Janusz A. Ostrowski

Cracow

KAROL LANCKOROŃSKI (1848—1933)
— POLISH CONNOISSEUR AND FRIEND OF ART

Karol Lanckoroński lived and worked in Vienna. He was one of the greatest contributors to the history of Polish archaeology and study of arts. Today, unfortunately, nearly all have forgotten him, except for a small group of specialists who have been examining this character out of their own interest. His name is not found in either Polish or Austrian encyclopedias, and only a small number of biographical notes take into consideration the aspects of his diverse works\(^1\). The present article is designed to focus on and characterize


It is worth noting here that neither the Austrian nor German Archaeological Institutes (even though Lanckoroński was a member of both) mentioned his name after his death in the ÖJh or the JDI.
this most vibrant man who was presented with honorary doctorates by the Jagiellonian University and the University of Berlin. This short sketch about an outstanding Polish patron of humanities and arts coincides with the 60th anniversary of the death of Karol Lanckoroński and appears just before the 110th anniversary of the Polish-Austrian expedition, organized by Lanckoroński, to Pamphylia and Pisidia. Thanks to this expedition, the name of this Pole has been recorded for good in the history of world archaeology.

I

In the last quarter of the 19th century, Cracow became the main center of scientific and artistic life in Poland, while it was divided between Austria, Russia and Prussia. This was a result of the autonomy which Galicia gained in 1873 within the multinational monarchy of the Habsburgs. One of the earliest signs of these changes was the opening of the first department of Polish history in 1869 at the Jagiellonian University, to which the outstanding Polish scholar, Józef Szujski (1836–1883), was appointed the head. At this time the Cracovian University became the leading Polish school, dominated mainly by the humanities (e.g. the first department of archaeology was opened here, headed after 1874 by Józef Łepkowski, and in 1897 the first department of classical archaeology in Poland, headed by Piotr Bieńkowski), but also having an enormous contribution in propagating natural science. The role fulfilled by the Jagiellonian University in European science was distinctly emphasized in 1900 during the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the university restoration. Next to the university, the Academy of Knowledge


2 The other department of Polish history was inaugurated in 1883 at the John Casimir University in Lvov.

3 A number of representatives of nearly all the European schools of higher learning came for the jubilee. The celebration simultaneously became a manifestation of national feeling for Poles living in a country dividet between three invaders. During the celebrations, a statue of Nicolaus Copernicus chiselled by Cyprian Godieński was dedicated in the contemporary University Library (Collegium Maius, presently the University Museum is housed there). It is worth adding here that in the last quarter of the 19th century, the university gained a number of new buildings, e. g.
[Akademia Umiejętności], transformed in 1872 from the Cracovian Scientific Society [Krakowskie Towarzystwo Naukowe], became the second center of the humanities and sciences⁴. Of special significance was the fact that a large Czartoryski collection was moved over from Paris in 1876, and the Czartoryski Museum and Library were set up in Cracow⁵. Three years later, the first museum carrying the name “National” was opened on Polish ground⁶. These factors elevated the city’s position in the intellectual and artistic life of Poland. Another equally important and symbolic event for the whole nation was the repurchase of Wawel Castle — the former seat of Polish kings — from the Austrians. In 1796 Wawel was turned into a citadel and used as an army

Collegium Novum, designed by Feliks Księżarski, and completed in 1887 (presently occupied by the university administration).

⁴ The president of the university, W. Litwiński, took the initiative to set up the Scientific Society [Towarzystwo Naukowe] in Cracow in 1816. This act was an expression of university’s aspiration toward academic freedom. The university president was the ex-officio the chairman of the society, while the university professors were the members (of course, there were other members from outside the university). A building for the society was constructed on 17 Sławkowska St. in Cracow in 1864. Later on, the building became the seat of the academy acting under the patronage of archduke Karl Ludwig. In 1919 the rules and regulation were changed, opening the door for the Polish Academy of Knowledge [Polska Akademia Umiejętności (PAU)]. In 1951 PAU was transformed into the Polish Academy of Science [Polska Akademia Nauk (PAN)], with its authorities working in Warsaw. In 1990 the PAU was reactivated while maintaining the PAN.

⁵ The Czartoryski Collection was put together at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries by the princess Izabella in her ancestral estate in Pulawy. In the beginning, they were housed in buildings especially constructed for that purpose i.e. the so-called Sibyl Temple made to the pattern of the Vesta’s round temple in Tivoli and conceived to be a Pantheon of Polish national glory and the so-called Gothic House. They were opened to the public in 1809. The collection was moved through Galicia to Paris after the fall of the November Uprising in 1831 and in the fear of its seizure by the Russians (the czar’s government confiscated all of Czartoryski’s goods). It was eventually housed in the Hôtel Lambert on the St. Louis isle. Hôtel Lambert was the seat of the Czartoryski family and the main Polish emigration center at the same time. While in Paris the collection was enlarged remarkably especially with classical monuments. In 1874 Izabella’s grandson, prince Władysław, made the decision to bring the collection back to Poland. In 1876 the first museum halls were opened for the public in Cracow. The museum’s first curator was Józef Łepkowski. He was an archaeologist, historian specializing in medieval art, professor at Jagiellonian University, and the initiator of the university’s Archaeological Cabinet in 1867. In 1884 his place in the Czartoryski Museum was taken by an outstanding historian of art, Marian Sokolowski, also a university professor. The same year he was appointed director of the museum, he left with Lanckoronski for an expedition to Turkey. In 1950 the Czartoryski Museum became one of the divisions of the National Museum in Cracow. Presently, being still a chapter of the National Museum, it is administered by the Czartoryski Foundation.

⁶ The National Museum in Cracow was opened in 1879 in the restored building of Cloth Hall [Sukiennice] during the jubilee commemorating 50 years of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski’s literary work (1812—1887; from 1863 until his death he lived in Dresden). The museum came about as an initiative of eminent artists who spontaneously turned over their works to the nation (among others, a painting Nero’s Torches [Pochodnie Nerona], by the “academic” painter Henryk Siemiradzki living in Rome, was listed number 1 in the museum’s inventory book). However, the idea to open such a museum was conceived much earlier.
barracks with small breaks. One of the biggest contributors to the recovery of Wawel Castle for the Polish nation was Count Karol Lanckoroński (Fig. 1). Despite the fact that he came from a family which had kept close ties with the Viennese court, he did not lose his Polish character. In fact, he became one of the leading individuals of Polish and Austrian scientific circles. He spent his childhood in Paris, where his mother’s family lived. However, he finished his high school and university in Vienna, where he received his doctorate in law. The son of Kazimierz and Leonia, née countess Potocka born on November 4, 1848, in Vienna, died on July 15, 1933, in Vienna; he was the owner of a number of estates in east Galicia (Rozdół, Komarno, Jagielsk), in the Kingdom of Poland (i.e., Russian sector of partitioned Poland; Włodzisław near Jędrzejów) and in Styria (Frauenwald). He was the imperial chamberlain, secret advisor and, from 1874, a member of the House of Lords in the Parliament. In 1914 he acquired one of the most honorable positions in the court — the Great Chamberlain (Oberstkammerer). From 1873 he was an honorary Knight of Malta. In 1903 he was nominated a Knight of the Golden Fleece Order (Ritter des Ordens von Goldene Vlies). Between the wars he was awarded with a Great Ribbon of the Polonia Restituta Order. He was married three times: (1) in 1878 to countess Maria Salm (divorced in 1882); (2) in 1892 to countess Frances Attems (died in 1893); and (3) in 1898 to countess Margaret Lichnowsky. He had a son, Antoni (1893—1965), with his second wife, and two daughters with his third wife: Karolina (born 1898) and Adelajda (born 1903).

