

Portrait of Franciszek Piłsudski as a Knight of the Order of Divine Providence. An overview of an award related to the abduction of King Stanisław August

Portret Franciszka Piłsudskiego jako kawalera Orderu Opatrzności Bożej. Przyczynek do rozważań na temat odznaczenia związanego z porwaniem króla Stanisława Augusta

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21697/an.13470>

AGNIESZKA SKRODZKA
INSTYTUT HISTORII SZTUKI UKSW
ORCID: 0000-0003-4627-7454

The portrait (Fig. 1) is interesting in a few aspects. It represents Franciszek Piłsudski, Kościecha Odmienny coat of arms, who was born on the 15th April 1707 and died on the 2nd April 1791¹. He was a well-known and

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Marcin Łomnicki, the owner of the portrait, for information about the painting and its photographs. I would also like to thank Mr. Roman Olkowski, the curator of the Józef Piłsudski Museum in Sulejówek and the manager of the Collections Department, for all information about the painting and the order and for his help in contacting the owner of the portrait. I am also greatly obliged to Polonika – the National Institute of Polish Cultural Heritage Abroad – for financing my research carried out on 4–11 June 2023 in the Dominican Church of the Holy Spirit in Vilnius, thanks to which I managed to establish links between the Piłsudski family from Franciszek's side and the Dominican Church in the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The results of this research will be included in the publication on this church. See the photograph of the votive plaque with the name of Piłsudski family from the Dominican Church of the Holy Spirit in Vilnius, fig. 2.

¹ Precise date of birth and death of Franciszek Piłsudski

esteemed supporter of Stanisław August in 18th-century Poland. He was also a distant relative of Józef Piłsudski, the Chief of State of the Second Polish Republic, who, in turn, was a direct descendant of Roch Mikołaj Piłsudski. Roch's brother was Ferdynand Ignacy, Franciszek's father². The painting under discussion is probably the only currently known portrait of a Polish personality depicting a rare award – the Order of Divine Providence. The aim of this article is to shed light on this today mysterious award that is scarcely mentioned in literature, and to attempt to answer how Franciszek Piłsudski was awarded the Order of Divine Providence. It will also try to show how this Order is linked to the abduction of Stanisław August mentioned in the title of this article.

have not been confirmed so far. It was accepted that he was born around 1707. Earlier monographs mentioned the year 1713. Date of death after: "Gazeta Warszawska", Supplement, 1791, no. 39, unpag. [p. 6]; also: J. Wolff, *Senatorowie i dygnitarze Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego 1386–1795*, Kraków 1885, p. 288.

² R. Piłsudski, *Kronika rodu Piłsudskich*, Londyn 1988, p. 7–18.



1. Portrait of Franciszek Piłsudski, ca. 1750, private collection. Photo courtesy of the National Museum in Warsaw

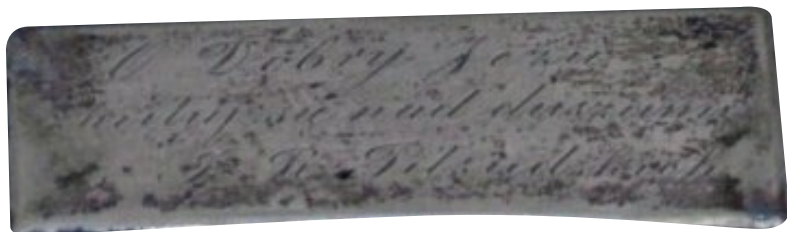
IN THE SERVICE OF THE KING AND THE COMMONWEALTH

Franciszek Piłsudski was born in Samogitia (Żmudź/Žemaitija), most probably in Pajūris (Pojura) village in the Raseiniai County, situated 18 km north-west from Šilalė (Szyłele)³ (Fig. 3). He was born to

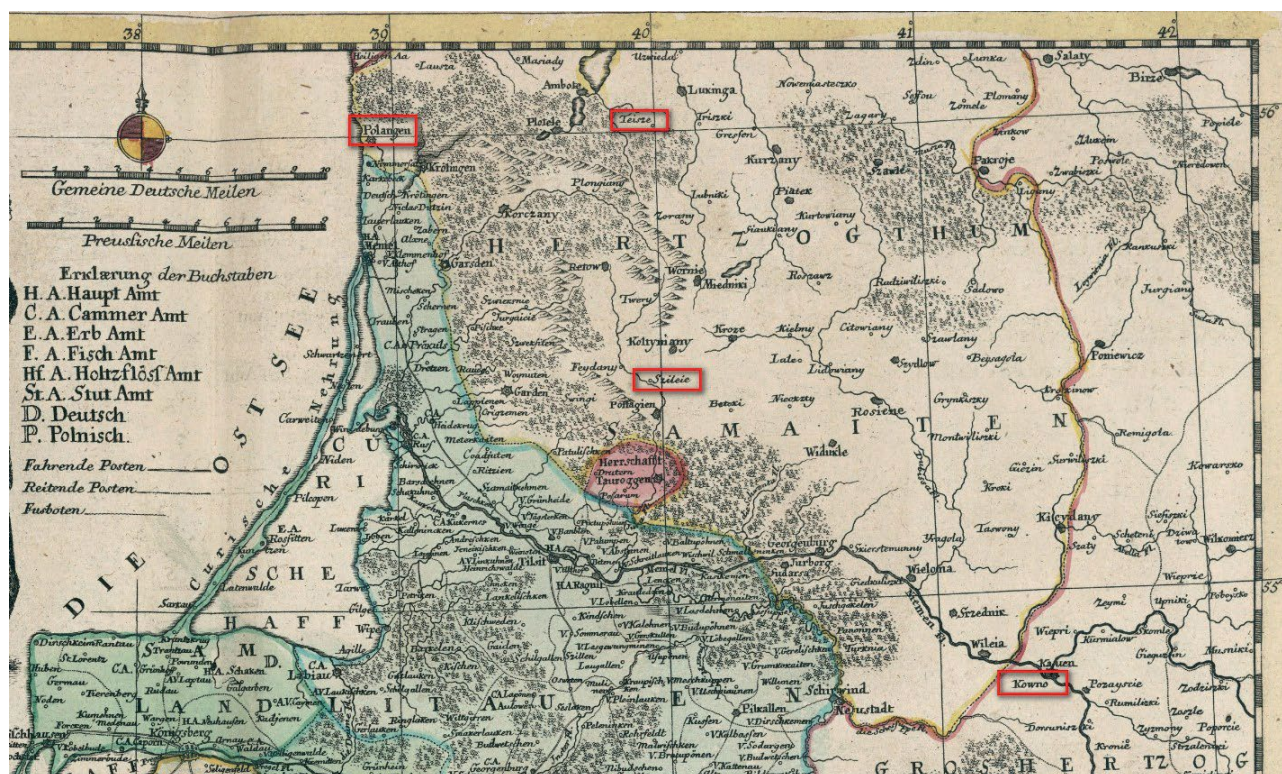
a well-established family descending from the Ginwił (Giniatowicz) family, that had been residing in Samogitia for hundreds of years. He was the eldest son of Ferdynand Ignacy, the *starosta* of Viešvėnai (Wieszwiany) and the guard of Samogitia, and Ludwika née Billewicz, who had four

³ Franciszek's alleged place of birth given after: [https://www.geni.com/people/GD-Franciszek-Pi%C5%82sud-](https://www.geni.com/people/GD-Franciszek-Pi%C5%82sudski-h-w%C5%82/6000000010540219930)

[ski-h-w%C5%82/6000000010540219930](https://www.geni.com/people/GD-Franciszek-Pi%C5%82sudski-h-w%C5%82/6000000010540219930) [access: 18.06.2023].



2. Votive plaque of Franciszek Piłsudski's family from the Dominican Church of the Holy Spirit in Vilnius, the beginning of the 20th century. Phot. A.S. Czyż



3. Duchy of Samogitia (here called Hertzogthum Samaiten) at the times of Franciszek Piłsudski, on a German map *Borussia Regia et Ducalis* by Leonhard Euler, Johann Christoph Rhode and Friedrich Gottlieb Berger, 1753. Phot. after <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY-8-1-290937-90062552:Borussia-Regia-et-Ducalis> [access: 10.08.2023]

more children together. There is no information about Franciszek's early life – his place of residence, education, or travels. He started his public activity with a military career at the age of 20. First, he served in the cavalry unit (*chorągiew*) under Mikołaj Radziwiłł. In the war after the death of Augustus II Sas, he supported Stanisław

Leszczyński. In 1744 Augustus III appointed him the Lithuanian Cellar-Master. Engaged in state affairs, his marital status changed quite late on in life. In 1752, at the age of 45, he married Joanna Renno with whom he had a daughter Aniela. In 1759 he married Mariancella Komorowska née Szemiot with whom he had a son Jan Chryzostom. He was

a deputy to the Sejm and a deputy to the Lithuanian Tribunal four times. In 1764 he voted for the election of Stanisław Antoni Poniatowski to the King of Poland. In 1774 he was recorded as a *ciwun* (Lat. *tivunus*) of Viešvėnai⁴.

A few years before, in 1767, Piłsudski presented Stanisław August with a detailed plan for a project to reinstate an old sea port in Samogitia, in the vicinity of Palanga (Połąga)⁵. In the 16th century, this was a big sea port that was destroyed later by the Swedes. Piłsudski was convinced that its reactivation would be very beneficial for the Commonwealth, not only economically but also politically. He succeeded in obtaining the king's support for this idea. Prince August Sułkowski started trying to secure foreign funds for the realization of the project. Eventually, due to the unfavourable situation in the country and abroad, the plan failed⁶.

Despite this fiasco, Piłsudski enjoyed the king's favour in the years to come. The king regarded him as a prudent statesman selflessly devoted to the service of the

country⁷. Historians believed that before 1776 Piłsudski was decorated with the Order of Providence⁸. In 1779 he was awarded the Order of Saint Stanislaus⁹, and in 1780 he received the high, and highly esteemed, function of Marshal of the Crown Tribunal – doubtless in recognition of his deeds¹⁰. This fact confirms the high standing of Piłsudski as a noble but also his significant wealth and generosity since the Marshal was expected to perform a representative function – i.e. to frequently host lavish feasts and balls¹¹. It is worth quoting an anecdote recorded by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz in his diaries relating to one of the feasts organized by Piłsudski. The Marshal

4 M.T. Obarski, *Piłsudski Franciszek*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 26, ed. E. Rostworowski, Wrocław 1981, p. 308–310; *Urzednicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Spisy*, vol. 3: *Księstwo Żmudzkie XV–XVIII wiek*, ed. and co-authoring H. Lulewicz, P.P. Romaniuk, A. Haratym, Warszawa 2015, p. 346.

5 Stanisław August wrote about this in his diaries, he did not mention Piłsudski though; Stanislas Auguste, *Mémoires*, ed. A. Grześkowiak-Krwawicz & D. Triaire, Paris 2012 (Collection historique de l'Institut d'études slaves. – LXVIII), p. 707.

6 J.A. Wilder, *Marszałek Trybunału Litewskiego Franciszek Piłsudski i jego plan portu pod Połągą*, "Pion", vol. 2, 1934, no. 23(36), p. 3; also: *Projekt Franciszka Piłsudskiego odbudowy portu pod Połągą*, "Rocznik Gdański", vol. 9–10, 1935–1936, p. XVII–XVIII, also four annexes including copies of documents related to the rebuilding of the port, including Piłsudski's autographs, letters of Stanisław August and August Sułkowski on pages XXIX–LII, and a drawing of the port (between pp. XVI and XVII); also M.T. Obarski, op. cit., p. 308–309.

7 Cf. a letter from Stanisław August to Franciszek Piłsudski from 4 January 1780, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich (The Czartoryski family Library), sign. 718, p. 83, after: J.A. Wilder, *Projekt...*, op. cit., p. L.

8 Z. Wdowiszewski, a supplement to an article by E. M. [E. Maliszewski], *Krótką wiadomość o Zakonie Rycerskim „Opatrzności Bożej” p. im. Św. Joachima. (Przyczynek do czasów króla Stanisława Augusta)*, "Miesięcznik Heraldyczny", vol. 11, 1932, p. 202.

9 S. Łoza, *Kawalerowie Orderu Świętego Stanisława 1765–1813*, illustrated by B. Marconi, Warszawa 1925, pp. 31, 87.

10 On the proceedings of the Lithuanian Tribunal in the second half of the 18th century: A. Stankevič, *Lietuvos Vyriausiojo Tribunolo veikla XVIII a. II pusėje: bajoriškosios teisės raida*, daktaro disertacija, Vilnius 2013.

11 Z. Góralski, *Encyklopedia urzędów i godności w dawnej Polsce*, Warszawa 2000, p. 80. See information about celebrations of the anniversary of Stanisław August's coronation held in Vilnius in 1780, during which the then Marshal of the Tribunal (probably unmentioned by name Franciszek Piłsudski) "gave a splendid ball with dinner during which toasts to His Majesty's health were accompanied by the firing of cannons": "Gazety Wileńskie", 1780, no. 49, unpag. [p. 2]. See also remarks regarding the participation of the Lithuanian Tribunal Marshals in state and quasi-state celebrations: B. Manyś, *Wileńskie aniwersarze imienin Augusta III w świetle prasy informacyjnej z epoki. Opracowanie i edycja źródłowa*, Poznań 2016; A.S. Czyż, *Impreza z okazji imienin Augusta III i święta Orderu Orła Białego w pałacu Sapiehów na Antokolu w Wilnie, czyli o pożytkach z czytania osiemnastowiecznej prasy*, in: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. M. Walczak, K. Wiszowata-Walczak, vol. 15, Białystok 2023, p. 71–88.

came up with a sophisticated concept related to the aesthetics of the dishes served – a proof of his vivid imagination. Colours of the dishes were to match the colours of uniforms of Lithuanian counties¹². The guests were surely delighted by this folly and remembered it for a long time.

After his Tribunal success (the term ended in 1781) Piłsudski counted on further advancement to his career and soon started applying for other offices: Great Scribe of Lithuania, voivode of Polotsk, the general *starosta* of Samogitia, voivode of Vitebsk, castellan of Trakai and castellan of Minsk. These efforts were fruitless¹³. At that time Piłsudski affiliated himself with a faction of the infamous bishop Józef Kossakowski and stood against Antoni Tyzenhauz who was oppressing Lithuanian peasants. Since Stanisław August perceived attacks on Tyzenhauz as a camouflaged manifestation of resentment towards himself, it is possible that it was the reason behind Piłsudski's unsuccessful application to other reputable positions¹⁴. In 1789 he resigned from the position of the Lithuanian Cellar-Master and withdrew from political life to his ancestral Šilalė. The decision was probably triggered by unfulfilled ambitions, old age and deteriorating health. He was a supporter of Stanisław August until the end and sought that his descendants followed suit. His efforts were emphasized in his obituary in "Gazeta Warszawska": "always calling his only son to his side, he would repeat to him and his nephews – so that they

have it imprinted in their hearts – that they should remain loyal to the Polish monarch, that they should always be faithful to their name and never stop serving their country and he would always finish the conversation saying: *Non solum nobis nati sumus; ortusq[ue], nostri partem patria vindicat, partem amici*"¹⁵ [Not for us alone are we born; our country, our friends, have a share in us; Marcus Tullius Cicero, *On Duties*, 1, 22].

