

## | The Self-Portraits of Marcello Bacciarelli Dating and Attributions<sup>1</sup>

Questions of attribution regarding the self-portrayals of painters are usually rather straightforward. The self-portrait, whose main function was to immortalize the artist's physiognomy for his contemporaries and for posterity – including its internal, spiritual dimension – exemplified the painter's most individual style, technique and personal formal language (which is what made it particularly valuable to art lovers).<sup>2</sup> Artists documented their appearance at subsequent stages of life – some very often, others more rarely (though at least a few times) – thereby providing scholars with ample comparative material to identify the given painter's appearance and manner. In the case of Marcello Bacciarelli (1731–1818) and the self-portraits deemed to have been created by his hand, attributions proposed by researchers give rise to doubts and encourage a revision of fixed interpretations. Literature on the subject currently lists nine alleged self-portraits of the First Painter to King Stanislaus Augustus. These are works held at the Uffizi Galleries in Florence, Musée Fesch in Ajaccio, Museo del Barocco Romano in Ariccia, the National Museum in Warsaw (two works), Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź, a private collection in Italy (previously the Royal Castle in Warsaw as property of the Ciechanowiecki Collection Foundation), and the lost *Self-Portrait at the Easel* known from a photograph. Until 2001, this set also included the beautiful grisaille *Self-Portrait with Sons* (fig. 1) from the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw (on display at the Royal Castle in Warsaw),<sup>3</sup> dated between 1766 and 1771. However, as has been demonstrated by Roberto Pancheri, the canvas actually depicts Giovanni Battista Lampi the Elder with his sons: Giovanni Battista

<sup>1</sup> This is a considerably extended version of a text published in Italian: “Gli autoritratti di Marcello Bacciarelli. Stato delle ricerche, nuove attribuzioni,” in *Intorno a Marcello Bacciarelli. Italiani nella Varsavia dei Lumi*, Andrzej Pieńkos, Mariusz Smoliński, eds (Warsaw, 2019), pp. 57–66 (transl. by Lucia Pascale).

<sup>2</sup> For this and other functions of self-portraits, see Görel Cavalli-Björkman, “The Roles of Self-Portrait,” in *Face to Face. Portraits from Five Centuries*, ead., ed., exh. cat., Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 2001–2002 (Stockholm, 2001), pp. 13–23; Renate Trnek, Rudolf Preismesberger et al., *Selbstbild. Der Künstler und sein Bildnis*, exh. cat., Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna, 2004–2005 (Vienna–Ostfildern–Ruit, 2004); Ernst van de Wetering, “Rembrandt's self-portraits. Problem of authenticity and function,” in Ernst van de Wetering et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 4: *The Self-Portraits* (Dordrecht, 2005), pp. 89–317.

<sup>3</sup> Oil on canvas, 76.5 × 57.5 cm, inv. no. MP 5311 MNW (former number: 127995). In the early 1930s, it belonged to Ludwika Sobańska in Warsaw; attributed, with a question mark, to Bacciarelli, it was acquired for the NMW in 1946 with an attribution to Bacciarelli – see documentation held at the NMW and *Painting in Italy in the Eighteenth Century. Rococo to Romanticism*, John Maxon, Joseph J. Rishel, eds, exh. cat., Art Institute of Chicago; Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Toledo Museum of Art, 1970–71 (Chicago, 1971), p. 166, cat. no. 67 (Anthony M. Clark) – with earlier bibliography.

the Younger and Francesco,<sup>4</sup> and was created around 1788. It is worth noting that between mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and the publication of Pancheri's article, the *Self-Portrait with Sons* served as a point of reference for scholars attributing other alleged self-portraits to Bacciarelli, which naturally led to false conclusions. Such improper reasoning also resulted from incorrect stylistic analyses of such works, a matter that will be elaborated on below.

I believe that only four out of the aforesaid nine works may be unquestionably attributed to Bacciarelli. All of them were made during the master's mature period. These are the self-portraits in a brown coat and in a confederate cap (held at the National Museum in Warsaw), and the one in a redingote (Muzeum Sztuki, Łódź). The lost *Self-Portrait at the Easel*, albeit known solely from a photograph, undoubtedly depicts Bacciarelli painting an image of a young woman (most likely his daughter Anna) and was created towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The dating of these self-portraits established in literature follows that proposed by Alina Chyczewska between 1968 and 1970 in what is still the only catalogue raisonné of the artist's works. The author repeated her findings in a monograph from 1973.<sup>5</sup> While the identification of these canvases as Bacciarelli's self-portraits raises no doubts, issues related to dating require verification. The Polish scholar published her works almost half a century ago, so it is time to reflect upon some of the findings contained therein. In the online and digital age, researchers have an entirely different toolbox at their disposal, and apart from that, more works by the artist, either unknown before or known only from copies, have since resurfaced on the art market, shedding new light on his oeuvre.

In the catalogue of the Warsaw exhibition commemorating the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the master's death,<sup>6</sup> I proposed a different dating for Bacciarelli's two most famous self-portraits – the ones held at the National Museum in Warsaw. This article will also touch upon the dating of the Łódź canvas and the lost *Self-Portrait at the Easel*.

