

PRINCE STANISŁAW PONIATOWSKI: EXPERT ON AND COLLECTOR OF ANCIENT AND ITALIAN ART

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In the present paper the current state of research into the patronage and collecting activities of Prince Stanisław Poniatowski (1754–1833) in his second homeland Italy, with which he was connected for almost 40 years of his life, is outlined. Over the period, the Prince made three long trips there which preceded 30 years of living in Italy on a permanent basis, first in Rome, and then in Florence, where he was buried following his last will in a sumptuous tomb raised by his sons in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel by St Mark's Church.¹

The biographical novel by Marian Brandys published under a slightly provocative title over half a century ago *Nieznany księżę Poniatowski* [Unknown Prince Poniatowski], despite several editions,² has not significantly contributed to popularizing the extremely extravagant figure of the King's nephew Stanisław Poniatowski; neither have the translated and published some dozen years later Poniatowski's *Pamiętniki synowca* [Nephew's Memoirs] compiled by Jerzy Łojek.³ Prince Stanisław, despite many character virtues, numerous accomplishments, and an extraordinary personal history, has not taken as prominent a position either in academic research or in the collective memory of Poles as his junior cousin Prince Józef who drowned in the Elster River giving his life for the homeland.

Born in Warsaw in 1754, Stanisław Poniatowski was the son of Kazimierz, elder brother of King Stanislaus Augustus, and Apolonia née Ustrzycki.⁴ He died in Florence in 1833. In Polish literature he is occasionally mistaken for the King's father whose name was also Stanisław. In Polish studies on the history of collecting or history of Polish-Italian relations,

similarly as in guides to the Eternal City and Florence, he has been almost entirely neglected. In a guide to Rome, a note mentioning him appeared for the first time only in 2009 in the text by Adam Broż.⁵ Meanwhile, both in Rome and its vicinity, as well as in Florence and around, many places still connected with this important historical figure can be found. Over the recent dozen years or so some new interest of Italian and Polish researchers in that rather forgotten, but certainly not commonplace, and after all favourite nephew of the last Polish King has been observed. Several publications of professional historians and what is more, amateurs with a passion and journalists, who, interestingly, are Italians or Poles living in Italy, have been released;⁶ they have tried to popularize the figure of the fabulously wealthy, though eccentric Prince. Curiously enough, also a theatre play: *un Atto Unico Teatrale*, titled *Stanisłao Poniatowski*,⁷ was written in 1999 following a several-year preliminary research by Alberto Macchi, an Italian director and author. What is more, in the 21st century, Poniatowski's famous collection of engraved gems became of interest to some young archaeologists. Among the latter, mention has to be made first of all of Claudia Wagner associated with the University of Oxford, in whose Beazley Archive she has been implementing the project meant to amass all the possible information on the Prince's collection. She has already published several papers on the topic.⁸ The other archaeologist who began dealing with the question of Prince's engraved gems was Paweł Gołyźniak from Cracow, author of some new findings in relation to several items that used to belong to Poniatowski.⁹



1. Portrait of Stanislaus Poniatowski after Angelica Kauffmann, Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum, ACNO ZKW/1635

However, on the whole it can be said that the Prince, an art patron and an outstanding collector, has over the recent years proved more inspiring to the Italian circles than others. What the Italians find intriguing is the life story of the King's nephew who, following the sale of numerous large estates and real estate, filled his life in Italy with purchases of carefully selected estates, real estate and movables, including the highest-quality art pieces. Regrettably dispersed today, the collection pieces are now found in the most prestigious world museums.

On the other hand, claiming that Prince Stanisław is an entirely forgotten figure would not be correct, either. However, the major studies dedicated to him were published a relatively long time ago. The most extensive, i.e. the book *I Poniatowski a Roma* (Firenze 1972), speaking of the history of Prince Stanisław and the Poniatowski family, was written by the Italian writer and columnist Andrea Busiri Vici, and has never been translated into Polish.¹⁰ Several years later, the same author published a major paper on Stanisław's collecting activity in Rome.¹¹ The current state of research shows that few Polish art historians have taken any deeper interest in the Prince's activity. Apart from the mentions scattered in different studies, there are merely four articles dealing with some selected aspects of the Prince's patronage and collecting activity: on Poniatowski's Roman portrait by Janina Michałkowa,¹² on the second trip to Italy of the King's nephew by Elżbieta Budzińska,¹³ on the Prince's 'Retreat' Palace in Warsaw by Tadeusz Jaroszewski,¹⁴ and one by Dominika Wronikowska who wrote about the Roman 'Poniatowski Villa'.¹⁵ Historically, the most complete study dedicated to Prince Stanisław is to be found in Jerzy Michalski's paper from 50 years ago published in the *Polish Biographical Dictionary*.¹⁶

Stanisław Poniatowski was regarded as one of the wealthiest landowners in Europe; he owned estates in Lithuania, Samogitia, the Ukraine, and Mazovia, as well as almost half a million of peasants.¹⁷ At the *Amsterdam Stock Exchange*

his promissory notes were evaluated higher than bills of exchange issued by royalties.¹⁸ He owed his solid wealth on the one hand to the favour of the King who would present him with extensive estates, and on the other, to his own talents, education, wide interests, hard work, and skills to multiply his estates, either initially in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, or later in Italy.¹⁹ Therefore the Prince already at a very young age could afford to pay enormous sums of money to purchase exquisite estates or to satisfy his collecting or bibliophile passions. Interestingly, he was extremely economical, apparently having taken after his mother in his financial prudence.²⁰

