

JERZY MIZIOŁEK (*IA UW*)

**"IN THE PURE TASTE OF TRAJAN'S CENTURY".
PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ON PLINY THE YOUNGER'S LAURENTINA
AS IMAGINED BY COUNT STANISŁAW KOSTKA POTOCKI*
(PL. 8-35)**

O dulce otium honestumque ac paene

Omni negotio pulchrius,

Pliny the Younger, To Minicius Fundanus

The idea of the villa, usually set in a garden or in the context of a holiday resort, is one of the most characteristic and widespread aspirations of Western civilization¹. Many of them were built on the seashore of the Mediterranean in antiquity, yet sadly, apart from one case, there are very few descriptions of them. Only Pliny the Younger (ca. 61-113 A.D.), a consul, a man of letters and the owner of several villas, portrayed two of them with his pen². In particular, the Laurentina, built amid gardens on the seashore, not far from Rome and close to Ostia Antica, was such a great joy to him that, in his letter to Gallus, Pliny uses phrases such as "my mistress" in describing it³. In the past four centuries, the description of the Laurentina has had an immense impact on the ways in which villas have been viewed and constructed, starting with Lorenzo de' Medici, and continuing with Vincenzo Scamozzi, Thomas Jefferson, Leo Krier and Justo Solsona⁴. There were also several paper reconstruc-

tions made of it. One of them, which is a real masterpiece, was conceived by a Polish follower of Winckelmann around 1780 in Rome (**Fig. 1**)⁵. However, apart from observations by Stanisław Lorentz⁶, Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey (an architectural historian)⁷, and Krystyna Gutowska-Dudek⁸, it has so far not received the attention it deserves. Moreover, Potocki's *Notes et Idées sur la Ville de Pline*, which is a kind of commentary to his reconstruction and of which there is only one copy, preserved in the National Archives in Warsaw (AGAD, Archives Publiques de Potocki, no. 244), has remained unpublished until now⁹.

As the site of the Laurentina and its remnants are unknown, the point of departure for Potocki's and all other restitutions of it has been the aforementioned letter from the time of the Emperor Trajan – the very beginning of the 2nd century¹⁰. Potocki, like most people of the Enlightenment period, had a profound love for antiquity and an idealized vision of it. Therefore, Pliny most probably would not recognize his own villa in the Count's visualization. Much like the recently reopened the J. Paul Getty *villa marittima* in Malibu, which to our

* This text was written and presented at the Getty Villa in Malibu during my fellowship at the Getty Research Institute (GRI), in the scholar year entitled "The Persistence of Antiquity". It was also presented at the CIHA conference, "Past Perfected", in April 2006 at the Huntington Library (San Marino). It was elaborated at the Warburg Institute, London in June of the same year. I would like to express my gratitude to Thomas Crow, the Director of the GRI, Charles Salas, Claire Lions, Kenneth Lapatin, as well as to my colleagues Ian Balfour, Stephen Jaeger and Thomas Heslop for their help and stimulating suggestions. Chiara Sulprizio, my Research Assistant at GRI, and Christopher Ligota kindly emended my English.

¹ See ACKERMAN 1990, with further bibliography.

² Pliny, *Letters*, Book 2, XVII (To Gallus); Book 5, VI (To Domitius Apollinaris), see PLINY the YOUNGER 2000: 132-143, 336-355. For Pliny the Younger, see DILL 1964; WINNICZUK 1987; see also SHERWIN-WHITE 1966; HOFFER 1999; HENDERSON 2002.

³ RUFFINIÈRE du PREY 1994. See also CASTELL 1728; TANZER 1924; CULOT, PINON 1982.

⁴ See the previous note and *Eye of Jefferson* 1976: passim.

⁵ As RUFFINIÈRE du PREY (1994: 148) put it: "Potocki can

claim the honor of being the most unusual of those who conceived restitutions of Pliny's villas."

⁶ LORENTZ 1946: 314-324; idem 1948: passim; idem 1956: 68-77; *Polonia: arte e cultura*, 1975: 263-265.

⁷ RUFFINIÈRE du PREY 1994: 148-164; so far this is the best study of the Laurentina as imagined by Potocki.

⁸ GUTOWSKA-DUDEK 1997: 101-117; eadem 2005: 52-61, is fully aware that the best drawings were executed not by Brenna, but by an unknown artist. In my opinion, it was Giuseppe Manocchi; see notes 15, 33 and 36 below.

⁹ This manuscript is one item among six other writings all bound together in a green leather booklet; the *Notes et Idées* are on p. 201-224. It appears that so far only RUFFINIÈRE du PREY 1994 consulted it; he also cited several passages from it in his study.

¹⁰ The location of the villa remains unknown; the ruins excavated in 1714 and known to both Winckelmann and Potocki appeared to be the remnants of another edifice, see RICOTTI 1987: 137-184, who in 1985 did excavations in the area; see also eadem 1986: 45-56; FÖRTSCH 1993: 18-22. However, as Paolo Liverani informs me, Amanda Claridge's excavations are currently underway.

great fortune was realized, Potocki's vision of Laurentina is an excellent example of both the persistence of antiquity and the past perfected¹¹.

This paper has two parts, and is supplemented with Potocki's *Notes and Ideas on Pliny's Villa*, which was translated from an unpublished manuscript in French. In the first, I discuss some aspects of Potocki's ambitious and detailed restitution of the Laurentina; in the second, Maciej Tarkowski and Mikołaj Baliszewski present a virtual reconstruction of the villa and one of its rooms – the *unctorium*.

Both texts, as well as the footnotes to the *Notes and Ideas on Pliny's Villa*, are no more than preliminary sketches of a complex story, the details of which remain to be investigated. Let us start with a brief biography of Count Potocki.

Count Potocki in Italy and Poland

Stanisław Kostka Potocki, a descendent of the noble family, was born in 1755 at Lublin, in southeastern Poland¹². He is known outside his native country mainly from the famous equestrian portrait painted by Jacques-Louis David in 1780 in Naples, and finished the following year in Paris (**Fig. 2a**)¹³. He was educated in the Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw and, in the years 1772-5, he studied architecture, geography and history in the Academy of Turin and traveled extensively in Italy. At that time, he became an admirer of Winckelmann, whose publications were known to a group of well-educated Polish aristocrats. One of them was Isabella Lubomirska, the possessor of the most famous portrait of Winckelmann by Anton Raphael Mengs (since 1947 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), and Potocki's future mother-in-law (**Fig. 2b**)¹⁴. Potocki's marriage to Princess Aleksandra Lubomirska in 1776 brought him an immense fortune, which allowed him to undertake the Laurentina project in the late 1770s, when he was 23. His reconstruction resulted in some thirty large drawings

(57.7 cm x 89.5 cm), which were executed by at least three artists. One was Vincenzo Brenna (1747-1820); another may have been Franciszek Smuglewicz (1745-1807), a Pole active in Rome in the years 1763-1784; the third was Giuseppe Manocchi (d. 1782)¹⁵. All of them strictly followed Potocki's vision. The drawings show: 1) the plan of the villa, with all four elevations and the garden; 2) the decoration of the main rooms, such as the *triclinium*, the bathroom and the *unctorium*; 3) the *criptoporticus*, with its *heliocaminus* and two small pavilions; and 4) a pavilion, adorned with statues of emperors and Pompeian-like decoration. All the drawings, which in the 19th century were mounted into two large albums (one titled *Villa le Pline le jeune dit Laurentina*, and the other *Intérieur de la Villa de Pline le jeune par Brenna*), are housed in the Department of Iconographic Collections at the National Library of Warsaw.

It should be remembered at this point that Smuglewicz, together with Brenna, also took part in Ludovico Mirri's edition of an important album of etchings of murals from the Domus Aurea (entitled *Vestigia delle Terme di Tito e loro interne pitture*), published in 1776 in Rome¹⁶. When Potocki was again in Italy in the years 1785-86, Angelica Kauffman painted his portrait in Rome (somewhat similar to Goethe's famous portrayal by Johann H. W. Tischbein, **Fig. 3a-b**), and he returned for a couple of months to his Laurentina project¹⁷. During this stay, he also visited Naples and did successful archaeological excavations at Nola, during which he found numerous Greek (then called Etruscan) vases¹⁸.

After this, Potocki became very involved in the political life of his country and often traveled abroad, to Germany, England and France. Nonetheless, he produced numerous writings, including *Lettre d'un étranger sur le Salon de 1787*¹⁹, and, at the turn of the century, a Polish translation of *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, entitled *The Polish Winckelmann*, which was published in 1815 (**Fig. 4a**)²⁰. Soon after 1796, during his fifth visit to

¹¹ For the Getty Villa, see TRUE, SILVETTI 2005.

¹² There is no biography of the Count, see extensive s.v. "Potocki, Stanisław K." by GROCHULSKA 1984: 158-170 and a short one by Anna Bentkowska in the *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 25, 1996, p. 364. See also RUFFINIÈRE du PREY 1994: 148 sq. Apart from the already-mentioned studies by Professor Lorentz, there are two publications in Polish in 1956 (*Rocznik Historii Sztuki*) and in 1972 (*Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*) that attempted to evaluate the Count's writings (his translation and adaptation of Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, and his activities as an amateur architect and archaeologist).

¹³ RYSZKIEWICZ 1963: 77-95; LEE 1999: 51-54.

¹⁴ *Art in Rome* 2000: 411-412, no. 259, Lubomirska owned the portrait at last since 1804.

¹⁵ Manocchi is as yet a little known artist despite the very high

quality of his drawings. See note 33 below, and two drawings reproduced and discussed in *Settecento a Roma* 2005 (entries by Elisabeth Kieven); see also COUTTS 1991: 196.

¹⁶ This album of etchings was printed together with Giuseppe Carletti's learned commentary.

¹⁷ Potocki's portrait is reproduced in LORENTZ 1948: fig. 24; for Goethe's portrait see MOFFITT 1983: 440-455.

¹⁸ See DOBROWOLSKI 1992: 370-375.

¹⁹ See POTOCKI 1787; a copy of this rare publication is preserved in The Czartoryski Library in Kraków. See also ŻMIJEWSKA 1977: 344-353.

²⁰ NAMOWICZ 1976; WAWRYKOWA 1988: 60-73. See also *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 1956; *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 1972 and the forthcoming paper by Krzysztof Pomian.

Italy, he wrote the already mentioned *Notes and Ideas on Pliny's Villa* (Fig. 5), intended as a commentary to the planned publication, but, which, like the drawing themselves, he never published²¹. The *terminus post quem* for this work is the publication of Pedro José Marquez's book on the Laurentina, printed in Rome in 1796, which is mentioned in the *Notes*. This interesting commentary to Pliny's letter demonstrates Potocki's devotion to the project, and furthermore, it leaves no doubt that he was not only its author, but was also responsible for almost every detail found in the drawings.

Potocki, who died in mid-September 1821, founded the first public museum in Wilanów near Warsaw, which opened in 1805, and served as Minister of Education from 1815 to 1820 (Fig. 4b), thus paving the way for the foundation of Warsaw University, which took place in the years 1808-1818²². Thanks to him, the faculty of Fine Arts at the University was furnished with over 80,000 prints, dating from the 16th through 18th centuries, and 700 plaster casts of ancient sculptures²³. And now let us move on to the *Notes* and the project of the Villa.

The paper reconstruction of the Laurentina and Potocki's *Notes and Ideas on Pliny's Villa*

Potocki's *Notes and Ideas on Pliny's Villa* consists of two parts; the first, entitled *Notes and observations on Pliny the Younger's Letter 17, book 2*, is a kind of commentary on all of the key terms to be found in the letter to Gallus; the second part, titled *Ideas Guiding the Plan for Pliny's villa*, provides insights concerning architecture, decoration, and even the notion of the sublime. The inspiration of Winckelmann, who was himself planning to publish a book on Laurentina, is constant and clear throughout; indeed, he is mentioned on the first page of Potocki's text²⁴. The *Notes* not only illuminate our understanding of his view of Laurentina, but also show a well-educated man of the Enlightenment period, dedicated to the visual arts and to architecture.

At the beginning of the second part of his commentary, Potocki refers to some previous paper reconstructions of the Laurentina, executed by Vincenzo Scamozzi, Jean-François Félibien des Avaux, and Marquez (Fig. 6); curiously enough he does not mention either Robert Castell's (1728) or Friedrich August

Krubsacius' (1760) reconstructions²⁵. Scamozzi's reconstruction, dating from the beginning of the 17th century, shows both the cross-section of the Laurentina (looking somewhat like the recently reopened Getty Villa) and its ground plan, including a round atrium and a rectangular peristyle. Félibien repeated to a certain extent Scamozzi's conception of a round atrium and a large peristyle surrounded by many rooms. Potocki compares Scamozzi's reconstruction with "palaces like those that adorn the banks of the Brenta", while he describes Félibien's effort as "a French chateau" (see *Notes and Ideas*). Regarding Marquez, he writes, "[He drew] one of those buildings born of the corrupt taste of the last century". After this rather severe judgment of his predecessors, he writes:

*My plan was drafted; I sensed what was lacking in theirs without being blinded to my own (Fig. 7). In fact, I would have suppressed it entirely after learning about the others had I not found it had the character of antiquity, less ingenious perhaps in terms of invention, but truer and more in conformity with all that antiquity has set before my eyes. I attempt to base myself on all the most interesting things it offered me. The Pantheon, the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, the Colosseum, the Emperors' Palace [at Palatine?], became my architecture books*²⁶.

Indeed, the impact of the ancient buildings mentioned by Potocki is to be found in several drawings which we will discuss shortly, but the plan itself with its round atrium and inner courtyard, or *cavaedium*, is in many ways similar to Scamozzi's and Félibien's. On the other hand, the entrance (Fig. 8a) and particularly the sea façade (Fig. 8b) resemble Renaissance and Neoclassical, Palladian-like structures, very similar to the White House and the National Gallery in Washington D.C., as well as numerous Neoclassical palaces in England and Poland. However, the edifice conceived by Potocki with its almost sublime simplicity is still quite impressive even in the preliminary virtual reconstruction, which is discussed by Baliszewski and Tarkowski.

The reconstruction of the Villa, the decoration of the main rooms and its sources

In his reconstruction of the sea façade, Potocki put an Emperor (Nerva or Trajan?) in a quadriga (Fig. 9a), as if the villa were a public building. Alongside this

²¹ Several passages from the *Notes* are to be found in RUFFINIÈRE du PREY 1994: loc.cit.

²² See MIZIOŁEK 2005, with bibliography.

²³ *Ars et educatio* 2003: passim.

²⁴ See Potocki's *Notes et Idées* in the Appendix, and the footnote

67 to them.

²⁵ The publications of both are discussed by RUFFINIÈRE du PREY 1994: passim.

²⁶ It is unclear whether Potocki had in mind the Palatine; as it is well-known at this point the identification of the Nero's palace was still problematic, cf. MIRRI 1776 and CARLETTI 1776.

image, consider the possible source of the borrowing – a late 18th century reconstruction of the Arch of Titus (**Fig. 9b**)²⁷. But Pliny the Elder's description of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus must have also been used (note the base of the quadriga)²⁸. There are also statues of gods, goddesses, philosophers, orators and emperors, and one gets the impression that Potocki wanted to adorn the Laurentina with the most famous sculptures of the glorious period of the *Imperium Romanum* that were on display in 18th century Rome. Pliny was one of the most distinguished Romans of his time and a close friend of the Emperor. He possessed several statues of emperors, even one of Trajan himself, as he recounts in a letter to the Emperor:

I sought his (Nerva's) permission to transfer to the town of Tifernum the statues of former Emperors which I had inherited through various bequests and had kept as I received them on my estate some distance away; I also asked if I might add to them a statue of himself[...] I prey you [...] to permit me to add your statue to the others [...] (Pliny, Letters, 10, VIII)²⁹.

The Emperor replied with the following words:

You have my permission to set up my statue in the place you have chosen for it; I am generally very reluctant to accept honours of this kind, but I do not wish it to seem that I have put any check on your loyal feelings towards me. (Pliny, Letters, 10, IX).

Let us now consider two examples of Potocki's reinvention of antiquity with regard to statuary. Here is a fragment of the sea façade of the Laurentina with a Trajan-like imperial portrait, along with its possible model (**Fig. 10a-b**). Next (**Fig. 10c**) is a statue of Hercules, which appears to be an interesting contamination of two famous ancient statues – *Hercules victor* (**Fig. 10d**) and *Hercules Farnese* (**Fig. 10e**)³⁰. His long legs and the way in which his head is shown remind us of the former, while

the positioning of his arms clearly recalls the latter.

There is no doubt that Potocki's main concern was the decoration of the most important rooms, to which all three of the artists contributed. Potocki writes:

Herculaneum, Pompeii, the Bay of Naples, Pozzuoli, the Baths of Titus, and so many other monuments scattered throughout Rome and its environs were of no small aid, both in the choice of ancient paintings, ornaments, and mosaics, and in the form of the rooms, whose plans I scrupulously followed. So it is that in gathering together the most beautiful remains of Roman architecture and embellishing Pliny's villa with them, I thought I could do justice to the pure taste of the century of Trajan, and to that of one of the greatest men who distinguished it.

For the purpose of this paper, I have chosen three rooms as examples of Potocki's reinvention of antiquity. Consider first the *triclinium* or dining room, one of the finest in the villa (**Fig. 11**). Its cross-section shows a statue of Dionysus, among others, and a relief above featuring a Dionysiac procession. The procession seems to be a more fully developed version of the one found in one of the paintings in the Domus Aurea (**Fig. 12a-b**)³¹. This is quite natural since both Brenna and Smuglewicz drew all the murals preserved in the Domus Aurea for the publication of 1776. Interestingly enough, in the *triclinium* seems to be a program devoted to the theme of eating and drinking culminating on the ceiling. There is a scene showing *Hercules and Hebe* (the heavenly wife of Hercules and the deity of eternal youth, so popular in Neoclassical art) drinking ambrosia (**Fig. 13a-b**)³². The exceptional quality of this drawing, executed most probably by Manocchi, is immediately clear³³.

Perhaps even more impressive than the *triclinium* is the bathroom (**Fig. 14**), to which Potocki devoted considerable attention in his *Notes*:

[Baths] became the repositories of masterpieces of art, places of amusement, and public buildings, the

²⁷ The enclosed reconstruction of the arch of Titus is by A.J.M. Guénepin, dated 1810; see *Roma antiqua* 1985: no. 138.

²⁸ *Natural History* 36, IV.32, see PLINY the ELDER 2001: 24-25: "[...] above colonnade [of the Mausoleum] there is a pyramid as high again as the lower structure and tapering in 24 stages to the top of its peak. At the summit there is a four-horse chariot of marble, and this was made by Pythis".

²⁹ All the citations from Pliny the Younger's letters derive from the most recent Loeb Classical Library edition (see PLINY the YOUNGER, vol. 1, 2000; vol. 2, 2004).

³⁰ For the *Hercules victor* and the *Hercules Farnese*, see HASKELL, PENNY 1981: nos. 45-46, p. 227-232, figs. 117-118.

³¹ See the color edition reprinted in 2002, see also PINOT DE

VILLECHÉNON 2002: pl. 14.

³² Several other Neoclassical representations of Hebe with Hercules or Hebe alone are listed in REID 1993: 490-492; see also Canova 2003: 433-434, nos. 5.8-5.9; KASTNER 2000: 117 (a marble tondo by Thorvaldsen at Hearst Castle).

³³ In light of the analysis of the numerous drawings by Manocchi belonging to the John Soane's Museum in London, there is no doubt that it was this almost forgotten artist who executed the best drawings for Potocki's reconstruction of the Laurentina. In fact, two of his drawings, which have always been attributed to him (one of them is signed), are among the plates with the reconstruction in question. I will analyze Manocchi's style in a separate paper.

headquarters for orators and philosophers, the meeting place for the Roman people [...]. Well-off individuals had private baths in their homes, such as those Pliny speaks of, whose luxury and elegance were no less surprising. According to the ancients, the brilliance of gold, paint, sculpture, and the rarest stones vied for attention.

The reconstruction of the bath, with both *frigidarium* and *caldarium*, is lavishly furnished with statues of gods, such as Mercury, Hercules and Venus, and philosophers, as well as relieves and stuccos. Above the doors, there is one more borrowing from the art of Trajan's time (Fig. 15a) – the famous eagle with spread wings in an oak wreath, preserved in the church of Santi Apostoli in Rome (Fig. 15b-c)³⁴.

The next room is a real masterpiece and at the same time, a kind of *imitatio Winkelmänniani*³⁵. I have in mind the *frigidarium* and the *unctorium*, that is "the place designated for rubbing oneself before entering the bath and for applying cologne upon leaving it" (Fig. 16a-b)³⁶. There is a beautiful pantheon-like rotunda, adorned with two tripod perfume burners and two niches on each side, and within this rotunda, there is a shrine-like space with statues on a pedestal. The question arises: who are the figures embodied in the statues (Fig. 17a)? Once I thought that they were Cupid and Psyche, or the Dioscuri (Fig. 17b-c), but in fact we see two handsome youths embracing and gazing at each other tenderly, one of whom is nude and one is barely clothed³⁷. On both sides of them, on two reliefs, are shown three adult men in robes and three adult women, respectively. Thus, I take them to be the embodiment of male friendship and correspondingly,

the *unctorium* may be read as a temple of friendship, which was so fashionable at that time. Before investigating this subject further, let us note another citation from the very heart of Rome: the implements of sacrifice and the bull's skull, which are borrowed from the famous frieze of the Temple of Vespasian at Forum Romanum (Fig. 17d)³⁸.

However, almost equally important is the comparison of one of the side niches of the *frigidarium* (Fig. 18a) with an etching (Fig. 18b), being the homage to Winkelmänn, which Pierre F. H. d'Hancarville published in the second of his book concerning ancient vases, in the collection of William Hamilton³⁹. In each case, there is a sarcophagus with lions' heads placed in the niche; despite some differences, it seems that Potocki in his reconstruction pays tribute to Winckelmann as well. Thus, the decoration of the *unctorium* shows Potocki to be one of "Winkelmänn's progeny", a man who appreciated masculine beauty, referring to it approvingly in his commentary, and who participated in the homosocial culture of 18th century⁴⁰.

The *criptoporticus*, its pavilions and the *heliocaminus*

Pliny was very proud of his *criptoporticus*, which was, as he says, "nearly as large as public buildings", with a terrace in front of it "perfumed with violets". Potocki imagined it as adorned with beautiful fresco decorations of the grotesque type, covering walls and the ceiling as well (Fig. 20). In the upper part of the image, we see a charming semicircular construction with a beautiful apse

³⁴ For the popularity of this relief in the visual arts since Renaissance period, see BOBER, RUBINSTEIN 1986: 219-220, pl. 186, 186a.