I believe the earliest of Bacciarelli's three self-portrayals to be the *Self-Portrait in a Brown Coat*<sup>7</sup> (or, to be more precise, in an *habit à la française*)<sup>8</sup> (fig. 2). The work was made directly after the artist returned from what – after he had settled permanently at the court of Stanislaus Augustus – proved to be his only European voyage, i.e., around 1788. This fine canvas, with its near-monochrome, warm colours – of which the painter was so fond – presents Bacciarelli in a velvet *habit* and loose shirt unbuttoned at the neck, the Order of the Golden Spur visible

<sup>4</sup> Giovanni Battista the Younger holds in his hand a drawing of his mother, Anna Maria Franchi, cradling the little Francesco on her arm; the composition is copied from an oil portrait painted by Lampi in 1783 – see Roberto Pancheri, "L'Immagine dell'artista e della sua famiglia," in *Un ritrattista nell'Europa delle corti Giovanni Battista Lampi 1751–1830*, Fernando Mazzocca, Roberto Pancheri, Alessandro Casagrande, eds, exh. cat., Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trento, 2001 (Trento, 2001), p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> *Marceli Bacciarelli. Życie – twórczość – dzieła*, Alina Chyczewska, ed., vol. 2, The National Museum in Poznań; The National Museum in Warsaw, 1970 (Poznań, 1970), pp. 93–94, cat. no. 160, pp. 107–8, cat. no. 185, p. 118, cat. no. 205, pp. 119–20, cat. no. 208; Alina Chyczewska, *Marcello Bacciarelli 1731–1818* (Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków–Gdańsk, 1973), passim.

<sup>6</sup> *Marcello Bacciarelli. Najpiękniejsze portrety*, Dorota Juszcak, ed., exh. cat., The Royal Castle in Warsaw, 2018 (Warsaw, 2018), with essays by Ewa Manikowska, Anita Chiron-Mrozowska, Przemysław Mrozowski et al.

<sup>7</sup> Inv. no. MP 313 MNW, oil on canvas, 68.5 × 57 cm, see *Marcello Bacciarelli. Najpiękniejsze...*, op. cit., pp. 184–87, cat. no. 28 (with earlier bibliography).

<sup>8</sup> I am using the customary title of this work; the men's costume *à la française* that Bacciarelli wears here was referred to as "dress" (*suknia*) by his contemporaries – or *habit* in French. A tailcoat is a cloth coat with a collar *à l'anglaise*.

from behind the jabot. The artist looks at us cheerfully with his large, brown eyes; golden gleams of light bring out his face from partial shade. The painting's vibrating, sketchy texture is a trademark of the master's mature style. At the bottom, the work bears the inscription: *MARCELLO BACCIARELLI ROMANO P<sup>o</sup> PITTORE. DIRECT DELLE BELLE ARTI E FABRICHE | DI STANISLAO AUGUSTO RE DI POLONIA G. DU. LITHUANIA.*

Alina Chyczewska dated the *Self-Portrait in a Brown Coat* to 1793, assuming it to be the subject of Bacciarelli's correspondence with Stanislaus Augustus exchanged between April and late summer of the same year. The king commissioned a self-portrait from the First Painter and *Directeur des Bâtiments*, who – at the time – was extremely busy overseeing works carried out in the Łazienki Park. The monarch then repeatedly demanded that three replicas of the painting be made “for Rome and Florence.”<sup>9</sup> According to Chyczewska, the Italian inscription at the bottom of the canvas would testify to the work being used as a diplomatic gift.<sup>10</sup> What it actually proves, though, is that the painting was created with an entirely different purpose in mind. Without a doubt, it was painted on the occasion of Bacciarelli being admitted as member of the Roman Academy of Saint Luke in 1787, with a view to being donated to this noble institution. This hypothesis was already proposed in the early 1970s by Andrea Busiri Vici and Stefano Susinno, and backed by Ewa Manikowska.<sup>11</sup> The font used and the light background of the writing are identical to biographical notes found on portraits of Academy members from the time. The very wording of the inscription matches the entry concerning Bacciarelli in lists of Academy members included in its statutory records. The statute of 1796 reads: “Cav. Marcello Bacciarelli Romano P., Direttore Generale delle Belle arti e Fabbriche del Sua Maestà Re di Pologna.”<sup>12</sup> Bacciarelli was admitted to the Academy at the meeting of 22 July 1787, and left Rome in August.<sup>13</sup> It would seem logical for the self-portrait painted for the Academy to be created soon after the artist's return from the Eternal City. This is also indicated by another element that has, until now, escaped the attention of Polish scholars – pinned to the painter's chest is the Order of the Golden Spur, which Bacciarelli received in Rome from the pope. We know that the Academy collected images of all its members. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the *Self-Portrait in a Brown Coat* was to serve as Bacciarelli's *dono di ammissione*, and was to be delivered (in line with the statute from 1715 applicable at the time) six months after he had been admitted to the elite group.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, for

<sup>9</sup> Stanislaus Augustus to Bacciarelli, 19 April, 3, 20 and 30 July and 12 September 1793, The National Library of Poland (further: BN), MS III/3291/1, pp. 68, 75v., 78, 80 v., 95–95v.; Bacciarelli to Stanislaus Augustus, 6 June, turn of July and August and 12 August 1793, Central Archives of Historical Records (further: AGAD), The Correspondence of Stanislaus Augustus 5a, pp. 11v., 28v., 39v.; as cited in Chyczewska, op. cit., pp. 103–4, n. 157–60.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>11</sup> Andrea Busiri Vici, *I Poniatowski e Roma* (Florence, 1971), p. 36; Stefano Susinno, “I ritratti degli accademici,” in *L'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca*, Carlo Pietrangeli, ed. (Rome, 1974), p. 262; Ewa Manikowska, *Sztuka – ceremonia – informacja. Studium wokół królewskich kolekcji Stanisława Augusta* (Warsaw, 2007), p. 215.

<sup>12</sup> *Statuti dell'insigne accademia del disegno di Roma, detta di San Luca* (Rome, 1796), p. 54.

<sup>13</sup> See Antonello Cesareo, “Aggiunte a Marcello Bacciarelli,” in *Marcello Bacciarelli. Pittore di Sua Maestà Stanislao Augusto Re di Polonia. Atti del Convegno 3–4 novembre 2008*, Leszek Kruk, Anna Wawrzyniak Maoloni, eds (Rome, 2011), pp. 159, 164.

