TERRY MIZIOŁEK is professor of the classical tradition in the visual arts at the University of Warsaw, Institute of Archaeology. He studied history and classics at the Jagiellonian University, Kraków, and classical archaeology at the Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, Rome. He earned a doctorate in 1987, a postdoctoral degree in 1996. He has held a Fulbright Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Washington Univer-
ten or edited twelve books, including: Falsifications in Polish Collections and Abroad (2017). He also edited Jerzy Miziołek, Styka e Smuglewicz (2001), L’Erma di Rivello (2015), and Sabine Women (2016); among other books: The Villa of Pliny the Younger in an Eighteenth Century Vision (2010); The Rape of the Sabine Women. “For in every smallest act—he writes—that can be observed in these weddings, the same rendition of contemporary life, but usual-
ly in the guise of scenes from antiquity, proble-
ably based on contemporary poetry steeped in the spirit of the antique, like the Triumph of Petrarch. Since a certain artistic discipline purifies, we rarely find religious subjects on them, except for occasional recurring scenes from the Old Testament. Just as in the stories of suits in paintings for churches, the dogma of uncov-
ered women is one presented in an endlessly repeated manner. These suits from the Lanckoroński collection also reflect, in an exemplary way, the Renaissance fascination with ancient literature, ancient sources, ancient art, and the classical tra-
dition. Like other amateur archaeologists and lovers of classical art, Lanckoroński had a great interest in the painting of domestic art, deriving from day beds—"spalliere"—and in an exquisitely rich—scatter of the marital chambers. This book also offers a new angle into the mystery of Botticelli’s Primavera book also offers a new insight into the mystery of Botticelli’s Primavera, which once decorated the walls of nuptial chambers in Florence in 1490, dressed in the latest fashion, Ghirlandaio placed the prominent ladies of his famous frescos in Santa Maria Novella, his famous frescos in Santa Maria Novella, the very pictures—-the works discussed in this book, as a complex. English translation of Lancko-
roński’s Jerzy Miziołek, Some Remarks on the Conservation of Most of the Works Discussed in This Book (1985) which, until now, has remained little known and has never been properly studied. This transla-
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Renaissance Weddings and the Antique
Italian Domestic Paintings from the Lanckoroński Collection
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FOREWORD

Jerzy Miziolek has been a constant presence in my working life. I knew him in Florence when I was Soprintendente of the Musei Fiorentini and he was still a young scholar but one already of international stature. It was not difficult for me to befriend him because his exuberant vein of Polish conviviality was contagious and irresistible.

I remember Professor Miziolek's perlustration of the Florentine museums (the Bargello, the Palazzo Davanzati, the Bardini), searching out every remote corner with inexhaustible passion. I remember him at I Tatti di Settignano, in Berenson's photograph library, and in the Kunsthistorisches Institut in the via Giusti in Florence. Many times and often, in those semi-legendary spaces dedicated to the history of art, we were accompanied, he and I, by very dear friends who are now departed—Luciano Bellosi, Miklós Boskovits—whom it gives me such pleasure to remember with heartfelt affection.

Jerzy Miziolek loved Italy as only Slavs can love it, with total devotion. But within all Italian culture he was fascinated above all by Florence and by that particular moment or aspect of the Renaissance that would once have been called “Pre-Raphaelite”.

In the Vatican in Rome, where it was my fortune to have been called, most recently, to administer the collections of the Holy See, I once again found Jerzy. He was now a university professor guiding a group of his students around the Vatican collections; he is also the author of the study that I am pleased to introduce and which perhaps will be, may I say it, the magnum opus of his scholarly career. This is a book, studying, according to the rigorous principles of Erwin Panofsky and Ernst Gombrich, Florentine marriage trousseau-chests—casoni—and their relation to the classics of Antiquity, which unites under one standard profession and patriotism.

Patriotism, because the paintings that are studied here belong to the Lanckoroński collection in Kraków, of which this native of Poland explores the history and formation, including the vicissitudes of the twentieth century; profession because this is a work exemplifying art history as practised at the highest level. I am glad to acclaim it as an outstanding work by my great friend Jerzy Miziolek.

