

The Map as a Political Manifesto: The Case of *Karta dawnej Polski* and Hôtel Lambert's Concepts of the Polish State and Nation

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SUMMARY

The failure of the November uprising in 1831 and the resultant Great Polish Emigration not only caused the massive exodus of elites from the Polish Kingdom to western Europe and, consequently, the organization of pro-independence activities from their exile, but also highly influenced the discourse about the geographical shape and political nature of the (desired) future Polish state. The majority of this discourse was represented by memoranda and newspapers, yet there were also other relevant sources to promote the ideas of various factions. In my study I suggest that cartographical representations have also played an important role in both of the mentioned levels of discourse. This conclusion was made as a result of the analysis of *Karta dawnej Polski*, the only map of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in its pre-1772 borders created by émigrés. This project was led by Wojciech Chrzanowski and was under the patronage of the aristocratic faction led by Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (known as Hôtel Lambert). By applying the methodological approach, which has been presented by John Brian Harley, and focusing on the historical and anthropological attributes of the map rather than solely on its empirical description, I conclude with the suggestion that this map communicated various narratives at both levels of discourse. The most evident was its military narrative, which has promoted the idea of an armed uprising as the only possible way to restore an independent Polish state. The second concerned the ideas cultivated by the representatives of Hôtel Lambert regarding the shape and nature of a future state. According to this opinion, Poland could become a political entity only if its pre-1772 borders were reinstated. Within the emigrational discourse, the idea of a restored state with pre-1772 borders was not a unique assumption. On the other hand, the *Karta dawnej Polski* might have been an important asset comparable to Russian cartographical projects (mainly the “Three-verst map”) which presented the territory of the Polish Kingdom under the rule of the Russian tsar as a cartographical and therefore objective (legal and legitimate) reality.

KEYWORDS: Great Polish Emigration, Hôtel Lambert, *Karta dawnej Polski*, Wojciech Chrzanowski, cartography, nation, John Brian Harley

Introduction

The importance of maps to the formation of national identities and institutions as well as their role as a political instrument used both by governments and their opponents during the nineteenth century has been a recurrent subject of historical research during the past few years. New interdisciplinary approaches, which have their roots in the 1980s works of cartographer John Brian Harley¹, allowed scholars to work with cartographical sources in an innovative way and radically change the role of this kind of source in historical research. Until this breakthrough, maps were viewed as mere appendices; and, even if they became the central subject of research, in the majority of cases these studies did not extend beyond descriptive analysis of cartographical features and qualities. However, some of the remarkable studies published in recent years have proved how innovative and inspirational the change of long-term paradigms of research has been. Analysis of the historical and/or anthropological qualities of maps has proved to be especially conducive to the fields of social sciences and humanities, since it is mainly these scholarly communities that are concerned with questions related to contemporary discourses, establishment of social entities, legitimization of authority, etc.

Thanks to its multi-ethnic character, complemented, moreover, by the existence of inhomogeneous states based on historical boundaries, Central Europe has been one of the most intriguing subjects for research of nineteenth-century nationalism. In particular, the Habsburg Empire is usually considered to be an imaginary laboratory in which many of the partial phenomena related to the prevalence of a national worldview and consequences of this process could be examined.² Equally fascinating are nation and state building stories connected with the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which ceased to exist in 1795. As the latest works of Steven Seegel³ and

¹ For more detailed analysis of Harley's ideas and works see the methodological subchapter.

² Every national historiography, which has historical ties with this geographical area, and many foreign scholars as well have paid attention to the study of these phenomena. Regarding the Polish question in the Habsburg Empire, a few examples are HENRYK WERESZYCKI: *The Poles as an Integrating and Disintegrating Factor*, in: *Austrian History Yearbook* 3 (1967), 2, pp. 287–313; IRYNA VUSHKO: *The Politics of Cultural Retreat: Imperial Bureaucracy in Austrian Galicia, 1772–1867*, New Haven—London 2015; AGNIESZKA B. NANCE: *Literary and Cultural Images of a Nation without a State: The Case of Nineteenth-century Poland*, New York 2008; LESYA IVASYUK: *Die polnische Revolution von 1846 in Galizien: Österreichische, ukrainische und polnische Wahrnehmungen*, Wiesbaden 2017.

³ STEVEN SEEGL: *Mapping Europe's Borderlands: Russian Cartography in the Age of Empire*, Chicago 2012; IDEM: *Map Men: Transnational Lives and Deaths of Geographers in the Making of East Central Europe*, Chicago 2018; IDEM: *Cartography and Nation-building Dynamics: The Russian Empire and Former Polish-Lithuania 1795–*

Catherine Gibson⁴ suggest, maps and cartography have played a crucial role in the support of arguments and ambitions that formed part of the public discourse related to political and cultural processes in the lands of the partitioned Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In his significant monography *Mapping Europe's Borderlands*, Seegel examines in detail the tendencies and goals of cartographic projects in which Russian and Polish cartographers participated during the nineteenth century. He investigates the impact that these projects had on the legitimization of the discourse of Russian authority over the territories of the Kingdom of Poland, which was established at the Vienna congress in 1815, and, on the other hand, on the arguments for the historical right to independent statehood promoted by the Polish representatives.

Since the emphasis of Seegel's work lies on the more general results, it is a natural and comprehensible fact that he can not analyze every intriguing detail that could be found in the huge number of maps, atlases and primary sources. Consequently, he pays only little attention to the *Karta dawnej Polski z przyległym i okolicami krajów sąsiednich według nowszych materiałów*⁵, sometimes also known after its creator as "General Chrzanowski's map"⁶—the only map of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth showing its pre-1772 borders to be created by exiles during the Great Emigration.⁷

1851, in: MICHAEL BRANCH (ed.): *Defining Self: Essays on Emergent Identities in Russia. Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, Helsinki 2009, pp. 404–414.

⁴ CATHERINE GIBSON: *Shading, Lines, Colours: Mapping Ethnographic Taxonomies of European Russia, 1851–1875*, in: *Nationalities Paper* 46 (2018), 4, pp. 589–611; TOMASZ KAMUSELLA, MOTOKI NOMACHI et al. (eds.): *The Handbook of Slavic Languages, Identities and Borders*, New York 2016.

⁵ WOJCIECH CHRZANOWSKI: *Karta dawnej Polski z przyległym i okolicami krajów sąsiednich według nowszych materiałów* [Map of Old Poland with the Neighboring Countries Based on New Materials], Paris 1859, available online from the collections of the Pracownia Zbiorów Kartograficznych i Reprografii Cyfrowej Wydziału Nauk o Ziemi Uniwersytetu im. Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu [Department of Cartographic Collections and Digital Reprography, Faculty of Earth Sciences, University of Nicolaus Copernicus in Torun], URL: <http://igrek.amzp.pl/mapindex.php?cat=Chrzanowski> (2020-06-11).

⁶ Despite the impact of Wojciech Chrzanowski's activities on the Polish history of the nineteenth century, a scientific biography about his person has not been published yet. The most comprehensive overview of his life can be found in BRONISŁAW PAWŁOWSKI: *Chrzanowski Wojciech (1793–1861)*, in: JAN BROŻEK, FRANCISZEK CHWALCZEWSKI (eds.): *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*. Vol. 3: Brożek Jan—Chwalczewski Franciszek, Kraków 1937, pp. 463–467.

⁷ SEEDEL, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands* (as in footnote 3), pp. 149–152, mentions its existence in the sub-chapter referring to Polish emigrational cartographic efforts in general, but did not go any further in its analysis.

