

Leiden University – Faculty of Humanities

Arts and Culture

Museums and Collections

Academic year 2017-2018



**Universiteit
Leiden**

Master Thesis

***The cultural importance of Karol Lanckoroński (1848-1933) as
a last genuine humanist around 1900 and his collection in Vienna***

Submitted by **Marta Michniewicz**

Student number: 2086859

m.michniewicz@umail.leidenuniv.nl

Supervisor: **Dr. Marika Keblusek**

Second reader: **Dr. Marion Boers-Goosens**

Leiden 2018

The Netherlands

Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter I. Karol Lanckoroński's life and history of founding the collection	8
Chapter II. Karol Lanckoroński's art agents and his approach to art collecting	17
Chapter III. The Viennese residence of Lanckoroński at Jacquingasse 18	30
Chapter IV. The consequent fate of the Lanckoroński's collection after World War II	37
Conclusions	41
Illustrations	45
Table of Figures	60
Bibliography	61

Introduction

When we think about Vienna around 1900, our first associations with this period are *fin-de-siècle* and the establishment of the *Art Nouveau* period. Moreover, it was a time of blossoming cultural life during the greatest period of the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The main goal of Viennese *Art Nouveau* was to supplant the entrenched historical styles with modern, *bourgeois* and Austrian style.¹ Furthermore, the main concept of the *Art Nouveau* was to strive for a style unity in every possible field of art.² The architecture and decorative arts of the *Sezessionsstil* were much appreciated by Viennese cultural circles.³ The Austrian cultural centre subsequently became a home to this type of art, since 1900. There emerged two primary art associations called *Sezession* established in 1897 by Gustav Klimt (1862-1918), and *Wiener Werkstätte*, begun in 1903 by Josef Hoffman (1870-1956).⁴ Klimt's paintings are characterised by applied influences of symbolic paintings of Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, elements of Egyptian paintings, Byzantine mosaics and Japanese art.⁵ The essence of those factors can be found in later Klimt paintings such as *The Kiss* (1907-1908), (il.1). The architect Josef Hoffman on the other hand, was operating with straight lines and geometrical figures. One of the most eminent projects ascribed to Hoffman is the Sanatorium in Purkersdorf (1903-1904) and the Palais Stocklet in Brussels (1905-1911), (il.2).⁶ Notably, *Sezession* became an opposition to academic art and 19th century eclecticism. The main objective of this style was to break with historicism and focus on nature instead.

However, along with *Art Nouveau*, Vienna also took a traditional approach to art and collecting, understood as creating a collection based on early modern Italian and Renaissance art as well as on Dutch Golden Age paintings.⁷ International connections, such as a good flow of information on sales and the developing art trade in a specific period enabled many collectors to purchase a good number of old master paintings. Among the Viennese collectors captivated by Renaissance art, Karol Lanckoroński (1848-1933) is the eminent example of a collector, who managed to create an incredibly interesting and broad collection, as we will see

¹ F. Rainald 2016, p. 16.

² Ibidem.

³ The term used for the description of Art Nouveau style especially adapted in Austria, see: M. Wallis 1974, p. 15.

⁴ D. Bianco, L. Mannini, A. Mazzanti 2012, p. 325.

C. Fiell, P. Fiell 2013, p. 217.

⁵ M. Wallis 1974, p. 81.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 85.

⁷ For further information on traditional collecting see also: B. W. Meijer, M. F. Amoretti 1998-2011.

in following chapters (il.3). His upbringing in an aristocratic family provided him a leading position among the Viennese elite. His interest in Italian art significantly determined the character of his collection. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Lanckoroński collection was one of the richest private galleries in Europe; in Vienna only, the Liechtenstein and Harrach Collections could compare with it.⁸

In this thesis I will focus on a case study of Karol Lanckoroński, whose life, interests, connections and position contributed to the establishment of one of the most successful private collections in 19th and 20th century Europe. Lanckoroński's collection consisted of both Italian and Dutch master paintings which emphasized the importance, grandeur and character of his collection and, on the other hand constituted a symbol of traditional collecting in Vienna that time. Among this collection we find names of artists originating from Italy representing the style of early modern Italian and Renaissance painting, such as Simone Martini (ca. 1284-1344), Masaccio (1401-1428), Fra Carnevale (ca. 1420-1484), Jacopo del Sellaio (ca. 1441-1493), Sandro Botticelli (1445-1510), Dosso Dossi (1490-1542), along with artists from Flanders or The Netherlands representing the style of the Antwerp School of Painting and Dutch Golden Age, such as Quentin Massys (1466-1530) Jan Bruegel (1568-1625), Jan van Goyen (1596-1656), Frans Francken (1581-1642), Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669) and David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690).⁹ These are only a few among approximately 3,000 objects, including French and German artworks, that define Lanckoroński as one of the most influential and important collectors from Vienna around 1900.¹⁰ However, data from several sources has shown that Lanckoroński shared a greater interest in 14th and 15th century ecclesiastical and domestic Italian art.¹¹ It is essential to demonstrate that painters from the Florentine School of Painting, the Sieneese School of Painting, the Venetian School of art and the Bolognese School of Painting held a special place in Lanckoroński's Viennese collection as they were commonly considered rare and sumptuous art pieces reserved for genuine connoisseurs, usually with high social status.¹² The partial attempt at reconstructing several paintings from Viennese collection before and after World War II leads to further research on the history and condition of painting acquisition in Lanckoroński's collection. Therefore, the second chapter of this thesis will present the findings focused on this issue.

⁸ The information concerning the collections existing in Vienna at the turn of the 19th century: E. Haiger 1984, p. 11.

⁹ M. Skubiszewska, K. Kuczman 2010.

¹⁰ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, vol. 2.

¹¹ J. Miziołek 1995, p. 33.

¹² Ibidem.

Although Lanckoroński initially inherited a significant number of artworks of Italian and Northern European provenance from his great-grandfather, who originated from the Polish magnate dynasty Rzewuski, he acquired a substantial group of early modern Italian paintings himself.¹³ Hence, this paper seeks to address the following question: What was the purpose of creating a traditional collection consisting of art from Northern and Southern Europe in light of the new flourishing art movement (*Art Nouveau*)? I will try to answer that question in the following chapters of my thesis, allowing me to answer my research question: What was the role and importance of Lanckoroński in Viennese art and cultural achievements around 1900?

The key objective of this work is to present the figure and life of Count Lanckoroński; primarily, Lanckoroński's importance and status in the cultural circle of the Viennese and European society of artists, scholars and collectors. For this reason, I aim to set Lanckoroński in a broader context of the 19th and the 20th century art market and collecting activity. The main primary source that outlines Lanckoroński's interest and social network are preserved diaries from his journeys, for instance those to Italy in years 1874 and 1875, which had the character of educational excursions.¹⁴ His journeys were not only the voyages of a conscious connoisseur of art. During those journeys, his art preferences and aesthetic taste were just developing.¹⁵ Therefore, from the contents of these diaries we can sense the growing fascination and infatuation with the art, landscape and climate of Italy. This provides indispensable material about the initial phase of his interest in Italy. During his cruise to Italy, Lanckoroński also started collecting antique objects.¹⁶ Other primary sources are letters exchanged between Lanckoroński and his friends, humanists, ambassadors of Viennese elite life and crucial figures of European museology of the 19th and the 20th centuries, such as Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929); painters such as Ludwig Hans Fisher (1848-1915); architects like Friedrich Ohmann (1858-1927) and Josef Maria Olbrich (1867-1908); and sculptors such as Othmar Schimkowitz (1864-1947), Rudolf Weyr (1847-1914) and Kaspar Zumbusch (1830-1915).¹⁷

A considerable amount of literature has recently been published on Lanckoroński's collection. In 2010, a curator of paintings at Wawel Royal Castle, Joanna Winiewicz-Wolska, completed information from the archival materials about the fate of Lanckoroński's collection

¹³ J. Miziołek 1995, p. 28.

¹⁴ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, vol. 1.

¹⁵ *Karol Lanckoroński, dzienniki podróży do Włoch (1874 i 1875)*, edited by J. Winiewicz-Wolska, A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, p. 10.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

¹⁷ *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, pp. 8-9.

in the two volumes *Karol Lanckoroński i jego wiedeńskie zbiory* (Karol Lanckoroński and His Viennese Collection).¹⁸ In this major study, she broadly described the matter of the content of his collection and she answered the query of its survival and history after World War II. In 2015, Winiewicz-Wolska together with historian Bogusław Dybaś also wrote a complementary book based on the letters Max Dvořák sent to Lanckoroński between 1907 and 1921.¹⁹ This material is essential to understanding what motivated Lanckoroński in purchasing certain artworks. It also evaluates his financial and economic situation and addresses his expenses, desires and orders. The terms of Lanckoroński's acquisition of eminent Italian *cassone* paintings are more broadly discussed by art historian Jerzy Miziołek in his impressive book and catalogue titled *Myths, Legends and Exempla: Italian Secular Painting of Renaissance in Lanckoroński's Collection* (2003).²⁰ As a first-hand source for information about Lanckoroński's interest and voyages and his further plans for art collecting I will use the book written by Lanckoroński himself – *Na okolo Ziemi 1888-1889* (Around the World, 1888-1889), (il.4).²¹ The matter of commissioning Palais Lanckoroński at Jacquingasse 18 is also an essential part for thesis investigation as an emblem of his artistic taste. For this reason, I will review the architectural projects of Ferdinand Fellner (1847-1916) and Herman Helmer (1849-1919).²² Information about appearance, setting and other aspects of the gallery of paintings in Palais Lanckoroński and other Viennese residences of Lanckoroński can be found in sophisticated and detailed interior paintings by Rudolf von Alt (1812-1905) and Ludwig Hans Fischer (1848-1915).²³ My contribution to the research in this case study is to demonstrate Lanckoroński's further possible contact with prominent art experts such as Bernard Berenson, and to prove the deliberate character of Lanckoroński's collection, primarily focused on Italian art. There are several important areas I want to stress while considering the figure of Lanckoroński as politics, art trade and broad social connections. I aim to clarify the possible aspects of Lanckoroński's participation in Viennese urban developments, as later explained and assess the significance of his palace in the context of the 19th century private collections.

¹⁸ J. Winiewicz-Wolska, *Karol Lanckoroński i jego wiedeńskie zbiory*, vol. 1, Kraków 2010, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, *Karol Lanckoroński i jego wiedeńskie zbiory. Katalog, malarstwo, rzeźba, miniatura*, vol. 2, Kraków 2010.

¹⁹ *Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń 2015.

²⁰ J. Miziołek 2003.

²¹ K. Lanckoroński 1893.

²² S. Jaroszewski 1986

²³ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, p. 153-154.

In addition, the evidence of Count Lanckoroński's involvement in the social life of Vienna can be confirmed by his close contact with one of the leading Viennese architects of the second half of the 19th century, Josef Maria Olbrich (1867-1908). Preserved correspondence suggests that both shared a similar enthusiasm for Italy and its architecture, since Lanckoroński advised Olbrich in the matter of travelling.²⁴ Josef Maria Olbrich was working in the architectural atelier of Otto Wagner (1841-1918), with whom Lanckoroński also stayed in quite close contact. Between 1860 and 1890, these two architects contributed to the greatest investment of Vienna – *Ringstrasse* boulevard.²⁵ Perhaps, to some extent Lanckoroński may have participated in this project due to his substantial position in the Austro-Hungarian parliament.

For the case study of Lanckoroński, it is important to set his figure into the broader context of his times. The end of the 19th century constitutes an important moment for development of the art trade and the rising importance of art dealers. Italy in the 19th century was a paradise for artists, collectors, scientists and so-called *dilettanti*.²⁶ The Italian art market emerged quite early, and the trade of antiquities had a long tradition. There were still many private collections, and due to the Napoleonic Wars, there was an extensive relocation and reshuffling of art works – including those that for many centuries were in churches and cloisters.²⁷ Many merchants benefited from this situation. Favourable conditions also motivated the art historians – to some extent there was available a vast range of literature and additionally, artworks could have been seen *in situ*.²⁸

In the first half of the 19th century, private art collections developed and multiplied quite quickly due to great supply and relatively low prices.²⁹ From the 1860s, the Italian art market started to decrease. Difficulties the potential purchaser encountered related to decisions of the Italian Republic imposed concerning the uncontrolled exportation of artworks that were considered national goods. Interest in Italian Renaissance painting, both as a subject of study and collecting area, flourished in Europe and America in the second half of the 19th century. From 1890, the American group of collectors fascinated by European art joined the European collectors – their appearance on the Italian market prompted an extraordinary

²⁴ *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, p. 138.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 139.

²⁶ A lover of an art or science, especially of a fine art. Term mostly appropriate for 18th century society of English noblemen and scholars who were participating in science cruises to Italy.

²⁷ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, vol. 1, see also: G. Reitlinger 1961.

²⁸ Term according to the place where the art work was initially dedicated to.

²⁹ For further information on developing art trade see also: B. Frey, W. Pommerhne 1989.

increase in the price of artworks.³⁰ The circumstances of the developing art commerce in the 19th century became a reason of intercontinental connections between Europe and America; hence the creation of a genuine and sophisticated collection became an almost competitive endeavour. The appearance of American art specialists on the European market caused great confusion since they were quite powerful merchants with sufficient money, but not always sufficient knowledge. European collectors had to encounter with the new phenomena of international trade, thus maintain dominant and persuasive.

In the 1880s and 1890s when Karol Lanckoroński started to attend auctions, it was not easy to purchase valuable, genuine and precious old master paintings. Collecting a diverse and interesting collection in a short time was almost impossible, unless one possessed a fortune. On the other hand, at the same time, the Western European art market became focused on promoting contemporary painters that collectors usually took lightly. French art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel (1831-1922) took the lead in promoting modern painters.³¹ Durand-Ruel put a greater emphasis on supporting the impressionist's art movement. His aim was to sell the paintings of impressionists, so he tried to meet the expectations of collectors of old masters. In this sense, from the 19th century, modern art became superior to traditional collections, which Lanckoroński's one was a symbol for. Modern paintings were easily accessible and relatively cheap. Hence, we can see that the 19th century exhibited various trends and collecting phenomena and was a period of great change in the arena of art and commerce. It also shed a light on the profession of an art dealer and strengthened its relevance and consequence for further art market development.

Lanckoroński gathered his collection in Vienna which situated him among a group of the most prestigious European art collectors. Lanckoroński was often mentioned in the context of *dilettanti* of Italian and Northern painters.³² What makes the case of Lanckoroński's collection even more special are the circumstances of 19th century Vienna as a centre of culture, education and the evolution of the art history as a discipline. The names Max Dvořák (1874-1921), Julius von Schlosser (1866-1938) and Alois Riegl (1858-1905) are crucial for development of *The Vienna School of Art History*.³³ Worth mentioning here are connections between Lanckoroński and Bernard Berenson. It is evident that Berenson was often consulted by numerous art collectors; indeed, he must have advised Lanckoroński what can be testified by my findings on their relation presented in next chapter. There are many

³⁰ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, vol. 1.

³¹ P. Hook 2017, pp. 171-172.

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ M. Rampley 2013, D. R. Cordileone 2014.

similarities between Berenson's much smaller collection at Villa I Tatti in Florence and that of the Lanckoroński's.³⁴

In this paper, I intend to depict the importance of Karol Lanckoroński as a 19th century collector whose upbringing and social status contributed to the creation of one of the most elaborate private collections in Vienna. This research will concentrate on the investigation of the 19th century European market and setting the figure of Karol Lanckoroński in the broader context of art and commerce, hence this paper also reviews Lanckoroński's broad social network and the consequent implications of his connections with members of elite circles. My thesis is composed of four chapters that attempt to explain Lanckoroński's importance for Viennese culture around 1900. The objectives of this research are to determine whether Lanckoroński's collection and art involvement had a significant impact on the Viennese cultural landscape.

³⁴ J. Miziołek 1995, p. 29.

Chapter I. Karol Lanckoroński's life and history of founding the collection

In this chapter, I attempt to describe the figure of Karol Lanckoroński (1848-1933) and to outline his significant contributions to many archaeological, political, urban and art achievements throughout his life. It should be noted that Lanckoroński's upbringing was one of the factors that had an impact on his attitude towards art and determined his interest in collecting. The fact that he was surrounded by art from the very beginning of his life may have had crucial implications for shaping his art preferences and resulted in becoming an art collector. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to look at the history of Lanckoroński's life, which demonstrably affected his approach to collecting.

The essential base of Karol Lanckoroński's collection was inherited from his ancestors. This provided a trigger for Lanckoroński to extend the collection, mainly in the second half of the 19th century. Lanckoroński's collection eventually found its place in his palace at Jacquingasse 18 in Vienna. The beginning of gathering Italian pieces of his collection has its roots in the end of 18th century. The core of the collection consisted of artworks (more than 30 paintings), which his great-grandfather – Count Kazimierz Rzewuski (1750-1820), acquired from the former gallery of King Stanislas Auguste Poniatowski (1732-1798), among them two superior paintings of Rembrandt – *The Girl in a Picture Frame*, 1641 (il.5) and *Scholar at the Lectern*, 1641 (il.6) as well as from the inheritance of prince Józef Poniatowski (1763-1813) - 36 paintings from the Royal Gallery for 1,250 ducats.³⁵ Karol's grandfather supplemented the collection – Antoni Józef Lanckoroński (1760-1830), who permanently connected his political career with The House of Habsburg and in 1821 became the first commissioner of the Galician state parliament.³⁶ I posit that the period from approximately 1870 to 1890 was a crucial time of forming Lanckoroński's collection and enriching it with early modern Italian paintings.³⁷ The collection flourished considerably from the beginning of the 1880's, when Karol Lanckoroński began to extend his collection with notable Italian artworks of the *trecento* and *quattrocento* periods with the help of his art agent Adolf Bayersdorfer (1842-1901).³⁸ Therefore, we can conclude that the Lanckoroński's

³⁵ A. Rottermund, D. Juszcak, H. Malachowicz 1994 (introduction), J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, vol. 2, pp. 97-98.

³⁶ M. Skubiszewska, K. Kuczman 2010, p. 15.

³⁷ *Virtus et Splendor. Sztuka w życiu Włochów XIV-XVII w. Wystawa ze zbiorów Fundacji XX Czartoryskich*, edited by M. Kaleciński, Gdańsk 2014, p. 42.

³⁸ *Archiwa rodzinno-majątkowe w zbiorach państwowych we Lwowie*, edited by S. Pijaj, Warszawa 1995, pp. 26-32; *Trecento* – refers to Italian art from 14th century, *Quattrocento* – refers to cultural achievements in Italy in 15th century.

collection already had extensive and diverse character due to the variety of Italian art merged with paintings with Dutch provenance.

