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Polish Art Collections in Brühl's Time. The Case of the Collection of Joseph Alexander Jabłonowski

Prince Joseph Alexander (Józef Aleksander) Jabłonowski was born in 1711 to a family that ascended to aristocracy relatively late, its most illustrious member being Stanislaus Jabłonowski (1634–1702), the Great Crown Hetman and Joseph Alexander's grandfather. Having received basic instruction in Jesuit schools, Joseph Alexander broadened his education with travel, successively visiting between 1729 and 1731: Breslau, Leipzig, Berlin, Mainz, Frankfurt, Trier, Cologne, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Brussels, London, and Paris. Yet it was his sojourn in Rome that proved to be of particular importance for his future activities. Joseph Alexander had also been to Venice, Milan, Munich, Augsburg, and Vienna. After returning, he became involved in politics as a supporter of Stanislaus Leszczyński (1677–1766), mainly taking part in diplomatic missions. In 1734, however, he acknowledged the election of Augustus III as King of Poland, who in return decorated him with the "blue ribbon" as a token of his appreciation. Joseph Alexander engaged in politics again, this time on the Saxon side. In 1746, he was short-listed for the Order of the White Eagle, and in 1750 was a candidate for the Marshall (Speaker) of the Polish Sejm (Parliament), but he never became one. In 1743 Emperor Charles VII (1697–1745) conferred on Joseph Alexander the title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, while in 1744 Charles IV Theodore Wittelsbach (1724–1799), Elector of Bavaria, decorated him with the Order of Saint Hubert. His numerous journeys played an important role in his life: in 1754, he visited Dresden, Leipzig, and Halle. In 1755, he was appointed the Voivode of Nowogródek, and a year later he received the Order of the Holy Spirit. At the beginning of the 1760s, the prince was involved in drawing up plans for monetary reform. Elected a member of the Société Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Nancy in 1759, in 1761 he was admitted to the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Between 1762 and 1763, he was on another journey, visiting France and Italy. It was most likely at that time that he acquired the membership of the Academy of Bologna and of the Accademia dei Ricovrati in Padua; he was also received into the Roman Accademia degli Arcadi under the name of Aristo Calidio. During the royal election after the death of Augustus III, he initially supported the sons of the deceased king, but then assisted the efforts of Prince Adam Casimir Czartoryski (1743–1823), and eventually backed John Clement Branicki (1689–1771). In May 1768, he left Poland to settle in Leipzig. He was the only Senator to have relinquished

his post of the Voivode of Novogródek in protest after the First Partition of Poland, and the remaining years of his life he devoted to scholarly pursuits. In 1744 he founded a learned society under the name *Societas Jablonoviana* and published *Acta Societatis Jablonoviane*, in which historical papers appeared that were awarded in annual contests. He died in 1777 and was buried in the chapel of the Pleissenburg castle in Leipzig¹.

In his landed estates, Joseph Alexander created an extensive complex of residences, its “capital” being Lachowce in Volhynia (located far east, only 150 km west from Kiev). A building on a pentagon plan, of the type known in Poland as *palazzo in fortezza* (i.e. one combining a palace and fortress), was built on an artificial islet between 1744 and 1755².

The residence in Lachowce was described in a “promotional pamphlet”, *Descriptio fundationis arcis Lachoviensis*, of 1751 (unfortunately lost), and in a publication entitled *Lechodunensia seu Lachovecensia* which recorded inscriptions decorating the interiors³. The residence was praised as a life-giving haven for the arts, erected by a hero (i.e. Jabłonowski himself) and watched by Mars, but the castle was at the same time a refuge for the Muses and Charites, and its interiors were filled with Apellian paintings. Among the panegyric accounts, one can also find mentions of museum rooms, filled with large quantities of gemstones and gold coins of emperors and kings.

Leaving aside a detailed reconstruction of the building, which was destroyed in the second half of the nineteenth century, it should be mentioned that one of its wings housed a picture gallery primarily composed of portraits, generally of poor artistic quality. The second wing of the pentagon was taken up in its entirety by a library (including also cartographic materials), combined with an archive room. A collection of antiquities was held in the next wing. According to contemporary sources, it embraced “an assemblage of medals and ancient stones”, described also as “carved stones of the ancient people” and gemstones “mounted in finger-rings”⁴. In the prince’s own words, it was precisely this third wing that was called the *Museum*. In 1759 Jabłonowski declared: “bez chlubny rzeknę, że mam się czym pokazać, nie tylko Biblioteką, ale Muzeum [...] z gabinetami trzema przedniemi” (“it is not without pride and self-satisfaction that I cannot only boast a Library, but also a Museum [...] with three extraordinary cabinets”)⁵. Next to the museum was located a parade armoury. It is likely that a part of the collection had the character of a natural history cabinet.