ANTONIO PAOLUCCI
Director of the Musei Vaticani
Florence, 21 April 2016, Rome’s Birthday
INTRODUCTION

I have been on great voyages, many of them in the company of artists and art historians, and I have bought a lot on the way.

Lanckoroński [in] Ernst 1933, p. 2

In October 1994 and June 2000 over eighty Italian paintings from the Viennese collection of Count Karol Lanckoroński (1848–1933) were donated to Polish national art collections. This generous gift—in homage to the Republic of Poland, Free and Independent—was made by his daughter Professor Karolina Lanckorońska (1898–2002), the last heir of the famous family. In accordance with her wishes, the paintings were divided between two royal castles in Poland. The castle in Warsaw received Baroque and neoclassical paintings whereas all late mediaeval and Renaissance paintings, including works by Simone Martini, Bernardo Daddi, Jacopo del Sellaio, Giovanni di Buonconsiglio, Garofalo and Dosso Dossi, went to the Wawel Castle in Kraków. The rooms of the Wawel residence of the Polish kings, built in the first half of the sixteenth century by two Italian architects, Francesco Fiorentino (d. 1516) and Bartolomeo Berecci (d. 1536), were thus enhanced by the paintings of their compatriots. Nearly thirty of these paintings were produced between 1400 and 1550 to decorate the homes of affluent residents of Florence, Siena, Venice, Milan and Verona. The majority of these paintings once served as the fronts or side panels—laterali—of painted wedding chests called forzieri or cofani, since Giorgio Vasari usually referred to as cassoni. The remainder of the paintings comprise spalliere and cornici, which were located above the forzieri or cassoni—or over benches used as seats—more or less at shoulder height—hence spalliera, from spalle—or above beds, and in the case of cornici, just under the ceiling. Other paintings derive from the headrests of lettucci or day beds. In English, these kinds of painting, usually depicting mythological scenes, or subjects from Greek or Roman history, are currently referred to as domestic painting. Unfortunately some of the paintings from the collection were lost during or after the end of the Second World War; at least three ended up in other collections. Despite all the losses, the number of objects sent to Kraków is quite significant and truly remarkable because of the variety of subjects depicted and their artistic quality.

Thanks to Professor Lanckorońska’s gift the Wawel Castle is now in possession of one of the major collections of this kind of painting in the world. Together with Dosso Dossi’s Jupiter, Mercury and Virtue (also known as Zeus Painting Butterflies), and Garofalo’s Venus, Mars and Cupid, these works constitute a characteristic group of secular Renaissance paintings. Karol Lanckoroński, one of the most eminent amateur archaeologists of his time, was undoubtedly fascinated by this particular kind of painting, mainly because of the themes inspired by classical literature, myths, legends and exempla, about which he was very knowledgeable. He not only built up one of the largest private collections of this genre in the world, but also delivered

Professor Karolina Lanckorońska, photograph taken c. 1985. She studied art history at the University of Vienna under Max Dvořák and Julius von Schlosser. Her doctorate, completed in May 1926, concerns Michelangelo’s Last Judgement; it is cited to this day in many academic publications (see, among others, Chastel 1983, Barnes 1998, Bussagli 2014). After obtaining her habilitation degree, devoted to the frescoes of Baccìa in the Il Gesù church in Rome (1935), she became professor of art history at the University of Lvów (now: Lviv, Ukraine). After the Second World War (so tragic for her, see p. 49) she devoted herself entirely to publishing and organizing activities to promote Polish culture. However, Michelangelo remained her beloved artist to the end of her life. She had a deep love for Rome, where she lived for more than fifty years and where she ran the Polish Historical Institute. She died there aged 104 on 25 August 2002 and is buried at Campo Verano cemetery.
a lecture on them in the winter of 1905 at his palace in Vienna. The lecture was published as a slim book entitled *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truhen* [Some remarks on Italian painted chests]. Consisting of twenty-eight pages and twenty illustrations, it is both a rare example of an early publication on the subject of *cassone* painting—preceding Paul Schubring’s famous corpus on *cassoni* by several years—as well as being an important source of information about how the collection was formed. Most of the paintings dealt with in the present book were either discussed or mentioned in Lanckoroński’s lecture. The beautifully written brochure provides, in most instances, reliable information as to authorship, dating and an evaluation of their artistic quality. Lanckoroński’s accurate evaluation of the *cassoni* and his own particular attitude to domestic painting are proven not only by the *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truhen*, but also by the remarks he made in his book *Around the world* (1891). While describing his visit to India he writes:

Whenever I wanted to consider the impression made on me by the people and animals of Jodhpur I could think of nothing to compare them with, except, perhaps, the paintings on the chests made in Florence and Umbria in the Renaissance: the frescoes of Benozzo Gozzoli and the paintings of Carpaccio struck me in a similar way. And the more I think about it, the more I believe it to be true. It is a living Quattrocento; Rajputana gives us a picture of Italy between 1380 and 1450; of course it is less polished and less refined, but it exudes the same robust lust for life, the same thirst for sensation, the same naïve liking for original dress, jewellery, patterned cloth and useless ornaments.

Lanckoroński’s domestic paintings had never been studied properly before their arrival in Kraków, even though for the most part they were included in Paul Schubring’s corpus of *cassoni* (1915; the 2nd edition 1923, which will be cited here). Over the past twenty years I have dealt with most of them in several papers published in English, German and Italian (see Bibliography) and in a book in Polish (2003). There are also a Wawel Castle exhibition catalogue *To the Donor in Homage* (1998), a complete catalogue of all the paintings written by Kazimierz Kuczman and Maria Skubiszewska (2010), and an important book by Joanna Winiewicz-Wolska (2014). Despite these, some paintings have been barely mentioned and others are awaiting a full iconographical interpretation. A case in point is the panel depicting a battle between the Romans and the Gauls (see Chapter 8). This book is not a catalogue but a kind of monograph about all the domestic paintings in Lanckoroński’s collection. Above all, it is an explorative study of the subject matter of the paintings, although stylistic analysis is also discussed. It focuses primarily on the works of art now in the Wawel Castle, however, the paintings destroyed during the Second World War are also mentioned, as well as those which were sold to other collections after 1947. The investigations of the latter group of paintings, based mostly on photographs found in the archives or obtained from the present owners, relates mainly to their iconography and their meaning in the context of Renaissance weddings.

*Cassone* and *spalliera* panels depict numerous themes taken from ancient poets and writers, sometimes from mediaeval or Renaissance versions of the stories told by them. There is no doubt that myths and other tales were often carefully selected by the fathers of the brides, or by the grooms as they were to adorn the most important room in the palace/home of the newly-wed couple. The subject matter was often intended to serve as an instruction or an exemplum to be followed—cases in point are Ulysses and Penelope—although the canons of beauty also played an important role—e.g. Paris and Helen. Sometimes the subjects chosen for domestic panels were inspired by *cantari* or wedding songs, which were in most cases borrowed from classical literature, then easily available through numerous translations.

In Renaissance Italy there were no fixed boundaries between the sacred and secular worlds. Knowledge of the ancient world was not restricted to humanist circles but was an integral part of life. There was nothing strange in the fact that in the 1490s Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger were both represented on the facade of
Como Cathedral, since they were both born in that city. Florence, Verona, Milan and other cities were Christian, but with a significant past. Members of wealthy families often claimed descent from Roman notables which is why marriage chests depict so many subjects taken from the history of ancient Rome.

Marco Antonio Altieri’s *Li nuptiali*, written shortly after 1500, being a description of an aristocratic Roman wedding, provides a valuable glimpse into wedding customs and references to Antiquity. He argues, among other things, that when the groom takes the bride he does so in memory of the Rape of the Sabine Women: “For in every smallest act—he writes—that can be observed in these weddings, the rape of the Sabine Women returns to memory.” Throughout this book we will seek the link between these ancient tales and Renaissance weddings.

