

Among the scientific documentation materials held at the Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów there is a very interesting manuscript entitled *Katalog obrazów należących do J.W.P. hr. Konstantego Branickiego znajdujących się w r. 1882 w Jego mieszkaniu na ulicy Penthievre N° 22 w Paryżu spisał Michał Żmigrodzki* [*Catalogue of paintings belonging to His Lordship Count Konstanty Branicki, in 1882 located in his apartment at rue Penthievre N° 22 in Paris, compiled by Michał Żmigrodzki*; hereinafter referred to as the *Catalogue*].¹ It has the form of a notebook containing thirty-four leaves bound in brown canvas. It opens with a plan of one of the rooms and a diagram of the arrangement on its walls of twenty-nine paintings of varying sizes, marked by simply sketched frames. The following pages contain a catalogue covering forty pieces on numbered pages (each on a separate page). The catalogue notes consist of a drawing depicting the piece and a textual explanation, which does not give the title of the work (the titles quoted below are taken from other sources), but only the name of the artist and some technical data, as well as a description of the painting in the form of an alphabetically labelled legend that resembles a colour guide for former print publishers, transforming very schematic drawings into something like a map or a children's colouring book (Fig. 1).

The author of the catalogue was a historian of art, an expert in religious studies, an ethnologist, and a librarian in Aleksander Branicki's library at Sucha Beskidzka.² He was a poor draughtsman, so the drawings are rather inept. The document he produced is nevertheless quite peculiar, as it does not fully correspond to the information content of art catalogues

HABENT SUA FATA PICTURAE. COUNT KONSTANTY BRANICKI'S CABINET OF PAINTINGS IN PARIS

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1 Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów, DA 19 Wil; years ago, this catalogue and collection were the topic of my popular-science article 'Kolekcja Konstantego Branickiego', *Spotkania z Zabytkami*, vol. 16, 1992, no. 10, pp. 28–30; I also wrote about it in the study concerning Polish collections in France (2005). In addition, it was mentioned by Andrzej Ryszkiewicz, 'Ksawery Branicki i polonica na zamku w Montrésor', in: idem, *Kolekcjonerzy i miłośnicy* (Warszawa, 1981), pp. 158–159.

2 Michał Żmigrodzki (1848–1919) held a doctorate in Philosophy; he was a historian of art, religious scientist and ethnographer; he studied at the Jagiellonian University (1869–1871), in Munich (1871–1878) and in Paris (1878–1882); he taught art history at the A. Baraniecki Higher Courses for Women held at the Technology and Industry Museum in Cracow (1898–1917) and the art history course and the Unrsuline Sisters' Lycée for Girls in Cracow (1907–1913); he edited the first art history handbook to be published in Poland, authored by Józef Łepkowski (1900); he was the author of, among others, *Krótki zarys historii sztuki* (1908) and *Przegląd historii sztuki w Polsce* (1911); from 1882 the librarian and curator of the Branicki Library collections held in Sucha Beskidzka; during the First World War he supervised the evacuation of a part of the library from Sucha to Vienna; cf. M. Banaś, *Michał Żmigrodzki: pisarz, estetyk, bibliotekarz* (Sucha Beskidzka, 2006).

*Catalogue of paintings
belonging to His Lordship
Count Konstanty Branicki
(pp. 42–43)*

of the era and its purpose is a matter of speculation; it may have been a *sui generis* sketch for a future album or a similar publication. The document describes and depicts Count Branicki's modest cabinet of paintings in Paris; it covers just one room, although perhaps it had been intended to cover more. These were not the only paintings decorating the count's apartment; there were also other pieces, mainly family portraits, as evidenced by a view of the drawing room shown in an amateur painting held at Château de Montrésor and attributed, according to family tradition, to Róża Branicka née Potocka (Fig. 2), which allows us to imagine the appearance of those interiors.³ The walls of the drawing room are hung with portraits, among which it is possible to discern works by Franz Xavier Winterhalter: *Portrait of Eliza Krasińska née Branicka with her Children* (1852), *Portrait of Katarzyna Potocka née Branicka with Lilac Flowers in her Hair* (after 1853), *Portrait of Cecylia Lubomirska* (1852), and a copy of Greuze's *Young Girl with a Letter*. In later times, these portraits wended their way to Montrésor, where they are held to this day.

