

Józef and Feliks Smuglewicz in the Shadow of Franciszek Smuglewicz

Rūta Janonienė

INSTITUTE OF ART RESEARCH, VILNIUS ACADEMY OF ARTS

[HTTPS://ORCID.ORG/0000-0002-2080-2911](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2080-2911)

ABSTRACT

The article focusses on the last two generations of the Smuglewicz line of painters. It presents new and significant information concerning the family of Filip Smuglewicz and his wife Brygida Glińska, who in the early nineteenth century relocated from Warsaw to Veisiejai, Lithuania. Their son Józef Smuglewicz (1785–1828) trained under his uncle, Professor Franciszek Smuglewicz, going on to teach drawing in Pastovys (modern-day Belarus) and in Kaunas, Lithuania. In 1814, Józef married Eleonora Bielkiewicz at the church in Vandžiogala. Their children would be the last generation of Smuglewiczes inhabiting lands in Lithuania, the Courland Governorate (modern-day western Latvia) and Ukraine. Józef's son Feliks Antoni Smuglewicz (1824–1867), meanwhile, would become the last painter in the Smuglewicz dynasty. Having finished school in Kaunas, he studied painting at the St Petersburg Academy of Arts (1847–1852) to later return to Lithuania and live and work chiefly in the vicinity of Kaunas and at the leased Neu-Bergfried estate in Courland. Due to various historical circumstances, his name as an artist quickly fell into obscurity. His output has not been studied and many of his works were incorrectly attributed to his famous uncle Franciszek Smuglewicz. Based on source analysis, the article discusses the biographies of Józef and Feliks Smuglewicz and concentrates on identifying and attributing their works. Simultaneously, to a certain extent, it also ends up verifying and correcting the body of work of Franciszek Smuglewicz.

KEYWORDS

the Smuglewicz family, Józef Smuglewicz, Feliks Antoni Smuglewicz, Franciszek Smuglewicz, nineteenth-century painting, Vilnius, Kaunas, Courland, artwork attribution

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Hearing the name Smuglewicz, the first person that comes to mind is likely Professor Franciszek Smuglewicz (1745–1807), a man whose path in life took him from Warsaw to Rome and then to Vilnius. Early in the nineteenth century, other relatives of the professor's also relocated to Vilnius: the family of his brother Antoni (1743–1809), his sister Teresa (1750–1833) and the son of his brother Filip (1748 or 1752 – 1819) – Józef Antoni Smuglewicz (1785–1828). Until recently, knowledge about Józef and the life led by the members of his family had been extremely fragmentary. The present article relies on archival research to present new information meant to fill in the gaps in the biographies of particular members of the last two generations of the artistic dynasty – the painters Józef and his son, Feliks Antoni Smuglewicz (1824–1867). It aims to update our understanding of these two men's artistic legacy and to propose certain hypotheses as to the authorship of particular paintings residing in museum and private collections in Lithuania and Poland.

The Smuglewicz family in Lithuania and Courland

Franciszek Smuglewicz's contact with clients in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania began when the artist was still living in Rome, where he worked under the patronage of Bishop of Samogitia Jan Stefan Giedroyc and, in 1779–1780, of the

Lithuanian court treasurer Antoni Tyzenhauz.¹ The Lithuanian chapter of his life started when the painter's good friend Carlo Spampani, active in Lithuania and Poland from 1770, along with his brother Antoni Smuglewicz, set out to find buyers for his paintings and for the album *Vestigia delle terme di Tito e loro interne pitture*.² Franciszek made his first contribution to artistic life in Vilnius already during a short initial visit to the city in 1785–1786 on invitation of Bishop Ignacy Jakub Massalski, when he painted several works for the Vilnius cathedral, many of which were probably created at the bishop's beloved Verkiiai eldership. The chief impulse for the painter's later return to Vilnius was an opportunity to take part in the final stages of reconstruction work on the cathedral. A 1796 cost estimate for the decorating works on the church, drafted by the architect Pietro Rossi, envisioned that instead of the stucco-work planned by chief architect Wawrzyniec Gucewicz, the ceiling would be decorated with frescoes on the basis of designs by Franciszek Smuglewicz, with the artist to be paid 9,000 red zlotys.³ Smuglewicz formally offered his services to decorate the main church in Vilnius in a letter to Bishop Jan Nepomucen Kossakowski dated 22 April 1797.⁴ In addition to accepting Smuglewicz's proposition, Kossakowski offered the artist a position as the head of the newly established Drawing and Painting Department at Vilnius University. The professorship and



fig. 1 The church in Vandžiogala (Lithuania)
photo Rūta Janonienė

numerous painting commissions afforded Smuglewicz financial stability and emboldened him to invite members of his family to join him in Vilnius. By 1804, hoping to land a teaching position at the university, his brother Antoni had come to the city, bringing his family and sister, Teresa. Also relocating to Vilnius was nephew Józef Antoni Smuglewicz (baptized in St Andrew's parish on 17 January 1785),⁵ the eldest son of Franciszek's younger brother Filip Smuglewicz and Brygida Glińska (c.1760–1813). In January 1805, young Józef enrolled in Vilnius University.⁶ It is hard to say how long Józef would have continued his studies in Vilnius had they not been interrupted by Franciszek Smuglewicz's death in 1807. Because the professor had no children of his own, he acted as guardian to his nephew for a period of several years. Upon his death, Józef inherited his uncle's valuable collection of prints, artistic publications and paintings, with his further education entrusted to his other uncle, Antoni. Not long

thereafter, however, Józef left Vilnius, having been nominated in 1807 for a position teaching drawing at the district school in Pastovys (modern-day Belarus).⁷ He would be reassigned to Kaunas on 1 September 1811 to serve in the same capacity there.⁸ On 8 January 1814 in Vandžiogala near Kaunas, Józef wed Eleonora Bielkiewicz (1789 – after 1844),⁹ a noblewoman from the local parish (fig. 1). In February of that year, Józef resigned from his teaching position at the Kaunas school, citing a serious, incurable illness as the reason.¹⁰ It cannot be ruled out, however, that the actual primary reason for his resignation was an unwillingness to work under the Tsarist administration and a desire for more freedom in his creative pursuits. Jobless, the artist received a meagre annual allowance of 50 silver rubles.¹¹ To supplement this, he may have given private drawing lessons, seeing as he is identified as a 'home teacher' in the record of a statement given by his son Piotr.¹²

For several years Józef and his wife lived near Vandžiogala, in a hamlet called Lackiškės, where the couple had their first child, Piotr Aleksander.¹³ In early 1816, having received permission from the authorities, Józef took his family to Veisiejai, a town then within the territory of Sejny powiat in the Łomża department of the Duchy of Warsaw, where his father, ‘the painter Filip Smuglewicz’, and sisters¹⁴ had been living since the beginning of the nineteenth century (and where Józef’s mother, Brygida Smuglewicz, had died on 13 October 1813).¹⁵ In the spring of 1819, Józef’s family returned to the Vandžiogala area with two new members: Joanna Marianna¹⁶ and Michał Maciej,¹⁷ and christened on 8 May of that year was another child, Stanisław Michał, born in Lackiškės.¹⁸ In the summer, Józef briefly returned to Veisiejai and was with his father on the day of his death (26 July 1819).¹⁹ He remained there for some time after the funeral to take care of matters of his father’s estate. Returning home from the Duchy of Warsaw, he took his sister, Ewa

