

The Paintings of the Radziwiłł Family Report on Research Regarding the Królikarnia Collection

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ABSTRACT

The article focuses on the collection of paintings assembled by Michał Hieronim Radziwiłł (1744–1831) and his wife Helena, née Przeździecka (1753–1821). It presents the results of research regarding the works of art exhibited in 1835 in the Radziwiłł family's Królikarnia villa near Warsaw. Among them were works by minor artists, such as Roelant Savery or Frans Hulst, as well as pieces by well-known painters, such as David Teniers, Frans Snijders, Jacob van Ruisdael, Luca Giordano and Jan Wijnants. The article discusses hypotheses concerning works previously attributed to Rembrandt van Rijn and Gabriël Metsu, but now recognized as works by other painters. It also outlines the turbulent fate of the collection, a large portion of which is now believed to have been sold to the Englishman John C. Wombwell in the mid-nineteenth century.

KEYWORDS

Michał Hieronim Radziwiłł, Helena Radziwiłł, née Przeździecka, painting collection, art collecting in Polish territory, Królikarnia, John Calvert Wombwell

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Several years ago, freshly after completing my MA in art history, I made a short yet intense foray into teaching, which culminated in a single class on art collecting. The starting point for the discussion was an essay by Jan Białostocki and Michał Walicki, published as the introduction to the monumental album titled *European Painting in Polish Collections*.² There were no signs of the drama that was to come: nearly all of the students had read the assigned text and spent the first half of the class conscientiously discussing the arguments presented therein. However, about half an hour in, the exchange turned into a bitter argument. Several people claimed that, in its final pages, the essay devolved into a Marxist lampoon. The authors – as I and other participants of the class were told – were ruthlessly attacking private collectors, infringing on the sacred right of ownership, and even building ideological foundations for the Communist policy of targetting landed gentry. They allegedly did so in a manner that was as excessive as it was perfidious; before moving on to discussing artworks lost by Polish museums following the Second World War, Białostocki and Walicki presented another ‘list of losses’,³ which comprised paintings that used to belong to Polish aristocrats, but had been sold off in the latter half of the nineteenth century, shortly before the Great War, or in the Interwar period. Most of these transactions were made abroad. To Białostocki and Walicki’s vexation, most of the items intended for

sale had not been previously offered for purchase to museums in Polish territory.

I distinctly remember that the situation put me out of countenance. Perplexed and agitated, I tried to defend Walicki by mentioning his biography (he had been imprisoned in the Stalinist period, which made it difficult to perceive him as an instrument of the Communist party), and Białostocki by invoking the ethos of a museum professional (as prioritizing the interests of the audience is inscribed into the very nature of the profession). The group, however, was unanimous in their opposition to these arguments, claiming that the collections in question were privately owned, so the owners could do with them as they pleased, and that the presented list of masterpieces sold in foreign countries was very short: *The Polish Rider*, a Hals or two – simply put, they argued that Walicki and Białostocki’s complaints were exaggerated, and that the phenomenon in question was limited in scope.

The text I now present is intended as a belated voice in the discussion I held several years ago. The underlying question pertains to the quality of the art collections that left the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the nineteenth century. The first scholars to mention this issue were Walicki and Białostocki. It was then tackled by Tomasz de Rosset, who identified further works of art sold by Polish aristocrats.⁴ Following in the footsteps of the Toruń-based researcher, I focus on the



fig. 1 Marcello Bacciarelli, *Portrait of Helena Radziwiłł*, c.1785–1790, The Royal Łazienki Museum
photo Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie



fig. 2 Anton Graff, *Portrait of Michał Hieronim Radziwiłł*, 1785, Museum in Nieborów and Arkadia – division of the National Museum in Warsaw
photo Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie

painting collection amassed by Michał Hieronim Radziwiłł (1744–1831) and his wife Helena, née Przeździecka (1753–1821) (figs 1–2). The collection was kept in their palace in Warsaw, in Nieborów and in the Królikarnia villa (fig. 3). Most of the art was sold off by their grandson Zygmunt Radziwiłł (1822–1892) at auctions held in the Parisian Hôtel Drouot in 1865–1866.⁵

Why the Radziwiłł Family?

The choice of topic was determined by several factors, the most important of which was the state of research. Thus far, the collection of the Radziwiłł family has not been given much scholarly attention. The history of several items the Radziwiłłs obtained from the heirs of King Stanisław August was briefly outlined by Tadeusz Mańkowski.⁶ Some interest in the collection was also shown by Michał Walicki, who speculated that Rembrandt's *Lucretia* from the Minneapolis Institute of Art (fig. 4) might have been

part of the collection at Królikarnia.⁷ More information on the collection was provided by the curators of the palace in Nieborów: Jan Wegner and Włodzimierz Piwkowski, who focused on the remnants of the collection that were still housed in the edifice under their management.⁸ Several paintings have also been investigated by Western scholars, yet their findings are not always entirely convincing,⁹ or remain unknown in Poland.¹⁰ The true milestone for research regarding the Radziwiłł collection did not come until 1999, when de Rosset published his comprehensive text on the artworks sold in Paris. He discussed the phenomenon in detail and identified a number of formerly Radziwiłł-owned paintings held in Western museums or private collections.¹¹ His research was then followed by Iwona Danielewicz¹² and Władysław Maximowicz, who discovered one of the paintings in Moscow and several others in museums of post-Soviet countries and in Western auctions.¹³ The list was significantly expanded by Dorota



fig. 3 Jan Bułhak, *The Królikarnia Villa*, 1920 (print: c.1930), The National Library of Poland photo Biblioteka Narodowa

Juszczak, who hunted for works repurchased by the Radziwiłł family from the estate of Stanisław August.¹⁴ At around the same time, I took up the subject myself and published some minor findings in 2018.¹⁵ They contained a rather significant mistake: when discussing *The Village Doctor* by David Teniers, which passed from the Radziwiłł collection to Ksawery Branicki, I repeated the statement then circulating in relevant literature that the painting had perished in a fire in 1944; in reality, it is now part of a private collection in Belgium (fig. 5).¹⁶ That same year, I managed to investigate matters concerning the works by Jean-Pierre Norblin de la Gourdain that were part of the collection in Nieborów.¹⁷

The second reason for recommencing research on the Radziwiłł collection concerns the set of sources associated with it, which is surprisingly – even intimidatingly – extensive. In 1831, Antoni Blank (1785–1844), a painter and professor at the University of Warsaw, drafted three inventories of paintings held in the palace

in Nieborów, the Królikarnia villa and in an unspecified residence in Warsaw, most likely the palace on Przechodnia St.¹⁸ Presumably intended for sale, some of the works from Nieborów and the Warsaw palace on Przechodnia St were moved to Królikarnia in 1834¹⁹ and made available to the public in August.²⁰ In the aftermath of these rearrangements, Blank compiled another list that appeared in print in 1835.²¹ As noted above, thirty years later Zygmunt Radziwiłł tried to dispose of the collection in Paris. In preparation for that project, more inventories were drawn up: a single handwritten one in Polish and as many as four catalogues published in French.²² In addition to these nine extensive lists, there is also a number of shorter documents.²³

The third argument also concerns the issue of sources. This time, however, it is about the lack of documentation pertaining to the growth of the Radziwiłł collection.²⁴ When trying to answer the question of how members of that family acquired their paintings, one must resort to using substitute materials: to tracking down