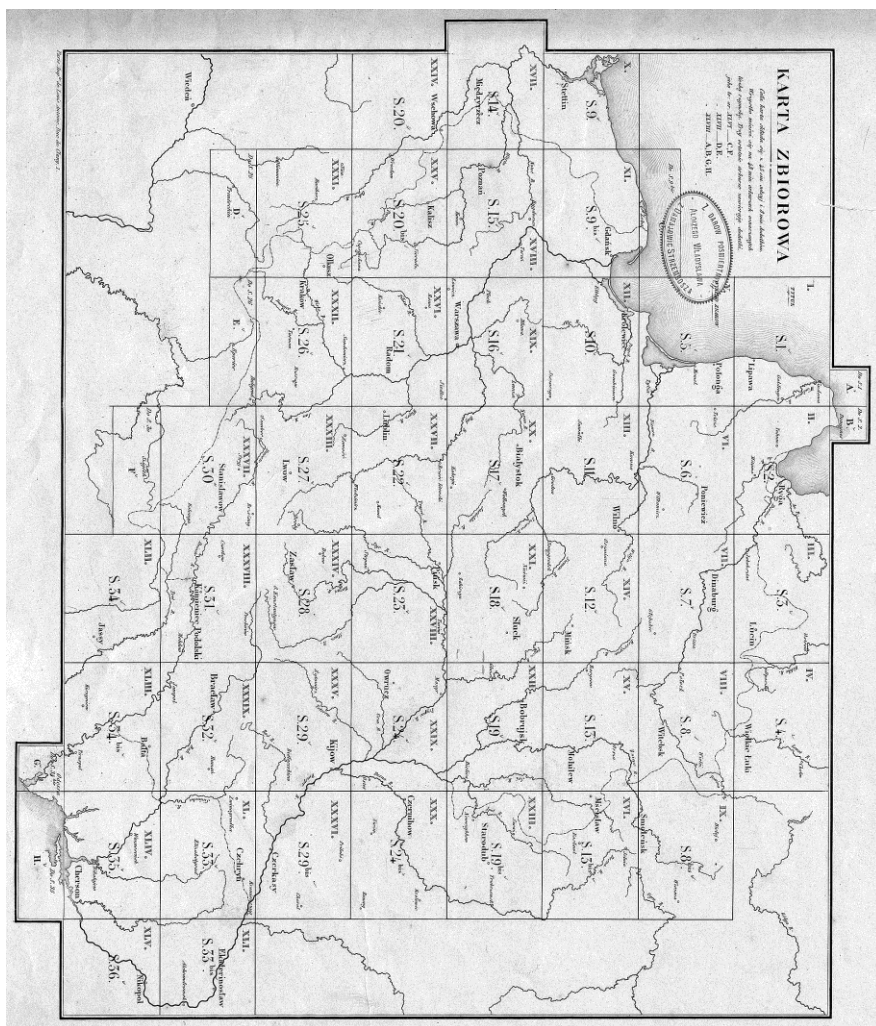


Fig. 1: Karta zbiorowa [Map Index Sheet], in: CHRZANOWSKI (as in footnote 5)

A more detailed account of the *Karta dawnej Polski*⁸ can be found in the works of Bolesław Olszewicz⁹ and Mieczysław Sirko¹⁰, although both authors

⁸ For practical reasons, the shortened name of the map is used in the following text.

⁹ BOLESŁAW OLSZEWICZ: *Polska kartografia wojskowa (zarys historyczny)* [Polish Military Cartography (Historical Overview)], Warszawa 1921, pp. 176–180.

¹⁰ MIECZYSLAW SIRKO: *Zarys historii kartografii* [Sketch of the History of Cartography], Lublin 1999, pp. 280–281.

provide only basic historical facts related to the history of the map.¹¹ However, in the light of the earlier mentioned methodological breakthrough of the last decades and the results of my empirical research, I am arguing that, in contemporary discourse, the *Karta dawnej Polski* was not just a tool for orientation but had a much more complex impact.

In this study, I focus my attention on the process of the creation of the *Karta dawnej Polski*, mainly during one specific decade, namely, 1837–1847. Therefore, rather than on the map itself, which was finally published in 1859, the spotlight actually falls on the activities, decisions and intentions of relevant individuals that proved to be crucial during the process of mapmaking. Following this story allows me to place the *Karta dawnej Polski* within the contemporary discourse and thus analyze its historical qualities rather than just summarize empirical facts. Since it is legitimate to ask if the research of only one decade of the long-lasting process is able to produce valuable results, it is also fair to explain this decision. As historians often are, I too was limited by the number of preserved sources. To conduct this research, I mainly worked with the manuscripts from the collections of Princes Czartoryski Library (Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, BCz) in Kraków, especially with the fond 5325 IV in which the majority of documents related to the project of creating the map from 1837 till 1847 are held. Yet, it was not a solely pragmatic decision to focus on this specific decade, because, as will be shown, these ten years were actually the most crucial time, during which all the decisions, intentions, attributes and final shape of Chrzanowski's map were definitively set.

The *Karta dawnej Polski* was not a solo project for Chrzanowski. Quite the contrary, he came up with the idea and had the necessary education and experiences, but he was not in the position to conduct this kind of task before his proposition¹² was accepted by the aristocratic-liberal faction of émigrés led by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski at the end of the 1830s. For better clarity, I will use the well-known name Hôtel Lambert when referring to Czartoryski's faction, despite the fact that he had only bought this Parisian mansion in 1843. By the time the involvement of Hôtel Lambert in the map project became a reality, its leaders had already constructed their narrative about Polish national territory and the concept of the Polish nation, specifically Polishness, as well as their political strategy. Chrzanowski, as a highranking military officer, promoted his idea of the map and the necessity of sources needed for its completion mainly with a view to the military advantage it could provide in a future Polish uprising. He argued that the absence of a single standardized map of the old Commonwealth had proved to be a crucial factor during the

¹¹ Since these books were published in 1921 and 1999 respectively, it is an expected outcome.

¹² Projekt wydania mappy Polski [Project of the Map of Poland], 1837, in: Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich (BCz) [The Princess Czartoryski Library], Kraków, Rękopisy [Manuscripts], sign. 5325 IV, no. 19.

unsuccessful November uprising. Since almost every unit used a different version of the map, it was impossible to coordinate the various marches. Interestingly, according to his writings from this time, he did not realize the other important aspect of his proposal, which actually aligned with the Hôtel Lambert's contemporary efforts even more closely. His proposed map objectified the ideal of a late Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the form of a cartographic representation of a desired reality and showed what Poland was and how its independence could be regained—at least from the point of view of the Hôtel Lambert. Therefore, the map stands as a remarkable testimony of the Hôtel Lambert's political program.

The aim of this study is, thus, to show that the projected *Karta dawnej Polski* represented an important asset within a specific discourse and was actually able to serve as a political manifesto of the Hôtel Lambert. In order to prove these hypotheses, I examine questions about the authorship and patronage of the *Karta dawnej Polski*—who created it and what were their intentions?—as well as questions about the accompanying narratives, i.e. what message, image or purpose was this map attempting to communicate? Finally, I explore questions about the discourses in which these narratives were to be applied; in which discourse were these narratives relevant and why were they even created?

As already mentioned, to conduct this research I mainly worked with manuscripts from the BCz, especially with the fond 5325 IV. Even though the sources in this particular fond only reflect one decade of a much lengthier process (the map was finally published only in 1859¹³), as will be shown, the period 1837–1847 was actually the most crucial time, during which all the attributes and the final shape of Chrzanowski's map were definitively set. It was during these ten years that the map evolved into a political manifesto.

Methodology

The theoretical background of my research is based on the methodological approach presented by John Brian Harley in his famous essay *Deconstructing the Map*.¹⁴ The publication of this text in 1989 marked the beginning of an epistemological shift in the way of interpreting cartographical representation and introduced the idea of approaching a map as a political document incorporated in the process of the legitimization of power. Harley's breakthrough argumentation brought inspirational ideas of social constructivism into the rather conservative area of cartographical research, which allowed researchers to ask new questions related to the history and anthropology of cartographical

¹³ CHRZANOWSKI (as in footnote 5).

¹⁴ JOHN BRIAN HARLEY: *Deconstructing the Map*, in: *Cartographica* 26 (1989), 2, pp. 1–20.

representation and even led, eventually, to the creation of a new discipline—Critical Cartography.¹⁵

In my particular research, I accept Harley's argument about the map as a token of power, which denies its unquestionable position as a mirror of nature and leads to an examination of a map as a social construction. As a social construction, maps possess narrative, created with an intention to communicate a specific message to a specific discourse. This position allows us to research the historical and anthropological qualities of a map—to examine its authorship (both the drawing of it as well as patronage), questions around the various motivations to conduct such a project, as well as the above-mentioned narrative and its impact on the specific discourses.

Since I am fully aware of the relevant points of criticism of Harley's theory¹⁶, the presented research does not fully rely on his methodological stances, but rather uses them, along with crucial assertions and observations from the cartographical discourse of the past three decades, as a theoretical base for the interpretation of empirical results. Contrary to Harley, who tried to create a new groundwork for the whole discipline and was, therefore, criticized for making claims that were too general and too robust¹⁷, my goal in this paper is to present the results of case-study research and show how theoretical stances of social constructivism could be applied to the historical research of a particular map.

There is one problematic point in Harley's theory that needs to be specifically addressed, namely, the lack of any definition of the concept of a map. This variously defined or even undefined concept could lead to undesirable confusions; therefore, it needs to be stated that, in this particular study, the term "map" is referring only to a cartographic text created in the nineteenth century, mostly at the orders of a member of any kind of elite and with the purpose to enforce or make legitimate some kind of political, military or diplomatic power, authority or ambition.

¹⁵ For more details about Critical Cartography see JEREMY CRAMPTON, JOHN KRYGIER: An Introduction to Critical Cartography, in: *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 4 (2006), 1, pp. 11–33; PABLO IVÁN AZÓCAR FERNÁNDEZ, MANFRED FERDINAND BUCHROITHNER: *Paradigms in Cartography: An Epistemological Review of the 20th and 21st Centuries*, Berlin—Heidelberg 2014, pp. 67–72.