Smuglewicz, with him (in 1820, Ewa is identified in the Vandžiogala parish church register as the godmother of her niece Eleonora).²⁰ In the following years, between 1822 and 1828, four more children were born to the family in Kaunas: Józefa Joanna,²¹ Paulina Anna,²² Tekla Helena²³ and the future painter Feliks Antoni.²⁴ On 12 December 1828, the barely forty-year-old Józef Smuglewicz died of tuberculosis in Bitvanas, a settlement in Vandžiogala parish.²⁵ The artist’s widow was left on her own with three daughters and three sons. Of the girls, only one lived to adulthood: the eldest Joanna Marianna, who married somewhere in Suwałki gubernate. Each of the sons would go on to leave their mark on Lithuanian culture. Piotr Smuglewicz became a doctor but would be best known for being a conspirator and patron of a Lithuanian intelligentsia ring that in 1852 started to meet at his leased Neu-Bergfried estate (in modern-day Jaunsvirlauka, Latvia) in the Courland gubernate. In 1859–1863 Piotr acted as the administrator of the estate of Natalia Zubowa Krzywina



fig. 2 Neu-Bergfried (modern-day Jaunsvirlauka, Latvia)
photo Līga Landsberga, public domain

(Lit. Krivin) in Volhynia.²⁶ He was accused of helping to organize an uprising in Ostroh powiat but managed to flee abroad.²⁷

Stanisław Smuglewicz chose a monastic path and joined a missionary fraternity. In 1836–1841 he studied at the order's seminary in Vilnius,²⁸ after which he worked in Ilūkšta²⁹ and Šventybrastis.³⁰ In 1847, as the administrator of Skaruliai and Janova parishes, Fr Smuglewicz fervently went about building a presbytery and several outbuildings, which put him in debt and thus at odds with the curia.³¹ In 1857, with the permission of Bishop Maciej Wołoncewski, Stanisław volunteered to go to the Diocese of Tiraspol (modern-day western Ukraine), where there was a shortage of Catholic clergy.³² According to information in *Kalendarz Kaukaski* [Caucasus calendar], Fr Stanisław Smuglewicz served as a military chaplain at the fortress of Grozny in 1858–1860.³³

Feliks Smuglewicz followed in the footsteps of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. He can be considered the last artist in the bloodline if we don't count Witold Kajruksztis (Lit. Vytautas Kairiūkštis, 1890–1961), whose great-grandmother, Teofila Smuglewicz, was Józef Smuglewicz's sister.³⁴ After finishing school in Kaunas in 1842, Feliks and his brother Piotr went to St Petersburg. In 1847–1852 he studied painting at the city's Academy of Fine Arts under Prof. Alexey Markov.³⁵ In the autumn of 1852 the young artist visited the studio of Kanuty Rusiecki, where he viewed the latter's paintings and shared his plans for the future, informing Rusiecki that he was preparing to eventually go abroad but would return to St Petersburg for the time being.³⁶ Indeed, from the St Petersburg academy he had received consent for a two-year stay in Rome to hone his craft³⁷ but there is no evidence of him in fact going. By decision of the Heraldry Department of the Russian Imperial Senate, on 25 March 1852 Feliks Smuglewicz was recognized as a nobleman of the Courland governorate.³⁸ Records from that same year show him as the leaseholder of the Neu-Bergfried estate (fig. 2). He lived there and worked the land even after his brother Piotr left for Volhynia.³⁹ According to a report in the press, 'the landscape painter Felix von Smuglewicz' died on Catharinenhof farm, part of the Neu-Bergfried estate, in June 1867.⁴⁰

The Work of Józef Smuglewicz

There was a tendency in the press of the second half of the nineteenth century to write about Franciszek Smuglewicz without using his first name, as if it had been a foregone conclusion that items like 'three Smuglewicz sketches' or a 'head of an old man painted by Smuglewicz', for sale at auction, were in fact works by this very artist. For example, when reviewing the collection of Bolesław Podczaszyński, Zygmunt Gloger stated that it contained 'drawings by esteemed artists such as Smuglewicz',⁴¹ while in 1870, readers of *Kurier Warszawski* could find information about Smuglewicz's drawings in the collection of Wojciech Grzymała.⁴² In 1873, meanwhile, the Warsaw press reported that the Exhibition of Fine Arts would feature two paintings with religious subjects for sale: a copy of Szymon Czechowicz's *St Vincent de Paul* and Smuglewicz's *St Anthony with the Child Jesus Healing the Sick during an Epidemic*.⁴³ In a 1905 story in *Przegląd Katolicki* about preparations for an exhibition dedicated to the Virgin Mary, we learn that Bishop Kazimierz Ruszkiewicz had agreed to loan a prayer book that had belonged to Smuglewicz decorated with images of the Mother of God 'drawn by the renowned painter himself'.⁴⁴ There are many more such examples. The habit of omitting Smuglewicz's first name also took hold in descriptions of art collections: if the creator of a work is identified as Smuglewicz, it was almost automatically assumed that the artist in question was Franciszek. For this reason, it makes sense to look for works by Józef and Feliks Smuglewicz among items erroneously attributed to their famous predecessor.

Not much is known about the artistic legacy of Józef Smuglewicz; information in historical sources is scant and often contradictory. Wincenty Smokowski writes, '[...] [he] worked mostly in views of a specific kind and, as it appears, the name of the Vilnius-based professor served him well in procuring interest in his day'.⁴⁵ Smokowski even ventured a hypothesis that the artist responsible for Smuglewicz's famous views of Vilnius was not actually Franciszek but Józef. On the other hand, perhaps it is precisely to Józef Smuglewicz that we ought to ascribe the anonymous paintings of Vilnius (*Paupys, The*

Visitandines' Church) held at the Vilnius University library, which Vladas Drėma attributed to Franciszek Smuglewicz despite the quality of their execution being incomparable to that of the famed landscapes by the elder artist.⁴⁶

Józef Smuglewicz's first significant work, as the press of the time notes, related to events taking place in 1812. On 31 July of that year, in honour of Napoleon's arrival and the city and area coming into the jurisdiction of the General Confederation of the Kingdom of Poland, the façade of the Kaunas town hall was adorned with banners created 'by the hand of a young Artist who is the Nephew of the famous Smuglewicz'.⁴⁷ The man behind the idea for the banners was Stanisław Kostka Dobrowolski (1775–1857), a teacher of Polish, Latin and literature at the powiat school in Kaunas. 'The first banner on the front of the town hall [...] represented the Neman River, over which a bridge was built by the French. NAPOLEON, with several Marshals, Polish Generals, sets foot on the Russian bank

and, with an outstretched hand, points to the tomb of Polish liberty, which can be seen nearby covered in a heap of laurels: rising above the wreathes are geniuses who weave a wreath from twigs for the Heroes that are to be hailed there. At the sight of a sign of the benevolent and victorious right of NAPOLEON the first Polish pennants surround and uncover the tomb, others run, and others still sail with expressions of the highest joy. All the banks of the Neman suddenly become gilded with the brilliance of the cheerful Sky, and the clouds that hitherto distressed these lands move afield following the Russian Eagles'.⁴⁸ The painting is supplemented and clarified by an inscription in rhyme placed beneath Napoleon's feet. On the left side of the town hall was another banner on which a resurrected Homeland was depicted as an ailing woman, who, supported by uhlan soldiers, lays flowers on Napoleon's shield. In the upper part of the composition, amidst bright rays of light, there is a letter 'N' and below it an inscription

fig. 3 Józef Smuglewicz, *The Crowning with Thorns*, after 1807, The National Museum in Kraków
photo Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie / Paweł Czernicki



reading 'Long live the French emperor'. This banner also showed the united Lithuania and Poland, with an identifying inscription. One can easily notice that the banners borrow certain iconographic motifs from the allegorical paintings of Franciszek Smuglewicz, including the symbol of the tomb of the Homeland, geniuses crowning heroes with glory and the resurrection of the Homeland.