Not only did Prince Stanisław gain excellent education, but he also had extremely refined manners. A polyglot, next to Polish he was fluent in French, Italian, and English.²¹ Visiting many different countries, he was also received at imperial and royal courts, since the King used to send him on diplomatic missions from a young age. Starting early in life, he mixed with monarchs and aristocracy while representing Stanislaus Augustus.²² The last Polish King highly appreciated his nephew setting great political hopes on him, expecting him to become his successor to the throne.²³ It was at the instigation of his paternal uncle that Stanisław, aged eight, was sent to a school in Warsaw run by Italian monks: the Theatines.²⁴ The several years at the school undoubtedly had a great impact on the future of the Prince, since at a very early stage in life he was instilled with the interest in Italian culture, which with time developed in him into *passionate fondness*, observes Marian Brandys.²⁵ As said above, before settling down in Italy for good, Stanisław Poniatowski had made three long trips there on which he earnestly visited different corners of the Apennine Peninsula.²⁶

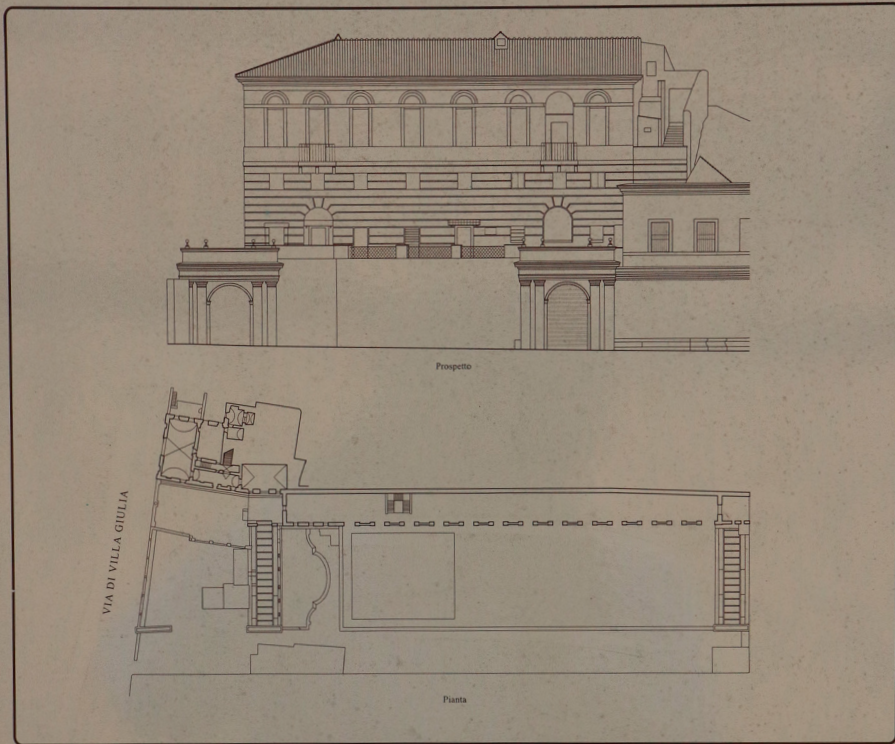
The Prince's first trip to Italy at the age of 21 took place in late 1774 and early 1775, having been preceded by an earlier year's stay in Paris and Toulouse. Poniatowski reached Rome having travelled across southern France and Switzerland. This visit to Italy that lasted for several months was commented upon by Prince Stanisław in his *Nephew's Memoirs* years later with one sentence only and an erroneous date.²⁷ Thus today hardly anything is known about that trip. Marian Brandys suggests that already at that stage Stanisław felt for the first time the extraordinary *flavour of wandering across antiquarian shops*.²⁸ He does not, however, confirm the thesis with any sources. A similar statement can be found in Busiri Vici who does not elaborate on this motif, either.²⁹ Elżbieta Budzińska in her paper which she prepared based on the Prince's *Mémoires* of the second trip to Italy, these, however, still in a manuscript, claims that frequent recollections and comparisons to the first trip can be found in them. Regrettably, not quoting any definite examples, Budzińska merely states the above.³⁰ Hopefully thus the *Mémoires* awaiting the translation and compilation will reveal some essential information on that several months' stay of the Prince in the Eternal City.

At the current stage of research, it is hard to pinpoint the period when Prince Stanisław demonstrated the first symptoms of interest in art and beautiful historic objects. According to A. Busiri Vici, Prince Stanisław's collector's inclinations were most strongly inspired by King Stanislaus Augustus and Prince's father Kazimierz Poniatowski.³¹ Let us recall here that young Prince Stanisław was member of



Comune di Roma

VILLA PONIATOWSKI



Agli inizi del 1800 Stanislao Poniatowski, nipote dell'ultimo re di Polonia, incaricò Giuseppe Valadier di trasformare in villa la costruzione cinquecentesca situata vicino a Villa Giulia in Via dell'Arco Oscuro. Raffigurata nelle incisioni del Venturini (1683) e del Vasi (1757) la costruzione è menzionata già nel 1581 dal Montaigne come Villa Cesi.

Dopo l'intervento del Valadier la villa si presentava affacciata con il suo ingresso principale su Via Flaminia, imalzandosi su una terrazza cui si accedeva tramite una cordinata, tuttora esistente, affiancata da vasche e fontane alimentate da un braccio dell'Acquedotto Vergine. L'ampio giardino, formato da terrazze a gradoni e ornato da sculture antiche, era chiuso in alto, verso il monte, da un pergolato detto "loggia delle delizie". Di particolare raffinatezza la decorazione degli ambienti di rappresentanza della villa che i restauri hanno restituito all'originario aspetto, come quella della Sala dell'Ercole Farnese al pianterreno o quella della Sala delle Colonne doriche al primo piano.