Lanckoroński was born on 4 November 1848 in Vienna. His parents, Count Kazimierz Wincenty (1802-1874) and Leonia Potocka (1821-1893), both originated from a Polish aristocratic family.³⁹ The house of Lanckoroński played a leading role in Polish history and cultural life and could boast family roots extending back to the time of King Ladislas the Short (1261-1333). Members of the family were influential commanders, senators and the highest ranking functionaries of The Republic of Poland who became notorious as patriots, art and cultural patrons; for instance; they supported the Jagiellonian University, founding superior artworks in former capital of Poland (Kraków) and co-creating the National Education Commission established in 1773.⁴⁰ As with many aristocratic Galician families, after the third partition of Poland in 1795, the Lanckoroński family moved to Vienna, but they never refused to manifest their Polish character.⁴¹ Karol was one of the most eminent Lanckoroński family members, contributing the most to the cultural and educational achievements of Poland and Austria.

He spent his childhood in Paris yet, his educational career flourished in Austria. Between 1857 and 1858, Lanckoroński attended the Central School (Hauptschule) of Michael Zoller and Franz Aloys Bernard in Vienna. In 1858, he started taking drawing lessons from the Viennese orientalist painter Leopold Carl Müller (1834-1892). Between 1859 and 1866 he was a student of the Schottengymnasium – an elite school with a classical curriculum. Lanckoroński attended university in Vienna where, in 1870, he earned his PhD degree in law.⁴² However, during his studies he showed interest in archeology, art history and literature.⁴³ In Vienna, he served the office of court and administration. Lanckoroński was a gentleman of the bedchamber and participant in the Chamber of the Lords (*Herrenhaus*) in Austrian-Hungarian parliament.⁴⁴ In 1903, the Emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph I (1830-1916) nominated Lanckoroński for Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and in 1914 he received the title of Grand Chamberlain (*Oberstkämmerer*), which gave him control of the cultural and infrastructural developments in Vienna. This will be explained later by the evidence of his contribution to modernisation of *Karlsplatz* and *Ringstrasse* project.⁴⁵ It is

³⁹ B. Dybaś, A. Ziemblewska, I. Nöbauer 2014, p. 9.

⁴⁰ J. Miziołek 2003, p. 11.

⁴¹ J. Miziołek 1995, p. 27.

⁴² J. Miziołek 2003, p. 12.

⁴³ J.A. Ostrowski 1993, pp. 53-79.

⁴⁴ M. Skubiszewska, K. Kuczman 2010, p. 15.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

significant that Lanckoroński never finish any architectural studies that would have given him the right to hold the title of *Oberstkämmerer*. We can surmise that his aristocratic roots and his social influence caused Francis Joseph I to appoint Lanckoroński to this office. He also edited publications concerning monument maintenance and volumes dedicated to art and cultural heritage.⁴⁶ For example, Lanckoroński edited one of the most important contemporary publications about art – *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, signing his surname on the title page (il.7).⁴⁷ Lanckoroński was involved in the cultural life in Poland as well. To a very large extent, together with the Viceroy of Galicia, Professor Leon Piniński (1857-1938), Lanckoroński committed to regain the Wawel Royal Castle from Austrian annexation and was personally involved in the restoration of the castle.⁴⁸ As a Pole from Galicia, he was especially interested in seeing the Austrian army leave the Wawel – the symbol of Polish statehood – and to see this important monument restored. Foremost, Lanckoroński contributed to Poland regaining its independence.⁴⁹ In 1918, he received Polish citizenship.⁵⁰

Lanckoroński was married three times. His first marriage with Princess Maria Salm-Reifferscheidt-Raitz (1859-1897) was childless, and was declared invalid in 1882.⁵¹ From his second marriage with Countess Franziska Xaveria von Attems-Heiligenkreuz (1861-1893), he had a son, Antoni (1893-1965). His third and last marriage with Princess Margarethe von Lichnowsky (1863-1954) was the most successful. With Princess von Lichnowsky, Lanckoroński had two daughters, Karolina (1898-2002) and Adelajda (1903-1980). As we can see, Lanckoroński only married women with upper class titles. Thus, it can be assumed that Lanckoroński was strictly attached to the tradition of own family and wanted to maintain the status of nobility.

Lanckoroński's education, interest, taste and skill of collecting profited significantly from contact with Alexander von Warsberg (1836-1889) and Wilhelm von Hartel (1839-1907) who was a prominent Viennese classical philologist (il.8).⁵² Von Hartel was of Karol Lanckoroński's professor and, in time, became one of his friends. Additionally, he participated with Lanckoroński in an archaeological excursion to Asia Minor in 1882-1883

⁴⁶ R. Taborski 1969, vol. 13, p. 155-162, see also: J. Miziołek 2013, p. 325.

⁴⁷ J. Miziołek 2003, p. 28.

⁴⁸ R. Kochnowski 2009, p. 8.

⁴⁹ J. Miziołek, *Mity, legendy* 2003, p. 29.

⁵⁰ *Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń 2015, (introduction), p. 7.

⁵¹ <http://fundacjlanckoronskich.org/en/history/> (online 10.04.2018).

⁵² K. Lanckoroński 1907, p. 2. (Photocopy preserved in Wawel Royal Castle Archive).

and 1884.⁵³ Warsberg was also a good friend of Lanckoroński. He was the author of *Homerische Landschaften* (1884) and *Odyssäische Landschaften* (1887) and very enthusiastic about the ancient period and archaeology.⁵⁴ His knowledge of art and his personal taste were perhaps shaped by many artists who Lanckoroński befriended. Artists such as Hans Makart (1840-1884), Ludwig Hans Fischer (1848-1915) and Jacek Malczewski (1854-1929) were not only commissioned to create paintings and portraits for him, but also travelled with him through Mediterranean countries.

In this chapter I would like to also demonstrate my findings on Lanckoroński's relation with Bernard Berenson (1865-1959) – one of the most prominent American connoisseurs of Italian Renaissance art in 20th century.⁵⁵ As will be seen, Berenson must have been a frequent guest at his palace at Jacquingasse 18; however, the role he played in shaping Lanckoroński's collection is not entirely clear.⁵⁶ It is difficult to determine the terms of their relationship. Jerzy Miziołek, in his 2013 lecture titled *Karl Lanckoroński und seine Zeit* suggests that they probably met around 1900; however, this hypothesis does not seem convincing if we take into consideration the evidence presented by Miziołek. In 1905, Lanckoroński wrote a small book concerning Italian domestic paintings titled *Einiges Über Italienische Bemalte Truhen*. Lanckoroński refers there to his acquisitions of numerous *cassone* paintings purchased during the journeys in Italy.⁵⁷ We cannot exclude the possibility of Lanckoroński's consultation with Berenson who might have had sufficient knowledge in Renaissance *cassone* and places of their disposal. What is more, the archival collection of Royal Castle in Warsaw preserves a postcard, written in English from Berenson to Count Lanckoroński with good wishes for New Year, 1907 sent from Berenson's villa I Tatti in Florence to Vienna (il.9).⁵⁸ In the following years, these two art collectors met several times, as we know from an article written by Berenson in 1916 in *The Study of Criticism of Italian Art*.⁵⁹ He was conducting a research on *Madonna* in Vienna, formerly ascribed to Giovanni Bellini. Yet Berenson found other attributes and initially ascribed the artwork to Boccaccio Boccaccino. After further research and comparison with the work of Antonello da Messina, he changed his mind and attributed the painting of *Madonna* to da Messina. On his next visit to Vienna he announced his discovery to Lanckoroński: "On my next visit to Vienna I

⁵³ M. Skubiszewska, K. Kuczman 2010, p. 15.

⁵⁴ J. Miziołek 2003, p. 12.

⁵⁵ J. Miziołek 1995, p. 29.

⁵⁶ M. Skubiszewska, K. Kuczman 2010, p. 20.

⁵⁷ K. Lanckoroński 1905.

⁵⁸ J. Miziołek 2014, p. 327.

⁵⁹ B. Berenson 1916, p. 100.

communicated my idea to Count Lanckoroński, to Dr Gluck and to Professor Dvořák (...).⁶⁰ In Berenson's 1932 book *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. A list of the Principal Artists and their Works with an Index of places*, he mentions two paintings that Lanckoroński owned: *Saint Andrew* by Masaccio and *Saint George and the Dragon* by Uccello. This suggests that Berenson might have been doing the research on those paintings himself since, from approximately 1890, they were in the Viennese collection.⁶¹ Nevertheless, it is doubtful that he directly influenced Lanckoroński's purchases of specific paintings. In the light of these facts, Miziołek's theory about their first contact around 1900 seems to be doubtful from the perspective of all the connections.

Lanckoroński's contribution in researches about history of art and his broad knowledge were widely appreciated and brought him honorary titles of *Doctor honoris causa* at the Universities of Berlin and Kraków in 1907.⁶² He also became a member of the Viennese *Akademie der Wissenschaften*, *Akademie der bildenden Künste*, *Österreichische Archäologische Institut* as well as established in 1897 *Kunsthistorisches Institut* in Florence which Lanckoroński supported with many donations.⁶³ Here, it can be hypothesised that it was highly probable that Bernard Berenson met Lanckoroński in Florence and recommend that Lanckoroński support the art institute; what is more, his villa I Tatti was located roughly an hour's walking distance from *Kunsthistorisches Institut*. That could have been the place of their first meeting. However, we do not yet have definite evidence that such a coincidence existed, thus it remains an intriguing aspect of their connection.

One of Lanckoroński's passions was travelling, which primarily resulted from his main interests. He described most of his trips in his book and diaries, including his remarkable journey around the world, reported in *Na okolo Ziemi, 1888 – 1889* (Around the World, 1888-1889) and the other, a two-volume, comprehensive book, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (The Cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia).⁶⁴ Ludwig Hans Fisher (1848-1915) accompanied Lanckoroński on his journey around the world. Ludwig Hans Fisher was one of the best known Austrian watercolour painters. Fisher was often painting the interior scenes of the Count's palace in Rozdół in Galicia. He also frequently painted the *Freskensaal* (Fresco Room) in Palais Lanckoroński and interiors of Lanckoroński's former residences in Vienna. Therefore, due to Fischer's paintings depiction of the interior of Lanckoroński's palace at

⁶⁰ Ibidem.

⁶¹ B. Berenson 1932, p. 32.

⁶² Jagiellonian University Archives, call number S. II, 971.

⁶³ A. Tempestini 1994, p. 266-271.

⁶⁴ K. Lanckoroński 1890-1896.

Wasagasse in Vienna, we know about many separate front paintings called *fianch or laterali* from the Lanckoroński's *cassone* collection.⁶⁵

The artist and Lanckoroński shared an interest in voyages and research expeditions. Together they visited Ceylon and India, from which Fischer returned to Austria and Count went on to China.⁶⁶ The oil paintings, watercolours and oriental objects from this journey were later exhibited in Österreichische Handels-Museum in 1890, where Lanckoroński could present his art trophies (il.10).⁶⁷

In 1874, Lanckoroński visited Syria and in the next years, he traveled to Egypt and North Africa. His first journey to Turkey took place in 1882, and in 1884-1885, Lanckoroński carried out an important excursion to Asia Minor. Moreover, it is also worth noting that in 1881 Lanckoroński became first member of special archaeological committee in Asia Minor – Gründungcomite für kleinasiatische Ausgrabungen. Diaries written by Lanckoroński's during his first scientific expedition to Pamphylia and Pisidia indicate the date of its beginning on October 1882. During the first journey Lanckoroński was assisted by group of specialists such as photographer, doctor and anthropologist Felix von Luschan (1854-1924), Austrian painter Leopold Bara (1846-1911), Polish engineer Marcelli Górkiewicz.⁶⁸ During the second expedition, apart from Lanckoroński, we can mention archaeologist Eugen Petersen (1836-1919), young Viennese architect Moritz Hartel (1859-1905), philologist Wilhelm von Hartel and photographer George Wassmuth.⁶⁹ Besides, the team was formed of experienced cartographers, epigraphers, servants, chiefs, translators and other assistance. Hence, we can conclude that these archaeological excursions were well planned and organized. They were engaging projects, fully financed by Lanckoroński.

Notably, the presence of painters such as Jacek Malczewski who was making the drawings of visited places were constituting a *novum* in the history of 19th century expeditions. Furthermore, it is known that Lanckoroński draw few foundry workers in expedition to Pamphylia and Pisidia, since keeping found items was forbidden. These clay casts of discovered objects survived until today, and are now preserved in University of Vienna in archeological department.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ J. Miziołek 2003, p. 69.

⁶⁶ J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Ludwiga Hansa Fischera do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemiańska, Wiedeń 2015, p. 124.

⁶⁷ *Katalog der Ostasiatischen Ausstellung des Grafen Carl Lanckoroński. Ausgestellt im k.k. Österreichischen Handels-Museum*, Wien 1890.

⁶⁸ S. Käss 1987, p. 221, J.A. Ostrowski 1993, p. 59.

⁶⁹ *Dzienniki podróży do Azji Mniejszej 1882-1883 i 1884*, edited by A. Szymanowicz-Hren, A. Ziemiańska, Wiedeń 2015, pp. 24-25.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 30; The collection of archeological department of University of Vienna, call number 1157-1169.

Another interesting aspect of the undergone excursions were the objects purchased by Lanckoroński. In “Wiener Zeitung” from 21 June, 1885 an article regarding exposition in The Austrian Museum for Arts and Industry representing the objects collected by Lanckoroński during journey was published: “hundreds of objects (...) with special labels and specifications, and next to them additional photos with an overview of the region and magnificent watercolour paintings”.⁷¹ Exhibition was focusing on objects from Islamic art and in majority ancient items purchased in Athens on the road back home, among them a large size sarcophagi, later placed in Fresco room in Palais Lanckoroński in Vienna. An implication of the excursions was a two-volume book published by Lanckoroński: *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, released in 1890 and 1892 in three languages: German, Polish and French.

He also conducted the excavation and conservation work on prominent basilica in Aquileia, which he fully financed. In 1906 he became honorary citizen of Aquileia.⁷² In the spring of 1884, shortly before his second tour to Turkey, he visited France, the memories of which he described in a small book released same year in Polish.⁷³ In France, Lanckoroński spend his time in Vienne, Orange, Avignon, Nîmes and Arles. He was fascinated by ancient buildings, as well as by Romanesque and Middle Age architectural tradition. Needless to say, an important element of his oriental journeys was purchasing oriental artworks, which later completed Lanckoroński’s collection at Palais Jacquingasse 18.⁷⁴

The country Count Lanckoroński loved most was Italy. Frequent and long journeys to Italy aroused his interest in ancient and Renaissance artworks.⁷⁵ This can be illustrated briefly by a quotation from the book *Na okolo Ziemi 1888-1889*: “I feel happy about the hope of India, I would travel around the world although, my heart belongs to this part of the Earth between the Adriatic Sea and Tyrrhenian Sea”.⁷⁶ He visited Italy many times: first to learn about Italian art, and afterwards to supervise the already mentioned archeological researches, as in Aquileia, and – fundamental to this research - to collect Italian paintings. Lanckoroński always measured the other countries against the standards of Italy. His broad interest in Italian paintings and their further purchase resulted in the components of his collection that, chiefly due to the lack of sufficient space had to be spread among numerous residences in Vienna. Lanckoroński frequently mentioned the heritage of Italian culture – architecture, sculpture and

⁷¹ J. von Falke 1885, pp. 3-5, see also: D. R. Cordileone 2008, pp. 123-141.

⁷² G. Bovini 1972, p. 25.

J. Miziołek 2014, p. 322.

⁷³ K. Lanckoroński 1884.

⁷⁴ G. P. Bąbiak 2012, p. 26.

⁷⁵ J. Miziołek 2003, p. 19.

⁷⁶ K. Lanckoroński 1893, p. 3.

paintings in his poems such as *Lido*, *Santa Barbara di Palma il Vecchio* or *San Francesco in Deserto*, yet, they have not been published by Lanckoroński.⁷⁷ In 1934, Jan Twardowski (1915-2006) has reprinted selected poems.⁷⁸

Although, the Italian art was a principal interest for Lanckoroński, it was not his only interest. Next to the works of Titian, Rembrandt, Renaissance period or preserved frescoes of Dominichino, originating from the famous Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati, Lanckoroński's collection was enriched by Roman antiquity sculptures, such as the great sarcophagus from 3rd century CE.⁷⁹ The integral part of the general collection was enriched with a component of modern and contemporary artworks. Among those, we can name artists from the German symbolists' circle such as Arnold Böcklin (1827-1901), Hans Makart (1840-1884), Hans Thoma (1839-1924) and other Western European Romantic artists, such as Delacroix (1798-1863), Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898), Constantin Meunier (1831-1905) and the young Spanish impressionist Ignacio Zuloaga (1870-1945). Lanckoroński also collected drawings, including marine drawings by Ajwazowski (1817-1900), symbolistic etchings by Klinger (1857-1920) and crayon drawings in manner of realistic symbolism by Segantini (1858-1899).

It is important to mention that Lanckoroński like other contemporary collectors also possessed items of Oriental provenance that were very popular at that time, such as Japanese kakemono, statuettes, pottery, sculptures and architectural elements from Indian art, lamps, fans, weapons and several examples of Buddhist sculpture. All could have been compared with content of The British Museum from the beginning of the 20th century in the way of the stature of the artworks, as noted in 1903 by Polish cultural journalist Stefan Krzyworzewski.⁸⁰ Handicrafts, such as old Persian and Arabic manuscripts, Mexican sculptures or art from the Far East that Lanckoroński brought from his journeys complemented his Viennese collection. The oriental part of the collection consisted of approximately 1,079 objects. Polish contemporary art found relatively little space in Palais Lanckoroński. He decided to place Polish art in his Galician residence in Rozdół. Lanckoroński's had his favourite group of Polish artists included Jacek Malczewski (1854-1929), Antoni Piotrowski (1853-1924) and Artur Grottger (1837-1867).⁸¹

It is evident that, together with Lanckoroński's upbringing and education, the environment in which he was surrounded by people from elite circles fostered his passion for

⁷⁷ J. Miziołek 2003, p. 19.

⁷⁸ Jan Twardowski (1915-2006), Polish priest, editor, poet, author of *Literature Compendium* magazine.

⁷⁹ S. Krzyworzewski 1903, p. 3.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, vol. 7, p. 6.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

art. He was a knowledgeable man, and his broad network of scholars, art agents, artists, art historians and curators played an important part in creating the stature of Lanckoroński's collection in Vienna. In view of data presented in this chapter, it is difficult to doubt Lanckoroński's authority. In 1933, an art historian and specialist of Michelangelo art oeuvre, Johannes Wilde (1891-1970) and Ludwig Curtius (1874-1954), prominent archaeologist, both named Karol Lanckoroński "the last genuine humanist".⁸²

⁸² J. Wilde 1933, Curtius op. cit., p. 195.