³⁵ See KOSOFSKY-SEDGWICK 1985: passim; RICHTER 1996: 33-46. Stephen Jaeger kindly drew my attention to these publications.

³⁶ This drawing also appears to be executed by Manocchi; I came to this conclusion having examined many of Manocchi's drawings housed in the John Soane's Museum. The high artistic quality of the drawing showing the *unctorium*, comparable with the aforementioned depiction of Hebe and Hercules, among others, was also noticed by DE LA RUFFINIÈRE DU PREY 1994: 152: *While in Poland, Brenna prepared two alternative competition entries for a Temple of Divine Providence intended for construction at Ujazdów. Brenna's drawings, now in the Warsaw University Library drawings cabinet (Zb. Król. T. 193, nos. 36-44), in certain respects fall short of the artistic excellence of the Pliny drawings in the Biblioteka Narodowa. This comparison lends credence to Alexander Potocki's statement that his father employed several artists, Italian as well as expatriate Polish. Stanisław Lorentz had suggested in 1946 that one of the other artists could*

have been the painter Francesco Smuglewicz (1745-1807), an Italophile Pole living in Rome. Such an explanation might account for the exquisite, painterly quality of a gem among the Potocki Pliny drawings depicting a relatively minor round room in the Laurentine Villa. Talent has been lavished on this interior, from the precise underdrawing in pen and ink to the superlative rendering in the French wash technique to convey the proper impression of rotundity. Three-legged torchères, watercolored to resemble bronze, belch smoke realistically. With consummate skill the artist shows an embracing statuary group. This sheet and several others [...] rise above the neoclassical norm by any standard. They surpass in quality most of the other drawings in the portfolio, not to mention those Brenna produced in Warsaw. Smuglewicz's participation in the Potocki reconstruction of the Laurentina still remains to be clarified.

³⁷ GUTOWSKA-DUDEK 2005: 54, identifies this group as Amor and Psyche.

³⁸ For this famous frieze, see *Roma antiqua* 1985: 80.

³⁹ See JENKINS, SLOAN 1996: 148, no. 31. See also the new edition of d'Hancarville work: D'HANCARVILLE 2004: 162.

⁴⁰ RICHTER 1996: loc.cit.

and above it, two Victories pay "homage" to a seven-piped *syrix*, or panpipes within a wreath, while below there is an *all'antica* bench with a relief above, depicting four eagles supporting garlands. This is, as was already shown by De la Ruffinière du Prey, the so-called *heliocaminus* or *solarium* (or sun-parlour). Potocki in his *Notes* has the following commentary:

This was a place for getting some air in bad weather. Its form and its layout made it appropriate for that use. After a great deal of research and misunderstandings about the way the heliocaminus might have been constructed – a few scholars wrongly made it a sitting room, others an entirely open and raised place – M. Orlandi, a learned antiquarian, pointed out to me, among the scattered ruins found between Tivoli and Rome, a sort of semi-circular vaulted niche designed to prevent the heat of the sun and protect against cold winds. He assured me that, after intensive research, he had become convinced that this was the true heliocaminus of the ancients. His idea agreed so well with what Pliny says that I did not hesitate to adopt it⁴¹.

Thus in the case of *heliocaminus* and its decoration (note the motif of the eagles supporting garlands (Fig. 21a)⁴², as also in the case of the *criptoporticus* (Fig. 20), Potocki did his best to produce a proper restitution; he not only examined several ruins (Fig. 19b), but was also in touch with "a learned antiquarian", the as-yet little studied Orazio Orlandi, author of several books on antiquity published in the later half of the 18th century. Orlandi's opinion as to the shape of the *heliocaminus* may have been inspired by the so-called *heliocaminus* at Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli.

One can ask, however, why in the decoration of the *heliocaminus* there is a *syrix* and not a solar motif or, given the fact that it faced the sea, an aquatic subject. Yet there is, in fact, a dolphin motif present in the decoration of the *criptoporticus*. Perhaps in this case we are witness to the impact of the growing popularity of bucolic subjects and Pan as well; *syrix* was the beloved instrument of this Arcadian deity⁴³. Furthermore, in the time when the

Count was producing his reconstruction of the Laurentina he was already a member of the Society of Arcadians, the famous Roman association of men of letters⁴⁴. The diploma given to him by the Society on 23rd March 1775, presently housed in the National Archives in Warsaw (AGAD), is adorned with a wreath, half laurel, half pines, in the centre of which is a seven-piped *syrix* (Fig. 21b). In addition to this, the *criptoporticus* was in the garden and there was also a view "to the woods and mountains in the distance", as Pliny puts it (*Letters*, 2, XVII.5)⁴⁵.

In Pliny's letter, there is a passage in which he expresses his true happiness with one or perhaps two pavilions attached to the *criptoporticus*. Here is the quotation:

At the end of the terrace, the arcade and the garden is a suite of rooms which are really and truly my favourites, for I built them myself. There is [...] a bedroom [...] a beautifully designed alcove [...] large enough to hold a couch and two arm-chairs [...] then there is an ante-room and a second bedroom [...]. When I retire to this suite I feel as if I have left my house [...] especially during the Saturnalia when the rest of the roof resounds with festive cries in the holiday freedom, for I am not disturbing my household's merrymaking, nor they my work.

Thus this suite of rooms was indeed a true retreat, an *otium* – to use the Latin term. Potocki, like Castell⁴⁶, was convinced that Pliny had in mind not one, but two edifices (cf. *Notes and Ideas*); we see them both on the plan of the whole estate (Fig. 1) and on four separate plates. Two of them show their façades and plans (Fig. 22a, 23) while the third depict their inner decoration in Pompeian style (Fig. 22b). Here at last Potocki and his artists show their knowledge of the decorations found in Herculaneum, Pompeii, the Bay of Naples and the Baths of Titus, which they may have seen with their own eyes, or knew from books like the *Le antichità di Ercolano*; a copy of it is preserved in Count's library, now housed in the National Library⁴⁷. Let us juxtapose the

⁴¹ Orlandi published, among other things, *Osservazioni di varia erudizione sopra un sacro cameo rappresentante il serpente di bronzo* (Roma 1773), and *Ragionamento di Orazio Orlandi romano sopra una ara antica posseduta da Monsignore Antonio Casali governatore di Roma* (Roma 1772). In the former work are to be found the etchings produced after Franciszek Smuglewicz's drawings.

⁴² The motif of the eagles supporting the garlands is to be found in the temple of Diana at Nîmes (Fig. 24b, see CLÉRISSEAU 1995: fig. 40) and in one of the etchings of Piranesi, see SCOTT 1975: 224, fig. 270; this a fireplace design executed for the Dutch banker, John Hope.

⁴³ For the god Pan and his panpipes, see MIZIOŁEK 1999, with further bibliography.

⁴⁴ For Potocki as a member of the Society of Arcadians, see GROCHULSKA 1984: 159. For interesting observations on this Society see GOETHE 1970: 442-446. Goethe concludes his memoirs concerning his admission to the Society with the following sentence: "The seal [on the diploma] shows a wreath, half laurel, half pines, in the centre of which is a *syrix*. Underneath, the words: *Gli Arcadi*."

⁴⁵ PLINY the YOUNGER 2000: 134-135.

⁴⁶ See CASTELL 1728: 44 sq.

⁴⁷ For Potocki's library, see Biuletyn Historii Sztuki 1972, *passim*.

plan of the sea pavilion with the project of the fresco decoration, which is divided into three sections and thus clearly refers to three rooms – two wider ones on the sides and a narrower one between them. For most of the motifs, it is possible to find the models; some of them derive from the Bay of Naples, others from the Domus Aurea⁴⁸.

In the second pavilion, once again we have three rooms or rather two rooms and an anteroom, placed next to the double-ax-head round room (Fig. 23). There is no doubt that the painted decoration, which also includes lavishly decorated ceilings, is destined for the two rooms and the corridor between them (Fig. 22b, the upper drawing). Also this time the decorative motifs are borrowed from Pompeian and Roman models. Even if the artistic level of the painted decoration for the pavilions is somewhat lower than the decoration destined for the rooms in the villa, it is nevertheless quite impressive. Now let us make a juxtaposition, which, strangely enough, no one has ever done before; i.e. the juxtaposition of the plan of the double-ax-head round room (Fig. 24a) with a drawing (Fig. 24b) depicting a beautiful rotunda with four statues placed in separate niches. Two of them show nude male gods or heroes, while the other two represent fully clothed goddesses or heroines. The latter drawing, like those depicting the ceiling in the *triclinium* (Fig. 13), the interior of the bathroom (Fig. 14) and the *unctorium* (Fig. 16), is a real masterpiece which can also be attributed to Manocchi.

Indeed if Potocki had published his restitution of Laurentina together with his *Notes* the impact on Neoclassical art may have been greater than Mirri's and Ponce's publications⁴⁹.

The pendant to the Laurentina reconstruction (of 1786?)

This huge project, realized in Rome around 1780, had an impact on the future careers of both Brenna and Smuglewicz, as well as on the Count's other projects,

which he undertook together with architects such as Piotr Aigner and Szymon Bogumił Zug, and which are still little known outside of Poland⁵⁰. I have already mentioned that when Potocki was again in Rome in 1785-86, he returned to his Laurentina project. In one of the letters sent to his wife, he says that he is producing a pendant to the earlier Laurentina project with the help of an architect⁵¹. There are the four drawings, which, in my opinion, can be linked with the said pendant. They show the project of a beautiful villa, with a big round room in the centre and three rooms on either side (Fig. 25, 26a). It looks somewhat like the two garden pavilions, which were discussed previously, put together. As in those pavilions, we see here once again a lavish fresco decoration in Pompeian style and the statues of Asclepios and the Apollo of Belvedere placed in the most beautiful central room (Fig. 26b). During the same period (i.e. between 1780 and 1790), Szymon B. Zug built for Isabella Lubomirski, Potocki's mother-in-law, a beautiful villa on the outskirts of Warsaw, which to some degree is a version of the pavilion⁵². The decoration of this "pendant" is also very much in Pompeian style. Soon after, in several villas across Poland and then in Russia, there appeared decorations, which are a clear echo of Potocki's Laurentina project⁵³. During the same stay in Rome, Potocki may have ordered some other drawings; they are in the album entitled *Intérieur de la Villa de Plinie le jeune par Brenna*; however, it seems that they were produced rather by one of the artists employed in the late 18th century decoration of the Villa Borghese in Rome (Fig. 27a, 28a-29a)⁵⁴. Some of the scenes repeat the compositions from the Domus Aurea (Fig. 27d) or *Le Antichità di Ercolano* (*The Centaur Chiron with Achilles*, Fig. 28b); the others are based on motifs borrowed from A. Claude de Caylus' *Recueil de peintures antiques trouvées à Rome* (Fig. 27c) or from Piranesi's famous decoration executed for the Caffè degli Inglesi, which, unfortunately, was demolished in the 19th century (Fig. 29b-c)⁵⁵. From Piranesi's etchings, or, from other publications, such as Mariette's *Receuil des pierres gravées* (1732), is also derived

⁴⁸ Cf. one of the murals reproduced in PINOT DE VILLECHÉNON 2002: plate 53.

⁴⁹ For Ponce's publication of the murals in the Domus Aurea in 1786 (2nd edn. 1805), see PERRIN 1982.

⁵⁰ For Aigner and Zug, see LORENTZ AND ROTTERMUND 1986: passim.

⁵¹ MAJEWSKA-MASZKOWSKA, JAROSZEWSKI 1968: 220.

⁵² LORENTZ 1948; LORENTZ, ROTTERMUND 1986: nos. 48-51, pl. III.

⁵³ For Brenna, see VAUGHAN 1996: 37-41.

⁵⁴ Cf. projects executed by Tommaso Maria Conca (atr.), reproduced in *Villa Borghese* 2003: figs. 101-103. Mikołaj Baliszewski drew my attention to these drawings.

⁵⁵ For Caylus and the drawing reproduced in his book (first published in 1780; the second edn by Mirri appeared in 1883) see SCHNAPP 1998: 142-147; for Piranesi's decoration in the Caffè, see *Grand Tour* 1996: nos. 73-74; SCOTT 1975: 224-225, figs. 258-259. The Caffè was placed directly opposite the Spanish Steps in the Piazza di Spagna. The designs were published together with a description in Piranesi's *Diverse maniere*. While in Rome in 1786, Potocki was staying in the Piazza di Spagna.

the motif of the dancing *Bacchant* with *thyrsus*, the attribute of Dionysius, consisting of spear-shaft and fir-cone tip⁵⁶.

Some thoughts about Potocki's *Ideas Guiding the Plan for Pliny's villa*

Let us cast again a rapid glance at the second part of Potocki's *Notes and Ideas on Pliny's Villa*, which has helped us so much in understanding his approach to the paper restitution of the Laurentina. He appears in them not only as someone stimulated by Winckelmann, but also to some degree as a pupil or follower of Francesco Scipione Marchese Maffei, who died in 1755, the same year in which Potocki was born⁵⁷. In his *Verona illustrata* and the description of the *Tazza Farnese*, published in *Osservazioni letterarie* of 1736, Marchese based his assertions not only on analysis of written sources, but also on the direct examination of monuments. This was also the manner of unveiling and reconstructing antiquity in the case of the Count. In the final part of his *Commentary*, he says:

The passages from the authors on whom we rely are no longer clear and reliable. Even Vitruvius, the father of architecture, would be an unreliable guide if some of the monuments destined for immortality by the masters of the world did not explain to us what he was saying about them. In fact, I boldly venture to say that the above-mentioned description would still be an enigma for us if that of Rome, of Verona, of Nîmes, and of Pula were not part of it, so to speak.

The Count then refers to "the creative genius of Greece" and "the grandeur and boldness of the Romans". Such phrases as "grandeur and boldness", "beauty and perfection", "the sublime in architecture", and "sublime simplicity of the ancient" bring to our mind Winckelmann's *History of the Art in Antiquity and Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*⁵⁸, Longinus' *On the Sublime*, and perhaps also Edmund

Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*⁵⁹. In fact, Potocki begins his *Notes* with a brief reference to Winckelmann, who, in his *History of the Art in Antiquity* described "precious marble, beautiful mosaics, and a few busts of the greatest beauty", which were to be found among the ruins of what was presumed to be Pliny's villa⁶⁰. Thus, the "real" remnants of the *villa marittima* and the idealized vision of ancient art, as well the thoughts about the beautiful and sublime, brought about a dream-like paper restitution of Laurentina in order "to do justice to the pure taste of the century of Trajan".

Let us quote once again from Potocki's *Notes and Ideas*:

I will stop here in spite of myself, amid detail too well suited to lead me beyond my subject. What I have said is enough to give an idea of the character of architecture I have sought to give to Pliny's villa. If my efforts have been in vain, it will be easy for those more skillful to profit from my mistakes and from an idea that, properly developed, could only be interesting.

In Place of a Conclusion

At the same time when Potocki and his artists were working on the paper reconstruction of the Laurentina and its pendant, the fashion for the motifs and themes discovered during the excavations in Pompei, Herculaneum and their vicinities found their way to Poland. In two pavilions of the Arkadia Garden, which is near Łowicz and was founded in 1778 by Helena Radziwiłł, there appear a number of borrowings from Pierre F.H. d'Hancarville's catalogue of the famous William Hamilton collection of ancient vases and *Le Antichità di Ercolano*⁶¹. While the impact of d'Hancarville's publication in the decoration of the Etruscan Room of the Temple of Diana was already noticed several years ago⁶², surprisingly no one has noticed as yet that the relief in the *columbarium* at the High Priest's Sanctuary (ca. 1785-88) repeats the *Pantera marina* (here called

⁵⁶ This motif, very popular in Neoclassical art, may have been borrowed from an antique marble vase reproduced in Piranesi's *Vasi candelabra, cippi* (1778), see FICACCI 2000: no. 771; or, it is from an antique gem reproduced in MARIETTE 1732: no. 40. It is to be found, among others, in the decoration of the Palazzo della Consulta in Rome, executed by Bernardino Nocchi in 1787. See RUSSO 1990: 177-208, esp. 190 and figs. 2 and 46. GUTOWSKA-DUDEK 2005: 61 recognized Hercules in this figure!

⁵⁷ For Maffei and the importance of his publications, see PO-MIAN 1990: 169-184.

⁵⁸ WINCKELMANN 1987. See also POTTS 1994: 113 sq.

⁵⁹ LONGINUS 1946; BURKE 1998, however, the notion/term

"sublime" in the latter refers to terror.

⁶⁰ WINCKELMANN 2006: 343; see also p. 74. Winckelmann also refers to the villa in three letters, one of which was sent to Clérissieu at the end of 1767, see WINCKELMANN 1956: 345.

⁶¹ For Arkadia, see PIWKOWSKI 1998. Neither Piwkowski nor MIKOCKA-RACHUBOWA 2004: 76-90, esp. p. 80, fig. 15, who dealt recently with the artistic activity of Francesco Maria Staggi, the presumed author of the relief, refer to its possible source of inspiration. Also CURL 1995: 107, figs. 6-7 is not aware about the source of inspiration for the *Chimaera*.

⁶² For the "Etruscan" motifs in Poland, see DOBROWOLSKI 1992: 370-375.

"Chimaera"; an inscription placed beneath the relief reads "L'Esperance nourrit un Chimère et la Vie Secoule" = "Hope nourishes a Delusion and life slips by"), which was reproduced in the third volume of the *Antichità di*

Ercolano (Fig. 30)⁶³. Like Potocki's reconstruction of the Laurentina, the impact of the discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum on the visual arts in Poland deserves further in-depth research⁶⁴.

APPENDIX

NOTES AND IDEAS ON PLINY'S VILLA

By COUNT STANISŁAW KOSTKA POTOCKI

From an unpublished manuscript in French

Translated by Jane Marie Todd

With preliminary notes by Jerzy Miziołek

Notes and Observations on Pliny the Younger's Letter 17, Book 2⁶⁵

The house described by Pliny in this letter takes its name from Laurentium, a place inhabited and beautified by the Romans, of which only the most insignificant traces remain today. A wretched tavern known as Saint Lorenzo occupies part of the site of the former Laurentium. Not far from there, on the dependencies of the Sacchetti villa, the ruins of Pliny's villa were discovered in 1714. The location of the site, its scope, and the general consensus of the most learned antiquarians leave no doubt about it. It is therefore possible to fix exactly the location where Pliny's country house was built⁶⁶. It sat on the banks of the Mediterranean Sea (from which successive deposits of sand have distanced it by six hundred paces) in the region of Latium, not far from Ostia, and

close to the mouth of the Tiber, from among whose ruins (according to Winckelmann) precious marble, beautiful mosaics, and a few busts of the greatest beauty, such as that of Lucius Verus, were extracted⁶⁷. These ruins were already altogether neglected and are now underground for the second time. What exists of them is better suited to mark the location of that house than to give the slightest idea about it. The beauty of the site and its surroundings, so highly praised by Pliny, is no longer recognizable, the insalubrity of the air having rendered the vicinity of Ostia nearly deserted. This land, which was so close to Rome that it offered Pliny an agreeable retreat after the fatigues of a day spent in the tumult of affairs and of the Caesars *Decem et septem milibus passuum ab urbe secessit* [is seventeen miles from Rome]⁶⁸, which comes to about three of our miles. Since every hundred paces was marked by one of those stones we call milestones, Pliny, speaking

⁶³ *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano*, vol. 3, 1762, plate XVII, p. 89-90: *Anche in quella pittura, compagna della precedente [Il mostro marino sul cui dorso ella è distesa (...)], e dello stesso campo rosso, ci si presenta una Ninfa di schiena tutta nuda, con bionde tresce, con perle, che le pendono dalle orecchie, con panno di colore verde cangiante in giallo, il quale si svolazza per avanti al Petto, ed è fermato con un laccio a traverso delle spalle del colore dell'oro, con braccialetti anche d'oro; e con un boccaletto dello stesso colore nella destra in atto di versare in un bacile puro d'oro, che sostiene colla sinistra, un liquore, che più non si distingue, lambito da un mostro marino con pelle a colore d'acqua di mare, e con macchiette oscure, e rotonde; sul qual mostro ella è distesa.*

⁶⁴ For Pompeii and Herculaneum as source and inspiration, see PRAZ 1969: 70-90; FITZ-GERALD 1972: 3-41; *Pompeii as Source and Inspiration* 1977; OTTANI-CAVINA 1982; eadem 2004: 55 sq.; AJELLO et al. 1988; WILTON-ELY 1989: 51-73; VAUGHAN 1996: 37-41.

⁶⁵ I am grateful to Alain Schnapp, Krzysztof Ligota and Jean-

Michel Massing who deciphered some French terms in the manuscript and to Chiara Sulprizio, my research assistant at the Getty Research Institute (GRI), who made corrections to the Latin and identified some of the quotations. The present translation was made thanks to the generosity of GRI.

⁶⁶ In fact, the exact location of the villa remains unknown. However, Amanda Claridge's excavations are currently underway. See RICOTTI 1987: 137-184; FÖRTSCH 1993: 18-22.

⁶⁷ See WINCKELMANN 2006: 343; see also p. 74. Winckelmann also refers to the villa in three letters, one of which was sent to Clérissieu at the end of 1767 (see WINCKELMANN 1956: 345). It may be deduced from this that he planned to publish a book on Laurentina.

⁶⁸ All translations of Pliny's letter cited in the Appendix are from *The Letters of Pliny the Younger, with Observations on Each Letter*, John Boyle, Fifth Earl of Orrery trad., vol. 1-2, London 1751, vol. 1, p. 162-169.

of two roads that led to the country, said *Laurentina a quarto decimo lapide, Ostiensis ab undecimo reliquenda est* [the Laurentine <is> at the fourteenth stone... the Ostian, at the eleventh]. According to the antiquarians, these stones combined the advantage of marking distances with that of standing in for boundary stones, which the ancients are known not to have used. It is likely that the outbuildings of this house did not extend beyond its enclosing wall, which accords with what Pliny says, *usibus capax, non sumptuosa tutela* [it is made for use, not for parade]. Hence I do not believe it is accurate to apply this passage to the house itself, since the description demonstrates its scope, while the pure taste of the century and undoubtedly that of Pliny leave no doubt about its beauty.

Atrium. I assume this word means "vestibule." That, at least, is the most appropriate interpretation one can give it.

Area. An open space surrounded by porticos.

Nam specularibus. The *specularia* of the ancients corresponded in their function to our glass windows. *Lapis specularis* is a transparent stone that, according to Pliny the Elder, came from Spain. The same author says that the stone, though extraordinarily soft, resists the heat of summer and the harshness of winter, and can be damaged only by fire, properties that make this stone as useful as glass, though it is less transparent. It is said that Nero had a dome-shaped room crowning his house of gold built entirely of that stone. Common opinion has it that the large pieces now found in a few churches in Rome come from its debris. They serve as transparent screens and their effect corresponds exactly to that of taffeta screens.

