

## | Paintings from the Potocki Family Collection in Krakow and Krzeszowice<sup>1</sup>

The subject of discussion here are the paintings once residing in the collection of Artur Potocki (1787–1832) and his wife Zofia Potocka, née Branicka (1790–1879), at their Palace Under the Rams in Krakow and currently at the National Museum in Warsaw.<sup>2</sup> Of course, the location of “Palace Under the Rams” is used loosely here in that the paintings in question regularly made their way back and forth between the couple’s Krakow residence and their estate in Krzeszowice (in Artur’s lifetime, a health retreat called Vauxhall; in his son Adam’s lifetime, a palace erected in 1852). One other reason for the location’s figurative understanding is the fact that, due to a lack of in-depth source research, there is no way to distinguish between the set of paintings that make up the most valuable core of the collection, amassed by Artur and Zofia in the years 1823–32, and those acquired later. After Artur’s death, new paintings joined the collection from purchases made by Zofia as well as by their son Adam (1822–72) and his wife Kataryzna, née Branicka (1825–1907). Without deeper exploration of the source materials, we also cannot single out the works inherited from Artur’s grandmother Izabela Lubomirska (known as the Marshal Princess, died in November 1816)<sup>3</sup> or the small set of paintings bought back by the widowed Zofia from Karol Wolański, son of the Potockis’ secretary Jan Wolański (after his father’s death). Because of this, a scholarly analysis of the catalogue of this collection of old painting, one of the most important of its kind in Poland, becomes an urgent task for culture historians, especially since a great deal of material on the matter survives to this day at the National Archive in Krakow.<sup>4</sup> Though the observations here are a far cry from a catalogue of that kind, they may eventually serve as a potentially useful insight towards a future catalogue.

Zofia and Artur’s activity as art collectors was the subject of a thorough monograph by Anna Palarczykowa, who used a recovered assortment of the family’s documents to reconstruct the

<sup>1</sup> This paper was written in 2016 for the Roman and Natalia Gumiński Foundation as a chapter in the book *Rozproszone zbiory Potockich z Krzeszowic*. The Foundation has granted permission for the material to be printed elsewhere. The herein version contains amendments and additions by the author and the *Journal’s* academic editors.

<sup>2</sup> I thank Krystyna Bnińska-Jędrzejowicz for providing me with the inventory.

<sup>3</sup> For example, it would be advisable to check whether the two paintings by Lampi (inv. nos 1288850 MNW and 128808 MNW), as well as some earlier portraits, are not perhaps from the residence of Artur’s grandmother in Łańcut.

<sup>4</sup> National Archives in Krakow, Wawel division, sewn files AKPot.2851.

Potocki couple's lives, tastes, customs and enterprises.<sup>5</sup> Another approach on the collection, this one from the perspective of modern-day methodology, is offered by Ewa Manikowska.<sup>6</sup> The author situates the Potockis' collecting activity somewhere "between the enlightened aristocratic tradition of the Grand Tour and modern tourism."<sup>7</sup> Manikowska makes a valuable contribution to the task of determining the provenance of the paintings in the Potocki collection by relating pertinent information on the Italian art market at that time, whose diverse contingent of intermediaries (such as Leopoldo Cicognara) aided the Potockis tremendously in their purchases. The information provided by Ewa Manikowska will surely be of great use to anyone undertaking to catalogue the collection in the future.

As befitting of wealthy aristocrats, Zofia and Artur Potocki travelled abroad frequently (astonishingly so given that they travelled by horse-drawn carriage!), for leisure and exploring as well as for social reasons or in search of new sculptures and paintings for their collection, which was a source of prestige for the "family nest." They took regular trips to Paris and Vienna, yet their appetite for collecting was most often satisfied in Venice, Florence and Milan. They travelled to Italy in 1820, and again in 1824–25 and 1829–30.

The concept that guided the Potockis' acquisitions of old paintings, drawings and prints was what I believe to have been the sum of three parallel motivations. The first, and likely most important to both Zofia and Artur, was the desire to enhance daily life by being surrounded by fine art and, in choosing the pieces to add to their collection, keeping up with the contemporary collecting trends among members of the higher social classes. In line with the era's tradition of travelling to and exploring Italy, the Potockis nurtured a fascination with antiquity (they purchased antique pottery and commissioned copies of antique sculptures) and with the paintings of Renaissance masters (albeit in the form of copies) which represented the antique notion of *bella figura*. The artworks they amassed also served to simply decorate their homes in Krakow and Krzeszowice. The paintings, arranged amidst the expensive furniture and the carefully selected precious textiles hung on the walls and in the windows to complement the chandeliers and the boxes displayed on cupboards, invite comparisons of the collection with what Krzysztof Pomian calls an "anthropological event."<sup>8</sup>

The second thread in this weave of motivations was the idea of Enlightenment, something that was dear to Zofia and Artur Potocki, especially thanks to their interaction with Stanisław Kostka Potocki. Stanisław, the husband of Artur's aunt Aleksandra, née Lubomirska, was Poland's first art historian and an advocate of education for all.<sup>9</sup> In the 1780s, he planned to open an art museum. The gallery of paintings in Wilanów that arose out of his studies