Chapter II. Karol Lanckoroński's art agents and his approach to art collecting

A first-hand account concerning Lanckoroński's objectives and motifs in forming his collection can be found in various letters exchanged with important figures of Viennese social circles, such as art historians, critics, humanists and writers. For instance, I will present letters sent between 1892 and 1924 by Wilhelm Bode (1845-1929), – the long-term director of Kaiser Friedrich Museum, and correspondence with Max Dvořák (1874-1921), – the leading member of *The Vienna School of Art History*.⁸³ The content of the letters provides indispensable material for further research on Lanckoroński's collection. Moreover, it gives an impression of Lanckoroński's social initiatives, his approach to certain artworks and his aesthetic taste. Apart from these, diaries from his journeys to Italy constitute a major source that illustrates Lanckoroński's interest in Renaissance art and his viewpoint on cultural heritage. For this case study, describing the figure of Count's art adviser Adolph Bayersdorfer (1842-1901), was fundamental. As later presented, some aspects of the relationship between art connoisseur and art expert proved to be beneficial for enlarging Lanckoroński's Viennese collection.

To provide the reader with an ordered content of the letters, I present the collected material, which gives an overview of Lanckoroński's collecting activities and purchases. To facilitate the reading of this chapter, I divided it into two parts. Paragraphs that characterise the connection between Lanckoroński and his respondents in the matter of mutual art transactions and collecting collaboration will be described first. The second part is devoted to descriptions in Lanckoroński's diary of painting acquisitions and further participation in art auctions that fortified the collection at Jacquingasse 18. I cite every instance where the motif of art acquisition occurs. The remainder of this chapter presents the findings of the investigation on the connections of Lanckoroński with two great architects of Vienna, – Friedrich Ohmann (1858-1927) and Josef Maria Olbrich (1867-1908).

The letters to Lanckoroński from Wilhelm von Bode do not clarify the nature of their relationship. The content leads the reader to the conclusion that they met in Italian cities such as Venice in 1897 and Florence in 1901. They might have also seen each other in Vienna and Berlin around 1912 and 1922. "I hope for the meeting soon, anywhere in this World" writes

⁸³J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, p. 95.

Lanckoroński on 11 September 1892.⁸⁴ The answer to the question of how much von Bode contributed to the Lanckoroński's collection in his Viennese palace is revealed in the same letter from 11 September 1892 - "It would be a pleasure to show you my new residence in the neighbourhood of Belvedere and with which arrangement I am busy right now (...) Your advice about setting and hanging my artworks would be priceless for me".⁸⁵ Bode was certainly involved in the collection and apparently would have known its content very well, as is proved in several letters. He was familiar with paintings of the Viennese collection, primarily with the paintings of Rembrandt.⁸⁶ From the 1890s, Bode worked on a monumental, multi-volume monograph of Rembrandt – the first compendium of the oeuvre of the artist, finished in 1905.⁸⁷ This book reflected on two paintings of Rembrandt from the collection of Lanckoroński - *The Girl in a Picture Frame* and *Scholar at the Lectern*, which Lanckoroński's great-grandfather, Kazimierz Rzewuski inherited from King Stanislas Auguste Poniatowski (known in his collection as *Portrait of Young Girl* or *Jewish Bride* and *Father of Jewish Bride*) in 1820.⁸⁸ Both paintings were exhaustively studied by von Bode and described in the fourth volume of his monograph.⁸⁹ In a letter dated 29 November 1899, von Bode additionally asked Lanckoroński about details such as signatures or previous history of preservation of these two paintings; this might indicate a minor contribution of Lanckoroński's knowledge to the fourth volume.⁹⁰

Worth mentioning here is that von Bode, besides advising Lanckoroński was also very involved in the research on clarification of the genuineness of artworks the Count Lanckoroński purchased. From data in the following letter, we can conclude that von Bode prepared reliable descriptions of the objects Lanckoroński purchased.⁹¹ In a letter from 19

⁸⁴ J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, copy of letter from Karol Lanckoroński to Wilhelm von Bode, Kressbronn am Bodensee, Zentralarchiv Berlin, 11 IX 1892, translated by J. Radłowska.

⁸⁵ Ibidem

⁸⁶ J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, copy of letter from Wilhelm von Bode to Karol Lanckoroński from Berlin Charlottenburg 2 IX 1892, Wien, ÖNB 611/19-9, translated by J. Radłowska.

⁸⁷ W. von Bode 1897-1905.

⁸⁸ About this two painting Lanckoroński was ensured that it can be an idealized portrait of Rembrandt's wife – Saskia. See also: J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, p. 100.

⁸⁹ T. Mańkowski 1929, p. 207, 208; http://delibra.bg.polsl.pl/Content/24113/BCPS_25935_1930_Prace-Komisji-Histor.pdf (online, 14.06.2018).

⁹⁰ J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, copy of letter from Wilhelm von Bode to Karol Lanckoroński from Berlin Charlottenburg 29 XI 1899, Wien, ÖNB 611/19-3, translated by J. Radłowska.

⁹¹ J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, copy of letter from Wilhelm von Bode to Karol Lanckoroński from Berlin 19 XI 1902, Wien, ÖNB 611/19-7, translated by J. Radłowska.

November 1902 von Bode described a sculpture Lanckoroński acquired in Florence “(...) very beautiful glazed relief with depiction of Abduction of Europe”.⁹² Von Bode asked the Count for access for the further investigation of this sculpture, which was already located at Palais Lanckoroński. Von Bode ascribed the relief to Agostino di Duccio (1418-1481) due to his findings on the file footage comparison he had made. In the same letter von Bode informed Lanckoroński about purchased painting of Hugo van der Goes (ca. 1440-1482), with the further intention of selling it to him. Another example of von Bode’s activity in doing research on the Count’s paintings collection can be found in a letter of 27 June 1910. Here, von Bode compared the painting with the depiction of a figure of St. Peter, which he concluded was simply a great copy of an original painting assigned to Rembrandt, formerly in the Parisian collection of Edouard André.⁹³

One of the main topics found in the correspondence between the Count and von Bode relates to the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence.⁹⁴ Besides financial support, Lanckoroński also donated a large collection of photographs of eminent artworks from private English collections. Lanckoroński, as a photo collector himself, realised early, that this material enabled further research on the history of art. It is important to note that Lanckoroński himself was very passionate about taking pictures. His photo collection contained roughly 80 thousand photos with depictions of European artworks. Lanckoroński actively reported his journeys to Italy and Asia Minor which were in essence, a photo reportage. From the references of the photos it is known that Lanckoroński hired Italian photographers such as Giacomo Borgi (1822-1881), Carlo Naya (1816-1882) or Austrian such as Josef Wlha to take pictures in Florence, Venice or Vienna. Around 45 thousand photos are now preserved in Polish Academy of Learning (PAU) in Cracow and in Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) in Rome.

The letters of von Bode and Lanckoroński constitute a sample of exchanged thoughts between two *dilettanti*, in love with Italy and Italian Renaissance art, to which Wilhelm von Bode dedicated a Renaissance-Museum in Berlin and Lanckoroński popularised in Vienna by gathering Early Renaissance paintings and laid the foundations for scientific research on the Italian *cassoni* in his collection.⁹⁵

⁹² J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, vol. 2, p. 239.

⁹³ Bode probably mention the painting titled *The Denial of St. Peter* of Rembrandt. J. Winiewicz-Wolska, ‘Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego’, in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemiańska, Wiedeń 2015, photocopy of letter from Wilhelm von Bode to Karol Lanckoroński from Berlin 27 VI 1910, Wien ÖNB 611/19-9, translated by J. Radłowska.

⁹⁴ About the institute see also: H.W. Hubert, August Schmarsow 1908, pp. 339-358.

⁹⁵ K. Lanckoroński 1905.

It is essential to point to the relation of the Count with Max Dvořák (1874-1921), one of the most significant art historians and a former pupil of Alois Riegl (1858-1905). Many of the letters sent between Lanckoroński and Dvořák relate to their shared interest and friendship.⁹⁶ They were mutually involved in the preservation of cultural heritage, and their correspondence is focused on The Central Commission of the Research and Preservation of Historical Monuments in Vienna (*Zentralkommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst und historischen Denkmale*).⁹⁷ Moreover, it is probable that Lanckoroński and Dvořák were actively committed to the modernisation of Karlsplatz square in Vienna.⁹⁸ Here, I must reflect on the major shift in the approach to the heritage protection in the 19th century. All of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century were devoted to the new phenomenon of providing sufficient protection and conservation for heritage buildings, although it was discussed only on a theoretical basis. What is more, the approach to the past was changing and this was accompanied by the emergence of many ideas about techniques for preservation of architectural objects. This was a time of shaping the term of “*monument*” which led to the establishment of institutions responsible for protecting cultural heritage and for the legal basis of its functioning.⁹⁹ Lanckoroński played a crucial role in this process. He was involved in publications of the polemical articles and participated in most decisive debates about new urban plans, artistic ventures and restoration of artworks and buildings. Walter Semetkowski in his publication named Lanckoroński as one of the first to forge the path to protecting heritage goods in a modern manner.¹⁰⁰ Lanckoroński must have deepened his knowledge about cultural heritage during his archaeological excursions and during his stay in Italy.

Exhaustive quantity of Lanckoroński’s approaches to cultural protection and urban modernisation had been presented during a lecture on 19 June 1908 at Jagiellonian University titled “*About different orientations of historical monuments in different times and different countries*”.¹⁰¹ Due to the broad article with the script of Lanckoroński’s auditorium, we can

⁹⁶ *Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń 2015, (introduction), p. 7.

⁹⁷ D. Reynolds 2014, p. 264.

⁹⁸ *Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń 2015, copy of letter from Max Dvořák to Karol Lanckoroński from Roudnice nad Labem 28 IX 1909, Wien, ÖNB 611/54-9, translated by A. Szymanowicz-Hren.

⁹⁹ J. Winiewicz-Wolska, ‘Problemy ochrony i konserwacji zabytków w pismach i działalności Karola Lanckorońskiego’, in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, p. 65, see also: E. Viollet-le-Duc, *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc: Readings and Commentaries*, edited by M.F. Hearan, Cambridge 1990, *The Conservation and Structural Restoration of Architectural Heritage* (Advances in Architecture Vol 1), WIT Press 1998.

¹⁰⁰ W. Semetkowski 1968, p. 410.

¹⁰¹ The content of his lecture was later published in Polish daily newspaper “*Czas*” - K. Lanckoroński, ‘O różnych poglądach na pomniki historyczne w rozmaitych czasach i rozmaitych krajach’, in: *Czas*, LXI, no.142, 23 VI

draw conclusions about Lanckoroński's opinion regarding heritage issues. Here he discussed the condition and plans for the renovation of Wawel Royal Castle. In Lanckoroński's opinion, a heritage building that was shaped throughout centuries should mirror the period it was created in and left untouched, as it constitutes a historical testament. Accordingly, it is apparent that Max Dvořák may have found in Lanckoroński an ally with similar ideas and vision of protecting heritage buildings.¹⁰²

Another interesting aspect of the correspondence between Lanckoroński and Dvořák allows readers to draw the conclusion that Lanckoroński often asked his friend for advice in purchasing new artworks. Lanckoroński primarily asked him about the attribution of artworks and conservation issues.¹⁰³ In a letter of 12 March, 1912 Dvořák described two panels from the *trecento* period that were partly restored by Viennese frescoes conservator Johannes Viertelberger (1861-1933) and the process of conserving them, as well as a 1522 painting ascribed to Bartholomeus Bruyn.¹⁰⁴ He underlines the fact that, after the restoration process the *trecento* artworks would fit perfectly in the chapel of the palace at Jacquingasse 18.¹⁰⁵ He precisely described his disapproval of filling the empty spaces in the painting layer in those paintings because they deserved to stay in their current condition. Max Dvořák's role is very clear at this point. He was responsible for the process of restoring artworks shortly after Lanckoroński purchased them. It is therefore likely that Dvořák had help from other restorers who worked at his or Lanckoroński's commission. One restorer may have been Herman Ritschl (1865-1935), – beloved art conservator of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Dvořák in letter from 1912, offers to show Lanckoroński's Sienese early modern panels to Ritschl to hear his opinion on them.¹⁰⁶ However, several questions about the relationship of these two remain unanswered.

Dvořák also recounts in letters to Lanckoroński every art transaction he knew about, or any artwork relocation, from one collection to another. Lanckoroński would have benefited from the sharp observation of the art historian. Dvořák once wrote: "Paul von Schoeller

1908, pp. 1-2; no. 143, 24 VI 1908, p. 1; no. 144, 25 VI 1908, pp. 1-2; no. 145, 26 VI 1908, p. 1; no. 146, 27 VI 1908, p. 2, (available online: <http://mbc.malopolska.pl/dlibra/publication?id=43306&tab=3> 15.04.2018).

¹⁰² J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Problemy ochrony i konserwacji zabytków w pismach i działalności Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, p. 93.

¹⁰³ *Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń 2015, (introduction), p. 11.

¹⁰⁴ It is a *Portrait of 21 years old woman* painted by Bartholomeus Bruyn (1493-1535) in 1522. Lanckoroński purchased it in 1885 from Hans Makart collection.

¹⁰⁵ *Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń 2015 copy of letter from Max Dvořák to Karol Lanckoroński from Vienna 13 III 1912, Wien, ÖNB 611/55-12, translated by A. Szymanowicz-Hren.

¹⁰⁶ *Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń 2015, pp. 40-41.

refused buying Titian, he is not a real collector (...)” which reveals a large involvement in art trade issues, and suggests that Lanckoroński take up action on the matter of the Titian.¹⁰⁷ Similarly in the letter from February 1912, Dvořák informs Lanckoroński about the authenticity of frescoes ascribed to Tiepolo located in Croglio in which Lanckoroński was likely interested in. He writes: “Frescoes from Croglio are definitely not made by Tiepolo but by one of his imitators. The only artwork which was made there by Tiepolo was purchased by Bardini few years ago, today it decorates the villa of (James) Simon in Berlin”.¹⁰⁸ In the letter from June 1918, Dvořák also mentioned his meeting with Carl Moll (1861-1945) – an artist of the Viennese *Sezession* who introduced him to the painting of Titian – *Venus and the Lute Player* which Moll discovered in Southern Tirol. Further, he writes that Moll wishes Lanckoroński to see and inspect this painting.¹⁰⁹ Content of the letter sent in September 1909 indicates that Dvořák must have conducted research on the objects from Lanckoroński’s collection. For instance, he expressed appreciation for the photo material of a Donatello sculpture, which he received from Lanckoroński. Hence, I do not find another proper explanation of the reason the photos of the sculpture would be essential for the Viennese scholar than for investigation.¹¹⁰ It is worth mentioning that the youngest daughter of Lanckoroński – Karolina (1898-2002), wrote her PhD dissertation on Michelangelo’s (1475-1564) painting *The Last Judgement* under the supervision of Max Dvořák.¹¹¹ After his death in 1921, she continued under the direction of Julius von Schlosser (1866-1938). Another interesting aspect is that in 219 preserved letters, Dvořák mentions Berenson twice; once to inform Lanckoroński that Berenson asked him for a list of books concerning art history, written during World War I in Vienna and a second time he writes from Vilno Rocchetta: “I prepared the catalogue of Berenson’s treasures which I found at his place (...)”. This might

¹⁰⁷ *Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń 2015, copy of letter from Max Dvořák to Karol Lanckoroński from Kirchberg 23 IX 1915, Wien, ÖNB, 611/57-30, translated by A. Szymanowicz-Hren.

¹⁰⁸ *Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń 2015, copy of letter from Max Dvořák to Karol Lanckoroński from Vienna 5 II 1912, Wien, ÖNB, 611/57-30, translated by A. Szymanowicz-Hren.

Stefano Bardini (1836-1922) was a Florentine antiquarian, James Simon (1851-1932) was a collector, art patron. He collected Italian art and medieval sculpture, his collection was gathered in his villa at Tiergartenstrasse in Berlin. Half of the collection he donated to Kaiser-Friedrich Museum.

¹⁰⁹ *Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń 2015, copy of letter from Max Dvořák to Karol Lanckoroński from Vienna 17 VI 1918, Wien, ÖNB 612/1-39, translated by A. Szymanowicz-Hren.

¹¹⁰ *Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń 2015, copy of letter from Max Dvořák to Karol Lanckoroński from Roudnice nad Labem 28 IX 1909, Wien, ÖNB 611/54-9, translated by A. Szymanowicz-Hren. Probably he accords to the relief of *Madonna* ascribed to Donatello. See also: L. von Hevesi, ‘Palais Lanckoroński. Zu den Wiener Kunstwanderungen’, *Fremden-Blatt*, 1902, no. 46 (16th February), p. 18.

¹¹¹ J. Miziołek 2003, p. 37.

indicate Dvořák's cooperation with the American art historian; perhaps Lanckoroński advised Dvořák in the matter of making a move towards Berenson's requests.¹¹²

Finally, something must be said about Lanckoroński's diaries from voyages to Italy in 1874 and 1875, which give an overview of his taste and statements about art.¹¹³ Despite the information preserved in written correspondence, the diaries from his expedition to Italy constitute a valuable source of knowledge written by the Count himself. In his first journey, Lanckoroński devoted his time to visiting the Northern part of Italy and cities such as Padua, Florence, Sienna, San Gimignano, Orvieto, Cortona, Assisi and Loreto. In his second journey, dedicated to the Italian peninsula, he visited Brescia, Bergamo, Milan, Genoa and San Remo then moved further south to Rome then to Sicily where he focused on Palermo and Messina. The intensity of the amount of visited places is surprisingly high when we take into consideration that Lanckoroński spent approximately four months to visit all these cities. Lanckoroński manifested a special admiration for Florence where he visited Santa Maria del Carmine to see his favourite frescoes in Branacci Chapel, Museo Bargello, Uffizi, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria dell'Accademia and San Marco cloister. This data reveals that each of Lanckoroński's days in Italy was fulfilling and brought him a new experience.

When Lanckoroński describes artworks in his papers, he often repeats words such as "magnificent" or "beautiful", however he does not hesitate to express his concerns and critical point of view. Lanckoroński occasionally uses the word "zopf" which encompasses a very pejorative meaning. This appeared often in phrases such as "*zopf artworks*" or "*from zopf period*". The term "zopf" has come to be used to refer to something botched, old fashioned or exaggerated.

These journeys were not necessarily journeys of the conscious connoisseur; Lanckoroński did not travel with a formally prepared plan. To some extent, he used Karl Baedeker's advice (1801-1859).¹¹⁴ Lanckoroński's preferences and tastes in art were just forming, which can be concluded from the manner of his writings.¹¹⁵ Lanckoroński declared a greater interest in ancient art. He often visited excavations and admired Rome's antique buildings. This may have been incentive for creating the ancient part of the collection. He was impressed by the Capitoline Museums and Villa Albani. He gave his opinion about the

¹¹² *Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń 2015, copy of letter from Max Dvořák to Karol Lanckoroński, Wien, ÖNB 612/2-45, ÖNB 611/57-11, translated by A. Szymanowicz-Hren

¹¹³ *Dzienniki podróży do Włoch (1874 i 1875)*, edited by J. Winiewicz-Wolska, A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, p. 7.

¹¹⁴ Karl Baedeker was a German writer and publisher. He pioneered first travel guides.