<sup>14</sup> Melchiorre Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla storia della Romana Accademia di S. Luca fino alla morte di Antonio Canova* (Rome, 1823), p. 212; Serenella Rolfi Ozvald, “History of absence. The morceaux de reception submitted by sculptors at the Accademia di San Luca,” in *Morceaux. Die bildhauerischen Aufnahmenstücke europäischer Kunstakademien im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Tomas Macsotay, Johannes Myssok, eds (Cologne–Vienna–Weimar, 2016), p. 105.

reasons unknown, the work never made it to Rome and remained in the painter's family.<sup>15</sup> Here I cannot concur with Antonello Cesareo, who identifies the master's *dono* with the portrait of architect Giuseppe Barberi held at the Academy. The portrait does not demonstrate features of Bacciarelli's style and was definitely made by another hand.<sup>16</sup>

More than five years after *Self-Portrait in a Brown Coat* – where the artist depicted himself as a proud and self-confident man of success – came another work, which I believe to evoke an entirely different character and atmosphere: *Self-Portrait in a Confederate Cap* (Konfederatka)<sup>17</sup> (fig. 3), the painter's most famous, almost iconic self-portrayal. It shows the no longer young artist in a loose, fur-lined velvet dressing gown in a subdued plum colour and a red cap with a fur rim. The version regarded as made by the artist himself is held at the National Museum in Krakow.<sup>18</sup> The artist looks at the viewer with a serious expression, his eyelids slightly droopy. With his left hand, he makes a classical rhetorical gesture – in portrayals of artists, it may point to *inventio*, the conceptual, intellectual and literary aspect of their art, or to *elocutio*, a meaningful statement (Greek: *léksis*).<sup>19</sup>

Alina Chyczewska assumed the *Self-Portrait in a Confederate Cap* to have been painted in 1788, and her dating has not been questioned before. She interpreted the image as cheerful and full of optimism, presuming it was made right after the artist returned from his successful European voyage, at a time that was also favourable for Poland: this was the year when the Great Sejm embarked on its quest to reform Polish politics, a work that culminated with passing the Constitution of 3 May 1791.<sup>20</sup> A thoroughly different interpretation of the portrait – and, consequently, a different dating – was proposed two decades earlier by Tadeusz Mańkowski in his article analysing the Italian master's oeuvre: "The second [of Bacciarelli's self-portraits], made at a later time [than *Self-Portrait in a Brown Coat*], with his tired gaze and a confederate cap on his head, refers to the disastrous partitions that inspired this foreign artist, who had settled in Poland, to a patriotic sentiment towards his adopted Homeland."<sup>21</sup> I concur with this assessment of the work. I believe that the *Self-Portrait in a Confederate Cap* was painted in 1793, and that this was the canvas referred to in the aforementioned correspondence between the king and Bacciarelli.<sup>22</sup> It ought to be clearly stated that the letters make no mention of details of the dress, accessories or any elements of the court painter's portrayal

<sup>15</sup> Acquired by the National Museum in Warsaw in 1957 from Elżbieta Bacciarelli, yet not recorded in the inventory of paintings left in 1818 after the painter's death (manuscript held by the family; published in Maria Suchodolska, Maria Kaczanowska, *Rysunki Marcelego Bacciarellego w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie. Katalog* (Warsaw, 1971), pp. 63–76); see also Aleksander Bacciarelli, "Zbiór obrazów i dzieł sztuki pozostawiony rodzinie przez Marcello Bacciarellego," *Mazowieckie Studia Humanistyczne*, no. 1 (1996), pp. 176–95.

<sup>16</sup> Inv. no. 0473, oil on canvas, 65 × 50 cm; Antonello Cesareo, "Un ritratto inedito di Marcello Bacciarelli," *Neoclassico*, no. 23/24 (2003), pp. 84–95.

<sup>17</sup> Inv. no. MP 4249 MNW, oil on canvas, 70.5 × 57.5 cm; *Marcello Bacciarelli. Najpiękniejsze...*, op. cit., pp. 214–18, cat. no. 36 (with full bibliography).

<sup>18</sup> Inv. no. MNK IIa-193 (former number: 7988), oil on canvas, 72 × 57.5 cm. I propose to add a question mark to the attribution to Bacciarelli – see *Marcello Bacciarelli...*, op. cit., p. 217, cat. no. 36.

<sup>19</sup> Mary D. Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman. Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art* (Chicago, 1996), p. 206.

<sup>20</sup> *Marceli Bacciarelli. Życie – twórczość...*, op. cit., p. 94, cat. no. 160; Chyczewska, op. cit., pp. 89–90.

<sup>21</sup> Tadeusz Mańkowski, "Marcello Bacciarelli," *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki PAU*, vol. 10 (1952), p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> See n. 8.

commissioned by the king – so this is just another hypothesis. Any assessments of the model's age and facial expression are, by definition, relative.

