

In 1961, Jerzy Łojek, a historian popularizing knowledge about the eighteenth century, and a fierce critic of Stanislaus Augustus, published a collection of articles under the title *Strusie króla Stasia* [Ostriches of King Stanislaus].¹ The aim of the title essay was to prove that the Polish monarch was not serious about his involvement in political matters and, what is more, to show him as a person focused on trivial things and pure entertainment. Łojek was particularly indignant about the fact that royal orders to bring four ostriches from Africa to Warsaw were included in diplomatic letters posted on the same dates when the Governance Act of 1791² was being discussed and passed. However, this malicious critical essay proves nothing more than that information on the history of animals kept at the royal residence of Stanislaus Augustus should be sought in dispersed and unobvious sources.

The aim of this article is to explore the sources that can be used to study the presence of animals in the summer residence of the last king of Poland.³ The narratives on the museum located in Łazienki Królewskie in Warsaw are focused (at least when it comes to eighteenth-century history) primarily on architecture and art, on the culture of the gentry and the court viewed against the background of the history of Poland and Europe, and on the flora of the local gardens. The poor representation of information on animal history is due to the unsatisfactory state of research. The same applies, by the way, to the history of the royal servants.

For the purposes of this article, the described animals were classified into four categories: 1) companion animals, 2) ornamental animals, 3)

NOT ONLY OSTRICHES. ANIMALS IN ŁAZIENKI KRÓLEWSKIE IN THE PERIOD OF STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS

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1 J. Łojek, *Strusie króla Stasia. Szkice o ludziach i sprawach dawnej Warszawy* (Warszawa, 1961).

2 The correspondence of the Polish diplomat in Vienna, Franciszek Woyna, who was involved in bringing these ostriches to Warsaw, was published recently: *Korespondencja polityczna Stanisława Augusta. Wiedeń*, vols 1–2, eds M. Jusupović, A. Danilczyk (Warszawa, 2016). Readers of these letters can easily verify Łojek's misleading complaints.

3 Another research postulate, one that goes beyond the scope of this article, is to place Łazienki Królewskie in the context of the royal and aristocratic menageries of the era. European menageries were described in a classic book: G. Loisel, *Histoire des ménageries de l'antiquité à nos jours*, vols 1–3 (Paris, 1912) (the eighteenth century is covered in volume 2). The list of key book sources dating from the late twentieth century is mentioned by K. Bielecki in a review of the book by Ch.E. Jackson on British menageries, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol. 124, 2017, no. 2, pp. 357–62.



livestock, and 4) pest animals. This classification of animals also facilitated the classification of sources that can be used to describe them. We are aware that these categories may overlap in some cases, and artists at Stanislaus Augustus's court also perceived aesthetic qualities in livestock, highlighting the rural style of this residence, or at least some of its areas (the land near the White Pavilion and Belvedere was Łazienki's equivalent of Petit Trianon).⁴

Two more things have to be explained before we arrive at the major topic.

Firstly, the article focuses on manuscripts and iconographic material, without mentioning the potential use of archaeological sources and other information. Secondly, we exclude animals which were present in the universe of Łazienki because their symbolic meaning had been used in paintings and sculptural decorations.

The Ujazdów game park

Before we turn to the history of Stanislaus Augustus's Łazienki, attention should be drawn to the traditions of this place, which had been used as a game park before the royal residence was built. It coexisted with the medieval stronghold of the Piast dynasty.⁵ The area retained its character during the times of Queen Bona Sforza, Anna Jagiellonka and Sigismund III Vasa. The abundance and diversity of animals living there in the times predating Stanislaus Augustus's reign are known, among others, from the 1596 description by the Italian writer Giovanni Paolo Muscante, who watched there 'various wild beasts, such as bison, aurochs, bears, wild boars, red deer, fallow deer, etc.'⁶. The launch of construction works in Łazienki, founded by Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski in the second half of the seventeenth century (i.e. the construction of the Łazienki and Hermitage pavilions) did not eliminate game animals from the area. On the contrary, game was an important feature in the landscape of a place where Lubomirski was wont to engage in literary work. The area was surrounded with a fence that prevented animals

4 Literature on the fondness for rural motifs in the garden art of the 1770s is abundant. Theoretical aspects of the design of the Łazienki Garden were discussed in the study by A. Morawińska, *Augusta Fryderyka Moszyńskiego Rozprawa o ogrodnictwie angielskim* (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1977), pp. 41–42 and elsewhere. The idyllic nature of the White Pavilion was recently linked with the philosophy of the physiocrats by I. Zycho-wicz, 'Wieś szczęśliwa? Fizjokratyczne laboratorium idei w Rzeczypospolitej Stanisława Augusta w latach 60. i 70. XVIII w.', in: *Miasto i wieś na przestrzeni wieków. Społeczeństwo – kultura – gospodarka*, eds J. Możejko, A. Lubocki (Gdańsk, 2022), pp. 87–90.

5 L. Majdecki, 'Łazienki. Przemiany układu przestrzennego założenia ogrodowego', *Rejestr Ogrodów Polskich*, vol. 7, 1969, p. 17.

6 'Diariusz legacyi kardynała Gaetano w roku 1595', in: J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2 (Warszawa, 1839), p. 120. Smaller animals, such as rabbits and hares, should also be added to complete this picture; Maj-decki, 'Łazienki', p. 19.

from escaping from the prince's property.⁷ In the following years, the layout of the game park was developed by Augustus II, who had been leasing this area for thirteen years. His son and successor, Augustus III, was unwilling to invest any funds there and treated the Ujazdów game park primarily as hunting grounds.⁸ Despite the fact that this place was associated with hunting, Stanislaus Augustus chose Apollo as the patron of his residence instead of Diana. Other estates (such as Koźienice) were used for hunting. Meanwhile, Łazienki Królewskie was a place designed to resemble a utopian happy island, where 'justice, peace, universal happiness, and simplicity of life close to nature prevailed'.⁹

And while until the creation of the Łazienki Park (let us assume the year 1772 as the conventional commencement of its construction), it was the area below the escarpment, where Lubomirski's pavilions were located, that was defined as the game park, in the following part of this article the term 'game park' will refer only to the area designated by Stanislaus Augustus for breeding livestock (Fig. 3).

