

# European Identity and Polish Culture – Tomasz Mikocki's Studies on the Tradition of Ancient Art

Monika Rekowska<sup>a</sup>

Tomasz Mikocki's studies on the tradition of ancient art in Poland played a very important role in his scientific research. Professor Mikocki was convinced that the art and culture of antiquity was one of the elements of searching Polish identity, simultaneously confirming an affiliation to the same cultural sphere as Italy, France or Great Britain, the direct heirs of the *Imperium Romanum*. Therefore, his main aim was to study and publish the media of reception of antique forms and models in Polish art and culture. Eventually, he analysed different aspects of this phenomenon, primarily travels and collections of original Graeco-Roman antiquities and antique-like artefacts, finally the decorative programme of the entire park-and-residence complexes, where Antiquity had an eminent meaning.

KEY-WORDS: Antiquity, Greek and Roman art, antique tradition, collections, Grand-Tour, historical parks, gardens *à l'antique*

## INTRODUCTION

Studies on the legacy of Antiquity in Polish culture have a long history and a rich literature. Initially they were undertaken mainly on philological and literary grounds. Meanwhile, there are other manifestations of the tradition of Antiquity, such as Classicist art and Neo-classical architecture, the collecting of original, Greek and Roman, art-works and their copies and imitations, and above all a long tradition of cultural contacts with Italy and France.

The considerable impact of Classical culture on the Poles was facilitated by their extensive philological formation, the diffusion of which was due to the educational system and the teaching of the Classics in schools. The knowledge of the language, literature and culture of Antiquity gave an illusion of belonging to the same cultural sphere as countries that were direct heirs of *Imperium Romanum*. Thanks to the

<sup>a</sup> Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, 26/28 Krakowskie Przedmieście St., 00–927 Warsaw, Poland; e-mail: mreowska@uw.edu.pl

dissemination of printing in the 16th century, Polish editions of the works of Classical authors appeared in Poland. A familiarity with Classical literature was also achieved for example through studies at renowned Italian universities (Padua, Rome), and travels to the “Heart of Antiquity”, mainly to Italy, facilitated contact with original works of art. The travellers came home not only enriched by a knowledge of the monuments, but also bearing mementoes in the form of paintings, drawings and prints. Volumes on history and mythology were also imported to Poland. A special role in the reception of Greek and Roman art was played by works on architecture, not only those of ancient authors like Vitruvius, but also by 16th-century architects (Sebastian Serlio, Andrea Palladio, Giacomo Barossi da Vignola, Leon Battista Alberti) as well as German and Dutch pattern books and treatises. It was from them that Classical models were translated to Polish architecture. To an even greater extent than in architecture, Classical form and patterns influenced Renaissance sculpture in Poland, especially the architectural (Mikocki 1984b: 73–80).

A special development of interests in Greek and Roman art occurred in years 1750–1830, when “antiquemania” flourished in Poland, as it did in all of Western Europe (Mikocki 1991). At that time interest in Greek and Roman antiquities became particularly intense in character and varied in form. In a later period (after 1795), despite the obvious political obstacles to the development of Polish culture and science (the period of partitions of the country: 1795–1918), knowledge of Classical Antiquity spread, thanks to the opening of public museums housing artefacts from antiquity and the inclusion of studies on Classical Antiquity in the programme of university education, this time not only from a philological and historical angle, but also referring to Graeco-Roman works of art and craftsmanship.

In the mid-1970s, Professor Anna Sadurska (1921–2004), launched comprehensive studies on the history of Polish antiquarianism in her seminars at the Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw. In the team of young researchers that took up this subject was her student, Tomasz Mikocki (1954–2007), who, as time passed, considerably developed this field of research and added a whole new dimension to some of its aspects. He believed that, “the presence of the Antique in Poland is proof of the cultural identity of Poland with countries of the Latin culture in Western Europe, or at least an indication of expressing and searching for this cultural identity” (Mikocki 2000c: 103).

Already at the beginning of Mikocki's academic career, in his doctoral dissertation, he took up two problems of fundamental importance for the analysis of this phenomenon: travels to the “Heart of Antiquity”, and the modern collecting antique works of art. A developed version of the dissertation “Miłośnictwo i kolekcjonerstwo dzieł sztuki antycznej w Polsce w latach 1750–1830 / Z recepcji antyku w kulturze polskiej” [Appreciating and collecting ancient works of art in Poland in years 1750–1830 / On reception of Antiquity in Polish culture] written under the direction of Professor Sadurska and

defended in 1981 at the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw) was subsequently published in two separate volumes (Mikocki 1988a; 1990a). In successive publications, articles and books he presented in-depth studies on the journeys undertaken by Polish travellers to places of key importance for studies on Antiquity (including Pompeii, *Magna Graecia*, Sicily, Venice), on the history of antiquities collections in Poland, and the pieces that constituted them. He also conducted research on the manner of transfer of ancient models and their diffusion in Poland, as well as the special role that artists and their affluent patrons played in this process.

„[Poland] is not a direct heir of Mediterranean culture in the material sphere, like countries that once lay within the borders of the Roman Empire. For this reason, the Classical tradition has a different nature here. The lack of original ancient architecture to discover, transform or reconstruct and the impossibility of finding sculptures, vases and bronzes in local excavations (aside from Roman imports found in our territory) resulted in frequent attempts to **document, imitate and import** such objects” (Mikocki 1993b: 1).

From the very beginning, Mikocki's research on the role of tradition of Antiquity in the culture and art of Poland followed two paths. The main path was detailed documentation work. Its aim was to study and publish the media of reception of antique forms, including original pieces as well as their imitations and forgeries, which arrived to Poland from abroad or were produced locally. The basis for this research included documentation and analysis of the original records of antique pieces in their place of deposition: drawings and descriptions, early attempts at scientific and literary discussion on the artefacts, catalogues and collection inventories, etc. These efforts were to form a basis for synthetic works. A significant achievement of the scholar is his attempt at providing a holistic view of the activity of Polish antiquarians and lovers of antiquity from the viewpoint of their role in introducing classical forms and patterns into Polish culture and art. Thanks to his work, the words “reception of Antiquity”, “Antique tradition”, “*à l'antique*”, received a new, broader meaning (Fig. 1).

#### POLISH TRAVELS TO THE ANTIQUE WORLD

One of the manifestations of the Polish interest in Antiquity was the custom of travelling to countries where the Classical culture once flourished and accounts of such journeys (journals, letters, memoirs, etc.) constituted the most powerful medium of reception of Antiquity in Poland.

Polish travels, mainly to Italy, but also to other countries of Asia Minor or North Africa, had begun already in the medieval period, but were considerably intensified in the mid-18th century. It was a period of breakthroughs in art history and archaeology, when the newly-discovered antique legacy revolutionised European culture. This



**Fig. 1.** Tomasz Mikocki (1954–2007) in Dylewo/Döhlau discovering the Adolfo Wildt’s sculpture: portrait of Johan Larass. 2001. Photo: P. Kobek

process affected Polish culture as well. The aristocracy of northern Europe, where standing monuments were scarce, needed to travel in search of the antique overland across the Alps. Europe became overwhelmed by “antiquemania”, whose emergence and diffusion was facilitated by spectacular archaeological discoveries. Of crucial importance in this respect was the rediscovery of the Campanian cities destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 AD. Excavations launched in 1709 in Herculaneum and work in Pompeii, which began a couple years later (1748), had a lasting effect not only on the development of fieldwork techniques, but also on the state of knowledge

on Antiquity and monuments, which were until then known solely from descriptions in ancient literature. The Grand Tour – a journey to Italy, became an obligatory element of the upbringing of every educated noble and exposure to ancient art and architecture was a key component of this *Iter Italicum*. This trend is visible also in the circles of the Polish aristocracy. Since the mid-18th century, journals and travel accounts were gradually dominated by reflections on Antiquity. “All Poles in this period visited, admired and described antique structures, sculptures and excavations; and many of them also took an interest in paintings and the products of craftsmanship – above all Greek vases, then referred to as ‘Etruscan’ vases” (Mikocki 1981: 462). Among the numerous texts that came into being in this period, one can distinguish several in which the information, remarks and judgments testify to a genuine, profound interest in Antiquity supported by sound knowledge and familiarity with recent discoveries (Mikocki 1988a: 45–123).