Worth mentioning is the symbolic message conveyed by the building’s design, which dominated its understanding by the beholder. To begin with, the particular layout of the castle, with an internal courtyard and garden, resulted not only from the defensive character of the building, but also reflected that it simultaneously served representational functions. Such a courtyard made a suitable setting for courtly ceremonies. The sequence of stately rooms and the disposition of the castle’s interiors were equally subject to the requirements of court ceremonial, which underscored the high social standing of the prince. In this way, the architecture emphasised, embodied and legitimated Jabłonowski’s power, being a reflexion of the order instituted by him. The double meaning of the Lachowce residence – as a place of military traditions and centre of government, on the one hand, and an important locus for the sciences and arts, on the other – was particularly emphasised in the literary programme of the castle. Additionally, the museum



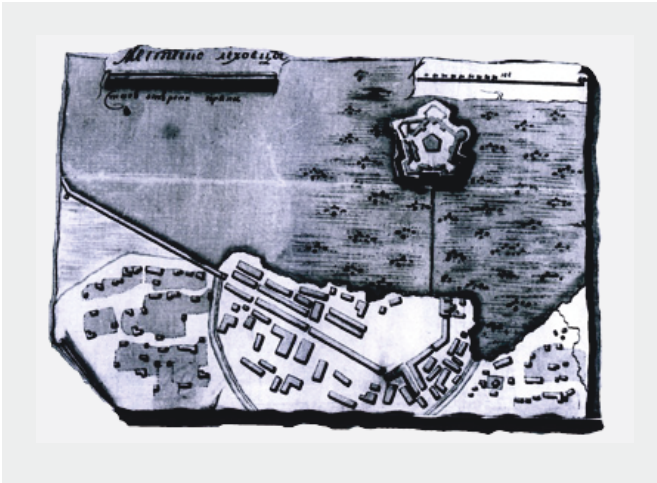
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**Map of the Polish Commonwealth
with residences of Joseph Alexander Jabłonowski:**

1. Podhorce; 1a. Strzałkowice; 2. Zawałów; 3. Busk; 3a. Stroniobaby; 4. Lisianka;
5. Korsuń; 4-5a. Steblów; 6. Lachowce («Capitol»); 6a. Ulowce; 6b. Ziemielińce;
6c. Książęcın; 6d. Prusów; 7. Tychomł; 8. Teofilpol; 9. Jabłonów Litewski;
9a. Stary Dworzec; 9b. Karolin; 10. Nowogródek

and study rooms housing the collection and library played an important role in Joseph Alexander's strategy of self-fashioning. Jabłonowski's holdings were treated as evidence of his virtue of wisdom, and his education in arts and sciences, and they contributed an indispensable element to the image of the prince as an enlightened ruler and patron.

The collection held in the castle of Lachowce was not an ordinary one – a Kunst- or Wunderkammer, typical of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Polish aristocratic residences⁶. It was, to be specific, one of the first consciously created and purposefully organised art collections in Poland. Its major part was made up of antiquities offered to the prince as gifts or acquired personally by him on his numerous trips abroad; it was a typical case, as described e. g. by Carole Paul, of a Grand Tour that had laid the foundations for a princely collection⁷. According to the



3
Plan of Lachowce, circa 1830,
private collection

autobiographic (and at the same time, panegyric) account of the prince, already during his first stay in Rome, in 1730, he “tam niedarmo czasu trawiąc, wszystkie starego i nowego Rzymu widział *decora*, które mu kardynałowie i książęta *cum summa civilitate* pokazywać, jako pilnie ciekawemu, kazali” (“while not idly passing time there, saw all the *decora* of both the old and new Rome that cardinals and princes had ordered to be shown to him as to a particularly inquisitive beholder”)⁸. He stated himself:

in this search for the remnants of the former Rome the Prince had acquired a great discernment and refinement in taste. Various cardinals and lords had offered to him as gifts both sculpture and medals, as well as ancient gems, which inspired in him a passion to possess a museum of his own. Once, he wanted to embarrass Prince of Waldeck, who did not bargain enough, and counted up two hundred and seventy five red florins for a gemstone with a superbly carved little head of Pompey inscribed underneath with the words: Agat-Angeli opus, incised so minutely that their length was no more than that of a fly’s wing. Such is the affection of enlightened people⁹.

