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*On the Attribution of the Court Church in Cieszków
and the Trinitarian Church in Krotoszyn
in the Light of the Records*

On the grounds of stylistic-comparative analyses, the court church in Cieszków (construction b. 1753) and the Trinitarian Church in Krotoszyn (1767-74), have been so far associated with Carl Martin Frantz (1712-55), the major promoter in Poland and one of the most important ones in Silesia of the architectural language of Christoph and Kilián Ignátz Dientzenhofer. However, some newly discovered sources have allowed us to revise this hypothesis.

A document dated 25 November 1753 commemorating the foundation of the Cieszków church names two master masons who conducted its construction: Carl Joseph Pöltz of Wrocław and Leopold Ostritz of Trzebnica. The fact questions the authorship of Carl Martin Frantz; moreover it would be quite unlikely of the latter not to have undertaken the implementation of his own designs, especially in the times when the actual building skills were more highly appreciated than the designing ones. How can, therefore, a close similarity of form between the Cieszków church and a certain work of the Legnica architect, namely a church in Rokitno in the Międzyrzecz County (1746-48) be accounted for? It may be assumed that Carl Martin had access to designs created in the circle of Kilián Ignátz Dientzenhofer, which he applied while designing the church in Rokitno, and possibly for the court church in Rydzyna (1746-51). Both churches lacked two elements present in the Cieszków one, yet characteristic of the early works of the younger Dientzenhofer: a concave façade and 'chasuble-shaped' windows. While assuming that these had been planned in the genuine design, they may have been eliminated from the final implementation due to some insufficient skills of the Greater Poland masons. These 'Dientzenhofer' plans might have been given to Katarzyna Sapieżyna, Cieszków's owner, by Carl Martin Frantz on the request of his employer Aleksander Józef Sułkowski, her brother's father-in-law.

From among two masons named in the above-mentioned document of 25 November 1753, the leading role in the Cieszków 'manufactory' was played by Carl Joseph Pöltz. Such a conclusion can be prompted by his relations with Bartholomäus Wittwer, conductor of the construction of the Chapel of the Deceased raised at the Wrocław Cathedral in 1749, related to the Cieszków church by an analogically shaped dome and the interior decoration of the tholobate.

Neither could have C. M. Frantz who died in 1755 been the author of the 'Dientzenhofer' variant of the architectural concept implemented at the Trinitarian Church in Krotoszyn; the information found in the convent records directly implies that the building's designs were created in ca. 1760. They may have been implemented by the master mason Ignatz Krebs brought to nearby Cieszków. Cieszków Parish records hold it that the mason arrived there while the Sapieżyna-founded church was being built. This means that having participated in the project, he was perfectly familiar with the design and the practical aspects of its implementation, which can prompt the conclusion that it was him who prepared the design of the Trinitarian Church.

Carl Joseph Pöltz in Cieszków and Ignatz Krebs in Krotoszyn both applied the architectural concept previously used by Carl Martin Frantz in the Rokitno and Rydzyna churches, raising however, more outstanding buildings than the originals. This questions the attribution of the concept to the Legnica architect. It is more likely to have been conceived in Bohemia within the circle of Kilián Ignác Dientzenhofer, while Frantz transferred it to Greater Poland. The concept was most fully implemented by Pöltz, while Krebs creatively developed the variant authored by Frantz for the Rydzyna church.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

KATARZYNA PRZYWOŻNA-LEŚNIAK

On the Beginnings of the Fashion for 'Delft Tiles' in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Wall Tiles in John III Sobieski's Residences in Żółkiew, Jaworów, and Wilanów

Starting from the end of the 17th century and almost throughout the whole 18th century, wall tiles manufactured in the Netherlands were a popular element of the European interior décor. They came into fashion with the European aristocracy starting with the Trianon de Porcelaine of Louis XIV, this coinciding with the longstanding fascination with Oriental china and the interest in Chinoiserie. In Poland too the same type of interior decoration was used, this testified to by the preserved facilities and archival sources.

