

Philosopher on the throne

Stanisław August's predilection for Netherlandish art in the context of his self-fashioning as an Enlightened monarch



Magdalena Grądzka

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**Magdalena Grądzka
3930424**

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University of Utrecht

Prof. dr. M.A. Weststeijn

Prof. dr. E. Manikowska

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Introduction

The majority of artistic life of eighteenth-century Europe can be said to have been oriented towards France and Italy. This trend could also be observed in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, foremost in the interests of the last Polish king, Stanisław II August (1732-1798, born as Stanisław Antoni Poniatowski).¹ In his court he employed both Italian painters, such as Marcello Bacciarelli (1731-1818) and Bernardo Belotto (1720-1780), and French painters, such as Louis Marteau (c. 1715-1804). Moreover, he gave commissions to French artists, such as Carle van Loo (1705-1765) and Joseph Marie Vien (1716-1809).² Yet, extant records in his art collection reflect a more varied interest on the part of the king, who seems to have especially enjoyed the works and styles of Netherlandish artists.

Because Stanisław August was an elected king, he did not inherit any goods after his Saxon predecessors, August II (1670-1733) and his son August III (1696-1763).³ The works of art which they had gathered, were considered private properties and transported to Dresden at the end of their reigns. Consequently, when Stanisław August became a king in 1764, he had to form his own collection anew. He must have been very successful, since in 1795, at the end of his reign, he possessed more than 2000 paintings, not to mention numerous miniatures, drawings, prints, sculptures and other art objects. This thesis will focus on Poniatowski's collection of Netherlandish paintings. It will investigate to what extent Stanisław August's predilection for Netherlandish painting can be seen as exceptional and whether the concept of a king's self-fashioning as an Enlightened monarch can be considered a relevant factor explaining this predilection. Already for several centuries collections of art (amongst other objects) had come to be seen as a representation of the wealth, power and even intelligence of its possessor, and a collection was often used as a tool by Europeans to "fashion" one's reputation or status. Stanisław August's art collecting and display activity will thus be studied through the context of his early life, political and personal projects as well as his social ties, to understand the role of art in his court. This is especially of interest with regard to works from the Low Countries, which made up a significant part of the collection.

Historiography and research motivation

Dated 1795, the last royal inventory of paintings lists 2478 objects, of which approximately 347 paintings are currently identified (338 in Polish and foreign museums and the rest most likely in private possession).⁴ This inventory was

¹ H. Gerson, 'Dispersal and After-Effect of Dutch Painting of the 17th Century: Danzig and Poland', in: *Gerson Digital: Part I – Poland, RKD Monographs*, The Hague 2013 (trans. H.J. Horn), unpag.

² Gerson 2013, unpag.

³ D. Juszczak, H. Małachowicz, *Galeria obrazów Stanisława Augusta w Łazienkach Królewskich. Katalog*, Warszawa 2015, p. 10.

⁴ H. Małachowicz, 'Galeria obrazów Stanisława Augusta', in: A. Soltys (ed.), *Stanisław August – ostatni król Polski: polityk, mecenas, reformator: 1764-1795*, exh. cat. Warszawa (Zamek Królewski) 2011, p. 225. At the present day the number of identified paintings from the collection of Stanisław

published in 1932 by a Polish art historian, Tadeusz Mańkowski (1878-1956), in his *Galerja Stanisława Augusta*.⁵ Besides the paintings' catalogue, the book encloses the *Catalogue des Miniatures, Peintures à l'Huile en Petit, en Camayeux, à Gouache, en Biscuits, Basreliefs, Cire, Decoupures, Cuivre Doré, Desseins, et Estampes Encadrés 1795* [Catalogue of the Miniatures, Oil Paintings in Miniature, in Monochrome, in Gouache, in Biscuits, Bas-Reliefs, Wax, Fretwork, Gilded Copper, Designs, and Framed Prints 1795] as well as Mańkowski's essays dealing with, among other topics, the artistic youth of Stanisław August, his cultural mission and relation to the art of painting as well as the formation of his painting gallery and its content. One of the reasons why Mańkowski's work is so fundamental for further research is the fact that many sources he used were lost during the Second World War and are now no longer accessible. In addition, Mańkowski wrote an important article in 1929, which he devoted to the paintings of Rembrandt from Poniatowski's collection.⁶

After the Second World War, it was not until the nineties that the research on the painting collection of Stanisław August was revived and continued. In 1992, an exhibition titled *Collection for A King: Old Master Painting from the Dulwich Picture Gallery*, curated by the late Giles Waterfield, was held in the Dulwich Picture Gallery in collaboration with the curators of the Royal Castle in Warsaw (currently a museum, formerly the king's official residence).⁷ Further important publications include an article written in 1996 by Antoni Ziemia, who dealt with Stanisław August's admiration for Dutch painting and investigated its role within the royal collection, analysing the amounts, prices, and historical attributions.⁸ In a 1998 article, Mieczysław Choynowski described the history of Poniatowski's Picture Gallery, which was a place meant for the exhibition of paintings in the Palace on the Isle (now a museum, but formerly the king's summer residence).⁹ In 2007 Ewa Manikowska dealt with the royal collection, presenting the king's collecting activities in the perspective of eighteenth-century royal court culture which she argued to be the most important

August has been certainly amplified. Hanna Małachowicz and Dorota Juszcak are working on a new catalogue comprising all identified paintings from the collection of Stanisław August and it will be published within three years. This information comes from the talk with Ewa Manikowska and Dorota Juszcak.

⁵ T. Mańkowski, *Galerja Stanisława Augusta*, Lwów 1932. There existed at least two copies of this inventory and in his publication Mańkowski stressed out the content of both of them, as in some aspects they encompassed complementary information.

⁶ T. Mańkowski, *Obrazy Rembrandta w galerji Stanisława Augusta*, Kraków 1929.

⁷ A. Zamoyski et al. (ed.), *Treasures of a Polish King. Stanislaus August as Patron and Collector*, exh. cat. London (Dulwich Picture Gallery) 1992. There exists also a Polish edition of this catalogue: C. Brown (ed.), *Kolekcja dla króla. Obrazy dawnych mistrzów ze zbiorów Dulwich Picture Gallery w Londynie*, Warszawa 1992.

⁸ A. Ziemia, 'Stanisława Augusta holenderski „pochop”. Obrazy holenderskich mistrzów XVII wieku w kolekcji królewskiej', in: A. Ziemia, R. Pasieczny (ed.), *De Gustibus. Studia ofiarowane przez przyjaciół Tadeuszowi Jaroszewskiemu z okazji 65 rocznicy urodzin*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 41-52. The author is a professor at the University of Warsaw and a chief curator Old European Masters in the National Museum in Warsaw.

⁹ M. Choynowski, 'Dzieje królewskiej Galerii Obrazów', *Cenne, bezcenne, utracone* (2/8) 1998.

cultural context of his collection.¹⁰ Using the terms of ceremonial, information and art, the author underlined the main factors influencing the formation of eighteenth-century royal collections. In 2009, the Dulwich Picture Gallery organized another exhibition, titled *The Polish Connection*, in the context of which Dorota Juszczak and Hanna Małachowicz wrote an article on Stanisław August's picture collection in the Royal Castle in Warsaw.¹¹ In the same year, studies were published on art auctions and dealers of Netherlandish art during the *ancien régime*, edited by Dries Lyna, Filip Vermeylen and Hans Vlieghe.¹² This book contained an article by Manikowska, who described the process of acquiring paintings for the king Stanisław August, emphasizing the role of his dealers.¹³ In 2011, two other exhibitions were held in Warsaw. The first one took place in the Palace on the Isle, known also as the Royal Łazienki (in Polish – "Bathrooms"). In the context of the exhibition, Andrzej Rottermund analysed the collection kept in the Palace on the Isle and the manner in which its space needed to be formed to serve as a museum.¹⁴ The second 2011 exhibition was held at the Royal Castle in Warsaw and was devoted to the last Polish king as politician, patron and reformer.¹⁵ For Poniatowski's paintings currently located at the Royal Castle in Warsaw an important book is *A Complete Catalogue of Paintings c. 1520-1900*, edited by Juszczak and Małachowicz.¹⁶ In 2015 these authors also published a catalogue of paintings from the gallery of Stanisław August

¹⁰ E. Manikowska, *Sztuka – Ceremoniał – Informacja. Studium wokół królewskich kolekcji Stanisława Augusta*, Warszawa 2007.

¹¹ D. Juszczak, H. Małachowicz, 'The Stanisław August Picture Collection at the Royal Castle in Warsaw', in: I.C. Dejardin, A. Malinowski (ed.), *The Polish Connection*, exh. cat. London (Dulwich Picture Gallery) 2009, pp. 15-38.

¹² D. Lyna, F. Vermeylen, H. Vlieghe (ed.), *Art Auctions and Dealers. The Dissemination of Netherlandish Art during the Ancien Régime*, Turnhout 2009.

¹³ E. Manikowska, 'Acquiring Paintings for the Polish Court: King Stanisław August (1764-1795) and His Dealers', in: D. Lyna, F. Vermeylen, H. Vlieghe (ed.), *Art Auctions and Dealers. The Dissemination of Netherlandish Art during the Ancien Régime*, Turnhout 2009, pp. 109-126.

¹⁴ A. Rottermund, 'The collection in the Palace on the Isle or how to form the space of a modern museum', in: I. Zychowicz (ed.), *Rembrandt and others. The Royal Collection of Stanisław August Poniatowski*, vol. I, exh. cat. Warsaw (Palace on the Isle Royal Łazienki Museum in Warsaw) 2011, pp. 10-22. The exhibition catalogue enclosed also an article by Juszczak, in which she treated the history of the paintings from the donation of Karolina Lanckorońska to the Royal Castle in Warsaw. See: D. Juszczak, 'Obrazy z daru Karoliny Lanckorońskiej dla Zamku Królewskiego w Warszawie i ich łazienkowska historia', in: I. Zychowicz (ed.), *Rembrandt and others. The Royal Collection of Stanisław August Poniatowski*, vol. II, exh. cat. Warsaw (Palace on the Isle Royal Łazienki Museum in Warsaw) 2011, pp. 6-11.

¹⁵ A. Sołtys (ed.), *Stanisław August – ostatni król Polski: polityk, mecenas, reformator: 1764-1795*, exh. cat. Warszawa (Zamek Królewski) 2011. The exhibition catalogue contains, among others, articles: by Małachowicz on the paintings' gallery of the king (Małachowicz 2011, pp. 223-231), by Artur Badach on the artistic initiatives of Stanisław August in the first years of his reign (A. Badach, 'Inicjatywy artystyczne z pierwszych lat panowania Stanisława Augusta – ewolucja form i treści', pp. 62-69), by Juszczak on the iconography of Stanisław August's portraits (D. Juszczak, 'Ikonoografia Stanisława Augusta. Portrety', pp. 136-151. For an amplified version of this article see: D. Juszczak, 'Portrety Stanisława Augusta', in: A. Sołtys, Z. Zielińska (ed.), *Stanisław August i jego Rzeczypospolita. Dramat Państwa, Odrodzenie Narodu*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 383-427), by Manikowska on the king's enlightened patronage of the arts and sciences (E. Manikowska, 'Stanisław August's Enlightened Patronage of the Arts and Sciences', pp. 133-135) and by Anita Chiron-Mrozowska on the studio of Marcello Bacciarelli (A. Chiron-Mrozowska, 'Marcello Bacciarelli i jego Malarnia', pp. 340-344).

¹⁶ D. Juszczak, H. Małachowicz, *The Royal Castle in Warsaw. A Complete Catalogue of Paintings c. 1520 – c. 1900*, vol. I-II, Warsaw 2013.

in the Royal Łazienki, in which they included 137 paintings originating from the collection of Stanisław August.¹⁷ The catalogue also features a significant article on the history and state of research of the Łazienki painting collection.¹⁸ The most recent publication on several Dutch and Flemish paintings that made part of the king's collection, is a summary catalogue of 2016 edited by Hanna Benesz and Piotr Borusowski.¹⁹ In partnership with the Royal Łazienki Museum, Juszcak is currently working on a catalogue of all paintings that belonged to the king's former gallery. Until recently, she was able to establish the whereabouts of approximately 400 paintings.²⁰

From the last inventory, we can assume that Stanisław August's collection consisted of 2437 paintings by the end of his reign. We know that almost 500 pictures were acquired by the king in 1765 together with a building that later became the Palace on the Isle.²¹ Approximately 450 paintings were commissioned by the king from contemporary artists in the Commonwealth and abroad, of which about 250 pictures were meant for specific interiors, whereas about 1500 paintings were acquired with the aim to amplify the collection.²² This reveals that Stanisław August not only restrained his plan to create a cabinet of beautiful pictures, but wished to build up a substantial, serious collection.²³

Despite scholars' efforts and progress in recent research and identification of the king's former painting collection, it is still problematic to synthetically evaluate its content and adequacy of historical attributions. Almost 2000 pictures listed in the inventories are unknown, while the known pictures form fifteen percent of the whole.²⁴ Although 1088 pictures are described in the inventories as anonymous, it is possible to observe the ideas which the king and his contemporaries had about the collection, as well as general tendencies followed by its formation.²⁵

The largest group of 419 paintings in the collection was executed in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or by Polish artists and these were foremostly Poniatowski's commissions.²⁶ Most pictures from this group were painted by foreign-born artists, with the majority of works by Bacciarelli, Poniatowski's main court painter, and Bellotto. The second group of 275 paintings were those by Italian artists,

¹⁷ D. Juszcak, H. Małachowicz, *Galeria obrazów Stanisława Augusta w Łazienkach Królewskich. Katalog*, Warszawa 2015. The catalogue includes paintings that originally hung in the Royal Łazienki, but are now the properties of the Royal Łazienki or of the National Museum in Warsaw.

¹⁸ D. Juszcak, H. Małachowicz, 'Łazienkowska kolekcja obrazów. Historia i stan badań', in: D. Juszcak, H. Małachowicz, *Galeria obrazów Stanisława Augusta w Łazienkach Królewskich. Katalog*, Warszawa 2015, pp. 9-35.

¹⁹ H. Benesz, P. Borusowski (ed.), *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*, Warsaw 2016.

²⁰ For this information see: <https://www.codart.nl/publications/new-curator-spotlight-dorota-juszcak/>.

²¹ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 10, 14. The Palace on the Isle was the king's private possession, as opposed to the Royal Castle in Warsaw which was the king's official, public residence.

²² Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 14.

²³ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 14.

²⁴ Małachowicz 2011, p. 226.

²⁵ Małachowicz 2011, p. 226.

²⁶ Małachowicz 2011, p. 226.

mostly from the seventeenth century.²⁷ There were about 225 Dutch paintings, with the best representation of Italianate landscapes, paintings by Rembrandt and his circle, genre scenes and portraits.²⁸ 132 pictures were Flemish, almost entirely by seventeenth-century Antwerp artists.²⁹ Furthermore, there were 116 French paintings, mostly dated to the eighteenth century.³⁰ 113 pictures were identified as German, with some sixteenth-century representations but the majority being eighteenth-century Italianate landscapes and genre scenes.³¹ Finally, inventories also listed several English and Spanish examples.³²

Counted together there were 357 Dutch and Flemish paintings, forming the second largest group in the royal collection. It is justified not to separate the Dutch and Flemish pieces since they were commonly classified as one painting school in the European collections from the mid-eighteenth century. For instance, in his first catalogue from 1744, Parisian merchant Edme-François Gersaint (1694-1750) mentioned four main painting schools: Italian (divided into many local schools), Flemish, German and French.³³ In this context, “Flemish” referred to what is currently considered Netherlandish, thus both Flemish and Dutch. It was not until 1788 that the distinction between Dutch and Flemish schools appeared for the first time in a catalogue title – *Catalogue de tableaux des écoles hollandaise, flamande et françoise [...] du cabinet de M. Gros* [Catalogue of paintings from Dutch, Flemish and French schools [...] from the cabinet of M. Gros] – inaugurated by the French merchant Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun (1748-1813).³⁴ Therefore, it can be assumed that in the context of Poniatowski’s collection the distinction between Dutch and Flemish was also not clearly made.³⁵

According to Benesz, with respect to the already existing tradition of collecting art from the Low Countries, Poniatowski fulfilled a pioneering role among the Polish monarchs to do that in a conscious and learned manner.³⁶ With reference to Flemish artists, Mańkowski mentioned that the royal catalogue contained “the best names”, such as Adriaen Brouwer, David Teniers or Jan Breughel.³⁷ The author observed that Dutch pictures prevailed in the king’s Picture Gallery.³⁸ In addition, Mańkowski considered Stanisław August to be a representative of the renewed eighteenth-century cult and admiration of Rembrandt’s art, noting in his collecting activities a

²⁷ Małachowicz 2011, p. 227.

²⁸ Małachowicz 2011, pp. 228-229.

²⁹ Małachowicz 2011, p. 229.

³⁰ Małachowicz 2011, p. 230.

³¹ Małachowicz 2011, pp. 230-231.

³² Małachowicz 2011, p. 231.

³³ K. Pomian, *Zbieracze i osobliwości. Paryż-Wenecja XVI-XVIII wiek*, Lublin 2001, p. 193.

³⁴ Pomian 2001, p. 194.

³⁵ Further discussion on this subject, providing evidence that the Dutch and Flemish should better not be treated separately when analysing the royal collection, will follow in the first chapter in the section 1.2.1. General remarks.

³⁶ H. Benesz, ‘Early Netherlandish, Dutch and Flemish Paintings in Polish Collections’, in: *Gerson Digital: Part I – Poland, RKD Monographs*, 2014, unpagued.

³⁷ Mańkowski 1932, p. 54.

³⁸ Mańkowski 1932, p. 55.

predilection for this master.³⁹ With regard to Dutch painting, Ziembra stated that the last Polish king's collection was comparable to the best monarchical European collections from the period.⁴⁰ The author argued that Poniatowski's Netherlandish painting collection was only of slightly lesser quality than the royal collections in London, imperial collections in Vienna and Berlin and princely collections in Schwerin and Munich, that it could compete with the imperial collection in Saint Petersburg, whereas it overgrew the contemporary Dutch and German collections in Kassel, Braunschweig, Karlsruhe and Mannheim, as well as the royal collections in Paris and Madrid.⁴¹ Also Juszcak remarked that Dutch and Flemish paintings were at the heart of Poniatowski's collection, as they constituted the majority of his collection of old masters.⁴² The king's predilection for Dutch masters is also discerned by Manikowska, who mentioned his first picture acquisition accomplished during youthful travel to the Low Countries.⁴³ Influenced by this kind of trip, Poniatowski might have adopted the French model of collecting which commonly juxtaposed Dutch masters with Parisian contemporary artists.⁴⁴ The king's various contacts with Northern merchants and antiquarians, such as Pierre Yver (1712-1787), Jean Yver (1747-1814, the son of Pierre) and Adriaen van Aelst, testify to Stanisław August's deep interest in the art of the Low Countries. The brokerage of these agents enabled the king to acquire paintings from prestigious collections' auctions, such as that of Gerrit Braamcamp in 1771 in Amsterdam or Johan Aegidiusz. van der Marck in 1773.⁴⁵

In order to understand Stanisław August's interest in Netherlandish art, it is necessary to place it in the context of the court culture of collecting in eighteenth-century Europe. The first important aspect, already mentioned above, is that North-Netherlandish painting (now called Dutch) and South-Netherlandish painting (called Flemish) were then considered as one mutual national school, often named Flemish.⁴⁶ This view was confirmed either in the writings of Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719) and Jan van Gool (1685-1763) or in auction catalogues.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, as noted by Everhard Korthals Altes, it is justifiable to discuss the export of Dutch and Flemish art separately, because Flemish art was often made with the purpose to be exported, whereas Dutch art was primarily meant for sale at the domestic market.⁴⁸ The export of Dutch art also started later than in the case of Flemish art, as a result of several factors. One of them was Europeans' general interest in the Dutch Republic as a new state, which also awakened a fascination for the Dutch masters.⁴⁹

³⁹ Mańkowski 1929, pp.1, 29.

⁴⁰ Ziembra 1996, p. 45.

⁴¹ Ziembra 1996, p. 45.

⁴² <https://www.codart.nl/spotlights/dorota-juszcak/>.

⁴³ Manikowska 2009, p. 112.

⁴⁴ Manikowska 2009, p. 110.

⁴⁵ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 12.

⁴⁶ E. Korthals Altes, *De verovering van de internationale kunstmarkt door de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst: enkele studies over de verspreiding van Hollandse schilderijen in de eerste helft van de achttiende eeuw*, Leiden 2003, p. 23.

⁴⁷ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 23. Several remarks on the distinction of Dutch and Flemish school can be also found above, see by note 33 and further.

⁴⁸ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 11.

⁴⁹ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 12.

Moreover, as a consequence of the economic downturn of the country during the late seventeenth century, domestic demand for paintings declined while foreign collectors started to purchase on a large scale at the Dutch art market.⁵⁰ One of the first foreign collectors of Dutch paintings were the German princes, such as Anton Ulrich van Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1633-1714), Lothar Franz von Schönborn (1655-1729), Johann Wilhelm van de Palts (1658-1716), August the Strong (1670-1733), Wilhelm III van Hessen-Kassel (1682-1760) and Christian Ludwig II van Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1683-1756). In the course of the eighteenth century these princes were quickly followed by German citizens and other collectors from England, France and Russia.⁵¹ In their residences, the princes formed both painting cabinets as well as galleries. The galleries that fulfilled representative function were decorated with large-scale paintings by artists such as Raphael, Titian, Rubens and Van Dyck, whereas in the cabinets hung more detailed paintings of smaller formats and with more private character, painted by artists such as Jan Brueghel the Elder. Small-size paintings of Dutch masters, like the *Hollandse fijnschilders*, were also very suitable for these types of rooms.⁵² Although, in general, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian painting enjoyed higher esteem than Dutch painting, the collectors appreciated incontestable, practical advantages of Dutch paintings, which were relatively more easily accessible and definitively less expensive. For example, Gersaint mentioned this aspect as the reason that popularity of Dutch paintings increased in Paris.⁵³ Another significant aspect for the popularity of Dutch paintings was their small size, since it facilitated their international transportation, enabling the collectors to acquire more pieces.⁵⁴

Another essential aspect that amplified the fame of Netherlandish painters within circles of European collectors, were the publications of several art critics, such as Joachim von Sandrart (1606-1688)⁵⁵, André Félibien (1619-1695)⁵⁶, Roger de Piles (1635-1709)⁵⁷, Florent le Comte (1655-1712)⁵⁸, Jonathan Richardson (1667-1745)⁵⁹, Antoine Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville (1680-1765)⁶⁰ and Jean-Baptiste Descamps (1714-1791).⁶¹ According to Korthals Altes, these writings illustrate shared opinions, rather than introduced new fashions.⁶² Discernible is the preference and admiration of: *fijnschilders*, such as Gerard Dou, Frans van Mieris the Elder, Adriaen

⁵⁰ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 331.

⁵¹ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 13.

⁵² E. Korthals Altes, 'De verzamel- en waarderingsgeschiedenis van Rembrandts artistieke nalatenschap in de achttiende eeuw', in: J. Rutgers, M. Rijnders (ed.), *Rembrandt in perspectief. De veranderende visie op de meester en zijn werk*, Zwolle 2014, p. 52.

⁵³ Korthals Altes 2014, p. 51.

⁵⁴ Korthals Altes 2003, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁵ J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Akademie der Edlen Bau- Bild- unde Mahlerer-Kunste*, Nürnberg 1765.

⁵⁶ For example A. Félibien, *Noms des peintres les plus célèbres et les plus connus*, Paris 1679.

⁵⁷ R. de Piles, *Abrégé de la vie des peintres, avec des réflexions sur leurs ouvrages*, Paris 1699.

⁵⁸ F. Le Comte, *Cabinet des singularitez d'architecture, peinture, sculpture et gravure*, Paris 1699-1700.

⁵⁹ J. Richardson, *An essay on the theory of painting*, London 1725.

⁶⁰ A.J. Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, Paris 1745-1752.

⁶¹ J.-B. Descamps, *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandais*, Paris 1753-1764.

⁶² Korthals Altes 2003, p. 16.

van der Werff; Italianate landscapists, such as Cornelis van Poelenburch and Nicolaes Berchem; detailed cattle pieces in the style of Paulus Potter and finally horse scenes such as those of Philips Wouwerman.⁶³ For example, the meticulous, highly finished brushwork, that characterized foremostly the style of Leiden *fijnschilders*, was acclaimed to such an extent that it became a quality standard against which other artists' works were measured.⁶⁴

There were also other aspects taken into account, when, for instance, forming prices, including: subject, amount of represented figures, size, state and originality of a given painting.⁶⁵ Another factor that played a role in the judgement of a painting was the artist's ability to express different states of mind.⁶⁶ Criteria used for this kind of assessment were: verisimilitude, picturesqueness, variation (in expressions, attitudes and clothes of figures), clair-obscur, colouration and colour harmony.⁶⁷ The fourth chapter of this thesis will examine to what extent these criteria were taken into account by Stanisław August as well as contemporaries from his circle in their assessments of Netherlandish paintings.

According to Frans Grijzenhout, an important element of eighteenth-century culture that influenced the reception of Netherlandish painting, was the shifting idea of taste and tolerance. An approach to art judgments based on the firm classicistic norms of beauty was questioned and gradually abandoned in favour of the notion that a personal taste should be unquestionable and tolerated.⁶⁸ According to Grijzenhout, this idea had great consequences for the appreciation of Netherlandish painting which had earlier been frequently criticized from the classicistic perspective.⁶⁹ For example, in light of this new Enlightenment perspective the art of Rembrandt and his circle gained much recognition in the course of the eighteenth century, despite the fact that it did not comply with the classic principles of decorum.⁷⁰ Also, as Krzysztof Pomian has argued, the abandonment of the primacy of aesthetic assessments about art, occurring after the mid-eighteenth century, in favour of increasing importance attached to the name of the artist, contributed to the popularity of Netherlandish paintings, which were already evaluated foremostly for their attribution, rather than their aesthetics.⁷¹

Because the last Polish king was educated in the atmosphere of Enlightened cosmopolitanism with a focus on travels throughout Europe and international networking, it can be assumed that he was well acquainted with the aforementioned ideas and collecting trends that developed amongst eighteenth-century European

⁶³ Korthals Altes 2014, p. 46.

⁶⁴ E. Korthals Altes, 'Looking for patterns in Collecting. Schalcken in the Eighteenth Century', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 2016 (vol. 77), p. 184.

⁶⁵ Korthals Altes 2014, p. 43.

⁶⁶ Korthals Altes 2014, p. 46.

⁶⁷ Korthals Altes 2014, p. 46.

⁶⁸ F. Grijzenhout, 'Tussen rede en gevoeligheid. De Nederlandse schilderkunst in het oordeel van het buitenland', in: F. Grijzenhout, H. van Veen (ed.), *De Gouden Eeuw in perspectief. Het beeld van de Nederlandse zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst in later tijd*, Heerlen 1992, p. 46.

⁶⁹ Grijzenhout 1992, pp. 46-47.

⁷⁰ Korthals Altes 2014, p. 46.

⁷¹ Pomian 2001, p. 230.

intellectual elite. According to Manikowska, this king knew how European courts functioned, and that they were comparable to each other due to engagement into similar cultural initiatives, commissioning the same artists and reading the same publications.⁷² In addition, since this king had visited the Enlightened salons of the *République des Lettres*, such as those in Paris, he was not only aware of their importance, but also of phenomena such as public opinion, market mechanisms and developed information network: all of these aspects became dominant in the courts over the course of the eighteenth century.⁷³ For a cosmopolitan such as Poniatowski, knowledge of and participation in cultural life and collecting activity were necessary tools to build the social position and image needed for further career development.⁷⁴ As shall be discussed later in this thesis, these tools were also used in attempts to modernize his country through cultural initiatives in the arts, sciences and literature that would bring his court par with others.

Theoretical framework

Owing to his international travels, thorough education and diplomatic career, the Polish king would have been well acquainted with court ruling mechanisms and used them to achieve his goals. One of them was likely to be the king's self-representation and self-fashioning. As Stephen Greenblatt has argued, these mechanisms had their roots as early as in the sixteenth century, when self-consciousness about fashioning one's human identity began to develop into an artful process of manipulation amongst royalty and nobility.⁷⁵ Although the term "fashion" was known already, it was in Renaissance culture that one began to use it as "a way of designating the forming of a self".⁷⁶ Greenblatt used the term "self-fashioning" to refer to the achievement of a distinctive personality or of a characteristic representation to the world or also to the consistent process of perceiving and behaving.⁷⁷ Greenblatt's theory has been implicitly connected to monarchs in Peter Burke's thesis about modes of self-presentation of King Louis XIV (1638-1715).⁷⁸ As will be argued in this thesis, Greenblatt's theory can also be applied to Poniatowski's ambition to collect and display Netherlandish art. An example of a measure implemented by this king in order to self-fashion was his coronation portrait, painted in 1766 by Bacciarelli, in which the king was represented in Spanish clothing, instead of a traditional Polish kontusz.⁷⁹ Through a conscious and clear reference to the well-known portrait of Louis XIV, painted by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743), Poniatowski placed himself in the tradition of the European courts.⁸⁰ With these types of measures, which formed a

⁷² Manikowska 2007, p. 14.

⁷³ Manikowska 2007, pp. 10, 301.

⁷⁴ Manikowska 2007, p. 235.

⁷⁵ S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare*, Chicago 1980, p. 2.

⁷⁶ Greenblatt 1980, p. 2.

⁷⁷ Greenblatt 1980, p. 2.

⁷⁸ P. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, New Haven/London 1992.

⁷⁹ Kontusz was a traditional outer garment worn by Polish-Lithuanian male nobility.

⁸⁰ Manikowska 2007, p. 236.

part of the royal collecting activity and more broadly of his cultural policy, the king probably wished to create his own self-representation in the role of a monarch of the highest rank and might have desired to be perceived as such. What distinguished Poniatowski from Louis XIV were his views on the concept of monarchy. Whereas the French king was an example of an absolute monarch, Stanisław August rather strove to be identified as an Enlightened sovereign. He might have been successful in fashioning himself as such since even the French philosopher Voltaire (1694-1778) mentioned the Polish king amongst other names of Enlightened Northern monarchs.⁸¹ The concept of the Enlightened monarch was based on an idea that the monarch's rulings, including any kind of reforms, should be justifiable by the use of reason and secular utility. The term of the Enlightened monarch appeared in the entry "Philosopher" in the *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* [Encyclopaedia, or critical dictionary of sciences, arts and crafts] published in France in 1751-1772 and edited by philosophers Denis Diderot (1713-1784) and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717-1783): "This love of society so essential to the *philosopher*, makes clear how true is the remark of the emperor Marcus Aurelius: "The people will be happy when kings are *philosophers*, or when *philosophers* are kings!" The *philosopher* is thus an honourable man who acts in everything according to reason, and who joins to a spirit of reflection and precision, morals and sociable qualities. Graft a sovereign onto a *philosopher* of whatever stripe and you will have a perfect sovereign".⁸² Voltaire also encouraged this concept in one of his dialogues, writing: "Nowadays we have philosophers on the throne".⁸³

According to Jonathan Israel, the most influential and radical eighteenth-century Enlightened sovereign was tsar Peter I the Great (1672-1725) who, with great determination, attempted "to Europeanize and 'modernize' his imperial administration, governing elite, Russia's ecclesiastical establishment, and armed forces by adopting new techniques from the West", mainly from northern Germany, Sweden and Holland.⁸⁴ Israel argued that the Russian tsar's promotion of "westernizing cultural cosmopolitanism" was most prominently visible in the form and expansion of the new capital of Saint Petersburg, where due to his policy, commerce, art and sciences began to flourish.⁸⁵ Israel also claimed that Russia's new way of perceiving the West became "a shop window of the Enlightenment for all eastern Europe" during the seventeenth-forties.⁸⁶ Since other European rulers, such as Frederick II the Great (1712-1786) of Prussia and Maria Theresa (1717-1780) of

⁸¹ E. Manikowska, 'Stanisław August's Enlightened Patronage of the Arts and Sciences', in: A. Sołtys (ed.), *Stanisław August – ostatni król Polski: polityk, mecenas, reformator: 1764-1795*, exh. cat. Warszawa (Zamek Królewski) 2011, p. 133.

⁸² Translation of "Philosophe", *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Paris 1765 (vol. 12). C.C. Du Marsais, 'Philosophe', in: *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, Michigan 2002.

⁸³ Manikowska 2011, p. 133.

⁸⁴ J. Israel, *Enlightenment Contested. Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man 1670-1752*, Oxford 2006, p. 296.

⁸⁵ Israel 2006, p. 296.

⁸⁶ Israel 2006, p. 296.

Habsburgs dominions, attempted to create Enlightened monarchies in their territories as well, the same may have also counted for the last Polish king and his country.

According to Israel, the origins of Enlightenment ideas must be found in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, where modern values transferred to other parts of Europe in the course of the eighteenth century, especially to France.⁸⁷ This idea makes it worthwhile to examine what Dutch and Flemish art might have meant for monarchs who tried to fashion their self-images according to the model of the Enlightened sovereign. According to Voltaire, an Enlightened monarch was recognized primarily by means of his social, artistic and literary reforms, rather than political and military achievements.⁸⁸ Therefore, the French philosopher had higher esteem for Peter the Great and his legislative and cultural achievements, rather than the contemporaneous warrior-king Charles XII of Sweden (1682-1718).⁸⁹ In the face of these factors, it is interesting to analyse to what extent Poniatowski's interest in Netherlandish painting can be associated with his aim of self-fashioning as Enlightened monarch and whether this concept may be considered a relevant factor to his preference for Netherlandish art.

As observed by Manikowska, the works of art (paintings, sculptures, etchings and others) that Stanisław August collected as a king, not only reflected his personal taste, but also demonstrated various diplomatic and cultural connections and mechanisms that enabled the royal court to function well.⁹⁰ According to Manikowska, the court ceremonial determined the role which artworks fulfilled in specific rooms.⁹¹ With the ceremonial one can understand a specifically defined code that sets out every detail of the functioning of the *ancien régime* court.⁹² The collected works of art emerged not only as a manifestation of the king's special interest in arts, but might have also been a tool by which the king represented himself as a prominent Enlightened monarch. The analysis of collecting activity in this new perspective not only discloses the king's artistic taste and preferences towards, for instance, one painting school or another, but it also reveals the inspirations and influences that possibly shaped it.

⁸⁷ Israel 2006, p. X.

⁸⁸ Manikowska 2011, p. 133.

⁸⁹ Manikowska 2011, p. 133.

⁹⁰ Manikowska 2007, p. 7.

⁹¹ Manikowska 2007, p. 7.

⁹² Manikowska 2007, pp. 14, 301.

Research question

With the aforementioned phenomena in mind, this thesis will analyse the role of Dutch and Flemish paintings within the collection of King Stanisław II August. An attempt will be made to answer the following research questions: To what extent can this king's predilection for Netherlandish painting be seen as exceptional in the context of cultural and historical developments of the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Europe? And: to what extent can the concept of a king's self-fashioning as an Enlightened monarch be seen as one of the relevant factors explaining his predilection for Netherlandish painting? In order to answer these research questions the following four chapters will deal respectively with four sub-questions.

Chapters summary and methodology

In order to answer the research questions as exhaustively as possible, different research methods, including biography, archival research, market research and terminological analysis, will be applied. This combination is aimed to ensure that the limitations of one method can be complemented by the capabilities of another. For instance, since it seems difficult to establish Poniatowski's interest in Netherlandish art only with biographical information, it is therefore complemented by an analysis of texts by contemporary art critics.

The first chapter will investigate the role of Dutch and Flemish paintings versus the other paintings of the royal collection. It will attempt to answer the following sub-question: What was the role of Poniatowski's Netherlandish paintings in the context of his entire painting collection? Therefore, the content of the actual collection will be analysed. A first consideration will be the state of the collection at the end of Stanisław August's reign, with the catalogue of the king's collection dated 1795 as a basis for the analysis. The introductory part will deal with the catalogues documenting the king's collection, since their discussion is important for a deeper understanding of the analysis. Subsequently, the residences where Stanisław August kept his paintings will be briefly discussed, especially the Palace on the Isle and the Royal Castle in Warsaw. These two are representative places since they were the most frequently viewed by the royal visitors and hence where decoration with paintings might have played a role in the king's self-representation. Second, the Dutch and Flemish paintings from the king's collection will be discussed. After a section of general remarks and genres, specific painting schools will be sequentially analysed by way of their historical attributions, prices, manner and place of display. The following Netherlandish painting schools will be subsequently discussed: the circle of Rubens and Van Dyck, the circle of Rembrandt, Italianate landscapists, *fijnschilders* and the group of remaining Dutch and Flemish paintings. Next, a similar yet much more concise analysis will be carried out on other painting schools represented in the collection of Stanisław August, e.g. paintings by court painters in Warsaw, Italian paintings, French paintings and German paintings. In the end, all painting schools will

be juxtaposed. Art theoretical and cultural-historical methods will be used in order to establish the position of the Netherlandish painting school versus other painting schools from the royal collection. Works of art will be categorized according to their national and respectively stylistic schools. The importance of the works of art will be measured based on their display location (whether a painting was for instance placed in a private or public room), estimated value and attribution (whether a painting was described as original, in the style of and so forth).

The second chapter will be dedicated to the personality of Stanisław August and the formation of his collection. The sub-questions that will be addressed in this chapter reads as follows: Who was Stanisław August, to what extent does his patronage and collecting testify to his attempts at self-fashioning and how did he form his Netherlandish painting collection? The method applied in this chapter is foremostly an analysis of biographical information on Poniatowski. First to be discussed is his early education and political career before the coronation. The aim of this part is to reveal aspects which could be relevant in shaping the king's personality and preferences, and the models that influenced his royal collecting choices in the future. In the subsequent two sections, Poniatowski's role as a king will be treated in the context of specific political situations of the second half of the eighteenth century in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as his cultural achievements and artistic patronage. The goal here is to create a specific historical, political and cultural background, which is significant as it sets the context in which the king's collection was formed and helps to establish whether the concept of self-fashioning as Enlightened monarch might have played a role. Subsequently, the formation of the Netherlandish painting collection of Poniatowski will be dealt with. In order to create a background, it is necessary to understand firstly the tradition of collecting in Poland in the time preceding Poniatowski's reign, especially the royal collectors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Furthermore, the manner in which Stanisław August acquired Dutch and Flemish paintings will be discussed. The personalities of the king's brokers will be treated, as well as merchants, agents and others who played a role in forming the king's collection. Special attention will be given to the merchant Noel Desenfans and the particular commission that he received from the king. This section will demonstrate the manner in which the Polish king made himself present in the European art market and to investigate whether his collecting activity may be related to his attempts at self-fashioning.

The third chapter will be dedicated to the following two-part sub-question: Which European Netherlandish painting collections did Poniatowski relate to in terms of imitation and emulation and can Poniatowski's Netherlandish painting collection be seen as exceptional in comparison to these collections? Since Poniatowski's Netherlandish painting collection is analysed in light of court collecting culture and the idea of self-fashioning as Enlightened monarch, three analogous collections that were presumably formed in a comparable context will be dealt with: the collections of two previous Polish Kings August II (1670-1733) and August III (1696-1763) in Dresden and of Catherine II the Great (1729-1796) in Saint Petersburg. Political, ideological, personal and geographical reasons will be given why these European

monarchical collections are chosen for comparison while others are left out. The methods used in this chapter are thus both biographical and cultural-historical. The aim of this chapter is to place the royal collection of Stanisław August in the context of royal European collecting patterns and customs with regard to Netherlandish painting. In addition, this comparison will bring us closer to an answer of the question whether the Netherlandish painting collection and Stanisław August's predilection for this school can be considered exceptional.

The fourth chapter will be devoted to the reception of Dutch and Flemish painting in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The following sub-question will be addressed: How can the reception of Netherlandish art in the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth be defined, based on the contemporary written sources and other phenomena, and what was the role of the last Polish King's tastes? First, the king's appreciation for Dutch and Flemish painting will be investigated through a research of relevant passages from the king's diaries and correspondence. Furthermore, purchase offers of Netherlandish paintings addressed to the king will be examined, since they contain important information on the reception of Netherlandish artists and their works. In addition, some of Poniatowski's commissions related to Dutch and Flemish painting will be considered, as well as his collections of Netherlandish drawings and engravings. Subsequently, relevant correspondence, memoranda and writings by Bacciarelli and August Moszyński (1731-1786), the king's advisor in artistic business, will be analysed. Also considered are writings by important contemporaries from the circle of Stanisław August, treating the subject of Dutch and Flemish painting. These will be the following persons: Ignacy Krasicki (1735-1801), Julian Niemcewicz (1758-1841), Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755-1821) and Jean-Pierre Norblin de La Gourdain (1745-1830). Attention will be given as well to several foreigners, who recorded their travels to Poland in their diaries and referred to Netherlandish painting, for example Alphonse-Toussaint Fortia de Piles (1758-1826). This chapter will focus on the language and terminology used in written sources. By means of isolation and analysis of artistic terms from contemporary sources, the development of taste for Dutch and Flemish art in eighteenth-century Poland will be investigated.

By means of the above-mentioned subjects, this research hopes to establish the role of the Dutch and Flemish painting within the collection of Stanisław August, to describe and prove this king's predilection for Netherlandish painting, to determine to what extent that taste was exceptional in the context of eighteenth-century European collecting and to discern whether the concept of Poniatowski's self-fashioning as an Enlightened monarch can be considered as a relevant factor in that preference.

1. The collection of Stanisław August

1.1. Introduction

When Stanisław II August was elected king in 1764, he only owned several canvases acquired during his travels abroad and a few family portraits originating from the family residence in Wołczyn.⁹³ Aside from those, the king came into possession of 45 portraits decorating the Royal Castle in Warsaw on coronation day. These were portraits foremost of a historical value, for instance in the Marble Chamber, a second antechamber of the castle's public apartment, there were 28 portraits of early Polish kings and their families from the Jagiellonian dynasty.⁹⁴ This means that the king's final collection of more than 2000 paintings, recorded in 1795, must be a result of his acquisitions, commissions and other efforts during the thirty-one years of his reign.

Since this thesis is aimed to investigate Stanisław August's predilection for Netherlandish painting in the context of self-fashioning as Enlightened monarch, it is necessary in the first place to establish the role of Dutch and Flemish painting within the entire royal collection. Therefore, this chapter will address the question: What was the role of Poniatowski's Netherlandish paintings in the context of his entire painting collection? First, preliminary remarks will be made about the royal catalogues and residences. Subsequently, the Netherlandish paintings, divided into stylistic schools, will be analysed by means of their amounts, display location, estimated values and attributions. The same, but more concise analysis will be conducted on other painting schools from the royal collection. Finally, the discussed painting schools will be juxtaposed and the sub-question will be answered.

⁹³ Wołczyn is a village in Kamenets Raion, Brest Region in present Belarus.

⁹⁴ Mańkowski 1932, p. 35. The Jagiellonian dynasty ruled in 1386-1596 in several countries of central Europe, such as Poland, Lithuania, Hungary and Bohemia.

1.1.1. Catalogues

Considered today as one of the greatest art collections ever gathered in Poland, the collection of Stanisław August can be most exactly reconstructed on the basis of French catalogues of inventories recorded in 1783, 1784, 1793 and 1795. Most of them were drawn up in more than one copy.⁹⁵ The lists of objects were often made topographically, as the paintings were recorded in an order such as they hung on the walls in different residences.⁹⁶ It is discernible, for instance, in the descriptions concerning pendant paintings (or pairs of paintings), which were often split apart by another one or two paintings. Numbers that were given to the works of art in the catalogues are simultaneously the numbers they received in the inventory of the royal collection and were frequently painted red on the surface of paintings, usually at the lower right corner (fig. 1). A single notation on a specific object normally contained information such as the object's inventory number, its title, the artist's name (not in all cases), the sort of material on which the object was executed (if other than canvas), the measurements and the estimated value of the work of art. The majority of recorded paintings are those painted with oil on canvas, wood panel or copper. In addition, several pastel paintings were registered, as well as, more sporadically, some unusual techniques, for instance oil on paper.⁹⁷

The eldest painting catalogue that is preserved dates 1783, however, the title page is missing. Although it numbers 1538 objects, the whole catalogue actually encloses 1562 paintings, as some objects are written without a number or some ordinal numbers are lacking.⁹⁸ Furthermore, this catalogue encompasses seven appendices, which are, among other things, lists of various miniatures and coloured prints. Including the objects of the appendices, the catalogue contains a total of 1606 works of art.⁹⁹

The catalogue that was drafted subsequently has a beginning date 1784. This iconographical index, titled *Classes des Sujets du Catalogue des Tableaux du Roi en 1784* [Classes of Subjects of the Catalogue of the King's Paintings], is worked out on the basis of a copy of the catalogue from 1783, complemented in the following years. Listed paintings were associated with the specific thematic categories they fit best: sacred histories and devotional subjects, profane histories, fairy tales, gallant subjects, diverse subjects, allegories, landscapes, marines, military subjects, architectural views, portraits, heads, flowers and fruits, animals, studies after models, "bambochades"¹⁰⁰, "bas reliefs"¹⁰¹, costumes and an additional category described as "without subject".¹⁰²

⁹⁵ Małachowicz 2011, p. 223.

⁹⁶ Małachowicz 2011, p. 223.

⁹⁷ Małachowicz 2011, pp. 223-224.

⁹⁸ Małachowicz 2011, p. 224.

⁹⁹ Małachowicz 2011, p. 224.

¹⁰⁰ These are works of genre painters called "Bamboccianti". They were mostly of Dutch or Flemish origin, active in the seventeenth century in Rome. Characteristic of them was that they followed the sixteenth-century Netherlandish tradition of representing peasant themes and painted small cabinet size pictures revealing daily life of the lower classes.

Furthermore, there is a catalogue dated 1793, executed at least in three copies, of which presently only one is available.¹⁰³ It encloses 2414 paintings.

The subsequent catalogue was executed in 1793-1795. Its list ends with a number 2252 and it is the first catalogue that also contains information on locations of the works of art.

Finally, the last and most complete catalogue of the royal collection is the one dated 1795. The official title reads as follows: *Catalogue des Tableaux appartenant à Sa Majesté le Roi de Pologne 1795* [Catalogue of Paintings Belonging to His Majesty of the King of Poland 1795], whereas the cover page presents the title's amplified version: *Catalogue des Tableaux, Miniatures, Desseins, Estampes, Ouvrages en Biscuits, Bas-reliefs, Cire, Decoupures et Cuivre Doré 1795* [Catalogue of Paintings, Miniatures, Designs, Prints, Works in Biscuits, Bas-Reliefs, Wax, Fretworks and Gilded Copper 1795].¹⁰⁴ This catalogue was duplicated at least once. The first edition ends with the number 2253 and included information on dimensions of each painting, the estimated value and the painting's location.¹⁰⁵ With regard to certain paintings, in the margin of their notation is added (written with pencil or ink) information concerning their liquidation at a later time, for instance, when, to whom and for which price they were sold. The second edition of this catalogue was almost identical to the first one and before the Second World War it was available in at least two copies. The only difference with the first edition is the fact that the objects' numbers are continued until 2289. Although the numeration after the number 2251 is rather disordered, 2478 paintings can be counted altogether.¹⁰⁶

The authors of the painting catalogues deserve attention because in many cases they might have influenced attribution questions or might be responsible for final decisions of linking a piece to a specific painting circle or school. Moreover, the authors created the descriptions of paintings that give indications about the contemporary taste and reception of specific painting genres and periods. From the letters of Bacciarelli, we learn that he was the main author of the catalogues. Due to factors such as his previous employment at the Dresden Gallery in 1750-1757, his stay at Vienna court and his education at the Academy of Saint Luke in Rome, when Bacciarelli came to Warsaw he already enjoyed a high reputation in the arts. Besides becoming the court painter, he also became the most important artistic advisor of Poniatowski and was responsible for purchases for the royal collection, for contacts with other painters and merchants as well as for organizational and logistical concerns related to the royal patronage.

¹⁰¹ It is unclear whether either bas-reliefs from the king's collection were meant here or paintings that only resembled bas-reliefs.

¹⁰² Małachowicz 2011, p. 224.

¹⁰³ Małachowicz 2011, p. 224.

¹⁰⁴ Mańkowski 1932, p. 77.

¹⁰⁵ From 1920 this version was held in the manuscript collection of the National Institute of Ossolińscy in Lvov.

¹⁰⁶ Małachowicz 2011, p. 225.

In a letter to the king, Bacciarelli wrote: "I have made the Catalogue of paintings and sculptures which is pretty exact".¹⁰⁷ According to Mańkowski, Bacciarelli must have referred not only to his authorship of painting and sculpture inventory of the Palace on the Isle, but also of the catalogue of the entire painting and sculpture collection.¹⁰⁸ In other letters to the king, Bacciarelli wrote: "Duhamel (...) works on the catalogue of paintings", and: "the one of 1784 by the hand of Mr. Duhamel, the one of Bachmayer written in 1790 and another one in 1785 by the same".¹⁰⁹ Józef Duhamel (life dates unknown) worked for Poniatowski in 1764-1766 as a supervisor of the king's library, his print collection, his numismatic cabinet and other collections, whereas Bachmayer (whose actual name was Gerard Pachmaier, life dates unknown) was a painter and decorator in the royal faience factory at the Belvedere Palace.¹¹⁰ Based on Bacciarelli's emphasis of his own authorship in the letters ("I have made up" and also "written by the hand of"), both Duhamel and Pachmaier must be seen as the copyists to whom Bacciarelli dictated the catalogues' text, rather than the authors.¹¹¹ Another person involved in drawing up the catalogues was Mateusz Tokarski (1747-1807), who worked for the king as a copyist and a curator of the collection.¹¹² Stanisław August mentioned him in his letter to Bacciarelli: "When Tokarski would entirely finish the inventory (with the prices) of all what is in Łazienki, he shall also make it for all which is in the Castle and Belvedere".¹¹³ Hence, Tokarski must be considered the author of the inventories of goods in the Łazienki Palace¹¹⁴, the Royal Castle and the Belvedere Palace, which (the inventories) most probably served as a basis for the general painting catalogues.¹¹⁵ Concluding, it can be assumed that the role of Bacciarelli was decisive in the creating process of the painting catalogues, however, he was supported by other persons. According to Mańkowski, Bacciarelli was the main author of the 1795 catalogue, based on the earlier ones, which should also be ascribed to him. Even the orthographical errors indicate him as the main editor, since the (incorrect) spelling of the artists' names is frequently written according to the Italian pronunciation.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁷ "J'ai bien fait le Catalogue des tableaux et marbres qui sont bien exact". The letter is dated 27th of June 1795 and is quoted in Mańkowski 1932, p. 79. Translation to English mine.

¹⁰⁸ Mańkowski 1932, p. 79.

¹⁰⁹ "Duhamel (...) travaille au catalogue des tableaux". This letter is dated 3rd of September 1784. The second fragment is from a letter dated 1809: "celui de 1784 écrit de la main de Mr. Duhamel, dans celui de Bachmayer écrit en 1790 et dans un autre de 1785 par le même". Both fragments are quoted in Mańkowski 1932, p. 79. Translation to English mine.

¹¹⁰ Mańkowski 1932, pp. 80-81.

¹¹¹ Mańkowski 1932, p. 79.

¹¹² Mańkowski 1932, p. 81.

¹¹³ "Quand Tokarski aura parfaitement fini l'inventaire (avec les prix) de tout ce qui est à Łazienki, il faudrait bien en faire autant pour tout ce qui est au Château et à Belveder". The letter is dated 6th of August 1793 and the quotation is taken from Mańkowski 1932, p. 80. Translation to English mine.

¹¹⁴ The Łazienki Palace is another name of the Palace on the Isle.

¹¹⁵ Mańkowski 1932, p. 80.

¹¹⁶ Mańkowski 1932, p. 82.

1.1.2. Residences

Although primary sources on the collection of Stanisław August often called it as the “gallery”, it was not referred to as a gallery in the sense of a specific place where pictures are displayed. The word “gallery” was rather used as a synonym to “collection”, which in the case of Stanisław August was spread among several different locations. The four most important of them were the Royal Castle in Warsaw, the Palace on the Isle in the Royal Łazienki in Warsaw, the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw and the Palace in Koźienice near Warsaw. With regard to the division of paintings between these four main royal residences, a general idea of categorization can be discerned. From the catalogues can be learnt that, broadly speaking, Poniatowski gathered foremost history pieces and portraits by contemporary artists in the Royal Castle and at the Palace on the Isle he placed above all genre pictures by old masters of Dutch and Flemish origin.¹¹⁷ Meanwhile, the Belvedere Palace and the Palace in Koźienice were rather intended for paintings of a lesser value.¹¹⁸

The primary location where Stanisław August kept a substantial part of his collection was the Royal Castle in Warsaw, which functioned as his official residence and the meeting place for Parliament. Because of Poniatowski’s ambitious undertakings of this castle’s alteration and modernization in the mid-seventeenth-seventies, the core of its present interior decoration consists of his commissions.¹¹⁹ Among contemporaries it was Bacciarelli who produced the greatest amount of portraits and history pieces to decorate the Marble Room, the Royal Bedchamber, the Old Audience Chamber, which served as a room for small audiences by the king, as well as the Knights’ Hall, where Poniatowski intended to represent the most decisive events of the history of Poland as well as important persons of outstanding merits for the country.¹²⁰ Furthermore, artists such as Belotto, Pompeo Batoni (1708-1787), Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788), Per Krafft (1724-1793), Alexander Roslin (1718-1793) and other contemporary painters received commissions for paintings meant as decoration of the Castle.¹²¹ In addition to the pictures by contemporaries, Stanisław August hung about 300 paintings by old masters in the Castle.¹²² They were situated closely together in the Yellow Room (small dining room), the Green Room (salon used by the king foremostly for meetings with ministers and court officials), the Council Chamber (used for the meetings of the Permanent Council¹²³), the Officers’ Room (in which the officers of the Royal Mounted Guard fulfilled their duties) and in Bacciarelli’s workshop, adjacent to the Castle.¹²⁴ Because the Castle

¹¹⁷ Mańkowski 1932, p. 67.

¹¹⁸ Mańkowski 1932, p. 67.

¹¹⁹ The kings who proceeded Stanisław August resided in the Saxon Palace in Warsaw, where they displayed their collections.

¹²⁰ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2013, p. 10.

¹²¹ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2013, p. 10.

¹²² Juszcak/Małachowicz 2013, p. 10.

¹²³ The highest administrative authority in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

¹²⁴ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2013, p. 10.

was the official royal residence and also the seat of the Parliament of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth¹²⁵, its apartments were decorated according to designs for specific interiors and their subject matters.¹²⁶ Moreover, the decorations must have strictly answered to the king's original concepts.¹²⁷ For instance, the most frequently visited rooms such as court assemblies (the Great Hall) and the entrance interiors (the Marble Room, Knight's Hall and Canaletto Hall), contained programme's addressed to the nobility, commemorating the past of the state, expressing universal ideas related to the glorification of the ruler, and depicting the current programme of ruling.¹²⁸ Since these concepts included thoroughly considered iconographic schemes, it indicates at the king's desire not only to provide his residence of pretty decorations, but also to represent himself in a role of successful monarch.

Another important property is the Łazienki Estate, which included a castle built under the rules of the kings from the Vasa dynasty (reigning in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1587-1668) and was purchased by Stanisław August just before his coronation in 1764 from Prince Kasper Lubomirski (1724-1780) and his mother.¹²⁹ It was then situated just outside Warsaw (it is now in the central part of the city) and known as Ujazdów. The pavilion housed within that estate, called Łazienka, was built on the island placed between two canals, later transformed into ponds. After unsuccessful efforts to rebuild the Ujazdów Castle into a summer residence, the king abandoned that plan and in several phases (1772, 1788, 1792-1793) transformed the Łazienka pavilion to its present form, known today as the Palace on the Isle or Łazienki.¹³⁰ According to Rottermund, this ten-years rebuilding project reveals Poniatowski's idea about the palace's function.¹³¹ The final character that the king aimed for and succeeded to achieve was that of the villa-museum, in which he was presumably influenced by the renown Roman villas, such as the Villa Borghese, Villa Albani, Villa Medici or Villa Ludovisi housing the most valuable works of ancient and modern art.¹³²

When Poniatowski acquired the entire Łazienki Estate, he also bought 476 paintings that hung in the Ujazdów Castle and presumably as well in the above-mentioned pavilion.¹³³ Although this list included neither the artists' names nor the dimensions of paintings, it probably concerned portraits of famous Polish and Saxon

¹²⁵ The Royal Castle in Warsaw was the property of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania.

¹²⁶ D. Juszcak, H. Małachowicz, 'The Stanisław August Collection in the Palace on the Isle. History and current research', in: D. Juszcak, H. Małachowicz, *The Stanisław August Collection of Paintings at the Royal Łazienki. Catalogue*, Warsaw 2015, p. 11.

¹²⁷ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 11.

¹²⁸ A. Rottermund, *Zamek Warszawski w epoce Oświecenia: rezydencja monarsza: funkcje i treści*, Warszawa 1989, p. 250.

¹²⁹ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 9.

¹³⁰ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 9. The name 'Łazienki' is used to define the entire estate, which, besides the Palace on the Isle, enclosed also Myślevice Palace, a villa called the *Maison Blanche*, a kitchen annexe named the *Grand Commun* and the Belvedere Palace. All these buildings together (except the Belvedere Palace) form now the Royal Łazienki Museum.

¹³¹ Rottermund 2011, p. 20.

¹³² Rottermund 2011, p. 20.

¹³³ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 10. All paintings are listed in a document dated 1765.

personages linked to the court of August II and also several paintings from the collection of the Lubomirski family.¹³⁴

It was from the early seventeen-seventies onwards that Stanisław August seriously started to acquire paintings. His goal was to build up a valuable royal collection of paintings that were mainly intended to hang in the Palace on the Isle.¹³⁵ The purpose of the king for this residence was to host and exhibit a gallery of the greatest paintings by old masters and by the most prominent contemporary artists.¹³⁶ Since the gallery was intended to be viewed by visitors, it might have also served as a tool in the king's concept of self-representation as an Enlightened monarch, who engaged in the collecting and patronage of arts.

In 1783 the primary size of the Łazienki Manor House (the then official name of the Palace on the Isle) enabled the king to display only about 90 paintings. After the building's extension, executed in 1792-1793, it was possible to accommodate approximately 320 paintings (of which almost 180 were on the ground floor).¹³⁷ In these years a special interior, called the Picture Gallery or *Galerie en bas*, was created for the exhibition of 67 masterpieces from the collection.¹³⁸ The 1795 catalogue is the only source with which the interior's painting decoration can be somehow reconstructed, since there are no other visual or written sources recording the pictures' arrangement.¹³⁹ The small Cabinet next to the *Salle de Salomon* [the Solomon Room] (meant as a salon in which the king received his guests) was the second interior arrayed in the form of a gallery, in which hung another 46 paintings.¹⁴⁰ Another room, originally intended for pictures' display, was a so-called *Grand Cabinet du pont* [Great Cabinet of the Bridge], located in the west pavilion adjoining the island, which was connected to the Palace by a bridge and a glazed colonnade.¹⁴¹ Despite the suggestion of ample space (according to the French name of the room), it was not that large, as solely 30 paintings could be exhibited there.¹⁴² Furthermore, the Dining Room on the ground floor was decorated with 12 oval bust portraits of the king's family and two portraits of Stanisław August's parents by Bacciarelli. The court artist also painted a picture decoration for the *Salle de Salomon* and the *Rotonde* [the Rotunda] and it is notable that these were the only two interiors in the palace arranged according to an iconographical programme that promoted Poniatowski's political propaganda.¹⁴³ The *Salle de Salomon*, then also called *Salle de compagnie* [Company Room] was adorned with representations from the history of the Biblical king Solomon, who was the sage and architect of the Temple of

¹³⁴ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 10.

¹³⁵ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 11.

¹³⁶ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 12.

¹³⁷ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 18-19.

¹³⁸ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 18.

¹³⁹ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 19. In the 1795 catalogue the locations of paintings are pencilled, however frequently hardly legibly.

¹⁴⁰ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 20. This interior was officially named *Cabinet près de la salle de compagnie*.

¹⁴¹ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 21.

¹⁴² Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 21.

¹⁴³ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 15.

Jerusalem. These representations served as a metaphor of Stanisław August's reign with an emphasis on his erudite patronage of art¹⁴⁴, fitting very well in the idea of self-representation as Enlightened monarch.

On the first floor of the Palace was the king's private apartment. It was also adorned with high-class paintings, for instance around 38 paintings were located in the Cabinet near the king's Study Room and another 32 pieces hung in the Dressing Room.¹⁴⁵ The selection of pieces that hung in the private apartment, must have been rather personal, for the arrangement was not connected to the function of specific rooms. For example, in the Bedchamber Poniatowski had two portraits of his mother and father respectively, as well as some paintings of the Empress Catherine II the Great combined with Dutch and Flemish cabinet pieces.¹⁴⁶

The Belvedere Palace and the Palace in Koźienice were the two other residences in which some paintings from the king's collection were gathered. These are less important since they housed solely paintings of a lesser quality. Nonetheless, they require mentioning as they frequently figure in the 1795 catalogue.

Stanisław August came into possession of the Belvedere Palace together with the acquisition of the Łazienki Estate. The king designated at least a certain part of the building for the production of porcelain, as the raw materials could be found in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, the plans of porcelain production were soon abandoned, in favour of faience manufacture. This was primarily because the production embraced the products of the everyday needs of the royal court, however, over time the Belvedere became to be known as one of the best European manufactures of faience.¹⁴⁷

Taken chronologically the Palace in Koźienice was the third residence which Stanisław August decided to build and exploit. The whole complex was realised in 1776-1778, according to the project of the court architect Francesco Placidi (1710/1715-1782), who received also the function of a manager of all economic matters with regard to this residence. Unfortunately, the king could not enjoy the Koźienice Palace for long, it was completely devastated by the Russian army during the Kościuszko Uprising in 1794.¹⁴⁸

Both the Belvedere Palace and the Koźienice Palace figure in various inventories. For instance the *Catalogue der Portraiter und anderen bilder [sic] welche aus Belweder nach Koszenidez [Koźienice] seien genohmen worden den 18-ten November 1785* [Catalogue of portraits and other pictures that were taken from Belvedere to Koźienice on 18th November 1785] lists 182 objects of art, whereas the *Extrait du Catalogue de l'annee 1785 des tableaux pei[n]f[s] a Koźienice* [Extract of the catalogue from 1785 of pictures painted in Koźienice] includes 179 paintings.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 15.

¹⁴⁵ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 24-25.

¹⁴⁶ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 25.

¹⁴⁷ See the website: <http://www.president.pl/en/presidential-residences/belweder/>.

¹⁴⁸ See the website: <http://www.muzeum-kozienice.pl/historia-muzeum-i-jego-siedziby.html>. The name of the uprising comes from its main initiator Tadeusz Kościuszko (1746-1817), a military engineer, statesman and military leader.

¹⁴⁹ Mańkowski 1932, p. 72.

1.2. Netherlandish painting in the collection in general

1.2.1. General remarks

Before discussing the Dutch and Flemish paintings from Stanisław August's collection, it is necessary to make some preliminary remarks about the manner in which they will be analysed.

First, as explained in the introduction, the Dutch and Flemish painting schools will be treated together. It also seems reasonable not to separate them because it is unclear to what extent this distinction has played a role for the author of the 1795 catalogue. Moreover, Dutch and Flemish schools are not always correctly distinguished in the catalogue. For instance, there were three paintings in the collection of Poniatowski, which are currently attributed to Jan Victors.¹⁵⁰ One of them – *Joseph's Bloodied Coat is Shown to Jacob* – was in the 1795 catalogue attributed to Ferdinand Bol and the second one – *Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph* – was described as the school of Rembrandt. The third Victors' painting – *Esau Selling His Birthright to Jacob for a Soup of Lentils* – was categorized as "Flemish school", whereas at the invoice of Pierre Blanc, confirming the purchase of this painting by Poniatowski, this canvas is reported as the school of Rembrandt. The same situation occurs with a painting by Dirk Maas¹⁵¹ which is in the 1795 catalogue attributed to that artist, however, in the description is also written that the painting is made in the Flemish manner. Both examples indicate that when using the statement "Flemish school", presumably either Flemish or Dutch painting school could be meant. Therefore, it seemed logical to examine both schools together.

Second, it is important to have in mind that the catalogue, which was published by Mańkowski and used as a basis for this analysis, contains information from three different catalogues altogether. As the attributions changed over time, there were also discrepancies in the different inventories and catalogues included in Mańkowski's publication.

Third, at times only artist's surnames were ascribed to items in the catalogue. If it concerns surnames of painters who came from families in which multiple men (either brother, cousins or family members from different generations) had the painters' profession, as has been established recently, it is rather problematic to relate such a painting with a concrete person. Hence, for most such cases the descriptions are no longer related to existing paintings and concern unidentified objects. However, difficulties can even occur in the case of identified pieces. For instance, there are two paintings described as by Saftleven ("ZACHTLEBEN"), by which it is not firm whether either Herman (1609-1685) or his brother Cornelis (1607-1681) is meant, as both artists were trained by the same master (their father), had developed a similar painting style and the given works are no longer available. The same counts for all paintings that are listed as "VAN MIERIS" or "MIERIS", as there

¹⁵⁰ From these three paintings one is signed and at the second one traces of signature are visible.

¹⁵¹ However, this is not a completely certain attribution.

are multiple painters with the last name “Van Mieris” (Frans the Elder, Frans the Younger and Willem). It is also relevant for works by Cuyps (there are Aelbert and Benjamin Gerritsz.) and by Brueghels (Jan the Elder, Jan the Younger, Pieter the Elder, Pieter the Younger).¹⁵²

Furthermore, in some descriptions a painting was linked with a name of a famous artist, such as Brueghel or Van Mieris, but was placed (either exhibited or stored) in the Belvedere or Kozienice Palace. Commonly, paintings of great value were displayed either at the Royal Castle in Warsaw or at the Palace on the Isle. Therefore, it can be assumed that in cases such as the above, the last name of the famous artist of a painting from Kozienice or Belvedere indicated at the style in which it was painted, rather than the authorship. It seems even more plausible given that many other paintings either at Belvedere or Kozienice are described as “study of”, “in the style of”, “copy of” or “after”.

Finally, in extension of the previous remark, the analysis includes not only pictures described as originals of a given artist or originating from a specific painting school (such as the school of Rembrandt), but also those recorded as “after”, “in the style of”, “copy of”, “study of” the artist. Moreover, pieces stated as coming from the Dutch/Flemish school, made in the Dutch/Flemish manner/style or revealing Dutch/Flemish subject are taken into the account. Hence, this analysis is aimed not to judge the collection by means of its “originals”, but to investigate the role of Dutch and Flemish painting within the entire collection. For example, the amount of copies after famous Netherlandish artists that were recorded in the royal atelier near the Royal Castle in Warsaw indicates that those painters were considered important in the training and work of the court painters of Stanisław August’s regime.¹⁵³ Possession of non-original Netherlandish paintings reveals the king’s determination to have these examples in his reach, even when he could not have originals (for instance because of financial limitations). This demonstrates the significance that Poniatowski attached to the Netherlandish school and suggests his preference for it.

¹⁵² Some items are ascribed to „Brueghel the Elder” and they should thematically rather be related to Jan Brueghel the Elder. Poniatowski collected foremost paintings from seventeenth-century onwards, rather than those executed before that period, which makes the link with Jan more plausible than with Pieter.