It may be safely assumed that Jabłonowski used agents to acquire works of art. Archival materials preserve letters of art dealers specialising in the antiquities trade. In addition, the family members supported the collecting passion of the prince. In 1753, for example, his mother offered him a set of antique medals¹⁰.

While analysing archival references to artworks held in the Lachowce castle, particularly striking is the large number of medals and medallions, as well as gemstones, sculptures, and reliefs that may be described as “antique”. For instance,: “złote monety królów i cesarzy”, “Diana z alabastru [...], mozaikowa rzymska głowa, [...] mozaikowa florencka sztuka”, “Bożki i mędrcy rzymskie” czy “cesarzów rzymskich tablica za szkłem w ramach złotych” (“gold coins of



4 Napoleon Orda: **View of ruins of castle in Lachowce**, 1851, watercolor, 205 × 277 mm, Krakow, MNK, sign. MNK III r. a. 4185

kings and emperors”, “a Diana in alabaster [...], a Roman head in mosaic, [...] a piece of Florentine art in mosaic”, “Roman deities and sages” or “a tablet of Roman emperors behind glass, mounted in gold frames”); “antiquae tabulae marmoreae, panteon antiquorum imagines deorum, marmor Pisaneum”¹¹; and a set of “rzeźbionych kamieni starożytnych po większej części w pierścienie oprawnych” (“ancient cut gems, for the most part mounted in finger-rings”)¹². It cannot be excluded, however, that the collection also included copies of ancient statues, so admired in the eighteenth century, as can be inferred from Jabłonowski’s notes. The prince himself described his collection as “adorned with several hundred originals and miniatures”¹³. Archival sources contain lists of “busts” of Roman rulers. It should be remembered in this context that the gallery in the prince’s later residence in Leipzig was decorated with a gallery of busts of Roman emperors¹⁴, which might have come from the castle in Lachowce.

It turns out that the Pompey gemstone, of which the prince had described the circumstances of purchase in his notes, is one of the most famous portrait images from the Imperial Rome period. It was mentioned already in 1736 by Rudolfo Venuti and Antonio Borioni in their *Collectanea antiquitatum romanorum* as belonging to the collection “of a Polish nobleman” (*Apud Nobilem Polonu[m]*)¹⁵. The gemstone was also included in the second volume of Philipp Daniel Lippert’s

(1702 – 1785) catalogue of casts of engraved gems and cameos, *Dactyliotheca Universalis signorum exemplis nitidis redditae*, published in Leipzig in 1756, and there mentioned as the property of Joseph Alexander Jabłonowski¹⁶. The catalogue of the latter publication, compiled by the Leipzig classical philologist Johann Friedrich Christ (1701 – 1756), also mentioned other gemstones described as coming “from the museum of Prince Joseph Jabłonowski” (“ex museo Jos[ephi] Jablonovii Princ[ipis]”). It enumerated gems with the images of Apollo, Fortune, *Veneris armatae*, Mars, Pandora, and one representing *Litterarum elementa fere coptum obscura*, as well as portraits (in addition to Pompey, mentioned above) of: Lysias, Diogenes, Scipio Africanus, Martial, Gaius Julius Caesar, Junia Claudilla (wife of Caligula), Antonius, and Commodus. Archival sources preserved in the Princes Czartoryski Library provide additional lists of gems – both offers from dealers in antiquities and registers referring to the holdings of Jabłonowski’s collection, including “Descriptio quorondam anullorium dactyliothecae Celsissimi et Serenissimi Principis Domini Josephi Alexandri Jabłonowski Palatini Generalis Novogroddensis”. Among numerous gems enumerated there, one can find “caput Julii Caesaris ex corneola”, the images of Julia Augusta, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Alcibiades, and the heads of deities, e. g. of Serapis¹⁷.