One argument to connect the *Self-Portrait in a Confederate Cap* with the year 1793 – and the dramatic second partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – is its ideological programme. On the one hand, the portrait follows the well-known formula reserved for images of artists and scholars, who were depicted in fanciful headgear and informal, orientaling coats, often trimmed with fur. According to Aileen Ribeiro, “in its ease of movement and element of exotic, [this type of dress] conforms perfectly to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century ideal of the ‘artistic’ costume.”<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Polish recipient, this dress must have brought to mind the Polish noble, “civic” costume, later – not entirely accurately – dubbed the “national” costume: the fur-lined dressing gown looks like a *szuba* overcoat, while the intense red colour of the square, fur-rimmed cap is reminiscent of the *konfederatka* cap worn in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth since the 1750s.<sup>24</sup> The artist knowingly plays with the conventions here: while referring to Western European, “cosmopolitan” portraiture, he pays tribute to the republican, civic, pro-state and pro-parliamentary ethos of Polish noblemen and aristocrats, which – following a political reform towards a modern constitutional and parliamentary monarchy enshrined in the 3<sup>rd</sup> May Constitution – went into oblivion after the second partition of Poland. Polish scholars are unanimous in claiming that by doing so, Bacciarelli demonstrated his devotion to Stanislaus Augustus, his patron and friend, and to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The *konfederatka*, or confederate cap, was a four-pointed red cap rimmed with fur, the preferred headgear worn by members of the reform camp during the Great Sejm. As such, it was associated with patriotic and “nationalist” attitudes: a commitment to democracy and parliamentarism. It is worth noting that the letters in which the king urged Bacciarelli to paint his self-portrait began in April 1793 – the artist had just finished painting the first version of *Portrait of Stanislaus Augustus with an Hourglass*, referred to as *The Allegorical Portrait* by the king and his contemporaries (fig. 4). In September, he worked in parallel on creating replicas of this work and his own self-portrait.<sup>25</sup> *The Allegorical Portrait*, whose composition was based on Stanislaus Augustus' own idea, was a political and propaganda manifesto: it referred to the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and to the tragic situation of the monarch, who had already sensed his inevitable abdication. Hence it should come as no surprise that Bacciarelli would impart a similarly patriotic vein to his own self-portrait, painted for Stanislaus Augustus at exactly the same time – so that it could enter into a dialogue with the “image of the miserable king,” as *The Allegorical Portrait* was aptly described by Agnieszka Skrodzka.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress. Fashion in England and France, 1750–1820* (New Haven, 1995), p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Łukasz Gołębiowski, *Ubiory w Polsce od najdawniejszych czasów aż do chwil obecnych* (Warsaw, 1830), pp. 35, 137, 173.

<sup>25</sup> The so-called *Allegorical Portrait* was ready in March 1793 – see Chyczewska, op. cit., pp. 103–4. In a letter dated 20 September 1793, Bacciarelli wrote that he had almost finished painting two replicas thereof, and that he had also “copied” replicas of his self-portrait (AGAD, The Correspondence of Stanislaus Augustus 5a, p. 44v): two of the latter are held at the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. no. MP 312 MNW, signed and dated 1793) and one in a private collection in Paris (dated 1793) – see Agnieszka Skrodzka, “Wizerunek króla nieszczęśliwego – portret Stanisława Augusta z klepsydrą,” *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 69, no. 3–4 (2007), pp. 203–47 (with full bibliography). For the Parisian portrait, see Marcello Bacciarelli, *Najpiękniejsze...*, op. cit., pp. 210–12, cat. no. 35.

<sup>26</sup> Skrodzka, op. cit., passim.

Bacciarelli's third surviving, undisputed self-portrait is the *Self-Portrait in a Redingote* from the Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź,<sup>27</sup> generally regarded as the master's original work, yet so damaged and washed out that it precludes any authoritative comments on its attribution; a solid workshop copy of this painting is held at the National Museum in Warsaw<sup>28</sup> (fig. 5). Issues of authorship and mutual relationship between the two works require separate research – also in terms of the technology used. One thing is certain, though: irrespective of whether this is the master's own work or its workshop copy, it definitely depicts Bacciarelli.

In literature, the *Self-Portrait in a Redingote* is dated to c. 1800, yet I believe it shows the painter at more or less the same age as the one in a brown coat, which – as I have tried to prove above – was painted around 1788. Nevertheless, both works have an entirely different character. The former presents the artist as a refined man of the world and member of a prestigious Academy. In turn, this one is more private: at the time, the painter's dress – a coat made of cloth and a red *cravate à l'anglaise* tied in a bow on his neck – would mostly have been worn in Warsaw by artists, men of letters and representatives of the liberal professions. The work's late dating, adopted after Chyczewska,<sup>29</sup> could result from the fact that the English tailcoat and redingote are usually associated with fashion from the turn of the century – and wrongly so. Coats made of cloth, with their characteristic double or triple collars, became fashionable in mainland Europe already in the 1780s. Besides, there exists a *terminus ante quem* for this self-portrait that is earlier than 1800: Wincenty Lesseur's miniature signed and dated to 1794, held at the Polish Museum in Rapperswil<sup>30</sup> (fig. 6). Bacciarelli's original could have been made a few years earlier.

Finally – the lost *Self-Portrait at the Easel*, known solely from a photograph,<sup>31</sup> which does not suffice to unambiguously state whether the work in question is an original one or a copy. However, the model's identity and the Bacciarellesque character of the representation are unquestionable. The depicted “painting within a painting” – most likely an image of the artist's daughter Anna – placed at the easel with Bacciarelli standing next to it (and much clearer than the painter's figure) was a genuinely existing work that is now also lost. The photograph kept at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences features an oval bust of a woman of around thirty. Her dress and hairstyle indicate early 1790s fashion – which is when the *Self-Portrait at the Easel* was most likely created, but was wrongly dated in previous literature to around 1800.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Inv. no. MS/SP/M 317, oil on canvas, 72 × 59 cm; Marta Ertman, *Malarstwo polskie od XVII do początku XX wieku w zbiorach Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi. Katalog*, Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź (Łódź, 2009), p. 75, cat. no. 14 (with earlier bibliography).

<sup>28</sup> Inv. no. MP 1101 MNW (former number: 131327), oil on canvas, 69.5 × 60.5 cm. The schematic depiction of the model's right eye results from a damage to this fragment of the work (UV analysis has also revealed significant retouching in his right cheek).