<sup>5</sup> See Anna Palarczykowa, *Artur Potocki i jego pałac „Pod Baranami” w Krakowie* (Krakow, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> Ewa Manikowska, "Zbiór obrazów i rzeźb Artura i Zofii Potockich z Krzeszowic. Ze studiów nad dziełnictwostwiecznym kolekcjonerstwem w Polsce," *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, Ann. 25 (2000), pp. 145–98.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>8</sup> Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities. Paris and Venice 1500–1800*, tr. Elizabeth Wiles-Portier (Cambridge, 1990), p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755–1821) author of *O sztuce u dawnych, czyli Winkelman polski* (Warsaw, 1815), a work inspired by and drawing on the work of Johann Joachim Winckelmann. As director of the National Education Commission, and as Minister of Religion and Education in Congress Poland, he worked for the development of elementary education. He also played a part in the founding of the University of Warsaw. From 1780, he was one of the first freemasons in Poland.

and his numerous trips to Italy was first opened to the public in 1805, spurred by a sense of “social obligation and a belief in being able to improve the world by cultivating minds and sensitivities.”<sup>10</sup> As Stanisław visited Zofia and Artur at their Krakow home, their conversations about his passion for learning must surely have made an impression on the couple, as evidenced by the fact that they referred to their private collection housed in the Palace Under the Rams (purchased in 1822) as a “gallery.”<sup>11</sup> That collection was also why in 1830, after years of trying, Artur finally succeeded in buying the building abutting the palace from the side of Świętej Anny Street. Ewa Manikowska even sees similarities in the concepts behind the two collections – Stanisław’s in Wilanów and the Potockis’ in Krakow.<sup>12</sup> Though the Krakow gallery was never officially accessible to the public, the interiors of the palace were toured by guests like a museum and the written description of the collection drafted after Artur’s death (1858) was not unlike a museum guide.<sup>13</sup> In addition to its information following the layout of the rooms, the guide featured professional descriptions of most of the paintings in the collection, including references to their colours and the methods used in their creation.<sup>14</sup> The educational role of that gallery was also rooted in the fact that, in addition to paintings and casts of antique sculptures, it also included numerous drawings and prints.

It is perhaps worth noting here that the modest Krakow gallery, much like the splendid Wilanów collection of Kostka Potocki, was dominated by Italian Renaissance paintings and contained very scant representation of the northern schools.<sup>15</sup> That could be explained not only by the enduring love for Renaissance Italy and its associations with antiquity but also by the Polish nobility’s intellectual preoccupation with Catholic culture and wariness of Dutch Protestantism.

Alongside the didactic dimension of the Potockis’ collecting activity, their efforts to educate their countrymen by exposing them to art (the function of a museum), and their support of young painters in the form of stipends (e.g., Wojciech Stattler), there was one other impulse that comes into view when we consider Artur Potocki’s character and the external circumstances that shaped his mind. In 1809, caught up in the euphoria of the Napoleonic myth, he became an aide-du-camp, and later lieutenant colonel to Prince Józef Poniatowski, unwaveringly loyal to the commander until his defeat in the Battle of Leipzig in 1813. Artur’s pro-French convictions were strictly condemned by his pro-Russian grandmother Izabela Lubomirska, née Czartoryska (Artur’s lifelong financial supporter), who forbade him from so

<sup>10</sup> Paweł Jaskanis, “Wstęp” in *Kolekcja wilanowska*, Jadwiga Mieleszko, academic ed. (Warsaw, 2005), p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> That was also the title that Zofia Potocka gave to the 1858 guide explaining the paintings displayed in the rooms of the Palace Under the Rams – which further evidences the fact that she considered herself a propagator of the idea to open a much-needed educational facility in Krakow.

<sup>12</sup> Manikowska, op. cit., p. 183.

<sup>13</sup> The surviving manuscript lacks a title page, hence it is referred to as both a “gallery” (Manikowska, op. cit.) and a “guide” in the literature (Palarczykova, op. cit.).

<sup>14</sup> For example: “In this composition, the artist shows us the adoration of the baby Jesus. It is in the child that he focusses all of his talents, and builds the group around him. He overcomes the difficulty of the child’s orientation in a seated position with bold foreshortening, without undermining the lightness of the movements and the figures’ ease” – this on *The Holy Family* attributed to Correggio (f. 2 bis of manuscript). “The colossal size of the main figure makes it seem as if taken from a huge church painting. From the artistic point of view, I consider it a good painting on account of its skilled drawing and proper rendering [...] fine skin tones and rare adeptness in the use of colour redolent of the Lombardian school” – this on Crespì’s *The Flagellation of Christ* (f. 7 of manuscript).

<sup>15</sup> This is pointed out in Irena Voisé, *Galeria Malarstwa Stanisława Kostki Potockiego w Wilanowie* (Warsaw, 1974), p. 12.

much as visiting her as long as he remained in Napoleon's service. After Bonaparte's defeat, however, for the sake of her grandson's career, Izabela had Artur host a series of balls in Warsaw in 1815 in honour of Tsar Alexander, in doing so playing a part in his eventual appointment as the tsar's aide-du-camp in the army of Congress Poland. Artur would ultimately resign from that posting in August of 1819 and he did not travel with Zofia to attend Tsar Nicholas's coronation in Moscow in 1826.<sup>16</sup> I recount these biographical details because I believe they help explain Artur Potocki's commitment to preserving Krakow's architectural heritage.<sup>17</sup> Though too numerous to list here, his actions in that area did include providing funding for projects like the renovation of Wawel Castle, for which he was rightly called a pioneer of the social movement to restore Krakow's monuments. That patriotic engagement may have been a way for him to "settle the debt" for his service in St Petersburg. Artur's final financial outlay for a Krakow monument, completed and paid for by Zofia after his death, was a restoration of Bishop Filip Padniewski's chapel at Wawel Cathedral and its conversion into the Potocki family chapel (1831–40, designed by Pietro Nobile). Hung over the altar was a painting by Guercino (*The Crucifixion with St Elizabeth of Hungary and St Frances of Rome*) and a statue of Christ carved by Bertel Thorvaldsen was placed at the eastern wall. The transformation undergone by the chapel rendered it something of an enclave for the Potockis' collection and a calling card thereof in addition to its function as a memorial and place of historical significance. It is also evidence of Zofia Potocka's refined taste as an art collector.