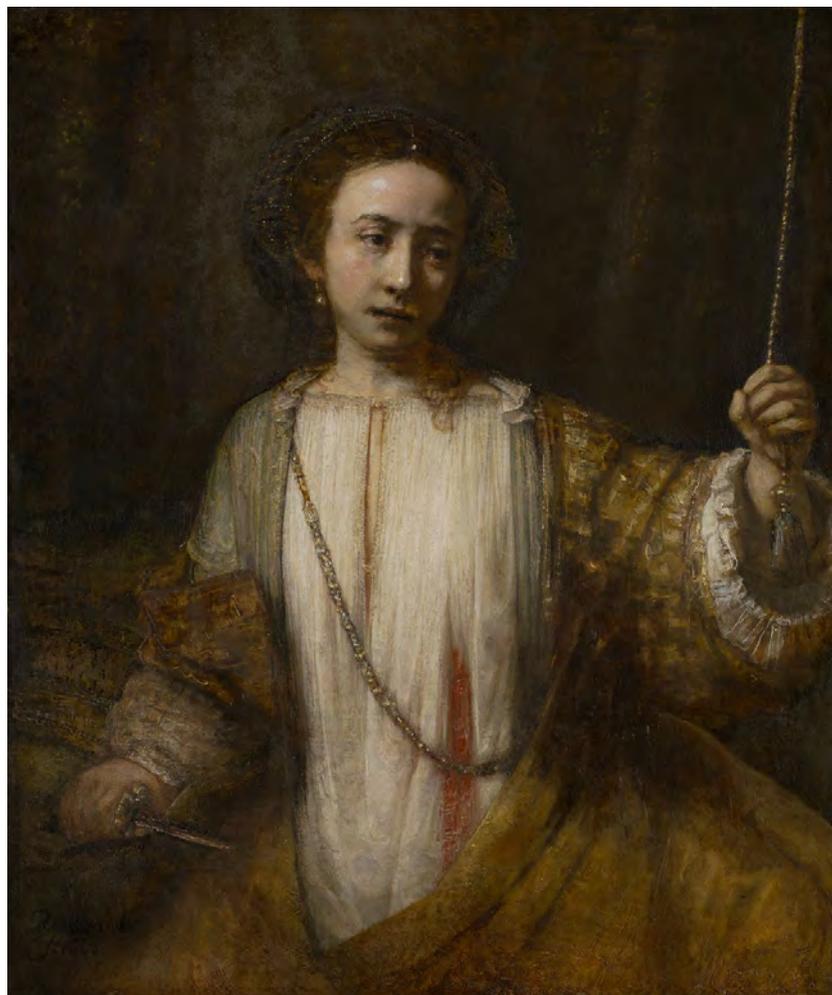


fig. 4 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Lucretia*, 1666,
The Minneapolis Institute of Art
photo public domain

scattered works of art to see whether other researchers – who are often unaware of what was happening to certain paintings in the nineteenth century – have determined anything regarding their earlier history.

Methodology

My work was divided into three stages. The first involved preparing the 'raw material' for a catalogue, that is, gathering into a single file all data on the Radziwiłł-owned paintings mentioned in the nine inventories. Tedious as it was, this step was unavoidable, since the inventories do not always contain the same information. The estimated value of the paintings was only included in the 1831 catalogues. Not all documents specify the dimensions of the works, and one of them contains some inaccuracies.²⁵ The most detailed descriptions of many of the paintings are found in Blank's printed catalogue from 1835. Lastly, the

inventories present different views on attribution. Between 1831 and 1835 even Blank himself changed his mind regarding the authorship of about 30 paintings. Parisian experts made further corrections and spotted several signatures that had been overlooked by the Pole.²⁶

By reorganizing all the inventory data, one is able not only to identify differences in expert opinions, but also to notice the dangers of only using a single 'final' version (the role of which would naturally fall to the printed catalogue from 1835). Comparing the inventories made in 1831 and 1835 proves particularly enlightening, as it reveals that the published catalogue contains printing errors, some of which concern information that is crucial for 'detective work', such as dimensions.²⁷

The search could only begin at the next stage. The first step was to establish the identity of the painters (Blank often provided only surnames or misspelled names).²⁸ Research



fig. 5 David Teniers and workshop, *The Village Doctor*, after 1636, private collection, Belgium photo Zamek Królewski na Wawelu – Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki

was then conducted on the basis of specialist literature, most notably *catalogues raisonnés* and monographs on specific artists, as well as digital databases. Due to the vast amount of material (the 1835 catalogue contains 573 entries), it was necessary to narrow down the scope and, consequently, to select criteria to this end. I thus decided to focus on works that were kept at Królikarnia in 1835 (401 entries), leaving the Nieborów collection to study at a later date. I then reduced the set even further by eliminating items held at the National Museum in Warsaw or in Nieborów, or previously identified by de Rosset, Juszczyk or myself.²⁹ I also chose not to include wartime losses. The next step involved choosing items which had a hope of being found, owing to a detailed description, unusual details or a high estimated value. I ultimately ended up working with 300 entries.

A Gallery of Duplicates

As could have been expected, in most cases the search yielded no results, and in many others, it was only partially successful. Comparing inventory entries and the extant artistic material was usually enough to determine only the general characteristics of the type of item owned by the Radziwiłłs. For instance, the highly detailed

description of the composition in David Teniers' *Sleeping Cook* (Blank's catalogue, item 260) allows one to conclude that the painting was a version of a work now held in a private collection, known from numerous copies and pastiches.³⁰ Blank's appraisal and the actual price the item fetched at auction in Paris suggest that it must have been of mediocre artistic quality. By a similar token, it might be assumed that *The Martyrdom of St Stephen*, attributed to Annibale Carracci (item 24), was a copy of the painting known in several versions (i.a., at the Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 203). Once again, the hypothesis is corroborated by the low price estimate provided by Blank. Similar evidence allows one to speculate that the Radziwiłłs owned copies or replicas of such paintings as: *The Marriage Feast at Cana* by Sebastian Ricci (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, inv. no. 59-2), *The Rape of Europa* by Nicolaas Verkolje (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-4967), *Young Shepherd Holding a Dandelion* and *Simplicity* by Jean-Baptiste Greuze (Petit Palais, Paris, inv. no. PDUT1192; Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, inv. no. AP 1985.03), Correggio's *Pietà* (Museo Civico, Museo Il Correggio, Correggio), and *Madonna and Child with a Peach* by Pompeo Batoni (Galeria Borghese, Rome, inv. no. 542) – labelled in Blank's catalogue as items no. 163, 189, 257–258, 284 and 349, respectively.

In some cases, however, the descriptions cannot be matched to any extant works and reveal errors in Blank's reasoning. For instance, he misidentified the subject of the two works by Francesco Albani from the Radziwiłł collection, allegedly depicting Venus emerging from her bath and Venus with a lover (items 52 and 53), a fact that becomes apparent when these are juxtaposed with known paintings by that artist. While Albani did indeed paint scenes with a woman spying on and then attempting to kiss a beautiful young man, they were supposed to depict not the goddess of beauty, but the nymph Salmacis. The youth, in turn, was Hermaphroditus (fig. 6).³¹

Another type of non-binding research result is obtained in situations when one is able to hypothesize something about the work under analysis, yet still cannot identify it. This is clearly apparent in the case of *The Temptation of St Anthony* by David Teniers, the first item in the

1835 inventory. The description and the dimensions of the work both suggest that it should be identified as the painting held at the Hermitage (inv. no. 3780). However, this claim is immediately contradicted by the history of the item: it comes from the collection of Stanisław August and was owned by Aleksander Biezbordko in the nineteenth century.³² Thus, the Teniers of the Radziwiłł family cannot be the one from St Petersburg. I believe the work may not have been a Teniers at all; it has been established that in 1790 the king commissioned Friedrich Lohrmann to make a copy of the painting.³³ The piece that later found its way to the Królikarnia villa is very likely to have been that repetition.

Sometimes the trail goes cold at an advanced stage of the research. This was the case with *The Herring Seller* by Gerrit Dou (item 212). Detailed descriptions make it possible to identify it as a replica or copy of the composition

fig. 6 School of Francesco Albani, *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*, 2nd third 17th c., private collection photo Christie's



kept at the Leiden Collection in New York (inv. no. GD-106). Of over twenty versions of that painting, the one that roughly matches the Radziwiłł-owned item in terms of provenance and dimensions is a version from a 'well-known Warsaw collection' which has, unfortunately, dropped off the radar of art historians.³⁴ Similar difficulties were encountered when investigating two works by Lancret: *Summer* and *Autumn* from the 'Four Seasons' series (items 84, 177). Since the remaining two paintings belonging to the same series (*Spring* and *Winter*) were successfully located and identified as authentic,³⁵ the stakes are very high. Theoretically, the chances of finding the works seem rather good, as the available data includes not only detailed descriptions by Blank, the dimensions, and a piece of information regarding their unusual support (copper plate), but also graphic representations of the paintings.³⁶ Nevertheless, no trace of the works has been discovered.