Working as an official Piłsudski always took care about enhancing the prestige and reputation of his family and strengthening his personal authority. In order to achieve this, he engaged his means and efforts into artistic patronage over both religious and secular art. It is possible that it was him who was noted in the *Słownik geograficzny* as "citizen Piłsudski" [*sic!*], who in 1750 erected a timber church dedicated to Saint John in Pajūris village¹⁶ – Franciszek's alleged birthplace. What is confirmed by sources is that in 1758 in Viešvėnai (about 7 km south-east of Telšiai/Telsze) he and his first wife, Joanna Renno, founded a small wooden church near the Piłsudski manor. Mindaugas Paknys established that the church was dedicated to the Holy Virgin Mary and not to the Holy Trinity as it has been believed until now¹⁷. Benefactors furnished the church with all necessary items and liturgical vessels, however, it is not known if they took care of

12 J.U. Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, vol. 1, edition and introduction by J. Dihm, Warszawa 1957, p. 153; J.K. Ostrowski, *Portret w dawnej Polsce*, Warszawa 2019, p. 314, fn. 314.

13 More in: W. Filipczak, *Ekonomie litewskie w polityce sejmikowej Stanisława Augusta po upadku Antoniego Tyzenhauza (1780–1783)*, "Przegląd Nauk Historycznych", vol. 5, 2006, no. 1(9), pp. 263–265.

14 M. Kuźma, *Dwugłos w sprawie Antoniego Tyzenhauza – Józef Kossakowski i Stanisław August Poniatowski*, "Napis", 2005, Series XI, p. 355.

15 "Gazeta Warszawska"..., op. cit., unpag. [p. 6].

16 *Pojurze*, in: *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. B. Chlebowski, W. Walewski after F. Sulimierski, vol. 8, Warszawa 1887, p. 537.

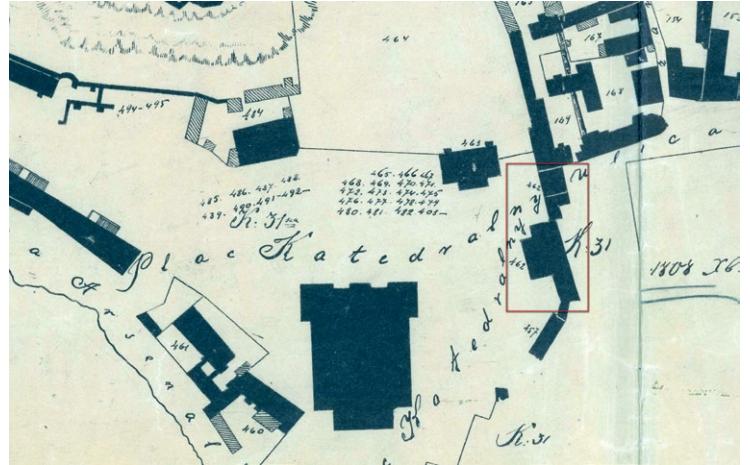
17 M. Paknys, *Viešvėnų bažnyčios*, „Acta Academiae Artium Vilmensis”, vol. 28, 2003, p. 86. Before: J.A. Wilder, *Projekt...*, op. cit., p. XVIII, fn. 5; M.T. Obarski, op. cit., p. 309; R. Piłsudski, op. cit., p. 17; *Wieszwiany*, in: R. Aftanazy, *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 4: *Województwo wileńskie*, part 1: *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie*, Wrocław 1993, p. 489.

4. Cathedral Square in Vilnius in 1808 with the building of the Lithuanian Tribunal marked with no. 462, a fragment. Phot. Vilniaus regioninis valstybės archyvas

the endowment¹⁸. The building was in use until 1850, however, in the first half of the 19th century it gravely deteriorated and required major renovation. In the end, it was demolished and a new church was erected in its place. In 1769 Piłsudski founded a church in Šilalė, a village bought by his father, Ferdynand Ignacy in 1712. In this little town Franciszek – like his father – spent the last years of his life¹⁹. This time the church

¹⁸ *Wieszwiany*, in: *Słownik...*, op. cit., vol. 13, Warszawa 1893, p. 426; R. Piłsudski, op. cit., p. 17; *Wieszwiany*, in: R. Aftanazy, op. cit., p. 489; M.T. Obarski, op. cit., p. 309; M. Paknys, op. cit., p. 86. S. Czernski erroneously attributed the foundation of the church to Augustus III: S. Czernski, *Opis żmudzkiej diecezji*, Wilno 1830, p. 38.

¹⁹ *Szytele*, in: *Słownik...*, op. cit., vol. 12, Warszawa 1892, p. 108–109; R. Piłsudski, op. cit., pp. 15–17; M.T. Obarski, op. cit., p. 309; *Szytele*, in: R. Aftanazy, op. cit., vol. 3: *Województwo trockie, Księstwo Żmudzkie, Inflanty Polskie, Księstwo Kurlandzkie*, Wrocław 1992, p. 288–290; M. Paknys, op. cit., p. 86. Piłsudski's foundation is not mentioned in: I. B[uszyński],



was built with bricks which proved his growing ambitions, better financial standing and fast developing career. The building was probably erected in the place of the old church in which his father was buried. In this way, the new church could be seen as a family mausoleum as Franciszek was also

Opisanie historyczno-statystyczne powiatu rossieńskiego guberni kowieńskiej z dodaniem listy poprawnej generalnych starostw b. księstwa żmudzkiego i popisu szlachty żmudzkiej 1528 r., Wilno 1874, p. 137–138.



5. Józef Peszka, *The View of the Vilnius Cathedral (back)*, 1808. On the left the building of the Lithuanian Tribunal. Phot. Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka

buried in its crypt – probably on the 5th April 1791²⁰. It can be assumed that the church was dedicated to Saint Francis as having the founder's name in the church's dedication guaranteed him a long-lasting reputation and the protection of the patron saint. This church was demolished at the beginning of the 20th century and in its place a contemporary church dedicated to Saint Francis was erected.

Piłsudski also wanted to be remembered as a guardian of the building in which he performed his Marshal duties. In 1780, at his own expense, he refurbished “for public convenience” a court hall in the building of the Tribunal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Vilnius castle²¹, which for sure added to his prestige and recognition. This event was even commemorated by a composition titled *Wiersz z okoliczności zreperowania Sali Trybunalskiej w Wilnie r. 1780*. [A poem on occasion of repairing a Tribunal Hall in Vilnius in 1780] written by either Piłsudski himself or commissioned on his request²².

Piłsudski also proved to be an adept landlord, showing ingenuity and practical economical skills. While performing his civil duties, he constantly enlarged his demesne by investing in new land. He owned a property in Vilnius – he possessed an unidentified house in Świętojańska street (*Šv. Jono gatvė*)²³. It can be assumed that Piłsudski bought this townhouse and used it in relation to his nomination to Marshal

of the Tribunal. It was a convenient location, very close to the Tribunal which could have been reached in a short time via a prominent route²⁴ (Figs. 4, 5). Świętojańska street, wide and going in a straight line to the castle, allowed for an impressive passage of the Marshal and his military escort. Piłsudski probably disposed of this building soon after his term finished, and definitely before 1789 when he withdrew from public life. The register of taxes in Vilnius from 1790 did not list his name as an owner of any property in Świętojańska street²⁵. At the end of his life, he owned many properties: three little towns (*Šilalė, Viešvėnai* and *Laukuva/Ławków*), four wards (*wójtostwa*), seven *folwarks* (serfdom-based farms), forty-one villages (including ancestral *Pilsūdai/Piłsudai* which he bought from the *Dowgiałło* family) and two *zaścianki* (villages where impoverished nobility lived).

A PORTRAIT OF A SOLDIER AND A STATESMAN

The portrait of Franciszek Piłsudski has not yet been researched by art historians. It has been reprinted a few times only for illustrative purposes in texts about Franciszek Piłsudski and his public activities and in texts about the manor in *Šilalė*²⁶. There was a short note with a terse description of the painting published in the catalogue

20 Date of the funeral after: <https://www.geni.com/people/GD-Franciszek-Pi%C5%82sudski-h-w%C5%82/6000000010540219930> [access: 19.06.2023].

21 “Gazeta Warszawska”, op. cit., unpag. [p. 6].

22 M.T. Obarski, op. cit., p. 309. He wrote another poem on Stanisław August's birthday. Maybe literary activities were Piłsudski's pastime. See *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych* (Central Archives of Historical Records), *Archiwum Piłsudskich-Giniatowiczów* (the Archive of the Piłsudski-Giniatowicz family), no. 372, sign. LX B, p. 5–8.

23 M.T. Obarski, op. cit., p. 309.

24 The building of the Lithuanian Tribunal was painted in watercolours by Józef Peszka in 1808 (Fig. 5). See V. Drėma, *Dingęs Vilnius / Lost Vilnius*, Vilnius 2021, p. 140ff.

25 Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyve (Lithuanian State Historical Archives) f. 11(SA), ap. 1, b. 717 (*Spis taryf miasta Wilna* – The register of taxes in Vilnius, 1790), p. 18. I would like to thank prof. Anna Sylwia Czyż for telling me about this source.

26 J.A. Wilder, *Marszałek...*, op. cit., p. 3; idem, *Projekt...*, op. cit., ill. between p. XVI and XVII; E. M. [E. Maliszewski], op. cit., p. 203; R. Piłsudski, op. cit., ill. after p. 47; *Szytele*, in: R. Aftanazy, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 289; K. Filipow, *Order Świętego Stanisława*, Białystok 2009, p. 27.



6. The Star of the Order of Providence on Franciszek Piłsudski's portrait, ca. 1750.
Phot. M. Łomnicki



7. The Order of Saint Stanislaus on Franciszek Piłsudski's portrait, ca. 1750.
Phot. M. Łomnicki

of the Polish Army Museum from 1960²⁷.

The portrait measuring 76,5 × 62,3 cm was painted by an unknown artist in oil-on-canvas technique. It depicts the Lithuanian Cellar-Master, a middle-aged man of about 40 years old, presented in half-figure turned to the right *en trois quarts*. His face of fair complexion with a light blush was individualized and almost certainly painted *ad vivum*. Piłsudski's face is round, with a round chin, a long straight nose and full lips above which there is a short upward curling moustache. The face with a forehead showing a few wrinkles is serious, focused and pensive, which is emphasized by large dark-green eyes fixed on something outside the frame of the painting. Piłsudski's black hair is half-shaven in Polish style, uncovering temples and forehead. The nobleman is wearing karacena armour and a purple coat clipped over the right collarbone which uncovers a golden brassard decorated with a mascaron. The draped flap of the coat is decorated with a Star of the Order of Divine Providence (Fig. 6).

²⁷ Muzeum Wojska Polskiego w Warszawie. *Katalog zbiorów. Wiek XVIII*, ed. Z. Stefańska in collaboration with M. Rohozińska, Warszawa 1960, p. 194, item 429 (inv. no. 1375 MWP).

Piłsudski's chest is girded with a blue ribbon with edges finished with a gold tape (the result of an erroneous conservation effort?), and around his neck there is a red ribbon with white edges with a cross of the Order of Saint Stanislaus (Fig. 7). The manner in which both orders are presented suggests that they were added later, probably in 1779. The background is dark, monochromatic with a fragment of a column showing on the right. At the back of the canvas, there is a note – probably from the beginning of the 20th century – reading: “Franciszek Giniatowicz – Rymsza Piłsudski, syn Ferdynanda Ignacego i Ludwika z Billewiczów ożeniony I^o v(oto) z Johanną Rehnówną, II^o v(oto) z Marjancellą z Komorowskich Szemiothową, ur. [...] zmarł 2 kwietnia 1791. Starosta Wieszwiański, Piwniczny Wielk(iego) Księstwa Litew(skiego). Kawaler Orderu Św. Stanisława i Wielkiego Krzyża Opatrzności Bożej, poseł z Ks. Żmudzkiego na sejm Warszawski w r. 1758” [“Franciszek Giniatowicz – Rymsza Piłsudski, the son of Ferdinand Ignacy and Ludwika née Billewicz married to I^o v(oto) Johanna Rehnówna, II^o v(oto) to Marjancella Szemioth née Komorowska, born [...] died 2 April 1791. The *starosta* of Viešvėnai, Cellar-Master

of the Gr(and) Dutchy of Lith(uania) the Knight of Order of Saint Stanislaus and the Great Cross of Divine Providence, deputy from the Dutchy of Samogitia to the Sejm of Warsaw in 1758”]²⁸.

The painting under discussion has not been precisely dated in the relevant literature. In the catalogue of the Polish Army Museum, it is attributed to the 18th century²⁹. Considering the age of the model, the painting can be cautiously dated ca. 1750, when Piłsudski was 43 years old. By this time, he had finished his career in the army and planned to settle down and start a family. Commissioning a portrait of himself was probably an important factor in creating his own image and the image of the family. With this objective in mind, starting from about 1750, he also sponsored artistic foundations, accumulated wealth and reached for prominent offices. One can only assume that thirty years later, after Piłsudski’s appointment to the office of the Marshal of the Tribunal in 1780, another portrait was painted, including attributes such as the marshal’s cane and a cross. We do not know anything about such a portrait though.

It is likely that the portrait was first housed in Viešvėnai where Piłsudski lived with his first wife Joanna. The painting could have been included in a gallery of portraits of ancestors in the Piłsudski family’s manor³⁰. Franciszek moved to Šilalė probably after entering into his second marriage. After his death, the town was inherited by his son Jan Chryzostom and then

was passed on to other descendants. This way the portrait remained in Šilalė for 160–170 years.

Later, the portrait was moved to Warsaw³¹ by Stefan Dominik Piłsudski, a lawyer born in Kaunas (Kowno)³². Before the outbreak of the World War II, he moved the family archives from Šilalė and Čiobiškis (Czabiszki) estates to Warsaw. These documents survived wartime and currently are stored in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records]³³. The portrait under discussion was probably moved in the same shipment. It was not possible to establish when exactly this shipment took place. What is known is that in 1932 the portrait of Franciszek was in the hands of Stefan Piłsudski in Warsaw. In 1942 he deposited the painting and his collection of family keepsakes in the National Museum in Warsaw. Hence, contrary to what Zofia Stefańska claimed, the portrait was never moved to Józef Piłsudski Museum (functioning in the years 1936–1939) in Belweder³⁴. In August 1944 Stefan Piłsudski and his wife Zofia were

28 Ibidem, p. 194, item 429. In my opinion, the spelling of the surname “Giniatowicz-Piłsudski” indicates that the author of the note on the painting was probably Stefan Dominik Giniatowicz-Piłsudski. As a result of his interest in his family’s history, he started to use a double-barrelled surname; R. Piłsudski, op. cit., p. 26.