¹¹⁵ *Dzienniki podróży do Włoch (1874 i 1875)*, edited by J. Winiewicz-Wolska, A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, p. 10.

frescoes of Luca Signorelli (ca. 1450-1523), Masaccio (1401-1428), Ghirlandaio (1449-1494), Carlo Crivelli (ca. 1430-1495) and Ambrogio da Fossano (1481-1523). In a diary entry written on 8 January 1874 Lanckoroński mentioned on the Gentile da Fabriano's painting *Adoration of the Magi* which he saw in Accademia di Belli Arti (il.11). It was one of Lanckoroński's beloved paintings and he devoted a page to an iconographic description of this masterpiece.¹¹⁶ For instance, he writes: "Small figures of the Saints in the upper part, near the frame are just as endlessly beautiful as only numerous artworks of this sort from later period". It is apparent that Lanckoroński frequently returns to artworks that left the strongest impression on him, as for instance to Bargello and Galleria dell'Accademia to see once more the artworks of Rafael (1483-1520), Luca della Robbia (1399-1481), Donatello (1386-1466), Michelangelo (1475-1564) and Fra Angelico (1387-1455), and he also returns to Vatican Museums. He dedicates much of the attention in his diaries to Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) and Andrea del Sarto (1486-1530). Notably, Lanckoroński also made a comparison of Dutch and Italian masters. In the note from 16 January 1874 he wrote: "Venetians [painters] are declaring similarity to Dutch artists, not only as best colorists among rest of Italian painters, they are as well as Dutch the best landscape painters amid contemporary artists".¹¹⁷ In contrast, in another note from 5 February 1875, he wrote: "(...) a definite pearl among all the [Italian] painting collection is magnificent Altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes, which supposed to be consider as the best from all the Flemish artworks".¹¹⁸

Nevertheless, the diaries do not contain the information or indicate the moment when the Lanckoroński's fascination of the quattrocento art started. What is more, no information suggests that from then on, his collection will include more than 300 Italian paintings, in majority from the 15th century. Only a few incidents connected with Italian collecting are clearly outlined. On 25 February 1875, Lanckoroński saw the ceiling fresco painted by Guido Reni (1575-1642) titled *Aurora* in Casino Rospigliosi, who he later commissioned to imitate in *Green Salon* in his palace at Jacquingasse 18 (il.12). Among the artists whose paintings Lanckoroński purchased and which are recorded in diaries we can mention Titian (ca. 1488-1576), Luca Signorelli (ca. 1450-1523) and Fra Angelico (ca. 1387-1455).

¹¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 42.

¹¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 86.

¹¹⁸ In this note Lanckoroński must have mentioned *Portinari Altarpiece* (ca. 1475), today preserved in Uffizi gallery in Florence, however Lanckoroński had seen it in Sant'Edigio in Florence; *Karol Lanckoroński, dzienniki podróży do Włoch (1874 i 1875)*, edited by J. Winiewicz-Wolska, A. Ziemiańska, Wiedeń 2015, p. 121.

In his diaries he consequently maintains that the artwork should stay in a place where it belongs to.¹¹⁹ He expressed his concerns about removing the great sculpture of *David* from the front of Palazzo Vecchio and replacing it with a copy. Lanckoroński also expressed a negative opinion about the removal of Donatello's *St. George* sculpture from the niche in Orsanmichele. He belonged to a group of art connoisseurs who loved to see artwork *in situ* for the aesthetic reasons. Lanckoroński critically described museum institutions as mausoleums in which art was just collected and exposed, deprived of its natural context.¹²⁰ His diaries constitute an important material in research on early modern Italian masters and the changes in history of their settlement and relocations.

Apart from correspondence that reveals art transactions or acquisitions one should recall the art auctions that constitute a very important source of knowledge about the widely spread network of Lanckoroński and his art agent. Among many art auctions that Lanckoroński took part in or commissioned Adolph Bayersdorfer (1842-1901) to purchase artworks we can distinguish few important ones that affected the Viennese collection. Bayersdorfer was an excellent expert of Italian art. Lanckoroński owed him the acknowledgement of acquisition most of the paintings that enriched his collection between 1883 and 1901.¹²¹ After Bayersdorfer's death, von Bode together with Lanckoroński put great effort into compiling all his notes and articles, that were a valuable source of information but never printed due to Bayersdorfer's animosity towards writing.¹²²

Adolf Bayersdorfer played an important role in researching and exporting paintings Lanckoroński selected. Firstly, purchased works of art always travelled to Munich where it underwent a restoration and conservation process under the custodianship of German conservator, restorer and painter, – Alois Hauser (1831-1909). Afterwards, from Munich they were directly delivered to Lanckoroński's Viennese address. Bayersdorfer tended to be a mediator between restorer and commissioner. In March 1885 Lanckoroński participated in the auction of a collection originating from Hans Makart where he purchased *A Portrait of a Woman* ascribed to Bartholomeus Bruyn (1493-1555) and one painting ascribed to Sandro Botticelli.¹²³ Between 27 and 29 April 1885, Lanckoroński had another occasion to enlarge the Viennese collection. In Milan at that time, a large auction of the Marquis Giovanni

¹¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 15.

¹²⁰ S. Krzywoszewski 1903, pp. 1-3.

¹²¹ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2009, pp. 183-217.

¹²² J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego' in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, copy of letter from Wilhelm von Bode to Karol Lanckoroński from Florence 26 IV 1901, Wien, ÖNB 611/19-4, translated by J. Radłowska.

¹²³ Perhaps it was a painting which in catalogue of Palais Lanckoroński from 1895 figures as "Madonna, tondo in manner of Botticelli".

Battista Costabili (1756-1841) was organised. Costabili focused mostly on School of Ferrara paintings. Lanckoroński probably acquired only two paintings from his collection. This is due to the lack of the money.

In 1888, Adolph Bayersdorfer bought another painting (probably in Munich) from an art dealer Hugo Helbing (1863-1938). In March Lanckoroński wrote: “Thank you so much for the painting. I will send the money directly to Helbing”.¹²⁴ Despite this information, the identity of the painting remains unknown. 1888 was quite fruitful for Lanckoroński. He purchased a painting of Dosso Dossi’s – *Jupiter, Mercury and Virtue* from the auction of the belongings of Daniel Penther (1837-1887), (il.13). In 1890 in Cracow, Lanckoroński purchased *A Head of Christ in Thorn Crown* by Sano di Pietro (1406-1481), formerly in Cardinal Jan Karol Scipio del Campo’s collection.¹²⁵ The information of succeeding and registered acquisitions did not appear until 1891. In his letter from 23 February 1891 from Venice, Lanckoroński tells Bayersdorfer that he bought several Italian portraits in quite bad condition.¹²⁶ It is possible that he meant the so-called “portraits of the school of Milan” from the 15th century.¹²⁷ In 1891 in Florence, Lanckoroński acquired *A Virgin with a Unicorn* by Mariotto Albertinelli (1474-1515) formerly in the collection of Charles Loeser.¹²⁸ In Florence, Bayersdorfer also purchased a portrait of *St. Andrew* by Masaccio which we know about from correspondence written by Lanckoroński to Bayersdorfer on 18 February 1892 – “(...) the beautiful Masaccio which arrived together with other paintings will be photographed for *Bilderschatz*. I will commission it to Victor Angerer”, (il.14).¹²⁹ 1892 was highly successful for Count Lanckoroński and was a time of great purchases. In April at the art auction of Borghese dukes in Rome he acquired (besides other artworks) eight frescoes of Domenichino from the Apollo Room in the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati, which later were situated in the Count’s palace at Jacquingasse 18 in the representative *Freskensaal* (Fresco Room), (il.15).¹³⁰ A month later, Adolph Bayersdorfer was responsible for purchasing the paintings as well as for expedition of acquired objects to Vienna and bought several artworks on the auction of

¹²⁴ J. Winiewicz- Wolska 2009, p. 219.

¹²⁵ A hand-written note about provenance of the painting is preserved on its reproduction in photo collection, PAU in Cracow, Catalogue, position 107.

¹²⁶ J. Winiewicz- Wolska 2009, p. 220.

¹²⁷ „10 wooden panels with portrayed heads”, Palais Lanckoroński 1903, p. 17.

¹²⁸ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, vol. 2, p. 17.

¹²⁹ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2009, p. 222. For further information about the provenance see also:

<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/683/masaccio-tommaso-di-giovanni-guidi-saint-andrew-italian-1426/> (online 01.05.2018).

¹³⁰ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, vol. 2, p. 33.

collection Leclanché in Paris.¹³¹ Presumably at this auction Bayersdorfer acquired a painting initially and incorrectly ascribed to Fra Filippo Lippi. However, Bernard Berenson later attributed the painting to a painter from the close circle of Lippi, – Fra Diamante.¹³²

Another occasion to expand the Viennese collection occurred at the beginning of the 1893. The auction of the Giustiniani-Barbarigo's collection began on 16 January in Milan. Lanckoroński asked Bayersdorfer to visit Milan. There he purchased a painting of Titian's (ca. 1488-1576) *Playful Putti* and a painting ascribed to Cima da Conegliano (ca. 1456-1517), - *Orpheus*. Three months later, between 24 and 27 April 1893, Bayersdorfer bought in Florence a painting of Fra Angelico (ca. 1387-1455). Lanckoroński did not know any details about the painting and apparently had not ordered it either. It is possible that this work constituted a gift from Bayersdorfer to him. In November 1891 in Cologne at the auction of the *Heberle* auction house, Lanckoroński bought a painting ascribed to Lorenzo Costa (1460-1535) – the portrait of *A Young Man among the Ruins*.¹³³ Three years later, the Count enriched his collection with a *cassone* with scene of *Adventures of Orpheus*, bought in Brussels from the collection of Léon Somzée, – this painting constitutes a second partition from the same chest which Lanckoroński bought in 1890 through the agency of Stefano Bardini in Florence.¹³⁴

Despite the evidence in letters and diaries about purchased artworks estimating where majority of the works came from is difficult.¹³⁵ Hence, this chapter provides a short description of Lanckoroński's wide social network and recognition in art trade events, however, knowledge based only upon surviving fragmentary sources is not sufficient to create a full account of art sales Lanckoroński attended.

In the following part of this chapter, I discuss the brief but relevant issue of Lanckoroński's connection with contemporary Viennese architects. During the term of his office as a Great Chamberlain, Lanckoroński had an impact on the evolving cultural and architectural developments of Vienna. He was responsible for new urban enterprises and was the first one to read the proposals. From the preserved letters it is known that he remained in close contact with Friedrich Ohmann (1858-1927) – one of the main members of the Viennese

¹³¹ Auction took place in Galerie Georges Petit near the rue de Sèze 8 in day 23-25th of May 1892, *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité de la renaissance, sculptures en marbre, pierre et Terre Cuite (...) tableau la plupart de la renaissance italienne, oeuvre remarquable de Filippo Lippi composant l'importante collection Leclanché don't la vente aura lieu par la suite de décès*, Paris 1892.

¹³² B. Berenson 1963, vol. I, p. 59.

¹³³ A hand-written note about provenance of this painting is now attached to its reproduction in photo collection of Lanckoroński, PAU in Cracow, catalogue, position 142.

¹³⁴ W. Weisbach 1901, p. 16.

¹³⁵ M. Skubiszewska, K. Kuczman 2010, p. 20.

Sezession and, with Josef Maria Olbrich (1867-1908) – one of the most influential architects from the cusp of the 19th and the 20th centuries. The letter Ohmann wrote in December 1916 constitutes an important source about urban changes in Vienna.¹³⁶ Ohmann prepared plans for setting the statue of Franz Joseph I, which he executed in memory of the former Emperor of Austria. In the letter, Ohmann introduced his plans to adapt the square in front of the votive church (Votivkirche) and place the statue there. Unfortunately, given the financial problems caused by World War I, the project has never been achieved because of lack of the money. Theoretically we can believe that Lanckoroński and Ohmann became friends as further correspondence regards the family of Ohmann and bad health of his son, – Karl Ohmann.

Karol Lanckoroński might have played an important role for Josef Maria Olbrich as a genuine source of knowledge about Italy.¹³⁷ Some key aspects of their relationship focus on studies of Italian architecture and travel. Olbrich undertook a cruise to Italy from October 1893 until May 1894. However, Olbrich wrote to Lanckoroński about his current location, route of sightseeing and progress in learning might indicate that he needed financial support from Lanckoroński; however this statement is only hypothetical.¹³⁸ Letters give the notion of Olbrich's commitment to Lanckoroński's advice about Italy, as in a letter from Florence in 1893 where he writes: "I followed your advice which I was mindful of and I admired the beautiful Florence from the silent Campo Santo near the San Miniato (...)".¹³⁹ Furthermore, we can suspect that Lanckoroński must have had a quite critical impact on Olbrich. Occasionally, he asked Lanckoroński to take a closer look at his architectural plans and requested him to make corrections or simply give his opinion on it. One of the plans concerned the regulations of the urban changes in Vienna connected with building the *Ringstrasse*.¹⁴⁰

To summarise in the light of the content of the correspondences presented in this chapter Lanckoroński was not only an art collector, but was also counted as one of the members of the Viennese social elite. It is apparent that Lanckoroński was actively involved in the issues of the evolving 19th century – incredibly rich in industrial developments,

¹³⁶ A. Szymanowicz Hren, 'Listy Friedriecha Ohmanna do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, copy of letter from Friedrich Ohmann to Karol Lanckoroński from Vienna 25 XII 1916, Wien, ÖNB 615/31-1, translated by K. Wróbel.

¹³⁷ J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Josefa Marii Olbricha do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, p. 138.

¹³⁸ Ibidem.

¹³⁹ J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Josefa Marii Olbricha do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, photocopy of letter from Josef Maria Olbrich to Karol Lanckoroński from Florence 18 XI 1893, Wien, ÖNB 615/32-1, translated by K. Wróbel.

¹⁴⁰ Architectural modernization of Vienna underwent in years 1860-1890. This project was focusing on creation the circular representative boulevard.

scholarly achievements and art changes. In addition, he controlled the architectural enterprises in Vienna and judged them. He was a traveller, professor and writer. He contributed to a great monograph on Rembrandt drawn up by Wilhelm von Bode. During his lectures, he strove to share the knowledge he obtained during his journeys and awake or engage in the next generations of students the passion for discovering and learning. He was also a great adviser and patron but moreover he was a friend to all his correspondents.

In view of all this, one may say that many factors moulded Lanckoroński's attitude and shaped his social position. A positive implication of his consciousness was a broad and varied social network. Thus, there is some reason to believe that the connection of Lanckoroński with all the figures of the Viennese elite circle is much more noteworthy than it has been depicted in available publications.

Chapter III. The Viennese residence of Lanckoroński at Jacquingasse 18

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, the Viennese collection of Lanckoroński's family began to expand. That was a result of Lanckoroński's profitable art acquisitions and his participation in various art sales mentioned in the previous chapter. It is important to stress that the collection was primarily assembled in various residences Lanckoroński possessed in Vienna. Firstly, at Schenkenstrasse 10 and then moved to Riemergasse 8, Wasagasse 6 and ultimately relocated to the imposing, Neo-Baroque palace at Jacquingasse 18. Two architects designed this building – Ferdinand Fellner (1847-1916) and Herman Helmer (1849-1919) who specialised in building the theatres mostly for the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.¹⁴¹ According to Winiewicz-Wolska's findings, the palace at Jacquingasse 18 was already built in 1892 and was no different in its revival baroque façade than the construction of the theatres. The building itself, strongly resembled the grandeur and splendour of the public, culturally representative establishments of 19th century Vienna (il.16).¹⁴² Another feature of this palace was its location, close to the Viennese Belvedere.¹⁴³ Never has there been any doubt that this palace was supposed to be private residence and a house of arts. Thus, it should be considered as the *opus vitae* of its owner.

In Polish newspapers published in 1903, Stefan Krzywoszewski (1866-1950) wrote an article in which he remarked that "(...) Palais of Count Lanckoroński is a magnificent building as it has a double function, it is a museum as well as private mansion. In this way, between the treasures of art could exist only the patricians from a Renaissance period."¹⁴⁴ However, some authors have speculated that the choice made by Lanckoroński to build the residence at Jacquingasse 18 in Neo-Baroque style is slightly confusing when we take into consideration his strong attachment and adoration for a Renaissance period. Yet, there is no evidence whether Lanckoroński's decision was intended or not.¹⁴⁵ The key problem with this explanation is that most contemporary collectors with an approach to Italian art almost identical to Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840-1924) or the brothers Fausto (1843-1914) and Giuseppe (1845-1934) Bagatti-Valsecchi built their palaces in the Neo-Renaissance style. It could be hypothesised that Lanckoroński's decision about building his palace in the Neo-Baroque style cannot be coincidental. Lanckoroński must have been strongly inspired by the

¹⁴¹ S. Jaroszewski 1986, p. 311.

¹⁴² J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, vol. 1, p. 255, S. Jaroszewski 1986, p. 311.

¹⁴³ M. Skubiszewska, K. Kuczman 2010, p. 19.

¹⁴⁴ S. Krzywoszewski 1903, p. 2.

¹⁴⁵ Perhaps it could be an effect of a late Baroque atmosphere in Vienna and the proximity of the Belvedere.

cultural institutions of Vienna such as the Belvedere or the Kunsthistorisches Museum which represent Baroque and Italian Renaissance architecture.

In this chapter I discuss two important events that, in terms of their stature underline the position of the Lanckoroński's palace in Vienna. *Wiener Kunstwanderungen* which took place in 1902 was notably a good occasion to present the newly built Palais Lanckoroński at Jacquingasse 18.¹⁴⁶ This building became a cultural phenomenon and undeniably one of Vienna's attractions. Lanckoroński belonged to the elite of the cultural circle in Vienna, hence it was evident that the most important and leading members of Viennese society would gather in his palace-gallery on 16 February 1902. From 15 March to 15 April, it was possible to visit the residences of the various aristocratic families and atelier of artists living in Vienna, which usually were not available for public view. Among them we can mention the Palais Schönborn-Batthyány near the Renngasse, Palais Kinsky near the Freyung and Palais Pallavicini located at the Josefpfatz. Nevertheless, none of these residences garnered as much interest from the press as Palais Lanckoroński did, and none of them attracted as many visitors. Curiosity about the Palais was a natural effect resulting from Lanckoroński's art passion which was commonly known in Vienna. The two most widely read daily newspapers of Vienna, – “*Neue Freie Presse*” and “*Neuses Wiener Tagblatt*”, published articles about the palace at Jacquingasse. “*Fremdenblat*” has published a large article written by Ludwig von Hevesi (1843-1910), a compendium of knowledge about the palace and its collection.¹⁴⁷

Those visiting the palace received the “*übersichtliche Katalogue*” – a booklet titled *Palais Lanckoroński Jacquingasse 18*, its author most probably being Count Lanckoroński himself.¹⁴⁸ Friedrich Jasper published it privately in Vienna.¹⁴⁹ One year later, the publishing house of Adolf Holzhausen (1868-1931) published the extended version of the booklet.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, the printing house “Verlag der Hof Kunstalt” owned by Josef Löwy (1834-1902) printed two series of postcards with reproductions of artworks from Lanckoroński collection, the first in 1905, the second in 1912.