'Commonsense' Conclusions

The more reliable identifications constitute a smaller group, and the rate of success depends on two factors: the economic value of the painting (precious works of art are rarely lost) and unusual iconography. Dimensions, in turn, prove to be a problematic variable. When the 'raw' catalogue material was compiled, it became clear that Blank often provided erroneous dimensions. Most discrepancies are small, probably resulting from the painting being measured inside its frame, or simply a movement of the hand. For instance, item 171 – *The Shipwreck* by Vernet – measured 57.6 × 70.8 cm according to Blank,³⁷ whereas the painting that corresponds to this entry, kept at the palace in Nieborów, is in fact about 2–3 cm longer on each side (inv. no. NB 133 MNW). Item 275 – a copy of Peter Paul Rubens's *Queen Tomyris* by Jacob Andries Beschey – was listed by Blank as measuring 37.3 × 52.8 cm; the work, now part of a private collection, is actually approximately 2.4 cm taller and 6.7 cm wider. The larger the painting, the greater the errors tend to be. For example, item 385 – a copy of Vernet's *Seaport by Moonlight* – ought to measure 105.6 × 156 cm according to the inventory, while the extant work (NMW, inv. no. 120889 MNW) is 10 cm



fig. 7 Paulus Lesire, *An Old Man*, c.1630–1640, Kunstmuseum, Basel
photo Kunstmuseum, Basel

taller and 12 cm longer. What this proves is that, when comparing Blank's dimensions with those of possible matches for the Radziwiłł paintings, some margin of inaccuracy must be tolerated.

In several cases, the works under analysis may be identified even without that caveat. An excellent example is item 193 – *Portrait of an Old Man*, which Blank attributed to Rembrandt, and which Parisian art dealers regarded as the work of Ferdinand Bol. The Polish inventories specify that the composition depicted a man in a dark robe and purple cap holding a rolled-up parchment. In Paris it was added that the elderly man had the appearance of a scholar, and that his cap was made of cloth and bore the Greek inscription 'Φίλως'. This description allows us to identify the work as the *tronie* painted by Paulus Lesire (but bearing the false

signature of Bol) now kept at the Kunstmuseum in Basel (inv. no. 1147) (fig. 7). It has the right dimensions and support (panel, 28.5 × 22.5 cm; Blank's inventory stated 27.6 × 21.6 cm), and its provenance features a gap that also seems to match: the small painting was first mentioned in 1896, when it was sold at Heinrich Lempertz's auction house in Cologne. It had previously belonged to Alexis Schönlank of Berlin.³⁸ As an aside, it may be noted that before making its way to Poland, the painting was most likely part of a pair, which sheds some light on the unusual inscription on the subject's cap. Its pendant depicted an elderly woman, which suggests that the word 'Φίλως' meant not 'philosopher' but 'friend' or 'beloved'.³⁹

Similar premises allow us to identify item 104 – *Cow Licking a Goat*. Blank initially associated the small painting with the German school, and later with Roelant Savery. Despite his low estimation of its value – only 30 zlotys – Blank

provided a very detailed description of the composition. The work depicted a barn 'at the front of which there lie two goats and a kid, behind them a cow licks a goat, further away there is cattle by a trough; farmhands and maids bustle about the place; as for the rest, carts, horses, hens, a cat and a dog enliven the scene'. The 1831 inventory and the 1835 catalogue provide different dimensions for the work – 8 and 6 inches respectively, most likely due to a printing error. In this case, the discrepancy is particularly significant, since there is one extant work by Savery that measures 21 cm in diameter, i.e., a size similar to the eight new Polish inches specified in the inventory (19.2 cm) (fig. 8).⁴⁰ It closely matches Blank's description, except the part about the 'kid', which rather resembles a lamb in the painting. The provenance of the painting can only be traced back to 1930, when it was sold at Pieter de Boer's gallery in Amsterdam. The lack of any information regarding its whereabouts in

fig. 8 Roelant Savery, *Barn Scene (Cow Licking a Goat)*, c.1615, private collection
photo Venduehuis der Notarissen





fig. 9 Quiringh Gerritsz.
van Brekelenkam, *Interior
with a Gentleman Pulling On
His Boots, Attended by a Page*,
1663, private collection
photo courtesy of Sotheby's

the nineteenth century invites speculation about possible connections with Paris or Poland.

Another work that the search for yielded interesting results is item 167. Valued at 1,000 złotys, it is a painting first identified as a Caspar Netscher and then as a 'Brachligkemp'. This unusual attribution suggests that Blank managed to spot a signature on the obverse, or an inscription on the reverse or on the frame, yet was unable to decipher it correctly. The most likely match is Quiringh Gerritsz. van Brekelenkam, one of the Leiden *fijnschilders*. According to the description in the 1831 inventory, the painting depicted a domestic scene, in which 'a man is sitting on a chair in a room, putting on his shoes, behind him stands a richly dressed boy, with an old-fashioned bed further in, and various objects cluttering the middle of the room'. The 1835 catalogue, however, describes the scene a little

differently: 'A man sitting on a chair is putting on his shoes; it is apparent from the features of his face that he must be a hypochondriac; he has thrown aside his slippers and other items as well, and a boy stands fearfully behind his chair; an ancient bed and a covered table constitute the furnishings'. Both texts suggest that the work may be identified as a painting from a private collection, most recently listed at a Sotheby's auction in June 2020 (fig. 9).⁴¹ The dimensions are slightly different: Blank specified 64.8 × 46.8 cm, while the mentioned painting measures 70.5 × 53.5 cm, yet the discrepancy may (at least partially) be explained by the fact that Blank would have measured the painting within its frame. The hypothesis is also supported by the fact that the provenance of the work from Sotheby's may only be traced back to May 1892, when it appeared at an auction at Lepke's in Berlin.⁴²



fig. 10 Jan Erasmus Quellinus, *Biblical Scene (Rebecca and Eliezer?)*, 1687, private collection
photo Christie's

A search that has proved more daunting pertains to a large-scale work by Jan Erasmus Quellinus (item 351), surprisingly valued at only 1,000 złotych. Blank had considerable difficulty identifying the subject matter. He initially deemed it to be a depiction of Laban, only to later correct it to 'Jacob and Hagar'. The editors of the Parisian catalogue interpreted the scene as a depiction of Jacob and Rebecca. Interestingly, the individuals dealing with the work never expressed any doubts regarding the identity of the painter, even though Quellinus was a relatively versatile artist with an elusive oeuvre. This indicates that the work was either signed or provided with an inscription.

It is my belief that the work under scrutiny may be identified as a painting now held in a private collection (most recently listed at an auction at Christie's in November 2015) (fig. 10), signed by Quellinus and dated 1687.⁴³ The

dimensions do not match perfectly (the painting measures 142.5 × 223.5 cm, whereas Blank's catalogue states 177.6 × 237 cm), yet one cannot exclude the possibility that the canvas had been cut. Blank's low price estimate could, in turn, be explained by the average artistic quality of the piece. What remains unclear is whether the subject matter matches. The painting in question depicts a group of people gathered outdoors, near a well. A man sitting on camelback extends his arm towards a bearded figure holding a string of pearls. Between them stands a woman with a golden bracelet in her hand; an identical bracelet adorns her wrist. Experts at Christie's recognized the scene as an episode from the story of Jacob, in which he travels with his family to the land of Canaan (Genesis 31:17–54; 32:2–24; 33:1–20). This being said, a drawing by Quellinus depicting the same scene (The Pushkin Museum, Moscow inv. no. 7086)

is labelled differently, as *Jacob's Journey to Sukkot*, during which Jacob offered Esau great numbers of livestock to secure his permission to settle in Canaan (Genesis 32:2–24; 33:1–17). The arrangement of the composition (two men communicating with each other and a woman presented with jewellery), the evening setting and the characteristic motifs (a well, women carrying jugs of water, camels) all indicate that the painting could also be given a different title. The Book of Genesis (24:1–27) recounts a story in which Abraham's trusted servant Eliezer is sent on a quest to find a wife for Isaac. He travels with ten camels. Wishing to give them some water, he approaches a well and meets a woman there. When the lady helps him draw

water for his camels, Eliezer takes 'two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold' (Genesis 24:22). The woman is Laban's sister Rebecca. Perhaps, in order to emphasize Eliezer's high status, Quellinus chose to embellish the scene by introducing the figure of his servant, and had him be the one to take the jewellery out of the chest, thus stirring up some confusion in the minds of experts studying the painting?