29 The date appears in the title of the catalogue only.

30 Today we know of portraits of Franciszek’s grandfather – Jan Kazimierz Piłsudski (1614–1710), and Franciszek’s father – Ferdynand (ca. 1670–1710). The portrait of the latter is probably a much later copy.

31 The history of the portrait was recreated based on information from curator Roman Olkowski.

32 His son was Rowmund Stanisław Piłsudski, the author of a cited here monograph *Kronika rodu Piłsudskich*, Londyn 1988. See more on Stefan and Rowmund Piłsudski and the *Kronika: W.J. Wysocki, Konterfekt rodu Piłsudskich*, <http://instytutpilsudskiego.com/konterfekt/> [access: 8.06.2023].

33 These are mainly personal documents of Ferdynand and Franciszek concerning family and estate matters (18th century), documents of Jan Chryzostom and Bogumiła née Strutyńska, Stanisław and Anna née Plater and Stefan Franciszek (19th century), related to their estate in Samogitia from the 16th to 19th century; Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records], Archiwum Piłsudskich-Giniatowiczów [the Archive of the Piłsudski-Giniatowicz family] sign. 1/372/0.

34 *Muzeum...*, op. cit., p. 194, item 429. Mariusz Kolmasiak does not mention the portrait of Franciszek Piłsudski in the collection of this Museum. M. Kolmasiak, *Belweder 1818–2018*, Warszawa 2018.

executed by the Nazis³⁵. The portrait remained in the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw. After the war it was moved to the Polish Army Museum – it has not been documented though when and why it was transferred. In 2005 it was recognized as a painting from a private collection and was first returned to the National Museum and then to Stefan Piłsudski's heirs – the Łomnicki family.

THE BEGINNING OF THE ORDER OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE

As it has been mentioned at the beginning, the portrait of Franciszek Piłsudski is interesting because of the representation of the Order of Divine Providence – the portrait itself is a typical example of an old-Polish portrait, competently executed but not outstanding artistically. There is no mention of this award in Polish literature on phaleristics. Some information about the appearance of the award was provided by Zygmunt Wdowiszewski in his supplement to a short article by Edward Maliszewski on the Secular Order of Divine Providence. The text gives a short insight into the foundation of this fellowship and incorrectly indicates that the abduction of King Stanisław August prompted its foundation³⁶. Zofia Libiszowska recalled these facts in her publication about a proposal sent to George Washington from Warsaw to decorate the heroes of the American Revolution with the Order of Divine Providence³⁷. The Americans

were convinced that it was a Polish award³⁸. Both above-mentioned texts list the dozen or so names of figures related to the Commonwealth and decorated with this award. The Order was also briefly mentioned by Marek T. Obarski, an author of a biographical note about Franciszek Piłsudski in the *Polski słownik biograficzny*. The historian stated that in the second half of the 18th century this distinction was very rarely awarded in Poland and that the total number of those decorated in the country was – according to him – only fourteen people³⁹. The information mentioned above was the only material published in Polish literature relating to Polish links to this distinction.

The Order of Divine Providence is mentioned in foreign writings as a Saxon award, most often referred to as the Order of Saint Joachim (*St.-Joachims-Orden* or *Orden von St. Joachim*)⁴⁰. It was established on 20th June 1755, when in Leitmeritz (present Czechia) a new secular knights' order was instituted. It was founded by fourteen German aristocrats, noblemen and high-rank military officers⁴¹. The new association was

35 W.J. Wysocki, op. cit., unpag.

36 E. M. [E. Maliszewski], op. cit., p. 202.

37 See a letter from Jean Charles Heintz to George Washington from 13 May 1783, *Founders Online*, National Archives, Washington Papers, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-11258> [access: 12.08.2023]. See also the response of George Washington to Jean Charles Heintz from 21 January 1784, *Founders Online*, National Archives, Washington Papers, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-01-02-0047> [access 12.08.2023]. On this topic:

Z. Libiszowska, *Z archiwaliów amerykańskich. August Sułkowski i Order Opatrzności Bożej*, in: *Trudne stulecia. Studia z dziejów XVII i XVIII wieku ofiarowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Michalskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Ł. Kądziała, W. Kriegseisen, Z. Zielińska, Warszawa 1994, p. 73–79. More in: M. Myers, Jr., *The 'Polish Order' of 1783 Identified*, "The Orders and Medals Research Society", 1981, no. 3, p. 11–19; L. Pastusiak, *Dyplomacja Stanów Zjednoczonych*, Toruń–Warszawa 1997, p. 149–150; *Noble Hearts. The Order of Saint Joachim*, ed. S. Lautens, Toronto 2005, p. 86–94.

38 See e.g. a letter from Thomas Mifflin to George Washington from 9 January 1784, *Founders Online*, National Archives, Washington Papers, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-01-02-0017> [access: 12.08.2023].

39 M.T. Obarski, op. cit., p. 309.

40 Saint Joachim Order exists today. See <https://www.stjoachimorder.org/> [access: 30.06.2023].

41 They were: Prince Christian Franz von Sachsen-Coburg Saalfeld, Duke Karl Friedrich von Württemberg-Oels, Prince Piccolomini (maybe Ottavio Aeneas Joseph),

8. The Cross and the Star of the Order of Providence (nos. 8 and 9), ca. 1820. Phot. after A.M. Perrot, op. cit., table XXXVII

named *Providenzorden*, i.e. the Order of Providence. This name emphasized one of the most important ideas that led to the formation of this association – a cult of a “Supreme Being” common to many members of different denominations. The name was then changed to *Jonathansorden* (the Order of Jonathan), and in 1767 to *Jonathansorden der Verteidigung der Ehre der göttlichen Vorsehung* which literally means: the Order of Jonathan, Defenders of the Honour of Divine Providence. The chosen patron was a biblical son of King Saul – Jonathan – who was bound with David in close friendship, as phrased in the Bible: “The soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul” (1 Samuel 18:1, *King James version*). The concept of friendship was the base of this new Order, the members of which were to be bound together with ties of brotherhood like the two young men in the Old Testament⁴². The last change of the name took place in 1785 when its patron was converted to Saint Joachim, the father of Mary, the mother of Christ. Since then, the official name of the Order was: *Stifts-Ritterorden*

Count Josef von Clary and Aldringen, *ritter* Michel Fachner von Trauenstein, Count Johann Wilhelm von Nostitz, Baron Anselm Josef Reichlin von Meldegg, Johann Josef Wiedersperger von Wiedersperg, Baron Friedrich von Zobel von Giebelstadt, Count Procop Kollowrat-Krakowsky, and less distinctive: Baron von Eib, Keck von Schwarzbach (maybe Johann Georg), Baron von Milchling, and Baron Moser von Filseck; L. Hanson, *An Accurate Historical Account of all the Orders of Knighthood at present existing in Europe...*, vol. 1, London 1803, p. 33–34; A.M. Perrot, *Collection historique des ordres de chevalerie civils et militaires...*, Paris 1820, p. 221; P. Bohmann, J.K. Wietz, *Rys historyczny zgrupowań zakonnych...*, vol. 3: *Zakony rycerskie i ordery państw*, Warszawa 1849, p. 202–203; *Noble Hearts...*, op. cit., p. 3–16.

⁴² Emphasizing the concept of friendship, as a key value led to a significant growth of this idea in Europe from about the second half of the 18th century. On this topic see: S. Appuhn-Radtke, E.P. Wipfler, *Freundschaft*, in: *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte (RDK Labor)*, Bd. 10, 2011–2012, pp. 793–902, <https://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=99274> [access: 28.06.2023].

St. Joachimi, or in French: *L'Ordre Equestre Seculier et Chapitral de St. Joachim*⁴³.

On the first anniversary, on 20th June 1756, Prince Christian Franz von Sachsen-Coburg Saalfeld was appointed the first Grand Master. Soon, prominent figures from all over Europe started to join the exclusive group of members. Noteworthy is that mag-nate August Sułkowski was among the first associates. It was said that his name “added splendour to the Order”, as noted by sir Le-vett Hanson – one of the first historiogra- phers of the institution and at the same time one of its honoured fellows, having the role of a chancellor⁴⁴. August Sułkowski held a high office in the Order because he was nominated the representative for Poland⁴⁵.

The association was also founded for the purpose of charity: funds were ear- marked as a source of livelihood for poor associates in their old age. At the same time, by financially supporting the Order, the wealthiest knights could fulfil their deeds of mercy. Those who were decorated were divided into the following classes: grand commanders, commanders, knights and honourable members. Only those who could prove noble ancestry for the four previous generations were admitted. The knights were obliged to show tolerance for other religions and be loyal to the sove- reign. Their motto was: “Deo, Principi et Legi” [To God, Prince and Law]⁴⁶.

The Knights received insignia which varied slightly over time (Figs. 8, 9). Initial- ly, the Order (Grand Cross) had the form of a gold Maltese cross, enamelled in white with its arms decorated with gold knobs. In the centre, there was a round medallion

⁴³ L. Hanson, op. cit., p. 39.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

⁴⁵ D. Dukwicz, M. Zwierzykowski, *Sułkowski August*, in: *Polski słownik...*, vol. 45, ed. A. Romanowski, Warszawa-Kraków 2008, p. 551.

⁴⁶ L. Hanson, op. cit., p. 33ff; A.M. Perrot, op. cit., p. 221; P. Bohmann, J.K. Wietz, op. cit., p. 203.



with the figure of Saint Joachim encircled by a laurel wreath. The Grand Cross was crowned with a knight helmet to which a dark green moire ribbon was attached. It was worn on the breast, girded from the left side to the right, with the badge sitting on the right hip. Commanders were entitled to a cross similar to the Order but smaller,

worn on the neck on a green ribbon. Knights wore a small cross on a narrow ribbon in the buttonhole of their lapel, whereas honorary members had in this place a small ribbon with silver edging⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ L. Hanson, op. cit., p. 56ff; A.M. Perrot, op. cit., p. 222, fig. XXXVII, no. 8 and 9; P. Bohmann, J.K. Wietz, op. cit., p. 202-203.



9. The Cross of the Order of Providence, ca. 1755 (?).

Phot. after <https://www.stjoachimorder.org/history-of-the-order/the-enlightenment/> [access: 11.08.2023]

Grand Masters and commanders decorated their coats on the left side with an eight-pointed Star, inside of which there was a Maltese cross encircled by a laurel wreath bearing the motto: “JUNXIT AMICUS AMOR” [Love hath united friends]. The badge was closed with the year of 1755. On the arms of the cross of the Order there were letters FSCV – initials from a Latin sentence “FIDE SED CUI VIDE” [Trust, but be careful whom (you trust)].

ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON STANISŁAW AUGUST AND THE ORDER OF PROVIDENCE

The assault on the Polish king Stanisław August, which happened in Warsaw on Miodowa street on the evening of 3rd November 1771, turned out to be a very important event in the early history of the Secular Order⁴⁸. The king, travelling in his

information” was further passed on and the account given by the main character, Stanisław August, in his diaries was often omitted (the diaries were already published in print at the beginning of the 20th century). See: Stanislas Auguste, *Mémoires du roi Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski*, ed. S.M. Goriaïnov, vol. 1, St.-Petersbourg 1914; vol. 2, Leningrad 1924. Polish translation of large fragments: *Pamiętniki króla Stanisława Augusta. Antologia*, selection of texts D. Triaire, transl. by W. Brzozowski, introduction by A. Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, ed. M. Dębowski, Warszawa 2013, p. 354–360. See my comments regarding the translation of the fragment on the abduction: A. Skrodzka, *Kilka słów o porwaniu Stanisława Augusta. W sprawie polskiego tłumaczenia „Pamiętników” króla*, “Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, vol. 77, 2016, no. 3, p. 563–565. Other accounts about this incident in: J. Kitowicz, *Pamiętniki czyli Historia polska*, ed. and introduction by P. Matuszewska, commentary by Z. Lewinówna, Warszawa 1971, p. 300–304; A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta stołecznego Warszawy*, introduction by J. Morawiński, ed., foreword, commentary, indexes H. Szwanowska, theatrical commentary by E. Szwanowski, historical and literary commentary by J.W. Gomułicki, Wrocław 1963, p. 175–178; N.W. Wraxall, *Wspomnienia z Polski. 1778*, transl. H. Krahelska, in: *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, vol. 1, ed. and introduction W. Zawadzki, Warszawa 1963, p. 517–524; W. Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark*,

⁴⁸ The abduction was widely discussed and a lot of unverified facts were in circulation – “second-hand



10. Franz Nicolaus Rolffsen, *Allegorical Print to Honour Stanisław August*, 1773 (?), Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum, inventory no. ZKW/5072. Phot. A. Ring, L. Sandzewicz

royal coach, was attacked by a group of Bar confederates who wounded him and then abducted him to a nearby forest. After a few hours of roaming in the dark the assailants scampered off save one, Kuźma, who stayed with the king. After some time, the kidnaper decided to set the king free and this way in the morning of 4th November, the king returned to court. The astonishing course of events, and even more so its finale, made the king believe that he was saved due to a miraculous intervention of Divine Providence⁴⁹.

The belief in help from Heaven which came to the king in that dark hour was shared by the king's inner circle, his subjects and by the opinion of the public within Europe. The incident reverberated around the continent and the reprehensible act caused public outrage. The sovereign was considered, according to the divine-right theory of kingship, God's representative on Earth, an anointed successor (*christos*)⁵⁰. "The heinous act of regicide" shocked the Knights of the Order of Providence. Raising hands against the king's authority violated some of their most basic values, such as the

veneration of monarchs with their connection to the Supreme Being. On the other hand, though, such a spectacular intervention by Heaven was undeniable proof that not only did Providence drive the fortunes of states and nations, but that it also took care of its chosen ones. Because of that, exactly two years after this event, on the 4th November 1773, the Order set up an annual celebration. It was established to commemorate the rescue of the Polish king and honour Divine Providence and "promote its worship to the entire world". It was also resolved that from that moment, every year on the 4th of November, prayers would be offered with the intention of protecting princes and preventing such unfortunate events in the future⁵¹.

From an initiative by the Order an interesting print was published. Its iconography was dedicated to the abduction and escape of the Polish king. It was executed by Franz Rolffsen from Hamburg⁵², possibly in 1773 (Fig. 10). It depicts a monument

Interspersed with Historical Relations and Political Inquiries, vol. 1, Dublin 1784, p. 37–47 (the report on the abduction omitted in the Polish publication of a part of Cox's diary: *ibidem*, *Podróż po Polsce. 1778*, transl. E. Suchodolska, in: *Polska...*, p. 559–703). The account was also published in the "Monitor" dated 27 November 1771, see „Monitor” 1765–1785, selection, ed., and introduction by E. Aleksandrowska, Wrocław 1976, p. 312. The most recent monography on the abduction of Stanisław August was written by P. Ugniewski, *Król porwany czyli „Boskiej Opatrzności dowód oczywisty”*, Warszawa 2023.