¹⁵³ Form 341 Dutch and Flemish paintings in the Poniatowski’s collection I have counted 34 that were situated in the atelier.

1.2.2. Genres

Before discussing specific Dutch and Flemish painting schools that were represented in the collection of Stanisław August, it is worthwhile to sketch the general tendencies in terms of genres which the king collected.

Out of 2478 paintings that were listed in the 1795 catalogue, 337 can be associated with either Dutch or Flemish painting school (tab. 1).¹⁵⁴ That number includes 184 Dutch paintings, 143 Flemish, one early Netherlandish and 9 determined as uncertain, which means in this case that a painting is related to either Dutch or Flemish school, however, the catalogue description refers to both of them (tab. 2).¹⁵⁵ Regarding periods in which these Netherlandish paintings were executed, most of them were made in the seventeenth century. Additionally, there is a considerable number of eighteenth-century pictures and a few examples originating from the sixteenth century.

In terms of genres, the most numerous group is formed by landscapes, counting 79 pictures (tab. 3), out of which nine are marine pieces and three are architecture views. With respect to the division of landscapes between the residences, approximately 30 pieces were placed in the Royal Castle in Warsaw and almost the same amount hung in the Palace on the Isle, whereas the rest were stored in the Belvedere Palace.

The second largest genre is portrait, counting 77 pieces. Most of the Netherlandish portraits (50 pieces) hung in the Palace on the Isle, while only 16 portraits were placed in the Royal Castle. This phenomenon might be explained by the different functions (private versus public) that the residences fulfilled. The Royal Castle was the king's official residence and the place of Parliament's gatherings. Therefore, portraits placed there revealed the Polish royal family and other Poles, important to the history of the country, which made these pictures historically and nationally significant. On the other hand, Netherlandish portraits represented either anonymous persons, European monarchs (such as the English king Charles I) or were self-portraits of the artists. They were appreciated for their artistic value, and therefore, generally placed in the Palace on the Isle, meant to display the best of the Old Masters.

The subsequent genre group in the king's collection of Netherlandish painting were genre pieces (65 pictures) and history pieces (64 pictures), with the latter thematically subdivided into: allegories (2 objects), historical events (2), mythologies (15) and religious scenes, either biblical events or personages or (life of) saints (45).

¹⁵⁴ The given number of Netherlandish paintings, the following division and the explanation is based on my own research of the catalogue descriptions.

¹⁵⁵ This issue is somehow related to the problematic commented in the section above, namely that it is uncertain to what extent a distinction was made between the Dutch and Flemish school. As uncertain are also determined paintings that the catalogue description refers to as from both Dutch and Flemish schools, for instance there is a painting specified as "copy of Rembrandt" and simultaneously as made in the "Flemish style". If in the description an indication to only one of these schools is made, it is then determined as either Dutch or Flemish, however it must be admitted that those associations are not always certain. See the comment in the section above.

37 genre pieces hung in the Palace on the Isle and only several examples in the Royal Castle in Warsaw. Most of the genre pieces from the Royal Castle were recorded to be in the royal atelier, which suggests that they functioned as models for court painters, rather than decorations of the king's official residence. Regarding the display location of the history pieces, 28 of them hung in the Royal Castle, 22 in the Palace on the Isle (most of which had mythological subject), 12 pieces were placed in the Belvedere Palace (almost all of them from the religious subcategory) and 4 hung in Koźienice.

The next genre group has 28 paintings revealing scenes with animals (14 pictures), hunts (9 pictures) or the military (5 pictures). Except for hunt scenes which were displayed almost entirely in the Palace on the Isle, a tendency cannot be discerned regarding the place of display for the rest.

The last genre category counts 19 still life paintings, of which 9 pieces represent flowers, two pendants are hunting still lifes and another two depict fruit. Almost all still life pieces were placed in the Palace on the Isle.

1.2.3. Netherlandish painting in the collection per stylistic schools

1.2.3.1. The circle of Rubens and Van Dyck

The most numerous painting school that can be singled out of the Netherlandish paintings possessed by Stanisław August, is the seventeenth-century circle of painters from Antwerp related to Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and his most renowned pupil, Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). This group counts 60 pieces.

Strictly related to the name of Rubens are paintings recorded as: made by Rubens (3 pieces), the school of Rubens (9), after Rubens (16), after Rubens and Van Dyck (2), sketch by Rubens (1) and in the style of Rubens and Frans Snijders (1). With the name of Van Dyck can be associated paintings described as: by Van Dyck (6 pieces), school of Van Dyck (2), after Van Dyck (9) and in the style of Van Dyck (3). Furthermore, there are some paintings related to the artists from Rubens' circle, namely: one painting by Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678), one after Jordaens and another one by Simon de Vos (1603-1676). There are also some pictures not assigned to the Flemish school in the royal catalogue, however the association with that painting school followed later. It concerns one painting after Rubens, one after Jordaens, another by Justus van Egmont (1602-1674) and one by Pieter Soutman (1580-1657).

From 60 pieces related to the Rubens circle only nine are now identified.¹⁵⁶ One of them is made by a Vienna painter Adam Braun (1748-1827) and this is a copy of the *Portrait of Hélène Fourment (1614-1673) in a fur coat* (fig. 2), originally by Rubens¹⁵⁷, then and currently displayed at the Palace on the Isle.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, there are two copies after Rubens or Van Dyck (fig. 3 and 4), that were then regarded as pendants and still are exhibited (together) in the Łazienki Palace.¹⁵⁹ They reveal Jean-Charles de Cordes and his wife Jacqueline van Caestre. In the time of Stanisław August these portraits were displayed at the west pavilion of the Palace at the *Grand Cabinet du pont*.¹⁶⁰ Another identified painting was certainly considered important, as it hung in the Picture Gallery in the Łazienki Palace. This *Portrait of Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke and 1st Earl of Montgomery* (fig. 5) was then thought to be original Van Dyck.¹⁶¹ Nowadays it is described as "after Van Dyck" and can still be viewed in its original setting. Finally, among the identified items are a couple of paintings later attributed to the circle of Rubens: *Portrait of Marie Louise de Gonzague (1611-1667), the Future Queen of Poland* by Justus van Egmont (fig. 6, then in the Łazienki Palace, now in the National Museum in Warsaw)¹⁶², *Satyr Playing a Flute* by Jordaens (fig. 7, always in the Palace on the Isle, in the eighteenth century at the west pavilion in the *Grand Cabinet du pont*), *Flora, Silenus and Zephyr*

¹⁵⁶ For detailed information on identified paintings see tab. 4.

¹⁵⁷ The original can be currently viewed in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

¹⁵⁸ No. 1676 in the 1795 catalogue.

¹⁵⁹ Nos. 1193 and 1194 in the 1795 catalogue.

¹⁶⁰ Juszczyk/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 181-182.

¹⁶¹ No. 1680 in the 1795 catalogue.

¹⁶² Probably no. 2191 in the 1795 catalogue.

after Jordaens (fig. 8, always at the Łazienki Palace, in the Bacchus room)¹⁶³, *Portrait of a Lady* by Soutman (fig. 9, then in the Łazienki Palace at the Picture Gallery, currently in the National Museum in Warsaw)¹⁶⁴ and the *Seven Deeds of Mercy* by Simon de Vos (fig. 10, then also at the Palace on the Isle, but now in the National Museum in Warsaw).¹⁶⁵

In terms of display location of paintings related to the circle of Rubens, they were almost equally spread between the Palace on the Isle (approximately 25 pieces¹⁶⁶) and the Royal Castle in Warsaw (24 pieces), while a few were both in the Belvedere Palace and in the Koźienice Palace. In the Palace on the Isle, the circle of Rubens could be seen across many different rooms. The fact that five images hung in the Picture Gallery proves their important status within the collection. Since the Picture Gallery was the most frequently visited place by the palace guests and therefore might have played a role in the king's self-fashioning as Enlightened monarch, these pictures might have also been a part of making this impression. These were: a copy of the portrait of Rubens and his wife (originally by Rubens), portrait of a lady by Soutman, copy of the portrait of the earl (originally by Van Dyck) and two paintings recorded as the school of Rubens: one still life and one mythological scene. A couple of paintings related to the circle of Rubens could be found in the Cabinet near the *Salle de Salomon*, in the so-called Portrait Room and in the *Grand Cabinet du pont* (now part of the west pavilion). The remaining paintings were spread singly between the rest of rooms, for instance, there was one in the Vestibule. Regarding the paintings from Rubens' circle that hung in the Royal Castle in Warsaw, they were the most numerous represented in the Council Chamber. There were six pieces in all: two religious scenes, one mythological scene and three portraits. Since the Council Chamber was also a frequently visited place by important, influential personages, paintings hanging there might have played a role in the king's self-representation. Five paintings hung also in the royal "lower" atelier¹⁶⁷ (two portraits, one religious, one allegorical and one mythological) and three in the Royal Bedchamber (a religious theme, a portrait and a history). Some paintings related to Rubens and Van Dyck could be also viewed at the cabinet of the "upper atelier"¹⁶⁸ (two portraits), at the Dressing Room (mythological piece and portrait) and at the First Green Room (two mythological scenes). A few paintings (in total approximately 10 pieces) stored in the Belvedere Palace and in the Koźienice Palace were mostly copies after Rubens or Van Dyck or painted in the style of one of them.

The paintings considered as originally made by Rubens, Van Dyck or a pupil from their narrowest circle were given the highest values. The most expensive ones,

¹⁶³ No. 93 in the 1795 catalogue.

¹⁶⁴ No. 1374 in the 1795 catalogue.

¹⁶⁵ No. 40 in the 1795 catalogue.

¹⁶⁶ Approximate numbers are given because some paintings (only during the reign of Stanisław August) changed their location from the Palace on the Isle to the Royal Castle in Warsaw (and also other way around).

¹⁶⁷ The original name for the atelier is "atelier en bas". With this must be meant the atelier situated at the ground floor, contrary to the "atelier en haut" that was located at one of the upper floors.

¹⁶⁸ Originally "au cabinet de l'atelier en haut". See the note above.

estimated at 300 ducats each, were a portrait of Charles V attributed to Van Dyck and a painting considered as an original Rubens, depicting a biblical story of a fish with a coin in its mouth.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, there were pictures valued approximately between 100 and 150 ducats, still by Rubens and Van Dyck or from their narrowest circle. Among them were a hunt scene and landscape by Rubens (150 and respectively 80 ducats), a sketch by Rubens depicting the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple (80 (100) ducats¹⁷⁰), four portraits by Van Dyck (100, 50 (40), 60 (120) and 40 ducats) and a piece with mythological figures by Jordaens (140 ducats). Subsequently, there appeared a couple of mostly religious and mythological paintings described as the school of Rubens (between 30 and 125 ducats) and two religious pictures from the school of Van Dyck (60 and 15 (8) ducats). The rest of paintings associated with this group are copies after Rubens and Van Dyck or influenced by their style and their values vary between 1 and 70 ducats.

¹⁶⁹ The representation must refer to the following fragment from the New Testament: "When they came to Capernaum, the collectors of the two-drachma tax went up to Peter and said, "Does your teacher not pay the tax?" He said, "Yes." And when he came into the house, Jesus spoke to him first, saying, "What do you think, Simon? From whom do kings of the earth take toll or tax? From their sons or from others?" And when he said, "From others," Jesus said to him, "Then the sons are free. However, not to give offense to them, go to the sea and cast a hook and take the first fish that comes up, and when you open its mouth you will find a shekel. Take that and give it to them for me and for yourself." See Matthew 17, 24-27.

¹⁷⁰ The value in brackets is probably a changed value, estimated later than the first one which is given when purchased.

1.2.3.2. The circle of Rembrandt

The second largest Netherlandish painting school from the collection of Stanisław August are works from the circle of Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669). There were 40 paintings in the royal collection that could be related to this circle.

An analysis of numbers demonstrates undoubtedly the appreciation and admiration that Poniatowski had for Rembrandt. The king gathered 13 paintings that at this time were considered original Rembrandts.¹⁷¹ Besides, there were also plenty of artworks ascribed to the most prominent pupils and artists from the circle of Rembrandt: two portraits and two religious pieces by Ferdinand Bol (1616-1680)¹⁷², one portrait by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621-1674)¹⁷³, one portrait by Govaert Flinck (1615-1660)¹⁷⁴, one portrait by Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613-1670)¹⁷⁵, one biblical scene by Salomon Koninck (1609-1656), one portrait by Aert de Gelder (1645-1727)¹⁷⁶, one biblical scene, described once as the school of Rembrandt and once as by Jan Lievens (1607-1674)¹⁷⁷, and two paintings recorded as the school of Rembrandt (biblical story and a portrait).¹⁷⁸ There were also two identified paintings, now considered wartime losses, attributed in the 1795 catalogue to Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich (1712-1774), but later described as a follower of Bol or Rembrandt.¹⁷⁹ Another identified painting, currently attributed to Jan Victors (1619-1676), in the 1795 catalogue was listed as “Flemish school”.¹⁸⁰ Subsequently, there were seven copies after Rembrandt (three religious pictures and four portraits), one of which was additionally recorded as a work by Norblin and the other described simply as “Flemish school”.¹⁸¹ In addition, there was one portrait recorded as after Bartholomeus van der Helst¹⁸² and four other paintings (two religious scenes and two portraits) described in the 1795 catalogue as “in the style of Rembrandt”.¹⁸³

As Rembrandt’s circle was considered a very important painting school within the king’s collection, the paintings belonging to this group were probably preserved

¹⁷¹ For one of them the name of Rembrandt was crossed out in the catalogue (no. 499 in the 1795 catalogue). The attribution might have been changed over time. This case will be further discussed.

¹⁷² At the present day three of them are identified: one still as Bol, one as Jan Victors and one as after Rembrandt.

¹⁷³ This painting is unidentified nowadays.

¹⁷⁴ Identified, presently regarded as after Govaert Flinck.

¹⁷⁵ Nowadays unidentified.

¹⁷⁶ This is still a current attribution.

¹⁷⁷ This work is identified and attributed to Jan Victors.

¹⁷⁸ The religious one is unidentified, whereas the portrait is identified as the work of Govaert Flinck.

¹⁷⁹ Nos. 43 and 54 in the 1795 catalogue. For no. 43 and its description see:

<https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/record?filters%5Bcollectienaam%5D=Stanislaw+II+August+Poniatowski+%28king+of+Poland%29&query=&start=54>. For no. 54 and its description see:

<https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/record?filters%5Bcollectienaam%5D=Stanislaw+II+August+Poniatowski+%28king+of+Poland%29&query=&start=60>. Juszczak and Małachowicz described these paintings as originals by Bol. See Juszczak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 535.

¹⁸⁰ No. 84 in the 1795 catalogue. For the current attribution see Juszczak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 405.

¹⁸¹ From these seven copies only the one made by Norblin is nowadays identified.

¹⁸² This work is nowadays identified and regarded as original work by Bartholomeus van der Helst.

¹⁸³ From these four paintings one portrait and one religious piece are identified. The portrait is attributed to Pieter Hermansz. Verelst (1618-1688) and the religious piece representing Jesus among the Doctors is attributed to Leonaert Bramer (1596-1674) or his workshop.

with the greatest caution. This can explain why so many of them (24 out of 40 pieces) are currently still identifiable.

As mentioned above, 13 paintings (one religious and twelve portraits) in the collection of Stanisław August were considered original Rembrandts, out of which ten pictures are at the present day identified. Within this group there is only one religious painting. It is titled *Ecce homo* (fig. 11) and in Poniatowski's time it was placed in the Picture Gallery of the Palace on the Isle. Currently the painting is exhibited in the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg. It is no longer ascribed to Rembrandt: currently the work is given an uncertain attribution to Nicolaes Maes (1634-1693).¹⁸⁴ Nonetheless, in Stanisław August's time it was highly estimated. Hence, the work was valued 500 ducats, which is one of the highest prices of paintings from the royal collection. Moreover, according to the catalogue description, it was considered the best work by Rembrandt from the royal collection.¹⁸⁵ The piece, which is almost two meters high and more than one meter wide, depicts a suffering figure of Christ who is flanked by mocking soldiers. That the work called much attention of the visitors in the Picture Gallery can be concluded from the travel diary of French traveller Alphonse-Toussaint de Fortia de Piles.¹⁸⁶ Also it is evident that the king himself had a high esteem for this painting, because after the abdication he ordered it to be sent to Grodno where he resided.¹⁸⁷

Two other Rembrandt paintings – *Girl in a Picture Frame* (fig. 12) and *Scholar at His Writing Table* (fig. 13) – are currently owned by the Royal Castle in Warsaw and have remained with their historical attribution to the Dutch master until the present day. Stanisław August presented them as pendants in his Picture Gallery at the Łazienki Palace, the same as their previous owner, Count Friedrich Paul von Kamecke (1711-1769). Nonetheless, it is uncertain whether the paintings were originally meant to be displayed as a pair.¹⁸⁸ They have almost the same size and were considered pendants perhaps as early as 1711.¹⁸⁹ Rembrandt might have made them around the same period (ca. 1639-1641) as they are both painted on poplar panels. The use of this kind of wood is very rare in the Rembrandt's practice and the Warsaw paintings are the two of five pictures painted on this sort of panel.¹⁹⁰ These paintings were also relatively highly prized in the collection of Poniatowski –

¹⁸⁴ The attribution to Rembrandt has been abandoned at the end of the eighteenth century. For the current attribution see the website of the Hermitage:

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings/45298>.

¹⁸⁵ Under no. 244 in the 1795 catalogue the following comment can be found: „un des plus beaux tableaux de ce maître”. See also in: T. Mańkowski, *Obrazy Rembrandta w galerji Stanisława Augusta*, Kraków 1929, p. 22.

¹⁸⁶ Mańkowski 1929, p. 22. For the entire travel description see A.-T. Fortia de Piles, *Voyage de deux Français en Allemagne, Danemark, Suède, Russie et Pologne fait en 1790-1792*, vol. 5, Paris 1796.

¹⁸⁷ Mańkowski 1929, p. 22. Grodno was the town in Russia to which the king moved after the abdication. More explanation for such a high valuation of this painting will be given in chapter 4.

¹⁸⁸ I. Zychowicz (ed.), *Rembrandt and others. The Royal Collection of Stanisław August Poniatowski*, vol. II, exh. cat. Warsaw (Palace on the Isle Royal Łazienki Museum in Warsaw) 2011, p. 49.

¹⁸⁹ If they are paintings listed in the inventory of Jan van Lennep's estate from 1711. See Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 393.

¹⁹⁰ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 393.

the *Girl in a Picture Frame* at 300 ducats and the *Scholar at His Writing Table* at 200 ducats.

Another painting identified as Rembrandt in the collection of Stanisław August is described in the 1795 catalogue as “Cossack on Horseback” and valued at 200 ducats. According to the data recorded in that catalogue, this painting hung in the Antechamber at the First Floor of the Łazienki Palace, however Mańkowski mentioned that it was placed in the Picture Gallery.¹⁹¹ This work currently makes part of the Frick Collection in New York and its title is *The Polish Rider* (fig. 14). Many speculations concerning the actual subject matter and the portrayed person appeared in the literature. For instance, Zdzisław Żygulski argued that it is an equestrian portrait from life of a Polish gentleman whose clothing and equipment were characteristic for the Polish light cavalry in the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁹² Poniatowski might have attached much importance to that painting, as it was also mentioned in the list of works of art that he ordered to be transported to Grodno.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, the painting never arrived there and remained in Warsaw until after the king’s death, it was inherited by Prince Józef Poniatowski (nephew and heir of Stanisław August, 1763-1813).

A subsequent example, described in the 1795 catalogue as “Man with a great hat and a collar around his neck in octagon – by Rembrandt”, was purchased for relatively low price, 80 ducats.¹⁹⁴ Although the painting came into the collection as painted by Rembrandt and was signed as such, in the 1795 catalogue the artist’s name was temporarily crossed out and replaced by the name of “Coëp”. According to Mańkowski, Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp (1612-1652) must be meant by that.¹⁹⁵ Despite the original signature by Rembrandt, the painting is now a part of the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw, known as the *Portrait of Maerten Soolmans (1613-1641)* (fig. 15), and is currently ascribed to Rembrandt’s workshop. The signature might be explained by the common practice of the master to sign his pupils’ works, aiming to raise their values.¹⁹⁶ Since the portrait was placed in the Picture Gallery of the Palace on the Isle, Stanisław August might have considered it another important work to be viewed by his visitors.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹¹ Mańkowski 1929, p. 17.

¹⁹² B.F. Davidson, E. Munhall (ed.), *The Frick Collection. An Illustrated Catalogue. Volume I. Paintings. American, British, Dutch, Flemish and German*, New York 1968, pp. 262-263. See also: Z. Żygulski, ‘Rembrandt’s ‘Lisowczyk’: Study of a Costume and Weapons’, *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 1965 (VI, no. 2-3), pp. 43-67.

¹⁹³ Davidson/Munhall 1968, p. 263.

¹⁹⁴ No. 499 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1929, p. 6.

¹⁹⁵ Mańkowski 1932, p. 56.

¹⁹⁶ A. Ziemia, ‘Obrazy Rembrandta w Polsce’, in: A. Kozak, A. Ziemia (ed.), *Sztuka cenniejsza niż złoto: obrazy, rysunki i ryciny dawnych mistrzów europejskich ze zbiorów polskich: wystawa poświęcona pamięci Jana Białostockiego*, exh. cat. Warszawa (Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie) 1999, p. 65.

¹⁹⁷ Although in the 1795 catalogue this location of the painting is given, Mańkowski mentioned in his publication that the painting hung in the „cabinet près de la salle de compagnie”. Mańkowski 1932, p. 56.

Other picture by Rembrandt recorded in the Łazienki Picture Gallery was the *Portrait of a Man in a Tall Hat* (fig. 16).¹⁹⁸ The painting still hangs in its historical placement (as a property of the Royal Łazienki Museum)¹⁹⁹, but the attribution to Rembrandt was abandoned already in the mid-nineteenth century. The author must be a Dutch painter, active in the mid-seventeenth century, who was influenced by Rembrandt, but his exact name has remained unknown.²⁰⁰ The painting was acquired for 120 ducats and in the catalogue described as “Man in half-length, dressed in black, with the mustaches” with an additional comment – “Beautiful head”. According to Mańkowski, the painting by the unknown Dutch painter was not in the king’s collection and hung in the Palace on the Isle after 1815, by which it replaced the portrait purchased by Wincenty Raczyński (1771-1857, count and chamberlain of Stanisław August).²⁰¹ In Mańkowski’s opinion the latter painting was previously in the collection of the king under the same number (590). This idea is recently rejected by Juszcak and Małachowicz, as on the surface of the painting that was mentioned first, a red number 590 painted in the right bottom corner of the canvas, is clearly visible. Moreover, Juszcak and Małachowicz assumed that Mańkowski must have made a mistake because of the contradicting annotations concerning the painting described under number 590.²⁰²

The *Bust of a Young Man* (fig. 17) that once hung in the Antechamber near the king’s Study Room, was valued even lower – only 15 ducats. This prize might have been connected to the fact that the name of Rembrandt, previously visible by the description of this painting in the 1795 catalogue, was later crossed out. Currently, the work is stated to be of a hand of seventeenth-century Rembrandt’s follower, however it could also be made by an eighteenth-century imitator that painted in the rembrandtesque style.²⁰³ Significant is that this work resembles Rembrandt’s early self-portraits from circa 1629, in which the figures are directed to the opposite side than at the follower’s painting. According to Ziembra, this suggests that the follower might have used engravings of currently non-existing portraits by Rembrandt.²⁰⁴ The work now belongs to the private collection.

Under numbers 50 and 51 in the 1795 catalogue could be found descriptions of two paintings that are currently considered as wartime losses, however the previous attribution to Rembrandt was abandoned even earlier. *An Old Man Dressed in Black* (no. 50) was attributed to Dietrich and the *Portrait of a Young Man* to another eighteenth-century follower of Rembrandt. The painting by Dietrich was valued at 30 and later 15 ducats, whereas the painting by the unknown follower was prized somehow higher – at 50 and later 20 ducats. Despite rather low values both paintings

¹⁹⁸ No. 590 in the 1795 catalogue.

¹⁹⁹ Presumably the work was (temporarily) translocated to another room in the Łazienki Palace – so-called Portrait Cabinet (“cabinet près la sale de compagnie”) – as the number of this room is given in the brackets next to the number of the Picture Gallery.

²⁰⁰ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 426.

²⁰¹ Mańkowski 1929, pp. 11-12.

²⁰² Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 427, 429.

²⁰³ Ziembra 1999, p. 66.

²⁰⁴ Ziembra 1999, p. 67.

hung in the Picture Gallery of the Palace on the Isle. The *Portrait of a Young Man* must have been especially appreciated by the king, as it was among the works of art that Poniatowski ordered to be sent to his residence in Grodno after the abdication.

Another painting from Stanisław August's collection classified as original Rembrandt is the *Portrait of an Old Woman* (fig. 18) now in the National Museum in Warsaw and identified as a work of Bol.²⁰⁵ The exact motivation to attribute this painting to Rembrandt while in the royal collection is unknown. It was possibly based on stylistic arguments, however it still remains curious because of Bol's signature on the painting's surface, which was well visible and known. Even the description in the 1795 catalogue contains that information: "At the painting is written the name of Bol".²⁰⁶ The picture was primarily priced at 150 ducats, but later its estimated value was adjusted to 100 and then 400 ducats. The painting firstly hung in the Antechamber near the king's Study Room at the Palace on the Isle and later in the Picture Gallery.²⁰⁷ This translocation together with the fact that the king ordered the painting to be taken to Grodno after 1795, indicate that he found it important within his collection.

Three remaining paintings recorded as works by Rembrandt are unfortunately unidentified at the present time. Two of them (recorded under nos. 1825 and 1826) had the same measurements and were treated as pendants. They were valued at 200 and 150 ducats and described as "An old man holding a sword in his hand" and "An old woman holding a chain and counting money". As the above-described Bol's painting, these pendants were also displayed in the Antechamber near the king's Study Room. Both their prices and the fact that the king asked them to be sent to Grodno, prove of their significant position within the royal collection. The receipt of these paintings in Grodno was confirmed in the king's letter to Bacciarelli dated 7th of September 1797. He wrote about them as "The judge and his wife by Rembrandt", which confirms that they were then considered pendants.²⁰⁸ Mańkowski argued that the paintings were presumably sold in Saint Petersburg after the king's death, in order to pay off his debts, and that they were rather not by the hand of Rembrandt, otherwise they would have appeared somewhere during later years and would have been mentioned by Hofstede de Groot.²⁰⁹ The last painting recorded as Rembrandt and unidentified was described in the 1795 catalogue as "A Jew in half-length and en face, two hands put together and white beard, with a red hat that puts him in shadow". It was valued at 20 ducats and hung previously at the Łazienki Palace in the Chamber of the Aides ["la chambre des adjudants"] and later in the Belvedere Palace in the first room downstairs, right from the entrance door of the palace ["a la

²⁰⁵ No. 137 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁰⁶ The original text in French reads as follows: "Dans le tableau est écrit le nom Ferdinand Boll".

²⁰⁷ Although it is unknown why the painting's value is raised, the reason might be the same as for the translocation of the painting from the Antechamber to the Picture Gallery, where the most valuable paintings were placed.

²⁰⁸ Mańkowski 1929, p. 25.

²⁰⁹ Mańkowski 1929, p. 26.

1-ere chambre en bas à gauche de la porte d'entrée au palais”].²¹⁰ According to Mańkowski, it is also the case of this piece that it did not correspond to any of Rembrandt's paintings listed by De Groot (unless it was the one described under no. 521).²¹¹

In terms of attribution changing over time, it is interesting to pay attention also to the rest of the newly identified paintings from the circle of Rembrandt or in the style of the Dutch master. In the collection there were three paintings attributed to Bol. The first and the only one that remained with its attribution to Bol was valued at 60 ducats and hung in the *Grand Cabinet du pont* in the Łazienki Palace. Currently titled *Portrait of Johanna de Geer-Trip (1627-1691) with Her Daughter Caecilia* (fig. 19) belongs to the collection of National Museum in Warsaw. The other two paintings that figured in Poniatowski's collection as made by Bol were religious pieces, valued each at 100 ducats. One of them, now titled *Saint Peter the Repentant after Rembrandt* (fig. 20), belongs to the Royal Castle in Warsaw. It hung earlier both in the Royal Castle (in an unidentified room) and in the Palace on the Isle in the Dressing Room on the first floor. Another piece then attributed to Bol, currently titled *Joseph's Bloodied Coat is Shown to Jacob* (fig. 21) is ascribed to Jan Victors. It used to hang in the so-called Portrait Cabinet in the Łazienki Palace, in which it is presently still exhibited. Subsequently, there was a pair of portraits described in the 1795 catalogue as made by Dietrich, each valued at 25 ducats and exhibited in the Picture Gallery of the Łazienki Palace.²¹² Currently, they are known as wartime losses and their last owner was the National Museum in Warsaw. The *Portrait of an Unknown Young Woman* was stated as made by a follower of Rembrandt or Bol, whereas the *Portrait of a Man in a Beret* by a follower of Rembrandt. There are two more paintings currently attributed to Jan Victors – *Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph* (fig. 22) from the National Museum in Warsaw²¹³ and *Esau Selling His Birthright to Jacob for a Soup of Lentils* (fig. 23) from the Royal Łazienki Museum.²¹⁴ The first painting was recorded in the royal catalogue as the school of Rembrandt, valued 125 ducats and placed in the First Green Room in the Royal Castle, whilst the second painting described as the Flemish school was valued 50 (and later 250) ducats and hung in the renowned Picture Gallery. Subsequently, there was a portrait by Govaert Flinck valued 50 (later 20 and 18) ducats that hung in the Picture Gallery. This *Man in a Red Cap* (fig. 24) is now considered a work after Govaert Flinck and still belongs to the Royal Łazienki Museum. A reverse situation in terms of attribution occurred with a portrait described in the royal catalogue as after Bartholomeus van der Helst, which

²¹⁰ Mańkowski 1932, p. 489. At the pages 487-489 a list of “Explication des endroits où sont placés les divers ouvrages mentionnés dans ce volume”. Peculiar is that in his publication from 1929 Mańkowski wrote about this painting that it hung in the Myślewiec Palace on the first floor. Possibly, it was the first location where the painting was placed. Moreover, Mańkowski mentioned that the painting was then valued at 50 ducats. See Mańkowski 1929, p. 26.

²¹¹ Mańkowski 1929, p. 26.

²¹² It concerns nos. 54 and 43. No. 43 hung primarily in the Dressing Room and is given in the catalogue an additional value in brackets, which is 12 ducats. This means that its value has been adjusted after time.

²¹³ No. 375 in the 1795 catalogue.

²¹⁴ No. 84 in the 1795 catalogue.

was exhibited in the Łazienki Palace (in the *Grand Cabinet du pont*) and priced at 15 ducats. Currently, this *Self-Portrait* (fig. 25) can be seen in the National Museum in Warsaw and is regarded an original work by Bartholomeus van der Helst. One of a few pictures that have not changed their attribution over time is a self-portrait by Aert de Gelder (fig. 26), purchased for 40 ducats (its value dropped later to 15 ducats only), which was also displayed in the *Grand Cabinet du pont*.²¹⁵ Recently, the painting has been included to the collection of the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg. Another identified painting was recorded in the royal catalogue as belonging to the school of Rembrandt, whereas it is now recognized as work of Govaert Flinck. This *Portrait of a Man in a Dark Costume* (fig. 27) can now be seen in the National Museum in Warsaw. When in Poniatowski's collection, it was valued at 40 and later 80 ducats and displayed at the Bedchamber of the Royal Castle. Two other pictures that have currently been identified, were described in the 1795 catalogue as in the style of Rembrandt, however without any artists' names given. The first one, representing the *Twelve-years-old Jesus Among the Doctors in the Temple* (fig. 28), is currently ascribed to Leonaert Bramer and/or his workshop. It belongs to the Ciechanowiecki Foundation and is exhibited in the Royal Castle in Warsaw. While it was part of the royal collection, it was given an estimated value of 20 (and later 24) ducats and hung in the First Green Room of the Royal Castle. The second piece that was earlier priced at 30 ducats, is now titled *Young Man in a Plumed Beret* (fig. 29) and is attributed to Pieter Hermansz. Verelst. It belongs to the collection of the Royal Łazienki Museum and can still be viewed in its original setting, the Picture Gallery.²¹⁶ The last identified painting related to the circle of Rembrandt is the above-mentioned copy after Rembrandt that in the catalogue of Poniatowski's collection is stated to be of the authorship of Norblin. It reveals the biblical event of the Potiphar's wife before her husband accusing Joseph²¹⁷ and it is presently owned by a private collector in Minneapolis (Minnesota). When it was possessed by the last Polish king, it was primarily placed at the cabinet of the atelier at the Royal Castle and afterwards in the Łazienki Estate at the White House downstairs [“la maison blanche en bas”]. The value of this copy was estimated at 10 (and later 15) ducats.

Summing up all paintings from the circle of Rembrandt, either by Rembrandt, or by his pupils and followers, 24 pieces are currently identified.²¹⁸ From this amount solely six works have kept their original attribution (three Rembrandts, one piece by Bol, one piece by Aert de Gelder and one stated as a follower of Rembrandt). Within the group of paintings with adjusted attributions, for seven works earlier considered Rembrandts, the attribution has been rejected (one is now ascribed to Bol, whereas the rest is classified as followers or workshop). For the rest of the works with a changed attribution, eight items have been ascribed to specific artists, whilst three

²¹⁵ Such as the painting after Flinck described above. It is here meant: “grand cabinet du pont vers le couchant”.

²¹⁶ According to the notations in the 1795 catalogue this pictures was also (at least) temporarily placed in the Myślewiec Palace on the first floor in the second chamber.

²¹⁷ Genesis 39, 16-20.

²¹⁸ This amount also includes the paintings that have been considered wartime losses, but we know them from photographs.

paintings are considered as “after” a specific artist or presumable work of a workshop of a concrete painter.

1.2.3.3. Italianate landscapists

The Italianate style was Poniatowski's preferred Netherlandish genre of landscapes.²¹⁹ In terms of numbers, the Italianate landscapists formed the third stylistic painting school represented in the royal collection, counting 28 paintings.

The following Italianate artists can be singled out: Jan (Crabbetje) Asselijn (1610-1652) (1 piece), Nicolaes Berchem (1622-1683) (4-5²²⁰), Paulus Potter (1625-1654) (1²²¹), Jan Both (1610-1652) together with Adriaen van de Velde (1636-1672) (1), Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1691) (1²²²), Jan Hackaert (1628-1685) (5), Jan van der Meer (1656-1691) (1), Frederik de Moucheron (1633-1686) (6), Johannes Lingelbach (1622-1674) (1²²³), Cornelis van Poelenburch (1594/95-1667) (3 pieces by the artist and 2 pieces in the style of him) and Thomas Wijck (1616-1677).

Among the Italianate landscapes from Stanisław August's collection, ten paintings are now identified: four of them have kept their historical attribution. These include two paintings by Moucheron, regarded as pendants in Poniatowski's collection.²²⁴ The *Wooded Landscape* (fig. 30) (now at the National Museum in Warsaw) and the *Wooded Landscape with a Bridge and a Castle* (fig. 31) (owned by the National Museum in Warsaw, on loan to the Royal Łazienki Museum) were each estimated at 80 ducats and both hung in the honourable Picture Gallery of the Palace on the Isle. They must have been highly appreciated as they are described in the royal catalogue as "Beautiful landscapes" and besides, the king ordered them to be sent to his residence in Grodno.²²⁵ Another painting with unchanged authorship is the *Nymphs and Satyrs in a Landscape* by Van Poelenburch (fig. 32) also now in the National Museum in Warsaw.²²⁶ It was then valued at 60 (and later 25) ducats and hung in the Portrait Cabinet of the Łazienki Palace. The fourth picture (now in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw), titled *Washerwoman in a Yard* (fig. 33), ascribed then as now to Thomas Wijck, and was then prized at 40 (25) ducats and placed in the Antechamber on the first floor of the Palace on Isle.²²⁷

Another set of identified Italianate landscapes are three pieces thought then to be by the hand of Berchem (by one of them also the name of Potter is mentioned). The first one, titled *Landscape with Cattle and Shepherds* (fig. 34) from the Royal Castle in Warsaw, now attributed to Jan Frans Soolmaker (1635-after 1685), was purchased for 100 ducats and later estimated at 60.²²⁸ It has changed its location

²¹⁹ Ziemia 1996, p. 46.

²²⁰ There are four or five because no. 167 is in one version of the catalogue ascribed to Berchem and in other version to Potter. The same occurs with no. 1143 which is ascribed once to Berchem and once to Aelbert Cuyp (?).

²²¹ See the comment by note 220.

²²² See the comment by note 220.

²²³ According to the 1795 catalogue this picture is painted by Moucheron in collaboration with Johannes Lingelbach. It is also counted by Moucheron.

²²⁴ Nos. 808 and 809 in the 1795 catalogue.

²²⁵ Their delivery in Grodno was confirmed in a letter by Stanisław August.

²²⁶ No. 41 in the 1795 catalogue.

²²⁷ No. 518 in the 1795 catalogue.

²²⁸ No. 156 in the 1795 catalogue.

over time, as it first hung in the Belvedere Palace and then later in the Royal Bedchamber in the Royal Castle. The second painting by Berchem²²⁹, *Italian Landscape with Peasants Gathering Rushes* (fig. 35), is currently considered a work by one of Berchem's followers and it belongs to the Royal Łazienki Museum's collection.²³⁰ The painting, valued only at 36 ducats, was in 1788 recorded on the ground floor of the Palace on the Isle, then later, in 1795, in the Picture Gallery.²³¹ The third picture by Berchem, by which also the name of Potter was mentioned in the catalogue, is recently acknowledged as a work in the style of Berchem.²³² This *Landscape with a Donkey* (fig. 36), now in the collection of the National Museum in Poznań, hung in the atelier (on the ground floor) of the Royal Castle. As it was valued at 15 ducats, presumably the name of Berchem and Potter were only indications of the style in which the work was made, rather than a testament to the painting's originality. Another Italianate picture, that now belongs to the collection of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, is now given an uncertain attribution to Jan Hackaert.²³³ In Poniatowski's collection this *Italian Landscape with a River* (fig. 37) was thought to be a work of Moucheron and Lingelbach, with the latter responsible for the figures. The painting was valued at 75 ducats, but in the catalogue nothing was written down about its location.²³⁴ Last two Italianate landscapes are only now related to this school, as in the 1795 catalogue no information about the authorship of these works can be found. They were valued at 2 ducats each and hung in the Belvedere Palace. The *Italianate Mountainous Landscape with Sunset* (fig. 38) and the *Italianate Landscape with Sunrise* (fig. 39) are currently attributed to Willem van Bemmels²³⁵ and are now exhibited at the Royal Łazienki Museum.²³⁶

Regarding the place of display of the Italianate landscapes from the royal collection, there was not a general tendency to choose for a specific residence. The paintings were almost evenly divided between the Royal Castle (11 pieces) and the Łazienki Palace (12 pieces). At the Palace on the Isle they were placed in the Picture Gallery (3 pieces), in the Dressing Room (3 pieces), whilst the other ones hung separately in different rooms. In the Royal Castle the Italianate landscapists could be viewed foremostly in the rooms related to the royal painting atelier (in the atelier itself and in both cabinets near the atelier²³⁷).

²²⁹ However, in the other edition of the royal painting catalogue this painting is described as in the manner of Berchem, which is not surprising as it was valued at only 36 ducats.

²³⁰ No. 82 in the 1795 catalogue.

²³¹ Juszczak/Malachowicz 2015, p. 104.

²³² No. 1672 in the 1795 catalogue.

²³³ No. 502 in the 1795 catalogue.

²³⁴ As the information concerning location was frequently written down with a pencil, it is possible that in this case it was worn off with time.

²³⁵ Willem van Bemmels (1630-1708) was a Dutch painter, who studied under Herman Saftleven in Utrecht. In 1647-1649 he was active in Venice and then in 1656 in Rome, with visits to Naples and London. In 1656, he left for Germany, was active in Kassel and Augsburg, and finally from 1662 he settled in Nuremberg. He painted Italianate landscapes.

²³⁶ Nos. 1124 and 1127 in the 1795 catalogue.

²³⁷ In the 1795 catalogue they were originally named as „cabinet de l'atelier en haut” and „petit cabinet près de l'atelier des sculpteurs”.

Values of Italianate landscapes were to a certain extent related to their display place. The three most expensive Italianate landscapes hung in the king's private apartments, namely in the Dressing Room at the Łazienki Palace (two pieces by Berchem²³⁸ valued at 300 ducats and 100 ducats) and in the Royal Bedchamber at the Royal Castle (also by Berchem with the prize of 100 ducats). Another relatively expensive piece (160 ducats) was the collaboration work of Jan Both and Adriaen van de Velde and it hung in the cabinet near the atelier. The other Italianate paintings' valuation varied between 2 and 80 ducats, by which those more expensive were generally located in the Picture Gallery and other representative rooms, whereas those with the lower value hung usually in the Belvedere Palace.

²³⁸ By no. 1143 the name of Aelbert Cuyp is also mentioned.

1.2.3.4. Fijnschilders

According to Ziemia, among the genre paintings in the collection of the last Polish king, the prevailing style was the so-called *fijnschilderij* manner of painting that had its origins in the Dutch town of Leiden.²³⁹ Characteristic of this style were small, cabinet-size pieces, revealing smooth texture and precisely represented details. The domination of this sort of painting (considering foremost genre pieces) in Poniatowski's collection must be a consequence of a general trend among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European collectors.²⁴⁰ According to the stylistic division of paintings in Stanisław August's collection, the *fijnschilders* formed the fourth group in terms of numbers, as 27 such pictures can be counted.

Various artists related to the *fijnschilders*' circle were recorded in the royal catalogue. To the name of Gerard Dou (1613-1675) were related: 5 paintings by his hand (3 portraits and 2 genre pieces), two paintings by the school of Dou (one genre scene and one religious piece by which also the name "Mattow"²⁴¹ is given) and one genre scene recorded as a copy after Dou. There is also relatively numerous group of paintings by artists from or connected to the family Van Mieris. Nevertheless, as the first names were not given, for many items it remains unknown which Van Mieris was precisely meant: Frans the Elder (1635-1681), Frans the Younger (1689-1763) or Willem (1662-1747). In total, there were seven pieces by Van Mieris (three genre scenes, two religious pieces, one portrait and one mythological scene²⁴²) and two pieces in the style of Van Mieris (one genre and one religious²⁴³). Single works by other artists that painted in the *fijnschilderij* manner were also recorded: one genre scene by Carel de Moor (1655-1738), one religious piece by Godfried Schalcken (1643-1706), one genre scene by Hendrik Martensz. Sorgh (1611-1670), one religious piece by Quiringh van Brekelenkam (1622-1668), one genre scene by Philip van Dyck (1683-1753) and two pieces by Ary de Vois (1632/1635-1680) (one allegorical and one mythological). Furthermore, there were three portraits about which the descriptions in the 1795 catalogue contain no information concerning authorship, however, they have later been associated with the *fijnschilders*.²⁴⁴

Within the *fijnschilders* from the collection of Stanisław August there are twelve currently identified paintings, of which one is considered as wartime loss. From the three paintings recorded as works of Dou in the 1795 catalogue, two of them are now uncertain to Dou, whereas one is considered a work only after Dou. Those with uncertain attribution depict *The Artist's Mother, Marritge Jansdr. van Rosenberg* (fig.

²³⁹ Ziemia 1996, p. 46.

²⁴⁰ Ziemia 1996, p. 47.

²⁴¹ And also the information that he was the pupil of Dou.

²⁴² This painting is considered uncertain (whether Dutch or Flemish) as in the catalogue description contradictory information is recorded: that the painting is made by Van Mieris and that it was a copy after L. Jordans (?).

²⁴³ This painting is also considered as uncertain (neither Dutch nor Flemish) because contradictory information is written in the catalogue description: that the painting was by Van Mieris and that it was made in the Flemish style.

²⁴⁴ These paintings have been considered as by Dou, after Frans van Mieris the Elder and by Slingelandt.

40) and *The Artist's Father*, Douwe Jansz. de Vries van Arentsveld (fig. 41). Both are now exhibited at the Royal Łazienki Museum. While in the king's collection *The Artist's Mother* was valued at 36 (and later 25) ducats.²⁴⁵ It was recorded to be displayed firstly in the Belvedere Palace and later in the Bedchamber on the first floor of the Łazienki Palace.²⁴⁶ *The Artist's Father* was estimated at 20 (and later 30) ducats and it was recorded in the king's Study Room at the first floor of the Łazienki Palace.²⁴⁷ *The Violin Player* (fig. 42), that is now considered a work after Dou, hung then also in the king's Study Room of the Palace on the Isle and it can still be seen at the Łazienki Palace.²⁴⁸ This painting was highly appreciated by the king as it was valued at yet 350 ducats and he ordered it to be sent to Grodno after his abdication. Conversely, there was another painting about which no information concerning authorship was recorded in the catalogue, yet it is presently attributed to Dou.²⁴⁹ This painting representing *An Old Woman in Prayer* (fig. 43) was there described as the "portrait of the mother of Rembrandt with the hands put together and dressed in black, on panel" and it was given only a value of 10 ducats. This picture was located in the Dressing Room of the Palace on the Isle, and now it is in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw. As stated above, two more paintings, which are described in the 1795 catalogue without any information about the possible authors, were later stated as after Frans van Mieris the Elder and as by Pieter Cornelisz. van Slingelandt (1640-1691). The *Old Woman Holding a Flower Pot* after Van Mieris (fig. 44) (now in the Royal Łazienki Museum) was estimated a value of 12 ducats and hung in the Myślevice Palace in the Bedchamber.²⁵⁰ Regarding the *Portrait of a Scholar* attributed to Slingelandt and now considered a wartime loss, it had a price of 10 ducats²⁵¹ and was placed in the Dressing Room of the Palace on the Isle.²⁵² Attribution of six other identified paintings by the *fijnschilders* remained unchanged versus the situation in 1795.²⁵³ Except for the painting by Sorgh that belongs to the National Museum in Warsaw, all of them are in the collection of the Royal Łazienki Museum. *A Hermit Praying* by Brekelenkam²⁵⁴ (fig. 45) (45 ducats) hung in the Picture Gallery, whereas *The Penitent Magdalene* by Schalcken (fig. 46) (20 and later 12 ducats) was recorded in the Dressing Room in the Royal Castle.²⁵⁵ Both the *Man Playing a Violin and a Woman at a Window* by Philip van Dyck²⁵⁶ (fig. 47) (50 ducats) and the *Diana and Actaeon* by Ary de Vois²⁵⁷ (fig. 48) (50 and later 160 ducats) were placed in the Dressing Room at the first floor of the Palace on the Isle.

²⁴⁵ No. 35 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁴⁶ Juszczyk/Małachowicz 2015, p. 161. No. 1740 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁴⁷ No. 143 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁴⁸ Juszczyk/Małachowicz 2015, p. 169.

²⁴⁹ No. 387 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁵⁰ No. 126 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁵¹ Later valued at 5 and 12 ducats.

²⁵² No. 37 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁵³ However, the attribution to Van Brekelenkam is now stated as uncertain.

²⁵⁴ No. 507 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁵⁵ No. 1613 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁵⁶ No. 46 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁵⁷ No. 48 in the 1795 catalogue.

Another painting by Ary de Vois titled *Injustice Enthroned (Satire of Louis XIV during the Dutch War?)* (fig. 49) (125 and later 70 ducats), could be viewed in the Antechamber near to the king's Study Room in the Łazienki Palace.²⁵⁸ Sorgh's *Young Woman and a Young Boy in a Kitchen* (fig. 50) (80-90 ducats) hung in the Antechamber on the first floor of the same palace.²⁵⁹

Regarding the place of display of identified paintings, it can be observed that most of them were located at the Palace on the Isle. This was also the tendency for the rest of the *fijnschilders'* paintings that were mostly to be found there: two genre scenes by Dou and by Van Mieris hung in the Picture Gallery, one genre piece was in the Dressing Room and three other paintings related to the circle of Dou as well as another one in the style of Van Mieris, could be found in other rooms of the Łazienki Palace. Another six pieces related to the name of Van Mieris were placed in the Kozienice Palace (2), the Belvedere Palace (2) and the Royal Castle (3). The painting by Moor hung in the Dressing Room of the Royal Castle.

The prices of the unidentified paintings by *fijnschilders* corresponded to their place of display. Those paintings that hung in the more important locations (such as Picture Gallery) had the highest values, while those stored in less decisive places (for instance in the Belvedere) had respectively the lowest prizes. In general, the values varied between 3 and 200 ducats.

²⁵⁸ No. 58 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁵⁹ No. 578 in the 1795 catalogue.

1.2.3.5. Other Netherlandish artists

The four most numerous represented Netherlandish painting schools formed a group of 155 pieces within the royal collection. Among the remaining 182 paintings were above all many artists of whom only one or two works were recorded in the royal collection. Nevertheless, a couple of artists were represented by about a dozen works in the catalogue.

The name of Philips Wouwerman (1619-1668) was recorded in the context of 15 paintings. These were representations of landscapes with horsemen, hunting scenes and skirmishes. Among them were seven pieces considered originals and eight that were painted “after”, “in the style of” or as a “study of” the artist. Ten pieces hung in the Palace on the Isle, of which three were placed in the Dressing Room, two in the Bedchamber and the residual ones separately in different rooms. Of five pictures placed in the Royal Castle, yet three hung in the cabinet near the atelier. Generally speaking, the paintings regarded original Wouwermans were estimated the highest values, one reached even 250 ducats, however, it was not always the case. For instance, there was one “original” for 16 ducats and one “in the style of” for 30 ducats. Three paintings related to Wouwerman are now identified. The two which were earlier attributed to Wouwerman remain with that attribution²⁶⁰ (fig. 51 and 52), whereas the one that was recorded as “in the style of”, is now ascribed to Pieter van Bloemen (1657-1720) (fig. 53).²⁶¹

Another significant artist recorded in connection with 16 paintings from the king’s collection, was Brueghel. Unfortunately, in most cases it is unclear which artists from the Brueghel family was meant – either Jan the Elder (1568-1625), Jan the Younger (1601-1678), Pieter the Elder (1525-1569) or Pieter the Younger (1564/65-1638). There were: four pieces considered as by Brueghel the Elder, five pieces by which only the name “Brueghel” was given, six pieces after Brueghel and one later identified as Jan Brueghel’s workshop. Within this group, only three pictures are currently identified. The first one, earlier regarded as a work by Brueghel, reveals *Jesus Feeding the Five Thousand* (fig. 54) and is now exhibited in the Royal Łazienki Museum.²⁶² In the catalogue description of the next identified painting, representing the *Interior of a Gothic Church*, a notation is made that the figures were made by Brueghel. This painting is now attributed to Hendrick Steenwijk the Younger (1580-1640) and is in the collection of the National Museum in Cracow. By the third painting – *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (fig. 55) – no information concerning authorship is given in the royal catalogue, however it has been later attributed to the workshop of Jan Brueghel the Elder. It is currently on display at the Royal Łazienki Museum. In comparison to the other Netherlandish schools within the king’s collection, those

²⁶⁰ No. 45 from the 1795 catalogue is now in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw, while the no. 1815 in the collection of the Royal Castle in Warsaw.

²⁶¹ No. 1834 in the 1795 catalogue is currently owned by the National Museum in Warsaw, on loan to the Royal Łazienki Museum.

²⁶² No. 1811 in the 1795 catalogue. The artist is described in the literature as “Monogrammist L(?)MW. Juszczyk/Małachowicz 2015, p. 284.

related to the Brueghel family were relatively inexpensive, for their values fluctuated between 1 and 40 ducats. Regarding their location, four could be found in the Łazienki Palace, in different room for each, five were placed in the Royal Castle (two in the Royal Bedchamber²⁶³) and other four in the Belvedere Palace.

David Teniers is the next name to appear in a relatively large number in the royal painting catalogue – with regard to 13 paintings. It is not always clear whether either David I Teniers (1582-1649) was meant or his son David II Teniers (1610-1690). Four genre scenes and one religious piece were considered originals by the Teniers. Additionally, there was one architecture piece made by Teniers the Elder in collaboration with Pieter Neefs²⁶⁴ or Willem Schubert van Ehrenberg (1630-1676)²⁶⁵ and one still life made by Teniers the Younger in collaboration with Carstian Luyckx (1623-1657). Furthermore, in the collection catalogue is one genre piece described as “the school of” Teniers, three other genres “after” Teniers (Jan Ścisło (1725-1804) is the author of one of them), one “in the style of” Teniers and one described once as Teniers and once as the copy after him. From the “Teniers group” one still life and three genres are currently identified. The *Personification of Time, in a Stone Cartouche with a Flower Garland* (fig. 56) from the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw, has remained with the same attribution as in the time of Poniatowski – to David (II) Teniers and Carstian Luyckx.²⁶⁶ It was then valued at 100 ducats and placed in the Dressing Room of the Palace on the Isle. In this place²⁶⁷ hung also two genre scenes by Teniers, regarded as pendants (they cost jointly 40 ducats). The *Country Physician* (fig. 57)²⁶⁸ is still considered the work of David Teniers the Younger, whereas the *Vodka Peddler* (fig. 58)²⁶⁹ is regarded as his circle or workshop. Both paintings belong to the collection of the Royal Castle in Warsaw. The fourth identified painting (now in the collection of the Royal Łazienki Museum) which was rather regarded a copy after Teniers, is also currently considered a work by a follower of Teniers.²⁷⁰ It was priced at 20 ducats and stored in the Belvedere Palace. In terms of display place of the Teniers group yet four of them hung in the Dressing Room of the Łazienki Palace and other four in the rooms subordinated to the atelier at the Royal Castle, whereas the rest was placed separately in different locations. The values of the originals varied between 30 and 100 ducats, whilst the copies were maximally estimated at 20 ducats. One work achieved an exceptionally high value of

²⁶³ The 1795 catalogues also provides additional information about the pendants nos. 1751 and 1752, namely that they were once placed in the atelier (“Attelier en bas”). Presumably, their location has been changed over time. As the abbreviation for the King’s Chamber is C (2) and that for the atelier C (22), it is also possible that the second 2 was wiped out.

²⁶⁴ It is uncertain whether either Pieter (I) Neefs (ca. 1578-1656) is meant or Pieter (II) Neefs (1620-1690).

²⁶⁵ No. 822 in the 1795 catalogue, by which Ehrenberg, Neefs and David Teniers the Elder were mentioned in the context of the authorship.

²⁶⁶ No. 77 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁶⁷ In the 1795 catalogue this location is given, however in the literature the following locations were given: Second Antechamber at the first floor (in the front of the king’s Study Room) and later “cabinet de toilette”. Zychowicz 2011, p. 82.

²⁶⁸ No. 701 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁶⁹ No. 700 in the 1795 catalogue.

²⁷⁰ No. 1210 in the 1795 catalogue.

500 ducats and it was certainly considered important as the king ordered that to be sent to Grodno.²⁷¹

Besides the above-mentioned artists whose works appeared in the collection in dozens or more, there were also many more pictures by (or related to) renowned Dutch and Flemish painters worth mentioning: two genre scenes by Gerard (II) ter Borch (1617-1681) (fig. 59)²⁷², two animal scenes by Jan Bulthuis (1750-1801)²⁷³, three still lifes by Cuypp²⁷⁴ (fig. 60), seven military and hunt scenes by Jean-Louis Demarne (1752-1829)²⁷⁵, two landscapes by Jan van der Heyden (1637-1712)²⁷⁶, two pendants by Melchior de Hondecoeter (1635-1695)²⁷⁷ (fig. 61 and 62), three still lifes by Jan van Huysum (1682-1749)²⁷⁸ and other two “after” Van Huysum (by Petranowicz²⁷⁹), three genre scenes by Gabriel Metsu (1629-1667)²⁸⁰ (fig. 63, 64 and 65), three portraits and one architectural view by Adam Frans van Meulen (1632-1690)²⁸¹, two genres by Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685) as well as one “after” and one “in the style of” the artist²⁸², one landscape by Anthonie Palamedesz. (1601-1673) (fig. 66) and two genres “after” him²⁸³, two animal scenes by Jan Roos (1591-1638)²⁸⁴, one landscape by Jacob van Ruisdael (1628-1682) and two marines “in the style of” the artist²⁸⁵, two landscapes by Saftleven (fig. 67)²⁸⁶, two animal scenes by Roelandt Savery (1576-1639)²⁸⁷, two pendants with genre scenes by Jan Peeter Verdussen (1700-1763) (fig. 68 and 69)²⁸⁸, one mythological piece by Adriaen van

²⁷¹ No. 1738 in the 1795 catalogue. It is currently unidentified.

²⁷² Nos. 42 and 1096 in the 1795 catalogue. No. 42 is now identified and titled *An Officer Writing a Letter, with a Courier in Waiting*. The attribution to Ter Borch has been kept. The work belongs to the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw.

²⁷³ Nos. 801 and 802 in the 1795 catalogue. Unidentified.

²⁷⁴ Nos. 1747, 1749, 1874. Nos. 1747 and 1749 were considered pendants and are currently given uncertain attribution to Abraham Pietersz. van Calraet (1642-1722). The first one is in the collection of National Museum in Warsaw and the second one is considered wartime loss.

²⁷⁵ Nos. 1566, 1823, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1935, 1936. It is uncertain whether in all seven cases this artist is meant, as the spelling of the name varies. Małachowicz indicated that by “DEMARRE” the French artist Georges Desmarés might also be meant. Małachowicz 2011, p. 230.

²⁷⁶ Nos. 687 and 699. Both paintings are unidentified.

²⁷⁷ Nos. 8 and 9. Both paintings are identified and still in the Royal Łazienki Museum.

²⁷⁸ Nos. 6, 7 (pendants) and 693. All three unidentified.

²⁷⁹ Petranowicz was Bacciarelli’s pupil. His full name and life dates are unknown.

²⁸⁰ Nos. 38, 55, 56. All identified. No. 38 (*The Washerwoman*, Royal Łazienki Museum) remained with the attribution to Metsu. No. 55 (*A Man with a Pipe and Tankard*, National Museum in Warsaw) is recently considered replica or copy after Metsu, whereas no. 56 (*Portrait of a Young Woman Holding a Rose*, National Museum in Warsaw) is attributed to Slingslandt.

²⁸¹ Nos. 829, 1799, 1800, 1801 in the 1795 catalogue. None is identified.

²⁸² Nos. 123, 157 (Ostade), 446 (after), 738 (in the style of). All unidentified.

²⁸³ Nos. 1742 (original), 1725, 1726 (after). No. 1742 is identified, still attributed to Palamedesz. It belongs to the Royal Łazienki Museum.

²⁸⁴ Nos. 1114 and 1117. Unidentified.

²⁸⁵ Nos. 1861 (Van Ruisdael), 793, 794 (in the style of). Unidentified.

²⁸⁶ It is uncertain whether either Cornelis (1607-1681) or Herman (1609-1685) is meant. No. 582 unidentified. No. 583 is identified as the *View of a Panoramic Rhine Landscape* by Herman Saftleven and belongs to the collection of the Royal Łazienki Museum.

²⁸⁷ Nos. 1365 and 1366. Unidentified.

²⁸⁸ Nos. 504, 505. Both identified, with unchanged attribution, now in the collection of the Royal Łazienki Museum.

der Werff (1659-1722) (fig. 70) and one “after” him.²⁸⁹ In addition, within the collection catalogue were recorded single paintings by artists such as: Ludolf Buckhuysen (1630-1708) (fig. 71)²⁹⁰, Jan de Beijer (1703-1780)²⁹¹, Abraham Bloemaert (1564/66-1651)²⁹², Adrian Brouwer (1605-1638)²⁹³, Hendrik Frans de Cort (1742-1810) (fig.72)²⁹⁴, Hendrik Goltzius (1558-1617)²⁹⁵, Barend Graat (1628-1709) (fig. 73)²⁹⁶, Jan Davidsz. de Heem (1606-1683/84)²⁹⁷, Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656)²⁹⁸, Dirk Maas (1659-1717) (fig. 74)²⁹⁹, Michiel van Mierevelt (1566-1641)³⁰⁰, Daniel Seghers (1590-1661)³⁰¹, Jan Steen (1625/26-1679) (fig. 75)³⁰², Justus Sustermans (1597-1681)³⁰³, Maerten de Vos (1531-1603)³⁰⁴, Gaspar de Witte (1624-1681)³⁰⁵ and Joachim Wtewael (1566-1638).³⁰⁶

A certain number of works from Poniatowski’s collection is associated with the Netherlandish school differently than through the appearance of specific Dutch or Flemish artists’ names in the catalogue descriptions. In the context of seven paintings, the descriptions refer to the Dutch school by subject matter, for instance “tabagie hollandaise” [“Dutch tobacco shop”] or “cabaret hollandois” [“Dutch cabaret”].³⁰⁷ Furthermore, 12 paintings are described as “Flemish school”³⁰⁸ and another 17 pieces as “Flemish style”.³⁰⁹ Subsequently, catalogue descriptions of 12 paintings contain no information concerning authorship, however, they have been attributed to Dutch or Flemish artists later.³¹⁰ In addition, several paintings had been

²⁸⁹ No. 49 (Van der Werff) is identified (in the collection of the Royal Łazienki Museum) and now considered as “after” Van der Werff. No. 934 (after Van der Werff) is unidentified.

²⁹⁰ No. 1761. Identified, still attributed to Backhuysen, now in the Royal Castle in Warsaw.

²⁹¹ No. 577. Unidentified.

²⁹² No. 817. Unidentified.

²⁹³ No. 53. Unidentified.

²⁹⁴ No. 1614. Identified, attribution unchanged, now in the Royal Castle in Warsaw.

²⁹⁵ No. 1595. Unidentified.

²⁹⁶ No. 706. Identified, attribution unchanged, in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.

²⁹⁷ No. 1327. Unidentified.

²⁹⁸ No. 79. Unidentified.

²⁹⁹ No. 174. Identified. Currently uncertain attribution to Dirk Maas. The work is on display in the National Museum in Warsaw.

³⁰⁰ No. 500. Unidentified.

³⁰¹ No. 1225. Unidentified.

³⁰² No. 15. Identified, still attributed to Jan Steen, in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw under the title *Choice Between Youth and Wealth*.

³⁰³ No. 1782. Unidentified.

³⁰⁴ No. 737. Unidentified.

³⁰⁵ No. 575. Unidentified.

³⁰⁶ No. 26. Unidentified. It is uncertain whether this artist is meant, however his surname sounds the closest to the “UCHTERVELL” which is indicated in the 1795 catalogue.

³⁰⁷ From this group only one painting is currently identified (owned by the National Museum in Warsaw, on loan to the Royal Łazienki Museum) as the work of David (III) Rijckaert (1612-1661).

³⁰⁸ From this group one is identified at the present time and is given an uncertain attribution to Gillis Claesz. de Hondcoeter (ca. 1575-1638). The work is currently in possession of the Royal Castle in Warsaw.

³⁰⁹ Within this group two works are identified. No. 1993 is now considered a work of an unidentified eighteenth-century artist and belongs to the Royal Łazienki Museum. No. 649 is attributed to Christoffel Jacobsz. van der Lamem (Laemen) (1607-ca.1651) and can be seen in the Royal Łazienki Museum.

³¹⁰ They were later considered as: in the style of Cornelis Troost (no. 124), Jan Tilens (no. 1812), Abraham Govaerts and Frans (II) Francken (1784), Dutch seventeenth- or eighteenth-century painters

attributed to non-Dutch or non-Flemish artists, but with time they were recognized as works by Dutch or Flemish painters.³¹¹

(no. 4), Dutch seventeenth-century school (no. 1126), Jan (I) Verkolje (no. 1125), Flemish painter, ca. 1615 (no. 2077), Adriaen Frans Boudewijns or Pieter Bout (no. 1042), Abraham van Westerveld (no. 2235), Backhuysen (no. 1817), Cornelis Saftleven (no. 954), follower of Willem van Aelst (no. 3).

³¹¹ They were considered as: a Flemish painter from the second half of the seventeenth century (no. 860), Jacob de Backer (?) (no. 861), a piece from the workshop of Joos van Cleve (no. 910), one by Jan (I) Vermeer van Haarlem (no. 800), and two by Vitus Heinrich (nos. 814 and 815).

1.3. Other painting schools in the collection

In order to determine the role of Netherlandish school within the collection of Stanisław August, it must be compared to the other (in terms of amount) significantly represented painting schools.³¹² A short discussion of these painting schools will follow.³¹³

Attention will be paid to the question of what kind of artists were represented, as well as which movements enjoyed a special popularity within the king's collection. Since this thesis focusses on the Netherlandish painting from the royal collection, it is outside of its scope to analyse the other schools to the same extent. Therefore, a few remarks should be made. First, it is assumed that a painting's display location depended foremostly on its genre and on whether it was an original or copy, rather than to which (national) painting school it belonged.³¹⁴ Second are similar remarks concerning paintings' values. Generally speaking, when a painting was considered to be an original work of a "renowned" old master, it was given a higher value, usually above 100 ducats. In case of eighteenth-century paintings, the prize was rather below 100 ducats when it concerned a portrait, genre piece, still life or landscape. The highest values were given to the historical or allegorical pieces, especially those of larger measurements. For instance, a painting by Belotto with the representation of the Election of Stanisław August (226 x 164 cm) was valued at 800 ducats.

1.3.1. Paintings by court painters in Warsaw

Paintings made in Warsaw include works by both foreign and Polish painters active at the Warsaw court, however, painters from abroad formed the majority of this group. Most paintings can be considered as (either direct or indirect) commissions of Stanisław August. According to Małachowicz, this group counted 419 paintings, however, excluding the copies of the old masters it would contain approximately 360 pieces.³¹⁵

Bacciarelli and Bellotto were the artists who made the most important commissions for the king. In the royal catalogue were recorded 116 pieces by Bacciarelli, 59 of which were paintings and plafonds for the decoration of the Royal Castle and the Łazienki Palace. The rest were portraits, more than half of which were representations of members from the royal family. Among registered 60 pieces by Belotto were 27 city views of Warsaw, 16 views of Rome, 3 views of Dresden and 14 paintings with different subject matter. Other artists from abroad that were registered

³¹² The division that will be applied corresponds to the division made by Małachowicz in her article. Małachowicz 2011, pp. 223-231.

³¹³ It should be noted that the numbers given below are only an estimation as they are based on the literature in which a different division is adopted than for the use of this thesis.

³¹⁴ This is generalization, as the place of display could indicate also the king's personal preference toward one or another painting school. For instance, the fact that he ordered to place some works of art in his Bedchamber suggests that he might have appreciated these pieces more than those that hung in the Antechamber.

³¹⁵ The whole paragraph is based on Małachowicz 2011, pp. 226-227.

as employed in Warsaw were: Louis Marteau (67 pastels), Jean Pillement (1728-1808) (8 paintings) and Per Krafft the Elder (1724-1793) (18 paintings). In addition, single works by other foreign artists that had spent a short period in Warsaw, were noted in the 1795 catalogue. Among them were: Giovanni Battista Lampi (1751-1830), Joseph Grassi (1757-1838) and Alexander Roslin (1718-1793).