Crème de la Crème?

Examples of such identifications are numerous indeed. Due to the constraints of the present text, I shall only present the more important works.⁴⁴ As might be expected, it is Blank's



fig. 11 Paulus Potter, *Departure to the Hunt*, 1652, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin
photo Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie / Jörg P. Anders



fig. 12 Jacob van Ruisdael, *Landscape with a Footbridge*, 1652, The Frick Collection, New York
photo The Frick Collection, public domain

price estimates that shall serve as the guiding criterion.

The most expensive painting in the Radziwiłł collection, a landscape by Paulus Potter, has already been identified – it now adorns the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin (fig. 11).⁴⁵ Another pricey landscape, a Jacob van Ruisdael valued at 12,000 złotych, was the focus of an article I wrote several years ago, arguing that it was another version of *Landscape with a Footbridge* held at the Frick Collection in New York (fig. 12).⁴⁶ Differences in the dimensions prompted me to approach the matter with caution, as did the findings of other, more experienced researchers who wrote about the provenance of the American painting.⁴⁷ In retrospect, however, I believe that the Radziwiłł family owned not a replica of the painting from the Frick collection, but that very work itself. The difference in dimensions is within the margin of error; the painting from New York measures 98.4 × 159 cm, whereas Blank's catalogue states approximately 91 × 146 cm. As far as the provenance of the painting is concerned, it should

be noted that researchers of Ruisdael's oeuvre seem to have overlooked the fact that a work matching the description of both the paintings under scrutiny appeared at a Paris auction presenting the collection of Jean Dubois, who was a jeweller and an art dealer. The auction was held on 18 December 1788, that is, at the time when Michał Hieronim Radziwiłł was staying in Paris.⁴⁸ The painting was presented as a collaboration between Ruisdael and Wouwerman, and purchased by a Mr Sanetus for the sum of 6,000 livres. It is entirely conceivable that Sanetus resold the painting to Radziwiłł shortly thereafter, especially since there are two more works he purchased at that same auction that could hypothetically be linked to items from the Radziwiłł collection.⁴⁹ Furthermore, it has been established that in 1854 the painting from the Frick collection was in London, in the hands of John Calvert Wombwell,⁵⁰ a person known to have purchased items from the Radziwiłł family a short time prior. Literature only mentions the fact that Wombwell was in possession of Rembrandt's *Lucretia* from the Radziwiłł collection,⁵¹



fig. 13 School of Rembrandt, *The Entombment of Christ*, 1639,
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam
photo Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

yet – as I am about to demonstrate – his purchases were much grander in scale.

One of the most valuable works displayed at Królikarnia was Rembrandt's *Entombment of Christ* (item 26). Blank priced it at 12,000 złotys and described it in much detail. That description allowed Walicki to hypothesize that the painting was a replica or copy of the Rembrandt residing at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (inv. no. 396).⁵² His theory may be expanded upon: the work in question is most likely the version from Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam (inv. no. 2513) (fig. 13).⁵³

It is the only one whose format is larger than Rembrandt's original (93 × 69 cm) and fits the dimensions of the Radziwiłł-owned painting. The version from Rotterdam measures 144 × 128 cm, whereas the work we seek to identify was 132 × 120 cm (the difference could be explained by Blank measuring the canvas inside the frame). This theory is not contradicted by what is known about the provenance of the painting. The work was purchased in Paris in 1866 by the Marquis de Gramont. The only details we know about the painting from Rotterdam is that, in the twentieth century, it belonged



fig. 14 Workshop of Rembrandt (Ferdinand Bol?), *The Angel Raphael Leaves Tobias and His Family*, after 1637, Nathan Saban Collection, Israel photo Christie's

to Daniël George van Beuningen (1877–1955). The only question that remains unanswered is how to reconcile Blank's high price estimate with the relatively average artistic quality of the Rotterdam work. Perhaps Blank, who had received his education in Dresden, remembered the version of the painting he saw there (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, inv. no. 1145), which was then considered a replica (it bears a false signature of Rembrandt's), and is now believed

to be a copy. It was painted in a lackluster, even primitive fashion, which Blank may have taken as the natural style of the master from Leiden and Amsterdam.

A similar problem arises in the case of another 'Rembrandt' from the Radziwiłł collection (item 242 in the Królikarnia catalogue): a medium-sized work priced at 2,000 złotys. It ceased to be a part of the collection before the Parisian sales, which makes it even more interesting. In 1854,

the painting in question was already owned by the aforementioned Wombwell.⁵⁴

In the handwritten inventory from 1831, Blank identifies the scene as 'Gabriel's annunciation to Mary in the presence of her parents', an interpretation he does not uphold in the later catalogue. The description draws attention to the figure of a kneeling elder, and identifies the other people as members of his family, thereby effectively turning him into the protagonist of the annunciation. In the context of the iconography of works by Rembrandt's circle, this kind of composition (a kneeling man, an angel, the man's family) ought to be regarded as consistent with a depiction of the archangel Raphael leaving the family of Tobit and Tobias (Tobit 12:1–21).

There are two versions of that work which fit the dimensions specified by Blank, 68.4 × 55 cm.⁵⁵ The first is the 'Stockholm version', measuring 64 × 54 cm, which copies Rembrandt's composition from 1637, now

kept at the Louvre (inv. no. 1736, 66 × 52 cm). The date and place of this version's creation remain unknown. Its later history is also shrouded in mystery – the item was last listed in 1998, when it was sold at Bukowskis.⁵⁶

The other possible candidate is the 'London version' (66 × 49.5 cm; currently in a private collection in Israel) (fig. 14). It was executed shortly after 1637, by one of Rembrandt's students, possibly Ferdinand Bol.⁵⁷ The work introduces certain alterations to the composition. The artist turned the angel's face towards the viewer, remodelled the clouds and added plants to the bottom right corner.⁵⁸ The provenance of the painting can only be traced back to 7 May 1904, when it appeared at an auction of the collection owned by George Douglas Clerk of Penicuik, held at Christie's in London, but found no buyer.⁵⁹

So, which of the works was owned by the Radziwiłł family, and later by Wombwell: the decent copy or the very fine workshop painting?



fig. 15 Jan Wijnants,
*Landscape
with Bathing
Peasants*, 1675,
The Louvre, Paris
© Musées de
Poitiers / Ch. Vignaud



fig. 16 David Teniers, *Landscape with Country Houses*, 1640–1645, The Louvre, Paris
© Grand Palais RMN / Tony Querrec

The question remains unanswered. However, regardless of which painting we choose, the aforementioned detail about its connection to Wombwell allows the research to proceed in another direction. The Englishman's collection included a work by Jan Wijnants that in terms of subject and dimensions corresponds to a painting once kept at Królikarnia. The painting in question was item 308 – a landscape valued at 6,600 złotys – which may be identified as a work in the Louvre (inv. no. MNR 974), currently on loan at the Musée Sainte-Croix in Poitiers (inv. no. D2006.2.1) (fig. 15),⁶⁰ which once belonged to Wombwell's collection.⁶¹ Blank's description matches the work, as does the 1675 dating. The hypothesis is further corroborated by the fact that the painting is signed, and even though Blank was unable to decipher the name of the author, he transcribed it as 'Jawinanis', which suggests that he may have simply misread the signature. The discrepancy in dimensions is well within the margin of 'undermeasuring', as was typical for Blank (the painting in the Louvre measures 142 × 148 cm, whereas the Radziwiłł piece was 133.2 × 135.6 cm).

The name Wombwell also shows up in connection with the search for one of the Tenierses from the Radziwiłł collection. The work in question is item 21 – a landscape with country houses valued at 3,600 złotys. Blank described it as follows: 'country houses; a variety of vegetables set out in front of one; three women are busy arranging them; nearby, a man is conversing with them and pointing to a cart next to which lie gourds and cabbages; a church is visible in the distance, behind some trees'. The description is consistent with the information in a note pertaining to the painting from Wombwell's collection, and with the composition of the piece acquired by the Louvre in 1892 (inv. no. RF711) (fig. 16).⁶² The dimensions differ slightly from those given by Blank (the painting measures 86 × 125 cm, whereas Blank states 80.4 × 113 cm), yet once again this is a typical discrepancy. The fact that we know of no other repetitions of that painting suggests this may be one and the same work.

