

THE LANCKORONSKI COLLECTION IN POLAND *

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In October 1994 leading cultural institutions in Poland received as a gift from Professor Karolina Lanckoronska the last surviving member of the Lanckoronski family, around five hundred art objects, including paintings, drawings, miniatures, pieces of furniture and medallions. Among the recipients were the Royal Castles on Wawel Hill in Cracow and that in Warsaw. In this way all the art treasures from the Lanckoronski Collections originally housed both in Vienna and at Rozdol in Galicia which had remained in the hands of Karol Lanckoronski's descendants became the property of the Polish nation. Thus, the wish of the Lanckoronski family, first expressed in 1930s has at last been fulfilled. The aim of this paper is to outline some facts from the life of Count Lanckoronski, the fate of his collection and to present the most valuable paintings from it in particular the Italian ones which are now housed in Cracow. My paper is no more than a preliminary sketch of a complex story the details of which remain to be investigated.

1. *Karol Lanckoronski (1848-1933) the founder of the Collection*

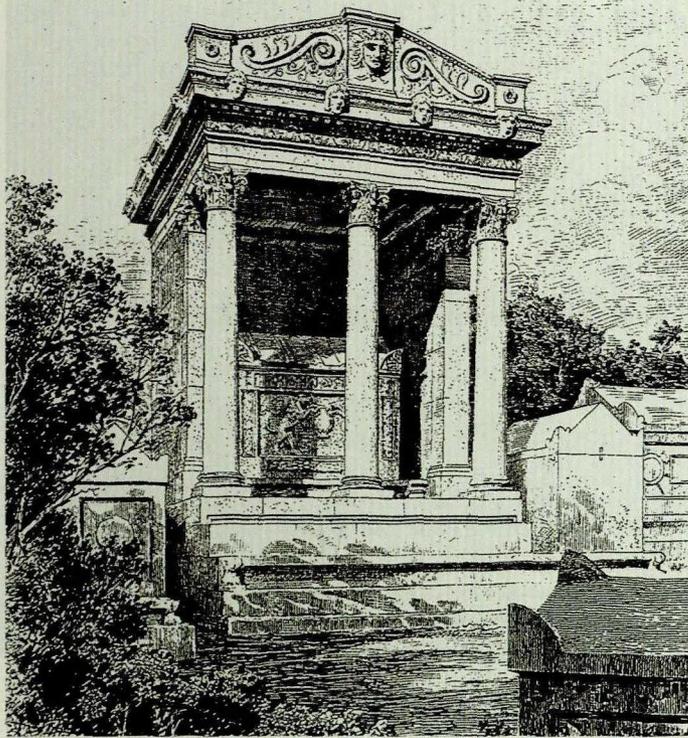
The Lanckoronski family have played a leading role in Polish history and cultural life for a least seven centuries¹). The oldest extant record referring to this aristocratic family goes back to 1308. In the first half of the 14th century they were instrumental in helping king Ladislas the Short to reunite Poland, and around 1400 they supported the reestablishing of the Jagiellonina University²). During the Renaissance some of the Lanckoronski commissioned in Cracow important monuments which survive to this day³). In the 15th and 17th centuries respectively the Lanckoronskis participated in the wars against the Teutonic Knights and the Swedish armies, while in the 18th century they were at the head of the reforming party at the diet of 1791 which voted in the Constitution of 3rd May⁴). Following the partitions of Poland, the Lanckoronski family, most of whose estates were in Galicia kept close ties with the Viennese court.

Count Karol Lanckoronski was born and lived in Vienna (fig. 1)⁵). He spent his childhood in Paris and then attended both high school and university in Vienna, where in 1870 he received his doctorate in law. When still very young he showed a great interest in art history and classical archeology which he studied simultaneously with law. A famous classical philologist, Wilhelm von Hartel who subsequently became one of Lanckoronski's closest friends, made a great impact on him in these studies⁶). Having received his doctorate the Count dedicated the rest of his life to humanities and art, collecting art objects from many countries of the world, writing books and papers, and giving lectures. Already in his youth he had undertaken numerous journeys, travelling extensively through almost all of Europe. He particularly loved Italy and the great masters of the Renaissance⁷). During the 1870s and 1880s he visited most Mediterranean countries and then took a

trip around the world, visiting India, Indochina, China, Japan, the United States, Canada and the British Isles. Among his companions in these travels were often some of the most famous artists of that time; e.g. the painters Hans Makart and Ludwig von Fisher⁸). Lanckoronski would return from his journeys with numerous art objects, both oriental and European, bought for his collection in Vienna⁹). In the mid-1880s Count Lanckoronski organized and financed two important international archeological expeditions to Pamphylia and Pisidia in Asia Minor (fig. 2)¹⁰). The organizer himself took part in the first of these expeditions. His collaborators were Eugen Petersen, the director of German Archeological Institute in Rome, Georg Niemann, a professor of the



1 - Kazimierz Pochwalski, Portrait of Count Karol Lanckoronski, 126x95,4 cm., Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7982.



Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, Wilhelm von Hartel and two Poles, Marian Sokolowski, a professor of the Jagiellonian University and the celebrated painter Jacek Malczewski¹¹). The latter executed for Lanckoronski numerous drawings and some paintings both in Asia Minor and in the Count's estates (fig. 5). In his beloved Italy, at the end of the 19th century Count Lanckoronski undertook archeological and conservation works in the cathedral of Aquileia. The famous monument was saved and in 1906 Karol Lanckoronski was awarded honorary citizenship of the town. Both the results of the expeditions to Asia Minor and research in Aquileia were published in monumental books which continue to provide indispensable material for further research¹²). Count Lanckoronski not only financed and edited these two important publications but also provided them with interesting introductory essays. He was also the author of numerous other books and papers concerning, among other subjects, his travels, Italian and Japanese painting, problems of restoring historic monuments and museology¹³). His publications: « Ein Ritt durch Kilikien. Aus dem winterlichen Afrika » (1889), « Rund um die Erde » (1891, also published in Polish two years later in Cracow), « Etwas von japanischer Malerei » (1901), « Einiges über italienische bemalte Truhen » (1905) and « Künstler und Kunsthistoriker » (1924) reflect perfectly Lanckoronski's vast interests, erudition in the fields of historic monuments and modern approach to restoration, and museology¹⁴). Karol Lanckoronski also produced some poetry; a few of his poems are to be found in obituary memoirs published by Julius von Twardowski in 1934; their subjects included famous masterpieces of Michelangelo, and the monuments of Venice¹⁵). At the turn of the 19th century he became one of the leading members of an Austrian and Polish circle interested in the arts and humanities. Among his closest friends were Max Dvořák and Julius von Schlosser, both of whom, together with Wilhelm Bode, Karl Maria Swoboda and others, contributed to the Lanckoronski Festschrift « Ausgewählte Kunstwerke der Sammlung Lanckoronski » (1918)¹⁶). Karol Lanckoronski was a member of the Akademie der Wissenschaften, the Akademie der Bildenden Künste, the Oesterreichisches Archäologisches Institut (all three being in Vienna) and the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence. He was also awarded

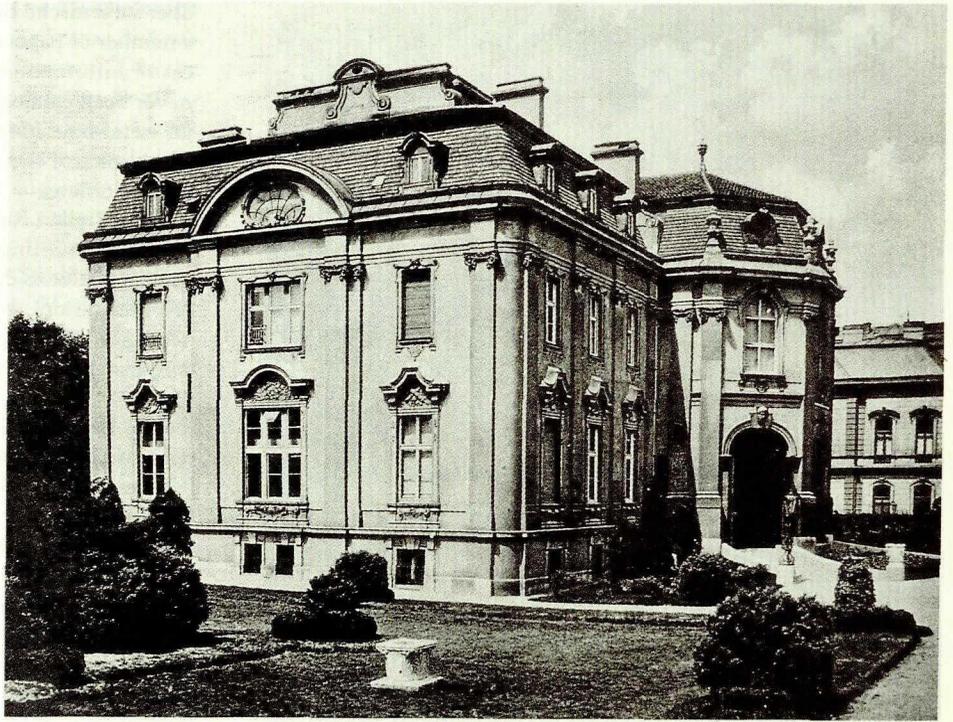
honorary doctorates from the Universities of Berlin and Cracow¹⁷). Following his death in 1933 he was described by Johannes Wilde as « the last humanist »; the same words were repeated by the famous archeologist Ludwig Curtius¹⁸).

Although he was involved so much in studies and research, Count Lanckoronski made a great career at the Viennese court which even nominated him as the Knight of the Golden Fleece. He was a secret advisor to the emperor, a member of the House of Lords, in Parliament and in 1914 he became Grand Steward (Oberstkammerer) whose duties also involved the restoration of historic monuments¹⁹). While maintaining such close links with the Viennese court, Lanckoronski always considered himself a Pole and in many ways demonstrated his Polishness by supporting the University of Cracow and numerous Polish institutions in Vienna²⁰). It was Karol Lanckoronski who inspired translations of the most important works of the eminent poet Adam Mickiewicz into German²¹). He was a member of the committee for the restoration of the Royal Castle and Cathedral on Cracow's Wawel Hill where he even commissioned two cenotaphs, the first to Queen Jadwiga and the second to bishop Zbigniew Olesnicki, the medieval benefactors of the Cracow University²²). His Viennese collection included a number of portraits of Polish national heroes; e.g. of kings Stefan Batory and Jan III Sobieski, the hetman Stefan Czarniecki, Prince Jozef Poniatowski and general Tadeusz Kosciuszko²³). When, in 1903, Count Lanckoronski entertained the emperor Franz Josef at one of his estates in Galicia he wore Polish costume. In such a costume he was also portrayed by a Polish painter, Kazimierz Pochwalski (fig. 1)²⁴). When Poland appeared again on the map of Europe in 1918 Karol Lanckoronski adopted Polish nationality, became a member of the General Clearing Committee in Warsaw and was very much involved in the revindication of Polish collections and archives from the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy. For this activity he received from the government of the Republic of Poland the 'Polonia Restituta' Order²⁵). Shortly before his death in 1933 while still living mostly in Vienna he pronounced to an Austrian journalist the significant words: « I am a Pole, my family lived in Vienna, but we always maintained links with Poland... I am happy that as an old man I have been able to do something for my reborn country »²⁶.

2. The Lanckoronski Collection in Vienna

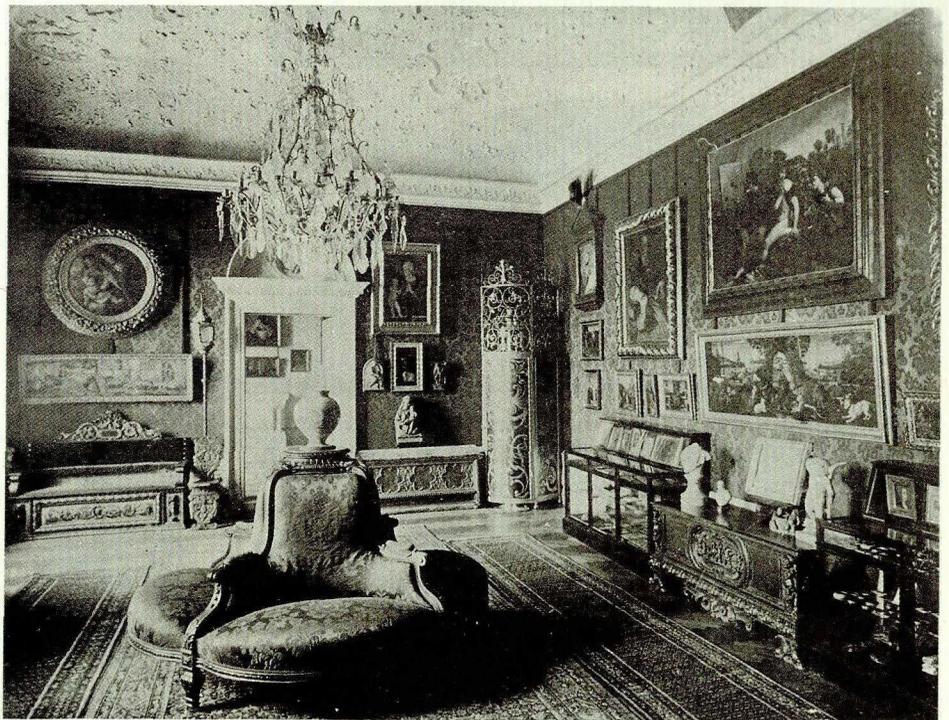
At the beginning of our century the Lanckoronski Collection was one of the richest private galleries in Europe; in Vienna only the Liechtenstein and Harrach Collections could compare with it²⁷). Most of the art treasures in the Lanckoronski Collection had been purchased by Count Karol himself though its history can be traced back to the beginning of the 19th century. In 1815 Kazimierz Rzewuski, father in law of Count Karol's grandfather, had acquired more than 30 paintings, including two magnificent paintings by Rembrandt, from the former gallery of Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski, the last king of Poland²⁸). Some French and Dutch paintings were inherited by the Lanckoronski from the Potocki family; Count Karol's mother came from this noble family. From the early 1870s the Collections grew very quickly. From his numerous journeys throughout Europe and beyond Count Karol would bring great numbers of various art objects. Many of these were bought or sometimes received as gifts during his journey around the world (1888-1889), including some Indian sculptures, Japanese bronzes and paintings, Chinese porcelain, Arabian and Persian illuminated manuscripts and ancient Mexican sculpture - either Aztec or Inca²⁹). In the catalogue to the exhibition of Oriental art from the Lanckoronski Collection organized in Vienna in 1890 at the Österreichisches Handels-Museum are listed 1,079 items³⁰). The Collection, however, was composed mostly of European art

2 - A Mausoleum at Termessos, etching from K. Lanckoronski et al., *Die Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (1890-1892).



3 - F. Felner and H. Helmer, The Lanckoronski palace in Vienna.

