double chain. Professors of the highest rank – both permanent and temporary – lecturers, teachers and assistants, prefects and rectors of both two- and three-year secondary level schools and finally students who had earned their master's degrees and those training as teachers were entitled to wear compositions consisting of palm and laurel leaves. The lowest category wore only 'a single silver palm sewn on the gown'. The intention of this directive was to make the hierarchy present in the teaching profession more visible. It also indicates, above all, that palm and laurel leaves were recognized as symbols of the entire department of education, while stars could only be worn by the rector and deans of the university.

²⁵² J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 404.

²⁵³ *Przyjaciół Ludu* 1845, no. 46, p. 365. The chain was melted down in 1841, J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 405–406.

The University Council proceeded to carry out the instructions and presented designs to the Commission in the form of drawings on 14 June 1821. Surprisingly, it was on the Council's initiative that a symbol – not envisioned by the Ministry – was introduced on the rector's chain: the links were ornamented with 'small one-headed eagles' alternating with a motif of crossed laurel and palm leaves. The chain and the symbols are known from a drawing in the 1824 annals.²⁵³ This was undoubtedly an allusion to the original emblem of the university which had since been abolished. The Commission

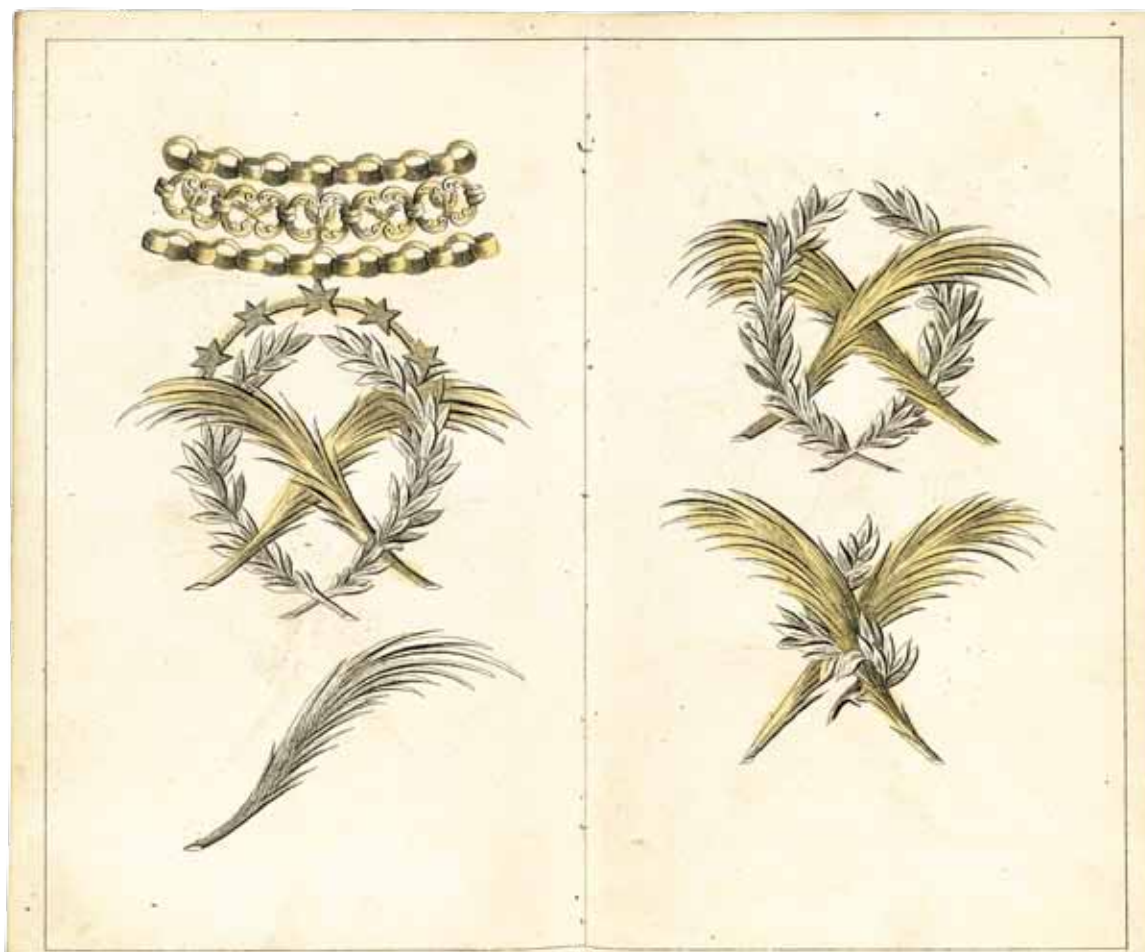


Fig. 30. Chain and pendant of the university rector and professors' symbols, *Rocznik Instytutów Religijnych i Edukacyjnych w Królestwie Polskiem* 1824

approved the proposal at the time, although their intention was that the stars, palms and laurels were to dominate.

These symbols are a rather interesting and ambiguous topic in the light of information about the university's banner. Maria Wawrykowa – who, unfortunately, did not indicate the source – wrote: 'the chancellery was in charge of the banner established in 1826. The Polish eagle – which Grand Duke Constantine had recently forbidden – was depicted on one side, and St John Cantius on the other.'²⁵⁴ She goes on to say: 'It is possible that Minister Stanisław Grabowski then obtained verbal permission from Nicholas I to do so in connection with the tenth-anniversary celebrations of granting the act of foundation.' This seems rather assumptive but will be discussed later. Another, more pressing, concern is the fact that there is no confirmation in any of the sources on the type

²⁵⁴ M. Wawrykowa, 'Uniwersytet Warszawski...', p. 78.

of eagle depicted on the banner. Wawrykowa's information may have resulted from a misinterpretation of the memoirs of one of the law students who actually gave a description of the banner.

²⁵⁵ Jan Nepomucen Janowski (1803–1888), publicist and political activist. In 1822–1823 he studied philosophy at the Jagiellonian University, in 1824–1827 law at the University of Warsaw, from 1831 he lived in exile. He co-founded the Polish Democratic Society, published and edited magazines: *Gazeta Polska* and *Przegląd Dziejów Polski*. M. Tyrowicz, 'Jan Nepomucen Janowski (1803–1880)', in: J.N. Janowski, *Notatki...*, pp. XI–XXXII.

Jan Nepomucen Janowski studied at the Faculty of Law and Administration from 1824 to 1827.²⁵⁵ Born into a poor family, he was not well off; however, he applied himself diligently to his studies. In the academic year 1825/1826, he took part in a competition for the best thesis, which he won and was given the right to print his work as well as a grand prize gold medal. This was not the final accolade; students who had won the award were called upon to carry the banner in a ceremonial procession,



which Janowski did in October 1826.²⁵⁶ This honour gave him the opportunity to see the symbol in detail. He reported that ‘the flag was blue; on one side was the university’s coat of arms (... five golden stars in a laurel wreath, also golden) surrounded by the inscription: “Uniwersytet Królewsko-Warszawski” (I can’t remember whether it was in Polish or Latin), and on the other side was a small picture of St John Cantius, as the patron saint of Polish schools.’²⁵⁷ Presumably, when Wawrykowa read the information about the ‘university’s coat of arms’, she assumed that Janowski was describing the original emblem of the university. However, his description implies that the banner was embroidered with stars, a laurel wreath and an inscription. There is no mention of an eagle.

This banner survived the partitions and was again carried during academic ceremonies from 1916 onwards. It can be seen on a number of photographs taken before the Second World War but they do not clearly show the side bearing the coat of arms.²⁵⁸ Even when unfurled, it is difficult to make out what the image represents. Most likely, these were only illegible remnants of the original image, since the side of the banner of interest here was not even acknowledged by the editors of *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*. In 1916, after the 3rd of May celebrations, the banners of the university and polytechnic were photographed for inclusion in a subsequent issue of the magazine.²⁵⁹ The photographs were a revelation in Warsaw at the time because they showed the students marching under the ‘old blue banner of the royal university, which had fortuitously been discovered under junk in the attic of the Kazimierzowski Palace’.²⁶⁰ Unfortunately, the editors chose to show the side of the banner on which Antoni Blank’s painting

²⁵⁶ J.N. Janowski, *Notatki...*, pp. 95–96.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

²⁵⁸ The banner was photographed many times during successive inaugurations of the academic year and other ceremonies from 1916 to 1939. During ceremonies in the auditorium on the first floor of the Kazimierzowski Palace, the colour party (that is the person bearing the banner and two guards) stood behind the person speaking at the lectern, while others were lined up along the walls (photographs are preserved in the NAC collection). The reverse side of the banner (with the ‘coat of arms’) can be seen indistinctly in the photograph showing the colour party walking behind the university senate towards the Church of the Visitation during the inauguration of the 1938/1939 year. It is difficult to recognize the image in the centre of the banner. However, it is certainly not an embroidered eagle similar to the one on the university banner of 1936. Photograph in the collection of NAC, Koncern Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny – Archiwum Ilustracji (*Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny* Concern – Archive of illustrations), 3/1/0/10/3326/1. Some photographs on which significant details can be seen: 3265, 3315, 3319, 3323/6, 3324/5, 3325/3, 3325/6. It can be assumed that if the original emblem of the university had been embroidered on the banner, then it would have received more attention from *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, which in 1916 showed the front of the banner with Antoni Blank’s painting of St John Cantius. *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1916, no. 23, p. 271.

²⁵⁹ The banner can also be seen on photographs of the march on 3 May 1916, taken by Waław Saryusz-Wolski. However they are not helpful in determining what image is on the cloth. MNW, *Kolekcja Dominika Witke-Jeżewskiego* (Collection of Dominik Witke-Jeżewski). D. Jackiewicz, *Uniwersytet Warszawski i fotografia 1839–1921. Ludzie, miejsca, wydarzenia*, Warsaw 2016, pp. 378–379 (*Monumenta Universitatis Varsoviensis 1816–2016*).

²⁶⁰ ‘Powszedni dzień akademicki’, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1916, no. 22, p. 261. This information is probably somewhat dramatized because according to Bieliński the banner was located in the Museum of Antiquities. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 417.

Fig. 31. Banner of 1826 carried by the colour party during the inauguration of the academic year 1938/1939, NAC



Fig. 32. Banners of the University of Warsaw and the Warsaw Polytechnic in 1916, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1916, no. 23

of St John Cantius had been sewn. Next to it was the banner of the Polytechnic with a very clear image of the White Eagle.²⁶¹

²⁶¹ According to the rules of vexillology, the side with Blank's painting was the obverse, while the one with the 'coat of arms' was the reverse. *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1916, no. 23, p. 271.

²⁶² M. Mycielski, 'Uniwersytet Królewski...', p. 87.

²⁶³ Nikolay Novosiltsev (1761–1838), Imperial Commissar at the Council of State of the Congress Kingdom of Poland in the years 1815–1830.

Based on this information it is difficult to either conclusively refute or confirm Wawrykowa's claim. Nor does it have a strong basis in the sources. However, had there been an eagle on the banner, it would not have been because Stanisław Grabowski had sought Nicholas I's approval. Grabowski would not have defied main line Russian policies in the Congress Kingdom²⁶² – which were laid down by Grand Duke Constantine and Count Nikolay Novosiltsev.²⁶³ Instead, any potential initiative to place the university's former emblem on the banner should be attributed to Rector Szweykowski. He had already interpreted the regulations regarding insignia for employees of the Commission in such a way that he came up with a design for a chain that consisted of links ornamented with images of eagles. He could therefore – hypothetically – have interpreted the order to make the banner in such a way as to include the university's emblem on the reverse. However, it was sewn three years after the use of the White Eagle had been abolished at the university. Furthermore, no information can be found in the sources to verify the appearance of this side of the banner.

Moreover, Bieliński, who gives the exact cost and the materials used to make this banner, makes absolutely no mention of an eagle.²⁶⁴ He knew of these details from the document that Szweykowski presented to the Commission as ‘liquidation of costs’, i.e. a request for a refund of money spent, so it was in the rector’s interest to state all the costs. The bill for making the banner listed the following: a piece of sapphire silk fabric, galloon (the ornamental braid with which the image was framed – a larger and a smaller one), nails with gilded heads, a flagpole with a pommel. The most expensive item was the gilding of the arabesques on either side of the banner (468 zlotys), while the painting by Professor Antoni Blank²⁶⁵ cost 180 zlotys. The bill does not mention embroidery or any reproduction of the emblem on the reverse side of the banner, but it can be assumed that displaying an image of the eagle on it would have been rather costly.²⁶⁶ It is also difficult to believe that the central space of this side of the banner was left blank. There is only mention of the arabesques, which were applied in gold paint and whose existence on both panels, the obverse and the reverse, is confirmed by photographs. So what was depicted on the reverse? Janowski’s account could possibly provide a rational interpretation of the ‘liquidation of costs’. The composition consisting of five gilded stars in a laurel wreath could have been included in the bill under ‘arabesques’. The task was most likely commissioned to one contractor, who completed it using one technique and the same material – paint with gold pigment, and charged a single payment for everything. The outlining of the stars and laurels was no more difficult than painting arabesques in the form of palm leaves and floral motifs. The same can be said of the lettering, although there are some reservations about the inscription, which shall be elaborated upon below. Depicting the outline of an eagle would have been much more difficult and would most probably have been included as a separate item.²⁶⁷

It cannot be said that Wawrykowa simply made a mistake; Janowski’s recollections also give rise to many doubts. Apart from the banner, he describes the gold award medal. Aside from the seals, this is the only object on which there most probably was an image of the university’s original emblem, so its appearance should be analysed in the context of Janowski’s description. The obverse of the 1819 medal was struck with the original university emblem – an eagle – and the legend: ‘Universitas Literarum Regia Varsaviensis’, while the reverse featured palm leaves and the legend: ‘De palma summas contendite vires’. In his recollections, Janowski gave a brief description of the medal’s appearance; there was

²⁶⁴ This fact was brought to my attention by Dr Adam Tyszkiewicz, who wrote a doctoral thesis on the history of ceremonial at the University of Warsaw. A. Tyszkiewicz, ‘Potestas et dignitas. Ceremonia na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim do 1939 r.’. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 417.

²⁶⁵ Antoni Blank (1785–1844), portrait painter, professor at the Royal University of Warsaw, conservator of the collection of plaster casts.

²⁶⁶ Information about such embroidery is given by Zygmunt Robel: ‘on the other side, the silver embroidery of the university emblem dating from 1816’, in an unpublished study on university insignia. This information does not seem credible since there is no given source, and Robel himself probably did not see the banner – he was a graduate of the university in Lwów, and in the interwar period worked in the Silesian Administrative Offices in Katowice. He only became a secretary at the University of Warsaw after the Second World War. His study draws information primarily from Bieliński, in an uncritical manner. RP MUW/889/1-99, Z. Robel, *Insignia Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (1816–1960)*, Warsaw 1961, p. 23, TS.

²⁶⁷ I would like to thank Aleksandra Wróbel of the Museum of Polish History for her kind help in analysing how the materials were used.

²⁶⁸ J.N. Janowski, *Notatki...*, p. 78.

²⁶⁹ In his description of the award medal, Janowski recalls all the words in the legend, but writes them inaccurately. On the obverse, he abbreviates the word 'Literarum', and writes the adjective for 'warszawski' in Latin as 'Varsovie'. On the reverse, he rearranges the word order: 'Summas de palma contendite vires' (instead of 'De palma summas contendite vires'), i.e. 'Exert all your strength to win!'. Ibid., fn. 2. The legend paraphrased a saying used by Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus) in *De Rerum Natura Libri Sex*, vol. 1, Book 4, v. 989: 'et quasi de palma summas contendere viris aut quasi carceribus patefactis'.

²⁷⁰ Edward Raczyński cites the collection of the Cabinet of Coins and Medals of the Royal University of Warsaw to indicate a similar practice with regard to the medal, which also featured an image of a palm leaf, although it referred to the time of King Jan III Sobieski. E. Raczyński, *Gabinet medalów polskich oraz tych, które się dziejów Polski tyczą*, vol. 2, Berlin 1845, p. 286, no. 207.

evidently no eagle on the obverse. According to him, there was 'the University's coat of arms, i.e. five stars surrounded by a laurel wreath', signifying the five faculties, as well as the aforementioned inscriptions.²⁶⁸ It is surprising that Janowski remembered the minor details on the obverse but did not mention the eagle – which would have been the most important and most striking feature. The fact that his memory failed him, while plausible, nevertheless seems rather unconvincing. He would sooner have forgotten the wording of the inscription surrounding the palm leaves on the reverse than the eagle.²⁶⁹ Moreover, there was no laurel wreath on the award medal – which according to him was depicted on the banner. From his entire description of this side of the medal, only the five stars tally.

In the light of this, it is worth considering whether these were simply mistakes or whether Janowski was describing a different version of the medal. Is it possible that the award medal was also modified after 1823, after the university's emblem had been removed from the seal?

In medal-making, there are known cases in which one of the dies of an old double-sided medal was used whereas the other was replaced by a new die to convey a new message.²⁷⁰ Theoretically, this could have occurred if, after removing



Fig. 33. Award medal of the University of Warsaw, print from: E. Tyszkiewicz, *Sammlung von Medaillen. Welche sich auf die Geschichte der Länder und Städte der ehemaligen Republik Polen beziehen und von ihrer ersten Theilung bis zum Tode des Kaisers Nicolaus I. geprägt sind 1772–1855*, Riga 1871, p. 115, no. 75

the emblem from the seal, the decision was taken to update the award medal in a similar fashion. Replacing the die featuring the emblem would have sufficed – which would explain Janowski's account.

Today there are no known surviving award medals which is an additional difficulty. They were introduced mainly as a form of scholarship for the best students. Their value was real – not purely symbolic. This is confirmed both by the wording of the regulations²⁷¹ and the value of the medals quoted in the sources – amounting to 400 zlotys (the larger one) and 200 zlotys (the smaller one) respectively – as well as the emphasis on the fact that they were made of gold.²⁷² Meanwhile, all the copies known today are made of a different material. The UW Museum has on display a copy made of tin from the collection of the Royal Castle in Warsaw,²⁷³ the National Museum in Warsaw has six copies, two of each minted of silver, bronze and tin,²⁷⁴ similarly, the National Museum in Kraków has copies struck in various metals, but not made of gold.²⁷⁵ The Hermitage's Cabinet of Coins and Medals has one silver award medal.²⁷⁶

Arguably, few students kept their hard-earned award as a memento. Janowski's medal was probably long gone by the time he wrote his memoirs. Poorer students sought to monetize the award because, firstly, these were the practical purposes for its establishment and obtaining it and, secondly, they would have had serious problems ensuring its safe storage. The sale or theft of a gold medal – unless it ended up as a collector's item – usually meant it was melted down to obtain the valuable bullion and to cover any traces of a crime. Only a small number of these medals were struck. Between 1819 and 1830, the plan was to have ten awards each year, two for each department. However, they were rarely all awarded,²⁷⁷ the unused ones were passed down to the following year,²⁷⁸

²⁷¹ '... Two prizes will be awarded. ... The value of the first prize will be four hundred zlotys, the second two hundred zlotys, in the form of gold medals.' J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 401.

²⁷² The same information, very similarly worded, as if transcribed from the same source, is given by Janowski, Bentkowski and the author of the article in the *Przyjaciel Ludu* weekly.

²⁷³ Copy of the award medal of the Royal University of Warsaw *De palma summas contendite vires*, ZKW.N.476. The originals most likely have not survived; however, copies of silver or tin made – also at the time – as collectors' items are kept in museums. I would like to thank Juliusz Zacher of the ZKW's Cabinet of Coins and Medals for this valuable information.

²⁷⁴ For information and comments on the medals, I would like to thank Danuta Miehle of the MNW's Cabinet of Coins and Medals.

²⁷⁵ The material was specified as a silver-coloured metal alloy: the larger MNK VII-MdP-1620 (51.4 mm), the smaller MNK VII-MdP-1622 (40.2 mm), and as bronze – MNK VII-MdP-1621 (41 mm).

²⁷⁶ Information obtained from the head of the cabinet Konstantin Kravtsov. I would like to thank Maya Bepalova for her kind assistance. According to Feliks Bentkowski's inventory, the Royal University of Warsaw's Cabinet of Coins and Medals contained two gold award medals, which, along with the entire collection, were confiscated and taken to Russia, and then most likely were in the Hermitage's collection. It is not known whether they were returned under the terms of the Treaty of Riga. Instead of being returned to the university, where the Cabinet of Coins and Medals had been reactivated, the collection went to the National Museum in Warsaw.

²⁷⁷ 'It was rare for all five faculties to award the medals designated for each year'. F. Bentkowski, *O nagrodach...*, fol. 109.

²⁷⁸ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 401–402, fn. 1.

from which it can be ascertained that about 100 originals were made.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ Medals were presented at the end of the academic year in July at a public meeting of the university (J.N. Janowski, *Notatki...*, p. 78). Since they were established in 1819, they were issued no more than 12 times until 1830, so there were no more than 110 copies. Those that were not awarded to students before the November Uprising were melted down in 1841 at the State Mint; these included seven larger and ten smaller ones. The decision was taken to keep one medal of each size, but it was possible to save four of them, which, according to Bieliński's account, ended up in the Government Library. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 405–406.

²⁸⁰ F. Bentkowski, *Spis...*, p. 230, items 860–861.

²⁸¹ 'The main page shows the coat of arms of the then university, that is the Polish eagle holding a laurel branch in its right talon, in its left a palm leaf, surrounded by five stars as emblems of the five university faculties.' F. Bentkowski, *O nagrodach...*, fol. 107.

²⁸² The drawings of the obverse and reverse of the medal in Bieliński's book were copied from this very work. He most likely never saw a copy of it but described it based on archival materials. Information on this medal is very sparse compared to the description of other coins and medals struck for the university. E. Tyszkiewicz, *Sammlung...*, pp. 113–115, no. 75. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, insert after p. 396.

²⁸³ I would like to thank Danuta Michle for her advice when assessing the matrices.

²⁸⁴ In medal-making, there are known cases in which one of the dies of an old medal was used and a new die for the other side was made to obtain a double-sided medal conveying new content. Theoretically, this could have arisen if – after the emblem was removed from the seal – it was decided to update the award medal in a similar manner. In that case, only one of the dies would have had to be replaced – i.e. the one bearing the emblem – which would explain Janowski's account. However, there is no mention of any change to the design in the sources cited in the text, nor are there any such dies, original medals or copies. As a result this hypothesis should be rejected.

²⁸⁵ J.J., 'Opis historyczno-statystyczny...', no. 46, p. 363.

All the currently existing medals were made according to one design. There is no distinction between the versions made before and after 1823. The obverse featured the university's original emblem. The medal was described by Bentkowski, who, as dean of the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts, was involved in the process of its creation. The presence of the eagle is corroborated both by a list of Polish medals dating from 1830 in the University's Cabinet of Coins and Medals, which was managed by Bentkowski,²⁸⁰ and by his outline on the history of award medals in Poland²⁸¹ as well as by Eustachy Tyszkiewicz's work based on the collection of the Cabinet of Coins and Medals in the Hermitage.²⁸² On the other hand, the National Museum in Warsaw houses the original dies for striking medals that are on loan from the University of Warsaw, which are consistent in terms of their size and appearance with the medals described.²⁸³ There is no information in any of the sources about a medal without the emblem or about the obverse being modified after the removal of this symbol from the seal.²⁸⁴ Therefore this hypothesis should be rejected.

There is further testimony about the medal that highlights additional circumstances. In 1845, a monograph – in the form of a series of articles – devoted to the history of the Royal University of Warsaw was published in *Przyjaciel Ludu*. It included a reference to a prize for students. According to this source, there was to be a 'coat of arms' on the obverse (no further details were given), while on the reverse there was to be the aforementioned inscription surrounded by palm leaves and laurel branches.²⁸⁵ Meanwhile, according to known descriptions and drawings, the arrangement of the components on the reverse was the opposite: the legend surrounded centrally positioned palm leaves, and there were no laurel branches. In this instance the source of the discrepancy is easily identifiable – the author of the article made use of the directive of the Commission establishing the award (or another source quoting it) instead of an actual medal when writing the text. The third point of the directive reads: 'the said medals drawn up in such a manner, shall exhibit on one side the coat of arms of



Fig. 34. Lecture hall of the Main School in Warsaw in the Auditorium Building, drawing: W. Gerson; engr.: Walter, *Kłosy* 1867

the university, on the other side the inscription: “de palma summas contendite vires”, surrounded by palm leaves and laurel branches.”²⁸⁶

To recapitulate, it can only be assumed that Janowski, when writing his memoirs years later, did not exactly remember what the banner and medal looked like. It was not simply a case of forgetting one or two minor details but it would seem that in his memory he had fused the two images – the reverse of the banner and the obverse of the medal – into a single image of the coat of arms. He remembered the inscription on the medal, and the five stars in a laurel wreath on the cloth of the banner, which he repeated when describing the two aforementioned objects.

²⁸⁶ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 401, fn. 1.

Despite all the doubts presented herein, it is possible to draw one important conclusion from Janowski's accounts and those in *Przyjaciel Ludu*. The university's most significant symbolic elements were the five golden stars in a golden laurel wreath. These signs and the palm leaf symbol recur in varying configurations – on the clothing of the rector, the deans and professors, on the university's seal before and after the change of emblem, on the student buttons, on the medal – and are always the same despite the differences in accounts. This leads to the conclusion that it was these very images that constituted the essential symbols of the university's identity after the university was deprived of the ability to use the seal with the original emblem. The five stars, the laurel leaves or wreaths and palm leaves were not the university's official emblem, but they were undoubtedly intuitively chosen signs of its identity. Of these, the symbols of the original five faculties in particular long remained a clear point of reference in the academic community. When the university was reactivated as the Main School, the decision was taken to rebuild the main lecture hall in the Auditorium Building, which became the Assembly Hall. Among the new elements of this interior the most striking was the plafond, 'in the midst of which the background of the sky with the sun and five stars – which are the symbols of the five faculties of the former Alexander University – shines brightly',²⁸⁷ reported *Dziennik Warszawski* with evident satisfaction when writing about progress of work at the newly-opened university. Kuczyński called it 'a tentative attempt to allude to the traditions of the university',²⁸⁸ however it should be noted that these symbols were still remembered more than thirty years after its closure, even though they were never very visible in the urban space. They must therefore have lived on in memory, in stories, in family heirlooms – in the form of diplomas authenticated with the seals, and also (although far less common) on award medals. The five stars were a symbol accepted by the partitioning governments, but which, nevertheless, were not bereft of their value as a mark of national pride for Polish society. ●

²⁸⁷ 'Sala posiedzeń szkoły głównej', *Dziennik Warszawski* 1865, no. 272, p. 2728. Cf. S. Kieniewicz, 'Akademia Medyko-Chirurgiczna i Szkoła Główna (1857–1869)', in: *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1807–1915*, ed. S. Kieniewicz, Warsaw 1981, p. 274.

²⁸⁸ S.K. Kuczyński, 'Godło...', p. 134.

XIV. Seal of the Commission with an image of the White Eagle on a document appointing Juliusz Kolberg a university professor, 30 January 1819, property of the Kolberg family, on loan to the O. Kolberg Museum in Przysucha, photo: Z. Słomski

czajnym Miernictwa praktycznego i topogra-
fii w oddziale sztuk piśmnych Królewskiego
Uniwersytetu z pensją etatową, i do pełnie-
szenia właściwych obowiązków, niniejszym
uczu.

W Warszawie dnia 30 lipca
Minister Prezydencyjny



Patent.

da J. P. Juliusza Kolberg
na Profesora Miernictwa praktycznego
i topograficznych rysunków w oddziale
sztuk piśmnych Królewsko Warszawskiego
Uniwersytetu.

Summary

In the historiography to date, little consideration has been given to the emblem of the University of Warsaw, regarding it as a fairly obvious symbol of the university's tradition. The symbol's history was usually interwoven into a narrative focusing on the theme of independence which, on the one hand, made it possible to understand the most important aspects of the issue while also leading to a situation in which other aspects of the emblem remained outside the scope of discussion. The aforementioned analyses were therefore aimed at acquiring a better understanding of the context in which the emblem was established and later removed, the perception of the emblem as a whole, as a collection of individual elements, but also connecting the intangible symbol to concrete objects, which are the surviving seals from the earliest years of the university's existence.

The emblem was inextricably linked to the university's seal. It was designed as an image to be placed on the seal; this was its primary function and probably the only one originally intended. On 4 November 1817, a design with a symbol depicting the 'former Polish eagle' was submitted to the viceroy of the Congress Kingdom by the Commission for Religion and Public Education. However, this project was not the only one that was considered. The Administrative Council suggested placing the imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom on the seal, while the University's General Council submitted a proposal for an eagle from Niemcewicz's *Śpiewy...* Each of the competing designs had their strong points justified by specific premises and connotations.

In the end, the viceroy approved the Commission's draft of 4 November, which depicted the eagle in its traditional guise – in a neoclassical form. This was probably due to the strong position of Minister Potocki, who headed the Commission, and who we can surmise was most probably the main author of the design. Tradition also favoured this version. The White Eagle in its current form appeared on the seals of the institutions that immediately preceded the university: the School of Medicine and the General Council, and the sculpture of this bird surmounted the Kazimierzowski Palace as the patron of the School of Chivalry.

However, the most important reason for establishing the university emblem in the form of the White Eagle is that the Commission for Religion and Public Education itself used the former symbol of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland until 1822. Although this was not in line with the rules of the state, whose administration used the imperial and royal emblem; it was an expression of a special privilege accorded to the department headed by Potocki. The university was directly and unquestionably subordinated to the Commission, dependent on it for financial settlements, appointments of lecturers and staff, for the acquisition of scientific and artistic collections, its premises and the construction of buildings. The university was one of the greatest accomplishments of Potocki's educational policy – his crowning achievement in this field. Most likely this is why he believed that the university should bear an emblem similar in appearance to the seal of the Commission, and differentiated from the emblems of other authorities and institutions in the Congress Kingdom. Its form was foreshadowed by the seal of the General Council, but the symbolic figure of the White Eagle was enhanced with palm leaves and laurel branches, elements traditionally associated with toil and victory. The image of the bird was surrounded by five stars, reflecting the five existing faculties. These additional elements remained as the main signs of the university's identity when, in 1822, the authorities of the Congress Kingdom demanded that the image on the seal be changed. ●



XV. Seal matrix of the Royal
University of Warsaw
for use with ink, 1823 design,
UW Museum,
photo: M. Bogacki

Cameo matrices have a drawing
made in relief on one plane, which
produces a clear ink impression.

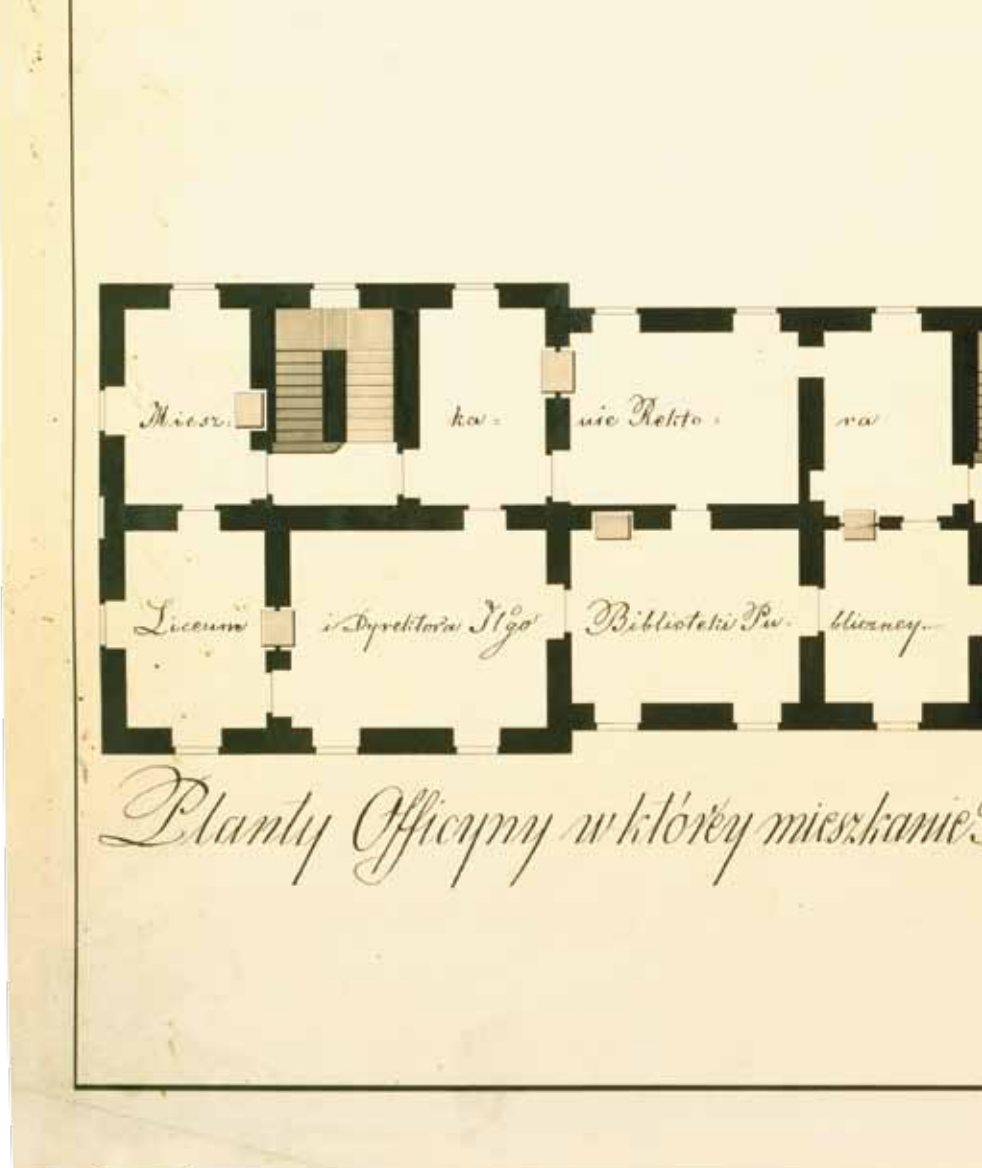
CLASSIFICATION OF SEALS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW IN THE YEARS 1817–1831

In the literature published to date, the university's seals have been described based largely on written accounts. Here, both Bieliński and the university's statutes were important sources. It is surprising that even when referring to older works illustrated with photographs of the seals and their impressions, scholars were more inclined to use these descriptions rather than form their own opinions based on a first-hand examination of the artefacts in the museums and archives. This trend is likely to change due to the rapidly developing digitization of collections and resources. Digitization greatly facilitates access to the content and appearance of official records, yet at the same time physically distances scholars from first-hand contact with the objects, thereby preventing them from identifying their other characteristics. Therefore, posting images of artefacts online should not be a justification for a total ban on making them available in reading rooms.