Diverse vicende hanno modificato via via la villa e il parco, danneggiato durante gli scontri tra Garibaldi e i francesi nel 1849, il complesso fu trasformato negli anni dopo l'unità d'Italia dal nuovo proprietario Riganti che edificò una conchera su due piani nell'area del giardino.

Villa Poniatowski è stata acquistata dallo Stato nel 1989 al termine di un lungo iter di esproprio per accogliere l'ampliamento del vicino Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia e realizzare così il "Polo museale etrusco" di Roma.

Dal 1997 il complesso è oggetto di sistematici interventi di restauro architettonico e di lavori per l'adeguamento degli spazi in funzione museale. I nuovi allestimenti prevedono l'esposizione delle antichità provenienti dal *Latinum vetus* e dall'Umbria, ora al Museo di Villa Giulia, oltre ad un'ampia area destinata ad esposizioni temporanee.

Importanti scoperte sono avvenute nel corso dei lavori, tra le quali si segnalano il primo impianto cinquecentesco della Villa con i resti delle due fontane collocate sul prospetto occidentale, i numerosi arredi di vasche e fontane che ornavano il giardino all'italiana del Valadier e i cicli pittorici e decorativi nella Sala dell'Ercole, in quella Indiana e ancora nella Sala Egizia con il colonnato in prospettiva.

At the beginning of the XIXth century, Stanislao Poniatowski, nephew of the last king of Poland, appointed Giuseppe Valadier to transform the XVIIth century edifice, located by Villa Giulia, on Dell'Arco Oscuro Street, in a villa. Represented in engravings by Venturini (1683) and Vasi (1757), the construction had already been mentioned by Montaigne, in 1581 with the name of Villa Cesi.

After the intervention of Valadier, the Villa overlooked, with its main entrance, Flaminia Street, with a terrace at its top, accessible through a graded ramp, still existing with basins and fountains alongside, fed by a branch of the Aqueduct Vergine. Composed of tier terraces decorated with ancient sculptures, the extended courtyard was closed, at the top, towards the mountain, by a pergola, called "loggia of the delights". Particularly refined is the decoration of the guest-rooms of the Villa which, after the restoration works, came back to their original aspect, as is the decoration of the Ercole Farnese Room, on the ground floor, or the Doric Columns Room, on the first floor.

Diverse vicissitudes have gradually modified the Villa and the park; damaged during the fights between Garibaldi and the French troops, in the years following the unity of Italy, the complex was transformed by its new owner, Riganti, who had a two floor-tannery edified in the courtyard area.

Poniatowski Villa was acquired by the Government in 1989, at the end of a long iter of expropriation, to extend the close-by National Etruscan Museum of Villa Giulia and, realize the "Etruscan Museum Complex" of Rome.

Since 1997, the Complex has undergone several interventions for architectonic restoration and, works of adaption of the spaces, to suit the exigencies of the museum. The new mountings include the exhibition of antiquities from the *Latinum vetus* and from Umbria, now at the Museum of Villa Giulia, together with an extended area dedicated to temporary exhibitions.

During the course of the works, important discoveries have taken place, among which, worth of note are: the first XVIIth century structure of the Villa, with remains of the two fountains located on the western façade, the numerous fittings of basins and fountains, which decorated the Italian style courtyard of Valadier and, the pictorial and decorative cycles in the Ercole, the Indian, and the Egyptian Room, with the colonnade in perspective.

2. Villa Poniatowski in Rome, layout



3 and 4. Villa Poniatowski, elevation from the side of di Villa Giulia Street, Villa Poniatowski, elevation from the side of di Villa Giulia Street

the Physical Society, active as of 1778, and following the fashion of the time, he would collect nature specimens, minerals included.³² During his three-month trip to Germany in the summer of 1784, the Prince displayed much interest in art and studied it further. In Berlin and Leipzig, he visited painters' and sculptors' studios, as well as a porcelain manufacturer; furthermore, he debated over ancient art, and admired sculptures at Sans-Souci.³³ In Leipzig, he made big purchases from antiquarians, which testified to the refined and stable taste of the Prince, aged 30 at the time, as well as to his substantial financial capacity, since he purchased *a large painting by Van Dyck, a beautiful Rembrandt..., a precious drawing by Reynolds*.³⁴ Not only did Stanisław Poniatowski discover *a golden vase offered in the 17th century by Smolensk to victorious King Sigismund III* when visiting the Munich museum in the company of the philologist Mateusz Nielubowicz-Tukalski, but he also successfully endeavoured to have the historic item restored to the Polish King.³⁵ Importantly, during that trip, apart from showing a vivid interest in old art, the Prince commissioned works from contemporary artists as well.³⁶