Situational sketches on the opening pages of the catalogue probably correspond to the real-life arrangement of the paintings on the walls, herein labelled alphabetically. In the centre of wall 'A' there was a fireplace, with a mirror above it and two doors to the sides. At the far end of it hung a small portrait of a bearded man, supposedly painted by Rembrandt, but

3 No photographic documentation of this apartment has survived in the family archive held at the Château de Montrésor.



Fig. 2

Róża Branicka née Potocka,
Drawing room in the Branicki
family's apartment at 22 rue
Penthievre in Paris, Château
de Montrésor, France

the author of the catalogue supplemented this information with the note 'at[t]ribué'. On either side of the mirror there were four religious images: Bernardino Luini's *Madonna with Child* (until 2013 in the National Museum in Warsaw and attributed to Giampietrino), Pinturicchio's *St Catherine* and two *Madonnas*, one by Francesco Francia, the other by Giovanni Bellini.

Wall 'B' held eight works in two rows: at the far end, a *St Sebastian* associated with Anton van Dyck and above it the *Portrait of a Young Woman* by Aelbert Cuyp (until 2013 in the National Museum in Warsaw); beside the latter, in the upper row, a *Portrait of a Man* and *Portrait of a Woman* by Frans Pourbus flanking a copy of *David with the Head of Goliath* by Guido Reni, and below – separated by a *Flight into Egypt*, allegedly by Rubens – two companion compositions by Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Indolence (La Paresseuse italienne)* and *The Guitarist* (the latter now being one of the most outstanding works in the painting collection held at the National Museum in Warsaw). Both of the latter were created during Greuze's journey to Italy, were exhibited at the Salon of 1757, and afterwards entered the collection owned by Jean-Baptiste-Laurent Boyer de Fonscolombe in Aix-en-Provence, years later sold at an auction in Paris (1790).⁴ Currently *Indolence (La Paresseuse italienne)* is allegedly held in the Wadsworth Atheneum of Art in Hartford, Connecticut, USA.

⁴ The two paintings were purchased in 1790 by the Paris painter and dealer in drawings Guillaume-Jean Constantin for the sum of 877 livres, most likely through the intermediary F. Renaud, Reynaud or Regnault (possibly the prints dealer and painter François-Léandre

Wall 'C' was somewhat different in character, as it was built on a rounded ground plan, with a door on the axis and two windows with mullions and transoms dividing it into six parts (probably an exit to the outside or to a balcony). Seven smaller paintings were hung there: an anonymous *Portrait of a Lady with a Rosary*, *The Village School* by Adriaen van Ostade (until 2013 in the National Museum in Warsaw), *St Hieronymus*, considered to be by Albrecht Dürer, *The Old Man Reading* by François Marius Granet, an anonymous *Portrait of a Dog*, *The Palm Reading* by David Teniers the Younger, and a small *Village Landscape at Night* by Aert van der Neer.

On wall 'D' there were nine paintings in two rows. The arrangement opened with *Portrait of a Man in a Hat* by Frans Hals which earlier had been a part of a gallery owned by Michał Hieronim Radziwiłł, and further on, a *Madonna with Child* by Francesco Francia (later pronounced to be by Giovanni Bellini), *Portrait of a Man* by Andrea del Sarto, *Christ Carrying the Cross and St Veronica* attributed to Lucas van Leyden (today in the National Museum in Warsaw), and a copy of a female portrait by Rubens, *The Village Surgeon* by Teniers (one more piece from the former Nieborów gallery), *Portrait of a Man* by Lucas Cranach the Elder (today in the Wawel Royal Castle), *An Interior Scene* by Granet, and *Portrait of a Woman* by François Clouet.

The remaining eleven pieces were not ascribed to any interior. Those were: *The Vodka Seller* – another work by Teniers, *The Sleeping Peasant* by Adriaen Brouwer (both in the National Museum in Warsaw until 2013), a miniature piece *The Itinerant Dentist* by Lucas van Leyden, *Venus with Cupid* by Lucas Cranach the Elder, an unspecified work by Jan Davidsz. de Heem, as well as a portrait of an old woman by Jean Chardin and nineteenth-century works: *Portrait of a Bearded Man* (Konstanty Branicki) by Gustave Ricard (a copy from the same period is in the Wilanów Palace Museum), *The Woman with a Bared Breast*, provisionally linked with the oeuvre of François Gérard (addendum in pencil) and a composition by Théodore Géricault that had not been illustrated or described.