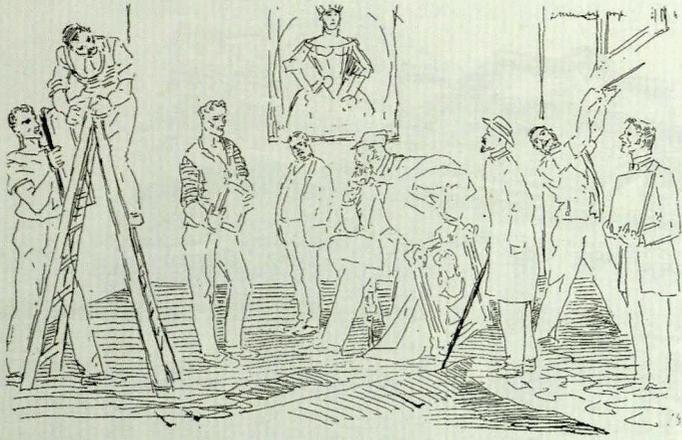
4 - Italian Room in the Lanckoronski palace; photograph from 1903.



representing all epochs from Antiquity until modern times with preference given to Italian Renaissance art. Unfortunately, very little information is presently available about the process of creating the collections of European painting and sculpture. It is sometimes said that one of the most eminent art historians and connoisseurs of our century, Bernard Berenson, must have advised Count Lackoronski in buying the paintings³¹). Indeed, Berenson was often consulted by numerous art collectors and there are many similarities between his own much smaller collection at Villa I Tatti in Florence and that of the Lanckoronskis³²). However, we do not have as yet definite evidence that such help was offered by the great American art historian. Lanckoronski knew himself

the whole of Italy very well and particularly Italian Renaissance art³³). In his small but valuable book concerning Italian domestic painting titled « Einiges über italienische bemalte Truhen » published in 1905, Lanckoronski refers to his acquisitions of numerous cassone pieces during his journeys in Italy or in other countries; at least in the field of cassone painting, Lanckoronski considered himself an expert.

Initially, the Lanckoronski Collection was housed in a residence on Vienna's Wasagasse. In the mid-1890s it was transferred to a neobaroque palace built by Ferdinand Fellner and Herman Helmer at Jacquingasse 18, near the Belvedere (fig. 3)³⁴). In 1903 the collection was opened to the public. On that occasion a slim



5 - Jacek Malczewski, Hanging of paintings in one of the Karol Lanckoronski's residences, Cracow, Wawel Castle.

guide titled « Palais Lanckoronski Jacquingasse 18 » was printed privately, its author most probably being Count Lanckoronski himself. This guide, preserved in a few Austrian and Polish libraries together with several other publications including the Karol Lanckoronski 'Festschrift' of 1918³⁵, his already mentioned « Einiges

über italienische bemalte Truhen », memoirs of some visitors, and a number of papers concerning certain art object are the only sources of information about the Lanckoronski Collection which has never been catalogued³⁶). The guide of 1903 contains a list of major items housed in particular rooms in the palace on the Jacquingasse; some of the attributions suggested in this guide would appear to be dubious.

The Italian Room, for example (fig. 4), was adorned with the following paintings: a 'Portrait' ascribed to Lorenzo Lotto, 'Virgin' by Melozzo da Forlì, 'Virgin with Wings' by Luca Signorelli, 'Annunciation', by Fra Angelico, 'Jupiter, Mercury and Iris' by Dosso Dossi, 'Orpheus making Music among Animals (spalliera)' by Jacopo del Sellaio, 'Virgin with Child' by Alesso Baldovinetti (fig. 12), two cassone fronts with the story of Ulysses, 'Virgin' ascribed to Botticelli. The same room also housed a magnificent early-Christian gem and numerous sculptures; e.g. 'Head of a Woman' by Desiderio da Settignano³⁷), the 'Rape of Europa' and a 'Putto' both by Agostino di Duccio, as well as 'Head of Christ' ascribed to Giovanni Bellini. Adornments in the Little Italian Studio included: Masaccio's 'St. Andrew', Paolo Uccello's 'St. George and the Dragon', Giovanni Francesco Caroto's 'Orpheus among Animals', Lorenzo Costa's 'Seated Youth', Paris Bordone's 'Portrait of a Man' and some cassone pieces - among these one cassone front (most probably depicting 'Caesar's War with the Gauls'), and numerous side panels. In the same room were also kept a drawing by Leonardo da Vinci and a sculpture by Nicola or Giovanni Pisano.



6 - The Montalcino Polyptych Master (?), Madonna with Child, 73,4x46,5 cm., Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7898.

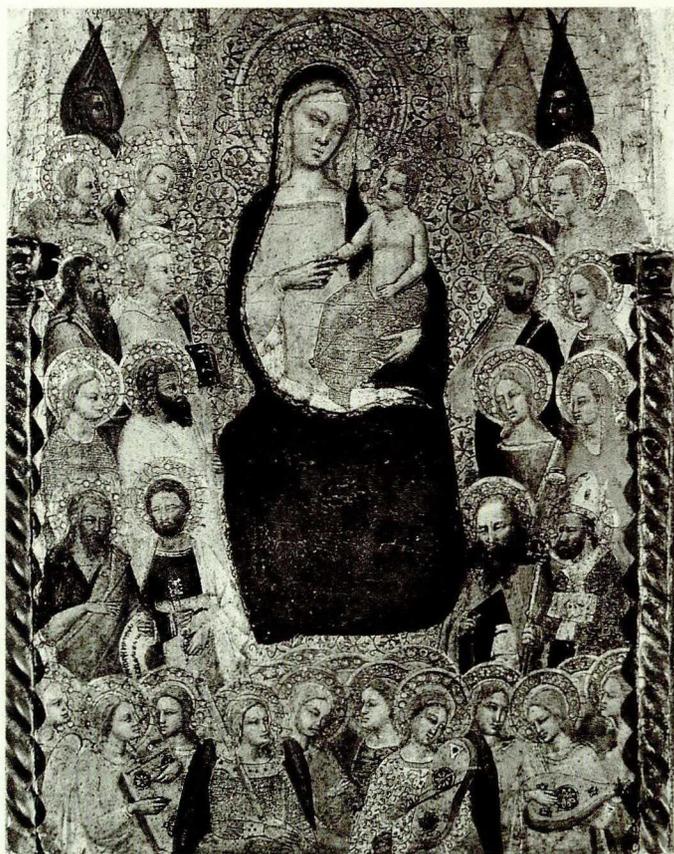
7 - Sano di Pietro, Madonna with Child and Saints, 38,5x29 cm., Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7903.

In the Fresco Room were kept famous works by Domenichino depicting mythological subjects originating from the Stanza di Apollo of the Belvedere at the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati³⁸). In the middle of the room stood a gigantic Roman sarcophagus from Cilicia, while on a marble table by one of the walls was a votive Greek relief. Some glass cases contained Greek vases, bronzes and terracottas, as well as Egyptian and Roman reliefs and sculptures. A number of other magnificent antiquities were also present in other rooms³⁹).

Also the palace chapel, like the Little Italian Studio, was filled with objects from Italy, e.g. - two effigies of the 'Madonna', one in terracotta ascribed to Donatello and another of marble ascribed to Arnolfo di Cambio. The paintings included the fragment of a fresco representing the Archangel Gabriel from the 'Annunciation' by Lorenzo Monaco and some panels by Taddeo Gaddi, Spinello Aretino and Taddeo di Bartolo. Further Italian paintings and sculptures by Sano di Pietro (fig. 7), Titian (?), Pietro Longhi, Crespi, Canaletto, Francesco Guardi, Salvatore Rosa, Pompeo Battoni, Gianpaolo Panini and Mino da Fiesole, were to be found in other rooms including one of the two Libraries and the Green Room.

Northern European schools of painting were hung in the German Studio, in the Dutch Room and in the Women's Chamber. In the first of them hung some portraits by Holbein the Elder, Holbein the Younger, and Georg Pencz (portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam) as well as paintings by Hans Burgkmair, Lucas Cranach, Rogier van der Weyden and Francois Clouet or Corneille de Lyons. The Dutch Room was adorned with two paintings by Rembrandt: the so called 'Jewish Bride' and 'Father of the Jewish Bride', as well as paintings by Jordaens, one of the Teniers, Jan van Goyen, Adriaen van Ostade, Philip Wouwerman and others. In turn, in the Women's Chamber French dominated; e.g. numerous portraits by Elisabeth Vigée Lebrun, landscapes by Hubert Robert and Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine. Other French art objects, mostly tapestries from the time of Louis XIV, adorned the Dining Room. In the Main Room, which constituted the palace's true heart, there were mostly sculpted and painted portraits of Polish national heroes and of the Lanckoronski family's ancestors produced by both foreign and Polish artists such as Pompeo Battoni, Andrea Appiani, Elisabeth Vigée Lebrun, Hans Makart and Antoni Madeyski. In the same room were placed some Japanese bronzes, paintings and vases, as well as a statue of Buddah. Karol Lanckoronski was also very much interested in the painting of his own time. Apart from some paintings by Makart he possessed canvases by Joseph Anton Koch, Hans Thoma, Arnold Boecklin, Delacroix, Coubert, Ludwig von Fisher, Theodore Rousseau, Benjamin West, Oswald Achenbach, Edward Burne-Jones, Max Klinger and Jacek Malczewski; many of them depicted mythological subjects and were hung in one of the staircases of the palace⁴⁰). It seems that Count Karol, being so enamoured with Classical Antiquity and Renaissance art, was rather conservative; not a single painting by the Impressionists was to be found in his collection.

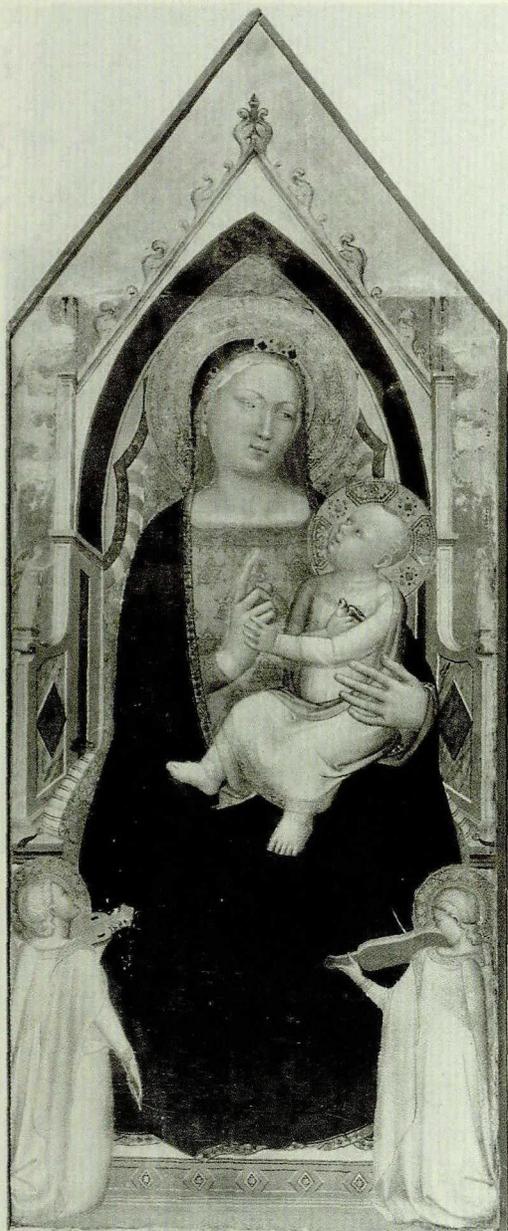
Apart from the guide 'Palais Lanckoronski', some further information about the Lanckoronski Collection in Vienna is also contained in the already cited 'Festschrift' dedicated to Karol Lanckoronski entitled « Ausgewählte Kunstwerke der Sammlung Lanckoronski » (1918) containing studies of paintings ascribed to Simone Martini (fig. 13), Giovanni di Paolo, Konrad Witz, Jan Brueghel the Elder, Joachim Patinier, Antonio Palma, Sebastiano del Piombo, and Rosalba Carriera⁴¹). Needless to say, there are also numerous other papers and notes published before the Second World War in which various objects from the Lanckoronski Collection are discussed⁴²).



8 - Niccolò di Tommaso, Madonna twelve Saints and Angels Making Music, 35,8x28,5 cm., Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7910.

3. The consequent fate of the Lanckoronski Collection

Following the death of Count Lanckoronski in 1933 his descendants, the only son, Antoni and two daughters, Karolina and Adelajda, decided to have the Collection transported to Poland⁴³). However, in the light of Austrian law this decision turned out to be very difficult to carry out. Only in 1939 did Antoni Lanckoronski receive special permission from the Austrian authorities to remove the Collection from Vienna. Unfortunately, on 1st September of the same year the war broke out and the Collection as well as the palace were confiscated by the Nazis. It should be mentioned that like Count Karol Lanckoronski his children also had adopted Polish nationality in 1918 and were also living in Poland. The most valuable paintings and sculptures from the Collection, 1,695 items in all, were immediately taken by the Nazis and stored in a mine near Salzburg⁴⁴). It was the director of the Dresden Gallery, Dr. Hans Posse who personally organized the confiscation. As is known from the Seydewitz investigations, the following canvases among others were confiscated: Hans Thomas 'Apollo and Marsyas', Anselm Feuerbach's 'Head of a Woman', Joseph Anton Koch's 'An Italian Street', Boecklin's 'Tristan' and one of the drawings by Franz Lenbach⁴⁵). It is also known that in November 1942 Hans Posse again sent one of his collaborators to Vienna in order to inspect all the art objects in the collection remaining in the Lanckoronski palace⁴⁶). There is no evidence as yet whether these objects were transported beyond Vienna before the end of the war. The palace itself was bombed in 1945 and partially burned down. After the war it was rebuilt and most of the items



9 - Bernardo Daddi, The Virgin and Child, from the Carmine Polyptych, 144x56,2 cm., Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7908.

10 - Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, Madonna with Child, 94,2x46 cm., Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7915.

from the Collection which had been removed to the mine were returned to it⁴⁷). Two years later Antoni Lanckononski transported them to the Hohenems Castle near the Swiss frontier. The most valuable of these were, fortunately enough, moved afterwards to a bank in Switzerland: the remaining part of the paintings in the Castle, more than one hundred pieces, were tragically destroyed soon afterwards in a fire⁴⁸).

In the course of time, mostly in the 1950s, numerous masterpieces were sold and now they adorn some of the most prestigious collections all over the world. For example, Paolo Uccello's 'St. George and the Dragon' as well as Domenichino's famous frescos from Frascati are to be found in the National Gallery in London⁴⁹). The equally famous 'St. Andrew' by Masaccio from the Pisa altarpiece was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu⁵⁰). The beautiful Dosso Dossi's 'Jupiter with Mercury and Iris' is kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna⁵¹). Bartolo di Fredi's panel depicting the Madonna and Child is in the Oratorio della Pietrina at Iano⁵²). In turn, some Greek and Roman sculptures from the Lanckoronski Collection; e.g. a votive relief from the 4th cen-

tury B.C., as well as a sculpture of a Faun, were acquired for the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston⁵³). The famous Lanckoronski onyx gem with the Cross adored by Peter and Paul, dating from the 6th century, is currently housed in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum⁵⁴). A significant number of objects from the Collection were thus sold, but the motives for these sales were altruistic and patriotic. After the Second World War Karol Lanckoronski's descendants could not accept the Soviet presence in Poland and therefore they lived in exile. Their main aim was to support Polish culture and the humanities abroad. For this purpose, in 1960 the Karol Lanckoronski Fund was created. Seven years later it was transformed into the « Fundatio Lanckoronski » with its seat in Switzerland⁵⁵). Until the 1980s its president was Karolina Lanckoronka. Thanks to the funds raised from the sales of paintings from the Collection about three hundred scholars from Poland received scholarships to study in Italy, Britain, France and a number of other European countries. In addition, a great number of important scholarly books, mostly in art history, were published⁵⁶). Without the support of the Lanckoronskis one of the most impor-

11 - Jacobello del Fiore, Madonna with Child, 57,7x44,5 cm., Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7957.