Besides Rome, which was the highlight of the travels since the Middle Ages, from the 18th century onwards other regions gained importance. Excavations at Pompeii attracted the greatest number of travellers whose artistic interests were dominated by the art of antiquity. Among them were also Polish nobles, such as Prince Stanisław Poniatowski (1754–1833), nephew of King Stanisław August Poniatowski (1732–1798), royal architect and custodian of the Crown's antiquities collection August Fryderyk Moszyński (1731–1786), Prelate of the Vilnius cathedral and honorary member of the Vilnius University and of the Society of Friends of Science, Duke Kajetan Węgierski (1755–1787), politician, philosopher and geographer Stanisław Staszic (1755–1826), Duke Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1770–1861) and others. Especially noteworthy is the figure of Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755–1821), who did not stop at passive sightseeing. Defying a ban that was in force in Pompeii, he managed to measure and draw a plan of a part of the city with the help of the architect Piotr Aigner (1756–1841). In the 19th century, when the area subjected to exploration was considerably enlarged, the number of visitors increased and so did the quantity of their printed accounts – in periodicals or as separate volumes – both in Europe and in Poland. The most detailed and extensive ones served as guidebooks for subsequent visitors (Mikocki 1984a: 45–51).

Almost simultaneously, there was an emergence of interest in the severe forms of the Doric order that could be admired in *Magna Graecia* and on Sicily. Until the mid-18th century, archaic Greek architecture was known only from ancient texts. Greece remained practically inaccessible to European travellers (until the early 19th century as it was ruled by the Ottoman Porte). Models offered by the Tuscan order and Roman architecture did not satisfy the expectations of European architects and the scant reports that did exist (see “Voyage d’Italie, de Grèce et du Levant” by Jacob Spon published in 1679 in Amsterdam, “The Antiquities of Athens” by James Stuart London and Nicholas Revett published in London in 1763–1816, “Ruines de plus beaux ruines de la Grèce” by Julien-David Le Roy published in 1758 in Paris) did not fill the gap in



the knowledge. Models of Archaic and Classical Greek architecture uncorrupted by Roman influences were first supplied by Greek temples in southern Italy (Poseidonia) and in Sicily (Segesta, Selinus, Akragas, Syrakusai). It did not take long for the monuments of Poseidonia/Paestum (described for the first time in 1745 and illustrated in 1754) to become an obligatory stop on the Grand Tour, as did the sites in Sicily, “discovered” somewhat later. Among European travellers, one finds Polish names of people whose observations and records (descriptions, measurements, drawings) played a role in the transfer of Greek architectural models to Europe. Descriptions of the architecture of Poseidonia/Paestum were written by August Fryderyk Moszyński (1786) and Waleria Tarnowska (1804), and of temples on Sicily – e.g. by Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1775), bishop Jan Nepomucen Kossakowski (1782), the writer Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1784), or of all the sites mentioned above – e.g. voivode of Bełz and writer Michał Borch (1776) and artist and royal architect Jan Christian Kamsetzer (1781) “indicate [...] on the one hand the real or potential ways of transposing Doric forms, modules and schemes to the Polish ground, and on the other hand reflect the evolution of tastes and the attitude of Poles towards the Doric order – the most austere form in Greek architecture” (Mikocki 1988b: 407). Imitations of this form and of the proportions of individual elements (columns, entablature), as well as copies of entire buildings, such as the pavilion in the park in Natolin – erected in 1834 and inspired by temple architecture in Paestum (Fig. 2; cf. *infra*), prove that commissioners and architects carrying



**Fig. 2.** “Doric” temple in Natolin. Photo: T. Mikocki

out their initiatives were truly impressed by this style in architecture. Testimony of the international significance of some Polish accounts is the fact that one of them – the one penned by Michał Borch – was printed in French in Turin in 1782 (“*Lettres sur la Sicile et sur l’île de Malthe*”) and, quickly translated into German, Dutch, and Swedish, it later served as a guidebook for subsequent travellers (Mikocki 1988b: 405–414).

Visits of Poles in Veneto, especially in the region’s capital, were frequent in the 16th century. Their accounts show us the travellers’ sensitivity to Antiquity, which was after all only one of the many components of the culture and art of Venice, but hardly the most important one. They were especially captivated by the magnificent architecture that often borrowed from ancient forms, particularly the works of Sansovino and Palladio. While mentions of the content of the most important Venetian antiquities collections (the San Marco Library, the Grimani Palace, Museo Sanguirico) were scarce, the awareness of the existence of ancient spolia in Venetian buildings (the San Marco basilica, the Arsenal, the Piazza San Marco and others) was common. Observations recorded in Polish accounts have relatively little significance for the European history of archaeology and Venetian collections, but they are important for the history of Polish studies on Antiquity (Mikocki 1989; 1990b).

Of key significance for the development of studies on Antiquity were documentary records and scientific commentaries found in travellers’ accounts (Mikocki 1988a: 117–121), the most important of which were the works of Stanisław Kostka Potocki, sometimes referred to as the “father of archaeology” in Poland (Mikocki 1982: 59–60, 78–83). No less interesting, though of much lesser impact, are the observations and remarks of writer and educationalist Franciszek Bieliński, recorded in a handwritten and unpublished journal of his trip to Italy (1787–1792). The traveller not only visited the sites and saw the monuments, but also documented them in detail (among other things, he drafted a plan of Epizephyrian Locris). Of particular importance are his remarks on the exploration of tombs in the vicinity of Naples and on the Greek vases found in them. The description of the excavations gives a glimpse of the 18th-century archaeological method and Bieliński’s remarks on the “Etruscan vases” reflect the state of research on painted Greek vases at that time. It was in the middle of the 18th century that this art form began to be appreciated. Found in huge quantities, the vases soon became the core of great collections (for instance the collection of Lord Gavin Hamilton mentioned by Bieliński). Bieliński’s notes well illustrate the stage of development of archaeology at the end of the 18th century and the leading hypotheses on ancient art in Italy in that period: he distances himself from the common view on the Etruscan origin of the uncovered vases and agrees with Winckelmann that they were Campanian products; his observations are based on archaeological material discovered in Campania, and his record of the history of Greek vases conveys both his own views and opinions borrowed from Italian archaeophiles or antiquarians (Mikocki 1981: 461–470).

## COLLECTIONS OF ANTIQUITIES AND ANTIQUE-LIKE ARTEFACTS

The reconstruction of the collecting phenomenon is very difficult, as it can be only conducted on the basis of severely incomplete sources. Due to the turbulent history of Poland, in the period when the largest collections were created (mid-18th century) until the point of stabilisation after the Second World War, many collections were scattered and looted, a large part of the artefacts was lost, and the collection records – inventories, catalogues – were destroyed. The architecture of residences, in which these collections were housed also suffered damage and thus it became very difficult to restore the context of the collections, no less important than their contents for the study of antiquarianism in Poland.

Despite these difficulties, Mikocki managed to reconstruct the history of collecting antiquities in Poland and to divide it into several main phases (Mikocki 1999b; 2000c; 2002). The first stage, which started in an indeterminate period and ended in the mid-18th century, was characterised by the collecting of rather small pieces, usually the products of ancient mints in the Classical world, mostly deriving from finds of Roman imports to the area of modern Poland. No more than mentions in literature testified the presence of larger objects in the royal collections belonging to Queen Bona (1494–1557), the wife of Sigismund I the Old, and to Władysław IV Vasa (1595–1648). Sadly, these collections are beyond reconstruction (Mikocki 1984b: 74). Collecting truly flourished in years 1750–1830 (Mikocki 1986; 1990a; 2000b), slightly later than in countries where the tradition of such interests was well developed. It was then, in the period of the “Renaissance of Antiquity” in Poland, that the first major collections of antiquities were started, benefitting from the atmosphere that accompanied the discoveries in Pompeii and Herculaneum and favoured the exceptional development of interests in antiquities. Nine large collections and about two dozens of minor ones were started in this period. Artefacts were mostly collected to beautify rich residences and collecting was private in character. The large collections were in the hands of Polish aristocracy. The list of collectors is headed by the last king of Poland, Stanisław August Poniatowski, whose collection was important in the development of Polish Classical taste, but it also includes many educated nobles – Duchess Izabela Lubomirska, Count Stanisław Kostka Potocki, Duchess Helena Radziwiłł, Duchess Izabela Czartoryska, the royal nephew Prince Stanisław Poniatowski, General Count Michał Ludwik Pac, Countess Anna Potocka of house Tyszkiewicz, and Count Artur Potocki. Some of these collections have been published in greater detail and, as Mikocki pointed out, they also included antique-like works of art, which constituted important supplements to collections of genuine ancient artefacts. Imitations or copies, often not distinguished from originals, “played a similar role in the reception of antique models as the antique pieces” (Mikocki 1990a: 9). Retracing the history of the collections and the manner of acquisition of the pieces by studying documents of purchase, letters and journals,



Mikocki found links to other collectors and antiquarians as well. Drawings played a major part in the reconstruction of histories of collections, as well as of individual objects – their state of preservation and conducted restorations. These documents, together with descriptive sources, inventories from the time of the collection's building and existence, were used to reconstruct the collections. This was a significant innovation compared to studies conducted to date, which were based solely on the extant pieces (housed in Polish museums). In further perspective, they permit to assess and trace the evolution of tastes and knowledge of the recipients of Antiquity – travellers and collectors, enthusiasts and researchers (Mikocki 1992a; 1997; 1995c; 1999a).