The third, and no less important, element in the interplay of motivations guiding the collecting activity of Zofia and Artur Potocki was a desire to preserve the memory of their clan via family portraits. The family gallery (known of in Poland since the 16<sup>th</sup> century) presented likenesses<sup>18</sup> of members of the family pantheon and thus, in the case of the Potockis, it featured portraits of not only the husband and wife who built the collection but also of many of their relatives: grandparents, parents, children, grandchildren and cousins of various degrees of relation to the Potocki, Lubomirski and Branicki lines. The gallery of forebears included works like a 1637 portrait of the progenitor of the Lubomirski clan and voivode of Krakow Jan Magnus Tęczyński (1579–1637) by a Polish painter (**fig. 1**)<sup>19</sup> and a portrait of his son Stanisław Tęczyński (1611–34),<sup>20</sup> possibly painted by Tommaso Dolabella in 1633–34 and inherited by Artur from his mother Julia, née Lubomirska. Also in this thematic set of paintings was a portrait of the glamorous Katarzyna Radziwiłłowa, née Tęczyńska (1544–92), likely painted by a Polish painter, and an imagined or copied likeness of Tęczyński relative Andrzej Odrowąż (d. 1465), voivode of Ruthenia and Podolia.

<sup>16</sup> These facts are described at length in Palarczykowa, op. cit., in the chapters "Kampania rosyjska," "Koniec napoleońskiej epopei" and "Adiutant cara Aleksandra."

<sup>17</sup> Palarczykowa, op. cit., pp. 147–62 (chapter: "W obronie zabytków Krakowa, działalność publiczna i charytatywna").

<sup>18</sup> I use the term "likeness" in reference to replicas, copies and other derivatives of an original portrait "from life" (*ad vivum*), see Bożena Steinborn, "Wizerunki w galeriach portretów" in *Portret. Funkcja – forma – symbol. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Toruń, grudzień, 1986*, Anna Marczak-Krupa, ed. (Warsaw, 1990), pp. 67–68.

<sup>19</sup> I have not personally verified the attributions of the paintings discussed here, relying on information in the NMW inventory; for help in this regard, I thank Roman Olkowski, the then deputy chief inventorist at the NMW.

<sup>20</sup> The portrait is from the Potockis' collection and currently resides in the collection of Wawel Royal Castle.

In this group, standing out for their artistic quality are works like the *Portrait of Tomasz Zamoyski as a Young Man* (future Grand Chancellor of the Crown) from c. 1608, which exhibits a kinship with Venetian painting, and *Portrait of Katarzyna Ostrogska, née Lubomirska* (**fig. 2**), who died probably in 1611, painted by a Krakow artist in 1597 (in honour of her wedding to Prince Janusz Ostrogski), showing the distinguished lady in the European court portrait convention.

Meanwhile, of considerably lower artistic quality are the portraits of Katarzyna's parents – Sebastian Lubomirski (1539–1613) and Anna Lubomirska, née Branicka (1562–1639). These were most likely copies based on older originals which were unified in scale<sup>21</sup> and altered to match the portrait of their daughter and its convention of a frontal full-length view. This procedure of standardising the appearance of closely related individuals' portraits so as to show them side by side can certainly be identified in other paintings belonging to this family collection. Also noteworthy is a portrait by a Gdansk-based 17<sup>th</sup>-century painter which shows the cousin Elżbieta Lubomirska, née Denhoff, second wife of the wealthy art patron Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski.<sup>22</sup> Of course, the family pantheon would not be complete without the likenesses of two famous cousins: Ignacy Potocki, who is laid to rest in Krzeszowice (a copy painted by Aleksander Kucharski) and his brother, the aforementioned Stanisław Kostka Potocki (a copy of a work by Joseph Maria Grassi).

Prominent among the pictures of close and distant relatives in the Potockis' Krakow collection is a set of fourteen portraits of members of the Lubomirski family.<sup>23</sup> It can be surmised that these paintings were the result of a single commission as they all have the same dimensions, show the sitter in half-length, and contain a cartouche in the corner. The cartouche, stylised to resemble an escutcheon, envelops an inscription identifying the person depicted. These are paintings of negligible artistic value, in all likelihood copied from earlier paintings chosen for the purpose. It is tempting to presume that this set of paintings was commissioned by the family matriarch Izabela Lubomirska and that perhaps they extolled the glory of the family in her palace in Łańcut, later being handed down to the Potockis after the death of Artur's grandmother.

One piece of portrait art that is truly exceptional in Poland is not connected with the family of either of the collection's founders: a double portrait of Krakow patrician Grzegorz Przybyła and his wife Katarzyna from the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, purchased likely as an invocation of witnesses of Krakow's "antiquity."