Karol’s great-grandfather, Maciej Lanckoroński, the voivode of Bracław, was nominated a count of the Holy Roman Empire by emperor Joseph II in 1783. Karol’s grandfather, Antoni Józef, horse captain in the National Cavalry and a member of the National Committee of Education was appointed a chamberlain and secret advisor and eventually, in 1817 became a Knight of the Golden Fleece Order. In 1793 he married Ludwika Rzewuska. Karol’s father, Kazimierz, married countess Leonia Potocka; he also was a chamberlain, and in 1861 became an hereditary member of the House of Lords in the Austrian Parliament. Karol’s sister, Elżbieta, married baron Karl de Vaux, an Austrian general.

After World War I, Karol Lanckoroński took on Polish nationality while still living in Vienna. This is confirmed by correspondence from 1927 kept in the PAU Archive in Cracow (call number PAU I—114, 1229/27). There, the Academy secretary office, with reference to the new Academy statutes making a difference between its domestic and foreign members, asked what nationality Karol Lanckoroński held. The reply, sent from the Rozdół estate, confirmed his Polish nationality.
in 1870. At that time he became acquainted with two outstanding lawyers, Josef Unger and Adolf Exner (who in 1891/92 was the Rector of the University of Vienna). His studies and contacts with chief representatives of the Austrian legal establishment made it possible for him to play in the future many responsible and prominent roles in the realm of science and culture. Simultaneously he studied the history of art, thanks to which he met a brilliant classical philologist Wilhelm von Hartel (1839—1907), who later (1900—1905) was the Minister für Kultus und Unterricht. This outstanding scholar and humanist made a great impact on Lanckoroński’s personality; actually, they were close friends. Von Hartel handed down to his student his love for Greco-Latin civilization, and it remained ever vital in Lanckoroński’s life. From the moment Karol Lanckoroński finished his studies, he dedicated the rest of his life to science and art. His research, as well as his collector’s and conservator’s activities, assured his permanent place in the history of European science and culture.

11 We know this from Lanckoroński’s obituary notice commemorating von Hartel published in Morgenblatte Neuen Freien Presse, January 18, 1907. Strangely enough, a dozen days before von Hartel’s death (January 14), another of Lanckoroński’s close friends, Otto Benndorf, also died (January 2). The obituary notice on these two outstanding scholars’ deaths appeared in the ÖJh 10, 1907, Beibl., pp. 1—7.
Numerous journeys deepened Lanckoroński’s adolescent interest in science and art, increased his sense of observation and made him into a serious art expert. Likewise, his organizational abilities developed, which in later times served him very well. In his youth, he visited almost all of Europe, apparently preferring Italy, which he came to know thoroughly from the Alps to Sicily. Being brought up in the atmosphere of the ancient Greco-Latin world, he was fascinated by the Mediterranean Sea and countries lying on its shores. In the winter of 1875/76 he visited Egypt, and in spring of 1877 he made his way to Spain, Algeria and Morocco. In 1882 he made an expedition to Turkey for the first time. “Encouraged by the expedition to Lycia in 1882 under Benndorf, which was brought into effect partly by myself, I set off that year to south-west Asia Minor for the first time. In the company of a few scholars and artists (among them Felix von Luschans M. D. and Bar, a painter) I spent a couple of weeks at Rhodes ... At the end of October ... we landed in Attalia ... we made our way to nearby Perga to draw a plan of that city. I spent part of the 1882/83 winter in Constantinople where, through our embassy, I got into contact with Turkish authorities on behalf of our future investigations ...” In March of 1883, again he found himself in Turkey traveling through Cilicia to Syria. His impressions of the journey were published in a few articles, which later appeared in the form of a small book. The route led from Mersin, through Tarsus, Adana, Nissis and Ayas to the battlefield at Issus, and from there through Payne, Alexandretta (today Iskenderun), and Beilan to Antioch (today Antakya). The diary is broken right here, but one can conclude that Lanckoroński reached Laodicea (today Latakia), where he then sailed back to Europe. The short journey did not bring many results in his research work, nonetheless, he described monuments seen along the way, and likewise took geographical and ethnographical notes. In the spring of 1884, he made a trip to south France, and impressions of this survey were later published. In September of 1884,

12 An agreement written down in French in Cairo on January 27, 1876, between Lanckoroński and a dragoman Mohammad Ali concerning the organization and water supply for an expedition up the Nile toward Thebes, testifies, among other things, to Lanckoroński’s organizational mind. The agreement makes a striking impression with all the details outlined. The director of the expedition, who took along three companions, obliged the dragoman to care not only about cleanliness; Lanckoroński reserved for himself the right of choosing kinds of food and drink; the dragoman was to remember that coffee, tea and chocolate were to be served for breakfast for choice. This document is kept as a deposit of the Lanckoroński Foundation in the Polish Library in London. Cf. M. Paszkiewicz, Jacek Małczewski w Azji Mniejszej i w Rozdole, Londyn 1972, p. 19 (quoted later as Paszkiewicz).


14 The articles appeared in Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung from 1886 to 1887 (April 20—23, 1896 and May 27, 1887) and the book, titled Karl Graf Lanckoroński, Ein Ritt durch Kilikien. Aus dem winterlichen Afrika, Wien [n. d.] (als Manuskript gedruckt), also contains impressions from one of the journeys through northern Africa.

15 Karol hr. Lanckoroński, Z podróży po południowej Francji, Kraków 1884.
once again he traveled to southern Turkey; this time he took upon himself the organizing and financing of the archaeological expedition to Pamphylia and Pisidia\(^\text{16}\). By the end of July 1885, a second expedition was on the move in the same region, also funded by Lanckoroński. This time the organizer did not take part in it (the results and meaning of both expeditions will be covered in the second part of the present article).

From 1888 to 1889, Lackoroński took a trip around the world. The route led through the Mediterranean, Suez Canal, Red Sea, Aden, Ceylon, India (he remained there longer to explore the whole peninsula), Indochina, China, Hong Kong, Japan (a longer stay once again), Canada, and the United States to England. The extensive description of the journey\(^\text{17}\) confirms his great interest in the art and civilization of the countries visited; it also proves his sense of keen observation and criticism. For example, the characteristics of the museums visited (Educational Museum in Toronto, Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and the Metropolitan Museum in New York) testify about the state of young museum management in North America at that time\(^\text{18}\).