The book is divided into two parts, the first comprises two chapters dealing with Karol Lanckoroński and the history of his collection, as well as wedding rituals in Renaissance Italy and the history of domestic painting. The second part, consisting of eight chapters, discusses the *cassone* panels and paintings deriving from day beds—*lettiucci*—and panelling of the walls—*spalliere*. Due to the monograph’s specific nature, the chapters are divided according to iconographic criteria and not schools of art, therefore, on more than one occasion, both Tuscan paintings and those of northern Italy are discussed within the same chapter. Furthermore some of the chapters deal not only with the paintings in the Lanckoroński collection but also those in other collections. This is the case when a given work of art was originally part of a larger set of paintings which is currently dispersed, an example being the three *spalliere* panels depicting *The Story of Orpheus and Eurydice* by Jacopo del Sellaio. Only one of these *spalliere* from the set ended up in the Lanckoroński collection and then in the Wawel Royal Castle while two other *spalliere* are to be found in Amsterdam and Kiev. Another case in point are the small panels with the story of Paris and Helen of Troy; three of them are in Kraków, while the fourth piece is in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow.

The book contains a complete English translation of the *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truhen* [Some remarks on Italian painted chests], which until now has remained little known and never properly studied. This translation, from the German, was made especially for this publication by Judith Wickström-Haber and the late Antoni Buchner. There are references throughout the book to this important booklet, and the second chapter provides a general commentary to it.

**Acknowledgments**

This book was written thanks to several short-term fellowships held at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (CASVA), at the National Gallery in Washington (1996, 1997, 1998, 2001) as well as the considerable support of the University of Warsaw and Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies in Florence (Villa I Tatti). Some of the chapters were presented at CASVA, the University of Rochester (1996), King’s College, Cambridge (2004), and during the Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in New York (2004). The preparation of an English version of the book—the Polish version of which was published in 2003—was made possible thanks to a grant received from The Foundation for Polish Science and a fellowship at the Getty Research Institute (2006). Its publication has been possible thanks to financial support received from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Poland.
I would like to thank Dr. Kazimierz Kuczman, until 2010 the curator of paintings at the Wawel Castle, for the possibility of studying so many times the paintings in situ. I am very grateful to the Directors and curators of many national and private collections in Europe and the USA, among them, the Stibbert Museum in Florence, the Pinacoteca di Brera and the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli in Milan who allowed me to reproduce many works of art used as comparative materials. My most sincere thanks to the late Professors Luciano Bellosi and Miklós Boskovits for their comments regarding the authorship of several of the paintings. I also received valuable comments concerning attributions from Professor Andrea de Marchi and Dr. Mattia Vinco. I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor David Freedberg and Dr. Erkinger Schwarzenberg for the information about Karol Lanckoroński and his daughter, Professor Karolina Lanckorońska. My discussions with the late Ellen Callmann, Cristelle Baskins and Jacqueline M. Musacchio about the cassoni and their iconography were particularly valuable. Ted Dalziel, Valerio Pacini and Wojciech Marcinkowski enabled access to many publications which would otherwise have been out of reach.

The “Studiolo” with domestic panels from the Lanckoroński collection, Wawel Royal Castle, Kraków.

Professor Lanckorońska’s gift to Poland of 1994 and 2000 consisted in total of around five hundred art objects; apart from paintings it included drawings, miniatures, pieces of furniture, medallions and photographs, see Miziołek 1995; Winiewicz-Wolska 2014.
Introduction and Acknowledgements