12 - Alesso Baldovinetti (?), perhaps Maestro di Pratovecchio, Madonna with Child, 82,2x54,5 cm., Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7933.



tant Polish cultural institutions abroad, the Polish Library in Paris, would not exist today. To save this Library Karolina Lanckoronska sold Masaccio's 'St. Andrew'⁵⁷).

Professor Lanckoronska was born in 1898. Before the Second World War a reader in art history at the University of Lvov (her publications from that period concerning Michelangelo have been quoted to this very day) and subsequently a lieutenant in Polish Home Army and a prisoner at Ravensbrück. Soon after 1945 she founded the Polish Historical Institute in Rome which since then has been publishing the archives relating to Polish history kept in various European libraries and other institutions⁵⁸). For these and many other achievements, in 1983 Karolina Lanckoronska was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Cracow⁵⁹). Not long ago the Lanckoronski Foundation with its seat in Switzerland but possessing also two branches in Rome and London became a Foundation in perpetuity.

4. The Lanckoronski donation to the Polish nation

The idea to transfer the Lanckoronski Collection to Poland in 1939 turned out to be impossible because of the war. Until 1989 Poland was a satellite of the USSR and many Poles, like the Lanckoronskis, lived abroad. Only after that year could Professor Karolina Lanckoronska, already ninety years old, again consider transporting the remainder of the Collection to her homeland. This project was realised last year. In a letter to the President of the

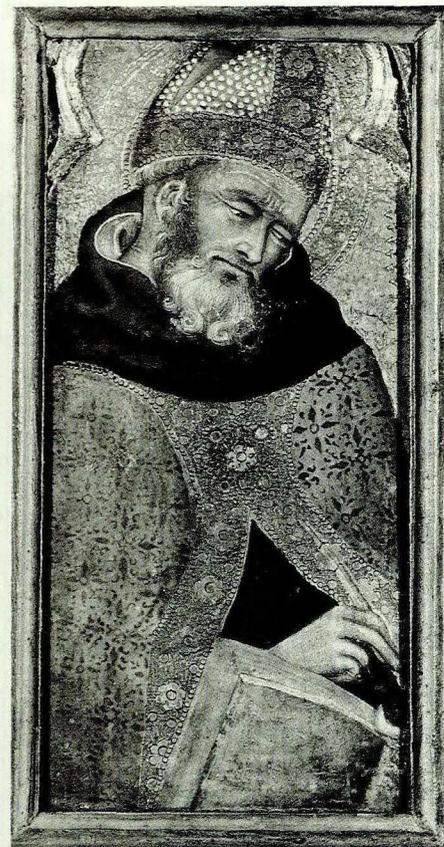
Republic of Poland dated 8th September (from which we quote in the Appendix), Professor Lanckoronska announced her wish to donate the Collection to the Polish nation « in homage to the Republic, free and independent ». In October 1994 about 500 various art objects and numerous documents kept until now in Switzerland, Britain and Italy arrived Warsaw and Cracow; among these were about 125 foreign paintings which since 1939 had been presumed lost. More than thirty of these, mostly from the former collection of the last king of Poland, were presented to the Royal Castle in Warsaw, the remaining 85 paintings, almost all Italian and dating from the 14th to 17th centuries, were presented to the Royal Castle in Cracow (the so-called Wawel Castle)⁶⁰). Almost all of them have survived in very good condition, though a number of Italian panels even today are patched with mulberry paper due to the effect of transport and climatic change. Many of these also need cleaning. After conservation they will all be on permanent exhibition.

Among the Italian paintings it is easy to distinguish two groups: ecclesiastical and domestic ones. In the former there are many panels depicting the 'Madonna and Child' produced by such masters as the Montalcino Polyptych Master (fig. 6)⁶¹), Sano di Pietro (fig. 7)⁶²), Bernardo Daddi (fig. 9)⁶³), Niccolò di Tommaso (fig. 8), Rossello di Jacopo Franchi (fig. 10)⁶⁴), Cristoforo Scacco⁶⁵) and Jacobello del Fiore (fig. 11)⁶⁶). Some of these are quite well known through various publications while others, such as the last-

13 - Simone Martini, An Angel, 43,7x25 cm., Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7899.



14 - Master of Città di Castello, Saint Francis, 68x35 cm., Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7901.



mentioned, await serious research. It is apparent that Jacobello's magnificent 'Madonna', one of the most charming of all his preserved paintings, belongs to the mature phase of his career. It is worth mentioning at this point one more beautiful painting of the 'Madonna and Child' which appears to be close to some representations of this subject executed in the second half of the Quattrocento by Alesso Baldovinetti (fig. 12)⁶⁷). Both the Madonna's slim physique, with her high forehead and thin lips, and the way of painting the pleats and sleeves of her dress are characteristic of this artist. Apart from these, there are also some more Siense pieces; e.g. a superb panel of an angel (fig. 13) and especially interesting effigies of 'Saint Francis' (fig. 14) and 'Saint Augustine' (fig. 15). As recently demonstrated by Gaudenz Freuler, the latter panel comes from Bartolo di Fredi's polyptych at San Gimignano dated 1388⁶⁸). As for the 'Saint Francis' painting, there is general agreement among scholars that it was executed by the Città di Castello Master, although it is not clear whether it comes from the earlier or later phase of his career⁶⁹). In the case of the 'Angel' Max Dvorak was of the opinion that it was Simone Martini himself who produced it. Such an attribution, rather than to Lippo Memmi, appears convincing when the panel's very high quality is taken into consideration⁷⁰). Some of the Lanckoronki panels obviously come from predellas. One of them can most probably be attributed to Mariotto di Nardo (fig. 16), another one to a very prolific Florentine painter active in the first half of the 15th century Bicci di Lorenzo (fig. 17). The first shows the 'Nativity' with the typical late Trecento barn (capanna) in the middle; the second the 'Martyrdom of St. Lawrence'⁷¹). Another interesting painting this time from the Bolognese School and depicting the 'Crucifixion', can most probably be ascribed to Simone dei Crocifissi active in the second half of the 14th century (fig. 18). Numerous

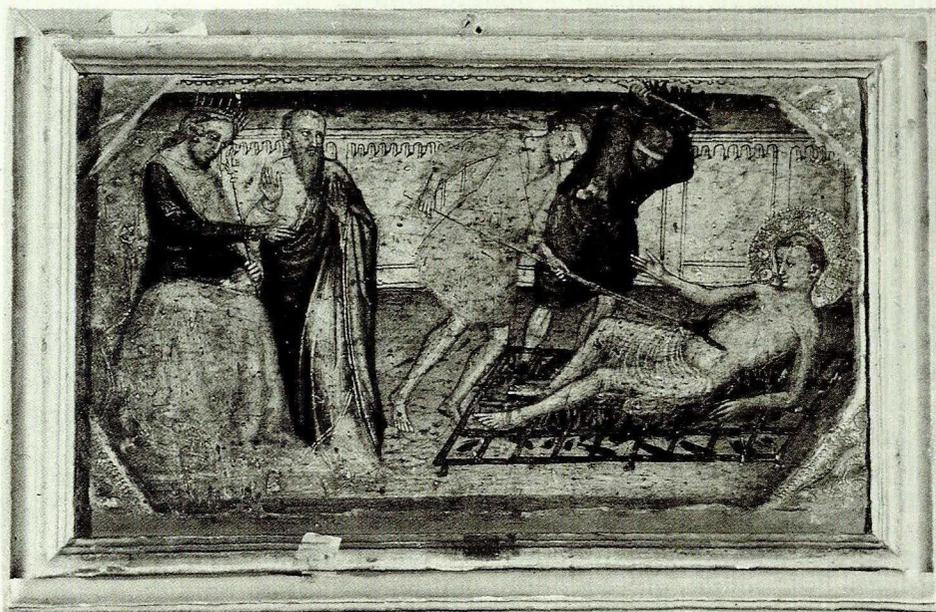
features, including faces, colours etc. appear to be the same as in numerous other paintings of this now better-known master⁷²). It is also worth mentioning some panels which are associated with Andrea del Castagno, Fra Filippo Lippi, Fra Bartolomeo and two tondos⁷³). One can hardly refuse Berenson's long standing attribution of the first tondo depicting 'Madonna with Child, St. John the Baptist and two Angels' to Piero di Cosimo (fig. 19). It is enough to compare it with another tondo by Piero at the Musée des Beaux Arts in Strassbourg and his well known 'Sacra conversazione' at the Ospedale degli Innocenti to find the same colours, types of both women and children with very characteristic large noses⁷⁴). It seems that the second tondo depicting 'Sacra conversazione' can almost for certain be linked with Luca Signorelli (fig. 20)⁷⁵). Not only its high quality, the anatomy of semi-nude male-saints with light-brown tone, the types of face Madonna and two Angels or female saints, but also the landscape and small figures in the background have analogies with numerous paintings by this master. Even the open book lying on the ground, in front of St. Jerome is very much the same as the one visible in another Signorelli tondo, depicting the 'Holy Family', now at Uffizi. It is hoped that both foreign and Polish art historians will soon publish their opinions about these little-studies panels.

Fortunately, almost all domestic paintings of the Italian Renaissance: i.e. 'cassoni' pieces, 'spalliere' and paintings for 'lettucci' or 'cornice' panels once in the Lanckoronki Collection in Vienna, have been preserved and now adorn the Wawel Castle. They were quite well known as most of them had been discussed and reproduced in Karol Lanckoronki's publication about 'cassoni' pieces, 'spalliere' and paintings for 'lettucci' or 'cornice' panels once in the Lanckoronki Collection in Vienna, have been preserved and now adorn the Wawel Castle. They were quite well known

15 - Bartolo di Fredi, St. Augustine, from the polyptych commissioned in 1388 for the church of St. Augustine at San Gimignano, 40x20,4 cm., Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7900.



16 - Mariotto di Nardo, Adoration of the Shepherds, 30,5x52,2 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7914.



17 - Bicci di Lorenzo, Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, 19x32,3 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7909.

as most of them had been discussed and reproduced in Karol Lanckoronski's publication about 'cassoni' of 1905, as well as in Paul Schubring's famous Corpus of cassoni⁷⁶). However some of the Lanckoronski domestic paintings have never been properly studied and never reproduced. Only Antonio Palma's cassone front with the 'Continence of Scipio, the Rape of Sabine Women' and the 'Rape of Proserpine' discussed almost eighty years ago by Karl M. Swoboda⁷⁷), and an enigmatic panel mentioned but not reproduced by Schubring depicting probably 'Hercules with the Nemean Lion'⁷⁸), as well as a Verona cassone representing 'The Story of Paris', once in the Italian Room of the Lanckoronski palace in Vienna (reproduced in fig. 4)⁷⁹), disappeared after the Second World War. Of the cassoni panels there are sixteen pieces: three complete fronts, perhaps another front cut into pieces (of which only two are at Wawel Castle) and eleven side panels; some of the latter might have also come from cassoni fronts⁸⁰). The complete fronts depict: first 'Caesar's War with the Gauls', (figs. 21 and 22) while the two remaining consist of scenes from the 'Odyssey'⁸¹). Ellen Callmann has attributed the latter to the well-known workshop of Apollonio di Giovanni and Marco del Buono (figs. 23 and 24)⁸²). Both are very well preserved although one of them was, most

probably in the 19th century, transferred from board to canvas. Two smaller cassone pieces depicting, (1) 'Three Goddesses at the Well and Paris sleeping' (fig. 25) and (2) 'The Rape of Helen', once ascribed to Domenico Veneziano, but most probably executed by Domenico di Michelino appear to be indeed from the same cassone front of which the remaining, third panel is to be found in the Art Gallery and Museum (Burrell Collection) at Glasgow, since both their style and height are almost identical⁸³). The remaining cassoni panels show 'Pyramus and Thisbe, Narcissus, Horatius Cocles defending the Bridge' (fig. 27), 'Marcus Curtius'; two pieces depicting 'Riders with Armour-Bearers' (all six most probably come from three different chests)⁸⁴), 'Story of Psyche' (fig. 28)⁸⁵), an undeciphered subject (fig. 26)⁸⁶), 'The Legend of Tuccia, the Judgment of Solomon' (fig. 29) 'The Legend of the Dead King' (fig. 30). The last three panels have similar measurements and are by the same hand; they might have originally constituted one cassone front. Paul Schubring dated them to around 1460 and attributed them to the Bolognese school. Indeed one of the representatives of this school Marco di Ruggero, usually referred to as Marco Zoppo, is known to have executed around 1462 several pairs of cassoni⁸⁷). One of them, now cut into pieces, depicts



18 - Simone di Filippo, known as Simone dei Crocifissi, Crucifixion, 62x47,8 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7975.

19 - Piero di Cosimo, Madonna with Child, St. John the Baptist and two Angels, tondo, 85 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7940.

20 - Luca Signorelli, Sacra Conversazione, 75,5x74,3 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7944.



'The Story of the Dead King', a subject from « Gesta romanorum » which some decades ago was brilliantly studied by Wolfgang Stechow⁸⁸). Our panels, however, appear to have been produced some decades later by a Lombard painter Alvise de Donati, whose oeuvre has recently been reconstructed by Alessandro Porro⁸⁹). Among the domestic pictures presented to Wawel Castle are 'Orpheus making Music among Animals' ascribed by Berenson to a Veronese painter Giovanni Francesco Caroto (fig. 33)⁹⁰ and two paintings on canvas convincingly ascribed to a Venetian painter Giovanni Buonconsiglio, sometimes called Il Marescalco, depicting well-known stories about 'Aristotle and Virgil'⁹¹). Some scholars are of the opinion that both the 'Aristotele and Phyllis (Lay of Aristotle)' (fig. 34) and the 'Virgil in the Basket' (fig. 35) having the same measurements at one time adorned 'lettucci'. The most magnificent of all domestic paintings sent to the Wawel Castle is, however, the well-known 'spalliera' by Jacopo del Sellaio with 'Orpheus making Music among Animals' dated ca 1490 (figs. 31 and 32). Two remaining pieces of the set of 'spalliere' produced by this artist are now housed in the Boymans van Beuningen Museum at Rotterdam ('Orpheus and Eurydice'), and in the Museum of Western and Oriental Art at Kiev ('Orpheus playing for Pluto' and 'Pluto with Eurydice')⁹²). Sellaio's spalliera appears to be superbly preserved, being almost without repaintings. Anne B. Barriault is possibly correct in her hypothesis that all three pieces might have originally belonged to a 'spalliera' of the type seen in Cosimo Rosselli's 'Last Supper' in the Sistine Chapel⁹³). It is difficult to determine whether further paintings depicting secular subjects could be included within domestic groups. Worth mentioning here are some paintings originating from Northern Italy: two panels enclosed within arches depicting the 'Besieging of a city' and 'Triumphal procession', apparently executed by Liberale da Verona (figs. 36 and 37)⁹⁴). On both panels are discernible characteristic faces which had already appeared on some of his cassoni coming from his Siense period. However, the typical arches in both



21 - Caesar's War with the Gauls, cassone front, 44,8x154,5 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7930.