Interesting discoveries were also made during the search for another valuable work: item 229, attributed to Gabriël Metsu and valued at 6,000 złotys. It turned out that the painting had already been found. Shortly after the



fig. 17 Unknown artist active in Delft, *The Terrace*, c.1660, The Art Institute of Chicago photo public domain

work was sold in Paris in 1866, its attribution was changed; it was subsequently associated with Carel Fabritius and Pieter de Hooch, with Thoré-Bürger even entertaining the possibility that it was a Vermeer. Due to these changes, the painting disappeared from the radar of Polish historians still searching for a 'Metsu'. It is now considered to be the work of an unidentified painter active in Delft and is part of the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago (inv. no. 1948.81) (fig. 17). When discussing the painting's connection to Królikarnia, art historians usually quote the writings of Thoré-Bürger.⁶³ It should be added that the identification is not called into question by the difference in dimensions (the

painting measures 106.9 × 87.4 cm, whereas Blank stated 100.8 × 81 cm), since it is within the margin of discrepancy typical of Blank.

What still eludes researchers are the circumstances surrounding the work's acquisition by the Radziwiłł family. As has been established, before 1683 the painting was owned by Aernout Eelbrecht of Leiden. Before 1800 it passed through the hands of the Amsterdam dealer Pierre Fouquet and by 1802 was likely already in the storehouse of Louis-François Metra or his son in Berlin. In 1803 it was exhibited in the shop of the Arts Office at 34 Unter den Linden, and advertised in a lavish illustrated brochure,⁶⁴ whose appearance suggests it was meant for



fig. 18 Frans Snijders, *Cook in the Storage Room Holding a Basket with Fruit*, c.1630, Musée de Picardie, Amiens
photo Musée de Picardie, Amiens

particularly wealthy collectors. It would be difficult to speculate whether Michał Hieronim and Helena Radziwiłł purchased the painting in Berlin or were assisted by an intermediary (e.g., their son Antoni). It should, however, be remembered that Metra, who was the consigner, had dealt with Polish collectors before: in 1772 he sent several paintings to the Warsaw address of the banker Piotr Blank.⁶⁵

In order not to test the reader's patience, I shall only discuss one more valuable artwork, namely item 380 – a depiction of a cook and a still life composition featuring dead game, attributed to Frans Snijders. The painting had belonged to the collections of Jacques Trieble and King Stanisław August, from which it was purchased by Michał Hieronim Radziwiłł in 1807 for about 1,260 złotys.⁶⁶ Blank estimated the value of the painting to be 2,300 złotys. Based on its detailed descriptions and dimensions, the work may be identified as a painting held today at the Musée de Picardie in Amiens (inv. no. 107) (fig. 18).⁶⁷ The hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that one copy of the Radziwiłłs' auction catalogue from

1866 bears an inscription in pencil with the name 'Lava[...]' next to that item, and the painting kept in Amiens used to belong to the brothers Olympe and Ernest Lavalard (the latter bequeathed it to the museum in 1894).⁶⁸

As far as valuable Italian artworks are concerned, the research yielded no spectacular results. Only one of the highly appraised works has been found: item 357 – *The Abduction of Helen* attributed to Luca Giordano and valued at 1,800 złotys. Although Blank's description is very laconic, there are not many extant works by Giordano whose subject and format correspond to the specifications of the Radziwiłł painting. Its unusually elongated rectangular format allows us to connect the work in question with a painting from the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Caen (inv. no. 63.6.1) (fig. 19). The dimensions of the two differ slightly: the Caen painting measures 139 × 249 cm, whereas Blank's measurement reads 136.8 × 240 cm. The identification seems further substantiated by a gap in the painting's known provenance. The Radziwiłł piece was sold in Paris in 1866.

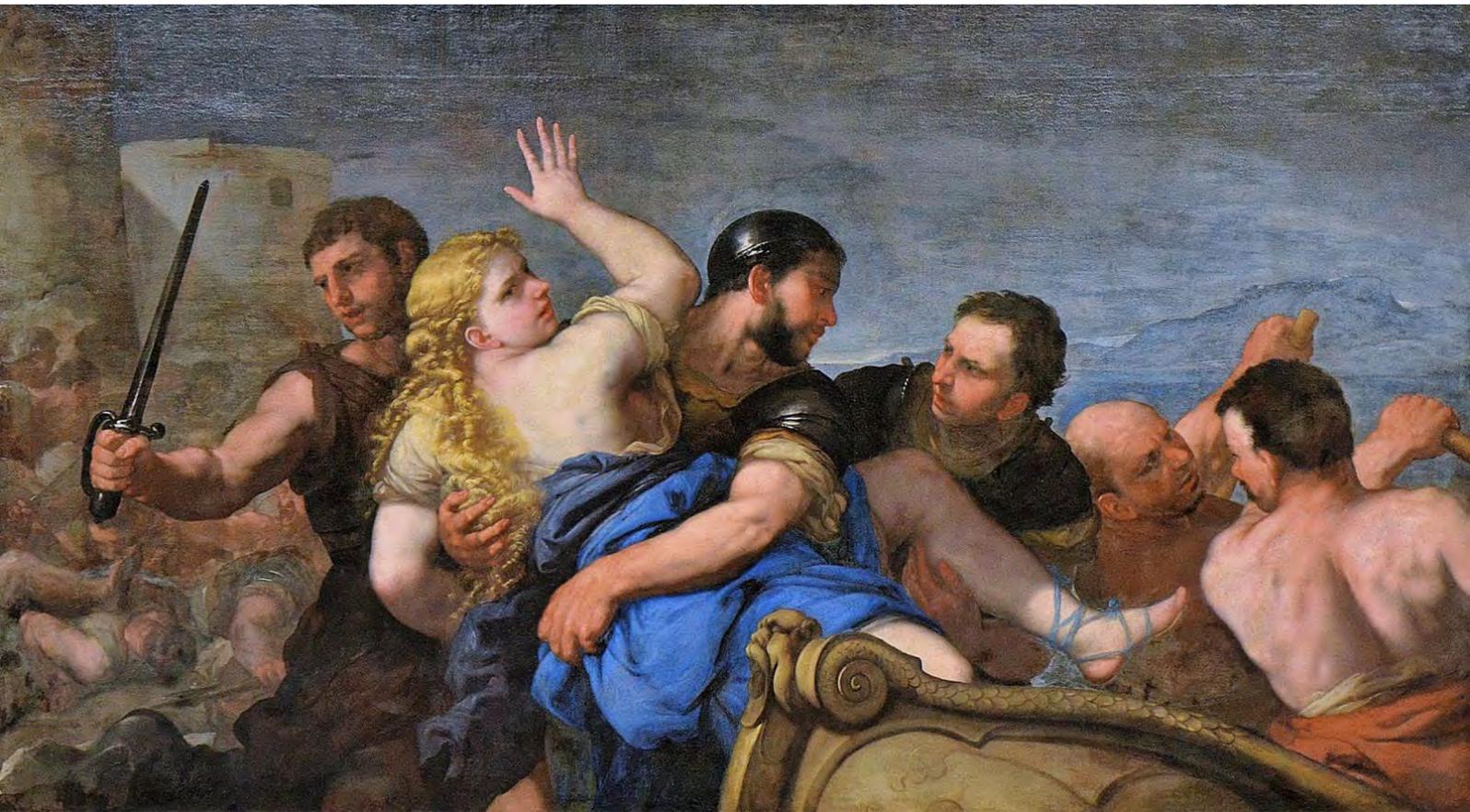


fig. 19 Luca Giordano, *The Abduction of Helen*, c.1680–1683, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen
photo Marc Jeanneteau

The first mention of the Caen painting comes from 1963, when it was listed for sale at Galerie Marcus in Paris.⁶⁹

Conclusion

The findings presented above invite conclusions in three main aspects. The first pertains to how useful these identifications might be for research on the history of the collection. As demonstrated, they shed very little light on the issue of how the collection came to be. Only the identification of the ‘Gabriël Metsu’ helped explain some of the earlier history of the painting.⁷⁰ This eloquently captures the difficulties scholars face given the lack of manuscript sources (correspondence, accounts, diaries) pertaining to purchases made by collectors. These may theoretically be replaced by substitute materials; in practice, however, the matter proves more complicated, and even having expended considerable effort the researcher may only arrive at a trivial set of findings, like, for

instance, the discovery that the Radziwiłł-owned painting entitled *Cow Licking a Goat* had not a kid but a lamb in the foreground.