49 About king's faith in the Providence see: E.M. Rostworowski, *Religijność i polityka wyznaniowa Stanisława Augusta*, in: *Życie kulturalne i religijność w czasach Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego*, ed. M.M. Drozdowski, Warszawa 1991, p. 14–16.

50 See on this topic e.g. J.P. Roux, *Król. Mity i symbole*, transl. K. Marczevska, Warszawa 1998; E.H. Kantorowicz, *Dwa ciała króla. Studium ze średniowiecznej teologii politycznej*, transl. M. Michalski, A. Krawiec, ed. J. Strzelczyk, Warszawa 2007.

51 L. Hanson, op. cit., p. 38; *Warrant granting the Rank of Grand Commander or Grand Cross of the Order of St. Joachime*, in: H. Kirke, *From the Gun Room to the Throne. Being the Life of Vice-Admiral H.S.H. Philip D'Auvergne Duke of Bouillon*, London 1904, p. 169–170.

52 W. Łoś, *Wizerunki króla Stanisława Augusta*, Kraków 1876, p. 25; E. Hutten-Czapski, *Spis rycin przedstawiających portrety przeważnie osobistości polskich w zbiorze Emeryka hrabiego Hutten-Czapskiego w Krakowie*, Kraków 1901, p. 293–294, no. 1860; H. Widacka, *Splendor i niesława. Stanisław August Poniatowski w grafice XVIII wieku ze zbiorów polskich*, Warszawa 2008, p. 258, no. 115; A. Skrodzka, *Stanisław August – rex infelix. Ikonaografia z okresu panowania*, in: *Stanisław August i jego Rzeczpospolita. Dramat państwa, odrodzenie narodu. Materiały z wykładów*, ed. A. Sołtys, Z. Zielińska, Warszawa 2013 (Zamek Królewski w Warszawie. Studia i Materiały II), p. 434; T. Jakubowski, *Zamek Królewski w Warszawie – Muzeum i Fundacja Zbiorów im. Ciecchanowieckich. Katalog zbiorów. Grafika. Portrety*, Warszawa 2017, p. 493, no. 454; A. Skrodzka, *Udręki majestatu. Polscy „królowie nieszczęśliwi” w ikonografii nowożytnej*, Warszawa 2018, p. 284–286. About the artist: Rolffsen Franz Nikolaus, in: *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler...*, Hrsg. U. Thieme, F. Becker, Bd. 28, Leipzig 1934, p. 534.



consisting of a plinth on which sits an obelisk with a grand round medallion inside of which there is a side portrait of Stanisław August in bust-length. Above him, in the top section, there is a triangle with the Eye of Providence, which emanates a radiant glory. Its light surrounds the image of the king. Below the figure of the king, there is a cartouche with the text: “STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS REX POLON[iae] cui D.D.D. **Ordo Equestris In Honorem Divinae Providentiae**” [Stanisław August king of Poland, to whom (it) is given, gifted, dedicated to by **the Equestrian Order in Honour of Divine**

11. Jacob Fridrich the Younger, *Allegory of the Assault on Stanisław August*, 1772. Phot. courtesy of the National Museum in Warsaw

Providence]⁵³ (emphasis added AS). The plinth is decorated with a rectangular panel presenting two key scenes from the abduction – the attack and the release – positioned one above the other and signed at the bottom: “D. 3 Nov. 1771”. On both sides, there are symbols representing the two most important pillars of Stanisław August’s reign: accessories relating to the arts and sciences, and panoplies. The purpose of these attributes of knowledge and prowess is to glorify Stanisław August. He is presented as an ideal monarch – the king in peace and in war – referring to the topos *Ex utroque caesar* [On both sides Caesar]⁵⁴.

The shape of the monument on the engraving (obelisk) was chosen deliberately. It refers to the allegory of the Glory of Princes⁵⁵, commonly used in the 17th and 18th centuries in the iconography representing authorities⁵⁶. The message is completed

53 D.D.D. stands for *dat, donat, dedicat*; F.H. L. [Lewestam], *D*, in: *Encyklopedia powszechna*, vol. 6, published by S. Orgelbrand, Warszawa 1861, p. 643–644; A. Cappelli, *Lexicon Abbreviaturarum. Wörterbuch lateinischer und italienischer Abkürzungen* [...], Leipzig 1928, p. 449; *Sigla latina in libris impressis occurrentia cum singlorum graecorum appendice*, collegit M. Winiarczyk, ed. II, Wratislaviae 1995, p. 27.

54 More on this topic in the iconography of Stanisław August: J. Pokora, *Obraz najjaśniejszego pana Stanisława Augusta (1764–1770). Studium z ikonografii władzy*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 88–90. About earlier examples of this topos in Polish art see: A. Skrodzka, *Tablica kommemoracyjna Jana Kazimierza z pokamedulskiego kościoła na warszawskich Bielanych – pamiątka dewocji ostatniego Wazy na polskim tronie*, in: *Pióro na wodzie. Eseje o ks. Januszu St. Pasierbie i studia z ikonografii dedykowane Jego pamięci*, ed. A.S. Czyż, K. Moisan-Jabłońska, Warszawa 2015, p. 106–107.

55 J.B. Boudart, *Iconologie tirée de divers auteurs...*, vol. 2, Vienne 1766, p. 48.

56 See for example monuments erected to honour Stanisław Leszczyński; A. Skrodzka, „Opłakujcie go, nieutuleni”. *Treści ideowe dzieł sztuki związanych ze śmiercią Stanisława Leszczyńskiego*, in: *Leszczyński i Sułkowscy w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. A. Barczyk, T. Bernatowicz, s. 243–269, *passim*; also: A. Skrodzka, *Na marginesie książki o nagrobku serca króla Jana Kazimierza w Paryżu*, “Archiwum Emigracji”, 2021–2022, issue 29, p. 365.



12. Johann Leonard Oexlein, *Medal issued on the occasion of the rescue of Stanisław August*, obverse and reverse, 1772, Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum, inventory no. ZKW.N.899. Phot. A. Ring, L. Sandzewicz

by a dedication which implies that the Order of Providence wanted to honour the Polish king in a special way. The other objective of the engraving was to spread the news about a miraculous liberation of the monarch, considered an act of Providence, and to propagate its cult in accordance with the principles set out when establishing the new celebration day. This is emphasized by fanfares adorning a laurel garland. The light radiating from the Divine Eye, falling on the royal figure accentuates the impression of divine protection.

Even though there were many artworks dedicated to the abduction and liberation of Stanisław August, there are no other items which, without any doubt, can be linked to the activities of the Order. There is however one engraving executed by Jacob Fridrich the Younger, an artist based in Augsburg, titled *An Allegory of an Assault on Stanisław August*⁵⁷, the iconography

and provenience of which can suggest – in my opinion – some links to the Order (Fig. 11). The print presents the Polish monarch facing a personification of Providence holding a shield with an Eye. The divine aegis is turned towards the king like a mirror, and the rays of light radiating from it fall on the king's chest symbolizing divine protection. At the same time, with her other hand, *Providentia Divina* prevents an assault by grabbing the dagger-armed hand of the attacker coming from the left. The scene is probably an *exemplum* for princes – a good ruler, wishing to defend himself from an enemy, should turn to Providence.

THE ORDER OF PROVIDENCE IN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY

The case of the liberation of Stanisław August is quoted in an anecdote about the alleged beginnings of the Order

57 W. Łoś, op. cit., p. 24; K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 17, Kraków 1899, p. 120 (s.v. *Geschichte*); E. Hutten-Czapski, op. cit., p. 289, no. 1830; *Ezocki*, in: *Słownik artystów polskich i w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 r.)*. Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy, vol. 2, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1975, p. 179; H. Widacka, *Ikonomia króla Stanisława Augusta w grafice*, "Rocznik Historii Sztuki", vol. 15, 1985, p. 209–210; eadem, *Porwanie Stanisława Augusta w grafice europejskiej XVIII wieku*, "Roczniki Biblioteczne", vol. 46, 2002, p. 140–141; Ch. R. [Ch. Rohrschneider], *Ezocki*, in: *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die*

Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten Und Völker, Hrsg. K.G. Saur, Bd. 36, München-Leipzig 2003, p. 3; H. Widacka, *Splendor...*, op. cit., p. 262–263, no. 117; A. Skrodzka, *Stanisław August...*, op. cit., p. 433–434; eadem, *Udręki...*, op. cit., p. 293–295; eadem, *Wątki masońskie w sztuce na dworze Stanisława Augusta*, "Artifex Novus", 2019, no. 2, p. 17–18; Z. Michalczyk, *Zapomniane konteksty. Augsburg jako ośrodek rytownictwa wobec Rzeczypospolitej w XVII-XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 2020, p. 129.

in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and was cited by Władysław Ostrożyński who referenced the writer Henryk Rzewuski⁵⁸. This interesting story has not yet been investigated. In the time of the reign of this king, one of the dukes (Rzewuski does not reveal his identity) incurred so many debts during his stay in Paris that his creditors decided to throw him in jail. The duke confided in Piotr Ferguson Tepper⁵⁹, a famous banker and merchant from Warsaw, whom he met in the French capital. As a remedy to the duke's problems, Tepper advised him to set up the Order of Providence to commemorate the liberation of the king from the hands of the kidnappers. The duke followed the advice. The order was created – it was a gold star, with a representation of an eye in a triangle and a note: VIDE CUI FIDE [Look who you trust] in its centre. Tepper was significantly involved in the venture, making a hefty profit from it. His house served as a distribution office⁶⁰. As Henryk Rzewuski wrote: “At the beginning, the decoration was sold for a hundred red zlotys, then, gradually, the price decreased to twenty-five; there was no young master at court who would not have bought a knighthood of Divine Providence. Then it became a laughing stock, but the duke achieved his goal since he bailed himself out of prison, counting on the vanity of Warsaw nobles while the countryside was against

this puerility”⁶¹. The elders of the Tarnowski family and the Poniński family were supposed to be *Eques natus* of the order.

Ostrożyński, clearly giving credit to this history, mentioned also that there was a brochure referring to this award – published in 1771 as *Déscription d'une medaille frappé au sujet de l'attentat contre Roi de Pologne*, written in French and German and housed in the Ossoliński family Library in Lviv until 1891 when it was reported lost⁶². I suspect however that this brochure was not about the Order in question, but – as the title suggests – about one of the medals commemorating the abduction of Stanisław August. At least three such medals were issued, all of them in German countries. These medals have already been described in source literature. It is worth noting here that the medal executed by Johann Leonard Oexlein in 1772 particularly emphasizes the role of Providence in this history (Fig. 12). The obverse of the medal depicts a personification of Divine Providence saving the king from the attack of two Furies⁶³.

61 [H. Rzewuski], op. cit., p. 307, fn. 1.

62 W. Ostrożyński, op. cit., p. 20–21, fn. 1.

63 A specimen of this medal is in the collection of the Royal Castle in Warsaw; “Wiadomości Warszawskie”, 1772, no. 45, Supplement, unpag. [2–2v]; F. Bentkowski, *Spis medalów polskich lub z dziejami krainy polskiej stycznych...*, Warszawa 1830, p. 179–180, no. 653; A. Magier, op. cit., p. 179–180, 384, fn. 49; Ł. G[o]ł[ę]biowski, *Gabinet medalów polskich oraz tych które się dziejów Polski tyczą, z czasów panowania Stanisława Augusta*, vol. 4, Wrocław 1843, p. 56, no. 520; W. Łoś, op. cit., p. 42; E. Hutten-Czapski, op. cit., p. 88, no. 3124; L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists...*, vol. 4, London 1909, p. 308; M. Gumowski, *Medale polskie z XXXIV tablicami*, Warszawa 1925, p. 124; Öxlein Johann Leonhard, in: *Allgemeines Lexikon...*, Bd. 25, Leipzig 1931, p. 577; M. Dubrowska, *Zamek Królewski w Warszawie w medalierstwie polskim*, Warszawa 1989, p. 18–19, no. 3; T. Bogacz, B. Kozarska-Orzeszek, *Medalierstwo na ziemiach polskich w XVI–XX wieku*, [exhibition catalogue], Wrocław 1995, p. 83, no. 109; M. Górńska, *Polonia – Respublica – Patria. Personifikacja Polski w sztuce XVI–XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 2005, p. 356–357, 508, no. 13; A. Skrodzka, *Wizerunek króla nieszczęśliwego – portret Stanisława*

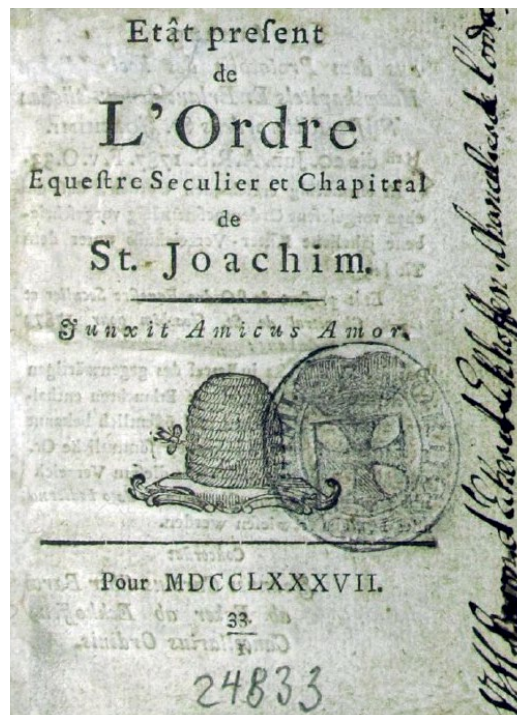
58 [H. Rzewuski], *Listopad. Romans historyczny z drugiej połowy XVIII wieku*, vol. 2, Wilno 1862, p. 307, fn. 1; W. Ostrożyński, *Sprawa zamachu na Stanisława Augusta z 3 listopada 1771 przed sądem sejmowym*, Lwów 1891, p. 20–21, fn. 1.

59 See M. Czeppe, M. Kuc Czerep, *Tepper Ferguson Piotr*, in: *Polski słownik...*, vol. 53, ed. A. Romanowski, Warszawa-Kraków 2020, p. 199–205.

60 Tepper initially lived and worked in Marywil. In about 1775 he moved to a townhouse in Miodowa street. Tepper's Palace (designed by E. Schroeger) was erected on a plot bought in 1773 from bishop Kajetan Sołtyk. Ibidem, p. 199.