Prince Stanisław's second visit to Italy is much better known and recorded thanks to the aforementioned *Mémoires* and their partial compilations.³⁷ It is known that on that particular trip the King's nephew was travelling to Italy to have his health restored following a long disease, as suggested by the family and friends. Unburdened with any diplomatic missions, he continued the expedition for almost a year: between 30 April 1785 and 13 February 1786. The Prince was accompanied by several individuals, among them an anonymous antiquarian Prince Stanislaw called *mon Antiquaire*. In Rome, Poniatowski stayed for about six weeks, and spent the remaining time travelling around almost all the country to visit a substantial number of places, e.g.: Venice, Vicenza, Bergamo, Milan, Certosa, Bologna, Verona, Florence, Naples, Caserta, Calabria, and Sicily. Although he was always interested first of all in economics, trade, and industry, he also eagerly visited historic sites, strongly

focusing on ancient culture. The Prince spent a lot of time in Pompei and Herculaneum, the two being places he would frequently revisit. The second visit to Italy was undoubtedly of great importance for consolidating the Prince's interest in and passion for ancient art. After yet another visit to the Portici Museum, he wrote as follows: *What for us is merely craftsmanship, was art in the ancient world... All the ancient did does not only seem useful, but also beautiful, and solid. They were the English of their times*.³⁸ During the whole trip Stanisław Poniatowski made numerous purchases, recording what he bought, only occasionally adding a perfunctory comment. In Livorno, the Prince bought e.g., *a very nice head of Leonardo da Vinci* from the English Consul.³⁹ Regrettably, nothing more is known of the work, or what technique it applied. Undoubtedly at that stage the Prince was becoming an enthusiast of late Renaissance Italian painting, which did not really stop him from visiting contemporary painters, sculptors, and engravers. In Naples, for instance, he met with the famous female painter Angelika Kauffman, who actually was to paint his portrait in the future. However, it was during his Roman stay that the young



5. Villa Poniatowski, elevation fragment



6. Villa Poniatowski, information on the Etruscan art collection

lover of antiquities was misled, the deception not going unnoticed by the observers of the scene: he purchased for the King an urn with ashes said to be those of Scipio Africanus which soon, however, turned out to be the ashes of sacrificial calves.⁴⁰ In the memoirs dictated by the end of his life, the Prince, who was first of all a practical individual and a keen observer, remarked: *I made a trip to Italy, to Calabria and Sicily where I realized what that beautiful country could be, and which it was not.*⁴¹

Prince Stanisław went on the third trip to Italy, mainly Rome, after he had left politics and resigned from all the civil and military dignities. He arrived in the Eternal City in late 1791, to leave it only in April 1795. That period was most fully presented by Andrea Busiri Vici.⁴² In his *Memoires*, the Prince commented: *It was an extremely pleasant stay owing to the great number of bright and talented individuals who due to the European disturbances ended up in Rome.*⁴³ He then renewed his friendship with the outstanding archaeologist and numismatist, author of a multi-volume history of art Jean Baptiste Seroux d'Agincourt,⁴⁴ with whom he visited Rome's antiquarians.⁴⁵ Having become honorary member of the Academy of St Luke in 1792,⁴⁶ he briefly mentioned his new important project, namely having a house built in Rome.⁴⁷ It is known that in 1794 the famous architect Giuseppe Valadier bought on his behalf a tenement house in via della Croce, which he extended, transforming into a sumptuous residence.⁴⁸ In the meantime, Poniatowski made a trip, e.g. to Naples, Monte Cassino, and Caserta.



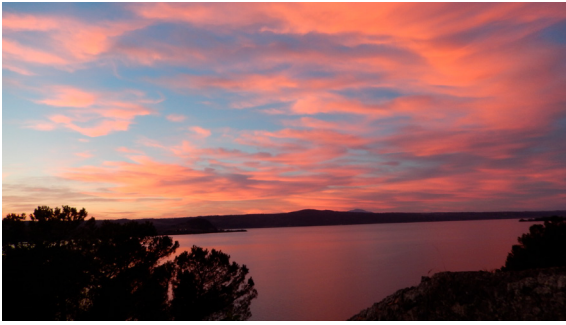
7. Palazzo Poniatowski as seen from the harbour, first from the left



8. Palazzo Poniatowski as seen from the side of Piazza della Rocca – current state after destructions and remodelling, with several private flats inside



9. Palazzo Poniatowski, passage to the garden with the view of Lake Bolsena



10 and 11. Palazzo Poniatowski, view of Lake Bolsena from the palace garden

(Photos: 1 – A. Ring, L. Sandzewicz; 2-6 – Ł. Paprotny; 7, 11 – W. Cichosz; 8-10 – A. Bender)

On that occasion he received exquisite Etruscan vases, which enriched his collection, from the King and Queen of Naples.⁴⁹

It is not known when Stanisław Poniatowski finally began his permanent stay in Rome. Based on the so-far finds, only a rough date in the first decade of the 19th century is pointed to, namely in ca 1805.⁵⁰ What thus remains enigmatic is only the date of the arrival of the Prince in his early thirties in Italy, since his later life story, particularly in Rome, was thoroughly researched and presented first of all by Andrea Busiri Vici.⁵¹ Poniatowski stayed in the Eternal City until 1824. Apart from the palace in via della Croce mentioned above, in 1800, the Prince also purchased a palace beyond the Porta del Popolo and outside the walls of Rome, surrounded by an expansive estate stretching between via Flaminia and the Parioli Hill.⁵² Once again did Poniatowski commission the alteration of the picturesquely located residence from Giuseppe Valadier; renamed 'Villa Poniatowski' at that point, it has retained the name to this day. Having been restored in 1997–2003, it currently houses a part of the collections of the Etruscan Museum. Furthermore, Poniatowski bought, mainly from the Apostolic Camera, other beautiful properties and estates, e.g. the Capodimonte Palace on Lake Bolsena,⁵³ a several-hectare estate on Lake Albano near Castel Gandolfo, the 'Tor Carbone' estate in Appia Antica in the suburbs of Rome, the 'Tenuta Della Colonna' close to Bomarzo, and a beautiful estate in San Felice Circeo.⁵⁴ Poniatowski placed his quickly growing art and book collections first of all in his Roman palace in via della Croce and the 'Villa Poniatowski'. As it was observed by Busiri Vici d'Arcevia, around that time the collecting interests of Prince Stanisław evolved: from ethnographic collections towards archaeology, and from painting to prints.⁵⁵ His great passion for the antiquity yielded rich collections of ancient sculptures, vases, and engraved gems, medals, and coins; it was the Italian researcher who aimed at making their list and show their story, if only partially. Among other things, he succeeded in ascertaining that the marble sculpture of the *Kore* that once belonged to Poniatowski is now on display at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁵⁶ What continues to be extremely complicated is the story of the once known, today dispersed collection of engraved gems, once amounting to about 3.000 items. Some of them were ancient, some were imitations commissioned by the Prince from the most outstanding hardstone carvers of the