What came as a pleasant surprise was the fact that research aimed at determining the origins of the collection led to new information on the opposite end, namely the dynamics of how the paintings left Polish territory. As mentioned above, several valuable artworks from the Radziwiłł collection were already with Wombwell in England in 1854. Aside from Rembrandt’s *Lucretia*, mentioned in older literature, the list was expanded to include the scene with the archangel Raphael, formerly attributed to that same painter, *Landscape with Country Houses* by Teniers, *Landscape with a Footbridge* by Ruisdael, *Landscape* by Wijnants, two repetitions of Greuze’s paintings and perhaps also *Landscape* by Potter.⁷¹ One may hope that future research leads to the discovery of materials that would provide more information on the circumstances of the transaction in question and shed some light on Wombwell’s connections to Poland.

The lead is all the more interesting given that the Radziwiłłs were by no means the only family that had dealings with the London art market: in 1839, art from the collection of Stanisław Poniatowski (the king's nephew) was auctioned in that city, and in the mid-nineteenth century the Czartoryski family attempted to sell Raphael's *Portrait of a Young Man* in England.⁷²

The second of the aforementioned aspects concerns the composition of the Radziwiłł collection. Naturally, the identifications presented herein only pertain to a small number of works, yet – in the case of the paintings Blank considered valuable – this fraction may be regarded as representative of the entire collection. As demonstrated above, even among the gems of the collection, very few items would still be considered valuable today. The other famous works, even if they were acquired by museums in the nineteenth and twentieth century, are now tucked away in storage. This is the case, for instance, with *The Entombment of Christ* by 'Rembrandt' and the *Terrace* by 'Gabriël Metsu'. Nevertheless, I do not wish to pass any harsh judgments or suggest that the Radziwiłł gallery was full of mediocre works by great artists. The identified paintings indicate that, while slightly inferior to the collections found in European metropolises at the time, it did not pale in comparison with the collections of Polish magnates or with what made the rounds on the local art market.

Lastly, there is the third issue, the one that so incensed the art history students in my class. The identification of works from the former gallery at Królikarnia prompts us to reconsider the context of their sale. To recapitulate, the 'liquidation' of the collection took over 30 years. The process began, at the latest, in September or October 1833, when unspecified items from the three residences of Michał Hieronim Radziwiłł were auctioned off on Przechodnia St.⁷³ In 1834, the gallery at Królikarnia was opened to the public (and potential buyers). Several more important works were sold to English buyers before 1854. The collection of prints was also gradually liquidated.⁷⁴ In late 1864 or early 1865, Zygmunt Radziwiłł commenced his efforts to auction off over 380 items in Paris; in subsequent years, he sold individual paintings to

'family and friends' (i.a., Leon Radziwiłł, Ksawery Branicki and perhaps also Andrzej Mniszech).⁷⁵

These decisions may be viewed in the light of the deteriorating finances of the family.⁷⁶ This is particularly applicable to the actions of Prince Zygmunt, since he chose to sell the collection wholesale shortly after the death of his mother, who had for many years advocated to keep the Nieborów estate relatively intact. That circumstance may, in fact, have been the reason behind the choice of a foreign auction venue: Paris not only allowed the Radziwiłłs to fantasize about their paintings fetching better prices,⁷⁷ but also to undertake the operation discreetly, away from the prying eyes of critics in Poland.⁷⁸

It should be remembered that, as the Radziwiłł collection shrank, institutional collections in Polish territory became larger and more prominent.⁷⁹ At least since the 1860s, the ethos of the common cause was expressed not only in the form of praise for those who took the adage of *noblesse oblige* to heart, but also criticism of those who were reluctant to embrace it.⁸⁰ In 1866, Lucjan Siemieński vilified 'the regrettable mania of collecting only out of self-love, not for public benefit' and added bitterly: 'I cannot abide that un-civic, un-Polish urge to keep everything to oneself'.⁸¹ The problem of creating collections was crucial for the functioning of many museums, as they struggled with a shortage of exhibits. This point is perfectly illustrated by the activities of Justynian Karnicki, the first director of the Warsaw Museum of Fine Arts. Shortly after taking office, Karnicki travelled as far as Cologne on a mission to purchase a number of paintings.⁸² The auction of the Radziwiłł collection in Paris took place only four of five years after that famous journey. One might therefore be tempted to treat it as the 'antithesis' of the fervent drive to protect heritage that was gripping minds in Poland.

No work to date offers a comprehensive interpretation of the simultaneous disassembly of private collections in foreign countries and the import of individual works of art for Polish museums. Perhaps research aimed at understanding the scale and dynamics of these phenomena and the interrelations between them could yield interesting results. They may provide more insight not only on the history of Polish

museums and connoisseurship, but also on the emotions experienced by art historians (see the complaints of the older generation of researchers cited in the introduction). They might even shed some light on the psychology of contemporary museum professionals, who sometimes

feel regret at having so few Rembrandts under their care, and may be desperately trying to acquire some.

Translated by Julita Mastalerz

NOTES

- ¹ This research was made possible thanks to a stipend from the National Recovery Plan (2024). I am grateful to Dorota Juszcak, Monika Antczak, Dariusz Żyto, Michał Przygoda and Aleksander Musiał for their kind assistance at various stages of the project. Many helpful remarks were also provided by the academic editor of this periodical, Antoni Ziemba.
- ² Jan Białostocki, Michał Walicki, 'Wstęp', in *Malarstwo europejskie w zbiorach polskich* (Warsaw, 1958), pp. 15–50.
- ³ Białostocki, Walicki, 'Wstęp', p. 43.
- ⁴ See Tomasz de Rosset, *Polskie kolekcje i zbiory artystyczne we Francji w latach 1795–1919. Między skarbnicą narodową a galerią sztuki* (Toruń, 2005).
- ⁵ Tomasz de Rosset, 'Vente Zygmunt Radziwiłł (1865–1866): contribution à l'histoire de la galerie de Nieborów', *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, Ann. 40, nos 2–4 (1999), pp. 162–184.
- ⁶ See Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Galeria Stanisława Augusta* (Lviv, 1932).
- ⁷ On the fact that it was not the workshop version from Washington (National Gallery of Art), nearly identical in size (111 × 99 cm) to the original from Minneapolis (111 × 95 cm), see Michał Walicki, 'Rembrandt w Polsce', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, Ann. 18, no. 3 (1956), p. 333.
- ⁸ See Jan Wenger, *Nieborów* (Warsaw, 1954); Włodzimierz Piwkowski, *Nieborów. Mazowiecka rezydencja Radziwiłłów* (Warsaw, 2005).
- ⁹ An excellent example is Cornelis Hofstede de Groot's attempt to associate a painting by Jan van Huysum held at the Princeton University Art Museum (inv. no. L.1991.1.2) with the Radziwiłł collection; Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 10 (Stuttgart, 1928), p. 361, no. 107. Tempting as it is, the theory is most likely erroneous. The van Huysum from the Radziwiłł collection was sold in Paris in 1866, whereas the painting from Princeton was listed at an auction of Johann Moritz Oppenheim's collection, held on 4 June 1864 at Christie's.
- ¹⁰ Georges Wildenstein, *Lancret. Biographie et Catalogue Critiques* (Paris, 1924), p. 72.
- ¹¹ De Rosset, 'Vente Zygmunt Radziwiłł...'. See also Tomasz de Rosset, 'Obrazy wśród brylantów. O losach kilku dzieł z galerii Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego', *Teka Komisji Historii Sztuki*, vol. 9 (2002), pp. 201–214; Tomasz de Rosset, *Kolekcja Andrzeja Mniszcha. Od wołyńskich chrząszczy do obrazów Fransa Halsy* (Toruń, 2003), p. 41.
- ¹² Iwona Danielewicz, *French Paintings from the 16th to 20th Century in the Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw. Complete Illustrated Catalogue Raisonné*, no. 244–245 (Warsaw, 2019), pp. 304–307.
- ¹³ Unfortunately, Maximowicz's findings are yet to be published.
- ¹⁴ Dorota Juszcak, 'Malarski zbiór Stanisława Augusta', Ph.D. dissertation, The Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw (Warsaw, 2020).
- ¹⁵ Konrad Niemira, 'Przyczynek do badań nad kolekcją Radziwiłłów z Nieborowa', *Quart*, no. 4 (2018), pp. 3–21.
- ¹⁶ Until 2016, the painting was on long-term loan at the Wawel Royal Castle State Art Collection. I am very grateful to Joanna Winiewicz-Wolska for her input on the matter.