Undeniably Palais Lanckoroński evoked the architectural style of 18th century Vienna. Viennese journalist Ludwig von Hevesi (1843-1910) captured the similarities of this residence

¹⁴⁶ Wiener Kunstwanderungen – Viennese art movement initiated by former director of *Österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie* Eduard Leisching (1858-1938), K. Raptis 2017, p. 195.

¹⁴⁷ F. Servaes, 1902, p. 5, F. Stern 1902, pp. 2-4, L. von Hevesi 1902, pp. 17-18. (Photocopy preserved in Wawel Royal Castle Archive).

¹⁴⁸ F. Stern 1902, p. 6. (Photocopy preserved in Wawel Royal Castle Archive). See also: J. Miziołek 1995, pp. 29-30.

¹⁴⁹ J. Miziołek 1995, pp. 28-29.

¹⁵⁰ *Palais Lanckoroński 1903*

to the buildings of Johan Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656-1723).¹⁵¹ Reminiscences of Austrian Baroque style in Lanckoroński's residence were visible in comparison with Upper Belvedere completed in 1724. The chief architect of this project – Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt was one of the architects Count Lanckoroński most admired as he wrote: "(...) grandiose buildings of both Fishers von Erlach and Hildebrandt are nothing else but artistic expression of breath of a happiness".¹⁵² Firstly, the form of fractured roof, main foyer, floor plan (its content disposition especially in the historical, chronological and geographical manner of artworks) and form of pediments above the windows on the first floor of Belvedere represent the inspiration adopted in the palace at Jacquingasse 18.¹⁵³ What is more, among many of the photos preserved in the Lanckoroński's collection we find one, that focuses on a view of the gate to the Belvedere possession, (il.17).¹⁵⁴ Significantly, similar in detail to this one was a gate executed for the Palais Lanckoroński plot.

Despite these facts, there are no documents that would explicitly confirm that this palace ought to be reminiscent of any existing building at that time; nonetheless, previous researchers have paid far too little attention to details of Palais Lanckoroński in the matter of possible inspirations and ideas about its shape. Furthermore, by considering the building of Palais Lanckoroński which concept emerged around 1890, I suspect that Lanckoroński might have known about the empty parcel at Jacquingasse 18 in the close neighbourhood of the Belvedere.¹⁵⁵ In 2013, at a conference devoted to Lanckoroński and his times (*Karl Lanckoroński und seine Zeit*) Susanne Winkler, curator of the Wien Museum Karlsplatz presented material concerning the activity of a photographer August Stauda (1861-1928) who Lanckoroński commissioned to document in photos all Viennese buildings that would vanish due to the building plans of *Ringstrasse* complex.¹⁵⁶ Additionally, in presented iconographical material, Winkler exposed a map with the part of Vienna that surrounded Lanckoroński's palace (il.18). Winkler's research provides important information on the major contribution of Lanckoroński to Viennese urban development and hence, it emphasises the possibility that as a first he could have submitted the proposal to purchase the plot.

¹⁵¹ L. von Hevesi 1902, pp. 17-18.

¹⁵² K. Lanckoroński 1902, p. 4.

¹⁵³ A first person responsible for the division and cataloguing of the paintings in Belvedere in year 1780/81 due to aspects such as painting schools, artists nationalities and chronology was art historian Christian von Mechel, see also: M. Hohn 2017, p. 21.

¹⁵⁴ *Z fototeki Lanckorońskich*. Exhibition booklet March-April 2009, Kraków 2009.

¹⁵⁵ *Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń 2015, (introduction), p. 8.

¹⁵⁶ J. Miziołek 2014, p. 331.

The palace plot had a total area of the 4800 square metres of which 1060 square metres were occupied by the palace itself.¹⁵⁷ The residence partly bordered the gardens of the Belvedere, while the north façade was adjacent to the botanical garden. The parcel of Palais Lanckoroński was surrounded by masonry fence, with two large gates at the front with a decorative forged grid.

On 2 March 1891, Viennese architectural atelier Fellner and Helmer proposed the estimated cost of two possible variants of Palais Lanckoroński (the first for 330,095 Austrian guilders; the second for 285,000 Austrian guilders).¹⁵⁸ Lanckoroński officially approved Ferdinand Fellner's and Herman Helmer's atelier to build the new residence at Jacquingasse 18 in the style of Viennese Baroque from the 18th century.¹⁵⁹

Today we know the Lanckoroński's residence only from old pictures and graphics, on which it seems to be a building of proportional form, one-story with a mansard roof with dormer windows. It was raised on a rectangular projection with a two-bay interior layout with the avant-corps on the building's axis, closed from the front with pentagonal shape, and from the side of the garden closed trilaterally.¹⁶⁰ The façades of the palace were divided with pilasters in giant order with ionic style capitals. Higher than the other, ornamented with decorative pediment windows of the ground floor indicated the *piano nobile*.¹⁶¹ The plaques inside the pediments were richly decorated with a bas relief.

The grand vestibule in the middle of the front enfilade, which was also named *sala terrena*, must have made an impression on all guests entering the palace (il.19). It had three entrance doors to which stairs led from the side of driveway.¹⁶² Two, symmetrically set in vestibule staircases are reminiscent of the building solution Fellner and Helmer practised in theatres (for the first time in Deutsches Volkstheater in Vienna). The ground floor was *piano nobile* and the first floor was mainly dedicated to the collection of Lanckoroński. Private living space was arranged on the attic of the mansard. The utility rooms together with the kitchen, were in the cellars. A German art historian and museum curator Alfred von Lichtwark (1852-1914), underlined that Karol Lanckoroński "created the plan of the building himself, although about ornaments on façades he consulted with Gabriel von Seidl in

¹⁵⁷ K. Holey 1918, p. 125.

¹⁵⁸ Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, "Atelier Fellner&Helmer an Karl Grafen Lanckoronski", call number 612/13-1, 21st March 1891.

¹⁵⁹ S. Jaroszewski 1986, p. 328.

¹⁶⁰ F. Servaes 1902, p. 3.

¹⁶¹ *Piano nobile* (en. noble level), is a principle level of a residence or representative palace.

¹⁶² K. Holey 1918, p. 125, A. von Lichtwark 1924, p. 393.

Munich.”¹⁶³ From further research, it is clear that Gabriel von Seidl (1848-1913) was the only one who advised Lanckoroński about decorating.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, according to photos from Lanckoroński’s collection, we know that he passionately documented each building and artwork he saw during his trip to Italy. I have found two photos Lanckoroński made around 1875 depicting interiors of Palazzo Pitti and Uffizi gallery in Florence. Undoubtedly, Lanckoroński got inspiration from the setting manner of the paintings in the room of the great masters in Uffizi and paintings room in Palazzo Pitti (il.20).

It is possible that Lanckoroński tried to design his residence as homogenous, closed entirety right from the project, through its architectural form, decoration, interiors and its furnishing. His residence was meant to be not only the house of an art collector or the house of a connoisseur, but also a representative building that was highly respected by contemporary social elite.

To the most representative part of the palace on the main floor were two reception rooms, accessible from the side of vestibule – *The Green Salon* and *Green Cabinet* as well as the wardrobe room and bathroom on the north side.¹⁶⁵ The so-called *Freskensaal* (Fresco Room) was situated on the upper floor, above the vestibule and both rooms from north and south of this point were named: *Italian Salon* and *Dutch Salon* – derived from the origin of the artworks presented (il.21). The collection divided by painting schools and nationalities, created the vision of the palace as a museum; however, Lanckoroński himself never accepted this definition and it was never his intention to create a *museum* in its etymological meaning. The palace, in his opinion, was just a frame, a distinguished setting for artworks, the artworks on the other hand, created the perfect setting for public meetings, concerts or lectures for Viennese aristocracy.¹⁶⁶

After *Wiener Kunstwanderungen* another important event took place in Vienna. On 10 May 1902, Palace Lanckoroński housed the banquet organised for *Österreichischer Kunstfreunde*. The main attraction was the Palais itself. Lanckoroński said: “(…) this house never has had an honour of regale simultaneously so many connoisseurs of art”.¹⁶⁷ Since then, in honor of Lanckoroński a tradition of organising meetings in a palace devoted to art and culture as well as scientific exhibitions was established. Due to this fact, Palais Lanckoroński became one of the most interesting Viennese properties. On that memorable evening

¹⁶³ A. von Lichtwark 1924, p. 380, 392.

¹⁶⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁶⁵ *Palais Lanckoroński Jacquingase 18*, Wien 1903, pp. 3-4.

¹⁶⁶ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, vol. 1, pp. 278-279.

¹⁶⁷ K. Lanckoroński 1902, p. 5.

Lanckoroński prepared the welcoming speech printed at Adolf Holzhausen's print house, and a poet, – Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929) announced an introduction speech for the publicity before further exploration of the palace.¹⁶⁸ Eugen Guglia (1857-1919) wrote that, the view visible from the first floor of the palace which captured the Belvedere and Wienerwald Hill, was most recognisable panorama of the city just as Count Lanckoroński's collection.¹⁶⁹ In 1914, Victor von Fritsche wrote: "Among the monuments of architecture, Palais Lanckoroński possesses eminent position".¹⁷⁰

Visiting the Palais Lanckoroński was possible, although only occasionally, with the approval of the owner and previous arrangements. The fact that the artworks from the residence has not been academically described and recorded in any catalogue might acknowledge Lanckoroński's statement that he did not want to create a public art gallery. The strong inspiration of the Belvedere taken over by Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1863-1914), which in Lanckoroński's time was already mainly used as a state art gallery, might contribute to the final shape of the Count's palace. We can suspect that Count Lanckoroński wished to create a *Gesamkunstwerk*, the universal building in which the arts were to be united.

From a guide published in 1903 titled *Palais Lanckoroński Jacquingasse 18* and the commemorative book *Ausgewählte Kunstwerke der Sammlung Lanckoroński* from 1918, it is known that the Lanckoroński family collection contained ancient art pieces (sarcophagi, sculptures and objects of glyptic) as well as of paintings of masters such as Simone Martini (1284-1344), Bernardo Daddi (ca. 1300-1348), Masaccio (1401-1428), Paolo Uccello (1397-1475), Maestro di Pratovecchio, Sano di Pietro (1406-1481), Pseudo Gnanacci (ca. 1490-1510), Dosso Dossi (1490-1542), Domenichino (1581-1641), Gianpaolo Panini (1691-1765), Bernardo Bellotto (1721-1780) and Hans Thoma (1839-1924), paintings connected with Fra Angelico (1387-1455) and Lorenzo Lotto (1480-1556) and even a drawing assigned to Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519).¹⁷¹ It can therefore be authenticated that the most notable and impressive part of the collection consisted of Early Renaissance Italian paintings which Lanckoroński appreciated most. Moreover, it is important at this point to stress the relevance of the interior paintings painted by Rudolf von Alt (1812-1905) as an extensive source that provides information about the contents of Lanckoroński's collection in his Viennese residences (il.22).

¹⁶⁸ E. Kuryluk 1974, p. 117.

¹⁶⁹ E. Guglia 1908, p. 228.

¹⁷⁰ V. von Fritsche 1914, p. 87.

¹⁷¹ <https://archive.org/stream/ausgewahltekunst00lanc#page/n0/mode/2up> (online 29.12.2017).

In the period between World War I and World War II, the collection Lanckoroński gathered and located in 1901-1902 in his new, spacious residence was at that time in Vienna one of the primary social and cultural attractions.¹⁷² Sometimes Lanckoroński's older daughter, Karolina took over the role of guide in the palace.¹⁷³ Kurt Weitzmann (1904-1993), – one of the most prominent Byzantine specialists in the 20th century, saw the collection in 1926. In his diaries he wrote: “Among my colleagues-students there was the Count's daughter - Karolina who guided us through the fine and splendid collection in the well-known residence of her father. The collection was still including the painting of Paolo Uccello *Saint George and the Dragon*”, (il.23).¹⁷⁴ Further on he mentions other illustrious Viennese collections of the Liechtenstein and the Harrach families.

There arises the question of what kind of characterisation suited Palais Lanckoroński best? Was it the Count's “house and at the same time his museum” as Hevesi wrote, or the “museum and living space of Lanckoroński” as noted by Stefan Krzywoszewski in 1903.¹⁷⁵ Based on the information in this chapter, we can conclude that the Palais Lanckoroński at Jacquingasse 18 was a representative family residence, a museum connected with a palace, a house of art and an intriguing form that mirrored the profile of the possessor. It is very possible that Lanckoroński wanted to replicate model of living of the patricians of the Renaissance period but not necessarily the Renaissance forms. Moreover, due to reviewed data, we know the palace gathered representatives of all Viennese social, cultural and science elite and attracted many artists, collectors and art historians.

¹⁷² J. Miziołek 1995, p. 30.

¹⁷³ J. Miziołek 2003, p. 24.

¹⁷⁴ The painting formerly housed in the Palais Lanckoroński in Vienna, sold in 1952 by son of Lanckoroński – Antoni to The National Gallery in London, see also: K. Weitzmann 1994, p. 44.

¹⁷⁵ S. Krzywoszewski 1903, p. 3.

Chapter IV. The consequent fate of the Lanckoroński's collection after World War II

Following the death of Count Lanckoroński on 15 July 1933, his children Antoni (1893-1965), Karolina (1898-2002) and Adelajda (1903-1980) decided to move the collection to Poland.¹⁷⁶ In terms of strict Austrian law this decision turned out to be difficult to carry out since the abolishment of the restrictions was almost impossible. After years of trials, in 1939, Antoni received approval from the Austrian authorities to take the collection to Poland. Unfortunately, other unfavourable political conditions appeared. In autumn 1939 after World War II had begun, the Nazis responsible for the so-called operation "Sonderauftrag Linz" confiscated Palais Lanckoroński together with its entire collection.¹⁷⁷ Hans Posse (1879-1942) and Hermann Göring (1893-1946) were obligated to select artworks from private Viennese collections, including Lanckoroński's. Primarily, the inventory with several confiscated artworks from Lanckoroński collection contained 1,696 items from a total of 3,559 objects.¹⁷⁸ The chosen paintings bear the Nazi stamps at the back: *Zentralstelle für Denkmalschutz*.

Joanna Winiewicz-Wolska indicates the 7 November 1939, as a date of the final interception of the artworks from Lanckoroński's collection as she found this date in documents compiled by *Ministerium für Innere und Kulturelle Angelegenheiten* preserved in Viennese archives.¹⁷⁹ The Nazis immediately took most valuable paintings and sculptures from the collection, approximately 1,700 objects and stored them in the Altaussee and Immendorf salt mines near Salzburg.¹⁸⁰ As is known from investigations of previous researches as Joanna Winiewicz-Wolska and Jerzy Miziołek, the following works among other, were confiscated: *Apollo and Marsyas* by Hans Thoma (1839-1924), *Head of a Woman* by Anselm Feuerbach (1839-1880), *An Italian Street* by Joseph Anton Koch (1768-1839), *Tristan* by Böcklin (1827-1901) and one drawing ascribed to Franz Lenbach (1836-1904).¹⁸¹ There is no evidence whether the remaining artworks from the palace was transported beyond Vienna before the end of the war. Lanckoroński's Viennese collection, hitherto safely kept in a Neo-Baroque palace was dispersed and moved from place to place between 1939 and 1945, however, it partly survived.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁶ K. Lanckorońska 1994, p. 8.

¹⁷⁷ Special project established by Hitler about creating personal museum in Linz – the *Führermuseum*.

¹⁷⁸ R. and M. Seydewitz 1963, pp. 75-76.

¹⁷⁹ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010 vol. 1, p. 353.

¹⁸⁰ J. Miziołek 1995, p. 31.

¹⁸¹ R. and M. Seydewitz 1963, p. 75.

¹⁸² J. Miziołek 2009, pp. 90-109.

The American army in Munich, set the so-called Central Art Collecting Point headed by art historian Craig Hugh Smyth. Preserved records on Lanckoroński's collection and a list of artworks that Dr. Franz Juraschek (1895-1959) completed in 1946 revealed that, of the 642 inventory numbers hidden in the Altaussee mine the 74 paintings, including the tondo of *Madonna* by Botticelli (1445-1510) and *Rendez-vous* by August von Pettenhofen (1822-1889) were missing. All artworks had been photographed and precisely described. Shortly after, research on missing paintings and an attempt at reconstruction and re-integration of the collection was undertaken.

From 1946, the minor part of the collection was returned to Lanckoroński's children. Antoni Lanckoroński decided to move the paintings in his possession to castle Hohenems (Voralberg). Antoni decided to place the most valuable paintings in the vaults of various Swiss banks. Roughly one year later, after placing the collection in Hohenems, more than 100 pieces were tragically destroyed in a fire.¹⁸³ Around the 1950's, numerous remaining masterpieces from the family collection were sold. The reason for this decision is unknown, and researchers cannot explain it. We know that around this time the Polish Library established in Paris had financial problems. Karolina Lanckorońska thereupon decided to sell Masaccio's *St Andrew* to save this institution.¹⁸⁴

Artworks that had been rescued from confiscation and placement in Hitler's dream museum in Linz are now straggled among world famous museums. Several major paintings from the collection can now be found in art collections in European cities as well as in the United States. Due to the evidence found in Winiewicz-Wolska's catalogue on paintings from the Lanckoroński collection we can specify the current locations of single paintings.¹⁸⁵ For instance, Paolo Uccello's (1397-1475) painting *St. George and the Dragon* and Domenichino's (1581-1641) eight famous frescoes from Frascati are now in National Gallery in London.¹⁸⁶ The famous *St. Andrew* by Masaccio (1401-1428) was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu.¹⁸⁷ One *cassone* painting from ca. 1450 originating from Verona depicting the *Judgement of Paris* found a place in a private collection.¹⁸⁸ "Aus der Sammlung Weiland S. E. des Dr. Karl Grafen von Brzezie Lanckoroński, Wien" – only under attachment of this sentence did donators allow the exhibition of paintings formerly in Lanckoroński's

¹⁸³ <http://fundacjаланckoronskich.org/en/history/> (online 15.05.2018).

¹⁸⁴ K. Lanckorońska 1994, p. 8.

¹⁸⁵ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010 vol. 2.

¹⁸⁶ M. Davies 1986, p. 532.

¹⁸⁷ L. Berti, R. Foggi 1989, p. 45.