The gemstone bearing the image of Pompey was described by Johann Joachim Winckelmann in his *Description des Pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch*, with information that it had been found in the tomb of Caecilia Metella¹⁸. He wrote that at that time the gem had been in a collection at Lunéville, that is, one belonging to the Leszczyński family (to which it must have found its way thanks to Jabłonowski himself, who is known to have been in close contact with the Lunéville court of the Polish ex-king Leszczyński)¹⁹.

At this point, the actual character of Jabłonowski’s antique holdings should be carefully considered in relation to the term “museum” used by Christ. We know that Jabłonowski had decided to set up a museum already during his first stay in Rome: the sojourn in the Eternal City inspired in him a passion to possess a museum of his own. The decision to form his own art collection – an assemblage of artworks (that is, precisely, a museum of art) – was therefore deliberate, and exceeded the mere desire to collect only for reasons of prestige, although these were import as well. When travelling, Jabłonowski visited many famous collections of ancient art. Apart from the Roman ones, he must have seen those in Florence, Dresden, Berlin, and Vienna, hence it can be assumed that at the heart of his passion was also the desire to emphasise his social standing. An important role must have been played by reasons not immediately connected to the matters of the prestige. The collection was not intended to be merely an element that was “fitting for” individuals of princely status; the reason for its foundation was a genuine interest in the past manifested by Jabłonowski, and his desire to commemorate history.

The term *musaeum*, quoted above, may also refer to the entire castle of Lachowce, since in inscriptions and panegyric verse the residence was called the “seat of the Muses”, “protected by Apollo and Minerva”. Jabłonowski’s *musaeum* was primarily considered a collection of gems, however, and it was in that sense that the word had been used in Lippert’s above-mentioned catalogue of casts. As it happens, the prince owned this work, as well as other publications by Johann Friedrich Christ, the author of the catalogue.



5 Fragment of «Genealogy of Roman Emperors in antiques in Museo», with the comparison of »Museum Jablonovianae«, »Museum Strozianum« and »Museum Capponianum«, around 1750, The Princes Czartoryski Library in Krakow, MNK, inv. no. II 1157 (Notaty historyczne Jablonowskiego 1726 – 1777)

The decisive argument for the *musaeum* question can be found in two documents. The first, entitled “Twelve Emperors”, is a design for a table depicting the successive rulers of Rome, starting with Gaius Julius Caesar. The other, “Rzymskich cesarzów genealogia przy antykach in Museo” (“A Genealogy of Roman Emperors with the Antiques in the Museo”), is made up of itemised characteristics of emperors’ images held in the “Museum Strozianum” and “Museum Capponianum” (apparently it could be part of the future Capitoline Museum, formed by Alessandro Gregorio Capponi (1683 – 1746)²⁰) and a tabular comparison of these images juxtaposed with their counterparts in the “Museum Jablonovianum”²¹.

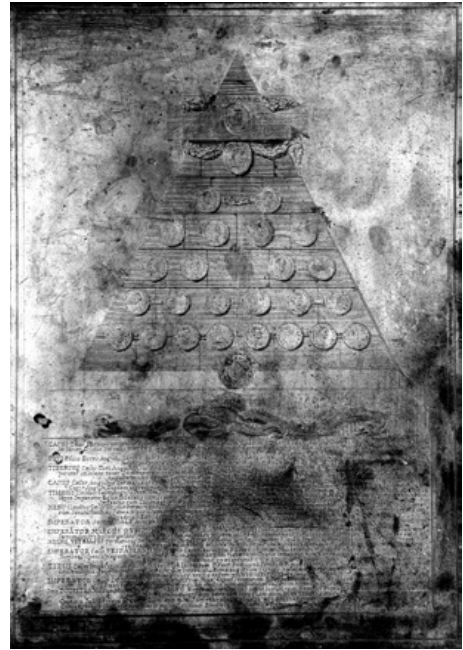
The juxtaposition was supplemented with a drawing inscribed with the signature “Pichler Joannos colligebat, Princeps [...] invenit”. The drawing shows an obelisk in the form of a pyramid, somewhat resembling the pyramid of Cestius, mounted on a socle decorated with an image of entwined snakes (or rather the ouroboros). The obelisk was marked with twenty-seven oval tablets, intended to accommodate portrait gems, and was crowned with a Medusa’s head surmounted by a rectangular tablet bearing the following inscription: “Cesares et Principis Jablonowski Museo in Polonia”. The drawing was clearly meant to be a design for an engraving intended to show the