13. A vignette in the brochure *L'ordre institué en honneur de la Providence Divine et dédié à Sa Majesté Stanislas Auguste...*, 1778, National Archives, Washington. Phot. after www.fold3.com [access: 12.03.2023]



14. A vignette in the brochure *Etât present de L'Ordre Equestre Seculier et Chapitral de St. Joachim. Junxit Amicus Amor*, 1787. Phot. after <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/60104/3> [access: 11.08.2023]

Additional information – of questionable truthfulness – about the Order can be found in the diary of a fictional nobleman Bartłomiej Michałowski, whose memoirs – set in the Stanislavian Age in Poland – were written by Henryk Rzewuski⁶⁴. Michałowski, a royal chamberlain in the book, stated that the Order of Providence was established in

Augusta z klepsydrą, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki", vol. 69, 2007, no. 3–4, p. 240, fn. 225; J. Miziołek, A. Tyszkiewicz, *Moc królewskiej oracji. Porwanie Stanisława Augusta w obrazie ołtarza kościoła pw. św. Karola Boromeusza na Powązkach*, "Kronika Zamkowa", vol. 65–66, 2013, no. 1–2, p. 69–70; A. Skrodzka, *Stanisław August...*, op. cit., p. 434; eadem, *Udręki...*, op. cit., p. 287, 295–297; *Zamek Królewski w Warszawie – Muzeum i Fundacja Zbiorów im. Ciechanowieckich. Medale polskie i z Polską związane z okresu Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej. Katalog zbiorów*, vol. 2, ed. J.W. Zacher, G. Śnieżko, M. Zawadzki, in collaboration with M. Męclewska, Warszawa 2019, p. 109–111.

⁶⁴ More on the writings of this author in relation to the anecdotes quoted see: I. Węgrzyn, *W świecie powieści Henryka Rzewuskiego*, Kraków 2012, p. 299–327, in particular p. 313 (here about the Order of Providence).

order to satisfy the "greed for trinkets" among the young nobles. He was offered the knighthood by Tepper. Michałowski rejected the offer replying: "I am too old of a sparrow to be caught on oats"⁶⁵. He also noticed that the banker himself was ridiculing young masters who "fought tooth and nail for this order". Rzewuski, through his protagonist, observed that "nobility in the countryside did not share this madness and were joking about those who showed up decorated with this award. This frenzy stopped in Warsaw too, not because the youth at court and in the city had become more reasonable, but rather competition with the Order of Saint Stanislaus, just established in Poland, turned out to be ruinous for this award"⁶⁶.

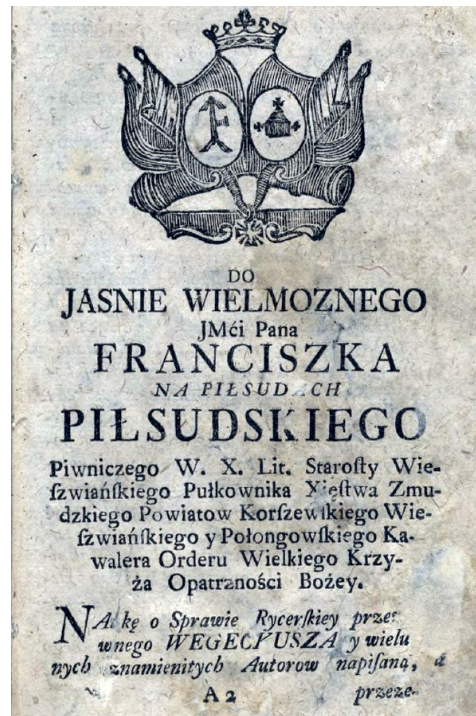
⁶⁵ [H. Rzewuski], *Pamiętniki Bartłomieja Michałowskiego przez autora Listopada*, vol. 3, Petersburg–Mohilew 1857, p. 81. Information reprinted in: "Dziennik Literacki", vol. 16, 1867, no. 46, p. 739.

⁶⁶ [H. Rzewuski], *Pamiętniki...*, op. cit., p. 82.

Both anecdotes are, of course, literary fiction. It seems however that some elements do contain a grain of truth, such as a link between the Order and the abduction of the king, or the visual appearance of the award. Also, the “progression” of the award is presented convincingly, for at that time the Commonwealth was undergoing a particular frenzy for orders⁶⁷. Because of these reasons both of these anecdotes are noteworthy.

Other information about the Order of Providence in the Commonwealth comes from a more reliable source. In “Gazety Wileńskie” issue no. 33 from 1780 there was an announcement published addressed to the knights of the Order from the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania asking for a confirmation of their membership. The knights had three months in which to send information about the date they joined and the distinctions they received, otherwise, they would not be included in the new register⁶⁸.

Rzewuski concluded the history of the award in the Stanislavian Age as follows: “The end of the Order of Divine Providence was that it met with such adversity that mister Tepper, who in the beginning was selling it for two hundred red zloty, had to lower the price so much that finally it dropped to twelve but even this was too much as nobody wanted to wear it anymore. Just as previously, there had been no assembly – in the capital, of course – where half of the men would not have been composed of the knights of the Order of Divine Providence, so lately all these stars suddenly disappeared and the chancellor of this Order had to close down his jurisdiction. He did not care much since he had already earned more than what the grand master and the



15. Coats of arms of Franciszek Piłsudski's parents: Kościeszka (of the Piłsudski family) and Mogiła (of the Billewicze family) with the Order of Divine Providence, a vignette in the *Flawiusza Wegecjusza Renata...*, op. cit. Phot. after: <https://obc.opole.pl/dlibra/publication/15037/edition/14015?language=en> [access: 11.08.2023]

founder of this Order owed him. The last person to wear the order until the end was a Fijałkowski of the Braclaw Voivodeship, a great adventurer and a cardsharp whom I saw in 1787 in the royal chambers decorated with a Star of Divine Providence and some other unidentified star⁶⁹.

Since facts about this award in Poland at the end of the 18th century are scarce, it is difficult to assess the above information. It is certain that at that time in Western Europe the Order still had a certain appreciation. This is confirmed by the fact that the most outstanding statesmen joined its ranks – the names include Admiral Horatio Nelson (1802) and Marshal Joachim Murat (1806)⁷⁰. The fragments cited confirm nevertheless the remarks of Minor Myers, jr.,

67 Z. Puchalski, *Dzieje polskich znaków zaszczytnych*, Warszawa 2000, p. 19–22.

68 “Gazety Wileńskie”, 1780, no. 33, unpag. [p. 4].

69 [H. Rzewuski], *Pamiętniki...*, op. cit., p. 83.

70 *Noble Hearts...*, p. 34ff.

who noted that the Order of Providence was of a lower rank than other recognized orders such as the Most Noble Order of the Garter, the Supreme Order of the Most Holy Annunciation or the Order of the Holy Spirit⁷¹. It resulted from the fact that the Order of Providence had not been established by a sovereign ruler. What is more, it had also become – probably at the beginning of the 19th century – a quite controversial decoration (partially because it was so easily obtained). Gradually, it was discredited and ultimately banned by Frederick William III, the king of Prussia, in 1840⁷².

THE KNIGHTS OF THE ORDER OF PROVIDENCE IN THE STANISLAVIAN AGE IN POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

Based on the registers of the Knights of the Order (Fig. 13-14), dated from 1778, 1787 and 1793 it was established that Franciszek Piłsudski was included in this circle on 4 November 1776. He was then decorated with a badge of the Grand Cross of Providence⁷³. The date of Piłsudski's affiliation is significant: it was on the exact anniversary of the king's rescue. During Stanisław August's reign, each year after the king's abduction, on the anniversary thanksgiving celebrations were held⁷⁴. Piłsudski was probably the only candidate who was honoured on this day and it can be assumed that he chose the date himself to pay homage to the king and demonstrate his

support for the monarch. Unfortunately, we do not know anything more about the circumstances of this event. It seems that August Sułkowski, whom the cellar master knew from the time of the previously mentioned project to reinstate the port near Palanga, could have been involved in arranging Piłsudski's decoration.

It should be also mentioned that in the same year of 1776, in Łowicz, the print house of the Enlightened Prince Primate published the work of Flavius Vegetius Renatus titled *O sprawie rycerskiej nauka*, in Polish translation by a Jesuit, Franciszek Paprocki, with a dedication to Franciszek Piłsudski⁷⁵. It referred to the title of a "Knight of the Order of the Grand Cross of Divine Providence". Its vignette was decorated with a cartouche with Franciszek's parents' coats of arms: Kościeszka (the Piłsudski family) and Mogiła (the Billewicz family), topped with a crown presented against panoplies with a suspended badge of the Order of Providence (Fig. 15).

In the context of Piłsudski's joining the Order it is interesting that to this day in the Lithuanian Pajūris, in his alleged birthplace, there is a Saint Joachim's church⁷⁶. The dedication of the church seems to be related to Franciszek Piłsudski. This issue requires further research.

In 1776, apart from Piłsudski, 19 other individuals joined the Order of Providence – there were many Poles but also representatives of other nationalities in the service of the Polish king or otherwise connected to the court in Warsaw. Records show that

71 M. Myers, Jr., op. cit., p. 11-12, 18-19.

72 Ibidem, p. 18-19.

73 *L'ordre institué en honneur de la Providence Divine et dédié à Sa Majesté Stanislas Auguste, roi de Pologne, grand duc de Lithuanie*, [no place] 1778, p. 7; *État présent de L'Ordre Equestre Seculier et Chapitral de St. Joachim. Junxit Amicus Amor*, [Hamburg] 1787, p. 11; *État présent de l'ordre équestre séculier et chapitral de St. Joachim. Junxit amicus amor*, Bronsvick 1793, p. XIII.

74 E.g., an account of the celebration described in: "Gazety Wileńskie", 1780, no. 47, unpag. [p. 1].

75 Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *Flawiusza Wegecjusza Renata męża zacnego, o sprawie rycerskiej nauka...*, vol. 1: *O sprawie rycerskiej lądowej i wodnej w powszechności*, Łowicz 1776. See also: T.M. Nowak, *Księdza Franciszka Paprockiego S.J. praca o historii wojen i wojskowości polskiej wydana w 1776 roku*, "Analecta", vol. 18, 2000, no. 9/2, p. 135-172.

76 See: *Pajūralio šv. Joakimo bažnyčia*, https://lt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paj%C5%ABralio_%C5%A1v._Joakimo_ba%C5%BEny%C4%8Ddia [access: 11.08.2023].

the unfortunate adventure of the king contributed to a significant increase in the number of members of the Secular Order. Starting from 1773 several dozen people a year joined its ranks. All three registers confirm that during the reigns of Augustus III and Stanisław August, the number of knights of the Order was much higher than numbers given in texts so far. There were at least sixty names.

In the second half of the 18th century, among the Knights of the Order associated with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, there were individuals who held the most prestigious court offices. Noteworthy is the name of a French diplomat in the service of Stanisław August, a *monsieur d'Ottée*, appointed by the Polish king as a *chargé d'affaires* to the Ottoman Porte⁷⁷. Among the Knights was Karl Fromhold von Scheunvogel⁷⁸, an advisor to the Polish monarch. There were particularly many chamberlains of Stanisław August, coming from the most distinguished Polish and German aristocratic and noble families. One of the most famous figures in Europe at that time was Johann Karl Baron von Ecker und Eckhoffen, the Master of the Rosicrucians, the Masonic Lodge to which Stanisław August became a member in 1777⁷⁹. Another chamberlain was Domenico Count Comelli de Stuckenfeld – who heralded from an old and honoured family from the Italian region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia and was married to Marianna, an amateur drawer and a daughter to royal architect Domenico Merlini⁸⁰. One more excellent name in this circle

was that of Georg Gotthard von Knabenau of Courland whose ancestors were given the title of baron by John III Sobieski for their achievements during the siege of Vienna⁸¹. The registers also mentioned members of Livonian nobility: king's favourite Adam Ewald Felkerzamb⁸² and city clerk Michał Weysenhoff⁸³. The list of chamberlains awarded the Order of Providence concluded with Duke Janusz Tomasz Czetwertyński-Światopełk⁸⁴ and his brother, Duke Antoni Stanisław Czetwertyński-Światopełk. The latter was a future opponent of the Constitution of 3 May and was hanged in 1794 r.⁸⁵

Some of the royal chamberlains in the Order had roles of responsibility, for example, count Comelli who was a deputy in the rank of the knights of the Order, or Baron von Ecker who held the office of a chancellor. This was also the role of Johann Christoph von Gritsch who was a personal advisor to Stanisław August, associated with August Sułkowski and a cadet school in Rydzyna. It should be noted that the idea of establishing this school was related to the initiative of the Order of Providence which planned to set up their own academy for knights⁸⁶. Samuel Luter de Geret, a theologian, city councillor and mayor of Toruń, the publisher of "Thornische Wöchentliche Nachrichten" newspaper also had a special

77 It could have been a son or a half-brother of Jonas Otter, a Swede who in years 1742–1744 was a French consul in Basra; *Histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à présent...*, Paris 1783, p. 326–327.

78 Scheinvogel (Scheunvogel, Schönvogel) Karl Fromhold, in: *Baltisches Biografisches Lexikon digital*, p. 674, <https://bblid.de/dbbl/674/> [access: 31.06.2023].

79 H. Neumüller, *Ritterorden St. Stanislaus Gestiftet 1765*, vol. 1, Norderstedt 2016, p. 110; A. Skrodzka, *Wątki...*, op. cit., p. 4, 6.

80 Z. Prószyńska, *Merlini Manon*, in: *Słownik artystów...*, vol. 5, ed. J. Dewojed, Warszawa 1993, p. 488.

81 A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 10, Warszawa 1907, p. 203.

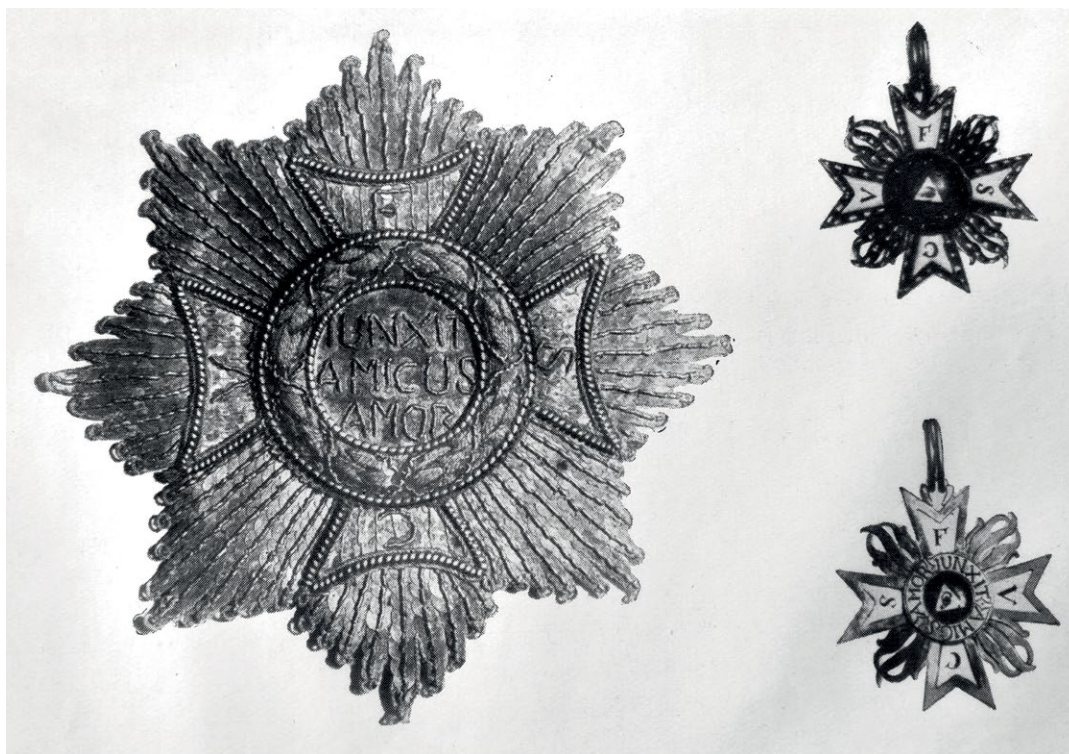
82 Felkerzamb (Adam Ewald), in: *Encyklopedia powszechna*, vol. 8, ed. S. Orgelbrand, Warszawa 1861, p. 733.