Lanckoroński chose his company for his journeys carefully. He visited Egypt, Spain, Algeria and Morocco with a remarkable Austrian painter Hans Makart (1840—1884), who later became his close friend. Makart actually became quite famous two years after this journey for the artistic arrangement of the silver jubilee anniversary of the imperial couple 1879. Historical and mythological subjects, as well as academism, which dominated in his works, were especially intimate for Lanckoroński, who was fascinated with Greco-Latin civilization and the art of the Italian Renaissance. And so, it is not strange that paintings by Makart, among them a very famous Betende

\(^{16}\) Omitting the scientific side of Lanckoroński’s expedition, it is worth noting here that he was one of the Polish alpinism pioneers climbing in 1884 the Bozbahun peak (2504 meters), being the highest mountain of the Pisidian Taurus. This fact was emphasized in recent years by M. Poppko, Karol Lanckoroński w górach Tauru, Taternik 44, 1968, p. 110. It is worth quoting the last sentence of the expedition’s description giving some comprehension of the author’s style: “I climbed the mountain partly moving through lonely standing cedars ... Resting from time to time, I saw clearly the Sakhri plateau in the northeastern direction and Eurymedon winding through the hills; while on the other side, behind the ridge going toward the south, I saw the bright sea and the ruins of Side glittering in the sun, likewise the Pamphylian planes covered with shrubs in grey-bluish tones. The higher I went the more stunted the trees were until they disappeared completely. From the peak where I stood, toward the north, there was a huge rock desert divided with ravines, and toward the west, the most elevated and dangerous peak of the mountain range. Less famous than Vesuvius and Etna, than Olympus and Casius of northern Syria, than the great Hermon or Mount Tabor, nonetheless Bozburon is a historical mountain just like the other very well known peaks. It overlooks, like the other, over a vast and wonderful region. Apart from the Pamphylian planes we can see from its apex Lycian mountain ranges and Mediterranean Sea. Alexander and St. Paul looked at its peaks” (Miasta, Vol. I, p. XVII).

\(^{17}\) Rund um die Erde. Geschaeutes und gedachte von Karl Graf Lanckoroński, Stuttgart 1891; Polish version: Na okolo ziemi 1888—1889. Wrazenia i poglady napisal Karol hr. Lanckoroński, Kraków 1893.

\(^{18}\) To some extent, Lanckoroński in a prophetic way expressed his opinion during his visit to the Metropolitan Museum: “If the generosity of the wealthy citizens of New York does not diminish, we, Europeans, will have to look overseas for one of the most important galleries in the world in a few years” (Na okolo ziemi, p. 330).
Araberin, as well as portraits of the count (Makart was also one of the most popular portrait-painters in Vienna), were found in Lancoroński’s collection. Felix von Luschán (1854—1924) accompanied Lackoroński on the first expedition to Turkey. He was young at that time but later became an outstanding ethnologist and anthropologist. He became famous due to his palaeoethnological research of the Near East. Lancoroński came in contact with von Luschán many times. The following year they made their way through Cilicia and Syria together. More will be said about the partakers of both archaeological expeditions later on in the present article. During his journey around the world, another known painter, Ludwig von Fischer (1848—1915), accompanied him. He presented the same artistic style as Makart. He as well as many others, such as August Rodin, Edward Burne-Jones, Caspar Zumbusch and a Pole, Jacek Malczewski, belonged to the circle of Lackoroński’s artistic friends. They were the only contemporary painters and sculptors who found recognition in the eyes of the count, who was reluctant to accept new trends in art, recognizing impressionism, modernism and other artistic currents as going beyond classical aesthetics.

One can say much the same about literature. Homer, Virgil, Dante, Racine — they were his favorite writers. Of the contemporary authors, he prized Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Rainer Marie Rilke, Alexander baron von Warsberg, the author of e.g. Homerische Landschaften (Vienna 1884) and Odysseische Landschaften (Vienna 1887). Lancoroński dedicated to him his monumental work, Miasta Pamfili i Pizyddi [Cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia]. Another writer, Rudolph Hoyos (author of Neue Gedichte) belonged to the circle of Lancoroński’s literary friends. He was a joint editor with Lancoroński and K. Wiegand, who published poems of a diplomat and poet Alexander von Villers, Briefe eines Unbekannten (Vienna 1881). Of the Polish authors, he most highly prized Adam Mickiewicz, and he had inspired translation of his works into German. It is worthy to note that Lancoroński himself put together some poetry. Dr. Julius von Twardowski recites a few of his poems (Fort! of 1874, Aus dem venezianischen Tagebuch. April—Mai 1905 containing among other things Der Lido, Die Heilige Barbara von Palma Vecchio, San Francesco in Deserto, Michelangelos Moses) in the obituary memoirs published in 1934.

Lancoroński’s splendid Viennese collection testifies to his incredible artistic taste. It was reckoned to be one of the richest private galleries in Vienna, besides the Liechtenstein and Harrach collections. In the beginning, the collection was kept at Wasagasse, later during 1894—1895, it was transferred to a spacious palace near the Belvedere at Jacquinagasse 18. It was built by Fellner and Helmer in Viennese baroque style (Fig. 2). The growing

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collection, opened to the public in 1902, took up nearly all the palace halls (altogether 4,800 m²) (Fig. 3). Visitors in the palace noted later how tight the area was for the collection. Some concise descriptions of the gallery and of the monuments have been preserved. These are not adequate enough since they contain only a list of major items.\textsuperscript{21}

The gallery, above all, housed European painting. However, it also contained much sculpture and artistic handicraft objects (including ancient items), drawings and graphics along with a collection of exotic art, namely Indian, Japanese (a large collection of kakemono and bronzes), old Mexican, and in addition to that, Arabian and Persian illuminated manuscripts. Within the palace were found two libraries (the Upper and Lower ones) containing

\textsuperscript{21} Krzyzowsk\'ski S., Palac wiedeński i zbiory Karola Lanckorońskiego, Życie i Sztuka No. 6. Supplement to a weekly Kraj XXII, 1903, pp. 1—3; Palais Lanckoroński. Jacquingasse 18, Wien 1903, 23 pages [als Manuskript gedruckt] — it is a short reference book which came out after the collection was opened for public. It merely contained a list of monuments housed in the respective rooms. A discussion of selected monuments can be found in the Lanckoroński Festschrift quoted on page 67 in note 34 of the present article. E. Chwalewski, Zbiory Polskie. Archiwia, biblioteki, gabinetes, galerie, muzea i inne zbiory pamiętek przeszłości w Ojczyźnie i na obczyźnie, Warszawa—Kraków 1926—1927, Vol. II, p. 159 (Rozdół), pp. 452—455 (Vienna), also brings information about Viennese and Galician collections.
Fig. 3. Interior of Frescoes Room in Lanckoroński’s Palace. After: E. Heider, Verlorenes Wien..., p. 117

over 4,000 volumes dealing mainly with art history, geography, ethnology and traveling.

The European paintings included: Italian works\textsuperscript{22} (among them those of Simone Martini, Botticelli, Uccello\textsuperscript{23}, Massaccio, Fra Angelico, Baldovinetti, Dominichino, Melozzo da Forli, Signorelli, Lorenzo Lotto, Bordone, Dosso Dossi, Canaletto, and others), French (e. g. Clouet), old German (e. g. both the Holbeins), Flemish (e. g. Van der Weyden), Dutch (e. g. Jordaens, Teniers, Wouwermann, van Gelder, Cayus). The pearls of the collection were two portraits by Rembrandt: Bildniss eines junges Mädchen from 1641 (so called Judenbraut) and another painted in the same year, Bildniss eines älteren Gelehrten (so called Brautvater)\textsuperscript{24}. Lanckoroński inherited them from his

\textsuperscript{22} The present author does not distinguish here the paintings according to their appropriate schools, e. g. Sienese, Florentine, Venetian, etc., but uses a general term “Italian”.

\textsuperscript{23} The Paolo Uccello’s known canvas, St. Georg killing the Dragon (\textit{56} \times \textit{74} m), was found in Lanckoroński collection. Presently, it is kept in the London National Gallery. Cf. M. Davies, The Earlier Italian Schools, National Gallery Catalogues, London 1961, p. 532, Cat. No. 6294 (“In the Lanckoroński Collection at Vienna, the first known record of it there being of 1898. Purchased through Mr. Farago from Count Lanckoroński by special grant with contributions from the Philbbott and Temple West Funds, 1959”).