Some collections were built from the start to play an informative, educational role. Two of them (in the Wilanów Palace and in Puławy) were even accessible to a broader public, and not only their content, but also their manner of exhibition merits attention. Great collections of statuary belonging to Izabela Lubomirska and Artur Potocki were housed in specially-built galleries and a similar exhibition area was created for the vases from the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki. Most often, however, collections of Greek and Roman artefacts were only a part of the general decorative programme of residences of noblemen – at that time especially sculptures and ancient ceramics were valued for their visual appeal. These two categories were often complementary to one another. Polish collections, like European ones, were created mostly “by way of direct collecting” (Mikocki 1990a: 122). Artefacts were purchased during journeys, from travelling antiquarians or from other European collectors, through special middlemen or directly. Few obtained them through independently conducted excavations (Mikocki 1988a: 116). Currently the collections can be reconstructed only in part due to Poland's turbulent history (after the November Uprising they were shipped out of Poland, during the wars of the 20th century they were destroyed).

Mikocki devoted separate works to several collections distinguished for their special character (content, history, manner of exhibition) or for the completeness of extant sources necessary for their complex and probable reconstruction (e.g., Mikocki 1982; 1984c; 1995a).

One of the most renowned Polish enthusiasts and collectors of antiquities was nobleman Stanisław Kostka Potocki, whose activity (1780s–1820s) was not limited to the gathering of collectables. A relevant element of his activity as a lover of Antiquity was the study of artefacts and ancient art. He had an opportunity to first have contact with and then obtain antique pieces during numerous travels to Italy, Germany, France and England. Testimonies of these journeys – personal notes, journals and letters – constitute not only a basis for the reconstruction of his itineraries, but also a record of development of his passion for research and collecting. The collection of Greek vases exhibited at the Wilanów Palace in Warsaw, initially collected (also during specially launched excavations) only for their decorative appeal, later led the owner to draw original scientific conclusions. He made use of them during his translation of the work

of Johann Joachim Winckelmann “Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums”, making it available to the Polish reader in 1815 as “O sztuce u dawnych czyli Winckelmann Polski”. Attention needs to be drawn to the fact that he did not, however, limit himself to the translation, but enriched the text with his own original reflections on the subject he actually made a real adaptation of Winckelmann’s work. It is this aspect – the use of his own collection (and knowledge obtained in the collecting process) for scientific work – that illustrates Potocki’s unprecedented attitude as an educated antiquarian. What adds value to his collection was the aforementioned fact that he made it accessible to the public (1805), arranging the exhibition of vases in historical order “from meagre beginnings to the prime of development”. Thus, the awareness that ancient artefacts could be a source of knowledge about the past turned an aesthetic interest into a scientific one. The collection of statuary was much more modest, though not without value – the more expensive and thus less accessible original works were substituted with artistic copies of good quality. The collection, in accordance with the best European standards, had its scientific apparatus – inventories and labels for the exhibits, which provided a general description and provenance of the object (Mikocki 1982).

Tomasz Mikocki also analysed the collections of two famous noblewomen, Helena Radziwiłł (1753–1821) and Izabella Czartoryska (1746–1835), but in this case the collections constituted merely an element of the broader phenomenon of gardens *à l’antique* (cf. *infra*).

Duchess Radziwiłł did not travel to any of the countries representing the Classical cultural heritage, and therefore could not buy artefacts directly from excavations or from Roman antiquarians. However, thanks to purchases from Polish and Russian collections made through agents, as well as gifts from friends, she was able to gather what was numerically the largest collection of antiquities in the period of late Enlightenment and early Romanticism in the region. Among the collected items, there were artefacts of different value and class of execution, works of both art and craftsmanship (Fig. 3, 4, 5). Worthy of recognition are Greek originals, rare in collections at that time, and a large assemblage of sepulchral statuary (Mikocki 1987; 1990a: 49–66; 1995a; 1995b: 4; 1998a; 2001a).

The collection of Duchess Czartoryska in Puławy had a completely new and different romantic character. Although it was assembled at the same time as the one discussed above, it was dominated by souvenirs of little material value, but of immense sentimental worth. She compensated for the lack of impressive sculptures and vases acquired by travelling enthusiasts of antiquities, characteristic for this type of collections, with objects connected with pre-Roman cultures of Europe (such as the Celts). Isolated objects of greater value do not have a significant effect on the assessment her collection, in which a major role besides “mementoes” of famous people or events was played by pieces from the territories of Roman provinces – Belgium, Germany and Great Britain. To them Czartoryska devoted much more attention in both the



**Fig. 3.** The interior of the Temple of Diana in Arcadia, watercolour by Aleksandra Radziwiłł, ca. 1820, originally in the Palace at Nieborów, now lost. After T. Mikocki (1998: pl. 3.1)



**Fig. 4.** The interior of the Temple of Diana in Arcadia, watercolour by Aleksandra Radziwiłł, ca. 1820, originally in the Palace at Nieborów, now lost. After T. Mikocki (1998: pl. 3.2)

handwritten and the published catalogue of the artefacts from the Gothic House. Associated with the activity of Czartoryska is an important date in the history of Polish museums. In 1809, she made the exhibit in the Gothic House open to the public (Fig. 6, 7; Mikocki 1983; 1990a: 67–78).



**Fig. 5.** Antique sculptures in front of the Palace at Nieborów, Archive photo (before 1903) in Nieborów Museum. After T. Mikocki (1998: 33)



The longest phase in the history of collecting, although one relatively poorly known, lasted from 1831 to the end of the World War II (or until 1945). Its characteristic trait was the emergence of many minor collections in which only isolated classical pieces were found. The collectors were no longer only aristocrats, but also included *bourgeoisie* (Mikocki 2000c: 109). The largest Polish collections (i.e. belonging to Poles) came into being abroad, for instance those of Michał Tyszkiewicz (1828–1897), Władysław Czartoryski (1828–1894), and Izabella (1830–1899) and Jan (1829–1880) Działyński. The two latter collections were transferred to Poland, to Cracow and Gołuchów respectively, where they were later made accessible to the public (Mikocki 2000c: 110).

In the second half of the 19th century also, university collections were being built up – at Jagiellonian University and University of Warsaw, where studies on Antiquity were a part of the curriculum. However, the modest collection of antiques at the University of Warsaw (the Cabinet of Ancient Curiosities also contained Egyptian artefacts) had the character of memorabilia rather than of truly scientific specimens. It was complemented by a collection of plaster copies modelled on the royal collection (cf. *infra*), which gained “the character of a virtually complete didactic assemblage in



**Fig. 6.** Willibald Richter, The Gothic House in Puławy, Roman Wall. From the collection of The Princes Czartoryski Museum, Cabinet of Prints, XV – Rr. 2294





Fig. 7. The Gothic House in Puławy. Photo: M. Rekowska

University history” (Mikocki and Szafranski 1993: 148). Enriched with cork models of ancient monuments, e.g. the Coliseum, Constantine’s triumphal arch, “the Temple of the Sibyl” in Tivoli, it could well constitute a basis for modern teaching, especially of Classical archaeology. Besides the collection of casts, copies of statuary and architectural models, the opportunity to experience ancient art was also ensured by library collections: not only books, but above all illustrated albums, prints and drawings. The university collections housed works illustrated with etchings showing well-known Classical artefacts, for example by Giovanni Battista Piranesi or Anne Claude Philippe de Thubières, comte de Caylus, which constituted a very important medium in the reception of Antiquity in art and modern culture (Mikocki and Szafranski 1993: 147–170; Mikocki 1993c; 2000c: 110).

A separate chapter in the history of collecting antiquities in the territory of modern-day Poland is constituted by private German collections in Eastern Prussia, Silesia, and Lubusz Land, to which Professor Mikocki devoted a separate large study published in *Archaeologia Polona* dedicated to Polish-German relations in archaeology (Mikocki 2005). The pieces from most of these collections were partly lost or scattered in the middle of the 20th century and the extant ones are now part of museum collections or constitute the furnishings of parks, palaces and churches. Therefore, besides the

analysis of individual objects and their modern-day history, research (both archival research and excavations) allows for partial reconstruction of the collections and their exhibitions. The most effective are, as it seems, studies on objects which by post-war legal regulations were first deposited in Polish museums, and subsequently in museum repositories or exhibition rooms of the largest institutions of this type in Warsaw, Cracow, Poznan, and Szczecin. The origin of the pieces is extremely difficult to establish – in incomplete inventories one can find only general topographic indications, although even these shreds of information are sometimes uncertain. Nonetheless, Mikocki was able to retrace the provenance of as many as several dozen of these artefacts to a number of German collections (Mikocki 2005).