*Cavaedium*⁶⁹. Vitruvius speaks of several sorts of *cavaedia*, which were nothing other than inner courtyards, most of them surrounded by open galleries or porticos that served as promenades, entrances, and for communication with the apartments.

Triclinium. This was a dining room. Although a few antiquarians, based on a passage from Vitruvius, claimed to fix the length at twice the width, I believe their views are largely unfounded, especially when we consider the number of tricliniums contained in Pliny's villa and the variety of their locations. As such, it would have been no less monotonous than difficult to force them into the same form.

Valvas. Double doors, or windows with two shutters.

Cubiculum. Although the true meaning of this word is "bedroom", it hardly matters whether Pliny used

it that way or some other way, and one may understand it as one judges appropriate.

Gymnasium. Exercise room.

Apsiva. Geometrical figure, the equivalent of about half a circle.

Dormitorium Membrum. This can be taken for a part of the house that included only the bedroom, or as the master of the house's own bedroom, which seems to correspond better to the idea Pliny gives of it. What he later says, *transitu interiacente qui suspensus et tubulatus conceptum vaporem salubri temperamento huc illucque digerit et ministrat* [the passage is raised and boarded in such a manner that the heat it receives is most equally dispensed and distributed throughout every part of it] seems to prove that the house had a lower level on this side and stove heat, whose use was known to the Romans, traveling to the passage through a wood floor and from there to the bedrooms.

Cenatio. Eating room.

Procoeton. This was a room designed for the slaves, which corresponds perfectly to our antechambers.

Inde balinei. Nothing better attests to the magnificence of ancient baths than their ruins. The public baths built by the emperors to earn the people's goodwill were buildings whose very immensity is astonishing. One of Diocletian's bath halls is now counted among the largest churches in Rome. They became the repositories of art masterpieces, places of amusement, and public buildings, the headquarters for orators and philosophers, the meeting place for the Roman people. These prodigious buildings ex-hausted the treasures and resources of the masters of the world, who were reduced to plundering those of their predecessors to embellish their own.

Well-off individuals had private baths in their homes, such as those Pliny speaks of, whose luxury and elegance were no less surprising. According to the ancients, the brilliance of gold, paint, sculpture, and the rarest stones vied for attention. Macrobius speaks of one Sergius Orata who *primus balneas pensiles habuit* [was the first to go in for the shower baths]⁷⁰. The baths Pliny mentions in this letter were of two kinds. The first were cold. They were in vogue among the ancients and are still in use today. Musa, Augustus's favorite physician, introduced the practice among the Romans, reestablishing the emperor's health by that means, and even though he was later accused of hastening the death of Marcellus by the same method, favor reflected back on all the physicians of Rome, who obtained the rank of Roman knights. It was on the basis of his advice that Horace abandoned the hot

⁶⁹ For this and other terms used by Pliny see FÖRTSCH 1993; see also CULOT, PINON 1982; TANZER 1924.

⁷⁰ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 3.15, see MACROBIUS 1969: 235.

baths of the Baiae in favor of the cold baths of Flumini and Gabii, *Nam mihi Baias Musa supervacuas Antonius, et tamen illis me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda* [for Antonius Musa makes Baiae useless to me, and yet puts me in ill favour there, now that in midwinter I drench myself in cold water]⁷¹. Their use was so highly recommended in Seneca's time that he boasted of taking them in the dead of winter, and for this reason acquired the nickname *Psychroluta*. *Psychroluta* is composed of two Greek words. *Psychro* means "cold", *Luta* "to clean"⁷².

Untorium, Hypocauston. Place designated for rubbing oneself before entering the bath and for applying cologne upon leaving it.

Suffocatorium. Stove used to heat the baths.

Calida Piscina in this case means hot bath, though strictly speaking it means a hot cistern.

Spheristerium. Tennis court whose very ancient use was in fashion during Homer's time. Homer makes them the entertainment of his heroes. It is attested that, of the different kinds of courts the Romans used, some were even made of glass. I remember seeing a medal struck in the time of the emperors in honor of a man who excelled in that type of exercise.

Diaete due. This can be taken for two apartments or for two closets [*illegible*]. The latter idea seems to be more in keeping with the location designated by Pliny, since it would likely be difficult for a tower to enclose two apartments on a single floor.

The *Cenatio* Pliny places at the top of one of his towers could be one of those open terraces often still seen in Italy, whose view extends far out in every direction.

Apotheca. Horreum. Outbuildings and cellar.

Gestatio. Path designed for exercise either in a chaise or on horseback or in a small chariot.

Adjacet interiore circumitu [surrounds a vine pergola]⁷³. This passage is difficult to explain, unless we

assume that the *gestatio* that surrounded the garden was raised like a sort of [*illegible*] dominating the paths of that internal vineyard, which looked like a kind of green carpet. That was what Pliny probably meant by the words *nudi etiam pedibus mollis et tenera* [easy and soft, even to the naked feet].

Hinc criptoporticus prope publici operis extenditur [Here begins a covered arcade nearly as large as a public building]. The *criptoporticus* is a rustic gallery like those seen in Tivoli and Albano⁷⁴, which was usually placed in gardens and served as a promenade sheltered from the heat and bad weather. The one Pliny speaks of seems to have been quite large and served to communicate with the two pavilions in the garden.

Xystus. Flower bed⁷⁵. Pliny himself designates it as such by saying *violis odoratus* [perfumed with violets].

Horti diaeta est. It is clear that *diaeta* is taken here for an apartment composed of several rooms. The *hypocauston* that was part of it should be taken for a steam bath *quod angusta fenestra suppositum calorem aut effundit aut retinet* [so near a small window of communication that it lets out or retains the heat just as we think fit].

Heliocaminus. Sun hearth⁷⁶. This was a place for getting some air in bad weather. Its form and its layout made it appropriate for that use. After a great deal of research and misunderstandings about the way the *heliocaminus* might have been constructed – a few scholars wrongly made it a sitting room, others an entirely open and raised place – M. Orlandi, a learned antiquarian, pointed out to me, among the scattered ruins found between Tivoli and Rome, a sort of semi-circular vaulted niche designed to prevent the heat of the sun and protect against cold winds⁷⁷. He assured me that, after intensive research, he had become convinced that this was the true *heliocaminus* of the ancients. His idea agreed so well with what Pliny says that I did not hesitate to adopt it.

⁷¹ Horace, *Epistulae* 7.15 (To Vala), see HORACE 1978: 345.

⁷² See Seneca, *Epistulae* 53,3: *Bethinking me of my aquatic attainments, as an old devotee of cold water, I dived into the sea, as a good cold-waterite should, in my woollens*; 83,5-6: *After this exercise – exhaustion would be the better name – a cold plunge: water that isn't quite warm passes for that with me. I, the great cold-waterite, who used to pay my respects to the Race on the first of January, to whom a dive into the Maiden at the new year was a much a provision for the luck of the year as reading, writing, or declaiming something, first made a strategic retreat to the Tiber, and then to my private plunge-bath here, which the sun warms even when I'm in my bravest mood and no tricks are played with it. A step more brings me to the warm douche*, cited from SENECA 1932, vol. 1: 165; vol. 2: 20.

⁷³ The previous translation had "surrounded by a vinyard"; however, I have a more accurate translation from Betty Radice's translation of Pliny's letter, see PLINY the YOUNGER 2000:

138-139.

⁷⁴ Both are discussed by FÖRTSCH 1993: passim.

⁷⁵ *Xystus* was a kind of terrace, cf. Radice's translation, see PLINY the YOUNGER 2000: 140-141; see also FÖRTSCH 1993: 66.

⁷⁶ Perhaps a better translation would be "Solarium" as RUFFINIÈRE du PREY (1994: 166) proposes, or "sun-parlour" as Radice (see PLINY the YOUNGER 2000: 140-141, see previous note) has rendered it. See also FÖRTSCH 1993: 56.

⁷⁷ Most probably Potocki had in mind Orazio Orlandi, who published, among other things, *Osservazioni di varia erudizione sopra un sacro cameo rappresentante il serpente di bronzo* (Roma 1773), and *Ragionamento di Orazio Orlandi romano sopra una ara antica posseduta da Monsignore Antonio Casali governatore di Roma* (Roma 1772). The *Osservazioni* is illustrated with the etchings produced after Franciszek Smuglewicz's drawings.

Quae specularibus velisque. It seems that the curtains and *specularia* did what our glass doors do. Depending on whether they were open or drawn, the closet could be joined to the bedroom and the bed placed in a sort of alcove. The two *cathedras* that accompany it are nothing other than two large armchairs.

Andron is taken here for an empty space between two walls. One sees many examples of them in ancient buildings, especially in the ruins of the city of Adria. It served to protect from humidity, or to cut noise and give more peace and quiet to the apartment. Pliny uses it in this sense. The Greeks gave the name *Andron* to places designed for relaxation.

Ideas Guiding the Plan for Pliny's House

Several architects have undertaken to provide a plan of the villa of Laurentina described by Pliny the Younger in Letter 17 of his Book 2. Félibien made it a French chateau, Scamozzi a palace like those that adorn the banks of the Brenta, Father Marquez one of those buildings born of the corrupt taste of the last century⁷⁸. The research I did on this subject made them familiar to me. My plan was drafted; I sensed what was lacking in theirs without being blinded to my own. In fact, I would have suppressed it entirely after learning about the others had I not found it had the character of antiquity, less ingenious perhaps in terms of invention, but truer and more in conformity with all that antiquity has set before my eyes. I attempt to base myself on all the most interesting things it offered me. The Pantheon, the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, the Colosseum, the Emperors' Palace, became my architecture books, from which I drew the most beautiful proportions from the orders known to us. Herculaneum, Pompeii, the Bay of Naples, Pozzuoli, the Baths of Titus, and so many other monuments scattered throughout Rome and its environs were of no small aid both in the choice of ancient paintings, ornaments, and mosaics and in the form of the rooms, whose plans I scrupulously followed. So it is that in gathering together the most beautiful remains of Roman architecture and embellishing Pliny's villa with them, I thought I could do justice to the pure taste of the century of Trajan, and to that of one of the greatest men who distinguished it. I have thereby given to this little work a kind of interest that it otherwise does not deserve. That manner of unveiling antiquity, however imperfect it might be, seemed to me the surest and the most simple. For, in fact, I believe it is

just as impossible to give an accurate idea of the way the ancients built, at least regarding the interior layout of their houses, as it is to know their households and the details of their private lives, two sorts of knowledge that are so closely linked that one cannot lay claim to the first without having acquired the second. In the absence of reliable means to achieve it, a passionate belief in systems has futilely aspired to subject the creative genius of Greece to fixed rules, along with the grandeur and boldness of the Romans, to whom nothing seems impossible, and which is still alive in the astonishing debris of the ancient capital of the world, incomparable models of taste and perfection, in whose footsteps we have followed but poorly. In that way, in subjecting our masters to the laws that we received from them, we often attribute to them our own smallness, and almost always our own ideas. The difference in our mores, our laws, our practices, our religion, and above all our methods is an obstacle between us and antiquity no less insurmountable than many centuries spent in the most profound barbarism and ignorance. These causes also converge, often preventing us from grasping its spirit and from implementing it. Hence all the research of the most learned antiquarians in this respect have seemed to me only vain efforts of people groping in the dense shadows that veil antiquity. A ray of light shines in their eyes for an instant and suddenly plunges them back into even denser shadows. Such are the debris of ancient magnificence, made more to astonish and confound us than to enlighten and instruct us thoroughly, an inevitable source of difficulties and errors. The passages from the authors on whom we rely are no more clear and reliable. Even Vitruvius, the father of architecture, would be an unreliable guide if some of the monuments destined for immortality by the masters of the world did not explain to us what he was saying about them. In fact, I boldly venture to say that the above-mentioned description would still be an enigma for us if that of Rome, of Verona, of Nîmes, and of Pula were not part of it so to speak. Nevertheless, some have claimed to give us models of ancient buildings of every kind. Everything is fixed, everything is established. But what fixes and establishes everything is the location of the site and the needs and taste of those who built. Are we to believe that they built on the vast plains of Rome in the same way as on those rocks [*illegible*] by the sea, as Horace depicts them in Pozzuoli and Baiae?

*Tu secunda marmora
Locas sub ipsum funus, et sepulcri*

⁷⁸ MARQUEZ 1796. Thus, 1796 is the *terminus post quem* for Potocki's text. RUFFINIÈRE du PREY 1994: note 49 on p.

349 is of the opinion that: "The post-1800 dating is clear from [Notes...] p. 217, with its reference to Marquez [...]"

*Immemor struis domos:
Marisque Bais obstrepentis urges,
Summovere litora
Parum locuples continente ripa.*

[But you, though in the very shadow of death, place contracts for cutting marble slabs, and build houses without giving a thought to your tomb. You press on to move back the coastline where the sea roars in protest at Baiae, for you have insufficient property as long as the shore hems you in]⁷⁹.

Anyone who has seen these sites, anyone who has examined them with the attention of an amateur and the insight of a connoisseur, will easily agree that it is just as unreasonable to claim to fix the form of ancient houses as that of our own, simply because they have towers, staircases, rooms, and bedchambers. In describing Versailles, I would give no more idea of Caserta than that to which the conventions of royal homes may lend themselves. What would I have done other than confuse one of the most beautiful monuments of modern architecture with the bizarre caprices of Mansard supported by the magnificence of the most ostentatious of kings? Although we are

therefore forbidden as it were from penetrating into the interior of ancient homes and combing every corner of antiquity, satisfying our curiosity more than our learning, how many striking models of the sublime in architecture it offers us. How could it not be easy for us to extract its character, of which simplicity formed the foundation, and elegance and proportion among the parts the principal ornament, while beauty and perfection in execution happily converged to make the whole perfect? Three orders formed their true architecture: they used them with more elegance than perfection, and with more harmony and proportion than luxury in the ornaments, whose noble and male beauty had something infinitely greater and more piquant than the love of ornaments of every kind by which some claim to supplement the sublime simplicity of the ancients.

I will stop here in spite of myself, amid detail too well suited to lead me beyond my subject. What I have said is enough to give an idea of the character of architecture I have sought to give to Pliny's villa. If my efforts have been in vain, it will be easy for those more skillful to profit from my mistakes and from an idea that, properly developed, could only be interesting.

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⁷⁹ HORACE, *Carmina* 2.17-22 (The Vanity of Riches), see HORACE 2004: 133.

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JERZY MIZIOŁEK (*IA UW*)

“IN THE PURE TASTE OF TRAJAN’S CENTURY”.
PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ON PLINY THE YOUNGER’S LAURENTINA
AS IMAGINED BY COUNT STANISŁAW KOSTKA POTOCKI

SUMMARY

Stanisław Kostka Potocki is known outside of Poland mainly thanks to a life-sized equestrian portrait of him in the Palace at Wilanów, painted by Jacques-Louis David in 1780-1781. However, among his several achievements, at least two are of great international importance: his *Lettre d'un étranger sur le Salon de 1787* and, more notably, his paper reconstruction of Pliny the Younger's villa, which once stood on the seashore at Laurentum. The reconstruction, based on Pliny's famous letter to Gallus, resulted in thirty-six large drawings (57.7 x 89.5 cm), executed in Rome in the years 1777-78 under the Count's guidance by a group of artists. Among them were Giuseppe Manocchi (died 1782), Vincenzo Brenna (1747-1820) and probably Franciszek Smuglewicz (1745-1807). Most of them are of great beauty and provide the most extensive reconstruction of the famous villa ever produced. They depict: 1) the plan of the villa with all four elevations and the garden; 2) the decoration of the most important rooms, such as the *triclinium*, the bath and the *unctorium*; 3) the *criptoporticus* with its *heliocaminus* and two small pavilions; and 4) one more pavilion, adorned with several statues of emperors and Pompeian-like decoration. In connection with this set of drawings, the Count produced, while subsequently in Rome (ca. 1796), a twenty-four page manuscript titled *Notes et Idées sur la Ville de Pline*, which was intended to serve as an accompanying commentary, which has never published.

The drawings have already been investigated to some extent by the late Stanislas Lorentz, and in more depth by Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey (1994), although they have never been studied systematically. The main

scope of this paper is to make Potocki's paper reconstruction of the Laurentina more accessible to the international community of scholars. While De la Ruffinière du Prey has already analyzed the architectural forms of the Laurentina as viewed by Potocki, the problem of the villa's decoration with paintings, sculptures, mosaics and *opus sectile* has only now begun to be systematically studied. Brenna and Smuglewicz, whose earlier elegant works were published, among others, in Lodovico Mirri's *Vestigia delle Terme di Tito e loro interne pitture* (1776), were instructed by Count Potocki to adorn the aforementioned plates with scenes and motifs borrowed from numerous sources: publications of excavations at Rome, Pompeii Stabiae and Herculaneum, as well Piranesi's etchings and decorations produced in the circle of Raphael for the Vatican Logge.

My research on Potocki's reconstruction of the Laurentina is a work in progress. I started it at University of Warsaw, and I have made substantial progress on it during my three-month fellowship at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles in 2006. For the time being I have examined Potocki's project in the context of other previous attempts at reconstructing Pliny's villa undertaken by, among others, Scamozzi, Félibien, Castell and Marquez; and preliminarily investigated Potocki's unpublished *Notes et Idées sur la Ville de Pline*, which, thanks to the Getty Research Institute, were translated into English for the purposes of my research. I have also researched the sources of the inspiration for the drawings depicting both figural and decorative compositions. The most important results of my research are to be found in this paper.

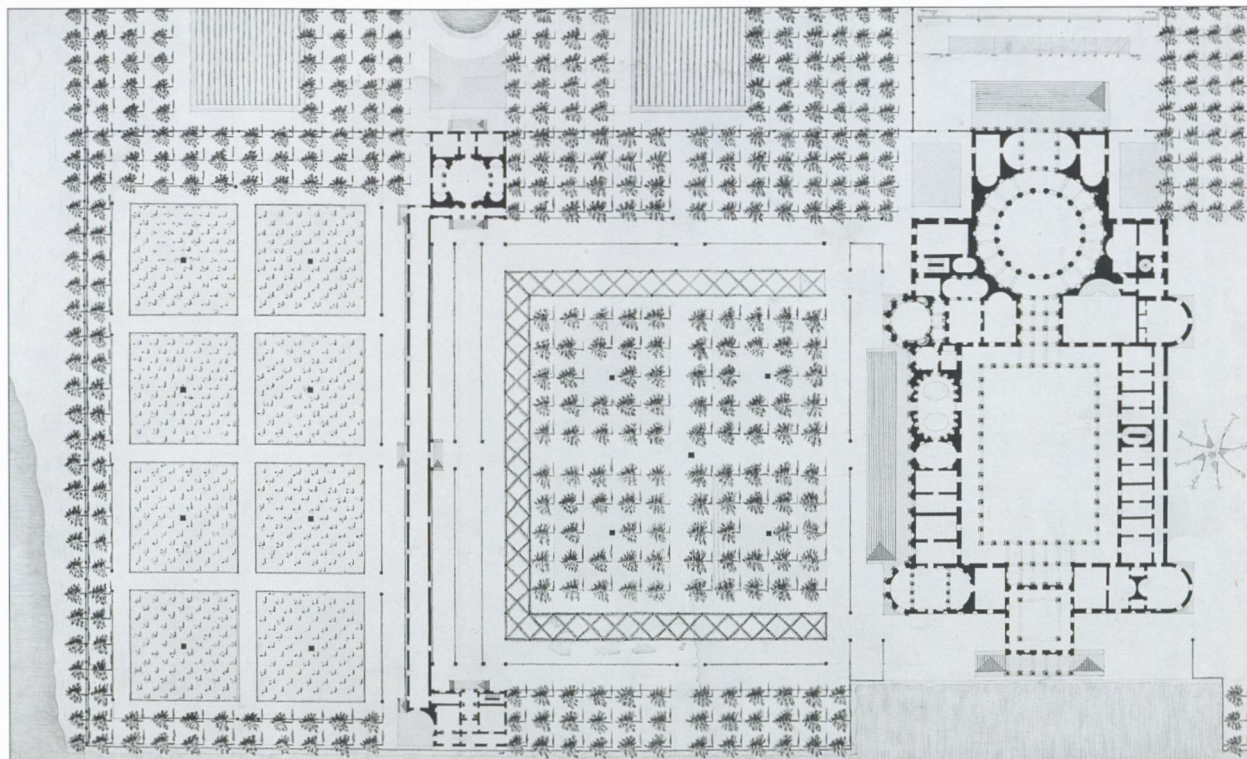
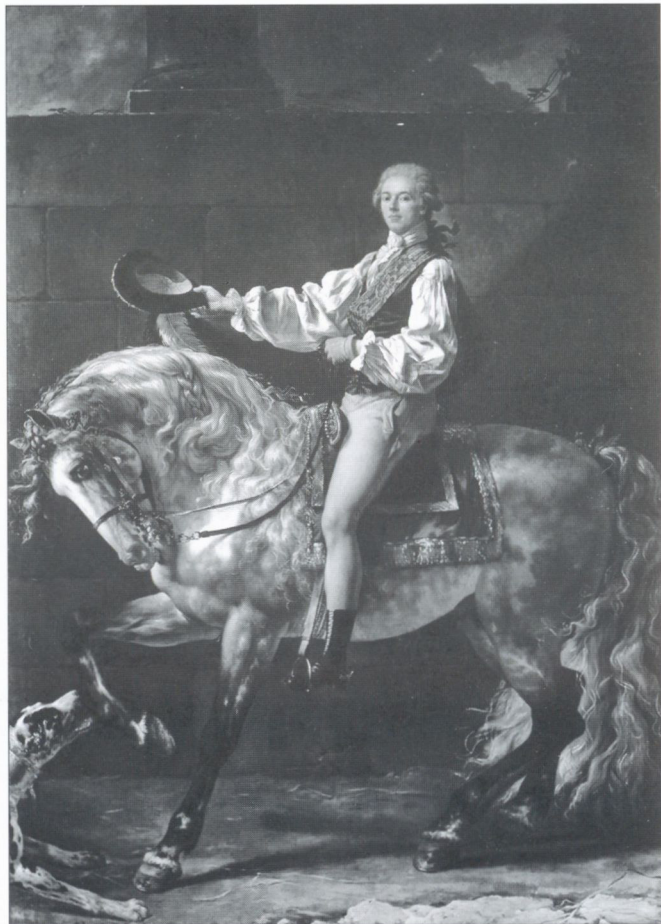