Unsurprisingly, most plentiful in the collection are portraits of its two owners, which the couple commissioned mainly in Vienna and Paris and which were often copied by the "grant holders" they supported. Let us take a look at several of these as examples. Among the Paris purchases there were two portraits of Zofia Potocka, one of them an idealised likeness painted by the Berlin artist Ferdinand Marohn and shown in 1846–59 at the Paris salons (**fig. 3**). Equally effective is the portrait of Zofia by George Hayter, a renowned English portraitist who in 1828–32 worked in Paris. Miniature portraits of Zofia were also painted in 1819 and 1830

<sup>21</sup> Because of the large dimensions, I believe these and likely some other similar portraits were intended to adorn the double-height salon at Vauxhall in Krzeszowice.

<sup>22</sup> It is perhaps his portrait in the medallion in the neckline of her dress. The other portrait of the lady seems to be of considerably lower artistic quality (inv. no. 130431 MNW).

<sup>23</sup> The collection contains eight other likenesses on canvas having the same dimensions and similar coats of arms with inscriptions.



by the Parisian painter Frédéric Millet. That artist is also responsible for a miniature portrait of Zofia's sister Elżbieta (Elizavieta) Woroncowa. Also in Paris, Zofia Potocka's daughter-in-law Katarzyna Potocka, née Branicka (Adam's wife), had a portrait painted by the highly sought-after French painter Louis-Gustave Ricard.

The large assortment of miniature portraits (125 pieces in all) is chiefly composed of pictures of family members, from Artur's and Zofia's closest relatives to distant cousins. Many of these were painted after Artur's death – as if his widow and son wished to put together an entire family tree of miniatures. Most numerous in this category were portraits of Artur Potocki, starting with an excellent one by François Gérard from c. 1820 (**fig. 4**). Likely from that same period are two portrait sketches showing the subject sitting in an armchair with a similar facial expression, produced by Joseph Stieler,<sup>24</sup> a student of Gérard's. There are also several portraits painted by unidentified Polish painters as well as four miniature portraits of Artur Potocki as a child.

Ideas and tactics for preserving a visual family history also came courtesy of Artur Potocki's daughter-in-law, and Adam Potocki's widow, Katarzyna. The famed Krakow philanthropist who for thirty years after her husband's death continued to be involved in efforts to restore the historic property of Wawel Castle,<sup>25</sup> decided to immortalise her and her father-in-law's names via paintings by Jan Matejko. It is reasonable to presume that it was she who commissioned the portraits of herself and her father-in-law from Matejko in 1890, believing herself to be the successor to the art collection and to the family's charitable work for the city of Krakow. Though painted many years after Artur Potocki's death, the subject's facial features in Matejko's portrait recall earlier *ad vivum* portraits. It is not unreasonable to think that the client – Katarzyna – not only provided Matejko with templates to be used but also devised the stylistic concept for both paintings. The *Portrait of Artur Potocki* shows the man as a proud Sarmatian clad in attire with traditional Polish costume elements (a richly embroidered Slutsk sash and a fur hat with a tuft of ostrich feathers and a clasp), and his idealised face clearly exhibits a kinship with his earlier portraits with wavy hair and a moustache (**fig. 5**). The portrait of Katarzyna Potocka, née Branicka,<sup>26</sup> meanwhile, is a picture of a dignified, enlightened matron sitting against a backdrop of colourful baroque fabrics (**fig. 6**). On her knees she holds a Renaissance-era illustrated book with clearly visible details and a bunch of keys hangs from around her neck – probably keys to the hideaways with the collections' treasures, surely not to the pantry. What immediately catches our attention are the similar large dimensions of the two portraits (161 × 108 and 145 × 110 cm), which suggests they were meant to be displayed as pendants. The portraits were painted on a support rarely used by Matejko, namely oak panels, the most durable painting substrate (besides metal), which leads to the assumption that the client had wished to endow them with an epitaphic quality. Alongside the paintings by Matejko, others produced later, like those by Tadeusz Ajdukiewicz or Aleksander Gryglewski, also indicate that the painting collection of the Potocki family continued to grow well after the deaths of its founders (in 1822 and 1879 respectively) in harmony with the changes transpiring in Polish art.

<sup>24</sup> Stieler worked for Gérard in 1807. He travelled extensively, visiting Warsaw, and in 1816–20 worked in Vienna.

<sup>25</sup> Evidencing her interest in Krakow "antiquities" are items surviving to this day in the Potocki collection, like a sketch by Matejko for a stained-glass window for St Leonard's crypt in Wawel Cathedral.

<sup>26</sup> The reverse of the portrait bears a hand-written inscription by Matejko.

The presence of children's portraits is not surprising in this family collection as the tradition to include "blue-blooded" offspring in presentations of the family saga had been firmly ensconced by then. From among Polish examples we can single out Martin Kober's 1596 portraits of the three-year-old Princess Anna Maria Vasa and the one-year-old Prince Ladislaus Vasa.<sup>27</sup> Among the older generation children immortalised in the Potockis' Krakow-Krzeszowice collection we find Franciszek and Jerzy Lubomirski. Both boys were depicted by the painter in an unusual manner, in mid-stride, as if agitated, yet still in the official portrait convention. Also among the children's portraits are two portraits of the collection founders as children. These are imagined likenesses, painted in 1856, when Artur had already been dead for 24 years and when Zofia was 66, showing them as they might have looked at the age of five or six (**figs 7, 8**). We can presume these were meant to form a set along with a realistic portrait of their nine-year-old granddaughter Róża<sup>28</sup> because of their shared oval shape and identical dimensions. These were probably commissioned by Zofia Potocka from Franz Xavier Winterhalter, a painter who from 1834 had specialised in painting portraits of aristocrats, mainly in Paris. The Potockis' collection contains eight portraits by this artist, most likely procured at his Paris studio, of which two are of the Potockis' daughter-in-law Katarzyna. Because five of these paintings are dated between 1852 and 1870, we can determine that the Potockis were regular clients of the renowned portraitist.