\textsuperscript{24} These portraits were described by Wilhelm von Bode, Zwei Bildnisse von Rembrandt in der Gallerie des Grafen Karl Lanckoroński, pp. 15–19 in Lanckoroński Festschrift (see note 34, page 9). In the quoted reference book, Palais Lanckoroński and E. Chwalewicz’s work, these paintings also are taken as originals. In one of the latest and most authoritative monographs on Rembrandt (H. Gerson, Rembrandt’s Paintings, Amsterdarm 1968), they are listed under Nos. 224 and 225 provided with such a commentary: “The whereabouts of the two paintings have not been known since the Second World War. To judge from photographs, the attribution to Rembrandt is
ancestor Michał Rzewuski (his grandfather’s father-in-law). The latter purchased them from Prince Józef Poniatowski, a nephew of the last Polish king, Stanisław August Poniatowski, to whom the paintings had originally belonged.

In his collection, a number of Polish 18th century family portraits can be found, including Prince Józef Poniatowski’s portrait by A. Grassi; paintings by Jacek Malczewski and Artur Grottger; a drawing, *Krajobraz* [Landscape], done by Stanisław August Poniatowski’s own hand with the signature *Stanislaus Poniatowski fecit 10 Augusti 1749*; a bronze medallion, *Stefan Batory*, by Antoni Madeyski; and an Italian bronze bust representing Stefan Czarniecki from the 17th century.

Also worth special notice in Lanckoroński’s gallery are a hand-drawing by Leonardo da Vinci, the oil-painting *Odalisque* by Delacroix, and reliefs by Mino da Fiesole and Donatello. Of the contemporary painting, Makart’s *Betende Araberin, Böcklin’s Triton, Thomy’s Apollo und Marsyas, and Burne-Jones’s Roman de la Rose*, to name just a few, are likewise worth noting.

Lanckoroński’s collection came together during a few different periods. He inherited from his ancestors some Flemish and Dutch paintings along with some 18th century Polish portraits and some French works (here were a collection of fans and miniatures along with a few portraits by E. Vigée-Lebrun), which he received from his mother. The remaining pieces (mainly Italian painting, antiquities, and pieces of exotic art) he collected personally, buying them in Vienna and during his journeys around Europe and non-European countries.

A number of other antiquities were also found in the palace on Jacquingasse, which unfortunately had not been exactly catalogued. The only short description of them is given in the quoted guidebook *Palais Lanckoroński*:

“1 — Vestibule: Antike Büsten neben und über den Seitentüren, antike Reliefs auf echten antiken verzierten kleinen Postamenten neben der Hauptthür [...] VIII — Freskensaal: In der Mitte Sarkophag III Jahrhundert n. Chr. aus Kilikien. Wand von der Eingangstür rechts auf einem Marmortische Weihrelief aus Athen, aus bester griechischer Zeit. IV Jahrhundert v. Chr. 25 (Fig. 4); Vitrinen, die eine mit ägyptischen Altherthümern und bemalten

*not sound*” (p. 497). It would not be so strange to us, considering the fact that most of the “Rembrandts” known to us are not authentic; for example, those that Stanisław August Poniatowski possessed were one hundred percent fakes. There existed a third, this time alleged Rembrandt painting, *St. Peter’s Contrition*, in the Viennese collection. Von Bode and Chwalewisk doubted its authenticity.


In one of his Galician estates, in the palace in Rozdół (before World War II it was in the province Stanisławów, district Żydaczów), Lanckoroński also put together a rich collection, partly plundered in September 1914. The collection

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26 This is a fragment of Faun or young Satyr’s statue presently found in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, cf. M. B. Comstock, C. C. Vermeule, op. cit., pp. 113–114, Np. 172: “Faun or Young Satyr. Graeco-Roman. H.: 0.95 m. Crystalline Greek marble probably from western Asia Minor. Bequest of Benjamin Rowland, Jr., 1974.127. From the Lanckoroński Collection, Vienna” (there, further bibliography and data).

27 This is an onyx gemma around A. D. 600 (Gemme mit den Apostelfürsten) 9.8 cm high with an inscription EMMA NOTIAE currently housed in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Reg. No. IX-2607. Cf. W. Oberleitner, Die antiken Prunkkameen in der Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien 1985, p. 74, No. 64.
consisted mainly of Polish portraits, including the *Portret Karola Lanckorońskiego w stroju polskim* [Portrait of Karol Lanckoroński in a Polish Costume], painted by K. Pochwalski (in such a costume he entertained emperor Francis Joseph in Komarno, another of his estates, while the manoeuvres in 1903). There was also a large collection of Malczewski’s works, mostly from the
expedition to Pamphylia and Pisidia. The palace housed also the family archive with documents dated to the 13th century and letters from Stanisław August Poniatowski and Tadeusz Kościuszko. There was also found here a collection of weapons, old silver, mirrors, china, clocks, cartoons and one of the largest collections in Europe of photographs of fine art objects, numbering a total of 120,000 items before World War I and partly dispersed during the war, likewise, the library containing some 20 thousand volumes.

Efforts were made to move the Viennese collection to Poland between the wars, but the project failed. Part of the collection was seized by the Nazis, later, Vienna and the palace on Jacquingasse were bombarded during World War II. In this way one of the largest Polish collections vanished, with very few exceptions.

Besides his very active collection work, Lanckoroński carried out quite effective activity in restoring relics of the past and popularizing them. In 1881 we find him among the founders of the Gesellschaft für archäologische Erforschung Kleinasiens. Not long after, he took the initiative to found the Österreichische Kunstfreunde, in which he himself played an active role, also giving lectures. He was appointed the Präsident der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege and the Vizepräsident des Denkmalamtes. He also held the position of the Kurator des k. k. Österreichische Museum für Kunst und Industrie. His connections with Poland can be clearly seen by his appointment as the Vizepräsident des Staatsdenkmalamtes und Generalkonservateur Galiziens. In 1918, after the end of World War I, he became a member of the General Clearing Committee in Warsaw. He also got involved in the revindication of Polish collections and archives from the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which were found in Austria, as a member of the Kommission für die Rückführung polnischer Sammlungen und

28 Ruth and Max Seydewitz, Dana z gronostajem, Kraków 1966, pp. 88—90 (Die Dame mit dem Hermelin, Berlin 1963), write extensively about the fate of Lanckoroński’s collection during World War II. On October 17, 1939, some 1,695 items were taken, with a number of them transported to the museum in Linz. The rest of the collection was taken in November 1942. The palace was burned in 1945. It was rebuilt after the war, still being mentioned in guidebooks of the 1960s. Today it does not exist. Some items which survived the horrors of the war were offered by Prof. Dr. Karolina Lanckorońska to the Polish Library in London in 1968, among others, drawings and water-colors by Jacek Malczewski (cf. M. Paszkiewicz, op. cit., passim).

29 Cf. O. Benndorf, Vorläufiger Bericht über zwei österreichische Expeditionen nach Kleinasien, [in:] Archäologisch-Epigraphisch Mitteilungen aus Österreich VI, 1892, p. 168. As already mentioned, Lanckoroński’s friend, baron von Warsberg, was one of the initiators in setting up the Society. Its first venture was two expeditions to Lycia and Caria directed by Benndorf and Niemann. Lanckoroński’s expeditions were also fulfilling the goal of researching Asia Minor. This was also a goal for Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut in Vienna, established at Benndorf’s suggestion in 1897. The Institut had its branch in Athens. It is worth noting here that the work of Austrian archaeologists, guided in the 19th century, has been continued to this very day (e. g. the excavations in Ephesus).