The purpose of this chapter is to propose a hierarchy by which to classify the university's seals and reconstruct the sigillographic system of the university, based on available information. However – as in the previous chapter concerning the establishment of the emblem – our knowledge is incomplete and the information found in sources and studies is contradictory. Seal impressions can be found on a variety of documents – either attached with the use of sealing wax, ink or embossed using wax applied to the original document with a small piece of paper – a wafer – placed over it. The external features of the seals and the techniques for making impressions using the preserved seals differ. The university's chancellery did not have a detailed manual to standardize the way in which they were used. The three surviving sets according to the 1817, 1823, and 1830 designs are greatly depleted. Although many are missing, it would also appear that some of the surviving matrices are duplicated.

An examination of the seals and known impressions housed in the museum suggests that the chancellery used them according to rules that included a hierarchical order. The classification of the seals by size – which was associated with the extent of their legal force – was one of the traditional classifications in the former royal chanceries, which by the early nineteenth century had begun to take the form of a highly codified order. This was associated with the administrative developments taking place in European states, with Prussia at the forefront – and within whose borders Warsaw was situated until 1806. Paweł Gut notes that in January 1817, the same year as the establishment of the university's seal,

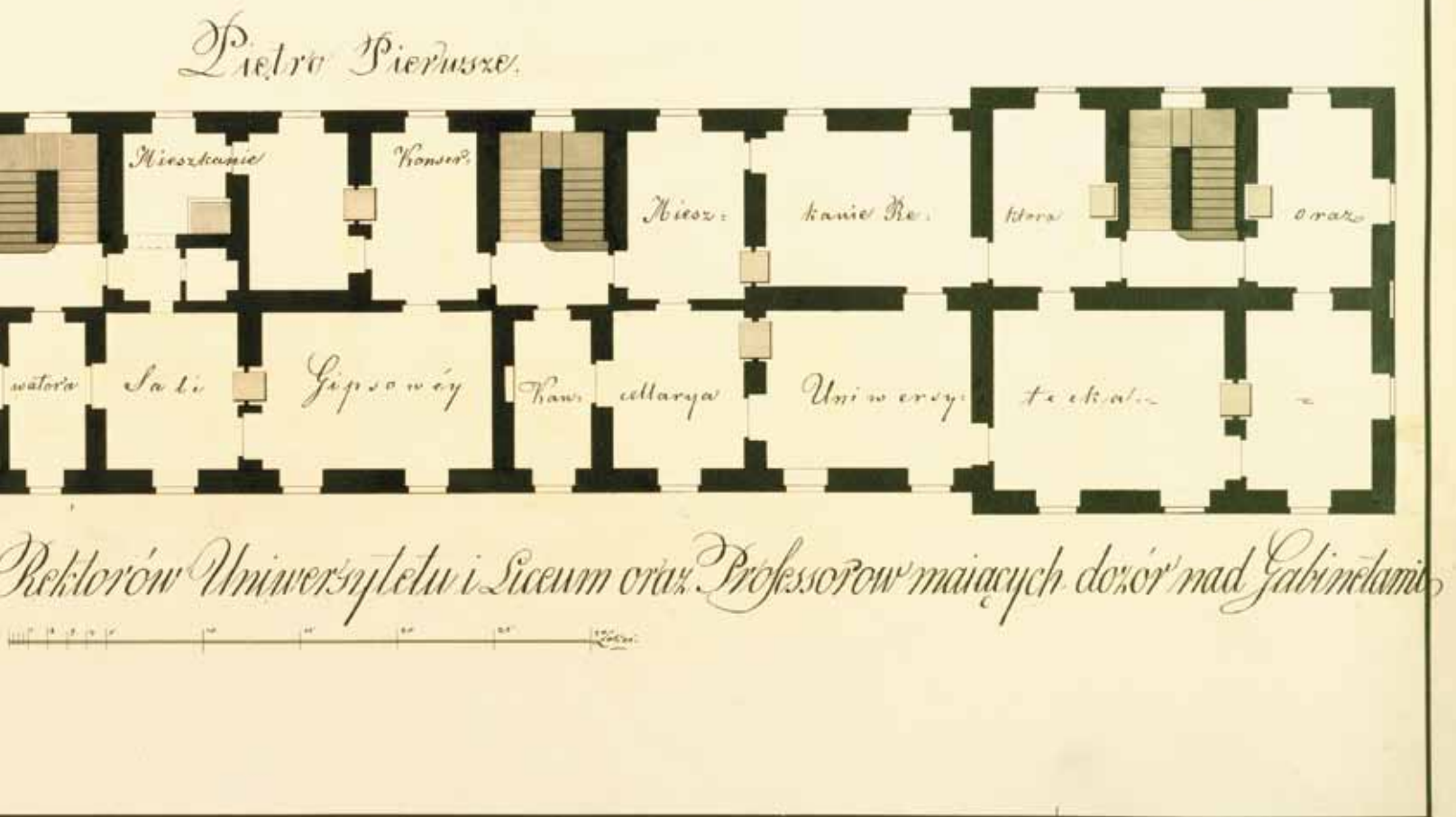
XVI. Residential annexe of the Kazimierzowski Palace, where the university chancellery was located next to the apartment of the UW rector. The meetings of the General Council of the university were held in the apartment of the rector of the Warsaw Lyceum, drawing: J. Tańkowski, 1827, AGAD



the Prussian chancellor issued an edict specifically regulating the use of different versions of the royal coat of arms on seals by the state administration.²⁸⁹ Their diameter and the degree of complexity of the device on the seal correlated with the prestige of the office as well as the legal force of the document being issued. The seals used in the state administration of the Congress Kingdom also had a hierarchical order, so it can be assumed that a similar system was planned for the University of Warsaw. Since there is no known direct source standardizing the use of the individual seals, we can only try to reconstruct this classification.

To forestall any further reflection, which would require a detailed examination of too many ambiguities, this chapter begins with a hypothetical presentation of an already recognized system used to classify the seals of the Royal University of Warsaw based on the 1817 design. The goal of any subsequent research will be to elaborate upon this hypothesis and prove its validity. All known information will be taken into account, pointing out the inconsistencies, identifying any areas that are obscure due to the lack of documentary evidence, and highlighting all arguments in support of our hypothesis.

²⁸⁹ P. Gut, 'System...', pp. 498–499.



The discussion is preceded with one further clarification to avoid any unnecessary misunderstandings. Although the date ‘1816’ appears on the matrices of the oldest seals, this date refers to the founding of the university, not the establishment of the emblem. The emblem and design of the seal were approved by the viceroy in 1817, therefore the first set of seals is referred to as being made according to the 1817 design. The die sinkers did not complete their work until the following year, so the year 1818 is given as the date of manufacture. In this sense, the term ‘seals dating from 1818’ is justified. ●



XVII. Three seal matrices from the collection of the UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

The incomplete set of preserved matrices consists of artefacts that have common and distinct features. It is possible to reconstruct the university's classification system by analysing them.

Classification criteria

Our suggestion is to classify the university's seals based on two criteria. Firstly, they should be categorized according to the person using them. Secondly, attention should be paid to the technique and size of the impression, because these factors are related to the seal's legal force. This will make it possible to distinguish the seals according to their place in the hierarchy – from the most important to the least important.

The first criterion enables a fairly straightforward and easily identifiable division. The seals of the university's main chancellery bore an image of the emblem with five stars. These were used on documents pertaining to the university as an institution. They were countersigned by the rector or secretary and could also bear signatures of other individuals. The emblems on the seals used by the individual faculties bore only a single star symbolizing that particular faculty, so the emblem was considered to be depleted.²⁹⁰ This star was placed above the eagle's head. The dean put his signature next to it. The third group consisted of seals of the various entities that made up the university – in this instance,

²⁹⁰ It should be noted that other universities adopted faculty seals with unique features. At the universities in Lwów and Kraków a personification of the given faculty was added to the multi-field coat of arms which functioned as a supporter (in Kraków the faculties of law and medicine, in Lwów all four). Z. Piech, 'Znaki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego jako system', in: *Znaki i symbole w przestrzeni publicznej. Od średniowiecza do czasów współczesnych*, ed. A. Jaworska, R. Jop, K. Madejska, Warsaw 2016, pp. 57–58.



Fig. 35. Seal matrices from the university collection, photo: M. Bogacki

the device on the seal consisted of the emblem devoid of any stars. The oldest set of seals, made according to the 1817 design, is represented by a seal for use with sealing wax made for the Botanic Garden. Later, a seal was ordered for the Cabinet of Coins and Medals, but this was after the device on the seal had been changed to the state emblem. There was another seal in general use by the university which bore an emblem with five stars and was used to prevent tampering with outgoing correspondence.

The second criterion concerns the hierarchical division of seals according to their legal force. The different sizes and techniques used for making the seal impressions corresponded to their rank in the classification. In the main chancellery the great seal was a wafer seal (embossed into a flour and water mass called a sealing wafer), the intermediate seal was pressed in sealing wax, whereas the small seal was stamped using ink (possibly also soot). These three types were used to authenticate documents and confirm their legal status.

²⁹¹ M. Wawrykowa, 'Uniwersytet Warszawski...', pp. 76–78.

²⁹² Regrettably, the quoted passage is rather awkward. Both the information concerning documents authenticated with the seal and the division into a small and a large seal require comment. The Commission's proposed design for the seal was obviously approved before 17 November, most likely on the 15th of that month. A wrong letter used in the wording of the legend (it should be 'Sigillum Universitatis Regiae Varsaviensis MDCCCXVI', 'a' instead of 'o') seems to be an error not worth mentioning, but it could result in difficulty in finding the seals in digital catalogues. In the post-war nomenclature, the adjective 'Varsoviensis' was used in the name of the university, whereas 'Varsaviensis' was used in the first half of the 19th century. The term 'emblem' would have been more correct than 'coat of arms'. This quotation is cited in works of similar importance, such as: A. Winiarz, *Szkolnictwo...*, p. 509; M. Bogacz, *Akademicy Warszawy. Z dziejów organizacji studenckich w XIX w.*, Warsaw 1960, p. 27.

The division of the faculty seals was similar to the system used in the main chancellery. The key difference was that only the Faculty of Medicine had its own great seal that was embossed into a sealing wafer. All the faculties had an intermediate seal for use with sealing wax and a small seal for use with ink or sealing wax.

The classification presented herein is an attempt to systematize the information found in the archives and an examination of the seals and impressions in the context of the content and importance of the documents on which they appear.

When studying the history of the university, scholars have usually used the work of Maria Wawrykowa, who wrote: 'the chancellery affixed a seal "Sigillum Universitatis Regiae Varsoviensis [sic – note by K.M.] MDCCCXVI", either large or small, approved on 17 November 1817 by the viceroy, and depicting the coat of arms of the university on all documents and letters'.²⁹¹ Her work has undoubtedly greatly contributed to what is known of the university's history, and resulted in a compendium which, for years, has served as a valuable and accessible monograph on the Royal University of Warsaw. When we refer to some inaccuracies in the fragment of her publication concerning seals, it is simply because her work was cited and became a source of knowledge for later scholars.²⁹²



Fig. 36. Seal matrix of the University chancellery for use with ink, 1818. The legend on the rim is not exactly the same as the text of the Commission's draft approved by the viceroy, and as recorded in publications on the history of the University of Warsaw, photo: M. Bogacki

When writing these words, Wawrykowa most likely placed trust in the provisional statute of the University signed by Potocki on 15 April 1818 – in paragraph 231, one of the duties of the secretary of the university's chancellery is mentioned as: 'custodian of the smaller seal and the larger seal of the university, for the use of which he is responsible'.²⁹³ The use of the word 'seal' in the singular suggested that we were dealing with a matrix with the same or at least similar content, but in more and less formal versions. However, just a cursory look at the surviving seals or their impressions on documents shows that there were many more types of matrices than just two: i.e. a smaller and a larger one. In addition, they were only used on some of the documents prepared by the chancellery, certainly not on 'all' of them. From the surviving artefacts it can be concluded that diplomas, student identity documents and certificates were authenticated in this way, and seals were also used on envelopes to prevent tampering with them. However, the contents of outgoing correspondence were not sealed. The list of discrepancies between the historiographic sources and conclusions drawn from a first-hand examination of the artefacts concerns not only the wording of the statute and Wawrykowa's work but also a technically important issue regarding the draft version of the inscription that was to appear on the seal and which the Commission submitted to the viceroy on 4 November 1817. None of the surviving stamps bears a legend with the exact wording quoted by Bieliński: 'Sigillum Universitatis

²⁹³ 'Tymczasowe Urządzenie...', para. 231. This paragraph is repeated without any changes in the draft statute of the Royal University of Warsaw: *Projekt do Statutu Uniwersytetu Królewskiego w Warszawie*, Warsaw 1821, p. 46.

Regiae Varsaviensis MDCCCXVI'. The matrices bear legends that were minimally redacted. So why the difference?

Bieliński's account sheds much more light on the subject of university seals than does the statute. He most likely used documents concerning the actual orders placed for the matrices, which reflected the final work more accurately than the 'internal regulations' which put forward concepts for the organization of the chancellery. According to Bieliński, after the viceroy had approved the Commission's design, the Council proceeded to have an entire set of seals made. The list began with a matrix for the 'great seal with a screw and a wooden handle', followed by matrices for the small seal for making impressions in some type of malleable material, the small seal for postal purposes and the intermediate seal for use with sealing wax – all with 'five stars'.²⁹⁴ Bieliński then listed the seals designated for the university's faculties and the director of the Botanic Garden.

²⁹⁴ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 402–403.

²⁹⁵ This topic deserves a separate study. The term 'universitas litterarum' was associated with the university in Berlin organized by Wilhelm von Humboldt and the freedom of learning. Was the draft version of the inscription intended to distance itself from this idea by restricting itself to the use of the one word 'universitas', while the seals made for the University Council bore the name 'universitas litterarum' (with one 't')? There may have been a more mundane reason for this redaction: that the shorter legend made it possible to avoid a clumsy abbreviation on the rim of the most important seal? The very word denoting the university was not neutral in terms of the message it conveyed. As the government in the Congress Kingdom of Poland began leaning more and more towards conservatism, the Reform Committee was set up to eliminate the already limited autonomy of the universities. 'Indeed, already in the first months of its activities, consideration began to be given to abandoning the word "university" and replacing it with another term. There was agreement among the members of the Committee that the word "university" was associated with the concept of independence, which at the time had revolutionary and anarchic connotations.' A. Winiarz, *Szkolnictwo...*, p. 511; cf. M. Manteuffel, *J.K. Szaniawski. Ideologia i działalność 1815–1839*, Warsaw 1936, pp. 93–94.

This explains why there are so many matrices. The statute did not mention all of them and did not include those of the faculties and other entities. It also explains why the inscriptions on the matrices varied in relation to the wording approved by the viceroy. This matter is easily resolved except for one detail. Since the seals belonged to different faculties and university entities, this was reflected in the redaction of the inscriptions. This dissimilarity was also taken into account in the legends. The problem, however, lies in the transcription of the word for university in Latin. In the Commission's draft, it is a single word 'Universitas', whereas all the surviving seals dating from 1817 and all the known matrices and seals from later years that were in use before the November Uprising use the term 'Universitas Litterarum' or an abbreviated version of it. The question therefore is why was the Commission's draft modified and was the name change purely editorial or perhaps more ideological?²⁹⁵

The first step towards clarifying these issues is to concede that Bieliński's account is not accurate. Both his terminology and brief chronology of events create confusion. He probably did not consider this important, as he had a sizeable amount of source materials from the Education Archives, and possibly a larger number of seals. Meanwhile, the now fragmentarily preserved sources require the reconstruction of things that may have

seemed obvious to Bieliński.²⁹⁶ It appears he did not list all the seals that were made – because his account lacks some of the surviving artefacts from this set which are now in the UW Museum. Moreover, when Bieliński's information is compared with the minutes of the General Council, it transpires that the decision to make the seals was taken in two stages not one, which is a notable difference. Firstly, on 15 November 1817, an order was received from the Commission to make one – the most important – matrix according to a design approved by the viceroy.²⁹⁷ Then, on 29 November, the Council decided independently to order individual seals for each faculty.²⁹⁸ This can be explained by the fact that while the selection of the seal emblem for the university lay within the competence of the Commission and was subject to approval by the viceroy, the decision to make further seals for the faculties and university entities according to the approved design was an internal matter for the school. As a result, only the seal made based on the Commission's order bore an inscription in accordance with the design and had the word 'Universitas' on it. All the other seals in the oldest set, containing the term 'Universitas Literarum', were made based on the Council's decision of 29 November.

A more serious issue is that Bieliński presented a hierarchy for the seals which differed from that set out in the statute. According to the latter, it was a two-tier classification: a smaller seal and a larger seal. Bieliński, however, divided the categories of authentication into three types – the great seal, the intermediate seal and two small seals. The lack of absolute consistency between Bieliński's account and the type of seals preserved raises additional doubts. Is it possible to determine which of the given classifications was actually used? Do the highlighted differences prove that the messages they convey are contradictory, or can they be explained and reconciled? In our opinion, these discrepancies result primarily from the different nature of each of the three sources: the draft of a legal act, a historian's concise account, and a detailed analysis of the artefacts. ●

²⁹⁶ At this point, it should be remembered that Bieliński spent many years researching archival materials related to the University of Warsaw, and in the period 1915–1926 managed these archives.

²⁹⁷ 'The decree of the Government Commission for Religion and Public Education regarding a seal for the university was read out, and the Council instructed the deputy secretary to have the seal made forthwith', *Księga protokołów...*, p. 72.

²⁹⁸ 'The Council decided that all faculties of the Royal University of Warsaw should have separate seals with appropriate inscriptions, which should depict a Polish eagle with upraised wings and one star above the crown of the eagle's head', *Księga protokołów...*, p. 76.

XVIII. Matrix of the small seal
of the Royal University of Warsaw,
1817 design, UW Museum,
photo: M. Bogacki

This was the most common seal used
by the university's secretary
between 1818 and 1823.



Hierarchy of the seals according to the 1817 design

The division into smaller and larger seals outlined in the statute was most probably taken from the statute of the University of Kraków, which contains a very similar passage.²⁹⁹ This division showed – albeit in a very simplified manner – the actual hierarchy used for authenticating documents at the University of Warsaw. The entry in the statute was neither the result of error nor carelessness but instead was a manifestation of the chancellery’s very practical and flexible approach to the system. This was because it included only the most important – from the point of view of their legal force – division of the seals, allowing it to be supplemented at a later date with additional less important components not mentioned in the ‘internal regulations’. Indeed, as the university evolved, new or specific needs to authenticate documents may have emerged or existing ones may have fallen into disuse. It would have been difficult to include them in the statute each time since it was understood that this document should each time be approved with the personal signature of the founding monarch himself. The ‘internal regulations’ were therefore drafted to be able to distinguish between the authentication of documents of the greatest importance, and all others. The seals reflected this arrangement as follows: the great seal was used to authenticate the most important documents, and in all other cases seals which, according to the statute, fell into the second category were used – i.e. the small seal.

The most important legal activity performed by the university was the issuing of diplomas, i.e. the formal recognition of the qualifications of graduates in the fields of law and administration, medicine, sciences and humanities and the fine arts. From the point of view of the state – which was in dire need of new human resources – issuing diplomas was one of the most important reasons for the existence of the university and the costs incurred. For this reason, the great seal was reserved as the only seal for diplomas conferring degrees. On the other hand, documents such as certificates for the authorities and other purposes were endorsed by the university with the lower-ranked seals used with sealing wax or ink.

Only the **university’s great seal** was made exactly according to the design provided by the Commission. It can be found on master’s degrees awarded by the university, but it was also used to authenticate doctoral degrees³⁰⁰ and for

²⁹⁹ In the statutes of both universities, information concerning the seal is included in the section on the duties of the chief secretary: ‘h) He shall have in his custody the large and the small seal of the Main School’. A. Żeleńska-Chełkowska, *Inwentarz akt senatu i władz nadrzędnych oraz wydziałów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1796–1849*, Kraków 1962, pp. 3–33.

³⁰⁰ Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (National Archives in Kraków; further: ANK), Collection of parchment documents, 29/657/0/-/1096. A doctoral diploma in philosophy and medicine awarded to Michelangelo Bergonzoni on 12 November 1818 and a doctoral diploma awarded to Juliusz Kolberg dated 12 July 1820, Muzeum im. O. Kolberga w Przysusze (O. Kolberg Museum in Przysucha), inv. no. MOK/D 8, are authenticated with great seals. A sufficient number of master’s diplomas have survived to confirm they were without doubt authenticated with the great seal. Doctoral diplomas were very rare. *Przyjacieł Ludu* gives a provision that appears to be a repetition of one of the provisions in the regulations, but without specifying the rank of the seal: ‘The doctoral diploma, printed in Latin, states the subjects for which it is received, confirmed by the signatures of the rector, the deans, the professors, the secretary of the faculty, and the seal of the university’. J.J., ‘Opis historyczno-statystyczny...’, no. 46, p. 362. The elite role of the doctorates was acknowledged in the University’s annual publication, noting the award of the degree of Doctor of Law to Romuald Hube (1803–1890). ‘Posiedzenie publiczne Królewskiego Uniwersytetu na pamiątkę założenia jego przy rozpoczęciu nowego kursu nauk odbyte dnia 16 września 1829 roku’, pp. 5–6.

³⁰¹ ANK, Collection of parchment documents, 29/657/0/-/1021, Diploma, authenticated with the great seal, confirming the renewal of a Doctorate in Medicine for Jerzy Christian Arnold (1747–1827) on the occasion of his 50 years of medical activity, issued on 18 December 1819.

³⁰² RP MUW/659.

³⁰³ BJ, Rkp. Dypl. 182.

³⁰⁴ In Polish tradition it is customary to use the expression 'great seal', and this is the nomenclature we have adopted in this work.

³⁰⁵ S.K. Kuczyński, 'Godło...', p. 132.

³⁰⁶ 'A seal press is a device consisting of a main plate, a handle or impact handle, usually built into the plate, and one or two screws or levers moved by hand. A carrier and seal material are placed on the plate and then a lever is moved with appropriate force, which lowers the seal and presses it in the wax paste ... or directly on the carrier, obtaining a dry impression'. *Opracowanie materiałów sfragistycznych...*, p. 133.

doctorate renewals.³⁰¹ No other use is known. The device on the seal is an emblem with a finely rendered, neoclassical White Eagle. Its silhouette is markedly different from the eagle on the other seals; it is more majestic, powerful, and the engraving very detailed; the seal itself is larger than the others. This device can be found on the master's diploma awarded to Ignacy Maciejowski, a law student, in 1822,³⁰² which is housed in the UW Museum. The Jagiellonian Library also has in its collection a master's diploma in theology awarded in the same year to Jan Stanisław Przybylski. The impression of the university's great seal has been preserved on it in a very legible form.³⁰³ The eagle holds a palm leaf and laurel branch in its talons. The university's emblem is surrounded by five stars. The seal's rank is confirmed by the wording of the last sentence of the diploma, which states that it is authenticated by the signature of the rector and the dean, as well as the 'sigillo majore Universitatis Literarum', the great seal of the university.³⁰⁴

The great seal differed from other impressions not only because of its size, the legend and the details on the emblem, but also the manner in which it was attached to the documents. The first of the seals mentioned by Bieliński, of a specific design – 'with a screw and a wooden handle' – was used for making the impression. Unfortunately, this seal has not survived to our times. Based on this description, Stefan Kuczyński assumed that this seal was used for 'embossing on paper'.³⁰⁵ This can be clarified by analysing the preserved seals. Some seals were embossed on paper using a technique that was widespread in the nineteenth century: a malleable material (usually sealing wax) was spread thinly on the face of the diploma, then covered with a previously moistened paper wafer and placed in the press. The seal pressed the paper and the malleable material beneath it together, forming the impression.³⁰⁶ The paper wafer of the university's great seal had fancifully shaped edges forming a floral ornament. The screw in the press allowed the paper to be pressed firmly against the underlying layer of wax so that a very striking concave-convex image of the seal was impressed on the surface of the paper. However, this was not a 'dry' embossed impression which uses a different kind of press which compresses the sheet of paper itself from above and below, leaving a visible imprint on both sides of the paper.

Fig. 37. Great seal of the university on a Master of Theology diploma issued to Jan Stanisław Przybylski in 1822, BJ

E.





Meanwhile, the university's wafer seal described herein, like the Government Commission seals of the time, was made using a malleable material. Their essential form was an impression in the malleable material, while the paper wafer protected the underlying sealing wax from damage.

The designation of the seal made using a paper wafer – the great seal – as the most important, rather than the one impressed in sealing wax (without the paper wafer), resulted from a similar practice adopted by the Government Commissions of the Congress Kingdom. Documents confirming legal status, which were signed by the minister himself, were authenticated with a seal using wax and a paper wafer. Such impressions



Fig. 38. Wafer seal of the Commission on Kazimierz Brodziński's nomination as permanent professor of the university dated 21 July 1826, UW Museum

can be found on documents nominating Kazimierz Brodziński and issued to the secretary and also professor by the Minister of the Commission Stanisław Grabowski. These documents are on display in the UW Museum's permanent exhibition.³⁰⁷ Seal impressions made using paper wafers and wax had been used by Polish monarchs for several previous centuries, alongside sealing wax and resin.³⁰⁸ These were deemed the most highly-ranked of seals since the time of the Duchy of Warsaw when legal documents were authenticated with the Great Seal of the State.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁷ Nomination of Kazimierz Brodziński as a permanent university professor, 21 July 1826, MUW 166/A/30. Nomination of Kazimierz Brodziński as professor councillor, 3 December 1829, MUW/606/32.

³⁰⁸ See *Pieczęcie królów i królowych polskich ze zbiorów Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych*, Warsaw 2015. Małgorzata Osiecka describes the following process: 'Until 1806, seals made using wax and sealing wax were in use, later wax and so-called wafer seals, impressed using wax and a paper wafer. From the 1820s onwards, instead of seals, one usually encounters a simple impression made by a matrix – at first using soot and later ink (administrative authorities)'. M. Osiecka, 'System...', p. 244. In the case of the University of Warsaw, the use of ink seals can be confirmed as early as in 1821 on student identification documents, but this seal was probably used as early as in 1818.

³⁰⁹ AGAD, Sejm Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego (Sejm of the Duchy of Warsaw and the Congress Kingdom of Poland), 1/182/0/-/4, fol. 15, great seal of the state on paper under a decree of King Frederick Augustus.



Fig. 39. Corroboration clause on the great seal on the diploma of Master of Both Laws (*utriusque juris*) issued to Józef Mystkowski, 1 October 1824, BJ



In opposition to the great seal (called the larger seal in the document), the statute mentioned the smaller seal. Both Bieliński's account and the conclusions drawn from an analysis of the seal and impressions suggest that the university chancellery used a more elaborate system to classify the seals, which also included intermediate and small seals. There is some doubt, however, as to the correctness of such nomenclature, since there is no known directive mentioning such a division. Nor is it possible to reconstruct the rank of the seals based on source materials dating from the time. Only the name 'great seal' is confirmed by the wording used on diplomas. In the case of other documents known to us: certificates and student identification documents, which were not authenticated with the great seal, the corroboration clause speaks of a *sigillum*, but does not specify to which type the impression below belongs.³¹⁰ However, such a situation does not preclude the use of consistent terminology indicating the size and rank of the seal. Contemporary scholars of sphragistics allow the use of the names: great seal, intermediate seal, and small seal in situations where there is no source-confirmed system of naming, but the order results from the perceptible characteristics of the seal, above all the size of the impression and/or its legal force.³¹¹

Based on an examination of the surviving artefacts, it seems reasonable to assume the following division for the seals of the main chancellery of the Royal University of Warsaw made according to the 1817 design.



³¹⁰ There is every reason to look for the name of the seal on the very document on which it was appended. The certificate issued in 1830 by the University of Vienna for Józef Ziemiański to confirm that he attends the first year of theological studies ends with a corroboration clause which uses the name 'small' seal ('sigillo minori ... testamur'). Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu (State Archives in Przemyśl), Akta rodziny Ziemiańskich (Documents relating to the Ziemiański family), 56/1914/0/3/11, fol. 2.

³¹¹ Such a system, established independently on the basis of the size of the seals and not their source-confirmed name (rank), is used, for example, by Jakub Bogulski in his discussion of the Sanguszkó seals. J. Bogulski, 'Pieczęcie herbowe książąt Sanguszków od XVI do XVIII wieku', in: *Dawne pieczęcie. Typologia – metody badań – interpretacje*, ed. Z. Piech, Warsaw 2015, pp. 470–472.

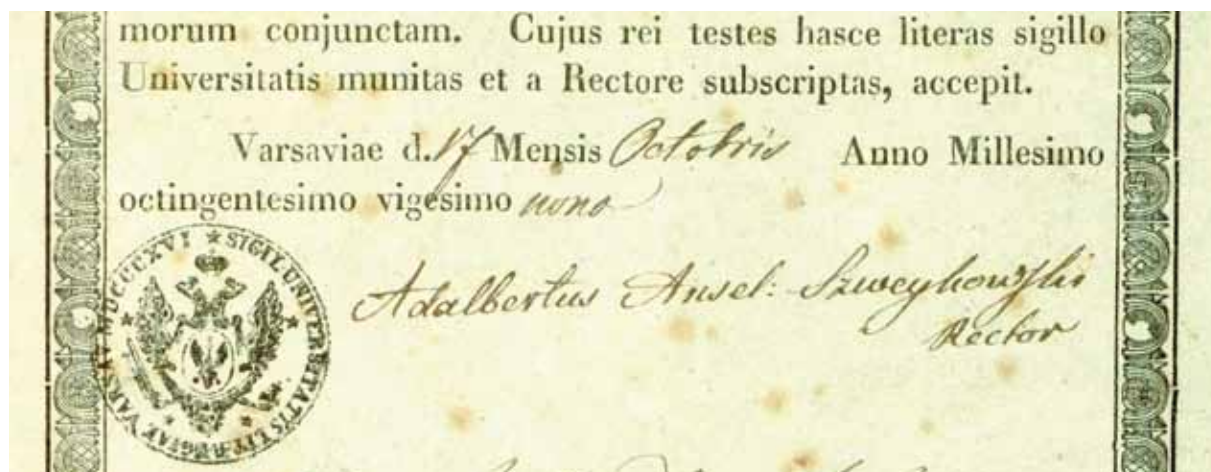


Fig. 40. Corroboration clause when using a university seal other than the great seal on a student identification document issued to Wincenty Ejnarowicz, 17 October 1829, UW Museum

The highest ranking with the greatest legal force was the great seal impressed in wax using a paper wafer with a matrix diameter of 70 mm. The second most important was the intermediate ink seal, which had a diameter of 42 mm.³¹² The small seal, on the other hand, will be the name used for an impression made using ink (or soot) with a diameter of 38 mm.

³¹² Information about the dimensions of the lost seal matrix for use with sealing wax is preserved on an inventory card at the MNW, inv. no. 12079. However, the impression of the great seal made with a press for use with paper wafers is an exception. It authenticates Juliusz Kolberg's doctoral diploma of 1820. It is not known why it was used in a different manner, but it was capable of leaving an impression directly in the sealing wax, without the use of a paper wafer.

In addition to the seals listed above, the university's chancellery used a letter seal with a diameter of 33 mm. Below is an example of their use, apart from the great seal, which has already been described.

Some caution is necessary when attempting to determine the classification rank of the seals for three reasons: firstly, due to the lack of direct confirmation of their names on documents, secondly, due to the scarcity of a source base, and thirdly, due to Bieliński's account, the wording of which is questionable. ●

XIX. An unusual example of the great seal impressed in sealing wax, one of the most beautiful surviving copies. It was used to authenticate a doctoral diploma awarded to Juliusz Kolberg dated 12 July 1820, property of the Kolberg family, on loan to the O. Kolberg Museum in Przysucha, photo: Z. Słomski



XX. Letter seal matrix, 1817 design,
UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

Three notches on the outer edge of the matrix facilitate the use of the seal and ensure that the matrix is applied with the eagle's head towards the top of the sheet of paper.