In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Dutch tiles were used the earliest in the residences of King John III Sobieski in Żółkiew, Jaworów, and Wilanów. As recorded by a French traveller, the royal baths in Żółkiew, consisting of two pavilions, were decorated with tiles already in 1688. From the description of one of the bath pavilions made in 1743, it is clear that tiles covered all the walls of the bathroom and fragments of walls by the fire-places in the hall as well as in the room preceding the bathroom.

In the 1680s, faience decoration was also put up in the summer palace owned by the King in Jaworów. 'Fagfur'-tile-clad were as many as four rooms: a study with 'the ceiling painted sky-blue' and as many as three rooms, of which one was the 'residence' of Queen Marie.

Although in the case of Żółkiew and Jaworów the only source telling us of the faience decoration are archival records, in Wilanów where the ceramic décor of the 'Fagfur' Study has survived, the basic information source is to be found in the existing tiles. Having studied them, the Author realized that some of them ranked among so-called Grauda tiles. When comparing the Wilanów ones with the tiles of the group in the collections of the Gemeentemuseum Het Hannemahuis in Harlingen and Keramiek-

museum Princessehof in Leeuwarden, as well as with the reproduced fragments of the decoration in the sacristy in San Augustin Church in Cádiz, it is possible to ascertain that the Wilanów genre tiles were created in one of the Harlingen workshops in ca. 1690. Additionally, the remaining kinds of tiles are in the Author's view close to the products manufactured in the last quarter of the 17th c. Thus when dating them initially in ca. 1680-90, the Author supposed that the landscape-motif tiles (*landschappen op land*) and the ones with reiters were made in one of the Harlingen workshops. Meanwhile, the 12-element panneaux (present in four variants) with the motif of floral vases in a floral border, tiles with Biblical scenes (*historie zonder tekst in cirkel*), as well the ones showing deities and sea creatures (*zeewezens*), came from Harlingen or Rotterdam. Contrariwise, the infrequent tiles with pastoral scenes, as much as strongly resembling similar products from Harlingen, are considered by the Author as later, possibly manufactured in Utrecht. Bearing in mind the initial dating of the tiles, as well as the mention in Paweł Sapięha's diary of 1694 (in which he defines one of the first-floor palace chambers as the 'study to the right of the Dutchman'), it can be assumed that the ceramic decorations were put in place in Wilanów in the course of the last palace extension King John III Sobieski carried out between 1686 and 1696.

The royal decorations in Żółkiew, Jaworów, and Wilanów, are not only the earliest examples of the use of the new decoration type in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but what is worth emphasizing, the first in Europe, after the Trianon de Porcelaine and the Château de Marly of Louis XIV, palace premises with tile-clad interiors, thus testifying not only to the inspirations and aesthetical predilections of the individual who commissioned them, but also to his status and aspirations.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

JOLANTA POLANOWSKA

Mokotów: a Landscape Garden of Izabella Lubomirska dedicated to Jean-Jacques Rousseau

The three hundred years that have passed since the birth of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78) make one attempt to answer how he influenced art on the example of Mokotów dedicated to him, one of the earlier landscape gardens from the late 18th century preserved in Warsaw in a vestigial form.