From paintings by artists with the Polish roots the most numerous represented were those of Józef Wall (1753 or 1755-1798). Yet 58 paintings by Wall were recorded in the king's collection, however at least half of these concerned copies of old masters. Furthermore, there were 16 paintings by Franciszek Smuglewicz (1745-1807)³¹⁶, 12 paintings by Norblin and also a few by among others Anna Rajecka (1762-1832)³¹⁷, Tadeusz Kuntze (1733-1793) and Jan Bogumił Pliersch (1732-1817). There were also some Polish copyists employed by the king, such as Tokarski or Ścisło.

1.3.2. Italian paintings

The 1795 catalogue includes 275 paintings made by Italian artists.³¹⁸

A couple of copies could be associated with the Renaissance period. Among them appear the following names: Raphael (1483-1520), Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)³¹⁹, Giorgione (ca. 1477/1478-1510) and Titian (ca. 1488/1490-1576).

The majority of the Italian pictures were works of seventeenth-century artists. From the best represented Bolognese painting school recorded were pieces by: Annibale Carracci (1560-1609), Bernardino Baldi (1553-1617), Giacomo Cavedoni (1577-1660), Antonio dal Sole (1606-1677), Guercino (1591-1666) and Leonello Spada (1576-1622). Also, the Venetian school was relatively well represented, with the artists such as Giuseppe Casanova (1727-1803)³²⁰, Pietro Liberi (1605-1687), Bartolomeo Letterini (1669-1748) and Sebastiano Ricci (1659-1734). There were also representatives of the Roman painting school (for example Alessandro Turchi (1578-1649) or Andrea Sacchi (1599-1661)) as well as from Neapolitan artists, like Francesco Solimena (1657-1747) or Luca Giordano (1634-1705).

Besides the paintings associated in the 1795 catalogue with specific Italian artists, there were also more than 20 pieces described as Italian, Roman, Venetian or Florentine.

³¹⁶ Mostly scenes from the ancient history, mythology and genre scenes.

³¹⁷ She was called also Madame Gault de Saint-Germain. She was a Polish painter, pastellist and scholarship holder by the king, who established her artistic education.

³¹⁸ This section is also entirely based on Małachowicz 2011, pp. 227-228.

³¹⁹ The painting ascribed to da Vinci later turned out to be a work of workshop by Joos van Cleve.

³²⁰ This artist is the most numerous represented Italian painter within the king's collection with 18 paintings of his authorship.

1.3.3. French paintings

117 pieces were recorded as French painting school in the royal catalogue.³²¹

There were mostly eighteenth-century artists, but also a few examples of the seventeenth-century artists, for instance: one copy after Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), two history pieces by Philippe de Champagne (1602-1674) and several battle scenes by both Jacques Courtois “le Bourguignon” (1621-1676) and Jean-Baptiste Martin (1659-1735). Furthermore, there were eight portraits by Nicolas de Largillière (1656-1746) and three flower still lifes by Jean-Baptiste Dubuisson (1660-1735).

Although a few examples of the classical academic artists such as François Lemoyne (1688-1737), were recorded in the collection, dominant were genre pieces in the Rococo style as well as the so-called *fêtes galantes* and *champêtres*.³²² Within this category could be found among others pictures by Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), François Boucher (1703-1770) and Nicolas Lancret (1690-1743).

Subsequently, with the French origin were also noted several paintings revealing the hunting subject matters (Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686-1755)), portraits (Jean-Marc Nattier (1685-1766) and Jean-Baptiste Perronneau (1715/16-1783)) and genre pieces (Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805) and Jean-Baptiste Charpentier the Elder (1728-1806)).

Besides, some French paintings were commissioned directly by Stanisław August, in order to decorate the Royal Castle. These were executed by Joseph-Marie Vien (1716-1809), Louis Lagrenée (1725-1805) and Noël Hallé (1711-1781).

In addition, some French landscapes were registered in the royal catalogue, for instance by Hubert Robert (1733-1808).

Finally, there appeared also five pieces described as “French school”.

1.3.4. German paintings

113 paintings from the king’s collection can be included within the category of the German painting school.³²³

Among them were some sixteenth-century paintings described as “in the style” of Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), as well as some pieces considered to be by Lucas Cranach (1472-1553), Hans Holbein (ca. 1497-1543) and by Johann Rottenhammer (1564-1625).

From the German seventeenth-century paintings were noted only three landscapes by Franz Vriendt (active in 1652-1684).

Most German painters, whose works were recorded in the royal catalogue, were representatives of Italianate landscape and genre painting, such as Dresden painter

³²¹ This section is also entirely based on Małachowicz 2011, p. 230.

³²² The category of painting founded by the French Academy on behalf of Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) on which were represented scenes with figures in ball dress or masquerade costumes who were amusing themselves in a park setting.

³²³ Just as the previous sections also this one is based on Małachowicz 2011, pp. 230-231.

Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich (1712-1774) and artists from the family Roos.³²⁴ In addition, some pictures by painters from the Vienna artistic centre were present in the collection of Poniatowski, for instance, Johann Christian Brand (1722-1795).

³²⁴ Because of the fact that the last names are very imprecisely written down, it is problematic to distinguish them from each other.

1.4. Netherlandish paintings versus the rest of the collection and a summary

The aim of this chapter is to establish the role of the Netherlandish paintings in the context of the entire collection of Stanisław August. Before concluding remarks, a short summary of the conducted analysis will be given.

Most of paintings from the royal collection, just less than 400, were works by both Polish and foreign artists active at the court in Warsaw, the majority of which must be regarded as the king's direct commissions. Within this group, two artists – Bacciarelli and Belotto – were in the lead, both in terms of amounts and values. Like Bacciarelli and Belotto, most of other artists active in Warsaw came originally from abroad. The Polish painters typically worked in the function of old masters' copyists.

The second largest group were the paintings by Dutch and Flemish old masters, counting 337 pieces in total. As explained in the introduction³²⁵, the distinction between the Dutch and Flemish schools was not clearly made in the context of the royal catalogue, or inconsistent between catalogues, thus they were treated jointly.

The majority of Dutch and Flemish paintings originated from the seventeenth century. Among the different smaller (or local) painting schools from the Low Countries, the most numerously represented were: the Antwerp circle of Rubens and Van Dyck (60 pieces), the Amsterdam circle of Rembrandt, his pupils, followers and copyists (40 pieces), the Italianate landscapists (28 pieces) and the *fijnschilders* (27 pieces). The 1795 catalogue of the royal collection records many names of renowned Dutch and Flemish artists, either related to the above-mentioned groups (Rubens, Van Dyck, Jordaens, Rembrandt, Bol, Van der Helst, Govaert, Dou, Van Mieris, Berchem, Moucheron) or representing other painting movements (Metsu, Wouwerman, Teniers, Ter Borch, Brueghel).

The third group was the Italian painting school with 275 pieces. A few examples were possibly made in the sixteenth century, whereas the larger part originated from the seventeenth century. The best represented were the Bolognese school (Caracci, Baldi, Cavedoni, etc.), Venetian school (Casanova, Liberi, Letterini), the Roman school (Turchi, Sacchi) and the Neapolitan school (Solimena, Giordano).

The fourth painting school was the French one, counting 117 pieces. Represented were mostly the eighteenth-century artists and only a few seventeenth-century examples. The majority of the French paintings were genre Rococo pieces as well as *fêtes galantes* and *champêtres* (Watteau, Boucher, Lancret). Recorded were also French paintings concerned as the king's commissions for the decoration of the Royal Castle (Vien, Lagrenée, Hallé).

The fifth and last significant painting school were the German pictures forming a group of 113 objects. The German category included some sixteenth-century pieces (or at least copies of the sixteenth-century artists such as Dürer, Cranach and Holbein), three seventeenth-century examples (by Vrient), while the majority was

³²⁵ Both the general introduction as well as introduction to this chapter.

eighteenth-century Italianate landscapists and genre painters such as Dietrich and Roos.

The juxtaposition of the above-mentioned painting schools reveals a great stylistic diversity in the collection of Stanisław August. Although it is obvious that some national schools (or even specific movements within one national school) were more numerous than the others, it is remarkable that a great amount of different stylistic movements had their representatives within the king's collection.

A comparison of the amounts of paintings from the different schools reveals that the most numerous was the group of paintings by artists active at the Warsaw court. The fact that Dutch and Flemish paintings kept the second place indicates their importance within the royal collection as well as the king's individual taste, in particular when considering that they formed the most numerous group of works by old masters.

In terms of display location, both the Dutch and Flemish paintings and paintings originating from the other regions were arranged according to general tendencies. Pieces related to important artists and especially those considered originals, were usually placed at the Royal Castle or at the Palace on the Isle, whereas copies or paintings made "in the style of" were hung or stored either at the Koźienice Palace or at the Belvedere Palace, where the king and his court spent less time. Regarding the division between the Royal Castle and the Łazienki Palace, most portraits of historical value,³²⁶ as well as history pieces (profane history, sacred history and allegory), hung in the Royal Castle. Landscapes, still lifes and (low life) genre pieces were usually located at the Łazienki Palace. Generally speaking, this rule was applicable for all painting schools represented in the collection. One interesting exception can be observed with regard to Dutch and Flemish portraits that were appreciated for their artistic value rather than for the historical one (the portrayed persons were usually unknown). They were more often placed at the Łazienki Palace than at the Royal Castle.

The place of display of Dutch and Flemish paintings indicates their important position within the collection. 13 paintings that hung in the Royal Bedchamber of the Łazienki Palace, might be pieces that the king personally appreciated, because of the private character of this room.³²⁷ Besides this individual predilection for the Netherlandish paintings (stemming from the placement in the Bedchamber), their important role is also supported in a different manner. 27 Netherlandish pieces were placed in the Picture Gallery, the most frequently visited place in the Palace on the Isle, meant for the masterpieces from the royal collection. This Gallery, therefore, might have served the king as a tool in his self-fashioning as an Enlightened monarch, because there he could easily present his patronage of arts. Since the Gallery was designed to exhibit 67 pieces, 27 Dutch and Flemish pieces formed forty percent of all paintings on display, confirming their important position in the royal collection and that they might have played a role in Poniatowski's self-fashioning.

³²⁶ With historical value is meant that they revealed historical events or members of the royal family.

³²⁷ Although here the private character of the Bedchamber is mentioned, in the fourth chapter will be revealed that it was viewed by the palace guests.

Analysis of the values given to the Dutch and Flemish paintings as well as to the other pictures within the collection reveals that all of them were generally estimated according to several common rules. Works considered certain originals (foremost by renowned old masters) were given higher values, whereas copies or paintings “in the style of” were priced very low. Another general rule, discernible in the pricing of paintings from the Low Countries, was that the history pieces were usually estimated at higher values than the remaining ones, as well as the large-format works were priced higher than the small cabinet-size works. Within the Dutch and Flemish painting group 45 pieces were estimated between 100 and 500 ducats and among them the majority belonged to one of the four above-discussed painting schools. Whereas the case of Rubens/Van Dyck circle, Rembrandt circle and Italianate landscapists confirms this “size” and “subject matter” rule, the case of *fijnschilders* contradicts that, since they were neither large nor represented history themes. Their relatively high values (when considering the originals) may be explained by the general popularity of *fijnschilders* among eighteenth-century European collectors.

Concluding, due to several factors, the role of the Dutch and Flemish paintings within the collection of Stanisław August can be determined as important. These factors were: the Netherlandish paintings’ second position in terms of amounts (after the first group of pictures painted at Warsaw court), the fact that were the most numerous represented old masters, the places in which they were displayed (27 pieces exhibited at the representative Picture Gallery and the 13 in his bedroom) and their relatively high values (45 pieces estimated between 100 and 500 ducats).

2. Stanisław August Poniatowski and the formation of his collection

2.1. Introduction

Determining whether Stanisław August's predilection for Netherlandish painting can be explained, among other reasons, through the concept of self-fashioning as an Enlightened monarch, requires one to place the king's collecting activity in its historical context. Therefore, this chapter will address the question: Who was Stanisław August, to what extent does his patronage and collecting testify to his attempts at self-fashioning and how did he form his Netherlandish painting collection?

First, the personality of the collector himself – Stanisław August – will be discussed. Certain important aspects will be addressed: his early education, his political career before the coronation, his reign in the context of the political situation of the country and last but not least, the king's artistic patronage and cultural achievements. Next, the formation of Poniatowski's Netherlandish painting collection will be dealt with. Attention will be given to the Polish tradition of collecting of Netherlandish art and the manner in which Stanisław August acquired his Dutch and Flemish paintings.

2.2. The personality of Stanisław August

2.2.1. Early education and political career before 1764

The last Polish King, Stanisław II August, born as Stanisław Antoni Poniatowski, was the son of Stanisław Poniatowski (1676-1762), *Referendis Regni* and later Masovian voivode.³²⁸ As an experienced soldier and successful politician Stanisław the Elder made an impressive military and diplomatic career at the side of Charles XII of Sweden.³²⁹ In the name of the Swedish king, Stanisław led political activities in Ottoman Empire and participated in diplomatic missions in the Low Countries, France and Spain. As consequence, he was received at courts and salons of the whole Europe, where his contacts involved not only the court officials but also philosophers.³³⁰

With regard to his early education, in his *Memoires* (1771-1778) Stanisław August underlined the role of his mother, Konstancja Czartoryska (1695-1759), who taught him on her own and later hired private teachers, such as Antonio Portalupi (?-1791), Russian deputy count Hermann Karl von Kayserling (1697-1764) (for lessons of mathematics and logic) and Swiss ex-officer Lucas de Toux de Salverte³³¹ (for lessons of architecture, engineering and fortifications).³³² Thanks to this domestic education the future Polish king mastered the Polish and French languages, obtained proficient knowledge of Latin and German and also passive knowledge of English and Italian.³³³

As an adolescent, Stanisław began to travel abroad. The character of the trips was not simply a *Grand Tour*, as usually completed by English and Dutch aristocrats. The parents of the young Stanisław organized for him a series of short sojourns to the greatest European cities.³³⁴ For instance, he travelled to Dresden, Berlin, Paris and Hungary, in the meantime continuing his domestic education in Warsaw. Thanks to the wide connections of his father, he accessed the greatest European aristocratic circles and Enlightened salons. In Paris Poniatowski was put into contact with Diane Adélaïde de Mailly-Nesle ("Madame de Brancas", 1714-1769) and with Marie Thérèse Rodet Geoffrin (1699-1777), whose renowned salon Poniatowski visited, meeting there the Parisian intellectual elite. His friendship with Madame Geoffrin lasted for long. When he became a king, she often played a role of a spokesperson

³²⁸ Masovian Voivodeship was an administrative region of the Kingdom of Poland and later of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1526-1795. Together with Płock and Rawa Voivodeships it formed the province of Masovia.

³²⁹ A. Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, 'Wstęp', in: M. Dębowski (ed.), *Pamiętniki króla Stanisława Augusta. Antologia*, Warszawa 2013, p. 11.

³³⁰ Grześkowiak-Krwawicz 2013, p. 11.

³³¹ Life dates are unknown.

³³² J. Michalski, 'Stanisław August Poniatowski', in: J. Tazbir (ed.), *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XL/4, notebook 171, Warszawa/Kraków 2002, p. 612.

³³³ Michalski 2002, p. 612.

³³⁴ M. Fumaroli, 'Poland and its last king, Stanisław II August Poniatowski', in: M. Fumaroli, *Quand l'Europe parlait français*, Paris 2001, p. 15.

for his interests.³³⁵ During his stay in Berlin, Stanisław met an English deputy Charles Hanbury Williams (1708-1759), who became his mentor for many years and introduced him to the European political and diplomatic society.³³⁶ During his first visits to Flanders, the future king paid attention foremostly to the fine arts and especially to that of painting. He met there the Marshal of Saxony, Maurice de Saxe (1696-1750), whereas in 1750 he spent time with the Viennese court. Later, during the stay in the Hague, Stanisław became acquainted with count Willem von Bentinck (1704-1774), who was a very influential person behind the House of Orange.³³⁷ Close contact with Williams brought Poniatowski to Saint Petersburg, where the latter became a deputy and offered to Stanisław the position of his secretary.³³⁸ Poniatowski met there Catherine II, who became the Empress of Russia in 1762. Since the very beginning of their acquaintance, she might have promised Poniatowski to help him obtain the Polish crown.³³⁹ In those times Stanisław nurtured his relations with the Czartoryski family, which supported his hopes to receive the protection of Russia. Catherine the Great indeed recommended Poniatowski as a proper candidate for the position as king of Poland. She even sent her deputy Keyserlingk, accompanied by Nikolai Repnin (1734-1801), especially to the Russian embassy in Warsaw in order to support the election of Stanisław.³⁴⁰ When in 1763 August III passed away, the Russian Empress gave Keyserlingk extra instructions which resulted in Keyserlingk's recommendation of the candidature of Stanisław in the name of Russia and Prussia, during the official assembly by the Primate of Poland³⁴¹, Władysław Łubieński (1703-1767).³⁴² In effect, the coronation of Poniatowski became a fact on 25th of November 1764 and since then he received the name Stanisław August.

³³⁵ Grześkowiak-Krwawicz 2013, p. 12.

³³⁶ Fumaroli 2001, pp. 13-14.

³³⁷ Fumaroli 2001, p. 16.

³³⁸ Michalski 2002, p. 614.

³³⁹ Michalski 2002, p. 614.

³⁴⁰ Michalski 2002, p. 615.

³⁴¹ Primate is the title or rank given to some archbishops in the Catholic church. It refers to either jurisdictional authority or ceremonial precedence.

³⁴² Michalski 2002, p. 616.

2.2.2. Stanisław August as a king versus the political situation of the country

In contrast to most European monarchies, the Polish crown was elective, instead of hereditary. The Polish Parliament (Sejm) elected kings of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in fact, was formed of clans that effectively rivalled with each other.³⁴³ They had the right of *liberum veto* which caused that it was often very difficult to make any decision. Additionally, this right created a vast possibility for other European courts for diplomacy, corruption and military blackmail.³⁴⁴

Through his education as well as the numerous travels abroad Poniatowski became acquainted with and presumably appreciated the manner in which the European court culture and politics functioned. As it differed substantially from the situation in his home country, he attempted to introduce a fundamental modernization of the Polish state since the very beginnings of his reign. All this was in order to equal Poland's status to that of other influential and respected European states.³⁴⁵ Poniatowski was supported by the leaders of the Czartoryski family (whose party was known as the "Familia") – Michał Czartoryski (1696-1775), Chancellor of Lithuania, and August Czartoryski (1697-1782), Palatine of Ruthenia.³⁴⁶

One of the most important tasks of the king was a reform of the Sejm. The aforementioned right of *liberum veto* disrupted almost all legislation that passed during the thirty-year reign of Poniatowski's predecessor, August III, and only one Sejm managed to conclude successfully.³⁴⁷ Stanisław August prepared his political programme in a document titled *Anecdote historique* that was written in 1763-1764. It included his proposals of, among other things, annual Sejms, decision-making based on a majority of votes, the consolidation of the municipalities, the economic reconstruction of towns, and the reforms in the judicial and legal system as well as in education.³⁴⁸ The educational reforms were fulfilled in 1773 when the Commission for National Education ("Komisja Edukacji Narodowej") was established. Regarding his other plans, Stanisław met much resistance from the side of the Polish nobility which felt that their liberties could be threatened that way. Other discontented parties, who just did not wish the Polish king to make his country stronger, were the Prussian, Russian and Austrian monarchs. Through the discord between the king, his supporters and the opponents as well as rather negative involvement of other countries to the Polish political conflicts (especially from the side of Russia), it escalated in the Confederation of Bar (1768-1772), which resulted in the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War (1768-1774) and in a consequence, in the First Partition of Poland.³⁴⁹ After this partition, Stanisław August realized that to avoid another one, he

³⁴³ Fumaroli 2001, p. 9.

³⁴⁴ Fumaroli 2001, p. 9.

³⁴⁵ Z. Zielińska, 'Stanisław August – King and Politician', in: A. Sołtys (ed.), *Stanisław August – ostatni król Polski: polityk, mecenas, reformator: 1764-1795*, exh. cat. Warszawa (Zamek Królewski) 2011, p. 23.

³⁴⁶ Zielińska 2011, p. 23.

³⁴⁷ Zielińska 2011, p. 23.

³⁴⁸ Zielińska 2011, p. 23.

³⁴⁹ Zielińska 2011, p. 25.

must consult his reformational decisions with Russia. Introduction of any improvements in the country's interior affairs, however, was even more complicated to perform, as Catharina the Great had convinced the powerful Polish magnate to be in opposition to its king.³⁵⁰ The Empress had a constant eye on the Polish king's activities through the new Russian ambassador, Otto Magnus von Stackelberg (1736-1800).³⁵¹ Despite all obstacles, Stanisław August tried his best and succeeded to hold the Four-Year Sejm (1788-1792), the greatest achievement of which was the so-called Constitution of 3rd May in 1791. The Constitution was adopted in the form of the Government Act that moved away from the republican tradition to the constitutional monarchy and assured, for instance, the hereditary throne and the central executive authority ("Straż Praw") to command the ministers.³⁵² It seemed as if the adaptation of the Constitution was a first step towards the modernization of the country. The intensive works on new legislative documents started, the Constitution was accepted by the regional assemblies ("sejmiks") across the land and it was warmly welcomed by the influential Western-European governments.³⁵³ Nevertheless, the king could not enjoy his success for long. Russia could not stand the "insubordination" of Poland and under the guise of the Confederation of Targowica held a military intervention in mid-May 1792, destroying the work of the Four-Year Sejm. This resulted in the Second Partition, carried out by Russia and Prussia. Outside the failed attempts of liberation known as the Kościuszko Uprising, on 24th October 1795 the final Third Partition by Russia, Prussia and Austria became a fact. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth ceased to exist and Stanisław August was forced to abdicate and move to Grodno.

³⁵⁰ Zielińska 2011, p. 25.

³⁵¹ Zielińska 2011, p. 25.

³⁵² Zielińska 2011, p. 27. Also Michalski 2002, p. 626.

³⁵³ Zielińska 2011, p. 28.

2.2.3. The cultural achievements and the artistic patronage of Stanisław August

The last Polish king was a very characteristic eighteenth-century example of “l’homme du monde éclairé par les arts” [“a man of the world enlightened by the arts”].³⁵⁴ Considering Stanisław August’s plans over the development of the arts, the sciences and industry, it is clear that he wished to improve the general welfare of the country and to bring the Sarmatian³⁵⁵ mentality of the Polish nobility closer to modern European trends.³⁵⁶

In order to achieve his goals towards cultural improvement in his country, Poniatowski first strove for connections with the European cultural and artistic elite, searching for approval and interest in his own activities, as well as restoration of European thinking about the Commonwealth.³⁵⁷ For instance, Poniatowski exchanged a broad correspondence with Voltaire, who had much respect for the king and used him as the inspiration for a positive character – the antique king Teucer – in a drama from 1772 titled ‘Les lois de Minos’.³⁵⁸ Additionally, Stanisław August addressed his political, reformist and artistic projects to Voltaire and other philosophers, discussing those ideas with them.³⁵⁹

The cultural modernization programme that Stanisław August attempted to introduce, embraced many different disciplines. One of the first disciplines that the king supported, was the manufacture of, among other things, wool, textile and faience. For instance, thanks to his initiative, the well-known faience manufacture in the Belvedere Palace was founded.³⁶⁰ Furthermore, the king showed much interest in the Polish mining of natural resources, commissioning field trips and attempting to initiate chemical, alchemical and technical research.³⁶¹ As a result of geological expeditions organized to search for strategic natural resources, the Royal Cabinet of Natural History was founded.³⁶² The scientists who worked there classified the specimens according to the latest manners and participated in the scientific debate with many European centres. Even a group of sixty mineralogical and geological were sent to the famous naturalist Georges Buffon (1707-1788) in the Parisian *Jardin du Roi*, who described them in his *Histoire Naturelle* (1749).³⁶³

³⁵⁴ T. Mańkowski, *Mecenat artystyczny Stanisława Augusta*, Warszawa 1976, pp. 12, 361.

³⁵⁵ Sarmatism is a pejorative concept, established by the eighteenth-century Polish thinkers, which was earlier adopted and promoted by the Polish nobility from XVI until XVIII century. It was based on the conviction that the Polish nobility stems from the ancient folk of Sarmatians who inhabited the area between Volga River and Don River (now Russian territory), and was characterized by strong conservatism and separatist tendencies. See J. Tazbir, ‘Sarmatyzm a Barok’, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1969 (vol. 76 (4)), p. 816.

³⁵⁶ Mańkowski 1976, p. 361.

³⁵⁷ Michalski 2002, p. 633.

³⁵⁸ Michalski 2002, p. 634.

³⁵⁹ Manikowska 2011, p. 134.

³⁶⁰ Michalski 2002, p. 634.

³⁶¹ Michalski 2002, p. 634.

³⁶² Manikowska 2011, p. 134.

³⁶³ Manikowska 2011, p. 134. It was the most important encyclopaedic study of natural history published in the eighteenth century.

Subsequently, Poniatowski paid much attention to the matter of cartography, even employing at his court a geographer, Karol de Perthées (1740-1815), in order to create different types of maps.³⁶⁴ While Poniatowski's project to create a map including the entire territory of the Commonwealth could not be finally realized, the king succeeded in organizing an astronomical observatory at the Royal Castle, which was well equipped with an apparatus brought from England.³⁶⁵

The starting point of Stanisław August's cultural undertakings was the weekly organized "Thursday Dinners" ("Obiady Czwartkowe") that took place in 1770-1785, to which were invited persons with either literate, scientific or other cultural achievements.³⁶⁶ These meetings of writers, artists and scientists resembled in their character very much the Parisian salons.³⁶⁷ Many different history, literature and artistic related subjects were discussed there.

History of the home country and writing about it was one of the disciplines to which Poniatowski attached special importance. He tried to influence compatriots' way of thinking about their national history, for example, by drawing attention to the achievements of the Piast³⁶⁸ and Jagiellonian dynasties that were previously rather neglected within society. In order to achieve his goals the king inspired and co-created political writings, such as a work from 1772 titled *Suum cuique*.³⁶⁹ Another historical writing which Poniatowski promoted very intensively was the series of didactic lectures titled 'History of the Polish nation' ('Historia narodu polskiego') written by his court historian and poet, Adam Naruszewicz (1733-1796), as well as publications about the renowned Poles that rendered outstanding services to the country.³⁷⁰ An example of this were the publications about Kazimierz III the Great (1310-1370)³⁷¹ and Jan Karol Chodkiewicz (ca. 1560-1621)³⁷² authored by count Michał Mniszech (1742-1806). The king's other manner to honour the memory of the Polish national heroes was to commission sculptures and paintings with their representations. These were foremostly placed at the Knight's Room or the Royal Library in the Royal Castle.³⁷³

Another crucial discipline among the king's cultural undertakings was to nurture literature in Polish and the study of the Polish language as such. Poniatowski supported the publication of two Polish literary periodicals *Monitor* and *Pleasant and*

³⁶⁴ Michalski 2002, p. 634.

³⁶⁵ Michalski 2002, p. 634.

³⁶⁶ T. Kostkiewiczowa, 'Od obiadów czwartkowych do klubów i gabinetów lektury', in: A. Sołtys, Z. Zielińska (ed.), *Stanisław August i jego Rzeczypospolita. Dramat Państwa, Odrodzenie Narodu*, Warszawa 2011, p. 153.

³⁶⁷ Manikowska 2011, p. 135.

³⁶⁸ The first ruling dynasty of Poland. The Piasts reigned in 960-1370.

³⁶⁹ Michalski 2002, p. 635.

³⁷⁰ Michalski 2002, p. 635.

³⁷¹ The last Polish king from the Piast dynasty, who reigned between 1333-1370. He was known for his great achievements, such as reformation of the Polish army, doubling of the kingdom's size, reformation of the judicial system and foundation of the University of Cracow.

³⁷² Military commander of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth army, from 1601 Field Hetman of Lithuania and from 1605 Grand Hetman of Lithuania. He is considered one of the most prominent noblemen and commanders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and played a major role for instance in the Polish-Swedish War of 1600-1611 and the Polish-Ottoman War of 1620-1621.

³⁷³ Michalski 2002, p. 635.

Useful Games (Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne), but in the period of the king's reign many other periodicals existed, for instance, informative newspaper *Warsaw Newspaper (Gazeta Warszawska)*, socio-political magazine *Political and Historical Diary (Pamiętnik Polityczny i Historyczny)* or political magazine *National and Foreign Newspaper (Gazeta Narodowa i Obca)*.³⁷⁴

In addition, Stanisław August formed a Royal Library, with the ambition to include every field of knowledge. It was catalogued according to the latest European trends and its main section – the *Bibliotheca Polona* – was devoted to the Commonwealth.³⁷⁵ The king made his own library accessible for artists, literates and scientists, and thanks to his efforts the main Polish library, founded by Załuski brothers³⁷⁶, was also at a certain moment accessible to the public at large, as it was purchased, owing to the king's intervention, by the Commission of National Education after Andrzej Załuski's death.³⁷⁷

The king aimed to give to all his different collections universal and didactic character. The print cabinet certainly played a representative, but above all informative role.³⁷⁸ It consisted not only of a good selection of editions on art and antiquarianism but also a modest encyclopaedic set of drawings, plans and prints related to the art and culture of the Commonwealth.³⁷⁹ Thanks to the gathered prints and drawings the king and those who received access to the cabinet could become acquainted with the masterpieces from the most renowned European galleries, churches, palaces and museums, from the ancient until contemporary times.³⁸⁰

The royal picture gallery was also created with the same intention. It consisted of pictures from respected painting schools and by respected artists, as well as high-quality copies of ancient sculptures commissioned by the king in Rome.³⁸¹ The fact that the king attempted to give both print cabinet and picture gallery a didactic-informative character, was related to his planned foundation of the Academy of Art and Academy of Science in Warsaw. Despite long-lasting works on the project of both academies, the foundation did not take place during his reign.³⁸² Nevertheless, artistic education and training were given in the atelier of Bacciarelli at the Royal Castle in Warsaw. The aim of the king was to educate young artists who would later remain in his service.³⁸³ Moreover, several talented Polish students, whom Stanisław August saw as prospecting artists and architects of the Polish nation, were sponsored by the king to complete their artistic studies abroad.³⁸⁴ Among them were:

³⁷⁴ Kostkiewiczowa 2011, p. 158.

³⁷⁵ Manikowska 2011, p. 134.

³⁷⁶ Józef Andrzej Załuski (1702-1774, Bishop of Kiev and known bibliophile) and Andrzej Stanisław Załuski (1695-1758, also bishop in different cities).

³⁷⁷ Manikowska 2011, p. 135.

³⁷⁸ T. Kossecka, *Gabinet Rycin Króla Stanisława Augusta*, Warszawa 1999, p. 33.

³⁷⁹ Manikowska 2011, p. 134.

³⁸⁰ Kossecka 1999, p. 33.

³⁸¹ Manikowska 2011, p. 134.

³⁸² Mańkowski 1976, pp. 18-19.

³⁸³ A. Chiron-Mrozowska, 'Marcello Bacciarelli i jego Malarnia', in: A. Sołtys (ed.), *Stanisław August – ostatni król Polski: polityk, mecenas, reformator: 1764-1795*, exh. cat. Warszawa (Zamek Królewski) 2011, p. 340.

³⁸⁴ Mańkowski 1976, p. 19.

Aleksander Kucharski (1741-1819), Wall, Smuglewicz, Jan Regulski (1760-1807), Jakub Kubicki (1758-1833) and Stanisław Zawadzki (1743-1806). Through this artistic education of the Polish artists in the foreign countries as well as the fact that Poniatowski invited and hired many foreign artists at his own court, the artistic activity started to develop with a culminating point in the second half of the nineteenth century.³⁸⁵

Stanisław August's social reforms and scientific, artistic and literary patronage reveal that he wished to modernize his country, according to what he presumably found that the Enlightened monarchy should entail. The fact that the king attached much importance to the restoration of European opinions about Poland, may suggest that he wished the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to be perceived as an Enlightened monarchy in the eyes of other Europeans. These goals explain why he might have also desired to fashion himself as an Enlightened monarch, striving for connections with the European cultural and artistic elite, especially those from western countries where he spent time during his formative years.

Poniatowski's efforts resemble very much the cultural politics of Peter the Great, who also tried to westernize his country according to the modern states, such as Holland was in his eyes. Although there is no hard evidence for that, it is plausible that also the Polish king saw the Netherlands as the prominent example of a modern state, which would explain his predilection for Netherlandish art.

³⁸⁵ Mańkowski 1976, p. 19.

2.3. The formation of the collection of Netherlandish paintings

2.3.1. The collecting tradition in Poland before the reign of Stanisław August

The Polish collecting tradition developed according to similar patterns and tendencies as in the rest of Europe.³⁸⁶ From the sixteenth century onwards the collecting activity was very strictly related to the travels abroad, as the greatest artistic centres and markets found themselves outside the Polish territory.³⁸⁷ For instance, Poles were considered an important group that purchased seventeenth-century Flemish paintings and many Polish collectors visited ateliers of Antwerp or Brussels painters during their travels abroad.³⁸⁸ According to Manikowska, such a visit to the atelier by a Polish collector, recognisable through the characteristic traditional Polish clothes, was represented on the painting *Visit to a Painter's Studio* by Antwerp artist, Hendrick Govaerts (1669-1720) (fig. 76).³⁸⁹

The Polish kings were not the most prominent collectors among sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European rulers, but they attempted to be perceived as experts and patrons of arts, for these were exemplary features of successful monarchs.³⁹⁰ Illustrative examples of this type of king are those from the House of Vasa. The elective kings from the Vasa dynasty were the first in Poland to collect Netherlandish paintings.³⁹¹ They commissioned many pieces directly from the atelier of Rubens, however, unfortunately none of them have survived in Poland.³⁹² The Vasa kings often commissioned their envoys to purchase pictures on trips abroad. For instance, a royal secretary, Piotr Żeroński (1570-1633), went in 1620 with a diplomatic mission to the Low Countries and by this occasion acquired the painting *Descent from the Cross* by Rubens for the church in Kalisz.³⁹³ From the short references about the commissions of the kings Sigismund III Vasa (1566-1632), Vladislaus IV (1595-1648) and Jan III Sobieski (1629-1696), directed to the Italian artists in the *Unpublished Lives* by Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613-1696) and in *Le Meraviglie dell'Arte [Wonders of Art]* by Carlo Ridolfi (1594-1658), much can be learnt about the relation between the commissioner and the artist, who exchanged much correspondence before the artist began to work, in order to determine the details.³⁹⁴ There are at least two visual primary sources concerning the collecting activity of Vladislaus IV (ruled in 1632-1648). The first one is a painting revealing the *Kunstammer of Crown Prince*

³⁸⁶ E. Manikowska, 'Kolekcjonerstwo obrazów mistrzów europejskich w dawnej Polsce', in: A. Kozak, A. Ziemia (ed.), *Sztuka cenniejsza niż złoto: obrazy, rysunki i ryciny dawnych mistrzów europejskich ze zbiorów polskich: wystawa poświęcona pamięci Jana Białostockiego*, exh. cat. Warszawa (Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie) 1999, p. 20.

³⁸⁷ Manikowska 1999, p. 20.

³⁸⁸ Manikowska 1999, p. 20.

³⁸⁹ Manikowska 1999, p. 20. Also Benesz/Borusowski 2016, p. 243.

³⁹⁰ Manikowska 1999, p. 21.

³⁹¹ Benesz 2014, p. 1.

³⁹² Benesz 2014, p. 1.

³⁹³ Manikowska 1999, p. 21. Kalisz is a city in central Poland, situated on the Prosna River in the south-eastern part of the Greater Poland Voivodeship (Wielkopolska).

³⁹⁴ Manikowska 1999, p. 21.

Vladislaus Sigismund Vasa (fig. 77), now in the collection of the Royal Castle in Warsaw.³⁹⁵ When he was still a Crown Prince, Vladislaus went on a *Grand Tour* in 1624-1625 to the Low Countries, France, Italy, the Germanic lands and Vienna.³⁹⁶ This educational and political travel gave him an opportunity to visit studios of Rubens in Antwerp and of Guido Reni in Italy and to acquire works of art.³⁹⁷ From the inscription on the painting representing the *Kunstkamer* can be learnt that it was presumably executed in Warsaw in 1626, in order to prove the prince's purchases visually.³⁹⁸ In the foreground on the table is represented a medal on which Vladislaus is portrayed with his official titles. Another interesting visual source that teaches about the collecting activity of the Crown Prince Vladislaus IV is the painting titled *The Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest* by the Antwerp artist Willem van Haecht (1593-1637) (fig. 78). Vladislaus, who visited this gallery during his stay in Antwerp in 1624, is represented together with many great connoisseurs, such as Archduke Albert (1559-1621) and Princess Isabella (1566-1633), Antwerp mayor and collector Nicolaas Rockox (1560-1640) as well as Van Dyck and Rubens. The people depicted had never met at the gallery, their joined representation was rather the artist's wish to reveal the high status of the gallery. The presence of Vladislaus IV indicates that he might have been considered an important collector among the European connoisseurs of that period. When Vladislaus became a king of Poland, he realized many acquisitions of the Netherlandish paintings through his agents, Jan Bierens (1586-1641) in Antwerp and Hendrick van Uylenburgh (1587-1661, the cousin of Saskia, the wife of Rembrandt) in Amsterdam, and he participated in the posthumous auction of the collection of Rubens.³⁹⁹ Vladislaus made also direct commissions by Antwerp artists, the examples of which are the *Portrait of Ladislaus Sigismund IV, king of Poland (1595-1648)* painted in the studio of Rubens (fig. 79), now on a long-term loan from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York to the Wawel Royal Castle in Cracow and the *Portrait of King Ladislaus IV Vasa (1595-1648) on horseback* by Soutman (fig. 80).⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁵ Benesz 2014, p. 1.

³⁹⁶ Benesz 2014, p. 1.

³⁹⁷ Benesz 2014, p. 1.

³⁹⁸ Benesz 2014, p. 1.

³⁹⁹ Benesz 2014, p. 1. Unfortunately, the Vasa collection has not remained in the Polish collection for long. It was plundered in the mid-seventeenth-century through the invasion of the Swedish troops and the pictures that remained after that, were taken by Jan Kazimierz (last Vasa king, 1609-1672) after his abdication to France.

⁴⁰⁰ Benesz 2014, pp. 1-2.

2.3.2. The manner of acquisition of Netherlandish paintings by Stanisław August

Available sources reveal the various manners in which Stanisław August came into possession of several Netherlandish paintings. Although for many pieces this information was not recorded, it can be assumed that they might have come into the royal collection in a comparable way as the known examples.

Most paintings by Dutch and Flemish old masters were, in the eighteenth-century, a common part of the collections and art market in Northern Europe. The main form of sale and purchase were auctions organized by professional art dealers, usually specialized in a specific art technique, such as painting, drawing or engraving.⁴⁰¹ Sale offers were presented in either handmade written or printed auction catalogues used to be sent to potential buyers before a sale.⁴⁰² Prices of works of art were then already settled and could increase only during the auction.⁴⁰³ Sending of the catalogues considerably in advance, as well as their elaborate descriptions made a selection from a distance possible.⁴⁰⁴ An illustrative example was the sale of the collection of Pierre Laporterie (?-1793) in Hamburg in 1778. Before the auction, Laporterie sent the catalogue to several potential buyers, including Stanisław August.⁴⁰⁵ The latter wished to purchase a couple of the paintings and wrote a letter to Laporterie in order to become acquainted with the prices.⁴⁰⁶ A fragment of Laporterie's reply was as follows:

"Number 3 Franck – its pendant which is less well preserved was bought by a connoisseur during a public auction for 106 *marcs* which makes circa 56 *ducats*;
 Number 8 Casanova. Everybody in Dresden knows that I have bought it for 100 *ducats*;
 Number 39 Wouwerman. The price is between 100 *ecus* and 100 *ducats*;
 Number 219-229 eleven painted fans. Along the ordinary practice at the auctions the price will be between 2 and 3 *ducats* for each;
 Number 16 David Teniers. I have paid it four months ago 100 *ducats* and more. The local amateurs are informed of this price;
 Numbers 1 Potter/ 10 Titian/ 19 Portrait by Raphael Mengs/ 20 Sketch by R. Mengs/ Mr Schwabe has made an offer of 4,000 silver Hamburg *marcs* for those four paintings".⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰¹ Manikowska 2009, p. 116.

⁴⁰² Manikowska 2007, p. 167.

⁴⁰³ Manikowska 2007, p. 167.

⁴⁰⁴ Manikowska 2009, p. 116.

⁴⁰⁵ Manikowska 2009, p. 116.

⁴⁰⁶ Manikowska 2009, p. 116.

⁴⁰⁷ "Nr 3 Franck – son pendant á peu près moins conserve que celui ci a été païe en vent epublique par un amateur du lieu 106 Marcs, ce qui fait á peu près 56 Duc. / nr 8 Casanova – toute Dresde sait que j'ai païe 1000 duc. / nr 39 Wouvermann balance entre 100 écus et 100 duc. / 219-229 – Onze eventails. Suivant le stile ordin. des ventes ils pourroient se monter l'un dans l'autre 2 et 3 duc. chaque piece / nr 16 David Teniers – il me coute il y environ quatre mois 100 duc. et au delá. Les amateurs du lieu sont tous instruits de mon prix d'achât / nr 1 Potter / 10 Tititen / 19 Port de Raphael Mengs / 20 esquisse de R. Mengs / Mr Schwabe avoit offert pour ces 4 tableaux 4000 Marcs arg. de Hambourg".

Purchases from a distance were possible solely with a good knowledge of the French language and the specific jargon of connoisseurship. Since French was commonly spoken within eighteenth-century aristocratic circles, both the king and his main artistic advisor, Bacciarelli, were acquainted with it. Bacciarelli was also familiar with connoisseurship jargon, for instance due to his previous employment at the Dresden Gallery, where he participated in the preparation of the illustrated *Catalogue des Tableaux de la Galerie Electorale de Dresde* [Catalogue of Paintings from the Electoral Gallery of Dresden], published under the supervision of the director of the electoral print cabinet and connoisseur, Carl Heinrich von Heineken (1707-1791).⁴⁰⁸ Moreover, in the second half of the eighteenth century, special compendia were written for amateurs of the old masters' art to help them understand the specificity of the language applied in the auction catalogues.⁴⁰⁹ For instance, in 1778 Heineken published an engravers' dictionary, in which he discussed the publications of some engravings' connoisseurs, such as the auction catalogue of Gersaint.⁴¹⁰ In addition, Heineken published his comments on the writings, in which renowned old masters' corpuses were incorporated: by Robert Hecquet (1693-1775) on the prints after Jordaens and Rubens; by Helle⁴¹¹ and Jean-Baptiste Glomy (1711-1786) on the engravings of Rembrandt; by Amsterdam art brokers Pierre Yver (supplement on Rembrandt's engravings) by Hendrik de Winter (1717-1790) (corpus of engravings by Berchem) and many others.⁴¹² In 1782 Heineken published an analogous work on painters represented in the Dresden Gallery.⁴¹³ Publications of this kind were regularly purchased for the Polish Royal Library, aiming to help Stanisław August to make best possible paintings' acquisitions.⁴¹⁴

As the complete documentation is missing, the exact reconstruction of the manner of purchases by proxy at the auctions is practically impossible.⁴¹⁵ Nevertheless, usually it must be the case that the potential buyer firstly received the auction catalogue, delivered by the broker or the owner. Further, the buyer must inform the broker which paintings he wished to acquire and how much the latter should bid.⁴¹⁶ According to documents that were lost during the Second World War,

Appendix to Pierre Laporterie's letter to the Polish king, 27th of April 1778: Kraków, BCz 782, fol. 711. The original text as well as the translated citation taken from Manikowska 2007, p. 117.

⁴⁰⁸ Manikowska 2009, p. 117.

⁴⁰⁹ Manikowska 2007, p. 168.

⁴¹⁰ Manikowska 2007, pp. 168, 260. Manikowska refers to this catalogue: Ch. Heineken, *Dictionnaire de artistes, dont nous avons des estampes, avec une notice détaillée de leurs ouvrages graves*, Leipzig 1778-1790.

⁴¹¹ Only his initials P.C.A. are known.

⁴¹² Manikowska 2007, p. 168.

⁴¹³ Manikowska 2007, pp. 169, 260. Manikowska refers to this catalogue: Ch. Heineken, *Abrégé de la vie des peintres dont les tableaux, composent la Galerie electorale de Dresde avec le détail de tous les Tableaux de cette collection et des éclaircissements historiques sur ces chefs-d'oeuvres de la peinture*, Dresde 1782.

⁴¹⁴ Manikowska 2007, p. 169.

⁴¹⁵ Manikowska 2009, p. 170.

⁴¹⁶ Manikowska 2009, pp. 117-119. Manikowska described the correspondence between a book-collector Giuseppe Garampi (1725-1792) and his Utrecht correspondent Cornelis Kribber (1739-1780) and argued that the similar mechanisms and the same system of purchases, must have occurred in the painting art market. This assumption seems plausible to me.

but analysed by Mańkowski, Pierre Yver and Adriaen van Aelst were two Amsterdam brokers that worked for the Polish king.⁴¹⁷ Yver was a renowned connoisseur of paintings and engravings who organized many art auctions in the Low Countries and fulfilled the role of a broker for numerous buyers of artworks at distance.⁴¹⁸ Yver's catalogues, such as the 1756 *Supplement au catalogue raisonné de MM Gersaint, Helle & Glomy de toutes les pieces qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt par Pierre Yver* [Supplement to the critical catalogue of Messrs. Gersaint, Helle & Glomy of all pieces that form the oeuvre of Rembrandt by Pierre Yver], enjoyed high esteem among the contemporaries.⁴¹⁹ Regarding the name of Van Aelst, Manikowska argued that it might probably be wrongly interpreted by Mańkowski and that the person in question must be Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (1726-1798), the Amsterdam engraver-amateur and entrepreneur.⁴²⁰ He was considered a great connoisseur by the contemporaries and collaborated with the Amsterdam Drawing Academy. Besides, he worked together with Pierre Yver, mentioned in the correspondence between the latter and Heineken.⁴²¹

The aforementioned art dealers were closely collaborating with bankers that had correspondents in the most important cities in Europe.⁴²² Therefore, Warsaw bankers, such as Pierre Blanc (1742-1797) and Piotr Trepper (after 1713-1794), were involved into the mediation between the Polish king and the art dealers.⁴²³ Other possible methods in which Poniatowski could reach the Amsterdam brokers was via Heineken, a friend and relative of Bacciarelli.⁴²⁴

There existed two documents that confirmed the involvement of Blanc into the process of Poniatowski's artistic purchases. The first one was a list of 11 paintings offered to the king for purchase, titled *Tableaux livrés à Sa Majesté le Roy* [Paintings Delivered to His Majesty of the King], dated 3rd of December 1774 and signed by Pierre Blanc.⁴²⁵ Examples of pictures mentioned on Blanc's list, which indeed came into the royal collection, were *The Artist's Mother, Marritge Jansdr. van Rosenberg* (fig. 40), *The Artist's Father, Douwe Jansz. de Vries van Arentsveld* (fig. 41) both by Dou (?), and *Injustice Enthroned (Satire of Louis XIV during the Dutch War?)* by Ary de Vois (fig. 49).⁴²⁶ The second document, dated 28th of November 1775, is a list of 11 paintings purchased by Stanisław August from Jacques Tribble⁴²⁷, collector and art dealer in Berlin, the receipt of which is acknowledged by Blanc and later also signed by the king.⁴²⁸ The intermediation of Blanc in the contacts of Poniatowski with the

⁴¹⁷ Mańkowski 1932, pp. 38-39.

⁴¹⁸ Manikowska 2009, p. 119.

⁴¹⁹ Manikowska 2009, p. 119.

⁴²⁰ Manikowska 2009, p. 119.

⁴²¹ Manikowska 2009, p. 119.

⁴²² Manikowska 2009, p. 120.

⁴²³ Manikowska 2009, p. 120. It is now known only from a copy made by Mańkowski.

⁴²⁴ Manikowska 2009, p. 120.

⁴²⁵ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 156, 496.

⁴²⁶ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 158, 161, 414.

⁴²⁷ Tribble's life dates remain unknown, nor the proper spelling of his surname (Tribble, Tribble, Triebble, Triebel). We know that he owned one of the best collections of Italian, French and Netherlandish paintings in Berlin. Further in Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 12.

⁴²⁸ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 496.

Dutch art dealers is also proven by the letter of Van Aelst to Blanc, dated 6th of August 1771, in which he wrote that he had bought the *Man Playing a Violin and a Woman at a Window* by Philip van Dyck (fig. 47) for Blanc.⁴²⁹ This painting came into Poniatowski's collection as it was soon after listed in the royal collection catalogue of 1783.⁴³⁰ In addition, the immersion of Blanc into the artistic purchases of the Polish king from Yver⁴³¹ is confirmed by the latter's purchase offer sent to Poniatowski, on which were listed at least three paintings that were also mentioned later in the 1774 document signed by Blanc (this document confirmed the king's acquisition).⁴³² Of these three mentioned paintings two were by Dou and one by Ary de Vois.⁴³³

The agency of the Amsterdam art dealers was decisive with regard to acquisitions of Netherlandish paintings for the royal collection foremost in the context of four posthumous sales. The first one concerned the auction of the collection of Gerrit Braamcamp (1699-1771), patron and amateur of art, whose collection was known in eighteenth-century Europe as one of the greatest.⁴³⁴ The auction was held on 31st of July 1771 in Amsterdam by (among others) Philippus van der Schley (1724-1818) and Jan de Bosch (1737-1823).⁴³⁵ At this sale, Adriaen van Aelst purchased at least three paintings for the Polish king: the already mentioned *Man Playing a Violin and a Woman at a Window* by Philip van Dyck, *Diana and Actaeon* by Ary de Vois (fig. 48) and *Travellers in a Grotto* by Wouwerman (fig. 51).⁴³⁶ The second posthumous auction was that of the collection of 499 objects that belonged to Johan Aegidiusz. van der Marck (1707-1772), a fourfold mayor of the city of Leiden and a governor of the Dutch West India Company.⁴³⁷ The auction was held in Amsterdam on 25th of August 1773 by De Winter and Jean Yver.⁴³⁸ Either Pierre or Jean Yver⁴³⁹ purchased there at least four paintings for the Polish king: two pendants by Dou, one painting by Ary de Vois and one titled *The Washerwoman* by Metsu (fig. 63).⁴⁴⁰ Another posthumous sale was the one of the collection of Nicolaas Nieuhoff (1733-1776) held also in Amsterdam on 14-17th of April 1777 by Van der Schley, De

⁴²⁹ „J'avais acheté pour vous à la vente de M. Braancamp [...] [no] 299 van Dyk 270". Fragment of a letter of Van Aelst to Blanc, 6th of August 1771. Juszczak/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 153-154.

⁴³⁰ „Philippe Vandyck, Une femme vetue de bleu appuyee sur un coussin de velour cramoisi, elle tient un papier et parait ecouter un homme qui joue [du violon]", price 50 ducats. *Catalogue des Tableaux du roi en Janvier 1783*, AGAD, AJP 200. Juszczak/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 154, 493.

⁴³¹ In this case it is uncertain whether either Pierre Yver is meant or his son Jean who was also an art dealer in Amsterdam.

⁴³² Juszczak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 156.

⁴³³ For the titles see the examples from Blanc's list on the previous page.

⁴³⁴ Juszczak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 151.

⁴³⁵ Juszczak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 153.

⁴³⁶ For the paintings by Van Dyck see Juszczak/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 153-154, 410. For the painting by Wouwerman see Benesz/Borusowski 2016, p. 704.

⁴³⁷ Juszczak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 277.

⁴³⁸ Juszczak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 279.

⁴³⁹ It is uncertain which of the two Yvers is meant, as the document here is signed only by the surname and both gentlemen were involved in the auction – Jean was the co-organizer of the sale, whereas Pierre was the author of the French language version of the sale catalogue.

⁴⁴⁰ For the titles of first three paintings and the literature reference see the examples from Blanc's list on the previous page and the accompanying footnote 426. For the painting by Metsu see Juszczak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 279.

Winter and Jean Yver.⁴⁴¹ At least two paintings presented at that auction came into Poniatowski's collection: Anthonie Palamedes' *Guardroom Interior with a Trumpeter* (fig. 66) purchased by J. Luyten⁴⁴² and Jan Victors' *Joseph's Bloodied Coat is Shown to Jacob* (fig. 21) acquired by Pierre Yver.⁴⁴³ The fourth sale was not a posthumous auction in a strict sense, but a purchase from the Countess Elisabeth Henriette Marie Golovkin (1752-1820), whose father count Kamecke possessed a rich art collection in Berlin. In 1777 Stanisław August acquired from the countess three paintings attributed to Rembrandt: *Scholar at His Writing Table* (fig. 13), *Girl in a Picture Frame* (fig. 12) and *Portrait of Maerten Soolmans (1613-1641)* (fig.15).⁴⁴⁴

The king's distant acquisitions of the Netherlandish paintings occurred on the largest scale through the involvement of the Amsterdam art dealers and Pierre Blanc. Occasionally, the king engaged Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin to attend important art auctions in Paris, giving her then a free hand to acquire works of art.⁴⁴⁵ Furthermore, from time to time a Polish resident in Hamburg, Wolf Heinrich Wickedé⁴⁴⁶, acquired paintings for Stanisław August.⁴⁴⁷ Matthias Oesterreich (1716-1778) was another important broker active in the Northern art market, who kept the Potsdam royal collections and wrote their printed catalogues.⁴⁴⁸ Oesterreich was a cousin of Bacciarelli's wife⁴⁴⁹ and also his close friend. Therefore, he offered his services as a broker for the Warsaw court.⁴⁵⁰ Via Oesterreich Stanisław August might have come into touch with Tribble, from whom he purchased a dozen or more Dutch and Flemish pictures. According to two surviving documents, Stanisław August purchased from Tribble at least two times.⁴⁵¹ In 1775 paintings such as *Esau Selling His Birthright to Jacob for a Soup of Lentils* by Jan Victors (fig. 23)⁴⁵² and *Saint Peter the Repentant*

⁴⁴¹ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 307.

⁴⁴² This painting is first purchased by J. Luyten (full name and life dates are unknown) who sold the painting further to the Polish king. Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 307.

⁴⁴³ Yver sold it further to Stanisław August. Although the painting came into the collection as a work of Jan Victors, the attribution was later erroneously changed to Bol and as such it was recorded in the 1795 catalogue of the royal collection. Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 404. Also Mańkowski 1932, p. 211.

⁴⁴⁴ The first two paintings were delivered in 1777 and the third two years after. Mańkowski 1932, p. 271 and Juszcak/Małachowicz 2013, p. 394. The *Portrait of Maerten Soolmans (1613-1641)* is now considered a work of Rembrandt and his workshop. Benesz/Borusowski 2016, p. 491.

⁴⁴⁵ Manikowska 2009, p. 124.

⁴⁴⁶ Life dates are unknown. He worked for the king in 1768-1786.

⁴⁴⁷ A. Ryszkiewicz, *Początki handlu obrazami w środowisku warszawskim*, Wrocław 1953, p. 10.

⁴⁴⁸ Manikowska 2009, p. 121.

⁴⁴⁹ Johanna Juliana Friederike Richter (1733-1809), Dresden miniaturist painter.

⁴⁵⁰ Manikowska 2009, p. 121.

⁴⁵¹ The following sources are intended: *Notte des tableaux de Monsieur le Conseiller Triebel avec leur plus juste prix auxquels il ne reste qu'à ajouter les frais de transport*, [1775], BCz, manuscript 782, p. 299; and *Notte des Tableaux livres au Roi le 4-eme May 1779 [...] de plus livres le 14-eme Octobre 1779*, BCz, manuscript 782, p. 719. Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 496.

⁴⁵² This is an exceptional case since in his note Tribble gave no information on the artist. Then Pierre Blanc (who must have intermediated in the purchase process) noted in his document that it is a school of Rembrandt. In the 1795 catalogue the painting is described as the Flemish school. Mańkowski 1932, p. 213.

after Rembrandt (fig. 20) joined the royal collection.⁴⁵³ In 1779 Tribble delivered to the Warsaw court among others the following paintings: *Portrait of a Man in a Tall Hat* by Rembrandt (fig. 16)⁴⁵⁴, *View of a Panoramic Rhine Landscape* by Herman Saftleven (fig. 67)⁴⁵⁵ and *Potiphar's wife before her husband accusing Joseph* in the style of Rembrandt.⁴⁵⁶

Sometimes the Polish king took the advantage and asked the diplomatic correspondents or other familiars from abroad to make some purchases for him. This happened with the minister in Stockholm, Jerzy Michał Potocki (1753-1801) and with his agent in Amsterdam, Brusaneli.⁴⁵⁷ An interesting purchase of this kind was the acquisition of Rembrandt's *The Polish Rider* (fig. 14)⁴⁵⁸ made by Michał Kazimierz Ogiński (1728-1800), political office holder and military commander in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and cousin by marriage of Stanisław August, who sent the former to the Netherlands with the political mission. The king received a letter in August 1791 in which Ogiński wrote as follows:

"Sire,

I am sending Your Majesty a Cossack, whom Reinbrand [sic] had set on his horse. This horse has eaten during his stay with me for 420 German gulden [sic]. Your Majesty's justice and generosity allows me to expect that orange trees will flower in the same proportion.

Bowing to your feet, Your Majesty's-

My Lord Master's-most humble servant

Michael Oginski G(rand) H(etman) of L(ithuania)".⁴⁵⁹

According to Ciechanowiecki, the letter was probably sent from the Hague, where Ogiński spent most of that year, however, the scholar also assumed that the picture could have been purchased in Germany, based on the mention of German guilders.⁴⁶⁰ Another question is whether Ogiński was commissioned by Poniatowski to acquire the painting for him or rather whether he bought it for himself and then changed his mind. Hence, Ogiński possessed his own collection which contained

⁴⁵³ This is another exceptional painting in terms of attribution. At the document from Tribble the picture is described as by Nicolas Vukol (?). In the 1795 it is attributed to Bol. Mańkowski 1932, pp. 221-222. For provenance on the painting after Rembrandt see Juszcak/Małachowicz 2013, p. 396.

⁴⁵⁴ Now it is considered a work of Dutch painter, mid-XVII cent. See Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 433.

⁴⁵⁵ It was purchased from Tribble together with the pendant and described as: "Nr. 167, 168, deux vues du Rhin par Herrm. Zachtleben (...)". Mańkowski 1932, p. 283.

⁴⁵⁶ In the 1795 catalogue it is then described as "after Rembrandt". Mańkowski 1932, p. 280.

⁴⁵⁷ Ryszkiewicz 1953, p. 10. His full name and life dates are unknown.

⁴⁵⁸ The painting is now in the Frick collection in New York.

⁴⁵⁹ The original letter reads in Polish as follows: "Sire, Odsyłam Waszey Królewskiej Mości Kozaka którego Reinbrand osadził na koniu, zjadł ten koń przez bytność swoją u mnie 420 guldynów niemieckich. Sprawiedliwa Łaska Waszey Królewskiej Mości spodziewać mi się każe, że pomarańczowe drzewa w tey proporcji zakwitną, do nóg upadam Waszey Królewskiej Mości PMM nayniższy sługa Michał Ogiński HWL". Czartoryski Archives in Cracow, Correspondence of Stanislaus August with the Ogiński family, fol. 729. Both the original text as well as the English translation are taken from: A. Ciechanowiecki, 'Notes on the ownership of Rembrandt's *Polish Rider*', *The Art Bulletin* 1960 (42.2), p. 295.

⁴⁶⁰ Ciechanowiecki 1960, p. 295.

high-quality works of Italian, Dutch, Flemish, French and German.⁴⁶¹ As there is no documentation concerning the potential acquisition request of the king to Ogiński, according to Ciechanowiecki, it is presumable that Ogiński was originally buying for himself. *The Polish Rider* was the only work of art that passed from the officer to the king.⁴⁶²

With regard to specific single acquisitions, in 1783 the Polish king bought from the art dealer, Jacques Langlier (1732-1814), *The Violin Player* after Dou (fig. 42), which earlier belonged to the collection of Prince de la Vallière, Louis César de La Baume Le Blanc (1708-1780).⁴⁶³ Subsequently, the Antwerp art dealer, Philippus Florentinus Vergeloo⁴⁶⁴, sold two pendant portraits to Poniatowski - *Jean-Charles de Cordes* and *Jacqueline van Caestre* after Van Dyck or Rubens (fig. 3 and 4).⁴⁶⁵ The purchase of these marriage portraits must have occurred before January 1783.⁴⁶⁶

Besides the acquisitions abroad, Stanisław August came into the possession of a couple of Netherlandish paintings by repurchasing them from other Polish collectors. Before 1776 at least seven Netherlandish paintings from the collection of the Count from Rydzyna, August Sułkowski (1729-1786), came into the royal collection.⁴⁶⁷ The circumstances in which it occurred remain unknown. Nonetheless, it is probable that Sułkowski gave them to the king as a gift in order to regain his favour.⁴⁶⁸ These pictures were: *Satyr Playing a Flute* by Jordaens (fig. 7)⁴⁶⁹, *Laughing Woman (Allegory of Sight)* by Jan (I) Verkolje (fig. 81)⁴⁷⁰, *The Egg Dance* by Cornelis Saftleven (fig. 82)⁴⁷¹, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* by the workshop of Jan Brueghel (fig. 55)⁴⁷², *Italianate Mountainous Landscape with Sunrise* and *Italianate Mountainous Landscape with Sunset* by Willem van Bemmelen (fig. 38 and 39)⁴⁷³ and *Hunt Still Life in a Niche* by the follower of Willem van Aelst (fig. 83).⁴⁷⁴ Subsequently, before 1783 the *Italian Landscape with Peasants Gathering Rushes* by the follower of Berchem (fig. 35) was purchased by the Polish king from the Starosta of Liv, Józef Karczewski (?-1793).⁴⁷⁵ In 1793, Poniatowski also acquired the portrait of *François I* by the workshop of Joos van Cleve (fig. 84) from the Count

⁴⁶¹ Ciechanowiecki 1960, p. 295.

⁴⁶² Ciechanowiecki 1960, p. 295.

⁴⁶³ His posthumous auction was held in Paris on 22nd of February 1781 in Paris by Alexandre-Joseph Paillet, Delaville. Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 165.

⁴⁶⁴ Life dates are unknown.

⁴⁶⁵ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 173, 177.

⁴⁶⁶ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 177.

⁴⁶⁷ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 455.

⁴⁶⁸ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 455.

⁴⁶⁹ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 204. In the 1795 catalogue the painting was described as the Flemish school.

⁴⁷⁰ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 398. In the 1795 catalogue no artist is given.

⁴⁷¹ Benesz/Borusowski 2016, p. 543. In the 1795 catalogue no artist is given.

⁴⁷² Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 120-121. In the 1795 catalogue described as anonymous artist.

⁴⁷³ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 96-97. No information on the artist is given in the 1795 catalogue.

⁴⁷⁴ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, pp. 45-46. No artist is given in the 1795 catalogue.

⁴⁷⁵ Juszcak/Małachowicz 2015, p. 100. Starosta is the name of a local government officer in Polish administration.

Stanisław Kostka Potocki, collector and patron of art, earlier hung in the latter's Palace at Miodowa Street in Warsaw.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁶ This painting was at the time of acquisition regarded as a work of Leonardo da Vinci and described as such in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 313. Also Juszczyk/Małachowicz 2013, pp. 180-182.

2.3.3. The acquisitions by Noel Desenfans

The artistic acquisitions which Noel Desenfans (1744-1807) completed for the Polish king are discussed apart from the other acquisitions treated in the previous paragraph for two reasons. First, in contrast to the previously discussed individual or small commissions, the character of the mission given to Desenfans was much more complex, since a national gallery was to be founded with his purchases. Second, the paintings gathered by Desenfans for the king, never actually arrived in the Polish royal collection. Nevertheless, this entire undertaking is worth discussing because it included many paintings by the most renowned Netherlandish artists, which may indicate the importance that the king possibly attached to them.

The name of Desenfans was widely known among the art lovers and collectors of late eighteenth-century Europe, thus it is not surprising that Stanisław August would entrust him with such a complex task as to build up a national collection. The king came into contact with Desenfans via his brother, the Primate of Poland and Lithuania, Michał Jerzy Poniatowski (1736-1794), who stayed in London for a couple of months in 1790.⁴⁷⁷ During this visit, Michał Poniatowski contacted Desenfans and convinced him to abandon the art trade in favour of the mission to gather for the Polish king a valuable set of paintings by the most renowned old masters.⁴⁷⁸ In consequence, Desenfans, recognizing many benefits of this commission for his own career, accepted the offer and in 1790-1795 focussed solely on this task.⁴⁷⁹

The king's commission to Desenfans was part of a plan for a public national gallery in Warsaw.⁴⁸⁰ Although the manner in which the details of the agreement between Stanisław August and Desenfans were settled, is unknown, some facts can be learnt from the introduction to *A Descriptive Catalogue (with Remarks and Anecdotes never before published in English) of Some Pictures of the Different Schools purchased for His Majesty the late King of Poland, which will be exhibited early in 1802 at the Great Room No. 3 in Berners-Street, by Noel Joseph Desenfans, Esq.*⁴⁸¹ Desenfans wrote as follows:

"It was in 1790, immediately after the French Revolution, at that epoch when the Emigrant Nobility brought into England, their most precious effects to be disposed of, that Stanislaus Augustus sent here a commission for purchasing a Collection of Pictures, in order to add some to those his Majesty was already possessed of, and to present the different Artists in Poland, with the other part, as models and specimens of Painting; for his Majesty having a most refined taste of the fine arts, was fond of them, and had at heart, their rise and progress in his country.

⁴⁷⁷ G. Waterfield, 'Galeria Obrazów w Dulwich', in: C. Brown (ed.), *Kolekcja dla króla. Obrazy dawnych mistrzów ze zbiorów Dulwich Picture Gallery w Londynie*, exh. cat. Warszawa (Zamek Królewski w Warszawie) 1992, p. 20.

⁴⁷⁸ Waterfield 1992, p. 20.

⁴⁷⁹ Waterfield 1992, p. 20.

⁴⁸⁰ A. Morawińska, 'Kolekcjonerstwo polskie i Anglia w dobie Oświecenia. Kontakty artystyczne Stanisława Augusta i Michała Poniatowskich z Noëlem Desenfansem. Pamiętnik wystawy sztuki angielskiej', in: J. Białostocki, I. Kołoszyńska (ed.), *Polska i Anglia. Stosunki kulturalno-artystyczne. Pamiętnik wystawy sztuki angielskiej*, Warszawa 1974, pp. 30-31.

⁴⁸¹ More information about the reasons for the creation of this catalogue will be given below.

In consequence it was recommended to us, to act with such caution as to purchase none but Originals and fine Pictures of the different Schools, when we should meet with them, at a liberal but not extravagant price; and it is on that principle that they have all been gradually purchased, both at public Sales and by private Contract. But notwithstanding a Collection may consist of good Pictures, they cannot all be of equal merit and equal value.