Intermediate, small and letter seals

The reservations voiced at the end of the previous section do not apply to the seal used with sealing wax, which Bieliński also identifies as ‘intermediate’. Unfortunately, the seal is not currently in the UW Museum,³¹³ nor are there any known impressions of the university’s **intermediate seal** on documents, although there is an existing impression of the seal of the Faculty of Law and Administration used with sealing wax. It came from the same set of seals and was used to authenticate a certificate given in 1822 by the dean, Jan Wincenty Bandtkie, to Aleksander Wielopolski – who in the 1860s was chairman of the Administrative Council.³¹⁴ It can therefore be assumed that the intermediate seal of the main chancellery used with sealing wax served a similar purpose, i.e. to authenticate certificates. It is possible that another, hitherto unknown impression of this seal is preserved somewhere in the archives or in a museum or library collection.

There are, however, doubts concerning the **small seal**, which, according to the hypothesis put forward herein, was an ink seal; there are many documents with impressions made with a stamp of this kind that still exist today. Bieliński classifies two matrices with ‘five stars’ from the main chancellery as being of this type. According to him, these are the small seal for use with ‘a malleable material’ and the small letter seal.³¹⁵ There are two concerns here. Firstly, it is unclear why he mentions the seal for use with ‘a malleable material’ yet does not mention the known ink impression. Secondly, why would the letter seal have been included in the hierarchy of the seals belonging to the main chancellery.

The small ink seal, which was part of a set made according to the 1817 design, has survived, and its use is extensively documented. Numerous impressions can be found on student identification documents, of which there are a considerable number in the Zamoyski family fonds.³¹⁶ These documents were issued on printed forms signed by the rector and the secretary, but their validity was determined by the presence of a seal.³¹⁷ This collection contains a rather large batch of such documents which were issued at the turn of September and October 1821. There was a blank space on the document so it could be renewed twice more – i.e. in December and April of the following year. These spaces were filled in and signed by the secretary, the Rev. Antoni Jacyna, on behalf

³¹³ The matrix of the intermediate seal has not survived, but was lost relatively recently, before 2015, before the return of the collection to the university from the National Museum in Warsaw, where the seals were on loan. However, it may still be found.

³¹⁴ It confirmed the fact that Wielopolski had studied at the university and had made progress in his studies: only a satisfactory grade in ancient history, but an excellent grade in the history and the institutions of Roman law, in the encyclopaedia of law and in natural law, and an excellent grade in philosophy. APK, AOM, 21/288/0/1/41, fol. 7.

³¹⁵ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 402–403.

³¹⁶ AGAD, AZam, 1/358/0/3146. The file contains documents (matriculations, i.e. confirming formal admission to the university) primarily from 1821 with the small ink seal of the 1817 design.

³¹⁷ ‘... student identification papers, whether signed by the rector or in absentia by the secretary, are valid as long as they bear the ordinary seal’. Excerpt from a proclamation of the Municipal Office of the Capital City of Warsaw to the rector of the university dated 20 April 1820. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 122–123.



Fig. 41. Small ink seal on a student identification document for Paweł Rodcewicz, student of the Faculty of Medicine, 12 October 1821, AGAD

³¹⁸ APK, AOM, 21/288/0/1/41, fol. 8, Certificate issued on 9 January 1822 by Rector Wojciech Szweykowski for Aleksander Wielopolski. This certificate was known to Bieliński – ‘included are some details from the university archives’ – who believed it had been issued for a foreign institution due to the use of Latin. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 3, p. 106.

of the rector. Next to each signature certifying the student was studying at the university is the small seal of the main chancellery. On the back of the sheet of paper, the professors wrote notes on attendance and the student’s progress, so it also served as a transcript of a student’s records.

Also, certificates concerning the students’ conduct were authenticated with an ink seal bearing five stars. This seal can be found on a letter in Latin written on a plain sheet of paper, without any imprint or header, signed by Rector Szweykowski. There is another certificate issued in 1822 for Aleksander Wielopolski.³¹⁸ A master’s diploma awarded to Tomasz

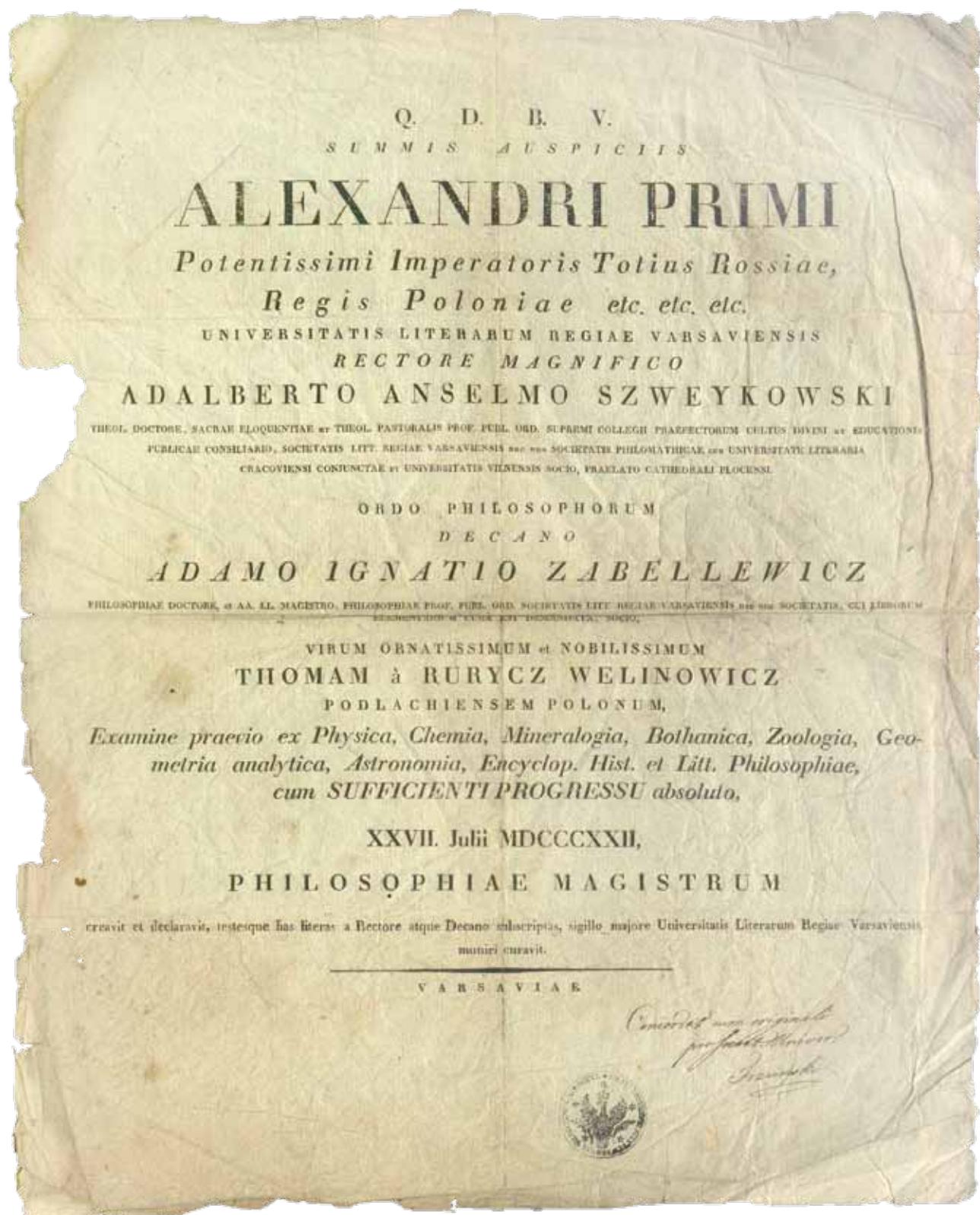


Fig. 42. Small ink seal, 1817 design, on a copy of Tomasz Welinowicz's master's diploma, APŁ

Welinowicz in 1822, and authenticated by the secretary, Józef Trzciński, also bore an ink seal.³¹⁹

³¹⁹ APŁ, ArB, 39/592/0/1.6/293, Authenticated copy of a Master of Philosophy diploma dated 27 July 1822 awarded to Tomasz Welinowicz. Józef Trzciński is listed as 'sekretarz expedytor' – postal secretary in *Rocznik Instytutów Religijnych i Edukacyjnych w Królestwie Polskiem* 1824, no. 1, p. 98.

³²⁰ On the majority of the certificates from the Zamoyski family fonds, the first extension was issued and signed by Jacyna on the same day, 30 December (written using the abbreviation '30 10bris'), while subsequent ones were mostly issued on 4 April 1822, which means that the secretary was very busy on those days. Had he authenticated the student identification papers with an intermediate seal using sealing wax, the work would have dragged on for several days. It would have been impractical for students to carry a certificate laden with three seals. Fold marks on all certificates, turned up corners and creases in the paper show that students carried these documents with them to show them as proof of their ID to the relevant authorities at the time, see esp. paras. 10, 11, 16, 23: J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 104–106.

³²¹ 'To make an impression a malleable material (beeswax, wax, sealing wax, lead, wafer, paper) or paint was used to make and affix the impression (by hardening or leaving a mark on the paper).' *Opracowanie materiałów sfragistycznych...*, p. 131.

³²² J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 403.

The advantage of ink seals over wax seals was that they were easy to use, making it possible to authenticate a greater number of certificates. This was particularly important in the case of the student identification documents which were issued in large batches at a time.³²⁰ It was also more difficult to destroy an inked impression than one in wax, which may explain its more frequent use.

It is therefore surprising that Bieliński does not mention the seal used to make this type of impression at all. Instead, he writes about a 'small seal for use with a malleable material'. We do not know of any impressions made in a malleable material other than sealing wax; it is also difficult to identify a matrix corresponding to this description. So, it is unclear whether this refers to a lost matrix and still unknown impressions, or whether the 'small seal for use with a malleable material' and the small ink seal were one and the same, and the problem is only one of terminology.

A modern dictionary of terminology for describing archival sphragistic materials clearly distinguishes between malleable materials, in which the matrix creates a three-dimensional impression, and dye (ink, pigment), which is applied with a matrix as a flat impression.³²¹ Bieliński, on the other hand, seems to use a different categorization. For him, seal impressions made in sealing wax are one thing and those made in a malleable material are another.

Bieliński's description of the 1823 seals – which can be compared with a larger number of surviving seals housed in the UW Museum – may provide additional information to help resolve this problem. He writes that the following were made according to the new design: 'A great seal, of steel, for the chancellery of the university, and two brass seals, one for sealing wax, the other for different malleable materials'.³²² Of this set of seals, the two brass matrices belonging to the main chancellery have been preserved. Again, however, it would appear that they were made for use using different techniques: one for use with sealing wax, the other with ink.

The problem seems to stem mainly from differences in terminology. When Bieliński writes of a 'small seal for use with a malleable material', he is in fact describing a small ink seal.

Fig. 43. Letter seal
of the Royal University
of Warsaw, 1817 design,
APW



The logic of the division: great, intermediate, and small seal seems to be disturbed by the letter seal. Bieliński calls it small, that is on a par with the second seal, which has here been identified as an ink seal. It is not clear whether he was using a term borrowed from a source – most likely an order or a bill for the making of the matrix – or whether he independently assigned ranks to the matrices based on the size of the impressions. Either way, this division did not take into account the seal's purpose in the chancellery, so impressions which fulfilled different tasks were mixed up. The seals described earlier were used to authenticate documents, while the letter seal was only used to prevent tampering with correspondence, which is a different type of activity altogether.

Before a letter was dispatched, the sender's secretary would place an ink seal on the sheet of paper containing the letter which had been folded to form an envelope. On the surviving artefacts, the seal was applied where the edge of the folded sheet overlapped a blank space. A bit of melted sealing wax or wax was placed underneath it.³²³ When the correspondence was opened, this usually resulted in damage to the impression. The intention of the seal was to ensure the letter had not been tampered with and that the seal would ultimately be destroyed by the recipient.

In the course of the archival searches, only a few examples of the use of the university's letter seal could be found,³²⁴ for example on a letter from the University Council dated 7 December 1820 to Michał Szubert as dean of the Faculty of Philosophy. Interestingly, the university's small ink seal was used much more frequently for this purpose; it would seem that Brodziński, out of habit or convenience, used the same seal in almost all cases. After all, he used it to authenticate both transcripts and copies of diplomas or certificates. It can therefore be assumed that this seal was known as the ordinary seal.³²⁵

³²³ Other seals of this type: APŁ, ArB, 39/592/0/2.1/733; AGAD, KRSW, 1/191/0/-/3237, fol. 190; APŁ, ArB, 39/592/0/1.6/286, fol. 9, The Commission's letter seal on an envelope addressed to Tomasz Welinowicz. There are visible signs that Welinowicz tried to tear the paper around the seal when opening the envelope so as not to break it, however he damaged the rim. This was to preserve the emblem on the impression, but it did not nullify its security because it left a hole on the other edge of the paper after Welinowicz's attempt not to damage the seal impression, clearly indicating that the envelope had been opened.

³²⁴ The seal, although in poor condition, is clearly identifiable. It is located on the bottom part of the sheet of paper on which the aforementioned letter was written. Originally, this part served as an envelope, but after its inclusion in the archive file, many sheets of paper were stitched in the middle along with other letters and their envelopes, as a result of which the seals relating to a particular letter were to be found many pages further. Letter no. 874 is on sheet 173, and the envelope with the seal is on the back of sheet no. 176. APW, UW-OB, 72/215/0, fasc. 1, fol. 173 and fol. 176v.

³²⁵ 'student identification papers ... are valid as long as they bear the ordinary seal'. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 122–123.


Unlike the letter seal, the task of the seals used for authentication was to be preserved for 'ever and ever' so that they could testify to the authenticity of the document. We are convinced that both the intermediate seal and the small seal served precisely this purpose. This puts them in the same category as the great seal, but not in the same group as the letter seal. Thus, if the use of terms characterizing the rank of a seal is intended to introduce some order, they should be used only for one category. Just as the great wafer seal was used to authenticate master's and doctoral degrees, the intermediate seal used with sealing wax and the small ink seal were used for certificates, duplicates and student identification documents. All three were intended to be preserved rather than destroyed when the document was opened. They had another common feature, which distinguished them from the letter seal and from the seals of the Botanic Garden³²⁶ and the Cabinet of Coins and Medals. This was the use of Latin in the legend, while the other three seals had inscriptions in Polish. ●

³²⁶ The 1818 seal of the Botanic Garden for use with sealing wax can be found on a list of full-time employees of the garden signed by Michał Szubert on 9 August 1831. The seal is heavily defaced with paper from the previous page, but is legible. APW, UW-OB, 72/215/0, fasc. 3, fol. 88.

XXI. Seal of the Botanic Garden for use with sealing wax, 1818, APW

Решено" по
в Warsaw





XXII. Seal matrix of the Faculty
of Law and Administration, 1823 design,
UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

The image on the university seal
with the imperial and royal emblem
of the Congress Kingdom implemented
the heraldic idea of the identity
of the state: the White Eagle coat of arms
was the main element of the drawing,
while the imperial two-headed eagle
acted as a base-holder.

Faculty seals

Another group consisted of the seals of the faculties. They are not mentioned in the statute as being among the items in the custodianship of the secretary, so they remained separate from those of the chancellery. Bieliński writes that the following seals were made according to the 1817 design: ‘Ten seals with one star for the deans of the faculties: two for each – an intermediate and a small one. A great seal with a screw for the dean of the Faculty of Medicine, as they had to issue certificates for non-specialized doctors and midwives’.³²⁷ In describing the seals of the faculties, Bieliński used the hierarchy proposed herein for the chancellery. The Faculty of Medicine was the only one to have a great seal, which was used like the main great seal. Unfortunately, it has not survived and there are no known impressions made using it. Each dean also received two seals: an intermediate and a small one. There are three seals among the surviving artefacts: one for use with sealing wax belonging to the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts and two belonging to the Faculty of Medicine, one for use with sealing wax and one with ink.

Interestingly, all three preserved seals are of the same size: 33 mm in diameter. Nevertheless, Bieliński divided them into two types: intermediate and small, which suggests that not only size but also the type of impression influenced the rank of the seal. By analogy with the seals of the main chancellery, the first type – intermediate – was represented by an impression in sealing wax, and the second – small – by an impression made using ink or soot. This interpretation is also supported by the labour-intensive nature of the impressions, to which their legal force in authenticating a document and their aesthetic appeal were linked. It is easier to forge an ink seal than an impression made in sealing wax. Ink impressions – as can be seen on the student transcripts – are often smudged, whereas the seals made using sealing wax of the various institutions and private individuals that appear on documents are almost always crafted with precision.

There are only two known impressions of a faculty seal, both of which were made using sealing wax. One is the aforementioned seal of the Faculty of Law and Administration on a certificate issued to Aleksander Wielopolski in 1822. The other is a broken seal of the Faculty of Philosophy on a letter of reply from the dean addressed to Adam Bartoszewicz.³²⁸ A trace of the authentication of certificates with the faculty seal can also be found in the personal files of Jan Horoszewicz.³²⁹

³²⁷ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 403. We are familiar with the template medical diploma with a corroboration clause stating that the large seal of the Faculty of Medicine was used to authenticate the ‘credentials’ of bachelors of medicine and surgery, that is, the diplomas of inferior physicians ‘to provide medical and surgical care in less important cases.’ The course lasted three years. The template diploma was approved by the Commission on 11 November 1824. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

³²⁸ APK, AOM, 21/288/0/1/41, fol. 7.

³²⁹ A copy of a certificate confirming that Jan Horoszewicz attended lectures at the Faculty of Philosophy in 1821–1823 and passed the annual examinations with the highest possible grade. The certificate was signed by Dean Józef K. Skrodzki and bore the faculty seal. Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (State Archives in Lublin), Chełmski Konsystorz Greckokatolicki, 35/95/0/12.3/798, fol. 1.

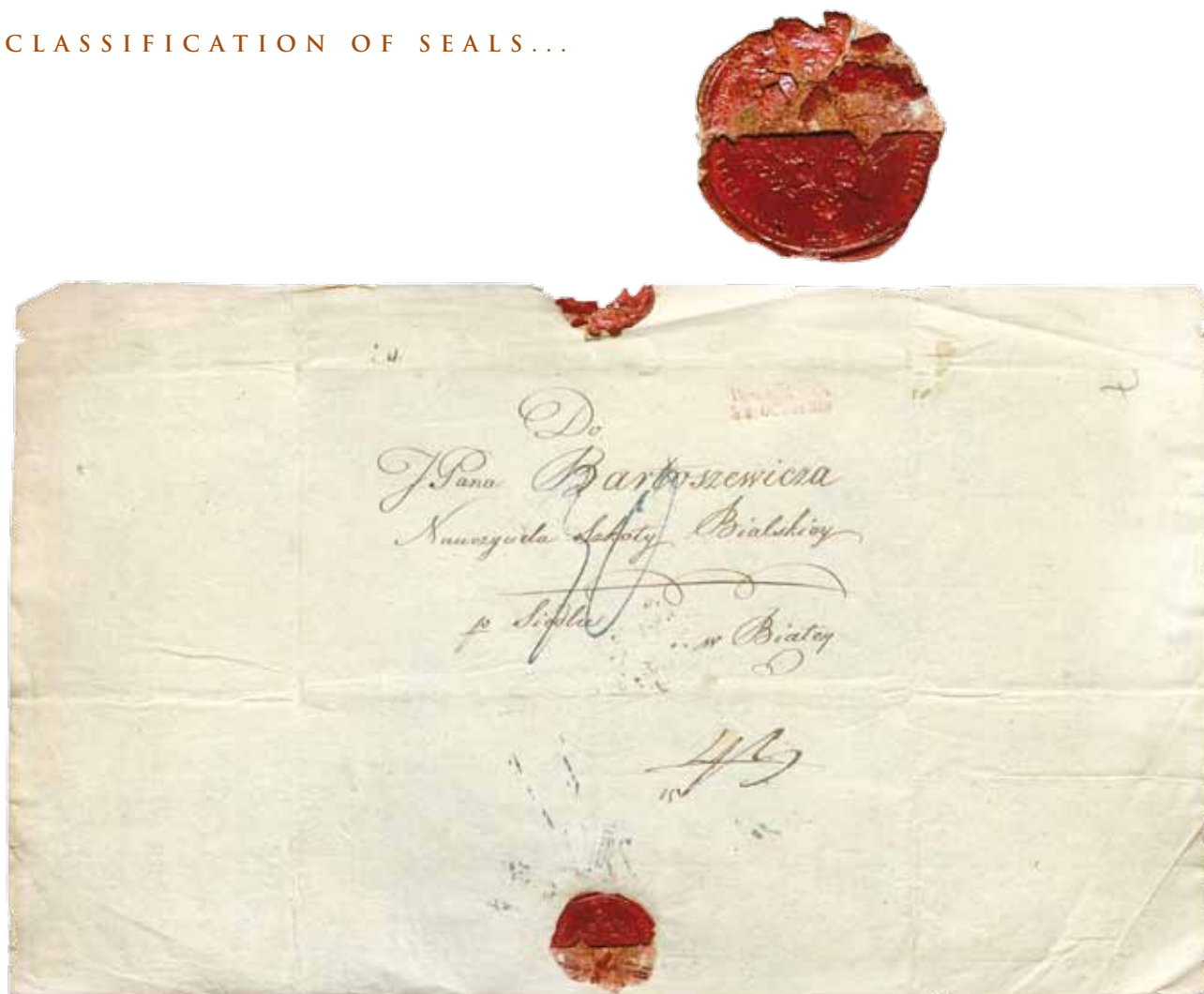


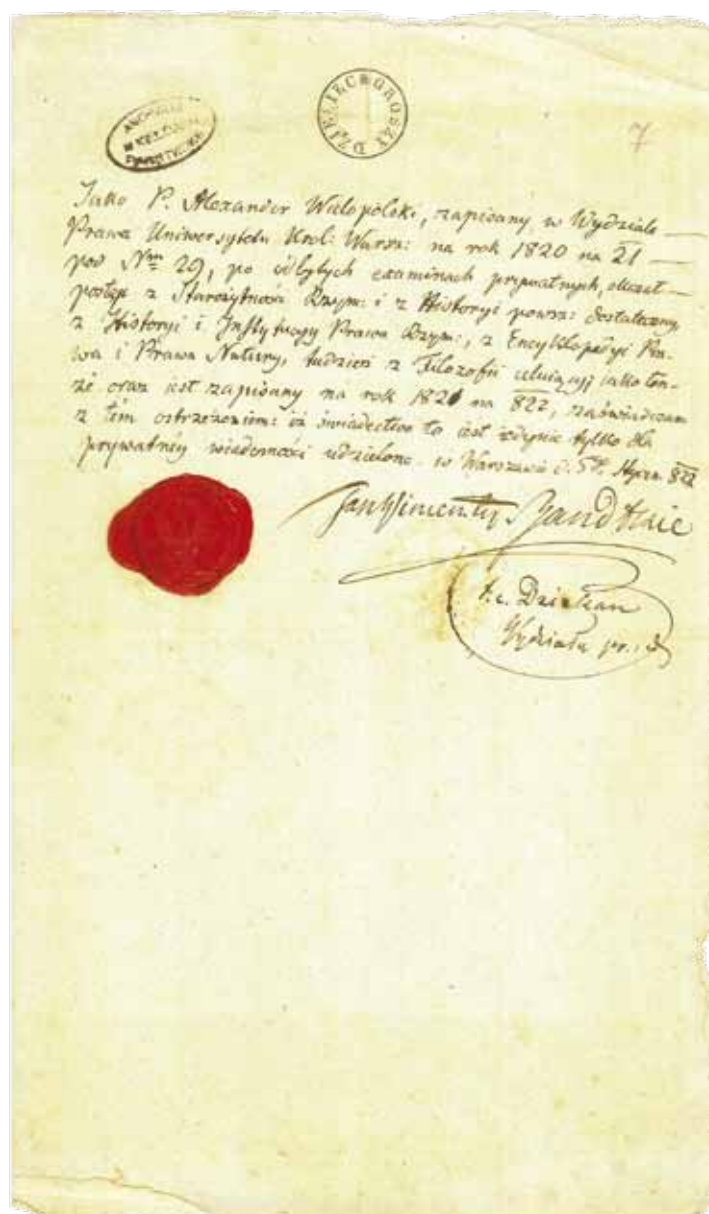
Fig. 44. Broken seal of the Faculty of Philosophy impressed in sealing wax on an envelope addressed to Adam Bartoszewicz, on the rim the letters 'PHIL' are visible, and part of the name of the faculty 'ORDO PHILOSOPHORUM', APL

The faculties' seals were not kept in the chancellery, but were given to the faculties, which meant that the deans probably had to hold on to them. Since the deans did not have separate offices, the professors in charge of a particular faculty probably had custodianship of the matrices to guarantee that no unauthorized person could authenticate documents on their behalf. Hence the assumption that the seals were used both to authenticate certificates and to seal envelopes since they were always at hand. The inability to compare how the seals were used on a larger number of artefacts makes it impossible to determine whether this necessitated any strictly enforced procedures or whether the deans were given some latitude in their use.

According to Article 158 of the university's statute, students who were not allowed to apply for academic degrees because they intended to take examinations only in selected subjects were simply given 'a certificate indicating their degree of academic improvement signed by the dean and professors and with the seal



Fig. 45. Seal of the Faculty of Law and Administration impressed in sealing wax on a certificate issued to Aleksander Wielopolski dated 5 January 1822, APK



of the faculty'.³³⁰ This procedure was allowed for the following subjects: philosophy, mathematics, the natural sciences, humanities and the fine arts. For example, the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts confirmed the requirements for a degree of Master of Civil and Hydraulic Architecture in the Fine Arts Department on 2 May 1821. Students were required to pass examinations in architecture and auxiliary sciences, but also in surveying and levelling, which had not previously been a requirement. Failing to pass all the subjects resulted in being refused admission to take the master's examination. In such instances the student only received a certificate from the faculty which could be useful when applying for a job as a builder or surveyor.³³¹ This type of document was presumably referred to in Article 158. ●

³³⁰ *Księga protokołów...*, p. 191.

³³¹ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 3, pp. 575–576.



XXIII. Matrix of the small seal
of the Royal Alexander University, 1830,
UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

The matrix clearly shows the chisel marks
left by the die sinker when making
the drawing on the seal.

Manufacture of the seals

Information about the making of the seals was obtained from the minutes of the University Council and the files of the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police; it was found by Stefan K. Kuczyński and Krzysztof Dorcz.

The matrices which were for use with sealing wax and ink were made earlier than the press for the great seal. On 28 March 1818, the university's deputy secretary informed the Council that the requisite seals had been forwarded to all faculties, therefore four months elapsed between the decision taken on 29 November 1817 and its implementation. The seals were paid for from the student fees fund and cost a total of 150 zlotys: there were ten with handles as well as a press for the great seal of the Faculty of Medicine.³³²

On 3 April 1818, Szweykowski informed the Council that the dean of the Faculty of Medicine³³³ had returned three seals 'formerly used by the Faculty of Medicine'.³³⁴ Unfortunately, it is not known which seals he referred to but they were presumably stored in the university's chancellery. One of them was probably used to authenticate Tomasz Flejczerowski's diploma on 17 October 1817.³³⁵ The device on the seal was the emblem of the Congress Kingdom.

The Council did not receive a report about the press for the great seal, with a steel matrix, from the deputy secretary until 4 July 1818.³³⁶ More than seven months had therefore elapsed since he was instructed to have it made 'forthwith'.³³⁷ Assuming this long wait was not because of the secretary's delay, it can be concluded that making the matrix was a very time-consuming task. This is also reflected in the cost – the university paid 102 zlotys out of the student fees for it. The cost of this one seal was therefore not much less than the expenditure on the ten matrices for the faculties. However, as there was no report in the 'minutes' on the making of other seals of the main chancellery, it is not known whether there was simply no mention of them, or whether they were perhaps included in the cost of making the press or faculty seals. It seems unlikely, however, that the main chancellery would have waited longer than the faculties for the necessary matrices. Thus the matrices for the intermediate, small and letter seals were probably made in March/April 1818 at the latest.

When commenting on the financing of the great seal, Kuczyński pointed out that 'it was not without significance that the cost of making the university's most important symbol was covered by student fees and not public funds.'³³⁸ The faculties' seals were also

³³² Council meeting of 28 March 1818, *Księga protokołów...*, p. 103.

³³³ At that time it was Jan Bogumił Freyer (1778–1828), professor of medicine, director of the therapeutic clinic, *Księga protokołów...*, p. 275.

³³⁴ Council meeting of 3 April 1818, *Księga protokołów...*, p. 107.

³³⁵ Reproduction of the diploma: J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 2, p. 533.

³³⁶ Council meeting of 4 July 1818, *Księga protokołów...*, p. 120.

³³⁷ Council meeting of 15 November 1817, *Księga protokołów...*, p. 72.

³³⁸ S.K. Kuczyński, 'Godło...', p. 132.

financed in this way: in doing so, the University Council wanted to emphasize its independence and autonomy, so strongly linked ideologically to the concept of the university. This was a purely symbolic move, as the Commission decided on all the university's expenses, including those obtained from student contributions. In the Ministry's understanding, this money also belonged to the public funds, so the Council would most likely have had to obtain the Commission's approval for this expenditure anyway.

Until 1824, state institutions were relatively free to choose who would make the seal. However, the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police sought to introduce control over die sinkers and, in the longer term, to establish the monopoly of the Warsaw Mint in this matter. Krzysztof Dorcz presented the causes for and subsequent stages of this process, part of which was the introduction in 1824 of 'certified die sinkers' with the right to make seals for government institutions.³³⁹ There were only nine such persons in the whole of the Congress Kingdom, with only two in the capital. This triggered numerous protests from the other die sinkers, thanks to which it was possible to find out who claimed authorship of the university's seals. Leon Mass³⁴⁰ complained to the Commission for Internal Affairs that for ten years he had been making all the seals for the Government Commission for Religion and Public Education, the university of the Congress Kingdom and the clergy residing in Warsaw.³⁴¹ The new ruling thus deprived him of part of his earnings and also meant he ran the risk of losing the trust of his clients.³⁴² It is difficult to believe that Mass, appealing against the Ministry's decision, would credit himself with the making of seals that he had not made – which was easy to verify at the time. Furthermore, it would have been a real gamble as the stakes were high: the possibility of his admission to a very elite group of die sinkers who had the trust of the government. Therefore, Leon Mass can, with a high degree of probability, be considered the author of the Royal University of Warsaw's oldest set of seals dating from 1817, as well as the subsequent edition dating from 1823. Later sets were in all certainty made by the Warsaw Mint, which from 7 December 1824 held a monopoly on fulfilling orders from government institutions.³⁴³

The image of the emblem both on the matrix of the great seal and on the other ones required not only a die sinker but above all a design. It is not known who designed the seal presented by the Commission to the viceroy in November 1817, and if the same person was responsible for simplifying the image for the seals to be used with sealing wax and ink, or whether this was done by the die sinker himself. Usually, the professors of the Fine Arts Department were appointed to provide artwork relating to the university. Designs for the award medals for the best theses were submitted by Juliusz

³³⁹ Rescript of the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police dated 21 April 1824, K. Dorcz, 'Pieczęcie...', pp. 69–72.

³⁴⁰ According to *Przewodnik Warszawski* of 1826, Leon Mass lived on Długa Street, in a house with land and mortgage register number 545.

³⁴¹ K. Dorcz, 'Pieczętarze warszawscy w latach 1824–1826', *Kurier Warszawski* 2012, no. 4, p. 27; S.K. Kuczyński, 'O pieczętarzach przysięgłych', *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 1966, vol. 10, no. 1, p. 28.

³⁴² 'This regulation', he explained, 'not only deprives me of a considerable part of my earnings, but, moreover, it becomes even more painful for me because henceforth I will be considered a fraudster no longer trusted by the Government and be considered capable of committing perjury.' Quoted after: K. Dorcz, 'Pieczęcie...', p. 70.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Kolberg,³⁴⁴ Jan Krethlow³⁴⁵ and Feliks Bentkowski,³⁴⁶ and for the most diligent students of the Fine Arts Department – by Zygmunt Vogel,³⁴⁷ Charles Santoire de Varenne³⁴⁸ and Michał Kado.³⁴⁹ The drawing on the medal commemorating the founding of the university was made by Vogel,³⁵⁰ while the university buildings were designed by university professors Piotr Aigner,³⁵¹ Michał Kado and Hilary Szpilowski. Even when Emperor Nicholas I donated an elephant skin and bones to the Zoological Cabinet, although a taxidermist was employed to prepare the specimen, Antoni Blank,³⁵² professor of painting and custodian of the Cabinet of Plaster Casts, was asked to decide on the animal's final appearance. It can therefore be assumed that a university professor would also have been asked to prepare the design for the emblem. However, the absence of any information about such a prestigious commission is surprising. There are no accounts of any of the professors contributing to the design of the university's most important symbol and trying to establish their prestige and, thereby, strengthen their own status.

Research on identifying the original composition of the seals, carried out by Professor Barbara Wagner and Dr Olga Syta in 2022, showed that they were made from a brass alloy mixed with iron and lead. Both the oldest seals of the university discussed herein and those from the following decades of the nineteenth century were of a very similar composition; only the twentieth-century ones contained barium, calcium, bromine and indium.³⁵³ The handles of the nineteenth-century matrices, however, were made from the wood of a deciduous tree, most likely pear.³⁵⁴ ●

³⁴⁴ Juliusz Kolberg (1776–1831), cartographer, translator of poetry, member of TKPN, professor of surveying, geodesy and topography at the Royal University of Warsaw.