Also worthy of note is the interior design of a manor house located in Aristavėlė, not far from Vandžiogala, executed around the same time as the banner but of uncertain authorship. The dining room's canvas-clad walls and ceiling were decorated with paintings commissioned by the property's owner, a man named Medekša (Lit. Medekša), purportedly in anticipation of a visit by Napoleon as he marched toward Russia.⁴⁹ The paintings were done in the Empire style. Those on the walls were dominated by architectural motifs and military symbols, while the ceiling featured a composition based on astrological motifs. The paintings were attributed to someone from the circle of Franciszek Smuglewicz, and sometimes even to Franciszek himself. However, considering the geographic location of the Aristavėlė manor and the time of the paintings' creation, the most sensible attribution seems to be to Józef Smuglewicz.

Other examples of Józef Smuglewicz's artistic activity include an 1820 restoration of several altar paintings at the Carmelite church in Kaunas: *The Virgin of Carmel*, *St Joseph*, *St Elijah* and *St Simon Stock*.⁵⁰

The painting *The Crowning with Thorns* residing in the collection of the National Museum in Kraków,⁵¹ provides a helpful starting point for the attribution of other possible works by Józef Smuglewicz as it is the only known work signed by the artist (fig. 3). In its painting manner, and especially in the rendering of the architectural background, we notice an influence of Franciszek Smuglewicz. Yet the more casual and even somewhat caricatural outlines, as well as the chiaroscuro effects, distance the work from the classicist output of Franciszek.

Though unsigned, several 1822 portraits of Polish and Lithuanian rulers, most of which are from the collection of the Vilnius University rector Szymon Malewski, are undoubtedly works of Józef Smuglewicz. Annotations on the

paintings' reverse sides name the artist and the former owner: *Property of | Franciszek | Malewski | Rector of | the University of Vilnius | Painted by | Smuglewicz | 1822*.⁵² We know that some of these portraits once resided in the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities. Along with other property of the museum, they were taken to the Rumyantsev Museum in Moscow. Two of them, the portraits of Michael I⁵³ and John II Casimir Vasa,⁵⁴ were returned in 1959 and reside today at the National Museum of Lithuania. The portraits of Władysław III and Władysław IV Vasa are known solely from old photographs, while the likeness of Marie Casimire d'Arquien remains in Moscow.⁵⁵ Józef Smuglewicz's portrait of Sigismund II Augustus, property of the Synod of the Reformed Church,⁵⁶ was shown in a jubilee exhibition at the University of Vilnius in 1929. A press report from 1938 states that eight portraits of rulers painted in 1822 by Józef Smuglewicz were acquired by a Vilnius-based evangelical minister named Jastrzębski,⁵⁷ who bequeathed them to the Society of Friends of Science. These are probably among the nine works from the collection of Szymon Malewski, which today are part of the collection of the Lithuanian National Museum of Art⁵⁸ (fig. 4). Meanwhile, a portrait of Vytautas the Great from the same series belongs to a private collection in Vilnius (its reverse bearing an inscription indicating its ownership by Malewski). There is, however, another nearly identical version of this portrait, which likely belonged to Józef Bogusławski's 'Gallery of Famous Poles' and is today found in the National Museum in Warsaw.⁵⁹ The portraits of rulers are characterized by a certain rigidity and formulaicness, their execution betraying a lack of artistic mastery, but the series as a whole is interesting for its iconography and socio-cultural aspects. It is hard to say how many paintings in total were in the series, how many similar series existed and what happened to them. We do know that similar 'oil portraits of Polish kings and Lithuanian clans' were part of the Pac-Pomarnacki collection in Alanta, Lithuania.⁶⁰ There appears to have existed a series of portraits showing people of science and culture analogous to the series of ruler portraits, also painted by Józef Smuglewicz. The execution of the figures in a portrait of Adam Naruszewicz at the Lithuanian



fig. 4 Józef Smuglewicz,
Alexander Jagiellon,
1822, Lithuanian National
Museum of Art
photo Lietuvos nacionalinis
dailės muziejus

National Museum of Art⁶¹ and a portrait of Franciszek Karpiński at the National Museum in Warsaw⁶² suggest that these paintings too are the work of Józef Smuglewicz. Also similar to those likenesses is a portrait of Andrzej Śniadecki from the National Museum in Warsaw.⁶³

Among the sacral artworks attributed to Józef Smuglewicz is a painting from the Chapel of the Crosses of Our Lady of the Rosary in Meteliai parish. The work, dated to 1816, shows The Virgin of Boruny with three crosses⁶⁴ (fig. 5). It was most likely painted in Veisiejai as in that year the artist stayed at his father's house there. We know that the painting was purchased for forty-eight złotys and donated to the Chapel of the Crosses by a forest ranger named Wojtowicz from Rumbony.

One interesting example of history painting that can be attributed to Józef Smuglewicz is

a work from the National Museum in Warsaw bearing the rather enigmatic title *Killing Scene*. It shows a specific scene from the history of Rome: the assassination attempt orchestrated by Emperor Caracalla on his brother Publius Septimius Geta⁶⁵ (fig. 6). Affixed to the stretcher bar is a paper label bearing the name Franciszek Smuglewicz, although the character of the execution and the work's overall style reveal parallels with Józef Smuglewicz's *The Crowning with Thorns*. The historical circumstances also support the supposition that *Killing Scene* was painted by the professor's nephew. The painting was initially placed on long-term loan at the Vilnius Museum of Art but was then taken to Warsaw after 1945. It was deposited at the National Museum in Warsaw by Helena Dowgiałło (1879–1971), the daughter of Witold Marcin Wagner (1844–1906), who was the owner of an estate in Šalčininkai.



fig. 5 Józef Smuglewicz, *The Virgin of Boruny*, Chapel of the Crosses in Meteliai (Lithuania)
photo Rapolas Vedrickas

Helena was the sister of the art collector Karol Wagner (1880–1956) and wife of Władysław Ignacy Dowgiało (1875–1929). Most likely, the painting had been part of a collection of works by foreign and local painters at the Dowgiałos' estate in Romaniškiai.⁶⁶ Józef Smuglewicz might have visited the estate when he worked as a drawing teacher in the nearby Pastovys. Conversely, Helena Dowgiało may have inherited *Killing Scene* from the Šalčininkai collection.

Interestingly, appearing in recollections about Wagner's collection is another allegorical canvas attributed to Franciszek Smuglewicz, which 'shows Gen. Jakub Jasiński leaning on his sword with his foot on a skull as a woman in mourning symbolizing the Homeland places

a wreath on his head with another woman, symbolizing Glory, hovering in the air'.⁶⁷ Edward Rastawiecki wrote about an iconographically identical painting by Franciszek Smuglewicz that belonged to the marshal of Vilnius region, Stanisław Jasiński.⁶⁸ Presently, a painting matching that description resides at the National Museum of Lithuania, although its style and rather primitive execution cast doubt on its attribution to Franciszek Smuglewicz and instead suggest that it is a work of Józef Smuglewicz.⁶⁹ For now, it is difficult to equivocally state whether the painting adorning the library of the Šalčininkai estate is identical to the canvas belonging to Stanisław Jasiński or if it is a copy painted by Józef Smuglewicz.