22 - Caesar's War with the Gauls, fragment.



23 - Scenes from Odysseya, fragment of a cassone front, Workshop of Apollonio di Giovanni and Marco del Buono, measurements of the whole front: 56x181,7 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7928.





24 - Scenes from *Odysseya*, fragment of a cassone front, Workshop of Apollonio di Giovanni and Marco del Buono, measurements of the whole front: 52,3x172 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7929.

panels would indicate according to Everett Fahy the date from 1476 onwards after his return from Siena. The next Panel presenting Virgil wearing a laurel wreath and holding some panpipes was most probably produced by someone closely linked to Giulio Romano during the latter's Mantuan period (fig. 38)⁹⁵. 'Mars, Venus and Cupid', unfortunately cut on both sides has long been attributed to Garofalo (fig. 39)⁹⁶. Indeed, comparing this canvas from the Lanckoronki Collection with his numerous mythological paintings the same types of oval female faces and reflexion on Mars's armour plating are easily noticeable. A long painting depicting 'Perseus with Gorgon's Head', was attributed by Berenson to Amico Aspertini; however, this doesn't seem to agree with the painting's superior quality (fig. 40)⁹⁷. It can only be hoped that sometime in the future the true author of the panel will be identified. The Lanckoronki domestic paintings, even incomplete, present one of the most interesting group of this artistic genre.

Apart from seventy-eight Italian paintings, the Lanckoronki donation to the Wawel Castle includes five Spanish paintings and one German⁹⁸). The latter, depicting 'The Death of St. Francis', dates from the 16th century. The Spanish paintings coming from the 14th to the 16th century represent 'Head of Christ', 'St. John the Baptist', 'Madonna with Child', 'Portrait of Philip II' and 'Pietà' by Miguel Ximenez, dated 1470 and signed.

Finally, something must be said about the most important paintings donated to the Royal Castle in Warsaw. One should recall that 18 of them have always been considered a part of Polish national heritage and they come from the collection of the last King of Poland, Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski, who resided in the Warsaw Castle; because of this they have always been especially protected by the Lanckoronki Family⁹⁹). Among these are paintings by Dutch painters such as David Teniers the Younger and Adriaen van Ostade as well as two magnificent panels ascribed to Rembrandt and usually known as the 'Jewish Bride' (fig. 41) and 'The Father of the Jewish Bride' (fig. 42)¹⁰⁰. H. Gerson, who knew them only from photographs, suggested that « the attribution to Rembrandt is not sound »¹⁰¹). The team working on « A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings » has already shown its interest in the Warsaw panels¹⁰²). It is hoped that their opinion will be expressed before too long. Among other well-known masters from the Lanckoronki Collection whose paintings now adorn the Warsaw Royal Castle are Corneille de Lyons, Hendrik Frans de Cort, Jean Marc Nattier, Giovanni Battista Pittoni and Anton Raphael Mengs¹⁰³). In addition most of the portraits belonging to the Rzewuskis and the Lanckoronkis were produced by such painters as Andrea Appiani, Heinrich Friedrich Fuger, Anton von Maron, Pietro Antonio Rotari and Marcello Bacciarelli¹⁰⁴).

APPENDIX

from the letter of Professor Karolina Lanckoronka to the President of the Republic of Poland, dated 8 September 1994:

« Dear Mr. President,

I have the honour to write to you about the following. I am the last surviving member of the Lanckoronki family. I have turned ninety-six and my age makes it difficult to present myself in person. Hence this letter.

I wish to donate to the Nation a number of works of art from the collections of my family. I am the sole owner of these works. They were acquired not by me but other members of the family.

I intend these works for two illustrious sites: the Royal Castle in Warsaw and Wawel Castle in Cracow. The gift consists mainly of paintings dating from the 14th to the 19th centuries.

The Royal Castle in Warsaw will receive the paintings from the gallery of King Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski and the collection of Maria Teresa Tyszkiewicz, nee Poniatowska... They were acquired after the fall of Poland by Kazimierz Rzewuski, an undersecretary of state - my father's great-grandfather. He took them to Vienna where he settled down after the Partitions. In this group there are two portraits by Rembrandt.

Wawel Castle will receive the Turkish tent which family tradition connects with the Succour of Vienna (1683), and a number of paintings. 78 of these are Italian, dating from the 14th to the 16th century. Thus they come from the country whose architects built the courtyard and the rooms of Wawel Castle.

The works intended for Wawel were all acquired by my father, Karol Lanckoronki.

It never entered my mind, in its boldest flights, that I would live to write this letter.

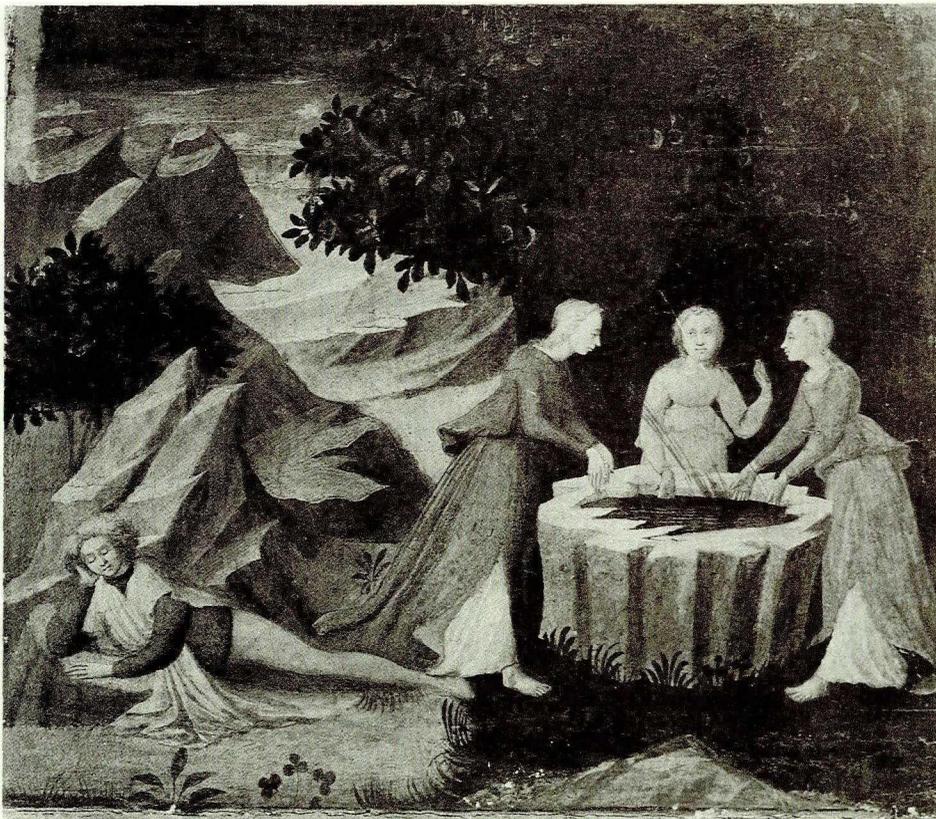
I submit this gift to you, Mr. President, in homage to the Republic, Free and Independent ».

* I am most grateful Luciano Bellosi who was kind enough to give his opinion concerning some of the paintings reproduced in this paper. My warm thanks to the directors of the Royal Castles in Warsaw and Cracow, Danuta Luniewicz and Jan K. Ostrowski for allowing me to reproduce paintings housed in both Collections. Kazimierz Kuczman kindly helped with the examination of the Lanckoronki panels at Wawel Castle and Wojciech Marcinkowski located some rare publications. I am also indebted to both Peter Martyn and Eve Borsook for their help with the English translation. This paper could not have been completed without research grants from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (held at Villa I Tatti, Florence) and the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz.

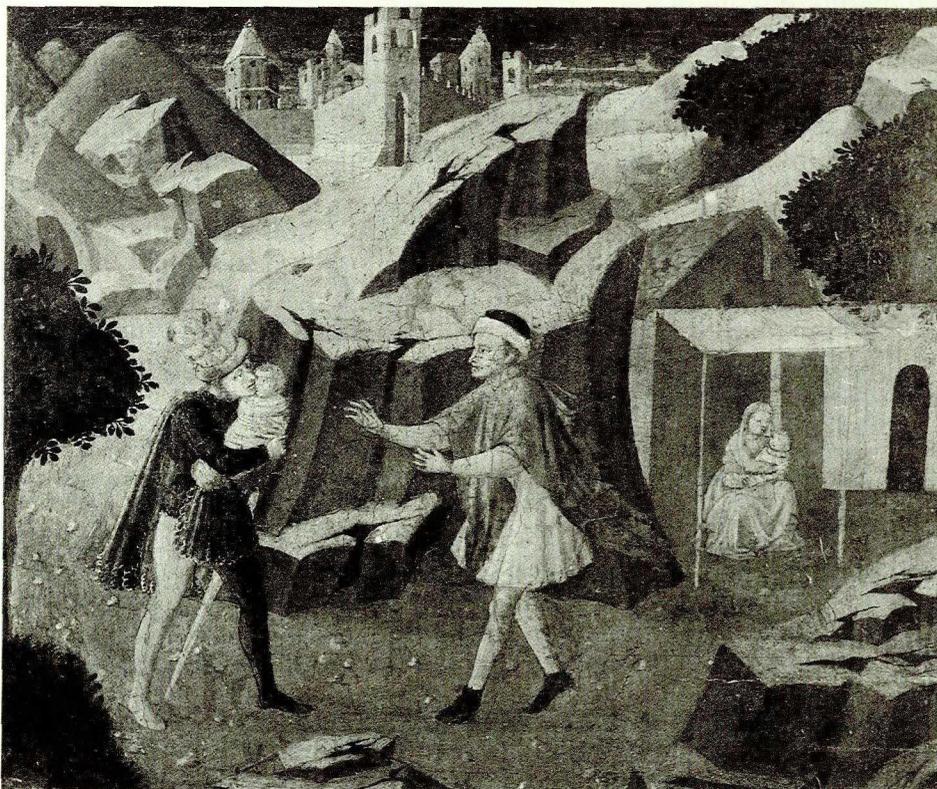
¹) A great amount of information concerning the Lanckoronki family is to be found in the commemorative volume published on Karolina Lanckoronka's 90th birthday: *Studia ad Historiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentes*, (Universitas Jagiellonica Acta Scientiarum Litterarumque DCCCLXXXVI, Schedae Historicae. Fasciculus LXXXIX), Warszawa - Krakow 1989.

²) The oldest university sceptre dated 1400 bears among others the Lanckoronki's coat of arms: *Zadora*: cf. A. Bochnak, *Les insignes de l'Universite Jagellone*, Cracovie 1962, p. 7, fig. 6.

25 - Domenico di Michelino, Three Goddesses at the Well and Paris sleeping, fragment of a cassone, 42,2x49,6 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7932.



26 - Domenico di Michelino, Unidentified subject (Childhood of Paris?), fragment of a cassone, 43,2x50,5 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7917.

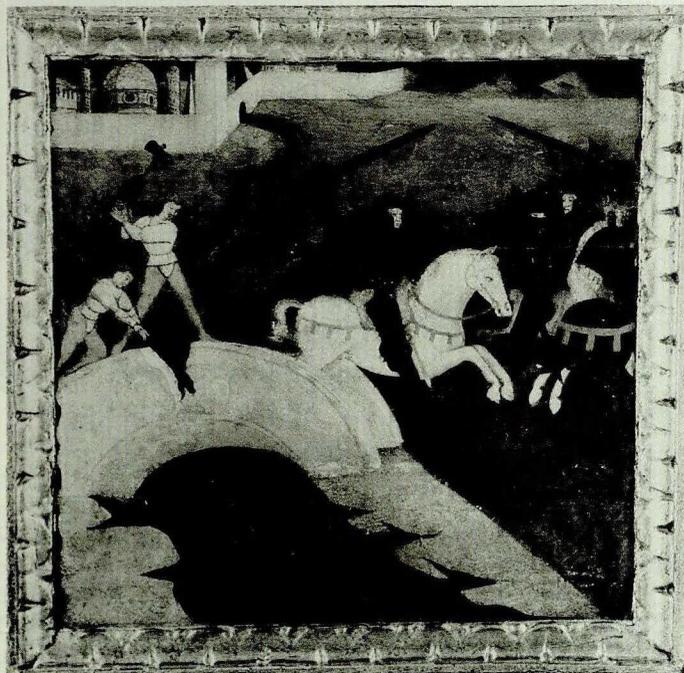


³⁾ One of the most interesting altarpieces ever painted in Cracow was commissioned by Mikolaj Lanckoronski in 1504 for the church of St. Catherine; the altarpiece is housed now in the National Museum in Cracow. The Lanckoronski were also among the founders of the above-mentioned church. See T. Chruscicki and F. Stolot, *Museum of Cracow*, Warsaw 1981, p. 48.

⁴⁾ Karol Lanckoronski's grandfather, Antoni Jozef, not only belonged to the reforming party at the diet of 1791, he was also a member of the National Committee of Education. The complicated history of Poland during the last two centuries is dealt with e.g. by N. Davies, *God's Playground. A History*

of Poland, vol. 2, New York 1981; A. Zamoyski, *The Polish Way. A Thousand Years History of the Poles and their Culture*, London 1987.

⁵⁾ R. Taborski, *Karol Lanckoronski*, in: « *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* », XVI, 1971, pp. 442-443; J.A. Ostrowski, *Karol Lanckoronski (1848-1933) - Archaeologist, Kunsthistoriker und Sammler*, in: « *Zur Geschichte der klassischen Archäologie*, Jena-Cracow, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller Universität Jena, Jena 1985, pp. 100-120; Id, *Karol Lanckoronski (1848-1933) - Polish Connoisseur and Friend of Art*, in: « *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* » (Universitas Jagellonica Acta Scientiarum Litterarumque, MCXI,



Schedae Archaeologicae. Fasciculus LVI, Cracow 1993, pp. 53-79. See also: sub voce, *Karol Lanckoronski*, in: « Oesterreichisches Biographisches Lexikon » 1815-1950, Wien IV, 1969, p. 423.

⁶⁾ Ostrowski, op. cit., 1993, p. 57.

⁷⁾ Lanckoronski's interest in Italy is reflected in both his publications and preference given to Italian art in his Collection.

⁸⁾ Cf. Ostrowski, op. cit., 1993, pp. 59 f. Among contemporary artists who belonged to Lanckoronski's friends were also August Rodin, Edward Burne-Jones and Caspar Zumbusch.

