

scem, gdzie Zawadzki nawiązał kontakty, które procentowały później w całym jego życiu zawodowym w Rzeczypospolitej, tworząc krąg najważniejszych zleceńodawców (Stanisław Poniatowski, Ignacy

Potocki) oraz przyjaciół i współpracowników (Hugo Kołłątaj, Franciszek Smuglewicz). A rzymskie Hospicjum św. Stanisława miało w tym wszystkim swój istotny udział.

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THE ARCHITECT STANISŁAW ZAWADZKI IN ROME REALITY – FASCINATION – BENEFITS

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A few years ago, when preparing an article entitled *Rzymskie sukcesy architekta Stanisława Zawadzkiego* [The Roman Successes of the Architect Stanisław Zawadzki] which dealt with his education at the Accademia di San Luca, his winning an architectural competition established by Pope Clement XII, and his entering the ranks of academicians of merit (*di merito*), I was unable to make use of the archives in St. Stanisław's Hospice in Rome¹. This collection – given the Hospice's importance as the one-time hub of all Polish life and matters connected with Poland in Rome – was used by Mieczysław Gębarowicz and Maciej Loret before the war; however after the war it remained virtually inaccessible to lay scholars, and was used only sporadically by members of the clergy². Although the archives were amassed under one roof, they were disordered and had to await better times when they would be looked after with due professional care. In 2009 a major project was initiated by the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Kraków, financed by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. The project's aim was to organize, catalogue, conserve and make accessible all of the Hospice's archival resources³. So in 2011, thanks to a scholarship from

the Lanckoroński Foundation, I was finally able to access the manuscripts which were of interest to me⁴. This article is the outcome of my research into the archives, supplemented with a more general reflection on the influence Rome had on the later career of the architect Stanisław Zawadzki.

Despite the wide range of subjects covered in his classic publication dating from the 1930s titled *Życie polskie w Rzymie w XVIII wieku* [Polish Life in Rome in the 18th century], Maciej Loret only briefly mentions Zawadzki: "Several Polish architects studied in Rome during the reign of Stanisław August. In 1769, Stanisław Zawadzki came to Rome with other artists thanks to his receiving support from Mycielski, the Starosta of Lubiatów. In 1771 he was awarded second prize (in second class) in the competition for the design of the façade of the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. After completing the Academy, Zawadzki returned to Poland where he became a much sought-after architect. He was appointed professor of the Cadet Corps and enjoyed the support of Stanisław August, and designed a large number of buildings and interiors. He was also, with time, appointed full member of the Accademia di San Luca"⁵. When reviewing the archives in Rome

¹ R. Mączyński, *Rzymskie sukcesy architekta Stanisława Zawadzkiego*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki" [Architectural and Town Planning Quarterly], XLVII, 2002, fasc. 4, pp. 370f.

² M. Gębarowicz, *O artystach polskich w Rzymie (Polacy – uczniowie Akademii św. Łukasza w XVIII wieku)*, "Przegląd Warszawski", V, 1925, fasc. 48, pp. 169f; M. Loret, *Gli artisti Polacchi a Roma nel Settecento*, Milano 1929, *passim*; M. Machejek, *400 lat Kościoła i Hospicjum św. Stanisława w Rzymie*, Rome 1978, *passim*.

³ Information on this topic covering the years 2009, 2010 and 2011 can be found on the University's website: <http://upjp2.edu.pl>.

⁴ I would like to thank Dr. Józef Skrabski who was involved in this project for his help in facilitating my obtaining access to the archives when making enquiries at St. Stanisław's Hospice in Rome.

⁵ M. Loret, *Życie polskie w Rzymie w XVIII wieku*, Roma [1930], p. 300. This publication was an expanded version of the earlier-quoted paper which he delivered in Italian. It also contains information that is similarly worded: *id.*, *Gli artisti Polacchi...*, p. 34.

and comparing them with other surviving sources, it appears that despite the text's brevity, quite a few errors had crept in largely due to the written records being misinterpreted⁶.

The archives of St. Stanisław's Hospice can only partially satisfy the researcher's curiosity because they do not provide answers to all the questions that could be asked (such as the actual dates on which Zawadzki left Rome during his two consecutive stays there). However, they do allow many details to be established and also bring to light and explain the relationship between many seemingly unrelated facts.

The Reality of Rome

In 1768 Stanisław Zawadzki, who already had some experience in the field of architecture – most probably under the eye of Ephraim Schröger – decided to go to Rome to acquire theoretical and practical knowledge at the Accademia di San Luca, which would later allow him to join the ranks of architect–designers and be much more than a mere craftsman⁷. Zawadzki was then 25 years old. According to written sources, he made the decision on the “advice” of his uncle, Michał Mateusz Kosmowski, abbot of the Monastery of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine in Trzemeszno⁸. Kosmowski had a fascination for buildings, as can be seen by his wide-ranging sponsorship activities in that town⁹. This information can be found in a diary

written by Jakub Lanhaus of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem in Gniezno, who was in Rome to resolve a dispute between the Order and the Chapter. Lanhaus described meeting Stanisław Zawadzki who was then still unknown¹⁰. The young man told him that “he had come to Rome to improve his skills in painting and architecture”, and also showed him a letter of recommendation dated 31 October 1768 from Bonawentura Christ, the parish priest of St. John's in Gniezno¹¹.

This date should be treated as immediately preceding Zawadzki's departure from Poland, so he must have travelled in the autumn/winter season – not the best time of year for such a journey which lasted through November and December 1768 up until March 1769. He probably took the shortest and most usual route through Wrocław, Olomouc, Vienna, Venice, Padua, Bologna, Florence and then on to Rome¹². In 1768, Bartłomiej Pstrokoński, Canon of Gniezno, travelled to the Eternal City along the very same route. Pstrokoński, who kept a diary, had a predilection for recording the minutest of details in his day to day life thus we know that his journey took a little over a month, and cost a total of 100 red zloties¹³. Stanisław Zawadzki's arrival in Rome can be traced to the first day of spring – 21 March 1769 – when an entry was made in the books of St. Stanisław's Hospice *Pellegrini dal 1763 al 1774* (Fig. 1)¹⁴. In accordance with the statute, new arrivals were entitled to live in the Hospice and “receive pecuniary aid for 15 days amounting

⁶ Factual materials concerning Stanisław Zawadzki's contacts with the Accademia di San Luca can be found in the article: R. Mączyński, *Rzymskie sukcesy...*, pp. 370f. Therefore I will not be discussing this issue herein.

⁷ On the beginnings of Zawadzki's professional education: R. Mączyński, *Nieznane aspekty biografii architekta Stanisława Zawadzkiego*, “Rocznik Warszawski”, XXXIII, 2005, pp. 44f.

⁸ For further information see, among others: E. Gierczyński, *Kosmowski Michał Mateusz*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 14, Wrocław 1968–1969, pp. 239f; id. *Mecenas w infule. Ks biskup Michał Kościusza-Kosmowski*, “Nasza Przeszłość”, XIV, 1961, pp. 161f.

⁹ This not only encompassed the main church monastery complex but also the school-seminary building, the hospital and the newly-built New Town district: P. Banaś, *Osiemnastowieczny kościół kanoników regularnych w Trzemesznie*, “Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, XXVIII, 1966, nos. 3/4, pp. 396f; *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. XI, *Dawne województwo bydgoskie*, ed. T. Chrzanowski, M. Kordecki, fasc. 10, *Mogilno, Strzelno, Trzemeszno i okolice*, written by Z. Białłowicz-Krygierowa, Warszawa 1982, pp. 93f and 107f.

¹⁰ Biblioteka Kapitulna w Gnieźnie [Chapter Library in Gniezno] (further: BKG), MS ref. no.: BK Ms. 227: *Itinerarium R. P.*

Jacobi Lanhaus Canonici Ordinis Custodum SS. Sepulchri. Anno Domini 1768, vol. 1, 2. Broad information on the contents of the first volume of this manuscript was once published by: S. Karwowski, *Itinerarium bożogrobca gnieźnieńskiego ks. Jakuba Lanhaus'a z roku 1768*, Poznań 1890, *passim*. The great significance of the second volume of Lanhaus's notes – which was until recently believed lost – can be seen in: A. Sajkowski, *Włoskie przygody Polaków. Wiek XVI-XVIII*, Warsaw 1973, pp. 130f.

¹¹ BKG, MS ref. no. BK Ms. 227, vol. 2, p. 331.

¹² More on this subject can be found in: M. Loret, *Życie polskie...*, p. 175. It is unlikely that Zawadzki went to Loreto, like some of the other pilgrims, because he was in Rome for academic reasons and not devotional ones.