time.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the collection of paintings and drawings that once belonged to Prince Poniatowski seems impressive, although today it remains hard to ascertain based on the last will and other descriptions whether the works were originals. Busiri Vici d'Arcevia enumerates a number of works by the most reputed painters, e.g., four paintings by Giotto that once belonged to the Prince, which ended up later in prestigious collections: The Nativity at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, Presentation in the Temple at Boston's Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Pentecost at London's National Gallery, and one in the Berenson Collection in Florence's 'Villa I Tatti';⁵⁸ the famous Musicians by Caravaggio are currently at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. 59 The Italian scholar also enumerates a substantial number of works by Italian artists recorded in lists of auction sales, such as: *Sofonisba Anguisola, Belotto, Bronzino, Cagnacci, Cigoli, Cima da Conegliano, Del Sarto, Dolci, Domenichino, Fra Bartolomeo, Garofalo, Guardi, Locatelli, Luini, Masaccio, Maldura, Perugino, Pordenone, Raffaello, Reni, Rosa, Rosalba, Rotari, Simone da Pesaro, Tiepolo, Veronese, Zuccarelli*.⁶⁰ Works by Flemish, Dutch, and French artists are slightly less numerous, however Busiri Vici d'Arcevia also records outstanding names such as: Cranach, Jan Brueghel, Ostade, Poussin, Ruysdael, Rubens, Teniers, Van Loo.

It was Florence that became Poniatowski's last domicile. First, in Rovezzano near Florence the Prince purchased the old 'Palagio dei Pini' Villa in 1823. Later, in 1825, he bought the 'Palazzo Capponi' Villa at today's 18 via Cavour, where he transferred his collection, and where he lived to the end of his days. In the 1820s, the Prince also became the owner of the 'Palazzo Guadagni', later renamed the 'Palazzo Guadagni Poniatowski' in today's Piazzale della Porta al Prato. Nearby, in Livorno, Poniatowski bought two villas: 'Villa Letizia' and 'Villa Monterotondok', while near Siena he bought the old San Lorenzo a Coltibuono Abbey.⁶¹

Jan Łojek emphasizes that *the intensity of the collecting from the last period of his life proves that Prince Stanisław was an aesthete and lover of beautiful objects. However, he never considered them more important than political and economic issues*.⁶² His collecting passion and impressive achievements in this respect, as well as occasional spectacular errors, constituted for him an essential completion of his daily activities, and undoubtedly provided him with an escape from his personal bitter defeats and those of Poland's,

whom, as much as immersed in the Italian daily realities, and distanced from, he never forgot.⁶³ In his memoirs, written down by the end of his life, in 1830–31, the Prince concluded: *Having freedom to choose your career, you have to always remember what you are indebted for to yourself, the family, and the country you owe your existence to.*⁶⁴

To conclude, let us observe that the Polish and foreign publications on history and history of art and archaeology do not exhaust the whole spectrum of research issues related to Prince Stanisław Poniatowski. It is a bit surprising

that such numerous architectural initiatives of the Prince, and his wide activity in artistic patronage and collecting: first in Poland, and later in Italy, have not as yet incited any greater interest, particularly among art historians.⁶⁵ So-far publications and partially only used source material, as well as the preserved objects can constitute basis for furthering search, research, and scientific findings which would certainly help to attain a better insight into the still mysterious vicissitudes of the movables and immovable properties of the royal nephew.

Abstract: The current state of research into the patronage and collecting activities of Prince Stanisław Poniatowski (1754–1833) in Italy with which he was connected for almost 40 years of his life is outlined. Over the period, the Prince made 3 long trips there which preceded 30 years of living in Italy on a permanent basis, first in Rome, and then in Florence where he was buried.

Despite his many accomplishments and extraordinary personal history, the Prince has not taken as prominent a position either in academic research or in the collective memory of Poles as his junior cousin Prince Józef who drowned in the Elster River giving his life for the homeland. Although no monograph has as yet been published on Stanisław Poniatowski, he is not entirely forgotten. However, the major studies dedicated to him were published a relatively long time ago. The most extensive, i.e. the book I Poniatowski a Roma (Firenze 1972), speaking of the history of Prince

Stanisław and the Poniatowski family, was written by the Italian writer and columnist Andrea Busiri Vici and has never been translated into Polish. As the current state of research shows, very few Polish art historians have taken any in depth interest in the Prince's activity. Apart from the mentions scattered in different studies, there are merely four articles dealing with some selected aspects of the Prince's patronage and collecting activity (by Janina Michałkowska, Elżbieta Budzińska, Tadeusz Jaroszewski, Dominika Wronikowska). Historically the most complete study dedicated to Prince Stanisław is to be found in Jerzy Michalski's paper from 50 years ago published in the *Polish Biographical Dictionary*. The to-date Polish and foreign publications in history, history of art and archaeology do not exhaust many issues related to the person, activity, and the collecting passion of Prince Stanisław.

Keywords: Prince Stanisław Poniatowski, Italy, collector, patron, engraved gems, Rome, Florence.