The owner and creator of the cabinet in question, Count Konstanty Branicki (1824–1884), seems to have been less of an art collector than a traveler, hunter and collector of natural specimens, as well as a patron of research into natural history and sponsor of scientific expeditions to exotic countries (Fig. 3). As stated in his obituary, 'he was distinguished by his love of lion- and tiger-hunting, and in the last years of his life he devoted himself with particular enthusiasm to natural sciences, collecting specimens of birds, insects and quadrupeds, both personally and with the help of researchers he sent [on expeditions], the roll of whom once included

Regnault Delalande), then put up for auction on 23 Nov. 1801 in Paris and purchased by the Belgian painter, royal museums expert and art collector Pierre Joseph Lafontaine for the sum of 1,302 francs (Getty Provenance Index: 25 Nov. 2023: piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb?path=pi/pi.web#?).



Professor Waga, and today includes the young zoologist and botanist Sztolcman, who was investigating Central America'.⁵ Count Konstanty was a grandson to Grand Hetman of the Crown Franciszek Ksawery Branicki, the infamous leader of the Targowica Confederation (a disgrace

⁵ *Kurjer Codzienny*, no. 200, 8(20) July 1884.

Fig. 3

Gustave Ricard (copy),
Portrait of a Bearded Man
(Konstanty Branicki),
Museum of King Jan III's
Palace at Wilanów

that laid a heavy burden on the entire family). His siblings were Ksawery, Aleksander, Władysław, Eliza Krasińska, Zofia Odescalchi and Katarzyna Potocka. As a landowner, he received huge income from vast estates in Ukraine. He had no formal education, but acquired a thorough knowledge of nature, highly valued in professional circles, especially in the field of ornithology. In the summer of 1858, the Warsaw press reported: ‘Courtesy of Count Konstanty Branicki, who, upon his return from Algiers, and then Paris, to Biała Cerkiew, paid a short visit to Warsaw, we viewed his trophies brought back from the hunts in which he took part this year in Africa’.⁶ As time passed, these journeys assumed the character of scientific exploration, carried out in the company of the count’s brother Aleksander and prominent naturalists such as Professor Antoni Waga, Władysław Taczanowski and the French priest Armand David. Branicki travelled across various countries of Africa (Egypt, Nubia, Algeria, Tunis), the Middle East (Palestine, Syria, Turkey) and Europe (Spain, southern France). In addition, he financed various expeditions and missions in which he was unable to participate due to his health, as well as Benedict Dybowski’s research in Siberia and expeditions to South America undertaken by Konstanty Jelski and Jan Sztolcman. These enterprises greatly enriched the collections of the Zoological Cabinet at the Main School of Warsaw, an educational institution which the count supported financially. His own collection was growing as well; in view of the takeover of the Zoological Cabinet by the anti-Polish Imperial University, the count envisaged its future as a publicly accessible museum. It was indeed opened as such by his son in 1887, when the collector himself was no longer alive.⁷

What role did painting play in Count Konstanty Branicki’s intellectual pastimes? It seems that it was less important than his interest in zoology, but the count was surrounded by collectors and artists, such as Andrzej Mniszech, Jacek Malczewski or Juliusz and Wojciech Kossak, and some records indicate that in his youth he had been involved in archaeological excavations.⁸ He personally acquired new pieces for his collection and made his paintings available for viewing during at least two public exhibitions.

6 *Kurjer Warszawski*, no. 224, 14(26) July 1858.

7 P. Daszkiewicz, D. Iwan, ‘Co wiemy o muzeum Branickich? Listy Jana Sztolcmana do Benedykta Dybowskiego ze zbiorów poznańskiego oddziału Archiwum PAN – interesujący przyczynek dla historii zbiorów przyrodniczych w Polsce’, *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, vol. 65, 2020, no. 2, pp. 77–87.