As his Polish Majesty was particularly desirous of possessing none but pure⁴⁸² pictures, we were also instructed, to prevent any damage, not to have them cleaned, which, as the visitors of the Exhibition will see, has been punctually observed with the exception of a few which, after they were bought, were found to have been painted upon, although we had used the best of our knowledge against purchasing such; fortunately they had been so without necessity, and are now an ornament to the Collection".⁴⁸³

The king's choice to employ Desenfans for this mission must have been motivated also by the place where he worked. In the seventeen-nineties, the number of paintings that were brought to London was larger than ever before due to two phenomena. First, some agents, on behalf of British art dealers, bought large quantities works of art from Italian aristocracy and monasteries in order to sell them in England.⁴⁸⁴ Second, many paintings found themselves in London because of sales of private French collections which occurred on a large scale after the French Revolution.⁴⁸⁵ In these favourable circumstances, Desenfans managed to gather an assembly of approximately 180 paintings that cost him 9,000 pounds, as he stated in the *Memorandum* sent to the Russian tsar in 1801.⁴⁸⁶ Unfortunately, this collection never reached Warsaw, as in 1795 the Third Partition took place and the king was forced to abdicate. For a short period of time, Desenfans still hoped that Poniatowski or his family would buy the collection from him, as the abdicated king had a plan to settle in Rome, however Stanisław August passed away three years later. Since the Russian tsar Paul I (1754-1801) had taken the responsibility to pay off the debts of Stanisław August, Desenfans attempted to reach the tsar and sell the collection, however, he was unsuccessful.⁴⁸⁷ In the end, Desenfans organized an auction in 1802, which was accompanied with the above-cited catalogue. He did not manage to sell all the paintings and many of those which remained in his hands, ended up in the collection of the Dulwich College (currently Dulwich Picture Gallery), by bequest of Francis Bourgeois (1753-1811) in 1811.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸² Desenfans might have meant authentic paintings that were not cleaned and then overpainted.

⁴⁸³ N. Desenfans, *A Descriptive Catalogue (with Remarks and Anecdotes never before published in English) of Some Pictures of the Different Schools purchased for His Majesty the late King of Poland, which will be exhibited early in 1802 at the Great Room No. 3 in Berners-Street, by Noel Joseph Desenfans, Esq.*, London 1802, vol. I, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁸⁴ Waterfield 1992, p. 21.

⁴⁸⁵ Waterfield 1992, p. 21.

⁴⁸⁶ Waterfield 1992, p. 22.

⁴⁸⁷ Waterfield 1992, p. 22.

⁴⁸⁸ Desenfans died in 1807 and left his entire painting collection to his close friend Francis Bourgeois, a painter, art dealer and art collector, who helped Desenfans with organization of many auctions. Waterfield 1992, p. 24.

Establishing this collection's precise content is rather problematic since the only available documentation is the 1802 catalogue. It should be noted that some paintings, intended primarily for the royal collection, were not auctioned (Desenfans left some pieces for himself), whereas another few were at that time already sold.⁴⁸⁹ Notwithstanding, the catalogue is still a good basis to determine the character of the collection that was destined to be a national collection.⁴⁹⁰

The catalogue consisted of two volumes, including the introduction and the pictures organized by national schools. Each painting was discussed according to a similar pattern. The following information was given: the painting school, first and last name of the artist, dates and place of birth, number and title of the painting and the description of the given picture including an analysis, sometimes with anecdotes on either the subject matter or the artist's biography.⁴⁹¹

As the idea was to create a national gallery, Desenfans attempted to gather a historically and geographically complete overview of European painting, however, he omitted everything originating from before 1500 and gathered a relatively small amount of contemporary works.⁴⁹² The schools represented were: Italian (32 pieces), Venetian (10), Spanish (10), French (19), German (11⁴⁹³), Flemish (31), Dutch (58) and English (16).

The most numerous Dutch painting school was represented by the following artists: Ludolf Backhuysen (1630-1708) (2 pieces), Berchem (5), Jan Bonnaert (?)⁴⁹⁴ (1), Ter Borch (1), Brouwer (1), Aelbert Cuyp (7), Dou (3), Karel Dujardin (1622-1678) (4), Van der Heyden (2), Jan van Hugtenburg (1), Van Huysum (1), Van Poelenburch (1), Potter (1), Adam Pynacker (1622-1673) (4), Van Ruisdael (2), Adriaen van de Velde (3), Willem van de Velde (2), Simon de Vlieger (1), Jan Weenix (1), Adriaen van der Werff (1), Emmanuel de Witte (1), Wouwerman (7) and Jan Wynants (3⁴⁹⁵) (tab. 5⁴⁹⁶). The group of Dutch pictures was actually even larger, as Desenfans ascribed six other Dutch pieces to the German school. These were one painting by Adriaen van Ostade, two paintings by Isaac van Ostade, one piece by Johannes Lingelbach and peculiar enough one piece by Rembrandt.

From the Flemish school are listed the following painters: Philippe de Champaigne (1 piece), Gonzales Coques (1), Van Dyck (6), Jacques Fouquieres (1), Meindert Hobbema (1638-1709)⁴⁹⁷ (1), Jordaens (2), Adam Frans van der Meulen

⁴⁸⁹ Morawińska 1974, p. 34.

⁴⁹⁰ Morawińska 1974, p. 34.

⁴⁹¹ Morawińska 1974, p. 35.

⁴⁹² Morawińska 1974, p. 35.

⁴⁹³ Very peculiar is the fact that Desenfans included a painting by Rembrandt as well as those by Adriaen and Isaac van Ostade and Johannes Lingelbach to the German painting school, which gives us six more paintings that should be added to the Dutch school and should be then subtracted from the German one.

⁴⁹⁴ According to the 1802 catalogue this painter was born in Amsterdam and was a pupil of Van Der Meulen in Brussels, whom he later followed to France in order to finish his studies.

⁴⁹⁵ Wynants painted two of these three paintings in collaboration: one with Johannes Lingelbach and one with Adriaen van de Velde.

⁴⁹⁶ Tab. 5 includes both Dutch and Flemish painters represented in the 1802 catalogue.

⁴⁹⁷ Meindert Hobbema is a Dutch artist, he was born, active and deceased in Amsterdam. The reason why Desenfans placed him among the Flemish artists is unknown.

(2), Jan Miel (1599-1656) (2), Rubens (6), Herman van Swanevelt (2), David Teniers (7).

Desenfans specified the collection's character as follows: "Owing to our caution against copies, a very small number of Italian, in comparison with those of the Flemish and Dutch schools, will be found in the collection, but some of them are first-rate performances; in fact, it is much easier to be imposed upon with an Italian copy, than with a Dutch or a Flemish, as every one of us is more conversant in, and better acquainted with those two schools".⁴⁹⁸ Desenfans' knowledge about Dutch and Flemish painting schools is confirmed by the fact that many of the identified paintings figuring in the 1802 catalogue have remained with the same attribution. Examples are *Peasants and white horse* by Dujardin (fig. 85)⁴⁹⁹, *The Judgement of Paris* by Adriaen van der Werff (fig. 86)⁵⁰⁰, *A Woman Playing a Clavichord* by Dou (fig. 87)⁵⁰¹, *Saint Barbara fleeing from her Father* by Rubens⁵⁰² and *A Castle and its Proprietors* by David Teniers the Younger (fig. 88).⁵⁰³

Desenfans' selection of Dutch and Flemish paintings for the Polish king was in many aspects typical for eighteenth-century collecting trends. For example, among the Flemish painters, the most popular masters – Rubens, Van Dyck and Teniers – are the most numerous represented.⁵⁰⁴ Regarding the Dutch school, the eighteenth-century collecting fashion is reflected by the choice of many Italianate landscapists (Cuyp, Wouwerman, Berchem, Dujardin, Both) while the genre scenes that were also popular in that time can be seen in a few examples.⁵⁰⁵ According to Morawińska, the gathered collection reflects the content of the contemporary art market rather than the aesthetic motivation of the collector⁵⁰⁶, which could have caused Desenfans to purchase numerous pieces from the Low Countries.

⁴⁹⁸ Desenfans 1802, p. 6.

⁴⁹⁹ No. 133 in the 1802 catalogue. The painting is now in the Dulwich Picture Gallery, inv. no. 72. For the current attribution see Waterfield 1992, p. 70.

⁵⁰⁰ No. 169 in the 1802 catalogue. The painting is now in the Dulwich Picture Gallery.

⁵⁰¹ No. 127 in the 1802 catalogue. The painting is now in the Dulwich Picture Gallery.

⁵⁰² No. 84 in the 1802 catalogue. The painting is now in the Dulwich Picture Gallery.

⁵⁰³ Desenfans made no distinction between Teniers the Younger and the Elder. No. 97 or 01 in the 1802 catalogue. Morawińska 1974, p. 42. The painting is now in the Dulwich Picture Gallery.

⁵⁰⁴ Waterfield 1992, p. 29.

⁵⁰⁵ Waterfield 1992, p. 29.

⁵⁰⁶ Morawińska 1974, p. 37.

2.4. Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter was to investigate the personality of Stanisław August, his artistic patronage and collecting activity (with regard to Netherlandish paintings) in order to establish whether these aspects testify to his attempts at self-fashioning as an Enlightened monarch.

Educated according to the aristocratic European patterns with strong emphasis on travels abroad, this king was likely well acquainted with the cultural and artistic trends and models fostered in other European courts and it is evident that he tried to modernize his country according to them. He organized “Thursday Dinners” resembling Parisian salons and encouraged the development of writing about Polish history, literature and language. In addition, Poniatowski formed the Royal Library and painting gallery, supported education of young Polish artists and planned a foundation of the Academies of Art and Science.

Stanisław August also strove for connections with the European elite, searching for the approval of his activities and also attempting to raise European opinion on Poland, which all suggests that he aimed to be perceived as an Enlightened monarch. His efforts at self-fashioning as such, were to a certain extent successful, as renowned philosopher Voltaire, with whom Poniatowski corresponded, mentioned the Polish king between the Enlightened Northern monarchs, referring to his social reforms and his scientific, artistic and literary patronage.

Just as his seventeenth-century Vasa predecessors had been, Stanisław August was aware of the fact that the expertise on and patronage of the arts improved a monarch’s status and therefore, he attempted to be present in the European art market. He purchased most of his Netherlandish paintings through the brokerage of Amsterdam art dealers and Polish bankers, but also via the other persons. Poniatowski’s commission to Desenfans, meant to build a collection for a national gallery not only shows that the king’s collecting activity was aimed to gather momentum but also suggests that in his eyes an Enlightened monarch should provide his nation with a museum where it could get acquainted with the art of painting. Because of the large number of Netherlandish paintings made as a part of this commission, the idea that they might have been meant to play an important role in the planned gallery cannot be excluded, even though there is little concrete proof for that. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that Desenfans’ purchases may simply reflect the content of the contemporary market, rather than the king’s ideological conviction towards the Netherlandish art.

3. Netherlandish paintings in the eighteenth-century European collections

3.1. Introduction

In order to establish whether Poniatowski's interest in Netherlandish painting in his collecting activity can be seen as exceptional, it is necessary to place it within the context of other contemporary and relevant European collections. The aim of this chapter is to answer the two-part sub-question: Which European Netherlandish painting collections did Poniatowski relate to in terms of imitation and emulation, and can Poniatowski's Netherlandish painting collection be seen as exceptional in comparison to those collections?

Since the Polish king's Dutch and Flemish pictures are analysed in light of court collecting culture as well as the idea of self-fashioning as Enlightened monarch, collections formed in similar or comparable contexts will be discussed, namely: the collections of August II and August III in Dresden and of Catherine the Great in Saint Petersburg. These specific collections are selected for comparison while others are left out for several political, ideological, personal and geographical reasons.

First, the Polish court was politically tightly connected to both the Dresden and Saint Petersburg courts, which makes them naturally a potential point of reference in terms of court culture. The political connection with the Russian court lay in Catherine the Great, who not only supported the election of Poniatowski but also, after his coronation, supervised many of his political decisions. With respect to the Dresden court, the political connection was established through the Saxon dynasty which ruled also in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between 1670 and 1763.

Besides the political, another reason for the comparison of Poniatowski's collection with the Saxon and the Russian examples is the Polish king's personal experience. With respect to Saint Petersburg, the period that Poniatowski spent there before his coronation may have been very influential, since he could have become acquainted with the part of the Russian collection formed by Peter I the Great, who was fascinated by Netherlandish art and whose ideas about the Enlightenment might have inspired Poniatowski's own artistic policy. Additionally, his personal relationship with Catherine II, whom Poniatowski spent time with during this same period, could have affected the future king's artistic interests.

Regarding the Saxon court, its example could be relevant for Stanisław August because of the personality of his main artistic advisor, Bacciarelli, who, before his employment at the Warsaw court, worked at the Dresden Gallery under the supervision of the director of the electoral print cabinet, Carl Heinrich von Heineken. Since Bacciarelli had a great impact on Poniatowski's decisions concerning painting acquisitions and, other matters related to collecting, it is presumable that in consequence the models and trends from Dresden influenced those in Warsaw during Poniatowski's reign.

Lastly, is the geographical location of both Saxon and Russian courts, which were relatively closely to Warsaw in comparison to the other European courts, for instance, Vienna or Paris.

Comparison of Stanisław August's painting collection with the collections of contemporary Polish aristocrats will be left out of the account, because, as Manikowska argued, comparisons of the royal collection with aristocratic collections, such as those of Stanisław Kostka Potocki or Izabela Lubomirska (1736-1816), hardly deserves justification.⁵⁰⁷ Although these collections might have also expressed the owner's status, they were not formed in the context of royal self-fashioning, which in this thesis is argued to be an element of the collecting of the king Stanisław August. Formation and functioning of the eighteenth-century royal collections were strictly related to the royal court culture and monarchs' politics, which makes their comparison with aristocratic examples irrelevant.

⁵⁰⁷ Manikowska 2007, p. 238.

3.2. Dresden, August II and August III

The court collection of the Saxon dynasty in Dresden was formed in a comparable context as the one owned by the last Polish king, for whom it may have served as a point of reference. As previously discussed, there was a historic connection between the courts in Warsaw and Dresden. From 1697 the Saxon dynasty ruled also in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, first during the years 1697-1733 by Frederick August I of Saxony (known also as August II of Poland or August the Strong, 1670-1733) and then by Frederick August II of Saxony (also known as August III of Poland, 1696-1763) from 1734 until 1763.⁵⁰⁸

Since August the Strong was willing to establish and enforce his status in both Saxony and the Commonwealth, he attached much value to the outward representation of his court. For instance, he commissioned splendid palaces, churches and his own propagandist portraits, organized delirious court feasts as well as established the production of home luxury goods.⁵⁰⁹ Furthermore, the collecting activity of his successor, August III, can also be interpreted as efforts to establish high status as an European ruler. According to Andreas Blühm, while August the Strong confined himself to purchases of a relatively great amount of impressive works of art, it was August III who collected in an obsessive manner, making more painting acquisitions during his regime than any other European prince at that time.⁵¹⁰ In addition, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) stated in 1755 that the princely Dresden painting gallery was a treasury of works of art by the greatest masters and that it most probably surpassed all other galleries in the world.⁵¹¹

The arrangement of the Dresden gallery was above all aimed to fulfill the function of a representative princely collection with universal character, containing, for example, both Renaissance Italian history pieces as well as Dutch cabinet pieces.⁵¹² Heineken stated that the collection testified to August the Strong's universal taste and that he was a true admirer and connoisseur, being able to recognize and value all painting schools and works by renowned masters.⁵¹³ According to Blühm, the term of taste could not be separated in this context from the function that art played within court conventions since art was seen as a source of individual virtue and social connection.⁵¹⁴ Hence, kings, such as August the Strong and August III, as well as princes and courtiers who collected art, attempted to comply with the ruling taste in order to demonstrate their status as nobility.⁵¹⁵

Closer scrutiny of the inventories from 1722-1728 reveal much about artistic preferences during the regime of August the Strong. The Dutch school was the most

⁵⁰⁸ A. Blühm, 'Het geheim van Dresden', in: A. Blühm et al. (ed.), *Het geheim van Dresden. Van Rembrandt tot Canaletto*, exh. cat. Groningen/Dresden (Groninger Museum/Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden) 2015, p. 19.

⁵⁰⁹ Blühm 2015, pp. 19-20.

⁵¹⁰ Blühm 2015, p. 27.

⁵¹¹ Blühm 2015, p. 27.

⁵¹² Blühm 2015, p. 29.

⁵¹³ Blühm 2015, p. 29.

⁵¹⁴ Blühm 2015, p. 29.

⁵¹⁵ Blühm 2015, p. 29.

numerously represented featuring the following artists: Wouwerman (16 pieces), Jan Griffier (12), Herman Saftleven (10), Dou (10), Frans van Mieris (10) and Willem van Mieris (8).⁵¹⁶ The variety of images – namely hunt scenes and military combats by Wouwerman, detailed views of Rhine by Saftleven and Griffier together with genre scenes by Dou, Van Mieris and other *fijnschilders* – illustrates the common taste of eighteenth-century European collectors.⁵¹⁷ Looking deeper at August the Strong's collection, even more Dutch artists can be discerned: De Heem (9 pieces), Berchem (5), Rembrandt (5), Boonen (5), Van Huchtenburgh (5), Metsu (4), Netscher (4), Toorenvliet (4), Van Poelenburch (3), Van Lin (3), Hondecoeter (3), Van Ostade (3), Backer (3), Koninck (3), De Vois (3), Ter Borch (3), Schalcken (2), Pieter van der Werff (2), Adriaen van der Werff (2), Van Ruisdael (2) and Avercamp (2).⁵¹⁸ Furthermore, the Flemish school was also very well represented, featuring works by Rubens, Van Dyck and Jan Brueghel the Elder, amongst others.⁵¹⁹

Although the collection of August the Strong also contained pictures from the Italian and French schools, the position of the Netherlandish school can be perceived as dominant. Presumably following Johann Wilhelm van de Palts (1658-1716), August the Strong is remarkable since he is one of the first collectors from outside the Dutch Republic who gathered Dutch paintings on a large scale.⁵²⁰ The fact that the Netherlandish school received such an important position within the collection of this king may be primarily explained by the influence of his artistic advisors and agents, such as Samuel Bottschild (1641-1706), count Christoph August von Wackerbarth (1662-1734) and count Jacob Heinrich von Flemming (1667-1728), all of whom maintained good relations in the Netherlands and were therefore purchasing Netherlandish paintings in great numbers.⁵²¹ Once August the Strong began to have better relations in Italy and France, the amount of French and Italian paintings also grew within the Dresden collection.⁵²² According to Korthals Altes, the reason for this shift can be found in the decline of the political, economic and cultural dominance of the Dutch Republic and increasing popularity of French culture at the Saxon court.⁵²³

Like his father, August III had numerous artistic agents and advisors who helped him establish the collection in Dresden. Among them were Raymond Le Plat (ca. 1664-1742)⁵²⁴, the minister Heinrich Graaf von Brühl (1700-1763) and Heineken.⁵²⁵ Many of these agents visited different artistic centres in European cities,

⁵¹⁶ E.K. Korthals Altes, *De verovering van de internationale kunstmarkt door de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst: enkele studies over de verspreiding van Hollandse schilderijen in de eerste helft van de achttiende eeuw*, Leiden 2003, p. 236.

⁵¹⁷ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 236.

⁵¹⁸ Korthals Altes 2003, pp. 236-237.

⁵¹⁹ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 237.

⁵²⁰ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 236.

⁵²¹ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 248.

⁵²² Korthals Altes 2003, p. 248.

⁵²³ Korthals Altes 2003, pp. 248-249.

⁵²⁴ He was already working at the court of August III. Korthals Altes 2003, p. 248.

⁵²⁵ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 250.

such as Amsterdam, Hamburg, Madrid, Paris, Prague and Venice, looking for art objects and purchasing them for the princely collection.⁵²⁶

As previously noted, August III showed an even greater interest than his predecessor in the Italian school. Via his agents in Italy and France, such as count Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764) and the painter Rigaud, the Elector managed to gather a prominent representation of foremostly sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian altarpieces.⁵²⁷ The most important purchase was *The Sistine Madonna* by Raphael. In terms of Italian (but not only) paintings, one of the most important acquisition was the accession of the collection of the Duke Francesco III d'Este (1698-1780) from Modena in 1764.⁵²⁸ This brought paintings by artists such as Andrea del Sarto, Titian, Holbein, Rubens, Annibale Carracci, Velázquez and Correggio into the collection at Dresden.⁵²⁹

Besides Italian pictures, August III also acquired many Netherlandish paintings, to the extent that they were represented in almost the same amount as Italians.⁵³⁰ The best Netherlandish pieces were actually not purchased in the Low Countries, but in Paris. Sebastian de Brais⁵³¹ was one of August III's artistic agents whose dealings caused substantial enrichment of the Dutch and Flemish school within the Dresden collection.⁵³² For instance, approximately 30 paintings were purchased in 1742 at the posthumous sale of Prince of Carignano, Victor Amadeus I (1690-1741), among which many pieces by Wouwerman, but also several ones by Paul Bril, Peter Brueghel, Adriaen van der Werff, David Teniers the Younger and one by Rubens.⁵³³ One of the essential acquisitions by De Brais from the same period were Rembrandt's *Portrait of Saskia with a Flower* and Rubens' *Mercury and Argus*, in Araignon and Paris respectively.⁵³⁴ After De Brais' death, Théodore Le Leu⁵³⁵ and Jean Baptiste Slodtz (1705-1764) took over the function of August III's art agents in Paris.⁵³⁶ Once, when they presented the king an extensive list of paintings to be acquired, August III only chose eleven pictures, all Dutch or Flemish, among which were Rubens' *Bathsheba at the Fountain* and Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait with Saskia* and also pieces by Dou and David Teniers the Younger.⁵³⁷ According to Annegret Laabs, this selection clearly illustrates the taste of the epoch since Rembrandt's picture was bought for almost the same price as the painting by Dou, whereas Teniers' *Numerous Company in a Salle* cost almost double as much as Rembrandt's

⁵²⁶ Blühm 2015, p. 27.

⁵²⁷ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 250.

⁵²⁸ Blühm 2015, p. 27.

⁵²⁹ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 251.

⁵³⁰ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 251.

⁵³¹ His life dates are unknown.

⁵³² A. Laabs, 'Les oeuvres de peintres hollandaise et flamands achetées à Paris', in: M.H. Marx et al. (ed.), *Dresde ou le rêve des Princes. La Galerie de peintures au XVIIIe siècle*, exh. cat. Dijon (Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon) 2001, p. 167.

⁵³³ The painting by Rubens is now considered an atelier copy. Laabs 2001, p. 167.

⁵³⁴ Laabs 2001, p. 167.

⁵³⁵ His life dates are unknown.

⁵³⁶ Laabs 2001, p. 167.

⁵³⁷ Laabs 2001, p. 167.

Self-Portrait.⁵³⁸ The acquisitions of Flemish and Dutch paintings in Paris succeeded on a large scale until 1754, determining the character of the Dutch and Flemish collection in Dresden even until the present day.⁵³⁹ The paintings purchased in that period were among others by the hand of Wouwerman, Adriaen van Ostade, Rembrandt, Gonzales Coques, Gerard van Dou, Frans van Mieris the Elder, Godfried Schalcken and Caspar Netscher.⁵⁴⁰ This interest in Netherlandish art by the Saxon princes seems to have been shared by the Enlightened elite from the neighbouring regions, since Dutch and Flemish art was also very well represented not just in the Leipzig collections, but also in the private collections of persons such as Heineken, the German philosopher, Herman Karl von Keyserling (1697-1764), and the German writer, Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn (1712-1780).⁵⁴¹

Because one of the main goals of the Dresden Electors was the collection's universal character, they attempted to gather works representing painting schools and periods that were considered important in their times. Besides the Italian and Netherlandish schools, the Dresden collection also contained many works of important seventeenth-century artists from France (for instance Claude Lorrain, 1600-1682, or Gaspar Dughet, 1615-1675), Germany (Johann Heinrich Roos, 1631-1685) and Spain (Diego Velázquez, 1599-1660). In addition, August III succeeded to either commission or purchase works by many contemporary artists. Among them were: Louis de Silvestre (1675-1760), Rigaud, Antonio Canal (1697-1768), Belotto, Jakob Philipp Hackaert (1737-1801) and Johann Alexander Thiele (1685-1752).

A comparison of Dutch paintings' acquisitions by August II vis-à-vis those by August III, might reveal the shifts in collecting trends which developed over the course of the eighteenth century. Whilst in the first half of the century the collectors chose works that could somehow be associated with "classical" features, such as Van Poelenburch, Schalcken or Van Der Werff, in the second half of the century Dutch painters in the style of Van Ostade, Berchem and Adriaen van de Velde became more popular.⁵⁴² Nevertheless, Korthals Altes argued that in the case of August III it was not a transition from one Dutch school or style to another, but rather a desire to make the Dresden collection richer by means of variety within a single national school.⁵⁴³ This view is confirmed in the introduction to the catalogue of the Dresden collection written by Heineken, who underlined the great amount of represented painting styles and the universal character of the collection.⁵⁴⁴

As stated above, the collecting activities of both August the Strong and August III reflect their general desire to build up a collection with representative character and content, comprising all important painting schools and variety of styles within them. This idea suits the context of the self-representation of both Saxon

⁵³⁸ Laabs 2001, p. 167.

⁵³⁹ Laabs 2001, p. 169.

⁵⁴⁰ Laabs 2001, p. 169.

⁵⁴¹ M.H. Marx et al. (ed.), *Dresde ou le rêve des Princes. La Galerie de peintures au XVIIIe siècle*, exh. cat. Dijon (Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon) 2001, p. 23.

⁵⁴² Korthals Altes 2003, p. 253.

⁵⁴³ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 253.

⁵⁴⁴ Korthals Altes 2003, p. 256.

princes as Enlightened monarchs, who attempted to create an impression of sophisticated court culture with the essential element of collecting.

Being well aware of his narrower resources, it is unlikely that Poniatowski intended to fully emulate the collecting activity of the Saxon princes. However, it is very likely that the last Polish king imitated the Saxon collections by way of their contents, adopting the same goal to create a collection of a universal character. This is confirmed by the fact that Stanisław August hired Bacciarelli, who was previously employed in Dresden, as his main artistic advisor. As demonstrated by the analysis of Poniatowski's collection in the first chapter, Poniatowski clearly strove to cover within his collection all important painting schools, giving a dominant position to Italian and Netherlandish artists, such as his predecessors had done in Dresden.

3.3. Saint Petersburg and Catherine the Great

As previously discussed, the period spent in Saint Petersburg before coronation as well as the search for approbation for his political deeds from Catherine the Great, may have moved Stanisław August to look to the example of the Russian court when forming his own court and royal collection.

It is first worthwhile to mention Catherine's predecessor, tsar Peter I the Great, since he possibly contributed to her positive reception of Netherlandish art. Peter the Great showed great interest in the Dutch Republic as a state that appealed to him in many aspects, for example, industry, trade, culture and very well-managed countryside agriculture.⁵⁴⁵ In this context, Peter the Great tried to fashion his own reputation as an expert in similar industrial and cultural aspects, also via the display of Dutch art, which had awakened his fascination. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the tsar began to form his collection, acquiring paintings from the Netherlands, in order to decorate his palace of Montplaisir in Petershof.⁵⁴⁶ For instance, Yuri Kologrivov (1690-1754), when sent on different missions to the Low Countries, first acquired for the tsar 43 paintings in the Hague and later 117 other pieces in Amsterdam and Brussels.⁵⁴⁷ Peter the Great gave similar kinds of commissions to the Russian ambassador in the Hague, Prince Boris Kurakin (1676-1727), and trade commissioner in Amsterdam, Osip Solovyov⁵⁴⁸, urging them to buy solely paintings of the finest quality.⁵⁴⁹ When in 1718 the Emperor went to the Netherlands himself, he visited several painters' studios.

Catherine the Great collected Netherlandish paintings on an even larger scale than Peter the Great. Hence, when the gallery of the Winter Palace (later developed into the Hermitage Picture Gallery) was built in 1764, the collection began to grow so quickly that within two decades it became one of the most important galleries in Europe.⁵⁵⁰ According to art historians, Piotrovski and Allen, it was Peter the Great's interest in collecting and founding of the Kunstkammer museum⁵⁵¹ and the Picture House at Peterhof, where Catherine resided as Grand Duchess, that must have influenced the taste of the future Empress.⁵⁵²

In 1764, she first bought the collection that Berlin merchant, Johann Ernst Gotzkovsky (1710-1755), primarily formed for Frederick II of Prussia, who had never

⁵⁴⁵ R. Kistemaker, N. Kopaneva, A. Overbeek (ed.), *Peter de Grote en Holland. Culturele en wetenschappelijke betrekkingen tussen Rusland en Nederland ten tijde van tsaar Peter de Grote*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Amsterdams Historisch Museum) 1997, p. 16.

⁵⁴⁶ I. Linnik (ed.), *Meesterwerken uit de Hermitage. Leningrad. Hollandse en Vlaamse schilderkunst van de 17^e eeuw*, exh. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) 1985, p. 14.

⁵⁴⁷ Linnik 1985, p. 14.

⁵⁴⁸ Life dates are unknown.

⁵⁴⁹ Linnik 1985, p. 14.

⁵⁵⁰ Linnik 1985, p. 15.

⁵⁵¹ The first public Russian museum was established in 1714. The Kunstkammer refers in this case to the collection of curiosities, not only in the sense of rarely occurring phenomena, but also secrets of nature. The museum was the repository of human knowledge about the world and humans. See the website: http://www.kunstkamera.ru/en/museum/kunst_hist/01/.

⁵⁵² M. Piotrovski, B. Allen, 'Preface', in: L. Dukelskaya, A. Moore (ed.), *A Capital Collection. Houghton Hall and the Hermitage*, New Haven/London 2002, p. VII.

taken it over.⁵⁵³ Within this collection, consisting of 225 paintings foremostly from the Dutch and Flemish school, were represented artists such as Frans Hals, Jan Steen, Dirck van Baburen, Gerard van Honthorst, but also Rubens and Frans Snyders.⁵⁵⁴

Subsequently, Catherine's collection was enlarged with purchases in Paris in 1766-1767, at the posthumous sale of the collection of Jean de Julienne (1686-1766), among which Rembrandt's *Portrait of an old woman holding a pair of spectacles* and Metsu's *The patient and the doctor*.⁵⁵⁵ Also, Rembrandt's *Return of the prodigal son* was acquired in that period by the Russian ambassador, Dmitrij Aleksejevitj Golitsyn (1734-1803). In the late seventeen-sixties in Brussels were purchased several paintings by Rubens, Isaac van Ostade, Dou, Aert van der Neer and Van der Heyden, from the collection of Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne (1766-1814) and the minister of Empress Maria-Theresia, Karl Johann Philipp von Cobenzl (1712-1770).⁵⁵⁶

A milestone in the history of the Hermitage was the acquisition of 600 paintings as well as a large number of drawings and engravings from the heirs of the minister of August III, Brühl. Among others, it included four pieces by Rembrandt, four pieces by Rubens and works by Dutch landscapists, such as Van Ruisdael, Isaac van Ostade and Wouwerman.⁵⁵⁷

In the seventeen-seventies, the Russian imperial collection of Netherlandish paintings expanded further with acquisitions in Brussels and Amsterdam. Among them were *Flora* by Rembrandt, *Portrait of a man* by Frans Hals and *The marsh* by Van Ruisdael.⁵⁵⁸ One of the last (during the reign of Catherine II) important acquisitions for the Hermitage Gallery was the purchase of the collection of Robert Walpole (1676-1745, the first Earl of Orford, British statesman) in 1779. A total of 49 Flemish pictures formed a quarter of the whole acquisition, by which the Hermitage Gallery gained works by twelve Flemish artists.⁵⁵⁹ This was a great contribution to the Hermitage since almost two-thirds were works by the leading seventeenth-century Antwerp artists – Rubens and Van Dyck.⁵⁶⁰ It was above all due to this expansion with the Walpole collection that when describing the Hermitage Picture Gallery in 1794 Johann Gottlieb Georgi (1729-1802, German botanist, naturalist and geographer) stated: "In no other gallery in Europe is there such a choice, with a numerous and precious collection of paintings by Pieter Paul Rubens, Anthony Van Dyck, David Teniers II and several other great masters, as in the Russian Imperial [Gallery]".⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵³ Linnik 1985, p. 15.

⁵⁵⁴ Linnik 1985, p. 15.

⁵⁵⁵ Linnik 1985, p. 15.

⁵⁵⁶ Linnik 1985, p. 15.

⁵⁵⁷ I. Sokolova, 'De collectie Hollandse schilderkunst in de Hermitage. Een blik vanuit de 21ste eeuw', in: I. Sokolova (ed.), *Hollandse Meesters uit de Hermitage*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Hermitage Amsterdam) 2017, p. 32.

⁵⁵⁸ Linnik 1985, p. 16.

⁵⁵⁹ L. Dukelskaya, A. Moore (ed.), *A Capital Collection. Houghton Hall and the Hermitage*, New Haven/London 2002, p. 35.

⁵⁶⁰ Dukelskaya/Moore 2002, p. 35.

⁵⁶¹ Dukelskaya/Moore 2002, p. 35.

The acquisitions of Dutch and Flemish paintings which the Russian Empress realized during her reign, cannot be separated from her overall governing policy. According to Emmanuel Starcky, Catherine II's ruling was one of the most brilliant late-eighteenth-century reigns and she was an example of an Enlightened sovereign, who in particular attached much value to European public opinion.⁵⁶² In order to defend her politics, which were associated with intellectual interests, the Empress stayed in touch with the most important representatives of the Enlightenment epoch, such as Madame Geoffrin, d'Alembert, Diderot, Friedrich Melchior Grimm (1723-1807) and Voltaire.⁵⁶³ In Voltaire's opinion Catherine the Great, with her patronage of arts and sciences as well as activities in the art collecting, fit particularly well the model of the Enlightened sovereign and he even named her the "Star of the North".⁵⁶⁴ Starcky argued that in her cultural activities, including collecting, Catherine II desired to revive and continue the project of Peter the Great, namely to make Saint Petersburg a place of high culture, open for all Europe.⁵⁶⁵ The Empress was aware of the fact that a prestigious collection would attract to her city both intellectuals and artists and, therefore, she was eager to constitute a collection which would be celebrated for its importance and quality, as well as for representation of a range of the most renowned artists.⁵⁶⁶ The intensity of Catherine II's painting acquisitions can also be explained by her willingness to form an artistic patrimony in service of her empire.⁵⁶⁷

When Catherine II passed away in 1796, more than three thousand works formed her imperial collection, within which paintings by Dutch and Flemish artists were remarkably well represented.⁵⁶⁸ With respect to Flemish painters and especially Rubens, Catherine's interest to some extent resembled wider trends other European collectors' circles, for instance in France and Italy.⁵⁶⁹ Regarding the Dutch painters, Catherine's interest cannot be explained by the general interests of collectors in France, which were directed towards *fijnschilders* and painters in the style of Wouwerman and which after the mid-century began to diminish, whereas she started collecting just at that time.⁵⁷⁰

A factor that could possibly account for Catherine's interest in various Dutch masters, may be found in her German origins. She was born as Princess Sophie d'Anhalt-Xerbst-Dorndurg in Stettin (Prussia), where she received her education. She lived there until January 1744 when as a fourteen-year-old, she arrived in Russia to be married to Peter III (1728-1762). The collecting trends which the Russian Empress

⁵⁶² E. Starcky, 'Le Grande Catherine: un collectionneur passionné de tableaux flamands et hollandais', in: E. Starcky (ed.), *L'Age d'or flamand et hollandais. Collections de Catherine II. Musée de 'Ermitage, Saint-Pétersbourg*, exh. cat. Dijon (Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon) 1993, p. 20.

⁵⁶³ Starcky 1993, p. 20.

⁵⁶⁴ Manikowska 2011, p. 133.

⁵⁶⁵ Starcky 1993, p. 21.

⁵⁶⁶ Starcky 1993, p. 21.

⁵⁶⁷ Starcky 1993, p. 21.

⁵⁶⁸ Starcky 1993, p. 21.

⁵⁶⁹ Starcky 1993, p. 21.

⁵⁷⁰ Starcky 1993, p. 21.

observed as a youngster among the German aristocrats and princes, might have influenced her preferences and caused her preference for the Dutch masters.⁵⁷¹

Additional factors could be the figure of Emperor Peter the Great, whom Catherine II followed not only in his general collecting activity but also in his fascination for the Dutch artists. Furthermore, it was the outcome of the efforts of her agents and previous collectors. Catherine II usually purchased either the entire collections or their substantial parts, therefore her taste possibly developed on the basis of the preferences of these agents and the previous owners.

Michalski argued that when in 1755 Poniatowski came as a deputy to Saint Petersburg and met Catherine for the first time, he might have made a great impression on the future Empress, due to his intelligence, culture and knowledge about Europe.⁵⁷² A Russian count Fjodor Golovkin⁵⁷³, who had an opportunity to often observe Catherine II during her reign, was astonished by her excellent taste in art and attempted to explain that by way of Catherine's contact with Stanisław August, whom he praised as "the greatest man in Europe through to his good manners and courtly tone of his words".⁵⁷⁴ The fact that Catherine II and Stanisław August stayed in contact and exchanged correspondence after their coronations, had above all political implications, however, they might have influenced each other in their collecting activity, remaining one for another a certain point of reference. Although Poniatowski lacked the financial resources to act on such a large scale as Catherine the Great, they might have been moved by several similar tastes when gathering paintings. Both monarchs were eager to establish a substantial gallery, representing renowned artists and expressing their Enlightened reigns. Their contacts with Voltaire, including consultation of their reforms with the philosopher, suggest their mutual ambition to be perceived as Enlightened monarchs. The collecting and patronage of arts, recommended by Voltaire in the context of Enlightened reigns, indicates that both Catherine II and Stanisław August might have been willing to promote their countries, and in particular, the cities where they resided, as highly developed and cultured places, open for all of Western Europe.

Similarities between Stanisław August and Catherine II can be discerned not only in terms of general collecting patterns but also in the predilection for Dutch and Flemish artists. In both collections, Netherlandish masters played an important role and were remarkably well represented. Both monarchs were very actively engaged in the purchasing of Netherlandish paintings at the European market. Furthermore, the Netherlandish pictures from both Polish and Russian collection were very prominently displayed. In addition, both Stanisław August and Catherine the Great had the opportunity to get acquainted with the artistic patronage of Peter the Great. The latter might have influenced them both by his interest in the Dutch Republic and his ambition to fashion his own reputation as an industrial and cultural expert, by which

⁵⁷¹ For the interest of the German princes in the Netherlandish art see the Introduction.

⁵⁷² Michalski 2002, p. 614.

⁵⁷³ Life dates are unknown.

⁵⁷⁴ S. Androsov, 'Catherine, de kunstliefhebber', in: A. Bijl, V. Boele (ed.), *Catharina, de grootste: zelfgeslepen diamant*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Hermitage Amsterdam) 2016, p. 130.

the display of Dutch art played an important role. Therefore, while recognizing that few concrete indications for this can be found, it is possible that Netherlandish paintings played a particular role in the context of self-fashioning as Enlightened monarchs in both Russian and Polish collections.

Regarding the extent to which Poniatowski might have related to the Netherlandish painting collection of Catherine II when forming his own, a few remarks can be made. Since the Russian Empress was implicated in the political affairs of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and stayed in touch with Poniatowski, the latter was aware of Catherine's successful reign. It is feasible that Poniatowski perceived Catherine as a prosperous Enlightened monarch, also by means of her collecting activity. It is moreover remarkable that both Catherine's and Stanisław's collecting of Netherlandish paintings did not follow trends fostered in Italy and France. There, the popularity of hunt scenes by painters such as Wouwerman and of the Leiden *fijnschilders* began to diminish after mid-century, whereas both the Polish king and Russian Empress started to intensely collect these masters just at that time. It is believable that Catherine's collecting of Netherlandish painting might have inspired Stanisław August to a certain extent. While he could not have attempted to match Catherine the Great completely, due to limited resources, what he may have had in mind, through the example of her success, was the significant role within court culture that collecting played in the self-fashioning of an Enlightened monarch.

3.4. Concluding remarks

This chapter hoped to answer the questions: Which European collections did Poniatowski relate to in terms of imitation and emulation, and can Poniatowski's Netherlandish painting collection be seen as exceptional in comparison to those collections?

The scope of the analysis was the court collecting culture and the idea of self-fashioning as Enlightened monarchs in the eighteenth century. Therefore, a comparison between Poniatowski's collection with collections of August II and August III in Dresden and that of Catherine the Great in Saint Petersburg was chosen, since they were formed in similar contexts. Moreover, there are political, ideological, personal and geographical reasons justifying this particular choice while other examples of European and Polish collectors were left out.

The relation of the Warsaw court with Dresden stemmed from the rulings of the Saxon dynasty in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. More significantly, is the presence of Bacciarelli, who previously worked at the Dresden court and would have brought the influences from there to Warsaw. While it cannot be proven that Bacciarelli was specifically chosen for his knowledge of the highly regarded Dresden gallery, it is reasonable to assume, from what is known of emulation and competition within court culture, that this was a factor.

The collecting activity of both August the Strong and his son August III demonstrates their wish to form a collection with representative and universal character, containing all important painting schools and stylistic variety within them. This idea fits the concept of self-representation as Enlightened monarchs and it is possible that the Saxon Electors might have had it in mind. Whereas in the collection of August the Strong the position of the Netherlandish painting school can be considered as dominant, August III attached an equal value to the Italian school, which was represented in almost the same number as the Netherlandish school. The position of the Netherlandish school within the collections of both Dresden princes can be foremostly explained by the shifting influence of their artistic advisors and agents.

Because of Poniatowski's relatively restricted resources, in comparison to the Saxon princes, he did not relate to their collecting in the context of emulation. Nonetheless, they might have served to him as a source of inspiration. Poniatowski presumably adopted from them the general idea that an emphasis on collecting within his court could assist in presenting himself as an Enlightened monarch. Therefore, like the Dresden princes, Poniatowski strove to create a universal collection that represented all the important painting schools. The question whether Poniatowski's (Netherlandish) collection must be seen as exceptional in relation to the Dresden examples, should be answered negatively. Just as August III did, Poniatowski gave the Italian and Netherlandish schools the most prominent positions within his collection.

The connection between the Russian and Polish court was established by Catherine the Great, who supported Poniatowski's election, remaining in contact with

him after he became a king. Additionally, Poniatowski spent time in Saint Petersburg before coronation and, therefore, might have been moved by the Enlightenment ideas of Peter the Great and his fascination for Netherlandish painting.

As the analysis revealed, Dutch and Flemish paintings formed a substantial part of the imperial collection of Catherine the Great. Her interest in Flemish painters could have been influenced by the general trends fostered by French and Italian collectors, whereas her predilection for the Dutch masters can be explained by her German origins as well as her adaptation of Peter the Great's fascination for them. The dominance of Netherlandish paintings in Catherine's collection may be also the outcome of the efforts and preferences of her agents and previous collectors, from whom she purchased (parts of) the collections.

Similarities between the Russian Empress and the Polish king can be observed both in general collecting activity and the predilection for Dutch and Flemish masters. In both collections, the Netherlandish paintings were well represented and it is possible that they played a role in the idea of self-fashioning as Enlightened monarchs. Therefore and for the (political, geographical and personal) motives mentioned above, it seems plausible that Stanisław August related to the collection of Catherine II by means of imitation. Poniatowski might have perceived Catherine as a prosperous Enlightened monarch, who managed to promote Saint Petersburg as a cultured place, open to Western Europe. Stanisław August desired the same for Warsaw. Because of limited financial resources in comparison to those of the Russian Empress, it seems unlikely that the Polish king meant to emulate her collection.

In terms of the preferences within the Dutch and Flemish schools, Poniatowski's choices in his own collection are not remarkable when compared to the Netherlandish paintings gathered by Catherine the Great. This means that overall, the last Polish king's preference for works from the Low Countries was not necessarily exceptional in the context of wider European collecting practices, except for, perhaps after mid-century when both he and Catherine the Great chose not to follow French and Italian trends, continuing to indulge their taste for Netherlandish works. The influence of their agents and artistic advisors can be a factor that had possibly shaped this taste.

4. The reception of Netherlandish painting in Poland

4.1. Introduction

In 1624-1625 Stefan Pac (1587-1640) participated in the journey of Prince Vladislaus (later king Vladislaus IV) through Germany, the Low Countries, Switzerland, Italy, Austria and Bohemia, and was responsible for writing the journey's diary.⁵⁷⁵ Pac described that the apartment of the prince in Brussels was adorned with the paintings by the most renowned Netherlandish artists – Rubens, Brueghel and others.⁵⁷⁶ He wrote that in Antwerp they visited ateliers of various painters, however, according to Pac, the most wonderful within the painting discipline was what they saw in the house of Rubens.⁵⁷⁷

As the above example reveals, the best manner to investigate the reception of art is diving into all kinds of written works from the given period. This is also the best way to learn about Stanisław August's and his (foremost Polish) contemporaries' reception of the art of Dutch and Flemish old masters. The available sources discussing that matter are rather limited and therefore, attention will be also given to the different kinds of phenomena that inform us about the reception of Netherlandish art in eighteenth-century Poland. This chapter will address the following sub-question: How can the reception of Netherlandish art in the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth be defined, based on contemporary written sources and other phenomena, and what was the role of the last Polish king? First, the king's appreciation of Dutch and Flemish painting will be discussed on the basis of written and visual sources related to his personal life. Subsequently, various sources and other phenomena related to contemporaries of Stanisław August will be investigated, in order to establish their reception of Netherlandish art.

⁵⁷⁵ W. Tomkiewicz, *Pisarze polskiego odrodzenia o sztuce*, Wrocław 1955, p. 59. The official title of the diary is: *Obraz Dworów Europejskich na początku XVII wieku przedstawiony w Dzienniku Podróży Królewicza Władysława, syna Zygmunta III, do Niemiec, Austrii, Belgii, Szwajcarii i Włoch w roku 1625-1625 skreślony przez Stefana Paca* [The picture of the European Courts in the early seventeenth century presented in the Journey Diary of the Prince Władysław, son of Zygmunt III, to Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy in 1624-1625, written by Stefan Pac].

⁵⁷⁶ „(...) i kilka sal z kosztownymi obrazami, ręki najprzedniejszych mistrzów niderlandzkich, mianowicie onego sławnego Rubens, Brucla [sic], i innych”. S. Pac, *Obraz dworów europejskich na początku XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1854, p. 57. Translation to English mine.

⁵⁷⁷ „Widzieliśmy oficyny różnych malarzów, a mianowicie w domu Rubensa, malarza przedniego, nad to w ten rzemieśle nic się foremniejszego widzieć nie mogło”. Pac 1854, p. 67. Translation to English mine.

4.2. The king's appreciation of Dutch and Flemish painting

4.2.1. Diaries

The main goal of Stanisław August's *Mémoires* was to unravel the history of his country using the framework of his personal history and his own beliefs.⁵⁷⁸ Therefore, the diaries do not include many mentions about (Netherlandish) art, however, in some fragments the author pays attention to his adolescent journeys to the Low Countries.

The first mention concerns Poniatowski's visit in Maastricht, the headquarters of Marshal Ulrich van Löwendal (1700-1755) at that time.⁵⁷⁹ Poniatowski comments that the marshal received him very well and assured him of all facilities so that Poniatowski could visit (in Maastricht and in the neighbourhood) everything that satisfied the curiosity of a young traveller.⁵⁸⁰

Next, the young Poniatowski writes that he went to Brussels, taking the advantage of the fact that Löwendal had to visit this city.⁵⁸¹ About his stay in the Flanders Stanisław notes that "the less his journey was related to the army, the more his curiosity and taste guided him to all that was beautiful in this country, in the domain of culture, every possible form of art, but especially that of painting".⁵⁸²

Further comments by Poniatowski reads as follows: "I felt elation seeing Rubens or Van Dyck and my tutor was so satisfied that I only chase after paintings, that despite his thrifty temper, he allowed me in Brussels to make my first purchase in this discipline – when I acquired a small painting, I felt as if I possessed a real treasure".⁵⁸³

Poniatowski describes that from Brussels he further moved via Malines and Antwerp to Bergen-op-Zoom. During these travels, Poniatowski met, for instance, a Swiss general in the service of Holland, François Cornabé (1706-1762), and a British officer, Henri Louis Bouquet (1719-1765). The latter wrote down general tips that could serve Poniatowski as a guide during his travel through Holland that – as he

⁵⁷⁸ Grześkowiak-Krwawicz 2013, p. 38.

⁵⁷⁹ M. Dębowski (ed.), *Pamiętniki króla Stanisława Augusta. Antologia*, Warszawa 2013, p. 52. This publication contains a Polish translation of the original text of the king's diaries, which he wrote in French.

⁵⁸⁰ "(...) przybyłem do Maastricht, gdzie znajdowała się główna kwatera marszałka Löendahla. Wódz ten przyjął mnie bardzo dobrze, (...), po czym zapewnił nam wszelkie możliwe i od niego tylko zależne ułatwienia, byśmy zwiedzić mogli w Maastricht i jego okolicach wszystko, co tylko zaspokoić mogło dobroczynną ciekawość młodego podróżnika". Dębowski 2013, p. 52. Translation to English mine.

⁵⁸¹ Dębowski 2013, p. 53.

⁵⁸² „Im mniejszy moja podróż miała z wojskiem związek, tym łatwiej ciekawość moja i upodobania kierowały się ku temu, co w tym kraju obejrzeć można w domenie kultury, wszelakich sztuk, a malarstwa nade wszystko”. Dębowski 2013, p. 54. Translation to English mine.

⁵⁸³ „Czułem uniesienie na widok Rubensa czy van Dycka, a mentor mój tak był rad, że wciąż jeszcze biegam za obrazami, iż mimo oszczędnej swej natury pozwolił mi w Brukseli dokonać pierwszego w życiu w tej dziedzinie nabytku – zakupiwszy mały obrazek, poczułem się, jakbym posiadał skarb prawdziwy”. Dębowski 2013, p. 54. Translation to English mine.

says in the diary – “because of the time shortage he could only sightsee very superficially”.⁵⁸⁴

The description of the trip Poniatowski took a few years later to the Netherlands, includes no mention of art at all. He only writes that he accompanied Charles Hanbury Williams (on his travel to England) as far as Holland, where he spent two months (mainly in the Hague).⁵⁸⁵ He mentions the following: “Describing my short visits through Noord-Holland and the prominent cities of the [Dutch] Republic would be here only an unnecessary repetition of things which have already been told and printed thousand times”.⁵⁸⁶

The king’s youthful travels to the Low Countries could have contributed to Poniatowski’s appreciation of Netherlandish art. This is confirmed by comments about “elation when seeing Van Dyck or Rubens” and the enthusiasm accompanying the acquisition of the first painting. Another factor in Stanisław August’s predilection for Dutch masters was his adaptation of the French collecting model under the supervision of Madame Geoffrin.⁵⁸⁷ Therefore, it is useful to note some passages from his diaries concerning his stay in Paris.

When Poniatowski was sent by his father to Paris, the latter asked Madame Geoffrin to take his young son under her protection, which is why Poniatowski referred to her in his diaries from time to time. For instance: “I do not know which could be a reason why Madame Geoffrin has never let me to the table when she invited artists. From a few stories that since then I have heard, I assume that she did not want me to witness when these gentlemen often let themselves disagree with her, or sometimes even vividly criticize her”.⁵⁸⁸ Another fragment about Poniatowski’s stay in Paris is related to his visit to Versailles: “(...) I went with them [Englishmen] to visit the Versailles in the absence of the court. I would obviously not repeat here what is already published and displayed on engravings [about Versailles], but I can still remember that I have praised before the Englishmen the renowned *Family of Darius* by Le Brun as one of the most beautiful adornments of the royal chambers, whereas, to my sadness, it was not there. As I was informed that every three months the paintings are changed within the chambers, I requested that the painting was shown to us and when we finally got into the depot with furniture, I was astonished to see a higher-than-myself stack of paintings of the French school, and the [Le Brun’s] painting at the base of it, leaning with its frame against the wall!”⁵⁸⁹ In another

⁵⁸⁴ „(...) ale też sporządził [Bouquet] dla mnie ogólne wskazówki na piśmie, które posłużyły mi za przewodnik w dalszym zwiedzaniu Holandii, aczkolwiek tym razem z braku czasu mogłem oglądać ją jedynie pobieżnie”. Dębowski 2013, p. 55. Translation to English mine.

⁵⁸⁵ Dębowski 2013, pp. 108, 110.

⁵⁸⁶ „Opisanie mych krótkich wycieczek po Noord-Holland i znaczniejszych miastach republiki byłoby tutaj tylko zbędnym powtarzaniem tego, co tysiąc już razy opowiedziano i wydrukowano”. Dębowski 2013, p. 112. Translation to English mine.

⁵⁸⁷ Manikowska 2009, p. 112.

⁵⁸⁸ „Nie wiem, jaki był osobliwy powód, dla którego pani Geoffrin nie chciała mnie nigdy dopuścić do stołu, gdy zapraszała artystów. Z kilku opowieści, które od tamtej pory usłyszałem, wnoszę, że nie chciała, abym był świadkiem, jak panowie ci pozwalają sobie często nie być z nią jednego zdania, a nieraz nawet żywo poglądy jej gania”. Dębowski 2013, p. 120. Translation to English mine.

⁵⁸⁹ „Nie będę tu oczywiście powtarzał tego, co tyle już razy w druku opisano i na stychach pokazano, ale wciąż pamiętam, jak to zachwaliwszy wprzód Anglikom słynny obraz Le Bruna *Rodzina Dariusza*

passage Poniatowski gives his more general opinion about Paris and his inhabitants: "The longer one lives in Paris, the more people he gets to know, who are highly educated and are experts in different kind of arts, who from more than a century adorn their home country with monuments and great buildings, which are already sufficient to interest, educate and fulfil with beautiful memories the mind of a foreigner interested in the world".⁵⁹⁰ These fragments reveal that Poniatowski held the Frenchmen in high esteem with regard to artistic subjects. Therefore, it can be assumed that he was also influenced by the French collecting models when later forming his own collection.

Certain fragments revealing the king's appreciation for Netherlandish art are also recorded in other memoirs, titled *Mémoires Secrets et Inédits de Stanislas Auguste – Comte Poniatowski – Dernier Roi de Pologne, relatifs à ses rapports intimes avec l'impératrice Catherine II et à son avènement au trône* [Secret and Unpublished Memorials of Stanisław August – Count Poniatowski – The Last King of Poland, related to his personal relations with the Empress Catherine II and to his accession to the throne]. These memoirs concern the period after his abdication, starting from 20th of February 1797.

Multiple passages in this diary are related to Poniatowski's visits to the Hermitage. From the first fragment can be learnt that in March 1797 the king went to see the Hermitage "that forms a large part of the imperial castle and contains a gallery of paintings, a museum, a cabinet with curiosities, and the gallery copied after Raphael's arabesques in Vatican; the whole complex is so large that it is almost impossible within two hours to walk through it continually and watch, simply to have a general idea of the total".⁵⁹¹ A different passage from June 1797 relates to another visit to Hermitage. According to the description, this visit was more comfortable than the previous one and it was better to see each time a part of the collection, because of its largeness.⁵⁹² Furthermore, the king mentions that most of the works of the renowned painters from the Teniers family were placed there together, as well as the original drawings of Rubens, of the same painting that was mentioned in the engravings' collection book of the king, on which was represented the feast of the

jako najpiękniejszą komnat królewskich ozdoby, bardzom był zasmucony, wcale go tak nie znajdując. Dopytawszy się, że co trzy miesiące zmieniano obrazy w komnatach, poprosiłem, by go nam pokazano i dostawszy się z wielkim trudem do składu mebli, ze zdumieniem ujrzałem wyższy ode mnie stos dzieł szkoły francuskiej, którego płótno to stanowiło podstawę, o podłogę ramą oparte!" Dębowski 2013, p. 125. Translation to English mine.

⁵⁹⁰ „Im dłużej żyje się w Paryżu, tym więcej poznaje się ludzi głęboko uczonych i nader biegłych we wszelakich sztukach, którzy od ponad wieku ozdabiają ojczyznę pomnikami oraz wspaniałymi budowlami i już one wystarczą, by zająć, pouczyć i pięknymi wspomnieniami napełnić pamięć ciekawego świata cudzoziemca". Dębowski 2013, p. 129. Translation to English mine.

⁵⁹¹ „Le 4/16 mars le roi suivi de M. et Mme Mniszech, de Mme Tyszkiewicz et du prince Stanislas, est allé voir l'Hermitage, qui fait une grande partie du château imperial et qui contient une galerie de tableaux, le muséum, le cabinet de curiosités, et la galerie copiée d'après Raphael des arabesques du Vatican; l'ensemble de tout cela est si vaste, qu'en faisant Presque que marcher continuellement pour le parcourir et prendre simplement une idée du total, il faut deux heures". Poniatowski 1862, p. 67.

⁵⁹² Poniatowski 1862, p. 145. Translation to English mine.

Cardinal Infant, son of Philippe III, at the day that he did his entrance to Brussels.⁵⁹³ The king's other visit to Hermitage was recorded in September 1797, but this time without any further comment.⁵⁹⁴

In another fraction of the diary described is the dinner that took place in Poniatowski's residence in November 1797. For this meal, the king invited Prince Ołeksandr Bezborodko⁵⁹⁵ and other connoisseurs of paintings. The Polish king featured to them several works from his own collection on display: *Amor* by Guido Reni, *Andromede* by Titian, *Deceased Christ* by Luca Giordano, *Christ crowned with thorns* by Rembrandt (fig. 11)⁵⁹⁶, *Abraham* by Cigoli and *Apostles* by Rubens.⁵⁹⁷ It can be concluded by this purposeful display that the king might have considered them as the masterpieces of his collection. During the dinner, Poniatowski told Prince Bezborodko to take a work that he preferred. The prince chose the *Christ* by Giordano, however, the king, knowing that he also liked the *Apostles* by Rubens, sent him both in the end, which Bezborodko greatly appreciated.⁵⁹⁸ Although Rubens' *Apostles* are not anymore identifiable, there is a print after Rubens depicting this subject (fig. 89). In the royal catalogue is noted that this piece had the measurements of approximately 220 x 180 cm⁵⁹⁹, was estimated at 300 ducats and hung earlier in the Royal Picture Gallery at the Palace on the Isle – in other words it was one of the most representative pictures from his collection.

⁵⁹³ „Plusieurs des plus fameux Teneurs se trouvent ici réunis, ainsi que Presque toutes les esquisses originales de Rubens, des mêmes tableaux dont il est fait mention dans un livre de la collection des estampes du Roi, qui rend compte des fêtes données au cardinal Infant, fils de Philippe III, le jour qu'il faisait son entrée à Bruxelles”. Poniatowski 1862, p. 145. Translation to English mine.

⁵⁹⁴ Poniatowski 1862, p. 196.

⁵⁹⁵ His life dates are unknown.

⁵⁹⁶ No. 244 in the 1795 catalogue is meant here. In other fragments it is also titled as *Christ* or *Ecce Homo*.

⁵⁹⁷ Most probably the painting meant here is no. 594 from the 1795 catalogue, for which a receipt in Grodno was confirmed in the exchange of letters between the king and Bacciarelli, except two different titles were used then: *The Apostle with a Fish* and *Fish with the coin in its mouth*. It refers to a story from the New Testament. See further information by note 169.

⁵⁹⁸ „Le 25, le prince Bezborodko a dîné chez le Roi ainsi que le sénateur Soymonoff, M. Walicki et plusieurs autres connaisseurs de tableaux; le Roi leur a fait voir: l'amour du Guide, l'Andromède de Titien, le Christ mort de Luc Giordano, le Christ couronné d'épines de Rembrandt, l'Abraham de Cigoli et les apôtres de Rubens. Le Roi a dit au prince Bezborodko de choisir parmi ces tableaux celui qui lui plairait le plus, il a choisi le Christ de Luc Giordano; mais le Roi, sachant que les apôtres de Rubens lui plaisaient davantage, les a envoyés aussi au prince qui en a témoigné une grande satisfaction”. Poniatowski 1862, p. 211. Translation to English mine.

⁵⁹⁹ For no. 594, in the 1795 catalogue the measurements of 88 x 72 inches are given. 1 inch is 2,48 cm.

4.2.2. Correspondence

In the exchange of correspondence between Stanisław August and his contemporaries are found several references to Dutch and Flemish art, giving some indications about its reception in eighteenth-century Poland.

In the letters between the Polish king and Madame Geoffrin, many artistic subjects are touched upon, for instance, opinions on young artists mentored by the king in their artistic education and comments on specific pieces of art. Such a comment can be read in a letter dated 7th of January, 1767, that the king sent from Warsaw to Madame Geoffrin.⁶⁰⁰ He mentions his purchase of two “perfect” pictures by Van Huysum⁶⁰¹ and he subsequently writes that he had received from Vienna a painting by Rembrandt and two pieces from Brussels, about which he was advised that they were very good.⁶⁰² In a letter dated 6th of December 1767 written in Paris by Madame Geoffrin to Stanisław August, she mentions that she could not wait until the king received the post sent by her because of a small gift she had attached.⁶⁰³ She referred to the engravings’ series that represented the history of King Henry IV (1367-1413), which was based on the painting by Rubens designed by Nattier and engraved by, among others, Gerard Edelinck (1640-1707), published in 1710 in Paris.⁶⁰⁴

Soon after Stanisław August moved to Grodno, he sent precise dispositions concerning the transportation of several paintings from his collection to him.⁶⁰⁵ To the letter dated 30th December 1796, Poniatowski attached a list of paintings to be sent: *The Apostle with Fish* by Rubens, *Christ* by Rembrandt (fig. 11), *Christ* by Luca Giordano, *David* by Sirani, *Portrait of Francis I* by Leonardo da Vinci⁶⁰⁶ (fig. 84) and two sketches by Paolo Veronese.⁶⁰⁷ Bacciarelli responded to the king’s letter from Warsaw on 7th of January 1797. He informed about the manner in which replacement of the requested paintings would be arranged, indicating which other pieces would be hung in their place.⁶⁰⁸ In a letter from 10th of February 1797, the

⁶⁰⁰ Stanisław II August Poniatowski, Marie-Thérèse Rodet Geoffrin, *Correspondence inédite du roi Stanislas Auguste Poniatowski et de Madame Geoffrin (1764-1777), précédée sur Stanislas-Auguste et Madame Geoffrin et accompagnée de nombreuses notes par M. Charles de Mouÿ*, Paris 1875, p. 262.

⁶⁰¹ „J’ai trouvé en même temps deux Van Huysum parfaits (...)”. Poniatowski 1875, p. 264. The most probably these two pieces are the nos. 6 and 7 in the royal catalogue of 1795. Mańkowski 1932, p. 198. The paintings are currently unidentified.

⁶⁰² „(...) et il me vient un Rembrandt de Vienne et deux morceaux de Bruxelles qu’on me dit très-bons”. Poniatowski 1875, p. 264.

⁶⁰³ „Je suis fort impatiente que Votre Majesté ait reçu ses voitures, et je serais bien flattée si la galerie du Luxembourg lui fait un petit plaisir”. Poniatowski 1875, p. 315.

⁶⁰⁴ Poniatowski 1875, p. 315.

⁶⁰⁵ R. Hankowska, *Nieznane petersburskie ślady Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego*, Warszawa 1992, p. 52.

⁶⁰⁶ It is now attributed to the workshop of Joos van Cleve.

⁶⁰⁷ Mańkowski 1932, p. 122.

⁶⁰⁸ „(...) En exécution de Ses ordres de la Lettre du 30 Décembre J’ai retiré le tableau, le Poisson de Rubens et je mis à la place la Diana avec les Nimphes de grandeur naturelle de G. Giuseppe del Sole qui fait un bon effet. – Le Christ de Rembrandt est remplacé par la Vierge et l’Enfant Jésus (où il y a un Peroquet) de grandeur naturelle de l’école de Wandik (sic). – Le Christ de Luca Giordano a été remplacé par la Madonna avec l’Enfant Jésus et St. Jean par Crespi et par le Tableau de Carlotta

king again gave orders for sending of: *Amor* by Guido Reni, *The offer of Abraham* by Cigoli, *Portrait of a Young Man* by Grassi, two landscapes by Moucheron (fig. 30 and 31)⁶⁰⁹ and a watch designed and executed by Monaldi.⁶¹⁰ Subsequently, on 23rd of June 1797, Stanisław August wrote once again about his wish to receive: two portraits of Catherine II as Diana and as Minerva, *A Judge and His Wife* by Rembrandt, two *Descents of the Holy Spirit* by Champagne, one painting by Watteau, another one by Teniers and the portrait of Colbert.⁶¹¹ He further said he needed these pieces in order to display them to art lovers.⁶¹² On 20th of July 1797, Bacciarelli sent ten paintings and from the Netherlandish examples he included: *Old Man with a Sabre* by Rembrandt, *The Wife of the Old Man* by Rembrandt, *Mutton Leg* by Teniers and *Man on a Horse* by Wouwerman.⁶¹³ The second transport, delivered on 27th of September 1797, contained 23 paintings, again including several Netherlandish pieces: *Christ crowned with thorns* by Rembrandt (fig. 11), *Fish with the coin in its mouth* by Rubens (compare fig. 89), two landscapes by Moucheron (fig. 30 and 31), *Duel on Horseback* by Wouwerman, *Temptation of Saint Anthony* by Teniers and *Jesus and the Pilgrims from Emmaus* also by Teniers.⁶¹⁴ In his letters from September 1797, the king confirmed the receipt of almost 40 pictures.⁶¹⁵ It can be

Galliaro [Cagliari] representant La Vierge avec l'Enfant, St. George, l'André et St. Augustin, bon tableau. – Le David sera remplacé par un St. Loran qui distribue l'aumône, demi figures de grandeurs naturelles de l'école italienne. – Les 2 Esquisses de Paul Veronese seront aussi conservées. – Les susdits tableaux seront encaissés comme les autres et V. M. en recevra la Note et le No de la caisse. – Le tableau de François I de Leonardo da Vinci est déjà conservé, il se trouve dans la caisse Nr. 5 Lettre E (...). Mańkowski 1932, p. 188.

⁶⁰⁹ Nos. 808 and 809 in the 1795 catalogue.

⁶¹⁰ Mańkowski 1932, p. 122.

⁶¹¹ „(...) Dites à Votre Père qu'on me sollicite si fort ici de faire venir au plus tôt ici les deux portraits de Catherine II en Minerve et en Diane, mon Juge de Rembrandt avec sa femme, le deux réceptions d'ordre de St. Esprit du Peintre Champagne, mon beau Watteau, le portrait de Colbert, le Jambon de Teniers, que Je ne peux plus me refuser à la curiosité pressante des amateurs d'ici. Mańkowski 1932, p. 188.

⁶¹² „(...) Il m'est donc venu dans l'esprit qu'il seroit peut être possible que ma soeur de Podolie se chargea de me les apporter”. Mańkowski 1932, p. 188.

⁶¹³ Mańkowski 1932, p. 189.

⁶¹⁴ Mańkowski 1932, p. 189. Listed paintings remain unidentified, except for the paintings by Rembrandt and Moucheron.

⁶¹⁵ „J'ai reçu par Ma Soeur Zamoyska les tableaux suivans. Le Juge et sa femme de Rembrandt (Nr. 1825, 1826). Le bois de Boulogne de Watteau (Nr. 23). Le Jambon de Teniers (Nr. 1738). Les deux réceptions de St. Esprit de Champagne (Nr. 1789, 1790). Le portrait de Colbert (Nr. 1806). Les deux portraits de près de St. Petersburg. Item un petit Wouwermans SAR (1860)”.