¹⁶ For a more detailed account of critical remarks on Harley's works see BARBARA BELYEA: *Images of Power: Derrida/Foucault/Harley*, in: *Cartographica* 29 (1992), 2, pp. 1–9; DENIS WOOD: *The Map as a Kind of Talk: Brian Harley and the Confabulation of the Inner and Outer Voice*, in: *Visual Communication* 1 (2002), 2, pp. 139–161; REUBEN ROSE-REDWOOD: *Introduction: The Limits to Deconstructing the Map*, in: *Cartographica* 50 (2015), 1, pp. 1–8; MARTIN DODGE, CHRIS PERKINS: *Reflecting on J. B. Harley's Influence and What He Missed in "Deconstructing the Map,"* *ibidem*, pp. 37–40.

¹⁷ DENIS WOOD: *This is Not about Old Maps*, in: *Cartographica* 50 (2015), 1, pp. 14–17, here p. 16.

Authorship and Patronage

Probably the first question that almost automatically arises when a scholar starts to examine a map is the question of authorship. Who created this map? In the case of the *Karta dawnej Polski*, this is quite easily answered. Wojciech Chrzanowski was, without doubt, the leading figure in the mapmaking process, which he directed until 1857. He then waived his rights to the Polish Library in Paris (Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu)¹⁸, whereby Feliks Wrotnowski took over the project and published the final version of the map in 1859.¹⁹

As an alumnus of the School of Artillery and Military Engineers (Szkoła Aplikacyjna Artylerii i Inżynierów),²⁰ where he graduated in 1811 as second-grade lieutenant, Chrzanowski became an officer of the General Quartermaster Unit (Kwatermistrzostwo generalne). Then, as a newly promoted captain, he obtained his first cartographical experience as a member of the commission that dealt with the demarcation of the Polish-Prussian border.²¹ The project that most strongly influenced his future career was the work on the Topographical Map of the Polish Kingdom (Topograficzna Karta Królestwa Polskiego). This project, started in 1822, was regarded as the crucial task of the General Quartermaster Unit, and was even considered to be the reason this unit existed. However, the Russo-Turkish war in 1828 and the November Uprising halted the project. It was later finished in 1843, but under the direct supervision of Russian officers.²² The role of this map in the contemporary discourse and its alleged influence on the *Karta dawnej Polski* project form part of the next subchapter.

After the November uprising in October 1831 had failed, Chrzanowski firstly swore an allegiance to the Russian tsar, Nicholas I, but, just shortly after, he followed in the footsteps of many Polish people and emigrated to France.²³ In Paris, he once again met with Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski,

¹⁸ Founded in 1838, the primary goal of this institution was to preserve the documents and books of national significance. For more information see JANUSZ PEZDA: *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu 1838–1893* [History of the Polish Library in Paris 1838–1893], Kraków 2013.

¹⁹ CHRZANOWSKI (as in footnote 5).

²⁰ A specialized military college established in Warsaw in 1809, which focused on educating artillery officers and engineering troops. It was closed in 1812 and later reopened in 1820.

²¹ PAWŁOWSKI (as in footnote 6), p. 463.

²² MIECZYŚLAW SIRKO: *Zarys historii kartografii* [Sketch of the History of Cartography], Lublin 1999.

²³ The oath of allegiance to the Russian tsar caused him many problems amongst his fellow countrymen. Especially the leftist Polish representatives saw him as a betrayer and even considered him to be a spy. For example, his request for an officer post in the Belgian army was denied after Polish soldiers protested against it in the light of these suspicions. These accusations were based on the false assumption that Chrzanowski arrived in Paris with a Russian passport. However, he travelled with Russian approval only from Warsaw to Galicia where a French passport was granted to him, which he

who was responsible for Chrzanowski's promotion to the position of chief of staff of the Polish army during the last stage of the November Uprising.²⁴ For the next three decades, Chrzanowski participated in various initiatives of the Hôtel Lambert, but he never lost sight of his endeavor to create a complete map of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He introduced this idea to Czartoryski in 1833, but the lack of finance²⁵ as well as his appointment to the Ottoman Empire, where he served as a military advisor²⁶, postponed the realization of his mapmaking project.

Chrzanowski's assignment to the Ottoman Empire was divided into three single missions, which took place between 1833 and 1840. Fulfilling the role of an unofficial envoy of Prince Czartoryski during the first and second postings, he was under constant pressure from Russian diplomatic representatives and neither of these missions lasted more than a year. It was only during his last mission that he served as a member of British delegacy and therefore possessed at least some institutional coverage. During this appointment, he proved his abilities and his value in the eyes of British diplomacy reached its peak. There was even discussion about the possibility of Chrzanowski receiving command of the Allied forces in the expedition against the Egyptians in the 1840 campaign.²⁷ This proposal was, however, massively criticized and rejected by the Prussian officers and soldiers serving in Ottoman ranks. So, instead of leading the army, Chrzanowski travelled through the territories of Asia Minor, Kurdistan, Syria and Mesopotamia to the Ottoman-Persian border. He resided in Baghdad and quickly began to work on his task—to strengthen the Ottoman lines of defense in this region. Chrzanowski not only re-organized and trained Ottoman troops (new cavalry units were established under his supervision), but, considering the subject of this study, it is quite interesting that he even planned to create topographical maps of Kurdistan and Iraq.²⁸ His plans for an actual land survey and mapmaking in the eastern

subsequently used to travel via Strasbourg to Paris, see PAWŁOWSKI (as in footnote 6), p. 465.

²⁴ MARIAN KUKIEL: *Czartoryski and European Unity 1770–1861*, Princeton 1955.

²⁵ During the first years of emigration, the financial situation was harsh, even for the members of nobility, see: JANUSZ PEZDA: *Ludzie i pieniądze: Finanse w działalności Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego i jego obozu na emigracji w latach 1831–1848* [People and Money: Finance in the Activities of Adam Jerzy Czartoryski and His Emigration Faction in the Years 1831–1848], Kraków 2003.

²⁶ PAWŁOWSKI (as in footnote 6), p. 465.

²⁷ ANDREW URBANIK, JOSPEH BAYLEN: *Polish Exiles and the Turkish Empire 1830–1876*, in: *The Polish Review* 26 (1981), 3, pp. 43–53, here pp. 45–46.

²⁸ LEON CHRZANOWSKI: *Pisma wojskowo-polityczne podawane rządowi Polskiemu, Angielskiemu, Francuskiemu, Tureckiemu i Piemontskiemu przez generała Wojciecha Chrzanowskiego w okresie czasu od 1830 do 1856 r.* [Military-Political Letters Sent by General Wojciech Chrzanowski to the Governments of Poland, England, France, Turkey and Piedmont from 1830 to 1856], Kraków 1871, pp. 101–102.

parts of the Ottoman Empire are a clear demonstration of the value that he attributed to the precise map.

This statement is also confirmed by the fact that Chrzanowski never abandoned the idea of creating a map of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, despite spending the majority of the 1830s in the Ottoman Empire. He not only revived the idea immediately after his mission in the East ended, but had already started to work on the official proposal for the map during the break between his second and third posting to the Ottoman Empire. In 1837, a memorandum was conceived in order to garner support from Czartoryski and obtain the necessary finances. Chrzanowski did not work alone; the preserved drafts of this proposal were written by Karol Sienkiewicz²⁹ and Kazimierz Markiewicz and were only supplemented with his suggestions.³⁰ Interestingly, the help from two of Czartoryski's close collaborators and the form of the written text actually suggest that Chrzanowski might have received Czartoryski's positive feedback even before this proposal. Czartoryski often ordered his agents and associates to write proposals for their planned projects, which he then reviewed and modified.³¹ Therefore, it is possible that this was also the case for this project, and that the main reason for the proposal was not to persuade Czartoryski, but to inform potential donors who the prince could secure for the project.

Either way—with Adam Jerzy Czartoryski's support or in order to get it—the fact that Chrzanowski, who possessed all the necessary skills, experiences and even institutional education to produce maps, decided to write such a proposal is a great illustration of one of the most important suggestions that Harley presents in his research. His premise about the existence of narratives communicated through maps naturally assumes the presence of their creator. In Harley's opinion, a narrative is always the result of a clash of two voices. On the one side, there is the inner voice of the mapmaker—the one who is doing the actual drawing and whose inner voice is dictating all the necessary technical requirements as well as his worldview—and, on the other side, is the external voice of a patron—the one who is willing to support a map project with his material resources, but also to enrich the project with his ideas about the message it should communicate. However, as Denis Wood suggests, even though it tends to look like a battle of two voices, the reality is far

²⁹ Karol Sienkiewicz (1793–1860) was a Polish publicist, historian and interpreter, a close associate of Adam Jerzy Czartoryski and a prominent member of the Hôtel Lambert faction. He played a key role in the creation of the Polish Library in Paris.