¹³ B. Pstrokoński, *Pamiętniki księdza ... kanonika katedralnego gnieźnieńskiego*, publ. E. Raczyński, Wrocław 1844, pp. 69f. He left Gniezno on 20 April and arrived in Rome on 26 May, where he stayed at St. Stanisław's Hospice. Extensive use was made of the information contained in Pstrokoński's diary by: M. Loret, *Życie polskie...*, pp. 243f.

¹⁴ Archiwum Kościoła i Hospicjum św. Stanisława w Rzymie [Archives of St. Stanisław's Hospice in Rome (further: AKHSS), MS ref. no. I-46: *Pellegrini dal 1763 al 1774*, p. 55.

to 1 obol”¹⁵. The rule was strictly adhered to as can be seen in the volume entitled *Elemosine dei pellegrini dal 1766 al 1778*. Zawadzki collected the aid to which he was entitled on consecutive days of March and then at the beginning of April, through to 4 April, and the final payment was made on the fifteenth day, counting from the day of his arrival, when he collected the first payment (Fig. 2)¹⁶.

The “obol” he received at the Hospice was worth 2,5 *baiocchi*. In Rome in the second half of the 18th century, 1 *scudo* was worth 10 *paoli* or 100 *baiocchi*¹⁷. In the Polish monetary system 1 *scudo* would have amounted to 9 Polish zloties, therefore 1 red zloty was worth 2 *scudi*. The purchasing power of 1 *baiocco* was therefore very small, even bearing in mind Pstrokoński’s opinion that food and clothing in Rome were relatively cheap, and that every “honest traveller can, for but a few pence, find some healthy vegetables in the ‘soup kitchens’, and melons, roasted chestnuts and all kinds of fruit in the streets,” and that: “a frugal person can thus maintain himself in exchange for a paltry penny”¹⁸.

On 31 March Zawadzki visited Lanhaus in search of financial support. He knew that in a few days he would no longer receive alms from the Hospice. Lanhaus wrote: “He told me that on his journey, Polish soldiers, *alias* Confederates, had taken everything as well as significant monies; they held them under arrest, they also took his shirts, they also pulled boots apart, clothes, *etc.* And so he was very poor, and although he ate dinner *in Casa Nationali* and had a roof over his head thanks to the grace of His Reverence the Rector [of St. Stanisław’s Hospice], for supper he ate nothing”¹⁹. The information concerning the robbery is likely to be true because the Confederates were very active in the Greater Poland region at that time²⁰. This could also explain why it took Zawadzki so long to travel from Gniezno to Rome. Lanhaus also added: “He

asked me to help him out but I did not have much money either, [...], however I lent him five *paoli*, which he promised to pay back when he received it from Trzemeszno as he had already asked them”²¹. The sum Lanhaus lent Zawadzki was paltry, the equivalent of one half of a *scudo*. Lanhaus met with Zawadzki twice more – on 8 and 13 June 1769 – and although he mentioned meeting him there is no further mention of his financial situation²².

One interesting fact is that Stanisław Zawadzki was not the only person to be entered into the alms book of St. Stanisław’s Hospice on 21 March 1769. Three other names appear alongside his: Stanisław Bożanicki, Marcin Bosner and Jan Klup²³. The book of new arrivals – *Pellegrini dal 1763 al 1774* – contains an entry in Latin which reads: “Today Stefan Bożanicki was accepted into our Hospice together with Marcin Bosner, Stanisław Zawadzki and Jan Kulp”²⁴. It may have been a mere coincidence, but it should be borne in mind that Polish pilgrims and travellers did not arrive in Rome every day. It is very possible, therefore, that the four men travelled together, that they had either left Poland as a group or had met up along the way, although this fact cannot be firmly established²⁵. One reason that suggests they could have left Poland as a group is the use of the plural form in Lanhaus’s note concerning Zawadzki’s arrest by the Confederates, as well as a later annotation concerning the arrival of the four Poles at the Hospice: “Only Zawadzki stayed in Rome to perfect his study of architecture”²⁶. None of his companions’ names was ever again mentioned in Polish or Italian history.

In 1769 Zawadzki’s financial situation improved with the arrival of Stanisław Mycielski, the Starosta of Lubiatów. It is unclear when exactly he arrived at the Hospice, but there is an entry under the year 1769, and he is at the top of the list of newcomers arriving from Poland²⁷. The entry reads: “His Lordship

¹⁵ AKHSS, MS ref. no. I-44: *Elemosine dei pellegrini dal 1766 al 1778*, p. 3.

¹⁶ AKHSR, MS ref. no. I-44, pp. 99f.

¹⁷ Cf. *Encyklopedia powszechna Samuela Orgelbranda*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1898, p. 50 (s.v.: *Bajocco*), vol. 11, Warszawa 1901, p. 272 (s.v.: *Paolo*), vol. 13, Warszawa 1902, p. 403 (s.v.: *Scudo*).

¹⁸ B. Pstrokoński, op. cit., p. 100.

¹⁹ BKG, MS ref. no. BK Ms. 227, vol. 2, p. 331.

²⁰ W. Szczygielski, *Konfederacja barska w Wielkopolsce 1768-1770*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 87f.

²¹ BKG, MS ref. no. BK Ms. 227, vol. 2, p. 331.

²² BKG, MS ref. no. BK Ms. 227, vol. 2, pp. 382 and 385.

²³ They also collected similar sums for 15 days: AKHSS, MS ref. no. I-44, pp. 99ff.

²⁴ AKHSS, MS ref. no. I-46, p. 55.

²⁵ Marcin Bosner had, almost exactly a year earlier – on 15 April 1768 – arrived at St. Stanisław’s Hospice in Rome as a pilgrim: AKHSS, MS ref. no. I-46, p. 49. At that time he also received pecuniary aid: AKHSS, MS ref. no. I-44, pp. 64f.

²⁶ AKHSS, MS ref. no. I-46, p. 55.

²⁷ AKHSS, MS ref. no. I-43: *Nazionali venuti in Roma dal 1748 al 1770*, p. 8.

Mycielski, the Starosta of Lubiatów” [the Polish adjectival form ‘lubiatyński’ was used instead of the correct form ‘lubiатовski’] thus proved himself to be a “most useful benefactor” to the young architect, whom he supported with ‘an adequate sum of money’²⁸. This note in *Pellegrini dal 1763 al 1774* explains the origin of the strange passage that appears under the heading *Zawadzki Stanisław* in Stanisław Łoza’s dictionary of architects: “He went to Rome in 1769 thanks to help received from Mycielski, the Starosta of Lubiatów”²⁹. The reason why Stanisław Mycielski acted as Zawadzki’s “saviour” is unknown. Maybe what endeared Zawadzki to Mycielski was his lofty goal and his motivation to acquire knowledge in Rome. Or it may have been the sense of community he felt with a fellow compatriot who hailed from the same part of the country as he did. Mycielski was born in Szubin (he was heir to the Szubin, Turzyn and Dłoń estates), whereas Zawadzki came from near Gniezno or Trzemeszno³⁰. They were both born in 1743, both came from *szlachta* families although of vastly differing financial means.

The charity Mycielski showed the young architect can be better understood if the character portrait of Stanisław Mycielski, penned in 1774 by Franciszek Cieciszowski, Director of the Cadets’ theatre, is true. In his dedication to Mycielski’s comedy *Junak*, he wrote: “The widespread respect for the outstanding qualities of your heart and mind has long been worthy of paying you this tribute in the name of learning, which you have been perfecting for the good of the country. Having been enriched with the newly adopted curiosities and experiences gained abroad, they add yet another honourable title to those which you already possessed, and one which is the most important in the eyes of thinking people, that of a wise and charitable Philosopher. Your efforts and work which are divided between improving the lives of the people you govern, and enlightening your fellow countrymen, make you, Your Honourable Lordship, admired and loved by

all, and most desirable and amicable to be around. Far from being vain and conceited, which very often accompanies great virtues, you leave those who have been fortunate enough to enjoy your presence, longing for your pleasant and witty company”³¹. Cieszowski also added: “Accessible to everyone with your generosity and seriousness, as well as your innate kindness and gentleness, you even addressed the yet unvoiced wants and desires of others”.

On 8 June 1769, Jakub Lanhaus wrote: “I then visited the Polish Fund [*Casa Polacca*, namely St. Stanisław’s Hospice] to see Mr. Zawadzki, but I could not find his lodgings and he was not at home, because I then met him on a small street not far from the Minerva; he told me that His Lordship, Mr. Mycielski, the Starosta, was leaving for Paris on Sunday”³². This shows the architect and the priest were still in touch. He may have been visiting Zawadzki to remind him about the repayment of the loan although we cannot be certain. It does, however, tell us that Mycielski only stayed in Rome for six months, after which he went to France. At this point their paths divided, thus reinforcing the supposition that Mycielski and Zawadzki only became personally acquainted in Italy, and the financial aid the Starosta gave Zawadzki was an attempt to help him out of a difficult situation and had nothing whatsoever to do with supporting his trip to the Eternal City. Five days later, on 13 June, Lanhaus again accidentally met up with Zawadzki when he visited the Ss Apostoli church and directed his steps towards Sant’Antonio dei Portoghesi – “suddenly, while speaking to Mr. Zawadzki, I came across Mr. Evangelisti, who was going to see Cardinal Castelli, the protector of our college”³³. This is symptomatic of a broader phenomenon which Loret wrote about: “Despite its expansiveness, its unique antique monuments and papal court, Rome did not have the character of a capital city in the modern sense; it was more like a large provincial town. Everyone knew everyone, and everyone met up with everyone. Foreigners, both those passing through as well as the local inhabitants,

²⁸ AKHSS, MS ref. no. I-46, p. 55.