⁹⁾ Lanckoronski himself refers to this in a number of his publications; cf. *Rund um die Erde. Geschautes und gedachtes von Karl Graf Lanckoronski*, Stuttgart 1891, passim, *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truben*, Wien 1905; cf., n. 33 infra.

¹⁰⁾ Ostrowski, op. cit., 1993, pp. 72-79. See also M. Paszkiewicz, *Jacek Malczewski in Asia Minor and at Rozdol*, London 1972.

¹¹⁾ Jacek Malczewski, who is now one of the best known Polish painters abroad, thanks to a number of exhibitions in Western Europe, was for many years closely linked with the Count. While in Asia Minor Malczewski produced more than two hundred drawings and some paintings offering extensive information about the expedition; all of them (now at the Royal Castle in Cracow) were brilliantly studied by M. Paszkiewicz, *Jacek Malczewski* op. cit. On Malczewski see also: A. Lawniczakowa et al., *The Vision of Poland. An Exhibition organized at the Barbican Art Gallery*, London 1990; S. Muthesius, *Polska: Art, Architecture, Design*, Koenigstein im Taunus 1994, p. 132. Marian Sokolowski was the first Polish Professor of Art History.

¹²⁾ *Die Staedte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, unter Mitwirkung von G. Niemann und E. Petersen, herausgegeben von Karl Graf Lanckoronski, vol. I: *Pamphylien*, vol. II: *Pisidien*, Wien 1890-1892. This publication, including a total of 500 pages with numerous maps, plans, drawings and plates, appeared also in French (Paris 1890-1893) and in Polish (Cracow 1890-1896). The drawings and reconstructions produced for this book are used to this day cf. A. Giuliano, *Le città dell'Apocalisse. Monumenti e testimonianze della dominazione romana in Asia minore*, Roma 1978. Concerning Aquileia cf. *Der Dom von Aquileia. Sein Bau und seine Geschichte*, Unter Mitwirkung von Georg Niemann und Heinrich Swoboda, herausgegeben von Karl Grafen Lanckoronski, Wien 1906; for the Lanckoronski's introductory essay see pp. IX-XIII. The excavations at Aquileia started in 1893. They revealed many important aspects of this famous building and its mosaics. For the excavations, their results and the Lanckoronski's activity in Aquileia see G. Bovini, *Antichità cristiane di Aquileia*, Bologna 1972, pp. 25 ff.

¹³⁾ *Unschätzbare Werte. Die Zukunft unserer Kungstgutes von Viennesis*, Wien 1919; Some interesting exclusively Polish language publications by Lanckoronski have been conveniently assembled by Taborski, op. cit., 1971, p. 443.

¹⁴⁾ Some opinions expressed by Lanckoronski, for instance in *Rund um die Erde* turned out to be in a way prophetic. In a passage concerning the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York he stated: « If the generosity of the wealthy citizens of New York does not diminish, we, Europeans, soon will have to look overseas to find one of the most important galleries in the world ».

¹⁵⁾ J. von Twardoski, *Lanckoronski. Vortrag gehalten in Verein des Museumsfreunde zu Wien am 26 November 1934*, Wien 1934.

¹⁶⁾ This book published on Lanckoronski's 70th birthday in Vienna includes also the address of Count Franz Liechtenstein and a preface written by Max Dvořak.

¹⁷⁾ See also *The Jagiellonian University Archive*, Call number S II 971; Taborski op. cit. 1971; Ostrowski, op. cit., 1993, pp. 54 and 70.

¹⁸⁾ J. Wilde, *Der letzte Humanist*, 'Neues Wiener Tageblatt' no. 196, 1933 (Obituary on Count Karol Lanckoronski); L. Curtius, *Deutsche und antike Welt. Lebenserinnerungen*, Stuttgart 1950, p. 292: « Unter der Aristokratie Europas war er der letzte wirkliche Humanist ». Cf. also opinion of Erwin Heinisch quoted in R. and M. Seydewitz, *Die Dame mit dem Hermelin. Der groesste Kunststraub aller Zeiten*, Berlin 1963, p. 76. It is known that Lanckoronski was well versed in the history of literature and was much interested in music. It is worth mentioning that Count Lanckoronski was a joint editor of 'Briefe eines Uebekanten' (1881) containing poems of the well known poet and diplomat Alexander von Villers. He was also one of the organizers of Beethoven's birth centenary in 1927.

¹⁹⁾ Taborski, op. cit., 1971, pp. 442 f.; Ostrowski, op. cit., 1993, p. 56.

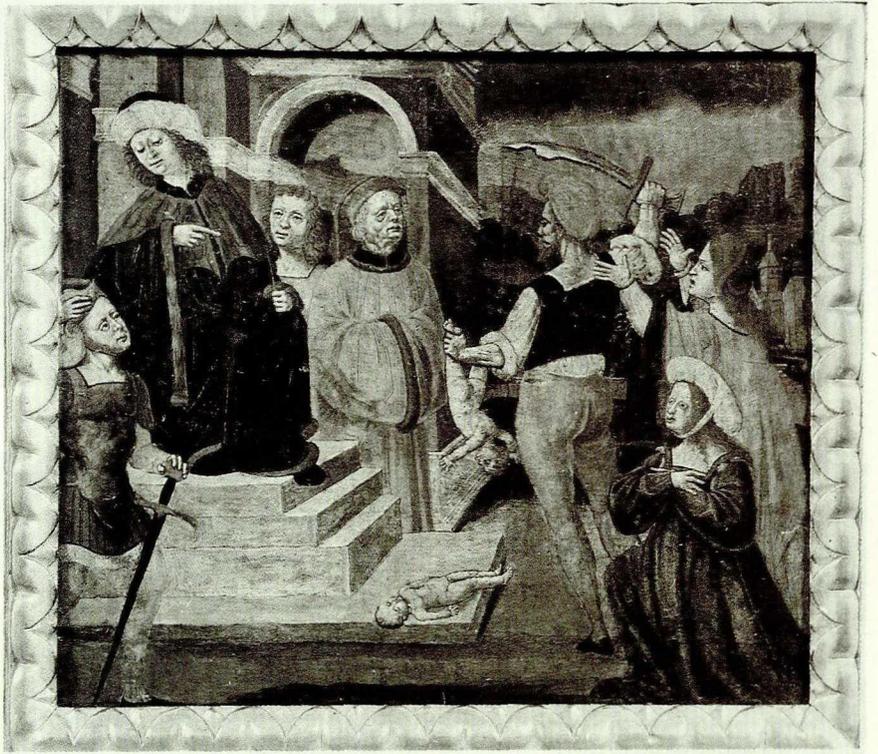
²⁰⁾ In Vienna Count Lanckoronski among others restored a Polish church, erected a convalescent home called *Faniteum*, and supported the Polish Library. The University of Cracow received from him more than one hundred plaster casts of both ancient and Renaissance Sculpture as well as numerous original ancient items. He also donated to the Department of Classical Archeology several hundred photographs taken during his travels through Turkey. He donated also more than 60 thousand photographs of art objects to the Library of the Polish Academy of Knowledge in Rome. In addition the library of Max Dvořak acquired by him following Dvořak's premature death was presented to the same institution.

²¹⁾ A Viennese poet, Siegfried Lipiner carried out these translation, cf.: A. Mickiewicz, *Poetische Werke*, Übersetzt von S. Lipiner, vol. I: *Herr Thadaeus*, Leipzig 1887, vol. II: *Totefeier*, Leipzig 1887. Even in 1940s and 1950s appeared next editions of these translations.

²²⁾ In 1903 Lanckoronski even published in Vienna a brochure titled: *Nieco o nowych robotach w katedrze na Wawelu (Some Remarks about New Works in the Wawel Cathedral)*.

²³⁾ See: *Palais Lanckoronski Jacquingasse 18*, Wien 1903, pp. 4, 6, 9 and figs. 4, 12, 15.

28 - The Story of Psyche, side panel of a cassone, 51x43,8 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7966.



29 - Alvise de Donati, The Judgment of Salomon, fragment of a cassone, 41,2x49,3 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7971.

30 - Alvise de Donati, The Legend of the Dead King, fragment of a cassone, 41,9x43,9 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7972.



²⁴⁾ Reference to this may be found in the *Memoirs* of a Polish painter Wojciech Kossak, see W. Kossak, *Wspomnienia*, Warszawa 1971, p. 222 f. The portrait of Karol Lanckoronski by Pochwalski belongs now to the Royal Castle Collection in Cracow (fig. 1). For Pochwalski, one of the most popular painter in Vienna at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries who portrayed even the emperor Franz Josef see, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, begründet von V. Thieme und F. Becker (hereafter quoted as Thieme-Becker), vol. XXVII, Leipzig 1933, pp. 169 f.

²⁵⁾ Taborski, op. cit., 1971, p. 443.

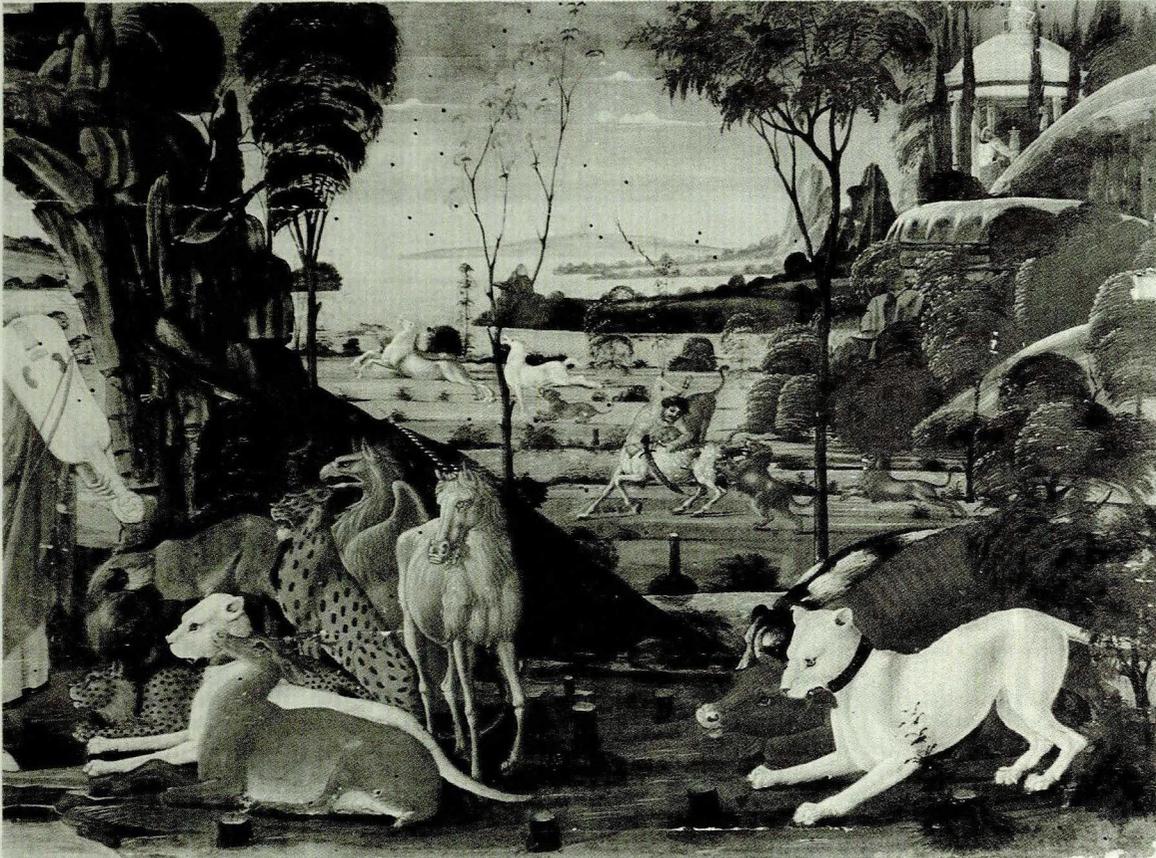
²⁶⁾ A. Ernst, *Beim Grafen Lanckoronski*, 'Neues Wiener Tageblatt', no. 195, 1933.

²⁷⁾ For information concerning the collections existing in Vienna at the turn of the 19th century cf.: E. Haiger, *Verlorenes Wien. Adelspalaeste Vergangenheit*, Wien 1984.

²⁸⁾ Cf. A. Rottermund, D. Juszcak, H. Malachowicz et al., *Dar Rodziny Lanckoronskich (A Gift of the Lanckoronski Family)*, Warszawa 1994 (being a preliminary catalogue of the Lanckoronski donation to the Royal Castle in Warsaw).



31 - Jacopo del Sellaio, Orpheus making Music among Animals, 59,2x76,2 cm, Cracow Wawel Castle, no. 7934.



32 - Jacopo del Sellaio, Orpheus making Music among Animals, fragment.

²⁹⁾ See Lanckoronski, *Rund um die Erde*, op. cit., passim.

³⁰⁾ *Katalog der Ostasiatischen Sammlungen des Grafen Karl Lanckoronski. Ausgestellt in K.K. Österreichischen Handels-Museum (Boersegebäude), Wien 1890.*

³¹⁾ See e.g. M. Morka, *Masterpiece from the Lanckoronski Collection*, 'Art and Business', 3/4, 1995, pp. 72-77; J.K. Ostrowski and K. Kuczman, *Dar Rodziny Lanckoronskich (A Gift of the Lanckoronski Family)*, Krakow 1995, p. 6 (being a catalogue of an exhibition held at the Wawel Castle in Cracow from February until April). It is known that Uccello's *St. George Killing the Dragon* was purchased by Lanckoronski in 1897 or 1898 - cf.: « Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft », 1898, pp. 88 f. In 1892 were acquired the frescoes by Domenichino, see « Archivio storico dell'arte », 1892, p. 143; cf. also note 49 infra.

³²⁾ Detailed account of the Berenson Collection is to be found in L. Ver-tova, *I Tatti, 'Antichità viva'*, VIII, 6, 1969, pp. 53-78. See also F. Russoli, *The Berenson Collection*, Milano 1964. In the Berenson Library there are numerous old photographs of the paintings belonging to the Lanckoronski Collection. Moreover in his *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. List of the Principal Artists and their Works with an Index of Places*, Oxford 1953 (1st edn. 1932) Berenson included a large number of the Lanckoronski paintings; thus he knew the Collection well. However, according to Dr. Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi, the curator of the Berenson Fototeca no correspondence between the Count

and Berenson exists at I Tatti. In a letter to John Walker dated 5 January 1953, Berenson writes: « I love the Lanckoronski 'St. George', a pretty super-X-mas card — never an Uccello. I should love to own it, and I am sure it would attract « the people » if you put in yr. N.G. » — cf. *The Selected Letters of Bernard Berenson*, ed. by A.K. McComb, Boston 1964, p. 273. It should be added that most of the important pictures from the Lanckoronski Collection were available on postcards after the opening of the Collection to the public in 1903. A number of them have been sent by Karolina Lanckoronska to the Wawel Castle together with the paintings.

³³⁾ Cf. Lanckoronski's already mentioned *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truben* (Vortrag gehalten am 7. Gesellschaftsabend des Winters 1904-1905, 20. März), Wien 1905. In his *Rund um die Erde*, op. cit., published also in Polish, Lanckoronski writes: « I am happy about my visit to India... however my heart belongs to this land between the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas (i.e. Italy) », in Polish edition (*Naokoło ziemi*, 1893), p. 3. Professor Karolina Lanckoronska herself an eminent historian of Italian art (cf. note 58 infra), kindly informed me during my Lanckoronski Fellowship in Rome during the 1980s about her father's extraordinary knowledge of Italian Renaissance art.