³⁰ Projekt wydania mappy Polski (as in footnote 12); Projekt wydania mappy Polski, 1837, in: BCz, Rękopisy, sign. 5325 IV, no. 20; Projet d'une Carte de Pologne, 1837, ibidem, no. 21.

³¹ For example: Rapport à Monsieur le Prince Adam Czartoryski sur la mission d'un agent diplomatique en Serbie, 1843, in: BCz, Rękopisy, sign. 5390 IV; was written on Czartoryski's order by František Zach in 1843, before his departure to Belgrade, where he served as Czartoryski's diplomatic agent.

less conflicted.³² Usually, they are coherent in their intentions and mapmakers do not work against their will. This idea is one of Harley's key observations—maps are made by mapmaker for a patron. Looking for the map's narrative, scholars must focus their attention on this narrative-establishing duo; furthermore, the terms “patron” and “mapmaker” do not commonly refer to only one person, especially in the modern era where either role could be played by private companies, scientific departments, institutions, governments, etc.

The *Karta dawnej Polski* case almost perfectly fits as a representation of the kind of relationship that Harley presented as crucial in the process of mapmaking. Wojciech Chrzanowski was an experienced cartographer, who possessed all the necessary skills and had a clear idea of his proposed project, but without any of the resources needed for its successful realization. Luckily for him, he did not need to go far to find a suitable patron. However, the requisite budget for what he planned to carry out was almost 30,000 francs,³³ and to collect this huge amount, he not only needed the patronage from an honourable figure like Czartoryski, but also to be persuasive to anybody who would be willing to support him with financial aid. The leading argument that Chrzanowski presented in his proposal was directed towards the principal agenda of the Hôtel Lambert policy—since the independent Polish state could be resurrected only through a national uprising³⁴, the proposed map would serve as an important military tool to be used during any such event. Olszewicz suggests that the absence of a standardized map used by every army unit was one of the greatest disadvantages that the Polish forces had to deal with during the November Uprising³⁵ and, therefore, Chrzanowski's accentuation of the future military benefits for the Polish forces was certainly reasonable and persuasive.³⁶ This proved to be correct, because he was already able to start work on the map in 1838³⁷, after receiving the initial necessary financial aid³⁸, which later evolved to permanent support³⁹.

Even though I am arguing that Adam Jerzy Czartoryski took over the patronage of the *Karta dawnej Polski* project, in the first list of donors from

³² WOOD, *The Map as a Kind of Talk* (as in footnote 16), p. 142.

³³ Projekt wydania mappy Polski (as in footnote 12).

³⁴ Czartoryski Adam Jerzy, *Instrukcja w sprawie prac w kraju nad przygotowaniem powstania* [Czartoryski Adam Jerzy, *Instruction in the Matter of Preparing the Uprising in the Homeland*], 1837, in: BCz, Rękopisy, sign. 5321 IV, no. 4.

³⁵ OLSZEWICZ (as in footnote 9), p. 156.

³⁶ Projekt wydania mappy Polski (as in footnote 12).

³⁷ SIRKO (as in footnote 10), p. 281.

³⁸ Projekt akcjonariuszów na mapę Polski [List of Donators to the Project of the Map of Poland], 1837, in: BCz, Rękopisy, sign. 5325 IV, no. 23.

³⁹ List Feliksa Breańskiego do Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego w sprawie zebranych funduszy na wydanie mapy Polski z dołączonym rozliczeniem [Letter from Feliks Breański to Adam Jerzy Czartoryski Regarding the Fund Collected for the Publication of the Map of Poland with an Attachment], 1847, *ibidem*, no. 27.

September 1837—these were the donations that allowed Chrzanowski to initiate the project—his name is missing. However, a more precise look at the list of donors clearly refutes any doubts that Chrzanowski's appeal for support and patronage was not received positively by the prince and his faction.

In total, there were 39 donors, including many members of the prominent aristocratic families from the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Three representatives of the Zamoyski family donated, in total, a sum of 500 francs; especially supportive was Władysław, Czartoryski's nephew and one of the closest collaborators, who donated the sum of 300 francs. Four donations came from the Potocki family and 100 francs were donated by the Walewski family. Even Czartoryski's brother-in-law, Leon Sapieha, who was living in Galicia, decided to support the project with 100 francs. Two remarkable contributions were made by generals Karol Kniaziewicz and Michał Mycielski, who both donated 1,000 francs. Chrzanowski himself donated 100 francs. Moreover, not only political or military representatives decided to support the project; the famous composer Fryderyk Chopin donated 100 francs, and two literary societies—the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland, which had settled in London, and the Literary Society in Paris (*Towarzystwo Literackie w Paryżu*) also contributed, the former with 200 francs and the latter with 100 francs. Czartoryski's older sister, Princess Maria, Duchesse of Württemberg, also donated 200 and his mother-in-law, Princess Anna Sapieżyna, supported the project with the same amount.⁴⁰

The donation from Princess Anna left no place for any doubt about Czartoryski's favorable position towards the project. It was Czartoryski's mother-in-law who was actually in charge of family money affairs and who was described by the historian Marcei Handelsman as "Minister of Finances of the Czartoryski family."⁴¹ The list does not specify whether she donated money from her personal funds or from family treasure, but, even if the first option was the case, her contribution is still a valid proof, along with many others, that it was certainly Czartoryski's faction that took on the role of patron over the *Karta dawnej Polski* project.

The relationship between Chrzanowski and the Hôtel Lambert also confirms Wood's remark that the mapmaker-patron interaction is usually a voluntary cooperation. Chrzanowski's map-making mission was postponed (even by himself) when the circumstances were not favorable, but, as soon as they changed, his proposition was received well within the aristocratic-liberal faction of Polish émigrés. People like Sienkiewicz and Markiewicz even helped him with the concept of his proposal and, after he submitted the project, he received the help he needed.

Patronage and help were necessary not only in financial matters. Chrzanowski's original plan was to draw a topographical map, which is the most

⁴⁰ Projekt akcjonariuszów na mapę Polski (as in footnote 38).

⁴¹ MARCEI HANDELSMAN: Adam Czartoryski, vol. I, Warszawa 1948, p. 223, cited from PEZDA (as in footnote 25), p. 10.

proper kind for military use. However, since an actual land survey could not be conducted, he came up with an idea to create a complete geographic map with reduced details.⁴² Even so, in order to be successful, the project would require existing maps to be used as secondary sources. According to a list written by Sienkiewicz and Markiewicz, there were at least 14 maps that were suitable to use as a base for mapmaking.⁴³ The majority of them had been published in Berlin or Weimar—along with the maps of the Prussian kingdom (showing the annexed territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) also Engelhardt's map of the Duchy of Warsaw, issued in 1812.⁴⁴ Three maps, which had been printed in Vienna, could serve as a base for drawing Galician territories, and the list also included the atlas of Livonia and Estonia, published in Riga, and the map of European territories of Russia, which had been printed in Paris in 1814.

The proposal suggests that, in order to obtain the necessary maps—which might or might not be the ones from the list, because the list of maps that were actually used, if it ever existed, has not been preserved—Czartoryski had to use his influence to obtain at least some of them from the French government, which held them in its archives.⁴⁵ In this way, Czartoryski's patronage was able to help the project not only by providing the necessary funding, but also by means of other activities, which were enabled by his position. The expectation was that most of the maps would still have to be bought, which is clearly evident from the proposed budget. Despite this, it is a great illustration of how a patron could support a project in other ways than just by providing funds.

Narratives Accompanying the Map

Alongside the question of sources, the text of the proposal also dealt with the technical design of the planned map. The decision was made to use conical projection, applying John Flamsteed's⁴⁶ modified system. The map's final version would include complete watercourses, outlines of the highest mountains, all cities and villages and also all significant roads.⁴⁷ The prospectus about the progress of work from 1843 reveals that the forests, hills and lower-lying mountains would, however, be omitted, as it would not be possible to

⁴² Projekt wydania mappy Polski (as in footnote 12).

⁴³ Spisy wydanych map obejmujących terytorium Polski [List of Published Maps Containing Polish Territory], s. d., in: BCz, Rękopisy, sign. 5325 IV, no. 26.

⁴⁴ FRIEDRICH BERNHARD ENGELHARDT: Karte vom Herzogthum Warschau und den angrenzenden Staaten in IV Sectionen, Berlin 1812.

⁴⁵ Projekt wydania mappy Polski (as in footnote 12).

⁴⁶ John Flamsteed (1646–1719), famous English astronomer and founder of the Royal Greenwich Observatory.