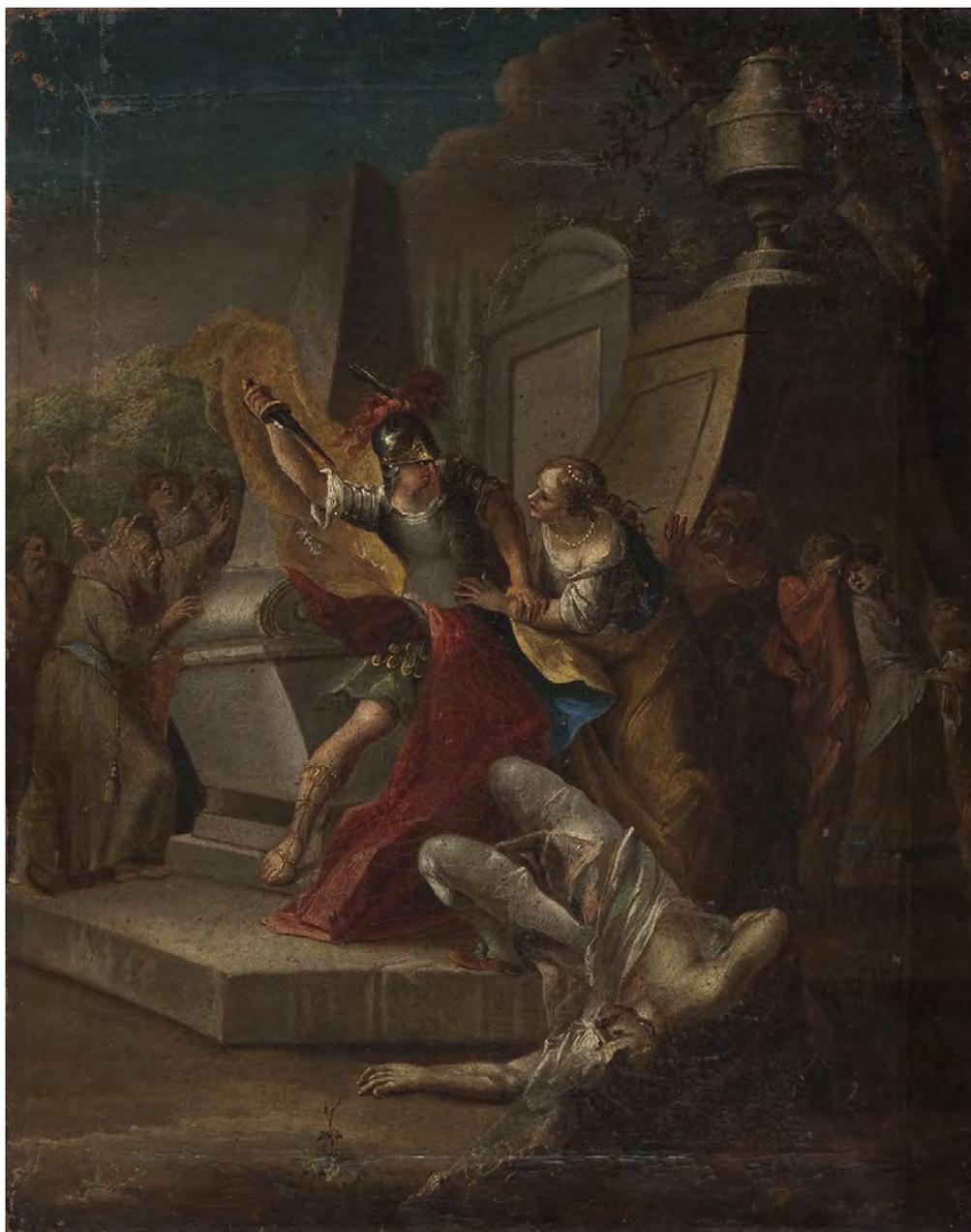


fig. 6 Józef Smuglewicz, *Caracalla Killing His Brother Geta (Killing Scene)*, after 1807, The National Museum in Warsaw
photo Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie

The Work of Feliks Smuglewicz

Feliks Smuglewicz's art is characterized by high artistic quality, which makes his output easily confused with that of Franciszek Smuglewicz. Moreover, many of the paintings of Feliks Smuglewicz mentioned in historical sources are lost today. Not surviving are three altar paintings created in 1859 and given by the artist to Jerzy Markiewicz,⁷⁰ a long-serving parish priest of the church in Lapės, near Kaunas. Likewise lost is an 1860 altar painting of St Anthony for the church in Naujamiestis (Panevėžys region).⁷¹

With Feliks we can likely also connect a painting of the *Virgin and Child* from the Pažaislis Monastery, which until 1905 had resided in a church in Skaruliai and which Michał Brensztejn mentions as having been repainted or simply restored by Smuglewicz.⁷²

Due to various historical circumstances, Feliks Smuglewicz, an artist highly regarded by his contemporaries, quickly fell into obscurity. In an 1984 article published in *Kultūros barai* magazine, Egidiusz Aleksandravičius discussed a work titled *Study of an Old Man's Head* from the Lithuanian National Museum of Art. Though

the study joined the museum's collection as a work of Franciszek Smuglewicz, it was determined by Vladas Drėma to be a canvas by Feliks Smuglewicz from his days as a student in St Petersburg.⁷³ At that time, it was the only known work by the artist. Providing some additional material for research into his work was the appearance of a portrait of Emilia Baniewicz, the wife of the painter and Biržai estate administrator Jan Baniewicz (1803–1881),⁷⁴ purchased at auction for a private collection (fig. 7). Feliks Smuglewicz's authorship of the painting is confirmed by inscriptions on the back: *Painted from life by | Feliks Smuglewicz | 1849-9 November | in Biržai; Portrait of Emilia Baniewicz. | née Herbst; Died 1855, 29 September, laid to rest at the Catholic cemetery in Biržai, Tyszkiewicz county.* The portrait shows a woman wearing a modest

black dress and wrapped in a shawl. Her demure posture and open, gentle and direct gaze betray an inner dignity and tranquillity. In his letters to his son Bolesław, Kanuty Rusiecki also recalls portraits of the Tyszkiewiczzes painted in 1851 by Feliks Smuglewicz in Vilnius.⁷⁵ These portraits have yet to be identified more precisely. We can, however, presume that the artist sometimes painted portraits from life and other times copied pre-existing likenesses.

Feliks Smuglewicz's legacy also includes a small *View of Biržai*, in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw, which was erroneously attributed to Franciszek Smuglewicz⁷⁶ (fig. 8). The change of attribution was necessitated by the iconography of the landscape. Having acquired their estate in Biržai from the Radziwiłłs, the Tyszkiewiczzes chose not to



fig. 7 Feliks Smuglewicz, *Portrait of Emilia Baniewicz*, 1849, Lithuanian art collection of Dr Jaunius Gumbis
photo Lithuanian art collection of Dr Jaunius Gumbis / Antanas Lukšėnas



fig. 8 Feliks Smuglewicz, *Biržai*, 1851–1861, The National Museum in Warsaw
photo Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie

rebuild the ruined castle but erected a new residence on the other side of Lake Širvėna. Visible in the background of the landscape in question is the two-storey palace with a central tower built by Jan Tyszkiewicz in 1842–1851. The side buildings connected to the main building by arcades went up in 1861–1862. This specific detail proves that the landscape was painted between 1851 and 1862, meaning that its creator is likely Feliks and not Franciszek Smuglewicz.

In 1852 Feliks Smuglewicz painted a copy of a *Crucifixion* attributed to Peter Paul Rubens, residing in Biržai. Today, the painting is kept in the church in Alanta (fig. 9), having been moved there from the palace in Alanta in 1921.⁷⁷ There are other copies of the painting in other churches in Lithuania. However, it is unclear if all of these copies can be attributed to Feliks Smuglewicz, as it is known to also have been copied by Jan Baniewicz.

The aforementioned portraits, in addition to other works and written sources, indicate that Feliks Smuglewicz was close with the Tyszkiewiczzes of Biržai during his time as a student and

later. However, their relationship ended quite abruptly, or at least cooled significantly. In a letter to Adam Honory Kirkor dated 4 November 1858, Konstanty Tyszkiewicz laments that a book on an expedition along the Neris River under preparation at the time lacked information on Jonava, and that the painter Smuglewicz, who had promised to help in that matter, left the area without informing anybody.⁷⁸ Considering the circumstances, it is possible to deduce that the artist's departure from the Kaunas region was connected with his coming into possession of a hamlet in Svyrlaukis (modern-day Jaunsvirlauka, Latvia).