<sup>29</sup> Marceli Bacciarelli. *Życie – twórczość...*, op. cit., p. 118, cat. no. 205.

<sup>30</sup> Inv. no. 868, watercolour and gouache on bone, 8.8 × 5 cm, signed and dated W.L. / 1794; *Miniatury Wincentego Lesseura i Walerii Tarnowskiej z dawnej kolekcji Tarnowskich z Dzikowa w zbiorach Muzeum Polskiego w Rapperswilu | Miniaturen von Wincenty Lesseur und Waleria Tarnowska aus der ehemaligen Tarnowski-Sammlung in Dzików im Polenmuseum Rapperswil*, Halina Kamińska-Krassowska, ed., exh. cat., The Royal Castle in Warsaw, 1994 (Warsaw, 1994), pp. 52 and 121 (in German), cat. no. 34.

<sup>31</sup> Property of architect Prof. Władysław Michalski (1879–1944) in Warsaw, lost; for its best reproduction, see Feliks Kopera, *Dzieje malarstwa w Polsce*, vol. 2, *Malarstwo w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku* (Kraków, 1926), p. 279, fig. 259 (erroneously captioned as the property of NMW).

<sup>32</sup> Chyczewska dated the alleged portrait of Anna Bacciarelli, and – by extension – also the *Self-Portrait at the Easel* at c. 1800 – see Marceli Bacciarelli. *Życie – twórczość...*, op. cit., pp. 119–20, cat. nos 207, 208 (with earlier bibliography).

As has been demonstrated, all of Bacciarelli's undisputed self-portraits come from his mature period. No earlier ones are known. In my opinion, none of the youthful images regarded as the painter's own creation in fact depict the Italian master or represent his work – although this article merely intends to spark a debate on the subject.

The work longest regarded as Bacciarelli's self-portrait – an opinion still widely held today – is kept at the Uffizi Galleries,<sup>33</sup> and was donated by Maurycy Zamoyski in 1911 after the Florentine exhibition of Italian portrait art in Palazzo Vecchio.<sup>34</sup> Zamoyski's decision to leave the work in Florence was met with criticism on the part of Polish art lovers and historians, who deemed it unpatriotic.<sup>35</sup> The work's provenance remains unknown. Since Konrad Ajewski failed to determine it in his publication about the collection of the Zamoyski Family Fee Tail (*Ordynacja Zamojska*), this feat will most likely remain unachieved; the only known fact is that in Maurycy Zamoyski's time, it hung in the Blue Palace in Warsaw.<sup>36</sup> The motives for attributing the work to Bacciarelli are unknown; in any case, no such self-portrait is noted by Sebastiano Ciampi, Edward Rastawiecki or Józef Ignacy Kraszewski in their lists of the artist's oeuvre.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, this is a so-called traditional attribution, adopted by the Zamoyskis or some previous owners. It is worth noting that in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Polish historiography,<sup>38</sup> there was a tendency to attribute numerous portraits of Polish aristocrats – and almost all images of Stanislaus Augustus – to Bacciarelli, the most famous portraitist of the Polish Enlightenment. The same applied to 18<sup>th</sup>-century portraits of painters held in Polish collections, as exemplified by Lampi's self-portrait with sons from the National Museum in Warsaw. This traditional attribution of the Uffizi Galleries portrait, not backed by any arguments – whether stylistic, historical or from source literature – was adopted by Alina Chyczewska.

This is most certainly not a work by Bacciarelli, and it is quite surprising that, until now, no-one has questioned his authorship. The schematic handling of the brush (visible particularly in the model's garments), simplified modelling, basic rendition of objects on the table, and linear depiction of the man's face are completely at odds with the painter's style. Apart from that, the painting seems to be a 19<sup>th</sup>- or 20<sup>th</sup>-century copy. Of course, this hypothesis should be backed with technological research. Intuition tells me that – irrespective of whether this is a copy or an original work – the self-portrait shows an unknown painter from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (as indicated by elements of his dress and the hairstyle with sideburns).

<sup>33</sup> Inv. no. 3580, oil on canvas, 88,5 × 71 cm.

<sup>34</sup> *Mostra del Ritratto italiano dalla fine del sec. XVI all'anno 1861* (Florence, 1911), p. 6, cat. no. 126. On the Polish side, the exhibition was curated by Jerzy Mycielski.

<sup>35</sup> Tadeusz Rutowski, "Bacciarelli," *Sztuka. Miesięcznik ilustrowany, poświęcony Sztuce i Kulturze*, vol. 2 (1912), pp. 4, 14; id., "Puścizna artystyczna z Krakowskiej wystawy starych obrazów w polskim posiadaniu," *Sztuka. Miesięcznik ilustrowany, poświęcony Sztuce i Kulturze*, vol. 2 (1912), p. 96.

<sup>36</sup> Konrad Ajewski, *Zbiory artystyczne i galeria muzealna Ordynacji Zamoyskiej w Warszawie* (Kozłówka, 1997), p. 103.

<sup>37</sup> Sebastiano Ciampi, *Bibliografia critica delle antiche reciproche corrispondenze... dell'Italia colla Russia, colla Polonia et altre parti settentrionali*, vol. 2 (Florence, 1839), pp. 238–44; Edward Rastawiecki, *Słownik malarzów polskich tudzież obcych w Polsce osiadłych lub czasowo w niej przebywających*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1850), pp. 18–46; Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, "Ikonotheka. Zbiór notat o sztuce i artystach w Polsce przez J. I. Kraszewskiego," *Teka Wileńska*, vol. 3 (1858), pp. 1–31.