Fig. 1. Stanisław Kostka Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, site plan (BNW, WAF 67, J. Rys. 4.999)

a



b

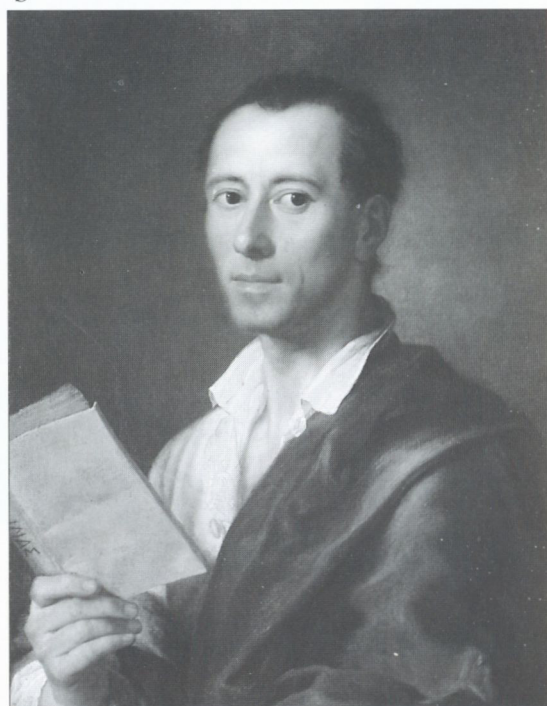


Fig. 2. a: Jacques-Louis David, *Portrait of Count St. K. Potocki*, oil on canvas, Wilanów, Museum Palace; b: Anton Raffael Mengs, *Portrait of J. J. Winckelmann*, oil on canvas, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (once in the collection of Izabella Lubomirski)

PLATE 9



a



b

Fig. 3. a: *Count St. K. Potocki among ruins*, etching of a portrait by Angelica Kauffmann; b: Johann H. W. Tischbein, *Goethe in the Roman Campagna*, oil on canvas, Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut

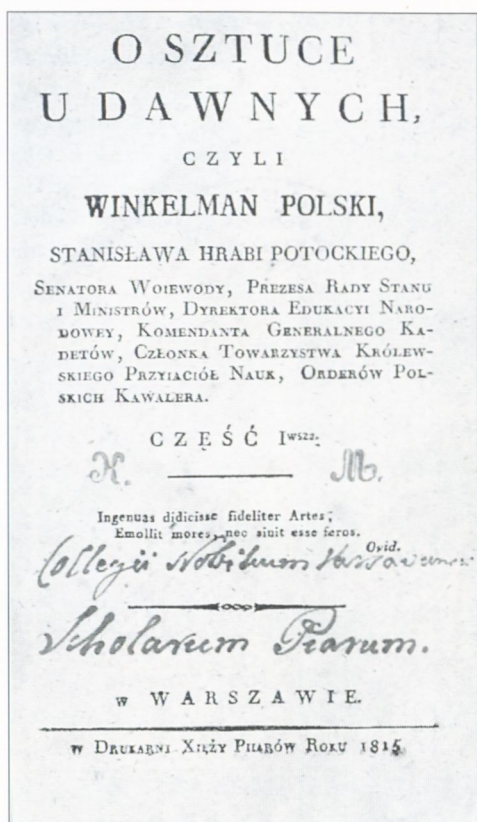


Fig. 4. a: Title page of Potocki's Polish translation of Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1815);
b: Antoni Blank, *Portrait of Count Potocki as the Minister of Education*, oil on canvas, Warsaw, National Museum

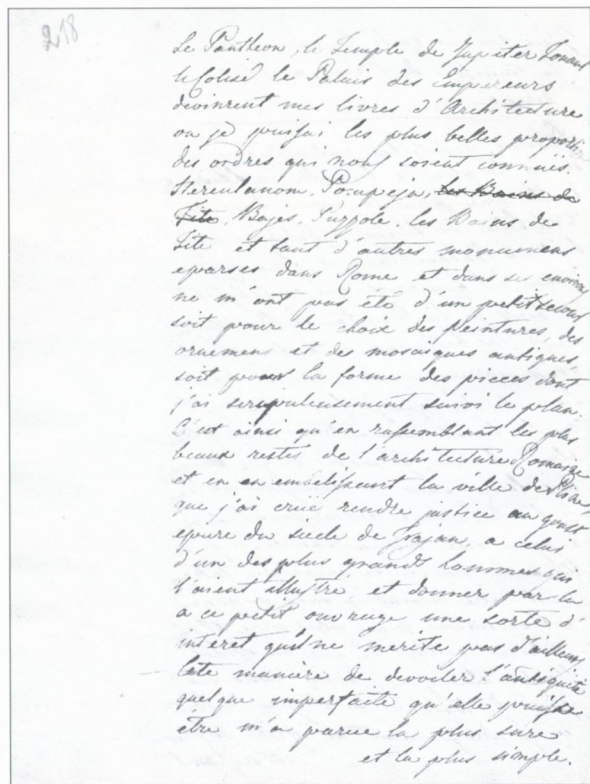
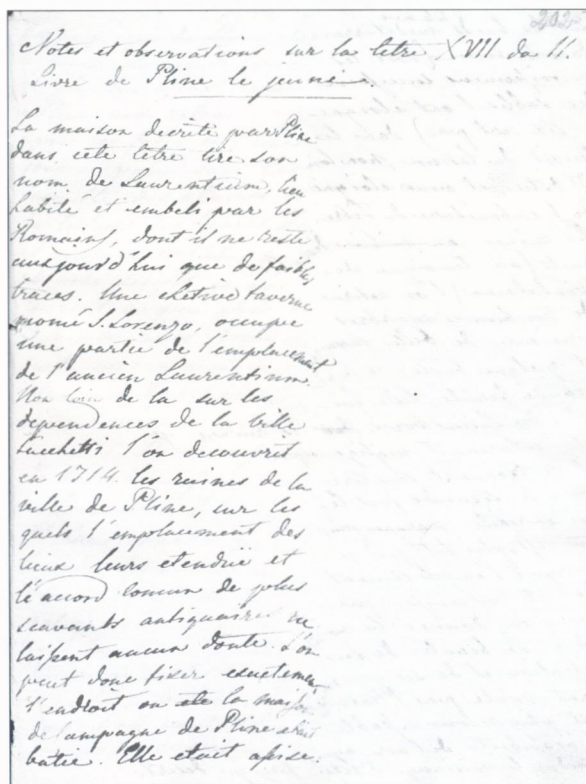


Fig. 5. a-b: Two pages from Potocki's *Notes et Idées sur la Ville de Plin*, National Archives in Warsaw (AGAD, Archives Publiques de Potocki, no. 244)

PLATE 11

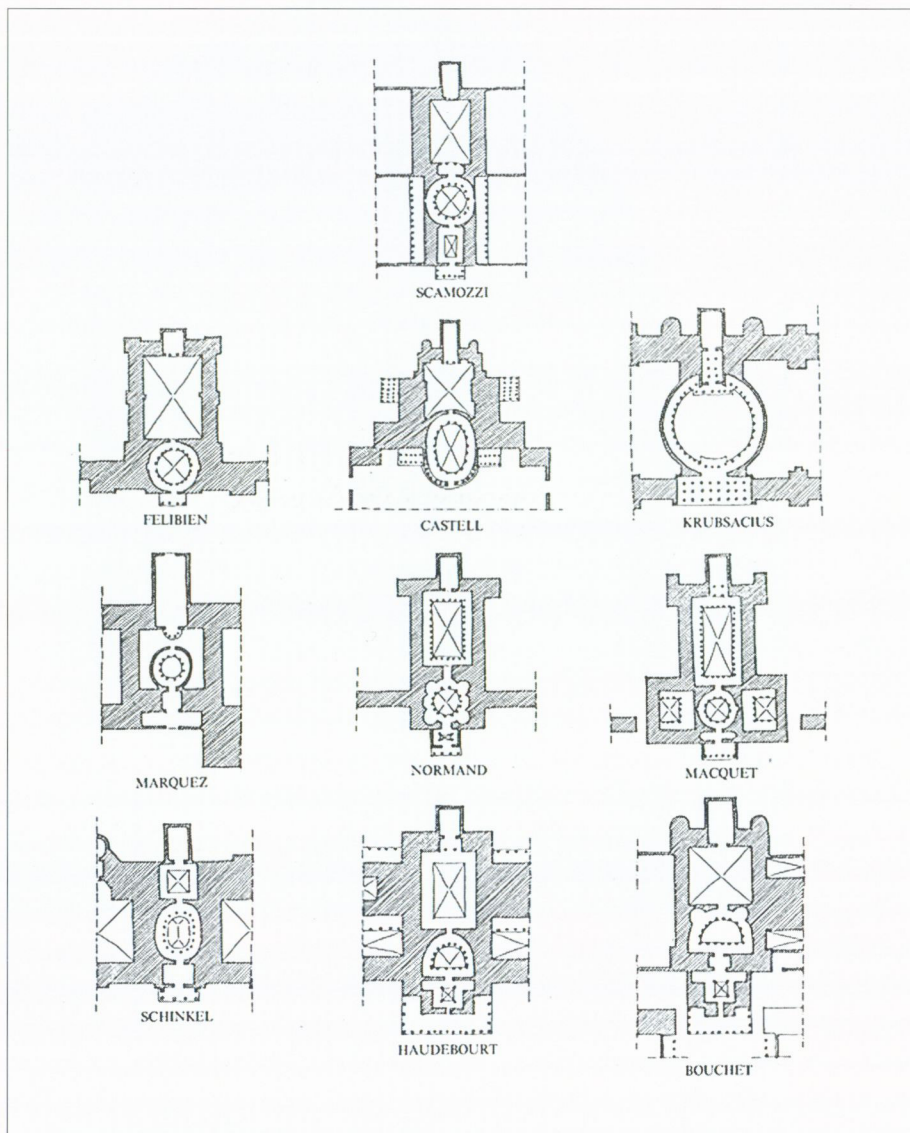


Fig. 6. Paper reconstructions of the Laurentine 17th-19th century, after *La Laurentine et l'invention de la villa romaine*, Exhibition Catalogue, M. Culot, P. Pinon eds, Paris 1982

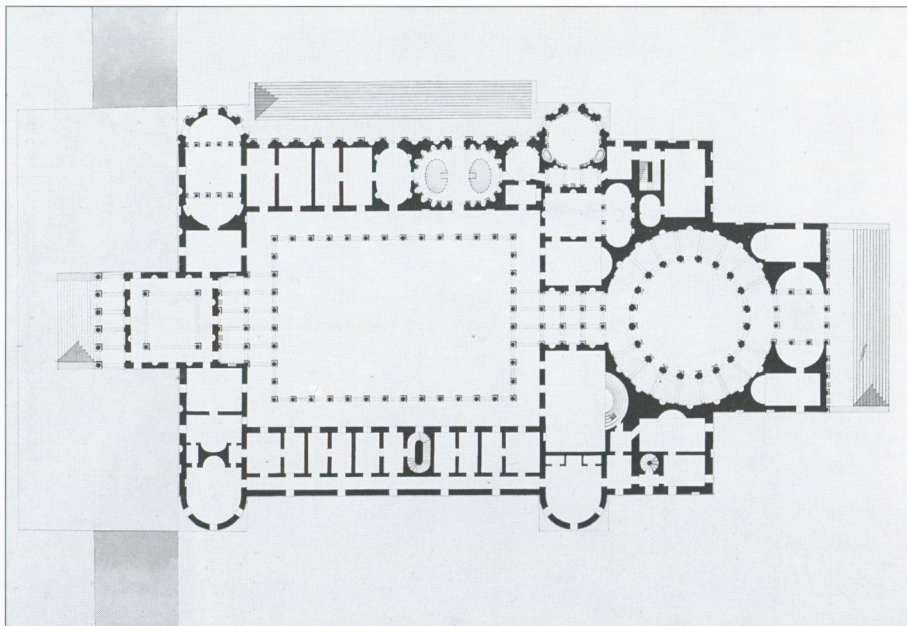
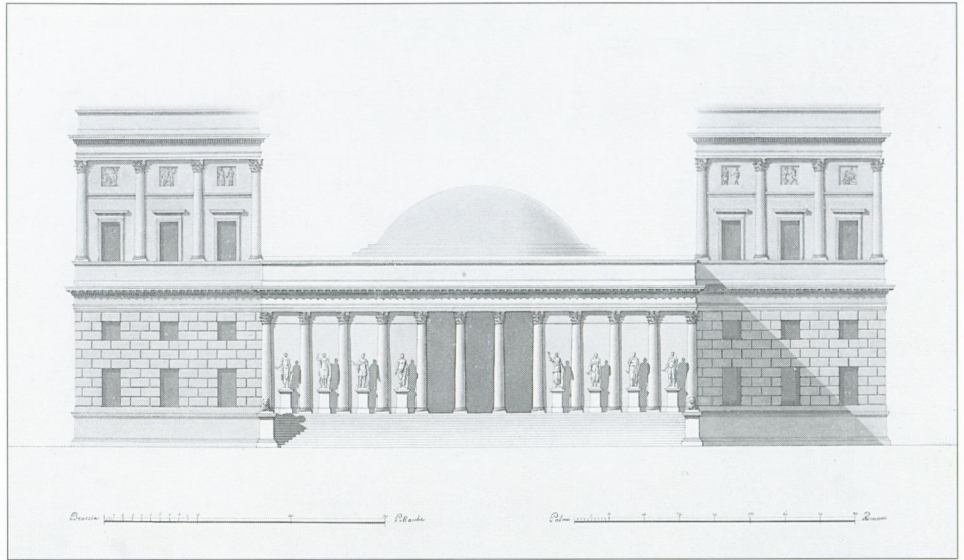
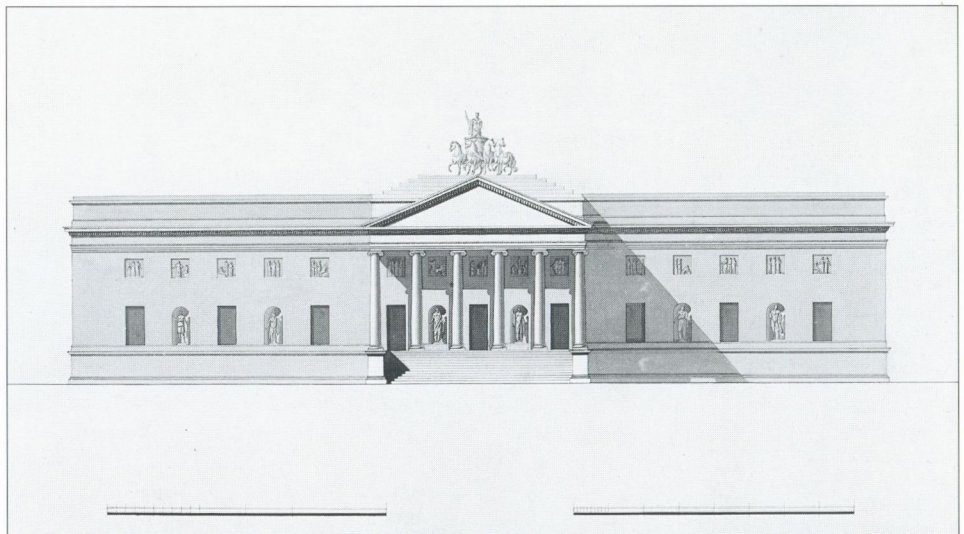


Fig. 7. Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, ground plan, detail of Fig. 1

a



b



c

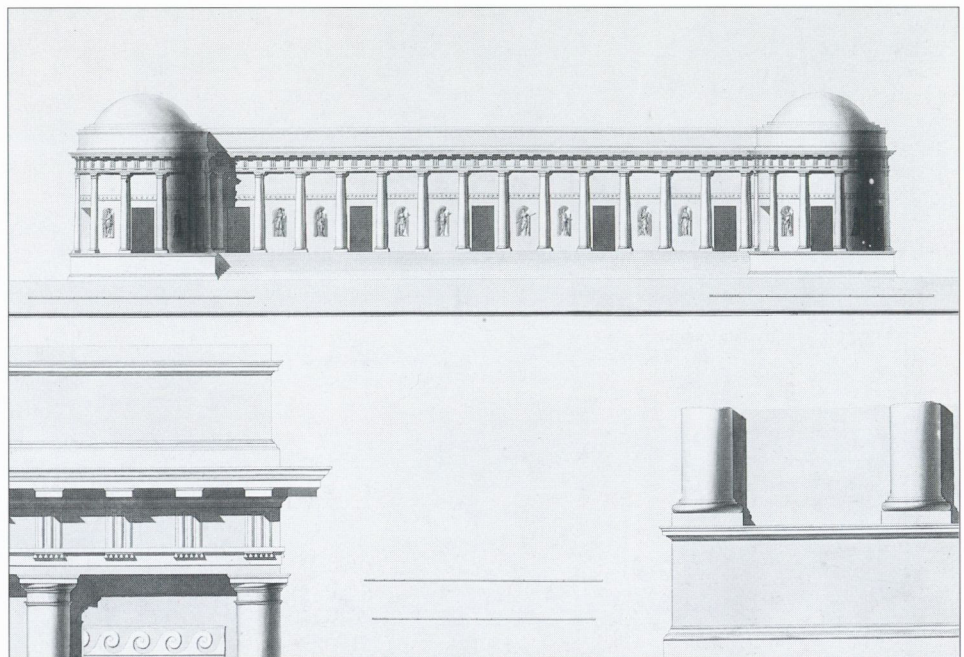
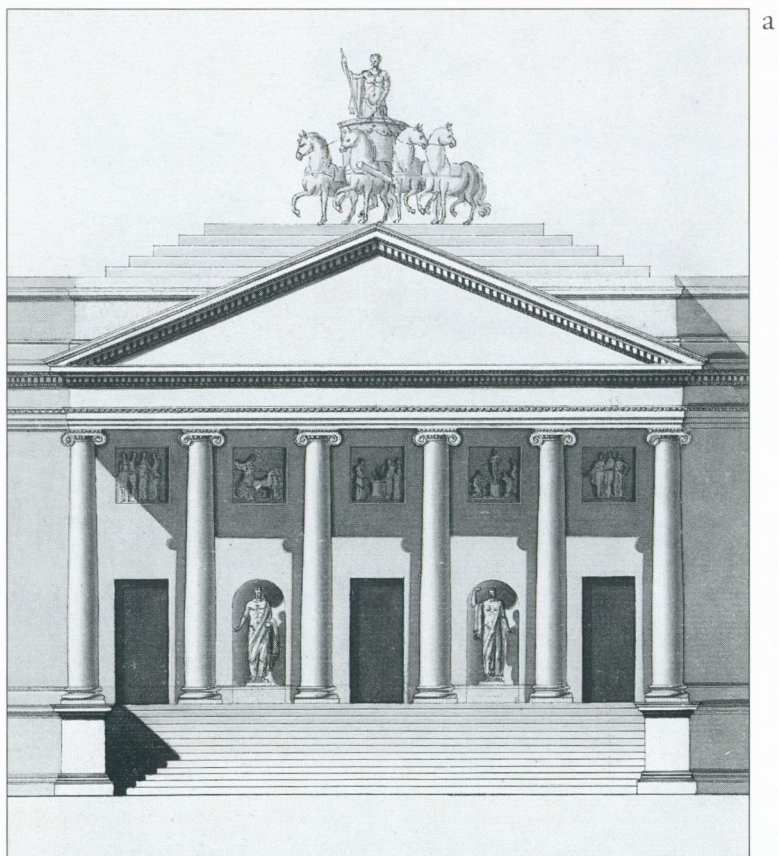


Fig. 8. Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, a: elevation of the garden façade; b: elevation of the sea façade (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.003); c: side façade (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.004)

PLATE 13



a



b

Fig. 9. a: Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, detail of Fig. 8b; b: Reconstruction of the triumphal arch of Titus in Rome by A. J. M. Guénepin

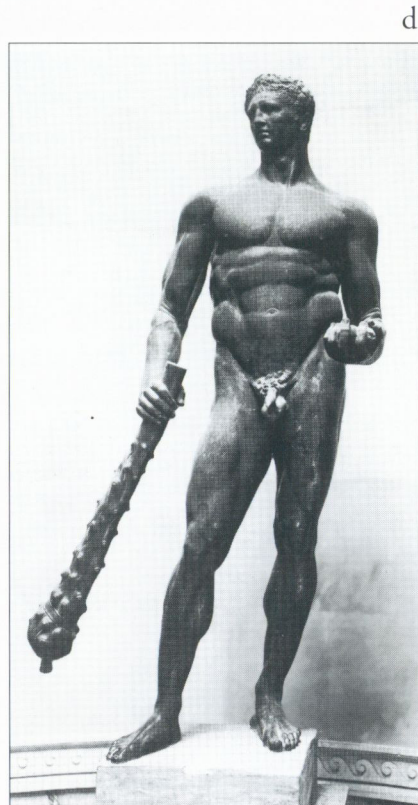
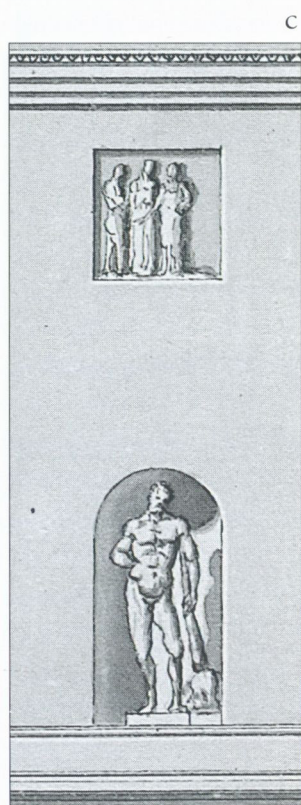
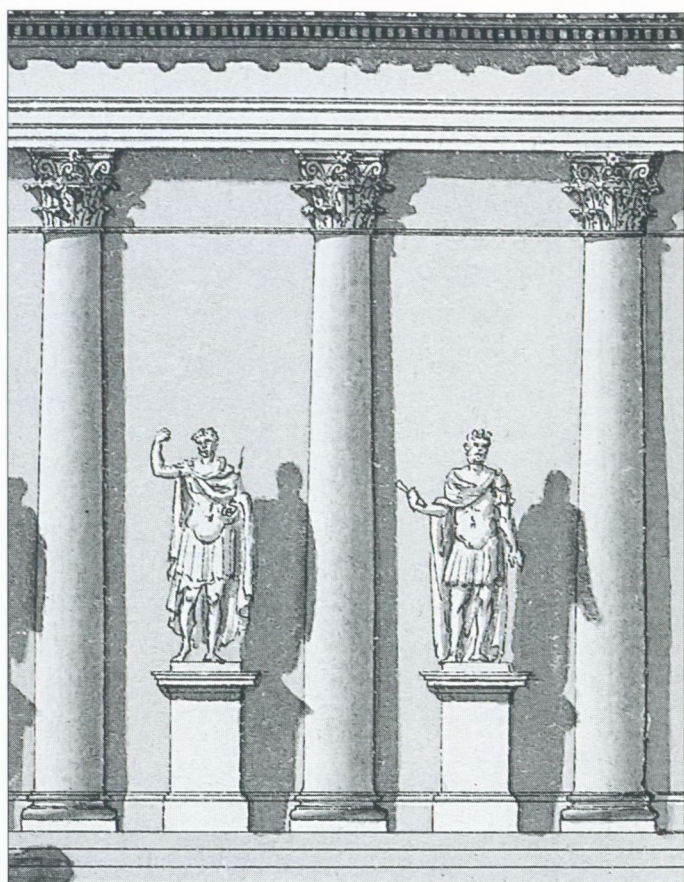