One example of an outstanding work of portraiture is an original replica from around 1820 of a painting by Friedrich Wilhelm Schadow, an artist affiliated with the Roman circle of painters known as the Nazarenes: *Portrait of Więczyśław and Konstanty Potocki as Children* (**fig. 9**). This composition of figures in motion alludes to the style of portraits from the Italian Renaissance (the costumes, the rectangular window with a view to the Rome basilica).

Also interesting among the small family portraits are three pictures by a talented amateur, namely the Potockis' cousin Elżbieta Krasieńska. These are rather conventional likenesses of Róża Lubomirska as a child (1864), of Anna Mohylanka, the wife of Stanisław "Rewera" Potocki (1868), and of the aforementioned Katarzyna, wife of Adam Potocki.

After the deaths of the collection's founders, the Potockis' son Adam and his wife Katarzyna took care to continue building the gallery of family portraits, albeit on a much humbler scale. An example of that can be seen in Count Adam's 1850 commission of portraits of his wife Katarzyna (**fig. 10**) and mother-in-law Róża from Ary Scheffer. Perhaps it was also in that year that he commissioned a portrait of himself from the artist, of which only a copy exists today.

The abundant assortment of family portraits on display at the family's properties – in the Krakow palace and the two palaces in Krzeszowice – was only a part of the portrait collection in the Potockis' holdings. Alongside it was another set of works of the same genre but of a different category, namely images of famous individuals, a category called *virī illustres*, commonly found in art lovers' collections. The Potockis collected them because having an assortment of world celebrity likenesses was *de rigueur* for any self-respecting art collector since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. For their collection, the Potockis chose personages of importance to

<sup>27</sup> Both reside in the Descalzas Reales monastery in Madrid, and their 1598 miniature workshop replicas in Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich.

<sup>28</sup> Róża Potocka was born in 1849; she married the son of Zygmunt Krasieński, later marrying Edward Raczyński in 1886.

Polish history. Such a criterion may be interpreted as a demonstration of patriotism, quite understandable given the political situation of the country at that time.

Much like the likenesses of members of the Potocki, Branicki and Lubomirski families, the portraits of distinguished personages did not appear in the collection thanks to the efforts of Zofia and Artur alone. Judging by their presumed creation dates and the painters responsible for them, many were also acquired by their son Adam and later descendants.<sup>29</sup> By and large, these paintings brought various rulers into the halls of the Potockis' palaces: emperor Napoleon I in an 1813 miniature by Jean-Baptiste Isabey and the Polish kings Augustus II the Strong in a painting made after 1718 in the workshop of the renowned Louis de Silvestre, Augustus III in a 1748 portrait by Christian Benjamin Müller, Sigismund Augustus, John III Sobieski, and Stephen Báthory. In this group of dignitaries, the presence of Elector of the Palatinate of the Rhine Charles III Philip and his wife is explained by the elector's wife's bloodline as a member of the Lubomirski family. Also, on account of the Lubomirskis' involvement in the rule of Ruthenia and Ukraine, the collection includes portraits of individuals significant to those lands, like, for example, the Metropolitans of Kiev Hypatius and Isidore (19<sup>th</sup>-century copies of portraits by an unknown painter).

Also present among the likeness of the famous and powerful were those who had distinguished themselves on the battlefield: *Portrait of Hetman Jan Chodkiewicz*, likely a copy of an original from c. 1620, *Portrait of Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski*, *Portrait of Hetman Wacław Rzewuski*, and *Portrait of Prince Józef Poniatowski*. A *Portrait of Józef Chłopicki* (fig. 11), a general under Tadeusz Kościuszko with a very colourful biography, was likely commissioned due to the man's friendship with the Potockis (and especially with their son Adam<sup>30</sup>). Chłopicki's eventful life as a soldier in various armies and a freemason seem to be symbolised in the portrait by things like the lightning, the sheets of paper and the antique bust.

The group of famous individuals' portraits also includes "fantasy portraits" of Queen Jadwiga of Poland and Dymitr of Goraj, as well as *Stańczyk* by Jan Matejko. There is also a more realistic representation of Elector Frederick Augustus Rutowsky, the illegitimate son of King Augustus II the Strong and his Turkish captive Maria Aurora von Spiegel. There could have been several reasons for the inclusion of this figure so important in Saxony in the pantheon of persons with ties to the Potockis. The collectors maintained a very lively contact with Dresden and, in connection with having conservation work done on their paintings, they sought consultation and professional assistance on more than one occasion from the painter Julius Hübner, the later director of the Dresden Gallery (from 1871). It must be added that Rutowsky – the husband of Artur's aunt (Ludwika Amelia Lubomirska) – was a freemason just like Potocki, who was an activist for the Polish masons.