30 For example, he gave a lecture Etwas von japanischer Malerei, on the 12th of February 1901, and Etwas über italienische bemalte Truhen, on the 20th of March 1905 (after R. Taborński, op. cit., [1st edition], p. 86, note 18).
Archiven die sich in Österreich befanden. For this activity he received the Great Ribbon of Polonia Restituta Order from the government of the Republic of Poland.

These many titles say much but his actual performance says more. When a plan was introduced to remove the Romanesque portal from the main entrance of St. Stephen’s Cathedral in Vienna and replace it with a Neo-Gothic one, he was one of the active protestors who managed to have this plan stopped. Also, as a result of Lanckoroński’s undertakings, the rebuilding of the Viennese Minoritenkirche’s tower was stopped, and additional building over the square with its superb view of the St. Karl’s church was prevented. He also supported preservation of the ruins of Carnuntum just excavated. Together with George Niemann and Heinrich Swoboda, he undertook archaeological and conservatory research of the cathedral in Aquileia. For his work, he received an honorary citizenship of the city in 1906. The results of the research were released in a monumental publication. He also cared for the Poles living in Vienna. He led a committee to restore a Polish church on Rennwege in 1898 and had a Polish shelter house in Vienna in charge. Not far from Vienna (today a suburb of the city), he erected a Neo-Renaissance convalescent home for girls called the Faniteum, named after the count’s second wife, Franciszka (Fanita), who died in 1893. The center was built by a Swiss architect, Laroche.

His scholarly work did not go unnoticed in Austria and Germany. In 1893 he became a corresponding member of the Akademie des Wissenschaften in Vienna and, as mentioned earlier, the University of Berlin conferred on him a honorary doctorate. Additionally, he was a honorary member of the Akademie der Bildende Künste in Vienna and, from 1899, a member of the Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut. Likewise, he was a member of the Deutsches Kaiserliches Archäologisches Institut, as well as an honorary member of the Geographical Society in Vienna. He also sat as a member of the Board of Directors of the German Institute of Art History in Florence.

On his 70th birthday, in 1918, a Festschrift in his honor appeared in Vienna. Max Dvořák wrote the preface. The articles discussing some items from Lanckoroński’s collection were written by the most outstanding scholars of the day. Representatives of the Austrian, Hungarian, German, and Polish

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34 Ausgewählte Kunstwerke des Sammlung Lanckoroński. Mit 51 Tafeln und 23 Textabbildungen. Seiner Exzellenz Dr Karl Grafen Lanckoroński zu Seinem Siebzigsten Geburtstage von Freunden und Verehren gewidmet, Wien 1918. In this volume, L. Pollak published an article, Die Laokoongruppe und die Barockkunst (pp. 85–91), in which he discusses, among other things, a marble copy of the Laokoön’s head from the Lanckoroński’s collection. This head, according to P. Bięnkowski, Laokoön w Polsce, Kraków 1914, pp. 12–14, fig. V, comes from the 17th century.
aristocracy, as well as other known scholars (e.g. Paul Buberl, Julius Deininge,
Hermann Egger, and Emmanuel Lövy), whose articles did not appear in the Festschrift,
signed the Address honoring the Jubilant and the texts of speeches added to the volume. This was a visible sign of recognition of Lanckoroński’s merits in the history of art and archaeology. His service was also connected with Poland.

As Poland is concerned, he showed great interest in Wawel Castle. At the end of the 19th century, he became a member of the committee dealing with the restoration of the Wawel Cathedral. The bishop of Cracow (cardinal since 1901), Jan Puzy na, was the head of this committee. In 1900, Lanckoroński made an endowment of a bronze plate with the representation of cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki (1389—1455) for the cathedral. It was completed by Caspar Zumbusch, a sculptor and Lanckoroński’s friend. This act met some criticism from the side of Polish artists, as they thought he was favoring the Austrians. In 1902, he provided funds for Queen Jadwiga’s sarcophagus, the renovator of Cracovian University, which was sculptured of white Carrara marble in Rome by Antoni Madeyski. The sarcophagus was completed following the founder’s advice and the Renaissance tomb monument of Ilaria del Caretto in Lucca, the work of Jacopo della Quercia. Since Lanckoroński’s opinions as to the cathedral renovation, which he expressed openly and boldly, sometimes diametrically opposed the opinion of the majority, he was many times an object of unjust criticism.

Being a spokesman on new trends in art conservation work, he opposed the widespread supplementation of the missing parts and style imitation according to the commonly accepted method of Violet-le-Duc. Thus, the artistic establishment of Galicia fought against him. In 1903, he published a brochure

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35 The proper Committee for the Castle Restoration was formed in 1905. A member of the Committee was an outstanding art historian, Max Dvořák, who became the conservator general of the Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmäler in 1905. Having been a Committee member, he visited Wawel twice in 1905 and 1910. He expressed himself in written form on the matter of the castle: Restaurierungsfragen II. Das Königsschloss zu Wawel, [in:] Kunstgeschichtl. Jahrb. der K. K. Zentralkommission, 1908. Cf. L. Kalinowski, Max Dvořák i jego metoda badań nad sztuką, Warszawa 1974, p. 14 and not 24. A friendly relationship developed between Dvořák and Lanckoroński. Lanckoroński’s daughter, Karolina, attended Dvořák’s lectures and seminars. Several years after Dvořák’s death, Karolina Lanckorońska appealed to the Polish Academy of Knowledge (PAU) to buy the library put together by this outstanding scholar. However, the transaction never came through.

36 It is worth noting that Caspar Zumbusch was a supervisor for the sculpture conservation coming from the Austrian excavations in Ephesus.

37 The queen’s remains, exhumated from her grave near the main altar, were moved to this sarcophagus in 1949.


39 Many of his contemporaries (e.g. Kazimierz Chłodowski, writer, historian, publicist, Minister for Galicia in 1899—1900, or Kazimierz Morawski, classical philologist, professor of the Jagiellonian University) accused Lanckoroński of arbitrary and apodictic manner of acting; however, none actually went against scholarly qualifications.
in Vienna entitled *Nieco o nowych robotach w katedrze na Wawelu* [Some Remarks about new Works in Wawel Castle's Cathedral]. Without naming anybody, he criticized in it what he considered to be some unfortunate ideas as to the renovation of the cathedral. The brochure caused a fierce reaction from conservators and publicists and an ongoing discussion. Eventually, all the ideas criticized by Lanckoroński were brought into effect and to this day no one remembers the high emotion accompanying the whole matter. It is worth noting that Lanckoroński in his brochure uttered his own program, innovative for that time, of proper exhibition of museum artefacts. He wrote: “Even a small cabinet, more so with a big one, has itself no role to play at all. It should not draw people’s attention from all things exhibited inside. They are meant to be not only the cabinet’s main adornment but its only adornment. ... The cabinet should be exclusively made from glass and iron without any other smaller distracting ornaments” (p. 16). Lanckoroński again formed his views on the different roles of contemporary museums some years later. In connection with nationalization and reorganization of the former emperor’s collections in Vienna, he published in 1924 a brochure in Vienna, *Künstler und Kunsthistoriker*, in which he strongly emphasized the role of the proper exposition of pieces of art.\(^4^0\)

When speaking about Lanckoroński’s innovative ideas on this subject, it is also worth noting that he was a forerunner, or one of the first propagators, of Skansen museums. In his estates of Rozdół, Komarno, and Jagielnica, he bought and maintained old wooden orthodox churches to protect them from demolition\(^4^1\). Without complete details it is hard to say if he was a step ahead of the first such institution established in Stockholm in 1891, or did not just follow the example of the Swedes. Very likely, he was influenced by an exposition that took place in Vienna in 1873, which displayed cottages and village buildings from many different parts of the monarchy.