reach. Access to the negatives of Karol Lanckoroński’s cassone paintings in the National Gallery in Washington was possible thanks to Professor Craig Hugh Smyth, Henry A. Millon, Dr. Ruth Philbrick and Dr. Karen Weinberger. Thanks also to Joanna Winiewicz-Wolska, the curator of paintings at the Wawel Castle, Jacqueline McComish of the National Gallery in London and Anna Feliks of the National Museum in Warsaw from whom I obtained photographs and slides of Rudolf von Alt’s and Ludwig Hans Fischer’s paintings of the interiors of Karol Lanckoroński’s original residence in Vienna. I received invaluable help during my preliminary research at I Tatti from Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi and Giovanni Paliaruolo. I owe the information relating to the conservation and scientific testing of the paintings to the late Maria Ligęza and the Conservation Laboratory at the Wawel Royal Castle, once headed by Anna Kostecka and now by Ewa Wilkojc, who is the author of the observations on the conservation of most of the works discussed in this book (see Appendix 2). More detailed information about the conservation work of all Lanckoroński paintings at the Wawel Royal Castle will be published soon. I am particularly indebted to my wife Anna for her help and untold patience, particularly with regard to the Bibliography.

In my struggles with the English version of this book, the most helpful person has been a long-standing friend, Anne-Marie Duk-Fabianowska, who, along with my wife Anna, has helped with the editing. Teresa Baluk-Ulewiczowa, Jill Kraye, Angelo Tartuferi, Daniela Parenti, Claudio Paolini and Chiara Sulprizio have also been of great help. Last but not least I would like to express my gratitude to the late Professor Roberto Guerrini for numerous discussions concerning the classical traditions in the arts of the Renaissance, to Dr. Susan Winkler for a map of Vienna and to Professor Marco Petoletti who provided me with some important photographs as well some publications concerning Boccaccio and his little known drawings; among them there is a portrait of Homer.

When my book Soggetti classici sui cassoni fiorentini alla vigilia del Rinascimento was published in 1996, I dreamt of the possibility of publishing a more comprehensive book on Italian Renaissance domestic paintings. I was given this opportunity thanks to the donation of almost thirty such panels to the Wawel Royal Castle from the Lanckoroński collection. The last decade have seen an immense flourishing of studies on cassoni and other domestic paintings. Several excellent monographs and well-illustrated exhibition catalogues, such as those in the Gardner Museum, Boston (2008), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (2008), The Courtauld Gallery, London (2009), the Galleria dell’Accademia, Florence (2010) have paved the way for a far better understanding of the domestic paintings of the Italian Renaissance (see Bibliography). I hope that this book will contribute some valuable observations not only to the field of research on domestic panels but also on classical traditions in the visual arts.

This book is dedicated to the late Professor Craig Hugh Smyth, the legendary director of the Collecting Point in Munich, then director of the Villa I Tatti, and to Professor Henry A. Millon, the Dean of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Washington D.C. (1980–2000). Without their help and encouragement this book would not have been written.


Henry A. Millon’s opus magnum is: Rinascimento da Brunelleschi a Michelangelo. La rappresentazione dell’architettura (1994), also published in English (Millon and Lampugnani 1994).
Notes


2 For the complete catalogue of all the paintings donated to the Wawel Royal Castle, see Skubiszewska and Kuczman 2010, see also Winiewicz-Wolska 2014.


6 Thornton 1991, passim. See also Cole 1987, pp. 1–74. For lettuccio, see also Trionfi Honorati 1981, pp. 39–47; Covi 1978, pp. 121–31; Musacchio 2008, pp. 107–10. This piece of furniture is defined by the Accademici della Crusca as: “una cassa grande con ispalliera e braccioli dove si dorme di fra di”. Numerous written sources confirm that lettuccio could be a luxurious object on which talented artists might bestow their skills. Benedetto da Maiano, who with his brother Giuliano ran a bottega in Florence, produced a costly one for King Ferrante of Naples in 1473 and three years later another for Ferrante’s son, the Duke of Calabria. The latter was painted, decorated with carving, intarsia and gold (no less than 2200 leaves were used); therefore it cost 210 fiorini larghi; for the Duke of Calabria’s lettuccio, see Covi 1978 (as above).