²⁹ S. Łoza, *Słownik architektów i budowniczych Polaków oraz cudzoziemców w Polsce pracujących*, Warszawa 1930, p. 375. The information was also repeated in the last edition of this compendium: id. *Architekci i budowniczowie w Polsce*, Warszawa 1954, p. 341. Stanisław Łoza drew on the work of M. Loret, *Życie polskie...*, p. 300.

³⁰ E. Aleksandrowska, *Mycielski Stanisław* [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 22, Wrocław 1977, pp. 346f; R. Mączyński, *Nieznane aspekty...*, p. 41.

³¹ [F. Cieciszowski], *Do Jaśnie Wielmożnego Jegomości Pana Stanisława Mycielskiego, starosty lubiatowskiego*, [in:] [S. Mycielski], *Junak. Komedia we trzech aktach*, Warszawa 1774, n.pag.

³² BKG, MS ref. no. BK Ms. 227, vol. 2, p. 382.

³³ BKG, MS ref. no. BK Ms. 227, vol. 2, p. 385.

all stood out and they are what gave Roman life its very own cosmopolitan character”³⁴.

When Stanisław Zawadzki’s name again appears in the archives of St. Stanisław’s Hospice, his financial situation – backed with the funds provided by Mycielski – seems far more stable. He no longer has the status of resident-pilgrim but is renting accommodation in the Hospice. On 7 July 1770 – *Entrata ed uscita dal 1767 al 1771* records the collection “from Stanisław Zawadzki of 2 *scudos* and 40 *baiocchi* for the eating house, starting from the beginning of June through to the end of July in the new quarters vacated by Luigi Zampa” (Fig. 3)³⁵. The Hospice owned buildings on Via delle Botteghe Oscure and rented out lodgings to make money but the majority of these tenants – at least at the turn of the 1760s/1770s – were Italians and not Poles. The rent varied considerably depending on the size and location of the lodgings. The grander apartments cost 10 *scudi* a month whereas the more humble rooms, such as those rented by Zawadzki, were 1 *scudo* and 20 *baiocchi* per month.

Since the surviving plans of the Hospice date from a much later period and it has not been possible to determine where exactly the lodgings Zawadzki rented were located, little can be said about them. We know they were listed as number 126. This is confirmed by the information that Zawadzki rented lodgings that had previously – from February 1769 – been rented by Luigi Zampa, who in turn took them over from Canon Józef Benedykt Grodzicki³⁶. The archives state that the lodgings were located “behind the hospital in a closed courtyard”.³⁷ The buildings on which the Hospice made money came into its possession at a time when extensive building works were being carried out (including the church) between 1713–35. The building work was supervised by the architects Luigi Barattoni and Francesco Ferrari (Fig. 4)³⁸. The lodgings that were designated for renting out were located in the wing

built along the narrow Via dei Polacchi. Zawadzki’s lodgings were probably located in the part marked *Casa Numero IV* (Fig. 5) as this part of the building corresponds the most closely to the description given above – behind the hospital, next to an inner, closed courtyard.

Subsequent entries relating to payments made by Stanisław Zawadzki, and which confirm that he rented lodgings in St. Stanisław’s Hospice, can be found twice more in the account ledgers – *Entrata ed uscita dal 1767 al 1771*. He made his next payment (for the month of August) on 23 September³⁹. And then the next, and final payment (for the months of September and October) was made on 4 November, when he also returned the keys to his vacated lodgings⁴⁰. His tenancy thus lasted for a total of five months, from June to October 1770 but the fact that he gave up the lodgings does not mean he was intending to leave Rome because in six short months’ time he would be a prizewinner of the Pope Clement XII Competition announced by the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, the results of which were officially announced on 21 April 1771⁴¹. There were others who gave up their lodgings in the Hospice; Bartłomiej Pstrokoński wrote “I did not feel good in our national house and only stayed there for three months, because of the foul air; so I agreed to rent lodgings for 15 *scudi*”⁴². Zawadzki probably left for other reasons because he could not afford them, and the fact that he paid his rent in arrears, and was always late doing so, would support this claim.

The Fascination of Rome

In a letter dated 12 December 1805 to Tadeusz Czacki, the founder of the Lyceum in Krzemieniec, Hugo Kołłątaj thus described the Italy he remembered: “There is more to see and note in but one square mile of this country than in all the provinces that can be found on this side of the Alps. A pleasant

³⁴ M. Loret, *Życie polskie...*, p. 242.

³⁵ AKHSS, MS ref. no. I-31, p. 35.

³⁶ AKHSS, MS ref. no. I-31, pp. 26f and 35.

³⁷ AKHSS, MS ref. no. I-31, p. 26, cf. also p. 50.

³⁸ M. Loret, *Życie polskie...*, pp.10f; M. Machejek, op. cit., p. 31. On the subject of the church of S. Stanislao de’Polacchi: W. Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms. Der römische Sakralbau in Geschichte und Kunst von der Altchristlichen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*, Bd. 3, *Die Kirchen innerhalb der Mauren*

Roms: S. Maria della Neve bis S. Susanna, Wien 1974, pp. 927f.

³⁹ AKHSS, I-31, p. 38.

⁴⁰ AKHSS, I-31, p. 40.

⁴¹ R. Mączyński, *Rzymskie sukcesy...*, pp. 35ff. A special publication was printed to mark the event: *I pregi delle belle arti celebrati in Campidoglio pel solenne concorso tenuto dall’Insigne Accademia del Disegno in San Luca li 21 aprile 1771 reggendone il principato il Sig. Cavaliere D. Antonio Raffaele Mengs*, Roma [1771], *passim*.

⁴² B. Pstrokoński, op. cit., p. 92.

climate, a beautiful setting, inhabitants, innumerable vast cities, literature, beautiful craftsmanship, collections of all kinds of objects, the customs of the people, farms and meadows, everything is simply there to be compared and admired". Every newcomer to Rome "will be delighted by the countless abundance of objects worthy of being seen, not only because of their antiquity but also because of the beautiful craftsmanship. A person devotes his first stay in this city, inasmuch as time allows, to the observation of unique views. And even though the city has been pillaged of its most important collections, it will never cease to be the richest and most interesting in this respect for every foreigner"⁴³. Bartłomiej Pstrokoński strongly emphasized this trait when discussing visitors from the north: "English gentlemen, who come here in large numbers, are almost beside themselves and gaze intently at these wonders of art and nature"⁴⁴. Every single visitor succumbed to these feelings and Zawadzki was undoubtedly no exception. Lanhaus himself casually relates that it was difficult to find Zawadzki in the Hospice but very easy to meet him while out viewing the city. Zawadzki delighted in the magic of Rome's splendid buildings and there is much evidence that testifies to this.

The tangible results of Stanisław Zawadzki's long months spent in Rome are not only visible in the architectural knowledge he gained at the Accademia di San Luca and his skills in the field of design, the aura surrounding his distinction in a renowned international competition, or even his authority as a full member of the Accademia di San Luca⁴⁵. He also gained an excellent knowledge of Roman and Italian art, from the most ancient to the older Renaissance, Baroque as well as the modern art being created at that time⁴⁶. In Poland, Zawadzki was considered an outstanding expert in this field and in 1783, Marcin Poczobutt, the Dean of the Main School in Vilnius, recognized his accomplishments when he wrote of him as "an architect who has considerable knowledge of both the old and new buildings in Rome"⁴⁷. Even with only frag-

mentary information about Zawadzki's stay in Rome, we can suppose he was able to make extensive use of the occasion by becoming acquainted with architecture that was the absolute peak of perfection.