So, as we can see, portraits were the most abundant genre of paintings in the collection amassed by the Potockis and their descendants, in which most numerous were miniature portraits commissioned mainly in Vienna.<sup>31</sup> A picture of a relative or a familiar celebrity

<sup>29</sup> I do not provide the authorship and creation date of all of these paintings because I am not able to verify that information. This I leave to the future author of the catalogue of the entire painting collection.

<sup>30</sup> Chłopicki visited Krzeszowice frequently, and is laid to rest there.

<sup>31</sup> One might wonder if the abundance of miniatures in this collection (and similar ones) did not perhaps result from the necessity to commemorate large numbers of dignified relatives, associates and statesmen, which, on the finite space of the palace's walls, would have been impossible in regular portrait dimensions but which became possible with miniatures exhibited in display cases. Some of these miniatures are equipped with rings allowing for them to be prominently displayed in a lady's décolletage.



served a function similar to that of photographs today – to perpetuate cordial or amicable relations. To that end, they were often given as gifts to friends or acquaintances. One example is the *Portrait of Artur Potocki* painted by Gérard in Paris in around 1820 (the Potockis had travelled there after their wedding in 1817). Several copies of the original painting must have immediately been made by the renowned studio, two of which reside today at the national museums in Warsaw and Wrocław.<sup>32</sup> More copies of Gérard's painting were made later, most likely ordered by Adam, showing his father as a strapping blond gentleman, like in the copy painted by Andrzej Grabowski.

The Potockis also bought copies of works from much earlier periods. Collectors in the era of the Potockis tended to judge such paintings differently than most art historians. Copies of Italian Renaissance masterpieces were a desirable component of a collection for two reasons. As artistic manifestations of the aesthetic ideals of the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>33</sup> paintings from the historical cultural high point that was the Renaissance served as examples for aspiring artists to follow, just as casts of antique statues, so beloved in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, were made for young sculptors to study in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Of course, those tastes were harboured by the Potockis' too, as evidenced by a notation made by Zofia Potocka in her *Diary* during their second trip to Italy, in which she states that the favourite painters of both she and her husband were Titian, Veronese, Giorgione, Bellini, Guercino, Palma Vecchio, Andrea del Sarto and Guido Reni.<sup>34</sup> Neither Zofia's *Diary* nor any other sources addressing the Potockis' collection make any mention of paintings from earlier periods. In the records possessed by the National Museum in Warsaw which document the works of art in that collection, only two medieval artefacts are identified among the Krzeszowice holdings.<sup>35</sup>

Most often it was fine art academies that collected copies of Renaissance artworks, doing so for educational purposes. For example, having discovered the instructional value of copies, the Paris Académie des Beaux-Arts created a special Museum of Copies at the Palais de l'Industrie in 1871–73.<sup>36</sup>

The second reason for collecting copies of works by Italian Renaissance artists alongside originals was often to add paintings which when paired with originals could present a complete history of European painting. Copies of missing works by Raphael or Andrea del Sarto were thus necessary in such a display.<sup>37</sup> Combined, the two reasons for seeking

<sup>32</sup> The Warsaw portrait is identified with inv. no. M.Ob.1238 MNW, the Wrocław one – VIII-264; the provenance of the latter identified as modern-day Ukraine may refer to Odessa, where Zofia Potocka's sister Elżbieta (Elizavieta) Woroncowa resided.

<sup>33</sup> Prof. Zbigniew Naliwajek pointed out to me a certain analogous situation in literary history: in the 1820s, French poets rediscovered the work of Renaissance poets of the *La Pléiade* group.

<sup>34</sup> Palarczykówna, op. cit., p. 137.

<sup>35</sup> Bożena Steinborn, Antoni Ziemba, *Malarstwo niemieckie do 1600 roku. Katalog zbiorów / Deutsche Malerei bis 1600. Bestandskatalog*, The National Museum in Warsaw (Warsaw, 2000), pp. 233–37, cat. no. 54, inv. no. Śr.266 MNW, and the *Saint Gregory* altar fragment, dated to 1450–75, inv. no. Śr.101 MNW.

<sup>36</sup> When the buildings were demolished in 1897 to make room for the Grand and Petit Palais, most of the copies collection was returned to the academy.

<sup>37</sup> Henri Delaborde, "Le musée des copies," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vol. 105 (1873), pp. 209–18; in his critique of the Paris exhibition, the author proposed to supplement the collection of copies so that it showed "par les chefs-d'œuvre de l'histoire toute entière de la peinture" [the entire history of painting through masterpieces]. "The

out copies tended to invigorate the antiques market, especially in Italy, where bans on the export of original works of art had been in place since around 1600. Ostensibly, not without significance at the time of the Potockis' collecting activity was the form of admiration for the Italian Renaissance expressed in Italy and German-speaking countries in the work of the painters known as the Nazarenes. Let us not forget that having a role like that of court painter for Artur Potocki was Wojciech Stattler, known as the "Polish Nazarene."

After the Potockis, the collecting done by Konstanty Zamoyski in Kozłówka from around 1870 also included many copies.<sup>38</sup> For reasons that are understandable (i.e., the glorification of the family's 16<sup>th</sup>-century tradition), the number of portrait copies in Kozłówka was perhaps even higher than in Krakow and Krzeszowice, though an important difference existed between the two collections in that the one in Kozłówka was never referred to as a gallery. In other words, the paintings in the Kozłówka salons, blanketing the walls like wallpaper, were only there to add to the private splendour of the home. One other difference is the inclusion in that collection of many paintings or copies of paintings by Dutch and Flemish masters,<sup>39</sup> types of works that the Potockis did not collect.