⁴⁷ Projekt wydania mappy Polski (as in footnote 12).

draw them correctly. The map to be divided into approximately 40 sheets (the final version actually had 48 sheets and an index).⁴⁸ As the cartographers were working progressively, finalized sheets could be sold and could start to generate income.⁴⁹

Besides information about the progress of work between 1838 and 1843, the prospectus also shed new light on the narratives of the map. When approaching a map as a social construction, it is possible to identify the narratives it promotes in line with certain discourses. In Harley's words: "... just as in factories we standardize our manufactured goods, so in our cartographic workshops we standardize our images of the world."⁵⁰ What images of the world were produced and what kind of narratives accompanied the *Karta dawnej Polski*?

If there was one idea among Czartoryski and his collaborators that never changed despite the transformation of geopolitical circumstances during the decades from 1830 onwards, it was the idea that an independent Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth could not be restored peacefully. Polish representatives had been thinking about the next insurrection literally immediately after the failure of the November Uprising. Even though they had been modifying their plans and proposition according to the changing geopolitical situation, the core of the idea stood. As Czartoryski wrote in 1837: "There is no other way for Poland to regain its independence than a national uprising."⁵¹ In the other memorandum from the same year, Czartoryski presented his thoughts about the proper preparations, which were necessary for a successful outcome.⁵²

Chrzanowski's first proposition clearly appealed to this idea and a general acceptance of this opinion among its addressees is confirmed by the sole fact, that, in the text of the proposition a future uprising was considered to be a certain event. Chrzanowski did not have to explain its potential or necessity. He simply presented his map as an advantageous tool for the future fight, and the strength of his argument was increased by his position as an army general with first-hand experience from the unsuccessful November Uprising.

My suggestion is that this mutual notion of mapmaker and patron, which influenced the idea of creation, the process of mapmaking and the actual shape of the map, is represented in the military narrative of the *Karta dawnej Polski*. Drawing or supporting the map because of its potential future benefit during the course of a potential future war communicated the message about

⁴⁸ CHRZANOWSKI (as in footnote 5).

⁴⁹ Prospekt wydawniczy "Karty Polski" [Prospectus of the "Map of Poland"], 1843, in: BCz, Rękopisy, sign. 5325 IV, no. 18.

⁵⁰ HARLEY (as in footnote 14), p. 13.

⁵¹ Czartoryski Adam Jerzy, *Zasady i środki dzisiejszego działania* [Czartoryski Adam Jerzy, *Principles and Resources of Today's Activities*], 1837, in: BCz, Rękopisy, sign. 5321 IV, no. 3.

⁵² Czartoryski Adam Jerzy, *Instrukcja* (as in footnote 34).

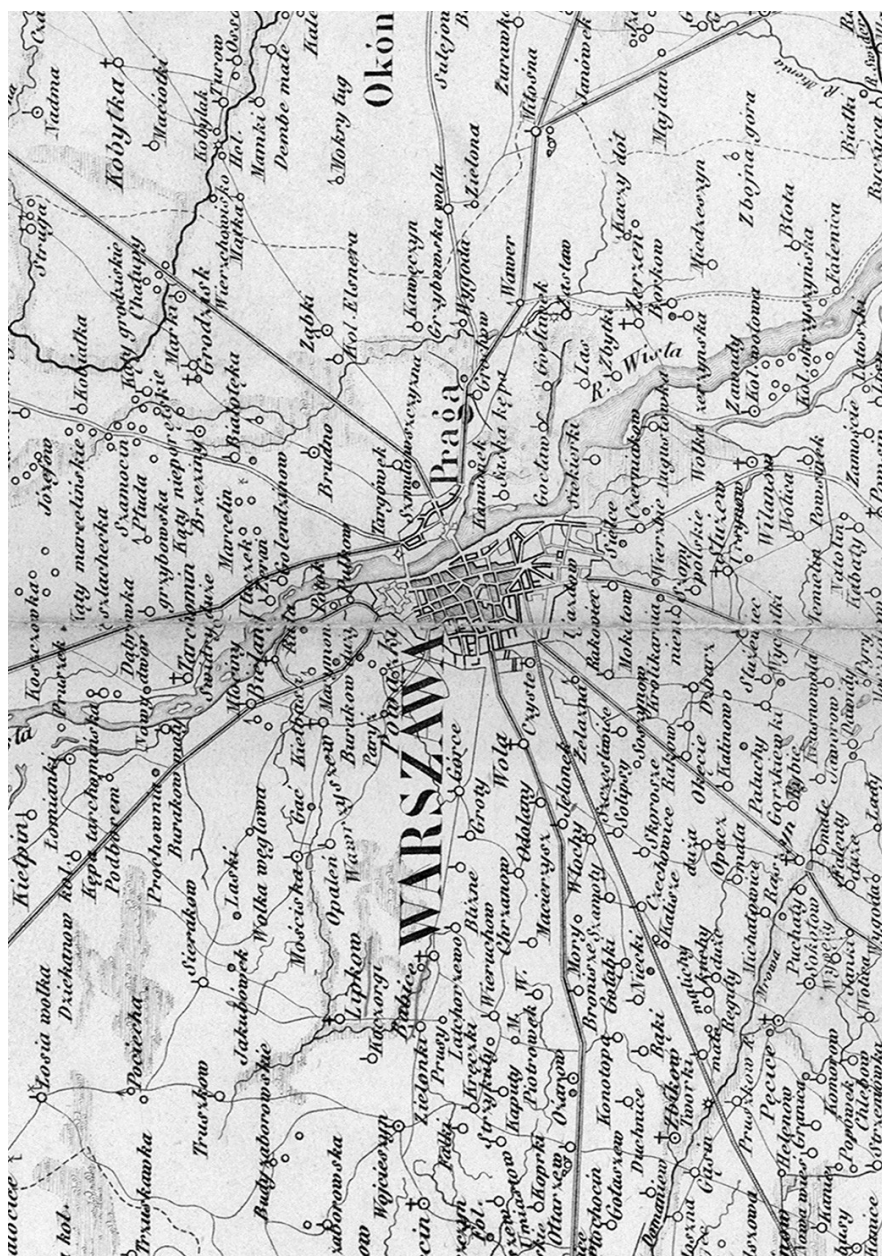


Fig. 2: Detail from map-sheet number XIX, in: CHRZANOWSKI (as in footnote 5)

the ongoing preparation for war. The *Karta dawnej Polski* project, along with memoranda, pamphlets and other documents, clearly expressed the main agenda of the Hôtel Lambert—that the resurrection of the independent state would be determined by a successful uprising. After all, this was the main argument that the first proposition communicated: the map was needed for military purposes.

However, in addition to the military narrative, a second one could be identified. While the military purpose of the map is directly mentioned in the preserved sources, communication of this second narrative, which could be considered a nationhood narrative, is subliminal and even unintentional.

It has already been mentioned that, in his memoranda, Czartoryski not only presented the idea about the inevitability of the future uprising, but also specified his remarks about the proper preparation for this uprising. In his thinking, the main emphasis should lie on the promotion of patriotism,⁵³ a term referring to the individual awareness of being a Polish person, which could be improved by commemorating and deepening the knowledge about Polish history and culture. This task was crucial in the eyes of the leader of the aristocratic faction and, as Karol Sienkiewicz reminded, its realization was totally dependent on the persons who identified themselves with the idea of a Polish nation. Foreign leaders were not willing to risk too much for Polish independence and Europe would then soon forget that there was a Poland in her heart: “We died without her help and probably even without her sorrow.”⁵⁴

The idea of promoting patriotism was not just limited to a general goal, but the preserved memoranda are full of specific recommendations on how to conduct this task. For example, those Poles who held certain civil functions and possessed social status had to be more cautious and help the national cause by educating the poor in the Polish language and literature, publishing books and organizing donations. On the other hand, the braver ones, whose hands were not tied by function or title, were encouraged to focus their attention on warfare studies (by using theoretical and history textbooks), to conduct surveys of the environment around them, and to draw improvised maps with hidden forest paths, caves and other natural features, which could be extremely helpful during the guerrilla war.⁵⁵

The role of *Karta dawnej Polski* in this process could have been the demonstration of a Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a real geopolitical entity. During the previous decades, the Commonwealth had been forced several times to give up territories and adjust its borders.

⁵³ Czartoryski Adam Jerzy, *Zasady* (as in footnote 51).

⁵⁴ Sienkiewicz Karol, *Zbieranie materiałów do wyjaśnienia niniejszego stanu Polski* [Sienkiewicz Karol, *Materials to Explain the Actual Situation of Poland*], 1835, in: BCz, Rękopisy, sign. 5328 IV, no. 1.

⁵⁵ O różnych przedmiotach którymi się Polacy mogą i powinni zająć podług usposobienia i położenia [About Activities That Poles Could and Should Conduct According to Their Status and Abilities], in: BCz, Rękopisy, sign. 5327 IV, no. 18.