83 *Urządnicy inflanccy XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. K. Mikulski, A. Rachuba, Kórnik 1994, p. 283.

84 J. Nieć, *Czetwertyński-Światopełk Janusz Tomasz*, in: *Polski słownik...*, vol. 4, ed. W. Konopczyński, Kraków 1938, p. 362–363.

85 J. Nieć, *Czetwertyński-Światopełk Antoni Stanisław*, in: *ibidem*, p. 358–360.

86 This topic was described by Gritsch himself: J.Ch. von Gritsch, *Kurz entworfene Züge einer von dem Hochlöblichen David- und Jonathaner Ritter-Orden zu errichtenden Adelichen Ritter-Academie*, Regensburg 1770.



16. The Star of the Order of Providence and the Cross of the Order of Providence (obverse and reverse) from the collection of Marshal Józef Piłsudski, 1932. Phot. after Z. Wdowiszewski, op. cit., fig. after p. 202

role in the Order⁸⁷. He was responsible for the correspondence department for Poland. We should also mention Joseph Franz Baron von Schlichten, a Polish *indygena*, a commander of August Sułkowski's infantry regiment, and a representative of the Order (*ministre résident*) in the Commonwealth⁸⁸.

Many land officials of Poland and Lithuania were Knights of the Order. Apart from Piłsudski, the registers listed: Franciszek Kajetan Olizar⁸⁹, Grand Pantler, the Crown and king's most trusted person in Volhynia (Wołyń); Florian Krzysztof Drewnowski⁹⁰, cupbearer of Łomża county and

associated with August Sułkowski and prince Adam Poniński; and Karol Koryciński⁹¹, cupbearer of Nowogród county and colonel of Minsk. Numerous in number were the *starostas*: Onufry Gniewomir Bęklewski⁹² of Lyakhavichy (Lachowicze) district; Stanisław Fortunat Nowowiejski⁹³ of the Braclaw Voivodeship; Tadeusz Przyłuski⁹⁴ of the Hadiach (Hadziacz) district; Franciszek Ksawery Wilczewski⁹⁵ of Wizna Land; Konstanty Gabriel Sierrakowski⁹⁶ count of Bogusławice and

87 H. Piskorska, *Geret Samuel Luter*, in: *Polski słownik...*, vol. 7, ed. W. Konopczyński, Kraków, p. 391–393 (information about awarding Geret a Knight Commander's Cross of Saint Joachim's Order).

88 Z. Libiszowska, op. cit., p. 77.

89 W. Szczygielski, *Olizar (Olizar Wołczkiewicz) Franciszek Kajetan*, in: *Polski słownik...*, vol. 22, ed. E. Rostworowski, Kraków 1978, p. 812–813.

90 R. Morcinek, *Drewnowski Florian Krzysztof*, in: *Polski słownik...*, vol. 5, ed. W. Konopczyński, Kraków 1939–1946, p. 372–373.

91 A. Boniecki, op. cit., vol. 9, p. 202.

92 W. Konopczyński, *Bęklewski Onufry Gniewomir*, in: *Polski słownik...*, vol. 2, ed. W. Konopczyński, Kraków 1936, p. 3–4.

93 S. Uruski, *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. 12, Warszawa 1915, p. 202.

94 W. Szczygielski, *Przyłuski Tadeusz*, in: *Polski słownik...*, vol. 29, ed. E. Rostworowski, p. 212–214.

95 K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, published J.N. Bobrowicz, vol. 9, Lipsk 1842, p. 333.

96 *ibidem*, vol. 8, Lipsk, 1841, p. 367.

“starosta sasiiecki” and a certain Ogiński⁹⁷. The registers mention two castellans: Józef Czarnecki of the Braclaw voivodeship and a certain Kwilecki of Ład voivodeship. Among those with confirmed identity were figures whose public activities did not work towards the support of the king. These nobles include the infamous Florian Drewnowski and an adventurer Onufry Bęklewski.

Soldiers of Stanisław August were also Knights of the Order. Among them, Fryderyk Klein, general-major of the Lithuanian Guard and Józef Zaremba, general-major of the Crown Army, former Bar confederate then reconciled with the king⁹⁸, possessed the highest ranks. There were many colonels; some of them served as royal adjutants such as Wincenty Bekierski⁹⁹ and Chrystian Ferdynand Dahlke¹⁰⁰. Other royal colonels mentioned in the registers included August Plater¹⁰¹, Chrystian Benjamin Grabowski, Franciszek Oppeln Bronikowski, a Polish *indygena* Jean Charles Heintz (the secretary of the Order), Antoni Sułkowski¹⁰², Michał Jastrzębski, Rudolf von Hosang, Józef Korczyński and a certain Milczewski. The captains included: Andrzej Lutemski (Lutomski?), a certain Falkenhan, Reinschmidt, Martin, Wedekind, and Grossmann – a captain of the second artillery battalion of Stanisław August. Apart from the above-mentioned figures, the records also include other names related to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

of the second half of the 18th century. Very interesting was the case of Józef Paschalis Jakubowicz, a son of Jakub, the future owner of a factory in Lipków¹⁰³. He was the youngest knight of the Order and was given the award as a newborn, in the year of his birth i.e. in 1776.

The other knights of the Order whose names appear in the analysed registers were citizens of both Catholic and Protestant European countries. Most of them were Germans, but there were also Italians, French, Danes, and other nationalities. The majority of the knights held titles such as duke, count, and baron. There were also close advisors to kings and emperors, clergymen including the officials of the Holy See, but also noblemen, wealthy land owners, military officers, entrepreneurs and medical doctors. Women also could join the ranks of the Order. The registers list ten of them, with one application pending.

THE ORDER OF PROVIDENCE FROM THE COLLECTION OF JÓZEF PIŁSUDSKI

In the portrait discussed, Franciszek Piłsudski was presented with only one insignia of the Order of Providence i.e., with the Star, even though he was also decorated with a cross. The badge is painted in a simplified way, and even its shape is not accurately recreated – quite likely the painter never saw the original. Before World War II the original insignias of the Star and Cross of the Order of Providence were in the collection of family keepsakes of Marshal Józef Piłsudski (Fig. 16). The Cross from this collection is listed under no. 2321 in the *Ewidencja Zbiorów Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego* [Register of Collections of Marshal Józef Piłsudski] – a book in which gifts

97 Maybe it was Józef Ogiński, *starosta* of Dorsuniszki. Mentioned in: A.S. Czyż, *Pałace Wilna XVII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 2021, p. 226.

98 P. Ugniewski, op. cit., p. 18, 39.

99 W.W. Wielądsko, *Heraldyka, czyli opisanie familii i krwi związku szlachty polskiej i W. X. Litt. z ich herbami*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1794, p. 386.

100 S. Uruski, op. cit., vol. 3., Warszawa 1906, p. 55.

101 Z. Zielińska, *Plater August*, in: *Polski słownik...*, vol. 26, p. 647–649.

102 D. Dukwicz, M. Zwierzykowski, *Sułkowski Antoni*, in: *Polski słownik...*, vol. 45, p. 531–537.

103 M. Józefowiczówna, *Jakubowicz Paschalis*, in: *Polski słownik...*, vol. 10, ed. K. Lepszy, Kraków 1962–1964, p. 378–379.

(mainly name-day gifts) received by the Chief of State were recorded. Since there was a photo of it published in the “Miesięcznik Heraldyczny” from 1932, we know exactly how this cross looked like. Its centre was decorated with an enamelled medallion with the Eye of Providence, and on its reverse there was an interlocking “OP” monogram (standing for the Order of Providence). The insignias were gifted to the Marshal by General Janusz Gąsiorowski, the Chief of the General Staff. After the Museum of Józef Piłsudski in Belweder was established, the insignias were transferred there along with other items listed in the *Ewidencja*. In November 1939 the Belweder collections were moved to the National Museum in Warsaw (except ca. 100 items which were evacuated) and were looted during the Warsaw Uprising. Today, the insignias of the Order of Providence from the Marshal’s collection are considered lost in war¹⁰⁴.

The presented facts bring a handful of new findings to the state of knowledge regarding the portrait of Franciszek Piłsudski. We learn that thanks to his talents, diligence, ambition and – above all – thanks to his clear political views and loyalty to the king – the portrayed Lithuanian Cellar-Master was advancing fast in his political career. It is highly probable that at the beginning of his public activity Piłsudski saw commissioning his own portrait as he considered it an indispensable element of creating his own image and that of his family. It can also be assumed that he treated this painting as an instrument to confirm his prestige and boost his family’s pride, presenting him as a worthy successor to a family of reputation and merit. Piłsudski also strengthened his position

in the circles of the highest social elite by resorting to proven methods – such as providing support for artistic foundations. He obtained special distinctions such as orders which, at that time, were objects of admiration and desire among both aristocracy and nobility. After receiving them, Piłsudski took care, probably over time, to have these visual symbols of his merits added to his portrait. As a result of unfavourable circumstances, he did not manage to secure all of the state offices to which he aspired, so it can be assumed that both distinctions were of great importance to him. The Order of Providence must have been of special value to him as it reflected his great attachment to King Stanisław August. The fact that he was a member of the international Order of Knights adhering to noble ideas that had in its ranks so many prominent figures of contemporary Europe must also have given the Lithuanian Cellar-Master a sense of being exceptional.

The purpose of this article was to also draw attention to the somewhat forgotten Order of Providence and to emphasize its quite strong, as it turned out, presence in the Stanislavian Age in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. I hope that the research presented above will give rise to further investigation into this decoration and will contribute to discovering other portraits of the Knights of the Order from Poland and Lithuania.

Translated by Ewa Muszyńska

¹⁰⁴ Information obtained from Mr. Roman Olkowski.

ANNEX

KNIGHTS OF THE ORDER OF PROVIDENCE
IN YEARS 1755-1793(figures in bold were connected to the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth)¹⁰⁵

Albert Johann Geoffroy	1764	Czetwertyński-Światopełk Antoni Stanisław	6.08.1773
Arco dit Bogen Joseph de	1776	Czetwertyński-Światopełk Janusz Tomasz	26.06.1773
Auersberg Joseph Karl von	1761	Dahlke Chrystian Ferdynand	29.07.1773
Bekierski Wincenty	8.12.1774	Dens de Ste Marie Claudeus le	no date
Bernclau de Schoenreith	1759	Desabaye de Vaudreuil Pascal	7.04.1779
Beust Franz de	no date	Desabaye Pierre Prosper	7.04.1779
Bęklewski (Beklewski?) Onufry Gniewomir	8.09.1774	Detenhoff Jean Henri	24.04.1779
Böcklin von Böcklinsau Franz Friedrich Siegmund August	20.06.1774	Dietz Carl Philip	1762
Bohlen de	1777	Dornis Adam David de	9.10.1779
Boschini Michel Ange de	no date	Drewnowski Florian Krzysztof	3.08.1774
Brentano Dominicus de	24.04.1785	Duglas	1777
Bresemann Ludvig von	no date	Ebinger von der Burg Karl	no date
Brocktorff Kai Friedrich de	13.04.1779	Ecker und Eckhoffen Johann Heinrich von	16.06.1767
Brocktroff Heinrich Wilhelm (<i>pending</i>)	24.04.1785	Ecker und Eckhoffen Johann Karl von	6.01.1767
Brocktroff Kai Ernst Friedrich (<i>pending</i>)	24.04.1785	Engelwerth von Auersberg	no date
Büeler von Büel Johann Baptist	20.06.1760	Ennyeter (Engeter) Michael de	1759
Bulow August Friedrich de	3.08.1779	Faber de	1755
Bulow Christian Friedrich de	31.07.1779	Fadalti Giuseppe	1779
Canneau de Beauregard Philippe Joseph Ernst	15.03.1760	Falkenhan de	1777
Castelli Charles (<i>expelled</i>)	no date	Felkerzamb Adam Ewald	4.11.1775
Comelli de Stuckenfeld Domenico	3.08.1776	Ferrari	1761
Cronhelm Charlotte Eve	24.04.1785	Flemming von (Johann Heinrich Joseph Georg?)	no date
Cronhelm Ernst Georg August de (<i>pending</i>)	4.11.1779	Folleville Louis André de	6.01.1777
Cronhelm Louise Friederike	24.04.1785	Foschetti	no date
Cronhelm Madelaine Angelique Philippine Helene (<i>pending</i>)	24.04.1785	Freundorf Karl	1781
Czarnecki Józef	1776	Fromhold von Scheunvogel Karl	1773
		Fuchs Johann Matthias	1758
		Gebhardt Franz Xaver	1775
		Geret Samuel Luter de	3.08.1775
		Gingins de	1783
		Gottrauw Hans Peter de	28.06.1776
		Grabowski Chrystian Beniamin	no date
		Graffar Karl von	1765
		Graffar von Gustal Coelestin	1765

¹⁰⁵ Titles of registers given in footnote 73.