Despite the confrontation with Galician artists and critics, Lanckoroński had many friends (to say nothing of the local aristocracy) and devotees among scholars. Just to mention a few: Prof. Julian Kłaczko — publicist, historian of art and literature; Prof. Marian Sokolowski — historian of art and director of the Czartoryski Museum; Prof. Feliks Koper — director of the National Museum; Prof. Rev. Stefan Pawlicki — philosopher; Stanisław Koźmian — politician, stage manager, and theatrologist; Leon Piniński — politician and lawyer. There were also artists: Jacek Malczewski, Antoni Madeyski, Wojciech Kossak, Kazimierz Pochwalski, and many others. As a result of recognition by scholarly circles, he was appointed a corresponding member of the Academy of

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\(^4^0\) In 1919 a brochure *Unschätzbare Werte. Die Zukunft unserer Kunstgüter von Vienensis* was published. He stated there that imperial palaces and castles should be turned into museums and galleries (worthwhile noting that Lanckoroński spoke critically about the Viennese representative buildings — *Prunkbauten* — writing about their ugliness and limited usefulness).

\(^4^1\) R. Taborski makes mention of this in his article in Przegląd Humanistyczny, p. 157 (cf. note 1).
Knowledge on October 31, 1891\textsuperscript{42}, and on March 25, 1907, he received an honorary doctorate from Jagiellonian University\textsuperscript{43}.

He was very closely tied to the University. He had many friends who were heads of different departments; he knew the needs of the school and endeavored to assist the \textit{Alma Mater} with his personal experience and funds. Because archaeology and art history were the closest to his heart, we should not find it strange that he mainly cared for these two disciplines. He set out to enrich the university collections and, above all, to assure art history and archaeology students the possibility of acquaintance with the most remarkable works of sculpture, without having to travel to a great number of museums around the world. He created a “gallery” of plaster casts, an act which was in harmony with the world trend. Masterpieces of Greek art discovered in the second half of the 19th century (e.g. Praxiteles’s \textit{Hermes and Dionysus} found in Olympia in 1877, or \textit{Auriga} discovered in Delphi in 1896), as well as sculptures known earlier, were cast in plaster and sold to different schools and museums for the purpose of instructive helps. One only need to briefly inspect the magazines from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries dealing with archaeology, art history, and art generally to find a number of advertisements for firms specializing in this particular area. Furthermore, these firms continued to worked (and still do) under the protectorate of museums themselves, which managed to make some extra profits thanks to this activity. In any case, the practice of forming plaster casts is considerably older (e.g. the last king of Poland, Stanisław August Poniatowski, had an impressive collection of them\textsuperscript{44}); however, the present article will not be dealing with this. During Lanckoroński’s numerous travels he came in contact with many such plaster cast galleries. He noticed that Canadian and American museums did not possess many original monuments at that time, and instead placed plaster casts on display\textsuperscript{45}. Knowing the poverty of Polish schools, he decided to enrich them with such resources.

From the time when his interests spanned the gap down into Turkey in 1881, he offered the Jagiellonian University Cabinet of Archaeology and History of Art a large collection of 54 Greek and Roman sculpture plaster casts\textsuperscript{46}. In 1894 he passed on another six casts, including \textit{Laokoon}\textsuperscript{47}. In 1896

\textsuperscript{42} The PAU Archive, Call number PAU W I—1, Protokoly Posiedzeń Wydziału Filologicznego 1873—1895, p. 108 (meeting on March 9, 1891), p. 112 (meeting on May 29, 1892).

\textsuperscript{43} The UJ Archive, Call number S II 971.

\textsuperscript{44} Cf. lately M. Korotaj, T. Mikocci, \textit{Odlewki gipsowe rzeźb starożytnych w Starej Pomarańczarni w warszawskich Lasienkach}, Archiwum Filologiczne XLVII, Wrocław 1989.


\textsuperscript{47} J. A. Ostrowski, \textit{Odlewy...}, No. 75.
he offered another large collection of Italian Renaissance sculpture plaster casts, which were first displayed in a building of the Friends of Fine Arts Society in Cracow\textsuperscript{48}. Among these casts were some copies of ancient monuments made of \textit{papier-mâché} and polychromed: four reliefs with Persian archers from Darius’ palace in Susa\textsuperscript{49} and “Indian low-relief made under Greek influence”. In this way a quite impressive collection came into being, which in 1931 contained 115 objects kept in the Jagiellonian University Cabinet of Archaeology\textsuperscript{50}.

Besides plaster casts, Lanckoroński handed over a relatively modest gift of original items to the cabinet in 1882. Among the gifts were: a bronze strigilla fragment from the 5th—4th centuries B. C.\textsuperscript{51}, a similar fragment from the 4th—3rd centuries B. C.\textsuperscript{52}, a finger fragment\textsuperscript{53}, and some Campanian vessels: oinochoe\textsuperscript{54}, plate\textsuperscript{55}, and skyphos\textsuperscript{56}. Besides these items, he donated some Etruscan fragments (from Chiusi) of bronze vessels, fibulae, pins, pendants and bracelets, which presently are kept in the collection of the Department of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University\textsuperscript{57}.

Indeed, as Maria L. Bernhard writes, his gift “is in a strange contrast to his venture expedition to Pamphylia and Pisidia”\textsuperscript{58} and compared to Władysław Czartoryski’s rich donation of 116 original items. However, one might be able to explain it. Lanckoroński surely knew that a collection of casts (for which he, anyway, had to pay) would bring more benefits to the university didactics than a gift of a few authentic items of lesser value. This is quite understandable since this very fond collector definitely did not want to part with the beloved items of higher quality. The desire to gather pieces of art of the highest class lies in the nature of every true collector. The fact that Władysław Czartoryski gave so many authentic items, creating a kernel of the Cabinet’s collection, being himself at the same time a collector, cannot function as an explanation. Firstly, Czartoryski had no intention of setting up in his own museum a separate

\textsuperscript{48} Katalog wystawy rzeźby włoskiej i innych dzieł rzeźbiarskich z fundacji Exc. Karola hr. Lanckorońskiego dla Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Sztuk Pięknych w Krakowie [Kraków 1906].

\textsuperscript{49} J. A. Ostrowski, \textit{Odlewys...}, No. 110.

\textsuperscript{50} Katalog, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{51} Katalog, No. 274.

\textsuperscript{52} Katalog, No. 277.

\textsuperscript{53} Katalog, No. 299.

\textsuperscript{54} Katalog, No. 424; CVA, Pologne 2, pl. 15, 19.

\textsuperscript{55} Katalog, No. 425; CVA, Pologne 2, pl. 15, 20.

\textsuperscript{56} Katalog, No. 427; CVA, Pologne 2, pl. 15, 23.