Consequently, the legitimate question which was to be answered among the émigrés concerned their vision of a future state. If I were to fight for Poland, what would I actually be fighting for? What should the future state look like? These questions were obviously not relevant only in a geographical sense, but, in this case, the borders were the main objective. Czartoryski clearly expressed his position when he argued that Poland could become a political entity only in its oldest shape and, therefore, as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before the first partition in 1772.⁵⁶ This statement also underlined the fact that the Lithuanian territories were considered to be an integral part of the state and, when Czartoryski used the term Poland, he was automatically referring to the partitioned Commonwealth. This concept of the future state had also been presented in the memorandum written by Karol Sienkiewicz two years earlier with the vision: "... that no Poles would know a different Poland than the Poland of our ancestors."⁵⁷ Finally, the same idea about the geopolitical nature of a Polish state was expressed in the introductory sentence of the above-mentioned prospectus from 1843: "The map of Poland in its old borders from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, from the Dnieper to the Odra ..."⁵⁸

It should not be forgotten that only an absolute minority of emigrants (if any) could remember the country which they were trying to resurrect. Even Czartoryski, one of the oldest among them, was born in 1770 and so he was two years old when the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth occurred. The young Polish people, who were in a position to put their lives in danger in a future uprising, had never actually had a chance to spend even one day in this old homeland. They could dream about it, read about it, hear old stories based on half-myth and half-reality, but none of this compared to seeing it on the map. A map was automatically considered to be a mirror of reality, in which a distant idea turned out to be the cartographical reality of a homeland in its greatest expanded form, with a clear narrative about the importance and power of the old Commonwealth. The role of a map as a tool for promoting patriotism could also have practical aspects. As one anonymous unsatisfied emigrant, who was actually very critical of the project due to its expensiveness, wrote in a letter to Chrzanowski: not everybody could read and write, but many would understand the map.⁵⁹ Although, this statement is relevant mainly concerning the intentional promotion of the patriotic narrative within the public discourse. I suggest that a map could actually be more effective in the promotion of an idea than enormous numbers of pamphlets, which illiterate members of the population would not be able to read, but, on the other hand, interpretations of the image may also vary in dif-

⁵⁶ Czartoryski Adam Jerzy, *Zasady* (as in footnote 51).

⁵⁷ Sienkiewicz Karol (as in footnote 54).

⁵⁸ *Prospekt wydawniczy "Karty Polski"* (as in footnote 49).

⁵⁹ NN, *Uwagi nad wydaniem mappy Polski* [Reflections about the Publishing of the Map of Poland], 1835, in: BCz, *Rękopisy*, sign. 5325 IV, no. 24.

ferent ways (possibly even more than the interpretations of a written text), and it is proper to assume that an illiterate person's understanding of the map would be different than that of someone who can read. It may even vary from one person to another, regardless of their ability to read and write. Effective utilization is, therefore, a crucial precursor to the possibility of using a map as a tool for the promotion of patriotism (or any other idea/concept), even without the use of an alphabet. This would not be a spontaneous process, but the result of an intentional set of activities, in which a map is only one part of a complex problem.

Consequently, the image of the world that the *Karta dawnej Polski* produced was a representation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth not only as the desperate wish of a few thousand people resembling almost a mythical past of their former homeland, but also as a political entity with its own history, culture and, above all, with territories and boundaries that differentiated it from neighbors and, therefore, demonstrated its independence. I suggest that, through the *Karta dawnej Polski*, the purpose of the terms "Poland" and "Polish nation" were expressed as seen from the Hôtel Lambert perspective. Even though it might actually have been unintentional, because any particular mention about the use of the map as a tool for promoting patriotism is absent in the preserved documents, the map still communicated this message.

Moreover, as a whole product communicating both above-mentioned narratives, I am arguing that the *Karta dawnej Polski* could be actually labelled as a political manifesto, which represented the main goal of the Hôtel Lambert policy in contemporary discourse. The goal was to restore the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as the political entity that was materialized on the canvas of the map and the only auspicious way to accomplish this aim was a future war, in which the *Karta dawnej Polski* would serve as an indispensable tool.

There is one specific remark regarding the Hôtel Lambert's concept of the Polish state and the final version of the map that should be addressed. The map published in 1859 actually shows not only the former territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also areas that did not belong to the Commonwealth and, in 1772, lay outside its pre-partition borders. Nevertheless, this fact does not contradict the concept of a future Polish state promoted by Czartoryski and his supporters. The full title of the map was "Map of Old Poland with the Neighborhood Countries Based on New Materials" and, therefore, it was only natural that it also contained parts of other countries' territories. Moreover, almost every map contains the border areas of its central subjects and this one was not an exception. Even the unclear term "old" used in the title of the map should not be considered ambiguous, because Chrzanowski, Czartoryski and other Polish representatives used the terms "old," "historical" and "pre-partitioned" as synonyms and, thus, in their opinion Poland with its "old" borders was Poland before 1772.

Narratives within the Discourse

Narratives that accompany a map are a kind of statement or image that should be promoted in a certain discourse. Isolated from this discourse, they would be meaningless. For this reason, it is important to lay emphasis on the cartographic discourse within which the narratives of the *Karta dawnej Polski* existed.

First and foremost, it is necessary to understand that, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the epistemological status of maps had not yet been questioned. Maps ordered by the governments or individual members of the elite were usually created by educated specialists with the newest contemporary techniques and measurement tools and legitimized by the symbolically expressed patronage of an authority. This could be a coat-of-arms or a portrait of a ruler, which were symbols more typical for the early modern period maps, or their epistemological objective status may have been promoted by highlighting the standards of exacting accuracy according to which they were drawn. Harley suggests that this was also a characteristic of twentieth century maps, in which the creators advocate their truthfulness by proclaiming (on the map itself) their use of the latest modern technologies, ignoring the fact that this is also a statement of authority as much as a royal seal.⁶⁰

According to Michael Biggs, it was in the sixteenth century that cartography actually became the instrument of rule. Biggs identifies Francis I's Italian campaign in 1524/25 as the moment when state-matter-related cartography was born.⁶¹ The French king believed that maps could help him navigate armies through the alpine passes and achieve military victory. However, just a few decades later, the rulers realized that the demarcation of their realms' boundaries not only gave them a strategic advantage, but it also had a symbolic power—the usually heterogeneous territory became a homogeneous state under the crown of one monarch.⁶² Maps had become a tool for the legitimization of authority. This brought mostly undisputed results of scientific measurement as an argument to the discourse about political, military or any other kind of authority, enforcement of which was, therefore, advocated by these cartographic representations.

This impact of cartography on statehood and nationhood discourses was still maintained in the nineteenth century and, as Seegel implies, the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were no exception. It was during the late 1830s (at the latest) that futurological discussions about a territorial arrangement and a political system of a future independent state

⁶⁰ HARLEY (as in footnote 14), p. 10.

⁶¹ MICHAEL BIGGS: Putting the State on the Map: Cartography, Territory, and European State Formation, in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41 (1999), 2, pp. 374–405, here p. 380.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 388.

intensified among émigrés.⁶³ Indeed, various factions used maps as political weapons in an attempt to rewrite history according to their vision of a Polish state project. Famous democratic leader and émigré Joachim Lelewel collected many historical maps of Polish and Polish-Lithuanian territories⁶⁴ and, in 1846, Edward Rastawiecki published (although not in exile, but in Warsaw) a book named *Mappografia dawnej Polski* (Mappography of Old Poland), which was intended to be an expression of Polish glory and, therefore, a form of national activism conducted via cartography.⁶⁵ In this sense, the *Karta dawnej Polski* project was not a unique case. Questions about Polish national territories and the nature and existence of a Polish nation were not the consequences of this project. Within the discourse of various factions of the Great Emigration, the *Karta dawnej Polski* would rather serve as amplification and catalyst of Hôtel Lambert opinions.

However, during the 1830s and 1840s, the question about the borders and shape of a future independent state was never a real point of dispute. For the majority of émigrés, both aristocrats and members of the intelligentsia, the pre-1772 borders were seen as having a legitimate status, which should be restored, while all post-1772 territorial changes were considered illegitimate.⁶⁶

Chrzanowski's above-mentioned "Map of Poland in its old borders from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, from the Dnieper to the Odra ..." ⁶⁷ used the same formulation as Joachim Lelewel, when he appealed for the reconstitution of Polish territory for "all the sons of all the lands of the old Commonwealth [...] from the Oder to the Dnieper and the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea."⁶⁸ A member of the Polish Democratic Society (Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie), the journalist Ludwik Mierosławski also stipulated that only a state restored with these borders would be able to control its security and fulfil its obligations in the new democratic Europe.⁶⁹ Even the TDP's manifesto, also known as *Wielki Manifest* (The Great Manifesto) or *Manifest*

⁶³ SŁAWOMIR KALEMBKA: Koncepcje granic i ustroju politycznego Polski niepodległej przedstawiane na łamach prasy demokratycznej Wielkiej Emigracji [The Concepts of the Borders and Political System of Independent Poland Presented in the Democratic Newspapers of the Great Emigration], in: *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Historia* 58 (1973), 9, pp. 199–212, here p. 201.