At the end of the 19th century, an *Antik-Archäologische Kabinett* was created in the Lyceum Hosianum in Braniewo (Braunsberg) thanks to the efforts of philologist, archaeologist and school Professor Wilhelm Weissbrodt (1836–1917). Besides a small number of pieces of original statuary, it contained 260 plaster copies of statues, Greek pottery, as well as numismatic objects and even Egyptian mummies. The true value of the collection, however, is determined by inscriptions, especially Greek texts from Egypt – the collection was the finest and the most complete one in Europe at that time. The buildings were destroyed during the war, but the collection has been partly preserved and is currently housed at the National Museum in Warsaw (Mikocki 2005: 26–28).

Two renowned German collectors Johannes Guthmann (1876–1956) and Johannes Zimmermann established a collection in a villa in Szklarska Poręba (Mittelschreiberhau, Lower Silesia) most probably in the early 20th century. Some of the pieces (published already before WWII) found their way via deposit in Wrocław (formerly Breslau) to the National Museum in Warsaw after 1951. Although the content of the collection is not precisely known, it was possible to attribute several objects to it (currently housed at the National Museum in Warsaw) thanks to study of archival materials (Mikocki 2005: 28–31).

In Lubniewice (Königswalde) in the Lubusz Land near the stretch of the current Polish-German border between Zielona Góra (Grünberg) and Gorzów Wielkopolski (Landsberg) was a small hunting castle of Duke Otto von Waldow. The residence was decorated with antiquities collected by the owner during his travels in France, Italy, Greece and Asia Minor. Sculptures stood in the park and adorned the castle interiors until the flight of the von Waldow family from the approaching Red Army in 1945. The most precious part of the collection was probably taken to Germany. Currently the content of the collection is very difficult to assess due to the lack of archival sources. Several objects found their way through the deposit in Zielona Góra to Poznan, others reached the National Museum in Warsaw. During renovation conducted in 1982, more artefacts were found and subsequently handed over to the Museum of Middle Odra Region in Świdnica (Silesia). A few inscriptions embedded in the castle walls and marble vessels exhibited in the interiors and placed in the park remained in Lubniewice (Mikocki 2005: 32–37).

A homogeneous group of artefacts consisted of Roman portraits sent from Berlin (prior to 1914) to decorate the official seat of the German authorities at the castle of Wilhelm II in Poznan (Posen). The pieces came mostly from Charlottenburg and Altes Museum in Berlin, and had been purchased from the de Polignac collection in Rome. Currently the sculptures (well known and broadly commented-on in international publications) adorn the City Hall in Poznan, the castle in Gołuchów, and a part of them is on exhibition at the National Museum in Poznan.

During travels to Greece, Asia Minor, the Apennine Peninsula, and Sicily (1840s–1880s), Fritz von Farenheid (1815–1888) built up a collection of original sculptures and their copies, intended for decoration of an estate in Beynühren in Eastern Prussia. The collection was said to have also contained copies of furnishings of houses from Pompeii and imitations of silver vessels from Hildesheim (Mikocki 2000a). As a result of wartime military action, both the park and the palace were partly destroyed (cf. *infra*), but after the War, some of the extant pieces were transported first to a museum repository in Złotów (Trzebnica district) and later to the National Museum in Warsaw. Based on the preserved objects, as well as archival materials (Fig. 8), old records and publications, it is possible to estimate the considerably high value of the entire collection (Mikocki 2000a).



Fig. 8. Collections of antiquities in Palace in Beynühren. Postcards from: [https://imperative.eu/koenigsberg/klein\\_beynuehnen/](https://imperative.eu/koenigsberg/klein_beynuehnen/)

The German collection most thoroughly studied by Mikocki, containing both genuine antiquities and antique-like objects, was the collection of the von Rose family, kept at the palace and park in Döhlau (currently: Dylewo, Ostróda district, Poland) in Eastern Prussia. Antique pieces were among the elements of the decorative programme of the whole complex, but rather as inspirations than an actual collection of ancient originals (cf. *infra*).

Research on German collections in what is now Polish territory that were chronologically parallel to the ones in possession of the Polish aristocracy give a wider perspective on the role of broadly understood Antiquity in the culture of elites in Central and Eastern Europe. Antiquity constituted a symbolic language of identity and unity of European and Polish culture, ostensible at least from the mid-18th century.

#### OTHER MEDIA OF TRANSFER OF ANCIENT MODELS TO POLAND

Other media also played an equally important role in the diffusion of knowledge of Antiquity, as travel and collecting original ancient artwork – modern copies, imitations, forgeries of antique artefacts, the contents of libraries, in which an important place was occupied by publications of antiquities, drawings and prints, as well as Neoclassical architecture and *antiquisant* interior decoration of private residences (painted decoration, furniture).

Among the most important media of transfer ancient models were imitations, natural size and small-scale copies. Polish accounts of sojourns in Venice frequently mention collections of plaster casts of famous ancient sculptures, seen in places like the Academy and in Palazzo Farsetti. Relatively affordable (compared to the originals) plaster copies were the kind of artwork most accessible to foreigners, who could buy and transport them to their residences (Mikocki 1989). They were usually collected only for their aesthetic value (they supplemented a gallery of genuine antiquities) but such collections could also have their didactic significance. Such was the function of the collection of plaster casts acquired by King Stanisław August Poniatowski. The cabinet arranged in a castle as the painting studio (*Malarnia*) contained casts of the most superb ancient and modern sculptures. By collecting copies of ancient *chefs d'oeuvres* (the collection of casts also included copies of the most famous statues from Venice, such as the head of one of the horses in the statuary group atop the Basilica San Marco (Mikocki and Korotaj 1989: 271–287) – the king primarily kept in mind their utilitarian value – they were to serve as models for Polish artists: sculptors and painters. As the collection grew larger (at the end of the 18th century) it was moved to Łazienki Park in Warsaw and was supposed to be exhibited in specially arranged halls of the Old Orangerie (the project of painted decoration was not carried out). At the end of the ruler's reign, the collection numbered 542 works and included, besides

the aforementioned horses, copies of the most renowned works of Classical art, including the Apollo Belvedere, figures from the Laocoon Group, the Venus Medici, the Dying Gladiator. Following the king's death, from 1817 onwards the entire collection was housed at the Kazimierzowski Palace in Krakowskie Przedmieście Street in Warsaw. As time passed, it was augmented with purchases made in Poland (from the sculpture workshop of Marcello Bacciarelli) and abroad (for example in Paris and Cologne) as well as gifts (including from the Potocki family, from the Society of Friends of Science in Warsaw) and it began to play a didactic role in teaching university students, being moved to the Columned Hall, erected chiefly for the Fine Arts Department (Mikocki 1989a). It was only in 1969 that in line with the king's original plans a part of the collection was moved to the pavilion of the Old Orangerie in Łazienki Park. Nowadays, some thirty plaster casts are again on permanent exhibition in the Columned Hall, the conference room at the Faculty of History.

Of great significance for the transfer of antique models were reproductions of ancient sculptures and studies on antique architecture. Such records were used as models by artists and architects creating antique-like architecture – imitations of specific buildings – or using antique motifs in the decoration of Neoclassical/Classicist buildings. “They created copies of ancient statuary or imitated it in their original paintings or sculptures, reproducing, besides the forms, also ancient mythological or historical themes” (Mikocki 1993c: 48).

Of special interest in the group of iconographical documents are “drawings from Antiquity” (*d'après l'antique*). Even if less popular than graphic accounts, they are testimonies of the interests of the draftsman or patron. Registering the original state of the monument in a given period and context, they supply information on its modern history – whereabouts and performed restorations (Fig. 9, 10, 11; Mikocki 1992a; 1995c; 1999a: pls 35–40). The descriptions of the objects they record carry important information for the assessment of contemporary knowledge on their subject, which is particularly crucial for the studies on the history of archaeology, as they often registered new and groundbreaking archaeological discoveries (Mikocki 1993b; 1997). At the same time, they indicate the census of antique works of art most valued and well known to the European, including the Polish, lovers of Antiquity, antiquarians, artists and their patrons (Fig. 12, 13 and 14).