“Petersbourg le 13/24 9-bre 1797. Caro Marcello! Comme vous avez souhaité d'avoir de moi une espèce de reconnaissance sur le premier envoi de mes tableaux, Je pensé que vous voudrez en avoir une aussi du dernier envoi qui m'est parvenu il y a de ça quelques jours. Je vous dis donc que J'ai reçu: L'Abraham de Cigoli (Nr. 1828), L'Andromede de Titien (1628), L'Amour de Guide (1985), Le David d'Elisabeth Cirano (134), Le Poisson de Rubens (594), Le concert turc de Carle Vanloo (128), La bataille de Vouwermans (14), Le combat de Bourguignon (17), Le Noce de Canaan de Paul Veronese (1645), L'adoration de Mages du même (1644), Deux forêts de Moucheron (808, 809), Une chasse au cerf (707), Un jour levant de Vemet (203), Un clair de lune du même (204), un portrait de Catherine II par Rotari (336), un profil de Catherine II (337), Le Christ de Rembrandt (244), Le Christ mort de Luca Giordano (1629), Portrait à cheval de Frédéric Henri Prince d'Orange (1816), Tentation de St. Antoine de Teniers (692), un Christ habillé de bleu de Dietrich (1748), Christ en Emaus de Teniers (1675). Tableaux Pièces 23. Je vous demande encor de m'envoyer par la première occasion le tableau de Dietrich qui represente le Satyre qui refuse de manger chaud et froid dans la cabane du Paysan. J'espère que bientôt le Major Aya sera en état de Vous tirer de peine. Cela m'occupe

assumed that the king possibly perceived this selection as the most representative part of his collection.

4.2.3. Other writings

Purchase offers of the Netherlandish paintings addressed to Stanisław August always included descriptions of given works of art for sale. Regarding the king as a potential buyer, merchants might have paid attention to the manner in which they described paintings, accentuating features that were possibly appreciated by the king. The language used in the offers gives indications concerning features and elements of Netherlandish paintings which at that time were found important and which could persuade potential buyers, such as Stanisław August, to purchase them.

An example of such an offer is a document, presumably written by Yver⁶¹⁶, containing descriptions of at least four paintings that came into the royal collection. The first description concerns a portrait by Dou (fig. 41), which represented the father “of this renowned painter” and was “very finely painted and finished”.⁶¹⁷ Apparently, the supplier attempted to emphasize the important features of the *fijnschilders*’ technique, such as neatness (“netticheyt”⁶¹⁸) and the so-called *fini*, thus meticulous detail. The following description about the pendant (fig. 40) to the previous painting includes a comment that “it is not less beautiful” than its pendant and that Dou’s pendants could not be separated for less than 80 ducats each.⁶¹⁹ About a piece representing a washerwoman by Metsu (fig. 63) was written that it had “a proud and loose strook” and “a precious painted finish”.⁶²⁰ By pointing out the proud (in the sense of vigorous, daring) and loose strokes simultaneously with a precious painted finish, the supplier draws attention once again to the technical skillfulness of the painter: the artist managed to accurately detail specific elements (such as the draperies surrounding the washerwoman or the hanging jug) giving at the same time an impression of loose technique. A fourth painting is a portrait of an old man, also by

vivement, parce que mon affection pur Vous est inalterable. J’espère que vous aurez bien reçu ma lettre du 6/17 9-bre Vale et me ama SAR”. Mańkowski 1932, p. 190.

⁶¹⁶ “une touche large et fiere” and “un fini precieux peint”. This document is not available anymore and is known from a copy made by Mańkowski. It originates from the section: *Catalogues des tableaux marbres et estampes existantes dans differents cabinets de France, Hollande, Allemagne*, earlier in the Archive of the Library of the Warsaw University, Arch. PAN and PAU, K-XIII-12, sign. 69, p. 55 v. The assumption that Yver was the author, is made in Juszcak/Mańachowicz 2015, p. 497.

⁶¹⁷ „Portrait d’homme. C’est celui du pere de ce peintre celebre, qui est representé avec une fraise autor du col. Morceau très delicatement peint et terminé sur bois par Gerard Douw”. No. 143 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 223.

⁶¹⁸ P. Hecht, *De Hollandse Fijnschilders. Van Gerard Dou tot Adriaen van der Werff*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1989, p. 14.

⁶¹⁹ „Portrait de femme, un pendant du précédent. Celui ci represente la Mere de ce peintre Gerard Dow. Elle porte aussi une fraise autour du col et la main droite, dont elle tient un mouchoir appuyée sur ses genoux. Ce morceau n’est pas moins beau que le précédent”. “Gerard Dow ne peut être separé à moins de 80 Ducats pou un”. No. 35 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 203.

⁶²⁰ „La blanchisseuse. Elle est vue debout dans une niche et tenant un linge, devant une cuve à laver, prés de laquelle il y a un autre linge et une jatte avec du savon. On voit de plus une cruche de terre pendue à la niche par une corde et d’autres accessoires. Tableau d’une touche large et fiere et d’un fini précieux peint sur bois par Gabriel Metzu”. No. 38 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, pp. 203-204.

Metsu (fig. 64), which the author characterizes as “also beautiful and not less than the previous one”.⁶²¹ The appreciation of the *fijnschilders* is clearly discernible from the above descriptions, as well as the fact that the suppliers and buyers paid more attention to the form and technical execution of the *fijnschilders*’ works than their content.

Another offer sent to the king, titled *List of 19 lovely and pleasant paintings*, was dated 6th of September 1775. It includes painting by Simon de Vos (fig. 10), which is described as “a very beautiful picture (...) representing the seven deeds of mercy in an allegorical manner”.⁶²² By indicating at an allegorical manner of execution, the author probably wished to emphasize that it concerned a history piece – the highest esteemed category of painting at that time.⁶²³ A subsequent document offering paintings for purchase, titled *Specification of paintings’ collection of the most famous and the finest masters and so considerable that almost not to find*, includes a landscape by Van Poelenburch (fig. 32), about which is said that it is a very beautiful piece by “this incomparable master”, with a lovely representation of sky and painted with the greatest delicacy.⁶²⁴ The appreciation of the combination of the Italian décor (“lovely representation of the sky”) with the Dutch attention to detail (“the greatest delicacy”), specified in this description, pertained very well in the early romantic movement of the *picturesque*, that was characterized by refined representation of light effects and broken shadows at the foliage.⁶²⁵ There is also a document from March 1781 listing paintings delivered to the king, among which appears a “Flight to Egypt – beautiful and major work by Jordaens”.⁶²⁶ In addition, Stanisław August also received a list, titled *Specification of some paintings of different good masters of three schools*, which featured two pendants after Rubens executed by a pupil of Van der Werff named Beschey, representing *The feast of Herod* (fig. 90) and *Head of Cyrus Brought to Queen Tomyris* (fig. 91).⁶²⁷ The author remarks in the description that “they deserve admiration of all connoisseurs for their beautiful finish without

⁶²¹ „Un Veillard. Il est représenté devant sa porte, assis sur une chaise, près d'une table sur laquelle il y a un terrine avec du feu et un papier, il a la tête couverte d'un bonnet fourré, tient de la main droite une pipe & de la main gauche une cruche à bière & est accompagné d'un chien, Ce tableau est aussi très beau & n'est pas moindre que le précédent peint sur bois par G. Metz u”. No. 55 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 207.

⁶²² „Un très beau tableau de Simon de Vos peint sur Bois en 1635 représentant d'une maniere allégorique les 7 oeuvres de Misericorde”. No. 40 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 204.

⁶²³ The representation is based on Matthew 25, 35-36: “for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you gave clothing, I was sick and you took care of me, I was in prison and you visited me”.

⁶²⁴ „Poelenbourg. Un très beaux (sic) tableau de l'incomparable Poelenbourg qui represente un paysage histoire de 5 a 6 figures. Sur le devant trois Nymphes qui dorment à l'ombre de la chaleur du jour. Des Satires qui viennent au travers des montagnes comme pour les surprendre en voiant leurs beaux corps à decouvert. Dans l'éloignement un petit châteaux sur une hauteur à gauche, à la droite les ruines, au milieu en éloignement le pays à perte de vue avec un très beau ciel - peint par la dernière delicatesse sur cuivre”. No. 41 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 204.

⁶²⁵ Grijzenhout 1992, p. 49.

⁶²⁶ „Fuite en Egypte beaux et capital morceaux de Jacques Jordan... 500 #”. No. 1264 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 346. The painting is unidentified.

⁶²⁷ Copies are no longer available. The figures are the originals of Rubens.

dryness and exact imitation of the originals”.⁶²⁸ By the finish “without dryness” the supplier might have meant that although these were copies, they did not lose their original, vivid character, which was probably often the case with imitations. Related to this, is a letter dated 25th of March 1776, by Prince Kazimierz Nestor Sapieha (1757-1798), who wrote from his stay in Paris to his mother, mentioning that he acquired a remarkable painting of Jordaens for the king. He mentioned the price and asked his mother not to consider this as too high as it was a gift for the man to whom he owed so much.⁶²⁹

In the descriptions of Italianate pictures (De Vos, Van Poelenburch) focus is given to their formal aspects, however to a lesser extent than to the *fijnschilders*. With regard to history pieces of the artists from the Antwerp circle, the descriptions are less elaborated and more importance is attached to the represented subject matter, rather than the form. On the one hand, it seems as if the suppliers had to put more effort and power of persuasion into selling works by the fine painters than those of Italianates or Antwerp history painters. On the other hand, epithets such as “this renowned painter” with regard to Dou indicates his recognition within circles of eighteenth-century merchants and collectors.

4.2.4. Commissions

In order to provide good recruitment and effective education for young Polish artists, Stanisław August planned the foundation of the Academy of Arts, to be directed by Bacciarelli. Although the project was never realized, the king still managed to patronize a number of Polish students, who were taught at Bacciarelli’s atelier in the Royal Castle in Warsaw. One of the tasks of the students was to execute copies of renowned old masters.⁶³⁰ Some of the commissioned copies were aimed to serve future students of the (to be founded) Academy of Arts so that they could become acquainted with the most important masterpieces.⁶³¹ Furthermore, many of these commissions were copies of Netherlandish masterpieces, the choice of which may indicate the king’s artistic predilection.

⁶²⁸ „Nr. 17 et 18. Beschey Eleve du Chev. Van der Werff. Deux tableaux dont l'un represente le Repas d'Herode et d'Herodias et l'autre la Reine Tomiris qui devant toute sa cour fait tremper dans un Vase de sang la tête de Cyrus. Quique ces deux tableaux ne soyent que des copies faites d'apres Rubens ils meritent pourtant l'admiration de tous les connoisseurs par le beau fini sans secheresse et l'exacte imitation... des originaux”. Nos. 1722, 1723 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, pp. 387-388.

⁶²⁹ „(...) Jutro z pożegnaniem będę na kolacji u pani Marigni, gdzie mąż jej sprowadza mi do swego apartamentu cały dykcyonarz malarzy, jako Coehin i innych najbieglejszych w Paryżu dla ocenienia przepysznego (osoby wielkości naturalnej) Jordaens’a szkoły flamandzkiej. Ci którym go pokazywałem, taxowali go 20.000 franków, a ja największym w świecie przypadkiem mieć go będę za 7000, zresztą ten co mi go sprzedaje, obowiązuje się wziąć nazad z największą ochotą, jeśliby królowi się nie podobał. Niech matka Dobr. Nie uważa tej sumy za zbyt wielką, bo niema dla mnie nic nadto pięknego, kiedy to ofiara temu, któremu winienem tyle(...)”. *Listy Kazimierza Nestora ks. Sapiehy w l. 1773-1776 do matki pisane z podróży za granicę*. Further reference in Mańkowski 1932, p. 48.

⁶³⁰ Chiron-Mrozowska 2011, pp. 343-344.

⁶³¹ Mańkowski 1932, p. 49.

For instance, there was a painting revealing Joseph and his wife Potiphar, which was executed presumably by Norblin after Rembrandt (fig. 92).⁶³² In the royal collection could also be found two oval pictures representing a flower still life, painted by Petranowicz after works of Van Huysum.⁶³³ In the 1795 catalogue is recorded that these copies hung above the doors of the Royal Bedchamber, which suggests that the king possibly enjoyed viewing them.⁶³⁴ Furthermore, a portrait of a person dressed in black after Van Dyck figured in the royal collection as a work of Wall.⁶³⁵ Known are also at least two commissions given by the king to Mateusz Tokarski.⁶³⁶ The first one was *Christ in the praetorium insulted by the Jews*, a copy after Rembrandt.⁶³⁷ The painting was meant as a picture within the altar of the chapel in the Royal Castle.⁶³⁸ It can be assumed that such a painting was executed based on compositions easily available from prints: in this case Rembrandt's *Christ Before Pilate* (fig. 93). The second commission to Tokarski was a copy of a portrait of an old woman after Dou, for which he was rewarded by a ring, sent by the king on 8th of April 1796.⁶³⁹ Moreover, Stanisław August used to order such commissions by Kazimierz Wojnakowski (1771-1812) and Ściśło.⁶⁴⁰ It must be noted that the Dutch and Flemish schools were not the only ones the king ordered to copy. In the 1795 catalogue of his collection can be found many examples of copies of the Italian masters, such as Correggio, Reni, Guercino, Cignani, Titian and Raphael; as well as a few copies of French masters, for instance, Boucher, Van Loo and Pillement.⁶⁴¹

Poniatowski's interest in Netherlandish art can also be discerned from other commissions than the copies or imitations. It was often the case that when he ordered paintings he gave quite specific instructions about the manner in which they must be executed. For instance, in August 1795 the king presented to Bacciarelli a project of a history piece, representing the delegates of the Roman senate. The king said that the painting must be based on the compositions of Giulio Romano and on the coloration of Rubens.⁶⁴² Presumably, the king intended a very vivid colour palette, as this was the common impression in eighteenth-century Poland about the coloration used by Rubens. In the encyclopaedia entry dedicated to Rubens, Krasicki noted that his oeuvre was characterized by a special vividness of the paint.⁶⁴³ Poniatowski's choice for Rubens as the best master in the colouration can be explained by his adaptation of French artistic convictions. Appreciation of Rubens'

⁶³² The painting in question is no. 567 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 280. The case of Norblin will be discussed separately, further in this chapter. The copy executed after 1655, oil on canvas, 115,6 x 90,2 cm, belongs now to a private collection in Minneapolis (Minnesota) and unfortunately no image is available.

⁶³³ Mańkowski 1932, p. 362. Nos. 1479, 1480 in the 1795 catalogue. Now unidentified.

⁶³⁴ Mańkowski 1932, p. 362.

⁶³⁵ No. 1994 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 418. Unidentified.

⁶³⁶ More information about this artist at page 20.

⁶³⁷ No. 1895 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 409.

⁶³⁸ Mańkowski 1932, p. 409.

⁶³⁹ Mańkowski 1932, p. 117.

⁶⁴⁰ Mańkowski 1932, p. 49.

⁶⁴¹ Mańkowski 1932, p. 64. Also Małachowicz 2011, p. 227.

⁶⁴² Mańkowski 1932, p. 121.

⁶⁴³ More comment on Krasicki and this encyclopaedia will be given by note 724 and further.

colouration can be encountered in the writings of Roger de Piles, for instance in *Balance des peintres* [Balance of the painters] published in 1708, in which the author graded different painters in terms of composition, design, colouration and expression.⁶⁴⁴ De Piles praised Rubens as one of the greatest colourists in the history of art and in the classifications De Piles judged Rubens' colouration at 17 points out of 18.⁶⁴⁵

Another idea of the king, presented on the same occasion, was a painting depicting the scene of the finding of Moses by the Pharaoh's daughter. Poniatowski wished this painting to be influenced by the composition by Rembrandt.⁶⁴⁶ What the king presumably had in mind was a scene with multiple figures, focussed in the centre and intensively illuminated, such as in *The Finding of Moses* by Rembrandt's workshop (fig. 94). This type of composition, executed by the master foremostly in the sixteenth-thirties, was especially admired by eighteenth-century collectors. For instance, one can point to *Simeon's Song of Praise* (fig. 95) owned by Prince Willem IV of Orange (1711-1751) or *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 96) from the collection of tsar Peter the Great. The latter was purchased at the auction of the collection of Jan van Beuningen (1667-1720) in 1716 and in the sale catalogue was explicitly praised for the presence of twelve figures at the composition.⁶⁴⁷

Among the king's commissions, copies of Netherlandish masters were perhaps not exceptional, but certainly significant. On the basis of their placement, it can be concluded that they served different purposes, related as much to the artistic education of the atelier's studio as to the king's personal preferences. Also for non-copies, commissions of the Netherlandish masters played a primary role – Rubens for colouration and Rembrandt for composition.

4.2.5. The collections of drawings and engravings of Stanisław August

The collections of drawings and engravings by Dutch and Flemish artists possessed by Stanisław August offer more evidence about the king's influence on the reception of Netherlandish art in Poland.

Whereas the first European drawing collections already appeared elsewhere in the sixteenth century, in Poland it was not before the eighteenth century with the pioneering role of Stanisław August that a drawings collection began.⁶⁴⁸ He gathered approximately 1800 drawings representing the leading European schools: Italian, French, Netherlandish and German, out of which 726 objects are currently available.⁶⁴⁹ Netherlandish drawings form the second most numerous represented group (after Italian), which was a standard proportion within the European

⁶⁴⁴ T. Weststeijn, "Zoo eigenzinnig in zyne verkiezingen": Rembrandt in de ogen van tijdgenoten, 1630-1730', in: J. Rutgers, M. Rijnders (ed.), *Rembrandt in perspectief. De veranderende visie op de meester en zijn werk*, Zwolle 2014, p. 35.

⁶⁴⁵ Grijzenhout 1992, pp. 31, 33.

⁶⁴⁶ Mańkowski 1932, p. 121.

⁶⁴⁷ Korthals Altes 2014, pp. 45, 68.

⁶⁴⁸ T. Kossecka, *Gabinet Rycin Króla Stanisława Augusta*, Warszawa 1999, p. 123.

⁶⁴⁹ Kossecka 1999, p. 123.

eighteenth-century drawing collections reflecting the aristocratic taste. About 60 Netherlandish pieces from the Poniatowski drawing collection are now preserved, with one-third Flemish and two-third Dutch examples, mostly from the sixteenth and seventeenth century.⁶⁵⁰

One of the earliest Flemish compositions was a project by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1550), representing the *Circumcision* (fig. 97).⁶⁵¹ From this period there were also some other Flemish works including those by Barent van Orley (1491-1542), Jan Wierix (ca. 1549-after 1615) and Jan van der Straet (1523-1605).⁶⁵² From the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century can be found several drawings by Jan van der Bergh (1588/9-1649) and the Italianate artist Balthasar Lauwers (1578-1645).⁶⁵³ Also represented are drawings by several of the best Flemish masters, such as four drawings by Rubens, from which only one – *Study to the portrait of marquis Ambrogio Spinola* (fig. 98) – kept its attribution until recently.⁶⁵⁴ Additionally, the king's collection included two drawings by Jordaens – *Head of an Old Woman* (fig. 99) and *Christ fingering at a Child, encouraging the Apostles to the Humility* (fig. 100).⁶⁵⁵

The Dutch school was represented with many artists of high quality, however, their historical attributions are now often uncertain.⁶⁵⁶ Among them are: *Study of a Standing Girl* (fig. 101) by Adriaen van de Velde, *Study of an Old Man* by Hendrick Goudt (ca. 1616-1680), *Landscape* by Jan van Goyen (1595-1656) and *Landscape* by Van Poelenburch.⁶⁵⁷ There are some examples of works by Italianate landscapists, such as Moucheron and De Witte. In addition, there is a larger number of typically Dutch landscapes painted by Berchem, Hendrick Verschuring (1627-1690), Anthon Waterloo (ca. 1610-1690) and Jacob van der Ulft (ca. 1627-1688).⁶⁵⁸ The king possessed also nine drawings attributed to Rembrandt, of which three remain with that attribution, another three are considered works by artists from his circle, two are presumable seventeenth-century copies after his engravings, and one cannot be in any way associated with his name.⁶⁵⁹ The three drawings with the certain attributions reveal respectively: *A Group of Jews in a Synagogue* (fig. 102), *View of the Mouth of the River IJ from Kadijk (or Diemerdijk)* (fig. 103) and *The Ageing Tobias*.⁶⁶⁰

In the scope and context of this thesis, the royal engravings collection is far more difficult to analyse than the collection of drawings, as the first one nowadays comprises 27,870 pieces (loose and enclosed in the volumes), whereas in 1795 it might even consist of about 100,000 pieces (engravings and drawings counted

⁶⁵⁰ Kossecka 1999, p. 131.

⁶⁵¹ Kossecka 1999, p. 131.

⁶⁵² Kossecka 1999, pp. 131-133.

⁶⁵³ Kossecka 1999, p. 133.

⁶⁵⁴ Kossecka 1999, p. 134.

⁶⁵⁵ Kossecka 1999, p. 134.

⁶⁵⁶ Kossecka 1999, p. 136.

⁶⁵⁷ Kossecka 1999, p. 136.

⁶⁵⁸ Kossecka 1999, p. 136.

⁶⁵⁹ Kossecka 1999, p. 136.

⁶⁶⁰ Kossecka 1999, pp. 136-138.

altogether).⁶⁶¹ Moreover, engravings were classified in large subject categories, which were subsequently divided into smaller subcategories, and not national schools.⁶⁶² Putting these limitations aside, some remarks can be made here about the collection's content with regard to the presence of Flemish and Dutch works. With regard to the category of portraits, the king possessed a lot of middle-category reproductions, but also portraits engraved by the most renowned European seventeenth- and eighteenth-century engravers and portraits executed according to models made by these masters, such as Van Dyck, Rubens and Rembrandt.⁶⁶³ Portraits engraved by Flemish artists active in France, such as Peter van Schuppen (1627-1702), Cornelis Vermeulen (1644-1708/9) and Edelinck were also included.⁶⁶⁴ Within the category of history could be found names such as: Frans Floris (1519/20-1570), Goltzius, Maerten de Vos and Rubens.⁶⁶⁵ From the engravers' academy founded by Rubens in the royal collection there were works by: Lucas Vorsterman (1595-1675), Paul Pontius (1603-1658) and brothers Boetius à Bolswert (1580-1633) and Schelte à Bolswert (1586-1659).⁶⁶⁶ In addition, the Dutch and Flemish school was represented with the following names: Pieter de Jode I (1570-1634), Pieter de Jode II (1601-1674), Willem de Leeuw (1603-1665), Cornelis van Dalen II (1638-1665), Cornelis Galle I (1576-1650), Cornelis Galle II (1615-1678), Soutman and others.⁶⁶⁷

The print collection of Stanisław August did not outmatch those of other European monarchs (neither in terms of the Netherlandish works nor in its totality), however, it had two exceptional aspects. First, the collection of Stanisław August was gathered only by himself. The fact that he managed to collect so much in such a short period and that he covered all important European schools within the collection, was remarked upon by foreign travellers such as Fortia de Piles.⁶⁶⁸ Second, another exceptional aspect was the division of the print collection into subject matter categories, instead of the established system of national schools and specific artists. This manner of categorization was very innovative and informative, as it enabled the connoisseurs as well as students from Bacciarelli's atelier to study specific subject matter, comparing the differences in its treatment between artists from various painting schools and periods.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶¹ Kossecka 1999, p. 60.

⁶⁶² Kossecka 1999, p. 62.

⁶⁶³ Kossecka 1999, p. 72.

⁶⁶⁴ Kossecka 1999, p. 73.

⁶⁶⁵ Kossecka 1999, p. 81.

⁶⁶⁶ Kossecka 1999, p. 81.

⁶⁶⁷ Kossecka 1999, p. 81.

⁶⁶⁸ Kossecka 1999, p. 33. Fortia de Piles will be treated further in another paragraph.

⁶⁶⁹ Kossecka 1999, p. 14.

4.3. The reception of Netherlandish art of the contemporaries of Stanisław August

Aside from comments by the contemporaries of Stanisław August that appeared in their correspondence exchange, there are fragments written by people in the king's circle that give an idea about the reception of Netherlandish art in Poland.

4.3.1. Marcello Bacciarelli

Bacciarelli was the first court painter during Stanisław August's reign and the most important artistic advisor to the king, playing an essential role in royal art related undertakings even after the king's abdication. For instance, in a letter to the king from 30th of December 1795 Bacciarelli addressed Poniatowski's movement to Rome.⁶⁷⁰ The artist advised the king which paintings he should take with him, suggesting that it would be better to leave Titian's *Andromeda*, David's *Self-portrait* or paintings by Rubens, but to take his Rembrandts, which would be far more extraordinary in the Eternal City.⁶⁷¹ Indeed, Rembrandt was certainly not numerously collected in Italy, but rather criticized for his refusal to imitate antiquity, his imperfect representation of the nude and for not being selective in revealing nature.⁶⁷² It is notable that Bacciarelli, who was born and studied in Rome and was thus perfectly aware of the opinion about Rembrandt by the majority of the Italian artistic community, still recommended this controversial step. It is plausible that he hoped to make the king's collection distinguishable among other Roman collections thanks to the Rembrandts since over the course of the eighteenth century the Dutch master had received more and more recognition in the rest of Europe for his composition, clair-obscur and convincing depth effects.⁶⁷³

In addition, this example illustrates that Bacciarelli did not only take care of the purchases, but also all other questions and advice. For instance, the manner of display of works of art within royal buildings, cataloguing of the works of art, education of young artists, as well as long-term plans for the foundation of the Academy of Arts and a public museum. Besides the correspondence between Bacciarelli and Poniatowski concerning the selection of art objects sent to Saint Petersburg after 1795⁶⁷⁴, there are still some other sources written by Bacciarelli.

As Bacciarelli was the author of the royal painting catalogues⁶⁷⁵ and often also responsible for the attributions given to the royal paintings, a closer look at the paintings' descriptions may unravel indications about his reception of Dutch and

⁶⁷⁰ After the abdication, the king moved to Grodno, but had a plan to soon move to Rome and to settle there until his death. However, the plan was never fulfilled and the king died in Saint Petersburg.

⁶⁷¹ *Letter of Marcello Bacciarelli to Stanisław August*, 30th December 1795, KSA, p. 7. Taken from E. Manikowska, 'Sztuka i Dyplomacja. Kontekst rzymski kolekcjonerstwa Stanisława Augusta', in: A. Sołtys, Z. Zielińska (ed.), *Stanisław August i jego Rzeczypospolita. Dramat Państwa, Odrodzenie Narodu*, Warszawa 2011, p. 268.

⁶⁷² Korthals Altes 2014, p. 65.

⁶⁷³ Korthals Altes 2014, p. 65.

⁶⁷⁴ It is discussed in the previous paragraph.

⁶⁷⁵ This question is discussed in chapter 1, paragraph 1.1. Introduction under the section "Catalogues".

Flemish pictures. Usually, the descriptions were formulated in a neutral manner, giving information about the figures, objects and backgrounds represented in a specific painting. There are differences between them, some objects are described more generally, for instance, "Landscape"⁶⁷⁶, whereas the other descriptions are more amply detailed, for example: "Esau selling his birthright, the soup of lentils at the table, there is also a hare, the men are at the moment of concluding of a fair, they are about to give each other hands".⁶⁷⁷ Most of the descriptions also include information on whether works are on canvas or wood panels.

The paintings by Rembrandt and his school have the highest amount of descriptions containing subjective opinions, many of which can be related to popular critical opinion of the eighteenth century. For example, the entry for Rembrandt's *Ecce Homo* (fig. 11) states that it is: "one of the most beautiful paintings of this master"⁶⁷⁸. Among the common judgement criteria of paintings overall in eighteenth-century Europe were concepts of naturalism, being picturesque ("schilderachtigheid"), variety (of expression, position and clothing of the figures), clair-obscur, colouration and colour harmony, and lastly, the criterion of the expression of different states of mind was a very important one.⁶⁷⁹ The scene of *Ecce Homo* by Rembrandt features all these elements. Various states of mind were shown subtly, but clearly in, for instance, the suffering Christ versus the mocking soldiers. Not to omit are other features, like the rendering of various clothes, positions and expressions, as well as clearly visible clair-obscur. In addition, the dramatic representation of mocked, suffering Christ may be associated with the so-called "style héroïque" so highly praised by French theorists such as De Piles.⁶⁸⁰ Taking all this into account, this explains why the painting was valued so highly and why Bacciarelli's remark seems not surprising at all. In another example, for the description of *Portrait of a Man Dressed in Black* (fig. 16), attributed to Rembrandt in the royal catalogue⁶⁸¹, an additional comment is added: "beautiful head".⁶⁸² This epithet might have been given because of the loose, but still delicate brushstrokes with which the head is rendered. The relatively smooth brushwork typified Rembrandt's early period and was followed by a number of French eighteenth-century artists, such as Alexis Grimou (1678-1733), thus again Bacciarelli's appreciation is understandable. Regarding another portrait attributed to Rembrandt's workshop (fig. 15), the description mentions the "grandeur naturelle" while in the

⁶⁷⁶ „Paysage”. No. 898 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 312.

⁶⁷⁷ „Esau vendant son droit d'ainesse, le plat de lentilles sur la table, il y a aussi un lièvre, ils sont dans l'attitude de conclure le marché, en se frappant dans la main. Ecole flamande”. No. 84 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 213.

⁶⁷⁸ „L'Ecce homo, un de plus beaux tableaux de ce maitre”. No. 244 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 239.

⁶⁷⁹ Korthals Altes 2014, p. 46.

⁶⁸⁰ Mańkowski 1929, p. 28.

⁶⁸¹ Currently the painting is attributed to an unknown seventeenth-century Dutch artist.

⁶⁸² „Homme à mi corps, vetu de noir, avec des moustaches (Belle tête KB)”. No. 590 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 284.

other catalogue version it was “artistically treated” (“*artistement traité*”).⁶⁸³ What the author might have had in mind was Rembrandt’s combination of fine brushstrokes (in the treatment of the collar) with rough, more visible ones (in the hair and parts of the face), which merge smoothly only when one observes the picture from a distance. By “*artistement*” the author could have also thought of the skillfully executed depth effect. This way of describing can be encountered in critical literature on art of the time, for instance in Houbraken, who praised Rembrandt’s *The Noble Slav* as “*zoo konstig en kragtig uitgewerkt*”.⁶⁸⁴ About the *Saint Peter kneeling* (fig. 20), then attributed to Bol, is stated that it has a “great finish”⁶⁸⁵, which again indicates at the appreciation of the fine brushwork during early stage of Rembrandt’s career, which associated him with the *fijnschilders* and was in this case imitated by his pupil. In the description of a biblical scene revealing *Joseph’s Silver Cup Found in Benjamin’s Sack*, by the school of Rembrandt, the author notes “the great clair-obscur effect and strong/striking [*vigoureux*] colouration”.⁶⁸⁶ Contemporary writers such as Sandart, De Piles and Diderot also praised Rembrandt for his clair-obscur effect.⁶⁸⁷ Bacciarelli’s remark may furthermore be associated with the concept of “houding”, for which Rembrandt was highly praised by his contemporaries.⁶⁸⁸ This term referred to variety of techniques (composition, colour, drawing and tone) “fused into a pictorial space in which the viewer’s eyes could roam”.⁶⁸⁹ Convincing three-dimensional effects could be achieved by a delicate balance of colours, but they had to contrast sufficiently with one another in order to create a visible space where the nature of each element was easily discernible.⁶⁹⁰ With “striking colouration” Bacciarelli might be referring to this feature.

Furthermore, it is notable that comments concerning the delicate treatment and beautiful finishes appear time and again in the catalogue descriptions. A strong preference for the technique of fine brushwork reflects the general taste of eighteenth-century collectors with their recognition of the *fijnschilders* and Italianate landscapists.⁶⁹¹ For instance, there are three paintings by Metsu, two of which (fig. 63 and 64) Bacciarelli notes have “great and proud [*vigorous, daring*] strokes” and “excellent finish”⁶⁹², while the third piece (fig. 65) is “finished with the greatest

⁶⁸³ „Buste d’homme de grandeur naturelle, il a un chapeau sur la tête et porte une large fraise de dentelles (tableau de KB) forme ovale (et *artistement traité*, peint par Coëp KB)”. No. 499 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 271.

⁶⁸⁴ Korthals Altes 2014, p. 44.

⁶⁸⁵ „St. Pierre agenouillé, se repentant d’avoir renié son maitre (tableau d’un grand fini KB)”. No. 140 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 221.

⁶⁸⁶ „La coupe trouvée dans le sac de Benjamin (tableau d’un grand effet de lumière et d’un coloris vigoureux KB)”. No. 529 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 275. Translation to English mine.

⁶⁸⁷ Korthals Altes 2014, pp. 53, 60.

⁶⁸⁸ P. Taylor, ‘The Concept of Houding in Dutch Art Theory’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 1992 (vol. 55), p. 227.

⁶⁸⁹ Taylor 1992, p. 232.

⁶⁹⁰ Taylor 1992, p. 232.

⁶⁹¹ Korthals Altes 2014, p. 42.

⁶⁹² No. 38 in the 1795 catalogue: „Laveuse hollandoise, une cruche est accrochée au mur; dessous une jatte de bois avec du savon noir, ce tableau peint sur bois est d’une touche large et fiere et d’un fini précieux”; and no. 55: „Un homme assis tient une cruche d’une main et une pipe de l’autre, un chien a taches blanches et jaunes est auprès de lui - peint sur bois (tableau d’une touche fiere et d’un

delicacy”.⁶⁹³ The descriptions of the first two paintings repeat the comment given in the purchase offers, while the third piece, now attributed to Slingelandt, is actually as described: it depicts the utmost delicate treatment, especially of the smallest details, such as the draperies of the dress. Additionally, concerning two paintings by Dou, the catalogue author states that they are “well finished” and that one of them is “very delicately painted”.⁶⁹⁴ Another two flower still lifes by Van Huysum are described as “of the utmost beautiful finish made by this skillful master”.⁶⁹⁵ A mythological scene after Adriaen van der Werff (fig. 70) is praised in the description for its “beautiful colouration” and “delicate finish”.⁶⁹⁶ The last comment – “a lovely finish” – is also added to the genre scene of Adriaen van Ostade⁶⁹⁷ and then by the descriptions of two landscapes of Van der Heyden.⁶⁹⁸ Lastly, by two landscapes of Moucheron the word “beautiful” is attached (fig. 30 and 31)⁶⁹⁹ while a portrait of Saint Peter in the style of Van Mieris is “painted neatly”.⁷⁰⁰

These kinds of comments appear also in descriptions of Flemish paintings, such as a picture of the Flemish school described as a “beautiful landscape with figures”⁷⁰¹ and a landscape by Hendrik Frans de Cort (fig. 72) characterized as “painted very delicately”.⁷⁰² For a *Temptation of Saint Anthony* by David Teniers the catalogue author wrote that it is a “precious painting in the silvery style of this master”⁷⁰³, meanwhile attributed to the Teniers school is commented as “finished

précieux fini KB”. Mańkowski 1932, pp. 203 (for no. 38), 207 (for no. 55). See also note 619 of this paragraph.

⁶⁹³ „Une femme en pied, habillée couleur de noisette avec bordure noire, appuyée sur une balustrade et tenant une rose (ouvrage fini avec la plus grande délicatesse KB)”. No. 56 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 207.

⁶⁹⁴ No. 35 in the 1795 catalogue: „Demie figure d'une vielle (femme à mi corps KB) vêtue de noir, avec un bonnet blanc, ainsi qu'une large fraise au col, tenant un mouchoir blanc de la main gauche. (Elle est la mere de ce peintre; tableau délicatement peint et bien terminé KB)”. No. 135 in the 1795 catalogue: „Interieur d'une maison, ou l'on voit Tobie endormi, sa femme aupres de lui file au rouet, à la droite est une pompe et sur la gauche dans le fond un escalier, sur bois (tableau bien terminé KB)”. Mańkowski 1932, pp. 203 (no. 35), 221 (no. 135).

⁶⁹⁵ „Deux tableaux de diverses fleurs dans des vases, ornée (!) de basrelief (du dernier fini et des plus beaux qu'ait fait cet habile maître KB)”. Nos. 6 and 7 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 198. Paintings are unidentified.

⁶⁹⁶ „Loth et ses filles (une sur le devant est peint en clair; ouvrage d'un beau coloris et délicatement fini KB) peint sur bois”. No. 49 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 206.

⁶⁹⁷ „Buveur assis, pressant de ses deux mains une cruche contre son estomac (tableau d'un fini delicat KB)”. No. 157 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 226. No longer identifiable.

⁶⁹⁸ No. 687 in the 1795 catalogue: „Vue d'Hollande (d'un fini precieux - très gâtée KB) sur bois”. No. 699 in the 1795 catalogue: „Vue d'une ville d'Hollande (tableau d'un fini précieux KB)”. Mańkowski 1932, pp. 294 (no. 687), 295 (no. 699). Unidentified.

⁶⁹⁹ „(Beaux KB) 2 paysages”. Nos. 808, 809 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 304.

⁷⁰⁰ „St. Pierre, demie figure, sur cuivre (joliment peint, de maniere flamande KB)”. No. 1634 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 378. Unidentified.

⁷⁰¹ „(Beau KO) Paysage avec figures”. No. 639 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 289. Unidentified.

⁷⁰² „Vuë des environs de Lierre, sur bois (paysage flamand peint très délicatement, vuë d'eau KB)”. No. 1614 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 374.

⁷⁰³ „Tentation de St. Antoine, tableaux (précieux KB) de la maniere argentine.. de ce maitre”. No. 692 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 294.

delicately”.⁷⁰⁴ Lastly, as with the Dutch, much attention was paid to the execution with the help of fine brushwork with regard to Flemish painters.

Besides the descriptions in the catalogue of the royal collection, another aspect reveals the importance that Bacciarelli might have attached to the Netherlandish painting. Since he was the main royal painter at the court in Warsaw, he was also the person responsible for the organization of the atelier founded near the Royal Castle in Warsaw, in which young artists were taught, collaborated and helped with the royal commissions. According to common practice, various paintings (from the collection) were (temporarily) placed in the atelier in order to serve in the learning process, so that they could be imitated or simply give inspiration. This is evident from the notations in the catalogue 1795 made about the placement of various paintings from the royal collection in the atelier. Several items note several locations, therefore, it can be assumed that these works sometimes changed places. It is presumable that paintings were then located in the atelier only for a certain period of time.

The catalogue descriptions of a number of Netherlandish paintings contain information about their placement in the atelier. From the Dutch school these were above all Italianate landscapes, as well as animal and hunt/military scenes. The following artists' names could be discerned: Balthasar van der Ast (1 piece), Berchem (2), Ter Borch (1), Both with Adriaen van de Velde (1), Bulthuis (2), Aelbert Cuyp (1), Allaert (or Cesar Boetius) van Everdingen⁷⁰⁵ (1), Moucheron (1), Adriaen van Ostade (1 after), Potter (2), Abraham Storck (1644-1708) (1), Wouwerman (1 original, 1 study of), Frans (or Willem) van Mieris the Elder (or the Younger) (1 in the style of) and anonymous Dutch painter (1). The Flemish paintings that appeared in the atelier came foremostly from the circles of Brueghel and Rubens. These include: Jan Brueghel the Elder (1 piece), Jan (or Pieter) Brueghel the Elder (or the Younger) (2 in the style of), Demarne (2), Willem Kalf (1619-1693) and Brouwer (1), Jordaens (1), Neefs (1), Rubens (3 after), David Teniers (1 after) and Lucas van Uden (1595-ca. 1672) (1). The placement of such a large amount of Dutch and Flemish paintings within the atelier implies that Bacciarelli found that important to have them (at least temporarily) displayed in his studio.

On the basis of the descriptions from the royal collection catalogue it can be assumed that in terms of reception of Netherlandish painting Bacciarelli was a man of his epoch. In general, the criterion of colouration and clair-obscur seemed to play a role for him, but the most important feature was whether a painting revealed “delicacy” and fine finish. Not surprisingly, many *fijnschilders* and Italianate landscapists appear among the pieces praised in the catalogue of the royal collection. An interesting outlier is Bacciarelli's opinion of Rembrandt and his school. On the one hand, Bacciarelli again paid attention to the works from this school characterized by fine brushwork. On the other hand, his remarks as “artistement

⁷⁰⁴ „Le cordonier, sur bois (ouvrage délicatement fini KB)”. No. 1690 in the 1795 catalogue. Mańkowski 1932, p. 384.

⁷⁰⁵ In the 1795 catalogue also the name of Jacob van Ruisdael is mentioned by this painting. Mańkowski 1932, p. 284.

traité” reveal that he might have also appreciated more rough brushwork of this master. The fact that Bacciarelli later advised the king to take his Rembrandts to Rome for the sake of the extraordinary, reinforces his appreciation of Rembrandt’s unique artistic style – in the rough brushwork, non-selectiveness for the representation of nature and other features.

4.3.2. August Moszyński

August Moszyński, Great Pantler of the Kingdom of Poland, collector and economist, was a close friend of Stanisław August long before the latter became a king – one of the things they shared was the passion for art and collecting.⁷⁰⁶ When Moszyński heard the news about the coronation of Poniatowski, he left his career in Dresden and went back to Warsaw to work for the king, where Moszyński stayed until his very last days. Moszyński worked in the function of a confidant/adviser in many differentiated fields, for instance, concerning the royal treasure, mint, police, mining, but also cultural concerns, such as the royal theatre, buildings and collections.⁷⁰⁷

From the very first year of (1764) Poniatowski's reign, he and Moszyński shared their collecting activity, exchanging opinions on this subject. In order not to miss any chance to enlarge the royal collection, Moszyński was very attendant about any news from the collectors' world. For instance, in March 1784 after the death of a known Polish collector Tomasz Czapski (1711-1784, Starosta of Knyszyn⁷⁰⁸), Moszyński informed the king, as the deceased possessed a rich collection of medals and Polish coins, as well as antique sculptures.⁷⁰⁹ Furthermore, when people from the environment regularly offered art objects to the king, the task of Moszyński was to check its state, in order to judge its worth.⁷¹⁰

In 1784-1786, Moszyński underwent a journey through Poland, Germany, France and Italy, the route and observations of which he reported in his *Journal of the Trip to Poland, Germany, France and Italy*.⁷¹¹ The entire journal consists of eight notebooks, out of which the following remain accessible: the second, about the trip through Southern France; the fourth, describing the travel from Genoa via Florence to Rome; the fifth and sixth, with a description of Rome; the seventh, concerning Naples and its vicinity; and the eighth, about the trip from Naples via Rome to Venice and Padua.⁷¹² Most important to this research, some fragments from this journal contain comments about Netherlandish paintings.

The first mention concerns the stay in Avignon. About his visit to the Church of Mercy, Moszyński mentioned that he saw a *Herodias* by Rubens, which he would rather attribute to Luca Giordano.⁷¹³ Although the illustration of this painting is not discernible, it can be presumed that the figure of Herodias at this picture would be comparable to the one depicted at Rubens' *The Feast of Herod* (fig. 90).

In another fragment related to the sojourn in Genoa, Moszyński describes his visit to the Brignolle Palace. He states that he received the catalogues of the

⁷⁰⁶ Mańkowski 1976, p. 24.

⁷⁰⁷ Mańkowski 1976, p. 24.

⁷⁰⁸ Town at the eastern side of territory of Poland.

⁷⁰⁹ Mańkowski 1976, p. 25.

⁷¹⁰ Mańkowski 1976, p. 25.

⁷¹¹ A. Moszyński, *Dziennik podróży do Francji i Włoch 1784-1786*, Kraków 1970, p. 26. Edited and translated from French by B. Zboińska-Daszyńska.

⁷¹² Moszyński 1970, p. 26.

⁷¹³ „W Kościele Miłosierdzia kilka niezłych obrazów Mignarda oraz *Herodiada*, mówią, że Rubensa; przypisałbym raczej ten obraz Luce Giordano”. Moszyński 1970, p. 47. Translation to English mine.

exhibited paintings and that he saw many paintings by Van Dyck, of a mediocre value, whereas the painting by Rubens he viewed, was very beautiful.⁷¹⁴

Subsequently, is an interesting comment on the visit to the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. Moszyński remarks that among the pictures that hung in the so-called Amor Room, he liked the most the *Portrait of Charles V* by Van Dyck (fig. 104) and *Portrait of Philip IV* (fig. 105), which, he states, was painted by Rubens or Velazquez⁷¹⁵ (whereas it was actually painted by Velazquez after Rubens).

Another passage of the journal is dedicated to the visit in Palazzo Pitti in Florence. Among the pictures from the Venus Room that impressed Moszyński the most, he points out the: “famous painting by Rubens” (*Venus Refraining Mars*, fig. 106), a painting by Van Dyck and “two great landscapes” by Rubens. From the Mars Room, he admired, among other pieces, *The Four Philosophers* by Rubens (fig. 107), whereas among the most important artists from the Hercules Room he mentions Rembrandt. He names neither the title nor the genre of Rembrandt’s work, but it was plausibly a history piece, as Rembrandt’s name is enumerated among Italian history painters. From another room (without giving the name of it) Moszyński notes (between other originals he found there) *The Rape of the Sabine Women* (fig. 108) and *Moses* (fig. 109) by Rubens.⁷¹⁶ In addition, the Cabinet of the Flemish Masters he defines as three rooms full of masterpieces, which were “so many that the author would leave the task of describing them to the books he referred to”, whereas from the Niobe Room he mentions *The Entrance of Henry IV to Paris* painted by Rubens (fig. 110), but damaged.⁷¹⁷

From the visit in the Albani Palace in Rome, Moszyński describes that he was very impressed about the representation of Christ, who was moving away from the cross to pass his hand to the saint, as a painting by Van de Velde.⁷¹⁸ It is unclear whether Moszyński meant one of the painters from the family Van de Velde: Willem the Elder (1611-1693), Adriaen (1636-1672) or Willem the Younger (1633-1707); as they rather did not paint history pieces.

⁷¹⁴ „Jeszcze jeden oglądany pałac: Brignolle. Tutaj podobnie rozdają katalogi obrazów. Pełno w pałacu van Dycków, ale średniej wartości. Piękny prawdziwie Paolo Veronese, Rubens i Guercino; Correggio – chyba kopia”. Moszyński 1970, p. 136.

⁷¹⁵ „Między obrazami zdobiącymi tę salę najbardziej mi się podobały portret Karola V van Dycka i *Filip IV* Rubens lub jego ucznia Velazqueza. *Venus* Tycjana posiada zalety”. Moszyński 1970, p. 184.

⁷¹⁶ „Główne obrazy, którymi ozdobiono te salony, a przynajmniej, które najbardziej mi się podobają, są w Sali *Wenus*: piękny Guido, słynny Rubens, *Wenus powstrzymująca Marsa* [...], Salvator Rosa, van Dyck, dwa wspaniałe pejzaże Rubensa, *Madonna del Sarto*, Tycjan, Paweł Veronese; w Sali Marsa najstojniejsza *Madonna della Sedia* i portret Leona X Rafaela, *Święta Rodzina*, *Czterech Filozofów* Rubensa, *Chrystus* Tycjana. [...] W Sali Herkulesa Pietro Perugino, Rafael, Fra Bartolomeo, Bronzino, Guido, Rembrandt. Przytaczam tylko po kilka ważniejszych obrazów z każdej sali, która zawiera prócz tego mnóstwo doskonałych dzieł mistrzów szkoły florenckiej i lombardzkiej. (...) Potem poprowadzono mnie jeszcze do jaśniejszego salonu, gdzie znalazłem zachwycające obrazy Bourguignona, wspaniałe mozaiki Salvatora Rosa, *Sabinki i Mojżesza* Rubensa, a także mnóstwo innych oryginałów.” Moszyński 1970, p. 187-188.

⁷¹⁷ „Trzy pokoje pełne arcydzieł w swoim rodzaju. Jest tak wiele, że zmuszony jestem pozostawić najlepsze... książkom, które przytoczyłem. (...) Znajduje się tutaj również (...) wjazd Henryka IV do Paryża, malowany przez Rubensa, uszkodzony (...)”. Moszyński 1970, pp. 194-195.

⁷¹⁸ „Podziwiałem Chrystusa, który odrywa się od krzyża, by podać rękę świętej – dzieło van de Velde’a, *Świętą Rodzinę* i prawie wykończony szkic do *Transfiguracji* Rafaela”. Moszyński 1970, p. 321.

From a different extract of the journal, one can learn about Moszyński's viewing of the Doria-Pamphili Palace, which consisted of spacious rooms decorated with precious paintings by above all Carracci, Guido, Guercino, Lorrain, Poussin, Titian, and further by Veronese, Rubens, Brueghel and Tintoretto.⁷¹⁹

Although the main aim of Moszyński's journal was to describe and explain the actual state of the fine arts, he did not restrict himself to that and also discussed many other subjects.⁷²⁰ He was foremostly interested in studies into ancient sculpture and architecture, whereas passages dedicated to painting are short, informative and contain general, rather superficial judgements about specific pieces, such as "beautiful", "mediocre value" or "great". As most of the fragments related to painting concern sojourns from Italy, the Italian school is logically the one to which Moszyński paid the most attention, but also the one he preferred. Nevertheless, his interest and attention for Rubens and Van Dyck, whom he time and again mentions between the most important works of a specific room or location, is remarkable. The paintings of the Flemish painters that Moszyński mentions by titles, are monumental history pieces and portraits of important European monarchs. The reason why Moszyński did not elaborately analyse or judge the paintings he saw might have been that he did not feel he had sufficient expertise – the comment on the Flemish artists' cabinet confirms that clearly.

⁷¹⁹ „Powiem krótko, że widziałem pałac, który składa się z rozległych sal ozdobionych cennymi obrazami: przede wszystkim Carraccięgo, Guida, Guercina, Claude Lorraina, Poussina, Tycjana; dalej kilka obrazów Veronesa, Rubensa, Brueghla, [...] i Tintoretta (...)”. Moszyński 1970, p. 353.

⁷²⁰ Moszyński 1970, p. 30.

4.3.3. Ignacy Krasicki

Ignacy Krasicki, who from 1766 served as Prince-Bishop of Warmia⁷²¹ and from 1795 Primate of Poland (Archbishop of Gniezno) was one of the Polish Enlightenment poets, often called “the Prince of Poets”. Although from 1766 onwards Krasicki’s official residence was in Warmia, he was still one of the most important participants to the king’s “Thursday Dinners”.⁷²² Krasicki’s poetic oeuvre dominated the second half of the seventeenth-seventies, whereas from circa 1780 he became a literate leader of the epoch.⁷²³ A few writings by Krasicki as well as his print collection give some information about the reception of the Netherlandish painting in Poland as well as his personal appreciation of it.

One of the important initiatives of Krasicki was the publication in 1781 of the *Series of Necessary Information, in the alphabetic order*.⁷²⁴ This two-volume encyclopaedia was the second such a publication in the Polish language, containing short explanations on different kind of terms and on important persons. When Krasicki was working on this encyclopaedia, he discussed, corrected and complemented it with the help of other members of the “Thursday Dinners”. Not to omit is the participation of the king⁷²⁵, confirmed by Krasicki in the introduction, by means of a dedication to the king: “To the Highest Stanisław August, the Polish king, Resuscitator of the Sciences”.⁷²⁶ A possible interpretation of this dedication is that the king managed to build his reputation as an Enlightened monarch, by contributing to the development of sciences in his country.

Among all different titles within this publication, there are two devoted to the most important Netherlandish artists – Rubens and Rembrandt. The encyclopaedic character of these short texts allows the presumption that the author included only the information he found essential.

Rubens was described as follows: “RUBENS (Peter), famous painter, was born in Antwerp in 1577. His paintings are special because of the elegance of arrangement or the composition, as well as the extraordinary liveliness of the paint. The most renowned European galleries are in plenty of his paintings. He died in 1640”.⁷²⁷ Krasicki’s recognition of Rubens’ compositions and colouration did not deviate from the opinions of the French intellectuals such as Roger de Piles. The

⁷²¹ A historic region in Northern Poland, now the core of the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship.

⁷²² Meetings of writers, artists and scientists organized on a weekly basis by Stanisław August. See paragraph 2.1.3 on the cultural achievements and the artistic patronage of Stanisław August.

⁷²³ T. Chachulski, ‘Stanisław August i współcześni mu pisarze’, in: A. Sołtys, Z. Zielińska (ed.), *Stanisław August i jego Rzeczypospolita. Dramat Państwa, Odrodzenie Narodu*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 352, 355.

⁷²⁴ I. Krasicki, *Zbiór potrzebniejszych wiadomości, porządkiem alfabety ułożonych*, vol. I-II, Warszawa 1781.

⁷²⁵ Chachulski 2011, p. 353.

⁷²⁶ „Nayaśnieyszemu Stanisławowi Augustowi, Królowi Polskiemu, Wskresicielowi Nauk”. Krasicki 1781, v. I, introduction no page numer.

⁷²⁷ „RUBENS, (Piotr) malarz sławny, urodził się w Antwerfy roku 1577. Obrazy jego zaleca naybardziej wytworność ułożenia albo kompozycya, i żywość farb przedziwna. Naycelniejsze Europy galerye obrazami jego zagęszczone są. Umarł roku 1640”: Krasicki 1781, v. II, p. 447. Translation to English mine.

latter had valued the colouration of the Antwerp master at 17 out of 18 points while for composition De Piles gave the maximal score.⁷²⁸ For Krasicki, an indication of the master's importance may be also the fact that Rubens was numerously represented in esteemed European galleries, since he mentioned that in such a short notation.

The title and lines about Rembrandt were formulated in the following way: "REMBRANDT (Van Reijn), renowned master of the Flemish⁷²⁹ school, he was born in the states of the Dutch Republic. His painting manner was unique, different from all others, with all this his paintings make an impression of very realistic ones, and although his paintings seem to be less adorned, they reveal an exceptional grace. He died around 1659 [sic].⁷³⁰ The first aspect Krasicki mentioned is Rembrandt's unique manner of painting. The author underlined this uniqueness by additionally stating that it was different than other artists. Taking into account the appreciation of the contemporary art lovers for the skill of Netherlandish masters' accurate, meticulous and exact technique⁷³¹, it is presumable that by "different" Krasicki might have had in mind the rough, visible brushstrokes of Rembrandt's technique. The subsequent comment about the realistic character of Rembrandt's paintings is also striking in the light of the frequent critique that the Dutch master painted from nature, ignoring the rules of the perspective, proportion, antique sculpture and so forth.⁷³² Krasicki seemed to perceive the realistic character of Rembrandt's works as a positive, valuable feature. The last part of the text ("although his paintings seem to be less adorned, they reveal an exceptional grace") can be interpreted as an elaboration of the previous sentence. "Less adorned" can refer both to the rough, sketchy brushwork of the master and the rejection of idealized representations, while "grace" can be understood not only in the sense of elegance and stylishness but also in the sense of decorum. Krasicki's last sentence can be thus interpreted as a statement that Rembrandt was able to depict his subjects in an appropriate manner, even without idealizing things. This is then quite the opposite, for instance, to the opinion of Diderot, who criticized Rembrandt for not abiding by the rules of decorum, illustrating it with the example of Rembrandt's *The Rape of Ganymede*. According to the philosopher and critic, the representation of this mythological scene was improbable because the artist represented Ganymede as an ugly toddler instead of a beautiful young boy, which would fit the story better.⁷³³ The term "grace" may be also

⁷²⁸ Grijzenhout 1992, p. 33.

⁷²⁹ This is more evidence that no distinction was made between Dutch and Flemish school.

⁷³⁰ „REMBRANDT (Van Rein), malarz sławny szkoły flamadskiej, urodził się w państwach Rzeczypospolitej Hollenderskiej. Sposób malowania jego był osobliwszy, różniący się wcale od innych, z tym wszystkim obrazy jego mają iakoweś wyobrażenie nader żywe, i lubo zdają się być mniej ozdobne, przecież wdzięk iakiś nadzwyczajny w sobie mają. Umarł około roku 1659”: Krasicki 1781, v. II, p. 447. Translation to English mine.

⁷³¹ P. Michel, 'French Collectors and the Taste for Flemish Painting During the Eighteenth Century', in: D. Lyna, F. Vermeylen, H. Vlieghe (ed.), *Art Auctions and Dealers. The Dissemination of Netherlandish Art during the Ancien Régime*, Turnhout 2009, p. 128.

⁷³² This is an example of the critique by Joachim van Sandrart. Korthals Altes 2014, p. 53.

⁷³³ Korthals Altes 2014, p. 54.

interpreted as peculiar, by which Krasicki might have then again referred to Rembrandt's uniqueness in terms of his extraordinary, rough brushwork.

The inclusion of these two masters to the encyclopaedia, which consisted foremostly of the titles related to the Polish affairs, is a sign that Rubens and Rembrandt were probably regarded as important artists by both the author and the Polish intellectual elite who participated in the writing process. Whilst the entry on Rubens implied opinion that would be in accordance with the common taste among the eighteenth-century European collectors, the description dedicated to Rembrandt may be viewed to certain extent as controversial, but well in line with Bacciarelli's and king's appreciation of Rembrandt's rough brushwork, such as suggested in the previous paragraphs.

Another interesting source, offering an idea about the reception of Netherlandish art in Poland, is a poem written by Krasicki. In the satire, titled *Waste*, the author describes a few stories concerning persons with large fortunes and the manner by which they wasted them for the reason of showing off. One of the examples is the story of an inheritor named Konstantyn who lost his parents at a young age and then began to manage his inherited properties. Soon, he received many false friends who were piece by piece stealing his numerous goods. Krasicki attached a description of the fortune, enumerating precious watches, furniture, but also two original paintings by Van Dyck and four by Rubens. Subsequently, Krasicki describes how Konstantyn told his false friends "how well Rubens could sculpt the faces in marble", and that "there was no better master in architecture than Van Dyck". Although everyone around knew that the inheritor was wrong, they behaved as if they appreciated his speech.⁷³⁴ In this example, Krasicki reveals that Konstantyn was defeated by the newest fashions from abroad, in order to show off and was not aware of the real value of the goods he had, neither was he educated.

Using Rubens' and Van Dyck's example within the satire suggests that collecting of Netherlandish artists was considered important within circles of Polish intellectual elites to which Krasicki belonged. In the satire Krasicki illustrated also that apparently the Polish nobility found it important to go after the collecting trends

⁷³⁴ „Bije zegar kuranty, a misterne flety,
Co kwadrans, co godzina, dudlą menuety.
Wchodzi pan, pasie oczy nowemi widoki.
Zewsząd gładkie pochlebstwa i ukłon głęboki,
Znają się na wielkości, i pan na niej zna się.
A chociaż do mówienia z gminem uniża się,
Zna czem jest. Wszyscy wiwat ! skoro tylko kichnie,
Na kogo okiem rzuci, każdy się uśmiechnie,
Kontent z pańskich faworów. Wtem nowe kredense,
Dwa mniemane Wandyki, i cztery Rubensa,
Niosą w pakach hajduki: wyjmują, gmin cały
Złoto ważne uwielbia, czci oryginały.
A pan wszystkich naucza, jak Rubens w marmurze
Jeszcze lepiej rznął twarze: a w architekturze
Co to wszystkich patrzących dziwi i przenika,
Nie było cenniejszego mistrza, nad Wandyka.
To to pan ! krzyczy zgraja, to wiadomość rzeczy!”
I. Krasicki, 'Satyra IV. Mamotrawstwo', in: I. Krasicki, *Dzieła*, Paryż 1830, pp. 129-130.

launched in other European states. What Krasicki specifically criticized, was the situation in which a person had the financial assets to acquire masterpieces, but did not make efforts to gain knowledge about the artists of these works.

Another aspect revealing Krasicki's attention to Netherlandish art, was his collection of drawings and engravings, which consisted of 33,962 objects.⁷³⁵ Krasicki gathered his prints in portfolios according to the themes and authors, in an order demonstrating the chronological development of the collection. There were 14,699 portraits of famous persons and Krasicki attached their autographs to several of them.⁷³⁶ The collection is currently known from the copy of the catalogue published for the occasion of the collection sale that took place in 1805.⁷³⁷ In total 967 engravers are counted, several of which are enumerated at the cover page of the catalogue: Jean-Joseph Balechou (1715-1764), one of the Bolswert brothers⁷³⁸, Nicolas de Bruyn (1571-1656), Jacques Callot (1592-1635), Pierre Drevet (1663-1738), a painter from the Edelinck family⁷³⁹, Houbraken, Antoine Masson (1636-1700), Raffaello Sanzio Morghen (1758-1833), Robert Nanteuil (1623/1630-1678), Paulus Pontius (1603-1658), Vorsterman and Johann Georg Wille (1715-1808).⁷⁴⁰ On the page following the title page, a specification of the content of the collection can be found, with indications of the painting schools that functioned as models for the engravers: Italian (1154 objects), Netherlandish (978 objects), German (723 objects), French (434 pieces) and English (129 pieces).⁷⁴¹ From the Dutch and Flemish schools a variety of artists can be discerned across the catalogue, for instance: Soutman, Rubens, Brueghel, Bloemaert, De Bruyn, Van Balen, Teniers, Brouwer, Vermeulen, Goltzius, Backer, Sustermans, Dou, Honthorst, Hondius, Van Leyden, Van Dyck, Van der Werff, Van Poelenburch, Rembrandt, Steen, Schalcken and Verkolje.⁷⁴²

Similarly to the king Stanisław August, Krasicki adopted the iconographical manner of categorization for his print collection. In some aspects his division was very subjective, for instance, he placed the representations of saints and biblical figures into the category of portraits.⁷⁴³ Such as in the case of the royal print

⁷³⁵ A. Rzempoluch, B. Michalska (ed.), *Ignacy Krasicki (1735-1801). Ostatni z wielkich mieszkańców zamku lidzbarskiego*, exh. cat. Olsztyn (Muzeum Warmii i Mazur) 2011, p. 54.

⁷³⁶ Rzempoluch 2011, p. 54.

⁷³⁷ *Verzeichnis der vom Wohlseeligen Fürst-Erbischof von Gnesen Reichsgrafen von Krasicki hinterlassenen aus 33962 Stück bestehenden Sammlung von Kupferstichen in Portfeuille worunter sich viele der besten und seltesten Blätter von Balechou, Bolswert, de Bruyn, Callot, Drevet, Edelinck, Houbraken, Masson, R. Morghen, Nanteuil, Pontius, Vorstermann, Wille und eine im Ganzen zu versteinernde Collection von 14699 Bildnissen berühmter Personen mit 564 Handschriften derselben befinden, welche nebst einen Theile seiner Bibliothek den 20sten Aug. u. folg. Tage d. Jahres Nachmittags um 2 Uhr an Dönnhofsplatz Nr. 36 durch den Königl. Auktionscommisarius Sonnin gegen baare Bezahlung in Courant an den Meistbietenden versteiger warden soll*, Berlin 1804.

⁷³⁸ It is uncertain which of the two Bolswerts is meant, either Boetius à Bolswert (ca. 1585-1633) or his younger brother Schelte à Bolswert (1586-1659).

⁷³⁹ Also here it is uncertain who is meant: Gérard (1640-1707), Gaspard-François (1652-1722), Jean (1643-1680) or Nicolas-Étienne (1681-1767).

⁷⁴⁰ Rzempoluch 2011, p. 54.

⁷⁴¹ Rzempoluch 2011, p. 54.

⁷⁴² *Verzeichnis* 1804, unpagued.

⁷⁴³ Rzempoluch 2011, p. 54.

collection, the one of Krasicki was an overview of all European painting schools, without a specific personal preference for one or another. The fact that the Netherlandish school was the second most numerous group is rather a reflection of general eighteenth-century collecting taste and the availability of this school on the European art market.

4.3.4. Julian Niemcewicz

Julian Niemcewicz was a Polish poet, playwright and statesman, who from about 1771 onwards belonged to the closest collaborators of Stanisław August⁷⁴⁴ and was one of the leading participants in writing the Constitution of 3rd of May in 1791.

Memoirs of my times are diaries that contain memories from several dozen years that Niemcewicz recorded many years after the described events.⁷⁴⁵ These *Memoires* are an important source about the Polish society of the second half of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, the *Memoirs* contain descriptions of the author's numerous trips abroad, enclosing much information and observations about foreign countries and their cultures, from a Polish perspective.⁷⁴⁶ Niemcewicz travelled to Italy, Sicily, Malta, France, England, as well as the Netherlands, Germany and Austria.

Significantly, the *Memoires* contain certain observations concerning the king's artistic activities. In one of the fragments Naruszewicz says that instead of public school the king was educated by private foreign teachers, spent many years abroad and read much French literature, therefore he was used to the society of Madame Geoffrin, and in consequence, he contributed to the introduction of the foreign tastes and customs in Poland.⁷⁴⁷ In another passage, Naruszewicz describes: "This time was the beginning of the study of the arts. The king fetched from Dresden the painter Bacciarelli and from France the sculptor Le Brun. The paintings, busts and monuments that we nowadays see in the Royal Castle, are their works. From the Lubomirski dukes the King purchased Ujazdów, the earlier country villa of the Polish kings; he bought also Łazienki. He furnished and decorated Łazienki with taste and grace, which we can observe there today".⁷⁴⁸ From this fragment it is clear that the king's artistic undertakings and trends were brought from abroad, and perceived positively within the Polish intellectual elite. This may imply that contemporaries from the king's circle, such as Niemcewicz, were eager to pattern themselves on the example of Stanisław August, both in terms of artistic education and collecting practice. In addition, this positive reception of Poniatowski's cultural undertakings suggests that he successfully fashioned his reputation as an Enlightened monarch, who focussed on the artistic patronage and who introduced into Poland the ideas of the wider European Enlightenment.

⁷⁴⁴ Chachulski 2011, p. 355.

⁷⁴⁵ J. Dihm, 'Wstęp', in: J.U. Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, vol. I, Warszawa 1957, p. 22.

⁷⁴⁶ Dihm 1957, p. 22.

⁷⁴⁷ „Król sam, już nie w publicznych szkołach, lecz przez obcych wychowany nauczycieli, wiele lat spędziwszy za granicą, biegły w literaturze francuskiej, przyzwyczajony do społeczeństwa pani Geoffrin, wielce się przyczynił do wprowadzenia obcego tonu, gustów i zwyczajów”. J.U. Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, vol. I, Warszawa 1957, p. 62. Translation to English mine.

⁷⁴⁸ „Zaczęto się i z pięknymi obeznywać sztukami. Król sprowadził z Drezna malarza Marcellego Bacciarelli, z Francji posąznika Le Brun. Malowania, popiersia, posągi, które dziś w Zamku i Łazienkach widzimy, dziełami są artystów tych. Król kupił od książąt Lubomirskich Ujazdów, dawne niegdyś królów polskich wiejskie mieszkanie; nabył także i Łazienki. Ostatnie podniósł i ozdobił ze smakiem i nadobnością, które dziś w nich postrzegamy”. Niemcewicz 1957, p. 140. Translation to English mine.