6 Fragment of »Genealogy of Roman Emperors in antiques in Museo«, with the project for the print commemorating the Jabłonowski collection, The Princes Czartoryski Library in Krakow, MNK, inv. no. II 1157 (Notaty historyczne Jabłonowskiego 1726 – 1777)



7 Pietro Leone Bombelli, **A cooper plate for the print with the Jabłonowski's collection**, around 1760, 42.4×39.6 cm, The Princes Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, MNK, sign. MNK XV, p. 7



8 **Visualisation of the Bombelli's print with the Jabłonowski's collection**

highlights of Jabłonowski's collection. The analysis of the prince's notes reveals that he had availed himself of the description of the collection in Francesco Gori's *Museum Florentinum*²².

Of particular interest is the person of Johann Pichler who had "brought together" the gems from Jabłonowski's collection. His name was actually Giovanni Pichler (1734 – 1791) and he came from a well-known family of gem-cutters²³. He was trained as painter and sculptor, yet primarily had the reputation of a talented glyptic artist. He worked mainly for Roman antiquarians and collectors, restoring original pieces and copying ancient artworks, and able to skilfully emulate their forms. He had made portraits of European rulers (e. g. Emperor Joseph II (1741 – 1790) who awarded him the title of "the glyptic artist to His Imperial Highness"). Pichler also published a collection of his own work presented as casts. It turns out that the holdings of the Princes Czartoryski Museum have preserved a copper plate for the above-described engraving, executed by the Roman artist Pietro Leone Bombelli (1737 – 1809). Its function was the promotion of Jabłonowski's collection. Whether any prints were from the plate remains difficult to determine.

The dactyliothecha of Joseph Alexander Jabłonowski, then, was a significant collection, recognised in contemporary scholarly literature, and created with the contribution of one of the

most important European gem-cutters of the time, who might have executed some of the works held in it. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the Voivode of Nowogródek had been in touch with the famous French archaeologist and antiquarian, Jean-Jacques Barthélémy (1716 – 1795), who since 1753 had been the keeper of the royal collection of medals in Paris²⁴. It may be assumed with high probability that Jabłonowski, on his numerous stays in the French capital, would have paid a visit also to the Cabinet des médailles.

Jabłonowski's collection embraced medals and coins as well. A document entitled "Series imperatorum mummaria metallica omnibus circumstanciis pretium magnitudini divisione temporum, epochis, annis, collecta, divisa et destinata"²⁵ counts 104 items and includes inscriptions meticulously transcribed from each object, as well as references to catalogues. Archival sources have preserved a collection of documents described as "Les medailles d'or agent cuivre 3 sortes", featuring a "Catalogus Augustam, Tableau General des emperors romains"²⁶.

Against the evidence presented, the art collection of Joseph Alexander seems to have been far broader in extent than any of its counterparts, reaching well beyond the typical scope of contemporary Polish art collections whose focus was usually painting²⁷.

Although we have only fragmentary information regarding the collection's holdings, it must be given a prominent place in the prince's output. It bears restating that this collection – one of the earliest examples, if not precisely the earliest, of its kind in Poland – was created as a result of deliberate action, a desire to form an art collection. One aspect of the collection of antique artworks gathered by the Voivode of Nowogródek must be emphasised again, namely, that its importance and character far exceeds the scope of the known art holdings of other contemporary Polish aristocrats. To date in the Polish literature, only the collection of gemstones assembled by the Grand Crown Treasurer Johann Cantius Moszyński (1690 – 1737) has been mentioned in this context, but it was located in Dresden. It was later inherited by Moszyński's son, Augustus Frederick (1731 – 1786), and subsequently became part of the holdings of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski²⁸. The starting point of the latter's collecting interests have been tentatively dated to the beginning of the 1760s, although the main body of his own collection took shape only in the last years of his reign. In comparison, the artworks of Jabłonowski had functioned as a compact collection already in the early 1750s, so they must have been assembled for the most part no later than the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Thus, Jabłonowski's collection must be considered a sort of a distinct quality, and a phenomenon in its own right against the panorama of Polish eighteenth-century history. It is significant that it was precisely a "princely collection", and while assembling his holdings, Joseph Alexander must have followed the examples of other European collectors and their holdings, which were manifestations of prestige and relevant social status of their owners²⁹. It may be assumed that the museum, just like the library, was accessible to scholars, as testified by the presence of descriptions of gemstones in contemporary literature, and the design for the engraving intended to promote the museum. Incidentally, Jabłonowski's library abounded with books on antiquity. Further, the idea of the *Museum Jablonovianum* had anticipated intentions to establish a huge collection under the name of the *Museum Polonicum*, expressed by Michael George Mniszech (1742 – 1806)