Grandin de Gaillou Louis Pierre	20.08.1778	Kursinger Franz Anton von	1760
Grossmann	1776	Kwilecki	1774
Guerin de Boullancourt Laurent	12.10.1779	Largo Smeraldo Colonna d'Istria	14.10.1777
Gutakowski Tadeusz	1777	Francesco Maria Ciriaco	
Gütle Johann Christian de	20.02.1779	Léger de Collin	6.01.1768
Hager von Altensteig Johann	8.09.1778	Leiningen-Westerburg Amalie	20.06.1787
Wilhelm Friedrich		Leopoldine	
Hammerer Philippe Christian de	29.02.1788	Leiningen-Westerburg-	16.05.1787
Hefs von	1768	Neuleiningen August Georg	
Heinz Jean Charles de	1772	Gustav von	
Heppé Christian Wilhelm de	4.11.1775	Leiningen-Westerburg-	16.05.1787
Heppé Karl von	no date	Neuleiningen Christian von	
Heppé Sophie Charlotte	24.04.1785	Leiningen-Westerburg-	24.04.1791
Wilhelmine Ernestine von, née		Neuleiningen Christian	
Waldeck		Ludwig Alexander von	
Heppenstein Friedrich Bauer von	1767	Leiningen-Westerburg-	4.11.1784
Herwarth Joseph von	1773	Neuleiningen Georg Karl I.	
Herz	1775	August Ludvig von	
Hoeberle Reinhard Albrecht	no date	Leiningen-Westerburg-	16.05.1787
Hoeffler de Loewenfeld Johann	1760	Neuleiningen Georg Wilhelm	
Georg		Christoph Ernst von	
Hoeffler de Loewenfeld Joseph	1760	Leiningen-Westerburg-	16.05.1787
Eustach		Neuleiningen Karl II. Gustav	
Hoffman Philippe Christian	18.02.1785	Reinhard Woldemar v.	
Hohenwachten Joseph Philip von	1776	Leiningen-Westerburg-	16.05.1787
Hosang Rudolf von	1777	Neuleiningen Karl Leopold	
Hueber Sebastian von	1774	Wilhelm Ferdinand von	
Jakubowicz Józef Paschalis	1776	Leo Adam Daniel	1764
Jasiecki	no date	Lettow de et à Muhlencamp	1775
Jastrzębski Michał	1776	Georg Ludvig Rudolph de	
Kapel de Brescou Guillaume	6.01.1780	Leven Johann Geoffroy de	1772
Keller Karl Rudolph Joseph von	1767	Lutemski (Lutomski?) Andrzej	1773
Klein Fryderyk	20.07.1773	Lyncker	no date
Knabenau Georg Gotthard von	20.06.1775	Mansa	1773
Kniereski (?)	1773	Martin	1774
Kollerman Friedrich	no date	Massara de Sannazzaro Jefte	14.10.1793
Korczyński Józef	1777	Mayer von Mayersbach Ludwig	1759
Koryciński Karol	1774	Theodor Philip	
Kronhelm Ernst Philip von	20.06.1780	Metranowski	1778
Kronhelm Karl Ludolph	24.04.1785	Milczewski	8.10.1774
Friedrich de		Montfort Franz Xaver hrabia,	3.08.1773
		Wielki Mistrz	

Moser de Filseck	1755	Schneid	1776
Motz Johann Ernst de	24.05.1761	Schlemmer	1776
Mycielski	1777	Schlichten Józef Franciszek von	no date
Nierychewski	1773	Schneidewind Johann Baptist	no date
(Nierychlewski?) Adam		Karl Anton von	
Nostitz Ernst Mauritz de	1772	Schütz Anton	20.06.1776
Notthafft Maximilian Cajetan	1760	Sierakowski Konstanty Gabriel	1773
Nowowiejski Stanisław	1776	Sigh von	no date
Fortunat		Soden Friedrich Julius Heinrich	24.04.1785
Ogiński (Józef?)	1773	von	
Olizar Franciszek Kajetan	24.07.1773	Stein de Jettingen Franz Karl	1764
Oppeln Bronikowski	no date	Stein Karl Albrecht de	no date
Franciszek		Stockhem Heinrich von	1774
Orphée de	no date	Strobel Anne Marie Sophie	24.04.1785
Ottée de	1777	Christina von, née Waldeck	
Paula von Liechtenstein Johann	1760	Sułkowski Antoni	1773
Nepomuk Franz de		Ternisien de Selebac et d'Arnard	4.11.1784
Payr zum Thurn Christoph	1764	Joseph Anton	
Wilhelm von		Thiboust Friedrich de	3.08.1774
Pfleger David de	1760	Trott de	1767
Piłsudski Franciszek	4.11.1776	Veillon Gabriel Isaac	1780
Pincornelly Friedrich de	1777	Vierne Jean	1780
Plater August	3.08.1773	Wagner de Sahren Sigismond	1767
Poemer Ulrich de	1763	Waldeck Franz Karl Heinrich	no date
Poissl Johann Nepomuk von	1759	Ernst de	
Przyłuski Tadeusz	8.12.1776	Walß von und auf Syrenburg	1777
Quereille Joseph Carl de	no date	Franz Joseph Maria Quirin	
(<i>expelled</i>)		Anton	
Reichling de Meldegg Anselm	20.06.1755	Wedekind	1776
Joseph		Weguelin André	1776
Reinold de	1760	Weimar	1776
Reinschmidt	no date	Welling de	1773
Reitzenstein Wilhelm von	1760	Weyssenhoff Michał	20.06.1776
Rondoli	no date	Wilczewski Franciszek	26.12.1773
Rosiejewski (Rozejewski?)	1773	Ksawery	
Roth Jacob Friedrich de	1759	Wucherer von Huldenfeld	1759
Rumerskirch Johann Bernhard	13.08.1785	Bernhard Wilhelm Friedrich	
von		Wudt	02.1776
Rustan Nicolas	1783	Zaremba Józef	1774
Sartorri de Rappen Charles	1785	Zillerberg	no date
Antoine de		Zobel de et à Gibelstadt	no date
Sch[...] de (<i>suspended</i>)	no date	Zugehör	1774

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł jest poświęcony portretowi Franciszka Piłsudskiego (1707–1791), dalekiego krewnego Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego. Obraz pochodzi prawdopodobnie z połowy XVIII w. Jest to jedyny znany obecnie wizerunek polskiego kawalera Orderu Opatrzności Bożej, na którym został przedstawiony Wielki Krzyż Orderu Opatrzności. Autorka przybliżyła postać Franciszka Piłsudskiego, ukazując go jako zdolnego i operatywnego gospodarza oraz męża stanu, szybko wspinającego się po stopniach kariery politycznej. Franciszek Piłsudski umacniał swoją pozycję w najwyższych kręgach społecznych za pomocą fundacji artystycznych, czemu także miał służyć zamówiony na początku kariery cywilnej portret. Prezentując na nim zdobyte przez siebie odznaczenia ukazał się on jako oddany stronnik Stanisława Augusta. Postawę tę podkreślał szczególnie Order Opatrzności, który związany był z epizodem porwania i uratowania króla. Dzięki przeprowadzonym przez autorkę badaniom okazało się, że w Polsce stanisławowskiej co najmniej 60 osób zostało kawalerami Orderu Opatrzności i byli to przeważnie królewscy zwolennicy. Udało się ustalić, że było to odznaczenie saskie, znane również pod nazwą Orderu Św. Joachima.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

Piłsudski Franciszek, portret staropolski, Opatrzność, Order Opatrzności Bożej, Zakon Opatrzności Bożej, Order Św. Joachima, Zakon Św. Joachima, Stanisław August, porwanie Stanisława Augusta

SUMMARY

This article is devoted to the portrait of Franciszek Piłsudski (1707–1791), a distant relative of Marshal Józef Piłsudski. The painting probably dates from the mid-18th century. It is the only currently known image of a Polish knight of the Order of Divine Providence depicting the Grand Cross of the Order of Providence. The author introduces the figure of Franciszek Piłsudski, portraying him as an able and efficient manager and statesman, rapidly climbing the ranks of his political career. Franciszek Piłsudski was consolidating his position in the highest social circles with the help of artistic foundations, which was also the purpose of the portrait he commissioned at the beginning of his civilian career. By displaying his decorations on the portrait, he showed himself to be a devoted supporter of Stanislaus Augustus. This attitude was particularly emphasised by the Order of Providence, which was associated with the episode of the king's abduction and rescue. Thanks to the author's research, it turned out that at least 60 people in Stanisław August's Poland became chevaliers of the Order of Providence, and these were mostly royal supporters. It was possible to establish that this was a Saxon decoration, also known as the Order of St. Joachim.

KEYWORDS

Piłsudski Franciszek, old-Polish portrait, Divine Providence, Order of Divine Providence, Order of St. Joachim, Stanisław August, kidnapping of Stanisław August

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival sources

Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych
Archiwum Piłsudskich-Giniatowiczów no.
372, sign. 1/372/o, sign. LX B, pp. 5-8.
Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archive
f.11(SA), ap. 1, b. 717.

Printed sources

- Bohmann Peter, Wietz J[...] K[...], *Rys historyczny zgromadzeń zakonnych [...]*, vol. 3: *Zakony rycerskie i orderzy państw*, Warszawa 1849.
- Boudart Jean-Baptiste, *Iconologie tirée de divers auteurs...*, vol. 2, Vienne 1766.
- Coxe William, *Podróż po Polsce. 1778*, transl. Ewa Suchodolska, in: *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, vol. 1, ed. and introduction by Waclaw Zawadzki, Warszawa 1963, p. 559-703.
- Coxe William, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, Interspersed with Historical Relations and Political Inquiries*, vol. 1, Dublin 1784.
- Czerski Stanisław, *Opis żmudzkiej diecezji*, Wilno 1830.
- "Dziennik Literacki", vol. 16, 1867, no. 46, p. 739.
- État present de L'Ordre Equestre Seculier et Chapitral de St. Joachim. Junxit Amicus Amor*, [Hamburg] 1787.
- État présent de l'ordre équestre séculier et chapitral de St. Joachim. Junxit amicus amor*, Bronsvick 1793.
- "Gazeta Warszawska", Supplement, 1791, no. 39, unpag. [p. 6-7].
- "Gazety Wileńskie", 1780, no. 47, unpag. [p. 1].
- "Gazety Wileńskie", 1780, no. 49, unpag. [p. 2].
- "Gazety Wileńskie", 1780, no. 33, unpag. [p. 4].
- G[ołębiowski] Łukasz, *Gabinet medalów polskich oraz tych które się dziejów Polski tyczą, z czasów panowania Stanisława Augusta*, vol. 4, Wrocław 1843.
- Gritsch Johann Christoph von, *Kurz entworfene Züge einer von dem Hochlöblichen David- und Jonathaner Ritter-Orden zu errichtenden Adelichen Ritter-Academie*, Regensburg 1770.
- Hanson Levitt, *An Accurate Historical Account of all the Orders of Knighthood at present existing in Europe...*, vol. 1, London 1803.
- Histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'a présent...*, Paris 1783.
- Kitowicz Jędrzej, *Pamiętniki czyli Historia polska*, ed. and introduction Przemysława Matuszewska, with a commentary by Zofia Lewinówna, Warszawa 1971.
- L'ordre institué en honneur de la Providence Divine et dédié à Sa Majesté Stanislas Auguste, roi de Pologne, grand duc de Lithuanie*, [no place] 1778.
- Magier Antoni, *Estetyka miasta stołecznego Warszawy*, introduction Jan Morawicki, ed., foreword, commentary, indexes Hanna Szwankowska, theatrical commentary Eugeniusz Szwankowski, historical and literary commentary Juliusz Wiktor Gomułcki, Wrocław 1963.
- "Monitor" 1765-1785, selection, ed. and introduction Elżbieta Aleksandrowska, Wrocław 1976.
- Niemcewicz Julian Ursyn, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, vol. 1, ed. and introduction Jan Dihm, Warszawa 1957.
- Pamiętniki króla Stanisława Augusta. Antologia*, selection Dominique Triaire, transl. Wawrzyniec Brzozowski, introduction Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, ed. Marek Dębowski, Warszawa 2013.
- Perrot Aristide Michel, *Collection historique des ordres de chevalerie civils et militaires...*, Paris 1820.
- [Rzewuski Henryk], *Listopad. Romans historyczny z drugiej połowy XVIII wieku*, vol. 2, Wilno 1862.
- [Rzewuski Henryk], *Pamiętniki Bartłomieja Michałowskiego przez autora Listopada*, vol. 3, Petersburg-Mohilew 1857.

- Stanislas Auguste, *Mémoires du roi Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski*, ed. Sergej Mihajlovič Goriańnov, vol. 1, St.-Pétersbourg 1914; vol. 2, Leningrad 1924.
- Stanislas Auguste, *Mémoires*, ed. Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, Dominique Triaire, Paris 2012 (Collection historique de l'Institut d'études slaves. – LXVIII).
- Warrant granting the Rank of Grand Commander or Grand Cross of the Order of St. Joachime, in: Henry Kirke, *From the Gun Room to the Throne. Being the Life of Vice-Admiral H.S.H. Philip D'Auvergne Duke of Bouillon*, London 1904, p. 166–173.
- Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *Flawiusza Wegecjusza Renata męża zacnego, o sprawie rycerskiej nauka...*, vol. 1: *O sprawie rycerskiej lądowej i wodnej w powszechności*, Łowicz 1776.
- “Wiadomości Warszawskie”, 1772, no. 45, Supplement, unpag. [p. 2–2v].
- Wielądko Wojciech Wincenty, *Heraldyka, czyli opisanie familii i krwi związku szlachty polskiej i W. X. Litt. z ich herbami*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1794.
- Wraxall Nathaniel William, *Wspomnienia z Polski. 1778*, transl. Halina Kraheńska, in: *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, vol. 1, ed. and introduction by Waclaw Zawadzki, Warszawa 1963, pp. 477–557.
- Literature**
- Appuhn-Radtke Sibylle, Wipfler Esther P., *Freundschaft*, in: *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte (RDKLabor)*, Bd. 10, 2011–2012, p. 793–902, <https://www.rdklabor.de/w/?ol-did=99274> [access 28.07.2023].
- B[uszyński] Ignacy, *Opisanie historyczno-statystyczne powiatu rossieńskiego guberni kowieńskiej z dodaniem listy poprawnej generalnych starostw b. księstwa żmujdzkiego i popisu szlachty żmujdzkiej 1528 r.*, Wilno 1874.
- Bentkowski Feliks, *Spis medalów polskich lub z dziejami krainy polskiej stycznych...*, Warszawa 1830.
- Bogacz Teresa, Kozarska-Orzeszek Barbara, *Medalierstwo na ziemiach polskich w XVI–XX wieku [exhibition catalogue]*, Wrocław 1995.
- Boniecki Adam, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 9–10, Warszawa 1907.
- Cappelli Adriano, *Lexicon Abbreviaturarum. Wörterbuch lateinischer und italienischer Abkürzungen...*, Leipzig 1928.
- Czeppe Maria, Kuc Czerep Marta, Tepper Ferguson Piotr, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 53, ed. Andrzej Romanowski, Warszawa–Kraków 2020, p. 199–205.
- Czyż Anna Sylwia, *Impreza z okazji imienin Augusta III i święta Orderu Orła Białego w pałacu Sapiechów na Antokolu w Wilnie, czyli o pożytkach z czytania osiemnastowiecznej prasy*, in: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 15, ed. Wojciech Walczak, Katarzyna Wiszowata-Walczak, Białystok 2023, p. 71–98.
- Czyż Anna Sylwia, *Pałace Wilna XVII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 2021.
- Drėma Vladas, *Dingęs Vilnius / Lost Vilnius*, Vilnius 2021.
- Dubrowska Małgorzata, *Zamek Królewski w Warszawie w medalierstwie polskim*, Warszawa 1989.
- Dukwicz Dorota, Zwierzykowski Michał, Sułkowski Antoni, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 45, ed. Andrzej Romanowski, Warszawa–Kraków 2007–2008, p. 531–537.
- Dukwicz Dorota, Zwierzykowski Michał, Sułkowski August, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 45, ed. Andrzej Romanowski, Warszawa–Kraków 2008, p. 542–553.