¹⁸⁸ See chapter IV in J. Miziołek 2003, J. Miziołek 2007, pp. 299-336

collection, however, no attempt has been made to create accurate labels with description of the provenance of paintings that formerly belonged to the Viennese collection.¹⁸⁹

Many paintings are now spread all over the world, however, thanks to archival photo material provided by *Fototeca Berenson* and *Fotoarchiv Bundesdenkmalamt Wien*, today we can identify a small number of paintings from the Viennese collection that are in unknown possessions. The *Fototeca Berenson*, with Berenson's archival photo collection, gives us valuable information and verifies Berenson's connection with Lanckoroński. Presumably, Berenson took pictures of certain paintings in Lanckoroński's Viennese palace. An implication of this is the possibility that later, he used the pictures as examples in his books: *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. A list of the Principal Artists and their Works with an Index of Places* (1932), *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Florentine School* (vol. 1-2, 1963) and *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Central Italian and North Italian Schools* (vol. 1-3, 1968). Hence, also from photographs, we know about missing paintings such as *Portrait of a Woman* and *Portrait of a Man* by Bergognone and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini's *Two Saints*.¹⁹⁰

Lanckoroński's collection after the first half of the 20th century stopped functioning. After Nazis looted the Palais at Jacquingasse 18, it was bombed and largely destroyed in 1945. The damaged structure of the palace survived until 1960, when it was demolished to give space for the new Hoffman-La Roche building.¹⁹¹ On the possession of former Palais at Jacquingasse there is not even a reminiscence or memorable label.

The donations of the daughter of Lanckoroński – Karolina, from 1994 to 2000, as well as the recouplement of the painting of Dosso (previously in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna) for Poland reminds us that the collection may yet be reconstructed, which could present, at least to some extent the grandeur of the Lanckoroński collection.¹⁹² Before the close of the 20th century Polish museums received an exceptionally significant gift in the form of the rescued portion of the Lanckoroński collection.¹⁹³ Presumed to have disappeared during World War II, the core of the collection amassed by Karol Lanckoroński survived, thanks to his children's efforts (il.24).¹⁹⁴ In her bequest of 27 October

¹⁸⁹ P. Thun-Hohenstein 1948.

¹⁹⁰ https://images.hollis.harvard.edu/primoexplore/viewcomponent/L/HVD_VIAolvwork455288?vid=HVD_IMA_GES&imageId=urn-3:VIT.BB:4828083&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine (online 15.05.2018).

¹⁹¹ M. Skubiszewska, K. Kuczman 2010, p. 24.

¹⁹² From 1998 there is a law in force in Austria under which a country must return an artwork which comes from illegitimate requisition if the artwork is placed in national, public collection (Bundesgesetz über die Rückgabe von Kunstgegenständen aus den Österreichischen Bundesmuseen und Sammlungen, BGBl. I, no. 181/1998), https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/BgblPdf/1998_181_1/1998_181_1.pdf (online 21.03.2018).

¹⁹³ M. Skubiszewska, K. Kuczman 2010, p. 15.

¹⁹⁴ *To the Donor in Hommage*. Catalogue of Restored Paintings and Family Mementoes from Karolina Lanckorońska's Donation, Cracow 1998.

1994, Karolina, the last heir of the Lanckoroński family, presented the collection to Poland by dividing approximately 500 art objects and numerous documents between royal castles in Cracow and Warsaw.¹⁹⁵ Many of them as for instance Simone Martini's *Angel* (il.25) and Bernardo Daddi's *Madonna* (il.26) required a major conservation after years of being kept in bank vaults.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ T. Chrzanowski 1998, p. 8.

¹⁹⁶ M. Skubiszewska, K. Kuczman 2010, p. 30.

Conclusions

In response to the research question, throughout, I attempted to determine Lanckoroński's contribution to Viennese cultural achievements and his social position. The material presented in all four chapters is sufficient to answer the research question.

In view of the facts, my main point was to present the figure of 19th century collector who did not necessarily represents the values of the 19th century. We notice that the period of Viennese *Sezession* in which Lanckoroński lived, in the end did not affect his personal choices for creating an art collection, yet to some extent enabled him to foster his family's tradition. The majority of works in his collection originated from Italy, although he had a small collection of contemporary German and Austrian art, that seems to be highly influenced by the ruling fashion rather than his own, personal decision.

I argue with Winiewicz-Wolska who stressed that Count Lanckoroński's collection emerged quite spontaneously.¹⁹⁷ It becomes clear that Lanckoroński because of his family and upbringing must have known the value and features of traditional collecting. Lanckoroński purchased artworks at various art auctions when favourable circumstances matched his demands; moreover, he knew about auctions well in advance, thus it seems that he followed a conscious concept of painting acquisition. It is perhaps fair to look at Lanckoroński as an example of a privileged and distinguished connoisseur of art whose sympathy for early Italian painting awoke during his upbringing.

The most obvious finding to emerge from this study is that the content of Lanckoroński's collection and the manner of its arrangement was formed as a microcosm, which Lanckoroński created to depict the mutual interaction and existence of works that represent various periods, styles, genres and art environments. Yet, there appears a contradiction between Lanckoroński's statement that he never wanted to create a museum and the profile and representation of his collection.

The investigation of Lanckoroński's influence on Viennese social and cultural circles shows that he had played a leading role in the cultural and political sectors. This research extends our knowledge of establishing and functioning private collections in Austria of the 19th and the 20th centuries.

Notably, there are examples of collectors with a similar approach around 1900, however, nothing properly explains a major rejection of modern art in 19th century

¹⁹⁷ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, vol. 1, p. 328.

collections. Hence, a related point to consider is the 19th century approach to the traditional form of collecting understood as collections consisting of early modern Italian paintings and Renaissance masterpieces from Italy and the Low Countries. In light of what was written in the second chapter, we can conclude that Lanckoroński must have been a recognisable person in the arena of active art collectors of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. His letters confirm his bias in researching art auctions and his interest in the fate of the collections of his contemporaries. It is relevant to adduce here the fact that Lanckoroński's collection can be reviewed and juxtaposed with other European collections of a similar nature, which eventually supports the phenomenon of a greater interest in Italian Medieval and Renaissance art during the 19th century. As previously explained, Lanckoroński had a broad social network that to a great extent helped him to extend the collection with masterpieces purchased all over Europe.

It would be interesting to compare the collecting experiences of individuals with the same case of collecting as Lanckoroński's. Considering the general facts about Lanckoroński's preferences, his collection might be especially correlated with the collection of Edward and Atanazy Raczyński, – Polish collectors known as a *Poznań Medici*.¹⁹⁸ From 1816 of Atanazy's older brother, – Edward, dreamed of transforming the capital of Greater Poland – Poznań into a centre of flourishing art and culture. He prepared plans for establishing a public library with a gallery of art, which a few years later was raised in Wilhelmsplatz.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, Edward Raczyński just as Lanckoroński did, befriended Jacek Malczewski.²⁰⁰ Interestingly, Atanazy Raczyński consequently composed the documentation of acquired art objects in his collection catalogue, - *Libri Veritatis*. He acquired the artworks chiefly from Paris, Berlin, London, Vienna and Italy. Thanks to close relations with contemporary artists, he collected a great number of contemporary German paintings. Raczyński created the art catalogues himself. These facts indicate the importance of the Raczyński brothers in forming Polish culture. This resembles Lanckoroński's activity in Viennese cultural circles.

¹⁹⁸ *Edward i Atanazy Raczyński. Dzieła osobowości, wybory, epoka*, edited by A.S. Labuda, M. Mencfel, W. Suchaocki, Poznań 2010, p.

¹⁹⁹ The Raczyński Library established by Edward Raczyński was built in years 1821-1828 in Poznań by two French architects: Charles Percier and Pierre Louis Fontaine. Built in neoclassical style, see also: Z. Ostrowska Kęłowska 1982, pp. 204-209, M. Mencfel, *Kolekcja malarstwa Atanazego Raczyńskiego i plany stworzenia publicznej galerii w Poznaniu*, http://trakt.poznan.pl/wpcontent/uploads/2016/06/3_Kolekcja_malarstwa_Atanazego_Raczyskiego_i_plany_stworzenia_publicznej_galerii_w_Poznaniu.pdf (online 15.12.2017), p. 17.

²⁰⁰ *Galeria Rogalińska Edwarda Raczyńskiego*, edited by A. Ławniczakowa, catalogue of exhibition in National Museum of Poznań, November 1997-March 1998; Jacek Malczewski - one of the leading Polish painters, associated with symbolism.

Lanckoroński's collection had very strict content and defined profile. As one of the most significant examples of collectors with an approach to maintaining a private collection similar to Lanckoroński's, we can mention the French marriage of Nélie Jacquemart (1841-1912) and Édouard André (1833-1894). The collection of Lanckoroński developed at approximately same time as the French one. Furthermore, Jacquemart's French collection was influenced by the same great art experts and antiquarians, such as von Bode (1845-1929), Berenson (1882-1941) and Bardini (1836-19222) who also contributed to Lanckoroński's collection.²⁰¹ Lanckoroński certainly knew this couple as can be demonstrated by such shared art transactions as, for instance, Lanckoroński's acquisition of a Jacometto Veneziano painting from Nélie Jacquemart.²⁰²

Jacquemart's palace was built between 1869 and 1875 by Henri Parent (1819-1895) in Paris, near the Boulevard Hausmann (il.27). Édouard André belonged to the group of aristocracy devoted to Napoleon Bonaparte III (1808-1873). Initially, André collected French paintings of the 18th century such as the works of Rousseau (1712-1778), Delacroix (1798-1863), Meissonier (1815-1891) and Daubigny (1817-1878), who were representatives of Realism, Barbizon and the French Romantic school.²⁰³ After his marriage with Nélie, he diametrically changed the character of the collection. His wife introduced André to Italian Medieval and Renaissance art. Nélie, who preferred Italian art began to systematically create a collection of Italian masters from the 14th century through the 16th century. For this purpose, she visited Italy yearly. Her concept of creating the so-called *Musée Italien* (a conscious decision to make a transition between private living space and art gallery) emerged quite early, around 1881. In 1892 the arrangement and exposition were completed.

Rooms on the upper floor were devoted to the exhibition of a meticulously selected and neatly juxtaposed collection of paintings with roughly 178 works and Renaissance sculpture and furniture. This exhibition was formed between 1881 and 1902.²⁰⁴ Original architectural elements such as ledges, framings and reliefs originating from heritage Italian palaces were applied in the interiors, which were perfectly fitted in the new structure of Parisian palace. This concept was much alike to the idea accomplished by brothers Fausto (1843-1914) and Giuseppe (1845-1934) Bagatti-Valsecchi in their Neo-Renaissance villa located near Milan (il.28).²⁰⁵ That was a place where the brothers kept their rich collection of

²⁰¹ J. Miziołek 2003, p. 28.

²⁰² A. Feliks 2000, pp. 201-214.

²⁰³ F. Gétreau 2010, pp. 25-26.

²⁰⁴ N. Sainte-Garnot 2007, p. 11.

²⁰⁵ R. Pavoni 2003, p. 215.

furniture, fabrics, bronze pieces and items made from ivory and majolica. The arrangement of the exhibition rooms recreated the prime function of the antique objects. For this reason, the Valesecchi the brothers used *spolia* chiefly originating from other heritage buildings and merged them with modern imitations of Italian architectural elements. Lanckoroński liked the idea of the villa Velessecchi hence, we cannot ignore the fact, that to some extent, he replicated the idea of the art exhibition.²⁰⁶ Notably, Lanckoroński as dilettanti of the Italian Renaissance did not raise his palace in the style of an Italian *palazzo*. With this clarification in mind we may conclude that the palace at Jacquingasse 18 was adjusted to the local tradition of building, and, just as the Italian Valesecchi brothers attempted to recreate the atmosphere of a Milanese villa, Lanckoroński's palace was supposed to be reminiscent of historical Viennese architecture.

Further research regarding Lanckoroński's palace at Jacquingasse 18 would establish whether Lanckoroński consciously applied any influences of the Belvedere in his palace construction. My findings concerning this issue might enhance our understanding of Lanckoroński's respect for architectural consistency with the rest of the buildings of Vienna.

Another possible area of future research would be to investigate Lanckoroński's contact with Bernard Berenson. An implication of my findings on Berenson should be considered when we discuss the 20th century model of collector and his art agent. However, the present study on Berenson's connections with Lanckoroński is limited by the lack of information on any confirmative sources. Numerous assumptions taken together, enabled me to determine to some extent their brief but cogent connection. Thus, the analysis of Lanckoroński's broad network with fellow humanists undertaken here enabled me to classify him as one of the figures, whose demonstrable activity can be seen in cultural accomplishments, though his accomplishments are no longer spoken about in detail and moreover, are not attributed to Lanckoroński. In his long and exceptionally rich life, he took an active role in cultural and intellectual affairs until the very end.

This study demonstrates that few of the aspects concerning this last humanist have been published. In Polish literature on art history and collecting the figure of Lanckoroński is well known, while in foreign literature he has been forgotten. His collection stopped functioning and memories about the man who was one of the most significant personalities and probably one of the most recognisable figures of Vienna in the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century is now omitted (il.29).

²⁰⁶ J. Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, vol. 1, p. 327.

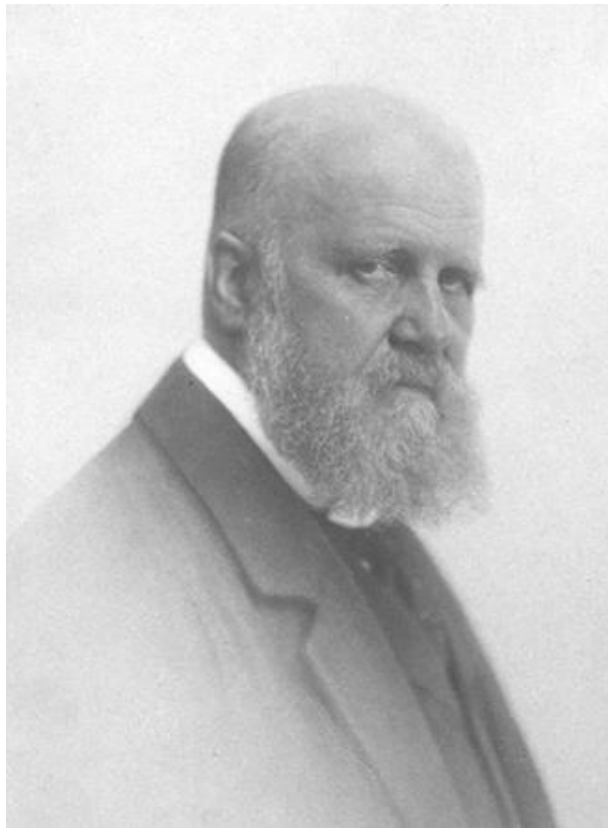
Illustrations



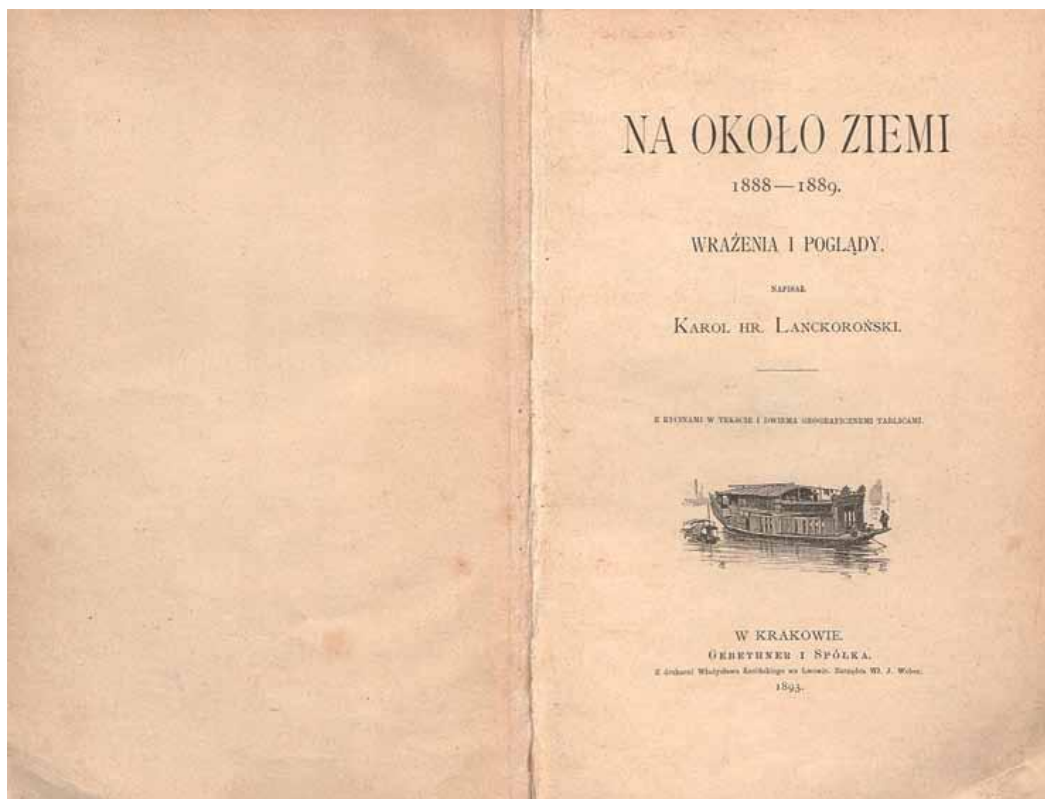
il. 1 Gustav Klimt, The Kiss, 1907-1908, oil and gold leaf on canvas, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna



il. 2 Josef Hoffmann, Palais Stocklet, 1905-1911, Brussels



il. 3 Karol Lanckoroński



il. 4 The titel page of Lanckoroński's book Na około ziemi 1888-1889 (Around the World 1888-1889)



il. 5 Rembrandt van Rijn, The Girl in a Picture Frame, 1641, oil on panel, Royal Castle, Warsaw