in the mid-1770s³⁰. It was also to encompass a library and simultaneously serve as a tool for scholarly work, gathering handwritten documents, coins, and medals, as well as natural curios. The *Museum Jablonovianum* can also be interpreted as a result of its founder's interest in the past and his attempt to commemorate it, and, on the other hand, an expression of his "taste", or even the beginnings of connoisseurship.

Joseph Alexander Jabłonowski's relations with the scholarly milieu of Halle and Leipzig, with which he had been in close contact regarding his scholarly interests and publishing, may have significantly influenced and shaped the attitude of the prince. In Halle, the Voivode of Nowogródek had published his works on heraldry, and it was also there that he spent the entire year in 1754, staying in touch with the local scholars ... "dla więcej 100 uczonych ludzi profesorów rezydował" (he resided there for [the sake of] more than a hundred learned people and professors)³¹. The local university was one of the centres of German studies on ancient art. Leipzig, in turn, was a place where Johann Friedrich Christ worked. The prince knew Christ personally, and had maintained a quite lively correspondence with him. The letters show Christ as a friendly scholar who offered the prince duplicates from his own library, sending him a gemstone depicting Hercules with Deianira, "in which he had discerned ancient art", and impressions of gems in sulphur and sealing wax. He had also acted as an intermediary in Jabłonowski's contacts with publishers in Leipzig³².

On the other hand, in the case of the antiquities collection of the Voivode of Nowogródek, consisting mainly of gems, one can speak of a phenomenon related to the notion of "taste" that was taking shape at that time, and was closely associated with the "connoisseurship". The combination of the categories of "taste for beautiful things" with "perfecting through knowledge" and with acting "according to reason" superbly characterises the attitude of Jabłonowski, which, so to say, stemmed from the European tradition of the culture of curiosity discussed by Krzysztof Pomian³³. The European collections of antiquities and numismatic cabinets were monuments to their founders and the historical sources. Therefore, it was not without reason that Cesar Phyrrys de Varille, the author of *Compendium politicum seu brevis dissertatio de variis Poloni Imperii vicibus*, published in Warsaw in 1761, called Jabłonowski a man great for his manners, great for his taste, and greatest for his knowledge³⁴. The distinctive name that Jabłonowski had given to his collection, *Museum Jablonovianum*, testified to the high rank that the collector ascribed to his holdings, thereby institutionalising them.

Anmerkungen

1 DOBRZYŃNIECKA 1963, 225 – 228; BETLEJ 2010, 161 – 166.

2 BETLEJ 2008, 121 – 135.

3 JABŁONOWSKI 1772.

4 KRASZEWSKI 1860, 83.

5 BNW, Nr. 3259: Korespondencja Józefa Andrzeja Żałuskiego z r. 1759, the letter of Joseph Alexander Jabłonowski to Joseph Andrew Żałuski 27. 10. 1759, fol. 23 v.