7 For a list of the principal collections of cassoni, see Hughes 1997, pp. 222–33. For cassoni in the National Museum in Warsaw, see Miziolek 1993, pp. 419–37; id. 1998, pp. 417–60. For Italian domestic paintings in the Czartoryski Collection in Kraków, see Miziolek 1990, pp. 3–28; id. 1996 (Soggetti classici).

8 For Lanckoroński’s interest in literature, see Lanckorońska 1989, p. 5; Winiewicz-Wolska 2014, passim.

9 For Lanckoroński’s domestic panels in the context of other similar collections, see Chapter 1.

10 The earliest publications on cassoni and deschi da parte are by Kinkel 1876, pp. 368–401 and Müntz 1894. See also La fortuna dei primitivi 2014.

11 Lanckoroński 1891, p. 90 (German version); Lanckoroński 1893, pp. 61–2 (Polish version).


13 Notes 1 and 2 above.

14 See Bibliography.


16 Altieri, Li nuptiali, p. 73. See also the reprint of this edition published in 1995. For recent studies concerning depictions of the abduction of the Sabine women on cassoni, see Musacchio 1998, pp. 66–82; Baskins 1998a, pp. 103–27.

PART I: THE COLLECTOR AND THE ARTISTIC GENRE

With Robert Browning I could say:
“Open my heart and you will see
Grav’d inside of it, Italy.”

Karol Lanckoroński
Chapter 1

KAROL LANCKOROŃSKI AND HIS ART COLLECTION

Who am I to the world? I have been neither minister, artist, nor professor. Or perhaps I have been a little of each? But who have I really been? A dilettante, an art collector, no more… Perhaps just a certain rich man with a high social status, who loved the ancient poets and lived in the company of works of art.

Karol Lanckoroński [in] Ernst 1933, p. 2

The Lanckorońskis – from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment

Count Karol Lanckoroński (1848–1933), son of Kazimierz Lanckoroński and Leonia—née Potocka—was born and educated in Vienna.1 He descended from a noble family which played a major role in Polish political and cultural history for at least seven hundred years. The earliest known family record dates back to 12172 and in the following centuries family members included hetmans, senators—of which there were as many as sixteen in the course of the family’s history—as well as civil servants who worked in the highest echelons of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.3 Many of them earned a reputation as great patriots and patrons of culture and learning. They also supported the Jagiellonian University in Kraków at the turn of the fourteenth century; the University’s oldest preserved sceptre, dating from 1400, includes the Zadora coat of arms, which was that used by Zbigniew of Brzezie, the then Crown Marshal of the Polish Kingdom and Marshal of the Royal Court.4 His signature can also be found on King Władysław Jagiełło’s document of contributors dated 1403; Queen Jadwiga had re-established the university three years’ earlier. In 1410, Zbigniew of Brzezie, who fought in the wars against the Teutonic Knights, was given the town of Lanckorona, near Kraków, together with a castle and extensive estates, as a gift from the monarch. It is from these lands that the family took its surname. In the seventeenth century, the Field Crown Hetman, Stanisław Lanckoroński (d. 1657), and the starost of Stopnica, Franciszek Lanckoroński (1645–1715) who participated in 1683 in the Succour of Vienna—in which he was seriously wounded—both won renown in the battles against the Tartars and the Turks.5

The Lanckorońskis also supported the fine arts and architecture. In the years 1502–1504 Zbigniew’s great grandson, Mikołaj, endowed the famous polyptych depicting the life of St. John the Almoner for St. Catherine’s Church in Kraków, now in the National Museum.6 Other members of the family also commissioned altarpieces and contributed to the erection of a number of churches in southern Poland, including in Wodzislaw, Biecz, and Krosno. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they built castles and palaces in Jącielnica, Kurozwęki, and Dębno.

In the eighteenth century and at the turn of the next century, the most distinguished members of the family were Maciej Lanckoroński (1723–1789) and his son Antoni (1761–1830), Karol’s grandfather. Maciej began his military career in the French army (in 1743) and continued it in the Polish cavalry (in 1752). In 1761 he became the Castellan of Kiev, nine years later the Voivode of Bracław [now Bratslav,