8 This information is given in *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, where the authors write of archaeological finds from Rosawa in the Kiev Land: ‘horse bones together with human ones, and beside them sabres (53 English inches long), shallowly curved, some of them gilt to half their length, light spears, iron arrowheads, axes, chain-mail shirts, cap helmets with aventails, necklaces of gilt silver or copper, small stone crosses, amber beads, etc., and no trace of firearms. A large part of these pieces was deposited in the archaeological museum in Cracow’; cf. F. Sulimierski, B. Chlebowski, W. Walewski, *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. 9 (Warszawa, 1888), pp. 748–749.



Fig. 4

Netherlandish master of the first half of the sixteenth century, *Christ Carrying the Cross and St Veronica*, in deposit at National Museum in Warsaw

In contrast, not much is known about his participation in the antiquarian market. When the collection, famed throughout Paris, owned by the Swiss banker Count James de Pourtalès-Gorgier went on sale in 1865, Branicki purchased a painting then attributed to Lucas van Leyden – the already mentioned scene of Christ meeting St Veronica on the way to Calvary. This attribution was not sustained and the piece is now considered to be the work of an anonymous Netherlandish master active in the early sixteenth century (National Museum in Warsaw, Fig. 4).⁹ In the same year, during the sale

⁹ *Souvenirs de la galerie Pourtalès. Tableaux, antiques et objets d'art photographiés par Goupil & C^{ie} (Paris, 1863), planche 24; Catalogue des Tableaux Anciens et Modernes, Dessins qui composent les Collections de feu M. la Comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier*

of the Nieborów gallery owned by Prince Sigismund Radziwiłł, Branicki acquired the *Portrait of a Man in a Hat* by Frans Hals, auctioned for 1,750 francs.¹⁰ Then, a few months later, during the next stage of the sale of this collection, he purchased *The Village Surgeon* by David Teniers the Younger, paying 7,000 francs. This was one of several works by this master to be in the Radziwiłł gallery; it may have been the one that had been acquired from the most famous Parisian art dealer of the Revolution and the Empire period, Jean-Baptiste Lebrun, the purchase mediated by his beautiful wife, the excellent portrait painter Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (Fig. 5).¹¹ Apart from that, the count bought there, for 605 francs, a *Still Life* by Willem Claesz. Heda (National Museum in Warsaw), but it is not known whether it would be legitimate to identify it with the above-mentioned work by de Heem noted by Żmigrodzki.¹² Then, in 1868, at an auction of paintings from the collection of William H. Webb, a New York shipbuilder, philanthropist and collector, Branicki acquired the *Sleeping Peasant* by Adriaen Brouwer (Fig. 6), paying 980 francs (Jan Białostocki erroneously suggested the provenance of this work from Johann Peter Weyer's collection in Cologne).¹³ In

et dont la Vente eut lieu dans son hôtel, rue Tronchet n° 7, Les lundi 27 Mars 1865 et les jours suivants [Paris 1865], cat. no. 174; *Malarstwo europejskie w zbiorach polskich 1300–1800*, eds J. Białostocki, M. Walicki (Warszawa, 1957), p. 484; H. Benesz, M. Kluk, *Early Netherlandish, Dutch, Flemish and Belgian Paintings 1494–1983 in the Collections of National Museum in Warsaw and the Palace at Nieborów Complete Illustrated Summary Catalogue. Volume II (Anonymus Artists)*, eds H. Benesz, P. Borusowski (Warszawa, 2016), cat. no. 787, p. 12.