\textsuperscript{58} Maria L. Bernhard, \textit{Katalog}, p. 15. We should note here that von Luschan also helped increase the Cabinet’s collection. He turned over through anthropologist Izydor Kopernicki two Cypriote Middle Bronze vessels found near Myrina: (1) jug, \textit{Katalog}, No. 141; CVA, Pologne 2, pl. 1, 20; (2) jug with three legs, \textit{Katalog}, No. 144; CVA, Pologne 2, pl. 1, 23.
section for the Greco-Roman art at that time (even though, the museum inventory had a long list of ancient objects before the gifts arrived from Paris in 1872). Both of them possessed collections of a different character. As mentioned earlier, Lanckoroński’s collection was his child; it was a result of his endeavors and searching; he put a great deal of energy and enthusiasm into creating it. On the other hand, Czartoryski continued the tradition of the first Polish Museum. Although he certainly enriched his family collection, art was not his only passion as it was for Lanckoroński. Both of them went their different ways, yet both wanted their work to benefit the people of Poland. Czartoryski particularly paid attention to the artistic side of the monuments, whereas Lanckoroński looked to their didactic values. It was Józef Łepkowski who helped Czartoryski in the selection of objects for the university, and most likely it was he who inspired Czartoryski to turn over the gift. Other members of the Czartoryski family soon enriched this gift.\(^{59}\)

Lanckoroński also made some contributions to the Department of Classical Archaeology at Jagiellonian University. He donated a few hundred unique photos from his excursion to Turkey in 1882 and 1883, from his expeditions to Pamphylia and Pisidia in 1884 and 1885 (of which only a portion was printed in the publication of results of the expedition), and some photos from Benndorf’s expedition and Heroon’s exploration in Gjölbaschi-Trysa. These photos have a great value, and we can certainly see Lanckoroński’s key motive by his gift — to enrich the didactic quality of the university collection and of other Polish learning institutions.\(^{60}\)

II

During the 1880s, most Austrian archaeologists concentrated on the territories of southwestern and southern Asia Minor. The Anatolian peninsula was penetrated by travellers, especially English, in the 18th, and even 17th centuries. They left behind descriptions on monuments and brought to Europe isolated sculptures and inscriptions. Archaeologists only just began entering the area in the 19th century. In 1838, Ch. Fellows made his way to Xanthus

\(^{59}\) The gifts for the Cabinet were delivered by Marcelina Czartoryska née Radziwiłł and her son Marcelli.

\(^{60}\) Lanckoroński’s care for didactic matters can be seen in another gift, this to the Library of the Polish Academy of Knowledge in Rome. In 1929, Dr Karolina Lanckorońska, in behalf of her father, delivered a collection of 60 thousand photographs of art objects under the condition that they were to remain in Rome (The PAU Archive, call number I—142, 454/29). Cf. B. Biliński, Biblioteca e Centro di Studi a Roma dell’Academia Polacca delle Scienze nel 50° Anniversario della Fondazione 1927—1977, Wrocław 1977, p. 78.
and in 1841 J. A. Schönborn to Gjölbaschi-Trysa; Ch. T. Newton discovered the remains of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus in 1857; Ch. Perrot started exploring Galatia and Bithynia in 1861, on demand of an "archaeologist"; emperor Napoleon III; and architect J. Turtle Wood researched the remains of Artemisium in Ephesus in 1863 (the city remains an excavation site for the Austrians to this very day). H. Schliemann started digging Troy in 1871 and C. Humann began his work in Pergamum in 1878.

The Austrians under the direction of A. Conze and O. Benndorf, organized two expeditions to Samothrace in 1873 and 1875. After the publication of the second volume of the excavation report, Otto Benndorf made a reconnaissance to Lycia in 1880. As he wrote in his report, the territories of the Greek mainland and islands were already "occupied" by archaeologists from French and German institutes, northern Asia Minor by Schliemann and Humann; the Americans were digging in Assus, while the French and English were in Myrina and Sardis. That is why the Austrians headed towards southern Turkey. Benndorf set to work at a Heroon in Gjölbaschi-Trysa in 1881.

Sensational finds inspired him to create the Gesellschaft für archäologische Erforschung Kleinasiens (cf. p. 66) under the protectorate of archduke Rainer and duke Johann von und zu Liechtenstein. Lanckoroński played a considerable role in the making of the Society. He helped fund the next expedition which started researching in Gjölbaschi in spring of 1882. Otto Benndorf, George Niemann, Felix von Luschan and others joined together in the venture.

Encouraged by its success, Lanckoroński made a decision to finance and lead an expedition to the southern Turkish coast. He prepared himself for it very thoroughly. He made his reconnaissance journey organizing formalities in Istanbul (cf. p. 58) and, most importantly, set out to find the right coworkers. He found them and some of them, were outstanding personalities.

He accepted Eugen Petersen — the director of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, George Niemann — professor of architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, Wilhelm von Hartel, mentioned above, from the University of Vienna, and Marian Sokołowski from the Jagiellonian University. Von Luschan was also accepted as the expedition's physician. Jacek Malczewski, a painter, joined the expedition too. We also find Mauryce Hartl, an architect, photographer, and student of the Academy of Vienna, in the team. Oberleutnant Hausner of the Austrian army engineering corps was a draftsman. Heinrich Kiepert, an outstanding cartographer, prepared maps of Turkey in the imperial Military Institute of Geography.

Lanckoroński drew appropriate conclusions from the experiences of Benndorf's expedition. In contrast to the Austrians, who were undertaking stationary excavations and research, the goal of Lanckoroński's expedition

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62 O. Benndorf, Vorläufiger Bericht ... (cf. note 29), pp. 152—153.
was — in today’s archaeological terminology — a surface survey. This was the localizing and cataloging of ancient remains seen on the surface. The expedition was to take plans of cities and buildings, to take their exact measurements, and to describe, draw, and photograph them so that the foundation for further investigation would be set forth. Having a comparatively small team, Lanckoroński divided it in several groups, which worked independently in several places at the same time.

In September of 1884, the expedition sailed from Europe through Rhodes to Attalia (today Antalya). Research lasted to the end of November. During this time, they worked in Sillyum, Aspendus, Attalia and part of Sagalassus. Besides these cities, they visited Termessus, Side, Perga, Selga, and Padnelissus (Fig. 6). At the beginning of November, Hartel, Petersen, and Niemann returned through Buldur and the Meander valley to Smyrna, sailing then to Trieste. Lanckoroński, Sokołowski 63 and Maleczewski 64 made a trip to Konya, the inland of Asia Minor, where he negotiated with Wali Said Pasha, the head of the wilayet, to make arrangement for further research. By the end of November, they returned to Adalia, where the rest of the team was finishing its work, and then in the middle of December, they all set sail through Rhodes to Europe.

At the end of July, 1885, Lanckoroński sent a second expedition with some changes in the team. This time he did not personally take part in it. Again, Petersen, Niemann and M. Hartel took part. Hartel’s assistant was an architect from Cracow, Rausch. Dr. Heyder became the expedition’s physician since von Luschan was called to the Ethnographic Museum in Berlin. During the second expedition, despite various difficulties (illnesses that took the team members, e. g. Niemann suffered from a serious fever), cities such as Termessus, Perga, and Side (where the preliminary work had been started a year before) were researched. Research of Sagalassus and Aspendus was completed along with the work begun in Cretopolis and Cremona. Unfortunately, the expedition ended earlier than expected. Lanckoroński planned sending one more expedition “which would be desirable, however, it had to be called off because

63 M. Sokołowski left a very interesting description of the journey from Trieste through Piraeus, Smyrna and Rhodes to Pamphylia and Pisidia (M. Sokołowski, Z podróży na Wschód, Adryatyk, Archipelag i wyspa Rhodos, [w:] Studia z dziejów cywilizacji, Kraków 1889, pp. 34—141). It is worth adding here that there was another of his articles in this same volume, Ausryackie poszukiwania archeologiczne w Azji Mniejszej, where he fully described the results of Benndorf’s research.