6 About typical Polish aristocratic collections cf. ROTTERMUND 2002, 18 – 19; MROZOWSKI 2002, 171 – 179.

7 PAUL C. 2012 a, 13 – 15.

- 8 LNSL, Nr. 836V: Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski, *Ród Książąt z Prussów Jabłonowskich herbu Nagody, pospolicie zwanym Pruss trzeci*, fol. 199 v. ("w tych wyszukiwaniach vestigiorum dawnego Rzymu, kiedy za cesarzów swoich pierwszych ta świata głowa splendebat, wielkiego gustu starosta buski nabrał, tak dalece że w znajomości tych dawności wpadłszy owe starożytne roztrząsał monumenta i przeglądał, o których choć pamięci godnych historie z ciekawszych wiadomości zmilczały. Różni mu kardynałowie i panowie nadawali w prezentach, tak statuy jako medaliony i kamieni artykuły, a co samo w passją go wprawiło mieć muzeum własne, że raz skąpo targującego księcia de Waldeck chciał zawstydzić i wyliczył za główkę na kamieniu cudnie rżniętą Pompejusza dwieście siedemdziesiąt pięć czerwonych złotych, na której było napisane *Agat-Angeli opus*, a w miejscu tak małym pod główką jak muchy skrzydło do proporcji długie. Takie to przywiązanie ludzi rozumnych").
- 9 LNSL, Nr. 836V: Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski, *Ród Książąt z Prussów Jabłonowskich herbu Nagody, pospolicie zwanym Pruss trzeci*, fol. 199 v: "in this search for the remnants of the former Rome the Prince had acquired a great discernment and refinement in taste. Various cardinals and lords had offered to him as gifts both sculpture and medals, as well as ancient gems, which inspired in him a passion to possess a museum of his own. Once, he wanted to embarrass Prince of Waldeck, who did not bargain enough, and counted up two hundred and seventy five red florins for a gemstone with a superbly carved little head of Pompey inscribed underneath with the words: *Agat-Angeli opus*, incised so minutely that their length was no more than that of a fly's wing. Such is the affection of enlightened people".
- 10 LNSL, Nr. 103-424IVd: Korespondencja Jabłonowskich, the letter of Teophila Jabłonowska to Joseph Alexander Jabłonowski 20. 3. 1753.
- 11 BCzart, Nr. IV 1144: Pisma Jabłonowskiego, *Register [...] ad Bibliothecam Lachovicensem*, fol. 214 r.
- 12 NARUSZEWICZ 1788, 46.
- 13 LNSL, Nr. 103-836V, fol. 244 v
- 14 MOŚCICKI 1914, 38 – 39.
- 15 VENUTI/BORIONI 1736, pl. 13.
- 16 LIPPERT/CHRIST 1756, 6, 8, 10, 30, 41 – 42, 61 – 62, 64 – 67, 69, 72, 74 – 75.
- 17 BCzart., Nr. IV 1159: Zbiór Jabłonowskiego v. Jablonoviana, 124 – 126, 147, 163 – 168, 167.
- 18 WINCKELMANN 1760, 437.
- 19 DURBAS 2013, 131 – 135.
- 20 PAUL C. 2012 b, 24 – 25.
- 21 BCzart. Nr. 1157: Notaty historyczne Jabłonowskiego 1726 – 1777, 25 – 33
- 22 GORI 1731 – 1732, *passim*.
- 23 SEIDMANN 1996, 733 – 734. About the artist, cf. PIRZIO BIROLI STEFANELLI 1996, 183 – 197.
- 24 Proofs of contacts between Jabłonowski and Barthélémy are letters in BCzart., Nr. IV 845: Korespondencja francuska, łaćnińska i polska za Stanisława Augusta, fols. 29 r, 215 r.
- 25 BCzart. Nr. IV 1158: Pisma Jabłonowskiego fols. 303 r – 320 v.
- 26 BCzart. Nr. IV 1159: Zbiór Jabłonowskiego v. Jablonoviana, 239, 243 – 244, 261 – 263, 265 – 266.
- 27 OSTROWSKI/PETRUS 2001 present a reconstruction of a typical picture gallery of the Polish aristocracy.
- 28 On the formation of the Moszyński and Poniatowski collections cf. MAŃKOWSKI 1976, 11 – 20, 23 – 32, 21 – 63; LASKA 1986, 19 – 20; ABRAMOWICZ 1987, 17 – 21; WAŻBIŃSKI 1988, 85 – 96; MIKOCCI 2000, 167 – 171; MANIKOWSKA 2007.
- 29 On the conditions of shaping European princely collections, cf. BROWN 1995.
- 30 Published as MNISZECH 1775, 221 – 226. On this initiative see MALINOWSKI 1970, 11.
- 31 LNSL, Nr. 103-836V, fol. 243 r.
- 32 LNSL, Nr. 103-417 IV d: Korespondencja Jabłonowskich, correspondence between Johann Friedrich Christ and Joseph Alexander Jabłonowski 18. 11. 1753, 20. 12. 1755, 6. 3. 1756, 13. 6. 1756. The collection also includes another five letters, undated, probably from the same decade.
- 33 POMIAN 1987, 163 – 170.
- 34 LNSL, Nr. 103-425 IVd: Korespondencja Jabłonowskich, the letter of Wojciech Jakubowski to Joseph Alexander Jabłonowski, 1. 6. 1760.