Companion animals (dogs)

Dogs, today absent from Łazienki Królewskie, were frequent companion animals of men and women who came to stay in this residence in the eighteenth century. Dogs to a certain extent indicated the financial status of their owners and were shown off during social events and hunts. Dogs, both those representing small breeds, such as the Maltese dogs, terriers, Pomeranians or Bolognese dogs popular at the time, as well as large greyhounds, were depicted in paintings by Vogel, Norblin and other artists.¹⁰ A special historical source is the portrait of Anna Szaniawska, wife of the Małogoszcz district governor, painted by Friedrich

7 T. Bernatowicz, 'Gardens for hunting game. Royal zoos of the Saxon times around Warsaw', in: *Royal Gardens in Poland*, ed. M. Szafrńska, exhibition catalogue, Royal Castle in Warsaw (Warszawa, 2001), p. 268.

8 Majdecki, 'Łazienki', p. 29.

9 A. Rottermund, 'Kolekcja w Pałacu na Wyspie, czyli jak uformować przestrzeń muzeum nowoczesnego', in: *Rembrandt i inni. Królewska kolekcja obrazów Stanisława Augusta*, exhibition catalogue, Pałac Na Wyspie, Łazienki Królewskie Museum in Warsaw, 19 July – 16 October 2011 (Warszawa, 2011), pp. 19–20.

10 Here it is necessary to mention, for example, Jan Piotr Norblin, *A View of the Cascade in Łazienki*, 1789, MNP, inv. no. MNP Gr 581, and *A View of Łazienki from the South*, 1794, MNK, inv. no. MNK XV-Rr-2074; and watercolours by Zygmunt Vogel in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg (inv. no. 23637, 27272, 27273) and the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. no. Rys.Pol. 14203). Watercolours from the St Petersburg collection were reproduced in: *Podług gustu i wskazówek króla. Widoki Łazienek na akwarelach Zygmunta Vogla ze zbiorów Ermitażu w Petersburgu*, eds E. Góral, I. Zarebska (Warszawa, 1996). See also a gouache from 1791, painted *nach der Natur* by the German theatre decorator Johann Ludvig Giesel, depicting the Palace on the Isle from the southern side (destroyed in 1939, reproduced in: W. Tatar-kiewicz, *Łazienki warszawskie* (Warszawa, 1957), p. 47.



Fig. 1

F. Lohrmann, *Portrait of Anna Szaniawska*, c. 1777–1784

Lohrmann (Fig. 1). Anna Szaniawska, relaxing in the Łazienki Park accompanied by a small dog, was shown against the background of the Palace on the Isle (as it looked in 1777–1784¹¹). The names of her two dogs: Kasperek (a Maltese¹² brought from Vienna in 1791) and Bufcio, are known from stories about Szaniawska's life; she was, in fact, famous for her affection for dogs.¹³ Records concerning Bufcio even match the date of the painting's creation. According to an anecdote written down by Antoni Magier, in 1782 the king agreed to Antoni Malinowski receiving the rank of a bishop, being persuaded to do so by Anna Szaniawska, who was enchanted by the *Song about Bufcio*, written by Malinowski.¹⁴ It should be noted that the literary description of this dog recorded by Magier does not agree with the painting mentioned here.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the memoirs of this

Warsaw scientist and storyteller were completed only in 1833, and, as his biographer noted, 'sometimes memory failed him a little'.¹⁶

Unfortunately, historical sources do not confirm the presence in Łazienki Królewskie of the most famous dog of Stanislaus Augustus – a spitz named Kiopek (*köpek* in Turkish means 'dog'), although the term 'spitz' (i.e. a Pomeranian) may be inadequate in this case, because in the painting the dog looks more like a Maltese or a Bolognese. It should be noted,

11 D. Juszcak, H. Małachowicz, *Galeria obrazów Stanisława Augusta w Łazienkach Królewskich. Katalog* (Warszawa, 2015), pp. 241–43.

12 This breed, known since the thirteenth century, was initially used for hunting rodents and then for companionship, and was very popular in the eighteenth century.

13 Anna Szaniawska and her dogs were mentioned in two articles: M. Czeppe, 'Pieska polityka', in: *W cieniu wojen i rozbiorów. Studia z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej XVIII i początków XIX wieku*, eds U. Kosińska, D. Dukwicz, A. Danilczyk (Warszawa, 2014), pp. 385–404; R. Grześkowiak, 'Zazdrość i pomówienia. Pieski w panińskiej pościeli', in: id., *Amor curiosus. Studia o osobliwych tematach dawnej poezji erotycznej* (Warszawa, 2013), pp. 69–141.

14 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta stołecznego Warszawy*, introd. J. Morawinski, ed. H. Szwanowska (Wrocław, 1963), p. 268; Czeppe, 'Pieska polityka', p. 397; Grześkowiak, 'Zazdrość i pomówienia', p. 95.

15 'Szaniawska, a widow of the Małogoszcz district governor, had Bufcio, her favourite, a beautiful Bolognese dog, with a white coat and long fawn-coloured ears, whom she kept in great affection and comforts. When the dog was given food from the table, the dressing woman had to put a napkin on the floor, tie the dog's ears with a ribbon to keep them from getting dirty, and serve him food on a silver fork. The dog had a bed lined with muslin and was treated with great attention', Magier, *Estetyka*, p. 268; see also Czeppe, 'Pieska polityka', p. 398; Grześkowiak, 'Zazdrość i pomówienia', p. 105.

16 H. Szwanowska, 'Magier Antoni Erazm', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 19, 1974, p. 132.

however, that the eighteenth century was a period when many ‘breeding experiments’ were conducted; animals of different breeds were crossed, and breed standards known to us today were not fully established. Kiopek’s life is known mainly from the description of the king’s forced stay in Grodno at the time of the fall of the Polish state after the defeat of the Kościuszko Uprising.¹⁷ This dog is mentioned in the royal correspondence (the earliest record is in letters from 2 March 1795), when Stanislaus Augustus issued recommendations regarding the pictorial representation of Kiopek by Marcello Bacciarelli in the family portrait of Michał Jerzy Mniszch with his daughter Elżbieta (Fig. 2).¹⁸ The work on the painting, however, is dated to late 1794 – early 1795¹⁹, so it is highly probable that Kiopek had managed to see Warsaw (and possibly also the Łazienki Park), which the king was forced to leave on 5 January 1795.