St. Stanisław Hospice, located in the very centre Rome, was but two short steps away from some of the finest sacral buildings. Turning north along the Via delle Botteghe Oscure and the Via Celsa, it is only a 100-metre walk to the façade of the Jesuit Il Gesù church (Fig. 6). Turning south, it is a 200-metre walk along the Via dei Polacchi and Via dei Delfini before the church of S. Maria in Campitelli comes into view in all its glory (Fig. 7). Other splendid sacred edifices are located just little further away: S. Andrea della Valle (Fig. 8), S. Agnese in Agone on the Piazza Navona, S. Maria sopra Minerva, Ss. Apostoli, even the universally-admired Pantheon. Still further away is the Lateran with St. John's Basilica and the Aventine with the church of S. Maria del Priorato (Figs. 9 and 10). The latter, in particular, which was a new project by the classicist Giovanni Battista Piranesi, may have piqued Zawadzki's interest. The list of superb buildings in Rome is endless. The accumulation of such artistic achievements over many centuries had to be a source of fascination, instilling the desire to learn, as well as sharpening people's sensitivity to the diversity of the stylistic features of individual buildings – in brief, to adopting an attitude of openness to the diversity and transience of aesthetic tastes. This later enabled Zawadzki to demonstrate a greater understanding for other artistic values than the classical style he himself proclaimed. It is worth remembering that when he held the post of architect to the Committee of National Education he was obliged to catalogue and assess the state of properties dating from different periods, from the Romanesque (school in Płock), through the Gothic (numerous buildings of the Kraków Academy) to – as was the usual case – various buildings from the modern age⁴⁸. The lesson in aesthetic flexibility he learnt in Rome must have proved very helpful.

⁴³ H. Kołtąj, *Korespondencja listowna z Tadeuszem Czackim, wizytatorem nadzwyczajnym szkół w guberniach: wołyńskiej, podolskiej i kijowskiej, przedsięwzięta w celu urzędzenia instytutów naukowych i pomnożenia oświecenia publicznego w trzech rzeczonych guberniach*, vol. 3, ed. F. Kojasiewicz, Kraków 1844, pp. 342f.

⁴⁴ B. Pstrokoński, op. cit., p. 103.

⁴⁵ R. Mączyński, *Rzymskie sukcesy...*, pp. 370f.

⁴⁶ The broad issue of the fine arts in Rome in the 18th century has recently been presented in an exhibition at the Palazzo Venezia

and the accompanying extensive catalogue: *Il Settecento a Roma*, a cura di A. Lo Bianco, A. Negro, Milano 2005, *passim*.

⁴⁷ V. Drëma, *Materiały do działalności architekta Marcina Knakfusa*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" [Bulletin of Art History], XXVI, 1964, no. 3, p. 200.

⁴⁸ R. Mączyński, *Architekt Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Nadzór nad budynkami szkół w latach 1777–1793*, "Analecta. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki", XV, 2006, nos. 1/2, pp. 7f; id. *Opisanie gmachów Szkoły Głównej Koronnej przez architekta Stanisława Zawadzkiego w roku 1783 uczynione*, "Rocznik Krakowski", LXXIV, 2008, pp. 115f.

It is not only the opinions expressed by his contemporaries that confirm his excellent knowledge of many of the buildings in Rome. Zawadzki was obviously intimately acquainted with the Dominican church of S. Maria sopra Minerva located in the square of the same name. He could recite the most minute details (including the measurements). He even designed a new classical façade for it under the aegis of the Pope Clement XII competition (Fig. 11)⁴⁹. An analysis of his designs shows that he did not only take the church – which was of Gothic provenance – into account but evidently took note of the excellent historical and artistic elements in its immediate vicinity: the square’s main motif – an oval window in the façade was harmonized with the obelisk designed by Gianlorenzo Bernini which is supported by an elephant, and the arrangement of the columns clearly alludes to the portico that adorns the nearby Pantheon. Stanisław Zawadzki could also talk very competently about the proportions of the Jesuit Il Gesù church and the Theatine church of S. Andrea della Valle, and indicate how buildings based on a similar horizontal plan gradually became more and more slender: Il Gesù – S. Andrea della Valle – SS Piotr i Paweł in Kraków⁵⁰. His remarks on this subject are so insightful and accurate that it is a shame researchers of the Jesuit edifice near the Wawel were unaware of them⁵¹.

Like hundreds of other artists that came before and after him, Stanisław Zawadzki had to aid his own memory by making drawings. He could always use them later as inspiration when drawing up a new design. Such drawings were not only made by architects, sculptors and artists but also by amateurs⁵². In

the 18th century drawing was a compulsory part of the school curriculum, as was an introductory course on the history of art⁵³. The less talented – or those who were simply better off – used the services of professional artists, who replicated the most popular Roman monuments on a mass scale⁵⁴. All the drawings “made by me” which Zawadzki amassed in his collections, and which he willed to his nephew Franciszek Łabuński, have perished⁵⁵. Other of his works have also been destroyed. Before World War II, two of his designs “*dessins en couleurs*”, which depicted the Trevi Fountain in Rome designed by Nicola Salvi, could be found in Stanisław August’s former collection in the Warsaw University Cabinet of Prints⁵⁶. Both were drawn by an architect and were inventory drawings rather than impressional views. One of them showed the plan of the fountain and the other the “elevation”. They were both executed by Stanisław Zawadzki. Whether they were informal drawings made as a “reminder” or whether – which is more likely – they were an academic exercise and made when he was acquiring his education, is unknown. The fountain – now one of the best known monuments in Rome – was then only on the very threshold of its future fame and was all the more interesting because it was newly built; it was officially opened in 1762, barely seven years before Zawadzki’s arrival in Rome.

All newcomers Rome succumbed to the passion to possess souvenirs, which were more than mere drawings depicting a specific Roman building or sculpture. People had an overwhelming desire to own something “ancient”, and there was an extensive trade in both authentic and fake antiques. The

⁴⁹ Id., *Rzymskie sukcesy...*, pp. 371f.

⁵⁰ Id. *Opisanie gmachów...*, pp. 115f.

⁵¹ On the subject of Jesuit churches in Kraków see: Franciszek Klein, Adam Bochnak, Adam Małkiewicz, Mariusz Karpowicz; their most important publications: *ibid.*, pp. 135f.

⁵² Polish examples of a “drawn diary of a journey” are – partially preserved – sketches by the architect Jan Chrystian Kamsetzer: Z. Batowski, *Podróże artystyczne Jana Chrystiana Kamsetzera w latach 1776–77 i 1780–82*, Kraków 1935, *passim*; M. Królikowska-Dziubecka, *Podróże artystyczne Jana Chrystiana Kamsetzera (1776–1777, 1780–1782), architekta w służbie króla Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego*, Warszawa 2003, *passim*.

⁵³ For more on this subject: R. Mączyński, *Edukacja z zakresu sztuk plastycznych w warszawskich szkołach pijarów (1740–1833)*, “*Analecta. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki*”, XIII, 2004, nos. 1/2, pp. 25f; id. *Edukacja plastyczna w warszawskich szkołach pijarów (1740–1833)* [in:] *Polskie szkolnictwo artystyczne. Dzieje – teoria – praktyka*, ed. M. Poprzęcka, Warszawa 2005, pp. 97f.

⁵⁴ As happened in the case of Stanisław Poniatowski, Lithuanian Treasurer, who was visiting Rome. In 1786, when an ancient sculpture appealed to him, he commissioned the Polish painter Józef Wall, who was accompanying him, to draw it, and in 1794 when he became enamoured of the figure of Diana belonging to Cardinal Giovanni Angelo Braschi, he commissioned “a drawn copy” of it from the Italian artist Salvatore Tonci. This is mentioned in Vincenzo Pacetti’s diary: *Biblioteca Alessandrina in Rome* (further: BAR), MS ref. no. Ms. 321, pp. 66 v., 140 r.

⁵⁵ R. Mączyński, *Nieznane aspekty...*, pp. 64f, 80 and 84.

⁵⁶ S. Sawicka, T. Sulerzyska, *Straty w rysunkach z Gabinetu Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej 1939–1945*, Warsaw 1960, p. 52.

⁵⁷ Basic information can be found in: H. Honour, *Vincenzo Pacetti*, “The Connoisseur”, CXLVI, 1960, no. 11 (November), pp. 174f; id. *The Rome of Vincenzo Pacetti. Leaves from a Sculptor’s Diary*, “Apollo”, LXXVIII, 1963, no. 11 (November), pp. 368f.

sculptor Vincenzo Pacetti played a key role in this regard⁵⁷. His career began to flourish after Zawadzki's first stay in Rome. Between 1773-1803, Pacetti kept a diary in which he meticulously recorded events related to his artistic activities, trading in ancient works and making copies of those works⁵⁸. Hordes of newcomers and collectors from the whole of Europe traipsed through his workshop, including many wealthy Polish personages⁵⁹. One of these was “*il nepote del Re di Polonia*”, namely Stanisław Poniatowski (according to the records of the diarist “Pugnatoschi”), the nephew of King Stanisław August, and another was Franciszek Smuglewicz (Smuglevix), who had been living in Rome for many years⁶⁰. Pacetti was often visited by people whom he defined by their origin rather than name. On 15 November 1793 he noted in his diary that “Seven Polish gentlemen came to see my antique sculptures and I am delighted that they want to return”⁶¹. It is very probable that Zawadzki also visited him but because he was still a rather insignificant figure, he was not mentioned by name.