Princess Izabella Lubomirska (1736-1817) began creating the residence by purchasing a plot in the village of Mokotów near Warsaw (5 August 1771), having accumulated further plots by 1776. The estate occupied an elongated piece of land between current Puławska and Belwederska Streets, with its eastern part close to the Łazienki Park of Stanislaus Augustus, whom the Princess had a longstanding relationship with. In 1771, Lubomirska employed the architect Efraim Szreger (1727-83) who designed a regular complex with a palace in the western part. In 1772, an estate on a symmetrical layout with a small *casino in giardino*-type palace located on the escarpment edge, geometric axial farming garden, and a home farm was raised. The two-storeyed palace on a square layout, with a five-axis classicizing differentiated elevations, embedded in the escarpment edge, was one of the first building in Poland functioning as a suburban villa. The regular layout of the complex, typical of still 17th-century Warsaw suburban residences, allows to assume that the farming garden was the remains of the former complex. In 1774, the poet Kajetan Skrzetuski in his poem *Mokotów* described the upper section of the of the complex with the palace and home farm created by Efraim Szreger. He also vaguely mentioned a 'wild promenade' which began below the escarpment terrace (enumerating a path, stream, pond, and source). Around 1773, another architect was employed there, namely Szymon Bogumił Zug (1733-1807), beginning to win the reputation of a designer of landscape complexes. In 1776, the Princess bought additional plots of the Mokotów borough on which Zug created a landscape garden with an extended water section in the bottom eastern part (three ponds with canal-communicating isles). The known bills (from 1776) confirm earthwork and water jobs, as well as the construction of pavilions. By 1782, by flooding a part of the former meadows and wasteland, a developed navigable waterway network had been

created, which can be seen in the plans by: Jan Gawłowski (ca. 1776-80), Tadeusz Górski's *Plan of Gardens, Buildings, Brickyards, Fields, and Meadows*. [...] 1779 and Waclaw Chodkiewicz's *Overall Plan* (1782). Until 1784, Zug continued intense works throughout the whole estate: in the upper part, he slightly modified the plan of the farming garden, departing a bit from strict regularity, this emphasized by an irregular arrangement of a part of the building, and by raising the irregular gate structures. The planned construction of the pavilion and garden decoration was thwarted by the fact that the Princess went abroad (1785). As of 1798, she had the furnishing transferred to Łańcut, while in 1799 she donated the estate to her daughter Aleksandra and Stanisław Kostka Potocki.

Mokotów owes its final shape to Szymon Bogumił Zug who at the foot of the escarpment created a new landscape complex: the main artistic and ideological centre of the estate, while the main part was transformed into the main farming facilities. This new garden called 'The Wild Promenade' stretched from the road to Wilanów and was separated from it with a canal which allowed for sailing from Łazienki, with an entry leading across the Brick Bridge. The three-partited garden featured in the southern corner a section called 'Emptiness', while the fragment with three ponds and isles penetrated the 'Emptiness' with bays and a network of canals. Both sections covered the eastern fragment of the new layout and contained Izabella Lubomirska's garden village (*hameau*). The third part, grown with trees, covered the whole slope of the escarpment up to the palace and was cut across by paths leading to several clearings. This seemingly natural landscape, created with a vast input of labour and resources, was presented in Zygmunt Vogel's water colours.

The major building in the landscape park was the Ruined Castle (1780-1783), a *maison de plaisance*-function pavilion, a garden ruin type, of irregular mass, partially one-, partially two-storeyed. Next to it, there was a Barn, and a semi-earthed Cellar which constituted together the Farm complex. The brick complex and some wooden huts (e.g. Hermitage, Fish-House, and Apiary) formed a garden village (*hameau*). There was a statue of Jean-Jacques

Rousseau placed next to it (before July 1783) – a sarcophagus with the planned inscription reading: *Rare, divin et sublime Ecrivain, / que à l'humanité tu as fait du bien*. In the upper garden, Zug introduced asymmetry to the layout and the aspect of the buildings (a small Orangery and the Burgrave House) and raised two irregular gate structures: the decorated Flemish Gloriette (before 1780) and the Tower with Dovecot. Both buildings formed the extreme pavilions of the wall curtain. All these works aimed at overcoming the regular character of the upper part of the complex, in order to adjust it to the lower landscape part, associated not merely functionally, since the latter served as a garden for walking, but also by means of view axes: the gate silhouettes served as eye catchers, and together with the Little Ruined Castle, were commented on in literary works as a manifesto of new associative and historicizing forms, thus introducing the picturesque style into Warsaw's architecture.