Niemcewicz dedicates a portion of his *Memoirs* to the visit to the Netherlands. He describes that he arrived to Holland in Hellevoetsluis on his way back from Harwich, England. He mentions that although he lost all his notes regarding his Dutch sojourn, he can remember that it drew his attention how Delft and all other small Dutch towns with their clean houses, looked as if they were washed and painted every day.⁷⁴⁹ On Amsterdam he says that it was comparable to London in terms of trade, however, there were more merchants, whom he characterized by their enormous thriftiness.⁷⁵⁰ Subsequently, the author writes: "I have visited also other towns; everywhere the antiquity and wealth of the ancient dukes of Burgundy could be discerned. In the fifteenth century these towns were the same as today. Before England, France, here began the trade, craftsmanship and different kind of industry; here flourished the arts (...). I was astonished by the fact that even in small houses old portraits painted with the beautiful Flemish brush could be viewed: Van Dyck, Rubens, Rembrandt, Peter Brueghel, who brought fame to this land at the similar level as the military and the music did".⁷⁵¹ This passage reveals the high esteem in which Niemcewicz held the Netherlands in terms of the development of arts, but also as a modernized country. He underlines the strength of his statement, determining the Low Countries as the place where the arts flourished before England and France. Niemcewicz's comment resembles the opinion of the Russian tsar Peter the Great, who praised the Dutch Republic and its modernity. Since Niemcewicz was one of Poniatowski's collaborators, it is plausible that his view on the Netherlands was shared within the Polish intellectual elite, including the king. This supports the idea that Netherlandish art might have played a role in the royal self-fashioning as Enlightened monarch, as it seems that this concept was recognized and positively perceived by the Polish intellectuals.

Additionally, from this fragment it can be concluded that Van Dyck, Rubens, Rembrandt and Peter Brueghel were perceived by Niemcewicz as the most important Netherlandish artists. As stated above, the fact that Niemcewicz belonged to and moved within the king's closest circle, thus the Polish intellectual elite, allows one to assume that his opinions on art related subjects were formed in this environment. Therefore, it is plausible that he was not isolated in his opinion about the place of the

⁷⁴⁹ „(...) Przybiłem na brzegi Holandii do Helvetslus. Zaginęły wszystkie notaty tej mojej holenderskiej podróży; pamiętam, że wysiadłszy na brzeg, do Delft piechotą przebierać się musiałem, że mnie niezmiernie uderzyło i te, i inne małe miasteczka holenderskie z czystymi domami swymi, jak gdyby co dzień były myte i malowane”. Niemcewicz 1957, p. 234.

⁷⁵⁰ „Amsterdam w proporcji równie handlowym jak Londyn zdaje się miastem. (...) w Amsterdamie kupiectwo same; (...) w życiu prywatnym aż do sknerstwa posunięta oszczędność”. Niemcewicz 1957, p. 234. Translation to English mine.

⁷⁵¹ „Zwiedziłem i inne miasta; wszędy widać starożytność i zamożność dawnych książąt Burgundii. Miasta te w XV wieku już były tym, czym są dzisiaj. Przed Anglią, Francją tu się wszczął handel, rękodzieła i tyle przemysłu rodzajów; tu kwitnęły sztuki, (...). Zadziwiony byłem widzieć w małych nawet gospodach dawne portrety pięknym flamandzkim malowane pędzlem: Wandycck, Rubens, Rembrandt, Peter Paul Bergen równie prawie jak oręż i muzy kraj ten wślawili”. Niemcewicz 1957, p. 235. The editor mentioned by the note that there were several painters named Berge or Bergen, but no one of them had Peter as his first name. Therefore, Niemcewicz must have presumably meant one of Peters Brueghel (either the Elder or the Younger), as he enumerated him in this fragment among the best Flemish masters. Dihm 1957, p. 418. Translation to English mine.

Netherlands in the development of art, neither in his determination of the most important Netherlandish artists, but that they were shared within the eighteenth-century Polish intellectual and artistic elite.

4.3.5. Stanisław Kostka Potocki

Stanisław Kostka Potocki, the first writer of Polish *Kunstliteratur*, contributed not only to shaping politics at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries but also to the developments in the cultural and educational field. Potocki was a member of the Society of Researchers of Polish History and a co-organizer of the University of Warsaw, especially one of its departments – the Academy of Fine Art, and.⁷⁵² In addition, he co-founded the Society of the Friends of Learning, established in 1800.⁷⁵³ The most important literary work of Potocki is *On the Art of the Ancients, or the Polish Winckelmann*, published in 1815.⁷⁵⁴ It is a Polish translation and simultaneously an interpretation of Winckelmann's *History on the Art of Antiquity* from 1764. Besides the adaptation of Winckelmann's work, Potocki's other known writings related to art historical subjects are: *Voyage en Italie contenant l'histoire de l'Italie et le jugement sur les antiquites et sur les ouvrages des arts, la peinture, sculpture et architecture par Mr le Comte Stanislas Potocki* [Sojourns in Italy containing stories about Italy and judgements about the antiquities and works of art, the painting, sculpture and architecture by Mr. Count Stanisław Potocki], which consists of Potocki's discussion of buildings and other art objects that he viewed during his travel to Italy⁷⁵⁵, and *Projet d'une galerie* [Project of a gallery], in which he laid out a program of *musée imaginaire*, used later as a basis for the collection arrangement in his Wilanów Palace.⁷⁵⁶

Potocki's continuation of his *On the Art of the Ancients*, namely *On the Art of the Contemporaries*, on which he worked between 1815-1820, is especially important in the context of the reception of Netherlandish art in Poland. This work summarizes Potocki's studies in modern painting but was never finished or published.⁷⁵⁷ From the twenty planned chapters, only six were finally written and are currently known from the manuscripts.⁷⁵⁸ From the extant index, we know that four of the unwritten chapters include commentary on Netherlandish art and are titled: 'State of art in the sixteenth century by other European nations' (chapter V)⁷⁵⁹, 'The same epoch by

⁷⁵² B. Grochulska, 'Potocki Stanisław', in: Z. Kosiek and E. Janczewski (ed.), *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Wrocław 1984, pp. 163-164.

⁷⁵³ Grochulska 1984, p. 164.

⁷⁵⁴ J. Polanowska, *Stanisław Kostka Potocki. Twórczość Architekta Amatora*, Warszawa 2009, p. 61.

⁷⁵⁵ Polanowska 2009, p. 34.

⁷⁵⁶ Polanowska 2009, pp. 60-61.

⁷⁵⁷ Polanowska 2009, p. 64.

⁷⁵⁸ The following chapters were written: 'The definition of school in painting', 'From the preparatory times to the revival of art, on painting from the thirteenth until the fifteenth century', 'On development of graphic arts and sculpture from the thirteenth until the sixteenth century', 'On architecture from the eleventh until the sixteenth century', 'On the greatest Florentine painters in the sixteenth century' and 'About Raphael'.

⁷⁵⁹ By "other" it is here meant other than Italian, as the previous chapter was dedicated to the Italian art.

other European nations'⁷⁶⁰ (chapter XI), 'Flemish school and its great painters' (chapter XII), 'Dutch school. Famous artists. Their biographies' (chapter XVIII).⁷⁶¹

Potocki was preparing the writing of the *On the Art of the Contemporaries* by gathering various documents and notes on the subjects to be discussed. In the manuscripts can be found fragments related to Netherlandish art. There was Potocki's juxtaposition, titled *Engravers divided into four classes*⁷⁶², including names of the engravers starting from Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533). To each name, Potocki added a number from one to four, upon to which class Potocki assumed a given artist belonged.⁷⁶³ These classes indicated the quality of a given engraver, without taking into account period, school or nationality.⁷⁶⁴ Other notations concerning Netherlandish art are short biographies and characteristics of particular works by Flemish engravers from the seventeenth and eighteenth century, titled *Notes on Flemish and Dutch engravers*.⁷⁶⁵ A subsequent document from the manuscripts is titled *School of Italy (Roman, Florentine, Venetian, Lombardy, Neapolitan and Spanish, Genoese, School of Flanders, Flemish, French School)*⁷⁶⁶ and contains life dates of particular artists.⁷⁶⁷ From these preparatory materials it is evident that Kostka Potocki particularly appreciated Netherlandish engraving art. He counted the following artists as first-class engravers: Lucas van Leyden, Goltzius, Rembrandt, Vorsterman, Pontius, Boëtius à Bolswert, Cornelis Visscher (1629-1658) and Edelinck.⁷⁶⁸ His appreciation of the Netherlandish engravers is also confirmed by his possession of Rembrandt's engravings in his collection.⁷⁶⁹

In the six chapters of *On the Art of the Contemporaries* that Potocki managed to write, appear some fragments related to Netherlandish art. For instance, his discussion concerning the definition of school in painting is relevant. He wrote that the authors (on the art related subjects) disagreed with each other with regard to the number of modern painting schools.⁷⁷⁰ Some authors understated the number of Italian, Flemish and French schools altogether, whilst others divided the Italian school into six or even eight, distinguished the Flemish school from the Dutch one and added the German and Spanish schools.⁷⁷¹ According to Potocki, there were five

⁷⁶⁰ Here is meant the period of the Carracci Academy and by "other" it is meant other than Italian, as the previous two chapters concern Italian art from the age of Carracci Academy.

⁷⁶¹ Mańkowski 1976, p. 152.

⁷⁶² The original title is *Graveurs divisés en quatre classes*.

⁷⁶³ Mańkowski 1976, p. 151.

⁷⁶⁴ Mańkowski 1976, p. 151.

⁷⁶⁵ The original title of this note is *Notice des graveurs flamands et hollandais*.

⁷⁶⁶ The original title is *Ecole d'Italie (Romains, Florentins, Veniciens, Lombards, Napolitains et Espagnoles, Genoés, Ecole des Flandre, Flamands, Ecole Française*.

⁷⁶⁷ Mańkowski 1976, p. 151.

⁷⁶⁸ Mańkowski 1976, p. 151.

⁷⁶⁹ Mańkowski 1976, p. 168.

⁷⁷⁰ „Nie zgadzają się między sobą Piszący o Sztukach co do liczby Szkół nowożytnych: jedni ją zbyt zniżają, drudzy szczepią nazbyt”. S.K. Potocki, 'What is school?', written for *On the Art of the Contemporaries*, 1815-1820, AGAD, APP 257, pp. 181-183. The text is taken from Polanowska 2009, p. 344.

⁷⁷¹ „Są bowiem, którzy trzy tylko Szkoły przypuszczają, to jest: Włoską, Flamandzką i Francuską. Inni dzielą Włoską Szkołę na sześć a nawet na osiem, do tego rozróżniają Flamandzką od Holenderskiej, dodają Niemiecką i Hiszpańską (...)”. Potocki 1815-1820, p. 344.

main Italian schools: Roman, Florentine, Lombardy, Venetian and Bolognese, whereas outside Italy there existed five other schools, namely: Flemish, Dutch, French, Spanish and German.⁷⁷² In another passage Potocki comments that unless Italy led the primacy in terms of painting art, one could not obtain a complete knowledge of the modern art, knowing only Venetian, Lombardy, Bolognese, Florentine and Roman schools, without knowing German, French, Spanish and in the end the Flemish school, which was so lavish of great masters.⁷⁷³ He writes that such a person might have probably shared the common opinion of Italians, who did not care at all about other schools except of their own, hardly considering Van Dyck and Rubens as masters.⁷⁷⁴ Potocki's critique on the Italians, who happened to underestimate the Flemish school and to "hardly recognize Van Dyck and Rubens", suggests that he highly appraised Flemish art and found Rubens and Van Dyck to be great masters.

In a different text, Potocki further demonstrates his opinions on Flemish art. As he appraised art according to the criterion whether a particular work of art was made in accordance to the ancient models, he evaluates Flemish art stating that it was better in colouring than in outlining.⁷⁷⁵ About Rubens Potocki says that he was an "uncommon genius", although his drawings were not without shortcomings. Furthermore, Potocki comments that despite the haughtiness of the genius, he still used that "heavy nature", typical for the country he came from.⁷⁷⁶ By the "heavy nature" Potocki might not have necessarily meant the representation of figures in their manneristic style, but rather their state of mind. The emotions, including the negative ones, were brought forward very distinctly, sometimes even causing a repulsive appearance of the figures. "Heavy nature" probably refers to the artistic temperament associated with the Low Countries ("lome en vochtige gesteldheid").⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷² „Tam bowiem dobrze od siebie odrębne i osobnym charakterem oznaczonym liczymy następujące Szkoły: Rzymską, Florencką, Lombardzką, Wenecką i Bonońską. (...) Wszystkie inne Europejskie Narody, podług ustanowionej przez nas zasady, ogółem 5 tylko liczyć mogą, to jest Flamandzką, Holenderską, Francuską, Hiszpańską i Niemiecką”. Potocki 1815-1820, p. 344.

⁷⁷³ „Przecież, kto by tylko Włochy widział, nie mógłby nabyć wyobrażenia, a zatem i znajomości sztuki dzisiejszej w swojej zupełności, nauczyłyby się znać szkołę wenecką, szkołę lombardzką, szkołę bonońską, szkołę florencką i szkołę rzymską, ale by wcale nie znał szkoły niemieckiej, szkoły francuskiej, szkoły hiszpańskiej, na koniec szkoły flamandzkiej, tak obfitej w wielkich malarzy”.

Quotation of Potocki is taken from Mańkowski 1976, p. 154.

⁷⁷⁴ „(...) może nawet ogarnąłby go duch przesądny, a dość powszechny Włochom, co nic prócz szkół swoich nie cenią i zaledwie Wandyka i Rubensa za malarzów mają”. Quotation of Potocki is taken from Mańkowski 1976, p. 154.

⁷⁷⁵ „Szkoła flamandzka w kolorze niż rysie szczęśliwsza”. Originally in S.K. Potocki, *Pochwały, mowy i rozprawy Stanisława hr Potockiego senator wojewody...*, Warszawa 1816, vol. II, p. 238. Citation is taken from Mańkowski 1976, p. 157.

⁷⁷⁶ „(...) jakkolwiek Rubensowi przyznaje „niepospolity jeniusz”, „lubo rysunek jego nie jest bez wad wielkich, lubo wśród niesłychanej wyniosłości jeniusza zachowuje znane wzorów ociężałej natury kraju, w którym się zrodził (...)”. Originally from S.K. Potocki, *Pochwały, mowy i rozprawy Stanisława hr Potockiego senator wojewody...*, Warszawa 1816, vol. II, p. 238. Citation is taken from Mańkowski 1976, p. 157.

⁷⁷⁷ F. Grijzenhout, 'Schilders, van zulk een lome en vochtige gesteldheid. Beeld en zelfbeeld van de Nederlandse schilderkunst in de zeventiende eeuw', *Low Countries Historical Review* 1992 (vol. 107(4)), p. 743.

According to another fragment from Potocki's texts "the phenomenal freedom of (Rubens') brushwork fighting with nature", "the splendour of his colour and genuinely poetic manner" in which he juxtaposed those elements, is what made his style so popular.⁷⁷⁸ In the above comment, the Polish writer praised Rubens for his vigorous, intense brushwork and for his colouration by which he was able to represent given subjects in an adequate, suitable manner. Potocki's statement is comparable to the opinion of Roger de Piles, who claimed that Rubens had always managed to express a sense of exaltedness or loftiness: De Piles considered him one of the best colourists in the history of art.⁷⁷⁹

In memoirs and letters sent from the journeys through Europe Potocki referred to Netherlandish art as well. For instance, in the memories concerning his stay in Genoa in September 1773, Potocki discusses the architecture of the churches, as well as their decoration, enumerating painters whose works he saw.⁷⁸⁰ Among the Italian names, he mentions Van Dyck and Rubens.⁷⁸¹ Another time he writes about the portraits of Van Dyck, which he says impressed him because they were characterized by truthfulness and naturalness and by a "grand air of nobility"⁷⁸², which suggests Potocki's preference of a courtly and cultivated character for the portrait genre.

Another relevant source where Potocki pays attention to the Netherlandish art is his *Lettre d'un étranger sur le Salon de 1787* [Letter of a foreigner about the Salon of 1787].⁷⁸³ He writes that "the small Dutch genre" had the "pleasant masters whose paintings adorn today our small cabinets".⁷⁸⁴ Among other flower still-life masters, Potocki enumerates Gerard van Spaendonck (1746-1822) and Demarne, considering their flower still-lives masterpieces.⁷⁸⁵ In addition, he states that this genre, "moved all its merits out to the perfection" and revealed the nature in all its authenticity.⁷⁸⁶ He refers to the fine and meticulous manner of painting by which the still-life painters managed to represent nature very accurately and genuinely. Potocki further writes: "Although, if one thinks that this drop of water spilled at this rose leaf had cost the artist entire days of sorrow and work, I admire the talent of this hardworking artist, but

⁷⁷⁸ „(...) wszelako nieporównana wolność pędzla z naturą walczącą, świetność koloru i prawdziwie poetyczny tok i wyraz składni jego szczęśliwie zawsze pędzlem wydany styl Rubensa tak wziętym czyniły”. Originally from S.K. Potocki, *Pochwały, mowy i rozprawy Stanisława hr Potockiego senator wojewody...*, Warszawa 1816, vol. II, p. 238. Citation is taken from Mańkowski 1976, p. 157.

⁷⁷⁹ Grijzenhout 1992, p. 31.

⁷⁸⁰ Polanowska 2009, p. 18.

⁷⁸¹ Polanowska 2009, p. 18.

⁷⁸² In French "la vérité et la naturel" and "grand air de noblesse". Mańkowski 1976, p. 166.

⁷⁸³ As this letter was published anonymously, it was previously ascribed to Jan Potocki. Mańkowski 1932, p. 55. Later, the letter was ascribed to Kostka Potocki. M.E. Zoltowska, 'La critique d'art écrite par un Polonais : la Lettre d'un étranger sur le salon de 1787, de Stanislas Kostka Potocki', *Dix-huitième Siècle* 1974 (VI), pp. 325-341.

⁷⁸⁴ He spoke originally in French of „petit genre hollandois" and „maîtres aimables, don't les ouvrages sont aujourd'hui l'ornement de nos petits cabinets". S.K. Potocki, *Lettre d'un étranger sur le Salon de 1787*, p. 15. Citation is taken from Zoltowska 1974, p. 338.

⁷⁸⁵ „(...) fleurs sont un chef-d'œuvre". Zoltowska 1974, p. 338.

⁷⁸⁶ „(...) ce genre, poussé à cette perfection a son mérite; il rend la nature dans toute sa vérité". Zoltowska 1974, p. 338.

do not advise anyone to imitate him".⁷⁸⁷ The above comment corresponds to the common appreciation of the skill of the Netherlandish masters by the eighteenth-century European art lovers, who praised them for slow execution process.⁷⁸⁸ According to John Michael Montias, collectors were eager to pay for "the value of time and effort spent in realizing the works".⁷⁸⁹

Potocki's artistic preferences in modern painting art were directed towards the Italian school, which, he thought, had a superior and leading position. An explanation for this can be found in Potocki's studies into antiquity (in the context of his *On the Art of the Ancients*), which plausibly shaped, or at least strongly influenced, his artistic taste. Despite some critique, the Polish writer also obviously valued the Flemish school highly, foremostly Rubens and Van Dyck, as according to him they followed the rules of decorum (Rubens in history pieces, Van Dyck in portraits). Regarding the Dutch artists, Potocki respected them foremostly for their engravings, whereas he praised both Dutch and Flemish flower still-life painters for their skillful, meticulous painting manner, reflecting the common, established appreciation for the *fijnschilder* technique as demonstrated by other personalities in this chapter.

⁷⁸⁷ „Mais lorsqu'on songe qu'une goutte d'eau répandue sur cette feuille de rose lui a coûté des journées entières de peine et de travail, l'on admire le talent de cet artiste laborieux, sans conseiller à personne de l'imiter". Zoltowska 1974, p. 338. Translation to English mine.

⁷⁸⁸ Michel 2009, p. 128.

⁷⁸⁹ J.M. Montias, *Le Marché de l'Art aux Pays-Bas, XV-XVII siècle*, Paris 1996, p. 35.

4.3.6. Jean-Pierre Norblin de La Gourdain

Jean-Pierre Norblin de La Gourdain was a French-born painter, draughtsman and engraver. Through the intervention of Adam Czartoryski (1770-1861), a Polish nobleman, statesman and author, Norblin immigrated to Poland⁷⁹⁰, where he resided from 1774 to 1804 and gained Polish citizenship. He was witness and participator to several events in the country, such as the parliamentary sittings of the Great Sejm, the foundation of the Constitution of 3rd May as well as the Kościuszko Uprising.⁷⁹¹ Through observations, Norblin managed to record many events in drawings which are important documents for Polish history.⁷⁹² Additionally, in his drawings, watercolours and etchings, he very accurately depicted the everyday life of the Polish nobility, as well as the Polish types, costumes and customs.⁷⁹³ With regard to the reception of Netherlandish art in Poland, Norblin was influential in terms of his fascination for Rembrandt. It was not only a matter of what Norblin collected but above all how he adapted the (foremostly graphic) art of Rembrandt into his own oeuvre, so often related to strictly Polish subjects.

Having studied within the environment of French Neoclassicist⁷⁹⁴ artists, such as Francesco Casanova (1727-1803), Louis-Michiel van Loo (1707-1771) and Vien⁷⁹⁵, Norblin's interest and profound studies into the art of Rembrandt did not actually begin until he came to Poland, where the artist simultaneously grew fascinated with Polish culture – it was so different from his own that it appeared almost exotic to him.⁷⁹⁶ When Norblin studied Rembrandt, he investigated not only the specific elements of the vision of the master but emulated the whole character of his works. Typical for Norblin were very suggestive interpretations of Rembrandt's works, instead of simple copies.⁷⁹⁷ In the introduction of the auction catalogue (Paris, 1885) of the collection of Norblin's son, Sebastian (1796-1884), the following is written about his father: "Jean-Pierre Norblin was a very passionate admirer of Rembrandt and his most faithful imitator. His engravings are searched out by the real connoisseurs and sometimes estimated equally to those of his master".⁷⁹⁸

A very original aspect of Norblin's "Rembrandtism" was his adaptation of Rembrandt's features within his studies of the Polish types. For example, Norblin's

⁷⁹⁰ A. Kępińska, *Jan Piotr Norblin*, Warszawa 1978, p. 7.

⁷⁹¹ Kępińska 1978, p. 8.

⁷⁹² Kępińska 1978, p. 8.

⁷⁹³ T.F. de Rosset, 'Naśladowanie i kolekcjonerstwo. Przyczynek do Rembrandtyzmu Norblina', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 2008 (XXXIII), p. 229.

⁷⁹⁴ Meant are the artists whose works were characterized by the renewed interest in classical antiquity championed by Jean-Louis David (1748-1825).

⁷⁹⁵ T.F. de Rosset, 'Les Norblin: Une dynastie franco-polonaise de collectionneurs', in: M. Preti-Hamad, P. Sénéchal (ed.), *Collections et Marché de l'art en France 1789-1848*, Rennes 2014, p. 375.

⁷⁹⁶ Kępińska 1978, p. 27.

⁷⁹⁷ Kępińska 1978, p. 26.

⁷⁹⁸ „Jean-Pierre Norblin fut un admirateur passionné de Rembrandt, et son plus fidèle imitateur. Ses gravures sont recherchées des véritables connaisseurs et estimées quelquefois à l'égal de celles du maître". From the introduction to the sale catalogue of the collection of Sebastian Norblin, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 14th February 1885, L. 44574. Citation is taken from De Rosset 2008, p. 222. Translation to English mine.

etched *Portrait of a Prominent (Polish) Nobleman* (fig. 111) reveals a model wearing a typically Polish żupan⁷⁹⁹ and delia⁸⁰⁰ flanged over his shoulders and simultaneously wearing a quasi-oriental headgear with feathers, which can be interpreted as an element either from the typical Polish cap or from the typical Rembrandtesque turbans.⁸⁰¹ Also, the serious expression of the wrinkled face and the moustache are elements that seem to be inspired by Rembrandt's works such as *Portrait of the Father* (fig. 112). In Norblin's oeuvre many other representations of Polish noblemen can be found.

Next to the nobility, Jews are another social group in Poland, whom Norblin frequently drew, being strongly inspired and influenced by Rembrandt's example. An illustrative example is the *Portrait of Mazepa* (fig. 113), a Jewish leaseholder known under the nickname "Mazepa".⁸⁰² Also Rembrandt often depicted typical Jewish figures, such as a rabbi (fig. 114).

Another example revealing Norblin's inspiration from the Dutch master is the representation of a rat-poison seller (fig. 115, 116). Among several variations and elaborations of this subject that Norblin executed, one is a local adaptation which reveals a popular vagabond and joker from Warsaw (fig. 117).⁸⁰³

In general, the "Rembrandtism" of Norblin manifested itself in copying or working in the style of the master, by which he paraphrased Rembrandt's works or took over his types or elements. In independent compositions, Norblin applied Rembrandt's typical stylistic features, such as rough brushwork.⁸⁰⁴ Norblin was foremostly interested in clair-obscur effects, which can be viewed in his graphic works such as *Susanne and the Elders* (fig. 118), *The Raising of Lazarus* and *Holy Family*.⁸⁰⁵

It was not only via his own oeuvre that Norblin promoted the art of Rembrandt in Poland. He also brought to Poland the *Landscape with the Good Samaritan* (fig. 119) by the Dutch master. Norblin purchased this painting at the sale in January 1774 of the collection of Jean-Antoine-Hubert Vassal de Saint-Hubert (1741-1782) in Paris and later passed it to his protectors from the Czartoryski family.⁸⁰⁶ In addition, Norblin possessed quite a number of drawings and etchings by Rembrandt. With regard to the drawings, Norblin often retouched and repainted them. His precise motivation remains unknown, however, he might have executed artistic experiments, for instance attempting to "adjust" Rembrandt's works to the modern art doctrine.⁸⁰⁷

The assumption about Norblin's essential contribution to the knowledge on and popularity of Rembrandt in eighteenth-century Poland can be based on two factors. First, his influential position within the Polish cultural and artistic environment

⁷⁹⁹ A long-lined cloth worn by men from the nobility in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

⁸⁰⁰ A garment worn over the żupan by the Polish nobility, resembling a coat.

⁸⁰¹ Kępińska 1978, p. 27.

⁸⁰² Kępińska 1978, p. 27.

⁸⁰³ Kępińska 1978, p. 28.

⁸⁰⁴ De Rosset 2008, p. 222.

⁸⁰⁵ De Rosset 2008, p. 222.

⁸⁰⁶ De Rosset 2008, p. 221.

⁸⁰⁷ De Rosset 2008, p. 229.

is confirmed by the fact that Stanisław August employed him in the function of a drawing teacher for his own children, noted by Niemcewicz in his diaries.⁸⁰⁸ Second, Norblin executed his works in the Rembrandtesque style when treating typically local (Polish or even Warsaw) subjects, types, costumes or customs. Making his oeuvre in this manner more familiar for the Polish collectors may be an extra incentive for them to appreciate both Norblin's works and the art of Rembrandt.

⁸⁰⁸ Niemcewicz 1957, p. 90.

4.4. Comments by foreigners on Netherlandish painting in Poland

Foreign travellers who visited the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the eighteenth century sometimes visited royal and noble residences, such as the Palace on the Isle and the Royal Castle in Warsaw. Some of them wrote their impressions down in diaries. The examination of these diaries can teach us about how foreigners perceived the royal (and other) Polish collections, particularly their Netherlandish painting sections. Foreigners' opinions can help us establish whether Poniatowski's patronage of arts and collecting activity successfully contributed to his self-fashioning as the Enlightened monarch.

4.4.1. Fortia de Piles and Boisgelin de Kerdu

The first diary, in which these types of comments can be found, is the *Voyage de deux Français en Allemagne, Danemark, Suède, Russie et Pologne fait en 1790-1792* [Sojourn of two Frenchmen to Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Russia and Poland made in 1790-1792]. This journal is written by a French count, Alphonse de Fortia de Piles (1758-1826)⁸⁰⁹ and a French writer, Pierre-Marie-Louis de Boisgelin de Kerdu (1758-1816), published in Paris in 1796.⁸¹⁰

In a passage dedicated to the visit to the Royal Castle in Warsaw, the travelers describe various rooms they had been to, enumerating specific paintings they saw. They pay special attention to the small chapel, in which, they write, hung a "fairly good" painting attributed to Rembrandt.⁸¹¹ In the fragment about the visit in the Palace on the Isle, the authors comment that the entire premises were very well kept and that the king especially admired this place.⁸¹² Subsequently, they describe specific chambers. They note that in the billiard room hung 46 pieces and share their opinions: "*Silver coin inside a fish* by Rubens – with entire life-size figures, the beautiful *Man Playing a Violin* and *Woman Playing a Guitar* – pretty Flemish piece with half-figures of the life-size, *Reed is put to the hands of Christ* by Rembrandt – the entire figure of the life-size, beautiful, and beneath painting by Dietrich, which was often considered a work of Teniers".⁸¹³ On the first floor, the Frenchmen mention a

⁸⁰⁹ The full name reads Alphonse-Toussaint-Joseph-André-Marie-Marseille de Fortia de Piles. He was the Count of Piles and the Duke of Fortia.

⁸¹⁰ The translation of these diaries were used from: W. Zawadzki (ed.), *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, Warszawa 1963. Translation to English mine.

⁸¹¹ „Z tej sali przechodzi się do małej kaplicy, w której znajduje się niezły obraz przypisywany Rembrandtowi”. Zawadzki 1963, p. 680.

⁸¹² „Jego królewska mość upodobał sobie szczególnie to miejsce (...). Wszystko jest w Łazienkach niewielkie, ale starannie utrzymane”. Zawadzki 1963, p. 683.

⁸¹³ „(...) *Srebrna moneta w rybie* Rubensa, całe postacie wielkości naturalnej, piękny *Mężczyzna grający na skrzypcach* i *Kobieta grająca na gitarze*, ładny obraz flamandzki pół postaci, wielkości naturalnej. *Włożenie Chrystusowi Panu w ręce trzciny* Rembrandta – cała postać wielkości naturalnej – piękny, pod nim obraz Dietricha, który uchodzi często za dzieło Teniersa (...). Zawadzki 1963, pp. 683-684. In order to illustrate the impression of the author the paintings' enumeration is here cited. Translation to English mine. *Reed is put to the hands of Christ* by Rembrandt is meant to be *The Mocking of Christ*, now attributed to Nicolaes Maes (fig. 11).

room with 44 paintings, among which were many works of Flemish masters.⁸¹⁴ Among other works, they specified a “pretty” painting representing a soldier who was stroking a girl and an old man who was watching, as well as two pieces by Wouwerman.⁸¹⁵ Another comment concerns the king’s Study Room with 24 paintings. The authors note the following paintings: a “very pretty” *Violinist* by Dou, dated 1655, two paintings by Van der Werff “of uneven quality”, “pretty” *Man Playing a Trumpet* by Palamedes, dated 1654, *Man Taking Dictation* by Ter Borch and the pendant to it – *Man Reading* by Brouwer.⁸¹⁶ From the small cabinet with 26 paintings the authors mention (and describe): the “beautiful” piece by Wouwerman, “lovely” *Saint Peter in Prison* by Bol, “very beautiful” picture known under the name *Mutton Leg* by David Teniers with representation of the peasants playing cards at the foreground and *Man Holding a Horse* by Wouwerman.⁸¹⁷

Another fragment in the diary is devoted to the collection of Kostka Potocki. The description of the second floor of Potocki’s residence is relevant in the context of Netherlandish art. Enumerated are: *Erichtonius* by Rubens, *Last Supper* attributed also to Rubens, with figures of small sizes, *The Old Woman* by Rembrandt, two “pretty” heads in the Flemish style painted by Broener from Vienna, a painting by Van Poelenburch and a caricature by Jordaens.⁸¹⁸ By “caricature” they might have meant a *tronie* or a genre work with a comical theme.

The above-adduced fragments disclose that in general Fortia de Piles and Boisgelin de Kerdu perceived the Netherlandish paintings encountered in the Polish collections as valuable, as time and again they use in the descriptions epithets such as “good”, “pretty” and “beautiful”. In addition, their comment on the Palace on the Isle is relevant. Taking into account that it was the place where approximately the half of all Netherlandish paintings the king had hung, as well as that in relation to the other painting schools the Netherlandish one formed a relatively numerous group at this palace, the French travelers’ notion about the king’s special admiration of that place is especially interesting. This admiration also implicitly indicates the king’s appreciation of Netherlandish paintings. Moreover, since the Łazienki Palace was visited by important royal guests, the prominent display position of Netherlandish painting there may implicate their relevance to the king’s fashioning of his reputation as an Enlightened monarch.

⁸¹⁴ „W następnym pokoju 44 obrazy, wśród nich wiele dzieł mistrzów flamandzkich”. Zawadzki 1963, p. 684.

⁸¹⁵ „Ładny obraz przedstawiający żołnierza głaszczącego podbródek dziewczyny i starca przeglądającego się tej scenie. (...) Dwa obrazki Wouwermansa”. Zawadzki 1963, p. 684.

⁸¹⁶ „Gabinet króla. 24 obrazy. *Skrzypek* G. Dowa, datowany 1655, bardzo ładny. Dwa obrazy van der Werffa nierównej wartości. (...) Ładny *Człowiek grający na trąbce* Palamedesa, datowany 1654. *Mężczyzna piszący pod dyktando* Terborcha i *pendant* do niego – *Mężczyzna czytający* Brouwera”. Zawadzki 1963, p. 685.

⁸¹⁷ „W małym gabinecie jest 26 obrazów: (...) Piękny Wouwermans. Piękny *Święty Piotr w więzieniu* Ferdynanda Bola. Obraz znany pod nazwą *Udziec barani* Dawida Teniersa: na przednim planie przedstawieni są chłopcy zajęci grą w karty, bardzo piękny. (...) *Mężczyzna załatwiający się trzymając konia* Wouwermansa”. Zawadzki 1963, p. 685.

⁸¹⁸ „*Erychtoniusz* Rubensa. (...) *Wieczera Pańska* przypisywana Rubensowi; postaci niewielkich rozmiarów. *Staruszka* Rembrandta. (...) Dwa ładne obrazki w guście flamandzkim, pędzla Broenera z Wiednia (...) Obrazek Poelenburga. Karykatura Jordaensa”. Zawadzki 1963, p. 691.

4.4.2. Johann Bernoulli

Johann II Bernoulli (1710-1790) was a Swiss lawyer and mathematician and the son of a known mathematician, Johann I Bernoulli (1667-1748). The former travelled to Poland and described his stay in his diary.⁸¹⁹

About his visit to the Royal Castle Bernoulli writes that in the chamber where the Polish king used to dress in the mornings, he saw many beautiful paintings. Among them were Netherlandish pieces: portraits by Rembrandt and very beautiful copies of figures after Rubens.⁸²⁰ This fragment reveals that even the private rooms were visited by guests, which may mean that also the king's personal apartments could have been designed with the aim of self-fashioning in mind.

Another mention concerns Bernoulli's visit to the office of banker Tepper in which among 180 pieces were displayed for sale. Bernoulli enumerates the following Netherlandish works: probably an original *Market Girl* painted by Wouwerman on wood, in gilt frames, estimated at 200 ducats and two portraits after Rembrandt, for 4 ducats each.⁸²¹

Subsequently, Bernoulli writes that in Maryville (Warsaw) he visited a certain gentleman named Bormann, who offered to show him a painting collection that Bormann was ordered (from the court adviser Tribble) to sell. The author lists a number of paintings that he liked the most, among them: the "perfect" *Man Selling Roasted Vegetables* by Willem van Mieris, estimated at 350 ducats; a large portrait of Rembrandt for 75 ducats and a "not that pretty" *Three Graces* by Rubens.⁸²²

There is also a description of the traveler's visit to the king's brother, Kazimierz Potocki (1721-1800) at Solec (Warsaw). Bernoulli notes that his residence was very well and neatly furnished, but also decorated with a great number of good paintings, such as *Temptation of Saint Anthony* by Teniers, for which the prince paid to Tribble 1000 ducats, *The Judgment* by Rembrandt and also a few paintings by other Dutch artists.⁸²³

Bernoulli also visited the residence of Ogiński, where he saw a small sketch that in his opinion resembled a painting of Rubens, which was etched by Louis-Simon Lempereur (1728-1808) and called *The Love Garden*.⁸²⁴

⁸¹⁹ J. Bernoulli, *Reisen durch Brandenburg, Pommern, Preussen, Curland, Russland und Polen in den Jahren 1777 und 1778*, vol. VI, I. It is translated from German to Polish by Zawadzki and taken from Zawadzki 1963.

⁸²⁰ „W sali, w której król zwykł się rano ubierać, wisi wiele pięknych obrazów: (...) portrety Rembrandta (...), bardzo piękne kopie postaci Rubensa itp.”. Zawadzki 1963, p. 377.

⁸²¹ „(...) malowana na drzewie *Markietanka* Wouwermansa, prawdopodobnie oryginał, w złoconej ramie, oceniana na dwieście dukatów; (...) dwa portrety według Rembrandta – po cztery dukaty (...).” Zawadzki 1963, p. 381. Translation to English mine.

⁸²² „Podobały mi się następujące obrazy: (...) *Człowiek sprzedający pieczone owoce*, doskonały obraz Wilhelma Mierisa, w cenie 350 dukatów; (...) duży portret Rembrandta, w cenie 75 dukatów); *Trzy Gracje* Rubensa, niezbyt ładne, itd.”. Zawadzki 1963, pp. 424-425. Translation to English mine.

⁸²³ „Są one bowiem nie tylko wspaniałe i gustownie umeblowane, ale także bogato ozdobione wielką liczbą dobrych obrazów, takich jak na przykład: *Kuszenie świętego Antoniego* Teniersa, za który książkę zapłacił radcy dworu Triblowi tysiąc dukatów, *Wyrok Rembrandta*, (...) kilka obrazów malarzy holenderskich (...).” Zawadzki 1963, p. 434. Translation to English mine.

⁸²⁴ „Pewien mały szkic przypominał mi obraz Rubensa, który Lempereur wyszytował i nazwał *Le Jardin d'amour*”. Zawadzki 1963, p. 438.

Furthermore, the author describes his visit in the house of the wealthy banker Pierre Blanc. Bernoulli notes that the admirers of paintings would especially appreciate a room in the residence where hung many pretty pictures, such as: two “successful” copies of Bol after Dou (one of them was the renowned representation of a woman reeling a thread); some “pretty” portraits painted by Rembrandt and Van Dyck, or at least originating from their schools; different Dutch landscapes and country scenes painted “by the best masters”.⁸²⁵

In Bernoulli’s diary can be found comments concerning his viewing of the Palace on the Isle. He mentions that in the Royal Bedchamber were placed some valuable paintings of a different kind and that the collection there formed a fine collection, which consisted of pieces by renowned masters, such as Hondecoeter, Van Huysum, Wouwerman, Largillière, Bacciarelli and others.⁸²⁶ Striking is that Bernoulli attempted to emphasize the fineness of the collection by enumerating names of the best masters and three out of five mentioned were Dutch – apparently, the traveler found their pieces the most representative ones. Also this fragment reveals that the private rooms of the king were viewed by guests, which implicates that they might have been arranged in the light of the royal self-fashioning.

Another passage is devoted to the Royal Castle in Warsaw. About the king’s Cabinet Bernoulli says that it was adorned with the king’s most favourite pictures, which proved his good taste in painting art. From the Netherlandish paintings he lists: a “pretty” drawing by Rubens; “the best miniatures from the collection of countess Keyserling” (*Adam and Eve* after Van der Werff); *Old Man* by Bol, “one of his best paintings”; another painting “in the style as the previous one”; works by Berchem and other renowned Dutch (and German) masters, which Bernoulli in short calls “a great selection of cabinet paintings”.⁸²⁷ Furthermore, the author mentions two paintings by Jordaens that he saw, one in a unnamed room and another one in the atelier of Bacciarelli.⁸²⁸

⁸²⁵ „Miłośnikom malarstwa zwłaszcza podobać się mogła sala, w której wisiały bardzo ładne obrazy, jak na przykład: (...) dwie udane kopie Bola według Gerarda Dowa, wśród nich znany obraz kobiety nawijającej nici, parę ładnych portrecików malowanych przez Rembrandta i van Dycka, a przynajmniej pochodzących z ich szkoły, różne holenderskie krajobrazy i sceny wiejskie pędzla najlepszych mistrzów, itp.”. Zawadzki 1963, p. 439.

⁸²⁶ „W sypialni znajdowało się jeszcze kilka innych wartościowych obrazów różnego rodzaju (...). W całości znajdujące się w tym i w innych pokojach obrazy tworzą ładny zbiór, na który składają się malowidła słynnych mistrzów, jak Hondekoetera, Huysuma, Wouwermana, Largillière’a, Bacciarellego i innych”. Zawadzki 1963, p. 440.

⁸²⁷ „(...) doszliśmy do jednego końca Zamku, mianowicie do gabinetu zawieszono ulubionymi przez króla obrazami, które świadczą o jego wyrobionym smaku w dziedzinie malarstwa. Znajduję się tu następujące obrazy: (...) ładny szkic Rubensa; (...); *Adam i Ewa*, według van der Werffa, najlepsza miniatura ze zbioru hrabiny Keyserling z Królewca; (...); *Starzec*, jeden z najlepszych obrazów Ferdynanda Bola, i jeszcze jeden obraz w podobnym stylu; ponadto dzieła Berchema, (...) i innych sławnych holenderskich i niemieckich mistrzów – słowem, same doborowe obrazy gabinetowe”. Zawadzki 1963, p. 443.

⁸²⁸ „Znajduje się tu wszakże ładny obraz Jakuba Jordaensa”. „Zeszliśmy następnie na parter, do pracowni pana Bacciarellego (...). W jednym [pokoju] wisi wiele jeszcze nie uporządkowanych obrazów należących do zbiorów królewskich, między innymi: duży obraz Jakuba Jordaensa (...)”. Zawadzki 1963, pp. 442, 444.

In the diary Bernoulli describes as well his visit to the library of count Wincenty Potocki (1740-1825). Regarding the print collection Bernoulli writes that the engravings by Rubens were represented in the number of 3555 pieces in ten volumes.⁸²⁹ Subsequently, Bernoulli notes that the room for display of paintings was not yet prepared, however, he managed to view the collection and remembered the following Netherlandish pictures: a “very pretty” *Priest Celebrating a Mass* by Rembrandt, a few paintings by Wouwerman and *Old Woman* by Dou.⁸³⁰

In comparison to the French diarists, Bernoulli mentions more Polish collectors of Netherlandish paintings whose collections he viewed. Also, his feedback about the Netherlandish pictures that he saw is generally positive. The most important element though, is his account on the king’s gathering of works in the Palace on the Isle (named as “the fine collection”) and on the king’s Cabinet in the Royal Castle that demonstrated the king’s good taste in the art of painting, which testifies of Bernoulli’s positive reception of Stanisław August’s collecting and patronage of arts and implicitly suggests the king’s effective self-fashioning as the Enlightened monarch.

⁸²⁹ „W przeszło dziesięciu wielkich foliach mieszczą się dzieła Rubensa, na które składa się 3555 sztychów (...)”. Zawadzki 1963, p. 445.

⁸³⁰ „Budowano właśnie salę, gdzie miała być zawieszona ładna kolekcja obrazów. (...) Zapamiętałem sobie następujące: *Ksiądz odprawiający mszę* Rembrandta, bardzo ładny; kilka obrazów Wouwermansa; (...) *Stara kobieta* Gerarda Dowa (...)”. Zawadzki 1963, pp. 445-446.

4.5. Concluding remarks and a summary

In 1911, the Polish writer Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński (1874-1941) published a humorous poem describing the discussion about the Polish National Museum in Rapperswil (Switzerland) that was then occurring.⁸³¹ The museum was founded in 1870 in order to secure Polish historical memorabilia and artistic heritage. In a part of the poem Boy-Żeleński enumerates several works of art that could be encountered in the museum. From paintings he names landscapes “galantes”, Titians and Rembrandts.⁸³² From the only two artists mentioned by name, one belongs to the Dutch master. This implies that Rembrandt must have been a recognizable artist at that period within Polish society. Boy-Żeleński’s naming of Rembrandt and Titian can be compared with the satirical poem from more than a century earlier, in which Krasicki used the example of Rubens and Van Dyck. In both cases mention of foreign artists was not the central topic of the poem, however, they reveal a certain shift in the reception of Netherlandish painting in the period after the reign of Stanisław August, namely increased recognition of Rembrandt as a great master by Polish citizens.

The main concern of this chapter was the question: How can the reception of Netherlandish art in the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth be defined, based on contemporary written sources and other phenomena, and what was the role of the last Polish king? An analysis on available primary sources has demonstrated several different aspects of the appreciation by members of Stanisław August’s circle for Netherlandish painting.

First, the relevant early fragments from Poniatowski’s demonstrate that his predilection for Netherlandish masters was likely shaped by his adolescent journeys to the Low Countries, as well as his stay in Paris, especially his time at the salon of Madame Geoffrin. The Polish king, eager to follow cultural and artistic trends fostered

⁸³¹ G. Bąbiak, *Sobie, ojczyźnie czy potomności... Wybrane problem mecenatu kulturalnego elit na ziemiach polskich w XIX wieku*, Warszawa 2010, p. 148. The discussion concerned the question whether the museum, founded in the spirit of sentimental collecting (for the sake of guardance of Polish heritage), has not become anachronistic in the age of developing museology and importance attached to the authenticity of works of art.

⁸³² „(...) Jest tam kijek Kościuszki,

Króla Piasta garnuszki

I fajeczka Kopernika,

Z której se pan kustosz pyka,

Jak jest w dobrym humorze.

Surowa nahajka

I Kolumba dwa jajka,

Kierezja wenecjańska

I dziewica orleańska –

Syćko wisi se społem.

Jest też lanszaft galanty:

Tycjany, Rembrandty;

Sam pan kustosz je malował

Fatygi se nie żałował –

Syćko dla tej ojczyzny”.

T. Boy-Żeleński, ‘Opowieść dziadkowa o cudach rapperswylskich’, in: T. Boy-Żeleński, *Słówka*, Wrocław 1988, pp. 304-305.

within other European royal and aristocratic circles, was also eager to adopt the collecting models developed in these circles.

Second, the accessible purchase offers of the Netherlandish paintings sent to Stanisław August reveal factors that convinced him to buy them. Regarding pictures by *fijnschilders*, the descriptions are focussed on their formal aspects. Admittedly, it is similar for work of the Italianate painters, however to a lesser extent. Additionally, less elaborate descriptions appear with regard to the history pieces of the seventeenth-century Antwerp artists; the attention was paid to the represented subject matter, rather than to the form.

Third, the drawing and engraving collection of Stanisław August, together with the commissions given to his court painters and the royal atelier students, indicate his preference for the Dutch and Flemish schools. Concerning Poniatowski's drawings and engravings, his collection was not exceptional in comparison to the other royal and aristocratic (drawing and engraving) collections in eighteenth-century Europe, but his role in this field (especially of the drawing) was certainly pioneering for the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This means that the last Polish king certainly tried to nurture artistic taste in his home land. As far as the commissions, there were two types related to Netherlandish art. First, the king hired Norblin, Tokarski and others to execute copies after Northern artists such as Rembrandt, Van Dyck and Dou. Second, Stanisław August ordered paintings that must be based on specific characteristics of given Netherlandish artists, such as the composition of Rembrandt and the colouration of Rubens. Perhaps one reason was that if impossible to acquire originals by important Netherlandish painters, Poniatowski wished to substitute them with copies, either to hang them in the rooms of his frequent use or to serve as models in the royal atelier. On the other hand, the king was willing to possess paintings by his court painters inspired by the features and techniques of admired Netherlandish masters such as Rubens and Rembrandt. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that in this respect the Netherlandish school was not completely exceptional in comparison to the Italian, since the latter was also frequently copied and imitated by court painters in Warsaw.

A fourth aspect implying the king's appreciation of Netherlandish masters is the selection of paintings that he ordered to be transported to Grodno. The assemblage of 40 most representative pieces included examples of Netherlandish painters such as Rembrandt, Teniers, Wouwerman, Rubens and Moucheron. Another selection was the one the Polish king later displayed to the Russian connoisseurs. Between several Italian masters (Reni, Titian, Giordano and Cigoli) the king also featured two paintings by Rembrandt and Rubens. This reveals the king's favouring of both Netherlandish and Italian painting.

Indications of the king's appreciation and expertise of Netherlandish art stems also from the diaries of foreigners travelling to Poland. Bernoulli commented on the assemblage in the king's Cabinet at the Royal Castle as a fine collection of the renowned masters, whereas Fortia de Piles and Boisgelin de Kerdu mentioned Poniatowski's special admiration of the Palace of the Isle, thus it was the place where approximately the half of all his Netherlandish pictures hung. These texts suggest

that the king succeeded to fashion his reputation amongst foreign elites as a modern, Enlightened monarch, who attached much importance to the patronage and collecting of arts.

Among the members of Stanisław August's circle, Netherlandish painting gained esteem, however, to a different degree and with varying preferences towards Dutch and respectively Flemish artists. It can be observed in the writings of Moszyński and Kostka Potocki that attention was foremostly given to the paintings of Rubens and Van Dyck. This preference can be explained by their similar interest in antiquity, by travels to Italy (where works of Rubens and Van Dyck could be frequently encountered) and a general conviction that painters should follow the rules of decorum (in which these Flemish masters were apparently successful).

Some contemporaries of Poniatowski gave special attention to the Netherlandish artists who worked with the use of fine brushwork, primarily the *fijnschilders*, but also Italianate landscapists and flower still-life painters. A fine, meticulous technique was especially praised by Bacciarelli in the description of the works from the royal collection catalogue, but also Kostka Potocki expressed his respect for this kind of technique.

As the author of the descriptions from the royal collection catalogue, Bacciarelli also brought Rembrandt and his circle into focus in Poland. He found the work of the Dutch master valuable and extraordinary to the extent that he advised the king to take his Rembrandts with him by the occasion of a potential move to Rome. Bacciarelli expressed his approbation of the fine technique applied by the painters from Rembrandt's circle, but it is plausible that he also appreciated the rough brushwork of the master.

Except for Bacciarelli, Norblin was another artist active in eighteenth-century Poland who revealed a special interest in the art of Rembrandt. Among other things, Norblin made his own interpretations of Rembrandt's works and adopted rembrandtesque features within his studies of the Polish types. This made his oeuvre as well as the rembrandtesque style more familiar, but also more attractive for the Polish collectors and possibly contributed to the popularity of Rembrandt in the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In the writings of Krasicki and Niemcewicz, no clear preference towards either Dutch or Flemish artists can be discerned. Niemcewicz praised the Low Countries as the place where the arts flourished, naming Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt and Peter Brueghel as the most important Netherlandish artists. Niemcewicz's positive account of the Netherlands, its modernity and the attitude towards arts (resembling the opinion of Peter the Great), presumably shared by the king and the Polish intellectual elite, supports the idea that the royal self-fashioning as the Enlightened monarch might have been somehow related to (the collecting of) Netherlandish art.

Furthermore, Krasicki included headwords on Rembrandt and Rubens within his encyclopaedia and named paintings by Rubens and Van Dyck in his satirical poem. He also collected an assemblage of prints with a substantial representation of the Netherlandish school. Krasicki's dedication to Stanisław August ("Resuscitator of Sciences") at the beginning of the encyclopaedia, may indicate that the king

successfully build his reputation as the Enlightened monarch, who aided development of sciences in his country.

Diaries, purchase offers, catalogue descriptions, art historical texts, commissions, print collections as well as oeuvre (in the case of Norblin) all reveal the recognition and appreciation of Netherlandish art in the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Significantly, whereas the recognition of the Flemish masters such as Rubens and Van Dyck seemed to be already established during the reign of Stanisław August, it seems as if the popularity of Rembrandt was only then just being shaped. Considering the primary sources analysed in this chapter, it is reasonable to state that the last Polish king certainly took a leading role in that process.

Conclusion

“Nowadays we have philosophers on the throne”.⁸³³ With this statement, Voltaire encouraged eighteenth-century European rulers to reign in accordance with the concept of Enlightened despotism, which implied that any kind of monarch’s reforms should be justifiable by the use of reason and secular utility. Within this concept, the French philosopher gave much esteem to the social, scientific, artistic and literary patronage of a monarch, rather than to political and military achievements.

The most influential and radical Enlightened sovereign of the early eighteenth century was Peter I the Great, who with the greatest efforts tried to modernize his country, adopting various techniques from the Western states and attaching particular importance to the arts and sciences. The seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, with its allegedly modern approach to industry, trade and culture, inspired the Russian Emperor, who attempted to fashion his own reputation as an expert in similar industrial and cultural aspects, including the display of Dutch art.

Voltaire, who highly esteemed Peter the Great for his legislative and cultural achievements, also mentioned the last Polish King, Stanisław II August, among the Enlightened monarchs of the North. In the face of this nomination, this thesis analysed to what extent Poniatowski’s interest in Netherlandish painting can be associated with his aim of self-fashioning as the Enlightened monarch.

The research question addressed in this thesis was two-part: To what extent can Stanisław August’s predilection for Netherlandish painting be seen as exceptional in the context of cultural and historical developments of the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Europe? And: to what extent can the concept of Poniatowski’s self-fashioning as Enlightened monarch be seen as one of the relevant factors explaining his predilection for Netherlandish painting? These research questions have been answered with the help of four sub-questions. Although arguments supporting both hypotheses were found, a few aspects weakened the second hypothesis.

In the first chapter, the role of the Netherlandish paintings within the royal collection was investigated. As Stanisław August was an elected king, he did not inherit any paintings after his predecessors and thus formed his collection from the very beginning. At the end of his reign the royal collection consisted of 2437 paintings. Dutch and Flemish paintings have been treated jointly as the distinction of these schools was not clearly made at that time. They formed the second largest group within the collection, counting 337 pictures in total. The majority of the Netherlandish paintings originated from the seventeenth century and the most numerous represented were: the circle of Rubens and Van Dyck with 60 pieces, the circle of Rembrandt with 40 pieces, the Italianate landscapists with 28 pieces and the *fijnschilders* with 27 pieces. The royal catalogue of 1795 lists many renowned masters related to the aforementioned circles, for instance Rubens, Van Dyck,

⁸³³ Quotation of Voltaire taken from Manikowska 2011, p. 133.

Jordaens, Rembrandt, Bol, Dou, Van Mieris, or others, such as Metsu, Wouwerman, Teniers, Ter Borch and Brueghel. In comparison to the Netherlandish school, the royal collection also featured court painters active in Warsaw (both foreign and Polish, less than 400 pieces), Italian school (275 pieces), French school (117 pieces) and German school (113 pieces).

The first factor that suggests the important position of Dutch and Flemish paintings within Poniatowski's collection is the number of these works holding second place in all represented painting schools and first place when taking into account only the old masters.

Furthermore, the location of display implicitly implies the importance of the Netherlandish school within the collection. 13 Netherlandish paintings hung in the Royal Bedchamber in the Łazienki Palace, which indicates at his personal appreciation of them. Since the Bedchamber was viewed by the visitors of the palace, it might have been the case that also the private rooms were arranged in the light of the royal self-fashioning. Furthermore, 27 Netherlandish pictures were located in the Picture Gallery, the most frequently visited place of the Palace on the Isle, meant for display of the masterpieces. It is possible that the Gallery served the king as a tool in his self-fashioning as the Enlightened monarch, and Dutch and Flemish pieces forming forty percent of the exhibited objects, might have been an element of this concept.

The third factor revealing the importance that was attached to the Netherlandish paintings, is the relatively high value paid for them. 45 Netherlandish pieces were estimated between 100 and 500 ducats.

The second chapter focussed on the questions: Who was Stanisław August, to what extent does his patronage and collecting testify to his attempts at self-fashioning and how did he form his Netherlandish painting collection?

Educated in the spirit of aristocratic European pattern with the emphasis on travels abroad, Stanisław August knew the cultural and artistic models and fashions in Europe and attempted to implement them in his own country. He organized intellectuals' meetings, supported development of the writing on the national history, of the Polish literature as well as the Polish language. Additionally, he formed the Royal Library and Picture Gallery, mentored the education of young Polish artists and planned to found the Academies of Art and of Science. The king also did his best to restore European perception about Poland, striving for connections with the European elite and for approval of his cultural activities. These efforts support the idea that he might have aimed to be perceived as Enlightened monarch. His possible success in that is demonstrated by his contact with Voltaire, who named the last Polish king as one of the Northern Enlightened monarchs.

Various cultural undertakings and artistic patronage confirm Poniatowski's awareness of the fact that the expertise and patronage of arts could improve the monarch's status. This awareness explains Stanisław August's involvement in collecting activity at the European art market. He not only purchased through the brokerage of art dealers and bankers but also gave a complex commission to

Desenfans, meant to build up a collection that could be displayed in the context of a national gallery/museum. The fact that Poniatowski wished to provide his nation with a museum, may indicate that he identified himself within the role of the Enlightened monarch. The large number of Netherlandish paintings collected in the context of Desenfans' commission may imply their important role for the planned museum, however, it seems more plausible that this was a reflection of the content of the contemporary art market, rather than the ideological conviction towards Netherlandish art.

In the third chapter, Poniatowski's interest in Netherlandish art was placed within the context of other contemporary monarchical collections in Europe. It was aimed to answer the question: Which European Netherlandish painting collections did Poniatowski relate to in terms of imitation and emulation and can Poniatowski's Netherlandish painting collection be seen as exceptional in comparison to those collections?

Because the scope of the analysis was court collecting culture and the idea of self-fashioning as Enlightened monarchs, Poniatowski's collection was compared with the collections of August II and August III in Dresden and of Catherine the Great in Saint Petersburg, since they were formed in a comparable context. There were also some political, ideological, personal and geographical reasons justifying this choice. The relation between Dresden and Warsaw courts was established by the reigns of the Saxon dynasty in Poland before the ruling of Poniatowski. Additionally, Bacciarelli previously worked at the Dresden court and might have brought the influences from there to Warsaw.

Both August II and August III collected according to their desire to form a collection of representative, universal character, consisting of examples from all valuable painting schools with their stylistic variety. This idea fits in the context of fashioning one's reputation as Enlightened monarch, which might have been considered important by the Dresden rulers. Netherlandish paintings in the collection of August II had a dominant position, while August III preferred the Italian school, although it was equally represented in his collection as the Netherlandish one. These patterns and proportions can be explained by the influence of the Electors' artistic advisors and agents.

Due to the narrower resources, it seems implausible that Poniatowski aimed to emulate the Saxon rulers' collections. They might have rather inspired him. Possibly, the Polish king adopted the idea that the well-functioning court with an accent on collecting would be helpful in fashioning of a reputation as an Enlightened monarch or at least as a successful monarch. For this reason, Poniatowski might have imitated his Dresden predecessors in an attempt to form a universal collection with representation for all significant painting schools.

In line with the last argument, Poniatowski's collection cannot be considered as exceptional in comparison to the Dresden examples. Like Poniatowski, August II and August III placed Netherlandish painting at the prominent position in their collections.

The Russian and Polish courts were connected by the personal contact of Catherine II and Poniatowski, due to her support of his election and their political contact after the coronation. In addition, through the time spent in Saint Petersburg before his reign, Poniatowski might have been influenced by the Enlightenment ideas of Peter the Great and his fascination for Netherlandish art.

Dutch and Flemish art formed a substantial part of the collection of Catherine II. Her predilection for Flemish masters might have been moved by the general trends among the French and Italian collectors while her interest in Dutch painters might have been motivated by her German roots and adaptation of Peter the Great's ideas. Another factor explaining the dominant position of Netherlandish paintings in Catherine's collection is the outcome of the efforts of her agents and previous collectors.

The collecting activity of Catherine the Great and Stanisław August reveal similarities both in general aspects and in their particular interest in Dutch and Flemish artists. It is possible that in both collections a well-represented Netherlandish school was an element of the self-fashioning as Enlightened monarchs, however, little concrete indications supporting that idea are found. Because of this possible ideological similarity and also other political, geographical and personal motives, Poniatowski seems to relate to Catherine's collection in terms of imitation. He might have probably perceived her as a prosperous monarch and tried to promote his country as a cultured place, open for Western Europe, in the same way as she did. Due to limited financial resources, Poniatowski was rather unable to emulate the Russian Empress in her collecting. With regard to preferences within Dutch and Flemish schools, no exceptional choices have been observed by Poniatowski, in comparison to Catherine.

The goal of the fourth chapter was to analyse different kinds of written sources and other phenomena, in order to answer the question: How can the reception of Netherlandish art in the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth be defined, based on the contemporary written sources and other phenomena, and what was the role of the last Polish king? The analysis has shown that Poniatowski's predilection for Netherlandish art stemmed from several factors.

First, relevant passages from Poniatowski's diaries reveal that his predilection for Netherlandish art was possibly shaped by his youthful travels to the Netherlands, his stay in Paris, in particular at the salons of Madame Geoffrin. It is very likely that Poniatowski was willing to follow the general cultural trends of Enlightened European intellectual circles, also his collecting was based on the models established there.

Second, available purchase offers of the Netherlandish pictures presented to the Polish king teaches about elements, wording and expressions that would have encouraged him to make certain acquisitions. The descriptions of the *fijnschilders'* and Italianate (to a lesser extent) paintings emphasized their formal aspects, while the descriptions of history pieces by Antwerp masters were less elaborate, as rather their subject matter was underlined.

Third, both the drawing and engraving collection (in which Dutch and Flemish examples were dominant) and the commissions to the court painters and students, suggest Poniatowski's valuation of Netherlandish art. The Polish king's collecting of drawings and engravings was not remarkable in comparison to other eighteenth-century royal and aristocratic collections, however, his role in collecting drawings was pioneering in Poland. Two types of commissions related to the Netherlandish art (copies of Netherlandish works and paintings inspired by features/techniques of concrete Netherlandish painters) further implicitly imply its importance in the king's eyes.

Fourth, Stanisław August's predilection for the Netherlandish painting is indicated by the selection of the masterpieces ordered to be taken to Grodno, as it included many Dutch and Flemish examples.

The memoirs of foreigners travelling to Warsaw not only give an indication of foreign perception about Poniatowski's expertise and valuation of Netherlandish painting but also possibly point to the king's successful fashioning of his reputation as the Enlightened monarch.

Sources related to contemporaries within the circle of Stanisław August reveal their appreciation of Netherlandish art. Moszyński and Kostka Potocki seemed to prefer the art of Rubens and Van Dyck, which can be explained by their interest in antiquity, travels to Italy and respect for the rules of decorum. Poniatowski's contemporaries also gave much esteem to *fijnschilders*, Italianate landscapists and flower still-life painters because of their fine use of brushwork and meticulous technique.

Through Bacciarelli and Norblin, a particular interest in the art of Rembrandt can be discerned. Bacciarelli advised the king to take his Rembrandts in case of potential move to Rome, whereas Norblin made his own interpretations of Rembrandt's pictures and adopted rembrandtesque features in his studies of the Polish types. By this Norblin made his oeuvre and the style of Rembrandt more familiar and attractive for the Polish collectors and contributed to the popularity of Rembrandt's art in Poland.

Writings of Krasicki and Niemcewicz reveal no preferences within Netherlandish art. Niemcewicz was fascinated by the Netherlands as a place where the arts flourished and listed Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt and Peter Brueghel as the most important Netherlandish painters. His positive reception of the Netherlands and the attitude towards art (sharing similarities with the convictions of Peter the Great's fascination for the modernity of the Dutch Republic and its art), was presumably shaped within the circle of the Polish intellectual elite and accordingly shared amongst its members. This supports the idea that Netherlandish art might have been one of the relevant factors in the royal self-fashioning as the Enlightened monarch.

Krasicki's inclusion of headwords on Rembrandt and Rubens in his encyclopaedia and naming of Rubens and Van Dyck in his satirical poem, testify to the popularity of these artists in Poland. Recognition and appreciation of the art of these and also other Netherlandish artists is unveiled in the aforementioned diaries,

purchase offers, catalogue descriptions, art historical texts, commissions, print collections and artist's oeuvre (of Norblin). Whilst admiration of the Flemish artists like Rubens and Van Dyck seems to be established in the eighteenth-century Poland, the recognition of Rembrandt was still in the process of forming. Due to the employment of Norblin, who worked in the rembrandtesque style, the acquisitions of numerous paintings attributed to Rembrandt and his circle, as well as their display in the most prominent places such as the Picture Gallery of the Palace on the Isle, it seems justifiable to state that Stanisław August contributed to the burgeoning positive reception of Rembrandt in Poland.

Although eighteenth-century artistic life in Europe was oriented towards France and Italy, (mostly seventeenth-century) Dutch and Flemish art was also collected on a relatively large scale among European aristocratic and royal collectors. However, while the popularity of Netherlandish art fluctuated, the analysis of the collections of August II and August III in Dresden as well as of Catherine the Great in Saint Petersburg reveals that Netherlandish art had an important and dominant position within them. Therefore, and for other reasons given in the thesis, it cannot be stated that Stanisław August's predilection for Netherlandish painting was exceptional in the context of cultural and historical developments of eighteenth-century Europe.

With regard to Poland, Poniatowski was not the first monarch who collected Netherlandish art. The Vasa House also attached much value to this painting school. However, the scale and manner in which Stanisław August collected (for instance in terms of his acquisition policy and manner of exhibition), significantly overshadow the activities of his seventeenth-century predecessors. For this reason and in the light of the historical-political situation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Poniatowski's interest in Netherlandish painting, as far as the scale at which he collected it as well as his contribution to popularising of the art of Rembrandt in Poland, can be called exceptional.

Several factors suggest that Stanisław August was well acquainted with the concept of Enlightened despotism and that he attempted to build his reputation as an Enlightened monarch. It is most visible in the importance that he attached to his artistic patronage and collecting activity, as described in the second chapter. Analysis of primary written sources supports the idea that Poniatowski might have succeeded in fashioning himself as the Enlightened monarch (for instance Krasicki's dedication may indicate that). This is furthermore confirmed by Voltaire's enumeration of the Polish king between Enlightened monarchs of the North.

In light of several factors, Poniatowski's predilection for Netherlandish painting may be interpreted as one of the relevant factors in the concept of the king's self-fashioning as Enlightened monarch. These main aspects, as outlined in this thesis, are: the general opinion of the Polish intellectual elite about the Netherlands as the place where the arts flourished (expressed by Niemcewicz), the Netherlandish paintings' prominent exhibition in the most important rooms of the royal palaces, the dominant position of the Netherlandish examples in the collection gathered for the king by Desenfans as well as Poniatowski's imitation of collecting patterns observed

by Catherine the Great (as an example of a prosperous monarch). The analysis has shown that the relation between the aforementioned phenomena and the concept of self-fashioning as an Enlightened monarch is possible, however no definitive evidence ultimately testify to this idea. It must be borne in mind that there existed other relevant factors explaining Poniatowski's predilection for Netherlandish painting, for instance, general collecting trends of eighteenth-century Europe, the wide availability of Netherlandish paintings in the European market and the idea that one should comply with the ruling taste to prove its affiliation with the nobility.⁸³⁴

⁸³⁴ An interesting subject related to Stanisław August's predilection for Netherlandish paintings, that may be further researched, is a possible connection between court ceremonials and location of Dutch and Flemish artworks.

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Illustrations



1. Marcello Bacciarelli, *Portrait of Anna Teofilia Sapieha Potocka* (detail), ca. 1780-1783, oil on canvas, 92,6 x 71,5 cm, Royal Łazienki Museum, Warsaw.



2. Adam Braun after Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Hélène Fourment (1614-1673) in a fur coat*, 2nd half of XVIII cent., oil on panel, 50,6 x 36,5 cm, Royal Łazienki Museum, Warsaw.



3. After Anthony van Dyck or Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Jean-Charles de Cordes*, ca. 1618-1622, oil on panel, 104,9 x 75,5 cm, Royal Łazienki Museum, Warsaw.



4. After Anthony van Dyck or Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Jacqueline van Caestre*, ca. 1618-1622, oil on panel, 106,3 x 74,9 cm, Royal Łazienki Museum, Warsaw.