Rome also awakened Stanisław Zawadzki's passion to collect⁶². It is difficult to assess the size of his collection as its dispersal began during his lifetime; and when he died childless, the process was speeded up when his heirs began dividing his possessions amongst themselves. We now only know of individual works deriving from his collection and it is unclear whether a written inventory ever existed. The collection contained an oil painting entitled *Satyr and Nymph* which was defined as “Roman School dating from the 17th century”; there were also works by Jacques Courtois, called Borgognone, who was then active in Rome and specialized in religious scenes, as well as an oil painting entitled *Roman Landscape*, with pastoral staffage and the ruins

of an ancient church. This kind of view was painted by people who came to Italy and were fascinated by the country. The fashion was begun in the 17th century by the Frenchman Claude Gellée, known as Lorrain, and there was also a great demand among travellers and collectors for this type of pastoral view. Perhaps the most interesting work of art once in Zawadzki's possession – although not of the Roman School – is the painting in the Parish Church in Rzeszyca. Painted in oil on a lime panel, it depicts the *Holy Family* against an expansive landscape and stone architecture, which is only partially visible. It is a work of the Venetian School dating from the 1st half of the 16th century and is representative of the circle of Giovanni Bellini.

One important item in Zawadzki's collection was a small figural sculpture. The small alabaster statue of the ancient philosopher has survived to this day. He is draped in a *chiton* with his right hand [lost] resting on his hip while the left touches his chin in a gesture of thought. The head of a satyr executed in the antique style and which was re-mounted on a massive base has also survived. In the collections of the Royal Castle in Warsaw there is a pair of obelisks, made using the *pietra dura* technique, mounted on gilded lions (Fig. 12)⁶³. These skilfully produced works of art with their various kinds of ornamentation and beautifully matched stones have always been the specialty of Italian craftsmen both from Florence and Rome⁶⁴. Five small busts of emperors have also survived (originally there were several dozen): Augustus, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Domitian (Fig. 13)⁶⁵. These sculptures, dating from the 1770s, were produced in vast quantities by Roman craftsmen. They were significantly cheaper to buy because of their small size and were also easier to transport. There must have been a great demand

⁵⁸ The full title of the diary is: *Giornale di Vincenzo Pacetti riguardante li principali affari, e negozi del suo studio di scultura, ed altri suoi interessi particolari, incominciato dall'anno 1773 fino all'anno 1803*: BAR, MS ref. no. Ms. 321.

⁵⁹ K. Mikocka-Rachubowa, *Rzeźbiarz rzymski Vincenzo Pacetti i Polacy*, “Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, LXV, 2003, no. 2, pp. 261f.

⁶⁰ Poniatowski: BAR, MS ref. no. Ms. 321, e.g. pp. 66 v., 145 v.; Smuglewicz: BAR, MS ref. no. Ms. 321, e.g. p. 54 r. See also: K. Mikocka-Rachubowa, op. cit., pp. 269f and 273.

⁶¹ BAR, MS ref. no. Ms. 321, 135 v.

⁶² This is discussed in the article: R. Mączyński, *Nieznane aspekty...*, pp. 64f.

⁶³ Royal Castle in Warsaw, inv. no. ZKW 2677/1-2. The information gleaned from the family was not very precise. It speaks of “two of Zawadzki's pillars sold to the National

Museum in Warsaw”. However it transpired that they were not pillars but obelisks and that they were not in the collections of the Museum but those of the Royal Castle in Warsaw. I am very grateful to Dr. Artur Badach, the curator of the Sculpture Department for his help in establishing these facts.

⁶⁴ Recently on the subject of Roman artistic circles working with the *pietra dura* technique: L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, *Incisori in pietre dure e commercio di cammei e intagli nel “Giornale di Vincenzo Pacetti”*, [in:] *Sculture romane del Settecento*, vol. 3, *La professione dello scultore*, a cura di E. Debenedetti, Roma 2003, pp. 465f.

⁶⁵ They are housed in private collections in Kraków. I knew nothing about them in 2005 when I was writing the article entitled *Nieznane aspekty biografii Stanisława Zawadzkiego*.

for them among collectors thirsting for a taste of antiquity. Sometimes these small-scale sculptures were fundamental for conveying the message lying behind the iconographical scheme of an interior; in this respect it suffices to mention the role played by the four small statuettes of ancient statesmen – made between 1785–6 by the Roman sculptor Angelo Puccinelli – which decorate the Throne Room at the Royal Castle in Warsaw⁶⁶.

As there are not source materials concerning when and where the paintings and sculptures were purchased, we cannot make any statements about the origins of the collection. Stanisław Zawadzki probably purchased the majority of the objects when he was in Rome and then brought them to Poland, particularly the smaller items such as the two obelisks and the busts of the emperors. But whether he acquired them during his first or second stay in Rome is an open question. It is more likely to have been during his second visit when he had more funds of his own. At that time he could afford to visit Italy again and stay in Rome for a longer period time and even pay the 30 *scudi* fee to the Accademia San Luca which every academician that was newly-appointed to its ranks had to pay⁶⁷. His financial capacities, however, were not unlimited as is evidenced by the fact that, although he greatly appreciated the prestige and title which full membership of the institution gave him, he was unable to find the funds to commission a portrait of himself to donate to the Academy's gallery of full and honorary members⁶⁸.

Stanisław Zawadzki came from a family of impoverished *szlachta* in Greater Poland. His profession did not earn him a large fortune. In a letter dated 30 March 1805 to Dominik Hieronim Radziwiłł (to whom Nieśwież was entailed) he wrote: “The monies which have been earned with blood, which were to support me in my old age have been consumed by entrusting part of them to the banks in Warsaw, and part to other people – I have been thus stripped of everything”⁶⁹. This is all the more significant because he must have indulged his passion for collecting to the cost of other vital needs. Among the works

of art which once filled Zawadzki's flat located in a house at the corner of Senatorska Street and Miódowa Street were ancient objects, modern Italian paintings and sculptures, contemporary portraits and numerous engravings. Since only single items from among the exhibits have survived, and we only have fragmentary information about those that have not survived, it is now impossible to make a fair assessment of the collection. It was not uniform in character and did not follow a clearly outlined theme, but was rather a selection of “beautiful objects”, that were of considerable value to their owner because they were souvenirs and reminders of his Italian studies. It is an indubitable fact that Stanisław Zawadzki's collection of artistic objects testified to his aspirations not only as an architect, but also as an intellectual, connoisseur and aesthete.

The Benefits of Rome

St. Stanisław's Hospice in Rome was a very special place. All the more so, because for the majority of newcomers to the city, the time they spent in Rome was also very special to them. Regardless of the reason for their journey – an obligatory *grand tour* visit, a religious pilgrimage to the tombs of the saints or the quest for specific knowledge – they were outside their natural environment. And, irrespective of their class differences and rank, they all met up within a relatively small space in a building located in Via delle Botteghe Oscure. Although it would be a huge exaggeration to talk about a “carnival-like” atmosphere, which resulted from a temporary suspension of the binding social norms and rules, there is no doubt that a stay in Rome helped close the gap between the highly born and those of lower status. Such situation very naturally triggered off events and provoked interactions that would have been difficult or simply could not have existed in Poland. For weeks or months on end, they lived in close proximity, or walked the same corridors, so it would have been impossible to totally isolate themselves from their “Polish” environment. For this reason it seems

⁶⁶ A. Rottermund, *Zamek Warszawski w epoce Oświecenia. Rezydencja monarsza – funkcje i treści*, Warszawa 1989, pp. 159 and 161f; A. Badach, *Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, Fundacja Zbiorów im. Ciecchanowieckich, Fundacja Teresy Sahakian. Rzeźba. Katalog zbiorów*, Warsaw 2011, pp. 57f.

⁶⁷ R. Mączyński, *Rzymskie sukcesy...*, p. 387.

⁶⁸ For more on the subject of the portrait collection: G. Incisa della Rocchetta, *La collezione dei ritratti dell'Accademia di San Luca*, Rome 1979, *passim*.

⁶⁹ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw] (further: AGAD), Radziwiłł Archives, MS ref. no. sect. V, no. 18548, p. 1. For more on Stanisław Zawadzki's financial situation: R. Mączyński, *Nieznane aspekty...*, pp. 39f.

important to be able to determine who was staying at the Hospice at a particular time and who was in Rome at a particular time, because who met who in Rome could shed light on the later biographies of these one-time travellers.