- ¹⁷ See Konrad Niemira, *Jean-Pierre Norblin de la Gourdain (1745–1830). Catalogue of Paintings* (Warsaw, 2023).
- ¹⁸ See *Inwentarze pałacu w Nieborowie 1694–1939*, eds Izydor Grzeluk, Walerian Warchałowski (Warsaw, 2012). That residence is sometimes confused with the palace on Miodowa St, but the matter becomes clear when one looks at press announcements – see Elżbieta Moszoro, *Życie artystyczne w świetle prasy warszawskiej pierwszej połowy XIX wieku* (Wrocław, 1962), p. 131, no. 980.
- ¹⁹ The Królikarnia villa and its park belonged to the Radziwiłł family between 1816 and 1849.
- ²⁰ Moszoro, *Życie artystyczne w świetle prasy warszawskiej...*, p. 131, no. 980. The public was encouraged not only to visit the villa, but also to settle in its vicinity. In 1835 flats were offered for rent in the wooden houses constructed in the park surrounding the residence – see *Kurier Warszawski*, 27 April 1835, no. 112.
- ²¹ *Galeria obrazów sławnych mistrzów z różnych szkół zebranych przez ś. p. Michała Hieronima Xięcia Radziwiłła Wojew. Wil. teraz w Królikarni pod Warszawą wystawionych*, ed. Antoni Blank (Warsaw, 1835). To avoid filling the footnotes with dozens of references to this document, further I shall only cite the item numbers contained therein.
- ²² *Catalogue des Tableaux anciens composant la collection de M. le Prince Radziwiłł [...] du 16 au 24 Mai 1865*, eds Charles Pillet, Ferdinand Launey (Paris, 1865); *Catalogue de la première partie des Tableaux anciens [...] composant la collection de M. le Prince Radziwiłł [...] le Mardi 23 Mai 1865*, eds Charles Pillet, Ferdinand Launey (Paris, 1865); *Collection du Prince Sigismond Radziwiłł. Catalogue de Tableaux anciens [...] le Lundi 26 Février 1866*, ed. Charles Pillet et al. (Paris, 1866); *Catalogue des Tableaux anciens [...] composant la deuxième partie de la collection du Prince Sigismond Radziwiłł [...] Jeudi 22 & Vendredi 23 Mars 1866*, ed. Charles Pillet et al. (Paris, 1866).
- ²³ See Grzeluk, Warchałowski, *Inwentarze pałacu...*
- ²⁴ See Michał Piotr Radziwiłł, *Ostatnia wojewodzina wileńska* (Lviv, 1892).
- ²⁵ This is a reference to the Parisian catalogue dated 16 May 1865, in which the unit of measure of New Polish ells (*fokcie nowopolskie*) was converted erroneously.
- ²⁶ See de Rosset, 'Vente Zygmunt Radziwiłł...'.
²⁷ For instance, item 104 in Blank's catalogue, a painting by Roelant Savery which will be discussed further in the text, was either six or eight New Polish inches in diameter, depending on the document. With such a small object, a discrepancy of two inches proves quite substantial. Inconsistencies in dimensions were also noted in the case of item 128, allegedly a painting by Frans van Mieris; in the 1831 and 1835 catalogues it was described as measuring approx. 34.8 × 27.6 cm and 38.4 × 31.2 cm respectively.
- ²⁸ See de Rosset, 'Vente Zygmunt Radziwiłł...', p. 168. The more colourful examples include such surnames as 'Brachligkemp' (most likely van Brekelenkam) or 'Jawinanis' (Jan Wijnants).
- ²⁹ I deviated from this rule several times, searching for paintings whose reproductions de Rosset found in auction catalogues but was unable to physically locate. Unfortunately, there was only one work, a still life by Joannes Fijt, whose history I was able to find more about, and even so, I did not manage to track down the owners. According to de Rosset, the Radziwiłł family's *Hare, Dead Birds, Two Greyhounds* should be identified as the work from Marie Radziwiłł's collection sold at Drouot in Paris on 13 January 1923 (de Rosset, 'Obrazy wśród brylantów...', pp. 211–212). It should be added that in the Interwar period the work passed through the hands of Hans Wendland and Gustav Rochlitz. In 1941 the latter dealer sold it to Hermann Goering in exchange for some 'degenerate art'. The painting was returned to France in 1945. Ophélie Jouan, 'Rochlitz Gustav' in *Répertoire des acteurs du marché de l'art en France sous l'Occupation, 1940–1945, RAMA INHA*, agorha.inha.fr/detail/288 [retrieved: 1 Aug. 2024].
- ³⁰ *Old Master Paintings*, auction catalogue, Dorotheum, Vienna, 24 April 2024, lot no. 106.
- ³¹ Catherine R. Puglisi, *Francesco Albani* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 197–199.

- ³² Juszczak, 'Malarski zbiór Stanisława Augusta'.
- ³³ Juszczak, 'Malarski zbiór Stanisława Augusta'.
- ³⁴ In 1973 the item was sold at Galerie Universitair in Düsseldorf. It measured 42.5 × 33.5 cm. *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. et al. (New York, 2023); Joanna Winiewicz-Wolska, *Malarsstwo holenderskie w zbiorach Zamku Królewskiego na Wawelu* (Kraków, 2001), no. 17.
- ³⁵ Niemira, 'Przyczynek do badań...', pp. 6–7.
- ³⁶ Wildenstein, *Lancret. Biographie et Catalogue Critiques*, p. 72.
- ³⁷ Blank gave the item dimensions in New Polish inches and ells. For the sake of clarity, I only provide them converted to centimetres.
- ³⁸ *Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel. Katalog*, vol. 1, *Die Kunst bis 1800. Sämtliche ausgestellten Werke*, Basel 1957, p. 157; Werner Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler* (Landau, 1983), pp. 1711, 1714, no. 1143.
- ³⁹ The pendant comes from Paul Delarow's collection, and is currently attributed to Christopher Paudiss. The only known image of the work is a black-and-white photograph, cf. RKDH: rkd.nl/images/271314 [retrieved: 1 Aug. 2024].
- ⁴⁰ Kurt J. Müllenmeister, *Roelant Savery. Die Gemälde mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog* (Freren, 1988), p. 191, no. 14; *Old Masters, Nineteenth Century & Early Modern Art*, auction catalogue, Venduehuis der Notarissen, 14 November 2023, no. 6.
- ⁴¹ *The Dealer's Eye*, auction catalogue, Sotheby's London, 18–25 June 2020, no. 123.
- ⁴² *The Dealer's Eye*.
- ⁴³ *Old Masters & 19th Century Art*, auction catalogue, Christie's, Amsterdam, 17 November 2015, no. 76.
- ⁴⁴ Let it also be noted that item 238, a landscape attributed to the Flemish school, is in fact a work of Frans de Hulst, now in a private collection in the Netherlands (39 × 53 cm), and previously owned by Andrzej Mniszech; Hans-Ulrich Beck, *Jan van Goyen: 1596–1656: ein Oeuvreverzeichnis* (Amsterdam, 1991), vol. 4, pp. 212, no. 572. Item 108, depicting elegant company outside an inn, may, in turn, be identified as a painting by Gerard Hoet (the younger), most recently listed at an auction at Bonhams (25 × 33.5 cm); see *Old Master Paintings*, auction catalogue, Bonhams, London, 23 October 2019, lot no. 52.
- ⁴⁵ Niemira, 'Przyczynek do badań...', pp. 7–8.
- ⁴⁶ Niemira, 'Przyczynek do badań...', p. 9.
- ⁴⁷ Seymour Slive, *Jacob van Ruisdael. A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings, Drawings and Etchings* (New Haven, 2000), pp. 373–375.
- ⁴⁸ Niemira, 'Przyczynek do badań...', p. 9. The painting probably came into Dubois' possession not long before that; until 1786 it was owned by Samuel Ireland in London.
- ⁴⁹ This refers to items 67 and 68 in Blank's catalogue; two paintings by Jean-Louis de Marne. For more on the auction see *The Getty Provenance Index*.
- ⁵⁰ See Slive, *Jacob van Ruisdael...*
- ⁵¹ Marjorie E. Wieseman, Johnatan Bikker, *Rembrandt. The Late Works. Supplement* (London, 2014), p. 21; Ernst van de Wetering, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings. VI: Rembrandt's Paintings Revisited. A Complete Survey* (Dordrecht, 2014), pp. 681–683, no. 314. The catalogue entry indicates that the work may have come from the Radziwiłł collection: *Catalogue of Six Capital Pictures [...] Property of a Gentelman*, auction catalogue, Christie's, 4 June 1854, p. 4, no. 8.
- ⁵² Walicki, 'Rembrandt...', p. 333.
- ⁵³ Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* (Dordrecht, 1989), vol. 2, p. 287; vol. 3, p. 277.
- ⁵⁴ Gustav F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain. Being an Account of the Chief Collections of Paintings Drawings, Sculptures, Illuminated Mss.*, vol. 2 (London, 1854), p. 308, no. 3.
- ⁵⁵ Dimensions quoted after the 1831 catalogue. The 1835 printed version contained an error.
- ⁵⁶ See RKDH: rkd.nl/images/59710 [retrieved: 1 Aug. 2024].
- ⁵⁷ Dendrological analysis shows that the work was executed on a panel from the same tree as the one on which Rembrandt painted *Landscape with the Good Samaritan* (The Princes Czartoryski Museum, The National Museum in Kraków), and which one of his studio assistants used to create *Still Life of Dead Game* (Ithaca, Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, inv. no. 86.030.007);