Particularly meritorious in this field were the artists working for King Stanisław August Poniatowski and the associated milieu of aristocratic elites of the second half of the 18th century, who “constitute the Polish parallel to artistic phenomena in France, England and Germany” (Mikocki 2003a: 397). Although the attitude of Polish artists, painters, sculptors and architects to Antiquity was highly individualised depending on their personal interests and formation, the effects of their activity can be divided into two main groups.

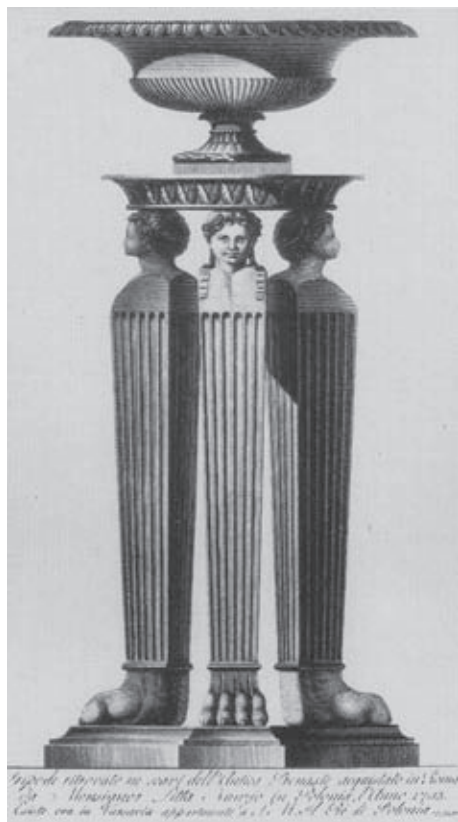




**Fig. 9.** Roman urn from the Radziwiłł collection, the engraving by G.B. Piranesi, *Vasi, candelabra, cippi, sarcophagi, tripodi, lucerne et ornamenti antichi...*, Roma 1778, pl. III.  
After T. Mikocki (1998: pl. 8.4)



**Fig. 10.** Roman urn from the Radziwiłł collection. The drawing from dal Pozzo-Albani albums attributed to Pietro Testa, now in Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. No RL 8535/1.  
After T. Mikocki (1998: pl. 8.2)



**Fig. 11.** The neoclassical tripod, later in the Nieborów Palaca, engraving by Carlo Antonioni. From the collection of the University of Warsaw Library, the Cabinet of Prints, inv. P 183, no 259. After T. Mikocki (1998: pl. 4.3)

The accounts of those who possessed the appropriate knowledge have significant archaeological value. They are mainly plans of archaeological sites and documentation of uncovered features. Among these artists, the most important one seems to have been Franciszek Smuglewicz (1745–1807). The effects of his cooperation with James Byres (1733–1817) were drawings of decorations of Etruscan tombs in Tarquinia (Fig. 15; Mikocki 1993b: 47–48; 2003a: 402). Upon the order of the Roman antiquarian Lodovico Mirri (1738–1786), together with Vincenzo Brenna (1747–1820) he recorded the paintings from the Domus Aurea (published as prints in 1776 in the album “Le antiche camere delle Terme de Tito e le loro Picture restituite al publico...”). During his many years in Rome, he also sketched a large number of sculptures and ancient reliefs.

Classified in the second group are those whose later works were undoubtedly affected by sculptures and vases admired in museums and private collections, ancient monuments seen in Rome and elsewhere. Worthy of mention among the members of this group are the drawings of the royal architect Jan Chrystian Kamsetzer (1753–1795), who travelled and recorded ancient architecture not only in Italy, but also in the south



**Fig. 12.** Ferdinand Pinck, Sleeping Ariadne. From the collection of the University of Warsaw Library, the Cabinet of Prints, inv. T 174: 224/I. After T. Mikocki (1993b: 40)

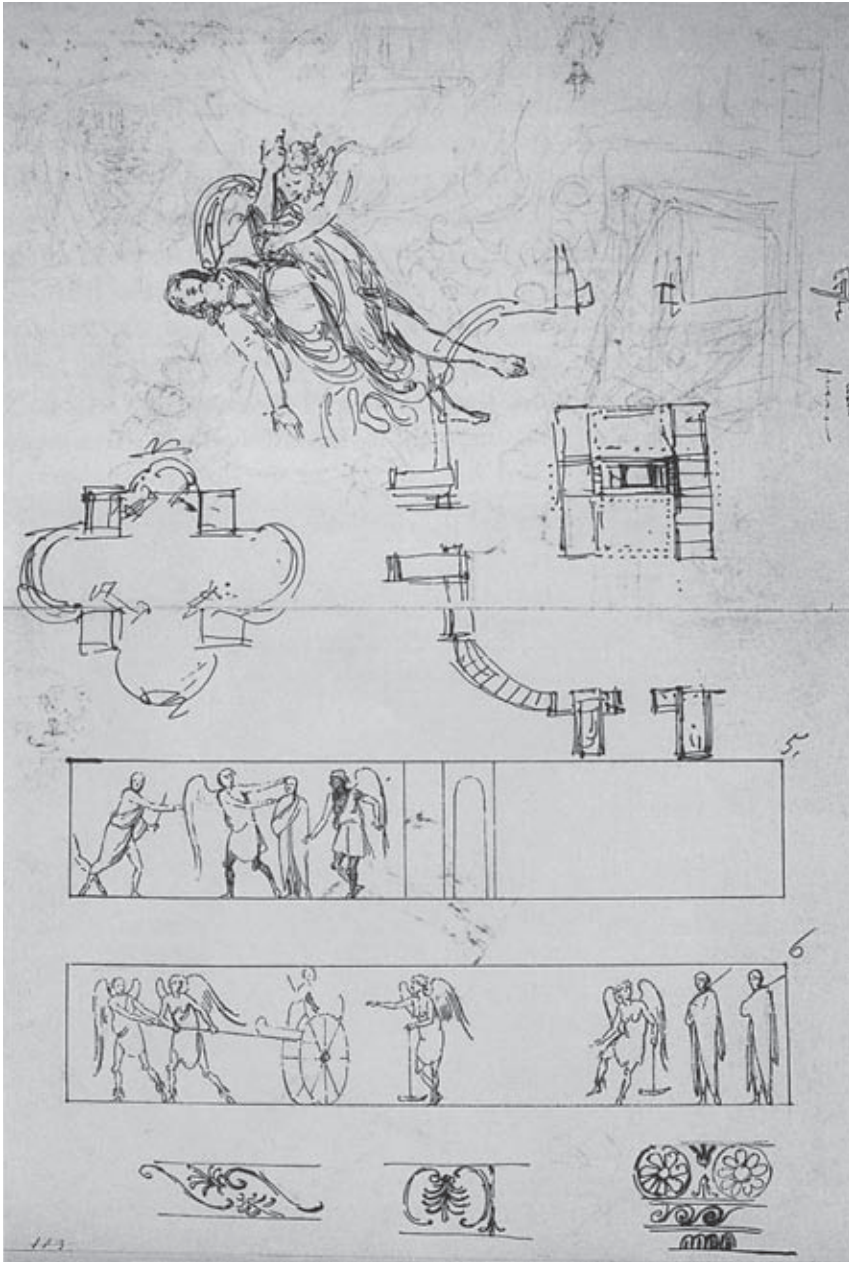


**Fig. 13.** André le Brun, One of the Ara pacis relief (“Bas-relief della villa Médicis à Rome”). From the collection of the University of Warsaw Library, the Cabinet of Prints, inv. zb. d. 119/I. After T. Mikocki (2003a: 403, fig. 3)



**Fig. 14.** Karol Jan Dollinger, Antique vase in Capitoline Museum (“vaso antico nel Museo delle antichità del campidoglio in Roma”). From the collection of the University of Warsaw Library, the Cabinet of Prints, inv. T 183: 401. After T. Mikocki (2003a: 411, fig. 11)





**Fig. 15.** Franciszek Smuglewicz, Drawings of Etruscan Tomb in Corneto (Tarquinia).  
From the collection of the University of Warsaw Library, the Cabinet of Prints, inv. T 175: 38/I, 39/I.  
After T. Mikocki (2003a: 401, fig.1)





**Fig. 16.** Jean-Christian Kamsetzer, Temple in Tivoli (“Vue de Temple de Tivoli”). From the collection of the University of Warsaw Library, the Cabinet of Prints, inv. T 173: 237/II.  
After T. Mikocki (2003a: 405, fig. 5)

of France, Greece and Turkey (Fig. 16; Mikocki 1993b: 21–26). Another architect who put into practice the knowledge obtained during his stay in Rome was Piotr Aigner, creator of architecture closely inspired by Antiquity, whose most famous works are found in a number of places such as in Puławy (“Temple of The Sibyl” and All Saints’ Church) and in Warsaw (the Church of St Alexander), the latter two modelled on the Roman Pantheon (Mikocki 2003a: 408, fig. 6–9). The greatest merit of another architect educated in Italy, Szymon Bogumił Zug (1733–1807), was the introduction of the Doric order, modelled on Archaic and Classical temples in Paestum, into Polish architecture (Mikocki 2003a: 410).