Until the Second World War, in the file ‘Literaria’ – which contained products of literary entertainment during Thursday Dinners and was much cherished by Stanislaus Augustus – there was a piece of writing which, judging by its title, shed some light on the activity of dogs in Łazienki Królewskie: *A lament of the relatives of a late peacock, eaten by a dog in Łazienki... (A humble supplication from the children of the late peacock Argo against the dog Bryś, the abovementioned peacock’s killer)*²⁰. It is



Fig. 2

M. Bacciarelli, *Portrait of Michał Jerzy Wandalin Mniszech with his Daughter Elżbieta and the Dog Kiopek*, 1795

- 17 After the onset of the dramatic events in the last years of the Commonwealth, Stanislaus Augustus’s pet was no longer mentioned in historical sources. Therefore, it cannot be unequivocally stated whether the pet visited Łazienki with the king during his stays there in the 1790s, which are chronologically presented in the article by P. Skowroński, ‘Łazienki Królewskie 1791–1795. Kronika wydarzeń politycznych i dworskich’, *Kronika Zamkowa*, vol. 7, 2020, pp. 141–62.
- 18 At that time, Stanislaus Augustus decided that another spitz dog, owned by the royal aide-de-camp Filip de Fleury, would sit for the painting instead of Kiopek, W. Gomulicki, ‘Kiopek i jego przyjaciele’, in: id., *Żygzakiem. Szkice, wspomnienia, przekłady* (Warszawa, 1981), pp. 272–73. The dog Kiopek was also portrayed with Elżbieta Mniszchówna by Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (here it was certainly a live model). This painting is now in Ljubljana (Narodna Galerija), reproduced in: J. Pokora, ‘Sygnatura jako uobecnienie. Portret Józefiny Potockiej pędzla Lampiego, 1788–1789’, in: id., *Nie tylko podobizna. Szkice o portrecie* (Warszawa, 2012), p. 76.
- 19 A. Sołtys, ‘Bacciarelli – powrót po latach. Portret Michała Jerzego Wandalina Mniszcha z córką Elżbietą i psem Kiopek’, *Kronika Zamkowa*, vol. 5, 2018, pp. 270–75.
- 20 For the contents of this file, see the pre-war catalogue of items acquired by the National Library: *Rękopisy. Nabytki i dary*, vol. 2: *Rpsy nr 254–455* (Warszawa 1935), p. 13. The history of this archival material was presented by Roman Kaleta, ‘Obiady czwartkowe na dworze króla Stanisława Augusta (próba monografii)’, in: *Warszawa XVIII wieku*, vol. 2, ed. J. Kowecki (Warszawa 1973), pp. 29–34. The nature of entertaining texts

impossible to say whether this Bryś was a dog of one of the royal guests or a local guard dog.

Ornamental animals

Stanislaus Augustus planned for a place for ornamental animals below the escarpment near the Belvedere Palace. This menagerie was located south of the White Pavilion, creating a panorama axis closed on the eastern side by a canal and on the west side by dense, freely growing trees.²¹ It was a fenced, wooded area with ponds, meadows used as pastures, and buildings for animals: sheds for fallow deer, a bison shed and structures known as Turkish-style cabins. There was also a fenced pheasant run between the Belvedere and the Chinese Path.²²

This area, like the entire Łazienki complex, evolved along with the progress of works on the residence and the purchase of further plots by the king.²³ In 1781, a thatched brick house for three ostriches was built behind the pheasant run.²⁴ The pheasant run was extended a few years later with the acquisition of the land known as 'Zazdrość' under the emphyteutic law in 1791.²⁵ In 1793, a plot of land in the nearby Mokotów district was also merged with Łazienki, which allowed the pheasant run to be extended once again and turned into a neater shape.²⁶ In the same

written during Thursday Dinners (including *A Lament of the relatives*) was covered by Elżbieta Wichrowska, 'Poezja desertowa obiadów czwartkowych. Mit czy rzeczywistość?', *Wiek Oświecenia*, vol. 35, 2019, pp. 104–05.

21 Majdecki, 'Łazienki', p. 93.

22 Ibid., p. 101–02. This refers to the area near today's New Orangery, bounded by the Chinese Path to the east, by the Lubomirski Trenches to the south, and a stream running from the Belvedere Pond to the north. The pen for fallow deer on the axis of the White Pavilion is also mentioned by M. Chojnowski, 'Ujazdów – Łazienki. Rezydencja w czasach Stanisława Augusta', in: *Stanisław August – ostatni król Polski. Polityk – mecenas – reformator*, ed. A. Sołtys, exhibition catalogue, 26 November 2011 – 19 February 2012, Royal Castle in Warsaw (Warszawa, 2011), p. 208.

23 The area of the game park was marked on the lost 'Planta Łazienek Królewskich z przyległościami wymierzona geometrycznie przez imci panów kadetów w roku 1787' [Map of Łazienki Królewskie and adjoining lands, measured geometrically by Gentlemen the Cadets in 1787], negative IS PAN 42715. Based on this material, the layout of Łazienki was drawn by Jolanta Putkowska, *Warszawskie rezydencje na przedmieściach i pod miastem w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Warszawa, 2016), pp. 210, 211.

24 M. Kwiatkowski, *Wielka księga Łazienek* (Warszawa, 2000), p. 130; id., *Stanisław August. Król-Architekt* (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1983), p. 102. According to Jolanta Putkowska, the ostrich enclosure was located between the White Pavilion and the Water Tower, see ead., *Warszawskie rezydencje*, pp. 211, 246. According to Putkowska, it had existed since the year 1774.

25 The 'Zazdrość' land, situated between the game park owned by Stanislaus Augustus and the cascade created later between two ponds in the southern part of Łazienki, drawing recreated by Longin Majdecki, 'Łazienki', p. 37.

26 Majdecki, 'Łazienki', pp. 140–41. The pheasant run was surrounded with a net impregnated with oil and tar, Kwiatkowski, *Wielka księga Łazienek*, p. 130.



Fig. 3

A detail of the 'Map of Łazienki Królewskie measured geometrically by Gentlemen the Cadets in 1786', 1786 (C – The White Pavilion, K – The Water Tower, M – Pheasant Run, N – Menagerie)

year, the king extended the bison pen, so that from then on it included a part of the boggy area at the foot of the Belvedere Palace.²⁷ Thus designed, the game park gained praise from the eminent architect of the times, Szymon Bogumił Zug, who considered the game park an important element of the Belvedere's panorama axis.²⁸ Ornamental birds were also housed in a large, round aviary safeguarded with a wire net, situated in a 'wild' promenade at the back of the Myślewicki Palace.²⁹

27 Stanislaus Augustus to Marcello Bacciarelli, 6 August 1793, National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa, hereinafter: BN) 3291, fols 83–84; Marcello Bacciarelli to Stanislaus Augustus, 12 October 1793, *ibid.*, fol. 67. Letters exchanged between the king and his 'first painter' will be published in print by the Royal Łazienki Museum (scientific ed. Konrad Niemira, trans. into Polish Jan Maria Kłoczowski). Here and in further passages referring to this correspondence, the English translation is based on texts prepared by these two authors.