Although St. Stanisław's Hospice focused in particular on Polish life in Rome, it cannot claim to have had exclusivity. Many significant personages who spent long periods in the city are not recorded in its archives. One example is Hugo Kołłątaj, who went to Rome to deepen his knowledge of law and theology. Contemporary knowledge about his studies in Italy between 1772–5 is still very scant⁷⁰. Sometimes, these journeys were made in a year in which, for unknown reasons, there are gaps in the Hospice's files; the King's nephew, Stanisław Poniatowski who visited Rome at the turn 1774 and 1775, is one such case⁷¹. And Franciszek Smuglewicz – the would-be author of the decorative frescoes in the Polish church of St. Stanisław – did not live at the Hospice although he spent most of his working life in Italy⁷². I have mentioned these people because they obviously became acquainted with Stanisław Zawadzki in Rome⁷³. And their paths in Poland crossed on

many occasions. In order not to dwell any further on this broad topic, it is sufficient to mention the church in Krzyżanowice, which is distinguished by its unusual form and innovative iconographical scheme and which was the mutual work of Kołłątaj, Smuglewicz and Zawadzki⁷⁴. And with regards to Poniatowski, I need only mention the buildings erected in his suburban estates at Ustroń, Góra and Nowy Dwór⁷⁵. For all those familiar with Warsaw's social life in the early 1780s, it was obvious that the buildings would be designed by Zawadzki, who was “a protégé of Prince Stanisław”⁷⁶.

A detailed overview of the people who stayed at the Hospice between 1769–71, when Stanisław Zawadzki first visited Rome, can be discussed on another occasion⁷⁷, although one person worth paying attention to, and with whom Zawadzki must have come into contact, is Ignacy Potocki. The acquaintance they struck up in Rome enables us to establish many hitherto unrelated facts in Zawadzki's relations with the Potocki family⁷⁸. The best known and popularized article by Stanisław Lorenz is the one relating to Zawadzki's and Stanisław Kostka Potocki's “collaboration” in the decoration of the

⁷⁰ There is a significant discrepancy in the dates, cf.: B. Leśnodorski, *Kołłątaj Hugo*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 13, Wrocław 1967–8, pp. 335f; M. Janik, *Hugo Kołłątaj. Monografia*, Lwów 1913, pp. 6f. Even the most recent publications do not shed any further light on this period of Kołłątaj's life: K. Buczek, *Dzieciństwo i młodość Hugona Kołłątaja*, [in:] *Z dziejów edukacji w Polsce XVIII wieku. Studia*, ed. I. Szybiak, Warsaw 1995, pp. 53f; K. Stopka, *Książdz Kołłątaj i oświecona Polska*, [in:] *Dziwne igrzysko losu i przeznaczenia. Żywoć Hugona Kołłątaja w odślonach kilku w 200. rocznicę śmierci pokazany. Katalog wystawy Muzeum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Kraków 2012, pp. 10f.

⁷¹ J. Michalski, *Poniatowski Stanisław*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 27, Wrocław 1983, pp. 481f. Much attention was paid to this figure and there is a colourful description of his history by: M. Brandys, *Nieznaną księżę Poniatowski*, Warsaw 1960, *passim*. The publication was widely reviewed: R. Kaleta, *Odrodny kuzyn księcia Józefa (uwagi w związku z książką M. Brandysa “Nieznaną księżę Poniatowski”)*, “Przegląd Humanistyczny”, V, 1961, no. 4, pp. 83f.

⁷² A. Ryszkiewicz, *Smuglewicz Franciszek*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 39, Warszawa 1999–2000, pp. 374f; V. Drėma, *Pranciškus Smuglevičius*, Vilnius 1973, pp. 24f.

⁷³ To date the oldest confirmation of Kołłątaj, Smuglewicz and Zawadzki becoming acquainted in Rome is a letter dated 16 August 1775 to Kołłątaj from Joachim Dembowski, who was later curator of the cathedral in Płock: AGAD, the so-called: *Metryka Litewska*, MS ref. no. IX/78, p. 91.

⁷⁴ R. Mączyński, *Kościół w Krzyżanowicach – modelowa świątynia katolickiego oświecenia w Polsce*, “Wiek Oświecenia”,

XXIII, 2007, pp. 25f; id. *Kościół w Krzyżanowicach. Fundacja Hugona Kołłątaja*, Toruń 2011, *passim*.

⁷⁵ T. S. Jaroszewski, *Siedziba ks. Stanisława Poniatowskiego zwana “Ustronie” w Warszawie*, “Materiały Muzeum Wnętrz Zabytkowych w Pszczynie”, III, 1984, pp. 51f; J. Ostrowski, *Trzy nieznanne akwarele Zygmunta Vogla i pałac w Górze koło Nowego Dworu*, “Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, XXXIV, 1972, no. 1, pp. 63f; R. Mączyński, *Kościół parafialny w Nowym Dworze Mazowieckim – niedocenione dzieło polskiego klasycyzmu*, “Sztuka i Kultura”, I, 2012 (in print).

⁷⁶ T. Ostrowski, *Poufne wieści z oświeconej Warszawy. Gazetki pisane z roku 1782*, ed. R. Kaleta, Wrocław 1972, p. 112.

⁷⁷ In particular the relationship between Zawadzki and Stanisław Mycielski should be studied. It is still unknown whether the acquaintance they struck up in Rome resulted in any concrete mutual architectural enterprise. However it is very likely that once they had formed a friendship it was strengthened by the many traits they had in common, as has already been mentioned (their place of birth, age, names, etc.) and above all by a love of perfection deriving from the canons of ancient art. Moreover Zawadzki owed Mycielski a debt of honour.

⁷⁸ Further observations on the various aspects of Zawadzki's and Stanisław Kostka Potocki's collaboration have recently been made by: J. Polanowska, *Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755–1821). Twórczość architekta amatora, przedstawiciela neoklasycyzmu i nurtu “picturesque”*, Warszawa 2009, *passim*. See also: ead., *Architekci na dworze Stanisława Kostki Potockiego (do 1792 roku)*, [in:] *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe*, ed. T. Kostkiewicz, A. Roćko, Warszawa 2005, p. 363.

façade of the Piarist Collegium Nobilium boarding school⁷⁹. However, the documents of the Hospice clearly show that Zawadzki first became acquainted with Ignacy, Stanisław Kostka's older brother. Later, however, Zawadzki aptly combined working for people that supported the King, represented above all by the King's nephew, Stanisław Poniatowski, his niece Konstancja Tyszkiewicz née Poniatowska and his sister Izabela Branicka née Poniatowska⁸⁰, as well as the anti-royalist contingent (the Familia faction) consisting of the Cartoryskis and Potockis. Ignacy Potocki went to Italy after attending the Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw, to continue his education at the Collegium Nazarenum which also was a Piarist school⁸¹. After completing his education he lived at St. Stanisław's Hospice where he rented apartments from early April 1768 until the end of March 1770⁸².

It is therefore understandable why he later engaged Stanisław Zawadzki as architect for the presbytery in Kurów: a modest single-storey building with a mezzanine floor; the front elevation is built along five axes and is ornamented with banded rustication and a four-pillared porch surmounted with a triangular pediment (fig. 14)⁸³. It was Ignacy Potocki who induced Grzegorz Piramowicz to take up the post of parish priest here. The building – as determined by Tadeusz Stefan Jaroszewski – was

begun in 1778 and only completed in 1782⁸⁴. The correspondence between Potocki and Piramowicz, who went to Italy in 1779, shows the progress of the work and documents Zawadzki's involvement as architect/designer and later as expert consultant. This is evidenced by a letter dated 10 December 1779 which Piramowicz sent to Potocki from Rome and which testifies to the architects concern over the front porch: "I would be much appeased if, while work was being carried out, Mr. Zawadzki could be on site and demand that anything that was not correct be put right. But I probably cannot expect this. At least I can voice my opinion"⁸⁵. In another letter dated 14 February 1780 he wrote to Potocki: "In the spring, I shall ask for your help in satisfying the needs of my parish, that is I would like you to use your authority to implement my instructions. This will happen when you tell Mr [Grzegorz] Milewski to see Mr Zawadzki and the foreman of the bricklayers"⁸⁶.

Another project that has recently come to light thanks to Jolanta Polanowska and which was due to Ignacy Potocki's acquaintance with Stanisław Zawadzki, was the Masonic residence on the River Szeszupa (Lithuanian: Šešupė), a tributary of the Neman⁸⁷. The design consisted of five large-scale drawings showing the plan for the gardens, the front, rear and side elevations and a cross-section

⁷⁹ S. Lorentz, *Działalność Stanisława Kostki Potockiego w dziedzinie architektury*, "Rocznik Historii Sztuki", I, 1956, pp. 456f. The researcher concluded, though not altogether accurately – however in accordance with Potocki's annotations – that it was a mutual work by reference to one of the variations for the design of the façade. This hypothesis was corrected by: R. Mączyński, *Fasada pijarskiego konwiktu Collegium Nobilium w Warszawie*, "Ochrona Zabytków" XLVII, 1994, no. 2, pp. 172f; id. *Pijarski pałac Collegium Nobilium w Warszawie*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 53f; id. *Zespoły architektoniczne Collegium Regium i Collegium Nobilium warszawskich pijarów 1642–1834*, Warsaw 2010, pp. 243f. Recently Jolanta Polanowska went back to Lorentz's opinion: J. Polanowska, *Stanisław Kostka Potocki...*, 177f. Her justification may seem far-fetched, because she endeavoured at all costs to prove an amateur's superiority over that of a professional educated at the Accademia di San Luca in order to broaden Potocki's "artistic" achievements.