Fig. 10. a: Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, statues of Emperors, detail of Fig. 8a; b: Statue of Emperor Trajan, plaster cast; c: Statue of Hercules on the sea façade, detail of Fig. 8b; d: *Hercules victor*, bronze; e: *Hercules Farnese*, marble

PLATE 15

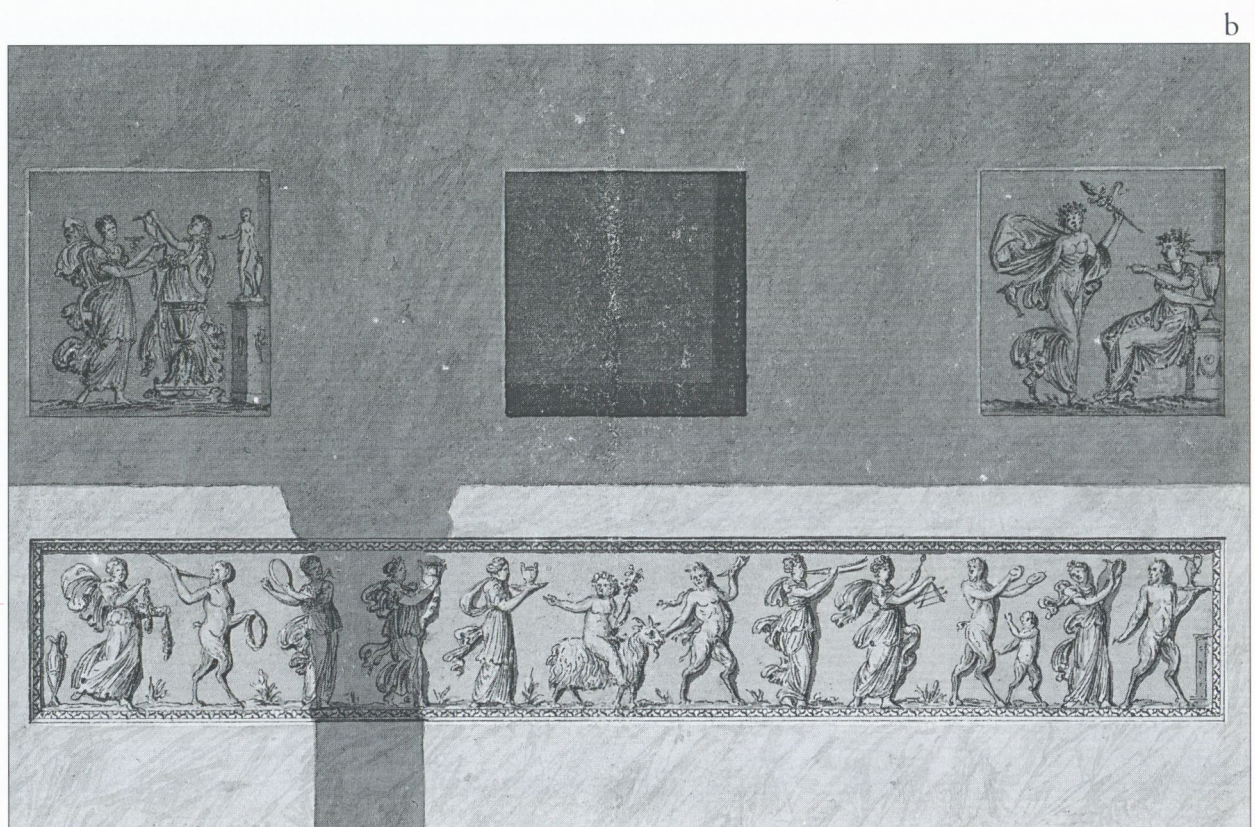
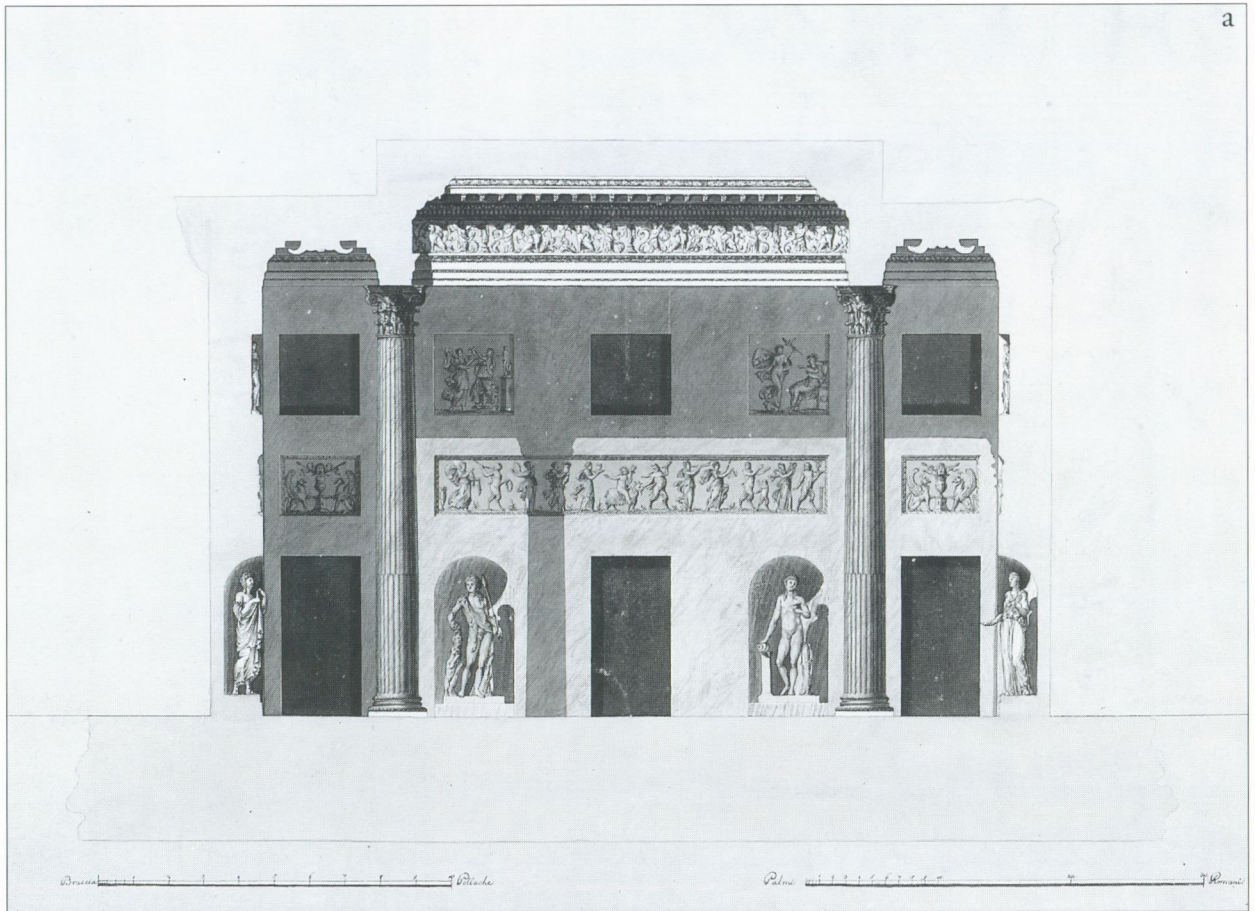
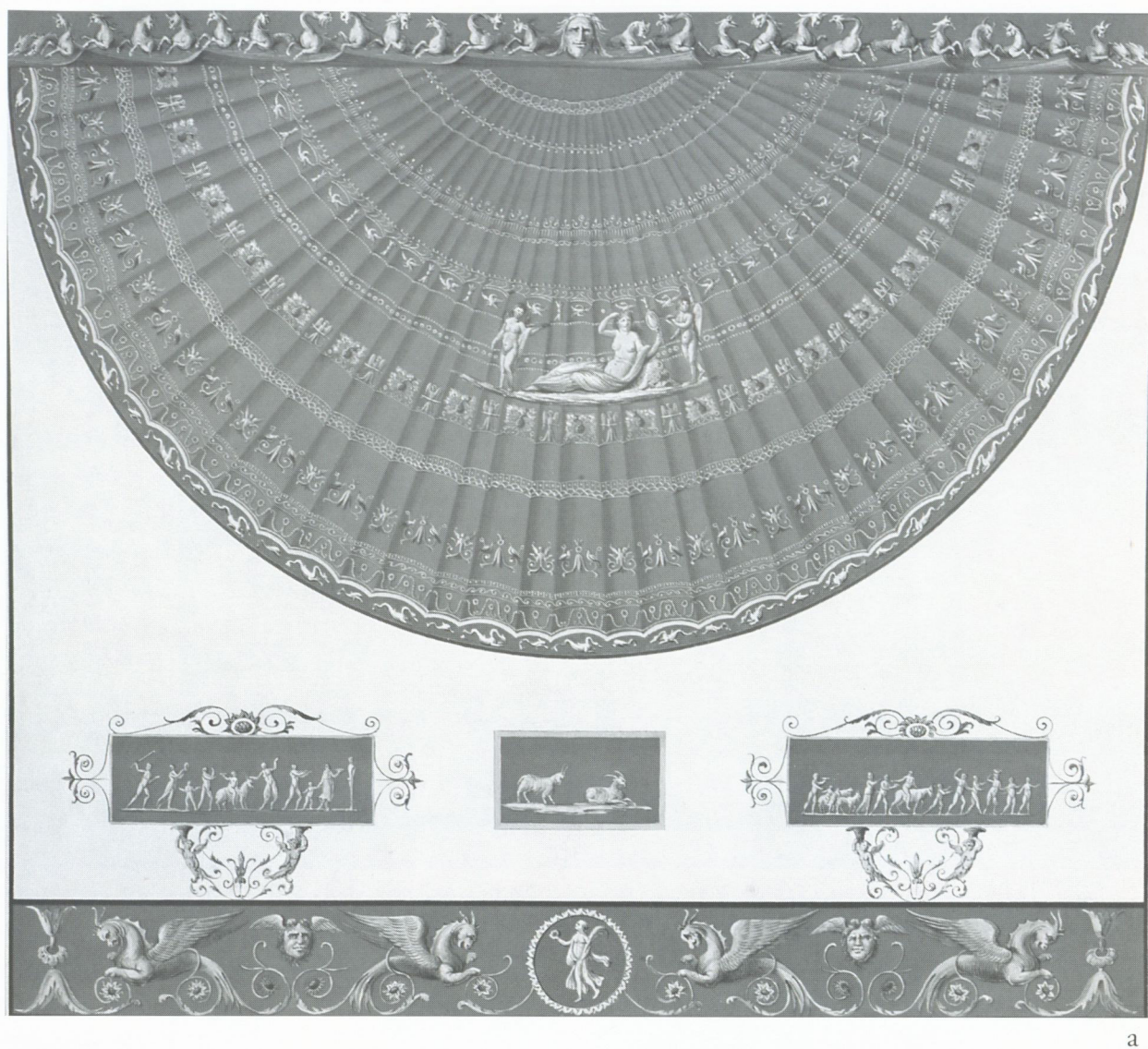
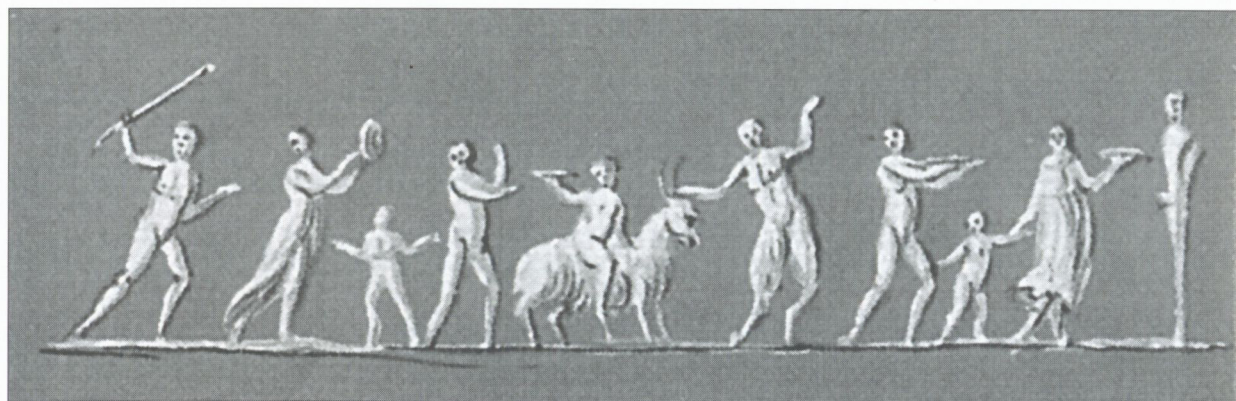


Fig. 11. a-b: Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, cross-section of *triclinium* (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.008).

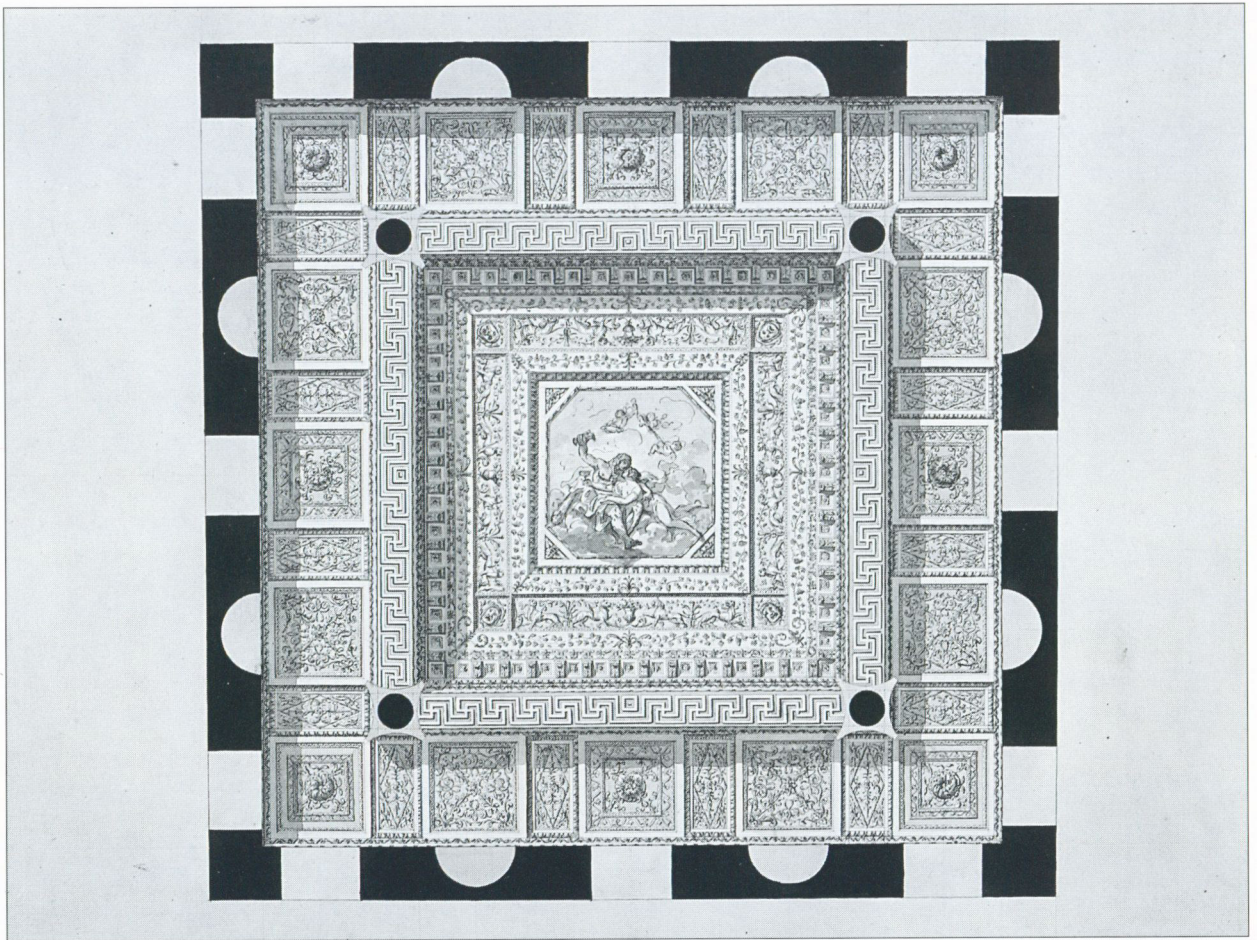


a



b

Fig. 12. a: Carlone, Smuglewicz, Brenna, one of the murals in the Domus Aurea, MNW; b: Dionysiac procession, detail of Fig. 12a

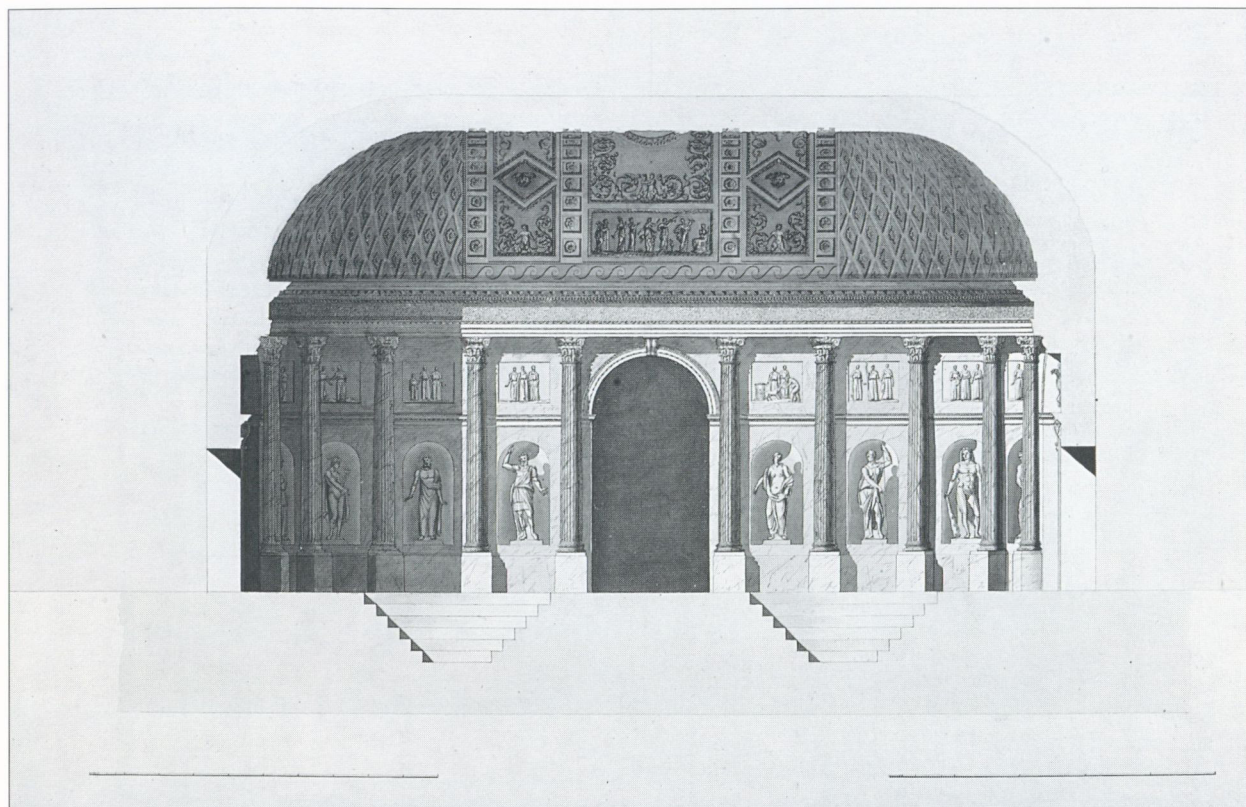


a



b

Fig. 13. a: Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, ceiling of *triclinium* (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.006); b: *Hercules and Hebe*, detail of Fig. 13a