28 Suggesting the Belvedere Palace as the site for the main royal palace, he wrote: 'from here stretch enchanting and wide views, with the game park at the foot and the Vistula river a bit further', S.B. Zug, *Ogrody w Warszawie i jej okolicach opisane w r. 1784*, offprint from: 'Kalendarz Powszechny na rok przestępny 1848' (Warszawa, 1848). It is unclear what a Warsaw journalist meant when writing on 30 May 1782: 'a royal animal was moved from the game park to the garden near Łazienki. There is also a royal herd in Łazienki, five stallions in one pen. These plans are elaborated every week during Wednesday dinners gathering architects and painters', T. Ostrowski, *Poufne wieści z oświeczonej Warszawy*, ed. R. Kaleta (Wrocław, 1972), pp. 123–24. It may refer to the game park described above, or maybe to some ephemeral facility for displaying the animal collection owned by Stanislaus Augustus.

29 Majdecki, 'Łazienki', p. 96.

According to the inventory of animals taken in September 1794 as edited and published by Longin Majdecki, the menagerie in Łazienki Królewskie included 48 fallow deer,³⁰ 140 pheasants (including 16 Chinese, 37 Indian and 87 Czech pheasants; of these 140 pheasants, 20 were intended for the royal table), 24 white peacocks, 42 ‘ordinary’ peacocks, 12 birds described as ‘pentadone’ (probably guinea fowl, from the French *pintade*), 10 Indian geese, 16 female turkeys, a white male turkey and 2 white storks.³¹ It must be noted that the inventory was taken five months after the outbreak of an uprising in Warsaw, during which Stanislaus Augustus struggled with the provision of proper care for Łazienki Królewskie,³² so it is difficult to say whether the number of animals mentioned in this inventory reflects their count in other periods. Ornamental animals living in Łazienki Królewskie also came as gifts and were used as such. For example, in 1776, Adam Naruszewicz decided to contribute to the development of Stanislaus Augustus’s suburban residence and promised to deliver roe deer and cranes.³³ In June 1783, Michał Jan Borch tried to offer his services to Stanislaus Augustus and engage in the exploration of mineral deposits. The French historian Jean Fabre reported that Borch ‘did not get anything except a permission to take a pair of Chinese pheasants from Łazienki!’.³⁴ Ernst Ahasverus von Lehndorff, chamberlain to the Prussian court, who was recorded as visiting Łazienki in 1781, admired the Turkish cranes kept there, and the next day he was given a gift of two birds of that species.³⁵ During the

30 Fallow deer were in fact characteristic of game parks owned by noblemen, to which they were brought from the sixteenth century onwards. These animals adapt quickly and thrive near settlements, and specimens affected by congenital vitiligo are relatively frequent in their populations, which aroused the interest of noble breeders, A. Jakóbczyk-Gola, *Ogrody zwierząt. Staropolskie zwierzyńce i menażerie* (Warszawa, 2021), pp. 123–24 (this book, although it addresses the game park in Ujazdów in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, presents nothing else but findings made by Tadeusz Bernatowicz, cf. note 7).

31 Majdecki, ‘Łazienki’, p. 151.

32 ‘It often happens that at my older brother’s and my own place, almost all people move to the barricades, so we are left without servants and in empty houses here, and in Łazienki, we fear thieves’, quoted after Z. Góralski, *Stanisław August w insurekcji kościuszkowskiej* (Warszawa, 1988), p. 183.

33 ‘If the transport is successful, there will be does and cranes in Łazienki in Ujazdów’, Adam Naruszewicz to Stanislaus Augustus, Powieć, 24 June 1776. The king replied with gratitude: ‘Bees, mistletoe, roe deer and cranes are very welcome for their great value and for the respect of the donor’, Stanislaus Augustus to Adam Naruszewicz, 3 August 1776, in: *Korespondencja Adama Naruszewicza. 1762–1796*, ed. J. Platt (Wrocław, 1959), pp. 55 and 58.

34 J. Fabre, *Stanisław August Poniatowski i Europa wieku świateł*, vol. 2, ed. P. Skowroński, trans. J.M. Kłoczowski (Warszawa, 2022), pp. 388–89, original title: *Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et l’Europe des Lumières* (Paris, 1952).

35 E.A. von Lehndorff, ‘Dzienniki’, in: *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, vol. 2, ed. W. Zawadzki (Warszawa, 1963), p. 37.

king's stay at the Grodno Sejm in 1793, Józefa Kicka, sister of the royal mistress Elżbieta Grabowska, asked for a gift of a male and female peacock.³⁶ When leaving Warsaw in 1795, Stanislaus Augustus ordered the painter Marcello Bacciarelli, who took care of the royal estate, to give Chinese pheasants to his eldest brother, Kazimierz Poniatowski, and to sell the remaining pheasants.³⁷ When the king, staying away from his residence, started leasing the area of Łazienki Królewskie plot by plot (with the exception of the Palace on the Isle), one Baudisch, who used the title of his Majesty's shooter, rented the pheasant run with the buildings and enclosures for animals.³⁸ Presumably, Baudisch had already been involved in the care of these facilities and the animals living there. Other sources records that a shooter (Baudisch or someone else) taking care of the Łazienki pheasant run had a cart and a horse at his disposal 'for delivering ants for young pheasants'.³⁹

Swans lived wild in the gardens of Łazienki and were highly valued for their appealing look.⁴⁰ Although in the eighteenth century noblemen built special houses in their estates, trying to attract these birds to settle,⁴¹ the first iconographic source documenting this type of structure in Łazienki dates only from 1855 (Fig. 4).⁴²

36 Marcello Bacciarelli to Stanislaus Augustus, 4 November 1793, Central Archives of Historical Records (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, hereinafter: AGAD), Stanislaus Augustus's Correspondence (Korespondencja Stanisława Augusta, hereinafter: KSA) 5a, fol. 48. The king's answer to this request is not known.