- 10 [A. Blank], *Katalog Galeryi Obrazów sławnych mistrzów z różnych szkół zebranych przez ś.p. Xięcia Michała Radziwiłła Wojew. Wil. teraz w Królikarni pod Warszawą wystawionych* (Warszawa, 1835), cat. no. 360; *Catalogue de la première partie des Tableaux anciens des écoles italienne, flamande et française composant la Collection de M. le Prince Radziwiłł dont la vente aux enchères publiques aura lieu Hôtel Drouot, salle 7, le Mardi 23 Mai 1865* [Paris 1865], cat. no. 47; Archives de Paris, Documents des Commissaires-Priseurs, D 48 E³ 56/1297.
- 11 [A. Blank], *Katalog Galeryi Obrazów*, no. 254; *Collection du Prince Sigismond Radziwiłł. Catalogue des Tableaux anciens des écoles française & hollandaise dont la vente aux enchères publiques aura lieu Hôtel Drouot, salle 5, le Lundi 26 Février 1866*, no. 51; Archives de Paris, D 48 E³ 57/1365.
- 12 *Collection du Prince Sigismond Radziwiłł*, cat. no. 28; Archives de Paris, D 48 E³ 57/1365.
- 13 An index card with the description of this painting by Jan Morawiński, included in his 'Kartoteka niekompletna dzieł sztuki zabranych w czasie okupacji przez Niemców, własność Muzeum Narodowego oraz depozyty', contains the information that on its reverse there is, 'at the top left, a label cut out from some catalogue: BRAUWER Adriaen/ 3. – Buveurs dans l'estaminet. Un gros bonhomme, assis sur un tonneau formant fauteuil, tient un pot de bière; il paraît déjà absorbé par la boisson; dans le fond, autour d'une table, sont des gens ivres, l'un d'eux est étendu sur le carreau/ Bois. – H. 31 c., L. 25c.' (Archives of the National Museum in Warsaw). This cutout comes from the catalogue of the Paris auction of the collection owned by William H. Webb (*Catalogue de Tableaux Anciens parmi lesquels les meilleurs Maîtres Flamands et Hollandais, dont la Vente aux enchères publiques aura lieu Hôtel des Commissaires-Priseurs rue Drouot 5 [...] le Lundi 13 Janvier 1868* [Paris, 1868], no. 3; see also H. Mireur, *Dictionnaire*



Fig. 5

David Teniers the Younger,
The Village Surgeon, until
 2006 in deposit at Wawel
 Royal Castle

1866 Branicki loaned his recently purchased work by Teniers for a retrospective exhibition at the Palais de l'Industrie on the Champs-Élysées, and in 1874 he loaned it again – this time together with the *Portrait* by Hals and *The Guitarist* by Greuze – for an exhibition to benefit the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine exiled because of the Franco-Prussian War.¹⁴

The 1882 catalogue was probably intended to be continued,¹⁵ but it is unlikely that the collection of paintings expanded after this date: Branicki

des ventes d'art faites en France et à l'étranger pendant les XVIII^{ème} et XIX^{ème} siècles, vol. 1 [Paris, 1901], p. 443). The basis for Białostocki's erroneous identification was the rather imprecise description from the catalogue for the auction of Weyer's collection, held in Cologne, from where came also the groundwork pieces for the National Museum in Warsaw collection (*Catalogue der bedeutenden Gemälde-Gallerie des Herrn J.P. Weyer Stadtbeaumeister a. D. Ritter des Leopold-Ordens etc. Versteigerung zu Köln am 25 August 1862 durch J.M. Heberle (H. Lempertz)* [Köln, 1862], n° 386: 'Die Gesellschaft zechender und jubelnder Bauern in der Schenke'), see *Malarstwo europejskie w zbiorach polskich*, p. 525.

14 *Exposition rétrospective. Tableaux anciens empruntés aux galeries particulières*, Palais de Champs-Élysées (Paris, 1866), cat. no. 236; *Explication des ouvrages de peinture exposés au profit de la colonisation d'Algérie par les Alsatiens-Lorrains* (Paris, 1874), cat. no. 226; see: T.F. de Rosset, *Polskie kolekcje i zbiory artystyczne we Francji w latach 1795–1919. Między „skarbnicą narodową” a galerią sztuki* (Toruń, 2005), pp. 106, 114, 339.

15 Several last pages, partially paginated, were left empty; the empty pages after the layout scheme of the first room, in turn, may suggest that space was left here for one or two more entries.