⁶⁴ For example, JOACHIM LELEWEL: *Geografja: Opisanie krajów polskich* [Geography: Description of the Polish Lands], Poznań 1859.

⁶⁵ EDWARD RASTAWIECKI: *Mappografia dawnej Polski* [Mappography of Old Poland], Warszawa 1846.

⁶⁶ PIOTR EBERHARDT: Koncepcje granic państwa polskiego u progu odzyskania niepodległości [The Concepts of the Polish State Boundaries on the Threshold of Independence], in: *Studia z Geografii Politycznej i Historycznej* 4 (2015), 1, pp. 9–35, here p. 10.

⁶⁷ Prospekt wydawniczy "Karty Polski" (as in footnote 49).

⁶⁸ SEEGL, Mapping Europe's Borderlands (as in footnote 3), p. 149.

⁶⁹ PETER BROCK: The Political Program of the Polish Democratic Society, in: *The Polish Review* 14 (1969), 2, pp. 89–105, here pp. 91–92.

Poitierski (Manifesto of Poitiers), published in 1836, contains the formulation: "Poland, from the Oder and the Carpathians to the Dnieper and Dvina, from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea ..." ⁷⁰

The myth of a united and undivided Poland was constantly present in an aristocratic as well as a democratic agenda, even though in the contemporary political reality it was an unrealistic and unrealizable program. ⁷¹ Journalist Józefat Bolesław Ostrowski exclaimed in 1835: "There is no Lithuania! No Russia! No Mazovia, no Greater Poland, no Lesser Poland! There is only Poland ...," ⁷² and the moderate democrat Zygmunt Miłkowski even concluded in one of his articles that the heterogeneity of languages across the former Polish-Lithuanian territories would not be a relevant obstacle for a united nation and country, as other European countries would also share the phenomenon of language difference within their boundaries. ⁷³

The idea of a future independent Polish state created with reinstated pre-1772 borders was without a doubt dominant in the emigrational discourse about the future shape of independent Poland, though there were several authors who considered it to be a minimalistic project and who shared different, more ambitious plans. ⁷⁴ The stellar example of such a work is Oskar Żebrowski's map *Polska w naturalnych granicach* (Poland within Its Natural Boundaries), which was included in a textbook that he published in 1847. ⁷⁵ It resembled the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before its first partition, but Żebrowski modified the boundaries according to geographic criteria, mainly the rivers, which he considered as *natural* borders of the future Polish state. Leszek Sykuliński suggests that Żebrowski's work is among the first if not even the first work of a Polish author based on the geopolitical paradigm. ⁷⁶

In Żebrowski's imagination, Poland should cover a territory with an area of approximately one million square kilometres and create a bridge between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea. The idea of a bridge was not uncommon and could be found among the majority of cartographic representations from the time of the Great Polish Emigration. Above-mentioned quotations from Chrzanowski's prospectus as well as statements from other sources are clear

⁷⁰ Manifest Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego [Manifesto of Polish Democratic Society], Poitiers 1836, p. 6.

⁷¹ EBERHARDT (as in footnote 66), p. 10.

⁷² KALEMBKA (as in footnote 63), p. 203.

⁷³ Ibidem, p. 204.

⁷⁴ EBERHARDT (as in footnote 66), p. 11.

⁷⁵ OSKAR ŻEBROWSKI: Polska: Ogólny zarys przyczyn wzrostu i upadku dawnego państwa polskiego [Poland: General Overview of the Reasons for the Rise and the Fall of the Former Polish State], Paris 1847.

⁷⁶ LESZEK SYKULSKI: Oskar Żebrowski—Prekursor Polskiej Geopolityki [Oskar Żebrowski—The Precursor of Polish Geopolitics], in: Przegląd Geopolityczny 2 (2010), 1, pp. 169–174, here p. 169.



Fig. 3: Polska w naturalnych granicach (Poland within Its Natural Boundaries), in: ŻEBROWSKI (as in footnote 75)

evidence of that. What differs between Żebrowski's Poland and Chrzanowski's Poland is the source of their vision of the future state. Żebrowski proposed that the future state should cover an area similar to that of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in its most expanded form. Both of the seacoasts should be delimited by the rivers: the Baltic Sea coast should extend from the Oder to the Daugava and the Black Sea coast from the Danube to the Dnieper. In Żebrowski's opinion, even the Pomeranian territories, which had not belonged to the Polish crown since the twelfth century, as well as Courland and other Russian western provinces, should be integral parts of the new Polish state.⁷⁷ Moreover, in his argumentation, he combined the dominant geographical approach with a historical mission, namely, that Poland ought to defend

⁷⁷ EBERHARDT (as in footnote 66), pp. 12–13.

Europe from Russian attacks and became a spring of liberal ideas for the territories of Central Europe.

Żebrowski proposed a vision of the future state that was based on a distinct inspirational source; this differed from the idea of most émigrés, who saw the events of 1772 as an injustice that had to be rectified, and therefore viewed the Commonwealth with its status from 1772 as the legitimate political and legal entity, which should be restored and then (significantly or mildly) reformed by Poles themselves. This position is evident in the statement of Adam Jerzy Czartoryski in which he declared that Poland could be restored as a political entity only in its “oldest shape”: the pre-1772 borders.⁷⁸

Even though Żebrowski's publication (which he dedicated to Witold Czartoryski, the son of Prince Adam Jerzy) was almost immediately regarded as exaggerated, and his idea of the future state as mere fiction, it still strongly influenced many other Polish authors, especially Wincenty Pol, who later also promoted the Polish national cause through cartography.⁷⁹

Within the discourse about the planned or rather demanded boundaries of the future Polish state, the *Karta dawnej Polski* verges on an idea that could be identified as mainstream. Nevertheless, even if Chrzanowski and the leaders of the Hôtel Lambert faction did share the same idea of territorial range with the democrats and the leftist-oriented Polish representatives, their concept of future political arrangement was different. As democratic journalist Mierosławski suggested in 1839, the republic was the only possible and proper governmental system for the future state. The idea of constitutional monarchy, promoted by propagandists and Hôtel Lambert ideologists, would only be possible, in Mierosławski's opinion, if a strong bourgeoisie were present in the state, which it was not, and, even then, it would be only a transitional stage until a republic was established.⁸⁰

The question about a governmental form of the future state was, however, not primarily discussed through the cartographic representations. As the *Karta dawnej Polski* was a unique case, being the only map of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth created by émigrés showing its pre-partitioned borders, it is possible to suggest that by objectifying the precise image of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the contributors (un)intentionally voiced their opinions about the future legislative nature of the state, which should resemble that of the pre-partitioned kingdom. However, it would be a false assumption to think that the Hôtel Lambert leaders rejected any kind of reforms of the pre-1772 Commonwealth in envisioning the future state. In fact, many of their memoranda proved the opposite to be true. I suggest that the role that the *Karta dawnej Polski* played within the emigrational discourse regarding the

⁷⁸ Czartoryski Adam Jerzy, *Zasady* (as in footnote 51).

⁷⁹ SEEGL, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands* (as in footnote 3), p. 149.

⁸⁰ KALEMBKA (as in footnote 63), p. 207.

form of the future Polish government was only minor and mostly unintentional.

On the other hand, the narrative about Polish national territory contained within the *Karta dawnej Polski* would have a unique position when confronted with the Russian cartographical projects in the Kingdom of Poland. After the Vienna Congress, all three partitioned powers conducted new map-making projects of their territories; Prussia in 1815, Russia in 1816 and Austria in 1819.⁸¹ The newly established Kingdom of Poland, connected in a personal union with Imperial Russia, was not an exception. In order to conduct the topographical survey of the land, the unit of the *Kwatermistrzostwo generalne* was created. Being a member of this unit, Wojciech Chrzanowski was commissioned with the task of the demarcation of the Polish-Prussian borders in 1818. The over-arching project of the *Kwatermistrzostwo generalne*, to which the utmost attention was paid, was given the name *Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego*⁸², also known as the “Three-verst map.”⁸³ The necessary terrain measurements were already finished in 1827 and the next step was to prepare the map for publishing.⁸⁴ However, the outbreak of the November Uprising halted the final preparation and, when the work on the project was resumed in 1832, it was under the command of the Russian general, Karol Richter. Supervised by Richter, the map was finally published in 1843.⁸⁵

The relevancy of a comparison between the *Karta dawnej Polski* and the *Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego* becomes clearer with the focus on their narratives. I have already argued that there were (at least) two narratives communicated through the *Karta dawnej Polski*—the necessity of a military clash with the benefit of a standardized map on the one hand, and the architecture of the desired nation-state project on the other. But what kind of narratives did the *Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego* communicate?