64 Maleczewski was rather disobedient on the journey, as can also be seen from his letters to his friends in Poland. Fascinated with the exotics, he frequently left the party (protected by assigned Turkish soldiers) and in solitude contemplated the landscape and nature. Thus he caused distress for the rest of the group, which worried about his whereabouts. In Poland, he made many oil paintings, water-color landscapes, and drawings on the basis of a huge number of sketches brought from Turkey. Information on his role in expedition can be found in biographies of the painter: A. Heydel, Jacek Maleczewski. Człowiek i artysta, Kraków 1933; J. Puciatapawłowska, Jacek Maleczewski, Wrocław 1968, and first of all in M. Paszkiewicz, Jacek Maleczewski. W Azji Mniejszej i Rozdole, Londyn 1972, quoted in note 12.
Fig. 6. Lanckoroński’s Expedition in the ancient ruins. Painted by J. Maleczewski. After M. Paszkiewicz, *Jacek Maleczewski...*, p. 12

of participants’ different work occupations as well as a number of other reasons”.

The results of the expedition’s nearly seven months of research (in all) were published in a two-volume monumental edition (*in quarto*) including a total of 500 pages, 2 maps, 10 incredibly detailed plans of the cities researched, 64 plates and 268 drawings in the text, and numerous indexes. The work was published in German in Vienna, 1890—1892, in French (ed. George Perrot) in Paris, 1890—1893, and in Polish (Volume I translated by M. Sokołowski, Volume II by L. Ćwikliński and P. Bieńkowski) in Cracow, 1890—1896.

The first volume deals with Pamphylia. After a short introduction by Lanckoroński, the following cities are discussed: Attalia (pp. 7—33) (Fig. 7), Perga (pp. 34—65), Sillyum (pp. 67—86), Aspendus (pp. 87—125), and Side (pp. 126—152). The volume ends with a discussion of the inscriptions found in this region (pp. 153—186). Volume II deals with Pisidia: Termessus (pp. 21—77) (Fig. 8—9), Trebenna (pp. 78—122), Cretopolis (pp. 123—126), Sagalassus (pp. 127—159). Cremna (pp. 160—171). Selga (pp. 172—184), and inscriptions at the end (pp. 196—237).

65 Miasta ..., Vol. I, p. III.
66 Die Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens, unter Mitwirkung von G. Niemann und E. Petersen, herausgegeben von Karl Graf Lanckoroński, Vol. I. Pamphylien, Vol. II. Pisidien, Wien 1890—1892. Eleven cities were researched, but only ten plans were found since Trebenna belongs to Lycia.
The research area was perfectly chosen, as P. Bieńkowski wrote in 1896: "One could not have made a better choice than a research of Pamphylia and Pisidia. These regions lie to the east and north of Lycia. The expedition and work of Lanckoroński somehow undertook an concept left over by the members of previous expeditions and continued research to shed a bit more light on the culture of these distant lands. The continuation was very desired because these two provinces have almost been unknown up to these days. Lanckoroński’s choice and plan were indeed excellent".  

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67 P. Bieńkowski, Z dziejów cywilizacji starożytej, Kwartalnik Historyczny VIII, 1894, p. 224. It is the second part (the first appeared in Kwartalnik Historyczny V, 1891) dealing with the cultural sphere of southern Asia Minor, based on the results of Lanckoroński’s research.
Indeed, the localization of the research was the most important and undeniable success of the expedition. The success was achieved thanks to good orientation in ancient sources and descriptions of previous journeys, and to the earlier reconnaissance trip. It was accomplished even before the participants of the expedition set out to work. Further indisputable achievements were the extremely detailed cataloging, descriptions, and perfect drawings by G. Niemann demonstrating found monuments. Thus, up to this very day, this work is indispensable material for further research.

This work, however, has its shortcomings causing the whole publication to be somehow uncompleted (it should be remembered, however, that another expedition was planned). It was not Lackoroński's fault but rather his co-workers. Petersen, besides the publication of the inscriptions, wrote parts dealing with the history and topography of respective sites. Niemann, on the other hand, dealt with descriptions of buildings and building reconstructions made in drawing (e.g. the theater stage building in Aspendus). These have been used to this very day. Both scholars completed their assignments perfectly. Yet in both cases, a general synthetic summary is lacking. Petersen somehow got lost in details; he should have made an outline of the civilization.

68 This publication is referred to by all the scholars dealing with the history, philology, and art of these two regions. One can be assured of its timeliness while reading articles dealing with the cities researched by the expedition in such publications as EAA, Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites. Cf. also E. Akurgal, Ancient Civilizations And Ruins of Turkey, Istanbul 1970 and Forschungen in Pisidien, herausgegeben von E. Schwertheim, Bonn 1992.
development in both regions, taking into account cultural borrowing and foreign influence. Above all, they should have tried to detect the meaning of these regions in the history of Greek and Roman civilization. Niemann, similarly, while painstakingly describing respective buildings, did not try to draw general conclusions, such as how the monuments of Hellenistic and Roman architecture in Pamphylia and Pisidia compare to the architecture of
neighboring regions, as well as what are the differences and what are the similarities with architecture of the whole Mediterranean in these periods. There were no statements (if so, they were not made clear) about whether or not local (Anatolian) influence was seen, or about the meaning of these regions’ architecture in the general development of architecture as such.

Present day publications and archaeological reports are required to draw such conclusions; however, 110 years ago, the work completed by Lanckoroński’s team was pioneering work. No 19th century publications contain such amount of information about such a vast region embracing more than nine centuries of history (from Alexander the Great to the Byzantine Period).

The main purpose of Lanckoroński’s explorations was to search for Greek and Roman monuments. The first expedition, however, unintentionally played some role in the Hittite studies just coming into being. During the excursion to Konya and the vicinity some information was obtained about the existence of an unknown monument near the village of Koyluteğlu Yayla at Beyşehir Lake, on the road from Ilgun to Kadin Man. This was a stone block 80 cm high and 179 cm long with a Hittite hieroglyphic inscription. Sokolowski copied the inscription and sent the copy to G. Perrot, who published it along with the Polish scholar’s letter ⁶⁹. In this same letter, Sokolowski drew the remains of an unknown building’s facade near Eflatun Pınar, 2 km east of the Beyşehir Lake, which W. J. Hamilton had came upon earlier in 1835. Sokolowski precisely measured and escribed the facade built from 14 blocks decorated with reliefs and dated to the 13th century B. C. ⁷⁰

As can be seen from this short article Karol Lanckoroński possessed all the characteristics of a truly diverse researcher in his personality. These qualities were manifested equally in the field and at the desk. Thanks to his open-mindedness, we can now understand why he was called “the last humanist” ⁷¹.

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⁷⁰ This monument was included in G. Perrot’s work, Histoire de l’art dans l’Antique, IV, Paris 1887, pp. 730—738, Figs. 356—357 (dessin de Marquis Sokolowski). Lately, the building was discussed by R. Naumann, Architektur Kleinasiens, Tübingen 1971, pp. 22, 73—74, 195, 441—442, plus color photograph on the book jacket.

⁷¹ This was a title of J. Wilde’s obituary on Karol Lanckoroński, Der letzte Humanist, Neues Wiener Tagblatt Nr. 196, 1933.