³⁴⁾ See K. Holey, *Das Haus des Grafen Lanckoronski*, in: *Ausgewählte Kunstwerke*, pp. 120-125. All the palace halls and rooms measured in total 4,800 m. Cf. also Haider, *Verlorenes Wien*, op. cit., pp. 118 f.



33 - Gian Francesco Caroto (or Francesco Bianchi Ferrari), Orpheus making Music among Animals, 72x74 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7967.

³⁵⁾ *Ausgewählte Kunstwerke*, op. cit. There are a number of publications in Polish concerning the palace and the collection; almost all are conveniently assembled by Taborcki, op. cit., 1971, p. 443.

³⁶⁾ The Collection was visited e.g. by Romain Rolland in 1927 who mentions it in his *Diary*, cf. Z. Naliwajek, *Romain Rolland en Pologne 1910-1939*, (Le Cahiers de Varsovie 17, 1990), pp. 147 f. See also O. Siren, *Early Italian Pictures at the University Museum Goettingen*, 'Burlington Magazine', XXVII, 1915, p. 108. T. Borenius, *Two Predella Pictures by Bartolomeo Montagna*, 'Apollo', V, 1927, pp. 109 ff. R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923 ff, III, p. 556; X, pp. 548 and 570 f.

³⁷⁾ Only 20 art objects are reproduced in *Palais Lanckoronski*, op. cit., among these is also *Head of a Woman* ascribed in the guide to Desiderio da Settignano (fig. 10 and p. 16). There is no information as yet concerning the present whereabouts of Desiderio's sculpture as well as other Italian sculptures once housed at the Lanckoronski Collection. It goes without saying that most of the attributions suggested in this guide cannot be discussed in this paper. Romain Rolland noted in his *Diary* that some of the paintings in the Lanckoronski Collection were copies (cf. Naliwajek, as in previous note); the paintings ascribed to Titian and Lotto among others might have been among these copies.

³⁸⁾ The Fresco Room with Domenichino's paintings is reproduced in *Palais Lanckoronski*, op. cit., fig. 5. For the later fate of these frescoes see note 49 infra.

³⁹⁾ For ancient sculpture housed at the Lanckoronski palace see Ostrowski, op. cit., 1993, passim.

⁴⁰⁾ Some of these paintings e.g. *German Music* by Paul Baudry, *Praying Arab Woman* by Hans Makart, *The War* by Artur Grottger as well as Indian sculptures i.e. *A Buddah's Monk* and *Head of Buddah* are reproduced in *Palais Lanckoronski*, op. cit.

⁴¹⁾ Cf. M. Dvořák, *Über einige Inedita der Bildersammlung des Grafen Lanckoronski*, pp. 55 ff.; K.M. Swoboda, *Ueber einige venezianische Bilder in der Sammlung Lanckoronski*, pp. 61 ff., F. Haberditzl, *Josef Anton Kochs «Italienische Dorfstrasse»*, pp. 109 ff.; E.H. Zimmermann, *Hans Thomas «Apollo und Marsyas»*, pp. 113 ff.

⁴²⁾ Cf. e.g. Borenius's paper quoted supra note 36; P. Schubring, *Cassoni, Truben und Trubenbilder der italienischen Frührenaissance*, Leipzig 1923 1st edn. 1915, passim; W. Suida, *Ars der Gemaldegalerie des Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Genf*, 'Geneva', XIV, 1936, p. 228.

⁴³⁾ See K. Lanckoronska, *W boldzie Rzeczypospolitej (In Hommage to the Republic of Poland)*, 'Tygodnik Powszechny', no. 44, 1994, p. 8 (in Polish).

⁴⁴⁾ R. and M. Seydewitz, *Die Dame mit dem Hermelin*, op. cit., pp. 75 f.

⁴⁵⁾ *Ibidem*, p. 75.

⁴⁶⁾ *Ibidem*, p. 76.

⁴⁷⁾ Lanckoronska, *The Hommage*, op. cit., p. 8. During the Second World War most probably also Lanckoronski's private library, amounting to more than 20,000 volumes, was destroyed in a fire. The palace though restored after 1945 does not exist anymore; it was pulled down during the 1960s.

⁴⁸⁾ Lanckoronska, 'In Hommage', op. cit., p. 8.

⁴⁹⁾ For Uccello's 'St. George' purchased in 1959 cf. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Earlier Italian School*, London 1986, pp. 532 f. with further bibliography. For Domenichino's frescoes from Frascati depicting (1) 'Apollo Slaving Coronis', (2) 'The Judgement of Midas', (3) 'The Transformation of Cyparissus', (4) 'Apollo Pursuing Daphne', (5) 'The Flying of Marsyas' (6) 'Apollo and Neptune Advising Laomedon in the Building of Troy', (7) 'Apollo Killing the Cyclops', (8) 'Mercury Stealing the Herds of Admetus Guarded by Apollo', see M. Levey, *National Gallery Catalogues: The 17th and 18th Century Italian Schools*, London 1986, pp. 96-106.

⁵⁰⁾ L. Berti and R. Foggi, *Masaccio. Catalogo completo dei dipinti*, Firenze 1989, pp. 45 ff., colorplate on p. 71. Cf. Also J. Dunkerton et al., *GiOTTO to Duerer. Early Renaissance Painting in the National Gallery*, London 1991, no. 15, pp. 248 ff. Both publications include reconstructions of the Pisa polyptych. See also Ch. Gardner von Teuffel, *Masaccio and the Pisa Altarpiece: a new approach*, 'Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen', XIX, 1977, pp. 23-78.

⁵¹⁾ This painting was presented by Count Antoni Lanckoronski to the Museum in 1951, see W. Prohaska, *Le Kunsthistorische Museum Vienne. Les Peintures*, London 1984, p. 26. See also J. von Schlosser, *Der Weltmaler Zeus. Ein capriccio des Dosso Dossi*, 'Ausgewählte Kunstwerke', op. cit., pp. 49-54; L.H. Heydenreich and G. Passavant, *I geni del Rinascimento. Arte italiana 1500-1540*, Milano 1975, fig. 327.

⁵²⁾ G. Freuler, *Bartolo di Fredi Cini. Ein Beitrag zur sienesischen Malerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Desertina Verlag 1994, Cat. no. 69, fig. 392.

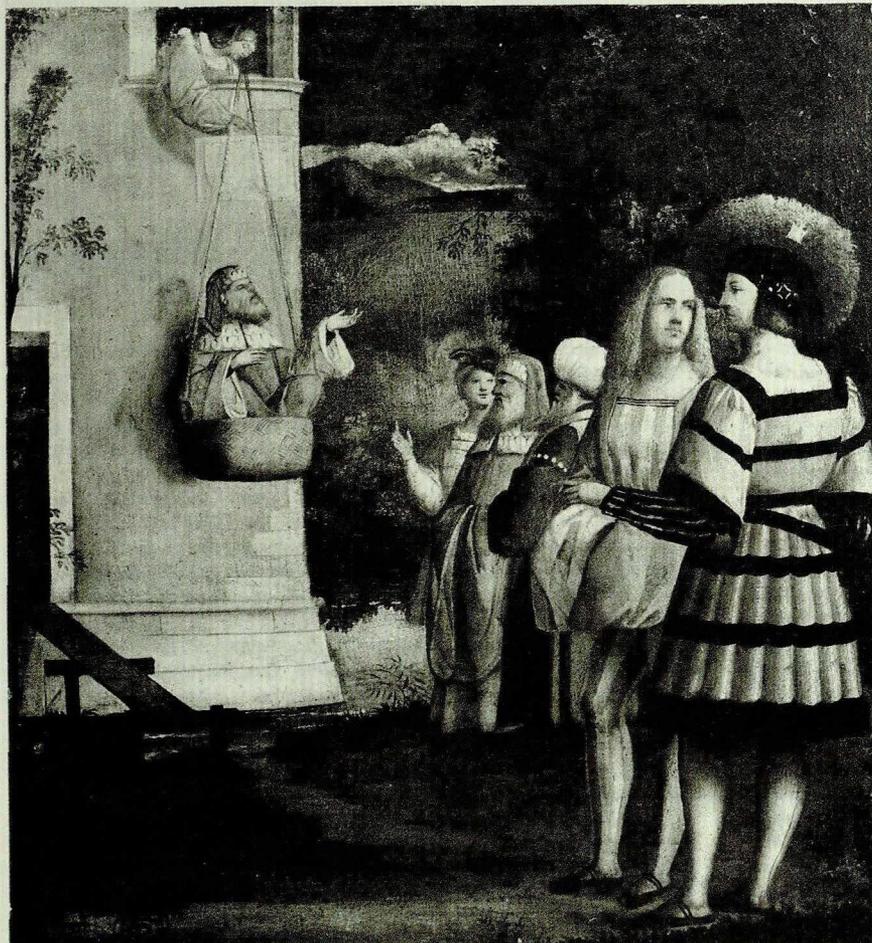
⁵³⁾ M.B. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone: Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, Boston 1976, no. 78, p. 53, and no. 172, pp. 113 f. See also, Ostrowski, op. cit. 1993, pp. 63 f.

⁵⁴⁾ *Age of spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art Third to Seventh Century*. Catalogue of the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1979, no. 525; *Spätantike und frühes Christentum. Ausstellung im Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik*, Frankfurt am Main 1983, no. 174; W. Oberleitner, *Die antiken Prunkkameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum*, Wien 1985, no. 64, p. 74; Ostrowski, op. cit., 1993, p. 64 and fig. 5.

⁵⁵⁾ L. Kalinowski, *Uroczystosc nadania tytułu doctora honoris causa Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego Karolinie Lanckoronskiej (The Ceremonial awarding to Ka-*



34 - Giovanni Buonconsiglio, Aristotle and Phyllis (or Campaspe), 80,5x73 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7961.



35 - Giovanni Bunconsiglio, Virgil in the Basket, 80,3x72,2 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7962.

rolina Lanckoronska the title of doctor honoris causa from the Jagiellonian University, 'Biuletyn Historii Sztuki' XLV, 1983, p. 453.

⁵⁶⁾ Thanks to support from the Fundatio Lanckoronski, the Institute of Art History of the Jagiellonian University and the Academy of Knowledge in Cracow publish a periodical 'Folia Historiae Artium'.

⁵⁷⁾ Lanckoronska, *In Hommage*, op. cit. p. 8.

⁵⁸⁾ The fullest account of Karolina Lanckoronska's life is to be found in Lech Kalinowski's paper quoted supra, note 55. Karolina Lanckoronska, one of the pupils of Max Dvorak, is the author of numerous publications concerning Italian art; among these are: *Studien zur Michelangelos Jungsten Gericht und zu seiner künstlerischen Descendenz* (1922), this being her Ph.D. diss. of 1922 written under the supervision of Julius von Schlosser, *Appunti sull'interpretazione del Giudizio Universale di Michelangelo*, 'Annales Istitutorum', V (1933); *Antike Elemente in Bacchus Michelangelos und in seinen Darstellungen des David*, 'Dwina Sztuka', I, 1983, pp. 183-192; *Zu Raffaels Loggien*, 'Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien', N.S. IX, 1935, pp. 111-120. Her publications are quoted e.g. by C. De Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, 1-5, Princeton 1960-1970, passim; idem, *Miche-Ange*, Paris 1970, p. 162; idem, *Michelangelo: sculptor, painter, architect*, Princeton and London 1975, pp. 108, 214, 240; A. Chastel, *Il sacco di Roma 1527*, Turin 1983, p. 189 (first published in English by Princeton University Press). Concerning Lanckoronska's imprisonment at Ravensbrück cf. her *Souvenirs de Ravensbrück*, Geneva 1945. The Polish Historical Institute publishes among others *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones* available in all important libraries all over the world. In the 1990s a new and important publication was founded at the Institute titled *Nuntiature Poloniae*.

⁵⁹⁾ See Kalinowski as in note 55 supra.

⁶⁰⁾ A number of the paintings donated to the Wawel Castle was presented at an exhibition held there between February and April 1995, cf. J.K. Ostrowski and K. Kuczman, op. cit. (as in n. 31). Already before the Lanckoronski donation the Wawel Collection possessed interesting though not a very large group of Italian paintings cf. M. Skubiszewska, *La peinture italienne dans les collections du Wawel*, Cracovie 1973.

⁶¹⁾ See J.H. Stubblebine, *Duccio di Buoninsegna and his School*, Princeton

1979, I, pp. 153 f., II, fig. 499. Previously the Lanckoronski 'Madonna' dated ca. 1325-30 was ascribed to Duccio himself or to Segna di Bovaventura, cf. Berenson, op. cit., 1953, p. 524.

⁶²⁾ Cf. Berenson, op. cit., 1953, p. 505. There are also more Lanckoronski panels now at Wawel Castle which Berenson, as supra, gave to Sano di Pietro: 'Head of Christ', no. 7905; 'Madonna with Child', no. 7904. It is also possible that two small panels depicting 'St. Bernhard', no. 7907, and a 'Female Dominican Saint' no. 7906, come from the same hand. For Sano di Pietro see K. Christiansen, L.B. Kanter and C.B. Strehlke, *Painting in Renaissance Siena: 1420-1500*, New York 1989, pp. 138-167.

⁶³⁾ As was demonstrated by M. Boskovits (*A Corpus of Florentine Painting*, III, IX, *The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency*, Florence 1984, p. 361, Plate CLXXXVII) this panel comes from the Carmine Polyptych (see reconstruction in the above plate). Other panels from this polyptych depicting 'Ss. Bartholomew, Lawrence, Cecilia and Catherine' are now in Florence (the Depositi of the Gallerie Fiorentine) and Milan (private collection). For Bernardo Daddi see also R. Offner, K. Steinweg, *A Corpus of Florentine Painting, III/III. The Work of Bernardo Daddi*, Florence 1989.

⁶⁴⁾ For both panels see Berenson, op. cit., 1953, p. 398 and 494. For Niccolò di Tommaso, who was one of the collaborators of Nardo di Cione in the Strozzi frescoes in S. Maria Novella, see M. Boskovits, *Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del Rinascimento*, Firenze 1975, pp. 34 ff. and figs. 60-67. Berenson's opinion concerning Rossello's panel seems to be unquestionable. For Rossello, see R. Offner, *The Mostra del Tesoro di Firenze Sacra*, II, 'Burlington Magazine', LXIII, 1933, pp. 166-178 and *L'età di Masaccio. Il primo Quattrocento a Firenze*, a cura di L. Berti and A. Paolucci, Milano 1990, p. 254.

⁶⁵⁾ Cf. Berenson, op. cit., 1953, p. 515, and most recently, F. Navarro, *Nel raggio della diffusione bramantesca: Cristoforo Scacco da Verona*, in: *Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Raffaello Causa*, Napoli 1986, pp. 77-90 and fig. 10 depicting the Lanckoronski *Madonna*.