a

b

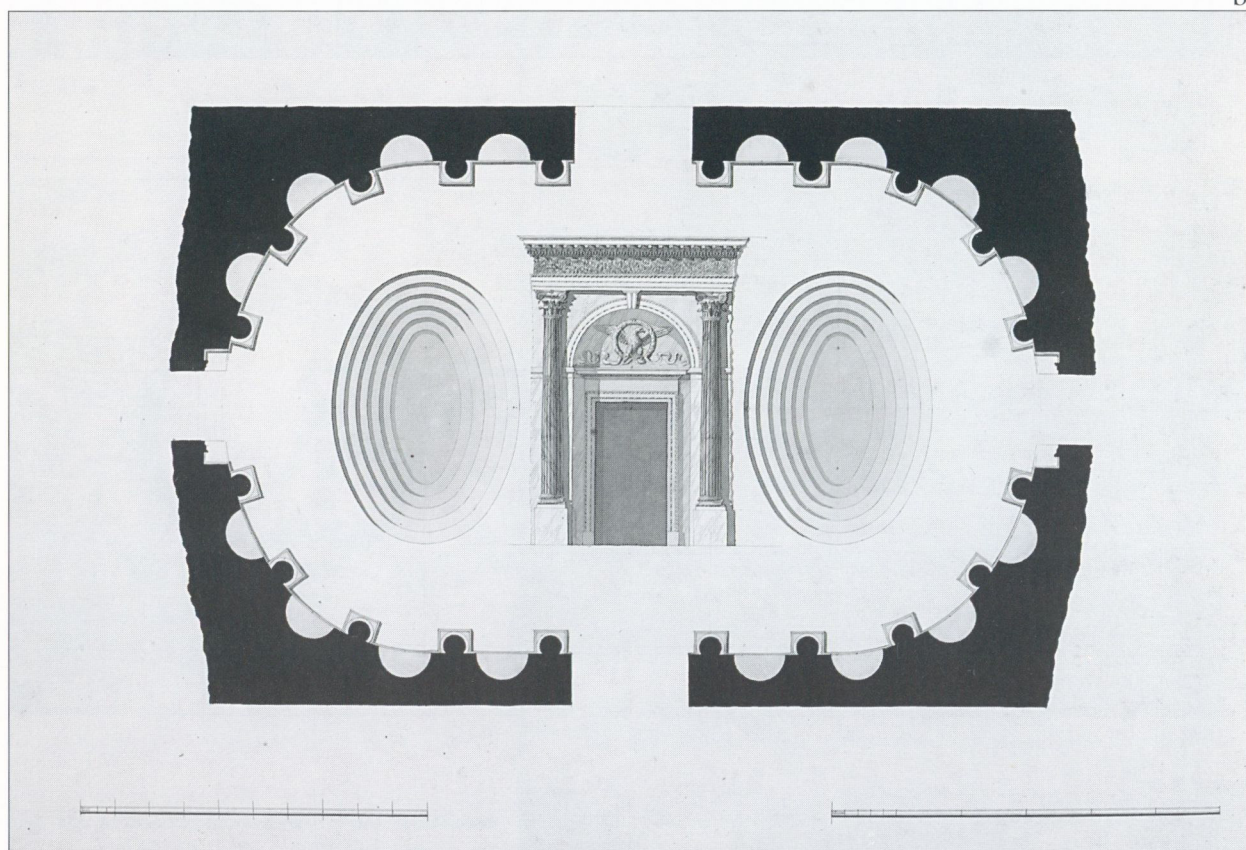
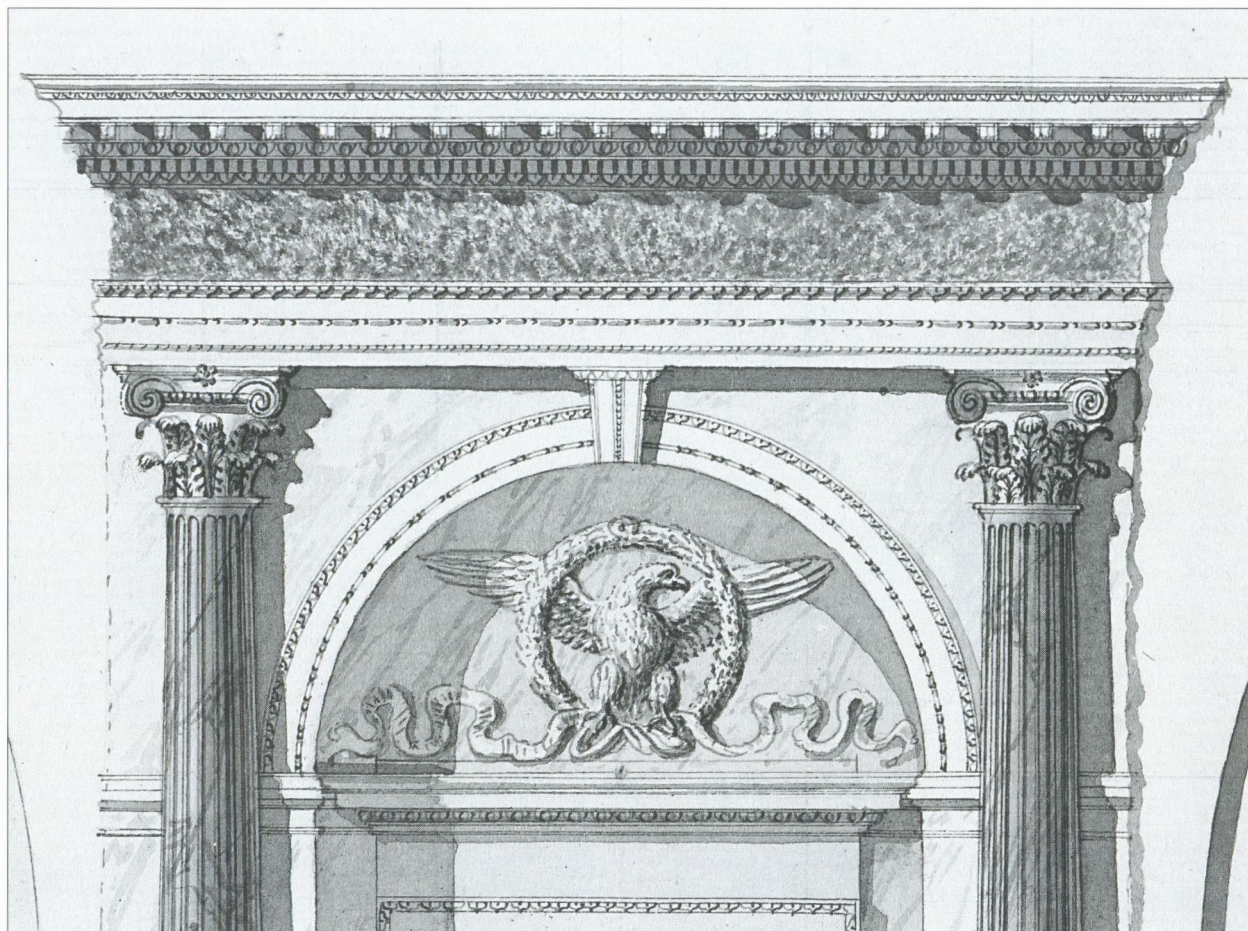


Fig. 14. a: Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, cross-section of baths (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.010); b: Plan and elevation detail of the baths (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.009)

PLATE 19



a

b



c



Fig. 15. a: *Eagle within an Oak Wreath*, detail of Fig. 14b; b: *Eagle within an Oak Wreath*, Trajanic relief at SS. Apostoli, Portico in Rome; c: Benozzo Gozzoli, *Eagle within an Oak Wreath*, drawing

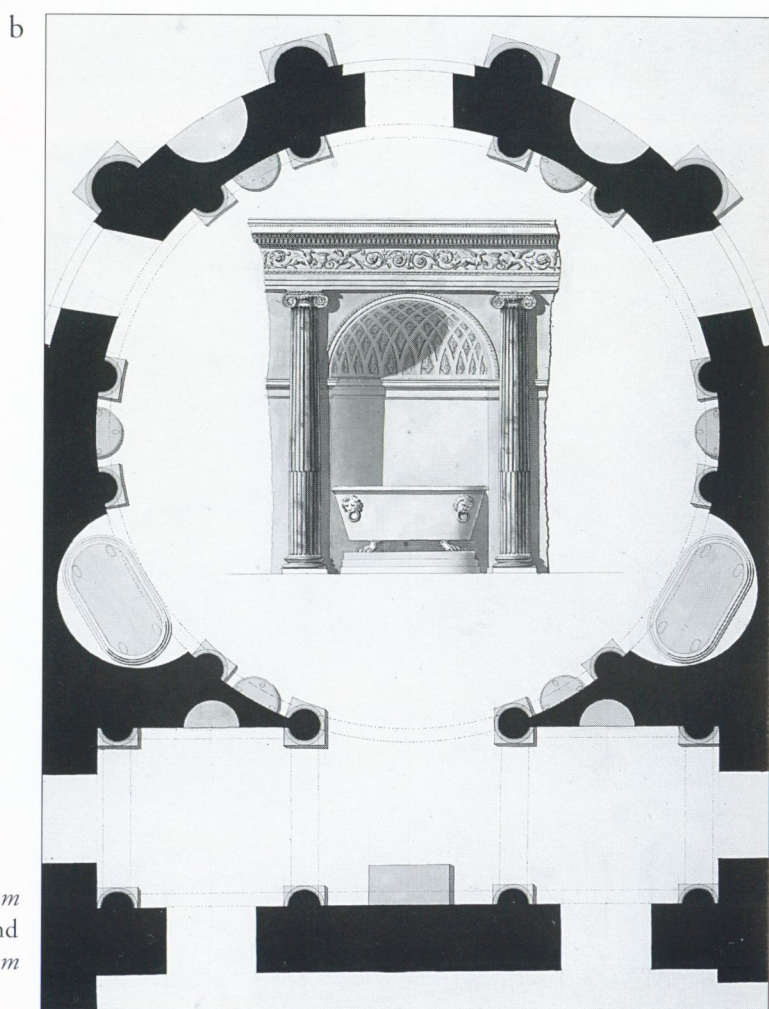
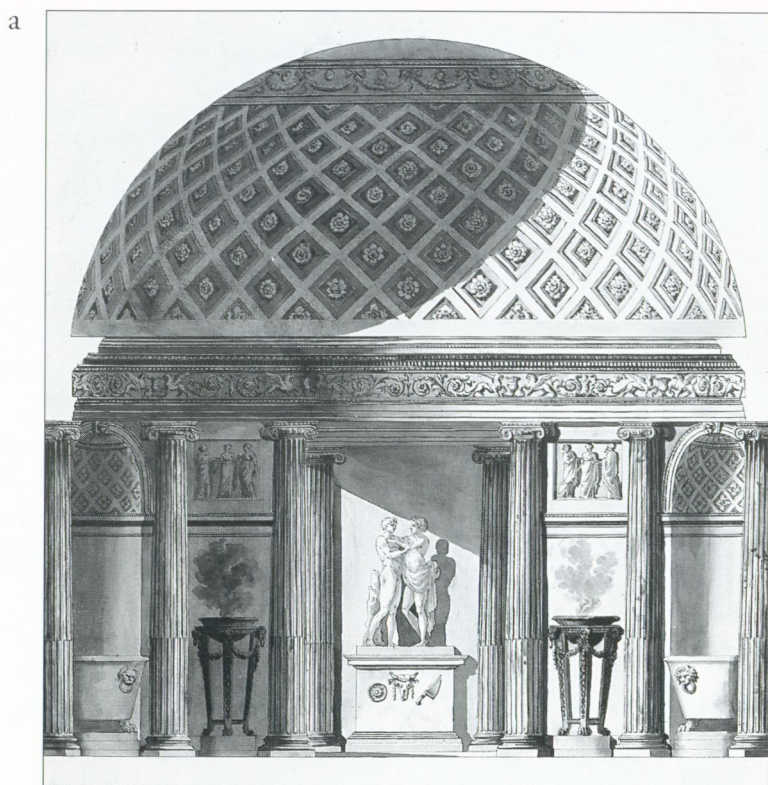


Fig. 16. a: Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, *unctorium* (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.012); b: Plan and elevation detail of the *unctorium* (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.011)

PLATE 21

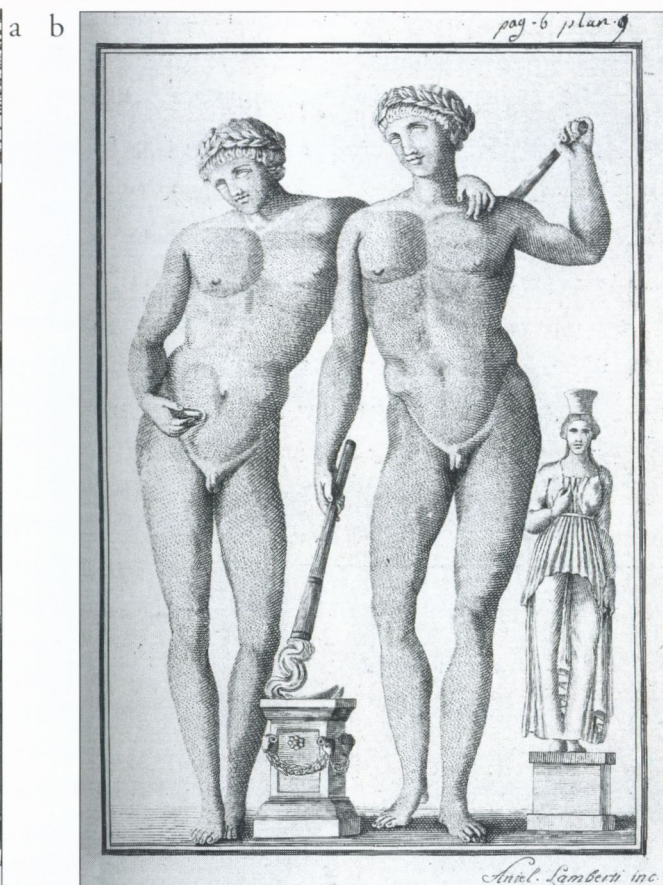
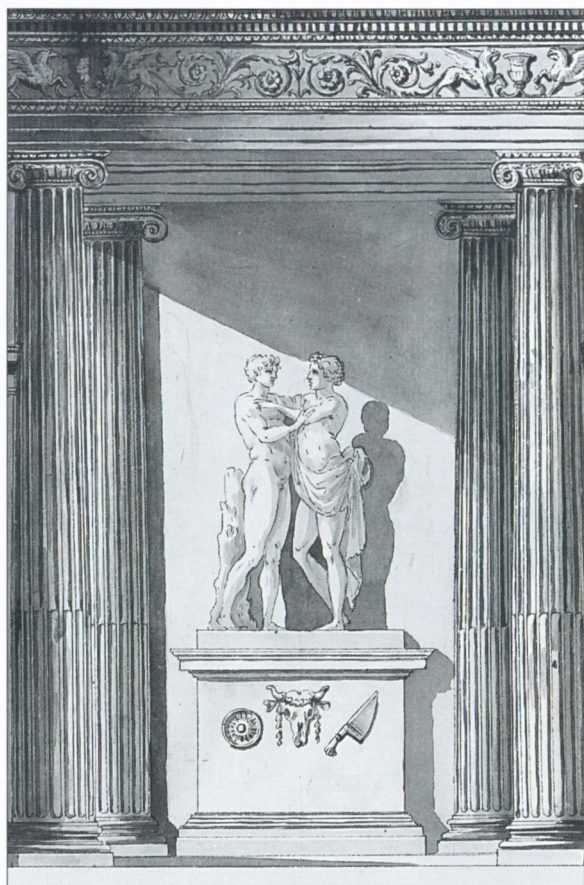


Fig. 17. a: *Unctorium*, detail of Fig. 16a; b: *The Dioscuri*, etching; c: *Amor and Psyche*, etching; d: The implements of sacrifice and the bull's skull, frieze of the Temple of Vespasian at Forum Romanum

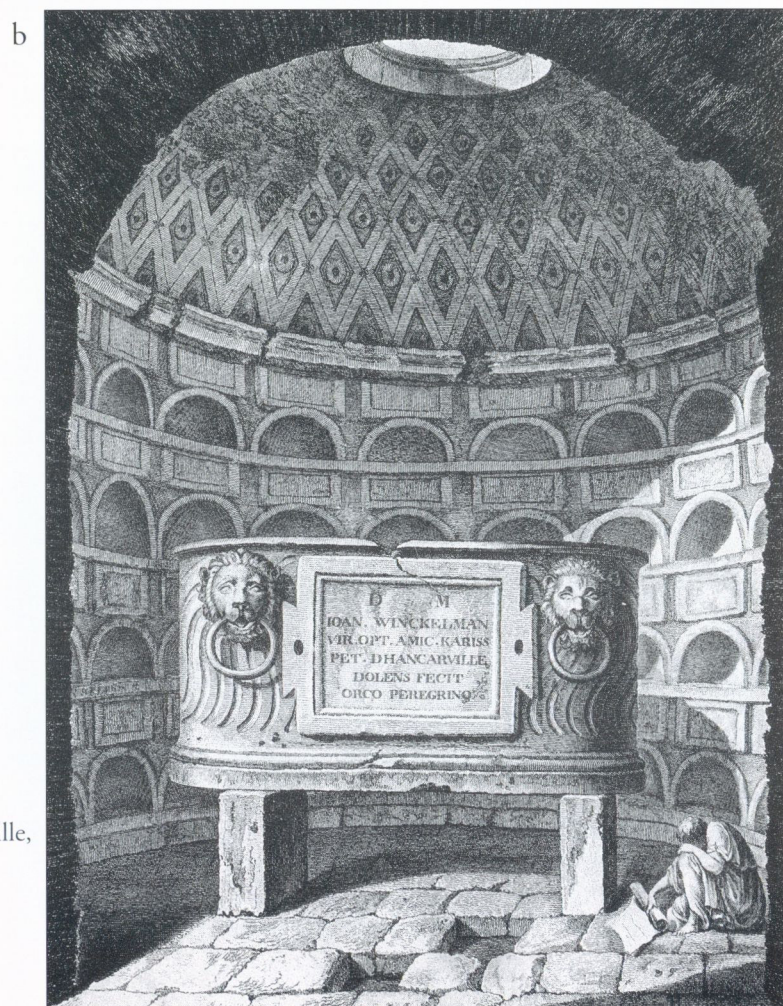
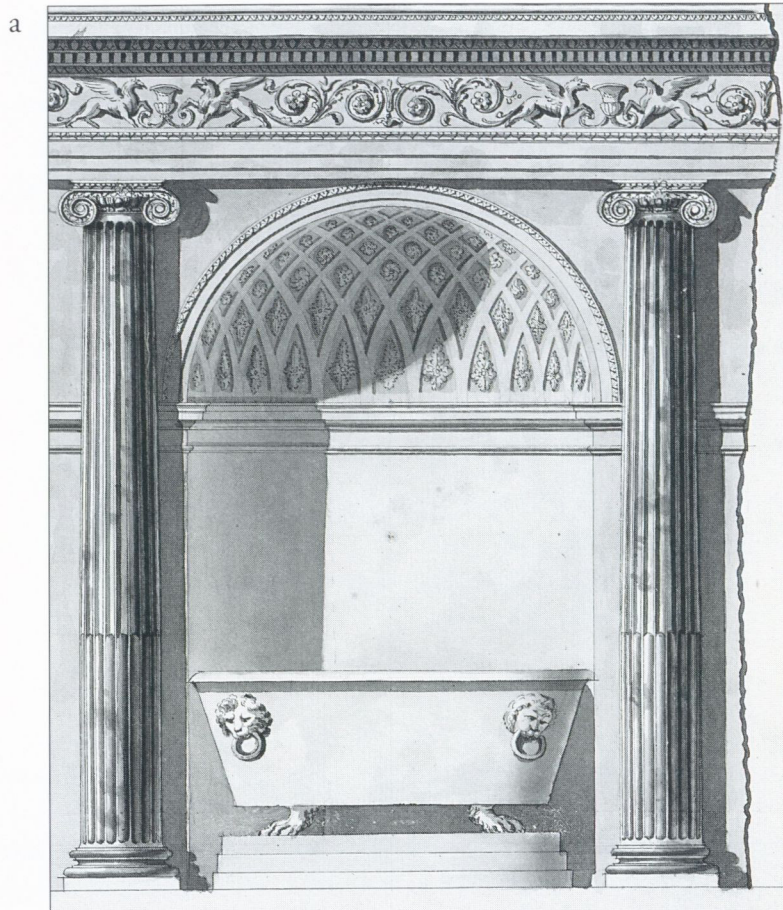
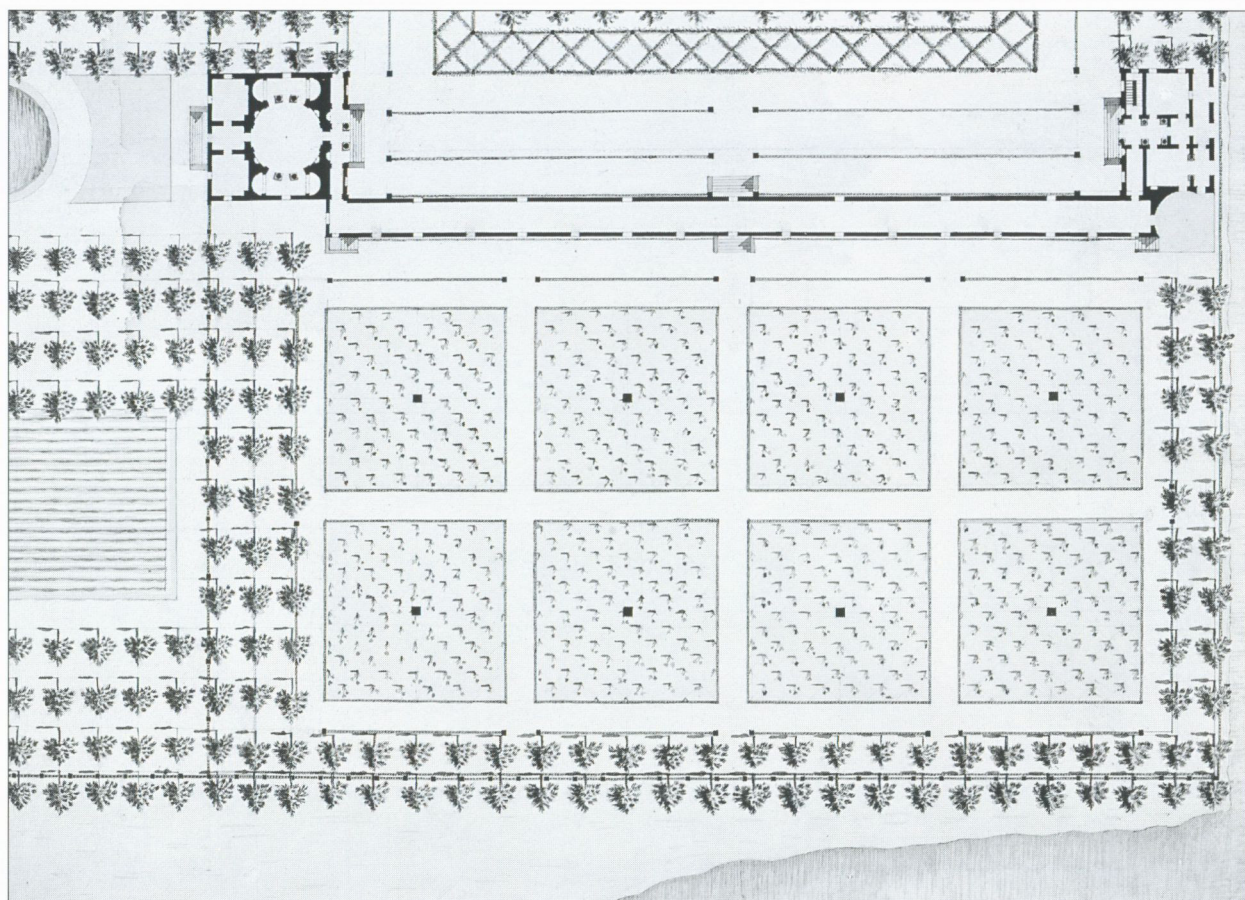


Fig. 18. a: Detail of Fig. 16b; b: D'Hancarville, *Homage a Winckelmann*, etching.

PLATE 23



a

b



c



Fig. 19. a: Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, *criptoporticus* with two pavilions, a detail of Fig. 1; b: Ruins of the *criptoporticus* at Albano; c: Remnants of the *criptoporticus* at Tivoli.