Upon their return to Poland, the artists who used their new experiences “to design, construct, draw, paint and sculpt in accordance with the *Archaeological manner*” (Mikocki 2003a: 400) passed their knowledge and preferences on to others. They taught their disciples but also, in a broader perspective, they influenced the tastes and interests of recipients of their works – the general public.

Foreigners working in Poland that were the authors of works inspired by Antiquity also played a similar role as Polish artists. One of the earliest examples of this effect is the 17th-century statue of Neptune on the Long Market in Gdansk. This new, original concept is a kind of *pasticcio* of different ancient motifs. The Neptune from Gdansk borrowed the head from the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, famous since the Middle Ages (on Capitoline Hill in Rome since 1538) and constituting a direct copy from Antiquity. The Belvedere Torso, which played an important role in art from the Renaissance, served as the basis for the shaping of the middle part of the statue. The third sculpture from which the creator of the Neptune statue drew inspiration when shaping the legs of the statue was the Hellenistic marble Laocoon sculpture, a group known from a Roman copy. The statue, discovered in 1506, entered the repertoire of sculptures most popular among Renaissance and Baroque artists. All three manners of dependency (exact repetition, study, inspiration) often appeared in other examples of contemporary art, especially in works with mythological subject matter (Fig. 17; Mikocki 1993a).



Fig. 17. Neptune's fountain in Gdansk. 1914. Postcard from: <https://gdansk.fotopolska.eu/933835,foto.html>

Examples of decoration *à l'antique* are provided by buildings from Gdansk itself (Mikocki 1992b), Cracow (Mikocki 1984b: 76–77), Warsaw (Mikocki 1993c: 48–49), and above all by antique-like architecture of residences and parks of the nobility.

#### GARDENS À L'ANTIQUE

The fullest realisation of the preferences and tastes *à l'antique* that gained popularity over time were residence-and-park complexes modelled on English and German ones, where in the midst of classical style buildings, imitations of Roman tombstones and copies of sculptures, it was possible to admire genuine ancient artefacts.

Gardens *à l'antique* emerging in various parts of old and modern-day Poland (in Warsaw and its vicinity, in Puławy and near Siedlce, the regions of Volhynia, Silesia and Eastern Prussia), were the products of already developed interests and, conversely, places where one could develop a passion for Antiquity. Elysian landscape gardens adorned with temples, grottoes, ruins and antique sculptures established in the 18th and 19th century in Great Britain, Germany and Russia to quell the longing for the beauty of Italian *paesaggio*, testified to the role of a broadly understood Antiquity in the culture of elites of Northern, Central and Eastern Europe.

The last and unfortunately unfinished project of Tomasz Mikocki was the study of this phenomenon in Poland against a European background. The result of this research was to be a synthesis entitled “Ancient marbles and ‘gardens à l’antique’. The Polish search for cultural identity”. The published short excerpts from this study leave one regretting that the author did not live to write and publish the complete results. Although the analysis of the phenomenon was hindered by the state of preservation of the parks, their monuments and collections (cf. *supra*), the author managed to reach many interesting conclusions.

One of the first historical parks created as gardens *à l'antique* preserved in a state permitting us to reconstruct its original appearance is the park of Izabella Czartoryska in Puławy. A complex that she had founded earlier, a park in Warsaw’s Powązki, was completely destroyed and is now known only from images. In Puławy, however, not only Neoclassical buildings alluding to ancient architecture are preserved, but also structures that were faithful imitations of Greek and Roman monuments. The Temple of The Sibyl erected on a cliff, an exact copy of the temple in Tivoli (Fig. 18), a church designed by Piotr Aigner – a smaller copy of the Pantheon, and other buildings alluding in form, style or detail to the architecture of Rome, gave an illusion of an ancient landscape. Thus, Izabella Czartoryska together with her family and circle of friends and acquaintances, who offered “artefacts” for the collection in Puławy, created one of the major venues for enthusiasts of Antiquity in Poland in the early 19th century, a place whose impact was not owed to the collections themselves but to the antique-like architecture (Mikocki 1983).



**Fig. 18.** Anonymous, The Temple of the Sibyl in Puławy. From the collection of The Princes Czartoryski Museum, Cabinet of Prints, XV – Rr. 22

An emblematic example of a garden *à l'antique* was the Arkadia Park near Nieborów, the property of Helena and Michał Radziwiłł. Mikocki devoted many years of his research to Arkadia, its antique-like buildings, structures alluding to Roman architecture, and the exhibited collection. The Park, which in its vastness and quality of decoration could only be compared with similar establishments in Great Britain, Germany or Russia, owed its architecture to two creators – Szymon Bogumił Zug and Enrico



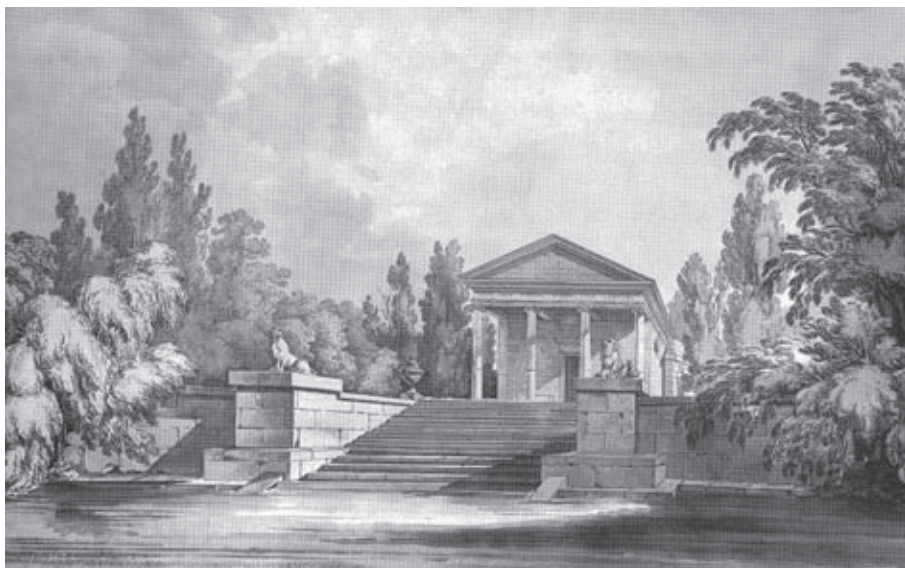
Ittar (1773–1850). In the early 19th century, they built the Temple of Diana, Greek Arch, Sibylline Grotto, Archpriest's Sanctuary, Roman Circus and Theatre in the park. The impact of such an “antique” site is indicated by the fact that the garden was often visited and admired by friends and acquaintances of the Radziwiłł family. Based on the descriptions of the guests, it is possible to reconstruct the image of the park in its prime, when an integral element of its decorative programme was a collection of antiquities, an excellent supplement to the antique-like architecture, giving an illusion of authenticity to the entire complex (Fig. 19, 20, 21). “Broken pieces of marble were a sign, a symbol of ancient Italy and Greece” (Mikocki 1987: 50) and the aqueduct (Fig. 22), theatre, columbarium and circus reconstructed in the park “played a major didactic role” (Mikocki 2001a: 110), allowing Antiquity to be experienced directly – an opportunity particularly important to persons who, like Madame Radziwiłł or the aforementioned Madame Czartoryska, never travelled to Italy (Mikocki 1987; 1995a; 1998a; 2001a).

A testimony of the unity and cultural identity of European elites of the 19th century, in which Antiquity played a leading role are also the park-and-residence complexes founded by Germans, located in what was then Eastern Prussia and is now Poland. The most interesting ones offering the greatest possibilities of reconstructing



**Fig. 19.** Greek Arch and the Temple of Diana. Print by Z. Frey after a drawing by Z. Vogel from 1806. The print in the Palace at Nieborów, inv. no. Nb 2100 MNW. After T. Mikocki (1998: pl. 1.1)





**Fig. 20.** Anonymous, Temple of Diana in Arcadia. Watercolour. From the collection of the Palace at Nieborów, inv. No. Nb 156 MNW. After T. Mikocki (1998: pl. 1.2)



**Fig. 21.** Temple of Diane in Arcadia near Nieborów. Photo: M. Bogacki



**Fig. 22.** “Aqueduct” in Arcadia near Nieborów. Photo: M. Bogacki

their architectural and decorative programmes are the partly preserved park-and-residence complexes in Beynuhnen and Döhlau (now: Dylewo).