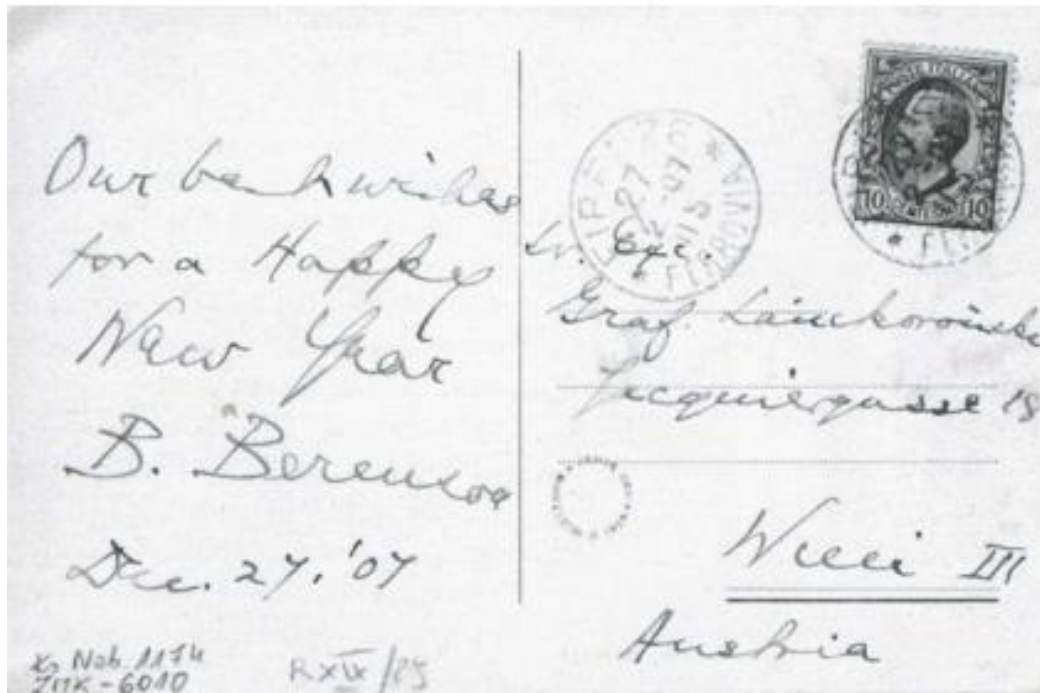
il. 6 Rembrandt van Rijn, The Scholar at the Lectern, 1641, oil on panel, Royal Castle, Warsaw



il. 7 Title page of *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 1913-1914*



il. 8 Postcard sent by Lanckoroński to Aleksander von Warsberg, Konya 1884



il. 9 Postcard sent by Bernard Berenson to Karol Lanckoroński in 1907, Royal Castle in Warsaw



il. 10 Exhibition of Lanckoroński's collection in Handelsmuseum, Vienna 1889, unknown photographer



il. 11 Gentile da Fabriano, Adoration of the Magi, 1423, tempera on panel, Uffizi Gallery, Florence



il. 12 Guido Reni, Aurora, 1614, ceiling fresco, Casino of Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, Rome



il. 13 Dosso Dossi, Jupiter, Mercury and Virtue, 1524, oil on canvas, Wawel Royal Castle, Cracow



il. 14 Masaccio, Saint Andrew, 1426, tempera and gold leaf on panel, J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California

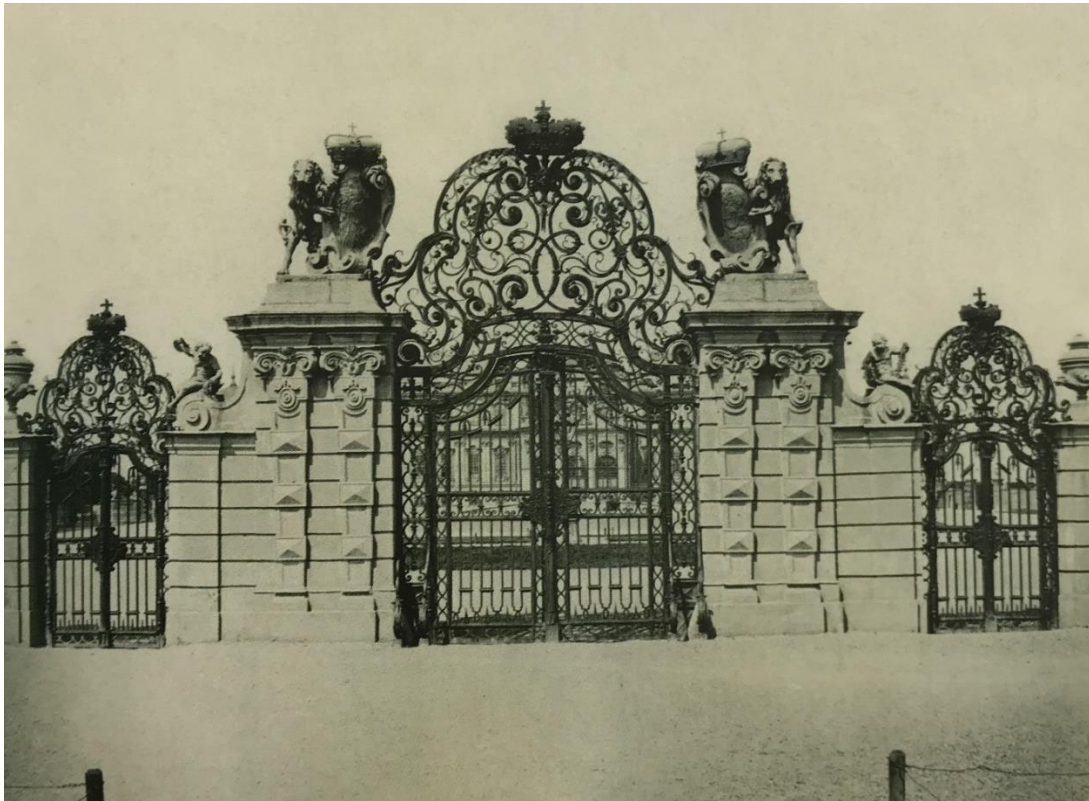


Palais Lanckoroński: Freskensaal

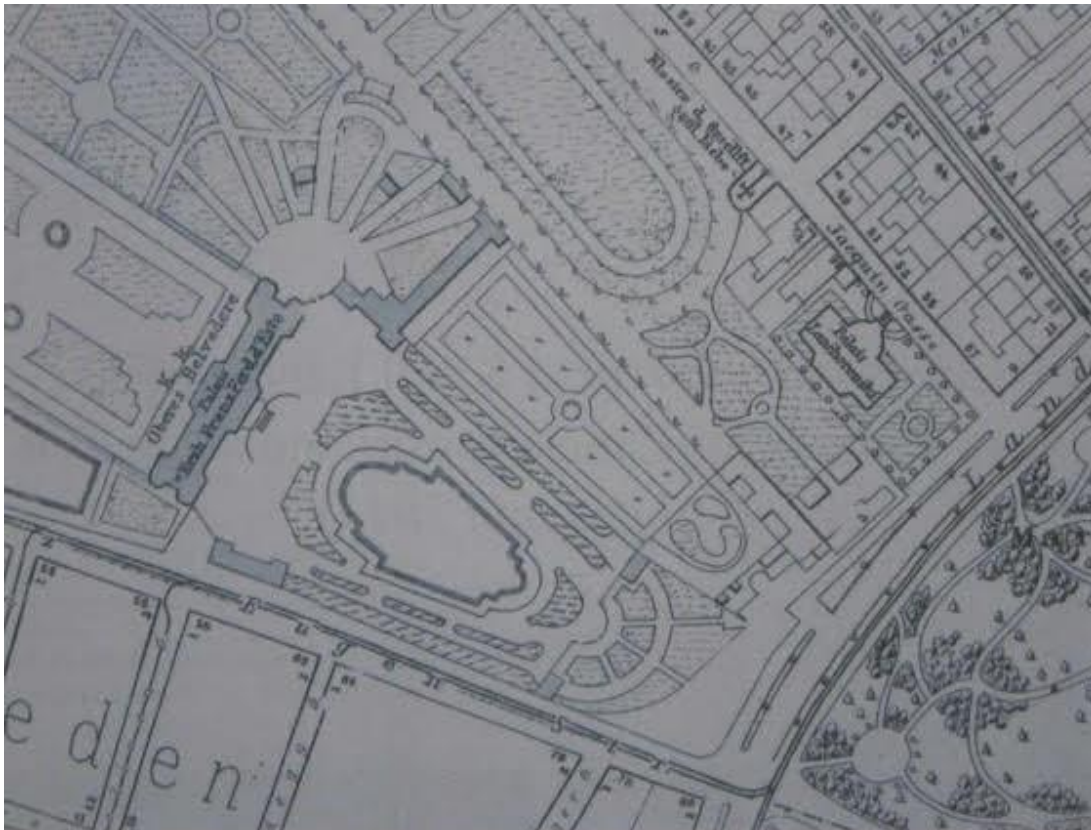
il. 15 The Fresco Room(Freskensaal) in Palais Lanckoroński at Jacquingasse 18, Vienna



il. 16 Façade of Palais Lanckoroński, Jacquingasse 18, ca. 1895, Vienna



il. 17 Belvedere's gate, ca. 1890, photo taken by Josef Wlha, Photo Collection Lanckoroński



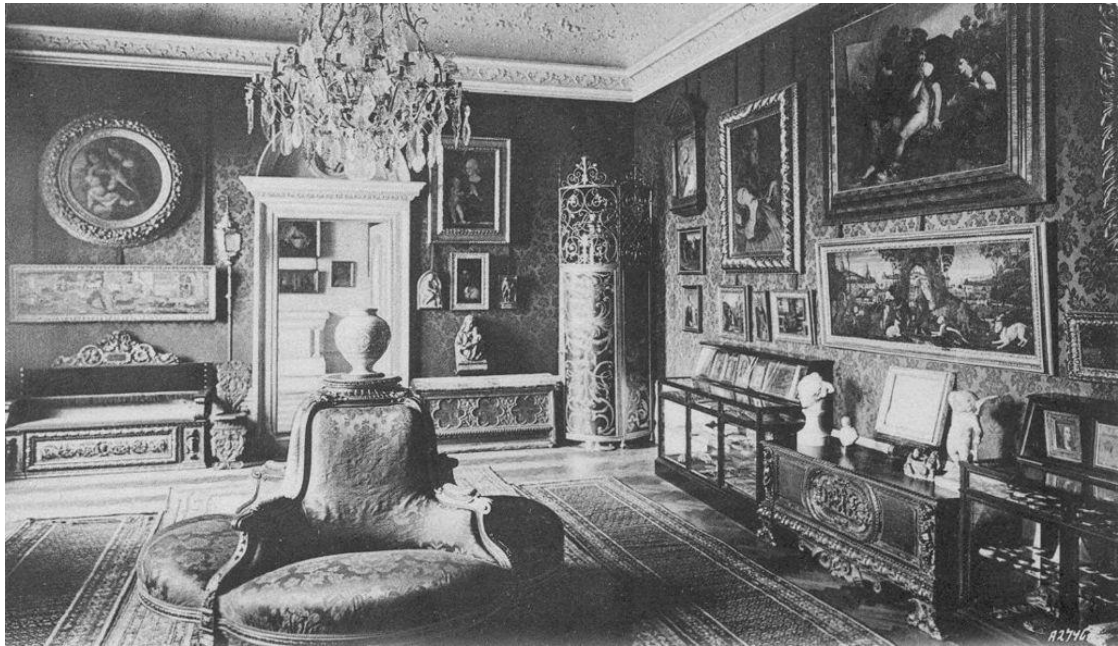
il. 18 Fragment of urban map of Vienna with visible possession of Lanckoroński, end of 19th century Wien Museum, Austria



il. 19 The main Hall, Palais Lanckoroński



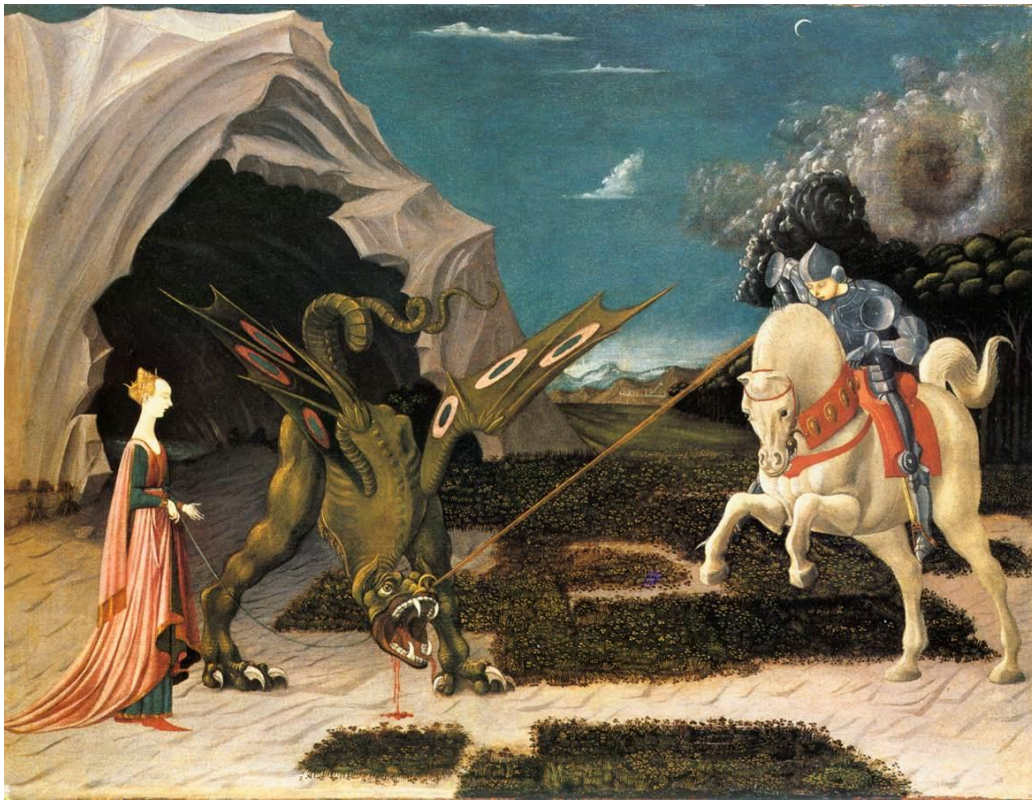
il. 20 Old masters painting room, Uffizi Gallery, Florence, Photo collection Lanckoroński



il. 21 Italian Salon, Palais Lanckoroński



il. 22 Rudolf von Alt, The Office of Count Lanckoroński in residence at Riemergasse 8, ca. 1881, private collection in Vienna



il. 23 Paolo Uccello, Saint George and The Dragon, 1470, Oil on canvas, National Gallery, London



il. 24 Karol Lanckoroński with his children – Antoni, Adelajda and Karolina



il. 25 Simone Martini, Angel, ca. 1315, Tempera and gilt on wood, Wawel Royal Castel, Cracow



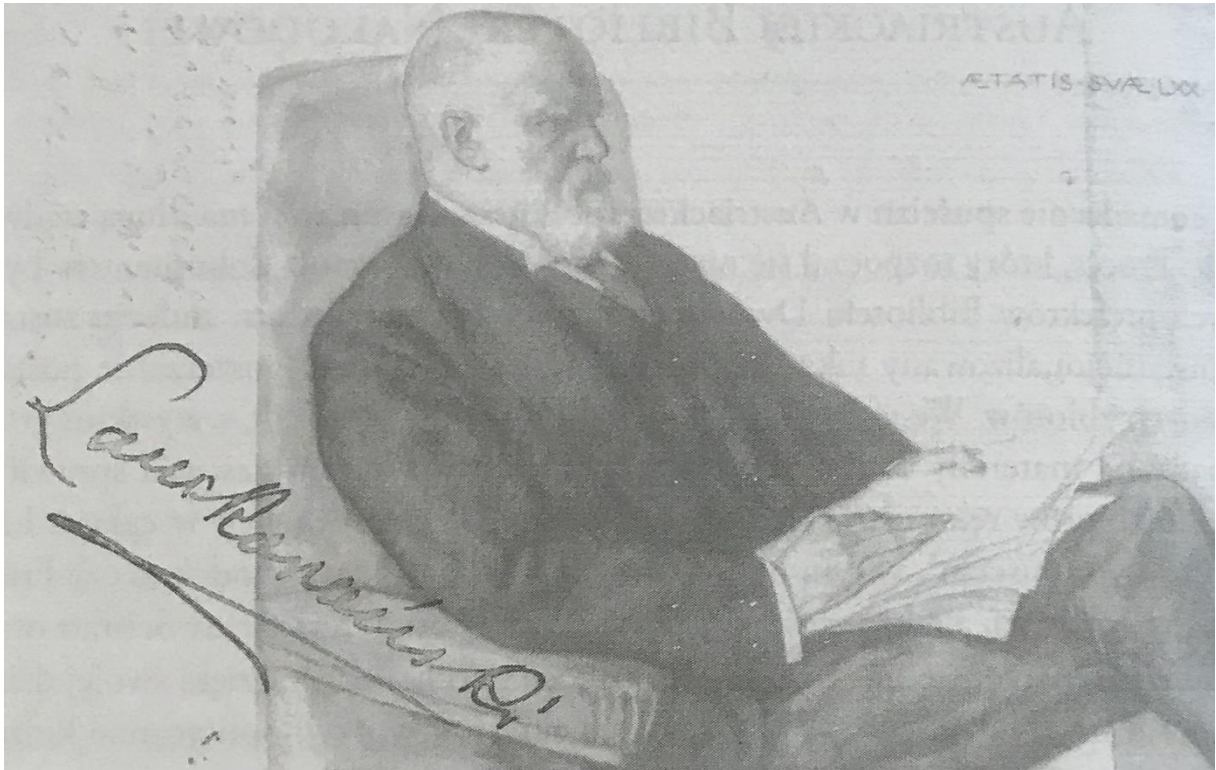
il. 26 Bernardo Daddi, Madonna and Child, ca. 1340, Tempera and gilt on wood, Wawel Royal Castle, Cracow



il. 27 Façade of Musée Jacquemart-André, 1913, Paris



il. 28 Villa Bagatti Valsecchi, Varedo



il. 29 Karol Lanckoroński and his signature. Postcard from Lanckoroński to Gustav Glück

Table of Figures

il. 1 Gustav Klimt, The Kiss, 1907-1908, oil and gold leaf on canvas, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna.....	45
il. 2 Josef Hoffmann, Palais Stocklet, 1905-1911, Brussels	45
il. 3 Karol Lanckoroński.....	46
il. 4 The title page of Lanckoroński's book Na okolo ziemi 1888-1889 (Around the World 1888-1889).....	46
il. 5 Rembrandt van Rijn, The Girl in a Picture Frame, 1641, oil on panel, Royal Castle, Warsaw.....	47
il. 6 Rembrandt van Rijn, The Scholar at the Lectern, 1641, oil on panel, Royal Castle, Warsaw	47
il. 7 Title page of Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 1913-1914.....	48
il. 8 Postcard sent by Lanckoroński to Aleksander von Warsberg, Kanya 1884	48
il. 9 Postcard sent by Bernard Berenson to Karol Lanckoroński in 1907, Royal Castle in Warsaw.....	49
il. 10 Exhibition of Lanckoroński's collection in Handelsmuseum, Vienna 1889, unknown photographer.....	49
il. 11 Gentile da Fabriano, Adoration of the Magi, 1423, tempera on panel, Uffizi Gallery, Florence	50
il. 12 Guido Reni, Aurora, 1614, ceiling fresco, Casino of Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, Rome	50
il. 13 Dosso Dossi, Jupiter, Mercury and Virtue, 1524, oil on canvas, Wawel Royal Castle, Cracow.....	51
il. 14 Masaccio, Saint Andrew, 1426, tempera and gold leaf on panel, J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.....	51
il. 15 The Fresco Room (Freskensäal) in Palais Lanckoroński at Jacquingasse 18, Vienna.....	52
il. 16 Façade of Palais Lanckoroński, Jacquingasse 18, ca. 1895, Vienna	52
il. 17 Belvedere's gate, ca. 1890, photo taken by Josef Wlha, Photo Collection Lanckoroński.....	53
il. 18 Fragment of urban map of Vienna with visible possession of Lanckoroński, end of 19th century Wien Museum, Austria.....	53
il. 19 The main Hall, Palais Lanckoroński.....	54
il. 20 Old masters painting room, Uffizi Gallery, Florence, Photo collection Lanckoroński	54
il. 21 Italian Salon, Palais Lanckoroński.....	55
il. 22 Rudolf von Alt, The Office of Count Lanckoroński in residence at Riemergasse 8, ca. 1881, private collection in Vienna.....	55
il. 23 Paolo Uccello, Saint George and The Dragon, 1470, Oil on canvas, National Gallery, London.....	56
il. 24 Karol Lanckoroński with his children – Antoni, Adelajda and Karolina	56
il. 25 Simone Martini, Angel, ca. 1315, Tempera and gilt on wood, Wawel Royal Castle, Cracow	57
il. 26 Bernardo Daddi, Madonna and Child, ca. 1340, Tempera and gilt on wood, Wawel Royal Castle, Cracow.....	57
il. 27 Façade of Musée Jacquemart-André, 1913, Paris	58
il. 28 Villa Bagatti Valsecchi, Varedo	58
il. 29 Karol Lanckoroński and his signature. Postcard from Lanckoroński to Gustav Glück	59