<sup>38</sup> For 19<sup>th</sup>-century reception of Bacciarelli's art – see Zbigniew Michalczyk, "Bacciarelli post finem Poloniae. Artysta i jego dzieło jako symbol w XIX w.," in *Bacciarelli. Studia o malarzu królewskim, dyrektorsze, nauczycielu, opiekunie sztuk*, Andrzej Pieńkos, ed. (Warsaw, 2018), pp. 235–54.

Thus, he would have been too young to represent Bacciarelli. This apt observation has already been made before – in his article about Italian portraitists active in Poland and Russia, Carlo Gamba stated that the painting could not have been created earlier than in 1790: “Sebbene il volto mostri un uomo d’età ancora fresca, il costume e lo stile c’indicano che il dipinto non dovrebbe essere anteriore al 1790, quando l’artista era intorno al suo sessantesimo anno d’età” [Although the face of the man depicted in the portrait is still relatively young, his clothes as well as the stylistic features of the painting indicate that it could not have been made before 1790, when the artist was already nearing seventy].<sup>39</sup> Admittedly, Gamba was not too accurate in his calculations: Bacciarelli, who was born in 1731, would have been nearing sixty and not seventy in 1790 (he was 59 at the time), but, in any case, he would have been too old to be the model of the Florentine portrait. In spite of these reservations, the author of the article did not challenge the previous attribution. However, in later literature on the subject, also Italian, the portrait was dated to c. 1771, following the hypothesis proposed by Chyczewska.<sup>40</sup> It so happens that there does exist a work from 1771 that contains an unquestionable self-portrait of Bacciarelli (could the researcher have adopted it as her point of reference to date the Uffizi portrait?). The painter placed his image in a multi-figure scene commissioned by Stanislaus Augustus, *Reception of a Miller*,<sup>41</sup> which commemorates an episode that took place after the king was kidnapped by the Bar Confederates on 3 July 1771. The work was described in detail in the catalogue of the royal collection by none other than Bacciarelli himself (who was not just the First Painter, but also the gallery’s custodian and author of its catalogues) – this is how we know that the man visible in the background (third from left) represents him.<sup>42</sup> Although this is not a self-portrait *per se*, but only a small “portrait within a portrait,” it is possible to discern that the man from the Florentine painting is younger than Marcello (who was forty at the time) and has a different, more slender face.

Western literature on the subject from the 1970s onwards also lists an interesting unfinished painting as one of Bacciarelli’s self-portraits – the work was held in a private collection in London, between 1992 and 2002, it formed part of the Ciechanowiecki Collection Foundation at the Royal Castle in Warsaw (fig. 7), and now belongs to a private collection in Italy.<sup>43</sup> It was referred to for the first time in 1971 by Anthony M. Clark in a catalogue of the Chicago

<sup>39</sup> Carlo Gamba, “Ritrattisti italiani in Polonia e in Russia,” in *Il ritratto italiano dal Caravaggio al Tiepolo. Alla mostra di Palazzo Vecchio del MCMXI sotto gli auspici del comune di Firenze*, Ciro Caversazzi et al., ed., with introduction by Ugo Ojetti, Istituto italiano d’arti grafiche (Bergamo [1927]), p. 236.

<sup>40</sup> *Marceli Bacciarelli. Życie – twórczość...*, op. cit., p. 53, cat. no. 66; *Gli Uffizi. Catalogo generale*, Luciano Berti, ed. (Florence, 1980), p. 793, cat. no. A.39 (written by Silva Meloni Trkulja; the author dates the portrait to c. 1771, justifying that with the French influences present in Bacciarelli’s art at the time, and visible, e.g., in the model’s pose); Francesco Petrucci, *Pittura di Ritratto a Roma*, vol. 1 (Rome, 2010), p. 151. In *Encyklopedia staropolska* (vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1939), col. 845–46), Aleksander Brückner stated that the replica of the Uffizi Galleries painting, whose alleged reproduction he published, belonged to the Tarnowski collection in Dzików. No such work is featured in the inventories of Dzików; the image reproduced by Brückner is most likely a photograph of the Uffizi Galleries portrait.

<sup>41</sup> Moscow, The Pushkin Museum, inv. no. 58, oil on canvas, 54 × 68 cm; *Marceli Bacciarelli. Życie – twórczość...*, op. cit., pp. 51–52, cat. no. 65 (with earlier bibliography); Chyczewska, op. cit., pp. 67–68; *Catherine the Great and Stanisław August. Two Enlightened Monarchs*, Sergey O. Androsoff, ed., exh. cat. (in Russian), Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, 2016 (Saint Petersburg, 2016), p. 130, cat. no. 35 (Viktoria E. Markova).

<sup>42</sup> Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Galerja Stanisława Augusta* (Lviv, 1932) [collated edition of catalogues from 1783–95], p. 222, cat. no. 141 (the painting’s description featured the following remark: “tous les Portraits sont d’une vérité et d’une ressemblance frappante”).

<sup>43</sup> Oil on canvas, 59.5 × 52.2 cm.

exhibition of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Italian painting,<sup>44</sup> in a note on the Warsaw self-portrait of Lampi with sons – a painting that was still regarded as Bacciarelli's work at the time. In 1974, it was also referred to by Stefano Susinno<sup>45</sup> in his essay on self-portraits from the Academy of Saint Luke. The painting was deemed Bacciarelli's earliest known self-portrait, allegedly created around 1750, when the painter was still in Rome.<sup>46</sup> There are several reasons why this hypothesis should be rejected. The young man's dress – a grey tailcoat with a turn-down collar and large buttons – indicates a much later period. Although similar tailcoats made of cloth were already fashionable in England in the 1750s, they only made it to the continent around 1770. While the style of the work is slightly reminiscent of the Italian master's 1770s oeuvre, the depicted man is again too young to be identified with Bacciarelli. The painter's early style (his earliest known works come from the late 1750s)<sup>47</sup> was characterized by less sketchy, dry modelling, often with delicate contouring. In the 1750s, his technique was very different from his later manner – the loose, painterly style found in his mature works. Finally, the ultimate argument: the young man's eyes are dark blue,<sup>48</sup> while Bacciarelli (as we know from the aforementioned, genuine self-portraits) had dark brown eyes. In 2002, the Ciechanowiecki Collection Foundation exchanged this "self-portrait" for an exquisite original canvas by Bacciarelli: *Portrait of Izabela Branicka*, Stanislaus Augustus' sister, which came from the Dining Room of the Łazienki palace, bore the red number of Stanislaus Augustus' gallery on the front, and the artist's signature and date (1778) on the back.<sup>49</sup>