³⁴⁵ Jan Krethlow (1767–1842), engraver of German origin, lived in the Congress Kingdom from 1817, where he worked as a professor at the Royal University of Warsaw. Cf. M. Mycielski, 'Uniwersytet Królewski...', p. 214.

³⁴⁶ We do not know whether these were drawings or suggestions as to the elements that could be included on the medal. See J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 396. The matrix was made by Karol Baerend, which is confirmed by the signature visible on the drawing of the medal 'C.B.' as well as the entry in item 7 of the minutes of the General Council's meeting on 11 June 1819, where approval of the contract with the intermediary is mentioned. Ibid., p. 248.

³⁴⁷ Zygmunt Vogel (1764–1826), painter and draughtsman, teacher at the Warsaw Lyceum from 1804, professor of perspective and optics at the Royal University of Warsaw from 1817.

³⁴⁸ Charles Santoire de Varenne (1763–1834), French painter, in Warsaw from 1814, professor of painting at the Royal University of Warsaw from 1817, he drew up the curriculum of the Fine Arts Department.

³⁴⁹ None of these designs was accepted in full. The medal was made by Franciszek Stuckhart. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 400.


³⁵⁰ Vogel's design was modified by Potocki. Ibid., pp. 397–398.

³⁵¹ Piotr Aigner (1756–1841), architect, from 1782 a military builder in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, from 1792 a professor at the School of the Corps of Crown Engineers, in 1817–1818 a professor of higher architecture at the Royal University of Warsaw, one of the most important representatives of neoclassical architecture in Poland.

³⁵² This information can be found on an 1828 plaque, which was originally placed most likely inside the elephant specimen. Museum and Institute of Zoology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, on permanent display at the UW Museum, MUW 46/D.

³⁵³ Study conducted at the Interdisciplinary Laboratory for Archeometric Research, Centre for Biological and Chemical Sciences, University of Warsaw, and described in the report: O. Syta, B. Wagner, *Oznaczenie składu pierwiastkowego metalowych stempli tłoków pieczętnych z kolekcji Muzeum Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, Warsaw 2022.

³⁵⁴ I would like to thank Andrzej Kazberuk, conservator at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, for his help.



XXIV. Great seal on the master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*) issued to Antoni Wolański, 21 September 1825, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

Great seal of the university, 1823 design. This type of seal stood highest in the university's hierarchy and had a particularly decorative form. The intricate and detailed drawing on the matrix had to be properly imprinted on the paper to achieve the right effect. A small amount of wax was poured on the diploma, which was then covered with a paper wafer cut in the shape of a flower. The wafer was moistened with water to accurately reproduce the image of the matrix as it was squeezed through the press.

Set of seals dating from 1823 – with the state emblem

The removal of the university's emblem from the seal and the decision that it be replaced with the emblem of the Congress Kingdom was discussed earlier. The Commission's directive issued on 11 October 1822 was probably³⁵⁵ intended to standardize the whole of the educational system in this regard. A new set of seals was prepared for the university based on a directive of the Commission issued at the beginning of the following year, on 23 January, which is why the year 1823 is attributed to this second set.³⁵⁶ It was in use for seven years, so it was the longest serving of all the seals described herein.

From Bieliński's account, it can be deduced that a set of seals similar to the first one was made at this time. Here too there are some uncertainties, which only become apparent when comparing the surviving artefacts with accounts from archival materials.

Bieliński mentioned that a press with a steel matrix was made for the university chancellery for the great seal, as well as two brass matrices, one for use with sealing wax and the other for use with 'a malleable material' (this probably refers to a matrix for use with ink). In addition, each faculty received two brass matrices, for the intermediate and small seals. The Botanic Garden also received a seal with the new design.³⁵⁷ Finally, Bieliński listed five matrices made of 'steel with lettering, to mark things belonging to the university'.

The press for the great seal has not survived but is known from impressions authenticating diplomas. One of them can be found on the diploma of Master of both Laws (*utriusque juris*, i.e. both civil and canon law) issued on 21 September 1825 for Antoni Wolanowski, and held at the UW Museum.³⁵⁸ On the seal is the emblem of the Congress Kingdom surrounded by five stars. The legend differs slightly from that of 1817 and the wording known from the seals made of copper: 'SIGIL: UNIVERSITATIS LITERARUM REGIAE VARSAVIENSIS MDCCCXVI'. Incidentally, the upper star was placed above the crown, as in the earlier design with the university emblem. All the other seals in the new set – as mentioned by Kuczyński – place it on the rim, which further differentiates them from their 1818 counterparts. Bieliński considered it an 'impoverishment of the composition'.³⁵⁹ A more plausible reason for this, in the case of small copper seals, was to enlarge the emblem on the seal. From 1823 onwards, the die sinker had to accommodate a far more complex image in the space. Placing the star along the rim gained valuable space, thus adding more detail to the emblem. It should also be noted that,

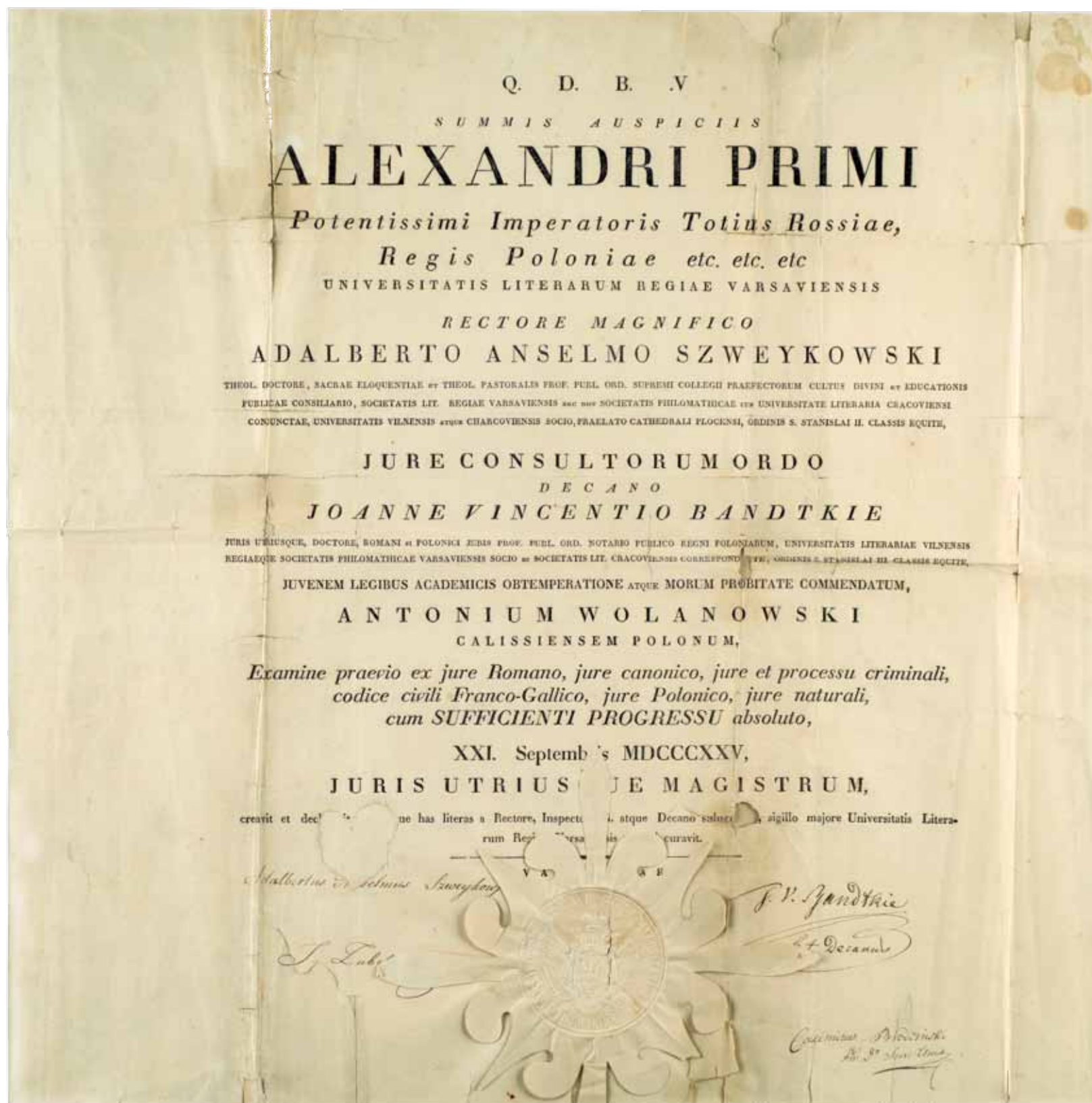
³⁵⁵ The text of the order could not be found; the only source on the matter is Bieliński's account.

³⁵⁶ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 403.

³⁵⁷ A damaged impression of the Botanic Garden's 1823 seal for use with sealing wax is most likely found on the edge of a card with a letter from Michał Szubert to the Warehouse of Government Wood and other Forest Products dated 15 February 1830, APW, UW-OB, 72/215/0, fasc. 3, fol. 51v.

³⁵⁸ Master's diploma for Antoni Wolanowski, MUW/602.

³⁵⁹ 'Although the same Latin legend with the name of the university was maintained on the seals, the composition of the emblem was simplified. The arrangement of the stars surrounding the double-headed eagle changed. There were now four small stars, two on each side of the eagle, while the fifth was incorporated into the legend, marking both the beginning and the end of the inscription.' S.K. Kuczyński, 'Godło...', p. 134.



although the emblem of the Congress Kingdom depicted a two-headed black eagle with Poland's historical emblem on its breast, in the case of the university seals of 1823 the two elements were visibly rescaled to increase the size and improve the legibility of the White Eagle.

The diameter at the rim of the great seal is 70 mm. Ten matrices from the 1823 set have survived to the present day. These include two from the main chancellery: one for the intermediate seal for use with sealing wax (41 mm), clearly larger than the other for the small ink seal (36 mm). In the UW Museum there is a certificate issued on 10 July 1823 for Kazimierz Brodziński with an impression of the small ink seal.³⁶⁰ On a student identification certificate issued in 1829 for Wincenty Eynarowicz there are also two impressions of the same seal.³⁶¹

Next are the six seals made for the deans of the various faculties: the Faculty of Theology – for use with sealing wax (46 mm), the Faculty of Philosophy – for use with sealing wax (46 mm), the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts – for use with sealing wax (46 mm), the Faculty of Medicine – for use with ink (33 mm), and also two for the Dean of the Faculty of Law and Administration – both for use with sealing wax: one large (46 mm), the other small (33 mm). There were only two sizes among the faculty stamps. The intermediate seals have a diameter of 46 mm and are for impressions in sealing wax, the matrices of the small seals are 33 mm. There is only one surviving copy of the ink series from the Faculty of Medicine. The Faculty of Law and Administration, on the other hand, had two ink stamps: one medium sized, the other small. On closer inspection not only do the diameters of the matrices differ, so too do the secondary details on the emblem – the crown, feathers and ermine tails on the royal coat have more elaborate detailing on the larger matrix. However, these differences have no impact on the emblem's symbolic meaning.

It is rather puzzling why there are two seals of different sizes for the same faculty for use with sealing wax. There are three possible explanations.

³⁶⁰ Certificate issued on behalf of the rector on 10 July 1823, confirming Kazimierz Brodziński's appointment as a professor and secretary of the university. Feliks Bentkowski, as dean of the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts, authenticated this information on behalf of the rector 'with my own handwritten signature and the university seal', MUW/606/2.

³⁶¹ Student identification certificate for Wincenty Eynarowicz, a third year student of the Faculty of Law and Administration, MUW/601. Wincenty Eynarowicz (Ejnarowicz) (1809–1856) studied administration at the UW from 18 September 1827. He was awarded a master's degree in administration on 28 January 1831. In the November Uprising he was a member of the Academic Guard. Owner of the Kudrawka estate. R. Gerber, *Studenci...*, p. 49; AGAD, Kancelaria Własna Namiestnika. Wydział Paszportowy, 1/428/0/-/1234; miniGo portal, *Historyczne kompozycje ogrodowe i parkowe wschodniej Polski*, www.ogrodowy.minigo.pl/index.php/page/kudrawka (accessed: 16 April 2021).

Fig. 46. Great seal of the university on a master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*) for Antoni Wolanowski, 21 September 1825, UW Museum

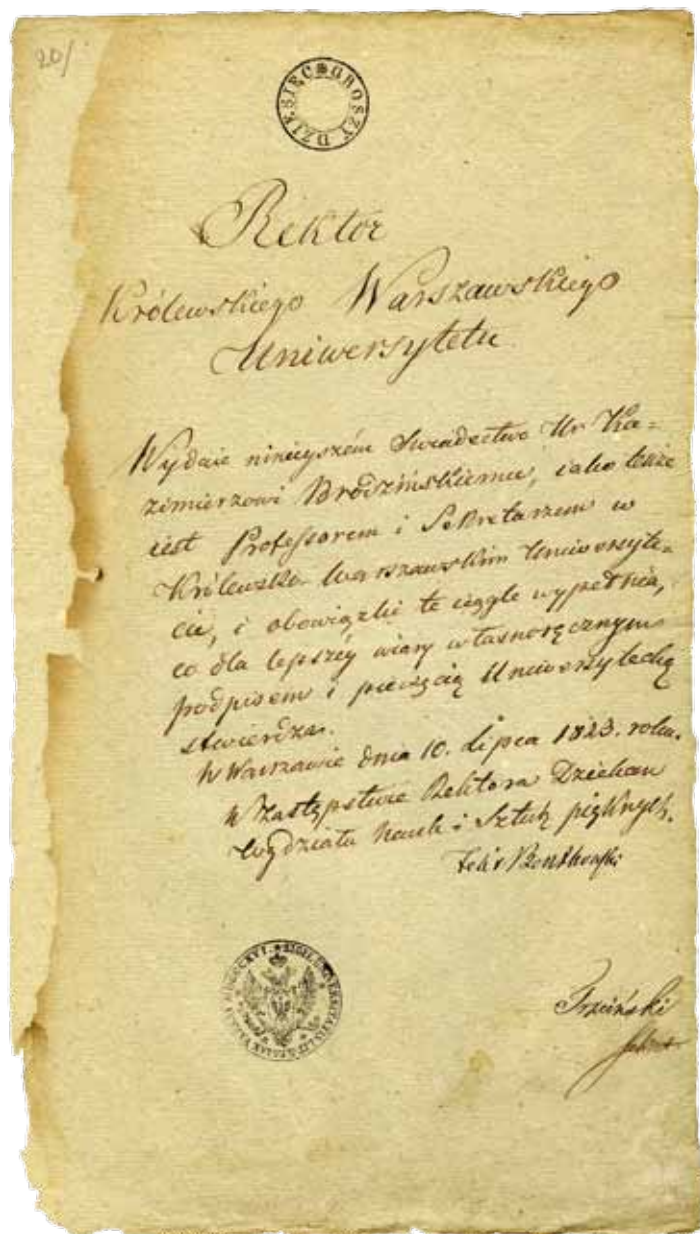


Fig. 47. Small seal, 1823 design,
on a certificate issued to Kazimierz
Brodziński, 10 July 1823,
UW Museum



Bieliński wrote about only ten faculty seals, so instead of an ink seal, the Faculty of Law and Administration may have needed a second matrix for use with sealing wax to affix the small seal. Or, the Faculty of Law later requested a second, small seal for use with sealing wax, and this was supported by practical arguments. The dean should carry a seal with him at all times; when, for some reason or other, he was unable to authenticate a certificate, his deputy would do so with the small seal using sealing wax. A third possibility calls into question the division between intermediate seals using sealing wax and small ink ones. Perhaps Bieliński did not mention ink seals because they had no place in his system of classification – which divided seals into intermediate for use with sealing wax and small for use with malleable material, an example of which would be the small seal of the Faculty of Law. The ink seals would only be a variation of these with the same legal force, and used for impression on thin paper, while seals impressed in sealing wax would be used on thicker, handmade paper. However, it is difficult to understand why, in such instance, Bieliński would not have mentioned fifteen seals rather than the ten he did. At present this puzzle cannot be resolved definitively because some of the known seals are missing.

The last type of seal he mentioned was used to mark university property. Only one specimen has survived. It is a seal with an oblong rectangular matrix with a legend written on two lines. The lettering is in Antiqua font: 'UNIwersytet Krol. Warsz.'. To date, no such impression has been found on any artefact dating from those times. Here, too, there is ambiguity. Bieliński writes about the making of



Figs. 48, 49. Small and intermediate seal matrices for use with sealing wax of the Faculty of Law and Administration in the same scale, 1823, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

‘five [matrices – note by K.M.] of steel with lettering’, while the surviving matrix was made of copper, as confirmed by an X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis.³⁶² So did Bieliński misidentify one of these seals – or was it another? At present it is proving difficult to find an answer to this question.

Before the set of stamps was changed for the third time, two more matrices for the Cabinet of Coins and Medals were added to the 1823 version. This did not happen until 1828, as the Commission was extremely cautious about the expenses involved in the organization of this collection. The Cabinet was officially established in 1826.³⁶³ Bieliński mentioned that in 1828 ‘a brass and steel seal for use with sealing wax and writing implements’³⁶⁴ were added to the collection. Only one of these matrices, a brass one (34 mm), has survived to the present day. The image of the state emblem differs from the earlier ones – the proportions differ from those on the university’s other seals – the oval shield with the White Eagle is much smaller, and the wings of the two-headed imperial eagle are more spread out to the sides, resulting

³⁶² Analysis carried out at the Department of Chemistry, University of Warsaw, courtesy of Prof. Dr Hab. Barbara Wagner and Dr Olga Syta in February 2022.

³⁶³ Although the collection had already been amassed, the Cabinet was officially established on 3 October 1826 by a directive issued by the Commission. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 624. Cf. J. Kolendo, ‘Trzy kolekcje numizmatyczne na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim’, in: *Kultura artystyczna...*, pp. 432–434.

³⁶⁴ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 625.



Fig. 50. Seal matrix of the Cabinet of Coins and Medals, 1828, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

in an overall seal image that is not well aligned with the circular field. Surrounding the rim is a legend which reads: 'GABINET NUMIZMAT: KRÓL: UNIWERSYTETU', and further, below the emblem: 'w WARSZAWIE'. The lower part of the seal is unused, while the upper part is crowded rather clumsily – the cross surmounting the crown encroaches slightly onto the space alongside the rim, reserved for the legend. This misalignment of the elements on the matrix is rather puzzling, especially as the drawing is of very good quality. The die sinker may have originally planned to place the name of the cabinet below the emblem – as was the case of the matrix for the Botanic Garden, but for some unknown reasons changed his mind after engraving the symbol of the Congress Kingdom. The seal was used by Professor Feliks Bentkowski, conservator of the Cabinet of Coins and Medals and dean of the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts. Unfortunately, however, there are no known examples of its use.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁵ There are no known examples in AGAD, CWO: Akta dotyczące się gabinetu numizmatycznego (Files relating to the Cabinet of Coins and Medals), 1/253/0/8/21 and Akta dotyczące się zbioru medali starożytnych i monet w Uniwersytecie Królewskim Warszawskim 1816–1828 (Files relating to the collection of ancient coins and medals at the Royal University of Warsaw 1816–1828), 1/253/0/8/20.

The use of the Polish language on the last two matrices seems to confirm the hypothesis that only the seals of the main chancellery and the faculties – which were more important and hierarchical – bore Latin legends, while those for the other university entities, letter seals and those used to mark property, being less important, were in Polish. ●

teras a Rectore, Inspector . . . atque Decano
rum Regi . . . arsana . . . sis . . . curavit

V

A


A

E

veyhowy



XXV. Great seal
of the University of Warsaw
according to the 1823 design,
UW Museum



XXVI. Matrix of the small seal of the Faculty of Medicine for use with sealing wax, 1830 design, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

The lengthening of the university's name in 1830 by adding the word 'Alexandrina' (Alexander) made it necessary to modify the legend on the rim. Although the word 'Sigillum' was removed, the letters are still compressed.

Set of seals dating from 1830 – The Alexander University

In his description of the university seals, Bieliński totally omitted the set bearing the university's new name – Uniwersytet Królewski Aleksandrowski (Royal Alexander University),³⁶⁶ which was approved shortly before the November Uprising. The name commemorated the university's founder, the tsar and king – Alexander I.

The initiative for the new name came from Rector Szweykowski and was related to the growing complications associated with the university. The policy of the Congress Kingdom's new educational authorities was to divide the university into smaller institutes to facilitate their control over young people and undermine their intellectual development in favour of 'educating' loyal subjects.³⁶⁷ The establishment of the Preparatory School for the Institute of Technology in 1826 was part of this policy. The scope of the school's teaching curriculum was planned to overlap in part with that of studies in architecture, construction and surveying taught at the Fine Arts Department. Initially, it was not independent, but made use of the university's halls and teaching aids, and the courses were taught by university professors.³⁶⁸ However, the Commission decided to establish the institute as an entity independent of the university. Minister Grabowski and the university's superintendent, Józef Kalasanty Szaniawski, planned to make the faculties independent in a similar way, turning them into vocational schools in order to break up the university.³⁶⁹

Faced with the threat of the university's liquidation, Szweykowski carried out a well thought out manoeuvre and asked that the university be named after Tsar Alexander I. The request, made through the authorities of the Congress Kingdom, was addressed to Nicholas I, brother of the late monarch. The then emperor of Russia and king of Poland had visited the university in May 1829, on the occasion of his coronation, so the institution was not unfamiliar to him, and it had even made a good impression on him.³⁷⁰ His sending of various valuable specimens as gifts showed his intention to honour his brother's wishes.³⁷¹ The tsar granted Szweykowski's request. On 1 September 1829, a letter from Nicholas I was read out at a meeting of the Administrative Council, in which the monarch considered the idea of naming the university after Alexander to be a good one, and requested a draft act in order to implement the initiative.³⁷² The formalities took several more months. The Commission prepared the draft in January

³⁶⁶ The Polish name is officially stated in the minutes of the meeting of the Administrative Council of 13 April 1830. AGAD, Rada Adm. KP, 1/188/0/18, fol. 226. 'Universitas Regia Alexandrina' appears in Latin in the minutes of the meeting of the Administrative Council of 1 September 1829. AGAD, Rada Adm. KP, 1/188/0/17, fol. 422. A version of the name 'Królewski Aleksandryjski Uniwersytet' is also encountered in Polish. AGAD, KRSW, 1/191/0/-/6221, fol. 60, Letter from the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police to the Administrative Council of 15 May 1830 regarding the rector's proposals concerning university matters. The name is used twice: in the summary and in the body of the letter. This wording of the name can now be considered incorrect, since the university was named after a person – Alexander, not a city – Alexandria.

³⁶⁷ Views of this kind were represented primarily by Józef Kalasanty Szaniawski (1764–1843), a lawyer, author of the project of the so-called school police. M. Mycielski, 'Uniwersytet Królewski...', pp. 87–91.

³⁶⁸ *Ogólny programmat kursów wykladać się mających w Szkole Przygotowawczej do Instytutu Politechnicznego w roku 1828/1829*, Warsaw 1828, pp. 6–7.

³⁶⁹ M. Mycielski, 'Uniwersytet Królewski...', p. 93.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 94–95.

³⁷¹ These gifts included the skin and bones of an elephant, described above, MUW 46/D.

³⁷² AGAD, Rada Adm. KP, 1/188/0/17, fol. 422.

1830, it was then sent to St Petersburg, and at a meeting of the Administrative Council on 13 April the tsar's decision on the name was officially announced.³⁷³ Under these circumstances, any attempt by the authorities of the Congress Kingdom to dissolve the university would have been seen as an attack on the wishes of Nicholas I and an insult to the good name of the university's founder, Alexander I.

³⁷³ AGAD, Rada Adm. KP, 1/188/0/18, fol. 226.

³⁷⁴ Also preserved in the same folder is Maliński's application with a request for a 'certificate from the time he performed the duties of Professor of Sculpture' of the same date. Thus, Szweykowski and Trzciński probably drew it up immediately after receiving the request. AUW, KR/WO 4, fols. 34–35.

The change of name was accompanied by an update of the seals. Only six of the 1830 seals have survived. It is not known exactly when they were made, but the Commission presumably did not order them before the official announcement was made, that is before 13 April 1830. In the UW Museum there are two chancellery seals: for use with sealing wax (37 mm) and with ink (39 mm), as well as four faculty seals: Law and Administration – sealing wax (35 mm), Medicine – ink (36 mm), and two for Philosophy – sealing wax (44 mm and 33 mm). In the absence of surviving impressions, it is difficult to determine whether there was also an ink seal for the Faculty of Philosophy, or whether it only used sealing wax. There is a discernible variation in the size of the matrices, which in the previous two sets had maintained some form of standardization. Perhaps these changes were for utilitarian reasons (practical application).

The existing legend was changed. In view of the lengthening of the university's name, the word 'sigillum' at the beginning of the inscription and the date of the university's foundation at the end were dropped. The five-star seal of the chancellery bore the legend: 'UNIVERSITAS LITERARUM REGIA ALEXANDRINA VARSAVIENSIS'. The modification of the inscription was probably purely for aesthetic and stylistic reasons. The revised inscription allowed the name to be presented without abbreviations and in the nominative and not, as before, in the genitive case.

The field of the seal retains the emblem of the Congress Kingdom surrounded by five stars (chancellery seals) or with one star above the emblem alongside the legend (faculty seals). The double-headed eagle itself has been slightly reduced in size compared to the 1823 seals, so there is more space in the field, however the overall emblem of the Congress Kingdom and the White Eagle are smaller.

There is a small ink seal on a copy of a certificate issued to Professor Paweł Maliński. It was signed by Rector Szweykowski and countersigned by Secretary Trzciński.³⁷⁴ It is interesting to note that it was written on 26 November 1832, i.e. after the dissolution of the university. Szweykowski signed his name on the document as 'Rector of the former Royal Alexander University'. Since he was still able to seal his correspondence, this shows that the chancellery was still partially in operation after the dissolution of the university and used the 1830 stamps. ●

...niezgodnie z polityką Uniwersytecie, bez najmniejszej przesady
 wy dopełniać swych obowiązków z wzorową gorliwością
 i prawdziwą koczującą, uczniów. obok moralnego postępu-
 wania, jakie przystało na oddającego się powołaniu
 Nauczycielskiemu.

Przetłóczył powyższego wywodu historycznego kadawca
 W Warszawie dnia 26. listopada 1832r.

Rektor by Legu Królew. Aleksandrow. Uniwersytetu
 A Szwedkowski

Trzmiński



Fig. 51. Small seal of the university, 1830 design,
 on a certificate issued to Paweł Maliński, 26 November 1832,
 AUW

Set of seals dating from 1831 – ‘Insurrectionary’

Józef Bieliński describes yet another set of seals, made during the November Uprising. None of these are known today; most likely they did not survive until Bieliński's time. When he wrote about them at the turn of the first and second decades of the twentieth century, he did not know where they were kept or of any documents authenticated with them. However, he was certain they had been made as he found confirmation of their receipt in the University Council's records. They were also included in the last inventory. The chance of finding these seals is rather slim, but it may one day be possible to find a letter dating from 1831 authenticated with this very seal.

According to Bieliński's account, during the November Uprising there were plans to make a new set of seals on which the university's original emblem would be restored.³⁷⁵ On 9 February 1831

³⁷⁵ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 404.

³⁷⁶ The seals were placed at the end of the Commission's letters to the University Council, which the university's secretaries sent to Szubert in his capacity as director of the Botanic Garden. APW, UW-OB, 72/215/0, fasc. 3, fol. 80, fol. 84r, a small ink seal of the 1817 design appears at the bottom of a letter dated 21 June 1831; APW, UW-OB, 72/215/0, fasc. 3, fol. 78, fol. 85r, a letter seal of the 1817 design appears on a copy of a letter dated 23 May 1831.

the Commission ordered the preparation of such a seal. Before the plan was carried out, however, the National Government ordered that official seals should use an insurrectionary version of the emblem of the Congress Kingdom, i.e. with a shield parted per pale (i.e. halved vertically) with the White Eagle on the heraldic right and the Pogoń (Charging knight) on the left. The university's eagle thus missed its chance of being reinstated on the seals. Incidentally, from a formal point of view, the history from 1822 repeated itself when Grand Duke Constantine demanded the use of the state emblem on the university's seal instead of the university's emblem. Historians studying Polish history, however, do not seem to connect these facts. The martyrological narrative of Poland's history required that the grand duke's demand be treated as an act worthy of condemnation, whereas a corresponding action on the part of the insurgent authorities was deemed expedient.

However, during archival searches examples were found of seals with the 1817 design being used during the November Uprising, testifying to the fact that academics were very attached to their original emblem and, without awaiting any legal considerations, rejected the 1830 seals in order to seal documents with one bearing the White Eagle.³⁷⁶

The new 'insurrectionary' set described by Bieliński was similar to the previous ones. It was made by order of the Commission on 20 May 1831, issued three and a half months before the fall of Warsaw, during the hostilities, when students were enlisting in the Academic Legion. So there seems to have been little opportunity to use the new seals.

Bieliński listed the following seals: the great seal, engraved in steel; the small seals, made of brass for use with ink and sealing wax, both for the chancellery and for the faculties (he does not give any numbers); for sealing wax, engraved in steel for the Cabinet of Coins and Medals and the same for the Botanic Garden. The mention of an ink seal for the first and only time in the context of university seals is worth noting, while there is no seal 'for use with a malleable material'. In view of the comments regarding the actual condition of the artefacts, this would seem to confirm the assumption that the same type of seal – today referred to as for use with ink – applied to both types. ●

XXVII. The 'Belvedereers', that is, the young men who took part in the attack on the residence of Grand Duke Constantine on November Night (November Uprising); three students: Aleksander Świętosławski, Wincenty Kobyliński and Walenty Krosnowski, and conspirator Karol Paszkiewicz, drawing and engr.: J. Llanty, 1832, BN



ALEXANDRE
SWJENTOSLAWSKI.

CHARLES
PASZKIEWICZ.

VINCENT VALENTIN
KOBYLANSKI. KROSNOWSKI.

XXVIII. Seal matrix of the School
of Law, 1808–1811, UW Museum,
photo: M. Bogacki

The tangle of lines forming
the inscription and decoration
becomes legible when impressed
on paper.



Further fate of the seals

Józef Bieliński writes that in 1823, following the introduction of a new set of seals in accordance with the Commission's order, the oldest ones dating from 1817 were not destroyed. 'As a result of the directive, the coats of arms were changed and the previous seals were incorporated into a collection which, after including the seals of the former School of Law, the former School of Medicine and the former General Council, comprised a major sigillographic collection at the university.'³⁷⁷ Unfortunately, it is not known where this collection was housed. It would not have been expedient to keep it in the chancellery since it would have made it possible to forge old diplomas and certificates. Could it have been transferred to the collection of coins and medals? Even though the cabinet did not yet exist in 1823, the seals may have been included with other objects collected in order to establish a collection of coins and medals.

Of the seals mentioned by Bieliński, only the seal of the School of Law, which was founded in 1808 and constituted the nucleus of the future Faculty of Law and Administration, has survived to the present day. It has an oval matrix with ornately shaped handwritten lettering forming the inscription 'Szkola prawa' (School of law).³⁷⁸ It was made in the time of the Duchy of Warsaw, at the earliest in 1808, when the school was established thanks to the efforts of the Minister of Justice, Feliks Łubieński.³⁷⁹ It was most likely used to authenticate certificates issued by the school, the contents of which were presented by Bieliński.³⁸⁰ Unfortunately, we were unable to find documents of this type in the archives. However, black ink impressions can be found on books from the library of the School of Law, which became part of the collection of the Public Library in the Kazimierzowski Palace, and can now be found in the Print Room in BUW, the main library of the University of Warsaw.³⁸¹

The UW Museum's collection also contains the seal of the Supervisory Council, which governed the School of Law. The Council was established on 4 August 1808;³⁸² it was chaired by Jan Nepomucen Małachowski³⁸³ and also included Staszic and Linde.³⁸⁴ In 1811

³⁷⁷ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 403.

³⁷⁸ The seal of the School of Law, 1808, MUW/363.

³⁷⁹ B. Leśnodorski, 'Szkola Prawa i Nauk Administracyjnych', in: B. Leśnodorski, W. Sobociński, *Studia z dziejów Wydziału Prawa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, Warsaw 1963, pp. 7–32.

³⁸⁰ The seal was used to authenticate certificates issued by the school to its students. These certificates were to be a condition for finding employment in the offices of the Ministry of Justice in the Duchy of Warsaw. This condition was announced in the school's regulations approved by Grand Duke Constantine of Warsaw on 24 May 1808. 'Certificates of private or public attendance were entered in the school records, and copies from these records were obtained on request, on printed forms bearing the signature of the school's supervisor.' Bieliński transcribed a specimen of the certificate, but from later times – after 1811; it ends with a corroboration clause: 'What is hereby certified with appropriate signatures and an impression of the official seal, by virtue of the opinion of the above Professors in the Records of the School of Law and Administration.' J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 2, pp. 186–187.

³⁸¹ I would like to thank Izabela Wiencek of the Early Printed Books Department at BUW for her help in locating the seals. The search for old seals on BUW books is facilitated by a monumental work prepared by a team of staff from the Early Printed Books Department: *Katalog druków XVI wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, vols. 1–8, Warsaw 1994–2018.

³⁸² J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 2, p. 188.