Mokotów was created in cooperation of the architect with the owner who must have most likely pointed also to the architect's models. The latter can be more readily defined thanks to the monument of Jean-Jacques Rousseau modelled on the writer's tombstone from the Island of the Poplars in Ermenonville raised by his great fan Marquise René-Louis de Girardin, at the same time owner of the residence built (1755-76) on the forest edge near Senlis, this inspired by the novel *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse, lettres de deux amants habitants d'une petite ville au pied des Alpes*. Ermenonville and its structures may have served as the formal source for part of the Mokotów solutions. Izabella Lubomirska, enthusiast for Jean-Jacques Rousseau, was ravished by his novel *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse...* whose copy of the first edition she purchased during her French trip (1759-61) to remain under its spell for years. She may have visited Ermenonville, so widely admired, during her stay in Paris (1767-69) and it was possibly her personal knowledge of the estate that made her decide to model her *villa* in the suburbs of Warsaw on Ermenonville, which seems likely when both are compared. In both there was a regular farming garden and a landscape complex composed of three different, yet mutually corresponding parts ('Emptiness' corresponded with *le Désert*, a wild rocky surroundings of Ermenonville; the water section featuring the fishermen's hut corresponded with its fragment of 'northern marshy meditational landscape'; the 'Arcadian' part featuring a lake, cascade, and grottos, was present in both gardens). The upper part of the Mokotów estate had its

equivalent in the Ermenonville village, inspired by the English Pastoral Farm type. In the residence near Paris, on both sides of the road leading across the village, two irregular towered buildings were raised: one featuring a tower on a circular layout, the other with a rectangular-lay-out tower. Their equivalents in Mokotów could be found in the idea of the estate wall with two formally contrasted gate buildings. The Flemish Glorietta was also an eye catcher pavilion, closing up the vista axis stretching from the palace. In order to fulfill all these conditions, Zug designed a pavilion, called Flemish Glorietta, possibly inspired by the Gravensteen Castle in Ghent. The second gate – a lofty Gothic tower, may have been inspired by Romanesque-Gothic buildings in the Rhineland. *The Pleasure Little Castle (Zameczek Plejzerowy)* was to be found in the pavilion of a defensive structure in ruin (*Künstliche Burgruinen*), while it may have modelled its 'step' silhouette on the Tour de la Belle Gabrielle from Ermenonville. The nearby Barn was almost a copy of the *Maison du Philosophe dans le desert d'Ermenonville* raised in field stone and thatched. The fact that the statue of Rousseau, in its form and surrounding arrangement echoed his tomb from the Island of the Poplars in Ermenonville, emphasized the relations of the Wild Promenade with the estate of Marquis René-Louis Girardin. This coincidence, as well as the imports, testify to how well the Princess and her architect were acquainted with the art created within the patronage of French aristocracy, particularly to their knowledge of Ermenonville. Zug's genuine concept was to seek pavilions forms among mediaeval castle. The architect, modelling himself on old buildings, experimented with their mass and surface, turning the very form into decoration which defined the function and character of respective buildings, while also yielding associative and historicizing content, thus creating genuine picturesque architecture.

What strikes in Mokotów is an almost total lack of figural decoration, all the more surprising as the palace interiors were truly lavish. Kajetan Skrzetuski in his description of the estate mentioned only the decoration of the palace grotto (apart from the prints in the palace and portraits in the arbour), meant to house a bathroom with a trompe-l'oeil stucco decoration mimicking rocks and with a painted scene of fishermen's repose, adding that there was a view of the Łazienki Park as seen from the entrance to the grotto, thus suggesting that it was directly opposite the Palace on the Water. A closer analysis allowed for some further relations to Łazienki. Meanwhile, in the second phase the only decorative facility was the monument dedicated to Rousseau. This apparent lack of traditionally perceived decoration was purposeful as an expression of one of the main ideals of