It is possible that there are unidentified works by Feliks Smuglewicz in churches on the other side of today's border with Latvia. Especially noteworthy in this regard is a large *Crucifixion* painting in the main altar of the church in Skaistkalne, Latvia. In the notes of Michał Brensztejn the painting is attributed to Franciszek Smuglewicz.⁷⁹ Here once again we have a case of the surname Smuglewicz being by default understood to mean Franciszek Smuglewicz

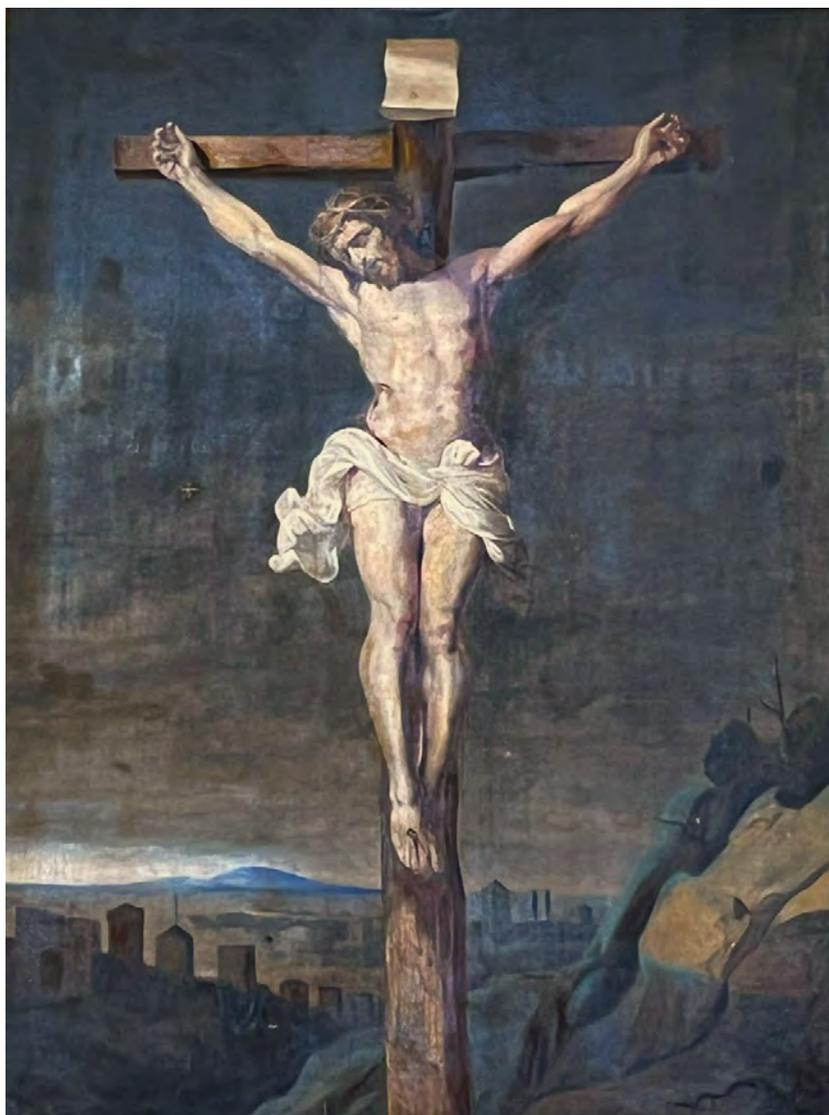


fig. 9 Feliks Smuglewicz, *The Crucifixion* (after Rubens), 1852, church in Alanta (Lithuania) photo Jolita Liškevičienė

without regard for circumstances or historical facts. We know that the painting was installed in the altar only in the second half of the nineteenth century, after the main altar's renovation. In late 1858, the dean of Courland informed the bishop that Fr Kurmowicz had bequeathed 200 silver rubles for the decoration of the altar of the Lord Jesus at the Skaistkalne church and that the work had already commenced.⁸⁰

The same tendency can be observed in the case of portraits. A number of museums and collections possess lithographic prints produced in 1853 in the Warsaw studio of Maksymilian Fajans (1827–1890) on the basis of a portrait painted by one S. Smuglewicz (*Peint par S. Smuglewicz*)⁸¹ (fig. 10). In most cases, the incongruity of the first initial in the inscription with the name Franciszek does not stand in the

way of the work being attributed to Franciszek Smuglewicz. The attribution is also contradicted by the individual shown in the portrait, who is identified by an inscription below their likeness: *E. de Bibikoff. Général d'Artillerie, Général Aide de Camp de S. M. J. L'Empereur de toutes les Russies, Gouverneur Général de Wilno, Grodno, Mińsk et Kowno*. There is thus no doubt that the person shown in the portrait is Ilya (Eljasz) Bibikov (1794–1867), a general of the artillery who in 1850–1855 was the military governor of Vilnius and governor general of Vilnius, Grodno, Kaunas and Mińsk, and in 1850–1854 also served as Vilnius School District curator and head of the Censorship Committee. That being the case, the only possible creator of the painting was Feliks Smuglewicz, a conclusion only supported by the initial S, which arguably

denotes 'Szczęsny', the Polish-language analogue of the name Felix. Feliks Smuglewicz is known to have visited Warsaw toward the end of 1853 and it is possible that the trip was taken in connection with the lithograph.⁸²

A portrait of the Russian official bearing a strong similarity to Maksymilian Fajans's lithograph is kept at the Lithuanian National Museum of Art. That work is attributed to Kanuty Rusiecki, although there is no evidence that Rusiecki ever actually painted a portrait of the governor general.⁸³ In a letter to his son Bolesław dated 11 April 1853, Rusiecki does mention Ilya Bibikov, who had come to Vilnius, but he gives no indication of being in the process of painting or planning to paint the man's portrait.⁸⁴ Correspondence between the father and son reveals that one of the Rusieckis did in fact paint a portrait of 'a Governor General Bibikov' in 1854 in Balstogėlė, Lithuania, though it was not Kanuty but his son Bolesław; in a letter dated 18 September, Kanuty pleads for Bolesław to return without further delay the epaulettes he had borrowed to paint the governor general's portrait.⁸⁵ But because the letter does not state the first name of the sitter, we cannot be certain if the portrait was of Ilya or his brother Dmitri Bibikov (1791/1792–1870), who was the governor general of Kyiv. It is worth noting that sketches for a portrait of Dmitri Bibikov do survive today among the drawings left behind by Bolesław Rusiecki.⁸⁶ On the other hand, there is mention of a portrait of Ilya Bibikov painted by the younger Rusiecki in 1854 and shown in an exhibition at the St Petersburg Academy of Arts, but that work shows the sitter in natural scale and in three-quarters length.⁸⁷ Considering the above facts, one might conclude that the creator of the portrait of Ilya Bibikov in the collection of the Lithuanian National Museum of Art was Feliks Smuglewicz.

Ilya Bibikov's contemporaries had mixed opinions about the governor general. Though known for his zeal in the implementation of tsarist policy, he did on occasion take the side of political prisoners and advocate for leniency on their behalf. For example, at Ilya Bibikov's intercession in 1852, Edward Römer, a man convicted of associating with supporters of the emissary Szymon Konarski and exiled for life to the Vologda governorate, was granted



fig. 10 Maksymilian Fajans, after Feliks Smuglewicz, *Portrait of Governor General Ilya Bibikov*, 1854, Vilnius University Library
photo Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka

permission from the tsar to return to his home in Vilnius.⁸⁸ The motivation for painting a portrait of Ilya Bibikov may have been the governor general's influence on the activity of institutions as important to the city's cultural life as the Vilnius Medical Society or the Museum of Antiquities. Considering Feliks Smuglewicz's friendship with Tyszkiewicz, it cannot be ruled out that the portrait was commissioned by the governor general's adjunct, Duke Józef Tyszkiewicz of Vilnius (1835–1892), nephew of the ordinant of Biržai Jan Konstanty Tyszkiewicz (1801–1862).