³⁸³ Jan Nepomucen Małachowski (1764–1822), political activist, member of the Four-Year Sejm, member of the Dresden Mission (1789–1792); he held offices in the judiciary and treasury, director of the treasury in the Governing Commission of the Duchy of Warsaw (1807), president of the Court/Tribunal of Appeals, senator-castellan of the Duchy of Warsaw, and then senator-voivode in the Congress Kingdom. Małachowski was the only person to establish a scholarship fund for the school's students, which later also served the students of the university's Faculty of Law and Administration. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 2, p. 208.

³⁸⁴ *Kalendarzyk Polityczny, Chronologiczny y Historyczny na Rok Pański 1811 z Magistraturami Kraiowemi*, Warsaw [1810], p. 149.

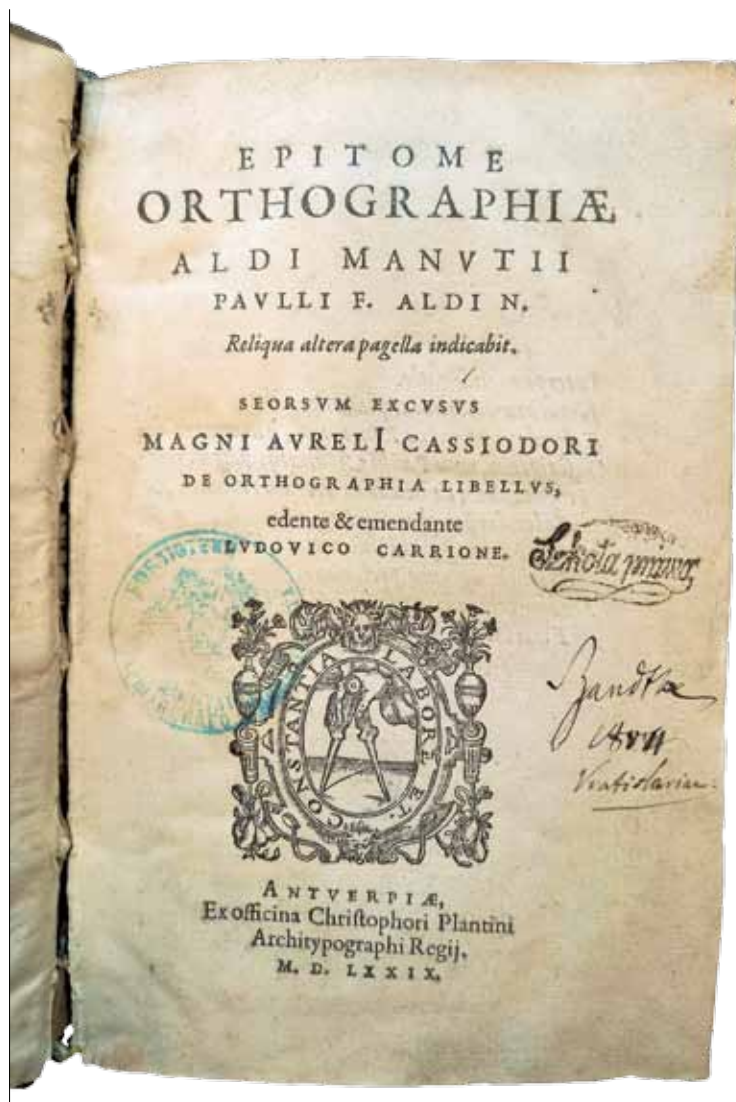


Fig. 52. Seal of the School of Law in black ink on a book donated to the book collection by Jan Wincenty Bandtkie, 1808–1817, Early Printed Books Department, University of Warsaw Library (BUW)

the School of Law was merged with the School of Administrative Sciences into a single School of Law and Administration, and continued to be headed by the Council. It can be concluded from the image on the seal that it dates from the period after the merger of the institutions.

The seal has a circular matrix. The obverse depicts a drawing of an open book on an altar decorated with wreaths, flanked by oak and probably laurel branches. Below the altar the die sinker has depicted several earthen furrows and tufts of grass. Around this image runs a legend which reads: 'RADA DOZORCZA WYDZIAŁU AKADEMICK: PRAWA I ADMINIS:' (Supervisory Council of the Academic Faculty: Law and Adminis:). The beginning and end of the inscription are marked by a six-pointed star. The name quoted in the legend indicates that the idea of establishing the School of Law and Administration was closely linked to the establishment of the university.

It is not known exactly what happened to the seals when the university was closed. At the end of the first volume of his work, just before presenting a general assessment of the tangible property belonging to the university, Bieliński gives the information that among the university's possessions there were 'miscellaneous seals 24; ... a press with a handle for the great seal'.³⁸⁵ In 1832, the collection of the Cabinet of Coins and Medals was taken to Russia, but without the seals because decades later they were still at the university. After being withdrawn from use before the November Uprising it is unclear in which collection they ended up since the chancellery did not transfer them to the Cabinet of Coins and Medals. Most likely, they were placed in the Cabinet of Antiquities, where a wide variety of objects were housed: from the bones of extinct animals, and armour, to vessels and artefacts of an archaeological nature. Not all of this collection was taken to Russia after the November Uprising and, according to Bieliński, it was located on the mezzanine floor of the Fine Arts Building.³⁸⁶ The seals were not listed in the inventory of the School of Fine Arts 1844–1925.³⁸⁷ However, they may have officially belonged to the library collection in the Kazimierzowski Palace. In 1869, library employee Hipolit Skimborowicz created the Museum of Antiquities from disused former university collections.³⁸⁸ Thanks to this, many objects were saved from oblivion and destruction. The exhibition also included relics from the former Cabinet of Models and Architectural Drawings. This museum was transformed into an Archaeological Cabinet during the period of the Royal University of Warsaw.³⁸⁹ In 1915 the Russians looted and removed the Cabinet's collections, leaving the place itself in disarray. It was tidied up by Kazimierz Stołyhwo, who, among the artefacts left behind, also found the 'seals of the Royal University, the Main School and other Polish institutions'.³⁹⁰

Other specimens were therefore added to the collection of university seals: those belonging to the Polytechnic Institute, the Main School, the Royal University of Warsaw and various institutions and private individuals. On 12 April 1918, the collection was handed over as a loan from the University of Warsaw to the National Museum of the Capital City of Warsaw.³⁹¹ Thanks to this, it later survived the difficult years of the Second World War, when the university campus was turned into barracks for the German gendarmerie. However, throughout the entire post-war period, these seals neither underwent conservation work nor in-depth research, as they were only one of the many groups of very valuable museum artefacts in the MNW's Cabinet of Coins and Medals, and, in addition,

³⁸⁵ J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 766–767.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 649.

³⁸⁷ Archiwum Akademii Sztuk Pięknych (Archives of the Academy of Fine Arts), Księga inwentarzowa Szkoły Sztuk Pięknych 1844–1925 (Inventory of the School of Fine Arts 1844–1925), microfilm NIK.17731.

³⁸⁸ P. Jaworski, 'Sztuka starożytna w zbiorach Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego', in: *Kultura artystyczna...*, p. 470.

³⁸⁹ J. Kolendo, 'Zbiory zabytków archeologicznych oraz kolekcje numizmatyczne na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim w latach 1816–1915', in: *Dzieje archeologii na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim*, ed. J. Kolendo, S.K. Kozłowski, Warsaw 1993, p. 33.


³⁹⁰ Letter from Kazimierz Stołyhwo, Superintendent of the Archaeological Cabinet, to the UW Senate, 10 November 1915. Text published in: S.K. Kozłowski, 'Korespondencja dotycząca początków dydaktyki archeologicznej na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim', in: *Dzieje archeologii...*, p. 105. The original described as: Regesta z akt rektoratu za lata 1915–1918 (Register from the records of the rectorate for the years 1915–1918), UW Archives.

³⁹¹ From 1916 the name of the institution was: Muzeum Narodowe m.st. Warszawy (National Museum of the Capital City of Warsaw), and in 1918 it was changed to Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie (National Museum in Warsaw).

one that belonged to a third-party institution. Therefore, with the best interests of the artefacts at heart, the university and the MNW came to an agreement in 2015, as a result of which the seals were returned to their original home – the University of Warsaw – which was far more interested in this important and unique collection related to its own history. Undertaking research has made it possible to clarify a great deal of information that was only conjecture in the preliminary entries on the inventory cards – from correct dating, and their assignment to the respective periods in the history of the Royal University of Warsaw, defining their hierarchy, to highlighting their symbolic meaning – in a word, introducing these artefacts into the body of academic knowledge.³⁹² ●

³⁹² As an aside, it is worth mentioning that the artefacts constituting the university's heritage were dispersed mainly as a result of the turmoils of war and are now located in various institutions, where their value is not always recognized, due to different research approaches or interest in them for building a particular narrative. Meanwhile, in-depth research on these collections makes it possible – as in the case of the seals described here – to properly identify and establish provenance, as exemplified by a recently published article on the collections of the former cabinet of plaster casts: M. Dunajko, 'Plaster Casts of Ancient Sculptures from the Collection of the University of Warsaw. Markings and Origins', *Światowit* (Warsaw) 2020, vol. 59, pp. 189–204.





XXX. Matrix of the great seal
of the University of Warsaw,
c. 1960, UW Museum,
photo: M. Bogacki

The tradition of decorative seals
was reinstated after the Second
World War, by making a great seal
with the emblem of the university.
It is modern in style with different
lettering from the traditional type.

Tradition of the seal emblem

The removal of the university's original emblem from the seal in 1823 did not mean it faded from the memory of the Polish academic community. It was quite the contrary, as can be seen by the re-use of the former seal during the November Uprising. The emblem with the White Eagle symbolized a need for one's own distinctiveness and identity, and its use was naturally resumed in 1831, ahead of the decrees of the insurgent authorities who ordered the use of the seal with the then state's coat of arms.

In subsequent years following the Uprising, it was no longer possible to use the university's traditional symbol. The **Main School in Warsaw** (1862–1869), which was an attempt to revive the old university, used the emblem of the Congress Kingdom, based on the 1858 design. The Museum of the University of Warsaw has four seal impressions dating from this period. One belonged to the school's inspector,³⁹³ while two other seals represented the various sections of the library in the Kazimierzowski Palace, which, despite institutional changes, maintained its position as the most important book collection in Warsaw.³⁹⁴ The ink seal, presumably used by the chancellery, bears the inscription 'Biblioteka Główna w Warszawie' (Main Library in Warsaw) and the emblem of the Congress Kingdom.³⁹⁵ The state emblem was rendered in more detail on the matrix of the wax seal used for sealing parcels.³⁹⁶ The third of the surviving seals belonged to the student reading room³⁹⁷ and did not bear an image of the emblem. According to a list of the seals of the university library made by Krystyna Niklewiczówna,³⁹⁸ the oval shape of the matrix of the reading room's seal and the arrangement and shape of the lettering are in accordance with the stamps of the 'Biblioteka Główna w Warszawie' (Main Library in Warsaw) found on nineteenth-century books.³⁹⁹

³⁹³ Round ink seal with the emblem of the Congress Kingdom and legend: 'SĘDZIA SZKOŁY GŁÓWNEJ' (Inspector of the Main School), MUW/366.

³⁹⁴ Although the library operating in the Kazimierzowski Palace was closely linked to the university, officially it remained independent. It changed its name several times in the 19th century, but maintained institutional continuity. At first it was the Public Library, from 1832 it was the Government Library, in 1840 it was renamed the Main Library of the Warsaw Scientific District, and then from 1862 to 1871 it existed as the Main Library of the Kingdom of Poland. The stamps with the inscription 'Biblioteka Główna w Warszawie' (Main Library in Warsaw) probably date from the latter period, as indicated by the use of a seal emblem according to the 1858 design, and the lack of name expansion may be a deliberate effort to emphasize the continuity of the institution's role.

³⁹⁵ Seal of the Main Library for use with ink and the emblem of the Congress Kingdom according to the 1858 design and the inscription BIBLIOTEKA GŁÓWNA (Main Library), MUW/355.

³⁹⁶ Seal of the Main Library for use with ink and the emblem of the Congress Kingdom according to the 1858 design and the inscription BIBLIOTEKA GŁÓWNA // PRZESYŁKA (Main Library – Dispatch), MUW/323.

³⁹⁷ Seal of the Main Library's Student Reading Room for use with ink, oval, with the legend: 'CZYTELNIA // STUDENCKA // W WARSZAWIE' (Student Reading Room in Warsaw), MUW/365. The student reading room was established in 1866 and was located on the first floor of the Kazimierzowski Palace; books were also loaned to students to take home. H. Kozerska, *Warszawska biblioteka uniwersytecka w latach 1832–1871*, Warsaw 1967, p. 80.

³⁹⁸ K. Niklewiczówna, 'Oddział Starych Druków Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie 1949–1977', *Z badań nad Polskimi Zbiorami Bibliotecznymi* 1985, fasc. 8, p. 58, impressions nos 8 and 9. I would like to thank Izabela Wieniec from the Early Printed Books Department of the University of Warsaw Library for bringing this work to my attention.

³⁹⁹ M. Ptasiński, 'Biblioteka Publiczna przy Królewskim Uniwersytecie Warszawskim w latach 1817–1831', in: *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie 1817–2017*, Warsaw 2017, pp. 74–75 (*Monumenta Universitatis Varsoviensis 1816–2016*).



Fig. 53. Seal of the Student Reading Room on the title page of a 1574 work on the law of the ancient Romans, Early Printed Books Department, University of Warsaw Library (BUW)

What has not survived, however, is the ink stamp used to authenticate the student identification documents of the Main School, at that time already drawn up in the form of booklets (transcripts). Impressions of the School's seal preserved in the collection of the Museum of the University of Warsaw can be found on the transcripts of Józef Rostafiński⁴⁰⁰ and a certificate issued for Adam Maciejowski.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ RP MUW/474, transcript published in 1867, reproduced and described in: *Historie MUWione. 40 obiektów na 40-lecie Muzeum UW*, ed. A. Stępień-Dąbrowska, K. Mordyński, Warsaw 2021, p. 40, item 11/40.

⁴⁰¹ Certificate of Leave of Absence issued by the Board of the Main School in Warsaw in 1866, RP MUW/539.

During the period of the **Imperial University of Warsaw** (1870–1915), the institution that replaced the Main School, there were no attempts to officially refer to the original emblem, although the tradition of the Royal University of Warsaw was not expunged – this is evidenced, for example, by the display in the main hall of the Auditorium Building of a painting by Antoni Brodowski showing a symbolic scene of Tsar Alexander I conferring the document founding the university (this recollection of the image of the White Eagle as an independent heraldic



Fig. 54. Student transcript of Józef Rostański, student of the Main School in Warsaw, 1867, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

sign was incompatible with the then political orientation of the authorities). The emblem of the Russian Empire was used on seals at the time. On the breast of the double-headed black eagle was a shield with an image of St George slaying the dragon, while the White Eagle was placed on the wings of the imperial bird, among the coats of arms of other lands under Russian rule. Due to the complexity of the drawing, these small elements were practically invisible on the university seals. Moreover, the surviving copies are heavily abraded because the matrices, with relief images, were not only engraved in brass but also cut into rubber. All the matrices mentioned here are among the artefacts in the university's museum: a brass matrix for use with ink with the emblem,⁴⁰² a matrix for use with ink with just an inscription,⁴⁰³ a rubber matrix for use with ink⁴⁰⁴ and a mechanical ink stamp.⁴⁰⁵ However, the fate of the seal used to authenticate diplomas issued by the university is unknown. Ink impressions of the seal with the minor emblem of the Russian Empire and an inscription in Cyrillic script (Imperial University of Warsaw) can be found on diplomas housed in the university's museum.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰² Seal of the Imperial University of Warsaw for use with sealing wax, MUW/338.

⁴⁰³ Seal of the Cabinet of Plaster Casts, Imperial University of Warsaw, MUW/69. Imperial University of Warsaw wax seal for sealing packages, MUW/345.

⁴⁰⁴ Round seal with wooden handle for use with ink, MUW/364.

⁴⁰⁵ Mechanical seal, Imperial University of Warsaw, MUW/367.

⁴⁰⁶ Diploma of the Imperial University of Warsaw awarded to Stanisław Łukaszewicz authenticated with a seal (62 mm) in blue ink with the emblem of the Russian Empire and an inscription in Russian on the rim: 'Imperial University of Warsaw', RP MUW/698/1. Diploma awarded to Władysław Mamert Rodys, dated 31 December 1888, authenticated with an ink stamp with the emblem of the Russian Empire, RP MUW/809.



ДИПЛОМЪ.

№ 278

Советъ Императорскаго Варшавскаго Университета снѣзъ объявляетъ, что **Владиславъ Милеръ** (2-хъ именъ) **Яковлевъ** снѣзъ **Родысъ**, поступивъ въ число студентовъ Императорскаго Варшавскаго Университета въ началѣ 1885¹/₄ учебнаго года, выслушавъ, въ теченіе 1885¹/₄, 1886¹/₄, 1887¹/₄ и 1888¹/₄ учебныхъ годовъ полный курсъ наукъ, преподаваемыхъ на пяти курсахъ Медицинскаго Факультета сего Университета и, на основаніи выдержаннаго имъ окончательнаго испытанія изъ предметовъ обязательныхъ на Медицинскомъ Факультетѣ, снѣзъ, **Родысъ**, опредѣленъ Университетскимъ Советомъ, 10 Декабря сего 1888 года, утверждать въ степени **Дѣкара**.
Въ удостовѣреніе сего, данъ ему, **Родысу**, сей дипломъ за подписаніемъ подписавъ и съ приложеніемъ печати. Г. Варшава, Декабря 27 снѣзъ 1888 года.



Ректоръ Императорскаго Варшавскаго Университета,
Заслуженный ординарный профессоръ, Тайный Совѣтникъ

М. П. Погодинъ

Деканъ Медицинскаго Факультета,
Статскій Совѣтникъ

М. П. Савинъ

Секретарь Совета и Правленія

К. Р. Родысъ

Примечаніе. Дипломъ, сдѣланъ на
дипломѣ, выданномъ въ Варшавѣ, Губерн.
Видѣнъ въ кнѣжствѣ № 42310.

Immediately after the departure of the Russian army in August 1915 and with the approval of the new German occupying authorities, Polish academic circles reactivated higher education in Warsaw. The University of Warsaw began operating later that year. The unveiling of the former university emblem on the gate in Krakowskie Przedmieście Street during the inauguration of the second academic year, on 7 October 1916, was a symbolic act of restoring the Polish character of the university. This long-unused mark of identity gained immediate recognition, and although officially the institutional continuity of the university had been broken in 1831, the widely prevailing perception was that the **reborn University of Warsaw**⁴⁰⁷ was a continuation of the Royal University of Warsaw. This conviction was emphasized by Rector Józef Brudziński in his inaugural speech in 1915, recalling that the school not only occupied the same buildings, but above all influenced the intellectual and cultural life of the capital, establishing a tradition that was upheld by the generation of the Main School⁴⁰⁸ and from which the reborn university now draws. On the day the eagle was unveiled on the university's gate, Brudziński purportedly said: 'This traditional emblem of the University of Warsaw, and at the same time our national emblem, should resonate with you ... Your diligent and skilled work should encourage you to reach out for the palms and laurels of academic success and triumph, for ever inspired by a sacred love of your homeland.'⁴⁰⁹

The UW Museum has one surviving seal from this period, as well as a number of documents bearing impressions of the university's eagle. It should be emphasized that despite a hiatus of almost 100 years in its official use, the emblem on the university's seal retained its heraldic identity and symbolic content. Once again it depicted a crowned White Eagle with the attributes of palm leaves and laurel branches surrounded by five stars. However, the inscription on the rim was changed. The use of Latin was dropped and the legend was worded

⁴⁰⁷ The wording 'reborn University of Warsaw' and the date '1915' were placed on a ring commemorating Józef Brudziński, the first rector of the university after it was regained by the Poles. The ring is in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw, SZM 11306 MNW.

⁴⁰⁸ J. Brudziński, *Mowa rektora doktora medycyny Józefa Brudzińskiego*, Warsaw 1916, pp. 4, 14, 19, RP MUW/608.

⁴⁰⁹ 'Rozpoczęcie roku akademickiego', *Kurier Warszawski* 1916, no. 279, p. 4. These are probably not Brudziński's exact words; other accounts give different versions of the speech which was later reconstructed by journalists. However, they all claim to convey its meaning and refer to the emblem.

Fig. 55. Seal of the Imperial University of Warsaw on a diploma issued to Władysław Mamert Rodys, 31 December 1888, UW Museum

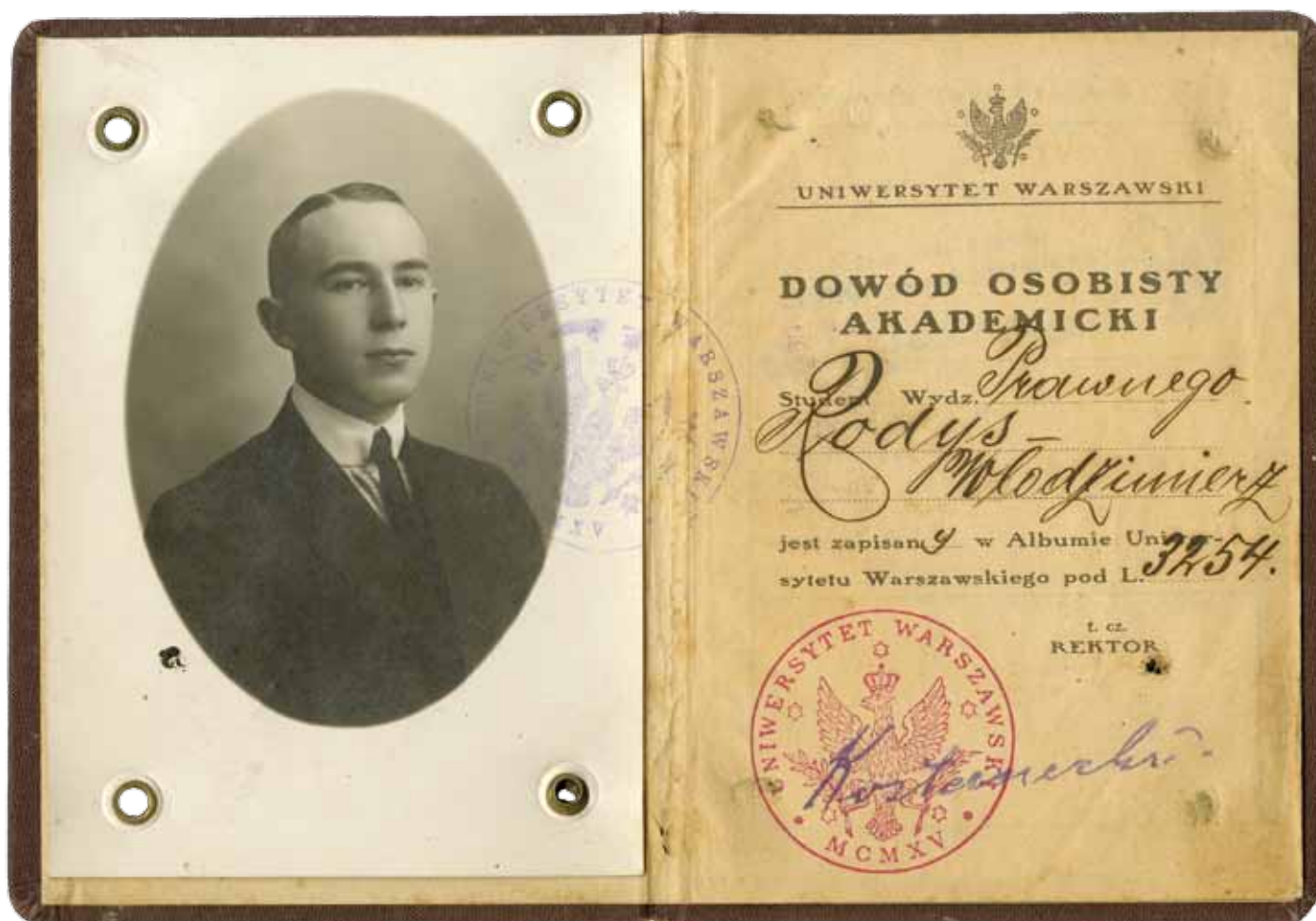


Fig. 56. Academic identity card of Włodzimierz Rodys with a seal bearing the emblem of the reborn University of Warsaw, 1915 design, issued in 1918, UW Museum

as simply as possible: 'Uniwersytet Warszawski' (University of Warsaw), and the date was amended to henceforth indicate the year of the university's renewal: MCMXV. The styling of the eagle was also adapted to the aesthetic trends of the time. The outline of the former neoclassical eagle with its rather formidable features became somewhat leaner. Seals of this design were used until 1935, as can be seen when examining academic documents authenticated with them.

It is worth emphasizing that the image of the five stars was at the time considered to be a symbolic element that should not be changed, but should be retained as a mark of identity. According to Gieysztor and Tomkiewicz: 'In 1926, when a new faculty was founded – the Faculty of Pharmacy – thereby exceeding the original

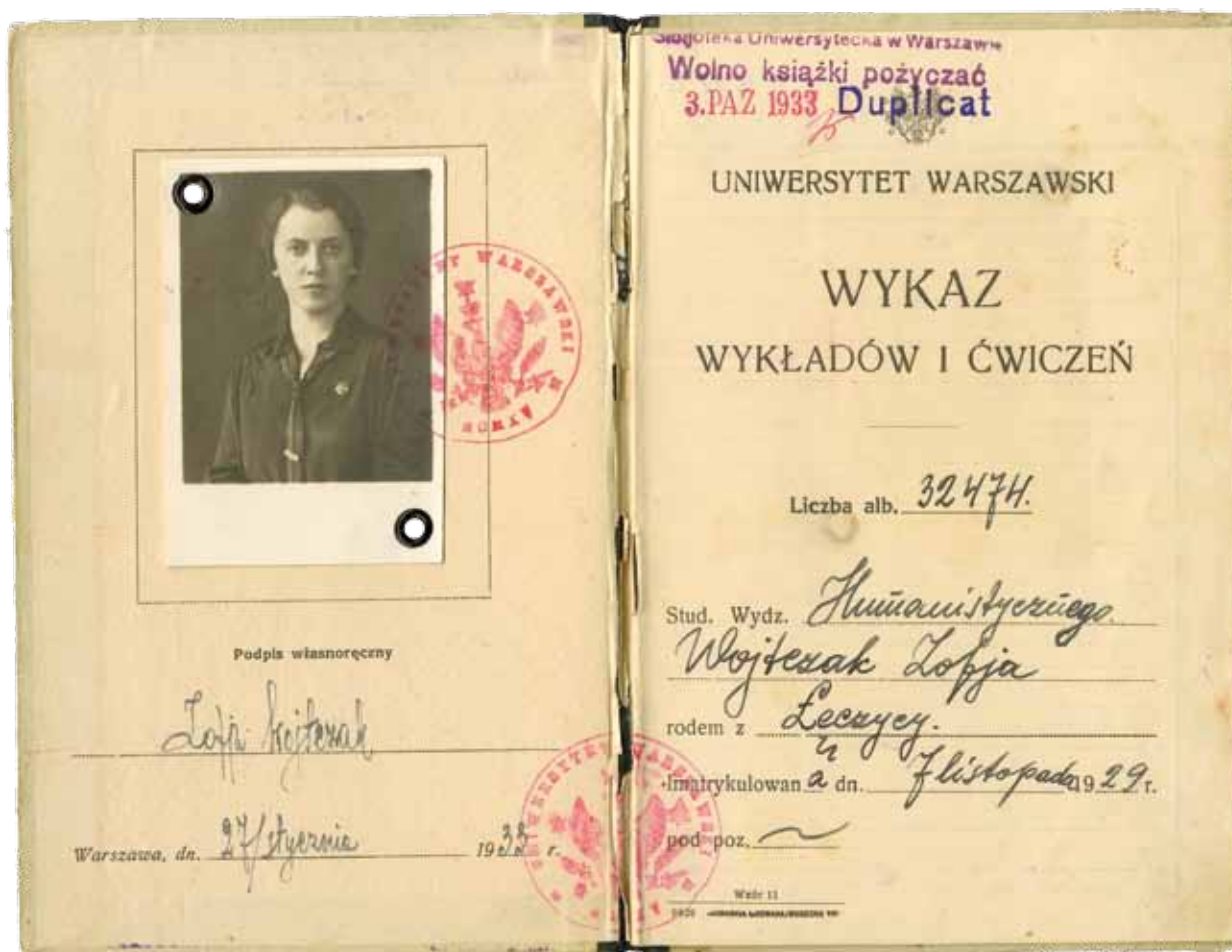


Fig. 57. Zofia Wojtczak's list of lectures and classes issued in 1929 with the emblem of the reborn University of Warsaw, 1915 design, UW Museum

number of five faculties, a discussion was initiated in the Academic Senate concerning the number of stars surrounding the White Eagle on the university emblem. ... Despite an attempt in 1926 to introduce a sixth star to indicate the newly-established faculty, Professor Marcelli Handelsman's opinion, which was in favour of retaining the traditional five stars, prevailed'.⁴¹⁰

The seal in question is of a type that was already in use since the First World War (the 1915 design). It was used for embossing dry seals directly onto paper.⁴¹¹ A diploma authenticated with this seal in 1921 is in the collection of the UW Museum.⁴¹² Ink impressions of this

⁴¹⁰ APAN, III, 280, Materiały Władysława Tomkiewicza, fols. 17–18.

⁴¹¹ Seal, fragment of press for dry embossing. Only the plate with an intaglio matrix has survived, university emblem of the 1915 design, MUW/423. Impression visible on diploma RP MUW/533 (described below).

⁴¹² Graduation diploma of the Faculty of Law and Political Science awarded to Zbigniew Stanisław Małczyński authenticated with a dry embossed seal with the emblem of the university, 1915 design, RP MUW/533.

CLASSIFICATION OF SEALS...

⁴¹³ Student identity certificate issued to Antoni Jaszewski in 1927 authenticated with a seal in dark blue ink, RP MUW/663/1; Student identity certificate issued to Zofia Wojtczak in 1929 which is already authenticated with a different (smaller) emblem in ink, which is more legible, RP MUW/563.

⁴¹⁴ List of lectures and tutorials of the Faculty of Humanities of Szejwa Wilendrof dating from 1930–1935, RP MUW/5.

⁴¹⁵ Certificate awarded to Stefania Lipówna on passing her examination in Polish descriptive grammar, Faculty of Philosophy, UW, issued in 1927 and authenticated with an ink seal, RP MUW/363.

⁴¹⁶ Graduation diploma of the Faculty of Law awarded to Maria Smoleńska, 1925, dry embossed seal, 1915 design, RP MUW/506.

⁴¹⁷ Graduation diploma of the Faculty of Law and Political Science of the University of Warsaw awarded to Michał Kaczorowski in 1924 and authenticated with a seal dry embossed on the document, RP MUW/3.



Fig. 58. Seal with the emblem of the reborn University of Warsaw, 1915 design, on Zofia Wojtczak's student identification document, issued in 1929, UW Museum

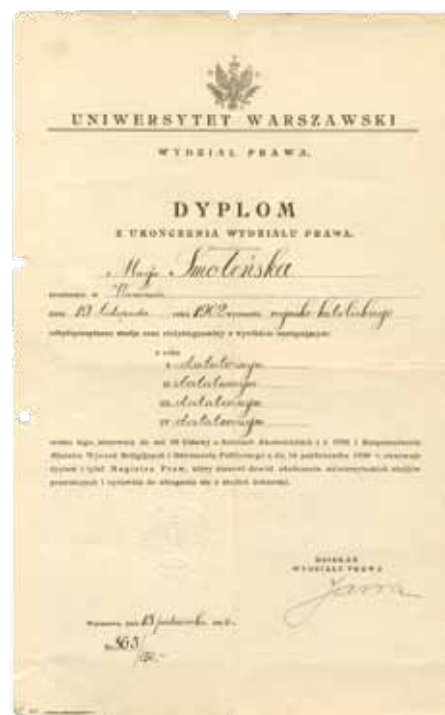


Fig. 59. Dry embossed seal with the emblem of the reborn University of Warsaw, 1915 design, on the diploma of Maria Smoleńska dated 1925, UW Museum

type can be found on student identity certificates,⁴¹³ transcripts⁴¹⁴ and diplomas⁴¹⁵ housed in the museum. Master's diplomas were also authenticated with yet another seal: embossed on a circular wafer with a decorative radial halo, most likely attached to the diploma with glue.⁴¹⁶ Graduation (absolutorium) diplomas, on the other hand, were embossed with a dry seal without the wafer.⁴¹⁷ This consisted of both a positive image (on the front side) and a negative one (on the back). This means that at least one or two



Fig. 60. Seal impressed in sealing wax with the emblem of the University of Warsaw closing a collection of antique cards, 1923, BUW, photo: K. Mordyński

seal presses were in use, making it possible to obtain one-sided and two-sided impressions. In the interwar period, the use of an impression resembling an ink seal also became widespread, which was used on transcripts and copies of diplomas.⁴¹⁸ This practice was a sign that the seal began to lose its power of authentication and became more of a decorative element.

Nothing, however, is known about the seal used with sealing wax which had been in use since at least 1923. There is an impression of it, in good condition, in the collection of the Manuscripts Department in BUW.⁴¹⁹ It does not bear the date 'MCMXV', but has an inscription in Latin, and the outer and inner rims have been outlined with closely spaced dots (beading) arranged in two circles.

The collection of the UW Museum does not contain any seal impressions from the period 1935–1939, when the University's name was modified to commemorate the late Józef Piłsudski.⁴²⁰ However, the changes made to the seals can be tracked based on an observation of the ink impressions authenticating student transcripts. The introduction of the new name

⁴¹⁸ Duplicate of a Master of Philosophy degree in general biology awarded to Pelagia Flantz. On it an imprint imitating a seal with the emblem and legend 'Uniwersytet Warszawski MCMXV', RP MUW/511.