⁶⁶⁾ Berenson, op. cit., 1953, had already attributed this picture to Jacobello. Unfortunately, Jacobello's chronology is not very well known as yet, cf. K. Christiansen, *Gentile da Fabriano*, London 1982, p. 11 and 70-71; *La pittura in Italia. Il Quattrocento*, ed. by F. Zeri, Milano 1987, II, p. 654; *La*

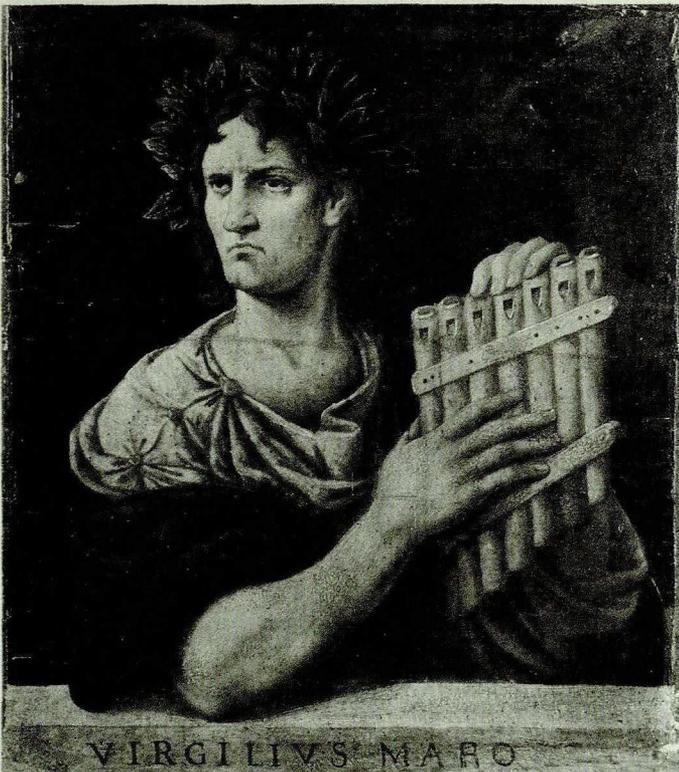
36 - Liberale da Verona, Siege of an ancient city, 47,4x42,8 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7949.



37 - Liberale da Verona, Triumph of a Consul (or emperor) 48x42,8 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7950.



38 - Follower of Giulio Romano, Virgilius Maro, 36,2x31,2 cm, Cracow, Wawel Castle, no. 7953.



pittura in Veneto. Il Quattrocento, ed. by M. Lucco, Milano 1989, pp. 347-8 and passim.

⁶⁷⁾ *Italian Renaissance Art. Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*, London 1987, pp. 299-303. See also, Zeri et al., *La pittura in Italia: Il Quattrocento*, op. cit., p. 565 with further bibliography.

⁶⁸⁾ Freuler, *Bartolo di Fredi Cini*, op. cit., p. 260 ff. and 480 ff., figs. 235 and 240, the latter is a reconstruction of the altarpiece. For Bartolo di Fredi see also P. Harping, *The Sieneze Trecento Painter Bartolo di Fredi*, London and Toronto 1993. Previously the Lanckoronski panel was attributed to Andrea di Bartolo.

⁶⁹⁾ See Stubblebine, *Duccio di Buonisegna*, op. cit., p. 85-89. See also L. Vertova, *What goes with what?*, 'Burlington Magazine', CIX, 1967, pp. 668-672 and fig. 5; S. Fehm, *A Pair of Panels by the Master of Città di Castello and the Reconstruction of their Original Altarpiece*, 'Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin' XXX, 1967, pp. 17-29. F. Zeri, *Addendum al Maestro di Città di Castello, in Giorno per giorno nella pittura. Scritti sull'arte toscana dal Trecento al primo Cinquecento*, Milan 1991, pp. 51-52, fig. 67 (first published in 1976). It is known that the artist was working in Duccio's workshop in 1310 when he was assigned to execute six scenes for the Cathedral of Siena altarpiece. Other panels from the polyptych which included also the Lanckoronski 'St. Francis' are to be found in Stubblebine, an above, figs. 193 and 195.

⁷⁰⁾ Dvorak, *Über einige Inedita*, op. cit., p. 55 and plate XIV. S. Padovano, (*Una tavola di Castiglione d'Orcia restaurata di recente*, 'Prospettiva', 17, 1979, pp. 85-86, fig. 9) is of the opinion that the Lanckoronski 'Angel' was painted by Simone Martini himself. Also Luciano Bellosi believes that this panel was produced by Simone Martini. (Oral communication). Similar representations of Angels by this master are to be found in the San Gimignano Polyptych, see *Simone Martini. Atti del convegno*, a cura di L. Bellosi, Firenze 1988, pl. 5, cf. J.W. Goodison and G.H. Robertson, *Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge: Catalogue of Paintings*, vol. II, *Italian Schools*, Cambridge 1967, pp. 158 ff., pl. 20. For Simone Martini and his atelier cf. *Simone Martini e*

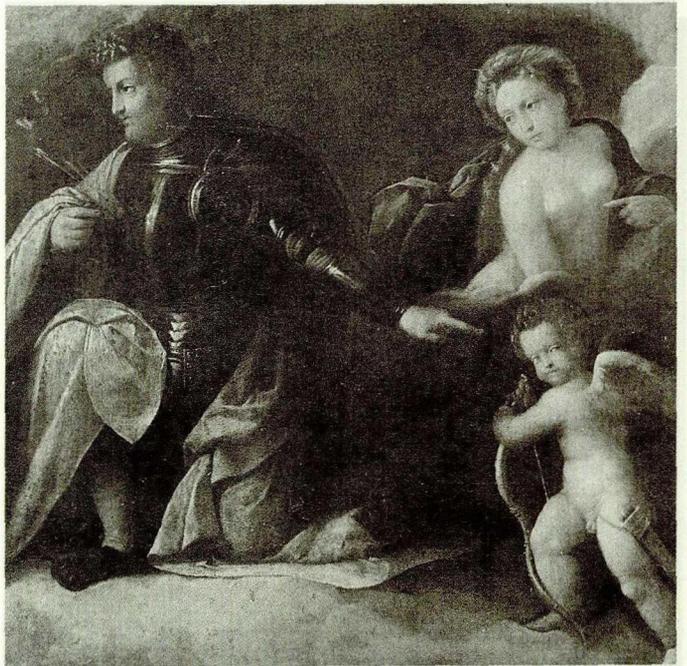
chompagni', Catalogo della mostra. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, Firenze 1985.

⁷¹⁾ Siren, *Early Pictures*, op. cit., p. 108; van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, op. cit., III, p. 556 gave the painting to Agnolo Gaddi. Siren's attribution was maintained by M. Eisenberg, *A Partial Reconstruction of a Predella by Mariotto di Nardo*, 'Allen Memorial Museum Bulletin', IX, 1951, pp. 9-16. See also M. Boskovits, *Mariotto di Nardo e la formazione del linguaggio tardo-gotico a Firenze negli anni intorno al 1400*, 'Antichità viva', VI, 1969, p. 28; Id., *Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del Rinascimento*, op. cit., p. 395. For Biccì, see C. Frosini, *Il passaggio di gestione in una bottega pittorica fiorentina del primo Rinascimento: Lorenzo di Biccì e Biccì di Lorenzo*, 'Antichità viva', XXV, 1986, 1, pp. 1-15; *La pittura in Italia: Il Quattrocento*, op. p. 585, with further bibliography.

⁷²⁾ For Simone di Filippo called «dei Crocifissi», one of the painters associated with Vitale da Bologna, and one of the most active in Bologna in the 2nd half of 14th century, see, *La pittura in Italia. Il Duecento e il Trecento*, ed by E. Castelnuovo, Milano 1986, pp. 221 f., 660 f., and figs. 340-42. Apart from religious paintings, to Simone can also be given a beautifully painted 'cassetta da mano' (forzierino?) now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, cf. P. Thornton, *I mobili italiani del Victoria and Albert Museum* 'Arte Illustrata', II, 1969, fig. 1.

⁷³⁾ With the workshop of Andrea del Castagno can perhaps be linked 'Crucifixion' no. 7927; similarities with the works of Fra Filippo Lippi and Fra Bartolomeo are discernible respectively in 'An Angel Playing a Lute', no. 7920; 'St. Jacob Major', no. 7921; as well as a piece of a predella with 'Christ Walking on the Water', no. 7939. Among other remaining religious Italian paintings from the Lanckoronski Collection now in the Wawel are: 'Stigmatization of St. Francis', no. 7936, 'Salvator Mundi' no. 7935, (both possibly by Jacopo del Sellaio); 'Madonna with Child and St. John the Baptist', tondo, no. 7940 (linked with Piero di Cosimo): 'Crucifixion', no. 7965; two small panels depicting 'Paradise' deriving from the same larger composition from the first half of the 15th century, nos. 7912 and 7913; 'Bishop martyred at a Well' by Giovanni Battista Utili, no. 7941 'Portrait of Giulia Gonzaga' Florence, ca. 1550, no. 7904; two portraits of young men - the first perhaps by Giovanni da San Giovanni, no. 7948 and the second ascribed to Annibale Caracci, no. 7948; a panel depicting 'St. Stephen' close to Alunno di Domenico (Bartolommeo di Giovanni) no. 7938, a very interesting painting depicting 'Death of St. Francesca Romana' linked with Gerolamo da Cremona, no. 7970 (Cf., F. Bisogni, *Liberale o Girolamo*, 'Arte illustrata' VI, 1973, pp. 400-409); 'Virgin with unicorn', no. 7916 and 'Christ before Pontius Pilate', no. 7968, the first possibly by Giovanni Antonio Sogliani and the second by Defendente Ferrari respectively; 'Madonna with Child' no. 7959 by Vittorio Crivelli; 'Madonna with Child', no. 7963 by Marcello Fogolino; 'Holy Family with St. John the Baptist', (one of the most interesting paintings in the Collection) no. 7964 by Bonifazio Veronese; 'Crucifixion', no. 7965 by Domenico Tintoretto (?). Many of the above attributions come from Berenson, op. cit., 1953, passim.

⁷⁴⁾ Berenson, 1953, op. cit., p. 455. For Piero di Cosimo see M. Bacci,



Piero di Cosimo, Milano 1976, no. 30, pl. XXCII, no. 22, pl. XXIII. See also Bellosi, *Il Museo dello Spedale degli Innocenti a Firenze*, Firenze 1977, cat. 47, figs. 67-71.

⁷⁵⁾ Cf. A. Paolucci, *Luca Signorelli*, Firenze 1990. For the Uffizi tondo, see ibidem, fig. 40. See also *Signorelli e Dante*, a cura di C. Gizzi, Milano 1991, fig. on p. 62. For 'Sacra conversazione', see M. Fabianski, *Correggio and sacra conversazione*, Cracow 1994.

⁷⁶⁾ Lanckoronski, *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truben*, op. cit. Lanckoronski, like Artaud de Montor, Gottfried Kinkel and Eugene Muentz, belongs to those connoisseurs of art who very early studied domestic painting of the Italian Renaissance. His publication not only shows his great interest in classical subjects; it also provides us with the information concerning the provenance of his panels; e.g. he writes that the 'Odyssey' panels were bought one from Bardini in Florence, the other at the Somze Auction in Brussels. Schubring's 'Cassoni' includes nos. 100, 166, 167, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 181, 182, 245, ff., 357, 452, 551, 552, 553, 648, 765. Cf. also van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, op. cit., pp. 548 and 570 f. Some of the Lanckoronski 'cassone' panels are listed in J.D. Reid, *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts 1300-1990s*, New York and Oxford 1993, pp. 725, 774, 784, 822, 940. It is worth adding that one of the wives of King Sigismund the Old was Bona Sforza. Her dowry which reached Poland in 1518 included 39 'cassoni' most probably produced in Naples. Unfortunately none of them is preserved. Thus, thanks to the Lanckoronski 'cassone' panels Wawel Castle possesses once again a very interesting collection of





41 - Rembrandt van Rijn, A Young Girl Resting her hands on a Sill (so called "Jewish Bride"), signed and dated 1641, 105x76,3 cm, Warsaw, The Royal Castle, no. 1 20.

Italian domestic panels. For Bona's dowry see S. di Giacomo, *Bonne Sforza a Naples. Etude sur les moeurs somptuaires italiennes au commencement du XVIe siecle*, (deuxieme article), 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts', XIX, 1898, pp. 393-406. Cassone panels are to be found also in other collections in Poland, in the Czartoryski Collection in Cracow and in the National Museum in Warsaw, see J. Bialostocki et al., *Le peinture italienne des XIV e XV siecles*, Musée National de Cracovie, Cracow 1961, nos 32, 33, 38, 47; J. Miziolek, *Europa and the winged Mercury on two cassone Panels from the Czartoryski Collection*, in 'Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes', 56, 1993, pp. 63-74; idem, *The Story of Lucretia on an Early Renaissance Cassone at the National Museum in Warsaw*, 'Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie', XXXV, 1995, pp. 31-52.

⁷⁷⁾ Swoboda, *Über einige venezianische Bilder*, op. cit., p. 65 and Plate XXIII. For Antonio Palma see Thieme-Becker, XXVI, 1932, p. 269 f..

⁷⁸⁾ Schubring, *Cassoni*, op. cit., no. 175.

⁷⁹⁾ Ibidem, no. 648.

⁸⁰⁾ The Lanckoronski side panels may be compared with those reproduced and discussed by E. Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni*, Oxford 1974, no. 22, figs. 126-127, no. 41, figs 190-193 and Schubring, *Cassoni*, op. cit., nos. 152-155 etc.

⁸¹⁾ The panel with 'Caesar's War with the Gauls' is ascribed by Schubring, *Cassoni*, op. cit., no. 100 to Paolo Uccello himself. The painting seems to be of high quality clearly influenced by Uccello. Concerning the dating the 1470s can be proposed as in the panel 'paesaggio alla fiamminga' is discernible. This type of elaborate landscape with beautiful painted trees being the impact of paintings e.g. by Hans Memling and Hugo van der Goes has been brilliantly studied by Luciano Bellosi, *Un omaggio di Raffaello al Verrocchio*, in *Studi su Raffaello*, a cura di M. Sambucco Hamoud et al., Urbino 1987, pp. 401-417, especially pp. 410 ff. Bellosi suggests (oral opinion) that the Lanckoronski panel might have been executed by young Verrocchio or someone influenced by him. The subject appears to be an illustration of some passages from both Caesar's *De bello gallico* and Dio Cassius's, *Historia romana*.

⁸²⁾ Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni*, op. cit., pp. 67 ff. (no. 34), figs. 33, 35, 37, 163, 164, 263, cf. also nos. 3 and 4. On p. 67 Callmann argues: «As far as one can judge from the illustration in Schubring, the panel is by an assistant close to the one who painted the 'Aeneid' panels in Hanover (Cat. no. 35), possibly even by the same artist».