⁸⁰ He designed a palace in Warsaw for his niece: Z. Batowski, *Pałac Tyszkiewiczów w Warszawie. Dzieje budowy i dekoracji w XVIII wieku*, "Rocznik Historii Sztuki", I, 1956, pp. 305f; M. I. Kwiatkowska, *Pałac Tyszkiewiczów*, Warszawa 1973, *passim*. For his sister he raised a tenement house close to her residence in town: *Korespondencja Stanisława Zawadzkiego w sprawie warszawskich kamienic Izabeli Branickiej (przyczynek do charakterystyki osoby architekta)*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki", XLVIII, 1986, no. 1, pp. 3f.

⁸¹ Z. Zielińska, *Potocki Roman Ignacy Franciszek*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 28, Wrocław 1984, pp. 1f; Z. Janeczka, *Ignacy Potocki, marszałek wielki litewski (1750–1809)*, Katowice 1992, pp. 14f.

⁸² AKHSS, MS ref. no. I-43, p. 7; AKHSS, MS ref. no. I-31, pp. 20, 26, 29 and 33.

⁸³ Iconographic collection of the National Library in Warsaw, ref. no. I. Rys. 4983 (WAF. 66). Preserved design – incorrectly attributed to Stanisław Kostka Potocki and an accurate indication of the traits linking it to other works by Stanisław Zawadzki – mentioned by: K. Gutowska-Dudek, *Rysunki z wilanowskiej kolekcji Potockich w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1998, p. 162. As a work "probably by Stanisław Zawadzki after a concept by Stanisław Kostka Potocki": J. Polanowska, *Stanisław Kostka Potocki...*, pp. 141f, cf. also pp. 71f.

⁸⁴ T. S. Jaroszewski, *Dom własny uczonego polskiego doby Oświecenia*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", VI, 1961, fasc. 1, pp. 61f.

⁸⁵ AGAD, Archiwum Publiczne Potockich [Potocki Public Archives] (further: APP), MS ref. no. 279b, vol. 1, p. 165.

⁸⁶ AGAD, APP, MS ref. no. 279b, vol. 1, fasc. 185.

⁸⁷ J. Polanowska, *Projekt założenia ogrodowego nad Szeszupą – domniemane dzieło Stanisława Zawadzkiego*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki", LXVIII, 2006, nos. 3/4, pp. 415f.

of one of the two pavilions symmetrically located therein (fig. 15)⁸⁸. Although the drawings were not signed by the author, the way in which they have been drawn indubitably point to Zawadzki. It was Ignacy Potocki's idea to build the residence – 1780 he held the title of Grand Master of the “Katarzyna pod Gwiazdą Północną” Lodge [Catherine under the Northern Star], which acquired independent status in the following year⁸⁹ which is probably why it was to be built in a secluded place where its members could meet. For personal reasons, the project never came to fruition. In 1783 Potocki's wife died suddenly, thus prompting him to travel abroad for some time and he resigned from his masonic duties⁹⁰. The very austere yet elegant architectural style of both pavilions would also confirm the dating of the designs to the early 1780s. The single-storey buildings consisted of a rectangular room preceded by a hallway, located in a small break, surmounted with a triangular pediment. The elevations were covered with smooth plaster and decorated with rustication at the corners, and *porte-fenêtre* type openings, with profiled bands. This type of stylization was visible in other projects being produced by Zawadzki at that time, including the townhouses of Izabela Branicka née Poniatowska on Senatorska Street in Warsaw and Stanisław Poniatowski's home in Chersoń [now in the Ukraine]⁹¹.

It is not surprising therefore that numerous examples of drawings executed by Stanisław Zawadzki can still be found in the Potocki's Wilanów collection (now in the National Library in Warsaw)⁹². This

collection was created by Aleksander Potocki when he merged his paternal uncle Ignacy's original collection with that of his father, Stanisław Kostka. But we cannot ascertain whether they ended up in the collection as a result of Zawadzki's contacts with the Potocki siblings⁹³. There is no doubt whatsoever that the various measurements and designs connected with the Załuski Library in Warsaw were the result of Ignacy Potocki involving Zawadzki in the project. In early 1774, as a member of the first Committee of National Education, Potocki was appointed to administer this largest publicly accessible book collection in Poland⁹⁴. He endeavoured to make alterations to the building which was the library's seat, and although, ultimately, there were insufficient funds to implement these plans, a number of preliminary plans were drawn up⁹⁵. Alongside the drawings of Szymon Bogumił Zug, which were already known to researchers, there were also sketches drawn by Zawadzki⁹⁶.

One of the most interesting works among the Wilanów drawings – which should be examined according to its Roman context – is a design for a rural palace. Marek Kwiatkowski noticed that although it is unsigned, it is clearly the work of Stanisław Zawadzki⁹⁷. More specifically, the project is entitled *Casino di campania* (Figs. 16 and 17). All the titles and descriptions are in Italian. Polish *ells* were used for the measurements, with an explanation in Italian that they are: *braccia polacche*. The design, drawn by a Pole, was made for an Italian and so must have been executed during Zawadzki's stay in Rome. He

⁸⁸ AGAD, Zbiór Kartograficzny [Cartographical Collection], ref. no. 475–7 (assumptions), 476–48, pl. 1–3 (elevations), 476–49 (cross section). Plans – unsigned – personally signed by Ignacy Potocki.

⁸⁹ Z. Zielińska, op. cit., p. 3.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 3f; Z. Janeczek, op. cit., pp. 43f.

⁹¹ R. Mączyński, *Korespondencja Stanisława Zawadzkiego...*, pp. 3f; T. Sulerzyska, *Katalog rysunków z Gabinetu Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, part 2, *Miejscowości różne. Rysunki architektoniczne, dekoracyjne, plany i widoki z XVIII i XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1969, p. 224.

⁹² Marek Kwiatkowski attempted to indicate which drawings had been executed by Stanisław Zawadzki: M. Kwiatkowski, *Nieznane projekty Stanisława Zawadzkiego*, “Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, XXXII, 1987, fasc. 2, pp. 91f.

⁹³ Jolanta Polanowska tried to attribute the majority of these works to the principal figure of her dissertation, Stanisław Kostka Potocki, but there were often insufficient arguments for her to do so: J. Polanowska, *Stanisław Kostka Potocki...*, *passim*.

⁹⁴ Z. Zielińska, op. cit., p. 1; Z. Janeczek, op. cit., pp. 60f. Later when collaborating under the aegis of the Committee for Public Education Potocki and Zawadzki became closer: *Korespondencja*

Ignacego Potockiego w sprawach edukacyjnych (1774–1809), ed. B. Michalik, Wrocław 1978, pp. 107f; R. Mączyński, *Architekt Komisji...*, pp. 7f.

⁹⁵ For the first time M. Kwiatkowski linked several drawings for the Załuski Library to Stanisław Zawadzki: M. Kwiatkowski, op. cit., pp. 91f. See also: K. Gutowska-Dudek, op. cit., vol. 3, Warszawa 2002, pp. 189f. There is mention in Potocki's correspondence of this architect drawing some of the designs for said library: J. Polanowska, *Stanisław Kostka Potocki...*, p. 26.

⁹⁶ The name Zawadzki is mentioned in the context of the Załuski Library in old literature on the subject but only in relation to a drawing inventorizing the building contained in a file which is now missing. *Zbiór różnych fabryk pojezuickich...* M. Łodyński, *Z dziejów “Biblioteki Rzeczypospolitej Załuskich zwanej” w latach 1783–1794*, Warsaw 1935, pp. 25f; K. Zawadzki, *Dom pod Królami*, Warsaw 1973, pp. 57f. More on the subject of these files and their contents can be found in: R. Mączyński, *Architekt Komisji...*, pp. 21f.

⁹⁷ The iconographic collections of the National Museum in Warsaw, ref. no. I. Rys. 5137–5140 (WAF. 74). M. Kwiatkowski, op. cit., pp. 97f. Surprisingly, a catalogue that was published much later fails to mention this attribution: K. Gutowska-Dudek, op. cit., vol. 4, Warsaw 2004, pp. 72f.

could not have presented it to the Accademia di San Luca in 1775 as of his skills as an architect because according to their records, he presented “assorted architectural designs for a monastery in my native land”⁹⁸. Therefore it must have been a sketch for a rural palace which Zawadzki produced while he was still acquiring his education and so could have been made in 1769, 1770 or even in 1771⁹⁹. It was meticulously executed on four sheets of paper depicting the horizontal projection for the ground floor and first floor, the front and back elevation, including also a cross section drawing and architectural details.