⁴¹⁹ BUW, Rps. 1721, Materiały do historii BUW (Materials on the history of BUW), fol. 10, seal of the University of Warsaw for use with sealing wax with the legend 'Sigillum Universitatis Varsoviensis' safeguarding antique library cards from before 1832, the authenticity of which was certified by Zygmunt Batowski's signature as director of the university library, 13 April 1923. The two ends of the string binding the scroll run through the seal.

⁴²⁰ 'Dekret Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dn. 26 sierpnia 1935 r. o nadaniu Uniwersytetowi Warszawskiemu nazwy: Uniwersytet Józefa Piłsudskiego w Warszawie', *Monitor Polski* 1935, no. 201, p. 1.



Fig. 61. Ink seal of the Józef Piłsudski University with the emblem of the university on Mieczysław Kudelski's student transcript of 1935, UW Museum

was obviously reflected in the inscription on the rim of the seal, which from 1935 reads: **Uniwersytet Józefa Piłsudskiego w Warszawie** (Józef Piłsudski University in Warsaw). The longer inscription entailed removing the date 'MCMXV' and reducing the size of the emblem.⁴²¹ By the end of the 1930s, however, the university emblem had disappeared altogether from the seals authenticating student transcripts and was replaced by the state emblem, but retained the inscription on the rim.⁴²²

⁴²¹ Student transcript of Franciszek Melwiński, student of the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, 1935–1939, seal with the emblem of the UW and inscription: 'Uniwersytet Józefa Piłsudskiego w Warszawie' (Józef Piłsudski University in Warsaw), RP MUW/127; Student transcript of Mieczysław Kudelski, student of the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences (chemistry), 1935–1939, RP MUW/567.

⁴²² Student transcript of Helena Maria Missorek, student of the Faculty of Law, 1938–1939, RP MUW/752.



Fig. 62. Ink seal of the Józef Piłsudski University with the state emblem on Helena Maria Missorek's student transcript of 1938, UW Museum

After the Second World War, the university – despite all the difficulties – resumed its activities as early as in July 1945.⁴²³ The traditional emblem and name were reinstated. It is very interesting to note that a seal made according to the 1915 design, unheard of before the war, was in use. The UW Museum houses a seal of this type for use with ink⁴²⁴ which was initially believed to be a relic from the years 1915–1916. However, no impressions of it could be found on any of the University's documents dating from the interwar period. It was, however, used to authenticate master's diplomas of the Faculty of Law in 1948

⁴²³ T. Manteuffel, *Uniwersytet Warszawski w latach wojny i okupacji*, Warsaw 1948, pp. 62–65.

⁴²⁴ University of Warsaw seal for use with ink, 1915 design, MUW/422.

⁴²⁵ The author of the present work owes the identification of the impression indirectly to Tomasz Stembrowicz, who kindly donated documents from his father, Prof. Jerzy Stembrowicz, to the UW Museum, among them a master's diploma dating from 1948 with the described seal. The same impression can be found on other diplomas of the Faculty of Law dating from that year, including that of Stanisław Wieloński, RP MUW/912/1.

⁴²⁶ List of lectures and tutorials of the Faculty of Pharmacy of Kazimierz Maciejewski, 1945, RP MUW/640.

⁴²⁷ The two seals of the society are found on Zbigniew Daszkowski's identity card dated 1946 entitling him to receive medical care from the Pomoc Lekarska Młodzieży Akademickiej (Medical Aid for Academic Youth), RP MUW/522. The society's post-war seal bears an emblem of the same design as on the institution's pre-war seals. However, the legend changed. Cf. Identity card of Czesław Jasiorowski dated 1936, RP MUW/575.

⁴²⁸ AUW, *Pieczęcie*, AC 698, fol. 8. A letter of explanation on this matter was sent by the rector to the Ministry of Higher Education and Science on 22 September 1950.

⁴²⁹ Student transcript of Janina Słomińska, student of the Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences (doctoral studies), 1951, RP MUW/652/2.

⁴³⁰ APAN, III, 280, Materiały Władysława Tomkiewicza, fol. 21.

(and probably earlier).⁴²⁵ At least until 1948, transcripts were stamped with an ink seal with the university emblem, which had an inscription on the rim: Uniwersytet Warszawski (University of Warsaw).⁴²⁶ Also, the UW Students' Fraternal Assistance Society authenticated documents with a seal bearing the university emblem according to the pre-war design.⁴²⁷ In 1950, this provoked a backlash on the part of the censors, who withheld doctoral diplomas issued by the university.⁴²⁸ The reason was the difference between the image of the university and the state emblem. A ruling ensued as a result of which, from 1951 onwards, the university symbol on documents was again replaced by the current state emblem. On the transcripts, it replaced the university emblems: both the one embossed on the cover, as well as the seals on the inside pages. In addition, the state eagle also appeared as a background drawing authenticating the document on the pages of the transcripts.⁴²⁹

In 1950, the University Senate took the initiative to regulate the use of the university symbol. This matter is known from the aforementioned file of Prof. Władysław Tomkiewicz. The appraisal that was prepared shows that a complete change of the emblem or only some its elements was also considered, but the proposal was not approved.⁴³⁰ Changing the emblem was out of the question, if only because of the public support the symbol held. In 1948, Warsaw's craftsmen



Fig. 63. Ink seal with the emblem of the University of Warsaw, 1915 design, on Stanisław Wieloński's diploma of 1948, UW Museum



Fig. 64. Janina Słomińska's student transcript with a seal with the university emblem, 1948, UW Museum



Fig. 65. Janina Słomińska's doctoral student's transcript with a university seal bearing the state emblem, 1951, UW Museum

participated in a fundraising campaign that was to culminate in ‘funding the emblem of the University of Warsaw, destroyed by the Germans, which, cast in bronze, would be built into the front of the reconstructed university building’.⁴³¹ In turn, the rediscovery of the university’s pre-war flag from 1936, found in the university library, was a sensation of a similar kind to the excavation of the 1826 banner after the evacuation of the Russians during the First World War. A note about the surviving flag was published in 1945 in *Robotnik* – which described the emblem and presented it as the current symbol of the university: ‘although there are now more faculties, the former heraldic form with five stars has remained on the banner’.⁴³²

⁴³¹ ‘Echa zbiórki na odbudowy wyższych uczelni w Warszawie. Niezwykły dar rzemieślników warszawskich’, *Stolica* 1948, no. 23, p. 10.

⁴³² ‘Sztandar Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego ocalał’, *Robotnik* 1945, no. 177 (207), p. 4.

⁴³³ Seal of the University of Warsaw for use with sealing wax with the legend: ‘SIGILLUM UNIVERSITATIS VARSOVIENSIS’, matrix dia. 70 mm, MUW/204.

In their appraisal, Gieysztor and Tomkiewicz argued in favour of retaining the traditional wording of the emblem, its former image, and the number of five stars (the stamps of the faculties were to have only one star). They proposed dividing the stamps into two variations, one for general use, with a legend in Polish: Uniwersytet Warszawski MDCCCXVI (University of Warsaw MDCCCXVI), and the other for limited use, e.g. to authenticate honorary doctorate diplomas, with a legend in Latin, as the 1817 design had been, i.e. with the word ‘Varsaviensis’ written with an ‘a’. They requested, however, that ‘the official and legal aspects of the use of the emblem and insignia of the university be regulated, and above all the graphic and artistic design, which should be commissioned to an artist experienced in heraldic work’.

The seal they requested was indeed made and is now in the museum’s collections, as are the impressions made with it on diplomas dating from the 1980s. However, not all of their proposals were taken into account, which resulted in discrepancies that are not fully comprehensible.

This seal is distinguished by its larger size and special form.⁴³³ The legend was in Latin; however, contrary to the two historians’ suggestion, the word ‘warszawski’ (Varsovian) was written as ‘Varsoviensis’. The obverse of the seal features one of the most original and artistically elaborated images of the emblem. The meticulously rendered eagle has slightly geometrized feathers and talons, with many of the elements, especially the plumes, being pointed. Also noteworthy is the decoration on the seal, which gives the impression of hatching. The face was divided into narrow vertical stripes (gules), which in heraldry signify the colour red. The interiors of the stripes, however, were filled with evenly spaced dots, which are a representation of the tincture gold in heraldry (and hatching). It is difficult to combine metal and colour in one field, so it seems that the author of the seal did not adhere to the heraldic principles of symbolic colour rendering,



Fig. 66. University emblem on the flag of the University of Warsaw, 1936, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

but his aim was solely to fill the space on the seal decoratively. If the colour was to have been reproduced there, it should have been blue (or dark blue or sapphire). The UW Museum contains two diplomas which are ornamented with this seal.⁴³⁴ It was impressed in yellow sealing wax and enclosed in a skippet with an artistically rendered image of the emblem. The diploma was placed in a tube, also an original piece of metalwork, leaving an opening for the cord with the seal.

⁴³⁴ Diploma for renewal of doctorate for Professor Bogdan Suchodolski, 1983, MUW/539/a-f. Honorary doctorate diploma for Willy Brandt. Executed but ultimately not awarded, 1985, MUW/536/a-f.

⁴³⁵ Copy of the directive in the work: Z. Robel, *Insignia...*, p. 10.

⁴³⁶ These were: correspondence with foreign countries, awarding titles and degrees, issuing full copies of diplomas from September 1939 to October 1944, issuing certificates having the force of a duplicate of a diploma obtained in the period up to 1939, issuing diplomas of candidates of sciences and doctors of sciences (impression of the traditional seal next to the official seal). Z. Robel, *Insignia...*, p. 10.

In 1956, the Ministry of Higher Education issued a directive about official seals for higher education institutions.⁴³⁵ It established the number of seals and their types. In addition to impressions with the state (official) emblem, in certain cases schools were also entitled to use traditional seals – by which is meant the university's emblem.⁴³⁶ According to Zygmunt Robel, the university used three traditional seals: the diploma seal, the rector's seal and the library seal. The ceremonial seal described above was regarded as the diploma seal.



Fig. 67. Ceremonial seal of the University of Warsaw impressed in sealing wax, enclosed in a skippet and attached with a cord to an honorary doctoral degree for Willy Brandt (not awarded), 1985, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki



Fig. 68. A likeness of the university seal with the university emblem from the communist period, cover of *Księga protokołów Rady Ogólnej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1817–1819* (Minutes Book of the General Council of the University of Warsaw 1817–1819) published by Rafał Gerber in 1958

An image of the university emblem with a rather simplified drawing was in use during this period. The university museum has four seals made according to this design.⁴³⁷ It was used not only as a seal impression, but also as an overprint on University of Warsaw publications.⁴³⁸ The drawing seems to have been modelled on a pre-war dry seal, but unlike most historical images of the university's eagle, this version of the emblem seems by far the most schematic and least artistic. The simplified drawing of the emblem has been influenced by prioritizing the legend on the rim, which is wider and therefore more legible. On the surviving imprints it consists of only two words: 'UNIVERSITAS VARSOVIENSIS', arranged differently from traditional seals, the first word above the emblem and the other below it. The baseline of the letters does not face the emblem – as traditionally accepted in seals, instead it faces downwards, as in a written text. The overprint on university publications imitating the seal, the matrix of which has not survived in the museum's collection, has an inscription in the traditional arrangement which reads: 'SIGILLUM UNIVERSITATIS VARSOVIENSIS', separated by a three-part ornament. The inner line of the rim consists of beading, while the outer line consists of two bands separated by beading. This decorative treatment of symbolically irrelevant elements resulted in the emblem being reduced in size and made quite schematic on the seals.

It is worth mentioning another element which, although minor, was controversial in the times of the Polish People's Republic. Although the state emblem was stripped of its crown, the university symbol remained in its traditional form, i.e. with a closed crown, which was historically surmounted with a cross. This was discernible on the oldest seals and on the university's flag dating from 1936.

⁴³⁷ They are most likely forgeries made in the 21st century to sell them to collectors. The following could indicate they were forged: poor workmanship, differences between the matrix and the image of the emblem which appears on the page and the lack of surviving impressions. Seals of the University of Warsaw with the university's emblem and the inscription 'UNIVERSITAS VARSOVIENSIS': MUW/209, MUW/245, MUW/246, MUW/247.

⁴³⁸ For example: a reproduction of the seal can be found on the cover of Gerber's 1958 source edition, as well as on biographical materials for the history of the UW published from the 1970s to the 1990s: *Księga protokołów...; Uniwersytet Warszawski 1945–1965. Materiały bibliograficzne*, ed. B. Bienkowska, J. Krajewska, Warsaw 1974.



Fig. 69. Contemporary ceremonial seal attached on a cord to documents of special significance, photo: M. Bogacki

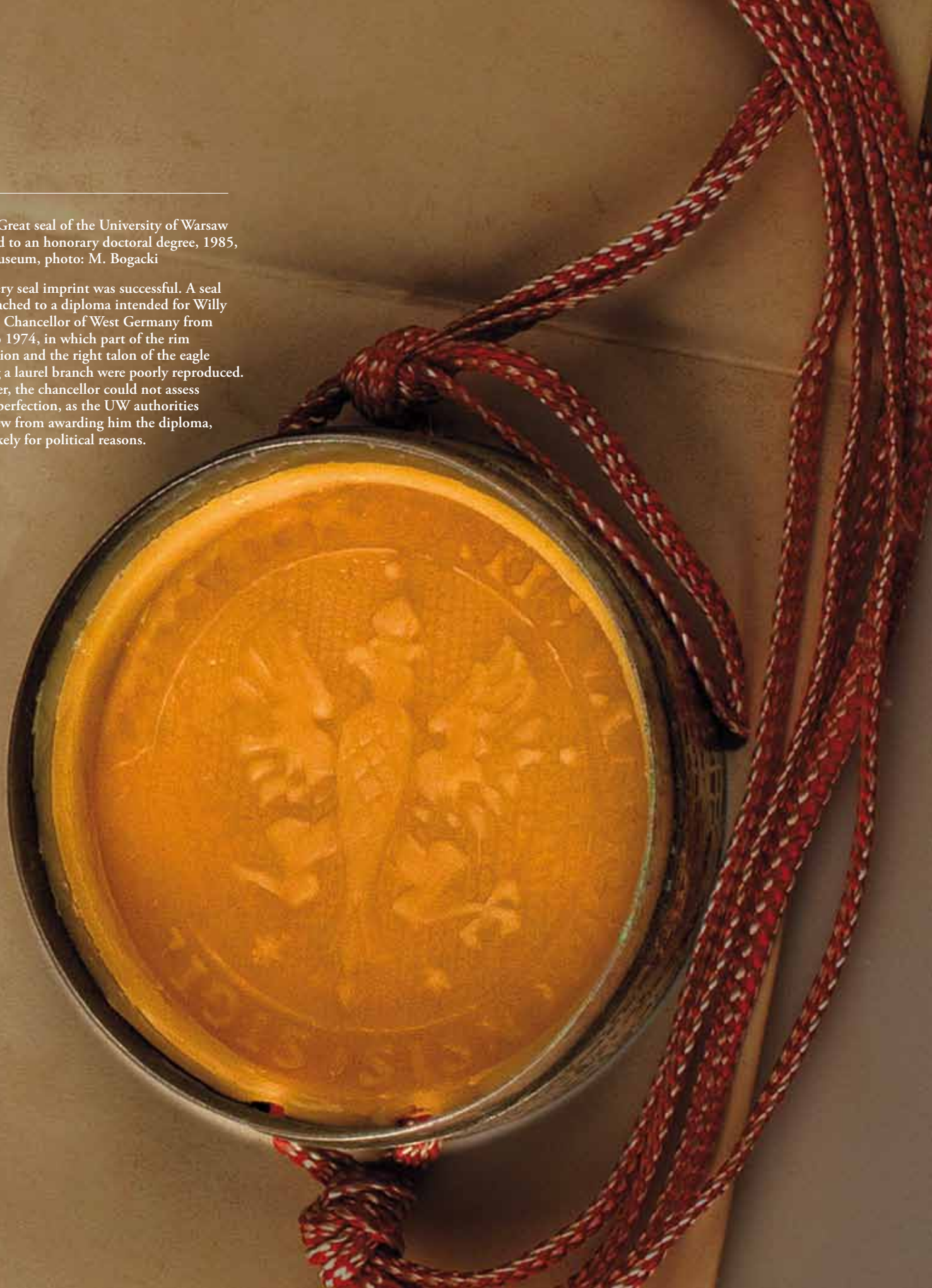
On some images of university emblems dating from the communist period – such as the diploma seal in question – it is difficult to discern the intersecting lines at the top of the crown, but instead a circular shape resembling a pommel is visible. This is not because of an inaccurate reproduction of this admittedly small element in a malleable material or ink. Also, where the emblem has been depicted under rather high magnification – such as above the plaque dedicated to the fallen, located on the south wall of the Former Museum Building – the drawing of the crown has been greatly simplified, devoid of fleurons, with a circular form visible in place of the cross. No official justification for the shaping of the crown in this way could be found. However, it is likely there was no document regulating the matter. If the university wished to continue using its traditional emblem, it was in its interest to design it in a way that would not provoke a stern rebuke from the authorities. The university's eagle, which had been destroyed by the Germans and which had been displayed publicly on the university's main gate on Krakowskie Przedmieście Street since 1916, was not restored. It was replaced by a state emblem without a crown. It is difficult to say whether the replacement of the cross on the crown with an orb was deliberate and meant to suggest, in a veiled way, symbols that were partially obliterated but were nevertheless legible in the context of the university's history. The threat of introducing a redesigned emblem may indeed have seemed real, especially in the 1950s.

Nowadays, the role of the seal with the university's emblem has been significantly scaled down. Due to current regulations, the seals used to authenticate diplomas feature the emblem of the Polish state. The University of Warsaw's statute mentions the traditional seal as one of the symbols of the university, but reserves its use only for exceptional occasions. In practice, the seal with the University's emblem, impressed in wax and suspended on a cord of white and red thread, is attached to three types of diplomas: when awarding honorary degrees (Doctor Honoris Causa), the doctoral renewal ceremony (that is PhD degree holders who have rendered special services) and when awarding the Medal for Services to the University of Warsaw.⁴³⁹ ●

⁴³⁹ I would like to thank the staff of the Rector's Office of the University of Warsaw for providing this information and donating the seals to the museum's collection.

XXXI. Great seal of the University of Warsaw
attached to an honorary doctoral degree, 1985,
UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

Not every seal imprint was successful. A seal
was attached to a diploma intended for Willy
Brandt, Chancellor of West Germany from
1969 to 1974, in which part of the rim
inscription and the right talon of the eagle
holding a laurel branch were poorly reproduced.
However, the chancellor could not assess
this imperfection, as the UW authorities
withdrew from awarding him the diploma,
most likely for political reasons.



Summary

Based on the aforementioned considerations, we can conclude that the classification of seals at the Royal University of Warsaw was devised according to a specific order. The rules adopted did not undergo any fundamental changes throughout the entire duration of the university, until its dissolution, despite the fact that **new sets of seals were introduced four times**.

Each set of seals has its own characteristics that distinguished it from the others, which are derived from the historical context. The first set was made in 1818 according to a design approved at the end of the previous year. The impressions made with them featured the university emblem depicting the 'Polish eagle with upraised wings'.⁴⁴⁰ The second set was made in 1823, following a decision in October 1822 to change the seal emblem. The new seals bore the image of the imperial and royal eagle of the Congress Kingdom. A further, third change took into account the naming of the university after its founder, Alexander I, in 1830, which led to modifying the inscription on the rim. The word 'SIGILLUM' and the year of the university's foundation 'MDCCCXVI' were removed to make room for the name of university extended by the word 'ALEXANDRINA'. The fourth change resulted from developments during the November Uprising in 1831. At that time, the state emblem was replaced on the seal – rather than the imperial and royal eagle, the insurgent authorities demanded that the emblem of the Kingdom of Poland of a new design be placed there, with the shield parted per pale (i.e. halved vertically) with the White Eagle on the right (heraldic) side and the Pogoń on the left, the shield under the royal crown.

⁴⁴⁰ *Księga protokołów...*, p. 76.

The classification of seals at the Royal University of Warsaw was arranged according to two criteria: the 'custodian' and the hierarchy. The **custodian criterion** divided the seals into three

groups of institutions issuing them: the university chancellery, faculties and other university entities. The distinguishing features of the different groups were the contents of the inscriptions, providing direct information about which institution could use the seal to authenticate documents, and the number of stars surrounding the image of the emblem, which symbolically determined the type of custodian. Only the university chancellery used seals with the full emblem, surrounded by five stars. Lower ranking custodians, i.e. university faculties and entities, used a 'depleted' emblem: faculties with one star, entities without a star.

The **criterion of hierarchy** was linked to the legal force of the impressions and divided them into the great seal which was impressed by putting wax on the original document with a small piece of paper placed over it, the intermediate seal for use with sealing wax and the small seal. In the case of the latter, it is difficult to define a consistent rule for the entire set of seals. The small seal of the chancellery was used with ink as were some of the corresponding faculty seals. On the other hand, some of the small seals of the faculties of law and philosophy were used with sealing wax. The great seal did indeed tower over the other types due to its size, while the names of the intermediate and small seals only corresponded to the actual size of the matrix in the first set dating from 1818.

The classification of seals dating back to the university's beginnings has been reconstructed based on incomplete sets of seals and with a limited number of seal impressions. If more impressions are discovered in the future it may be possible to clarify some of the **unresolved issues** arising from inconsistencies between the sources and surviving artefacts. It is not known whether 'ink' seals mentioned by Bieliński actually existed, or whether this term should be understood as ink seals that were actually made. The small seals of the faculties – which, if maintaining the classification of the types used in the chancellery, should have been used with ink – remain a mystery. However, at least two of the faculties used the small seal with sealing wax. There are no known impressions of the seals made according to the design established during the November Uprising, nor have the matrices survived. Finally, it is not known whether there was any document regulating in detail the classification of the seals. A diagram of a classification, reconstructed from the sources, is shown in the table on the following page.

Based on surviving documents bearing seal impressions, we can reconstruct **the rules for the use of the seals**. The university's great seal, called 'larger' in the statute, was the only one used to authenticate the originals of the university's master's and doctoral degrees. In other cases, the secretary used a seal with ink. This was used to authenticate student identification documents, transcripts, certificates, copies of diplomas, and to seal envelopes. The number of impressions found using this seal may indicate that it was the most convenient to use, and it is possible

Table. Classification of seals at the Royal University of Warsaw with respect to custodians, hierarchy and the number of stars⁴⁴¹

Five stars	University chancellery <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Great seal of the university – for use with wax and paper wafer</i> • <i>Intermediate seal of the university – for use with sealing wax</i> • <i>Small seal of the university – for use with ink</i> • <i>Letter seal – for use with ink</i> 				
One star	Faculty of Law and Administration <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Intermediate seal (sealing wax)</i> • <i>Small seal (sealing wax or ink)</i> 	Faculty of Medicine <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Great seal (wax and paper wafer)</i> • <i>Intermediate seal (sealing wax)</i> • <i>Small seal (sealing wax or ink)</i> 	Faculty of Theology <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Intermediate seal (sealing wax)</i> • <i>Small seal (sealing wax or ink)</i> 	Faculty of Philosophy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Intermediate seal (sealing wax)</i> • <i>Small seal (sealing wax or ink)</i> 	Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Intermediate seal (sealing wax)</i> • <i>Small seal (sealing wax or ink)</i>
No stars	Botanic Garden <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Seal for use with sealing wax</i> 		Cabinet of Coins and Medals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Seal for use with sealing wax</i> 		

Source: Own work.

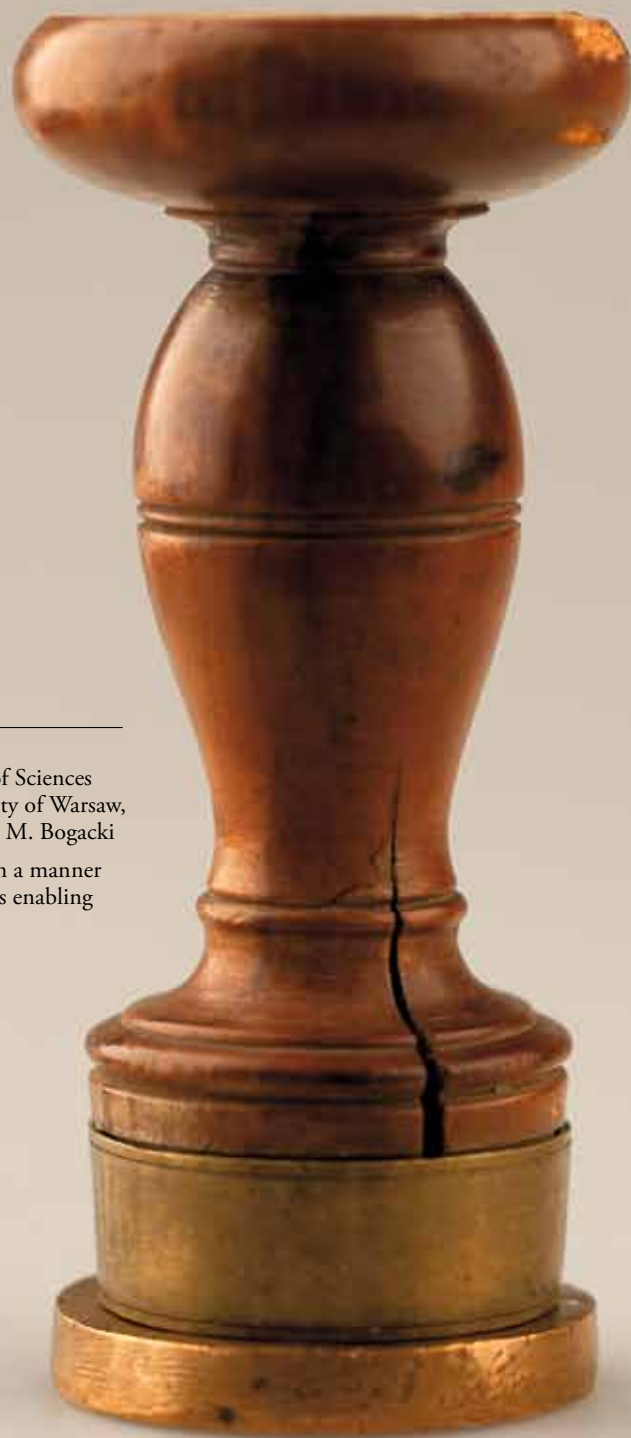
that in practice it replaced others originally intended, for example, for sealing envelopes or authenticating more important certificates. Deans used faculty seals for certificates issued to their students, while other entities authenticated documents of a financial nature with their own seals. Of course, there could have been many more uses for the seals which will require further searches before they can be determined.

At the same time, it can be observed that the seals were also used beyond the official period of the functioning of the institution. At the time of the November Uprising, the university most likely reverted to using the first set of seals and used them until it received new sets – with the state coat of arms. On the other hand, after the November Uprising, and even after the official closure of the university, the small seal of the Alexander University was still in use. ●

⁴⁴¹ The table does not include the seals that marked the university’s property, without stars or emblem.

XXXII. Seal matrix of the Faculty of Sciences
and Fine Arts of the Royal University of Warsaw,
1817 design, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

The handle of the seal was turned in a manner
which facilitated precise movements enabling
the seal to be properly imprinted.



CATALOGUE OF SEALS

This catalogue showcases those seals in the collection of the UW Museum that are the subject of this publication. The photographs and descriptions of the seal matrices and the connection between the university's emblem and the seal are discussed in the main text – whether the matrix (also known as a die) bears an image of the device in whole, in part, or not at all. Here the focus is primarily on the seals of the university, the various institutions that were part of it and which were associated with the change of its name. Furthermore it includes the seals of the various schools that either preceded the establishment of the university, or which existed parallel to it, and which are important for comparative purposes.

The descriptions of the seals have largely been structured according to guidelines in the latest archival literature on sigillography, while also taking into account the specific purpose of this publication as well as the cataloguing of museum collections. Therefore, the description of each seal includes information which reflects the scope of the present research interests.

The titles of the labels contain basic information. The name of the artefact (1.) reflects the relationship between the seal itself and the impression it produced. Although, as mentioned earlier, the matrices should not be regarded solely as technical implements, as they do have their own symbolic and artistic value, they were nonetheless distinguished by the perception of their rank as an impression and were commonly referred to as a 'seal', hence the device is named after the impression it makes. The names are based on the findings presented in this work, taking into account – as far as is possible – other features: rank ('intermediate' – 'small'), designation of the institution and the name the university bore at the time. Below we give information on the type of material used to make the impression – sealing wax, ink or soot (for dry seals).

The first point on the label lists the insignia on the artefact (1.), i.e. the current and, if any, former inventory numbers of the Museum of the University of Warsaw, as well as the former inventory number of the National Museum in Warsaw – which was added after 1918. It was not possible to ascertain whether the matrices were assigned numbers by the university at an earlier time, but possible traces of such markings are included in the section describing the handles. A complete seal consists of the matrix (plate, or die) and a handle. The next point on the label (2.) specifies the materials from which these two elements were made. One side of the matrix is affixed to the handle while the surface on the other side is engraved. In most of the artefacts shown in the catalogue the matrix is round, but because there are a few cases in which

it differs, the next point (3.) specifies the shape and dimensions of the matrix (diameter or height and width). The dimensions are rounded to full millimetres because – either as a result of the manufacturing technique or subsequent damage – the matrices have small indentations on the sides, so these measurements can vary depending on where exactly they were taken.

The next point (4.) determines whether the engraving on the matrix is in intaglio (cut below the flat surface) which when pressed into a malleable material creates an impression in relief (raised above the surface) or whether the matrix was carved in cameo, thanks to which those parts of the plate that were not removed (cut away) by the engraver, produce a flat image. When the uncut parts of the matrix were covered with ink or soot and pressed on paper they left an impression.

Markings placed on the edges of the matrix or on its reverse surface are given in the next point (6.), and then the overall height of the seal (the matrix and handle) or part thereof in millimetres is recorded (7.). Almost all the seals have wooden handles which, in some cases, have not been preserved and only the shank connecting the matrix to the wooden handle remains. In such instances we give the length of the shank together with the matrix.

Markings were also placed on the handle of the seal (8.), usually with a knob at the end, i.e. an oval component that fits in the hand, so that the matrix can be pressed precisely and firmly into or onto the material to which the seal is to be affixed (sheet of paper). On many of the handles shown here, the knob has been refashioned to obtain a flush surface. This was used by the later owners of the seals to apply markings. Among them, we can find inventory numbers used by the National Museum in Warsaw, applied in ink, which is now brown in colour. These are five-digit numbers starting with '12'; sometimes preceded by the abbreviation 'Nr inw.' (Inv. no.), and other times followed by a dot after the last digit. These markings were inconsistent, although they do all appear to have been written by the same hand. This means that at the time they were applied, the seals were already part of a single collection. This most likely happened after 1918, when they were transferred to the National Museum. It should be emphasized that, even at that time, the numbering had nothing in common with the chronology of the seals – the date of their manufacture – the variations in the university's name as it appears on the matrix or their physical characteristics, such as dimensions. In addition to the inventory numbers written in ink, there are numbers written in pencil on several of the seals; the purpose of these is difficult to determine.

The seal matrix (die) usually contains a legend and a device (an image). The content of the legend and its location (around the rim or on the field) are given in point (8.). If the text is split up or the line or direction of the text changes, this is shown by using oblique lines '//'. Legends containing abbreviations are usually indicated by ':', and those with a star or rosette separating the end and the beginning of the inscription are represented by a graphically similar symbol, e.g. '*'.

Currently, archivists studying sigillography recommend that when describing the images on seals (9.) interpretations that may be incorrect should be avoided, as this makes it difficult for researchers to find the seals they are looking for. They suggest the description should contain neutral, objective information (e.g. instead of ‘the coat of arms of Warsaw’ it is better to write ‘a mermaid, facing right with a raised sword in her right hand, and a round shield in her left hand’). However, in this catalogue we will deviate from this rule in two instances. This is justified by the fact that two of the devices appear on many of the seals, and a non-interpretive description would be rather long and impractical to repeat each time. These images are the university emblem and the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Poland. Descriptions of both are presented below, and the appropriate terms appearing in the catalogue notes should be treated as references to these descriptions.

Kuczyński defined the university’s emblem as follows: ‘The emblem of the University of Warsaw is an image of a crowned white eagle with its head facing right and outspread wings, holding in its talons a branch of laurel on the right, and a palm leaf on the left. The eagle is surrounded by five stars, which corresponds to the number of faculties there were in the year of the University’s establishment’.⁴⁴² The variant with an modified emblem (for a faculty) has only one star.

The imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland from 1815 to 1830 is quoted after Grzegorz Trafalski: ‘a two-headed Russian eagle, crowned with two imperial crowns, holding a sword and a sceptre in its right talons, and an orb in its left talons. On the eagle’s breast, in an oval escutcheon, located on a heraldic mantle topped with a royal crown, is a crowned white eagle on a red field. The whole is surmounted by an imperial crown’.⁴⁴³

The final point (10.) gives the year in which the seal was made or the period or the range of dates within which it was presumably made. There are no documents that explicitly confirm when work on the seals was completed (such as an acceptance report), but we have endeavoured to determine the dates based on the historical sources analysed in the preceding deliberations or based on the impressions that appear on documents.

Below the table we give information on how the artefacts were acquired for the collection of the UW Museum.