⁸³⁾ Cf. H. Wohl, *The Paintings of Domenico Veneziano ca. 1410-1461*. A

Study of Florentine Art of the Early Renaissance, New York and London 1980, pp. 20, 154 f. and 192 f. with previous bibliography. Already Schubring, *Cassoni*, op. cit., no. 165, suggested that all three pieces belonged to the same cassone front. Wohl (p. 154 f.) agreed that they were by the same hand but did not have the precise measurements of all panels, as the Lanckoronski pieces were not available to him. The measurements of the Lanckoronski pieces are as follows: (1) 43,4 x 50,5 cm; (2) 42,2 x 44,6 cm; the piece in the Burrell Collection has: 39,7 x 49,8 cm. It would thus seem that all of these panels did once indeed constitute the same cassone front. Though all three panels are usually assigned to the atelier of Domenico Veneziano they are apparently by Domenico di Michelino; for interesting observations about this painter, see G. Freuler, *Manifestatori delle cose miracolose. Arte italiana del '300 e '400 da collezioni in Svizzera e nel Liechtenstein*, Catalogo, Milano 1991, no. 96. Apart from the cassone discussed by Freuler there are some more cassoni ascribed to Michelino at Avignon, cf., M. Laclotte - E. Mognetti, *Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais. Peinture italienne*, Paris 1987, no. 86-87. All three panels now at Wawel Castle and in the Burrell Collection are discussed and reproduced by Schubring, *Cassoni*, op. cit., nos. 166-167.

⁸⁴⁾ Some of them might have been painted by the younger brother of Masaccio, Giovanni di Ser Giovanni called Scheggia. For this painter cf. Berti and Paolucci, *L'età di Masaccio*, op. cit., pp. 238 ff. and 256; *La pittura in Italia. Il Quattrocento*, op. cit., p. 645, with bibliography. The panels with 'Riders' may be compared with panels in cassoni housed at the National Gallery in London, see Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni*, op. cit., no. 22, figs. 126-127. Both subjects, 'Pyramus and Thisbe' and 'Narcissus' belonged to the most popular classical themes in the Middle Ages - they are to be found on numerous medieval art objects and in miniatures and various domestic paintings cf. J. Weitzmann-Fiedler, *Romanische Gravierte Bronzenschalen*, Berlin 1981, pp. 30 ff.; J.V. Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose. A Study in Allegory and Iconography*, Princeton 1969, pp. 95 ff. and figs. 23 ff.; K.J. Knoespel, *Narcissus and the Invention of Personal History*, New York and London 1985. For both Horatius Cocles and Marcus Curtius inspired by Livy's *Ab urbe condita* (cap. II, 10 and cap. VII, 6 respectively) see Lanckoronski, *Einige über italienische bemalte Truben*, op. cit., p. 12. See also L.S. Malke, *Florentinischer Cassonemalerei nach 1475: Horatius Cocles, Mucius Scaevola* (Kleine Werkmonografie 27, Staedelsches Kunst Institut und Staedtsche Galerie), Frankfurt am Main 1982.

⁸⁵⁾ The subject comes from Apuleius's 'Metamorphose' (Golden Ass), chapter VI, 15-20 which tells of the speaking tower with Psyche placed on the top, her descent into the Underworld, her meeting there with Charon, then with Cerberus and at last with Proserpina in order to receive from the goddess the golden vial for Venus. The panel is included in Schubring's *Cassoni*, op. cit., no. 452 (who ascribed it to a Siennese artist, related to Giovanni di Paolo, active ca. 1460). The panel is not illustrated. It is discussed and reproduced by L. Vertova, *Cupid and Psyche in Renaissance Painting before Raphael*, 'Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes', 42, 1979, p. 111 and Plate 31a, who gives it convincingly to the Florentine School.

⁸⁶⁾ It appears that this enigmatic panel, has never been properly published. It is, however, mentioned but not reproduced by Lanckoronski, *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truben*, op. cit., p. 13. Perhaps it depicts the Childhood of Paris.

⁸⁷⁾ Schubring, *Cassoni*, op. cit., nos. 551-553. Plate CXXV (the *Judgment of Solomon* is not illustrated). Lanckoronski, *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truben*, op. cit., p. 14 suggests that to this set of panels belonged also another one depicting *Susanna and Daniel*. For Marco Zoppo and his cassoni see S.L. Caroselli, *Italian Panel Painting of the Early Renaissance in the Collection of the Los Angeles Country Museum of Art*, Los Angeles 1994, pp. 122-123 and figs. 22-23. One on the pieces of his cassone is housed in the County Museum and the second one in a private collection in Florence. For Zoppo see also B. Giovannucci Vigi, *Appunti storico-iconeografici su alcuni dipinti di Marco Zoppo (Antonio Ruggeri) detto Marco Zoppo (1433-1478)*. *Catalogo della mostra didattica, Chiesa di S. Filippo*, cento 1993 (Quaderni centesi, 8). For the Legend of Vestal Tuccia see Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem*, Hildesheim and New York 1976, pp. 398-f. (lib. VIII, C. 1, 5), cf. A.B. Barriault, *The Abundant, Beautiful, Chaste, and Wise. Domestic Painting of the Italian Renaissance in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, 'Arts in Virginia', 30, 1991, pp. 6-11.

42 - Rembrandt Rijn, A Scholar at Desk (so called "Father of the Jewish Bride"), signed and dated 1641, 105,7x76,4 cm, Warsaw, The Royal Castle, no. I 21.

⁸⁸⁾ W. Stechow, *Shooting at Father's Corpse*, 'Art Bulletin', XXIV, 1942, pp. 214-225, the Lanckoronski piece is mentioned on p. 219. The subject is also discussed in Barriault, (as in previous note), pp. 12-15. The main literary source of this scene is: 'Gesta romanorum', cap. 44 (45) - see, 'Gesta romanorum', ed. by H. Oesterley, Berlin 1872, pp. 342-344. Salvatore Settis will soon publish his paper on the panels depicting the *Legend of the Dead King*.

⁸⁹⁾ A. Porro, *Proposte per il 500 Lombardo*, 'Arte Cristiana', 741, LXXVIII, 1990, pp. 399-416, especially pp. 401 f. and figs. 9-11. Miklos Boskovits kindly informed me about this paper.

⁹⁰⁾ Berenson's attribution: op. cit., 1953, p. 132. The panel is included in Schubring, *Cassoni*, op. cit. no. 765, p. 393, plate CLXII, and described as *cornicebild*. A similar panel depicting Arion as a child riding on a dolphin, now at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (no. A 733) has been attributed by Roberto Longhi and other scholars to a Modenese painter Francesco Bianchi Ferrari, cf. Ch. Lloyd, *A Catalogue of the Italian Paintings in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 1977, pp. 57 ff., fig. 46. Numerous paintings by this artist are to be found in St. Peter's at Modena, see D. Benati and L. Peruzzi in: *San Pietro di Modena; mille anni di storia e di arte*, Milano 1984, pp. 85 ff., and figs., 67-75. There is no doubt that both the Lanckoronski panel and that at Oxford were produced by the same painter and that once they might have adorned a room of a child. One may think in this way as both myths of Orpheus and Arion concern adult persons and not their childhood. Thus we have to do in this case with a particular adaptation of mythology. For *cornice* paintings cf. A. Schiaparelli, *La casa fiorentina e i suoi arredi*, Firenze 1983 (1st edn. 1908), I, pp. 168 ff; Barriault, as in n. 88), pp. 42 ff.

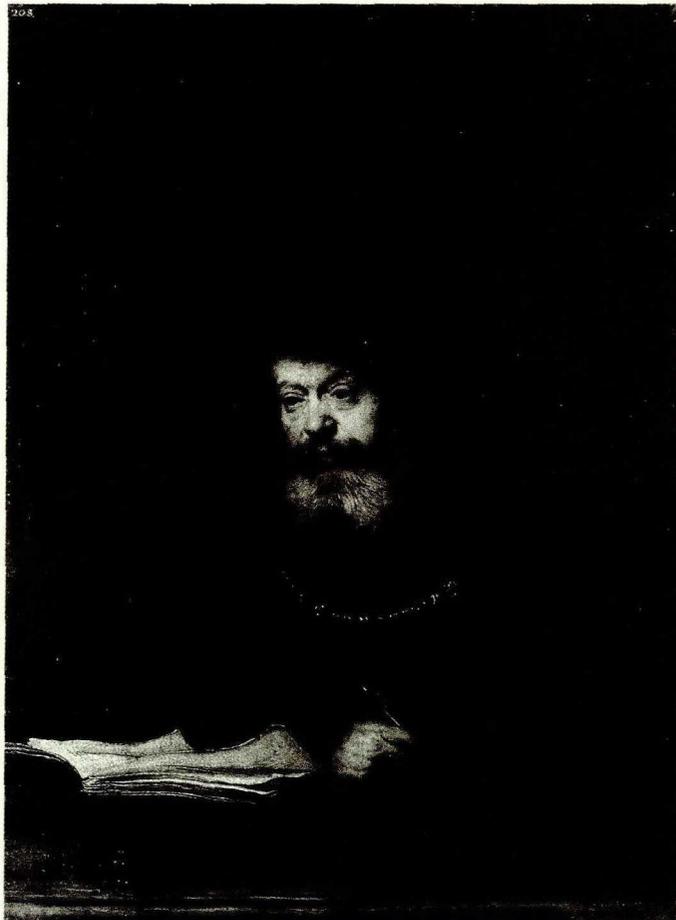
⁹¹⁾ Berenson, op. cit. 1953, p. 121. The canvases are discussed by Lanckoronski, *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truhen*, op. cit., pp. 21-23; only the Aristotle piece is reproduced. Both subjects are discussed by R. van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance*, The Hague 1932, vol. 2, pp. 491 ff. and 495 ff. Most complete discussion concerning the *Virgil Legend* is to be found in J.W. Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer. Studies in the Virgilian Legends*, Cambridge (Mass) 1934, especially pp. 65 ff., 136 ff. The legend tells of the love of poet for the daughter of a Roman emperor who lived on the top of a high tower. It was arranged that Virgil would reach her window in a basket. The princess, however, decided to play a trick; the basket with the poet was suspended half-way and exposed to the ridicule of the populace. Even when a humanist like Coluccio Salutati rejected this popular medieval tale about Virgil the subject was continued to be represented in the art of the Renaissance. For Salutati's opinion about this tale cf. B.L. Ullman, *Observation on Novati's Edition of Salutati's Letters*, in *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, Roma 1973, p. 203. The story is to be found e.g. in Giovanni Sercambi, *Croniche*, III, Roma 1892, pp. 258-261 (cap. CCCI Exemplo morale). Paintings for 'lettucci' are discussed in P. Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400-1600*, London 1991, pp. 148-161; Barriault (see next note), pp. 28 ff. See also M. Trionfi Honorati, *A proposito del lettuccio*, 'Antichità viva', XX, 1981, pp. 39-47. For Giovanni Buonconsiglio, see Thieme-Becker, V, 1911, pp. 229 f.

⁹²⁾ Schubring, *Cassoni*, op. cit., no. 357. All three pieces are also discussed in E.C. Kleeman and Saskia G. Wiliner, *Italian Paintings 1300-1500 (at the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen)*, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 83-86; A.B. Barriault, *Spalliera Paintings of Renaissance Tuscany. Fables of Poets for Patrician Homes*, University Park 1994, pp. 116 ff., and Checklist no. 8. For a good reproduction of the Kiev panel see L. Faenson, *Italian cassoni from the Art Collections of Soviet Museums*, Leningrad 1983, no. 23-27. *The Legend of Orpheus and Euridice* is recounted e.g. in: Virgil *Georgics*, 4; Ovid *Metamorphoses*, X and XI; Boccaccio *De Genealogis Deorum Gentilium*, V, 12; Poliziano *Fabula di Orfeo*, see A. Poliziano, *Poesie italiane*, a cura di S. Orlando, Milano 1985, pp. 109-128. For myth of Orpheus through the ages see *Orpheus. The Metamorphoses of a Myth*, ed. by J. Warden, Toronto etc. 1985.

⁹³⁾ Barriault, *Spalliera Paintings*, op. cit., p. 20 and fig. 6.

⁹⁴⁾ Cf. Christiansen, Kanter and Strehlke, op. cit., pp. 290 ff. See also C. del Bravo, *Liberale in Patria*, 'Arte Veneta', XVII, 1953, pp. 41-49; *La pittura in Italia: Il Quattrocento*, op. cit., pp. 664 f. with further bibliography. I am grateful to Everett Fahy who was kind enough to give a verbal opinion about the dating of the panels under discussion.

⁹⁵⁾ It is unknown to me as yet whether this panel has ever been published.



In the list compiled by Karolina Lanckoronska available at Wavel Castle this panel is ascribed to Dosso Dossi.

⁹⁶⁾ Berenson, 1953, op. cit., p. 220; cf. A.M. Fioravanti Baraldi, *Il Garofalo: Benvenuto Tisi pittore (c. 1476-1559). Catalogo generale*, Rimini 1993, nos. 124, 125, 161 edn passim; the Lanckoronski painting is not mentioned.

⁹⁷⁾ Berenson, 1953, op. cit., p. 34. Obvious borrowings from Raphael and Titian are discernible in this panel. It might have been a cassone front which appears to be cut on both sides. For Aspertini, see S.J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy 1500-1600*, Harmondsworth 1983, pp. 404 ff.

⁹⁸⁾ The attribution to the mentioned schools and to Miguel Ximenez are to be found in a list available at the Wavel Castle of all donated paintings compiled by Karolina Lanckoronska.

⁹⁹⁾ The last King of Poland was a great patron of the arts. He planned the creation of a National Gallery. For this purpose he intended to acquire more than 300 hundred paintings which now belong to the Dulwich Collection in London. The King commissioned to buy them in the 1790 but unfortunately he was forced to abdicate in 1795 and the paintings have remained in Britain, cf. P. Murray, *Dulwich Picture Gallery*, London 1980, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰⁾ Rottermund, Juszcak, Malachowicz et al., *A Gift of the Lanckoronski Family*, op. cit., passim. See also D. Juszcak and H. Malachowicz, *The exhibition of Paintings Donated by the Lanckoronski Family to the Royal Castle in Warsaw*, 'The Castle Chronicle', 1/31, 1995, pp. 66-82.

¹⁰¹⁾ H. Gerson, *Rembrandts Paintings*, Amsterdam 1968, nos. 224 and 225, p. 497, cf. also A. Bredius, *Rembrandt. The Complete Edition of the Paintings*, revised by H. Gerson, London 1969, no. 359 and figs. on pp. 178 and 280. Cf. W. von Bode, *Zwei Bildnisse von Rembrandt in der Galerie des Grafen Karl Lanckoronski*, in *Ausgewählte Kunstwerke*, op. cit. pp. 15-17.

¹⁰²⁾ In the 1st volume of the Corpus (J. Bruyn, B. Haak, S.H. Levie, P.J.J. van Thiel, E. van de Wetering, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, The Hague etc. 1982, p. 349 and fig. 5 on p. 350) is included another painting from the Lanckoronski Collection, now at Royal Castle, Warsaw, depicting *St. Peter* which, however, has always been considered a copy of one of Rembrandt's paintings.

¹⁰³⁾ Cf. Rottermund, Juszcak, Malachowicz et al., *A Gift of the Lanckoronski Family*, op. cit., passim.

¹⁰⁴⁾ Ibidem, passim. Juszcak and Malachowicz, *Exhibition of Paintings*, op. cit. passim.