37 Stanislaus Augustus to Marcello Bacciarelli, 14 July 1795, BN 3291, fol. 155.

38 Majdecki, 'Łazienki', pp. 65, 145.

39 Kwiatkowski, *Wielka księga Łazienek*, p. 130.

40 'Swans were sailing on the ponds, and their presence was documented in watercolours by Kamsetzer', Kwiatkowski, *Wielka księga Łazienek*, p. 130. We are not sure which watercolour is mentioned by the monographer of Łazienki, but we can spot these birds in the painting by an unknown artist depicting the Palace on the Isle from the southern side in 1789 (destroyed in 1939, reproduced in: W. Tatarkiewicz, *Łazienki warszawskie*, p. 42) and in the watercolour by Zygmunt Vogel, *A View of the King John III Bridge from the West*, State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, inv. no. 27277.

41 At the turn of the eighteenth century, a swan house existed in Mokotów, a district adjacent to the Łazienki Park. It was depicted on an undated watercolour by Zygmunt Vogel, later dated by Krystyna Sroczyńska to the period after 1798 based on the costumes worn by the people depicted in the painting, K. Sroczyńska, 'Vogel a nie Brenna autorem widoków mokotowskich', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 25, 1963, no. 4, p. 303; ead., *Zygmunt Vogel rysownik gabinetowy Stanisława Augusta* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1969), p. 161, no. 129.

42 J. Budzyński, 'Plan domku dla łabędzi w ogrodzie belwederskim' (A design for a swan house in the Belvedere Garden), AGAD, Zarząd Pałaców Cesarskich 1422.

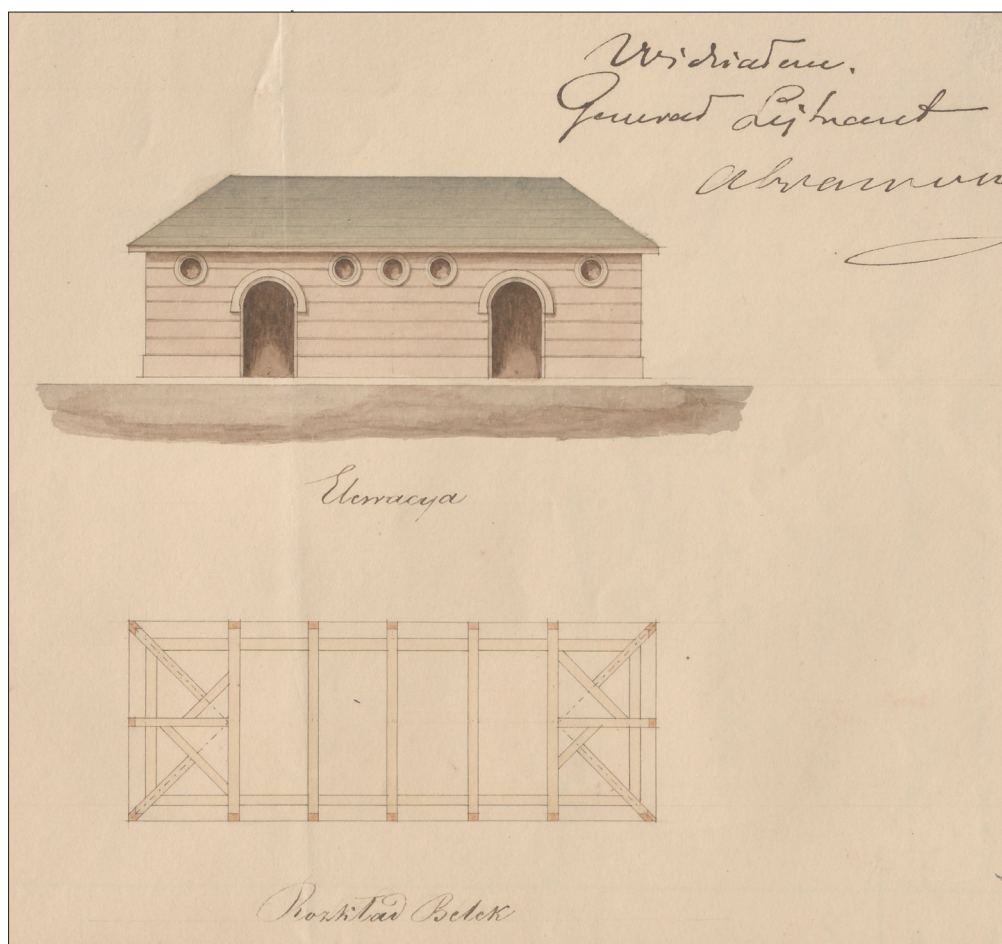


Fig. 4

J. Budzyński, A design
for a swan house in the
Belvedere Garden

Livestock

One of the sources documenting the history of draft animals in Łazienki Królewskie is a note from the burgrave of the Warsaw Castle, Jan Kanty Fontana, dated 23 February 1779.⁴³ At that time, farm work supervised by Fontana was done using 72 horses, 2 donkeys and 11 oxen. Of those, 20 horses and 2 donkeys were at the disposal of the Construction Commission for work in Łazienki, in gardens and for levelling paths, 5 horses and 6 oxen were given to the engineer Karol Ludwik Agrykola for his use 'in winter and summer', and 6 horses and 5 oxen were used at the Belvedere Palace. The remaining 41 horses worked at the Łazienki Park and at the Warsaw Castle, they were assigned 'for driving the burgrave – 2 [horses]; for bringing water from the spring for HRH – 3;⁴⁴

43 The register of available draught horses with their uses: 'Specyfikacja koni furmańskich w departamencie gospodarskim pod dyspozycją burgrabiego z wyrażeniem do czego użyte', AGAD, Varia Oddziału I, signature 44b, pp. 88–89.

44 Horses collecting water from the so-called Kamsetzer's spring, situated near the Old Orangery, were shown in a watercolour by Zygmunt Vogel, *A View of the Łazienki*

for removing rubbish and dung from castle yards – 4; to the use of guardsmen supervising carters during the transportation of timber and other works and for various errands on treasury business – 2; for five farm wagons – 30'. Those farm horses were used, among other things, for transporting ice 'to the Ujazdów and Castle ice houses' and for other works, including transportation of building materials from Koźnice. Fontana also mentioned that out of '72 horses there are always eight, and sometimes 12 lame and weary from work, especially at the time when roads are bad, who need medication and rest'.⁴⁵ Thus, 26 horses, 2 donkeys and 11 oxen should be considered as permanently allocated to work at the Ujazdów residence,⁴⁶ but the number of animals actually working there fluctuated depending on the type of work being carried out or because the court was moving to Łazienki. Wooden stables for draught horses were situated on the site of the building designed by Jakub Kubicki that survived to this day.⁴⁷

In later years, draught animals helped to supply water to the Łazienki reservoirs, which was needed more and more as the system of ponds and canals was extended. One way to ensure an increased supply of water was the 'hydraulic machine powered by horses or oxen and the wind', visible on the map of Łazienki from 1791,⁴⁸ which delivered water via a pipeline to the upper southern pond.