Based on analogies with Bacciarelli's aforementioned alleged self-portrait from the Ciechanowiecki Collection, a very beautiful painting – yet, in my opinion, created by a different hand – was also attributed to him: *Self-Portrait of a Young Painter in a Hat* (**fig. 8**), acquired in 1989 on the art market by Fabrizio Lemme and Fiammetta Luly Lemme in Rome, and currently held at the Museo del Barocco in Palazzo Chigi, Ariccia.<sup>50</sup> In the catalogue of the Parisian exhibition of the collection from 1998, Fiammetta Luly Lemme noted what she believed to be a clear similarity between the model's features and the physiognomy of the young man in the painting from a private London collection (which had, in fact, already formed part of the Ciechanowiecki Foundation and was held at the Royal Castle in Warsaw). She dated the portrait to c. 1755 based on the age of the model – the alleged Bacciarelli.<sup>51</sup> This attribution was widely accepted in Western literature. Authors of subsequent studies on the Lemme collection also noted the softness of the painted matter and the colour of the portrait, which were reminiscent of Marco Benefial's oeuvre (1684–1764) – another fact that was to indicate

<sup>44</sup> *Painting in Italy...*, op. cit., p. 166, cat. no. 67 (Anthony M. Clark).

<sup>45</sup> Susinno, op. cit., pp. 262–63.

<sup>46</sup> Stella Rudolph, *La Pittura del 700 a Roma* (Milan, 1983), fig. 28; more recently: Petrucci, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 151, vol. 2, fig. 22.

<sup>47</sup> *Marcello Bacciarelli. Najpiękniejsze...*, op. cit., pp. 82–111, cat. nos 1–7 (paintings from 1757–59), pp. 112–15, cat. no. 8 (from 1762) (with earlier bibliography).

<sup>48</sup> See the painting's index card with a description of its colour scheme, found in the documentation of the Painting Department of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, inv. no. FC-ZKW 1375.

<sup>49</sup> *Marcello Bacciarelli. Najpiękniejsze...*, op. cit., pp. 139–41, cat. no. 15 (with earlier bibliography).

<sup>50</sup> Inv. no. CL 126, oil on canvas, 51 × 64 cm. I would like to thank Francesco Petrucci for providing me with a photograph of the portrait.

<sup>51</sup> *La collection Lemme. Tableaux romains des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Pierre Cuzin, Stéphane Loire, eds, exh. cat., The Louvre, Paris, 1998 (Paris, 1998), pp. 62–63, cat. no. 3 (Fiammetta Luly Lemme).

the authorship of Bacciarelli, his pupil.<sup>52</sup> However, Bacciarelli's known (at least in Poland) works from the 1750s<sup>53</sup> that are signed or documented in source literature do not, somewhat surprisingly, demonstrate features of Benefial's style. The author of the portrait from the Lemme collection was a superior artist to the young Bacciarelli. Besides, as has already been established, the young man depicted in the work from the Ciechanowiecki Foundation was not Bacciarelli – and it was his alleged likeness to the man in a hat that had served as the main argument to regard the Lemme work as an image of the Rome-born artist who settled in Warsaw. Just like the similarity of the man shown in the grisaille *Self-Portrait with Sons* – which we now know to be Lampi's work – was used to associate the self-portrait from the Ciechanowiecki Collection with Bacciarelli.

And, last but not least, to emphasize the state of confusion in previous literature on Bacciarelli: the portrait from Musée Fesch in Ajaccio.<sup>54</sup> The work shows a forty- or forty-something-year-old man with light-blue eyes (i.e., definitely not Bacciarelli) in a fanciful, “orientalizing” dress (albeit not a Polish one), wearing a medal with an image of Pope Benedict XIV around his neck (fig. 9). It was attributed to Bacciarelli in 1974 by Marie-Dominique Roche, whose opinion was backed by Giuliano Briganti in 1990.<sup>55</sup> Three years later, Roche annotated her attribution of *Portrait of a Man Wearing a Medal with an Image of Benedict XIV* (as it was referred to at the time) to Bacciarelli with a question mark<sup>56</sup> – and rightly so. In 2000, in the catalogue of an exhibition of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Italian painting from French collections, Jean-Marc Olivesi published the painting as Bacciarelli's self-portrait, pointing to features of the model's appearance, which – in his opinion – could be found in portraits from a private collection in London (Andrzej Ciechanowiecki's collection, which had already been in Warsaw at the time, in the Ciechanowiecki Collection Foundation) and the Lemme collection, as well as the model's dress, which he believed demonstrated features of the Polish costume.<sup>57</sup> This identification of the portrayed man was maintained by the authors of *Chefs d'œuvre du musée Fesch*,<sup>58</sup> an album published in 2005, but the following year, Marie-Dominique Roche, while maintaining her attribution to Bacciarelli, wrote that the work depicted an anonymous “Slavic diplomat.”<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, the canvas is still described in literature as Bacciarelli's self-portrait and this is how it is featured on the museum's website.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *Il Museo del Barocco Romano. La collezione Lemme a Palazzo Chigi*, Vittorio Casale, Francesco Petrucci, eds, exh. cat., Museo del Barocco Romano, Ariccia, 2007–8 (Rome, 2007), p. 260, cat. no. 124 (Susanna Marra); see also Petrucci, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 151–53 (he dates the portrait to c. 1755–60; with earlier bibliography).