⁴⁴² S.K. Kuczyński, *Opinia w sprawie zapisu statutu Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego dotyczącego godła Uniwersytetu*, 28 January 1999. Copy in the files of the University of Warsaw Museum.

⁴⁴³ G. Trafalski, ‘Herb...’, p. 224.





CATALOGUE OF SEALS

Key to the catalogue labels

Title: name of the seal, either the established name or one assigned by the author; the type of material used to make an impression of the matrix.

1. Current inventory number in the UW Museum.

Former inventory number: in the UW Museum; written on the handle at the National Museum in Warsaw.

2. Material used to make the matrix.

Material used to make the handle.

3. Shape and dimensions of the matrix.

4. Type of image on the matrix: intaglio (engraved), or cameo (raised relief).

5. Information about the edge of the seal matrix.

6. Overall height of the seal: matrix and handle or shank.

7. Markings on the handle or elsewhere; special marks.

8. Content of the legend and its placing.

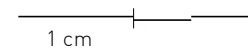
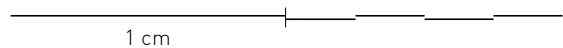
9. Description or interpretation of the device on the seal.

10. Dating of the seal.

Beneath the table: information regarding the method of acquisition of the seal by the museum.

XXXIII. The university's oldest seal matrices,
UW Museum, photo: Ł. Kamiński

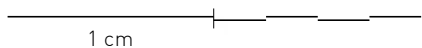
No. 1



Seal of the School of Law INK SEAL

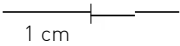
1.	Current inventory number: MUW/363 Former inventory numbers: MUW 475, 12217 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Oval matrix: 26 mm × 13 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 74 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 204 Nr. inw 12217. Decorative band on the collar
8.	The legend fills the entire field: Szkoła prawa (School of Law)
9.	Inscription imitating decorative lettering
10.	Date of manufacture: 1808–1811

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



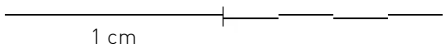
Seal of the Supervisory Council of the Academic Faculty of Law and Administration SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/335 Former inventory numbers: MUW 447, 12115 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 33 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Three incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 96 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12115. 262. Decorative band on the collar
8.	Legend surrounding rim: RADA DOZORCZA WYDZIAŁU AKADEMICZ: PRAWA I ADMINIS: * (Supervisory Council of the Academic Faculty: Law and Adminis: *)
9.	Device on matrix: an open book on an altar decorated with garlands; an oak branch on the right and a laurel branch on the left. Interpretation: Allegory of Law
10.	Date of manufacture: 1811–1815



On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.

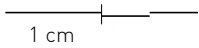
No. 3

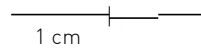
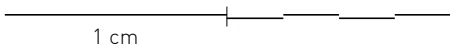


*Seal of the Secondary Level School in Warsaw
run by the Dominican Order* INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/351 Former inventory numbers: MUW 463, 12185 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 32 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Five incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 91 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12185.
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SZKOŁA WYDZIAŁOWA WARSZAWSKA (Secondary Level School in Warsaw) which is continued under the device on the seal: X: X: DOMINI and beneath, along the rim, two intertwined branches
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design
10.	Date of manufacture: 1815–1830

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



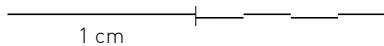


Seal of the Secondary Level School in Warsaw
run by the Dominican Order SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/343 Former inventory numbers: MUW 455, 12160 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 31 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Four incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 91 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12160 (the first two numbers are in brown ink, the last three in black, and the last number has been corrected from '4' to read '0') Decorative double band on collar
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SZKOŁA WYDZIAŁOWA WARSZAWSKA (Secondary Level School in Warsaw) which is continued under the device on the seal: X: X: DOMINI
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design
10.	Date of manufacture: 1815–1830

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.

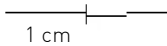
No. 5



Small seal of the Royal University of Warsaw INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/350 Former inventory numbers: MUW 462, 12182 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 38 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 80 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12182. Double groove on the collar
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGIL: UNIVERSITATIS LIT: REGIAE VARSAVIENSIS MDCCCXVI *
9.	Device on matrix: emblem of the Royal University of Warsaw, 1817 design
10.	Date of manufacture: 1818

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



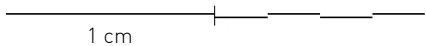


*Intermediate seal of the Faculty of Medicine
of the Royal University of Warsaw* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/336 Former inventory numbers: MUW 448, 12116 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 33 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Incision on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 87 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12116 263. 39 III T.
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGIL: ORDINIS MEDICORUM UNIV: LITT: REG: VARSAVIEN:
9.	Device on matrix: modified emblem of the Royal University of Warsaw, 1817 design
10.	Date of manufacture: 1818

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.

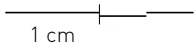
No. 7

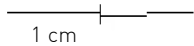
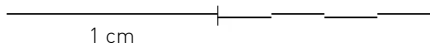


*Small seal of the Faculty of Medicine
of the Royal University of Warsaw* INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/349 Former inventory numbers: MUW 461, 12180 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 33 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Three incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 87 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12186
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGIL: ORD: MEDICORUM UNIV: LITT: REG: VARSAV: * Two decorative bands with transverse grooves on the collar
9.	Device on matrix: modified emblem of the Royal University of Warsaw, 1817 design
10.	Date of manufacture: 1818

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



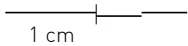
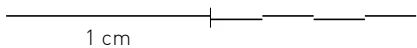


*Intermediate seal of the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts
of the Royal University of Warsaw* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/328 Former inventory numbers: MUW 440, 12081 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 33 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Incision on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 85 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12081.
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGIL: ORDINIS DOCTR: ET ART: LIBER: UNIVERS: REG: VARSAV:
9.	Device on matrix: modified emblem of the Royal University of Warsaw, 1817 design
10.	Date of manufacture: 1818

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.

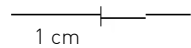
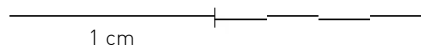
No. 9



Letter seal of the Royal University of Warsaw INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/356 Former inventory numbers: MUW 468, 12202 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 33 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Three incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 85 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: Nr. Inw 12202.
8.	Legend under device: PIECZĘĆ EXPEDYCYI Legend continued on surrounding rim: UNIWERSYTETU KRÓLEWSKO WARSZAWSKIEGO * Two decorative bands with transverse grooves on collar
9.	Device on matrix: emblem of the Royal University of Warsaw, 1817 design
10.	Date of manufacture: 1818

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.

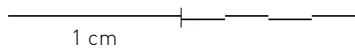


*Seal of the Botanic Garden of the Royal University
of Warsaw* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/331 Former inventory numbers: MUW 443, 12094 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 35 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Three incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 95 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12094. Decorative band on collar
8.	Legend under device: PIECZĘĆ OGRODU BOTANICZNEGO Legend continued on surrounding rim: KRÓLEWSKO WARSZAWSKIEGO UNIwersYTETU
9.	Device on matrix: emblem of the Royal University of Warsaw, modified, 1817 design – without stars
10.	Date of manufacture: 1818

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.

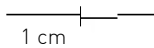
No. 11

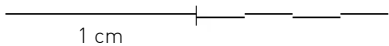


Intermediate seal of the Royal University of Warsaw SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/368 Former inventory numbers: MUW 428, 12009 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 41 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Three incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 87 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12009 Decorative band on collar
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGIL: UNIVERSITATIS LIT: REGIAE VARSAVIEN: MDCCCXVI
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design, surrounded by five stars
10.	Date of manufacture: 1823

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.

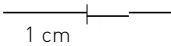




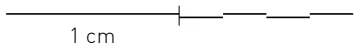
Small seal of the Royal University of Warsaw INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/360 Former inventory numbers: MUW 472, 12212 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 36 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Three incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 102 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: Nr. inw 12212. Decorative band on collar
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGILUM UNIVERSITATIS LIT: REGIAE VARSAV: MDCCCXVI
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design, surrounded by five stars
10.	Date of manufacture: 1823

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



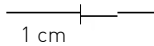
No. 13

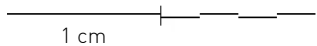


*Intermediate seal of the Faculty of Theology
of the Royal University of Warsaw* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/322 Former inventory numbers: MUW 434, 12065 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 46 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Three incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 91 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12065
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGIL: ORDINIS THEOLOGORUM UNIVER: LITT: REG: VARSAVIEN:
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design; a single star surmounts the arms
10.	Date of manufacture: 1823

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.

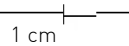




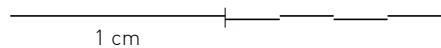
*Intermediate seal of the Faculty of Law and Administration
of the Royal University of Warsaw* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/320 Former inventory numbers: MUW 432, 12045 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 46 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Three incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 90 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12045, 3524/12357
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGIL: ORDINIS IURECONSULTORUM UNIVER: LITT: REG: VARSAVIEN:
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design; a single star surmounts the arms
10.	Date of manufacture: 1823

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



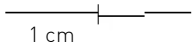
No. 15



*Small seal of the Faculty of Law and Administration
of the Royal University of Warsaw* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/329 Former inventory numbers: MUW 441, 12083 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 33 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Three incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 75 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12083, 201 Two grooves on collar
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGIL: ORDINIS IURECONSULTORUM UNIVER: LITT: REG: VARSAVIEN:
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design; a single star surmounts the arms
10.	Date of manufacture: 1823

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.





1 cm

*Small seal of the Faculty of Medicine
of the Royal University of Warsaw* INK SEAL

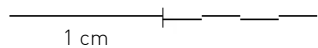
1.	Current inventory number: MUW/353 Former inventory numbers: MUW 465, 12187 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 33 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Three incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 90 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12087.
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGIL: ORD: MEDICORUM UNIVER: LITT: REG: VARSAV:
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design; a single star surmounts the arms
10.	Date of manufacture: 1823

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



1 cm

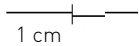
No. 17

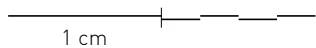


*Intermediate seal of the Faculty of Philosophy
of the Royal University of Warsaw* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/317 Former inventory numbers: MUW 430, 12033 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 46 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Three incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 91 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12033
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGIL: ORDINIS PHILOSOPHURUM UNIVER: LITT: REG: VARSAVIEN:
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland surmounted by a single star
10.	Date of manufacture: 1823

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.

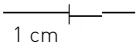




*Intermediate seal of the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts
of the Royal University of Warsaw* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/319 Former inventory numbers: MUW 431, 12043 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 46 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Three incisions on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 104 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12043 Decorative band on collar
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGIL: ORDINIS DOCTR: ET ART: LIBER: UNIV: LITT: REG: VARSAVIEN:
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design; a single star surmounts the arms
10.	Date of manufacture: 1823

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



No. 19



Seal for marking the property of the Royal University
of Warsaw INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/361 Former inventory numbers: MUW 473, 12214 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Rectangular matrix: 36 mm × 14 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 80 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12214.
8.	Legend: UNIWERSYTET // KROL: WARSZ:
9.	Device on matrix: none
10.	Date of manufacture: 1823

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



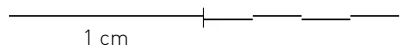
*Seal of the Cabinet of Coins and Medals
of the Royal University of Warsaw* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/324 Former inventory numbers: MUW 436, 12073 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 34 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 98 mm, filed knob with losses
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12073
8.	Legend surrounding rim: GABINET NUMIZMAT: KRÓL: UNIWERSYTETU Legend continues beneath image on seal: w WARSZAWIE
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design
10.	Date of manufacture: 1828

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



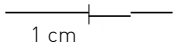
No. 21

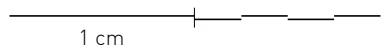


*Intermediate seal of the Royal
Alexander University* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/326 Former inventory numbers: MUW 438, 12075 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 37 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Incision on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 89 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12075.
8.	Legend surrounding rim: UNIVERSITAS LITERARUM REGIA ALEXANDRINA VARSAVIENSIS. *
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design; surrounded by five stars
10.	Date of manufacture: 1830

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.

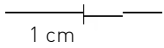




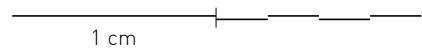
Small seal of the Royal Alexander University INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/357 Former inventory numbers: MUW 469, 12203 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 39 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Incision on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 85 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: Nr. inw 12203.
8.	Legend surrounding rim: UNIVERSITAS LITERARUM REG: ALEXANDRINA VARSAVIENSIS *
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design; surrounded by five stars
10.	Date of manufacture: 1830

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



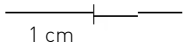
No. 23



*Small seal of the Faculty of Law and Administration
of the Royal Alexander University* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/321 Former inventory numbers: MUW 433, 12055 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 35 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Line on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 100 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12055
8.	Legend surrounding rim: ORDO IURECONSULTORUM UNIV. LIT. REG. ALEXANDRINAE VARSAV. *
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design; a single star surmounts the arms
10.	Date of manufacture: 1830

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.





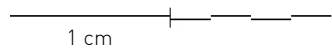
*Small seal of the Faculty of Medicine
of the Royal Alexander University* INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/362 Former inventory numbers: MUW 474, 12215 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 36 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 88 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: Nr. inw 12215.
8.	Legend surrounding rim: ORDO MEDICORUM UNIVER: LIT: REG: ALEXANDRINAE VARSAVIEN. *
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design; a single star surmounts the arms
10.	Date of manufacture: 1830

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



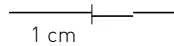
No. 25



*Intermediate seal of the Faculty of Philosophy
of the Royal Alexander University* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/330 Former inventory numbers: MUW 442, 12090 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 44 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 90 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 3524/12345, 12090
8.	Legend surrounding rim: ORDO PHILOSOPHURUM UNIVER. LIT. REG. ALEXANDRINAE VARSAV. *
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design; a single star surmounts the arms
10.	Date of manufacture: 1830

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.





*Small seal of the Faculty of Philosophy
of the Royal Alexander University* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/332 Former inventory numbers: MUW 444, 12108 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 33 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Line on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 88 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12108, 12108
8.	Legend surrounding rim: ORDO PHILOSOPHURUM UNIVER. LIT. REG. ALEXANDRINAE VARS. *
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1815 design; a single star surmounts the arms
10.	Date of manufacture: 1830

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



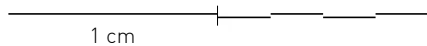
No. 27



Seal of the Inspector of the Main School INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/366 Former inventory numbers: MUW 478, 12221 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: missing; metal shank with threaded screw
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 27 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Incision on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 41 mm
7.	Handle: missing
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SEŃDZIA SZKOŁY GŁÓWNEJ
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1858 design
10.	Date of manufacture: 1862

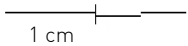
On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



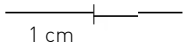
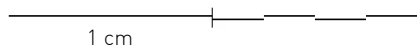
Seal of the Main Library INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/355 Former inventory numbers: MUW 467, 12199 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 34 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Incision on edge extending onto smooth side of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 89 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: Nr. inw. 12199.
8.	Legend surrounding rim: BIBLIOTEKA GŁÓWNA
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1858 design
10.	Date of manufacture: 1858–1869

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



No. 29



Letter seal of the Main Library SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/323 Former inventory numbers: MUW 435, 12070 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 35 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Incision on edge of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of seal: 89 mm
7.	Markings on handle applied by hand: 12070.
8.	Legend surrounding rim: BIBLIOTEKA GŁÓWNA // PRZESYŁKA
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, 1858 design
10.	Date of manufacture: 1858–1869

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



Seal of the Student Reading Room of the Main Library INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/365 Former inventory numbers: MUW 477, 12220 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: missing; brass shank
3.	Oval matrix: 37 mm × 18 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Height of matrix and shank: 31 mm
7.	Markings: none
8.	Legend surrounding rim: CZYTEL NIA // STUDENCKA // W WARSZAWIE
9.	Device on matrix: none
10.	Date of manufacture: 1866–1869

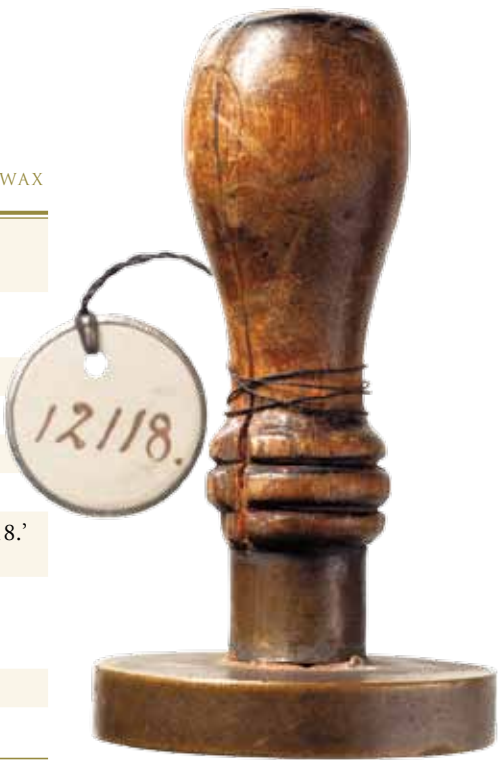
On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.

No. 31

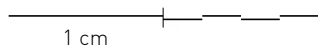


*Seal of the Inspectorate
of the Imperial University of Warsaw* SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/338 Former inventory numbers: MUW 450, 12118 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 36 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 64 mm
7.	Markings: none; cord with circular tag in aluminium circle with number '12118.' tied to handle
8.	Legend surrounding rim: ИНСПЕКЦИЯ ИМПЕРАТОРСКАГО ВАРШАВСКАГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА (INSPECTORATE OF THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW)
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Russian Empire
10.	Date of manufacture: 1869–1915

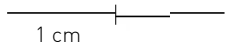


On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



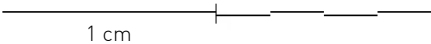
*Seal of the Cabinet of Plaster Figures and Casts
of the Imperial University of Warsaw* INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/69 Former inventory number: MUW 104
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 36 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 58 mm
7.	Markings: none
8.	Legend on field of matrix: КАБИНЕТЪ ГИПСОВЫХЪ ФИГУРЪ И СТАТУЙ (CABINET OF PLASTER FIGURES AND CASTS) Legend surrounding rim: ИМПЕРАТОРСКИЙ ВАРШАВСКИЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТЪ (IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW) Inner circle decorated with teeth pointed outwards Drawing pin attached to knob denoting top of device
9.	Device on matrix: none
10.	Date of manufacture: 1869–1915



Donated by the Manuscripts Department at BUW in 1985.

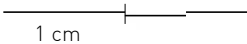
No. 33



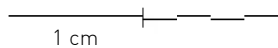
Letter seal of the Imperial University of Warsaw

SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/345 Former inventory numbers: MUW 457, 12165 MNW
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: missing, metal shank
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 32 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Incision on edge of seal and three incisions on smooth side of matrix denoting top of device
6.	Overall height of matrix and shank: 23 mm
7.	Handle: missing
8.	Legend surrounding rim: ПРАВЕЛЕНІА ІМПЕРАТОРСК. ВАРШАВСКАГО УНІВЕРСИТЕТА (COUNCIL OF THE IMPER. UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW) Legend on field: ДЛѦ ПАКЕТОВЪ (FOR PACKAGES)
9.	Device on matrix: none
10.	Date of manufacture: 1869–1915

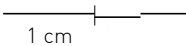


On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



Seal of the Imperial University of Warsaw INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/364 Former inventory numbers: MUW 476, 12218 MNW
2.	Matrix: rubber Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 53 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 60 mm
7.	Side of handle knob with drawing pin indicating top of device. Smooth side of matrix signed: 'Z. WEINKRANZ // VARSOVIE' bearing the inscription 'Nr. inv. 12218.' (Inv. no. 12218.). Thin cord tied to handle with circular tag in aluminium circle inscribed with number '12218.' on one side and number '150' on the other
8.	Legend surrounding rim: ИМПЕРАТОРСКАГО ВАРИАБСКАГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА (OF THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW)
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Russian Empire General outline of silhouette visible, details no longer visible
10.	Date of manufacture: 1869–1915



On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.

No. 35



*Seal of the Inspectorate
of the Imperial University of Warsaw* INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/367 Former inventory numbers: MUW 479, 12244 MNW
2.	Matrix: rubber Handle: wood Mechanism: metal
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 36 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Edge of mechanism bears the signature 'Z. WEINKRANTZ // VARSOVIE'
6.	Overall height of mechanism with handle: 192 mm, max. width: 80 mm
7.	Side of knob has sticker with numbers 3527/12662 and 12244, on uncarved side of matrix number '004', stamped, no. 3 on lower part of frame, the inscription 'Къ сест[illegible]' on edge of mechanism denoting top of device
8.	Legend surrounding rim: ИНСПЕКЦІЯ ИМПЕРАТОРСКАГО ВАРИАБСКАГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА * (INSPECTORATE OF THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW *)
9.	Device on matrix: coat of arms of the Russian Empire
10.	Date of manufacture: 1869–1915

On loan to the National Museum in Warsaw until 2015 when it was returned to the university.



Seal of the University of Warsaw, 1915 design

SEAL FOR EMBOSSING PAPER, THE PRESS AND SECOND NEGATIVELY ENGRAVED
MATRIX TO APPLY COUNTERPRESSURE ARE MISSING

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/423 Former inventory number: MUW 77
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: missing
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 38 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Markings: none
6.	Height of matrix: 6 mm
7.	Handle: missing
8.	Legend surrounding rim: UNIwersytet Warszawski * MCMXV *
9.	Device on matrix: emblem of the University of Warsaw
10.	Date of manufacture: 1915

Donated by the Manuscripts Department at BUW in 1985.

No. 37



Seal of the University of Warsaw, 1915 design INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/422 Former inventory number: MUW 76
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: missing
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 40 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of matrix and shank: 13 mm
7.	Handle: missing
8.	Legend surrounding rim: UNIWERSYTET WARSZAWSKI * MCMXV *
9.	Device on matrix: emblem of the University of Warsaw, 1915 design
10.	Date of manufacture: 1945–1948

Donated by the Manuscripts Department at BUW in 1985.

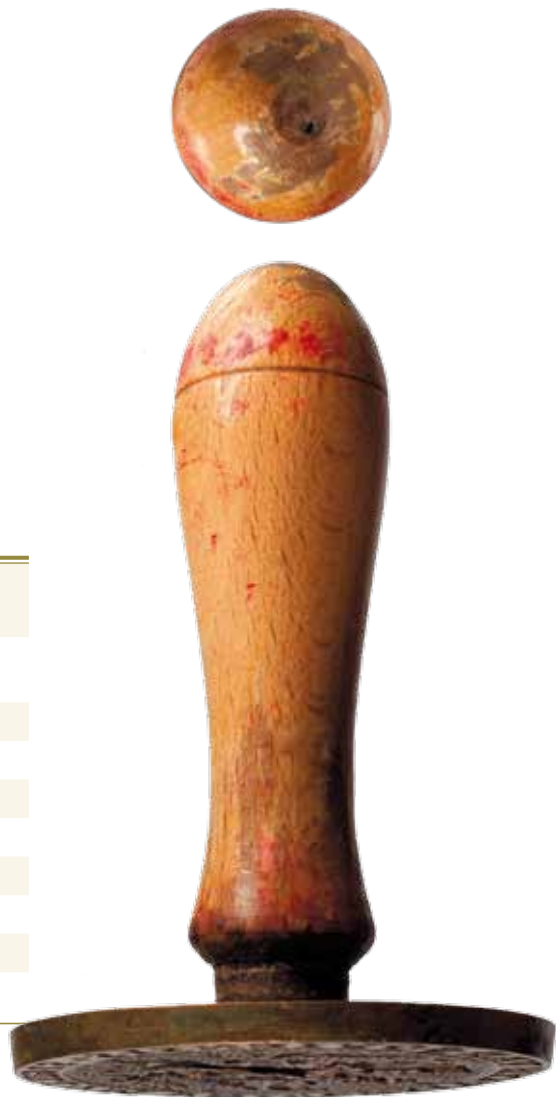


Great seal of the University of Warsaw

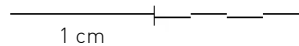
SEAL FOR USE WITH SEALING WAX/BEEFWAX

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/204 Former inventory number: MUW 131
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood (not original)
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 70 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: intaglio
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 102 mm
7.	Original handle: missing
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGILLUM UNIVERSITATIS VARSOVIENSIS ◊
9.	Device on matrix: emblem of the University of Warsaw
10.	Date of manufacture: c. 1960

Most probably donated by the Manuscripts Department at BUW in 1985 – artefact described as a 'metal armorial seal'.



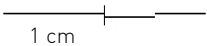
No. 39

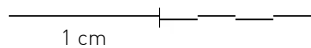


Seal of the University of Warsaw (forgery?) INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/209 Former inventory number: MUW 141
2.	Matrix: metal Handle: metal
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 48 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 107 mm
7.	Markings: none; handle with fluted decoration
8.	Legend surrounding rim: UNIVERSITAS // VARSOVIENSIS
9.	Device on matrix: emblem of the University of Warsaw
10.	Date of manufacture: after 1945

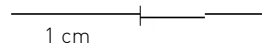
Acquired in an internet auction.





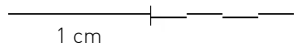
Seal of the University of Warsaw (forgery?) INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/245 Former inventory number: MUW 147
2.	Matrix: metal Handle: metal
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 48 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 45 mm
7.	Markings: none; orb-shaped knob
8.	Legend surrounding rim: UNIVERSITAS // VARSOVIENSIS
9.	Device on matrix: emblem of the University of Warsaw
10.	Date of manufacture: after 1945



Acquired in an internet auction.

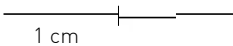
No. 41



Seal of the University of Warsaw (forgery?) INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/246 Former inventory number: MUW 148
2.	Matrix: metal Handle: metal
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 48 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 36 mm
7.	Markings: none; shell-shaped knob
8.	Legend surrounding rim: UNIVERSITAS // VARSOVIENSIS
9.	Device on matrix: emblem of the University of Warsaw
10.	Date of manufacture: after 1945

Acquired in an internet auction.





Seal of the University of Warsaw (forgery?) INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/247 Former inventory number: MUW 150
2.	Matrix: metal Handle: metal
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 48 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 53 mm
7.	Markings: none; laurel wreath-shaped knob
8.	Legend surrounding rim: UNIVERSITAS // VARSOVIENSIS
9.	Device on matrix: emblem of the University of Warsaw
10.	Date of manufacture: after 1945

Acquired in an internet auction.

No. 43

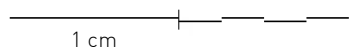


Seal of the University of Warsaw (Polish People's Republic)

INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/848
2.	Matrix: metal
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 36 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 20 mm
7.	Markings: none, matrix fixed to two elements in form of rectangular blocks used in seal presses
8.	Legend surrounding rim: SIGILLUM UNIVERSITATIS VARSOVIENSIS
9.	Device on matrix: emblem of the University of Warsaw
10.	Date of manufacture: after 1945

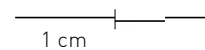
Donated by the Rector's Office of the University of Warsaw.



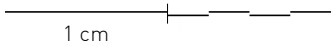
Letter seal of the University of Warsaw Library INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/846
2.	Matrix: plastic Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 41 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 72 mm
7.	Drawing pin on knob denoting top of device
8.	Legend surrounding rim: Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego // Pieczęć pocztowa
9.	Device on matrix: White Eagle
10.	Date of manufacture: 1945–1985

Donated by the Manuscripts Department at BUW in 1985.



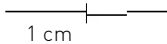
No. 45

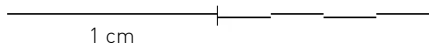


Seal of the University of Warsaw Library INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/876
2.	Matrix: plastic Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 42 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 82 mm
7.	Drawing pin on knob denoting top of device
8.	Legend surrounding rim: [BIB]L[IOTE]KA [U]NIWERSYTETU WARSZAWSK[IE]G[O]
9.	Device on matrix: emblem of the University of Warsaw
10.	Date of manufacture: before 1985

Donated by the Manuscripts Department at BUW in 1985.

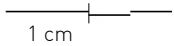




Seal of the University of Warsaw INK SEAL

1.	Current inventory number: MUW/690
2.	Matrix: brass Handle: wood
3.	Circular matrix: dia. 34 mm
4.	Type of image on matrix: cameo
5.	Markings: none
6.	Overall height of seal: 110 mm
7.	Drawing pin on knob, most probably denoting top of device
8.	Legend and surround missing; most probably they were intentionally removed
9.	Device on matrix: emblem of the University of Warsaw
10.	Date of manufacture: unspecified, 20th century

Acquired from a private donor who received it as a gift. Provenance unknown.



Mirror-reflections of the seal matrices

The caption under each image includes the catalogue number, the abbreviated name of the owner, a possible symbol in the hierarchy: (L) – great seal, (I) – intermediate seal, (S) – small seal. The caption ends with a date. The scale of the artefacts has not been preserved.



1. School of Law, 1808–1811



2. Supervisory Council of the Academic Faculty of Law and Administration, 1811–1815



3. School of the Dominican Order in Warsaw, 1815–1830



4. School of the Dominican Order in Warsaw, 1815–1830



5. Royal University of Warsaw (S), 1818



6. Faculty of Medicine (I), 1818



7. Faculty of Medicine (S), 1818



8. Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts (I), 1818



9. Letter seal of the Royal University of Warsaw, 1818



10. Botanic Garden, 1818



11. Royal University of Warsaw (I), 1823



12. Royal University of Warsaw (S), 1823



13. Faculty of Theology (I), 1823



14. Faculty of Law and Administration (I), 1823



15. Faculty of Law and Administration (S), 1823

MIRROR-REFLECTIONS...



16. Faculty of Medicine (S), 1823



17. Faculty of Philosophy (I), 1823



18. Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts (I), 1823



19. Seal for marking the property of the Royal University of Warsaw, 1823



20. Cabinet of Coins and Medals, 1828



21. Royal Alexander University (I), 1830



22. Royal Alexander University (S), 1830



23. Faculty of Law and Administration (S), 1830



24. Faculty of Medicine (S), 1830



25. Faculty of Philosophy (I), 1830



26. Faculty of Philosophy (S), 1830



27. Inspector of the Main School, 1862



28. Main Library, 1856–1869



29. Letter seal of the Main Library,
1858–1869



30. Student Reading Room of the Main
Library, 1866–1869



31. Inspectorate of the Imperial University
of Warsaw, 1869–1915



32. Cabinet of Plaster Figures and Casts,
1869–1915



33. Letter seal of the Imperial University
of Warsaw, 1869–1915

MIRROR-REFLECTIONS...



34. Imperial University of Warsaw,
1869–1915



35. Inspectorate of the Imperial University
of Warsaw, 1869–1915



36. University of Warsaw, 1915



37. University of Warsaw, 1945–1948



38. University of Warsaw (L), c. 1960



39. University of Warsaw, after 1945



40. University of Warsaw, after 1945



41. University of Warsaw, after 1945



42. University of Warsaw, after 1945



43. University of Warsaw, after 1945



44. Letter seal of the University of Warsaw Library, 1945–1985



45. University of Warsaw Library, before 1985



46. University of Warsaw, 20th century

A N N E X E

List of diplomas of the Royal University of Warsaw located when writing this monograph

National Archives in Kraków

Diploma confirming the renewal of a doctorate
awarded to Jerzy Christian Arnold,
18 December 1819
Great seal, 1817 design
29/657/0/-/1021

Doctoral diploma in philosophy and medicine
awarded to Michelangelo Bergonzoni,
12 November 1818
Great seal, 1817 design
29/657/0/-/1096

State Archives in Lublin

Copy of master's diploma in theology awarded to
Jan Horoszewicz, 16 December 1823
No seals or signatures
35/95/0/12.3/798, fol. 2

Master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*,
i.e. both civil and canon law) awarded to
Wincenty Świeżawski, 15 February 1828
No seals or signatures
35/83/0/-/29

Master's diploma in law awarded to Józef
Hermenegild Kurowski, 12 March 1822
Great seal, 1817 design
35/93/0/9/82

State Archives in Łódź

Copy of master's diploma in philosophy awarded to
Tomasz Welinowicz, 27 July 1822
Small ink seal, 1817 design
39/592/0/1.6/293

State Archives in Piotrków Trybunalski

Master's diploma in architecture and surveying
awarded to Wincenty Zajączkowski,
17 July 1821
Great seal, 1817 design
48/545/0/-/5

State Archives in Warsaw

Master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*,
i.e. both civil and canon law) awarded to
Baltazar Marcinkowski, 28 September 1824
Great seal, 1823 design
72/201/0/4/41, fol. 152

Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences

Master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*,
i.e. both civil and canon law) awarded to
Antoni Przesmycki, 14 February 1821
Great seal, 1817 design
302/600/0, fol. 2

Jagiellonian Library

Master's diploma in theology awarded to
Jan Stanisław Przybylski, 25 July 1822
Great seal, 1817 design
BJ Rkp. Dypl. 183

Master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*,
i.e. both civil and canon law) awarded to
Józef Mystkowski, 1 October 1824
Great seal, 1823 design
BJ Rkp. Dypl. 534

Master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*,
i.e. both civil and canon law) awarded to
Romuald Hube, 16 July 1821
Great seal, 1817 design
BJ Rkp. Dypl. 525

Master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*,
i.e. both civil and canon law) awarded to
Józef Hube, 25 September 1824
Great seal, 1823 design
BJ Rkp. Dypl. 524

University of Toruń Library

Master's diploma in medicine awarded to
Józef Karwowski, 12 January 1828
Great seal, 1823 design
BG, DŻS, I A-1

University of Warsaw Library (BUW)

Master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*,
i.e. both civil and canon law) awarded to
Franciszek Xawery Koysiewicz,
1 December 1819
Great seal, 1817 design
BUW Rps, akc. 1012

Master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*,
i.e. both civil and canon law) awarded to
Hipolit Znamierowski, 15 December 1826
Great seal, 1823 design
BUW Rps, akc. 2

Copy of master's diploma in administration
awarded to Aleksander Fijałkowski,
5 October 1829
Small ink stamp, 1823 design
BUW Rps, akc. 1104

Form for master's diploma in both laws
(*utriusque juris*, i.e. both civil and canon law)
and administration awarded to
Kalikst Morozewicz, 20 July 1819
No seals or signatures
BUW Rps, akc. 738

Form for master's diploma in science
and the fine arts awarded to Feliks Żochowski,
11 July 1828
No seals or signatures
BUW Rps, inv. no. 737

National Museum in Kielce

Master's diploma in administration awarded to
Antoni Gwoździowski, 23 September 1828
Great seal, 1823 design
MNKi/H/2484

University of Warsaw Museum

Master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*,
i.e. both civil and canon law) awarded to
Ignacy Maciejowski, 21 July 1822
Great seal, 1817 design
RP MUW/659

Master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*,
i.e. both civil and canon law) awarded to
Antoni Wolanowski, 21 September 1825
Great seal, 1823 design
MUW/602

Hieronim Łopaciński Provincial Public Library in Lublin

Master's diploma in philosophy awarded to

Franciszek Ostrowski, 14 July 1820

Great seal, 1823 design

Special Collections Department Rkps 445⁴

NB: the seal was added later, as evidenced by the later design and the unusual location of the signature of the dean of the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts, Feliks Bentkowski, in place of the rector (in the middle, in the place usually reserved for the seal).