5. After Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke and 1st Earl of Montgomery, XVII cent.*, oil on canvas, 77 x 62,8 cm, Royal Łazienki Museum, Warsaw.



6. Justus van Egmont, *Portrait of Marie Louise de Gonzague (1611-1667), the Future Queen of Poland, 1645*, oil on canvas, 228 x 145 cm, National Museum in Warsaw, Warsaw.



7. Jacob Jordaens, *Satyr Playing a Flute*, ca. 1620-1621, oil on canvas, 64 x 49 cm, Royal Łazienki Museum, Warsaw.



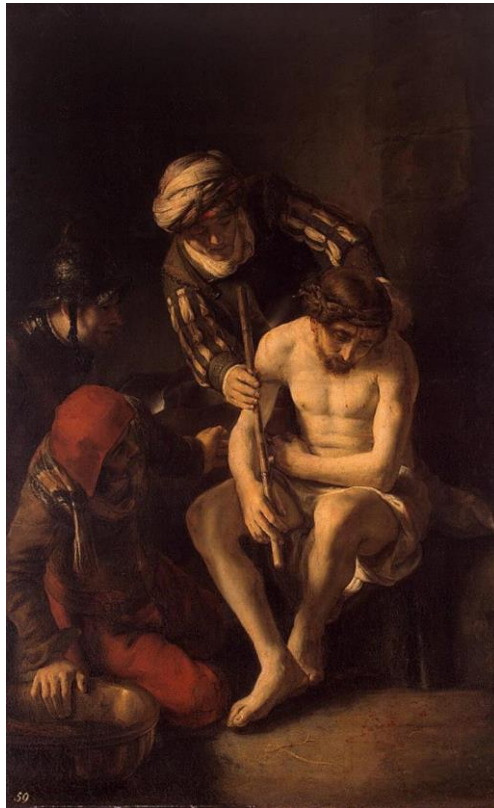
8. After Jacob Jordaens, *Flora, Silenus and Zephyr*, XVIII cent., oil on canvas, 179,5 x 122 cm, Royal Łazienki Museum, Warsaw.



9. Pieter Soutman, *Portrait of a Lady*, 1644, oil on panel, 69 x 58,7 cm, National Museum in Warsaw, Warsaw.



10. Simon de Vos, *Seven Deeds of Mercy*, 1635, oil on panel, 64,6 x 96,6 cm, National Museum in Warsaw, Warsaw.



11. Nicolaes Maes (?), *Mocking of Christ*, 1650s, oil on canvas, 190,5 x 119,5 cm, Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.



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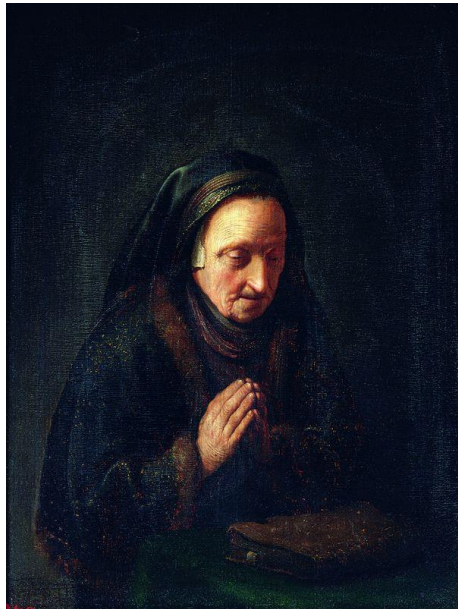
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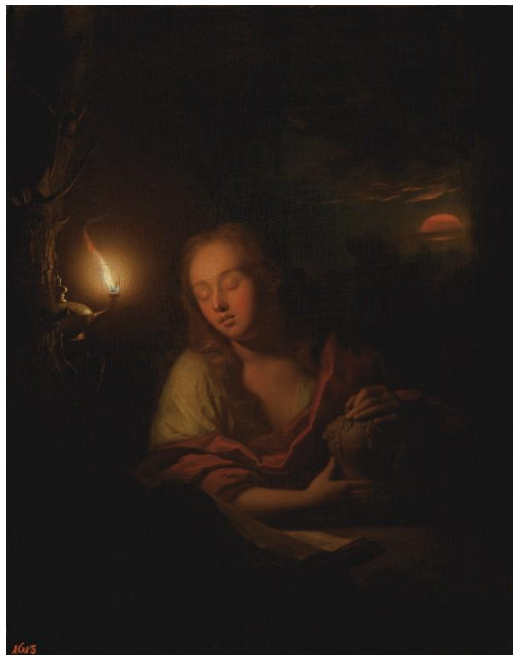
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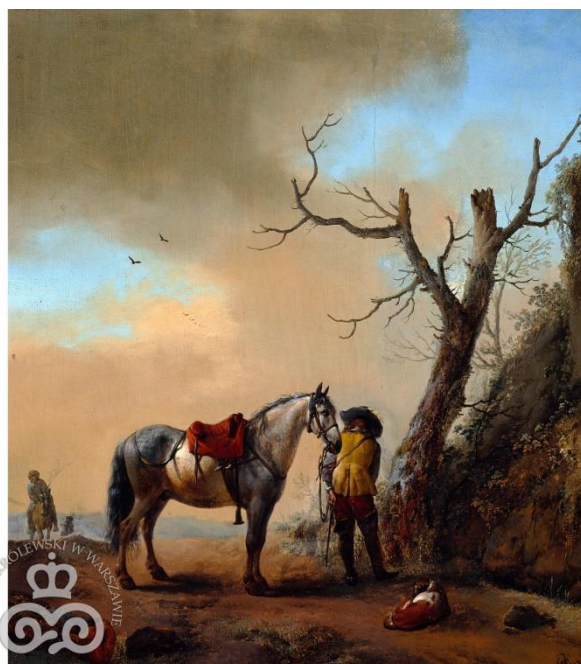
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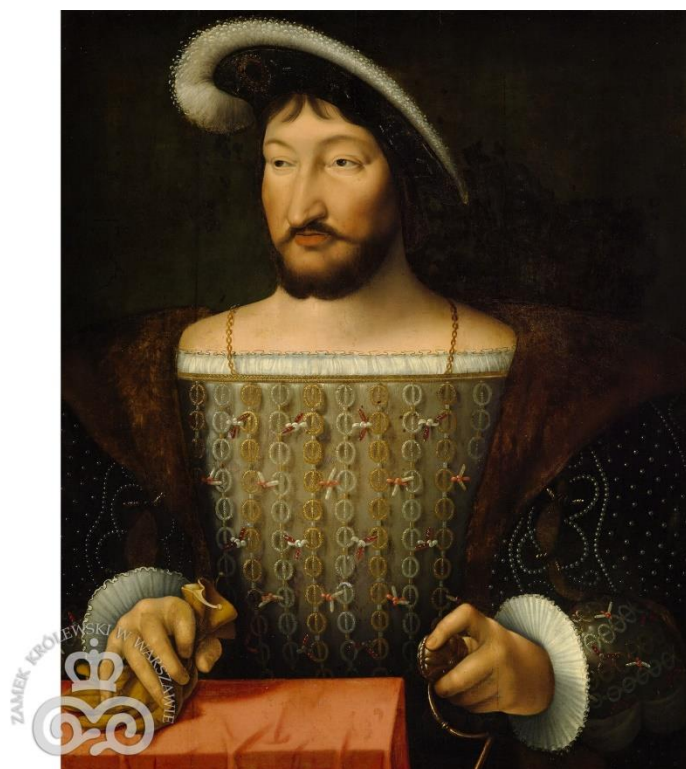
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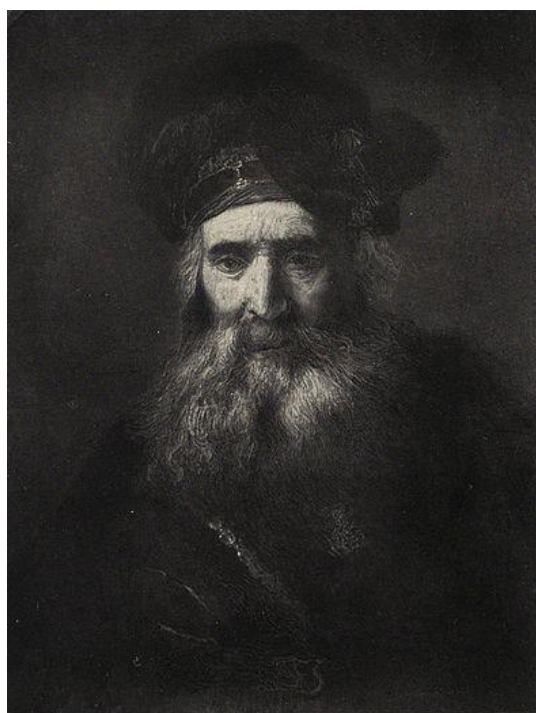
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Retrieved from: https://www.wga.hu/html_m/r/rubens/41portra/09philos.html (12th of February 2018)
108. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, 1635-40, oil on oak, 169,9 x 236,2 cm, National Gallery of Art, London.
Retrieved from: <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/peter-paul-rubens-the-rape-of-the-sabine-women> (12th of February 2018)
109. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Brazen Serpent*, 1635-40, oil on canvas, 186,4 x 264,5 cm, National Gallery of Art, London.
Retrieved from: <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/peter-paul-rubens-the-brazen-serpent> (12th of February 2018)
110. Peter Paul Rubens, *Triumphal Entry of Henry IV into Paris*, 1627-30, oil on canvas, 380 x 692 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
Retrieved from: https://www.wga.hu/html_m/r/rubens/40histor/10triump.html (12th of February 2018)
111. Jean-Pierre Norblin, *Portrait of a Prominent Nobleman*, 1787, etching, 7 x 4,7 cm, National Museum in Cracow, Cracow.
Retrieved from: https://www.europeana.eu/portal/pl/record/92033/BibliographicResource_3000_053548309.html (12th of February 2018)
112. Copy after Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of a Man, Perhaps Rembrandt's Father, Harmen Gerritsz. Van Rijn*, after ca. 1634, oil on canvas on panel, 62,5 x 49 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
Retrieved from: <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/SK-A-358> (12th of February 2018)
113. Jean-Pierre Norblin, *Mazepa*, XVIII/XIX cent., etching, 9,2 x 8,5 cm, National Museum in Cracow, Cracow.
Retrieved from: https://www.europeana.eu/portal/pl/record/92033/BibliographicResource_3000_053548268.html (12th of February 2018)

114. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Old Man with Beard and High Turban (A Rabbi)*, ca. 1635, oil on panel, 71,5 x 55 cm, private collection (earlier in the collection of Earl of Derby in London).
Retrieved from: <https://useum.org/artwork/Old-man-with-beard-and-high-turban-Rembrandt> (12th of February 2018)
115. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The rat-poison seller*, 1632, etching, 14 x 12,5 cm, Teylers Museum, Haarlem.
Retrieved from: <https://collections.artsmia.org/art/55086/the-rat-poison-peddler-rembrandt-harmensz-van-rijn> (12th of February 2018)
116. Jean-Pierre Norblin, *The rat-poison seller*, 1781, etching, 10,8 x 5,6 cm, National Museum in Cracow, Cracow.
Retrieved from: https://www.europeana.eu/portal/pl/record/92033/BibliographicResource_3000053568513.html (12th of February 2018)
117. Jean-Pierre Norblin, *Man with Crutches, "Orlandini"*, 1787, etching, 9,9 x 7,8 cm, Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis (Minnesota).
Retrieved from: <https://collections.artsmia.org/art/105123/man-with-crutches-orlandini-jean-pierre-norblin-de-la-gourdain> (12th of February 2018)
118. Jean-Pierre Norblin, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1776, etching, 18,4 x 23,2 cm, Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis (Minnesota).
Retrieved from: <https://collections.artsmia.org/art/121349/susanna-and-the-elders-jean-pierre-norblin-de-la-gourdain> (12th of February 2018)
119. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Landscape with the Good Samaritan*, 1638, oil on oak panel, 46,2 x 65,5 cm, National Museum in Cracow, Cracow.
Retrieved from: https://www.wga.hu/html_m/r/rembrand/31landsc/04landsc.html (12th of February 2018)

Table 1 – The 1795 catalogue

| Number in the 1795 catalogue | Historical attribution | Later / current attribution | Identified/ Unidentified | Dutch / Flemish/ Netherlandish / Uncertain | Artist's name in the 1795 catalogue | Description in the 1795 catalogue | Value of the object (in ducats) | Place of display in the royal collection | Measure (in inches) |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|--|---------------------|
| 1 | Flemish school | Beyeren, Abrahamvan | Unidentified | F | Not given | Un corbeille de raisans avec une assiette d'huitres ouvertes, ainsi qu'un citron, une orange et des petits pains, - de l'ecole flamande | 36 (12, 15) | Łazienki (61) | 24 x 47 |
| 2 | Flemish school | Beyeren, Abrahamvan | Unidentified | F | Not given | Un grand bocal a moite plein de vin blanc, des raisins, un citron a moite pelee (!), pres duquel est le couteau - son pendent | 36 (12, 15) | Łazienki (61) | 24 x 47 |
| 3 | Not given | Aelst, Willem van (follow er) | Identified | D | Not given | Un faison sur une table, au dessus sont suspendus un coque (!), une perdrix et des petits oiseaux, original | 30 (20, 10) | Łazienki (25) | 42 x 29 |
| 4 | Not given | Dutch painters, XVII /XVIII cent. | Identified | D | Not given | Une jeune lievre suspendu a un arbre, au dessous on y voit un grand et un petit oiseau - son pedent (w ith no. 3) | 25 (8, 20) | Łazienki (25) | 42 x 29 |
| 6 | Huysum, Jan van | | Unidentified | D | JEAN VAN HUYSSUM | Deux tableaux de diverses fleurs dans des vases, ornee (!) de basrelief (du dernier fini et des plus beaux qu'ait fait cet habile maitre KB) | 350 (100) | Łazienki (37), Royal Castle (20) | 31 x 24 |
| 7 | Huysum, Jan van | | Unidentified | D | JEAN VAN HUYSSUM | Deux tableaux de diverses fleurs dans des vases, ornee (!) de basrelief (du dernier fini et des plus beaux qu'ait fait cet habile maitre KB) | 400 (120) | Łazienki (37), Royal Castle (20) | 31 x 24 |
| 8 | Hondecoeter, Melchior de | | Identified | D | MELCHIOR HONDEKOETER | Sur le devant une poule hupee avec ses poussins; sur une hauteur est un faisan et une poule et dans le lotain e[s]t un paon et sa famelle, original | 120 (100, 60) | Łazienki (37) | 32 x 39 |
| 9 | Hondecoeter, Melchior de | | Identified | D | MELCHIOR HONDEKOETER | (Du meme maitre KB). Deux coques (!) et une poule avec ses poussins sur le devant; plus haut un pigeon et une hupe, original | 120 (60, 100) | Łazienki (37) | 32 x 39 |
| 13 | Rubens, Peter Paul | | Unidentified | F | RUBENS | Chasse d'un cerf, dans le fond deux hommes et une femme a cheval tachent (!) de devancer e cerf, qui est sur le devant et qui a terasse trois chiens | 150 (60) | Łazienki (50 (37)) | 26 x 37 |

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|----|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|--------------------|---|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 14 | Wouwerman, Philips | | Unidentified | D | PHILIPPE WOWERMENS | Recontre de cavallerie, deux cuirassiers se battent; l'un est monte sur un cheval blanc; aupres duquel deux fantassins tachent de demonter un cavalier; sur le cote dans le fond on voit un trompette qui sonne la charge | 250 (350, 300) | Łazienki (30) | 20 x 27 |
| 15 | Steen, Jan | Steen, Jan | Identified | D | STEEL | L'apothicaire ambulant (ay[ant] sa pharmacie sur la table, pres duquel est assise une femme a laquelle il donne quelques drogues, hors de la chambre l'on voit dans le fond une vieille (!) KJ) | 30 (40) | Łazienki (43) | 22 x 18 |
| 19 | Brueghel the Elder, Jan | | Unidentified | F | BRUGEL DE VELOURS | Paysage, trois soldats a cheval et trois a pied sont sur le devant; plus loin deux hommes sont assis au pied d'un arbre et deux autres dans l'attitude de marcher | 20 (8, 10) | Łazienki (49) | 13 x 17,5 |
| 21 | Brueghel the Elder, Jan | | Unidentified | F | BRUGEL DE VELOURS | Paysage, voleurs attaquant des voyageurs | 6 | Łazienki (66b (45)) | 12 x 19,5 |
| 26 | Wtewael, Joachim (?) | | Unidentified | D | UCHTERVELL | Musicien hollandais, une femme sur les genoux d'un homme tient un bocal rempli de vin rouge; sur le cote un musicien joue du violon; dans le fond l'on voit une vieille femme, original | 10 (30, 70, 90) | Łazienki (31 (29)) | 19 x 17,75 |
| 35 | Dou, Gerard | Dou, Gerard (?) | Identified | D | Not given | Demie figure d'une vieille (femme a mi corps KB) vetue de noir, avec un bonnet blanc, ainsi qu'une large fraise au col, tenant un mouchoir blanc de la main gauche. (Elle est la mere de ce peintre; tableau delicatement peint et bien termine KB) | 36 (25) | Łazienki (31 (32)) | 6,5 x 5,5 |
| 37 | Not given | Slingelandt, Pieter Cornelisz. van | Identified (w artimeloss) | D | Not given | Portrait d'homme debout (!) vetu d'une robe de chambre violette, tete nue, one main sur la portrine, l'autre sur un livre, ou il y a une tete de mort gravee, on voit dans le fond une sphere celeste | 10 (5, 12) | Łazienki (30) | 9,75 x 7,5 |
| 38 | Metsu, Gabriel | Metsu, Gabriel | Identified | D | GABRIEL MEZIUS | Laveuse hollandaise, une cruche est accrochee au mur; dessous une jatte de bois avec du savon noir, ce tableau peint sur bois est d'une touche large et fiere et d'un fini precieux | 40 (125) | Łazienki (37) | 9,5 (9,25) x 8,5 |
| 39 | Rubens, Peter Paul (school of) | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE DE RUBENS | Une fete, des hommes et des femmes dansent en rond et des Amours voltigent au dessus d'eux | 125 | Łazienki (37) | 19 (22) x 33,5 (37) |
| 40 | Vos, Simon de | Vos, Simon de | Identified | F | SIMON DE VOOS | Les oeuvres de Misericorde, a droite un homme distribue du ain a des pauvres, dans le milieu on soigne des malades, plus loin on enterre des morts | 10 (30,70) | Łazienki (37) | 23 x 35 |

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|----|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|---|---------------------|---|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 41 | Poelenburgh, Cornelis van | Poelenburgh, Cornelis van | Identified | D | CORNEILLE POLEMBURG | Paysage, sur le devant a droite sont deux femmes endormies, a gauche deux paysans viennent vers elles, derriere l'on decouvre des ruines, peint sur cuivre | 60 (25) | Łazienki (37) | 8,5 x 11 |
| 42 | Borch, Gerard (II) ter | Borch, Gerard (II) ter | Identified | D | TERBURG | Un officier assis ecrivant; pres de lui est un trompette debout, qui attend la lettre | 125 (80, 200) | Łazienki (31) | 20 x 15 |
| 43 | Given as non-Dutch/-Flemish | Bol, Ferdinand | Identified | D | DIETRICH | Homme a mi corps avec des moustaches vetu de brun et coeiffe de noir | 25 (12) | Łazienki (30 (34)) | 10 x 9 |
| 45 | Wouw erman, Philips | Wouw erman, Philips | Identified | D | PHILIPPE WOWERMENS | Un homme et une femme lesquels examinent un monument antique, derriere eux l'on voit un homme et un cheval blanc | 60 (25, 80) | Łazienki (30 (37)) | 11 x 12 |
| 46 | Dyck, Philip van | Dyck, Philip van | Identified | D | PHILIPPE VAN DYCK | Une femme vetue de bleu appuyee sur un coussin de velour cramoisi, elle tient un papier et paroit ecouter un homme qui joue du violon et qui est preillement appuye sur un coussin de velour bleu | 50 | Łazienki (30 (29)) | 17 x 20 |
| 47 | Flinck, Govaert | Flinck, Govaert (after) | Identified | D | GEOFFROY FLINK | Demi figure d'un homme assis a barbe blanche et vetu (!) de bleu avec bonnet rouge sur la tete, peint sur bois | 50 (20,18) | Łazienki (34) | 15 x 11,5 |
| 48 | Vois, Ary de | Vois, Ary de | Identified | D | ARY DE VOYS | Acteon sur le devant du tableau avec trois chiens, dans le fond a gauche on voit dans une grotte Dianne avec ses Nymphes | 50 (160) | Łazienki (30 (37)) | 10,5 x 17 |
| 49 | Werff, Adriaen van der | Werff, Adriaen van der (after) | Identified | D | VANDER VERF | Loth et ses filles (une sur le devant est peint en clair; ouvrage d'un beau coloris et delicatement fini KB) peint sur bois | 100 (60) | Łazienki (31 (32)) | 14,5 x 11,5 |
| 50 | Rembrandt van Rijn | | Identified | D | REMBRANDT | Viellard a mi corps vetu de noir il a la barbe blanche et regarde en haut, peint sur bois | 30 (15) | Łazienki (34) | 13,5 x 10,5 |
| 51 | Rembrandt van Rijn | | Identified | D | REMBRANDT | (P. sur bois, du meme KB) Jeune homme vetu (!) a l'espagnol en habit vert ayant la main gantee, ainsi qu'une large fraise et un chapeau noir sur la tete, peint sur bois | 50 (20) | Łazienki (34 (32)) | 10 x 8,5 (8,75) |
| 52 | Dou, Gerard (school of) | | Unidentified | D | MATOW | Presentation de l'Enfant Jesus au temple, un chien flaire les pigeons que Joseph a apporte (!) en offrande - peint sur bois | 36 (40) | Łazienki (50 (37)) | 8,5 (8,75) x 11 |
| 53 | Brouwer, Adriaen | | Unidentified | F | ADRIEN BRAUER | Tabagie, sur le devant un homme en manteau tient un pot d'etain d'une main et une verre de l'autre et sur la gauche une autre personne appuyee sur une table lit la gazette - sur bois | 100 (50) | Łazienki (31) | 13,5 (13,75) x 10 |

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|-----|--------------------------------------|--|--------------|---|-----------------|--|---------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 54 | Given as non-Dutch/-Flemish | Bol, Ferdinand | Identified | D | DIETRICH | Femme a mi corps vetu (!) de brun avec une chaine enrichie des pierreries ayant des perles au col et aux oreilles, ainsi que sur la tete (elle a les cheveux noirs KB) | 25 | Łazienki (34) | 11 x 8,5 (8,75) |
| 55 | Metsu, Gabriel | Metsu, Gabriel (replica or copy after) | Identified | D | GABRIEL METZIUS | Un homme assis tient une cruche d'une main et une pipe de l'autre, un chien a taches blanches et jaunes est aupres de lui - peint sur bois (tableau d'une touche fiere et d'un precieux fini KB) | 40 (125) | Łazienki (30) | 8,5 (8,25) x 7,5 (7,25) |
| 56 | Metsu, Gabriel | Slingelandt, Pieter Cornelisz. van | Identified | D | GABRIEL METZIUS | Une femme en pied, habillee couleur de noisette avec bordure noire, appuyee sur une balustrade et tenant une rose (ouvrage fini avec la plus grande delicatesse KB) | 16 (10, 12) | Łazienki (30) | 10 x 8 |
| 58 | Vois, Ary de | Vois, Ary de | Identified | D | ARY DE VOYS | Tableau allegorique, ou se trouve le portrait du Grand Electeur de Brandebourg, peint sur bois | 125 (70) | Łazienki (29) | 18 x 16,5 |
| 75 | Bol, Ferdinand | Victors, Jan | Identified | D | FERDINAND BOLL | Jacob a qui on apporte la robe ensablantee de son fils Joseph. Rachel est sur la porte, une autre femme regarde par la fenetre; les trois autres personnages sont dehors | 100 (50, 150) | Łazienki (37) | 34 x 52 |
| 77 | Luyckx, Carstian; Teniers David (II) | Luyckx, Carstian; Teniers David (II) | Identified | F | Not given | Tableau de fleurs (par Carstan Lucke KB) dans le milieu le tems (peint par Dav. Teniers KB) tient un sablier, la figure paroit de Teniers, original | 100 (80) | Łazienki (30 (12)) | 26 (26,5) x 20,5 |
| 79 | Honthorst, Gerrit van | | Unidentified | D | HONTCHORST | Concert de 3 personnes, un homme joue du violon, une femme de la guitare, un homme derriere tient un verre (et ils chantent tous les trois KB) | 80 | Łazienki (31) | 35 x 49 |
| 82 | Berchem, Nicolaes | Berchem, Nicolaes (follower) | Identified | D | BERGHEM | Paysage, une femme est sur le devant, un homme fait tremper dans un ruisseau une botte de chanvre | 36 | Łazienki (34) | 28 x 24 |
| 83 | Rubens, Peter Paul | | Unidentified | F | RUBENS | Paysage, on y voit un ruisseau a droite, des montagnes a gauche; et un homme qui traverse un petit pont, sur bois | 80 (40, 25) | Łazienki (30) | 25 x 20 |
| 84 | Flemish school | Victors, Jan | Identified | D | Not given | Esau vendant son droit d'ainesse, le plat de lentilles sur la table, il y a aussi un lievre, ils sont dans l'attitude de conclure le marche, en se frappant dans la main. Ecole flamande | 50 (250) | Łazienki (34) | 38 x 49 |
| 93 | Not given | Jordaens, Jacob (after) | Identified | F | Not given | Silene tenant une corbeille de raisins et accompagne de deux bacchantes, copie | 10 (5, 15) | Łazienki (39) | 69 x 48 |
| 107 | Wouwerman, Philips | | Unidentified | D | WOWERMENS | Paysage vue d'hiver, a gauche l'on voit un bois avec un batiment au milieu, sur bois | 16 (8) | Łazienki (49) | 9 x 13 |

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|-----|---|-------------------------------------|--------------|---|-------------------------------|---|----------------|----------------------------------|-------------|
| 123 | Ostade, Adriaen van | | Unidentified | D | OSTADE | Tabagie, 3 hommes sont assis pres d'une table, sur bois | 20 (12) | Łazienki (50 (49)) | 10 x 8 |
| 124 | Not given | Troost, Cornelis (in the style of) | Unidentified | F | Not given | Femme vetu (!) de noir assis (!) pres d'une table, ayant une large fraise au col et un petit chien (est KB) aupres d'elle | 25 (15) | Łazienki (50) | 15 x 12 |
| 126 | Not given | Mieris the Elder, Frans van (after) | Identified | D | Not given | Vielle femme vetue de rouge coeffee d'un bonnet blanc et tenant un pot de fleurs (mouchoir blanc sur le col et un bonnet blanc KB) | 12 | Łazienki (50 (46)) | 10 x 8 |
| 135 | Dou, Gerard | | Unidentified | D | GERARD DOU | Interieur d'une maison, ou l'on voit Tobie endormi, sa femme aupres de lui file au rouet, a la droite est une pompe et sur la gauche dans le fond un escalier, sur bois (tableau bien termine KB) | 100 (18, 200) | Łazienki (34 (37)) | 17,5 x 20 |
| 137 | Rembrandt van Rijn | Bol, Ferdinand | Identified | D | REMBRANDT | Dans le tableau est écrit le nom Ferdinand Bol. Vielle femme à mi corps assise (à droite KB), vetuè de noir avec un bonnet blanc, ayant les mains l'une sur l'autre | 150 (100, 400) | Łazienki (29 (34)) | 30 x 20 |
| 140 | Bol, Ferdinand | Rembrandt van Rijn (after) | Identified | D | FERDINAND BOL | St. Pierre agenouille, se repentant d'avoir renie son maitre (tableau d'un grand fini KB) | 100 | Łazienki (30 (34)) | 24 x 19 |
| 143 | Dou, Gerard | Dou, Gerard (?) | Identified | D | GERARD DOU | Homme a mi corps, vetu de noir, tete nue, cheveux bruns | 20 (30) | Łazienki (32 (37)) | 6,75 x 5,25 |
| 149 | Rembrandt van Rijn | Rembrandt van Rijn (follow er) | Identified | D | REMBRANDT (later crossed out) | Portrait a mi corps d'un jeune homme; dont les cheveux bruns couvrent le front | 15 | Łazienki (29 (50)) | 14 x 11,5 |
| 156 | Berchem, Nicolaes | Soolmaker, Jan Frans | Identified | D | BERGHEM | Paysage, a droite une femme est sur un ane et un homme tient une vache par les cornes, a la gauche une femme file, et differents animaux remplissent le tableau | 100 (60) | Royal Castle (2), Łazienki (34) | 22 x 29 |
| 157 | Ostade, Adriaen van | | Unidentified | D | OSTADE | Buveur assis, pressant de ses deux mains une cruche contre son estomac (tableau d'un fini delicat KB) | 12 | Łazienki (30 (60)) | 8 x 7 |
| 158 | Flemish school | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE FLAMMANDE | Buveur assis, tenant de la main gauche un verre plein de vin rouge, et le droite une bouteille | 12 | Łazienki (30 (60)) | 8 x 7 |
| 159 | Poelenburgh, Cornelis van (in the style of) | | Unidentified | D | MANIERE DE POLEMBOURG | Paysage ou l'on voit des Nymphes se baigner | 12 | Royal Castle (21), Łazienki (72) | 4,75 x 6,5 |
| 160 | Poelenburgh, Cornelis van (in the style of) | | Unidentified | D | MANIERE DE POLEMBOURG | Paysage ou l'on voit Jupiter pres de Calliste | 12 | Royal Castle (21), Łazienki (72) | 4,75 x 6,5 |
| 162 | Rembrandt van Rijn (school of) | Flinck, Govaert | Identified | D | Not given | Viellard debout, tenant baton, vetu a la hollandoise, avec une petite barbe blanche, le fond est un paysage | 40 (80) | Royal Castle (2) | 34 x 26 |

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|-----|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------|---|----------------------|--|--------------|------------------------|----------------|
| 163 | Rembrandt van Rijn (after) | | Unidentified | D | MLLE DE NEUF GERMAIN | Copie d'apres Rembrandt. Buste (tete KB) d'un jeune homme coeffe d'une espece de tourban, avec une aigrete noire, habille en velours cramoisi, double de zobols | 20 | Łazienki (29 (25)) | 24 x 19 |
| 165 | Flemish school | | Unidentified | F | DE L'ECOLE FLAMMANDE | Buste d'un Quaker, sur bois | 25 (40) | Łazienki (34 (53)) | 24 x 20 |
| 166 | Bol, Ferdinand | Bol, Ferdinand | Identified | D | FERDINAND BOL | Femme assise, tenant un enfant sur ses genoux, elle a la tête nue, les cheveux noirs, ainsi que l'habit... | 60 (40) | Łazienki (43) | 45 x 35 |
| 167 | Wouwerman, Philips | | Unidentified | D | WOWERMENS | Depart pour la chasse; avec plusieurs figures, entre autres (un palfrenier tient par la bride un cheval selle pour KB) une femme a qui un homme attache les souliers; (derriere est un homme a cheval, un autre pret a y monter; un pauvre ser sur le devant du tableaux (!) KB), sur cuivre | 30 (80) | Łazienki (31) | 14,5 x 13 |
| 168 | Wouwerman, Philips | | Unidentified | D | WOWERMENS | Un homme vetu de rouge tient par la bride un cheval blanc, qu'un cuirassier, qui prend conge d'un viellard, est pret a monter; un trompette est a cheval pres de lui; un autre homme aussi a cheval tient un chien en lesse(!) sur cuivre | 30 (80) | Łazienki (31 (46)) | 14,5 x 12 (13) |
| 169 | Meer, Johan van der | | Unidentified | D | VANDER MIR | Paysage montagneux, sur la gauche une chute d'eau, au bord de laquelle un paysan lie son havresac, plus loin un pastre debout en veste bleue avec un baton sur l'epaule garde son troupeau, maniere de Berghem | 40 | Royal Castle (16) | 19 x 24 |
| 174 | Maas, Dirk | Maas, Dirk (?) | Identified | D | MAAS | Le Siege de Groeningue par Bernard de Galer Eveque de Munster. (Other edition: Dique rompue; on appercoit les ravages de l'eau par les gens que l'on voit perir, maniere flamande KB) | 70 (80, 150) | Royal Castle (20, 46) | 34 x 45 |
| 176 | Rubens, Peter Paul (sketch of) | | Unidentified | F | Esquisse de RUBENS | Presentation de l'Enfant Jesus, 2 enfans sont aupres du G. Pretre, la Vierge et une autre femme tiennent l'Enfant, St. Joseph est aupres et a droite 2 hommes celui de devant vetu de vert, original | 80 (100) | Royal Castle (19 (20)) | 17 x 21 |
| 181 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | D'APRES RUBENS | Portrait de forme octagone de Vladislav IV (de Sigismond KB) Roi de Pologne, il a la Couronne en tete, le sceptre et le globe dans les mains; vetu selon le costume de son temps, d'une etoffe blanche brodee en or. | 10 (20, 72) | Royal Castle (23) | 52 x 40 |

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|-----|------------------------|--------------------|--------------|---|-----------------------------|---|---------|-------------------|-----------|
| 182 | Teniers, David (after) | | Unidentified | F | D'APRES TENIERS | Diverssement flamand, un homme et une femme dansant a la porte d'un cabaret, un autre homme et une femme sont assis sur un banc, aupres d'eux un homme sur un tonneau, joue de la musette | 5 | Royal Castle (20) | 10 x 14 |
| 183 | Teniers, David (after) | | Unidentified | F | COPIE D'APRES TENIERS | Preparatifs pour une noce(!) de village, on couvre une grande table, 4 femmes conduisent la nouvelle mariee qui a la couronne sur la tete, elles sont precedees (!) d'un homme qui joue de la musette | 5 | Royal Castle (20) | 10 x 14 |
| 184 | Hackaert, Jan | | Unidentified | D | HACKAERT | Paysage avec des montagnes, au milieu est une riviere avec deux petits bateaux, un homme et 2 boeufs se trouvent au bord et sur le devant un groupe de 3 femmes et d'un homme, ainsi que plusieurs arbres terminent la droite du tableau | | Not given | 23 x 32 |
| 201 | Jodaens, Jacob (after) | | Unidentified | F | COPIE D'APRES J. JORDANS | Triomphe de Bacchus, il y a 5 hommes et 1 femme (copie d'apres Jacque Jordans KB) | 58 (30) | Royal Castle (7) | 76 x 57 |
| 205 | Hackaert, Jan | | Unidentified | D | JEAN HACKERT | Paysage, sur le devant a gauche un pasteur joue de la musette aupres de 2 femmes; le betail est epars au bord d'un russeau forme par deux chutes d'eau de la montagne qui fait le fond de ce cote, le lointain de la droite represente une campagne | 25 | Łazienki (46) | 23 x 32,5 |
| 207 | Rembrandt van Rijn | Rembrandt van Rijn | Identified | D | REMBRANDT | La mariee Juive debout a mi corps coeffee d'un bonnet de velour noir qui lui fait ombre a moite du visage, ses cheveux lui pendent sur les epaules, ayant les mains sur table | 300 | Łazienki (34) | 39 x 28 |
| 208 | Rembrandt van Rijn | Rembrandt van Rijn | Identified | D | REMBRANDT | Le pere de la mariee; il est a mi corps assis devant une table sur laquelle est un cahier de papier, il tient une plume et semble reflechir sur ce qu'il veut ecrire, il a la barbe et l'habit fourre de zobols | 200 | Łazienki (34) | 39 x 28 |
| 213 | Flemish school | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE FLAMANDE | Portrait oval a mi corps d'un orfevre vetu de noir, tenant un marteau dans la main gauche | 60 | Royal Castle (2) | 37 x 27 |
| 214 | Dyck, Anthony van | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Portrait d'une vieille femme a mi corps vetu (!) de noir un mouchoir blanc sur la gorge et les mains croisees sur la poitrine | 50 (40) | Royal Castle (2) | 37 x 27 |

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|-----|--|--|--------------|---|-----------------------|--|-----------|------------------------|-----------|
| 215 | Snijders, Frans / Rubens, Peter Paul (school of) | | Unidentified | F | SNEYDERS | Marchande de maree, vetue de vert ayant un enfant pres d'elle; devant est une table couverte de toutes sortes de poissons | 60 (40) | Łazienki (53) | 48 x 82 |
| 216 | Snijders, Frans / Jordaens, Jacob (in the style of) | | Unidentified | F | SNEYDERS | Homme portant une corbeille remplie de fruits, devant lui sont differentes especes de gibier, entre autres un cerf, sur la maniere de J. Jordaens | 60 (40) | Łazienki (53 (43)) | 44 x 64 |
| 231 | Rembrandt van Rijn (after) | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Portrait de Rembrandt a mi corps, peint en face, vetu de brun avec un bonnet de meme couleur (sous lequel paroît un peu de bleu KB), copie | 1 | Łazienki (68) | 12 x 10 |
| 235 | Mieris, Frans the Elder / Frans the Younger / Willem | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Portrait du peintre Mieris (Miris KO) vetu de noir avec une chaine d'or au col | 3 | Royal Castle (3) | 14 x 11 |
| 241 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | D'APRES RUBENS | Portrait des 2 fils de Rubens, peint en pied, vetus a l'espagnol, le plus jeune a la tete nue et joue avec un oiseau, l'aine est habille de noir, chapeau sur la tete et un livre sous le bras, trouvee dans Bender par les Russes en 1770 | 20 | Royal Castle (3) | 53 x 32 |
| 244 | Rembrandt van Rijn | | Identified | D | REMBRANDT | L'Ecce homo, un de plus beaux tableaux de ce maitre | 500 (400) | Łazienki (34) | 73 x 47 |
| 294 | Hackaert, Jan | | Unidentified | D | JEAN HACKERT | Paysage, a droite une eau, a gauche un bois, sur le devant un homme a cheval conduit un mulet charge, on y voit aussi 2 femmes dont une est sur un ane, ainsi qu'un toreau et 2 chevres | 25 | Not given | 23 x 32 |
| 299 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | COPIE D'APRES RUBENS | Argus endormi par Mercure (dans l'attitude de tirer son sabre le troupeau est epars derriere eux, un chien est aupres l'Argus KB) | 15 | Royal Castle (16) | 45 x 69 |
| 303 | Everdingen, Allaert (or Cesar Boetius, ?) van | | Unidentified | D | ADRIEN VAN EVERDINGEN | Grand paysage montagneux avec des chutes d'eau et des moulins la gauche est terminee par une montagne et quelques arbres, original | 60 (36) | Royal Castle (20) | 43 x 63 |
| 305 | Berchem, Nicolaes | | Unidentified | D | BERGHEM | Paysage montagneux, a droite est une fontaine, un homme sur un cheval blanc est aupres au milieu une femme montee sur un ane porte un enfant sur son dos, un pasteur est aupres avec son troupeau, original | 36 (60) | Royal Castle (19) | 22 x 29 |
| 358 | Jordaens, Jacob | | Unidentified | F | JACQUES JORDANS | La Nympe Althee trait une chevre, un enfant est aupres d'elle de l'autre cote est un Satyre qui joue du tambour de Basque, original | 140 | Royal Castle (12 (19)) | 60 x 87 |
| 361 | Hackaert, Jan | | Unidentified | D | HACKERT | Paysage, au milieu une chevre blanc (!) | 5 | Royal Castle (3) | 13 x 10,5 |

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|-----|--|-----------------------------------|--------------|---|-------------------------|--|--------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| 362 | Hackaert, Jan | | Unidentified | D | HACKERT | Son pendant (of no. 361) | 5 | Royal Castle (3) | 13 x 10,5 |
| 365 | Brueghel the Elder, Jan | | Unidentified | F | BRUGEL DE VELOURS | Un village, dans le fond un ruisseau serpente dans le milieu, a droite 5 personnes sont dans un bois et autres vetues a l'ancienne sont sur le devant, peint sur cuivre | 12 | Royal Castle (22) | 15 x 20 |
| 375 | Rembrandt van Rijn (school of) / Lievens, Jan | Victors, Jan | Identified | D | DE L'ECOLE DE REMBRANDT | Jacob donnant la benediction aux enfans de Joseph (il est couche et a une de ses mains sur la tete d'un des enfans, Joseph le soutient KB) | 125 | Royal Castle (16) | 49 x 69 |
| 387 | Not given | Dou, Gerard | Identified | D | Not given | Portrait de la mere (!) de Rembrandt les mains jointes et vetue de noir, sur bois | 10 | Łazienki (30) | 11 x 8 |
| 393 | Rembrandt van Rijn (in the style of) | | Unidentified | D | MANIERE DE REMBRANDT | Tete d'une vielle et d'un viellard en face l'une de l'autre (d'apres KB), sur cuivre, original | 8 (10) | Royal Castle (12) | 4,75 x 6,5 |
| 397 | Rembrandt van Rijn | | Unidentified | D | REMBRANDT | Un Juif a mi corps et de face, les deux mains fermees et la barbe blanche, il a sur la tete un bonnet rouge qui lui fait ombre | 20 | Łazienki (26), Belvedere (85) | 25 x 22 |
| 403 | Moucheron, Frederik de | | Unidentified | D | MOUCHERON | Paysage montagnoux (sur bois KB), sur la droite une chute d'eau, et sur le devant un patre qui conduit du betail (5 pieces KB) | 10 | Łazienki (29 (50)) | 10 x 8 |
| 404 | Mieris, Frans the Elder / Frans the Younger / Willem (in the style of) | | Unidentified | D | MANIERE DE MIERIS | Jeune garcon a mi corps, cheveux blonds fonces en habit brun et tenant un pot (de la main gauche, sur bois KB) | 25 | Łazienki (29) | 10 x 8 |
| 406 | Mieris, Frans the Elder / Frans the Younger / Willem / Jordans, L. (? , after) | | Unidentified | U | MIERIS | Tarquin et Lucrece, d'apres L. Jordans (copie d'apres L. Jordans KB) | | a Kozieniec | 45 x 58 |
| 446 | Ostade, Adriaen van (after) | | Unidentified | D | D'APRES OSTADE | Menage hollandois | 5 | Royal Castle (23) | 15,5 x 12 |
| 470 | Hugtenburch, Jan van | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Combat de cavallerie, un cavalier defend son etendart que 2 veulent lui arracher, dans le fond a gauche est une ville fortifiee aupres d'une riviere | 36 | Royal Castle (22) | 34 x 49 |
| 499 | Rembrandt van Rijn (crossed out) / Cuyp, Aelbert / Benjamin Gerritsz. | Rembrandt van Rijn (and workshop) | Identified | D | COEP | Buste d'homme de grandeur naturelle, il a un chapeau sur la tete et porte une large fraise de dentelles (tableau de KB) forme ovale (et artistement traite, peint par Coep KB) | 80 | Łazienki (34) | 26 x 19 |
| 500 | Mierevelt, Michiel van | | Unidentified | D | MIEREVEDT | Portrait de Gerrit Jonas Witzen en chapeau (et deux mains KB) | 40 (20, 100) | Royal Castle (16) | 36 x 30 |
| 501 | Dyck, Anthony van | | Unidentified | F | VANDYCK | Portrait de Cornelis de Graaff Seigneur de Poolsbroch (Poolsbrock KO) | 60 (120) | Łazienki (52) | 36 x 30 |

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|-----|--|-------------------------------------|--------------|---|----------------------------|---|---------|--------------------------------------|---------|
| 502 | Moucheron, Frederik de / Lingelbach, Johannes | Hackaert, Jan (?) | Identified | D | MOUCHERON | Paysage en hauteur, les figures et les chevaux sont de Lingelbach (Engelbach KO) | 75 | Not given | 35 x 30 |
| 504 | Verdussen, Jan Peeter | Verdussen, Jan Peeter | Identified | D | P. VERDUSSEN | Marche aux poissons | 80 | Łazienki (34) | 21 x 26 |
| 505 | Verdussen, Jan Peeter | Verdussen, Jan Peeter | Identified | D | P. VERDUSSEN | Marche de volaille | 80 | Łazienki (34) | 21 x 26 |
| 507 | Brekelenkam, Quiringh van | Brekelenkam, Quiringh van (?) | Identified | D | BRENKLENKAMP | Un hermite, peint sur bois | 45 | Łazienki (34) | 11 x 8 |
| 508 | Eeckhout, Gerbrand van den | | Unidentified | D | ECKHOUT | Portrait a mi corps du poete Scriberius assis et accoude, vetu de noir avec une fraise au col, on voit une main | 6 (10) | Łazienki (45) | 15 x 13 |
| 509 | Velde, Adriaen van de / Velde, Jan (II) van de | | Unidentified | D | VANDER WELDT | Petit paysage, au milieu une vache et un mouton | 8 | Not given | 5 x 4,5 |
| 518 | Wijck, Thomas | Wijck, Thomas | Identified | D | CH. (TH. KB) WYCK | 2 femmes lavent du linge au bord d'un puit, une homme vetu de noir descend un escalier que est aupres | 40 (25) | Łazienki (25) | 16 x 14 |
| 526 | Dyck, Anthony van (after) | | Unidentified | F | D'APRES VAN DYCK | Portrait de Charles I roi d'Angloterre, tete nue, l'ordre en sautoir et vetu de noir (copie KB) | 15 | Royal Castle (22), Łazienki (60) | 46 x 36 |
| 528 | Mieris, Frans the Elder / Frans the Younger / Willem | | Unidentified | D | MIERIS | Une femme vetue de bleu avec trois enfants dont un joue avec un chat | 6 | Belvedere (83), Royal Castle (34) | 56 x 50 |
| 529 | Rembrandt van Rijn (school of) | | Unidentified | D | DE L'ECOLE DE REMBRANDT | La coupe trouvee dans le sac de Benjamin (tableau d'un grand effet de lumiere et d'un coloris vigoureux KB) | 70 | Royal Castle (23) | 40 x 54 |
| 565 | Moor, Carel de | | Unidentified | D | MOOR | Fille cueillant (voulant cuellir KB) une rose est pique(!) par un aspic (serpent KB) | 20 (50) | Royal Castle (3) | 16 x 19 |
| 567 | Rembrandt van Rijn (after) / Norblin, Jean- Pierre | Rembrandt van Rijn (after) | Identified | D | D'APRES REMBRANDT | Joseph et la femme de Putiphar (copie KB) | 10 (15) | Royal Castle (20), Łazienki (72) | 9 x 7,5 |
| 568 | Rubens, Peter Paul | | Unidentified | F | RUBENS | Hercule dechirant un lyon | 12 | Royal Castle (16) | 12 x 16 |
| 569 | Dyck, Anthony van (after) | | Unidentified | F | D'APRES VAN DYCK | Portraits de Charles II et Jacques II | 40 | Royal Castle (22 (12)) | 44 x 50 |
| 570 | Gelder, Aert de | Gelder, Aert de | Identified | D | VANGELDER | Portrait de (peint par KB) lui meme tenant un dessein de son maitre Rembrandt | 40 (15) | Łazienki (43) | 28 x 22 |
| 571 | Helst, Bartholomeus van der (after) | Helst, Bartholomeus van der | Identified | D | D'APRES VAN DER HELST | Portrait de lui meme, tenant le portrait de la Psse d'Orange, mere de Guillaume III Roi de l'Angleterre | 15 | Łazienki (43) | 29 x 25 |
| 574 | Dou, Gerard | | Unidentified | D | GERARD DOU | Un hermite dans une grotte | 20 | Łazienki (30) | 10 x 8 |
| 575 | Witte, Gaspar de | | Unidentified | F | GASPAR DE WITT | Piece de Nuit | 10 | Not given | 9,5 x 8 |

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|-----|---|--|--------------|---|-----------------------|---|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 576 | Potter, Paulus | | Unidentified | D | POTTER | Une femme sur un ane tient un enfant enmaillote | Not given | Not given | 24 x 32 |
| 577 | Beijer, Jan de | | Unidentified | D | DE BEYER | Vue d'Amsterdam, un pont dans le milieu, une tour est derriere, original | 20 (30) | Łazienki (26 (57 G)) | 13 x 15 |
| 578 | Sorgh, Hendrik Martensz. | Sorgh, Hendrik Martensz. | Identified | D | LORGH 1643 | La cuisiniere, un homme pres d'elle tient un panier rempli de poissons, sur bois | 80 (90) | Łazienki (25 (30)) | 17 x 14 |
| 579 | Wouwerman, Philips (after) | | Unidentified | D | D'APRES WOWERMENS | Paysage avec chevaux, des cuirassiers boivent chez un vivandier | 10 (25) | Łazienki (45) | 15 x 13 |
| 582 | Saftleven, Cornelis / Saftleven, Herman | | Unidentified | D | ZACHTLEBEN | Vue du Rhin, sur bois | 12 (24) | Łazienki (49) | 9 x 11 |
| 583 | Saftleven, Cornelis / Saftleven, Herman | Saftleven, Herman | Identified | D | ZACHTLEBEN | Vue du Rhin, sur bois | 12 (40) | Łazienki (49) | 9 x 11 |
| 586 | Asselijn, Jan (Crabbetje) | | Unidentified | D | ASSELIN CRABETJE | (Petit KB) paysage | 15 (20) | Royal Castle (19) | 9 x 13 |
| 587 | Wouwerman, Philips | | Unidentified | D | WOWERMENS | (Petit KB) Paysage montagneux | 12 (20) | Royal Castle (19) | 10 x 13 |
| 588 | Helst, Bartholomeus van der | | Unidentified | D | VANDER HELST | Homme assis, vetu de noir, avec un rabat et chapeau noir sur la tete | 50 (20) | Royal Castle (16) | 41 x 33 |
| 590 | Rembrandt van Rijn | Rembrandt van Rijn (follower) | Identified | D | REMBRANDT 1649 | Homme a mi corps, vetu de noir, avec des moustaches (Belle tete KB) | 80 (120) | Łazienki (34 (37)) | 28 x 23 |
| 591 | Everdingen, Allaert (or Cesar Boetius, ?) van / Ruisdael, Jacob van | | Unidentified | D | ADRIEN VAN EWERDINGEN | Paysage montagneux, une chute d'eau au milieu et une cabine sur la droite, original | 80 (60, 8) | Royal Castle (20) | 44 x 49 |
| 594 | Rubens, Peter Paul (school of) | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE DE RUBENS | La piece d'argent trouvee dans un poisson | 300 | Łazienki (34) | 88 (23) x 72 (24) |
| 616 | Dyck, Anthony van (after) | | Unidentified | F | Not given | 2 Tetes d'apres Van Dyck | | a Kozieniec | 30 x 24 |
| 617 | Dyck, Anthony van (after) | | Unidentified | F | Not given | 2 Tetes d'apres Van Dyck | | a Kozieniec | 30 x 24 |
| 622 | Flemish style | | Unidentified | F | Not given | 2 Tableaux dans le gout flamand | | a Kozieniec | 12 x 10 |
| 623 | Flemish style | | Unidentified | F | Not given | 2 Tableaux dans le gout flamand | | a Kozieniec | 12 x 10 |
| 636 | Flemish style | | Unidentified | F | MANIERE FLAMANDE | Potrait cuirasse, chapeau avec des plumes | 10 | Not given | 7,5 x 6 |
| 638 | Wouwerman, Philips (after) | | Unidentified | D | D'APRES WOWERMENS | Halte de chasse (supraporte KJ) | 20 | Royal Castle (20) | 31,5 x 20 |
| 639 | Flemish school | | Unidentified | F | WITMAN | (Beau KO) Paysage avec figures | 50 (40) | Royal Castle (20) | 16 x 22 |
| 649 | Flemish style | Lamen (Laemen), Christoffel Jacobsz. van der | Identified | F | Not given | Concert flamand, sur bois | Not given | Not given | 20 x 32 |
| 653 | Deynum, G. van | Deynum, G. van | Identified | F | WAN DYNUM | 2 tableaux des fruits, sur bois | 30 (20) (a 15 la piece) | Łazienki (57 (72)) | 11 x 9 |

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|-----|---|--|--------------|---|-------------------------|---|--|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 654 | Deynum, G. van | Deynum, G. van | Identified | F | WAN DYNUM | 2 tableaux des fruits, sur bois | 30 (20) (a 15 la piece) | Łazienki (57 (72)) | 11 x 9 |
| 660 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | COPIE PAR COYPEL | Bacchus jeune, 4 figures (copie KB) | 15 (20) | Royal Castle (3) | 14 x 18,5 |
| 661 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Bacchus ivre, 3 figures | 35 (20) | Łazienki (30 (37)) | 18,5 (16,5) x 17,5 |
| 663 | Flemish school | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE FLAMANDE | L'homme de Loi | 20 (40) | Royal Castle (16) | 28,5 x 22,5 |
| 681 | Rubens, Peter Paul (school of) | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE DE RUBENS | Danse d'enfans, sur bois | Not given | Not given | 20 x 29 |
| 682 | Wouwerman, Philips (after?) | | Unidentified | D | WOWERMENS | Espion arrete, copie | 80 (200) | Royal Castle (2), Łazienki (34) | 23 x 29 |
| 683 | Rubens, Peter Paul (school of) | Jordaens, Jacob | Identified | F | ECOLE DE RUBENS | Satyre qui joue de la flute | 30 | Łazienki (43) | 20,5 x 26 |
| 685 | Potter, Paulus | | Unidentified | D | POTTER | Betail, sur bois | 15 | Not given | 11,5 x 15 |
| 687 | Heyden, Jan van der | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Vue d'Hollande (d'un fini precieux - tres gatee KB) sur bois | 15 | Not given | 19 x 24,5 |
| 690 | Both, Jan; Velde, Adriaen van de | | Unidentified | D | BOOTH | Vue d'une foret, avec figures, sur bois | 160 | Royal Castle (20) | 37 x 62 |
| 692 | Teniers, David | | Unidentified | F | TENIERS | Tentation de St. Antoine, tableaux (precieux KB) de la maniere argentine.. de ce maitre | | | |
| 693 | Huysum, Jan van | | Unidentified | D | WAN HUYSSUM | Tableau de fleurs, sur cuivre | 40 | Łazienki (31) | 8,5 x 11,5 |
| 694 | Flemish style | | Unidentified | U | Not given | Bambochade flamande sur bois | 10 | Łazienki (49) | 9 x 12 |
| 695 | Flemish style | | Unidentified | U | Not given | Paysage flamande sur bois | 10 | Łazienki (49) | 9 x 12 |
| 699 | Heyden, Jan van der | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Vue d'une ville d'Hollande (tableau d'un fini precieux KB) | 15 | Royal Castle (16) | 19 x 25 |
| 700 | Teniers, David | Teniers the Younger, David (circle, workshop) | Identified | F | TENIERS | Vendeur d'eau de vie, 2 tableaux | 40 (100) (together with the pendant no. 701) | Łazienki (30 (37)) | 9,5 x 7,5 |
| 701 | Teniers, David | Teniers the Younger, David | Identified | F | TENIERS | Vendeur d'eau de vie, 2 tableaux | 40 (100) (together with the pendant no. 700) | Łazienki (30 (37)) | 9,5 x 7,5 |
| 702 | Rembrandt van Rijn (in the style of) | Verelst, Pieter Hermansz. | Identified | D | MANIERE DE REMBRANDT | Tete d'homme avec une toque sur la tete | 30 | Łazienki (34 (52)) | 28 x 22 |
| 704 | Brueghel the Elder, Jan | | Unidentified | F | BRUGEL DE VELOURS | Paysage...sur bois | 40 (80) | Not given | 10 x 13 |
| 706 | Graat, Barend | Graat, Barend | Identified | D | B. GRAATE anno 1661 | Mariage hollandois, 1 femme et 4 hommes | 100 (20) | Royal Castle (2) | 34 (38) x 30 (32) |

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|-----|---|------------------------------------|--------------|---|---|---|---------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 711 | Flemish school/ Palamedesz., Anthonie | | Unidentified | U | ECOLE FLAMANDE | (Musicien Hollandois ou KB) Militaire qui caresse une fille | 24 (60) | Łazienki (46 (53)) | 11,5 x 15,5 |
| 716 | Flemish school | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE FLAMANDE | Paysage, vue du Rhin, sur bois | 20 | a Kozieniec | 11 x 14,5 |
| 718 | Koninck, Salomon | | Unidentified | D | SALOMON KONING 1640 | Pilate refuse de signer la mort de Jesus, de l'annee 1640 (Originale KO) | 80 | Royal Castle (2) | 39 x 36 |
| 725 | Ast, Balthasar van der | | Unidentified | D | VANDER AST | Fleurs, original, sur cuivre | 12 (25) | Royal Castle (20) | 9 x 6,5 |
| 737 | Vos, Maerten de | | Unidentified | F | MARTIN DE VOS | Portrait d'Henri Roi de Pologne et de France, sur bois | 10 | Łazienki (37) | 11,5 x 9 |
| 738 | Ostade, Adriaen van (in the style of) | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Claire de lune, Bambochade dans le gout d'Ostade, sur bois | 10 (18) | Royal Castle (20), Łazienki (72) | 9 x 10,5 |
| 784 | Rembrandt van Rijn (in the style of) | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Fuite en Egypte, dans le gout de Rembrandt, original | 15 | Royal Castle (23) | 10 x 8 |
| 793 | Ruisdael, Jacob van (in the style of) | | Unidentified | D | MANIERE DE RUYSDAL | Marines | 18 | Łazienki (61) | 16,5 (26) x 24 (31) |
| 794 | Ruisdael, Jacob van (in the style of) | | Unidentified | D | MANIERE DE RUYSDAL | Marines | 18 | Łazienki (61) | 16,5 (26) x 24 (31) |
| 799 | Brueghel the Elder, Jan (in the style of) | | Unidentified | F | DANS LE GOUT DE BRUGEL DE VELOURS | Paysage, Tobie | 10 | Belvedere (78) | 24 x 35 |
| 800 | Given as non-Dutch/- Flemish | Vermeer van Haarlem, Jan (I) | Identified | D | Not given | Paysage | 36 | Łazienki (30) | 25 x 36,5 |
| 801 | Bulthuis, Jan | | Unidentified | D | BILTUIS | 2 tableaux avec des lievres et des oiseaux | 12 | Royal Castle (23) | 15 x 12 |
| 802 | Bulthuis, Jan | | Unidentified | D | BILTUIS | 2 tableaux avec des lievres et des oiseaux | 12 | Royal Castle (23) | 15 x 12 |
| 808 | Moucheron, Frederik de | Moucheron, Frederik de | Identified | D | MOUCHERON | (Beaux KB) 2 paysages | 80 | Łazienki (34) | 41 x 36 |
| 809 | Moucheron, Frederik de | Moucheron, Frederik de | Identified | D | MOUCHERON | (Beaux KB) 2 paysages | 80 | Łazienki (34) | 41 x 36 |
| 814 | Given as non-Dutch/- Flemish | Heinrich, Vitus | Identified | D | Not given | Massacre des innocents, sur cuivre | 20 | Belvedere (90) | 16 x 24 |
| 815 | Given as non-Dutch/- Flemish | Heinrich, Vitus | Identified | D | Not given | Les 5 pains multiplies, dtto | 20 | Belvedere (90) | 16 x 24 |
| 817 | Bloemaert, Abraham | | Unidentified | D | BLOEMART | Repos de la Vierge voyagant (!) en Egypte, sur bois | 16 | Belvedere (79) | 10,5 x 8 |
| 820 | Poelenburgh, Cornelis van | | Unidentified | D | POLEMBOURG | Paysage avec figures | 20 | Łazienki (46) | 18 x 25 |
| 821 | Uden, Lucas van | | Unidentified | F | VAN UDEN | Paysage ou il y a un homme au devant, monte sur un cheval blanc | 6 | Royal Castle (22) | 12 x 24 |
| 822 | Ehrenberg, Willem Schubert van / Neefs, Pieter; Teniers, David the Elder | | Unidentified | F | ERENBERG | Interieur de l'Eglise (d'une gothique KO) | 30 | Royal Castle (22) | 23,5 x 34 |
| 829 | Meulen, Adam Frans van der | | Unidentified | F | VANDER MEULEN | Vue du Palais de Versailles | 40 (25) | Royal Castle (2), Łazienki (34) | 23 x 27,5 |

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|------|--|--|--------------|---|-----------------------|--|---------------|----------------------------------|------------------|
| 831 | Dutch style | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Tabagie hollandoise, copie, sur bois | 8 | Royal Castle (17) | 14,5 x 22,5 |
| 860 | Given as non-Dutch /- Flemish | Flemish painter, 2nd half XVII cent. | Identified | F | Not given | La Madelaine | 18 | Belvedere (79), Łazienki (43) | 34 x 27 |
| 861 | Given as non-Dutch /- Flemish | Backer, Jacob de (?) | Identified | F | Not given | Ste Agnes | Not given | a Kozieniec | 42 x 30 |
| 872 | Brueghel the Elder / Younger, Jan / Pieter | | Unidentified | F | BREUGEL | Paysage, sur bois | Not given | a Kozieniec | 19 x 31 |
| 879 | Brueghel the Younger, Pieter | Brueghel, Jan (w orkshop) | Identified | F | Not given | La tentation de St. Antoine, sur bois | 5 | Belvedere (75) | 17 x 24 |
| 880 | Mieris, Frans the Elder / Frans the Younger / Willem | | Unidentified | D | MIERIS | Un homme donnant une lettre a une femme | 18 | Belvedere (75) | 13,5 x 11 |
| 881 | Brueghel the Elder / Younger, Jan / Pieter (in the style of) | | Unidentified | F | D'APRES BREUGEL | Paysage, sur cuivre (copie KB) | 1 (5) | Belvedere (78) | 5 x 7 |
| 897 | Huth, van | | Unidentified | U | D'APRES VANHUTH | Paysage avec une cascade | 9 | Belvedere (75) | 18 x 21 |
| 898 | Huth, van | | Unidentified | U | Not given | Paysage | | | 18 x 21 |
| 910 | Given as non-Dutch /- Flemish | Cleve, Joos van (w orkshop) | Identified | N | LEONARDO DA VINCI | Portrait de Francois I-er | 60 | Łazienki (34) | 32,5 (32) x 26,5 |
| 921 | Flemish style | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Tabagie flamande, sur bois | Not given | a Kozieniec | 16 x 22 |
| 929 | Mulier, Pieter (Cavaliero Tempesta) | | Unidentified | D | CHEVALIER TEMPESTA | Fuite d'Egypte (Paysage avec la Vierge etc KB) | 10 | Belvedere (86) | 30 x 24 |
| 934 | Werff, Adriaen van der (after) | | Unidentified | D | D'APRES VAN DER VERFT | Nymphes dormants | 6 (5, 16, 30) | Belvedere (90 (79)) | 19 x 15 |
| 952 | Brueghel the Elder / Younger, Jan / Pieter | | Unidentified | F | BRUGEL | Paysage, sur cuivre | 6 | Belvedere (78) | 8,5 x 12 |
| 954 | Not given | Saftleven, Cornelis | Identified | D | Not given | Tabagie, un homme joue, un autre chante | 12 (20) | Belvedere (91), Łazienki (30) | 14,5 x 20 |
| 964 | Dutch style | Rijckaert, David (III) | Identified | D | Not given | Tabagie hollandoise | 30 (25) | Royal Castle (20), Łazienki (30) | 17 x 22 |
| 987 | Rembrandt van Rijn (after) | | Unidentified | D | D'APRES REMBRANDT | Femme jusqu'aux genoux, elle tient un oeillet | 4 (7) | Belvedere (77) | 39 x 31 |
| 993 | Dyck, Anthony van (after) | | Unidentified | F | WAHL D'APRES VANDYCK | Portrait d'homme a mi corps | | a Kozieniec | 28 x 25 |
| 994 | Dyck, Anthony van (after) | | Unidentified | F | WAHL D'APRES VANDYCK | Portrait de femme a mi corps | | a Kozieniec | 28 x 25 |
| 997 | Flemish style / Kalf, Willem; Adriaen Brouwer (?) | | Unidentified | F | MANIERE FLAMANDE | Paysan et paysanne a table avec un menage de cuisine, peint sur bois, original | 15 | Royal Castle (20) | 25 x 17 |
| 1012 | Flemish style | | Unidentified | F | Not given | 3 Paysans et 1 paysanne flamande | 3 (4) | Belvedere (70) | 20 x 18 |
| 1042 | Not given | Boudewijns, Adriaen Frans / Bout, Pieter | Unidentified | F | Not given | Marine, beaucoup de figures sur le devant | 3 (9) | Belvedere (78) | 9 x 6,5 |

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|------|---------------------------------------|--|--------------|---|------------------------|---|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| 1043 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | D'APRES RUBENS | La Vierge, sur bois | 9 (5) f | Belvedere (78) | 9 x 6,5 |
| 1054 | Not given | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | Unidentified | F | Not given | Achille plonge dans le Styx par sa mere (un homme eclaire avec un flambeau une femme, qui plonge un enfant dans l'eau KB) | 6 | Royal Castle (22) | 45 x 38 |
| 1065 | Flemish style | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Chirurgien flamand, sur bois | 6 (10) | Belvedere (81) | 11,5 x 16 |
| 1075 | Rubens, Peter Paul (school of) | | Unidentified | F | DE L'ECOLE DE RUBENS | Neptune avec des poissons de mer | 100 (36) | Royal Castle (17) | 63 x 95 |
| 1081 | Flemish style | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Cabaret flamand | | a Kozieniec | 15 x 23 |
| 1093 | Flemish school | Hondecoeter, Gillis Claesz. de (?) | Identified | U | ECOLE FLAMANDE | Adam et Eve avec plusieurs animaux | 40 (36) | Royal Castle (12) | 53 x 75 |
| 1095 | Flemish style | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Cabaret flamand | Not given | a Kozieniec | 23 x 16,5 |
| 1096 | Borch, Gerard (II) ter | | Unidentified | D | TERBOURG | Peintre peignant, original endomage | 25 (15) | Royal Castle (19) | 23 x 27 |
| 1108 | Rubens, Peter Paul (school of) | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE DE RUBENS | La Vierge, devant laquelle il y a un homme cuirasse | 10 (15) | Belvedere (86) | 47 x 65 |
| 1114 | Roos, Jan | | Unidentified | F | ROOS | Tableau d'animaux, pres dequels est une jeune garcon | 2 (8) | Belvedere (78) | 22 x 26 |
| 1116 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | D'APRES RUBENS | Jesus a mi corps, en habit rouge, sur bois | 4 (3, 16) | Belvedere (86) | 21 x 16 |
| 1117 | Roos, Jan | | Unidentified | F | ROOS | Tableau d'animaux | 2 (8) | Belvedere (78) | 22 x 26 |
| 1123 | Teniers, David (after) | | Unidentified | F | SCISLO D'APRES TENIERS | Femmes flamandes vendant des choux | 6 | Royal Castle (23) | 33 x 48 |
| 1124 | Not given | Bemmel, Willem van | Identified | D | Not given | Paysage, sur bois | 2 | Belvedere (77) | 8 x 11 |
| 1125 | Not given | Verkolje, Jan (I) | Identified | D | Not given | Femme qui rit, sur bois | 2 | Belvedere (77) | 6 x 5 |
| 1126 | Not given | Dutch school, XVII cent. | Unidentified | D | Not given | Homme qui rit, sur bois | 2 | Belvedere (77) | 6 x 5 |
| 1127 | Not given | Bemmel, Willem van | Identified | D | Not given | Paysage, sur bois | 2 | Belvedere (77) | 8 x 11 |
| 1128 | Flemish style | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Tabagie flamande | 10 | Royal Castle (22) | 26 x 36 |
| 1143 | Cuyp, Aelbert (?) / Berchem, Nicolaes | | Unidentified | D | CUEP | Fuite en Egypte, sur bois | 100 | Łazienki (30) | 28 x 35 |
| 1186 | Rubens, Peter Paul (school of) | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE DE RUBENS | Abigail, apportant des vivres a David, sur bois | 50 | Łazienki (34 (53)) | 19 x 28 |
| 1192 | Dyck, Anthony van (after) | | Unidentified | F | D'APRES VAN DYCK | Portrait a mi corps d'homme, cheveux noirs et moustaches, copie | 10 | Royal Castle (12) | 27 x 21 |
| 1193 | Not given | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) / Dyck, Anthony van (after) | Identified | F | Not given | Portait jusqu'aux genoux d'une femme, costume antique | 70 | Łazienki (43) | 43 x 33 |