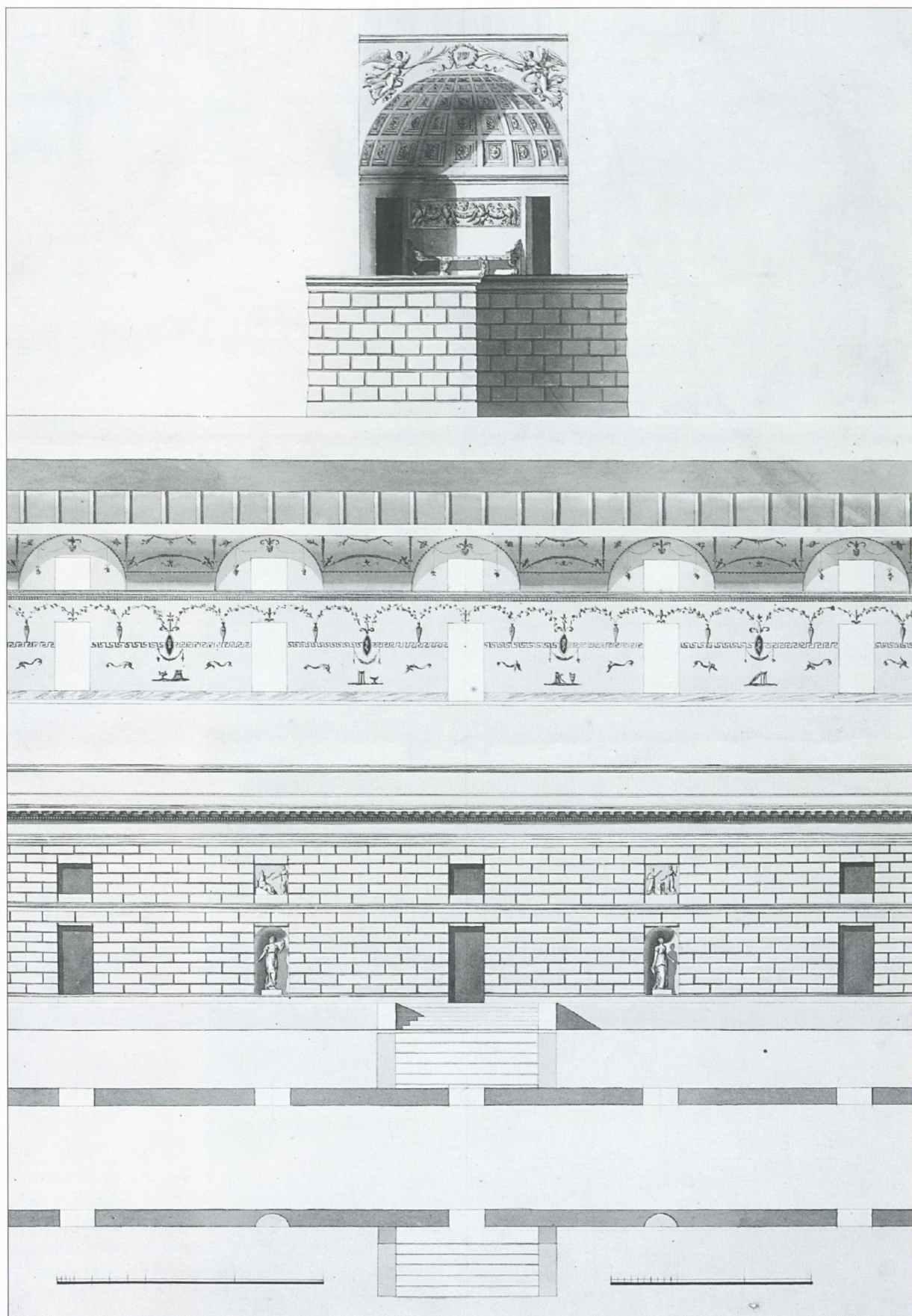
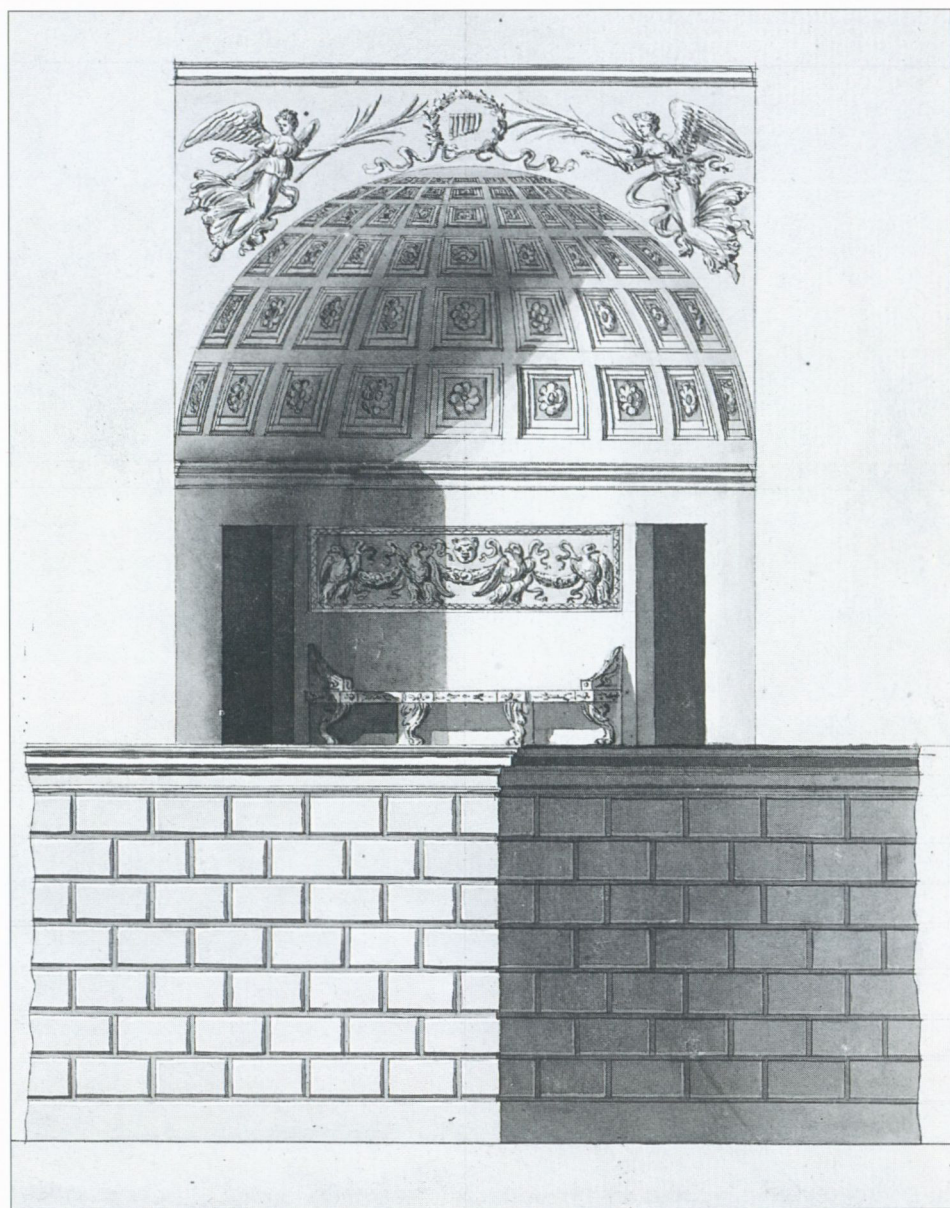
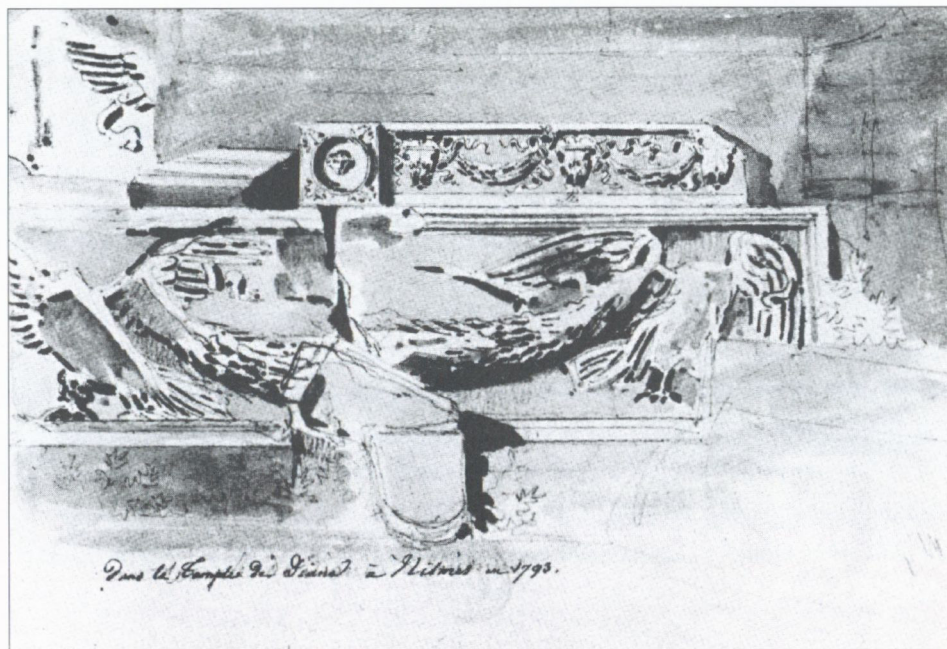


Fig. 20. Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, plan, elevation, and cross-sections of the *criptoporticus* (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.024)

PLATE 25



a



b

Fig. 21. a: *Heliocaminus*, detail of Fig. 20; b: Diploma of the Society of Arcadians for St. K. Potocki, issued on March 23, 1775 (AGAD)

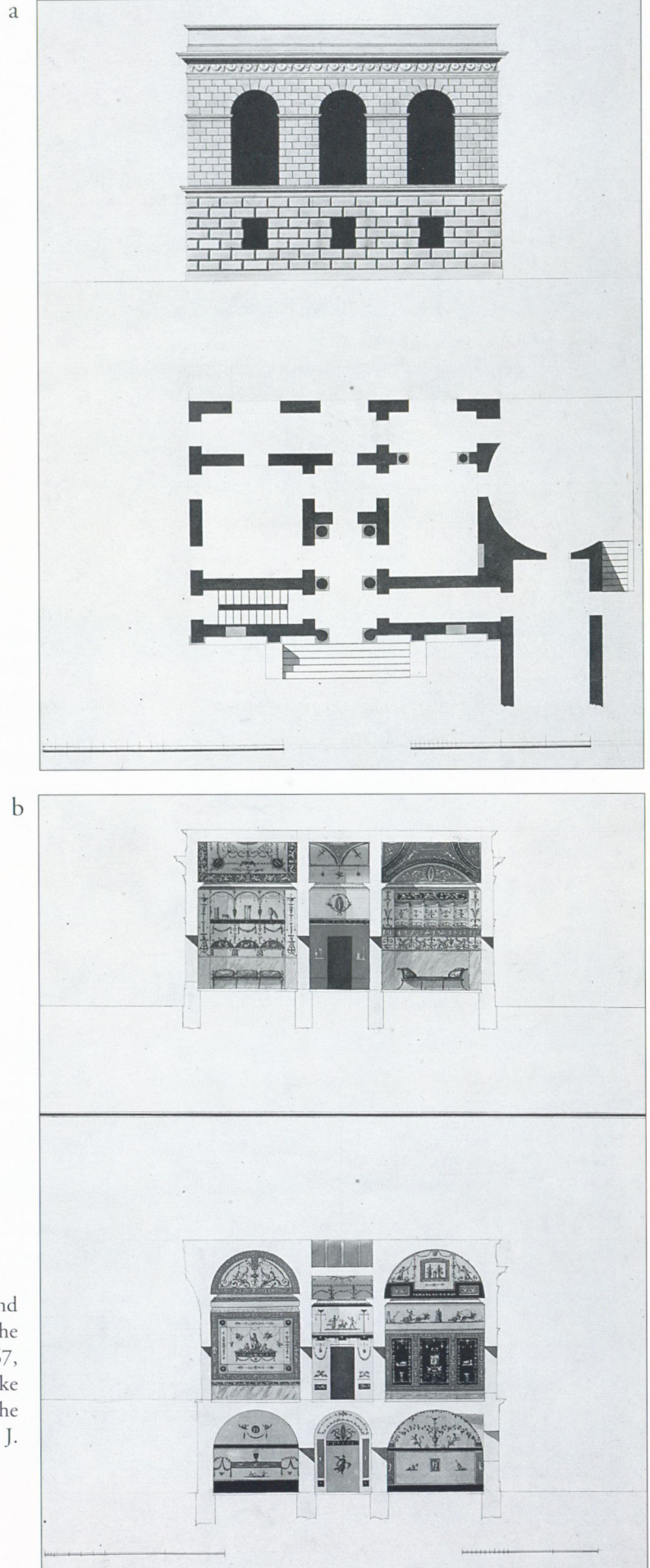


Fig. 22. a: Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, plan and elevation of the water façade of the pavilion with *beliocaminus* (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.022); b: Pompeian-like decoration of both pavilions on the sides of *criptoporticus* (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.023)

PLATE 27

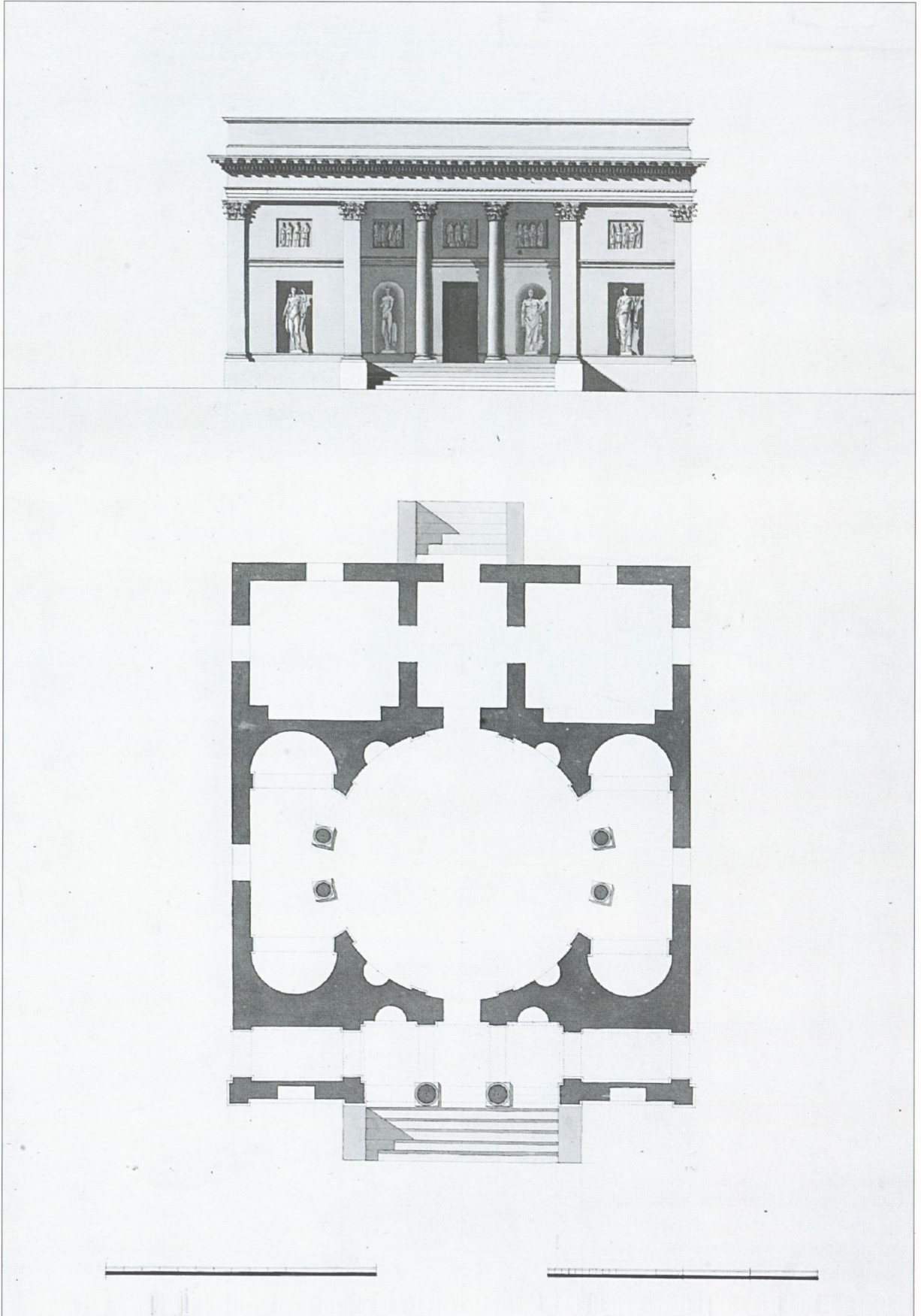
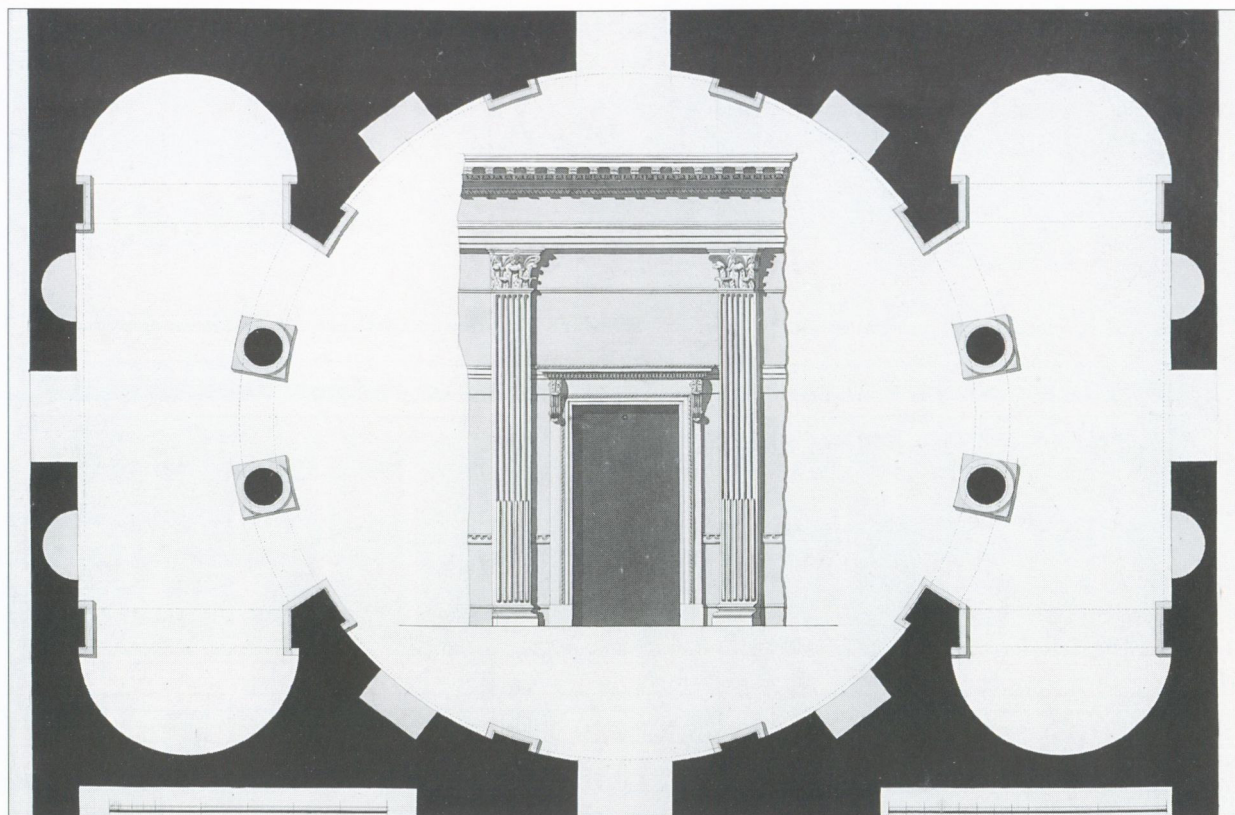


Fig. 23. Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, plan and elevation of pavilion with double-ax-head room (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.020)



a

b

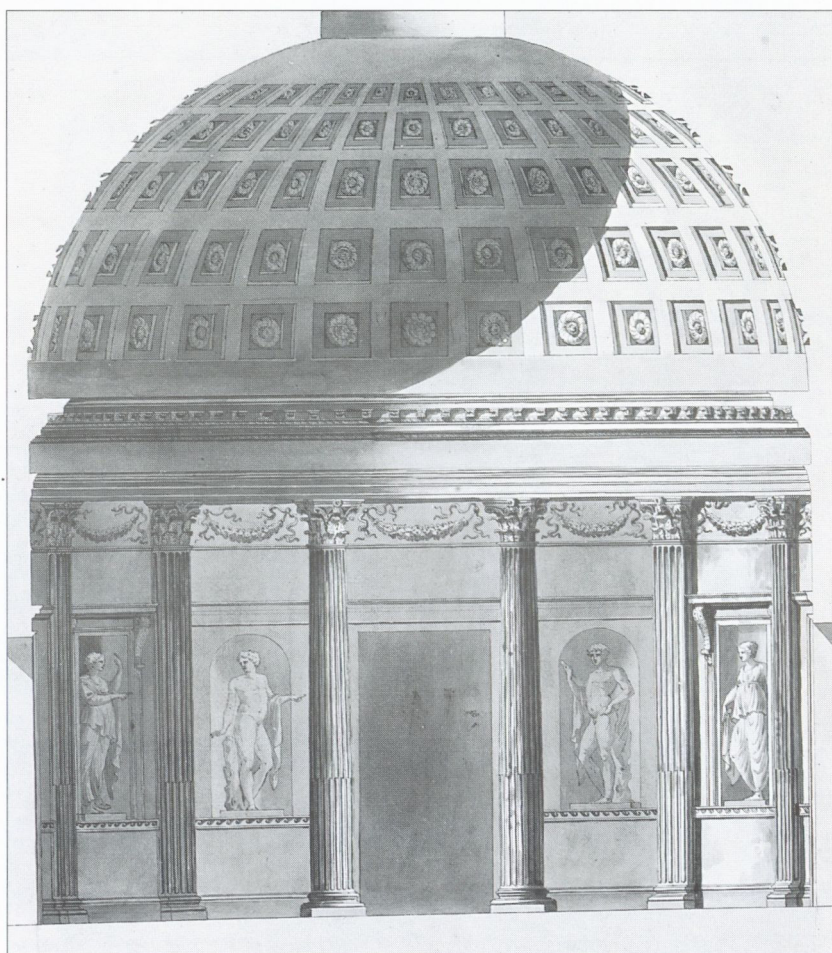


Fig. 24. a: Potocki, *Laurentine Villa*, plan and elevation detail of double-ax-head room (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.021); b: Round room of the garden pavilion (WAF 67, J. Rys. 5.013)