Rousseauims, namely that it is nature itself, as varied as possible, that constituted the most perfect decoration of the estate, the view promoted by the philosopher in his novel *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse...* The fact that this 'avant-garde' conception was adopted in the lower part of Mokotów, was confirmed, apart from the landscape forms, by centrally placing Rousseau's statue there and his 'reconstructed' Ermenonville house. Additional content to this presumable 'literary scenario' garden was infused by the pavilions. The 'Pleasure Castle' may be echoing a 'flirtatious' relation with its prototype: Tour de la Belle Gabrielle, mistress of King Henry IV who King Stanislaus Augustus identified with. The message of Mokotów was made up by the tangle of content motifs related to its lady owner, her love relationship with the King, while also to Jean-Jacques Rousseau whom the Princess admired, and indirectly to the novel *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse...* whose main protagonist the Princess could identify with in the scenery modelled on Ermenonville.

Lubomirska was at the time strongly inspired by her Rousseauism to create Mokotów. She ranked among the aristocratic followers of the Geneva ideologist, such as: Marquis René-Louis Girardin of Ermenonville; Francis, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau of Wörlitz (with the Isle of the Poplars with Rousseau's tomb, 1782); Princess Hellena Radziwiłł (a similar isle in Arkadia near Nieborów); or Izabela Czartoryska (she intended to raise a garden pyramid to express her 'gratitude' to the writer); who all created landscape complexes of the sentimental type. The sentimental type garden, rooted in the conviction that nature is a 'book' surpassing any other, constituted, as *jardin naturel*, an extreme, more purist than rooted in the culture of the Antique Arcadian picturesque garden, variety of landscape garden. The concept was derived from utopian views of Jean-Jacques Rousseau that it was possible to restore the natural man. That ideal of a close contact with nature also defined requirements for garden buildings which while serving some superior goal: the impact of landscape on senses and souls, should 'inspire moods and impressions' by the conveyed associations. The view was additionally promoted

through the book by René-Louis Girardin, *De la composition des paysages, sur le terrain, ou des moyens d'embellir la nature autour des habitations, en y joignant l'agréable à l'utile* (1st edition 1777). The reception of this programme in Poland coincided (after the election of Stanislaus Augustus) with searching for art of new forms, differing from the Saxon tradition and referring to the Polish one. The Princess was able to give an impulse to Zug's artistic search towards the elements of historicism, thus enhancing the intuitive at the time forms of mediaeval art. In the Mokotów buildings, partially inspired by Ermenonville pavilions he accurately applied, the architect created illustrious examples of 'mediaeval' garden buildings. The Mokotów pavilions were imitated, while the Flemish Gloriette by breaking with the regularity and symmetry of mass, heralded a pavilion type with a rotunda in the corner. What could be found in the primitivizing pavilions and arbours were the interests characteristic of the time in the foundations and beginnings of architecture. The Mokotów pavilions were built of basic solid figures, composed according to the new, sometimes contrasting principles. Following them, Zug created their sets which afterwards, as separate and equivalent, were located in space, already following the new principles of the association inclusion of atmosphere-creating architecture in landscape. The landscape complex of Mokotów ranked among the French variety of landscape gardens (*jardin paysager*) popular on the Seine in the 1770s. among such implementations as Ermenonville. Mokotów became an important work of the 'trend in the poetry of architecture'. It was a 'sentimental' garden in both meanings of the French word: *sentir*, as a place of 'sensual impressions'. In this aspect, the artistic initiative could have been that of the Princess, while in the metaphorical meaning: as a place in which buildings 'bring to mind, give the impression' – this is where a bigger role of Zug, as the author of pavilions and garden decoration of a definite association programme can be seen. Decisions of Izabella Lubomirska, a great lover of Rousseau, contributed to Zug's experiments, thus leading to Romanticism in architecture.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

JOLANTA RÓŻALSKA

Tadeusz Rychter: New facts from the artist's life

Tadeusz Rychter, Polish painter and graphic artist from the late 19th century and 1st half of the 20th century, does not have a monograph, neither has he been a subject of a longer article. What a researcher on the topic finds useful, are archival records from the Library of the Polish Academy of Learning and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow, Public Library in Warsaw, Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and Ossolineum in Wrocław (here the following manuscripts: 12073/I [Bronisława Rychter-Janowska, *Mój dziennik. Zapiski z lat 1912-1950* (My Diary. Records from 1912-50)] and 12245/III [*Korespondencja rodziny Rychterów z lat 1895-1908* (Correspondence of the Rychter Family from 1895-1908)]).