The land on the outskirts of Łazienki was suitable for pasture. In 1784, Stanislaus Augustus instructed the royal equerry Jan Kicki to use meadows located south of the menagerie for grazing, writing to him that 'my young horses are begging you, sir, through my intermediation, to issue an effective order to designate for them a meadow on that plot behind the trenches newly acquired from Mrs Withof'.⁴⁹ The king was referring here to the land called Withoffowszczyzna, purchased in 1776.⁵⁰ On 14 July 1794, the king allowed one Mr Byczewski (probably General Arnold

Garden from the Ujazdów Castle, State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, inv. no. 27273.

45 'Specyfikacja koni furmańskich'. In further explanations on 7 April 1779, Fontana adds that 'during the residency of His Royal Majesty in Łazienki, I provided cart horses for the disposal of the chef' (probably Paul Tremo), *ibid.*, p. 92.

46 'Specyfikacja koni furmańskich', p. 94.

47 Kwiatkowski, *Wielka księga Łazienek*, p. 130. Kubicki's stables were thoroughly renovated in 2019–2021. They currently house two permanent exhibitions: 'The Zbigniew Prus-Niewiadomski Coach House' and 'The Royal Weaving Workshop'.

48 Majdecki, 'Łazienki', p. 64. 'Planta południowej okolicy Warszawy z przyłączeniem do niej Łazienek Królewskich. Wymierzona przez imci p. kadetów JKMci i Rzpłtej w roku 1791', the original from the Krasiński Estate Library is lost, but its negative is held by IS PAN, no. 42717.

49 Stanislaus Augustus to Jan Kicki, Equerry of the Crown, 6 June 1784, BN 6997, fol. 36.

50 The date of this land purchase given by Majdecki (1787) is certainly incorrect. The year 1776 is indicated by Choynowski, 'Ujazdów – Łazienki', p. 208.



Fig. 5

B. Bellotto, *A View of Ujazdów and Łazienki* (detail), 1776

Byszewski) to graze 80 head of cattle in the meadow beyond the Cascade.⁵¹ Perhaps the permission to graze such a large herd of cattle on the land surrounded by trenches was given to ensure the safety of animals during the ongoing Kościuszko Uprising. At the time of military turmoil caused by the Targowica Confederation, the second and then the third partition of Poland, draught animals were a commodity in shortage. More or less in that period (though certainly not during the active phase of the insurrection, when construction works were impossible), Bacciarelli sent a note to the king, in which he complained about the shortage of two horses necessary for the work he carried out and supervised.⁵² On 25 June 1794, in an interview with the leader of the uprising Tadeusz Kościuszko, Stanislaus Augustus concluded that in an emergency situation it would be difficult to find horses necessary to evacuate the royal family, whom Kościuszko did not want to let out from insurgent Warsaw.⁵³

We can also find livestock in paintings presenting Łazienki. Cattle with different-coloured coats, including white, fawn, red, chestnut and brown, piebald and in solid hue, were shown by Bernardo Bellotto in his *View of Ujazdów and Łazienki* (Fig. 5). Noteworthy in this picture are the light-coloured cows characterized by a large body and frame, a massive rectangular silhouette, but a relatively light head. In the eighteenth century, the steppe or Podolian cattle, e.g. of the Wallachian type, were often used as draught animals; Witold Pruski described them as 'smaller than the

51 Stanislaus Augustus to Marcello Bacciarelli, 14 June 1794, BN 3291, fol. 106.

52 'For the benefit of Your Majesty, I must remind Your Majesty that to look after the Łazienki Park and supervise the works, as well as to transport materials and many other things that would be too long to list, I need at least two horses', AGAD, KSA 5a, fol. 74.

53 'Then I will be able to go by horse with you, but where will these people in such a troubled time get cart horses if even now it is almost impossible to get them', 'Rozmowy króla z naczelnikiem', ed. J. Riabinin, *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 12, 1911, no. 2, p. 248. For information on the mortality of animals in Warsaw during the Polish-Russian fighting, see a passage from Stanislaus Augustus's diary from the time of the Kościuszko Uprising, 20 and 21 April 1794: '[...] the dead were buried; the cleaning up of dead horses, of which there were over 600, is slower, due to the common superstition that no one should touch the body of a dead animal except the executioner; and because several of the executioners' servants died during the fighting, the removal of dead horses is delayed', 'Diariusz króla Stanisława Augusta podczas powstania w Warszawie 1794 roku', *Rocznik Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu*, 1866, p. 284.



Fig. 6

Z. Vogel, *A View of Ujazdów Castle and its Environs* (detail), 1794

original breeds coming from the Black Sea steppes, but larger and more massive than the brachyceric types [...]. Their heads were small, short, with a wide forehead and a narrow snout'.⁵⁴ More primitive cattle can be seen in the background of the painting, where in the distance there are the silhouettes of animals with a brown coat, strongly marked spinous processes and a much heavier head. These cattle probably represented the native brown breed, which once lived in Poland and, compared to foreign breeds such as the Friesian and Dutch or Podolian cattle, was characterized by a much smaller body size and an appearance more similar to the wild type.

A watercolour by Zygmunt Vogel (Fig. 6), in turn, depicts cattle of a different body build grazing near the White Pavilion. These cows have a dark red coat with white patches on the head, back and abdomen, with relatively long and widely set horns. Some of the coat features match those of the white-back cattle breed. Zygmunt Moczarski, the author of a treatise on cattle breeds, described in detail the coat of the white-backs, drawing attention to the characteristic white stripe running from the back of the head along the entire back, growing wider at the rump and going through the tail to the abdomen and udder.⁵⁵ The coat of the

54 W. Pruski, *Hodowla zwierząt gospodarskich w Galicji w latach 1772–1918*, vol. 1: *Okres 1772–1881* (Wrocław 1975), p. 124. The brachyceric type, which includes the native red or brown cattle, comes from *Bos taurus brachyceros*, the wild ancestor of shorthorn cattle.