The Museum in Tykocin possesses a portrait of a woman that is attributed to either Kanuty Rusiecki or Franciszek Smuglewicz but in actuality ought to be deemed part of the artistic legacy of Feliks Smuglewicz (fig. 11). Vladas Drėma believed it to be *A Jewish Woman Named Etkā* painted by Rusiecki. That attribution was challenged by the historian Andrzej Lechowski, who pointed to a signature uncovered by



fig. 11 Feliks Smuglewicz,
Portrait of a Woman, after 1850
photo Muzeum Podlaskie w Białymstoku

conservators that reads 'Smuglewicz' and on that basis, though not without reservations, attributed it to the famed painting professor Franciszek Smuglewicz. The painting style as well as the sitter's clothing and hairstyle, however, reflect the fashion of the second half of the nineteenth century and convey a look that was not particularly Jewish, at that. Unfortunately, while information that would make it possible to identify the woman is lacking, there are ample arguments for this professionally created portrait to be treated as a work of Feliks Smuglewicz.

Also incorrectly attributed to Franciszek Smuglewicz is a portrait of the Samogitian nobleman Wiktor Grajewski kept at the National Museum in Warsaw⁸⁹ (fig. 12). This likeness of the 'last border judge in Samogitia' was painted later, as indicated by the sitter's biographical information. Wiktor Grajewski

(c.1795 – after 1863), owner of the Maksvos and Papinauja estates in Kvédarna parish lived in the mid-nineteenth century, and was thus a child at the time of Franciszek Smuglewicz's death. Parish records from 1844 list the inhabitants of the Maksvos estate as: Wiktor Grajewski, his wife Urszula, née Barnatawicz, sons Ludwik, Tadeusz and Antoni, and daughters Tekla, Benedykta, Józefa, Elżbieta and Anna.⁹⁰ Wiktor Grajewski is mentioned in literature in relation to his patriotic activities and his involvement in the Brotherhood of Sobriety movement spearheaded by Bishop Maciej Wołonczewski.⁹¹ Grajewski's sons went to school in Kražiai and later attended high school in Kaunas. Like their father, Ludwik and Tadeusz joined the opposition movement against tsarist rule and were charged with inciting peasants to revolt. Wiktor Grajewski and his sons distributed Lithuanian press and patriotic

songs. His son Ludwik was interrogated in 1863 with Antoni Montwiła in connection with an attempt in Klaipeda to print insurgent proclamations penned in Lithuanian by Mikalojus Akelaitis.⁹² It is very likely that Feliks Smuglewicz met the Grajewskis through Akelaitis, and painted Grajewski's portrait when he was living in Svyrlaukis. The lawyer and Lithuanian Legislative Assembly member (in 1920–1922) Adolf Grajewski (1878–1967), who donated the portrait to the National Museum in Warsaw, was the grandson of Wiktor Grajewski and son of Ludwik Grajewski (1827–1880), and it is therefore probable that he knew only the surname of the artist responsible for it. Considering certain facts from the lives of the sitter and artist, as well as the portrait's stylistics, we can posit that its creator was not Franciszek but Feliks Smuglewicz.

Rounding out the artistic legacy of Feliks Smuglewicz is a drawing depicting *The Martyrdom of St Adalbert* residing in the National Museum in Kraków.⁹³ The dynamic multi-figural composition shows the culmination of the martyrdom of St Adalbert: holding aloft a cross, the missionary is killed by pagans. Created by a professional artist with academic training, the drawing is signed in the bottom right corner with the stylized interlocking initials FS (a signature not characteristic of Franciszek Smuglewicz). Below the drawing is an inscription in a different penmanship, reading: 'Martyrdom of St Adalbert A–B', which suggests that there were plans for a print to be made on the basis of the drawing. Breeding much uncertainty is another signature that appears below the drawing and suggests that the composition was created in Rome. Interestingly, the penmanship is not consistent with Franciszek's but rather close to that of the signature on the portrait from the Museum in Tykocin. Yet, the feature that casts the most doubt on this being a work of Franciszek are details typical of Romantic art iconography – witches, a pagan priest at a sacrificial altar – reminiscent of similar motifs in the work of other mid-nineteenth-century artists.

Conclusion

Research into the activity of the last representatives of the Smuglewicz lineage has made



fig. 12 Feliks Smuglewicz, *Portrait of Wiktor Grajewski*, mid-19th c., The National Museum in Warsaw
photo Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie

it possible to fill in the gaps in the biography of Filip Smuglewicz, perhaps the least known of Łukasz Smuglewicz's sons. As it has been determined, he spent the final years of his life with his family in Veisiejai. Perhaps unidentified works of his still survive in the region. The artistic biography of Filip's son Józef has also been supplemented with important details. The biggest discoveries, however, relate to the work of Filip's grandson Feliks, who has hitherto been almost entirely unknown to art historians. Due to historical circumstances, his name was quickly forgotten and his surviving works were linked to Franciszek Smuglewicz. Upon exploring written sources and conducting historical and art historical research concerning works attributed to the elder Smuglewicz in Lithuanian and Polish museums, it became possible to propose new attributions for a number of these works. These proposed reattributions both mildly correct and slightly shorten the list of works comprising Franciszek Smuglewicz's

artistic legacy, while at the same time reinstating some names that have been forgotten to art history, ones that are all the more important for belonging to members of the last generations of a distinguished artistic dynasty. Certainly, the biographies and artistic output of Józef and Feliks Smuglewicz are yet to receive attention from scholars and one can only hope that it will one day be possible to create a fuller picture of their artistic heritage. Further research into the work of Józef Smuglewicz ought to take into consideration his close ties with the milieu of

Vilnius University and the nobility of Kaunas governorate. The search for works by Feliks Smuglewicz may be tied in with research into the art collection of the Tyszkiewicz family, as well as with research into the sacral legacies of churches in Samogitia and Courland.

Translated from Lithuanian into Polish by Beata Elwich-Lankelis, and from the Polish by Szymon Włoch