Seegel emphasizes that, in Imperial Russia, and especially in its Eastern Borderlands, maps played an important role as political weapons to rewrite history. Even though he did not pay particular attention to the *Topograficzna*

⁸¹ BOGUSŁAW KRASSOWSKI: *Topograficzna Karta Królestwa Polskiego (1822–1843)* [Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland (1822–1843)], Warszawa 1978, p. 6.

⁸² ALEXEY POSTNIKOV: Steven Seegel. Mapping Europe’s Borderlands: Russian Cartography in the Age of Empire [review], in: *The AAG Review of Books* 2 (2014), 4, p. 156.

⁸³ “Three-verst” is a reference to the scale of the map; verst was a Russian unit of length, equivalent to about 1.07 km (42,000 inches), therefore one inch (2.54 cm) on the map represented three versts (126,000 inches or 3.21 km) on the ground. Consequently the nominal scale of this map was 1:126 000.

⁸⁴ KRASSOWSKI (as in footnote 81), pp. 14–15.

⁸⁵ ALEXEY POSTNIKOV, JÓZEF BABICZ: *Studia nad dziejami ziem słowiańskich zachodnich i środkowych wobec nowych źródeł do powstania mapy Królestwa Polskiego* [Study of the History of Western and Central Slavic Territories Regarding the New Sources for the Creation of a Map of the Kingdom of Poland], in: *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 34 (1989), 4, pp. 941–946, here p. 945.

karta Królestwa Polskiego, his general conclusions are, in my opinion, still relevant in this case. In my view, in the same way that the *Karta dawnej Polski* objectified the idea of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, turning it into a cartographic, and consequently desired, geopolitical reality, the *Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego* communicated—and from the Russian point of view it could be said confirmed—the status of the former territories of the Commonwealth incorporated into a new state. With the existence of the *Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego*, the geopolitical reality of the Kingdom of Poland under the rule of the Russian tsar was legitimized by cartographical objectification. Interestingly, Alexey Postnikov implies that the high quality of this map meant that many European cartographers rated it amongst the best published maps of its time.⁸⁶ From Harley's point of view, this level of perfection would be a great illustration of governmental use of the newest technologies in an attempt to legitimize its actions.⁸⁷

After the defeat of the November Uprising, all cartographic projects in Warsaw were placed under the supervision of Russian military rule and cartographic representations created in this environment obviously justified the tsar's rule over the state, which was established from the parts of the former Commonwealth. Reflecting these circumstances, many Polish representatives turned their attention to maps; as they were not in a position to challenge autocratic rule at a geopolitical level, they could question the legitimacy of the tsar's rule as well as the existence of Poland in its present shape by using cartography. The great example of this approach was the action of Leonard Chodźko⁸⁸ who, in an attempt to fight against the despotism of Imperial Russia, circulated his tendentious maps within Parisian society.⁸⁹

Consequently, cartography became a dimension of the discourse about the reality of a Polish(-Lithuanian) state. Should the Polish representatives accept the image of the Polish state which the Kingdom of Poland project offered them? The borders were clearly marked, and the maps confirmed them. This was the new Poland, Poland under the legitimate rule of the Russian tsar, cartographically objectified in the "Three-verst map." Obviously, they had different ideas about the desired state; the *Karta dawnej Polski* manifested that pretty evidently. The Kingdom of Poland in its contemporary shape was not the state that Polish representatives in exile were trying to re-establish. In this sense, the *Karta dawnej Polski* could be marked as a political manifesto:

⁸⁶ POSTNIKOV, Steven Seegel (as in footnote 82), p. 156.

⁸⁷ HARLEY (as in footnote 14), p. 10.

⁸⁸ Chodźko was the author of many works that promoted the Polish cause through history and cartography, e.g.: LEONARD CHODŹKO: *Tableau de la Pologne ancienne et moderne sous le rapport géographique, statistique, géologique ...* Paris 1830; IDEM: *Recueil des traités, conventions, actes diplomatiques etc. relatifs à la Pologne, de 1762 à 1862*, Paris 1863.

⁸⁹ SEEDEL, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands* (as in footnote 3), pp. 149, 151.

a map that represented the main ideas and goals of the Hôtel Lambert circle, a map that communicated their standpoint about the concept of the Polish state.

However, as nineteenth century history showed, these ideas about the concept of the Polish state and the Polish nation that were shared within the whole spectrum of Polish émigrés turned out to be naïve. Inhabitants living in the territories of the pre-partitioned Commonwealth did not automatically and unanimously adopt the ideas about the shape and attributes of a future independent Poland and did not assimilate to the culture, language or history of the Commonwealth presented as the history of a united Polish nation.⁹⁰ In this sense, the implied narratives of the *Karta dawnej Polski*, which I have presented in this paper, were relevant in specific geopolitical and nationalist discourses, but did not, in fact, greatly influence the society living in the lands of the former Commonwealth. These narratives promoted the ideas of the Hôtel Lambert, but did not persuade all inhabitants to adopt them as their own. Yet, this was the same for any kind of promotion of language, culture or history, no matter which faction of Polish émigrés was behind it.

Conclusion

The role of cartography in the process of exerting political authority as well as promoting nationalists' ideas in nineteenth century East-Central Europe has been the central element of many appealing studies over the past few years. Application of the social constructivist theories has allowed researchers to conduct an innovative examination of what could be and what was achieved through maps in a specific historical context. I argued at the beginning of this article that the *Karta dawnej Polski* is a promising case-study of this approach, which has not been yet analyzed in detail. In my particular research I have focused my attention on the process of the mapmaking rather than on the published map itself. This spotlight allows the researcher to examine anthropological and historical qualities of the map, which are more obvious while researching the preserved primary sources relevant for the mapmaking process than just from the actual map. As the research has demonstrated, in the case of the *Karta dawnej Polski*, it was one specific decade, 1837–1847, that proved to be crucial for the final shape of the map and, consequently, for its anthropological and historical qualities.

The case of the *Karta dawnej Polski* is an apparent demonstration of the relationship between the mapmakers and their patron, as was suggested by John Brian Harley. Wojciech Chrzanowski's work on the map was fully dependent on the material support of the Hôtel Lambert—despite his education and expertise—and, on the other side, the aristocratic faction of Polish émigrés decided to voluntarily aid the map project even if the financial situation of its supporters was not always smooth. This case also confirms that the

⁹⁰ Ibidem.

mapmaker-patron relationship is usually quite cordial, since both sides share common interests and almost a similar worldview.

Their mutual position was also eminent from the narratives, which could be identified in the *Karta dawnej Polski*. The military narrative was actually used as the main argument in order to secure material support for the project, and it shows that neither Chrzanowski, nor the Hôtel Lambert faction questioned the reality of a future uprising.⁹¹ Along with this military narrative, which communicated the idea that Polish representatives were in a state of perpetual preparation for an uprising and did not see any way to restore an independent Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth other than a war, there was a second narrative. By creating the map of the pre-partitioned Commonwealth, the idea of the past would be changed into a cartographical reality of the present. Drawn on a map, the Commonwealth would become a state with its own territory, borders, cities and villages, rivers and roads. The *Karta dawnej Polski*, therefore, communicated the clear message that the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a real political entity, not just a memory.

On the other side, the cartographical projects conducted by order of the Russian authorities or under the supervision of Russian cartographers communicated a totally different narrative about the Polish state. The example of this practice was the “Three-verst map” (Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego). Even though the mapmaking was organized by the *Kwatermistrzostwo generalne*, the supervision of the Russian authorities was still maintained and the narrative it communicated within the discourse about the nature of Polish state was about legitimizing the existence of the Kingdom of Poland in its post-1815 borders with the personal union with Imperial Russia. Thus, the purpose of the *Karta dawnej Polski* appeared to be, not only the positively-oriented promotion of the Hôtel Lambert agenda, but it also served to undermine the images of Poland that were cartographically objectified by maps created under Russian command. Hypothetically, the importance of this opposition towards the maps created in the Kingdom of Poland could play a role in relationships with Western societies in France, Great Britain etc., such as when Chodźko distributed his maps in Paris during the 1850s, but, in the case of the *Karta dawnej Polski*, there is no available evidence of its eventual use in this way.

As the presented paper has demonstrated, application of social constructivism ideas based on the work of Harley and the newly acclaimed findings in the field of Critical Cartography allows historians to ask more in-depth questions about the history of maps. By using this approach and focusing on the historical and anthropological qualities of a map, the empirical research could serve as a base for much more complex and interesting results. It could enable analysis not only of who created the map and when, but also what its intended

⁹¹ SIRKO (as in footnote 10), pp. 280–281.

and even unintended purposes were and how these affected specific kinds of discourses.

In this text, I have not completely examined all of the above-mentioned general attributes of this methodological approach. Without a doubt, there are many interesting questions left, which should be addressed in future research. However, the primary goal of my paper was to present the specific case-study research.