55 'The most striking feature of the white-back breed is their coat. They are black- or red-sided; that is, there are two large colour patches on the sides of their body, one on each side. The patch starts on the neck behind the ears, gently widens towards the fore limbs, then narrows a little around the elbow joint, to widen considerably again on the side of the torso. The lateral patch narrows again towards the hind limbs, sometimes even discontinues,

depicted animals certainly corresponds, at least in part, to the description provided by Moczarski, but the same cannot be said about their body build. Their relatively long limbs, with a characteristic bend at the ankle joint, a rump with a low-set tail base and a slightly tucked-up belly make these animals resemble steppe cattle. The white-back cows described by Moczarski were characterized by relatively short limbs, and thus they walked with short steps, and they also had a rather heavy head and long neck. The cattle seen in Vogel's watercolour have a relatively fine and light build, the horns are long and upright, in the shape of a lyre, and the neck is short. These cattle may therefore be a cross between the steppe or Podolian breed⁵⁶ and a native Polish breed, e.g. the white-back cattle, because the characteristic white stripe along the back is a highly dominant hereditary feature and is easy to achieve in offspring. Crossing different breeds of cattle has been a common practice for centuries, because, as the pioneers advocating the raising of native breeds in the Congress Kingdom of Poland noted, 'short-sighted breeders, greedy for the maximum successes, once they see taller breeds or types [of cattle] somewhere abroad, formed mostly (apart from human effort) by local conditions, constantly import them'.⁵⁷ The ill-considered crossing of native and imported cattle led to degeneration and resulted in a 'gaudy' appearance of animals.⁵⁸

Sheep (also shown in Belotto's painting) were kept in Łazienki Królewskie as well, but their type or breed are difficult to identify. It is known that a breakthrough came only in the late eighteenth century, when the transition from centuries-old primitive breeding methods to

sometimes turns into a pair of different smaller patches on the rump. The lateral patches are separated from each other by a white stripe, which starts, like the back stripe, at the back of the head, runs along the back, gently widens towards the rump, covers the entire tail, goes down the vulva to the rear and fore udder, then widens on the forehead, and, again narrows at the throat. It ends near the lower margins of the mandible. The edges of the coloured "sides" and the white stripe are gently ragged. We often see white spots near the edges on the coloured side, or vice versa, black spots on the white stripe. Black spots are not always visible on the coat, but the skin is often black spotted. The legs are often white and finely mottled. The pattern on the head is quite characteristic: on the forehead, the nose, and around the larger spots there are numerous small black or red spots, depending on the colour of the sides; the ears are black, the cheeks are solid black or patched, often with coloured rims around the eyes; horn tips are black, and the muzzle is black', Z. Moczarski, *Rasy bydła* (Warszawa-Poznań-Lwów, 1917), p. 18.

- 56 Concerning the horns of Podolian cattle, Jan Rostafiński wrote that 'the shape of these horns, which are white or olive-green at the base, with a dark tip, is as follows: they go sideways and upwards and then gently go horizontally, resembling a lyre, and sometimes a bit downwards', J. Rostafiński, *Rasy bydła domowego, jego hodowla i żywienie* (Warszawa, 1920), p. 31.
- 57 A. Nitkowski, 'Rzecz o imporcie ze stanowiska hodowlanego i ekonomicznego', *Gazeta Rolnicza*, vol. 46, 8 April 1906, no. 16, p. 257.
- 58 W. Święcicki, 'Czerwone bydło polskie', *Gazeta Rolnicza*, vol. 39, 4 February 1899, no. 5, p. 46.

the large-herd raising of Merino sheep began;⁵⁹ but in fact the first brief mentions of sheep in the professional literature appeared not earlier than in the mid-nineteenth century.

Of note is the fact that the milk of donkeys was also used for medicinal purposes. In 1791 Naruszewicz wrote a request to the king:

One person here, suffering from early-stage consumption, searched in vain in Warsaw and around the city for a jenny's milk to cure this disease, and found out that such a beast is kept in Łazienki. The King in Heaven listened to the simpletons and heard even their petty pleas. Would the King on earth, the Most Gracious, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful, please to consider this petty plea of mine that the desired animal may be allowed to help *animalis rationalis* [a rational animal].⁶⁰

When the king's mistress, Elżbieta Grabowska, asked Stanislaus Augustus for two donkeys, Bacciarelli specified that 'it is not for their milk, but she wants to ride on their backs'.⁶¹

Correspondence exchanged between Stanislaus Augustus and Marcello Bacciarelli also provides information on the restocking of palace ponds. In August 1793, the king expressed his wish to stock the Łazienki ponds with 'zander, pike, common carp, crucian carp and perch, but with an emphasis on the first two species, and in addition some tiny fish, those which in Polish seem to be called *jaskarki*'.⁶² According to the recommendations of the men who could supply the fish to Łazienki, the stock delivery was postponed until the autumn, because the fry could die if brought in earlier.⁶³ Hence the issue was raised again in October. The king again asked Bacciarelli to stock the ponds, but ordered that introduction of the pike should be delayed to allow other small fish to grow before predators appeared in the pond.⁶⁴ Bacciarelli, following the recommendations of the fish sellers, replied to the king that he would wait with introducing both pike and zander, for those species needed riverine water from the Vistula to survive.⁶⁵ The king, referring to his own experience, wrote back:

59 The first Spanish Merino sheep came to the Lublin region just before 1785, i.e. about a decade after Belotto painted the picture.

60 Adam Naruszewicz to Stanislaus Augustus, 14 April 1791, *Korespondencja Adama Naruszewicza*, pp. 393–94.

61 Stanislaus Augustus to Marcello Bacciarelli, 9 August 1793 from Grodno, BN 3291, fol. 85.

62 Stanislaus Augustus to Marcello Bacciarelli, 6 August 1793 from Grodno, BN 3291, fols 83–84.

63 Marcello Bacciarelli to Stanislaus Augustus, 12 August 1793, AGAD, KSA 5a, fols 38–39.

64 This command was sent to Bacciarelli through Kajetan Ghigiotti, 8 October 1793, BN 3289, fol. 67.

65 Marcello Bacciarelli to Stanislaus Augustus, 12 October 1793, AGAD, KSA, 5a, fols 46–47.

I personally went fishing in Łazienki on several occasions and I always caught tasty pikes, so someone misled you by saying that these fish could only live in the Vistula. It will be good, however, to wait a while before introducing them into our ponds; let other species grow and reproduce before the pike, truly a wolf of the aquatic world, turns up among them. It is true that we have not had any zander in Łazienki yet, and it may be that they do not feel well in our ponds. Still, it is worth trying to introduce them there. We shall see how they adapt.⁶⁶