Selected source materials for the history of the emblem of the University of Warsaw

Constitution of the Kingdom of Poland of 1815.

Title III, On Government, Chapter I: On the King, Article 37: 'All public records of courts, tribunals and magistrates of whatsoever kind shall be issued in the king's name. Coins and stamps shall bear the insignia designated by him.'

Internal Regulations of the General Council of the Royal Main School in Warsaw,

15 March 1817, J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, p. 243.

Article 14. The seal of the Council, which is to remain in the custodianship of the secretary, will depict the Polish eagle inscribed with the legend *Rada ogólna królewskiej Szkoły głównej warszawskiej* (General Council of the Royal Main School in Warsaw). Adopted at the session of the General Council of the University on 15 March 1817.

Meeting of the General Council of the Royal University of Warsaw (KUW) of 8 November 1817,

Księga protokołów (Minutes Book), p. 70.

Item 2. A member of the Council [Wawrzyniec] Surowiecki announced that at the meeting of the Administrative Council ^ait was said that^[a] the eagle of the present-day Kingdom should be used for the university seal, ^b the General Council also suggested that an eagle from Niemcewicz's *Pieśni* (Songs) could be used, and if the Administrative Council did not find this suitable either, it would agree to the eagle of the present-day Kingdom^[c].

^{a-a} Words added, this passage was moved to another place.

^b In the original deleted. ^c In the original the words 'of Poland' were deleted.

Meeting of the General Council of the Royal University of Warsaw (KUW) of 15 November 1817,

Księga protokołów (Minutes Book), p. 72.

Item 2. The decree of the Government Commission for Religion and Public Education regarding a seal for the university was read out, and the Council instructed the deputy secretary to have the seal made forthwith.

Meeting of the General Council of the Royal University of Warsaw (KUW) of 29 November 1817,
Księga protokołów (Minutes Book), p. 76.

Item 6. The Council decided that all faculties of the Royal University of Warsaw should have separate seals with appropriate inscriptions, which should depict a Polish eagle with upraised wings and one star above the crown of the eagle's head.

Meeting of the General Council of the Royal University of Warsaw (KUW) of 28 March 1818,
Księga protokołów (Minutes Book), p. 103.

Item 1. The deputy secretary of the university reported that seals had been forwarded to all faculties of the university and that the seals cost 150 zlotys and were paid for from the student fees fund.

Meeting of the General Council of the Royal University of Warsaw (KUW) of 3 April 1818,
Księga protokołów (Minutes Book), p. 107.

Item 7. The same [Presiding Officer in the Council, i.e. Szweykowski] reported that the dean of the Faculty of Medicine had deposited the 3 seals formerly used in the Faculty of Medicine, nevertheless that invited by the same dean to the examination of several students of the said Faculty held on the 31st [of] last [month], he was at such as head of the Council.

Meeting of the General Council of the Royal University of Warsaw (KUW) of 4 July 1818,
Księga protokołów (Minutes Book), p. 120.

Item 1. The deputy secretary of the university reported to the Council on a great seal with a steel matrix for the Royal University of Warsaw, for which 102 zlotys were paid from the university's student fee fund.

Draft of the university of Warsaw Statutes, 1821, *Projekt do Statutu...*, p. 46.

Paragraph 231. Under his [the secretary's – note by K.M.] custodianship is the smaller and the larger seal of the university, for the use of which he is responsible.

Coat of arms of the University. Seals, J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, pp. 402–404.

The coat of arms of the university, and at the same time the seal, was 'an ancient Polish eagle, crowned, with outspread wings, holding in its left talon a palm leaf and in its right a laurel branch, marks of perseverance and reward; surrounded by a pentagon of five stars signifying the five academic faculties, and around the edge the inscription: Sigillum Universitatis Regiae Varsaviensis MDCCCXVI'.

The Government Commission, having established the university, submitted to the king's viceroy (4 November 1817, no. 4458) a design for the university's emblem, with an explanation of the description, as above in quotation marks; recognizing, for its part, that in view of the distinguished name of this national academic institute, it seems the most appropriate seal and coat of arms for it. The viceroy approved the drawing presented to him and had it legalized, and on 15 November 1817, the Government Commission notified the General Council of the university of the same.

Based on this provision, the following seals were commissioned:

1) A great seal with a screw and a wooden handle. 2) A small seal for making impressions in a malleable material. 3) A small seal for postal purposes and 4) an intermediate seal for use with sealing wax – all with five stars.

Ten seals with one star for the deans of the faculties: two for each – an intermediate and a small one.

A great seal with a screw for the dean of the Faculty of Medicine, as they had to issue certificates for non-specialized doctors and midwives. The director of the Botanic Garden also had his own seal.

The exact image of the University's coat of arms was on medals intended for students for the best theses.

By adding the word 'Sigillum' to the inscription given above, we get a copy of the great seal of the university.

On 18 September 1822, Counselor to the Secretary of State Brigadier General Kossecki, by order of the king's viceroy, notified the Minister of Education that the grand duke had declared his deepest displeasure at the fact that the minister, the Government Commission and its subordinated schools were using seals which depicted only the White Eagle – which could be used only by the army with the express permission of His Imperial Majesty – instead of using the seal of the Government of the Congress Kingdom, the Government Commissions and all other authorities, i.e. a White Eagle on the breast of the black Russian eagle with the appropriate inscription. 'The king's viceroy instructs that this seal be changed forthwith and that such an order be issued.'

The minister, through the Government Commission, ordered that the seal be changed, according to the instructions received as above (11 October 1822, no. 10921/2106).

As a result of the above decree, the seals were replaced and the former ones were added to the collection of seals, which, together with the seals of the former School of Law, the former School of Medicine and the former General Council, started an important sigillography collection at the university.

The new seals with the Russian eagle, prepared on the basis of the Government Commission's rescript of 23 January 1823, no. 14328/9095, were as follows: A great seal, of steel, for the chancellery of the university, and two brass seals, one for sealing wax, the other for different malleable materials. Five larger seals made of brass for use with sealing wax for the five faculties, and five smaller brass ones. One of brass for use with sealing wax for the Botanic Garden and finally five of steel with lettering to mark the university's property.

The last change of the seals took place on the basis of the declaration of the Sejm, on 25 January 1831.

On 9 February 1831, the Government Commission recommended that the university prepare a seal with the White Eagle and an appropriate inscription (document no. 1223/381).

Meanwhile, the National Government, in implementing Article 7 of the Sejm Resolution, dated 29 January 1831, recognizing the need to change the existing seal and emblems of the former government, decided that all state seals should be as follows: on a shield parted per pale

(i.e. halved vertically) there is to be a white eagle and a Pogoń in a red field, beneath a royal crown, and in the upper field an inscription: 'Królestwo Polskie' (Kingdom of Poland), and at the bottom the name of the authority.

I have not come across any seals according to the above design in university papers from this or later periods.

It is, however, clear that these seals were made. Among the reports of the Council it is stated that by virtue of the rescript of the Government Commission of 20 May 1831, no. 2890/1526, a great seal, carved in steel, and smaller seals made of brass for use with ink and sealing wax, both for the university and the faculties, and the seal with a steel matrix for use with sealing wax for the Cabinet of Coins and Medals, and one for the Botanic Garden arrived. This third series of seals is included in the last inventory that was drawn up.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. *Stanisław August, King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania*, engraved by Matthäus Deisch, 1764, BN

Fig. 2. *The Troelfth Cake or Allegory of the First Partition of Poland*, etched by Johannes Esaias Nilson, after 1773, BN

Fig. 3. *Napoleon Conferring the Constitution of the Duchy of Warsaw in 1807*, engraved by Franz Seraph Hanfstaengl, 1843, BN

Fig. 4. *Equestrian Portrait of Stanisław Kostka Potocki*, painted by Jacques Louis David, 1781, Museum of King Jan III's Palace in Wilanów

Fig. 5. Seal of the Royal University of Warsaw for use with ink, 1818, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

Fig. 6. Nomination of Kazimierz Brodziński as 1st secretary of the Royal University of Warsaw, 16 December 1822, UW Museum, MUW/606/25

Fig. 7. Emblem of the University of Warsaw on the main gate, photo: H. Kowalski

Fig. 8. Imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland on a document of the Heraldic Commission of the Congress Kingdom of Poland confirming the ennoblement of Ignacy Nosarzewski, 1837, ANK, ZDP, 29/658/0/-/1349, fol. 1

- Fig. 9. Imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland from 1815–1830, author unknown, 19th century, BN, G.13076/I
- Fig. 10. Wafer seal of Alexander I with the imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, on a document granting the Order of St Stanislaus, fourth class, to Charles Varenne, 1823, UW Museum, MUW/610
- Fig. 11. Excerpt from a page of minutes of the University Council with an item relating to the design of the emblem, 1817, AUW KR/WO 1, fol. 55, minutes of the meetings of the General Council of the Main School in Warsaw from 4 January 1817 to 14 March 1818, and meetings of the Council of the Royal University of Warsaw from 16 March 1818 to 12 March 1819
- Fig. 12. Seal of the Faculty of Medicine with the emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland authenticating the diploma of Master of Medicine and Surgery for Tomasz Flejczeroski dated 17 October 1817, J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1911, p. 534, BN
- Fig. 13. Uniforms of university professors of the first and second class, *Rocznik Instytutów Religijnych i Edukacyjnych w Królestwie Polskiem* 1824, inserts after pp. IV, VIII
- Fig. 14. University deans and rector in togas with chains on their chests during the funeral of Alexander I in 1826, J.F. Piwarski, *Opis żałobnego obchodu po wiekopomney pamięci Najjaśniejszym Alexandrze I, Cesarzu Wszech Rosyi, Królu Polskim w Warszawie, w dniach 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 19, 23 kwietnia 1826 roku uroczyscie odbytego*, Warsaw 1829, BN, A.2983/G.XIX/V-19
- Fig. 15. Title page of Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz's work *Śpiewy historyczne z muzyką i rycinami* (Historical songs with music and drawings), Warsaw 1816, BN, Podr. Muz.IV.B.80
- Fig. 16. Bas-relief with a depiction of the emblem of the Kingdom of Poland from the time of King Zygmunt the Old on the exterior wall of the Zygmunt Chapel, 1524–1531, photo: J. Mehlich/Wikipedia
- Fig. 17. Wafer seal of the University of Kraków on the back of a letter dated 12 May 1829, AGAD, TKPN, 1/199/0/-/9, fol. 115
- Fig. 18. Wafer seal of the Imperial University of Vilnius on a letter dated 6 May 1809, AUJ, 805/4/0, Senat i władze nadrzędne Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego ([1780]1796–1849[1899]), S I 490 (406), Akademia Sztuk Pięknych V 1811-1 1834, photo: D. Dąbrowska

- Fig. 19. Seal of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Wrocław impressed in sealing wax on a doctoral diploma dated 1865, BJ, Rkp. Dypl. 576
- Fig. 20. View of the Kazimierzowski Palace in 1824, Jan F. Piwarski, 1855–1859, UW Museum, MUW/440
- Fig. 21. Seal of the School of the Medical Faculty in Warsaw, 1809, J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 2, p. 512, BN
- Fig. 22. Seal of the Faculty of Medicine in Warsaw, 1813, J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 2, p. 512, BN
- Fig. 23. Wafer seal of the Commission on a letter dated 18 January 1817 authorizing Adam Bartoszewicz to take up the post of assistant at the three-year secondary level school in Biała, APŁ, ArB, 39/592/0/2.1/732, fol. 8
- Fig. 24. Ink seal of the Commission on a letter dated 10 August 1819 calling on Adam Bartoszewicz to take up the post of a substitute teacher at the three-year secondary level school in Biała, APŁ, ArB, 39/592/0/2.1/733, fol. 1
- Fig. 25. Seal of the postal department of the Commission on the back of letter no. 10221 dated 26 September 1822 addressed to Adam Bartoszewicz, APŁ, ArB, 39/592/0/1.6/286, fol. 9 (back of letter)
- Fig. 26. Seal of the Schools in Pińczów under the list of pupils' contributions to the Nicolaus Copernicus Monument, 1817, AGAD, TKPN, 1/199/0/-/55, fol. 300
- Fig. 27. University button with the White Eagle, Zygmunt Munchheimer metalware factory, 1820–1829, MW, photo: A. Czechowski, MHW 3055
- Fig. 28. Wafer seal of the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police on a letter dated 28 April 1819, UW Museum, MUW/606/6
- Fig. 29. Wax seal of the Government Commission for War on a letter dated 30 December 1815, BN, G.11559/II
- Fig. 30. Chain and pendant of the university rector and professors' symbols, *Rocznik Instytutów Religijnych i Edukacyjnych w Królestwie Polskiem* 1824, no. 1, insert after p. XI

- Fig. 31. Banner of 1826 carried by the colour party during the inauguration of the academic year 1938/1939, NAC, 3/1/0/10/3326/1
- Fig. 32. Banners of the University of Warsaw and the Warsaw Polytechnic in 1916, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1916, no. 23, p. 271
- Fig. 33. Award medal of the University of Warsaw, print from: E. Tyszkiewicz, *Sammlung von Medaillen. Welche sich auf die Geschichte der Länder und Städte der ehemaligen Republik Polen beziehen und von ihrer ersten Theilung bis zum Tode des Kaisers Nicolaus I. geprägt sind 1772–1855*, Riga 1871, p. 115, no. 75
- Fig. 34. Lecture hall of the Main School in Warsaw in the Auditorium Building, drawing: W. Gerson; engr.: Walter, *Kłosy* 1867
- Fig. 35. Seal matrices from the university collection, photo: M. Bogacki
- Fig. 36. Seal matrix of the university chancellery for use with ink, 1818. The legend on the rim is not exactly the same as the text of the Commission's draft approved by the viceroy, and as recorded in publications on the history of the University of Warsaw, photo: M. Bogacki
- Fig. 37. Great seal of the university on a Master of Theology diploma issued to Jan Stanisław Przybylski in 1822, BJ Rkp. Dypl. 182
- Fig. 38. Wafer seal of the Commission on Kazimierz Brodziński's nomination as permanent professor of the university dated 21 July 1826, UW Museum, MUW/606/29
- Fig. 39. Corroboration clause on the great seal on the diploma of Master of Both Laws (*utriusque juris*) issued to Józef Mystkowski, 1 October 1824, BJ Rkp. Dypl. 534
- Fig. 40. Corroboration clause when using a university seal other than the great seal on a student identification document issued to Wincenty Ejnarowicz, 17 October 1829, UW Museum, MUW/601
- Fig. 41. Small ink seal on a student identification document for Paweł Rodcewicz, student of the Faculty of Medicine, 12 October 1821, AGAD, AZam, 1/358/0/3146, fol. 29
- Fig. 42. Small ink seal, 1817 design, on a copy of Tomasz Welinowicz's master's diploma, APŁ, ArB, 39/592/0/1.6/293

- Fig. 43. Letter seal of the Royal University of Warsaw, 1817 design, APW, UW-OB, 72/215/0, fasc. 1, fol. 173 and fol. 176v
- Fig. 44. Broken seal of the Faculty of Philosophy impressed in sealing wax on an envelope addressed to Adam Bartoszewicz, on the rim the letters 'PHIL' are visible, and part of the name of the faculty 'ORDO PHILOSOPHORUM', APŁ, ArB, 39/592/0/2.1/733, fol. 7
- Fig. 45. Seal of the Faculty of Law and Administration impressed in sealing wax on a certificate issued to Aleksander Wielopolski dated 5 January 1822, APK, 21/288/0/1/41, fol. 7
- Fig. 46. Great seal of the university on a master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*) for Antoni Wolanowski, 21 September 1825, UW Museum, MUW/602
- Fig. 47. Small seal, 1823 design, on a certificate issued to Kazimierz Brodziński, 10 July 1823, UW Museum, MUW/606/2
- Figs. 48, 49. Small and intermediate seal matrices for use with sealing wax of the Faculty of Law and Administration in the same scale, 1823, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
- Fig. 50. Seal matrix of the Cabinet of Coins and Medals, 1828, UW Museum, MUW/324, photo: M. Bogacki
- Fig. 51. Small seal of the university, 1830 design, on a certificate issued to Paweł Maliński, 26 November 1832, AUW, KR/WO 4, fol. 35
- Fig. 52. Seal of the School of Law in black ink on a book donated to the book collection by Jan Wincenty Bandtkie, 1808–1817, Early Printed Books Department, University of Warsaw Library (BUW), Aldus Manutius iun. *Epitome orthographiae...*, Antwerp 1579, Sd.608.4799 adl., *Katalog druków XVI wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, vol. 5, ed. H. Mieczkowska, Warsaw 2015, item 6237
- Fig. 53. Seal of the Student Reading Room on the title page of a 1574 work on the law of the ancient Romans, Early Printed Books Department, University of Warsaw Library (BUW), C. Sigonius, *De antiquo iure populi Romani*, Bologna 1574, Sd. 602.2409, *Katalog druków XVI wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, vol. 6, ed. H. Mieczkowska, Warsaw 2016, item 8826

- Fig. 54. Student transcript of Józef Rostafiński, student of the Main School in Warsaw, 1867, UW Museum, RP MUW/474, photo: M. Bogacki
- Fig. 55. Seal of the Imperial University of Warsaw on a diploma issued to Władysław Mamert Rodys, 31 December 1888, UW Museum, RP MUW/809
- Fig. 56. Academic identity card of Włodzimierz Rodys with a seal bearing the emblem of the reborn University of Warsaw, 1915 design, issued in 1918, UW Museum, RP MUW/650
- Fig. 57. Zofia Wojtczak's list of lectures and classes issued in 1929 with the emblem of the reborn University of Warsaw, 1915 design, UW Museum, RP MUW/563
- Fig. 58. Seal with the emblem of the reborn University of Warsaw, 1915 design, on Zofia Wojtczak's student identification document, issued in 1929, UW Museum, RP MUW/563
- Fig. 59. Dry embossed seal with the emblem of the reborn University of Warsaw, 1915 design, on the diploma of Maria Smoleńska dated 1925, UW Museum, RP MUW/506
- Fig. 60. Seal impressed in sealing wax with the emblem of the University of Warsaw closing a collection of antique cards, 1923, BUW, Rps. 1721, *Materiały do historii BUW*, fol. 10, photo: K. Mordyński
- Fig. 61. Ink seal of the Józef Piłsudski University with the emblem of the university on Mieczysław Kudelski's student transcript of 1935, UW Museum, RP MUW/567
- Fig. 62. Ink seal of the Józef Piłsudski University with the state emblem on Helena Maria Missorek's student transcript of 1938, UW Museum, RP MUW/752
- Fig. 63. Ink seal with the emblem of the University of Warsaw, 1915 design, on Stanisław Wieloński's diploma of 1948, UW Museum, RP MUW/912/1
- Fig. 64. Janina Słomińska's student transcript with a seal with the university emblem, 1948, UW Museum, RP MUW/652/2
- Fig. 65. Janina Słomińska's doctoral student's transcript with a university seal bearing the state emblem, 1951, UW Museum, RP MUW/652/3
- Fig. 66. University emblem on the flag of the University of Warsaw, 1936, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki

Fig. 67. Ceremonial seal of the University of Warsaw impressed in sealing wax, enclosed in a skipper and attached with a cord to an honorary doctoral degree for Willy Brandt (not awarded), 1985, UW Museum, MUW/536/a-f, photo: M. Bogacki

Fig. 68. A likeness of the university seal with the university emblem from the communist period, cover of *Księga protokołów Rady Ogólnej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1817–1819* (Minutes Book of the General Council of the University of Warsaw 1817–1819) published by Rafał Gerber in 1958

Fig. 69. Contemporary ceremonial seal attached on a cord to documents of special significance, photo: M. Bogacki

- I. Sculpture of an eagle crowning the dome. Design of the new facade of the Kazimierzowski Palace, drawing: Hilary Szpilowski, Wacław Ritschel, c. 1820, Print Room of the University of Warsaw Library (BUW)
- II. Seal matrix of the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts, 1817 design, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
Intaglio matrix for use with sealing wax. The wax fills the incisions creating a relief reproduction of the drawing on the matrix. The precisely cut details on the eagle's plumage draw the viewers' attention.
- III. Ceremonial seal of the University of Warsaw, c. 1958, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
The seal for making ceremonial imprints in sealing wax from around 1958, intended to decorate doctoral diplomas, most likely did not survive, and is not in the collection of the UW Museum. However, a number of the impressions have survived. The seal was placed in a skipper with a lid, and was attached to the diploma by a cord.
- IV. Small seal of the University of Warsaw, with the imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom of Poland with the five stars of the university, 10 July 1823, UW Museum
- V. Documents belonging to Kazimierz Brodziński dating from 1809–1832 donated to the UW Museum by Marek Starowieyski, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
The Archives of Public Education, which were located at the University of Warsaw, burned down as a result of German bombing in September 1939. Surviving records from the early days of the university should be sought in the legacies of institutions and individuals that corresponded with the university.
- VI. One of the letters drawn up in the university chancellery and preserved in the collection of the State Archives in Warsaw, 5 March 1832, APW
- VII. Detail from the engraving *Alexander I Presenting the Act of Founding of the University of Warsaw to the Polish Deputation*, engr.: F. Corsi, drawing: A. Kolberg, 1831, UW Museum

The symbolic scene of Tsar Alexander I's presentation of the foundation act to Rector Wojciech Szweykowski shows the document authenticated with a seal, most likely a wax seal attached to a cord and enclosed in a skippet. The engraving repeats a detail from a painting, now lost. It is not known whether the painter actually reproduced the appearance of the deed, but the corroboration formula on the document does mention 'an imprint of the seal of Our Kingdom of Poland' ('wyciśnięcie pieczęci Królestwa Naszego Polskiego').

- VIII. Great seal of the University of Warsaw according to the 1817 design on a master's diploma dated 1 December 1819, BUW
- IX. Seal matrix of the Faculty of Medicine, 1817 design, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
Cameo matrix for making ink impressions. When making the matrix, the die sinker draws an outline of the emblem and letters, and then removes the unnecessary parts of the disc. The ink covers mainly the parts of the matrix that are raised above the surface, and the ink is transferred from the matrix to the paper thereby reproducing the drawing.
- X. Seal matrix of the Supervisory Council of the Academic Faculty of Law and Administration, 1811–1815, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
The over-complicated emblem chosen by the Council – an altar with an open book – lacks the expressive power of the legible eagle symbol.
- XI. Seal of the Imperial University of Vilnius, imprinted in 1809, AUJ, photo: D. Dąbrowska
- XII. Detail of the flag of the University of Warsaw from 1936, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
The image of the emblem – based on the seal of 1817 – was embroidered with silk threads on both sides of the banner.
- XIII. Seal matrix of the Royal University of Warsaw for use with sealing wax, 1823 design, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
On the matrix dating from 1823, the die sinker had to make five crowns. The largest of them is ornamented with fleurons.
- XIV. Seal of the Commission with an image of the White Eagle on a document appointing Juliusz Kolberg a university professor, 30 January 1819, property of the Kolberg family, on loan to the O. Kolberg Museum in Przysucha, photo: Z. Słomski
- XV. Seal matrix of the Royal University of Warsaw for use with ink, 1823 design, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
Cameo matrices have a drawing made in relief on one plane, which produces a clear ink impression.

- XVI. Residential annexe of the Kazimierzowski Palace, where the university chancellery was located next to the apartment of the UW rector. The meetings of the General Council of the university were held in the apartment of the rector of the Warsaw Lyceum, drawing: J. Tańkowski, 1827, AGAD
- XVII. Three seal matrices from the collection of the UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
The incomplete set of preserved matrices consists of artefacts that have common and distinct features. It is possible to reconstruct the university's classification system by analysing them.
- XVIII. Matrix of the small seal of the Royal University of Warsaw, 1817 design, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
This was the most common seal used by the university's secretary between 1818 and 1823.
- XIX. An unusual example of the great seal impressed in sealing wax, one of the most beautiful surviving copies. It was used to authenticate a doctoral diploma awarded to Juliusz Kolberg dated 12 July 1820, property of the Kolberg family, on loan to the O. Kolberg Museum in Przysucha, photo: Z. Słomski
- XX. Letter seal matrix, 1817 design, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
Three notches on the outer edge of the matrix facilitate the use of the seal and ensure that the matrix is applied with the eagle's head towards the top of the sheet of paper.
- XXI. Seal of the Botanic Garden for use with sealing wax, 1818, APW
- XXII. Seal matrix of the Faculty of Law and Administration, 1823 design, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
The image on the university seal with the imperial and royal emblem of the Congress Kingdom implemented the heraldic idea of the identity of the state: the White Eagle coat of arms was the main element of the drawing, while the imperial two-headed eagle acted as a base-holder.
- XXIII. Matrix of the small seal of the Royal Alexander University, 1830, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
The matrix clearly shows the chisel marks left by the die sinker when making the drawing on the seal.
- XXIV. Great seal on the master's diploma in both laws (*utriusque juris*) issued to Antoni Wolanowski, 21 September 1825, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
Great seal of the university, 1823 design. This type of seal stood highest in the university's hierarchy and had a particularly decorative form. The intricate and detailed drawing on the matrix had to be properly imprinted on the paper to achieve the right effect. A small amount of wax was poured on the diploma, which was then covered with a paper wafer cut in the shape of a flower. The wafer was moistened with water to accurately reproduce the image of the matrix as it was squeezed through the press.

- XXV. Great seal of the University of Warsaw according to the 1823 design, UW Museum
- XXVI. Matrix of the small seal of the Faculty of Medicine for use with sealing wax, 1830 design, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
The lengthening of the university's name in 1830 by adding the word 'Alexandrina' (Alexander) made it necessary to modify the legend on the rim. Although the word 'Sigillum' was removed, the letters are still compressed.
- XXVII. The 'Belvedereers', that is, the young men who took part in the attack on the residence of Grand Duke Constantine on November Night (November Uprising); three students: Aleksander Świątosławski, Wincenty Kobyliński and Walenty Krosnowski, and conspirator Karol Paszkiewicz, drawing and engr.: J. Llanty, 1832, BN
- XXVIII. Seal matrix of the School of Law, 1808–1811, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
The tangle of lines forming the inscription and decoration becomes legible when impressed on paper.
- XXIX. Courtyard of the Kazimierzowski Palace, *c.* 1875, photo: K. Brandel, MNW
- XXX. Matrix of the great seal of the University of Warsaw, *c.* 1960, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
The tradition of decorative seals was reinstated after the Second World War, by making a great seal with the emblem of the university. It is modern in style with different lettering from the traditional type.
- XXXI. Great seal of the University of Warsaw attached to an honorary doctoral degree, 1985, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
Not every seal imprint was successful. A seal was attached to a diploma intended for Willy Brandt, Chancellor of West Germany from 1969 to 1974, in which part of the rim inscription and the right talon of the eagle holding a laurel branch were poorly reproduced. However, the chancellor could not assess this imperfection, as the UW authorities withdrew from awarding him the diploma, most likely for political reasons.
- XXXII. Seal matrix of the Faculty of Sciences and Fine Arts of the Royal University of Warsaw, 1817 design, UW Museum, photo: M. Bogacki
The handle of the seal was turned in a manner which facilitated precise movements enabling the seal to be properly imprinted.
- XXXIII. The university's oldest seal matrices, UW Museum, photo: Ł. Kamiński

Abbreviations

- AGAD – Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych / Central Archives of Historical Records
AOM – Archiwum Ordynacji Myszkowskich / Archives of the Myszkowski family entail
APK – Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach / State Archives in Kielce
APŁ – Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi / State Archives in Łódź
APP – Archiwum Publiczne Potockich / Potocki Public Fonds
APW – Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie / State Archives in Warsaw
ArB – Archiwum rodziny Bartoszewiczów / Bartoszewicz family fonds
AUJ – Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego / Jagiellonian University Archives
AUW – Archiwum Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego / University of Warsaw Archives
AZam – Archiwum Zamoyskich / Zamoyski family fonds
BJ – Biblioteka Jagiellońska / Jagiellonian Library
BN – Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie / National Library in Warsaw
BUW – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie / University of Warsaw Library
Commission – Komisja Rządowa Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego / Government Commission for Religion and Public Education
CWO – Władze Centralne Oświatowe Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego / Central Education Authority of the Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland
DPKP – Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego / Journal of Laws of the Kingdom of Poland
I RS – I Rada Stanu Królestwa Polskiego / First Council of State of the Kingdom of Poland
KRSW – Komisja Rządowa Spraw Wewnętrznych / Government Commission for Internal Affairs
KR/WO – Komisja Rządowa Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego – Wydział Oświecenia / Government Commission for Religion and Public Education – Education Department
KUW – Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski / Royal University of Warsaw
MNW – Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie / National Museum in Warsaw
MPK – Murgrabia Pałacu Kazimierzowskiego / Governor of the Kazimierzowski Palace
MUW – Muzeum Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego / University of Warsaw Museum
MW – Muzeum Warszawy / Museum of Warsaw
PAN – Polska Akademia Nauk / Polish Academy of Sciences
PAU – Polska Akademia Umiejętności / Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences
PSB – Polski Słownik Biograficzny / Polish Biographical Dictionary
Rada Adm. KP – Rada Administracyjna Królestwa Polskiego / Administrative Council of the Kingdom of Poland
RTKP – Rząd Tymczasowy Królestwa Polskiego / Provisional Government of the Kingdom of Poland
TKPN – Towarzystwo Królewskie Przyjaciół Nauk / Royal Society of Friends of Science
UW – Uniwersytet Warszawski / University of Warsaw
UW-OB – Uniwersytet Warszawski – Ogród Botaniczny w Warszawie / University of Warsaw – Botanic Garden in Warsaw
ZKor – Zbiór Korotyńskich / Collection of the Korotyński family
ZKW – Zamek Królewski w Warszawie – Muzeum / Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

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Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi / State Archives in Łódź

Archiwum rodziny Bartoszewiczów (APŁ, ArB), 39/592

Archiwum Państwowe w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim / State Archives in Piotrków Trybunalski

Zbiór patentów szlacheckich, wojskowych i dyplomów, 48/545

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Libraries

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Oddział Zbiorów Specjalnych

Biblioteka Naukowa PAU i PAN w Krakowie / The Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Kraków

Rękopisy

Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Toruniu / Nicolas Copernicus University Library in Toruń

Dokumenty Życia Społecznego

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Gabinet Dokumentów Życia Społecznego

Gabinet Rękopisów

Gabinet Starych Druków

Podlaska Biblioteka Cyfrowa / Podlasie Digital Library

Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego (DPKP)

Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna w Lublinie / Hieronim Łopaciński Provincial Library in Lublin

Dział Zbiorów Specjalnych

Museums

Ermitaż – Państwowe Muzeum w Petersburgu / State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg
 Muzeum im. O. Kolberga w Przysusze, Oddział Muzeum Wsi Radomskiej / The Museum of O. Kolberg
 in Przysucha, Branch of the Museum of Radom Village
 Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach / National Museum in Kielce
 Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie / National Museum in Warsaw
 Muzeum Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego / University of Warsaw Museum
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THE EMBLEM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW is a unique symbol of identity combining historic, academic and patriotic concepts – so important at the beginning of the university's existence but just as relevant today. The creation of the emblem in 1817 has not yet been the subject of in-depth research, including the study of such important artefacts as the university's oldest seals and seal matrices. The present publication changes this – the reader will learn about the context of the emblem's creation, its symbolic meaning and the other versions of it that were proposed in the years that followed. These issues are closely linked to the hitherto unexplored question of the system of use of university seals. Matrices were used to make the seals, which not only had a utilitarian value – they can also be seen as works of art. Some of them have survived to the present day, as the reader will discover when perusing the first study of them – a catalogue of the oldest university seal matrices from the collection of the University of Warsaw Museum.

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