Bibliography

- G. P. Bąbiak, 'Lanckoroński i Malczewski – mecenat doskonały', in: *Jacek Malczewski i Symboliści. Obrazy Kultyury Polskiej*, Lublin: UMCS, 2012
- B. Berenson, 'Madonna at Vienna and Antonello's Altarpiece', in: *The Study of Criticism of Italian Art*, London: George Bell and Sons, 1916
- B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. A list of the Principal Artists and their Works with an Index of places*, London: Phaidon, 1932
- B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Florentine School* vol. I, London: Phaidon, 1963
- L. Berti, R. Foggi, *Masaccio. Catalogo complete dei dipinti*, Firenze: Cantini, 1989
- La Grande storia dell'arte. L'ottocento – secondo parte* (impressionismo, post-impressionismo, secessione), edited by D. Bianco, L. Mannini, A. Mazzanti, translated by T. Łozińska, Warszawa: Arkady, 2012
- W. von Bode, *Rembrandt: beschreibendes Verzeichniss seiner Gemälde mit den heliographischen Nachbildungen. Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst*, vol. 1-8, Paris: Charles Sedelmeyer, 1897-1905
- G. Bovini, *Antichità cristiane di Aquileia*, Bologna: Patron, 1972
- T. Chrzanowski, 'Warszawska część kolekcji Lanckorońskich', *Tygodnik Powszechny*, no. 35 (30.08), (1998),
- D. R. Cordileone, 'The Austrian Museum for Art and Industry: Historicism and National Identity in Vienna 1863–1900', in: *Austrian Studies*, vol. 16, (2008)
- M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Earlier Italian School*, London: Yale University Press, 1986
- B. Dybaś, A. Ziemlewska, I. Nöbauer, *Karl Lanckoroński Und Seine Zeit*, Wien: Lit Verlag, 2014
- Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921)*, edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015
- E. Viollet-le-Duc, *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc: Readings and Commentaries*, edited by M.F. Hearan, Cambridge: Mass, 1990
- J. von Falke, 'Die Kunstgegenstände und Alterthümer des Grafen Karl Lanckoronski im österreichischen Museum', *Wiener Zeitung*, no. 140, 21 VI (1885)
- A. Feliks, 'Kolekcja obrazów włoskich Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* (2000), vol. 25
- C. Fiell, P. Fiell, *The Story of Design*, London: Carlton Publishing Group, 2013
- V. von Fritsche, *Bilder aus dem österreichischen Hof und Gesellschaftsleben*, Wien: Gerlach & Wiedling, 1914
- B. Frey, W. Pommerhne, *Muses and Markets: Explorations in the Economics of Arts*, Oxford: Blackwell Pub, 1989
- F. Gétreau, *Musée Jacquemart-André, peintures et dessins de l'école française. Catalogue raisonné*, Paris: Michel de Maule, 2010
- E. Guglia, Wien. *Ein Führer durch die Stadt und Umgebung*, Wien 1908
- E. Haiger, *Verlorens Wien. Adelspalaeste Venganger Tage*, Wien: Boehlau Verlag, 1984
- L. von Hevesi, 'Palais Lanckoroński. Zu den Wiener Kunstwanderungen', *Fremden-Blatt*, (1902), no. 46
- M. Hohn, 'Maria Theresa and the Imperial-Royal Picture Gallery in the Belvedere', in: *Maria Theresa and the Arts*, edited by S. Rolling and G. Lechner, Vienna: Hirmer Publishers, 2017
- K. Holey, 'Das Haus des Grafen Lanckoroński', in: *Ausgewählte Kunstwerke* (1918)

- P. Hook, 'Selling the news: Paul Durand-Ruel', in: *Rogues' Gallery. A History of Art and Its Dealers*, translated by: M. Filipczuk, Kraków: Profile Books, 2017
- H.W. Hubert, 'August Schmarsow, Herman Grimm und die Gründung des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz', in: *Storia dell'arte*, Florenz 1997
- S. Jaroszewski, 'Wiedeńskie atelier Fellner&Helmer i Polska', in: *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* (1986), vol. 16
- Virtus et Splendor. Sztuka w życiu Włochów XIV-XVII w. Wystawa ze zbiorów Fundacji XX Czartoryskich*, edited by M. Kaleciński, Gdańsk: Muzeum Narodowe Gdańsk, 2014
- Katalog der Ostasiatischen Ausstellung des Grafen Carl Lanckoroński. Ausgestellt im k.k. Österreichischen Handels-Museum, (Börsegebäude), Wien 1890*
- S. Käss, *Der heimliche Kaiser der Kunst: Adolph Bayersdorfer, seine Freunde und seine Zeit*, München: Herbert, 1987
- R. Kochnowski, *Monarchia habsburska w polskiej myśli politycznej lat 1860-1914*, Kraków: WNUP, 2009
- S. Krzywoszewski, 'Pałac wiedeński i zbiory Karola hr. Lanckorońskiego', *Życie i Sztuka* (Petersburg), 7(20) II, no. 6 (1903)
- E. Kuryluk, *Wiedeńska apokalipsa, eseje o sztuce i literaturze wiedeńskiej około 1900*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1974
- Edward i Atanazy Raczyńscy. Dzieła osobowości, wybory, epoka*, edited by A.S. Labuda, M. Mencfel, W. Suchaocki, Poznań 2010
- K. Lanckorońska, 'In hommage to the Republic of Poland', *Tygodnik Powszechny*, no. 44, (1994)
- K. Lanckoroński, 'Wilhelm von Hartel', *Neue Freie Press*, 18th January (1907)
- K. Lanckoroński, *Na około Ziemi 1888-1889*, Kraków 1893
- K. Lanckoroński, *Z podróży po południowej Francji*, Kraków 1884
- K. Lanckoroński, *Miasta Pamfilii i Pizydii*, edited by M. Sokołowski, L. Ćwikliński, vol. 1-2, Kraków 1890-1896
- K. Lanckoroński, *Begrüßungsrede gehalten von Karl Grafen Lanckoroński am Abend des 10. Mai 1902 beim Empfang der Teilnehmer den Gesellschaftsabende österr. Kunstfreunde in seinem Hause*, Wien 1902
- K. Lanckoroński, 'O różnych poglądach na pomniki historyczne w rozmaitych czasach i rozmaitych krajach', *Czas*, LXI, (1908)
- K. Lanckoroński, *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truhen. Vortag gehalten am 7. Gesellschaftsabend des Winters 1904-1905, 20. März von Karl Grafen Lanckoroński*, Wien 1905
- A. von Lichtwark, *Reisbriefe. Briefe an die Kommission für die Verwaltung der Hamburger Kunsthalle. In Auswahl mit einer Einleitung herausgegeben von Gustav Pauli*, vol. 1, Hamburg 1924
- A. di Loremanzo, *Due collezionisti alla scoperta dell'Italia. Dipinti e sculture dal Museo Jacquemart- André di Parigi*, Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2002
- Galeria Rogalińska Edwarda Raczyńskiego*, edited by A. Ławniczakowa, catalogue of exhibition in National Museum of Poznań, November 1997 – March 1998
- T. Mańkowski, *Obrazy Rembrandta w galerji Stanisława Augusta*, Kraków 1929
- B. W. Meijer, M. F. Amoretti, *Repertory of Dutch and Flemish paintings in Italian public collections*, vol. 1-3, Florence: Antique Collectors Club, 1998-2011
- J. Miziołek, *Mity, legendy, exempla: włoskie malarstwo świeckie epoki Renesansu ze zbiorów Karola Lanckorońskiego*, Warszawa: Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2003
- J. Miziołek, 'The Lanckoroński collection in Poland', Originalveröffentlichung in: *Antichità viva*, vol. 34, no. 3, (1995)

- J. Miziołek, 'Wiedeńska konferencja Karol Lanckoroński i jego epoka/Karl Lanckoroński und seine Zeit (9-10 grudnia 2013)', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 76 (2014), no. 2
- J. Miziołek, 'Flammans pro recto. Kilka myśli o ostatnich z rodu Lanckorońskich, czyli o patriotyzmie, europejskiej kulturze artystycznej i tradycji antyku', in: *Konteksty. Polska Sztuka Ludowa*, LXIII, no. 3 (286), (2009)
- J. Miziołek, *The Awakening of Paris and the Beauty of the Goddesses: Two cassoni from the Lanckoroński collection*, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, LI, no. 3/4, (2007)
- Z. Ostrowska Kęmbłowska, *Architektura i budownictwo w Poznaniu w latach 1790–1880*, Warszawa–Poznań: PWN, 1982
- J. A. Ostrowski, 'Karol Lanckoroński (1848-1933) – Polish Connoisseur and Friend of Art', in: *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilisation*, "Zeszyty Naukowe UJ", MCXI, Prace z archeologii, 56, Kraków (1993)
- Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, "Atelier Fellner&Helmer an Karl Grafen Lanckoronski", call number 612/13-1, 21st March (1891)
- Palais Lanckoroński Jacquingase 18*, Wien 1903
- Archiwa rodzinno-majątkowe w zbiorach państwowych we Lwowie*, edited by S. Pijaj, Warszawa 1995
- R. Pavoni, *Museo Bugatti-Valsecchi*, vol. 1, Milano: Musei e gallerie di Milano, 2003
- F. Rainald, *The Glass of the Architects. Vienna 1900-1937*, Vienna: Skira Editore, 2016
- M. Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History. Empire and the Politics of Scholarship 1847-1918*, Pennsylvania University 2013
- K. Raptis, *Die Grafen Harrach und ihre Welt 1884-1945*, Wien: Böhlau Wien, 2017
- G. Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste. The Rise and Fall of Picture Prices, 1760-1960*, London: Hacker Art Books, 1961
- D. R. Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875-1905. An Institutional Biography*, Burlington 2014
- A. Rottermund, D. Juszcak, H. Malachowicz, *A Gift of the Lanckoroński Family*, Warsaw 1994
- N. Sainte-Garnot, 'Die italienischen Gemälde aus der Sammlung Nélie Jacquemart', in: *Paris 158, Boulevard Haussman. Zu Gast in Lindenau-Museum Altenburg. 50 italienische Meisterwerke aus dem Musée Jacquemart- André*, Altenburg: Lindenau-Museum, 2007
- W. Semetkowski, 'Karl Graf Lanckoroński (4.11.1848 – 15.07.1933). Worte des Gedenkens zum 100. Geburtstag', in: *Aufsätze und Aufzeichnungen aus sechs Jahrhunderten*, Wien 1968
- F. Servaes, 'Im Palais Lanckoroński', *Neue Freie Presse* (1902), no. 13464, 17th February
- F. Servaes, 'Wiener Kunstwandereungen', *Neue Freie Presse*, (1902), nr 13462 (15th February) Morgenblatt
- R. and M. Seydewitz, *Die Dame mit dem Hermalin: Der größte Kunstraub aller Zeiten*, Berlin: Henschel, 1963
- M. Skubiszewska, K. Kuczman, *Paintings from The Lanckoroński Collection from the 14th through 16th centuries in the Collections of the Wawel Royal Castle*, Cracow 2010
- F. Stern, 'Kunstbummel', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* (1902), no. 46, 16th February
- F. Stern, 'Die Wiener Kunstwanderungen', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, (1902), no. 47, 17th February
- R. Taborski, 'Karol Lanckoroński - wiedeński mecenas i kolekcjoner sztuki', in: *Przegląd Humanistyczny* (1969), vol. 13
- A. Tempestini, 'La Fototeca del Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz: catalogazione tradizionale e schedatura informatizzata', in: *Rivista de Historia da Arte e Arquelogia* vol.1, 1994

- P. Thun-Hohenstein, 'Der alte Lanckoroński', *Die Presse*, 4th of November (1948)
 'To the Donor in Hommage'. Catalogue of Restored Paintings and Family Mementoes from Karolina Lanckorońska's Donation, Cracow (1998)
- M. Wallis, *Secesja*, Warszawa: Arkady, 1974
- W. Weisbach, *Francesco Pesellino und die Romantik der Renaissance*, Berlin: B. Cassirer, 1901
- K. Weitzmann, *Sailing with Byzantium from Europe to America: The memoirs of an art historian*, Munich 1994
- J. Wilde, 'Der letzte Humanist', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* (1933), vol. 196
- J. Winiewicz-Wolska, *Karol Lanckoroński i jego wiedeńskie zbiory*, vol. 1, Kraków: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 2010
- J. Winiewicz-Wolska, *Karol Lanckoroński i jego wiedeńskie zbiory*, vol. 2, Katalog, malarstwo, rzeźba, miniatura, Kraków: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 2010
- J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Ludwiga Hansa Fischera do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015
- J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015
- J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Josefa Marii Olbricha do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015
- J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Problemy ochrony i konserwacji zabytków w pismach i działalności Karola Lanckorońskiego' in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015
- Dzienniki podróży do Włoch (1874 i 1875)*, edited by J. Winiewicz-Wolska, A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015
- Dzienniki podróży do Azji Mniejszej 1882-1883 i 1884*, edited by A. Szymanowicz-Hren, A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015
- J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Karol Lanckoroński i jego „marchand-amateur”', *Studia Wawelina* vol. 14, (2009)
- Z fototeki Lanckorońskich*. Exhibition booklet March-April 2009, Kraków 2009

Correspondences

- A. Szymanowicz Hren, 'Listy Friedriecha Ohmanna do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015, copy of letter from Friedrich Ohmann to Karol Lanckoroński from Vienna 25 XII 1916, Wien, ÖNB 615/31-1, translated by K. Wróbel
- J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015, copy of letter from Wilhelm von Bode to Karol Lanckoroński from Berlin Charlottenburg 2 IX 1892, Wien, ÖNB 611/19-9, translated by J. Radłowska
- J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015, copy of letter from Wilhelm von Bode to Karol Lanckoroński from Berlin Charlottenburg 29 XI 1899, Wien, ÖNB 611/19-3, translated by J. Radłowska
- J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego' in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015, copy of letter from Wilhelm von Bode to Karol Lanckoroński from Florence 26 IV 1901, Wien, ÖNB 611/19-4, translated by J. Radłowska
- J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Josefa Marii Olbricha do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015, photocopy

of letter from Josef Maria Olbrich to Karol Lanckoroński from Florence 18 XI 1893, Wien, ÖNB 615/32-1, translated by K. Wróbel

J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń 2015, copy of letter from Karol Lanckoroński to Wilhelma von Bode, Kressbromm am Bodensee, Zentralarchiv Berlin, 11 IX 1892, translated by J. Radłowska

Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921), edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015 copy of letter from Max Dvořák to Karol Lanckoroński from Vienna 13 III 1912, Wien, ÖNB 611/55-12, translated by A. Szymanowicz-Hren

Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921), edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015, copy of letter from Max Dvořák to Karol Lanckoroński from Vienna 5 II 1912, Wien, ÖNB, 611/57-30, translated by A. Szymanowicz-Hren

Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921), edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015, copy of letter from Max Dvořák to Karol Lanckoroński from Vienna 17 VI 1918, Wien, ÖNB 612/1-39, translated by A. Szymanowicz-Hren

Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921), edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015, copy of letter from Max Dvořák to Karol Lanckoroński from Roudnice nad Labem 28 IX 1909, Wien, ÖNB 611/54-9, translated by A. Szymanowicz-Hren

Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921), edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015, copy of letter from Max Dvořák to Karol Lanckoroński from Roudnice nad Labem 28 IX 1909, Wien, ÖNB 611/54-9, translated by A. Szymanowicz-Hren

Listy Maxa Dvoraka do Karola Lanckorońskiego (1907-1921), edited by B. Dybaś, J. Winiewicz-Wolska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015 copy of letter from Max Dvořák to Karol Lanckoroński from Kirchberg 23 IX 1915, Wien, ÖNB, 611/57-30, translated by A. Szymanowicz-Hren

J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015, copy of letter from Wilhelm von Bode to Karol Lanckoroński from Berlin 19 XI 1902, Wien, ÖNB 611/19-7, translated by J. Radłowska

J. Winiewicz-Wolska, 'Listy Wilhelma von Bodego do Karola Lanckorońskiego', in: *Karol Lanckoroński i jego czasy. Varia*, edited by A. Ziemlewska, Wiedeń: PAU, 2015, photocopy of letter from Wilhelm von Bode to Karol Lanckoroński from Berlin 27 VI 1910, Wien ÖNB 611/19-9, translated by J. Radłowska

Online sources

<http://fundacjalanckoronkich.org/en/history/> (online 10.04.2018)

<http://mbc.malopolska.pl/dlibra/publication?id=43306&tab=3> (online 15.04.2018)

<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/683/masaccio-tommaso-di-giovanni-guidi-saint-andrew-italian-1426/> (online 01.05.2018)

<https://archive.org/stream/ausgewahltekunst00lanc#page/n0/mode/2up> (online 29.12.2017)

<http://fundacjalanckoronkich.org/en/history/> (online 15.05.2018)

https://images.hollis.harvard.edu/primoexplore/viewcomponent/L/HVD_VIAoIvwork455288?vid=HVD_IMAGES&imageId=urn-

[3:VIT.BB:4828083&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine](https://images.hollis.harvard.edu/primoexplore/viewcomponent/L/HVD_VIAoIvwork455288?vid=HVD_IMAGES&imageId=urn-3:VIT.BB:4828083&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine) (online 15.05.2018)

https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/BgblPdf/1998_181_1/1998_181_1.pdf (online 21.03.2018)

http://trakt.poznan.pl/wpcontent/uploads/2016/06/3_Kolekcja_malarstwa_Atanazego_Raczyskiego_i_plany_stworzenia_publicznej_galerii_w_Poznaniu.pdf (online 15.12.2017)

http://delibra.bg.polsl.pl/Content/24113/BCPS_25935_1930_Prace-Komisji-Histor.pdf (online, 14.06.2018)