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|------|--|--|--------------|---|-------------------|---|-----------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1194 | Not given | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) / Dyck, Anthony van (after) | Identified | F | Not given | Portrait jusqu'aux genoux d'un homme, costume antique | 70 | Łazienki (43) | 43 x 33 |
| 1200 | Wouw erman, Philips (in the style of) | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Paysage dans le gout de Wow ermens, ou depart pour la chasse, sur bois | 12 | Royal Castle (20) | 20 x 17 |
| 1202 | Dyck, Anthony van (school of) | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE DE VAN DYCK | St. Jerome | 15 (8) | Belvedere (79) | 41 x 34 |
| 1210 | Teniers, David / Teniers David (after) | Teniers the Younger, David (follow er) | Identified | F | TENIERS | Tabagie, sur bois, original | 20 | Belvedere (78) | 14 x 20 |
| 1225 | Seghers, Daniel | | Unidentified | F | SEGGERS JESUITTE | Tableau de fleurs | 10 (20) | Belvedere (85) | 34 x 24 |
| 1256 | Brueghel the Elder / Younger, Jan / Pieter | | Unidentified | F | BRUGHEL | Paysage, sur bois | 10 (11) | Royal Castle (12) | 7,5 x 10,5 |
| 1264 | Rubens, Peter Paul (school of) | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE DE RUBENS | Fuite de la Vierge en Egypte, original | 60 | Royal Castle (12) | 62 x 81 |
| 1276 | Brueghel the Elder, Jan (in the style of) | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Paysage, dans le gout de Brueghel de Velours, rond sur bois | 6 | Not given | Not given |
| 1284 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | D'APRES RUBENS | Le Courage vaincu par l'Amour | 15 | Royal Castle (22) | 69 x 99 |
| 1289 | Mieris, Frans the Elder / Frans the Younger / Willem | | Unidentified | D | MIERIS | Le Christ sur la croix tableau d'autel | 25 | Royal Castle (13) | 67 (137) x 37 (67) |
| 1327 | Heem, Jan Davidsz. de | | Unidentified | D | HEEM | Taleau de fruits | 16 | Łazienki (50) | 17 x 20 |
| 1328 | Dutch style | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Cabaret Hollandois, sur bois | Not given | a Kozieniec | 13 x 18 |
| 1329 | Dutch style | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Le jeu de tric-trac | Not given | a Kozieniec | 35 x 44 |
| 1338 | Dutch style | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Marines (sur bois KB) | 8 (4) | Belvedere (90) | 14,5 x 20 |
| 1339 | Dutch style | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Marines (sur bois KB) | 8 (4) | Belvedere (90) | 14,5 x 20 |
| 1343 | Brueghel the Elder, Jan (in the style of) | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Paysage dans le gout de Brugel de Velours, ou il y a Abigail avec beaucoup de figures, sur cuivre | 12 (5) | Łazienki (53), Belvedere (81) | 17 x 28,5 |
| 1347 | Flemish style | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Foire flamande | 6 (2) | Belvedere (75) | 17 x 27 |
| 1365 | Savery, Roelandt | | Unidentified | D | ROLAND SAVERI | 2 tableaux avec des animaux, sur bois | 2 (4) | Belvedere (78) | 4 x 5 |
| 1366 | Savery, Roelandt | | Unidentified | D | ROLAND SAVERI | 2 tableaux avec des animaux, sur bois | 2 (4) | Belvedere (78) | 4 x 5 |
| 1374 | Not given | Soutman, Pieter | Identified | F | Not given | Portrait de femme a mi corps, costume ancien, large fraise au col, sur bois | 30 | Łazienki (34) | 28 x 22 |

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|------|--|--------------------------------|--------------|---|---------------------------------|---|-----------|--|-----------------------|
| 1466 | Dyck, Anthony van (school of) | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE DE VAN DYCK | La Vierge et l'Enfant Jesus, elle tient une fleur, a cote est une corbeille de fruits, derriere un perroquet | 60 | Łazienki (27 (34)) | 66 x 45 |
| 1476 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | D'APRES RUBENS | Le Samaritain, copie | Not given | a Kozieniec | 46 x 36 |
| 1479 | Huysum, Jan van (after) | | Unidentified | D | PETRANOWICZ D'APRES VAN HUYSSUM | 2 tableaux ovales de fleurs | 20 (10) | Not given (perhaps the door of the king's Bedchamber, see additional information from Mańkowski) | 50 x 35 |
| 1480 | Huysum, Jan van (after) | | Unidentified | D | PETRANOWICZ D'APRES VAN HUYSSUM | 2 tableaux ovales de fleurs | 20 (10) | Not given (perhaps the door of the king's Bedchamber, see additional information from Mańkowski) | 50 x 35 |
| 1487 | Mieris, Frans the Elder / Frans the Younger / Willem | | Unidentified | D | MIERIS | Judith tenant la tete d'Holopherne | Not given | a Kozieniec | 47 x 33 |
| 1555 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Portrait de Rubens, d'apres lui meme | 8 | Royal Castle (23) | 31 x 24 |
| 1557 | Rembrandt van Rijn (after) | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Homme jusqu'aux genoux d'apres Rembrandt | | a Kozieniec | 52 x 42 |
| 1566 | Demarne, Jean-Louis | | Unidentified | F | DE MARNE | L'attaque d'un convoi par des houssards | 150 | Łazienki (29 (157 G)) | 38 x 52 |
| 1582 | Flemish school | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE FLAMANDE | Cabaret flamand, avec figures, copie | 10 | Royal Castle (20) | 18 x 23 |
| 1586 | Teniers, David (in the style of) | | Unidentified | F | MANIERE DE TENIERS | Paysage, vue d'hyver, sur bois | 3 | Belvedere (78) | 5 x 6,5 |
| 1595 | Goltzius, Hendrik | | Unidentified | D | GOLTUIS | La Vierge, St. Joseph, l'Enfant Jesus et St. Jean | 6 (15) | Belvedere (79) | 40 x 49 |
| 1613 | Schalcken, Godfried | Schalcken, Godfried | Identified | D | SKALKEN | La Madelaine eclairee d'une lampe, original | 20 (12) | Royal Castle (3), Łazienki (34) | 20 x 16 |
| 1614 | Cort, Hendrik Frans de | Cort, Hendrik Frans de | Identified | F | HENRI DE CORB 1774 | Vue des environs de Lierre, sur bois (paysage flamand peint tres delicatement, vue d'eau KB) | 60 | Łazienki (37 (50)) | 13 (11,5) x 16 (15,5) |
| 1620 | Flemish school / Dyck, Anthony van | | Unidentified | F | DE L'ECOLE FLAMANDE | Portrait d'homme vetu de noir, cheveux noirs, a moustaches et barbette | 25 (30) | Łazienki (26 (66)) | 20 x 16 |
| 1621 | Dutch style | | Unidentified | D | Not given | Vue de l'ancienne maison d'Orange sur le grand Rivier de la Haye, le Prince d'Orange y est represente avec sa suite | 20 | Belvedere (77) | 46 x 92 |
| 1624 | Rembrandt van Rijn (in the style of) | Bramer, Leonaert (or workshop) | Identified | D | MANIERE DE REMBRANDT | Jesus au milieu des docteurs, sur bois | 20 (24) | Royal Castle (16) | 22 x 29 |

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|------|--|---------------------------------------|--------------|---|--------------------------|---|----------|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1625 | Bol, Ferdinand | | Unidentified | D | FERDINAND BOOL | Portrait de Thomas Morus, sur bois | 20 | Łazienki (26 (50)) | 20 x 12 |
| 1634 | Mieris, Frans the Elder / Frans the Younger / Willem (in the style of) / Flemish style | | Unidentified | U | MANIERE DE MIERIS | St. Pierre, demie figure, sur cuivre (joliment peint, de maniere flamande KB) | 15 | Royal Castle (21) | 6 x 5,5 |
| 1635 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | D'APRES RUBENS | Tentation de St. Antoine, ou il y a une femme debout, sur bois (un aveugle assis, copie d'apres Rubens KB) | 1 | Royal Castle (22) | 10,5 x 8 |
| 1638 | Dou, Gerard (school of) | | Unidentified | D | ECOLE DE GERARD DOU | Tableau de volaille et gibier on y voit a droite un dindon suspendu, il y a une femme en pied et le buste d'un enfant, sur bois | 20 | Łazienki 29 (50)) | 17,25 x 13,25 |
| 1640 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Portrait de Rubens et son epouse, debout a mi corps, dont les visages sont de profil l'un contre l'autre | 60 | Łazienki (34) | 33 x 27 |
| 1662 | Flemish school / Rubens, Peter Paul (school of) | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE FLAMANDE | St. Pierre demie figure de grandeur naturelle, original | 20 | Royal Castle (12) | 30 x 25 |
| 1672 | Berchem, Nicolaes / Potter, Paulus | Berchem, Nicolaes (in the style of) | Identified | D | BERGHEM | Un ane, sur bois | 15 | Royal Castle (22) | 8,5 x 10,5 |
| 1674 | Dou, Gerard (after) | | Unidentified | D | COPIE D'APRES GERARD DOU | Homme blesse panse par un Chirurgien | 15 | Łazienki (58 (63)) | 17,5 x 14 |
| 1675 | Teniers, David | | Unidentified | F | TENIERS | Jesus et les pellerins d'Emaus, peint sur bois | 80 (100) | Łazienki (34) | 13 x 18 |
| 1676 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | Rubens, Peter Paul (Adam Braun after) | Identified | F | BRAUN D'APRES RUBENS | La femme de Rubens, nue en pied, sur bois, copie | 15 | Royal Castle (20), Łazienki (72) | 20,5 x 15 |
| 1678 | Mieris, Frans the Elder / Frans the Younger / Willem | | Unidentified | D | VANMIERIS | Vieux militaire, caressant une femme, sur cuivre | 100 | Łazienki (34) | 23 x 18 |
| 1680 | Dyck, Anthony van | Dyck, Anthony van (after) | Identified | F | VANDYCK | Portrait du Comte de Pembrock | 100 | Łazienki (34) | 31 x 21 |
| 1690 | Teniers, David (school of) | | Unidentified | F | ECOLE DE TENIERS | Le cordonier, sur bois (ouvrage delicatement fini KB) | 12 | Łazienki (29 (50)) | 14,5 x 11,5 |
| 1691 | Poelenburgh, Cornelis van | | Unidentified | D | POLEMBOURG | Paysage, sur bois | 20 | Łazienki (30) | 7 x 8 |
| 1709 | Wouwerman, Philips (after) | | Unidentified | D | D'APRES WOWERMENS | Bataille, ou il y a un trompette | 16 | Łazienki (43) | 20 (40) x 27 (33) |
| 1710 | Moucheron, Frederik de | | Unidentified | D | MOUCHERON | Paysage | 50 | Royal Castle (22) | 44 x 35 |
| 1718 | Wouwerman, Philips (study of) | | Unidentified | D | ETUDE DE WOWERMENS | Cheval blanc selle, octagone | 15 | Royal Castle (20) | 11 x 12 |
| 1719 | Flemish school | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Femme lavant, tableau flamand, sur bois | 15 | Łazienki (29 (53)) | 9 x 8 |
| 1720 | Flemish style / Steenwijck the Younger, Hendrick; Brueghel | Steenwijck the Younger, Hendrick | Identified | F | MANIERE FLAMANDE | Tableau d'architecture Gothe, representant une eglise avec figures (du vieux genre KJ), original | 25 | Royal Castle (20) | 10,5 x 15 |

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|------|--|------------------------------------|--------------|---|------------------------|--|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1722 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | BESCHEY D'APRES RUBENS | Le reine Tomiris faisant plonger la tete de Cyrus dans le sang, sur bois | 30 | Royal Castle (2) | 16 x 24 |
| 1723 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | BESCHEY D'APRES RUBENS | Herode, a qui l'on presente la tete de St. Jean, sur bois | 30 | Royal Castle (2) | 16 x 24 |
| 1725 | Palamedesz., Anthonie (after) | | Unidentified | D | D'APRES PALAMEDES | Musique hollandoise, sur bois | 15 | Royal Castle (19) | 15,5 x 21 |
| 1726 | Palamedesz., Anthonie (after) | | Unidentified | D | D'APRES PALAMEDES | Musique hollandoise, sur bois | 25 | Royal Castle (19) | 15,5 x 21 |
| 1734 | Rembrandt van Rijn | Rembrandt van Rijn | Identified | D | REMBRANDT | Cosaque a cheval | 200 | Łazienki (25) | 44 x 54 |
| 1738 | Teniers, David | | Unidentified | F | D. TENIERS | Tableau dit le gigot de Teniers, on y voit des paysans qui jouent aux cartes, d'autres qui les regardent et en perspective plusieurs qui soupent | 500 | Łazienki (30) | 24 x 30 |
| 1740 | Dou, Gerard | Dou, Gerard (after) | Identified | D | GERARD DOU | Le portrait de lui meme jouant du violon, sur bois (place dans un arc KB) | 350 | Łazienki (31) | 16 x 12 |
| 1741 | Berchem, Nicolaes | | Unidentified | D | NIC. BERGHEM | Piece originale de betail, il y a des vaches, des brebis, un chien et un berger s'appuyant sur la cane, sur bois | 300 | Łazienki (30) | 16 x 21,5 |
| 1742 | Palamedesz., Anthonie | Palamedes, Anthonie (Palamedesz.) | Identified | D | PALAMEDE | Une capagnie de Hollandois, ou il y a un homme sonnand de la trompette sur bois | 150 | Łazienki (32) | 14,5 x 20,5 |
| 1747 | Cuyp, Aelbert (?) | Calraet, Abraham Pietersz. van (?) | Identified | D | CUYP | Coquilles de mer | 80 | Łazienki (37) | 16,5 (16,25) x 22 |
| 1749 | Cuyp, Aelbert (?) | Calraet, Abraham Pietersz. van | Identified | D | CUYP | Coquilles de mer | 80 | Łazienki (37) | 16,5 x 22 |
| 1751 | Brueghel the Elder / Younger, Jan / Pieter (in the style of) | | Unidentified | F | MANIERE DE BRUGEL | 2 paysages avec des chariots, quelques hommes a cheval | 40 (60) (perhaps with pendant) | Royal Castle (2) | 14 x 18,5 |
| 1752 | Brueghel the Elder / Younger, Jan / Pieter (in the style of) | | Unidentified | F | MANIERE DE BRUGEL | 2 paysages avec des chariots, quelques hommes a cheval | 40 (60) (perhaps with pendant) | Royal Castle (2) | 14 x 18,5 |
| 1753 | Flemish style / Rembrandt van Rijn (after) | | Unidentified | U | MANIERE FLAMANDE | Christ qui preche | 15 (100) | Royal Castle (2) | 21 x 28 |
| 1756 | Potter, Paulus | | Unidentified | D | PAUL POTTER | 2 paysages | 120 (perhaps with pendant) | Royal Castle (22) | |

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| 1757 | Potter, Paulus | | Unidentified | D | PAUL POTTER | 2 paysages | 120 (perhaps with pendant) | Royal Castle (22) | |
| 1761 | Backhuysen, Ludolf | Backhuysen, Ludolf | Identified | D | BRAKHUSEN | Tempête sur mer ou il y des vaisseaux qui font naufrage | 200 | Łazienki (37) | 39,5 x 52 |
| 1782 | Sustermans, Justus | | Unidentified | F | SUBTERMANN | Victoire, Psse de la Rovere fille du Duc d'Urbain, femme de Ferdinand II Duc de Toscane, mere le Cosme III | 20 | Łazienki (32) | 12,5 x 9 |
| 1784 | Not given | Govaerts, Abraham; Francken, Frans (II) | Identified | F | Not given | Le triomphe d'Amphitrite, dans le fond le festin des Dieux, paysage oblong, sur bois | 150 | Łazienki (29 (75)) | 25 x 52 |
| 1793 | Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | | Unidentified | F | D'APRES RUBENS | Catherine de Medicis, sur marbre blanc | 35 | Łazienki (37) | 14,5 x 10,5 |
| 1799 | Meulen, Adam Frans van der | | Unidentified | F | VANDER MEULEN | Louis XIV a la tranchee de Tournay | 25 (60) | Łazienki (29 (52)) | 26 x 32,5 |
| 1800 | Meulen, Adam Frans van der | | Unidentified | F | VANDER MEULEN | Louis XIV en campagne | 40 (60) | Łazienki (29 (52)) | 26 x 32,5 |
| 1801 | Meulen, Adam Frans van der | | Unidentified | F | VANDER MEULEN | Entree de Louis XIV dans Cambray | 40 (60) | Łazienki (20 (52)) | 26 x 32,5 |
| 1811 | Brueghel the Elder / Younger, Jan / Pieter | Monogrammist L(?)MW | Identified | F | BRIEGEL | Le Sauveur nourrissant dans le desert 5000 hommes avec 5 pains | 40 | Łazienki (31) | 9,5 x 15,5 |
| 1812 | Not given | Tilens, Jan | Identified | F | Not given | Lutte de Jacob avec l'Ange | 20 | Łazienki (31) | 7 x 10 |
| 1813 | Moucheron, Frederik de | | Unidentified | D | MOUCHERON | Paysage | 40 | Łazienki (31) | 24,5 x 20 |
| 1815 | Wouw erman, Philips | Wouw erman, Philips | Identified | D | WOWERMENS | Homme tenant un cheval | 100 | Łazienki (30) | 17 x 14 |
| 1817 | Not given | Backhuysen, Ludolf | Unidentified | D | Not given | Tempete sur mer | 36 | Łazienki (30 (34)) | 9 x 29 |
| 1823 | Demarne, Jean-Louis | | Unidentified | F | DEMARRE | Une compagnie qui joue et une femme debout, sur bois | Not given | Not given | 12,5 x 11 |
| 1825 | Rembrandt van Rijn | | Unidentified | D | REMBRANDT | Un viellard tenant dans la main un sabre | 200 | Łazienki (29) | 27 x 23 |
| 1826 | Rembrandt van Rijn | | Unidentified | D | REMRBANDT | Une vielle tenant une chaine et comptant de l'argent | 150 | Łazienki (29) | 27 x 23 |
| 1829 | Dyck, Anthony van (in the style of) | | Unidentified | F | MANIERE DE VANDYCK | Portrait d'un inconnu | 36 | Royal Castle (12) | 33 x 26 |
| 1834 | Wouw erman, Philips (in the style of) | Bloemen, Pieter van | Identified | D | Not given | Paysage dans le gout de Wow ermens ou il y a un homme, une femme qui nourrit son enfant, plusieurs chevaux et un chien | 40 | Łazienki (43) | 16 x 22 |
| 1835 | Dyck, Anthony van | | Unidentified | F | VANDYCK | Un general cuirasse | 40 | Łazienki (43) | 27 x 22 |
| 1856 | Storck, Abraham | | Unidentified | D | STORCK | Port de mer avec des batteaux ou sont beaucoup de gens | 8 | Royal Castle (22) | 17,5 x 25,5 |
| 1857 | Neefs, Pieter | | Unidentified | F | PIERRE NEFS | L'Ange delivrant St. Pierre de la prison | 15 | Royal Castle (22) | 20 x 26 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|---|----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1860 | Wouwerman, Philips | | Unidentified | D | WOWERMENS | Homme a cheval et un garçon tenant un autre cheval, on y voit un marechal ferrant et autres gens debout, original | 125 (60) | Łazienki (32) | 11,25 (12) x 18,5 (14,75) |
| 1861 | Ruisdael, Jacob van | | Unidentified | D | RUISDAL | Paysage ou il y a un chariot avec un cheval blanc et des hommes a cheval et debout | 40 | Łazienki (32) | 11,25 x 18,5 |
| 1867 | Demarne, Jean-Louis | | Unidentified | F | DEMARRE | Une chasse | 30 | Not given | 16 x 24 |
| 1868 | Demarne, Jean-Louis | | Unidentified | F | DEMARRE | 2 tableaux representant la chasse | 30 (perhaps together with no. 1869) | Royal Castle (2) | 9 x 6 |
| 1869 | Demarne, Jean-Louis | | Unidentified | F | DEMARRE | 2 tableaux representant la chasse | 30 (perhaps together with no. 1868) | Royal Castle (2) | 9 x 6 |
| 1873 | Brakenburgh, Richard | | Unidentified | D | BRANKENBURG | Une femme malade entouree de plusieurs figures | 20 | Royal Castle (20) | 13,5 x 11 |
| 1874 | Cuyp, Aelbert (?) | | Unidentified | D | CUEP | Des peches et trois papillons original | 45 (30) | Royal Castle (21) | 14,75 (13,75) x 17 |
| 1888 | Dyck, Anthony van (in the style of) | | Unidentified | F | MANIERE DE VANDYCK | Tete d'inconnu | 10 | Royal Castle (12) | 21 x 15 |
| 1895 | Rembrandt van Rijn (after) | | Unidentified | D | TOKARSKI D'APRES REMBRANDT | Le Christ dans le pretoire insulte par les Juifs | 80 | Royal Castle (6) | 79 x 50,5 |
| 1935 | Demarne, Jean-Louis | | Unidentified | F | DEMARNE | Port de mer avec des animaux | 100 | Łazienki (52 (30)) | 32 x 39 |
| 1936 | Demarne, Jean-Louis | | Identified | F | DE MARNE | Son pendant avec des voyageurs en charlette | 80 | Łazienki (52 (30)) | 32 x 39 |
| 1993 | Flemish style | Unidentified painter, XVIII cent. | Identified | F | MANIERE FLAMANDE | Tete coeffee, d'un chapeau, vetu en noir | 50 (60, 30) | Łazienki (26 (34)) | 27 x 21 |
| 1994 | Dyck, Anthony van (after) | | Unidentified | F | VALL D'APRES VANDYCK | Demie figure, vetu de noir avec grande fraise | 8 | Łazienki (58 (66)) | 30 x 26 |
| 2077 | Not given | Flemish painter, ca. 1615 | Identified | F | Not given | Le Samaritain | 1 | Belvedere (85) | 36 x 47 |
| 2102 | Flemish style | | Unidentified | F | SCISLO | Cuisine, avec une homme et une femme, dans le gout flamand | 1 (3) | Belvedere (84) | 39 x 50 |
| 2197 | Dyck, Anthony van (in the style of) | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Portrait d'un seigneur cuirasse dans le costume de Van Dyck | 1 | Belvedere (77) | 31 x 25 |
| 2225 | Dyck, Anthony van (after) | | Unidentified | F | Not given | Une femme, copie d'apres Van Dyck | 4 | Łazienki (44 lit. B) | 29 x 23,5 |
| 2235 | Not given | Westerveld, Abraham van | Identified | D | Not given | Une entree a Kiow d'un grand General Polonais | 15 | Belvedere (88), Royal Castle (91) | 66 x 156 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------|---|-----------|--|-----|----------------|---------|
| 2246 | Dyck, Anthony van | | Unidentified | F | VANDYCK | Charle V | 300 | Not given | 83 x 60 |
| 2191 (?) | Not given | Egmont, Justus van | Identified | F | Not given | Portrait de l'epouse du Roi Jean Casimir en pieds | 20 | Belvedere (77) | 93 x 66 |

Explanation of numbers in the category of place of display

| Royal residence | Room number | French name of the room |
|-----------------|-------------|---|
| Belvedere | 70 | Au petit theatre |
| Belvedere | 75 | A la premiere chambre en haut du cote de la cour |
| Belvedere | 77 | A la salle au milieu en haut |
| Belvedere | 78 | A la chambre a gauche de la salle au milieu |
| Belvedere | 79 | Au cabinet a gauche de la salle au milieu |
| Belvedere | 81 | Au cabinet a droite |
| Belvedere | 83 | Sur les escaliers |
| Belvedere | 84 | Au vestibule en bas |
| Belvedere | 85 | A la 1-ere chambre en bas a gauche de la porte d'entree au palais |
| Belvedere | 86 | A la seconde chambre |
| Belvedere | 88 | Au vestibule de l'officine |
| Belvedere | 90 | A la premiere chambre, ou logeoit Mde Byszewska |
| Belvedere | 91 | A la seconde chambre, ou logeoit Mde Byszewska |
| Łazienki | 25 | A l'antichambre en haut |
| Łazienki | 26 | A la chambre des adjudants |
| Łazienki | 27 | A la tribune |
| Łazienki | 29 | A la chambre avant le cabinet de travail |
| Łazienki | 30 | Au cabinet de toilette |
| Łazienki | 31 | A la chambre a coucher |
| Łazienki | 32 | Au cabinet de travail |
| Łazienki | 34 | A la gallerie en bas |
| Łazienki | 37 | Au cabinet pres la salle de comp. |

| | | |
|--------------|----|---|
| Łazienki | 39 | A la chambre de faiancé |
| Łazienki | 43 | Au grand cabinet du pont vers le couchant |
| Łazienki | 45 | Au palais de Myslew ic en bas |
| Łazienki | 46 | Au palais de Myslew ic au premier etage a la premiere chambre de l'aile droite vers le levant |
| Łazienki | 49 | Au palais de Myslew ic dans la salle au milieu |
| Łazienki | 50 | Au palais de Myslew ic a la chambre a coucher au milieu |
| Łazienki | 52 | Au palais de Myslew ic a la seconde chambre |
| Łazienki | 53 | Au palais de Myslew ic a la troisieme chambre |
| Łazienki | 57 | Au grand commun en haut du cote de Myslew ic dans les chambres 3 |
| Łazienki | 58 | Au grand commun en haut du cote de Myslew ic dans les chambres 4 |
| Łazienki | 60 | Au grand commun en haut du cote de Myslew ic dans les chambres 6 |
| Łazienki | 61 | Au grand commun en haut du cote de Myslew ic dans les chambres 11 |
| Łazienki | 63 | Au grand commun en haut du cote de Myslew ic dans les chambres 10 |
| Łazienki | 66 | Au grand commun en bas, du cote de l'auberge dans les chambres 17 |
| Royal Castle | 2 | A la chambre a coucher |
| Royal Castle | 3 | A la garde robe |
| Royal Castle | 6 | A la petite Chapelle |
| Royal Castle | 7 | A la premiere antichambre |
| Royal Castle | 12 | A la salle du conseil |
| Royal Castle | 13 | A la grande Chapelle |
| Royal Castle | 16 | A la premiere salle verte |
| Royal Castle | 17 | A la seconde salle verte |
| Royal Castle | 19 | A l'atelier en haut |
| Royal Castle | 20 | Au cabinet de l'atelier en haut |
| Royal Castle | 21 | Au petit cabinet de l'atelier en haut |
| Royal Castle | 22 | A l'atelier en bas |
| Royal Castle | 23 | Au cabinet de l'atelier en bas |

Table 2 - Dutch/Flemish/Netherlandish/Uncertain classification

| D/F/N/U | Amount |
|----------------|---------------|
| Dutch | 184 |
| Flemish | 143 |
| Netherlandish | 1 |
| Uncertain | 9 |
| Total | 337 |

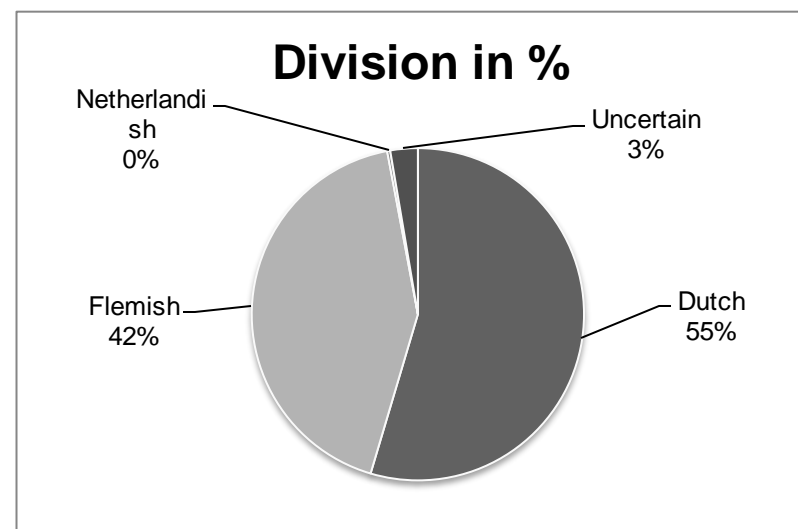
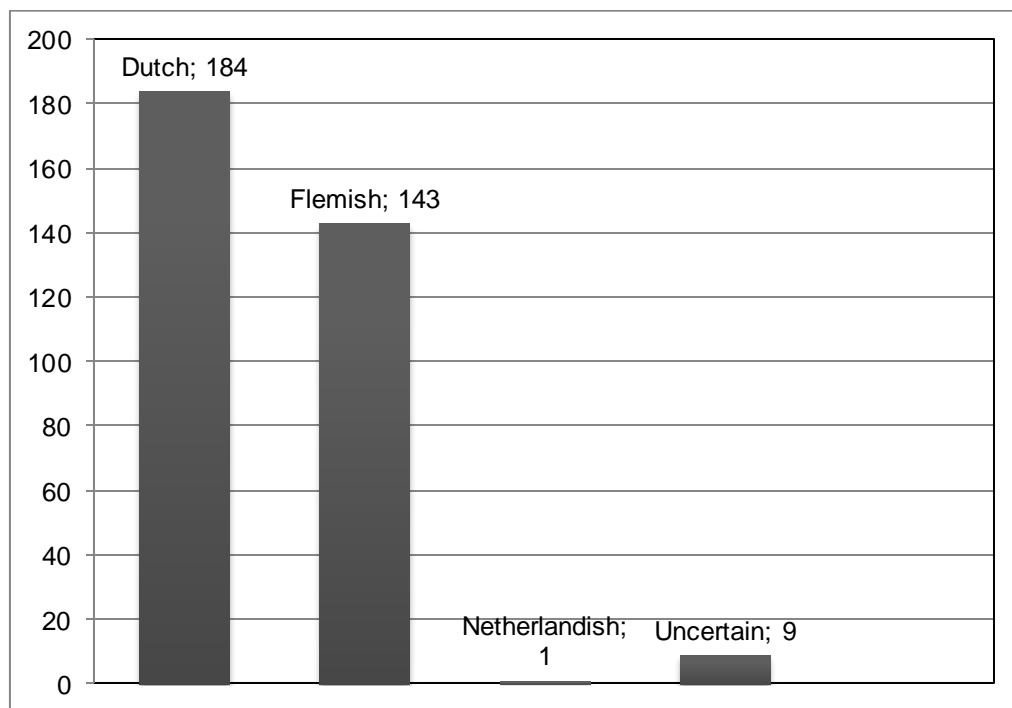
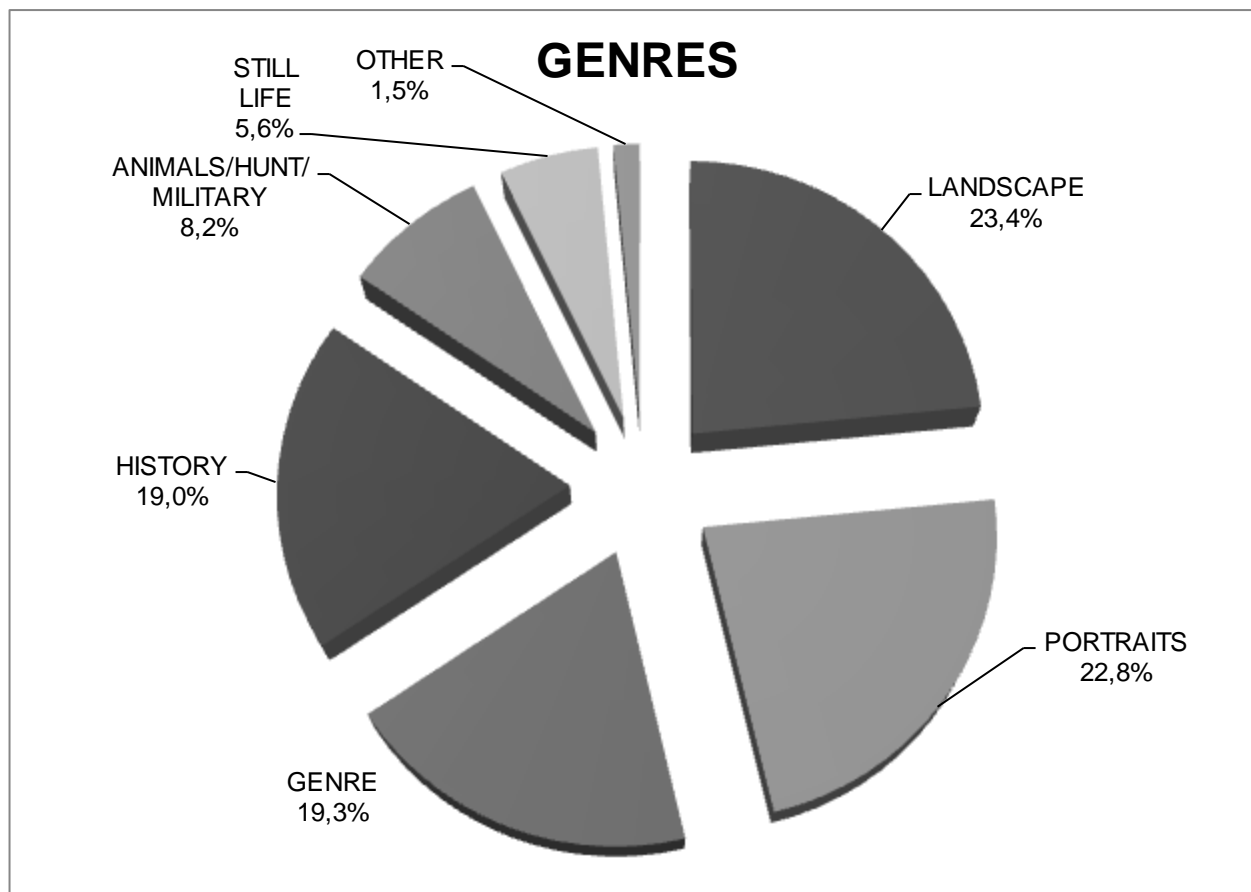


Table 3 – Genres

| CATEGORIES | |
|------------------------------|------------|
| LANDSCAPE | |
| Landscape | 67 |
| Marine | 9 |
| Architecture | 3 |
| PORTRAITS | |
| Portraits | 77 |
| GENRE | |
| Genre scene | 65 |
| HISTORY | |
| Allegory | 2 |
| History | 2 |
| Mythological | 15 |
| Religious | 45 |
| ANIMALS/HUNT/MILITARY | |
| Animals | 14 |
| Hunt scene | 9 |
| Military scene | 5 |
| STILL LIFE | |
| Still life | 6 |
| Still life (flowers) | 9 |
| Still life (fruits) | 2 |
| Still life (hunt) | 2 |
| OTHER | |
| Other | 5 |
| TOTAL | 337 |



| Categories | Amount |
|----------------------|------------|
| Allegory | 2 |
| Animals | 14 |
| Architecture | 3 |
| Genre scene | 65 |
| History | 2 |
| Hunt scene | 9 |
| Landscape | 67 |
| Marine | 9 |
| Military scene | 5 |
| Mythological | 15 |
| Portrait | 77 |
| Religious | 45 |
| Still life | 6 |
| Still life (flowers) | 9 |
| Still life (fruits) | 2 |
| Still life (hunt) | 2 |
| Other | 5 |
| Total | 337 |

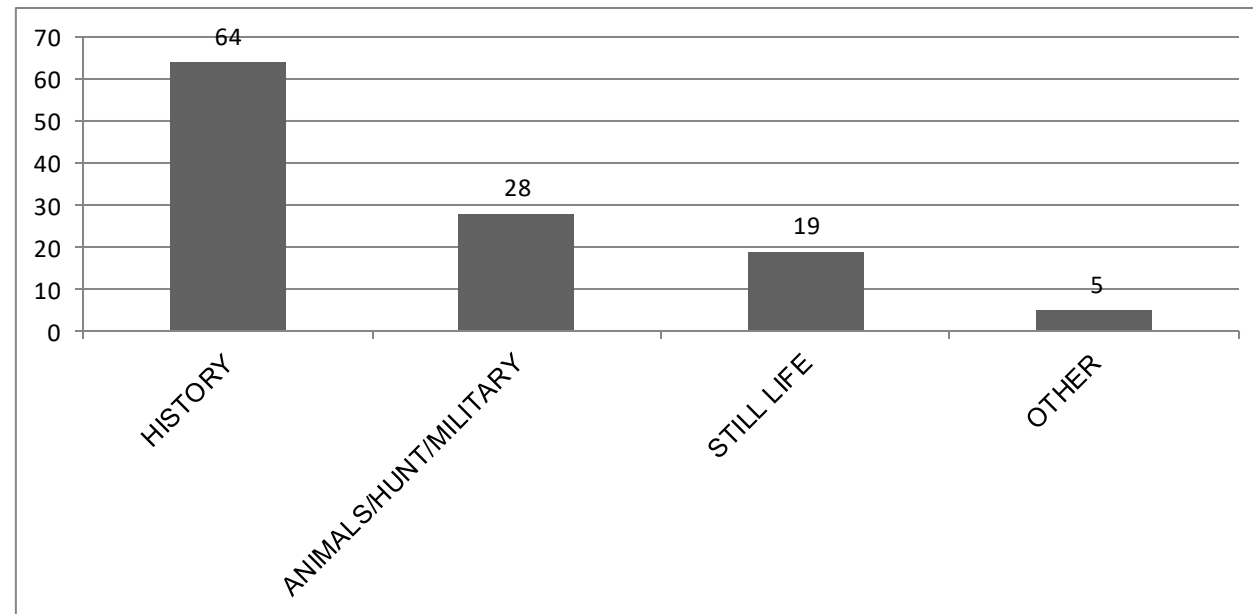


Table 4 – Identified paintings

| Current attribution | Current title | Artist's name in the 1795 catalogue | Number in the 1795 catalogue | Date | Material | Measure | Current owner | Current place of display | Inventory number |
|--|---|-------------------------------------|--|----------------------|----------|--------------|--|--|-------------------------|
| Aelst, Willem van (follower) | Hunt Still Life in a Niche | Not recorded | 3 | 1st half XVIII cent. | canvas | 122 x 85,5 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 883 |
| Backer, Jacob de (?) | Allegory of Christian Patience with Chronos Liberating Her from Chains | Not recorded | 861 | | panel | 107,5 x 75,5 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.1050 MNW |
| Backhuysen, Ludolf | Storm at Sea | BRAKHUSEN | 1761 | 1702 | canvas | 97,8 x 128,5 | Royal Castle in Warsaw | Royal Castle in Warsaw | ZKW/4121 |
| Bemmel, Willem van | Italianate Mountainous Landscape with Sunset | Not recorded | 1124 | | panel | 21,6 x 27,7 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 956 |
| Bemmel, Willem van | Italianate Mountainous Landscape with Sunrise | Not recorded | 1127 | | panel | 20,7 x 27,3 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 955 |
| Berchem, Nicolaes (follower) | Italian Landscape with Peasants Gathering Rushes | BERGHEM | 82 | 2nd half XVII cent. | canvas | 81,4 x 67 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 813 |
| Berchem, Nicolaes (in the style of) | Landscape with a Donkey | BERGHEM | 1672 | probably 18th cent. | panel | 21 x 26 | National Museum in Poznań | National Museum in Poznań | MNP FR 445 |
| Bleker, Gerrit Claesz. | Man with a Lantern and a Stick | Not recorded | | 1633 (dated) | panel | 23,2 x 17,5 | Sotheby's (New York) | Sotheby's (New York) | lotnr. 138 (06-10-1995) |
| Bloemen, Pieter van | Military Camp with a Woman Feeding Her Child and a Boy Playing with a Dog | Not recorded | 1834 (red inscription wrongly written as 1384) | ca. 1700-1710 | canvas | 39,5 x 55,6 | National Museum in Warsaw | Royal Łazienki Museum | M.Ob.1631 MNW |
| Bol, Ferdinand | Portrait of Johanna de Geer-Trip (1627-1691) with Her Daughter Caecilia | FERDINAND BOL | 166 | 1661 | canvas | 126 x 97 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.556 MNW |
| Bol, Ferdinand | Portrait of an Old Woman | REMBRANDT | 137 | | canvas | 81 x 68 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.555 MNW |
| Bol, Ferdinand (follower) (or follower of Rembrandt) | Portrait of an Unknown Young Woman | DIETRICH | 54 | 1725-1775 | panel | 35,5 x 24 | Lost in 1939-1940 (last owner National Museum in Warsaw) | Lost in 1939-1940 (last owner National Museum in Warsaw) | |
| Borch, Gerard (II) ter | An Officer Writing a Letter, with a Courier in Waiting | TERBURG | 42 | ca. 1657-1659 | panel | 40,7 x 28 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.493 MNW |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|----------------------|------|----------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| Bramer, Leonaert (or workshop) | Twelve-years-old Jesus Among the Doctors in the Temple | MANIERE DE REMBRANDT | 1624 | 1611-1674 | oak panel | 52,8 x 71,4 | Ciechanowiecki Foundation | Royal Castle in Warsaw | |
| Brekelenkam, Quiringh van (?) | A Hermit Praying | BRENKLENKAMP | 507 | 1653 | panel | 30 x 22,8 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 820 |
| Brueghel the Elder, Jan (workshop) | The Temptation of Saint Anthony | Not recorded | 879 | XVI/XVII cent. | panel | 33 x 59,2 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 821 |
| Calraet, Abraham Pietersz. van | Still Life with Shells | CUYP | 1749 | 1657-1722 | panel | 40,4 x 54,4 | Wartime loss | Wartime loss | |
| Calraet, Abraham Pietersz. van (?) | Collection of Sea Shells on a Table | CUYP | 1747 | XVII cent. | panel | 40,4 x 54,4 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.443 MNW |
| Cleve, Joos van (workshop) | François I | LEONARDO DA VINCI | 910 | after 1530 | panel | 74 x 61 | Royal Castle in Warsaw | Royal Castle in Warsaw | ZKW/2124 |
| Cort, Hendrik Frans de | View of Lier | HENRI DE CORB 1774 | 1614 | 1774 | copper | 29,9 x 39,2 | Royal Castle in Warsaw | Royal Castle in Warsaw | ZKW/3911 |
| Demarne, Jean-Louis | Merry Company in a Cart, in a Flat Countryside with Cattle | DE MARNE | 1936 | | canvas | 79,5 x 97 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.929 |
| Demarne, Jean-Louis | Charlatan Selling Miraculous Medicines | DE MARNE | 1935 | 1765-1813 | canvas | 79,2 x 97 | Wartime loss | Wartime loss | |
| Deynum, G. van | Still Life with Grapes, Wine Glass and a Crab | WANDYNUM | 653 | | panel | 32,7 x 23,8 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 832 |
| Deynum, G. van | Still Life with Wine Glass, Fruits, and a Shrimp | WANDYNUM | 654 | | panel | 29,3 x 23,1 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 831 |
| Dijk, Philip van | Man Playing a Violin and a Woman at a Window | PHILIPPE VANDYCK | 46 | 1st half XVIII cent. | panel | 42,2 x 33 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 843 |
| Dou, Gerard | An Old Woman in Prayer | Not recorded | 387 | 1630-1635 | panel | 29,6 x 22,9 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.553 MNW |
| Dou, Gerard (?) | The Artist's Mother, Mairrige Jansdr. van Rosenberg | Not recorded | 35 | | panel | 18,5 x 14,1 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 836 |
| Dou, Gerard (?) | The Artist's Father, Douwe Jansz. de Vries van Arentsveld | GERARD DOU | 143 | | panel | 18,4 x 14,1 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 835 |
| Dou, Gerard (after) | The Violin Player | GERARD DOU | 1740 | | oak panel | 39,7 x 28,9 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 837 |
| Dutch painter, mid-XVII cent. | Portrait of a Man in a Tall Hat | REMBRANDT 1649 | 590 | | canvas | 78,8 x 64,9 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 868 |
| Dutch painters, XVII/XVIII cent. | Still Life with a Dead Hare and Birds | Not recorded | 4 | | canvas | 122 x 84,9 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 933 |
| Dyck, Anthony van (after) | Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke and 1st Earl of Montgomery | VANDYCK | 1680 | | canvas | 77 x 62,8 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 842 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|----------------------|----------|------------------------|-----------|--------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| Dyck, Anthony van or Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | Jean-Charles de Cordes | Not recorded | 1194 | | panel | 104,9 x 75,5 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 840 |
| Dyck, Anthony van or Rubens, Peter Paul (after) | Jacqueline van Caestre | Not recorded | 1193 | | panel | 106,3 x 74,9 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 841 |
| Egmont, Justus van | Portrait of Marie Louise de Gonzague (1611-1667), the Future Queen of Poland | Not recorded | 2191 (?) | 1645 | canvas | 228 x 145 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.568 MNW |
| Flemish painter, 2nd half XVII cent. | Mary Magdalen | Not recorded | 860 | | canvas | 85,2 x 66,9 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 948 |
| Flemish painter, ca. 1615 | Landscape with the Good Samaritan | Not recorded | 2077 | | oak panel | 88 x 144 | Royal Castle in Warsaw | Royal Castle in Warsaw | ZKW/1680 |
| Flinck, Govaert | Portrait of a Man in a Dark Costume | Not recorded | 162 | 1640-1649 | oak panel | 92 x 69 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.2584 MNW |
| Flinck, Govaert (after) | Man in a Red Cap | GEOFFROY FLINK | 47 | 4th quarter XVII cent. | panel | 38,9 x 30,4 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 845 |
| Gelder, Aert de | Self-Portrait of Aert de Gelder (1645-1727) with Rembrandt's 'Hundred guilder print' in his hand | VANGELDER | 570 | ca. 1710 | canvas | 79,5 x 64,5 | Hermitage in Saint Petersburg | Hermitage in Saint Petersburg | 790 |
| Gelder, Aert de (attributed) | Toilet of a Lady | Not recorded | | ca. 1650 | canvas | 99 x 115 | National Museum in Poznań | National Museum in Poznań | MNP FR 437 |
| Govaerts, Abraham and Francken, Frans (II) | The Feast of Gods, with the Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite | Not recorded | 1784 | 1625 | panel | 61,9 x 133 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.816 MNW |
| Graat, Barend | Gallant company in a garden | B. GRAATE anno 1661 | 706 | 1661 | canvas | 85 x 75,5 | Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam | Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam | SK A 3932 |
| Hackaert, Jan (?) | Italian Landscape with a River | MOUCHERON | 502 | 1670s | canvas | 79,4 x 67,2 | Royal Castle in Warsaw | Royal Castle in Warsaw | ZKW/3925 |
| Heinrich, Vitus | The Massacre of the Innocents | Not recorded | 814 | | copper | 41 x 58,5 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.831 MNW |
| Heinrich, Vitus | The Feeding of the Five Thousand | Not recorded | 815 | | copper | 41 x 59,5 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.830 MNW |
| Helst, Bartholomeus van der | Self-Portrait | D'APRES VANDER HELST | 571 | | canvas | 83,5 x 65 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.491 MNW |
| Hondecoeter, Gillis Claesz. de (?) | Paradise with Adam and Eve | ECOLE FLAMANDE | 1093 | | canvas | 132 x 183 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.584 MNW |
| Hondecoeter, Melchior de | Hens and Chickens, Pheasant and Peacocks | MELCHIOR HONDEKOETER | 8 | 2nd half XVII cent. | canvas | 91,6 x 108,5 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 851 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|------|---------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| Hondecoeter, Melchior de | Two Roosters, a Hen and Chickens, Pigeon and Hoopoe | MELCHIOR HONDEKOETER (Du meme maitre KB, as above) | 9 | 2nd half XVII cent. | canvas | 93,2 x 102,4 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 852 |
| Jordaens, Jacob | Satyr Playing a Flute | ECOLE DE RUBENS | 683 | | panel | 64 x 49,4 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 853 |
| Jordaens, Jacob (after) | Flora, Silenus and Zephyr | Not recorded | 93 | | canvas | 179,5 x 122 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 854 |
| Lamen (Laemen), Christoffel Jacobsz. van der | Merry Company at the Table | Not recorded | 649 | | panel | 50,7 x 82,6 | National Museum in Warsaw | Royal Łazienki Museum | M.Ob.2750 MNW |
| Lubieniecki, Christoffel | Portrait of Arnold van Halen (1673-1732) | Not recorded | | 1725 (dated) | panel | 56 x 43 | Poesjkin Museum in Moscow | Poesjkin Museum in Moscow | 3076 |
| Luyckx, Carstian and Teniers the Younger, David | Personification of Time, in a Stone Cartouche with a Flower Garland | Not recorded | 77 | 1650 | oak panel | 74,5 x 55 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.571 MNW |
| Maas, Dirk (?) | The Break of the Dikes at Coevorden on 1 October 1673 | MAAS | 174 | | canvas | 92,3 x 120,6 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.408 MNW |
| Maes, Nicolaes (?) | Mocking of Christ | REMBRANDT | 244 | 1650s | canvas | 190,5 x 119,5 | Hermitage Museum | Hermitage Museum | |
| Metsu, Gabriel | The Washerwoman (Woman Washing Clothes in a Tub) | GABRIEL MEZIUS | 38 | before 1667 | panel | 23,7 x 21,1 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 811 |
| Metsu, Gabriel (replica of copy after) | A Man with a Pipe and Tankard | GABRIEL METZIUS | 55 | 1662 | panel | 23,9 x 21 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.492 MNW |
| Mieris the Elder, Frans van (after) | Old Woman Holding a Flower Pot | Not recorded | 126 | 2nd half XVII cent. | panel | 29,2 x 22 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 838 |
| Monogrammist L(?)MW | Jesus Feeds the Five Thousand | BRIEGEL | 1811 | XVII cent. | copper | 23,2 x 38,1 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 939 |
| Moucheron, Frederik de | Landscape with a Castle and a Hill | MOUCHERON | 809 | 1660-1670 | canvas | 102 x 88,8 | National Museum in Warsaw | Royal Łazienki Museum | M.Ob.2733 MNW |
| Moucheron, Frederik de | Wooded Landscape | MOUCHERON | 808 | 1660-1670 | canvas | 101,3 x 88,8 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.1070 MNW |
| Palamedes, Anthonie (Palamedesz.) | Guardroom Interior with a Trumpeter | PALAMEDE | 1742 | 1654 (dated) | panel | 36,5 x 50 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 893 |
| Poelenburch, Cornelis van | Nymphs and Satyrs in a Landscape | CORNEILLE POLEMBURG | 41 | 1620s | copper | 24,1 x 30,4 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.1059 MNW |
| Rembrandt van Rijn | Girl in a Picture Frame | REMBRANDT | 207 | | poplar panel | 105,5 x 76,3 | Royal Castle in Warsaw | Royal Castle in Warsaw | ZKW/3906 |
| Rembrandt van Rijn | The Polish Rider | REMBRANDT | 1734 | ca. 1655 | canvas | 116,8 x 134,9 | The Frick Collection (New York) | The Frick Collection (New York) | |
| Rembrandt van Rijn | Scholar at His Writing Table | Not recorded | 208 | | poplar panel | 105,7 x 76,4 | Royal Castle in Warsaw | Royal Castle in Warsaw | ZKW/3905 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|--|---|-----------|----------------|--|--|---------------|
| Rembrandt van Rijn (after) | Saint Peter the Repentant | FERDINAND BOL | 140 | | canvas | 50,7 x 64,3 | Royal Castle in Warsaw | Royal Castle in Warsaw | ZKW/3908 |
| Rembrandt van Rijn (after) | Potiphar's wife before her husband accusing Joseph (Genesis 39, 16-20) | D'APRES REMBRANDT | 567 | after 1655 | canvas | 115,6 x 90,2 | Private collection in Minneapolis (Minnesota) | Private collection in Minneapolis (Minnesota) | |
| Rembrandt van Rijn (and workshop) | Portrait of Maerten Soolmans (1613-1641) | COEP | 499 | 1634 | oak panel | 71,2 x 53 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.2189 MNW |
| Rembrandt van Rijn (follower) | Bust of a Young Man | REMBRANDT (later crossed out) | 149 | 2nd quarter XVII cent. | panel | 21 x 21 (oval) | Private collection | Private collection | |
| Rembrandt van Rijn (follower) | Portrait of an Old Man | REMBRANDT 1649 | 590 (? , in the 1795 catalogue two paintings under this number, explanation in Mańkowski 1929) | 2nd half XVII cent. or 1st half XVIII cent. | canvas | 71 x 55 | Musee du Louvre in Paris | Musee du Louvre in Paris | RF 2379 |
| Rembrandt van Rijn (follower) | Portrait of a Man in a Beret | DIETRICH | 43 | 1725-1775 | panel | 30,3 x 24,3 | Lost in 1939-1940 (last owner National Museum in Warsaw) | Lost in 1939-1940 (last owner National Museum in Warsaw) | |
| Rijckaert, David (III) | Tavern Scene | Not recorded | 964 | | panel | 43 x 58 | National Museum in Warsaw | Royal Łazienki Museum | M.Ob.2467 MNW |
| Rubens, Peter Paul (Adam Braun after) | Portrait of Hélène Fourment (1614-1673) in a fur coat | BRAUN D'APRES RUBENS | 1676 | | canvas | 50,6 x 36,5 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 819 |
| Saftleven, Cornelis | The Egg Dance | Not recorded | 954 | 1637 | panel | 39 x 50,1 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.496 MNW |
| Saftleven, Herman | View of a Panoramic Rhine Landscape ('View of the Rhine near Andernach') | ZACHTLEBEN | 583 | 1657 | copper | 26,3 x 32,7 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 909 |
| Schalcken, Godfried | The Penitent Magdalene | SKALKEN | 1613 | 2nd half XVII cent. | canvas | 51,7 x 40,5 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 911 |
| Slingelandt, Pieter Cornelisz. van | Portrait of a Young Woman Holding a Rose | GABRIEL METZIUS | 56 | | panel | 26,7 x 20,7 | National Museum in Warsaw | Royal Łazienki Museum | M.Ob.2122 MNW |

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|---|--|----------------------|------|------------------------|---|-------------|--|---------------------------|--------------|
| Slingelandt, Pieter Cornelisz. van | Portrait of a Scholar | Not recorded | 37 | 1675 (dated) | panel | 26,9 x 21,2 | Wartime loss (according to the Łazienki catalogue) (according to RKD the painting was in possession of the art dealer Habeldt & Company, Paris/New York) | | |
| Soolmaker, Jan Frans | Landscape with Cattle and Shepherds | BERGHEM | 156 | 3rd quarter XVII cent. | canvas | 60,7 x 79,2 | Royal Castle in Warsaw | Royal Castle in Warsaw | ZKW/3907 |
| Sorgh, Hendrick Martensz. | A Young Woman and a Young Boy in a Kitchen | LORGH 1643 | 578 | 1643 | panel | 46,3 x 38 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.498 MNW |
| Soutman, Pieter | Portrait of a Lady | Not recorded | 1374 | | panel | 69 x 58,7 | National Museum in Warsaw | Royal Łazienki Museum | M.Ob.528 MNW |
| Steen, Jan | Choice Between Youth and Wealth | STEEL | 15 | 1661-1663 | panel | 63,5 x 51,5 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.497 MNW |
| Steenwijk the Younger, Hendrick | Interior of a Gothic Church | MANIERE FLAMANDE | 1720 | | | | National Museum in Cracow | National Museum in Cracow | |
| Teniers the Younger, David | Country Physician | TENIERS | 701 | ca. 1670 | oak panel | 25 x 19 | Royal Castle in Warsaw | Royal Castle in Warsaw | ZKW/3919 |
| Teniers the Younger, David (circle, workshop) | Vodka Peddler | TENIERS | 700 | ca. 1640 | oak panel | 25,7 x 19,6 | Royal Castle in Warsaw | Royal Castle in Warsaw | ZKW/3918 |
| Teniers the Younger, David (follower) | Smokers in a Tavern | TENIERS | 1210 | | canvas stamped on panel | 36 x 51,3 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 923 |
| Tilens, Jan | Jacob Wrestling with the Angel | Not recorded | 1812 | | copper | 19,1 x 26,1 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 938 |
| Unidentified painter, XVIII cent. | Man in a Black Hat | MANIERE FLAMANDE | 1993 | | canvas | 67,8 x 51,8 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 867 |
| Verdussen, Jan Peeter | Fish Market | P. VERDUSSEN | 504 | before 1763 | canvas | 60,2 x 73,1 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 926 |
| Verdussen, Jan Peeter | Poultry Market | P. VERDUSSEN | 505 | before 1763 | canvas | 60,3 x 73 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 925 |
| Verelst, Pieter Hermansz. | Young Man in a Plumed Beret | MANIERE DE REMBRANDT | 702 | | oak panel | 71,1 x 55,8 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 817 |
| Verkolje, Jan (I) | Laughing Woman (Allegory of Sight) | Not recorded | 1125 | 1st half XVII cent. | paper stamped on panel (mezzotint, oil) | 17,3 x 13,4 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 848 |
| Vermeer van Haarlem, Jan (I) | Extensive River Landscape with a Windmill | Not recorded | 800 | | canvas | 61,5 x 90,5 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 885 |

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|--------------------------------|--|-------------------------|------|-------------|-----------|--------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| Victors, Jan | Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph | DE L'ECOLE DE REMBRANDT | 375 | early 1650s | canvas | 136 x 190 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.37 |
| Victors, Jan | Joseph's Bloodied Coat is Show n to Jacob | FERDINAND BOLL | 75 | 1649 | canvas | 96,9 x 112,9 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 927 |
| Victors, Jan | Essau Selling His Birthright to Jacob for a Soup of Lentils | Not recorded | 84 | 1653 | canvas | 109 x 137 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 928 |
| Vois, Ary de | Diana and Actaeon | ARY DE VOYS | 84 | 1672 | oak panel | 26,3 x 30,7 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 929 |
| Vois, Ary de | Injustice Enthroned (Satire of Louis XIV during the Dutch War?) | ARY DE VOYS | 58 | 1650 | oak panel | 47 x 42 | National Museum in Warsaw | Royal Łazienki Museum | M.Ob.849 MNW |
| Vos, Simon de | Seven Deeds of Christian Mercy | SIMON DE VOOS | 40 | | panel | 64,6 x 96,6 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.1819 MNW |
| Vos, Simon de | Adoration of the Magi | Not recorded | | | panel | 78 x 51,5 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.572 MNW |
| Werff, Adriaen van der (after) | Lot and His Daughters | VANDER VERF | 49 | after 1694 | panel | 40,5 x 31,7 | Royal Łazienki Museum | Royal Łazienki Museum | ŁKr 934 |
| Westerveld, Abraham van | The entrance of ruler Janusz Radziw \ddot{u} in the conquered city of Kiev | Not recorded | 2235 | 1651-1653 | canvas | 129 x 392 | Wartime loss | Wartime loss | |
| Wijck, Thomas | Washerwomen in a Yard | CH. (TH. KB) WYCK | 518 | | canvas | 41 x 35,4 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.486 MNW |
| Wouwerman, Philips | Travellers in a Grotto | PHILIPPE WOWERMENS | 45 | 1640-1645 | panel | 27,8 x 30,3 | National Museum in Warsaw | National Museum in Warsaw | M.Ob.487 MNW |
| Wouwerman, Philips | Landscape with a White Horse and Dismounted Rider | WOWERMENS | 1815 | early 1640s | oak panel | 35,9 x 31,9 | Royal Castle in Warsaw | Royal Castle in Warsaw | ZKW/3916 |

Table 5 – Desenfans' catalogue

| Number in the 1802 catalogue | Historical attribution | Dutch / Flemish / Netherlandish / Uncertain | Artist's name in the 1802 catalogue |
|------------------------------|------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 72 | Rembrandt | D | Rembrandt |
| 74 | Lingelbach, Johannes | D | Linglebach, John |
| 75 | Ostade, Adriaen van | D | Ostade, Adrian |
| 76 | Ostade, Isaac van | D | Ostade, Isaac |
| 77 | Ostade, Isaac van | D | Ostade, Isaac |
| 78 | Ostade, Isaac van | D | Ostade, Isaac |
| 83 | Rubens, Peter Paul | F | Rubens, Peter Paul |
| 84 | Rubens, Peter Paul | F | Rubens, Peter Paul |
| 85 | Rubens, Peter Paul | F | Rubens, Peter Paul |
| 86 | Rubens, Peter Paul | F | Rubens, Peter Paul |
| 87 | Rubens, Peter Paul | F | Rubens, Peter Paul |
| 88 | Rubens, Peter Paul | F | Rubens, Peter Paul |
| 89 | Dyck, Anthony van | F | Vandyck, Anthony |
| 90 | Dyck, Anthony van | F | Vandyck, Anthony |
| 91 | Dyck, Anthony van | F | Vandyck, Anthony |
| 92 | Dyck, Anthony van | F | Vandyck, Anthony |
| 93 | Dyck, Anthony van | F | Vandyck, Anthony |
| 94 | Dyck, Anthony van | F | Vandyck, Anthony |
| 95 | Teniers, David | F | Teniers, David |
| 96 | Teniers, David | F | Teniers, David |
| 97 | Teniers, David | F | Teniers, David |
| 98 | Teniers, David | F | Teniers, David |
| 99 | Teniers, David | F | Teniers, David |
| 100 | Teniers, David | F | Teniers, David |

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|-----|----------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| 101 | Teniers, David | F | Teniers, David |
| 102 | Jordaens, Jacob | F | Jordaens, James |
| 103 | Jordaens, Jacob | F | Jordaens, James |
| 104 | Coques, Gonzales | F | Coques, Gonzales |
| 105 | Meulen, Adam Frans van der | F | Vandermeulen, Anthony Francis |
| 106 | Meulen, Adam Frans van der | F | Vandermeulen, Anthony Francis |
| 107 | Champagne, Philippe de | F | Champagne, Philip de |
| 108 | Swanevelt, Herman van | F | Swanefeld, Herman |
| 109 | Swanevelt, Herman van | F | Swanefeld, Herman |
| 110 | Fouquieres, Jacques | F | Fouquieres, James |
| 111 | Hobbema, Meindert | F | Hobbima, Minderhout |
| 112 | Miel, Jan | F | Miel, Jan Giovanni Della Vite |
| 113 | Miel, Jan | F | Miel, Jan Giovanni Della Vite |
| 114 | Wouwerman, Philips | D | Wouvermans, Philip |
| 115 | Wouwerman, Philips | D | Wouvermans, Philip |
| 116 | Wouwerman, Philips | D | Wouvermans, Philip |
| 117 | Wouwerman, Philips | D | Wouvermans, Philip |
| 118 | Wouwerman, Philips | D | Wouvermans, Philip |
| 119 | Wouwerman, Philips | D | Wouvermans, Philip |
| 120 | Wouwerman, Philips | D | Wouvermans, Philip |
| 121 | Both, Jan | D | Both, John |
| 122 | Berchem, Nicolaes | D | Berchem, Nicholas |
| 123 | Berchem, Nicolaes | D | Berchem, Nicholas |
| 124 | Berchem, Nicolaes | D | Berchem, Nicholas |
| 125 | Berchem, Nicolaes | D | Berchem, Nicholas |
| 126 | Berchem, Nicolaes | D | Berchem, Nicholas |
| 127 | Dou, Gerard | D | Douw, Gerard |
| 128 | Dou, Gerard | D | Douw, Gerard |
| 129 | Dou, Gerard | D | Douw, Gerard |

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|-----|--------------------------|---|----------------------|
| 130 | Dujardin, Karel | D | Jardin, Karel du |
| 131 | Dujardin, Karel | D | Jardin, Karel du |
| 132 | Dujardin, Karel | D | Jardin, Karel du |
| 133 | Dujardin, Karel | D | Jardin, Karel du |
| 134 | ? | D | Vanharp |
| 135 | Ruisdael, Jacob van | D | Ruysdael, Jacob |
| 136 | Ruisdael, Jacob van | D | Ruysdael, Jacob |
| 137 | Huysum, Jan van | D | Huysum, John Van |
| 138 | Weenix, Jan | D | Weenix, J.B. |
| 139 | Borch, Gerard ter | D | Terburgh, Gerard |
| 140 | Heyden, Jan van der | D | Heyden, John Vander |
| 141 | Heyden, Jan van der | D | Heyden, John Vander |
| 142 | Cuyp, Aelbert | D | Cuyp, Albert |
| 143 | Cuyp, Aelbert | D | Cuyp, Albert |
| 144 | Cuyp, Aelbert | D | Cuyp, Albert |
| 145 | Cuyp, Aelbert | D | Cuyp, Albert |
| 146 | Cuyp, Aelbert | D | Cuyp, Albert |
| 147 | Cuyp, Aelbert | D | Cuyp, Albert |
| 148 | Cuyp, Aelbert | D | Cuyp, Albert |
| 149 | Velde, Willem van de (?) | D | Vanderveldt, William |
| 150 | Velde, Willem van de (?) | D | Vanderveldt, William |
| 151 | Witt, Emmanuel de | D | Dewitt, Emanuel |
| 152 | Pynacker, Adam | D | Pynaker, Adam |
| 153 | Pynacker, Adam | D | Pynaker, Adam |
| 154 | Pynacker, Adam | D | Pynaker, Adam |
| 155 | Pynacker, Adam | D | Pynaker, Adam |
| 156 | Backhuysen, Ludolf | D | Backhuysen, Ludolf |
| 157 | Backhuysen, Ludolf | D | Backhuysen, Ludolf |
| 158 | Wynants, Jan | D | Wynants, John |

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|-----|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| 159 | Wynants, Jan and Velde, Adriaen van de | D | Wynants, John and Vandervelde, Adrian |
| 160 | Wynants, Jan and Lingelbach, Johannes | D | Wynants, John and Lingleback |
| 161 | ? | D | Le Duc |
| 162 | Velde, Adriaen van de | D | Vandevelde, Adrian |
| 163 | Velde, Adriaen van de | D | Vandevelde, Adrian |
| 164 | Velde, Adriaen van de | D | Vandevelde, Adrian |
| 165 | Hugtenburg, Jan van | D | Hugtenberg, John Van |
| 166 | Vlieger, Simon de | D | Vlieger, De |
| 167 | Brouwer, Adriaen | D | Brouwer, Adrian |
| 168 | Poelenburch, Cornelis van | D | Poelemberg, Cornelius |
| 169 | Werff, Adriaen van der | D | Vanderwerf, Adrian |
| 170 | Potter, Paulus | D | Potter, Paul |
| 171 | Bonnaert, Jan | D | Bonnaert, John |