Serving as evidence of the importance held by copies of paintings in people's collections are the names of the renowned artists hired by collectors to make these copies (ignoring the second-rate copyists selling their work outside European museums like the Uffizi or Louvre). Residing at the Musée Ingres in Montauban is a series of copies after Raphael painted – surely not only for study – by Ingres; for Versailles, Giorgione was copied by Philippe de Champaigne. We could cite many more famous artists' names that appear next to 19<sup>th</sup>-century copies of 16<sup>th</sup>-century Italian paintings.<sup>40</sup> In addition to a number of now unknown artists, Artur Potocki employed Wojciech Stattler and Kanuty Rusiecki. Andrzej Grabowski worked as a copyist for both Artur Potocki and Konstanty Zamoyski. Art historians' appreciation for copies made a return in the final decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as can be observed in most museum collection catalogues today.<sup>41</sup> In 1968, Marek Rostworowski said that if all of the copies of famous paintings were to be lined up chronologically, they could "tell us about so-called 'social demand,' about the significance and popularity of types and themes that were copied [...] in various eras, countries and environments."<sup>42</sup>

idea of a stand-in piece in painting took shape very early in Italy [...] in Medici circles." See Zygmunt Ważbiński, *Muzeum i zbiory artystyczne epoki nowożytnej*, part 1 (Toruń, 1980), p. 123.

<sup>38</sup> These were mainly Italian Renaissance paintings, called masterpieces, purchased from professional copyists at the museums in Florence, Dresden or Paris.

<sup>39</sup> Karolina Wilkowicz wrote on the Kozłówka collection with special focus on the copies, see Karolina Wilkowicz, "Rola kopii obrazów w Muzeum Zamoyskich w Kozłowie," dissertation, TS, Post-Graduate Museum Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw, 2012).

<sup>40</sup> One example of a copyist being treated as a master passing on the craft are the inscriptions below the paintings at the Schack Galerie in Munich. There, given in the first line is the name Franz von Lenbach, in the second line the title of the painting, and only in the third line the name of the original artist, i.e., Titian. Lenbach painted seventeen copies of Italian Renaissance paintings for the Schack, and Hans von Marées – four.

<sup>41</sup> A model example is the Royal Castle in Warsaw painting collection catalogue, see Dorota Juszcak, Hanna Małachowicz, *Malarstwo do 1900* (Warsaw, 2007).

<sup>42</sup> From a paper presented at a methodological seminar of the Association of Art Historians, see Marek Rostworowski, "Oryginalność i naśladowanie w 'Pejzażu z miłosiernym Samarytaninem' Rembrandta" in *Oryginał, replika, kopia. Materiały III seminarium metodologicznego Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Radziejowice 26–27 września 1968* (Warsaw, 1971), p. 147.

Regardless of whether the Potockis purchased copies to compensate for the missing links in their envisioned gallery – as a historical panorama of European painting – or whether the copies may have been passed off to them by dishonest dealers as originals, and regardless of the fact that the collection contains many paintings of mediocre artistic quality, the end result is that a number of paintings that are important to European art history are present in Poland today. In fact, several of them have garnered international attention after scholarly and conservatorial analysis. As examples, we can name three Italian paintings.<sup>43</sup> Being a “true masterpiece”<sup>44</sup> is Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano’s 1504 work *Christ Among the Doctors* (fig. 12), which has shone brightly at a number of major exhibitions.<sup>45</sup> It was purchased in 1829 in Venice at an auction of the Cornaro collection, falsely signed Giovanni Bellini. Its attribution was changed to the current one as a result of analysis in 1915 and is universally accepted today. One of the works by Italian Renaissance masters whose attribution was never disputed is the “Raphaelesque” *Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist and Saint Catherine of Alexandria* by Giovanni Francesco Penni from c. 1521–22 (fig. 13). Bought by the Potockis in Vienna in 1820 from the collection of Chancellor Wenzel Anton Count Kaunitz, the painting had earlier belonged to the House of Gonzaga in Mantua (until 1627) and then to King Charles I of England.<sup>46</sup> *Saint Francis with an Angel Playing Violin* painted likely in 1620 by Francesco Barbieri, called Il Guercino (fig. 14), was purchased by the Potockis on their first trip to Italy. During a presentation of this work, Janina Michałkowska wrote: “No-one but the Potockis has managed to buy an authentic and quality piece by this master.”<sup>47</sup>

In fact, many of the paintings experienced a “change of authorship” from the attributions determined in earlier literature because their inclusion in successive exhibitions brought with it new analyses. These changes were the result of confronting the old sources with modern knowledge on old painting. And so, for example, after analysis in 1915, the painting *Pastoral Concert*, purchased by Artur Potocki in Italy in 1829 from the Cornaro collection as a work of Giorgione turned out to be the work of another Venetian painter – Giovanni Busi, called

<sup>43</sup> It is up to the future author of the research catalogue of paintings in the Potocki collection to verify these facts.

<sup>44</sup> This is what Antoni Ziemia wrote about the painting in the exhibition catalogue *Sztuka cenniejsza niż złoto. Obrazy, rysunki i ryciny dawnych mistrzów europejskich ze zbiorów polskich*, Anna Kozak, Antoni Ziemia, eds, exh. cat., The National Museum in Warsaw, 1999 (Warsaw, 1999), p. 36.