Born in Lvov in 1870, the artist was the son of Józef Rychter, Vice-Chancellor of the Lvov University of Technology, and Aleksandra née Pintkowska, and a grandson of the actor and director Józef Franciszek Rychter. It was in Lvov that he went to secondary school. He began to study painting at the School of Fine Arts in Cracow, according to Świeykowski in 1894/95; meanwhile the *Materials for the History of the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow* record him in 1895/96 as a student of Teodor Axentowicz; in 1899/1900 as that of Józef Unierzyski; and in 1902/03 again of Axentowicz. As of 1896, he studied in Munich at the Academy there under Nikolaus Gysis, while as of 1898, at the Munich school of Simon Hollósy. In 1899, he met the painter Bronisława Janowska whom he married in Lvov on 26 or 30 October 1900. Following that the Rychters left for Munich. In the spring of 1901, they went on their honeymoon (northern Italy and Switzerland), while in August, they came to live in Cracow. In 1903, Rychter worked on stage settings for the Student Independent Stage of Zapolska's drama school. Starting from 1906, he was member of the team making stage settings for *Nativity Plays* by the 'Green Balloon'.

Rychter took part in the following exhibitions: Cracow 1900-04, 1906-07; Warsaw 1903, 1905, and 1909; Łódź 1903; Nowy Sącz 1909. He executed drawings, mainly in charcoal, and painted portraits (e.g. of actors), genre scene, and landscapes. He designed kelims and applications (made by his wife: tapestry *Winter*, 1906), as well as jewellery. He executed graphic art (the following lithographs: *Trees in Snow*, *Cock* (both from 1904); *Our Lady's*

Church Towers 1905; poster *Cinderella. City Theatre in Cracow*), and made bookplates. In ca. 1907, he founded an experimental graphic workshop in Cracow.

Contended with health and marriage problems, the artist had main conflicts with his wife due to financial difficulties and a different view on the profession of a painter. In 1907, Rychter went to a sanatorium in Kosowo near Kołomyja where he became acquainted with anthroposophy, following which under the influence of Mieczysław Geniusz, he joined the circle of theosophers. Invited by Geniusz, he went to Port Said in Egypt in 1908, while in 1909 he was staying in Berlin and Cracow. In October 1909, he unofficially separated from his wife (Mrs Rychter-Janowska formally divorced her husband on 21 January 1919). In the autumn of 1909, Rychter came to Munich where he remained for 2 years, staying in contact with Rudolf Steiner. In 1910, he was back in Berlin (painting children's portraits), to travel to Switzerland in 1913, where he worked in Dornach near Basel on the construction of the first Goetheanum (glass workshop). However, Rychter's stay in Germany in 1910-20 has not as yet been thoroughly studied.

In the course of WW I, Rychter stayed in Lvov (from 1916 working as a censor at the post), and Vienna. On 21 December 1917, as a founding member he participated in a meeting establishing the Society of Friends of the National Museum in Warsaw. In 1918, he was in Munich where he fell ill.