- Christopher Brown, Jan Kelch, Pieter van Thiel, *Rembrandt. Der Meister und seine Werkstatt* (Munich, 1992), pp. 76–77, 88; *Old Masters. Evening Sale*, auction catalogue, Christie's, London 4 July 2019, lot no. 6; *Ferdinand Bol and Govert Flinck. Rembrandt's master pupils*, ed. Norbert Middelkoop, exh. cat., Rembrandthuis – Amsterdam Museum (Amsterdam, 2017), fig. 51.
- ⁵⁸ This type of 'copy', containing alterations to selected elements, has been referred to by scholars of Rembrandt Research Project as a transpositional copy made for training purposes, in which the assistant is supposed to demonstrate their own initiative and make changes to the master's composition. See, e.g., Josua Bruyn, 'Rembrandts Werkstatt: Funktion & Produktion', in Brown, Kelch, van Thiel, *Rembrandt. Der Meister...*, pp. 68–89, esp. pp. 76–77; Michiel Franken, 'Lernen durch Nachahmung. Über das Kopieren von Gemälden in Rembrandts Werkstatt', in *Rembrandt. Genie auf der Suche*, ed. Ernst van de Wetering et al., exh. cat., Museum van Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam – Gemäldegalerie (Berlin, 2006), pp. 145–163.
- ⁵⁹ See *Old Masters. Evening Sale*.
- ⁶⁰ Klaus Eisele, *Jan Wijnants (1631/32–1684). Ein Niederländischer Maler der Ideallandschaft im Goldenen Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 38–39; Claude Lesné, Anne Roquebert, *Catalogue des peintures M.N.R.* (Paris, 2004), p. 239.
- ⁶¹ Waagen, *Treasures of Art...*, p. 309.
- ⁶² Waagen, *Treasures of Art...*, p. 308; *Catalogue des peintures flamandes et hollandaises du musée du Louvre*, eds Élisabeth Foucart-Walter, Jacques Foucart (Paris, 2009), p. 275.
- ⁶³ Théodore Thoré, *Jan Vermeer van Delft* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 26; Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *Pieter de Hooch. Des meisters Gemälde* (Stuttgart, 1930), p. 251; Daniel Catton Rich, 'The Terrace', *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, no. 1 (43) (1949), pp. 32–33; Peter C. Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch* (New York, 1980), pp. 18, 66; Christopher Brown, *Carel Fabritius: Complete Edition with a Catalogue Raisonné* (New York, 1981), pp. 136, 145, no. R23; Frederik J. Duparc, *Carel Fabritius 1622–1654* (The Hague, 2004), pp. 66–67.
- ⁶⁴ The unique manuscript deserves a separate analysis. It was carefully bound, its edges gilt. Each of the illustrations appeared in two variants (in contour and as a watercolour copy). Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Libri. Pict. A112 (on the 'Metsu' painting: fol. 21–27).
- ⁶⁵ Konrad Niemira, *Honor bez egzageracji. Magnackie zakupy i świat rzeczy paryskich w XVIII w.* (Warsaw, 2022), p. 235.
- ⁶⁶ Mańkowski, *Galeria...*, p. 235, no. 216.
- ⁶⁷ According to Blank, the painting depicted 'a doe and various wild fowl, dead, vegetables arranged into groups, with a man hoisting a basket of grapes at the back'. The Parisian catalogues added that the garden produce included melons and asparagus, the basket carried by the man was filled not only with grapes, but also with peaches, apples and figs, and that the man was not so much hoisting the basket up as putting it on a table. The Amiens work measures 122 × 173 cm; Blank stated 112.8 × 169 cm.
- ⁶⁸ Hella Robels, *Frans Snyders. Stilleben- und Tiermaler 1579–1657* (Munich, 1989), p. 213, no. 49.
- ⁶⁹ Oreste Ferrari, Giuseppe Scavizzi, *Luca Giordano* (Naples, 1966), p. 120, no. 610; Françoise Debaisieux, *Caen. Musée des Beaux-Arts. Peintures des écoles étrangères* (Paris, 1994), pp. 103–104, no. 32. Inventaire des collections publiques françaises, 44.
- ⁷⁰ I choose to disregard the issue of the *Descent from the Cross* by Rembrandt. While Walicki never managed to locate the painting, he formulated a (correct) hypothesis about its provenance. Walicki, 'Rembrandt...', p. 333.
- ⁷¹ John A. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters* (London, 1911), pp. 657–658.
- ⁷² Janusz Pezda, 'Młodzieniec z szafirem. O nieudanej próbie sprzedaży obrazu Rafaela "Portret młodzieńca"', *Rozprawy Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, vol. 5 (2012), pp. 167–177.
- ⁷³ Moszoro, *Życie artystyczne w świetle prasy warszawskiej...*, p. 129, no. 966.
- ⁷⁴ In the manuscript of the Nieborów catalogue from 1831, the word 'sold' was added in red crayon by one of the prints, whose number was underlined. Similar underlining appears

- next to 21 other items. The Palace in Nieborów (division of the National Museum in Warsaw), MS 139, fol. 45.
- ⁷⁵ Mniszech owned a painting by Hulst (see n. 44).
- ⁷⁶ Piwkowski, *Nieborów*, pp. 194–196, 198; Tomasz de Rosset, *Polskie kolekcje i zbiory artystyczne we Francji w latach 1795–1919* (Toruń, 2005), pp. 69–70, 159.
- ⁷⁷ These notions proved erroneous – de Rosset, ‘Vente Zygmunt Radziwiłł...’, p. 68.
- ⁷⁸ They faced criticism on civilizational and moral grounds (‘the inheritor is clearing the palace, even before his mother’s body has gone cold’).
- ⁷⁹ See muzeumpamieci.umk.pl [retrieved: 1 Aug. 2024].
- ⁸⁰ See Ewa Manikowska et al., *Porządek dziedzictwa w XIX wieku. Polskie pojęcia i wyobrażenia* (Warsaw, 2023).
- ⁸¹ Manikowska et al., *Porządek dziedzictwa w XIX wieku...*, p. 156; Zygmunt Batowski, *Z powodu sprzedaży „Lisowczyka”* (Lviv, 1910) [offprint from *Lamus*], p. 189.
- ⁸² His close associate, curator Jacenty Sachowicz must have been very familiar with the paintings in the Radziwiłł collection since he honed his professional skills under the wing of Antoni Blank, when the latter was editing the Królikarnia inventory. Stanisław Lorentz, ‘Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie. Zarys historyczny’, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, no. 1 (1938), pp. 3–4.

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