<sup>45</sup> *Malarstwo weneckie XV–XVIII w. ze zbiorów polskich oraz ze zbiorów Muzeum Sztuk Pięknych w Budapeszcie, Galerii Drezdeńskiej, Galerii Narodowej w Pradze*, Janina Michałkowska, ed., exh. cat., The National Museum in Warsaw, 1968 (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 77–78, cat. no. 58; *Serenissima – światło Wenecji. Dzieła mistrzów weneckich XIV–XVIII wieku ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie w świetle nowych badań technologicznych, historycznych i prac konserwatorskich*, exhibition and catalogue concept by Grażyna Bastek, Grzegorz Janczarski, exh. cat., The National Museum in Warsaw; The National Museum in Poznań; The National Muzeum in Wrocław, 1999–2000 (Warsaw, 1999), pp. 118–29, cat. no. 7 (earlier literature therein); Ewa Manikowska, “Cima da Conegliano: Christ Among the Doctors” in *Renaissance Venice and the North. Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer and Titian*, Bernard Aikema, Beverly Louise Brown, eds, Palazzo Grassi, Venice, 1999–2000 (New York, 1999), pp. 306–10, cat. no. 52; ead., “Cristo tra i Dottori” di Cima da Conegliano come invenzione rinascimentale,” *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, 61 (2000), pp. 73–84.

<sup>46</sup> *Sztuka cenniejsza...*, op. cit., p. 332, cat. no. 131; David Love, “Waluta koneserów – o historii dwóch wersji ‘Świętej Rodziny ze świętym Janem Chrzcicielem i świętą Katarzyną Aleksandryjską’ Gianfrancesca Penniego / The Currency of Connoisseurs: The History of Two Versions of ‘The Holy Family with Saint John and Saint Catherine’ by Gianfrancesco Penni,” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie. Nowa Seria / Journal of the National Museum in Warsaw. New Series*, 3(39) (2014), pp. 255–85.

<sup>47</sup> *Sztuka cenniejsza...*, op. cit., p. 59 and p. 224, cat. no. 77.

Cariano (fig. 15).<sup>48</sup> Most of the time, the new attributions reveal that a painting believed to be the work of a certain master is rather the work of his workshop or of an artist from his circle (occasionally one of considerably inferior artistic skill), or simply made by a later imitator, as was the case with *Domestic Fowl*, originally attributed to Melchior d'Hondecoeter.<sup>49</sup> Two pendant paintings by August Querfurt titled *Horsemen Outside the Palace* and *Hunting Party* were found to contain elements borrowed from a composition by Philips Wouwerman.<sup>50</sup> These kinds of corrections in determinations of a painting's authorship are an outcome of more in-depth inquiry into the visual culture resources of bygone eras, often with the help of material-technical analysis, which had been impossible in the Potockis' time.

Paintings from European art regions beyond Italy and Poland are few in the collection. The Potockis purchased a handful of Dutch paintings in Vienna and some German works in Berlin – which only goes to reiterate their passion for travel. Perhaps worthwhile recalling here are the words spoken by Eugène Delacroix in 1851 when he described the tastes of the period: “[...] perhaps one day we will discover that Rembrandt is a much greater painter than Raphael. It is a blasphemy which would make hair raise on the heads of all the academic painters.”<sup>51</sup>

The motivations behind the Potockis' collecting of “beautiful things” were manifold: a desire to ennoble their Krakow and Krzeszowice residences, a need to preserve the memory of members of the family saga and world dignitaries in portrait form, and a sense of patriotic duty to educate their countrymen. No less varied is the artistic quality of the paintings in the Potocki collection. Alongside works deserving of the epithet “gallery-worthy” – by old and today's criteria alike – there are many inferior paintings of a value no greater than that of family keepsakes. Yet, indisputable is the collection's anthropological nature as it captures the attitudes, inclinations, tastes and traditional habits of art lovers in aristocratic old Poland.

Translated by Szymon Włoch

<sup>48</sup> These attributions were challenged by the authors of the collection catalogue *Malarstwo francuskie, niderlandzkie, włoskie do 1600. Katalog zbiorów*, Jan Białostocki, Maria Skubiszewska, academic eds, collection cat., The National Museum in Warsaw (Warsaw, 1979), pp. 230–31, cat. no. 201. They were, however, accepted by the authors of the exhibition catalogue *Malarstwo weneckie...*, op. cit., pp. 68–69, cat. no. 47, and of the catalogue *Serenissima...*, op. cit., pp. 160–69, cat. no. 11.

<sup>49</sup> Hanna Benesz, Maria Kluk, *Early Netherlandish, Dutch, Flemish and Belgian Paintings 1494–1983 in the Collections of the National Museum in Warsaw and the Palace at Nieborów. Complete Illustrated Summary Catalogue*, Hanna Benesz, Piotr Borusowski, eds, The National Museum in Warsaw (Warsaw, 2016), p. 292, cat. no. 313 (“circle of Melchior d'Hondecoeter”).

<sup>50</sup> *Malarstwo austriackie, czeskie, niemieckie, węgierskie 1500–1800. Katalog zbiorów*, Andrzej Chudzikowski, academic ed., collection cat., The National Museum in Warsaw (Warsaw, 1964), p. 80, cat. nos 174 and 175.

<sup>51</sup> Jan Białostocki, “Rembrandt and Posterity,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* [online], vol. 23 (1972), p. 131, at: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/24705655>>, [retrieved: 10 February 2021].