There are two reasons why these drawing are of great interest. Firstly because they show an unusually advanced stylistic form for the time when they were executed, and are also an example of austere yet exquisite classicism. And secondly as a work that makes use of an idea initiated by Andrea Palladio, of a gallery built on a quarter circle plan. In many respects it turns out to be close to the original design which was for the Villa Badoer raised in 1556 in Fratta Polesine¹⁰⁰. However, when relating Zawadzki’s designs to the Polish context, it should be noted that they were significantly ahead of the earliest classical Palladian realizations of this kind in Poland¹⁰¹. Ephraim Schröger, Zawadzki’s would-be teacher, only began constructing the Primate’s Palace in Warsaw in 1777¹⁰². Furthermore, this early design for a rural residence contains quite a few elements that the architect would later use with great enthusiasm in his sketches for solutions for informal arrangements of suites of rooms of various sizes and dimensions while at the same time maintaining perfect regularity in the elevations and strict order and variety in the rustication.

Another document, a treatise entitled *Uwagi o architekturze* [Comments about Architecture] writ-

ten by Ignacy Potocki also testifies to the contacts in Rome between the young magnate and the young architect (Fig. 18)¹⁰³. In the introduction, the author admits that the work was a compilation: “I am not declaring nor do I boast that these comments are entirely my own, although I do willingly and voluntarily confess that they are only those of good writers, so much so that this small book is like a mosaic, and if it is respectable in any respect, it is only because it is made up of varied and different pieces that have been artificially welded together”¹⁰⁴. Until now the manuscript has not been of interest to art historians, who claimed it was written under the influence of Chrystian Piotr Aigner¹⁰⁵. However, even a cursory review of the manuscript shows it is the work of a young person; this is visible not only in the shape of the handwriting, which still bears traces of the type of calligraphy learnt at school, but also some of the facts noted in it – the Emperor Joseph II’s visit to Rome (which, the author claims took place “when I was in Rome”), is mentioned as a recent occurrence – March 1769¹⁰⁶. Therefore the said treatise was written in ca. 1770. It cannot, therefore, have been influenced by Aigner. Ignacy Potocki was educated by the Piarists and it is known that the monks educated their pupils in the arts which included both artistic and topographical drawings, an introduction to knowledge of the arts and various “auxiliary studies” (such a geometry and surveying)¹⁰⁷. Potocki expanded and deepened this knowledge through reading. He often quotes Vitruvius in his treatise and he was also aware of a number of recently published treatises, such as those by Marc-Antoine Laugier and Bernardo Antonio Vittone¹⁰⁸. He was able to compare the information he gleaned from these works with the monuments he viewed in situ in Italy.

⁹⁸ The original text of the source document was published in an annex to the article: R. Mączyński, *Rzymskie sukcesy...*, p. 391.

⁹⁹ It could not have been the design he produced for the competition, as Marek Kwiatkowski suggested, because no such competition was opened during his stay in Rome: M. Kwiatkowski, op. cit., p. 97.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. among others: E. Forssmann, *Palladios Lehrgebäude*, Stockholm 1965, pp. 66f; L. Puppi, *Andrea Palladio*, Milano [1973], pp. 118f and 308f.

¹⁰¹ A basic yet classic compilation in this respect: T. S. Jaroszewski, *Architektura doby Oświecenia w Polsce. Nurty i odmiany*, Wrocław 1971, pp. 101f.

¹⁰² S. Lorentz, *Palac Prymasowski*, Warszawa 1982, pp. 29f; id., *Efraim Szreger, architekt polski XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 1986, pp. 231f.

¹⁰³ AGAD, APP, MS ref. no. 278. The Printing House of UMK is only now preparing to print an edition of this treatise annotated with appropriate comments in: R. Mączyński, *Uwagi o architekturze przez Ignacego Potockiego poczynione*, which will be published in 2013.

¹⁰⁴ AGAD, APP, MS ref. no. 278, p. 6.

¹⁰⁵ K. Gutowska-Dudek, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 151.

¹⁰⁶ AGAD, APP, MS ref. no. 278, p. 208. On the subject of Joseph II’s trip, among others: D. Beales, *Joseph II*, vol. 1, *In the Shadow of Maria Theresa, 1741–1780*, Cambridge 1987, pp. 242f.

¹⁰⁷ More on this subject: R. Mączyński, *Edukacja z zakresu...*, pp. 25f; id., *Edukacja plastyczna...*, pp. 97f.

¹⁰⁸ AGAD, APP, MS ref. no. 278, pp. 30, 84, 170 and 174. Basic information of the subject of works by these authors in among others: *Architektur Theorie von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart*, Köln 2003, pp. 174f and 310f.

Although he had an understanding of the theory of architecture, Potocki would not have known about the practical aspects of building yet, in his treatise, he devotes a whole chapter to this very subject¹⁰⁹. The question concerning the introduction of building work must have been totally alien to a twenty year old who had spent the majority of his life in the conditions created by the Piarist institution in which he studied; the monks took care to keep their pupils away from the “evil influences” of the outside world¹¹⁰. He could only have gained this type of knowledge from someone who has already tasted the ups and downs of the architect’s profession, someone who was aware of the realities of preparing a design and how a building site operated. At this stage – and even later, as is conclusively demonstrated by his seeking expert technical advice when raising the presbytery in Kurów – the only such authority could have been Stanisław Zawadzki, whom he got to know in Rome. However the most telling example of his influence on the young Potocki’s views is visible in the final part of the treatise where Potocki writes about the need to raise the social status of the architect, as a representative of the liberal arts; an artist whose work is based on a wide knowledge of many disciplines: history, arithmetic, geometry, mechanics, hydraulics, optics, physics, not to mention drawing¹¹¹. In short, a wise and creative “architect-philosopher”. These were the ideals that guided Stanisław Zawadzki throughout his life and his trip to Rome to gain the best architectural knowledge he could is fundamental proof of this¹¹².

“Perhaps I should stop here – concluded Ignacy Potocki – but, seeking the well-being of my country in everything, I should briefly consider ways in which architecture could be promulgated here. The love of fame and emulation among those learning would contribute significantly to this end. It is not enough to admire old edifices and imitate them, but one should even try to surpass our ancestors. Neither Raphael nor Buonarrotti would have achieved this excellence if they had stuck to other ways. It is not emulation itself, but virtue and love of glory that elevates and promulgates all sciences. Therefore, if those who learn in our country try to murder fame

with their names, then the sciences will develop, then they will flourish for the common good. But how can there be emulation among those learning if there are no rewards to encourage them that should be awarded by monarchs, magistrates and lords. To tell the truth, and putting it clearly, what else other than this praiseworthy generosity incites people to fulfil their duties? Reward makes evil people good, and good people better. [...] Hence, if we want to have architecture in our country, let us not hesitate to put some money aside for those who work so hard for its sake; let us respect all those who apply themselves to it. Let us follow in the footsteps of Francis I and Charles V, who were so devoted to sciences that the former served his painter on his death bed and the latter picked up the brush dropped by Titian and handed it to him. Sometimes esteem [and respect] are more important and desirable than financial rewards”¹¹³.

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It was Rome that shaped Stanisław Zawadzki as an architect-designer thanks to the theoretical and practical knowledge he gained at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome as well as the wealth of artistic inspiration deriving from his knowledge of the most eminent Italian works of antiquity through to the 18th century. It was in Rome that his huge talent and diligence were appreciated and where he achieved his first prestigious success: being awarded a prize in a competition and by being made a full member of the academy, thus making him aware of his own value as an artist and aware of the objective which he should be striving to achieve. Rome was also the place where Zawadzki established contacts which later paid dividends throughout his whole professional life in Poland, by creating a circle of patrons/clients (Stanisław Poniatowski, Ignacy Potocki) and friends and collaborators (Hugo Kołłątaj, Franciszek Smuglewicz). And St. Stanisław’s Hospice in Rome played no small part in all this.

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¹⁰⁹ AGAD, APP, MS ref. no. 278, pp. 152f.

¹¹⁰ Stanisław Konarski emphasized this rule on many occasions, among others in *Informację względem oddawania Ichmościów Panów młodych zacnego urodzenia do Collegium Nobilium warszawskiego Scholarum Piarum*: S. Konarski, *Pisma pedagogiczne*, ed. Ł. Kurdybacha, Wrocław 1959, pp. 370f.

¹¹¹ AGAD, APP, MS ref. no. 278, pp. 188f.

¹¹² Cf.: R. Mączyński, *Rzymskie sukcesy...*, pp. 370f.

¹¹³ AGAD, APP, MS ref. no. 278, pp. 204f. The unclear fragment in the quote: “try to murder fame with their names” should probably be understood as: try to outshine their famous predecessors.