Endnotes

- 1 J. Michalski, *Stanisław Poniatowski h. Ciołek* [Stanisław Poniatowski Count Ciołek], in: *Polski słownik biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], Vol. XXVII, Kraków 1982, pp. 481-7, <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/stanislaw-poniatowski-h-ciolek> [Accessed: 25 July 2019]; L. Bernardini, Polacchi a Firenze. *Polacy we Florencji. Poles In Florence*, Firenze 2005, pp. 134-5: the author says that the sons first commissioned the tomb from Lorenzo Bartolini; it was, however, finally executed by Ignazio Villa. Following the wish of the Prince who vehemently opposed serfdom, the tomb and the inscription remind of Stanisław Poniatowski's efforts to change serfdom to lease payments for peasants.
- 2 M. Brandys, *Nieznany książę Poniatowski* [Unknown Prince Poniatowski], Warszawa 1960; the book's sixth edition was published in 2009.
- 3 S. Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowa Stanisława Augusta* [Memoirs of Stanislaus Augustus' Nephew], J. Łojek (transl.), Warszawa 1979.
- 4 D. Juszcak, *Marcello Bacciarelli. Najpiękniejsze portrety* [Marcello Bacciarelli. The Most Beautiful Portraits], Warszawa 2018, pp. 87-90. The painting by Marcello Bacciarelli *Apolonia Poniatowska née Ustrzycki with Her Son Stanisław as Flora with the Cupid* is kept at the National Museum in Warsaw; in it, Stanisław is portrayed as a child aged 2-3.
- 5 A. Broż, *Rzym po polsku* [Rome: Following the Polish Traces], Warszawa 2009.
- 6 D. Wronikowska, *Villa Poniatowski – nieznaną zabytek polski w Wiecznym Mieście?* [Villa Poniatowski: an Unknown Historic Monument in the Eternal City?], in: *Twórcy i dzieła. Studia z dziejów kultury artystycznej* [Authors and Works. Studies in the History of Artistic Culture], M. Kitowska-Lysiak et al. (ed.), Lublin 2007, pp. 123-9; R. Di Stefano, *Il Principe Stanisław Poniatowski a Capodimonte e il palazzo costruito 'per dispetto'*, Arcidosso 2018. Furthermore, two articles have to be mentioned: A. Rola-Bruni, *Pałac księcia Poniatowskiego nad jeziorem Bolsena we Włoszech* [Palace of Prince Poniatowski on Lake Bolsena in Italy], 'Nasz Świat' 2017, No. 23/10, <https://naszswiat.it/historia/palac-ksiecia-stanislaw-poniatowskiego-nad-jeziorem-bolsena-we-wloszech/> [Accessed: 25 July 2019]; *Eadem*, *Rzymski karnawał księcia Stanisława Poniatowskiego* [Roman Carnival of Prince Stanisław Poniatowski], 'Nasz Świat' 2018, No. 18/01, <https://naszswiat.it/historia/rzymski-karnawal-ksiecia-stanislaw-poniatowskiego/> [Accessed: 25 July 2019].
- 7 <https://albertomacchiteatrostorico.blogspot.com/2011/07/stanislaw-poniatowski-testo-teatrale.html> [Accessed: 25 July 2019].
- 8 C. Wagner, *Explaining the Fable and History Taken from the Classics: Prince Poniatowski's Neoclassical Gem Collection*, in: *Excalibur: Essays on Antiquity and the History of Collecting in Honour of Arthur MacGregor*, Oxford 2013, pp. 145-50, <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/gems/poniatowski/default.htm> [Accessed: 25 July 2019].
- 9 P. Gołyński, *The Impact of the Poniatowski Gems on Later Gem Engraving*, in: *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilisation*, J. Bodzek (ed.), Vol. 20, Kraków 2016, pp. 173-89; *Eadem*, *A Rediscovered Poniatowski Gem in the National Museum in Krakow*, 'Jewellery Studies. The Journal of The Society of Jewellery Historians' 2018, No. 1, pp. 3-11, https://www.academia.edu/9775595/A_Rediscovered_Poniatowski_Gem_in_the_National_Museum_in_Krakow [Accessed: 25 July 2019].