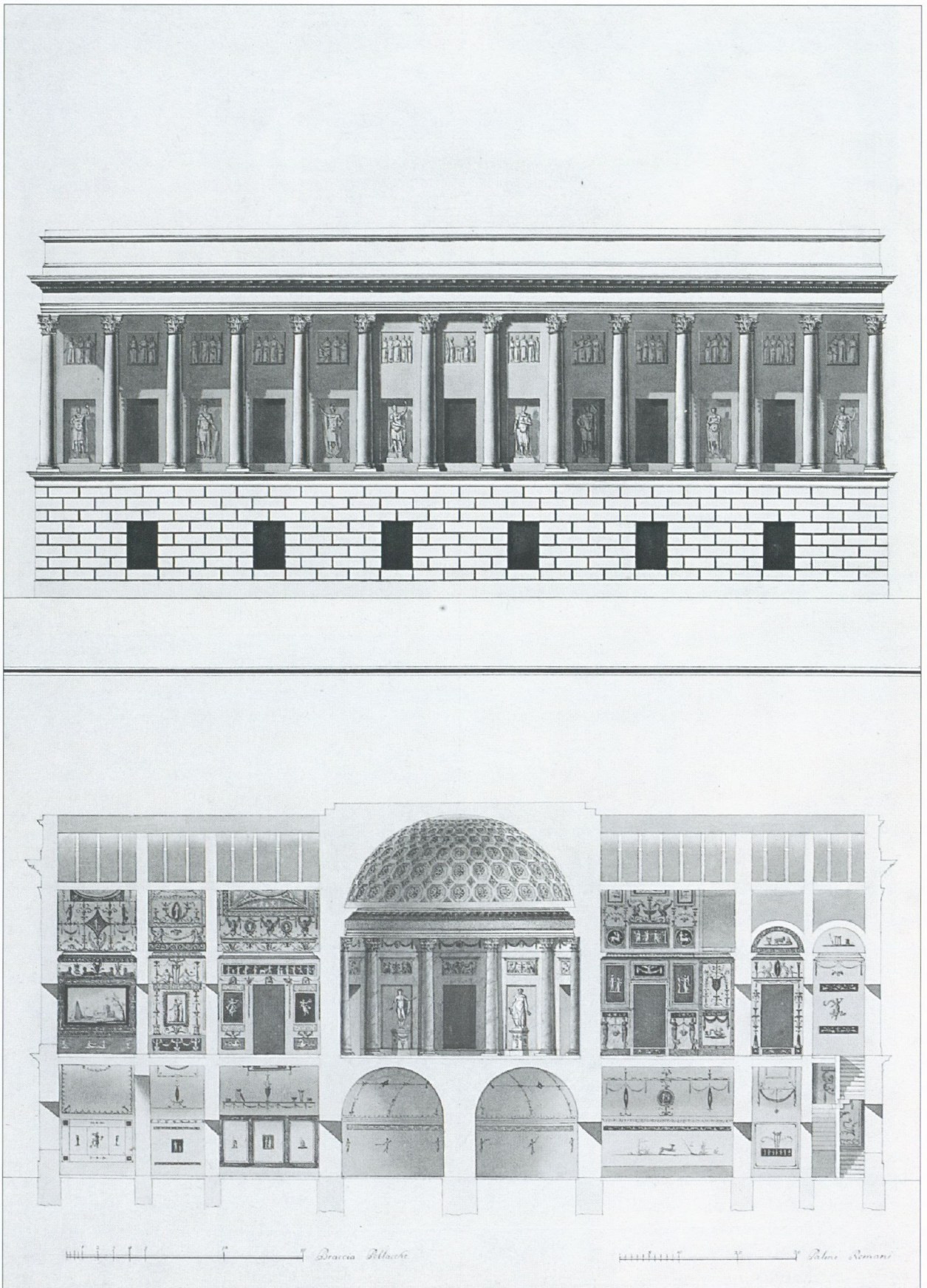


Fig. 25. Potocki, "pendant" to *Laurentine Villa*, elevation and inner decoration (WAF 68, Rys. 5.027)

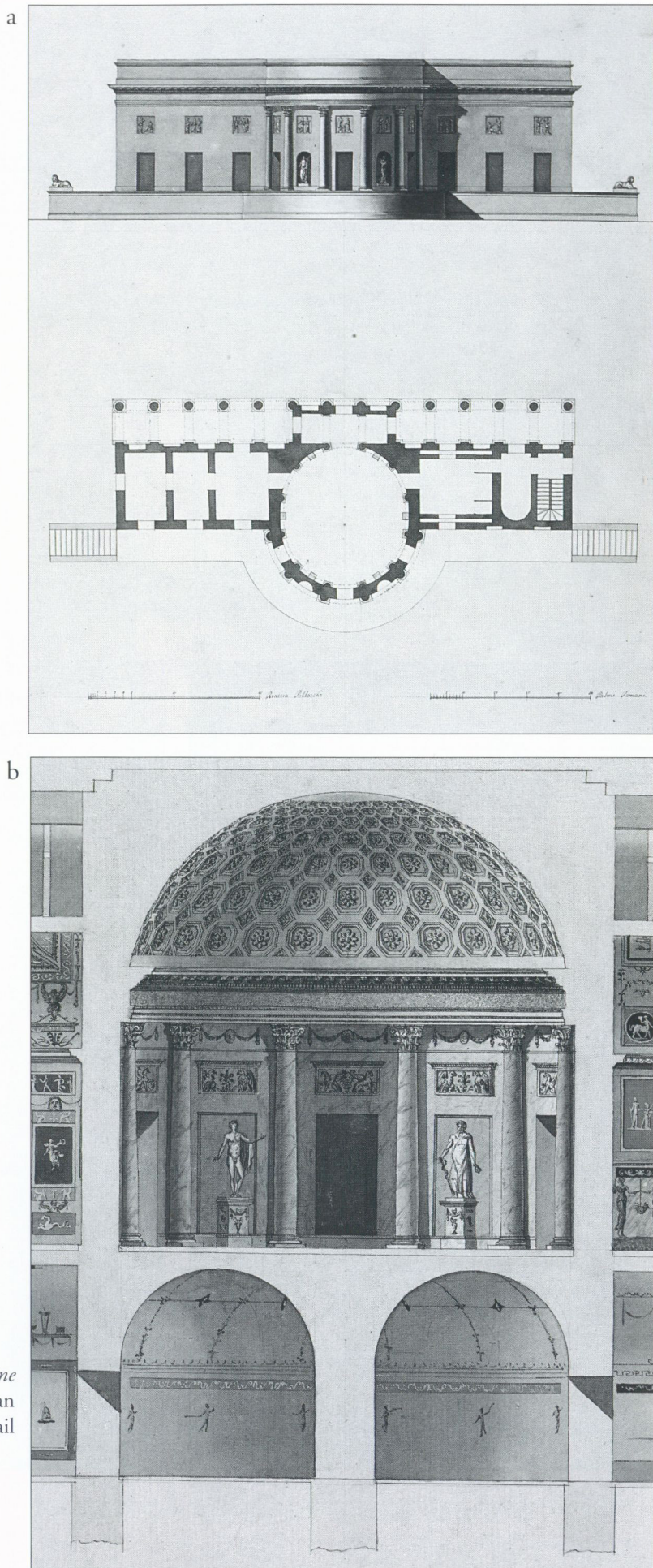


Fig. 26. a: Potocki, "pendant" to *Laurentine Villa*, elevation and ground plan (WAF 68, Rys. J. 5.026); b: Detail of Fig. 25

PLATE 31

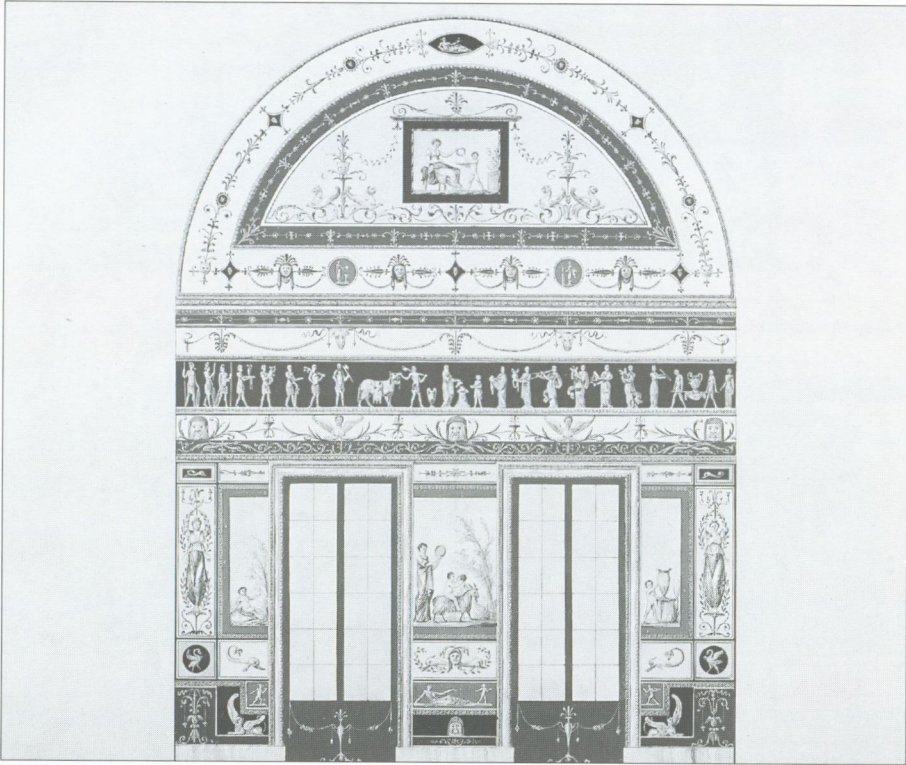
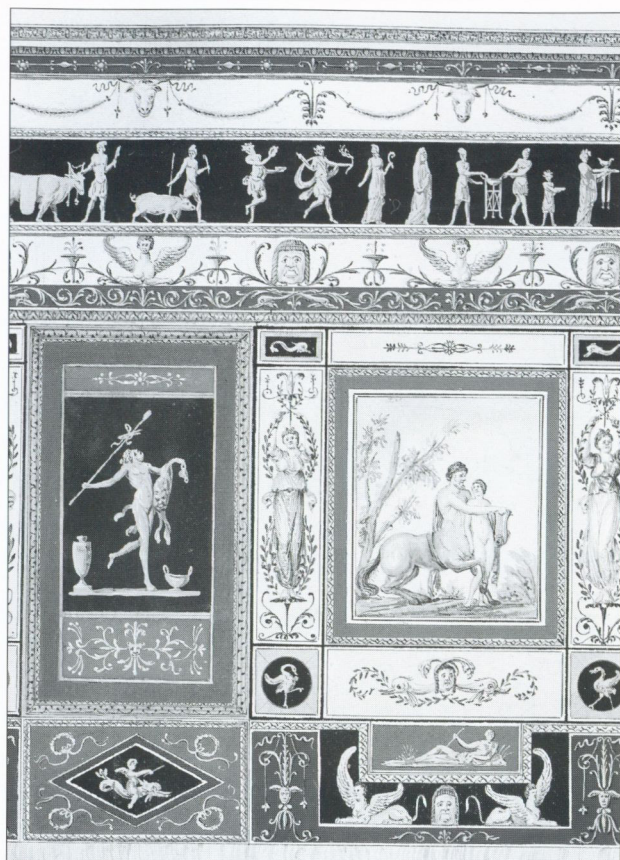


Fig. 27. a: Potocki, project of the decoration of a Villa (WAF 68, J. Rys. 5.027); b: detail of Fig. 27a; c: *Allegorical scene*, after an ancient wall-painting; d: Mirri, Carlone, Smuglewicz, *Two boys on a goat and a woman*, detail of a wall-painting in the Domus Aurea





a



b



c



d



e

Fig. 28. a: Potocki, detail of a decoration of a Villa (WAF 68, J. Rys. 5.028); b: *The Centaur Chiron with Achilles*; c: Ancient marble vase with dancing Maenad; d: gem with dancing Maenad; e: etching of a gem with dancing Maenad

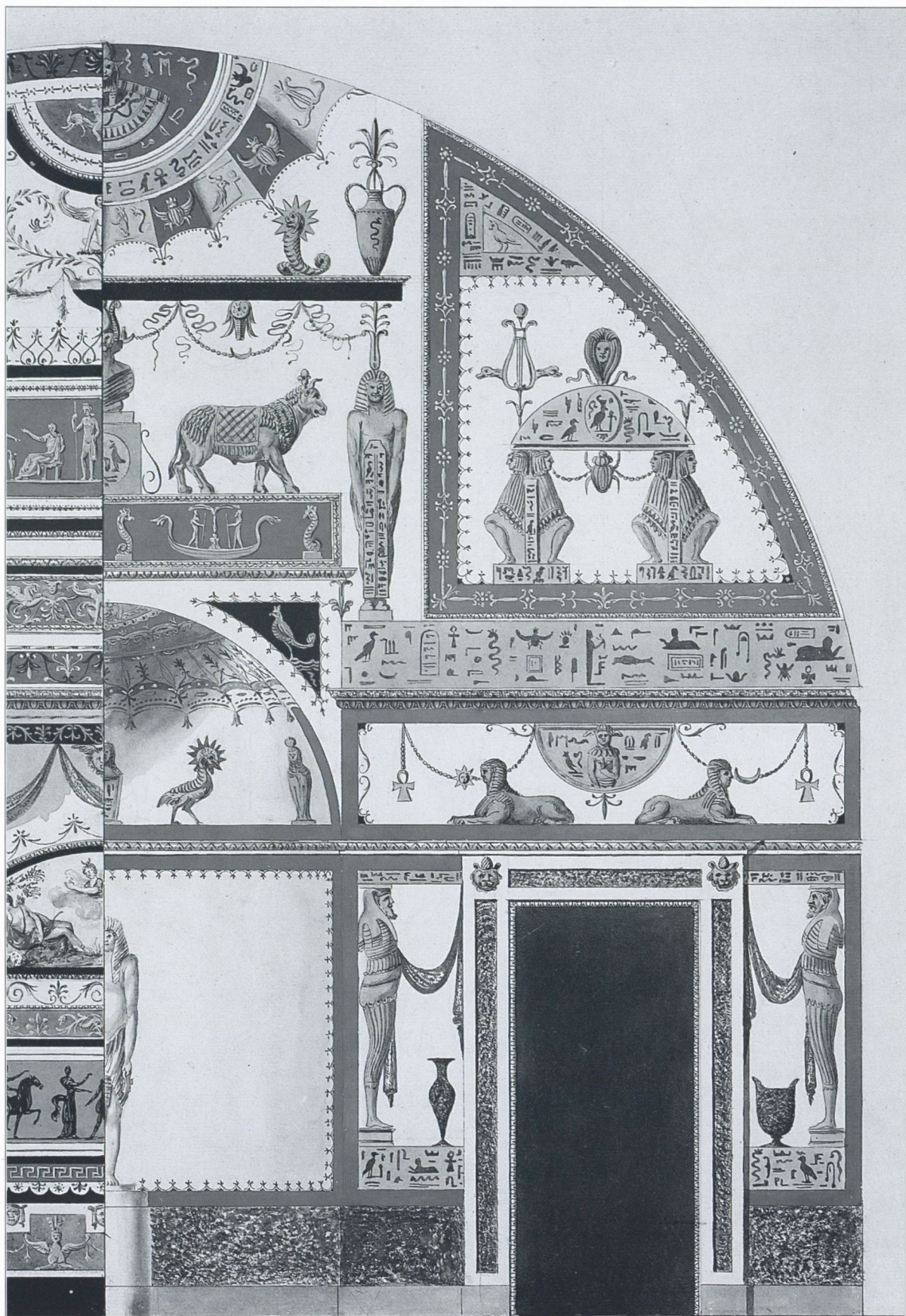


Fig. 29. a: Potocki, decoration of a Villa

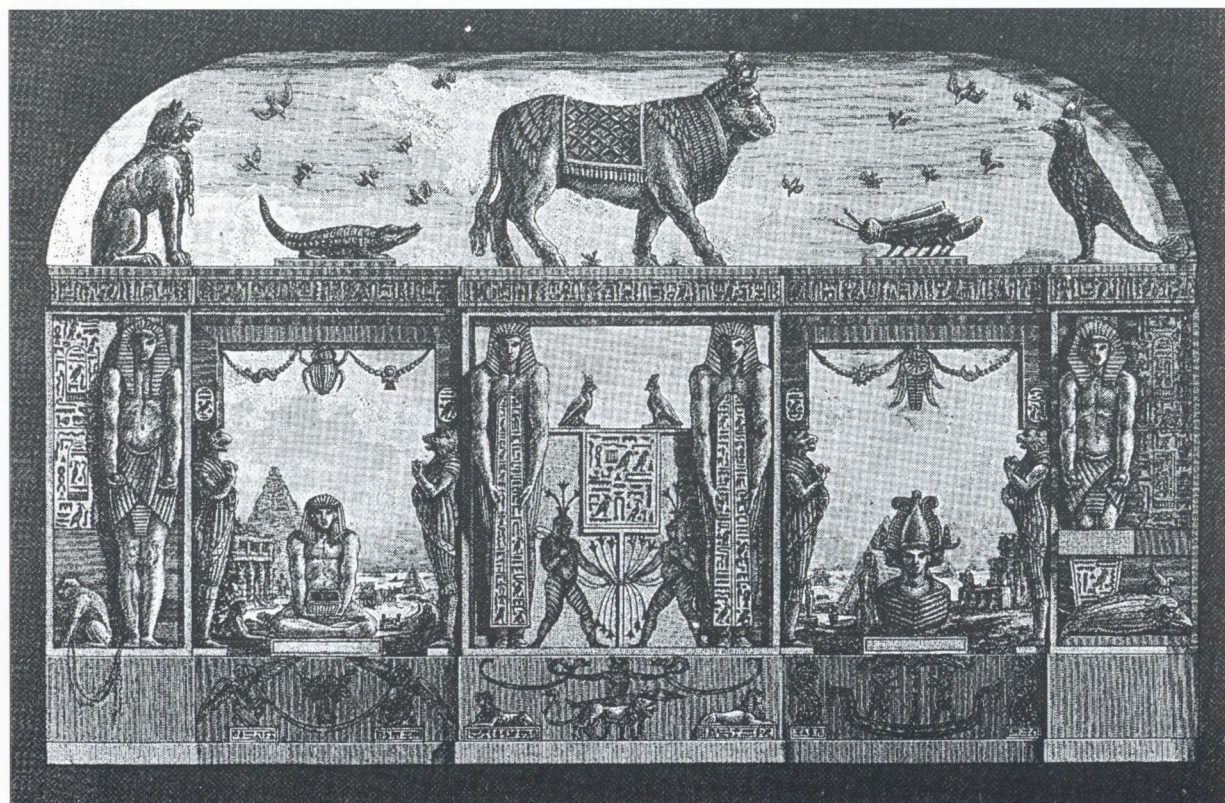
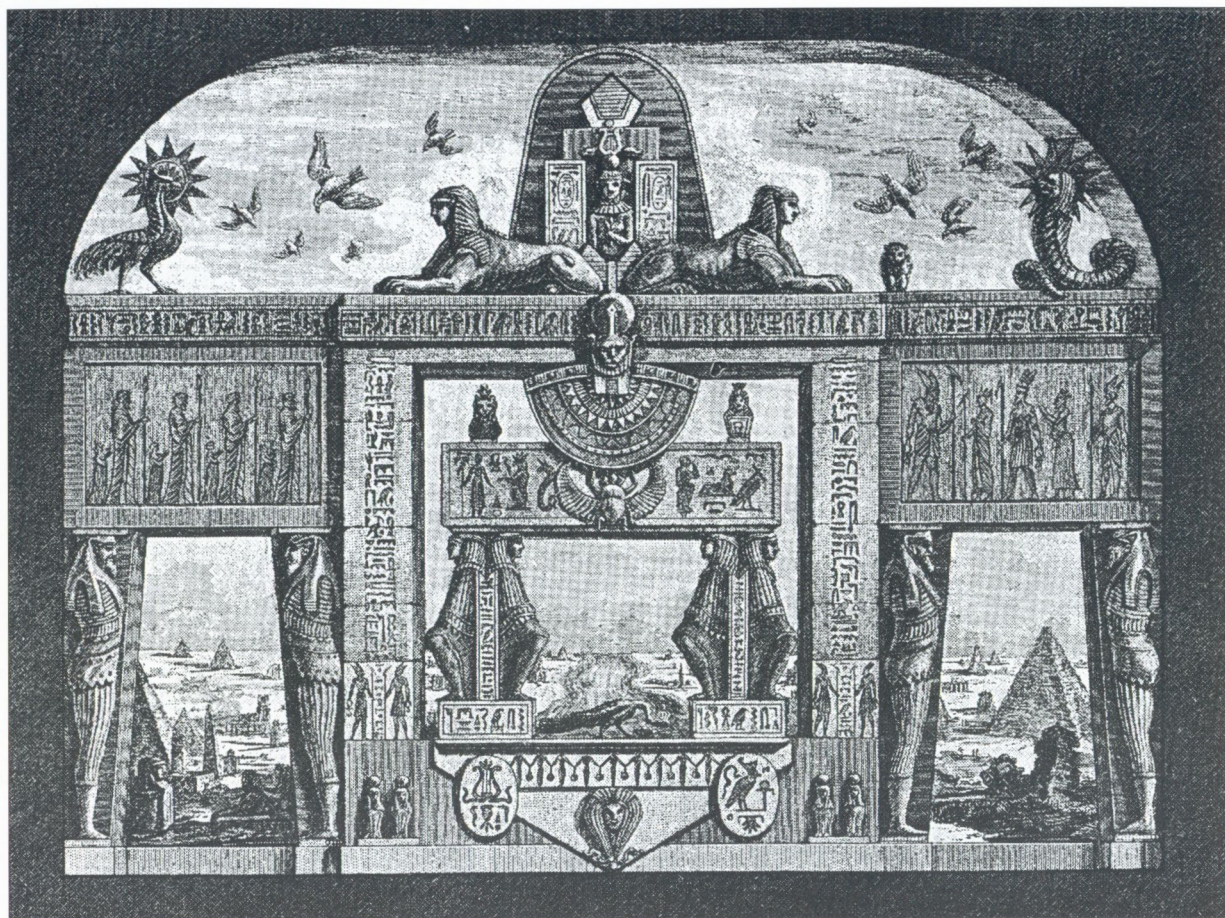


Fig. 29.b: Giovanni Battista Piranesi, decoration of the Caffè dei Inglesi

PLATE 35



Fig. 30. a: Nude Nymph on a Chimera (*L'Esperance nourrit une Chimère*), stucco decoration in the *columbarium* at the High Priest's Sanctuary, Arcadia; b: *Nude Nymph*, etching, *Antichità di Ercolano*