Zygmunt Vogel's watercolours also show fishing in Łazienki.⁶⁷ Interestingly, the rights to the local fish were claimed years later by the heirs of Stanislaus Augustus, who, when selling the residence to the Russian emperors, tried to fish them out of the ponds, referring to the provisions of the contract that, as they said, allowed them to make profit from the property until it was transferred to the buyer.⁶⁸

At this point, it is also worth mentioning that dead dogs were used as fertilizer. We learn about this practice from the king's correspondence with the manager of artistic and construction works in Łazienki, Bacciarelli. On 6 September 1784, the king commanded him to plant new trees in the garden:

when digging pits for tree saplings on both sides of the path at the foot of the Ujazdów hill, on the site of the former pond, please make sure that the pits are four cubits in diameter and the same in depth, and that good soil is supplied there so that the planted trees can grow stronger before their roots reach the sand; and see to it, if possible, that they throw a dead dog or cat into each pit. This strongly promotes the growth of trees⁶⁹.

Bacciarelli, most probably surprised by this command, informed the king that it would not be easy to find such a vast number of dead dogs.⁷⁰

66 Stanislaus Augustus to Marcello Bacciarelli, 19 October 1793 from Grodno, BN 3291, fol. 99.

67 Zygmunt Vogel, *A View of the White House in Łazienki*, before 1794, MNWr, inv. no. VIII-0158; and *A View of the Łazienki Park with Fishing and the Royal Barges on the Pond*, 1795, State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg, inv. no. 27272.

68 On 16 December 1817, the steward of Łazienki asked the governor of the Kingdom of Poland if he could allow the servants of Maria Teresa Tyszkiewicz to catch fish in Łazienki: 'Pursuant to the contract of sale of Łazienki, Article 4, allocating all income made until 1 January 1818 to the above mentioned Countess Tyszkiewicz from the Poniatowski family, her plenipotentiary Paszkowski commanded the local land steward to catch all the fish in the canals and sell them for the benefit of the honourable Countess Tyszkiewicz', AGAD, Intendent Łazienek 25, fol. 2. The answer is, unfortunately, not known.

69 Stanislaus Augustus to Marcello Bacciarelli, 6 September 1784, BN 3291, fol. 13.

70 Marcello Bacciarelli to Stanislaus Augustus, 9 September 1784, *ibid.*, fol. 34.

Pest animals

Łazienki was also a home to animals characteristic of the Masovian forest, which could distort the idyllic atmosphere created by the king. Predatory mammals posed a particular threat to smaller animals (mainly birds). The king ordered that foxes visiting Łazienki be caught.⁷¹ Iron cages, purchased specially for catching common polecats trying to hunt pheasants, were placed near the pheasant run.⁷² Even in the 1830s, staff taking care of Łazienki were afraid of predators that might appear there.⁷³

Sources mentioning insects are difficult to find. However, there is a letter in which Stanislaus Augustus decided to show off his erudition. Thanking him for a New Year's gift, which was a painting of Jacob fighting against Satan, the king wrote to Antoni Korwin Kossakowski that 'many flies will bother me during the summer (many indeed!), and as many times I will think of the faithful Old Man who gave me armour against Beelzebub'. And, explaining this joke, he added: 'Beelzebub in Hebrew means the devil, but also the lord of the flies'.⁷⁴ However, it is unclear whether, when writing these words, the king meant insects living in the boggy Łazienki Park or the nearby Royal Castle.

Concluding remarks

To summarize, it is necessary to point to the fact that, with the exception of birds kept in the pheasant run, most animals living in Łazienki represented native species (or those known in Poland for a long time, like the fallow deer). It might be speculated that this, as many other actions undertaken by Stanislaus Augustus, was a consequence of the high cost of importing exotic animals and the constant shortages in the royal budget, yet it seems that the actual cause was different. Animals characteristic of the Polish landscape matched in aesthetic terms the 'rural' character of this residence. For balance, a stronger interest in exotic species was shown by a more extravagant member of the Poniatowski family, the king's eldest brother Kazimierz, who brought monkeys to his estate located near Łazienki.⁷⁵

71 In royal accounts we find a receipt documenting payment to 'the people who caught a fox'.

72 Kwiatkowski, *Wielka księga Łazienek*, p. 130.

73 In a letter of 22 January 1836, the acting steward of Łazienki and Belvedere Palace wrote to the military governor of Warsaw that 'living away from the city and being at risk of attack from a predatory animal, rabid dog, or even a thief, the acting steward is kindly asking the honourable Governor for a permit for one firearm so as to protect himself from such an attack'.

74 Stanislaus Augustus to Antoni Korwin Kossakowski, 31 December 1782, quoted in: Kaleta, 'Obiady czwartkowe', p. 72.

75 Fabre, *Stanisław August Poniatowski*, vol. 1, p. 298. Monkey-keeping was not a success, since 'the monkeys bit each other, some of them drowned, died one by one, and eager

Studies on the history of animals in Łazienki should not, as we have tried to prove here, neglect any type of source in the legacy of the last king of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. Iconographic materials, like paintings, drawings, prints and designs, as well as written sources (financial documents, letters or memoirs) are valuable in this respect. Exploring the history of animals broadens our knowledge of daily life at the court of Stanislaus Augustus, the culture of gift-giving, and the aesthetic preferences of this monarch of the Enlightenment period.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- s. 96 F. Lohrmann, *Portrait of Anna Szaniawska*, ca. 1777–1784; Łazienki Królewskie Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. ŁKr 135
- s. 97 M. Bacciarelli, *Portrait of Michał Jerzy Wandalin Mniszech with his Daughter Elżbieta and the Dog Kiopek*, 1795; Royal Castle in Warsaw, inv. no. ZKW/5634
- s. 99 A detail of the 'Map of Łazienki Królewskie measured geometrically by Gentlemen the Cadets in 1786', 1786; negative inv. no. IS PAN 42714.

- s. 102 J. Budzyński, A design for a swan house in the Belvedere Garden; AGAD, Zarząd Pałaców Cesarskich 1422
- s. 104 B. Bellotto, *A View of Ujazdów and Łazienki* (detail), 1776; National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MP 227
- s. 105 Z. Vogel, *A View of Ujazdów Castle and its Environs* (detail), 1794; National Museum in Cracow, inv. no. MNK III-r.a.-16361

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