In the 19th century Fritz von Farenheid built a residence in Beynuhnen, later Darkiejmy/Darkehmen (today: Oziorsk, Kaliningrad district in Russia). The architecture of the residence and park (currently divided between the territories of Poland and Russia) broadly referred to the patterns of Antiquity. A pyramid-shaped tomb was

erected in the park, the palace was adorned with a portico modelled on the Porch of the Caryatids in the Erechtheion (Fig. 23), and for decoration of the entire complex, the commissioner gathered a huge collection of plaster casts of ancient sculptures and a dozen or so ancient originals purchased in Rome and Sicily, perhaps also in Greece



**Fig. 23.** Palace in Beynuhnen, before the 2nd World War. Postcard from: [https://imperative.eu/koenigsberg/klein\\_beynuhnen/](https://imperative.eu/koenigsberg/klein_beynuhnen/)

and Asia Minor. As a result of wartime military action, both the palace and the park were damaged and the collection suffered from extensive looting. Based on artefacts preserved in the National Museum in Warsaw and archival material it was possible to partly reconstruct the collection (Mikocki 2000a, *cf.* supra) and despite the destruction of the palace and park, the decorative programme of the entire residence can be recreated to a certain extent – modern statuary, plaster and iron-cast copies of the most famous works adorning the garden space and the palace are known thanks to written and iconographic sources.

The German residence most thoroughly studied by Mikocki was the palace in Döhlau/Dylewo with a developed decorative programme in which the patterns of Antiquity played a significant role (Figs 24, 25 and 26). In the 1860s, Ludwig von Rose (1819–1886) designed a park in which antique-like buildings were erected, such as a pavilion in the shape of a small temple, numerous copies and statuary alluding to forms of Antiquity. Thanks to the enlightened and generous patronage of the next owner and heir, Franz von Rose (1854–1912), the complex was adorned with numerous other works alluding to Antiquity, like a sphinx, an imitation of a portrait of Vitellius (from the Archaeological Museum in Venice), a portrait of blind Homer, a statue of “pseudo-Seneca”, a Ravenna-type sarcophagus and a sarcophagus with motifs drawn from a marine *thiasos*. The two latter objects were works of the Italian sculptor Adolfo Wildt (1868–1931), who was under the patronage of von Rose in the early years of his





**Fig. 24.** The Döhlau Manor House. Photo from the collection of S. Friedberg.  
After T. Mikocki (2001b: pl. 41, fig. 23)



**Fig. 25.** The Döhlau Manor House. After T. Mikocki (2001b: pl. 41, fig. 24)



**Fig. 26.** The Döhlau Park, painted by W. Geffcken in October 1936. From the collection of S. Friedberg. After T. Mikocki (2001b: pl. 61, fig. 74)

career. The later-famous sculptor, introduced by von Rose to the milieu of German art collectors, drew inspiration from Classical and Byzantine art and his numerous creations decorated the residence in Döhlau. After the patron's death, the collection was enriched thanks to the efforts of his aunt Else Wentzel-Heckmann and his descendant, Botho von Rose (including a bronze copy of the sculpture of Poseidon recovered from the sea off Cape Artemision in 1926). After his death, a part of the collection found its way to Königsberg, where the artefacts, housed in a museum, were destroyed during World War II. A similar fate befell the residence and its furnishings, pillaged by soldiers of the Red Army in January 1945. In 1950, as part of the initiative to gather all artefacts in a central museum repository in Warsaw, some of the objects from the park found their way to the National Museum in Warsaw (one of them was later found in the park in Nieborów), including bronze copies of famous ancient statuary – the Cape Artemision Poseidon, the Faun from the House of the Faun in Pompeii, Narcissus from Pompeii, and several other objects were dispatched to the Museum of Warmia and Masuria in Olsztyn. In 2002, having conducted research in the archives and field prospection (Mikocki 2001b), Mikocki decided to launch excavations, which revealed a part of the ruined palace and brought about the discovery of many objects that once constituted the furnishings of the residence. Despite the lack of ancient



originals (Greek and Roman antiquities did not play a leading role in the interests of the owners of the residence), it is possible to conclude on the basis of the collected information that patterns from Antiquity constituted the key element in the eclectic decorative programme of the park and palace (Mikocki 2003b; 2005: 37–45; 2007).

#### FINAL REMARKS

Studies on the role of the tradition of ancient art in Polish and European culture occupied a special place in the rich scientific dossier of Professor Tomasz Mikocki. The continuator of research areas started by Professor Anna Sadurska, he significantly developed them and often gave them an entirely new dimension. By engaging in research on various aspects of the tradition of antique art, Professor Mikocki paved the way for the concept that adaptation and reception of antique forms should be perceived as manifestations of a search for cultural identity. He believed Antiquity to be one of the elements that confirmed affiliation of Poland to the same cultural sphere as Italy, France, Great Britain. In 1998, he was awarded the prestigious Preis der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften donated by the Peregrinus Foundation for the whole of his studies on the antique tradition, particularly on collections.

He also initiated projects aimed at broadening the circle of individuals interested in similar studies, engaging in new initiatives. Initially he was co-organiser, and in 1992–1996, Deputy Director of the Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe at University of Warsaw (in 2008 transformed into the Faculty for Interdisciplinary Studies “Artes Liberales” at University of Warsaw). In 2002–2003, he directed the State Centre for Artefact Research and Documentation (Krajowy Ośrodek Badań i Dokumentacji Zabytków), currently the National Heritage Board of Poland (Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa).

However, his research on the tradition and reception of ancient art was merely one aspect of his scientific endeavors. Professor Mikocki was a scholar of multiple fields of interest and one of them was Classical sculpture. He was a world-famous specialist in Greek and Roman visual arts. His position in the academic world is made evident not only by his numerous fellowships (in New York, London, Berlin etc.) but also by his participation in many international projects, such as *Corpus Signorum Imperium Romani* or *Antiken Sarkophagen Reliefs*. He was also an active field archaeologist, apart the excavation in Dylewo, in 1991–1994 he co-directed archaeological works in Orbe (Switzerland), in 1994–1997 – Haus Bürgel on the Rhine (Germany), and from 2001 until his death he conducted excavations in Ptolemais (Cyrenaica, Libya)<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> For the full bibliography of Tomasz Mikocki's works – cf. the bibliography prepared by M. Muszyńska-Mikocka with the help of P. Jaworski, *Archeologia Warszawska* 58(2007): 227–230.