- Estreicher Karol, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 17, Kraków 1899.
- Ezocki, in: *Słownik artystów polskich i w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 r.). Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy*, vol. 2, ed. Jolanta Maurin-Białostocka, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1975, p. 179.
- Felkerzamb (Adam Ewald), in: *Encyklopedia powszechna*, vol. 8, ed. Samuel Orgelbrand, Warszawa 1861, p. 733.
- Filipczak Witold, *Ekonomie litewskie w polityce sejmikowej Stanisława Augusta po upadku Antoniego Tyzenhauza (1780–1783)*, "Przegląd Nauk Historycznych", vol. 5, 2006, no. 1(9), p. 263–276.
- Filipow Krzysztof, *Order Świętego Stanisława*, Białystok 2009.
- Forrer Leonard, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists...*, vol. 4, London 1909.
- Góralski Zbigniew, *Encyklopedia urzędów i godności w dawnej Polsce*, Warszawa 2000.
- Górska Magdalena, *Polonia – Respublica – Patria. Personifikacja Polski w sztuce XVI–XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 2005.
- Gumowski Marian, *Medale polskie z XXXIV tablicami*, Warszawa 1925.
- Hutten-Czapski Emeryk, *Spis rycin przedstawiających portrety przewaźnie osobistości polskich w zbiorze Emeryka hrabiego Hutten-Czapskiego w Krakowie*, Kraków 1901.
- Jakubowski Tomasz, *Zamek Królewski w Warszawie – Muzeum i Fundacja Zbiorów im. Ciechanowieckich. Katalog zbiorów. Grafika. Portrety*, Warszawa 2017.
- Józefowiczówna Maria, *Jakubowicz Paschalis*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 10, ed. Kazimierz Lepszy, Kraków 1962–1964, pp. 378–379.
- Kantorowicz Ernst Hartwig, *Dwa ciała króla. Studium ze średniowiecznej teologii politycznej*, transl. Maciej Michalski, Adam Krawiec, ed. Jerzy Strzelczyk, Warszawa 2007.
- Kolmasiak Mariusz, *Belweder 1818–2018*, Warszawa 2018.
- Konopczyński Władysław, *Bęklewski Onufry Gniewomir*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 2, ed. Władysław Konopczyński, Kraków 1936, p. 3–4.
- Kuźma Marcin, *Dwugłós w sprawie Antoniego Tyzenhauza – Józef Kossakowski i Stanisław August Poniatowski*, "Napis", 2005, Series XI, p. 353–367.
- L.F.H. [Lewestam Fryderyk Henryk], *D*, in: *Encyklopedia powszechna*, vol. 6, ed. Samuel Orgelbrand, Warszawa 1861, p. 643–644.
- Libiszowska Zofia, *Z archiwaliów amerykańskich. August Sułkowski i Order Opatrzności Bożej*, in: *Trudne stulecia. Studia z dziejów XVII i XVIII wieku ofiarowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Michalskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Łukasz Kądziera, Wojciech Kriegseisen, Zofia Zielińska, Warszawa 1994, pp. 73–79.
- Łoś Wincenty, *Wizerunki króla Stanisława Augusta*, Kraków 1876.
- Łoza Stanisław, *Kawalerowie Orderu Świętego Stanisława 1765–1813*, illustrated by Bohdan Marconi, Warszawa 1925.
- M. E. [Maliszewski Edward], *Krótką wiadomość o Zakonie Rycerskim „Opatrzności Bożej” p. im. Św. Joachima. (Przyczynek do czasów króla Stanisława Augusta)*, "Miesięcznik Heraldyczny", vol. 11, 1932, p. 200–203.
- Manyś Bernadetta, *Wileńskie aniwersarze imienin Augusta III w świetle prasy informacyjnej z epoki. Opracowanie i edycja źródłowa*, Poznań 2016.
- Michalczyk Zbigniew, *Zapomniane konteksty. Augsburg jako ośrodek rytownictwa wobec Rzeczypospolitej w XVII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 2020.
- Miziołek Jerzy, Tyszkiewicz Adam, *Moc królewskiej oracji. Porwanie Stanisława Augusta w obrazie ołtarza kościoła pw. św. Karola Boromeusza na Powązkach*,

- “Kronika Zamkowa”, vol. 65–66, 2013, no. 1–2, p. 59–74.
- Morcinek Roch, *Drewnowski Florian Krzysztof*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 5, ed. Władysław Konopczyński, Kraków 1939–1946, p. 372–373.
- Muzeum Wojska Polskiego w Warszawie. Katalog zbiorów. Wiek XVIII*, ed. Zofia Stefańska in collaboration with Maria Rohozińska, Warszawa 1960.
- Myers Minor, Jr., *The ‘Polish Order’ of 1783 Identified*, “The Orders and Medals Research Society”, 1981, no. 3, p. 11–19.
- Neumüller Henry, *Ritterorden St. Stanislaus Gestiftet 1765*, vol. 1, Norderstedt 2016.
- Nieć Julian, *Czterwertyński-Światopełk Antoni Stanisław*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 4, ed. Władysław Konopczyński, Kraków 1938, p. 358–360.
- Nieć Julian, *Czterwertyński-Światopełk Janusz Tomasz*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 4, ed. Władysław Konopczyński, Kraków 1938, p. 362–363.
- Niesiecki Kasper, *Herbarz polski*, published Jan Nepomucen Bobrowicz, vol. 9, Lipsk 1842.
- Noble Hearts. The Order of Saint Joachim*, ed. Stephen Lautens, Toronto 2005.
- Nowak Tadeusz Marian, *Księżdzka Franciszka Paprockiego S.J. praca o historii wojen i wojskowości polskiej wydana w 1776 roku*, “Analecta”, vol. 18, 2000, no. 9/2, p. 135–172.
- Obarski Marek T., *Piłsudski Franciszek*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 26, ed. Emanuel Rostworowski, Wrocław 1981, p. 308–310.
- Ostrowski Jan K., *Portret w dawnej Polsce*, Warszawa 2019.
- Ostrożyński Władysław, *Sprawa zamachu na Stanisława Augusta z 3 listopada 1771 przed sądem sejmowym*, Lwów 1891.
- Öxlein Johann Leonhard, in: *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler...*, Hrsg. Ulrich Thieme, Felix Becker, Bd. 25, Leipzig 1931, p. 577.
- Paknys Mindaugas, *Viešvėnų bažnyčia*, “Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis”, vol. 28, 2003, p. 84–89.
- Pajūralio šv. Joakimo bažnyčia*, https://lt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paj%C5%ABralio_%C5%A1v._Joakimo_ba%C5%BEny%C4%8Ddia [access: 11.08.2023].
- Pastusiak Longin, *Dyplomacja Stanów Zjednoczonych*, Toruń–Warszawa 1997.
- Piłsudski Rowmund, *Kronika rodu Piłsudskich*, Londyn 1988.
- Piskorska Helena, *Geret Samuel Luter*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 7, ed. Władysław Konopczyński, Kraków 1948–1958, p. 391–393.
- Pojurze, in: *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. Bronisław Chlebowski, Władysław Walewski after Filip Sulimierski, vol. 8, Warszawa 1887, p. 537.
- Pokora Jakub, *Obraz najjaśniejszego pana Stanisława Augusta (1764–1770). Studium z ikonografii władzy*, Warszawa 1993.
- Prószyńska Zuzanna, *Merlini Manon*, in: *Słownik artystów polskich i w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 r.). Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy*, vol. 5, ed. Janusz Derwojed, Warszawa 1993, p. 488.
- Puchalski Zbigniew, *Dzieje polskich znaków zaszczytnych*, Warszawa 2000.
- R. Ch. [Rohrschneider Christine], *Ezocki*, in: *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten Und Völker*, Hrsg. Klaus Gerhard Saur, Bd. 36, München–Leipzig 2003, p. 3.
- Rolffsen Franz Nikolaus, in: *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler...*, Hrsg. Ulrich Thieme, Felix Becker, Bd. 28, Leipzig 1934, p. 534.
- Rostworowski Emanuel M., *Religijność i polityka wyznaniowa Stanisława Augusta*, in: *Życie kulturalne i religijność w czasach Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego*, ed. Marian Marek Drozdowski, Warszawa 1991, p. 11–24.

- Roux Jean-Paul, *Król. Mity i symbole*, transl. Katarzyna Marczevska, Warszawa 1998.
- Sigla latina in libris impressis occurrentia cum singlorum graecorum appendice*, collect Marcus Winiarczyk, ed. II, Wratislaviae 1995.
- Skrodzka Agnieszka, *Kilka słów o porwaniu Stanisława Augusta. W sprawie polskiego tłumaczenia „Pamiętników” króla*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, vol. 77, 2016, no. 3, p. 563–565.
- Skrodzka Agnieszka, *Na marginesie książki o nagrobku serca króla Jana Kazimierza w Paryżu*, „Archiwum Emigracji”, 2021–2022, issue 29, p. 361–377.
- Skrodzka Agnieszka, „*Opłakujcie go, nieutuleni*”. *Treści ideowe dzieł sztuki związanych ze śmiercią Stanisława Leszczyńskiego*, in: *Leszczyńscy i Sułkowscy w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. Alina Barczyk, Tadeusz Bernatowicz, Leszno–Łódź 2023, p. 243–269.
- Skrodzka Agnieszka, *Stanisław August – rex infelix. Ikonografia z okresu panowania*, in: *Stanisław August i jego Rzeczpospolita. Dramat państwa, odrodzenie narodu. Materiały z wykładów*, ed. Angela Sołtys, Zofia Zielińska, Warszawa 2013, p. 429–444.
- Skrodzka Agnieszka, *Tablica kommemoracyjna Jana Kazimierza z pokamedulskiego kościoła na warszawskich Bielanach – pamiątka dewocji ostatniego Wazy na polskim tronie*, in: *Pióro na wodzie. Eseje o ks. Januszu St. Pasierbie i studia z ikonografii dedykowane Jego pamięci*, ed. Anna Sylwia Czyż, Krysztyna Moisan-Jabłońska, Warszawa 2015, p. 100–109.
- Skrodzka Agnieszka, *Udręki majestatu. Polscy „królowie nieszczęśliwi” w ikonografii nowożytnej*, Warszawa 2018.
- Skrodzka Agnieszka, *Wątki masońskie w sztuce na dworze Stanisława Augusta*, „Artifex Novus”, 2019, no. 2, p. 2–19.
- Skrodzka Agnieszka, *Wizerunek króla nieszczęśliwego – portret Stanisława Augusta z klepsydrą*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, vol. 69, 2007, no. 3–4, p. 203–247.
- Stankevič Adam, *Lietuvos Vyriausiojo Tribuno veikle XVIII a. II pusėje: bajoriškosios teisės raiška*, daktaro disertacija, Vilnius 2013.
- Szczygielski Waław, *Olizar (Olizar Wołczkiewicz) Franciszek Kajetan*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 22, ed. Emanuel Rostworowski, Kraków 1978, p. 812–813.
- Szczygielski Waław, *Przyłuski Tadeusz*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 29, ed. Emanuel Rostworowski, p. 212–214.
- Szytele, in: Roman Aftanazy, *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 3: *Województwo trockie, Księstwo Żmudzkie, Inflanty Polskie, Księstwo Kurlandzkie*, Wrocław 1992, p. 288–290.
- Ugniewski Piotr, *Król porwany czyli „Boskiej Opatrzności dowód oczywisty”*, Warszawa 2023.
- Uruski Seweryn, *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. 3 and 12, Warszawa 1906–1915.
- Urzednicy inflanccy XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. Krzysztof Mikulski, Andrzej Rachuba, Kórnik 1994.
- Urzednicy Wielkiego Ksiestwa Litewskiego. Spisy*, vol. 3: *Księstwo Żmudzkie XV–XVIII wiek*, ed. and co-authoring Henryk Lulewicz, Przemysław P. Romaniuk, Andrzej Haratym, Warszawa 2015.
- Wdowiszewski Zygmunt, supplement to the article by E. M. [E. Maliszewskiego], *Krótka wiadomość o Zakonie Rycerskim „Opatrzności Bożej” p. im. Św. Joachima. (Przyczynek do czasów króla Stanisława Augusta)*, „Miesięcznik Heraldyczny”, vol. 11, 1932, p. 200–203.
- Węgrzyn Iwona, *W świecie powieści Henryka Rzewuskiego*, Kraków 2012.

- Widacka Hanna, *Ikonografia króla Stanisława Augusta w grafice*, "Rocznik Historii Sztuki", 1985, vol. 15, p. 163–220.
- Widacka Hanna, *Porwanie Stanisława Augusta w grafice europejskiej XVIII wieku*, "Roczniki Biblioteczne", 2002, no. 46, p. 137–156.
- Widacka Hanna, *Splendor i niestawa. Stanisław August Poniatowski w grafice XVIII wieku ze zbiorów polskich*, Warszawa 2008.
- Wieszwiany, in: R. Aftanazy, *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 4: *Województwo wileńskie*, part 1: *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie*, Wrocław 1993, p. 489–491.
- Wieszwiany, in: *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. Bronisław Chlebowski, Władysław Walewski, after Filip Sulimierski, vol. 13, Warszawa 1893, p. 426.
- Wilder Jan Antoni, *Marszałek Trybunału Litewskiego Franciszek Piłsudski i jego plan portu pod Połogą*, "Pion", vol. 2, 1934, no. 23(36), p. 3.
- Wilder Jan Antoni, *Projekt Franciszka Piłsudskiego odbudowy portu pod Połogą*, "Rocznik Gdański", vol. 9–10, 1935–1936, p. XVII–LII.
- Wolff Józef, *Senatorowie i dygnitarze Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego 1386–1795*, Kraków 1885.
- Wysocki Wiesław Jan, *Konterfekt rodu Piłsudskich*, <http://instytutpilsudskiego.com/konterfekt/> [access: 8.06.2023].
- Zamek Królewski w Warszawie – Muzeum i Fundacja Zbiorów im. Ciechanowickich. *Medale polskie i z Polską związane z okresu Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej. Katalog zbiorów*, vol. 2, ed. Juliusz W. Zacher, Grzegorz Śnieżko, Michał Zawadzki, with collaboration by Marta Męclewska, Warszawa 2019.
- Zielińska Zofia, *Plater August*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 26, ed. Emanuel Rostworowski, Kraków 1981, p. 647–649.

Internet websites:

- Founders Online, National Archives, Washington Papers, <https://founders.archives.gov/search/Project%3A%22Washington%20Papers%22> [access: 12.08.2023].
- Geni. A MyHeritage Company, <https://www.geni.com/people/GD-Franciszek-Pi%C5%82sudski-h-w%C5%82/600000010540219930> [access: 18.06.2023].
- Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Digitale Sammlungen <https://digital.slib-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/60104/3> [access: 11.08.2023].
- The Order of Saint Joachim, <https://www.stjoachimorder.org/> [access: 30.06.2023].