- ¹⁰ A. Busiri Vici, *I Poniatowski a Roma*, Firenze 1972.
- ¹¹ A. Busiri Vici d'Arcevia, *Il collezionismo romano di Stanisław Poniatowski*, in: *Polonia-Italia: relazioni artistiche dal medioevo al XVIII secolo: atti del convegno tenutosi a Roma*, 21-22 maggio 1975, Wrocław 1979, pp. 185-218; in the first sentences of his text, the author, somewhat embittered, comments that the ten-years' effort he put into furthering the research and writing the book on Poniatowski, have not yielded the results he expected, namely an increased interest in the story of Prince Stanisław, the King's nephew, and in the artistic-cultural relations between Poland and Italy in the Enlightenment.
- ¹² J. Michałkova, *Rzymski portret Stanisława Poniatowskiego* [The Roman Portrait of Stanisław Poniatowski], 'Biuletyn Historii Sztuki' 1960, Annual Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 296-98.
- ¹³ E. Budzińska, „Pamiętnik polityczny i podróży nieznanego autora”, czyli druga podróż do Włoch księcia Stanisława Poniatowskiego [‘Political and Travelling Diary by an Unknown Author’, Namely Prince Stanisław’s Second Trip to Italy], 'Biuletyn Historii Sztuki' 1977, Annual Vol. 39, No. 3, pp. 287-95.
- ¹⁴ T. Jaroszewski, *Siedziba ks. Stanisława Poniatowskiego zwana „Ustronie” w Warszawie* [Prince Stanisław Poniatowski’s Residence in Warsaw Called the ‘Retreat’], in: 'Materiały. Muzeum Wnętrz Zabytkowych w Pszczynie' 1984, Vol. III, pp. 51-77; Eadem, *Il Principe Stanislao Poniatowski e la sua dimora detta „Ustronie” a Varsavia*, in: *Cultura e nazione In Italia e In Polonia dal Rinscimento all' Illuminismo*, V. Branca, S. Gracioti (Comp.), Firenze 1986, pp. 47-59.
- ¹⁵ D. Wronikowska, *Villa Poniatowski...*
- ¹⁶ J. Michalski, *Stanisław Poniatowski...*
- ¹⁷ S. Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca...*, p. 53.
- ¹⁸ K. Chłędowski, *Rokoko we Włoszech* [Rococo in Italy], Wrocław 1997, p. 284.
- ¹⁹ J. Michalski, *Stanisław Poniatowski...*
- ²⁰ M. Brandys, *Nieznany książe...*, 5th edition, Warszawa 1973, p. 14.
- ²¹ A. Busiri Vici d'Arcevia, *Il collezionismo romano...*, p. 186.
- ²² M. Brandys, *Nieznany książe...*, p. 17ff. As a 15-year-old colonel, Stanisław went on his first foreign trip to Vienna to visit his paternal uncle Prince Andrzej, Austrian general, a personal friend of Emperor Joseph II, to whom during the manoeuvres of the Austrian Army the young Prince was introduced. Soon afterwards he was also introduced to King Frederick II of Prussia. Aged 16, he was sent to Paris, from where in the winter of 1771, he went to London; there he set off on a several-months' tour of England on horseback. Stanisław spent the last fragment of that trip, i.e. eight months, intensively studying in Cambridge, to return to Poland in the spring of 1773. The King sent him on his third trip at the age of 19; on that occasion, the young Prince was introduced to Louis XV and his family. He also met the dauphine of France Marie Antoinette.
- ²³ S. Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca...*, p. 6; J. Michalski, *Stanisław Poniatowski...* The author provides information that in his letter dated 15 Jan 1774 the King wrote to Mrs M.T. Geoffrin: *ce jeune homme m'étonne souvent par sa sagesse autant qu'il me plait par son amabilité*; M. Brandys, *ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
- ²⁴ M. Brandys, *ibid.*, pp. 14-15. The Theatines' institution, with about a dozen of Italian monks, was run by Father Antoni Maria Portaluppi; J. Michalski, *ibid.*
- ²⁵ M. Brandys, *ibid.*, p. 15.
- ²⁶ M. Brandys, *ibid.*, passim; J. Michalski, *Stanisław Poniatowski...*, passim; M. Wrześniak, *Florencja-muzeum. Miasto i jego sztuka w oczach polskich podróżników* [Florence – Museum. The City and Its Art in the Eyes of Polish Travellers], Kraków 2013, pp. 30-1.
- ²⁷ S. Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca...*, p. 53; J. Michalski, *ibid.*; <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/stanislaw-poniatowski-h-ciolek> [Accessed: 25 July 2019]. In his memoirs, the Prince gives the date of his first stay in Rome as the winter in late 1775 and early 1776, claiming that in the spring of 1776 he returned to Warsaw. He adds that when in Toulouse, just prior to his trip to Italy, he learnt about the death of Louis XV. The King of France died on 10 May 1774. A. Busiri Vici points to 1776 as the date of the Prince's return to Warsaw from Rome, however in footnote 12 (p. 125), he refers to the information provided by Giovanni Francesco Cracas in the 'Cracas' daily mentioning that the Prince returned to Poland in August 1775. J. Michalski gives the span: 1774-5 as the period of Stanisław Poniatowski's first trip to Italy.
- ²⁸ M. Brandys, *Nieznany książe...*, p. 28.
- ²⁹ A. Busiri Vici, *I Poniatowski...*, p. 144.
- ³⁰ E. Budzińska, *Pamiętnik polityczny...*, p. 288. The memoirs, so far only fragmentarily elaborated, written down in French, and titled *Mémoires de politique et de voyage d'un auteur inconnu*, are kept at the Central Archives of Historical Records; forming part of the Popiels' Fonds, ACNO 427, over 400 pages.
- ³¹ A. Busiri Vici, *I Poniatowski...*, p. 313.
- ³² Michalski, *Stanisław Poniatowski...*, <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/stanislaw-poniatowski-h-ciolek> [Accessed: 25 July 2019].
- ³³ M. Brandys, *Nieznany książe...*, pp. 70, 72, 75.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-1.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87. It is known that on the way back to Poland, in Trencianske Teplice, he commissioned two paintings from the Dresden painter Kraft.
- ³⁷ A. Busiri Vici, *I Poniatowski...*, pp. 144-53; E. Budzińska, *Pamiętnik polityczny...*, passim.
- ³⁸ E. Budzińska, *Ibid.*, p. 295.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 293.
- ⁴⁰ M. Brandys, *Nieznany książe...*, p. 99.
- ⁴¹ S. Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca...*, p. 72.
- ⁴² A. Busiri Vici, *I Poniatowski...*, pp. 154-88.
- ⁴³ S. Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca...*, pp. 85-6; regrettably, Prince Stanisław's notes referring to those over three years spent in Italy do not give any information on his collecting and patronage activity.
- ⁴⁴ E. Budzińska, *Pamiętnik polityczny...*, p. 292; E. Budzińska recalls that Seroux d'Agincourt bequeathed all his library to Prince Poniatowski.
- ⁴⁵ M. Brandys *Nieznany książe...*, p. 141.
- ⁴⁶ A. Busiri Vici d'Arcevia, *Il collezionismo romano...*, pp. 186, 188.
- ⁴⁷ S. Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca...*, p. 87.
- ⁴⁸ J. Michalski, *Stanisław Poniatowski...*, <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/stanislaw-poniatowski-h-ciolek> [Accessed: 25 July 2019]; D. Wronikowska, *Villa Poniatowski...*, p. 125.