<sup>53</sup> See n. 44.

<sup>54</sup> Inv. no. MFA 852-1-390, oil on canvas, 62 × 48 cm.

<sup>55</sup> Briganti's letter from 1990 in the documentation archives of the Ajaccio museum – see *Settecento, le siècle de Tiepolo. Peintures italiennes du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les collections publiques françaises*, Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée, ed., exh. cat., Musée des beaux-arts, Lyon; Palais des beaux-arts, Lille, 2000–1 (Paris, 2000), p. 208, cat. no. 80 (Jean-Marc Olivesi).

<sup>56</sup> Marie-Dominique Roche, *Le Musée Fesch d'Ajaccio* (Ajaccio, 1993), p. 194.

<sup>57</sup> *Settecento. Le siècle...*, op. cit., p. 208, cat. no. 80 (Jean-Marc Olivesi).

<sup>58</sup> *Chefs d'œuvre du musée Fesch*, Marie-Jeanne Nicoli, Philippe Costamagna, eds (Ajaccio, 2005), p. 70.

<sup>59</sup> Marie-Dominique Roche, *Dans les coulisses du Musée Fesch. Chronique d'une resurrection* (Ajaccio, 2006).

<sup>60</sup> Petrucci, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 151, fig. 23 (c. 1775), vol. 2, fig. 34; Cesareo, *Aggiunte...*, op. cit., pp. 169–70; <[http://www.musee-fesch.com/index.php/musee\\_fesch/Collections/Peintures-du-XVIIIe-siecle/Autoportrait-avec-la-medaille-de-Benoit-XIV](http://www.musee-fesch.com/index.php/musee_fesch/Collections/Peintures-du-XVIIIe-siecle/Autoportrait-avec-la-medaille-de-Benoit-XIV)>, [retrieved: 23 November 2019].

Apart from the aforementioned arguments against the attribution of the self-portraits discussed here to Bacciarelli, a further, purely stylistic one should also be noted here: none of these images display features of the painter's portrait manner. In my interpretation of this expression, it denotes not so much the technical properties of his art – such as the way of handling the brush, modelling or colour – as the physiognomic similarity of his models, a trait that is particularly hard to describe in words. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, before the fundamental turn in portraiture brought about by 19<sup>th</sup>-century Realism, the works of many portrait artists featured a distinct “physiognomic type,” rendering them easily recognizable. This may be said about the oeuvre of Giovanni Battista Lampi the Elder, Joseph Grassi or Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun, and earlier also Jean-Marc Nattier, for instance, whose portraits represent an extreme example of this phenomenon. In fact, it reaches much deeper into the past, for instance to images painted by Agnolo Bronzino, Jacopo Pontormo, as well as certain Dutch and Flemish painters from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, such as Michiel van Miereveld or Nicolaes Maes, who weaved individual features of their male and female models into one of their typical, repetitive physiognomic “formats.”

What one may infer from this attributional confusion surrounding Bacciarelli's alleged self-portraits is that the First Painter to King Stanislaus Augustus, one of the most eminent personalities of the Polish Enlightenment, remains an entirely unknown figure, basically a niche artist to researchers from outside Poland. Without a knowledge of comparative material in the form of the artist's works created in various periods of his life – most of which are held in Polish collections – errors are inevitable, yet after 1989 and the fall of the Iron Curtain, these works became readily accessible. Polish art historians are not without fault here either. Until the 2000s, the only publications on Bacciarelli were Alina Chyczewska's catalogue and book from 1968–1970 and 1973, respectively – illustrated with imperfect, black-and-white reproductions. Individual works were also published in exhibition catalogues. While catalogues of paintings held at the Royal Castle in Warsaw and the Royal Łazienki Museum, published in 2013 and 2016, include a substantial set of the master's works, they are not solely devoted to his oeuvre.<sup>61</sup> The catalogue accompanying the exhibition of Bacciarelli's 46 best portraits, organized in 2018, which contains colour reproductions and lengthy notes on individual paintings, was only published in Polish.<sup>62</sup> While the set of works it describes allows one to gain insight into Bacciarelli's portrait art, it by no means exhausts the subject. Until the master's Roman works are identified – as well as those created during his stay in Dresden and Vienna – no catalogue raisonné can be published. These paintings have undoubtedly been preserved in collections around the world, but most of them remain unidentified. Recent research projects begun by Andrzej Pieńkos (University of Warsaw), Konrad Niemira (University of Warsaw) and Michał Przygoda (National Museum in Warsaw), which have already yielded promising results, could hopefully fill this gap. I will gladly join these efforts, hoping that the present article may serve as a good impulse to embark upon said quest.

Translated by Aleksandra Szkudłapska

<sup>61</sup> Dorota Juszcak, Hanna Małachowicz, *The Royal Castle in Warsaw. A Complete Catalogue of Paintings c. 1520 – c. 1900* (Warsaw, 2013), pp. 43–112, cat. nos 13–62; Dorota Juszcak, Hanna Małachowicz, *The Stanisław August Collection of Paintings at the Royal Łazienki. Catalogue*, Royal Łazienki Museum (Warsaw, 2016), pp. 50–92, cat. no. 3–16.

<sup>62</sup> Marcello Bacciarelli. *Najpiękniejsze...*, op. cit., pp. 261–67 (list of paintings with abbreviated provenance).