REFERENCES

- Mikocki, T. 1981. Podróż do Italii Franciszka Bielińskiego (1787–1792) czyli co w XVIII w. o “wazach etruskich” wiedziano. *Meander* 36(8–9): 461–470.
- Mikocki, T. 1982. Kolekcja rzeźb i waz antycznych Stanisława Kostki Potockiego w Wilanowie. *Studia Wilanowskie* 8: 55–83.
- Mikocki, T. 1983. Sztuka starożytna w mecenacie Izabelli Czartoryskiej. *Meander* 38(6): 205–218.
- Mikocki, T. 1984a. Pompeje w relacjach podróżników polskich w XVIII w. In T. Kotula (ed.), *Acta Pompeiana. Księga Pamiątkowa ogólnopolskiego Sympozjum w Karpaczu: Pompeje – 1900-lecie wybuchu Wezuwiusza (79–1979)*. *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis* 611, *Antiquitas* 11, 45–51. Wrocław.
- Mikocki, T. 1984b. Problemy recepcji antyku w sztuce polskiej XVI w. *Studia i materiały archeologiczne* 2: 73–80.
- Mikocki, T. 1984c. Historia dwóch warszawskich zbiorów zabytków antycznych: kolekcji Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego i Michała Ludwika Paca. *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 28: 401–454.
- Mikocki, T. 1986. Les anciennes collections d'antiquités en Pologne. *Archeologia Warszawska* 37: 41–85.
- Mikocki, T. 1987. Antyk w mecenacie Heleny i Michała Radziwiłłów: Arkadia, Nieborów, Królikarnia. *Studia i Materiały Archeologiczne* 5: 25–50.
- Mikocki, T. 1988a. À la recherche de l'art antique. Les voyageurs polonais en Italie dans les années 1750–1830. *Polska Akademia Nauk Komitet Nauk o Kulturze Antycznej, Archiwum Filologiczne* XLII. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź.
- Mikocki, T. 1988b. Polskie “odkrycie” architektury doryckiej w XVIII wieku. In Z. Bania *et al.* (eds), *Podług nieba i zwyczaju polskiego. Studia z historii sztuki i architektury ofiarowane Adamowi Miłobędzkiemu*, 405–414. Warszawa.
- Mikocki, T. 1989. Antyk, Wenecja i Polska. *Meander* 44(6): 271–287.
- Mikocki, T. 1990a. Najstarsze kolekcje starożytności w Polsce, lata 1750–1830. *Polska Akademia Nauk Komitet Nauk o Kulturze Antycznej, Archiwum Filologiczne* XLVI. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź.
- Mikocki, T. 1990b. Les antiquités de Venise dans les relations des voyageurs polonais. In E. Fano Santi (ed.), *Congresso Internazionale Venezia e l'archeologia. Un importante capitolo nella storia del gusto dell'antico nella cultura artistica veneziana. 25–29 maggio 1988*, *Supplementi alla Rivista di Archeologia* 7: 105–109.
- Mikocki, T. 1991. Bibliografia tematu: miłośnictwo sztuki antycznej w Polsce w okresie stanisławowskim i przedpowstaniowym (do r. 1983). In A. Sadurska (ed), *Z dziejów miłośnictwa antyku w Polsce*, 191–213. Warszawa.
- Mikocki, T. 1992a. Alte Zeichnungen und Stiche nach antiken Skulpturen in polnischen Sammlungen. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 107: 198–216, pls 73–86.
- Mikocki, T. 1992b. Antyczne pierwowzory z Sieni Gdańskiej. *Porta Aurea. Rocznik Zakładu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego* 1: 251–267.
- Mikocki, T. 1993a. Antyczne pierwowzory gdańskiego posągu Neptuna. *Porta Aurea. Rocznik Zakładu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego* 2: 31–47.
- Mikocki, T. 1993b. *Pour Sa Majesté le Roi... Rysunki “z antyku” w zbiorach Gabinetu Rycin biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Katalog wystawy*. Warszawa.
- Mikocki, T. 1993c. Historia zbiorów starożytniczych Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. In J. Kolendo and S.K. Kozłowski (eds), *Dzieje Archeologii na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim*, 41–51. Warszawa.

- Mikocki, T. 1995a. Collection de la princesse Radziwiłł. Les monuments antiques et antiquisants d'Arcadie et du Château de Nieborów. *Polska Akademia Nauk Komitet Nauk o Kulturze Antycznej, Archiwum Filologiczne* LII. Wrocław.
- Mikocki, T. 1995b. Antiken aus der Sammlung Radziwiłł in Nieborów. In H. von Hesberg (ed.), *Antike Schätze. Aus der Arbeit des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität zu Köln. Ausstellung im Studio Dumont. 24. August bis 22. September 1995*, 22–24. Köln.
- Mikocki, T. 1995c. Jeszcze jeden nieborowski zabytek w Museum Chartaceum Cassiano dal Pozzo i w warsztacie Piranesiego. In A. Bursche, M. Mielczarek and W. Nowakowski (eds), *Nunc de Suebis dicendum est... Studia archeologica et historica Georgio Kolendo ab amicis et discipulis dicata*, 187–191. Warszawa.
- Mikocki, T. 1997. Jupiter-Pan-Asklepios. Trzy klasycystyczne interpretacje posągu w Nieborowie. In M. Głosek (ed.), *Archeologia i starożytnicy. Studia dedykowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Abramowiczowi w 70 rocznicę urodzin*, 211–221. Łódź.
- Mikocki, T. 1998a. Arcadia in Poland. The 18th Century Radziwiłł Collection of Antique Sculpture. Its History and Present. In T. Mikocki (ed.), *Arcadiana. Arcadia in Poland. An 18th Century Antique Garden and its Famous Sculptures*, Światowit suppl. Series A: Antiquity 1, 13–25. Warsaw.
- Mikocki, T. 1999a. Dawne rysunki i ryciny według rzeźb antycznych znajdujących się w dzisiejszych polskich zbiorach (II). *Światowit* 1(42), A: 84–94, pls 35–40.
- Mikocki, T. 1999b. Storia delle collezioni delle antichità in Polonia. In E. Fano Santi (ed.), *Le collezioni di antichità nella cultura antiquaria europea. Incontro internazionale, Varsavia-Nieborów 17–20 Giugno 1996*. SSupplementi alla *Rivista di Archeologia* 12: 118–127.
- Mikocki, T. 2000a. Rzeźby z Beyhnunen. Kolekcja Fritza von Farenheid w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie. In J. Kolendo and W. Nowakowski (eds), *Antiquitates Prussiae. Studia z dziejów archeologii dawnych ziem pruskich*, 41–44. Warszawa.
- Mikocki, T. 2000b. Antikensammlungen in Polen. In D. Boschung and H. von Hesberg (eds), *Antikensammlungen des europäischen Adels im 18. Jahrhundert als Ausdruck einer europäischen Identität. Internationales Kolloquium in Düsseldorf vom 7.2.–10.2.1996*. Monumenta Artis Romanae XXVII, 167–71, pls 48–50. Mainz am Rhein.
- Mikocki, T. 2000c. Prywatne kolekcjonerstwo dzieł sztuki starożytnej na ziemiach polskich a obecny stan posiadania muzeów. In J. Lipińska (ed.), *Zbiory publiczne a kolekcjonerstwo prywatne. Problematyka ochrony dziedzictwa kulturowego w przeszłości i dzisiaj. Sesja Naukowa w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie zorganizowana przez pracowników Zbiorów Sztuki Starożytnej: Listopad 1998*, 103–115. Warszawa.
- Mikocki, T. 2001a. Kolekcja antyków Heleny Radziwiłłowej. Historia i ekspozycja. In T. Mikocki and W. Piwkowski (eds), *Et in Arcadia ego. Muzeum księżny Heleny Radziwiłłowej. Katalog wystawy w Świątyni Diany w Arkadii, maj-wrzesień 2001*, 81–111. Warszawa.
- Mikocki, T. 2001b. Rzeźby z kolekcji von Rose w Döhlau I (pierwsza wizyta w Dylewie). *Światowit* 3(44): B: 167–180, pls. 31–62.
- Mikocki, T. 2001c. False in Genuine: on some Roman sarcophagi in Polish collections. In J. Miziołek (ed.), *Falsifications in Polish Collections and Abroad*. *Światowit* suppl. A: Antiquity VIII, 67–88. Warsaw.
- Mikocki, T. 2001d. Fałszywe w prawdziwym. O antykach nie całkiem prawdziwych i o falsyfikatach nie całkiem fałszywych. In J. Miziołek and M. Morka (eds), *Falsyfikaty dzieł sztuki w zbiorach polskich. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej 21–23 maja 1999 przez Instytut Archeologii, Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki i Zamek Królewski w Warszawie*, 72–93. Warszawa.
- Mikocki, T. 2002. Antiquitatensammlungen [Polen]. In *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 15(2), 401–403. Stuttgart-Weimar.

- Mikocki, T. 2003a. Polish Artists and the Emergence of Archaeology in eighteenth century Rome. In J. Feifer, T. Fischer-Hansen and A. Rathje (eds), *The Rediscovery of Antiquity – The Role of the Artists*. Acta Hyberborea 10: 397–422. Copenhagen.
- Mikocki, T. 2003b. Rzeźby z kolekcji von Rose w Döhlau II (druga wizyta w Dylewie). *Światowit* 5(46), B: 201–206.
- Mikocki, T. 2005. Former German collections of antiquities in present-day Polish territory: state of research. *Archeologia Polona* 41: 15–50.
- Mikocki, T. 2007. “Antiken” in Doehlau. In K. Schade, D. Rössler and A. Schäfer (eds), *Zentren und Wirkungsräume der Antikenrezeption. Zur Bedeutung von Raum und Kommunikation für die neuzeitliche Transformation der griechisch-römischen Antike*, 63–67. Berlin.
- Mikocki, T. and Korotaj, M. 1989. Odlewy gipsowe rzeźb starożytnych w Starej Pomarańczarni w warszawskich Łazienkach. *Archiwum Filologiczne Komitet Nauk o Kulturze Antycznej PAN XLVII*. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź 1989.
- Mikocki, T. and Szafrński, S. 1993. Uniwersyteckie zbiory starożytności. In J. Kolendo (ed.), *Antyk w Uniwersytecie Warszawskim. Nauka i nauczanie w Warszawie od powstania uczelni do 1945 roku. Prawo rzymskie, historia starożytna, archeologia klasyczna*, 147–170. Warszawa.