NOTES

- ¹ Aleksandra Bernatowicz, *Malarze w Warszawie czasów Stanisława Augusta. Status – aspiracje – twórczość* (Warsaw, 2016), p. 75.
- ² Vladas Drėma, *Pranciškus Smuglevičius* (Vilnius, 1973), p. 64.
- ³ Vladas Drėma, *Vilniaus Šv. Onos bažnyčia. Vilniaus katedros rekonstrukcija 1780–1801 metais* (Vilnius, 1991), pp. 242, 299.
- ⁴ Henryk Mościcki, 'Wilno przed stu lat w akwarelach Franciszka Smuglewicza', *Biblioteka Warszawska*, vol. 1 (1913), p. 392.
- ⁵ Archdiocese of Warsaw Archives, Parish register of St Andrew's parish in Warsaw. Baptism records, 1785, fol. 536, digital copy available at Geneteka: https://metryki.genealodzy.pl/index.php?op=p-g&ar=8&zs=9159d&se=&sy=100&kt=12&plik=str_536-537.jpg&x=343&y=903&zoom=1.75.
- ⁶ Lithuanian State Historical Archives (henceforth LSHA), Vilnius Academy of Medicine and Surgery, Student register from 1 Sept. 1803, f. 720, entry 1, item 995, fol. 10v.
- ⁷ Drėma, *Pranciškus...*, pp. 202, 230.
- ⁸ Rūta Janonienė, 'Smuglevičiai iš Kauno pavieta', *Krantai*, no. 1 (2024), p. 58.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ LSHA, Governor General's Chancellery (henceforth GGC), Pension petition of Eleonora Smuglewicz, 1829, f. 378, entry 37, item 234, fol. 3v.
- ¹² LSHA, GGC, Report from testimony of nine students of the Vilnius Academy of Medicine and Surgery, 1841, f. 378, entry 216, item 113, fol. 5v.
- ¹³ LSHA, Vandžiogala church, Baptism records, 1805–1827, f. 1349, entry 1, item 20, fol. 95.
- ¹⁴ LSHA, Chancellery of the Civilian Governor of Vilnius, Petition of Józef Smuglewicz for passport extension, 1819, f. 380, entry 66, item 983, fol. 1.
- ¹⁵ LSHA, Microfilm collection, Vital Records register of the Roman Catholic Church in Veisiejai, f. MKF-4/4/111, 1813, fol. 53.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, f. MKF-4/4/111, 1816, fol. 19.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, f. MKF-4/4/112, 1817, fol. 24.
- ¹⁸ LSHA, f. 1349, entry 1, item 20, fol. 176.
- ¹⁹ LSHA, f. MKF-4/4/112, 1819, fol. 7.
- ²⁰ LSHA, f. 1349, entry 1, item 20, fol. 191.
- ²¹ LSHA, Roman Catholic Spiritual Consistory of the Diocese of Samogitia (henceforth RSCDS), Register of baptisms of the Roman Catholic Church in Kaunas, 1793–1823, f. 669, entry 1, item 523, fol. 348v.
- ²² LSHA, RSCDS, Register of the Roman Catholic Church of the Deanery of Kaunas, f. 669, entry 1, item 519, 1822–1823, fol. 4v.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, f. 669, entry 1, item 620, 1828, fol. 6.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 669, entry 1, item 537, 1824, fol. 12v.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 669, entry 1, item 618, 1828, fol. 64.
- ²⁶ Taras Vychovanec, 'Netyšyn v drugij polovini XIX -a počatku XX stolittja. Paragrafi z gospodarskoj istorii', *Ostrozkij kraeznavčij zbirnik*, no. 6 (2013), p. 166.

- ²⁷ Central Historical Archives of Ukraine, Documents on the November Uprising, f. 489, entry 1, item 134, fol. 11v-21v, 29.
- ²⁸ LSHA, RSCDS, Records of visits to Skaruliai parish, 1851, LVIA, f. 669, entry 2, b. 275, l. 64.
- ²⁹ Motiejus Valančius, *Namų užrašai*, ed. Aldona Prašmantaitė (Vilnius, 2003), pp. 226–227.
- ³⁰ Vaida Kamuntavičienė, Laima Šinkūnaitė, *Apytalaukio parapija* (Kaunas, 2012), p. 140.
- ³¹ Rūta Janonienė, 'Kunigas Stanislovas Smuglevičius ir Jonavos parapijos kūrimas', *Taurosta*, no. 1 (2024), pp. 89–93.
- ³² LSHA, RSCDS, Record of priest reassignment, 1852–1857, f. 669, entry 3, item 566, fol. 111–114.
- ³³ *Kavkazkij kalendarj za 1859 god* (Tbilisi, 1860), p. 27.
- ³⁴ Teofila Smuglewicz (1786–1828), daughter of Filip Smuglewicz, married Wincenty Weichert on 17 Nov. 1822 in Veisiejai [LSHA, Vital records register of the Roman Catholic church in Veisiejai, 1822, f. MKF-4/4/112, fol. 24]. Tomasz, son of Teofila and Wincenty Weichert, was the grandfather of Vytautas Kairiūkštis.
- ³⁵ Inesa Svirida, *Meždu Peterburgom, Warszawoi i Wilno* (Moscow, 1999), p. 255.
- ³⁶ LSHA, Society of Friends of Science in Vilnius (henceforth SFS), Letters of Kanuty Rusiecki to his son Bolesław, f. 1135, entry 19, item 15, fol. 218, 262, 343.
- ³⁷ Aleksandra Bernatowicz, 'Smuglewicz Feliks Antoni', in *Słownik artystów polskich*, vol. 11, ed. Urszula Makowska (Warsaw, 2023), p. 335.
- ³⁸ Maximilian Gritzner, *Der Adel der Russischen Ostseeprovinzen, 2. Theil: Der Nichtmatrikulirte Adel* (Nuremberg, 1980), p. 204.
- ³⁹ *Kurländische Gouvernements-Zeitung*, no. 68 (1863), p. 15.
- ⁴⁰ *Kurländische Gouvernements-Zeitung*, no. 75 (1867), p. 5.
- ⁴¹ Zygmunt Gloger, 'Zbiory naukowe po ś. p. Bolesławie Podczaszyńskim', *Gazeta Warszawska*, no. 40 (1881), p. 4.
- ⁴² *Kurier Warszawski*, no. 74 (1870), p. 4.
- ⁴³ *Kurier Warszawski*, no. 65 (1873), p. 4.
- ⁴⁴ 'Wystawa Maryanska', *Przegląd Katolicki*, no. 3 (1905), p. 42.
- ⁴⁵ Wincenty Smokowski, 'Do wspomnień o Szkole Malarskiej Wileńskiej Adama Szemesza Wiadomość dodatkowa', *Athenaeum, Oddział pierwszy*, vol. 1 (Vilnius, 1847), p. 161.
- ⁴⁶ Vladas Drėma, *Dingęs Vilnius* (Vilnius, 1991), pp. 233, 360.
- ⁴⁷ *Kurier Litewski*, no. 62 (1812), p. 287.
- ⁴⁸ *Kurier Litewski*, no. 62 (1812), pp. 287–289.
- ⁴⁹ In 1980 the manor house was moved to the open air museum in Rumšiškės (Lit. Lietuvos liaudies buities muzieus).
- ⁵⁰ LSHA, Curia of the Roman Catholic Metropolitan Diocese of Vilnius, Visits to the Discalced Carmelites' Monastery in Kaunas, 1830, f. 694, entry 1, item 3776, fol. 432v–433.
- ⁵¹ Józef Smuglewicz, *The Crowning with Thorns*, oil on canvas, 58 × 90.5, signed top left: J. Smuglewicz, The National Museum in Kraków, MNK II-a-1100.
- ⁵² The 'Franciszek' next to Malewski's name was added later, when the paintings were inherited by Franciszek Malewski, the son of rector Szymon Malewski.
- ⁵³ Józef Smuglewicz, *Portrait of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki*, 1822, oil on canvas, 49.5 × 38 cm, The National Museum of Lithuania (henceforth NML), T 281 LNM.
- ⁵⁴ Józef Smuglewicz, *Portrait of John II Casimir Vasa*, 1822, oil on canvas, 50.5 × 37.5 cm, LMN, T 279 LNM.
- ⁵⁵ Natalia Mizerniuk-Rotkiewicz, *Muzeum Starożytności w Wilnie* (Warsaw, 2016), p. 86.
- ⁵⁶ Mikołaj Dzikowski, *Wystawa Jubileuszowa Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego 1579–1929 w Uniwersyteckiej Bibliotece Publicznej w Wilnie 9–20 X 1929* (Vilnius, 1931), p. 5.
- ⁵⁷ Tomasz Mincer, 'Jastrzębski w Wilnie', *Znad Wilii*, no. 3(71) (2017), p. 28.
- ⁵⁸ Józef Smuglewicz, portraits of: *Casimir III the Great*, oil on canvas, 42 × 33 cm, T 2310 LNDM; *Władysław I Łokietek*, oil on canvas, 50.5 × 41 cm, T 2303 LNDM; *Sigismund I the Old*, oil on canvas, 50 × 41 cm, T 2304 LNDM; *Sigismund II Augustus*, oil on canvas, 49 × 42 cm, T 2305 LNDM; *Alexander Jagiellon*, oil on canvas, 49.5 × 41 cm, T 2302; *Stanisław I Leszczyński*, oil on canvas, 49 × 41 cm, T 2306 LNDM; *Augustus III*, oil on canvas, 47.5 × 39 cm, T 1973 LNDM; *Stanisław August Poniatowski*, oil on canvas, 49.5 × 41 cm, T 2286 LNDM, all at the Lithuanian National Museum of Art (henceforth LNMA).