- ⁴⁹ M. Brandys, *Nieznaną księżę...*, p. 144.
- ⁵⁰ A. Busiri Vici d'Arcevia, *Il collezionismo romano...*, p. 191; S. Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca...*, p. 28; J. Michalski, *Stanisław Poniatowski...*, <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/stanislaw-poniatowski-h-ciolek> [Accessed: 25 July 2019]; D. Juszcak, Marcello Bacciarelli..., p. 146.
- ⁵¹ A. Busiri Vici, *I Poniatowski...*, pp. 250-410; A. Busiri Vici d'Arcevia, *Ibid.*, pp. 185-218.
- ⁵² D. Wronikowska, *Villa Poniatowski...*, pp. 125-28.
- ⁵³ R. Di Stefano, *Il Principe Stanisław...*, passim.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.
- ⁵⁵ A. Busiri Vici d'Arcevia, *Il collezionismo romano...*, p. 186.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-7.
- ⁵⁷ A. Busiri Vici d'Arcevia, *ibid.*, pp. 197-204; R. Di Stefano, *Il Principe Stanisław...*, pp. 16-17. Following the death of Stanisław Poniatowski, when the collection was auctioned, it turned out that a part of the gems dated from the 19th century. The collector was severely criticized, and the accusations voiced then have been largely retained. The last scholar to have most thoroughly traced the history of the Prince's collections, namely A. Busiri Vici d'Arcevia, did not take an unequivocal stand on the issue. Almost 200 years after the collection was sold, and bearing in mind today's state of research, it seems fully justifiable to investigate all of its unclear history. The task has been recently undertaken by several young archaeologists, among them first of all aforementioned Claudia Wagner (see endnote 8). The question posed by the researcher in her paper is whether the Prince fell victim to fraudsters, or whether it was himself who provoked all that complicated history. The paper does not answer the question. On the University of Oxford website C. Wanger informs that she is continuing her research into the story of the collections, <http://lacmaonfire.blogspot.com/2009/07/bernie-madoff-of-gem-collectors.html>, <http://tomswope.blogspot.com/2012/05/lost-poniatowski-gem.html>, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Engraved_gem; <https://royalsocietypublishing.org/doi/10.1098/rsnr.2019.0016> [Accessed: 25 July 2019]. Paweł Golyżniak (see endnote 9) in his turn sees the fact that the Prince commissioned a substantial part of his collection from hardstone carvers of the time as a positive. Furthermore, he claims that such an attitude as presented by the Prince, namely combining the old collection with a new one, was not uncommon in the 19th century. He additionally claims that it may have resulted from the Prince's love and admiration for ancient culture, not really his intention to deceive anyone.
- ⁵⁸ A. Busiri Vici d'Arcevia, *Il collezionismo romano...*, pp. 209-14; the author emphasizes that the Prince's sons sold those splendid artworks at ridiculously low prices.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-8.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 214.
- ⁶¹ A. Busiri Vici, *I Poniatowski...*, pp. 411-34; L. Bernardini, *Polacchi a Firenze...*, pp. 68, 134-135; R. Di Stefano, *Il Principe Stanisław...*, pp. 47-48.
- ⁶² S. Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca...*, p. 7.
- ⁶³ S. Poniatowski, *ibid.*, pp. 27-8. Jerzy Łojek in the further part of the introduction to the *Memoirs...*, claims that having settled down in Italy until his death, Poniatowski lived distanced from the Polish issues though there is evidence that he was vividly interested in many developments in Poland (p. 28). Thus Łojek may be showing little consistency in relation to the above-quoted opinion and may sound too severe when judging as follows: *One should not thus be surprised that [Prince Józef Poniatowski] has remained in the memory of the Nation, while the King's elder nephew, far more talented in the political domain, however struck by a hard moral disease: handicapped in his patriotic duty, was becoming a gradually 'more unknown Prince Poniatowski'. There must be a grain of truth in the quoted opinion, however the very attitude of the Prince in the face of the tragic events he participated in, yet which he could not have any impact on due to the strength of the partitioning powers, and the fact that this King's nephew is hardly present in Polish collective memory, are certainly complex topics that require further extensive and thorough studies, as well as scholarly analyses.*
- ⁶⁴ S. Poniatowski, *ibid.*, p. 47.
- ⁶⁵ One article on the initiatives of Prince Stanisław Poniatowski related to art and architecture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth has been written in two languages: Polish and Italian (by T. Jaroszewski, see: endnote 14), while three others have been written about his analogical activities in Italy (D. Wronikowska, J. Michałkova, E. Budzińska, see endnotes 6, 12, 13).

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Word count: 5248; **Tables:** –; **Figures:** 10; **References:** 65

Received: 03.2020; **Reviewed:** 04.2020; **Accepted:** 05.2020; **Published:** 06.2020

DOI: 10.5604/01.3001.0014.2085

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Competing interests: Authors have declared that no competing interest exists.

Cite this article as: Bender A.; PRINCE STANISŁAW PONIATOWSKI: EXPERT ON AND COLLECTOR OF ANCIENT AND ITALIAN ART. *Muz.*, 2020(61): 80-88

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