Until recently, it was there that the trace of the artist disappeared. Press information (e.g., in 1929 on the exhibition of his paintings in Jerusalem) suggested that he stayed in Palestine. There is a letter sent by Józef Bieniasz to Rychter to Jerusalem and dated 26 November 1937. It is also known that in 1938 he was back in Poland, as he had his *Woman's Portrait* displayed in Warsaw and was working on a decoration of an unidentified church. At the outbreak of WW II, he was in Warsaw. Thanks to the notes of his wife, it is known that he stayed in hospital at the beginning of the German occupation of Poland. The clarification of the artist's life was possible thanks to the information provided by Andrzej Cerliński and Jan Rychter. It directed the Author to reach for Gideon Ofrat's book *On the Ground – Israeli Art of the 20s* (Tel-Aviv 1993) with a chapter titled: 'Where Did Tadeusz Rychter

Disappear?', focused on the life of the painter in Palestine. The Author has additionally studied Ofrat's book *One Hundred Years of Art in Israel* published in 1998 in which Rychter is mentioned to have lived in Jerusalem in the 1920s. These materials reveal that prior to WW II Rychter met the German painter Anna von May. They may have got married and left for Jerusalem in 1924. Consequently, Rychter received a commission either to repair or execute stained-glass windows for some churches; in the 1930s he taught painting in Jerusalem, while also working in Haifa as a

draughtsman. Furthermore, he participated in exhibitions in Jerusalem (1926, 1928, 1932) and Tel Aviv (1927). Having been a member of the Society of Painters and Sculptors in Palestine in 1934-35, he executed watercolours and drawings: portraits, human types, local landscapes, desert genre scenes, and animals, also tackling Christian topics. Moreover, he designed the logo for the Women's International Zionist Organisation, which, however, is no longer used. Having returned to Poland in ca. 1938, according to Janina Jaworska, he died in Warsaw in 1943 under unknown circumstances.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

EWA MANIKOWSKA

Material Art Historiography. Tadeusz Mańkowski's Galerja Stanisława Augusta of 1932

This article presents an analysis of Tadeusz Mańkowski's book *Galerja Stanisława Augusta* as a material object. By focusing on such aspects of the book as the expensive *in quarto* format, the paper, the photographic illustrations, the leather binding, the supralibros with the King's coat of arms and the bookplate with his signature, as well as on the history of its creation, distribution and popularisation, it considers it as a milestone in Polish art history. Arguably, the edition of the historical inventories of the royal collection of paintings, dismembered after 1795, is modelled on the most prestigious European examples of the Old Masters scholarship: Wilhelm von Bode's and Cornelis Hofstede de Groot's monumental Rembrandt's multivolume in folio catalogue, comprising photographic reproductions of all his known works (1897-1907) and August Jaccaci's and John La Farge's *Noteworthy Paintings in American Collections* (the first and only volume issued in 1909). Also the 18th-century *Recueils*, that is spectacular albums of prints of the most impressive European royal and princely collections, clear antecedents of such editions, are recalled. This article argues, that connoisseurship was among the most prestigious branches of the new discipline of art history and an important political tool as well. Accordingly, at the turn of the 20th century, Old Masters' paintings were an important device of cultural pride and state legitimisation. Rembrandt and Rubens were a key factor not only in the building of Dutch and Belgian identity respectively, but also

of the German, English, or American one. Arguably, the artists' masterpieces gained for national galleries and collections were a strong argument in the German or American claims to cultural superiority. The new Polish state, established in 1918, consequently also had to ground its cultural identity in the language of connoisseurship and collecting of the Old Masters. Stanislaus Augustus' collection was best fitted to play this role. Firstly, it was royal, old and historical; secondly, its recently rediscovered inventories revealed the first-grade Old Masters' names; finally, the great Rembrandt exhibitions of 1898 and 1906 had already established the world-wide fame of some of the pieces formerly in the royal possession. However, the reconstruction of this collection in the Łazienki Palace based mainly on the paintings regained from Russia thanks to the provisions of the Riga Peace Treaty (1921) was highly unsatisfactory. Arguably, it was a book based on the best Western scholar and material models to play the role of the showcase of Polish culture. In the concluding remarks, this article opts for a different chronology of Polish art history, delayed in respect to the Western European patterns. Mańkowski was referring to the examples from the earliest period of the discipline in an epoch when the link of the Old Masters with the actual political social and cultural dynamics was blurred, and its scholarship was limited to academic and museum debates on the notions of style or iconography.

Translated by the author