- ⁵⁹ Unknown artist (Józef Smuglewicz?), *Portrait of Vytautas the Great*, oil on canvas, 47.5 × 38.5 cm, The National Museum in Warsaw, MP 3603 MNW.
- ⁶⁰ Archives of the National Museum of Lithuania, Michał Brensztejn, Register of cultural artefacts from Lithuanian courts from the late 19th to early 20th century, R–392, fol. 69.
- ⁶¹ Józef Smuglewicz, *Portrait of Adam Naruszewicz*, oil on canvas, 50 × 42 cm, LNMA, T 196 LNDM.
- ⁶² Józef Smuglewicz, *Portrait of Franciszek Karpiński*, oil on canvas, 49.5 × 40.5 cm, MP 3436 MNW.
- ⁶³ Józef Smuglewicz (?), *Portrait of Andrzej Śniadecki*, oil on canvas, 32.5 × 24.5 cm, MP 5480 MNW.
- ⁶⁴ Józef Smuglewicz, *The Virgin of Boruny*, oil on canvas, 1.5 × 1.4 m. Below the portrait is an inscription reading: 'N. Panna Borunska, Trzech Krzyżów. Anno 1816' [Our Lady of Boruny, of the Three Crosses. Anno 1816], Robertas Gedvydas Skrinskas, *Piligrimo vadovas po stebuklingas Marijos vietas* (Kaunas, 1999), p. 321.
- ⁶⁵ Emperor Geta ruled Rome in the 3rd century, initially with his father, Septimius Severus, and brother, Caracalla. After their father's death in the year 212, Caracalla, yearning to be the sole ruler, killed Geta, who died in their mother's arms.
- ⁶⁶ Roman Aftanazy, *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 4 (Wrocław, 1993), pp. 336–337.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 351.
- ⁶⁸ Edward Rastawiecki, *Słownik malarzy polskich*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1851), p. 185.
- ⁶⁹ Józef Smuglewicz (?), *Glory and the Homeland Crowning Jakub Jasiński*, oil on canvas, 79.5 × 50 cm, The National Museum of Lithuania, T 239, <https://www.limis.lt/valuables/e/805191/408942435?searchId=56238890> [retrieved: 11 Jan. 2024].
- ⁷⁰ Robertas Skrinskas, *Lapių Šv. Jono Krikštytojo parapija* (Lapės, 2008), p. 25.
- ⁷¹ *Panevėžio vyskupija: istoriniai duomenys, pastoracinė veikla*, ed. Kazimieras Paltarokas (Vilnius, 1998), p. 262.
- ⁷² The National Library in Warsaw, Michał Brensztejn, 'Artyści i rzemieślnicy wileńscy', vol. 1, MS BN II 10648, fol. 218.
- ⁷³ Egidijus Aleksandravičius, 'Feliksas Smuglevičius', *Kultūros barai*, 11 (1984), pp. 48–50.
- ⁷⁴ *Res publica. Advokatų kontoros „Ellex Valiunas“ meno kolekcija*, ed. Rūta Janonienė (Vilnius, 2018), p. 124.
- ⁷⁵ LSHA, SFS, Letters of Kanuty Rusiecki to his son Bolesław, f. 1135, entry 19, item 15, fol. 218v–219.
- ⁷⁶ Feliks Smuglewicz, *Biržai, Lithuania, with ruins of the Radziwiłł Castle*, oil on canvas, 33.4 × 46.3 cm, The National Museum in Warsaw, MP 4329 MNW.
- ⁷⁷ Bronius Kviklys, *Lietuvos bažnyčios*, vol. 4: *Panevėžio vyskupija* (Čikaga, 1984), p. 81.
- ⁷⁸ Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Department of Manuscripts, Letter of Konstanty Tyszkiewicz to Adam Honory Kirkor, Łohojsk, 11 April 1858, f. 273–2465, fol. 2–2v.
- ⁷⁹ National Library in Warsaw, Michał Brensztejn, Notes on artists, MS BN II 10648, fol. 220.
- ⁸⁰ LSHA, RSCDS, Documentation from the renovation of the church in Skaistkalne, 1850–1857, f. 669, entry 3, item 422, fol. 99v.
- ⁸¹ Lithograph by Maksymilian Fajans after a portrait painted by Feliks Smuglewicz, 1853, 19.5 × 20.5 cm (32.5 × 21.8 cm), The National Library in Warsaw, G21832/II.
- ⁸² *Kurier Warszawski*, no. 332 (1853), p. 1644.
- ⁸³ Józef Smuglewicz (?), *Governor General Bibikob*, oil on canvas, 84.5 × 70 cm, LNMA, T-2410.
- ⁸⁴ Vladas Drėma, *Kanutas Ruseckas* (Vilnius, 1996), p. 202.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 206.
- ⁸⁶ Bolesław Rusiecki, *Sketches of the Head of General Dmitri Bibikob*, LNMA, G621, G622.
- ⁸⁷ 'Ruseckij Boleslaw Michail Julij Kanutowicz', in *Russkij biograficheskij slovar*, vol. 17 (St Petersburg, 1917), p. 237.
- ⁸⁸ Tadeusz Korzon, *Pamiętniki Jakóba Gieysztorza z lat 1857–1865*, vol. 1 (Vilnius, 1913), p. 289.
- ⁸⁹ Feliks Smuglewicz, *Portrait of Wiktor Grajewski*, mid-19th c., oil on canvas, 67 × 53 cm, The National Museum in Warsaw, MP 3437 MNW.
- ⁹⁰ Kazys Misius, *Kražių mokykla ir gimnazija 1773–1844 metais* (Vilnius, 2015), p. 115.
- ⁹¹ Michał Brensztejn, 'Recenzja książki ks. Kazimierza Gieczysa „Bractwo trzeźwości

w Diecezji Żmudzkiej w latach 1858–1864”, Wilno, 1935’, *Ateneum Wileńskie*, issue 11 (1936), pp. 652–658.

⁹² Misius, *Kražių...*, p. 256; Vida Girininkienė, ‘Paragaudžio dvaro savininkas Antanas Montvila’, in *Kvėdarna*, ed. Kazys Misius (Vilnius, 2014), pp. 139–145.

⁹³ Feliks Smuglewicz, *The Martyrdom of St Adalbert*, ink and watercolour on paper, 47.2 × 70.5 cm, signed bottom right with interlocking monogram in ink: FS; and bottom left below the composition in pen: *Franc Smuglewicz inv. Romae*, The National Museum in Kraków, MNK III-r.a-25091.

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Dr hab. Rūta Janonienė is an art historian, senior researcher and head of the Ancient Art Department of the Institute of Art Research at the Vilnius Academy of Arts. She has published monographs on the Vilnius-school artists Jan Rustem (1999) and Kazimierz Jelski (2003). For her monograph *Kościół i klasztor Bernardynów w Wilnie* [The Bernardine church and monastery in Vilnius, 2010], she was awarded the Lithuanian Science Award. She has also contributed to a monograph on the Sapieha Palace in the Antakalnis district of Vilnius (2012, with Evaldas Purlys) and a monograph devoted to the Basilian Monastery in Vilnius (2017, collective work). She has published a string of academic articles in Lithuanian and foreign periodicals and collective monographs, and has been involved in the organisation of a number of exhibitions. In 2022–2024, she participated in the research project ‘Franciszek Smuglewicz – an outstanding figure of the European Enlightenment in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth’. She is a full member of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences and a member of the Lithuanian Association of Art Historians.