Fig. 6

Adriaen Brouwer, *The Sleeping Peasant*, until 1990 in deposit at National Museum in Warsaw

died soon afterwards, and during the last years of his life, troubled by a serious heart disease, he had hardly left the house. The unfinished cabinet can therefore be considered a closed part of the family collection, side by side with other collections created separately, as it were, by both the owner himself and by his brothers. These included the already mentioned natural history collection, later a museum, at the villa at Frascati in Warsaw (in the vicinity of today's Wiejska Street), and above all the collection held at the Château de Montrésor in the French province of Touraine, on the Indrois river (a tributary of the Loire via the Indre). This may have been one of the first private residences in France to be open to the public on museum principles. In 1849, the château became the property of a colourful character: Ksawery Branicki, a tsarist officer in his youth, then an active member of Polish

émigré circles in France, a patron of Mickiewicz's political activities (the Polish Legion, *La Tribune des Peuples*), as well as an economist, co-founder of the Sociétés de crédit foncier under Napoleon III. The château contained more than twenty paintings purchased during the auction of one of the most famous collections of the first half of the century: the one belonging to Cardinal Joseph Fesch, an uncle to Napoleon. In addition, the Montrésor collection included two paintings once owned by King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski and, somewhat separately, a set of *polonica* ranging from seventeenth-century bas-reliefs by Pierre Vanneau, formerly part of the monument to John III Sobieski in the cathedral of Le Puy, through paintings by Leon Kapliński, Henryk Rodakowski, Tony Robert-Fleury, a drawing by Grottger (*The Musician*), to various pieces of historical gold- and silverware (not without fakes). Count Konstanty took over the estate and all these collections after his elder brother's death in 1879, although a few years earlier, intending to avoid complications in future inheritance proceedings, the two brothers had arranged a fictitious sale of all these assets to Konstanty.¹⁶ Among the Branicki family's ancestral holdings were also a library created by Count Aleksander at the castle in Sucha Beskidzka and, in the next generation, the painting gallery together with the entire complex of the Wilanów Palace.

After Count Konstanty's death in 1884, paintings from his cabinet passed into the hands of his son, Count Franciszek Ksawery (known as Ksawery), who followed in his father's footsteps in contributing to naturalistic research: he financed expeditions to South America and Africa, made the Branicki family's ornithological museum at Frascati available to the public and considerably expanded it, and ultimately, after Poland regained its independence, transferred its collection to the Zoological Cabinet at Warsaw University (it was later transformed into the Polish State Museum of Nature).¹⁷ He also inherited from his father the Château de Montrésor with all its furnishings and collections, which in the 1920s were further enriched by a dozen or so ancestral portraits, donated or purchased from the legacy of the late Mikołaj Potocki from his palace on avenue Friedland in Paris (among them were the *Portrait of Pelagia née Potocka Sapieha in a Grotto* by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and *Portrait of Wiktoria née Potocka Choiseul-Gouffier* after François Gérard).¹⁸ In 1892, by virtue of the will of his aunt Aleksandra Augusta Potocka, Count Ksawery became the owner of the Wilanów estate: both the museum and the residential

16 A. Ryszkiewicz, 'Ksawery Branicki i polonica na zamku w Montrésor', pp. 102–196.

17 [ato], *Warszawa, Muzeum ornitologiczne hr. Branickich (1887–1918)*, muzeumpamieci.umk.pl/?p=1796 (accessed 26 Dec. 2021).

18 A. Ryszkiewicz, 'Ksawery Branicki i polonica na zamku w Montrésor', pp. 156–157, 164, 166–167, 172, 177–179, 182, 183, 189.

parts of the palace, and the gardens.¹⁹ During this time Count Ksawery also acquired property in Warsaw. The first to be purchased were the buildings at 12 Foksal Street and 32 Nowy Świat Street, later demolished to make way for larger structures intended to bring revenue. In 1898, from another aunt, Maria née Sapieha, wife of Władysław Branicki, the count bought a palace at 18 Nowy Świat Street, paying for it 540,000 roubles, and moved in there with his family. He also purchased plots at Smolna Street, where four tenement houses were soon built.²⁰ In the future, he also acquired the entailed estate in Rosie (in the Grodno area), which he inherited from Stefan Potocki. This was, all in all, a sizeable estate, and one in good economic condition, too; economic analyses indicate, however, that in the following years (mainly after the First World War) its situation deteriorated steadily and just before the outbreak of the next war it was on the brink of bankruptcy.²¹

At the very end of the nineteenth century, the house at 22 rue Penthièvre in Paris, hitherto officially the property of Countess Jadwiga née Potocka, the wife of Konstanty Branicki, was sold to Baron Edmond de Rothschild.²² The paintings under discussion here were then transported to Poland – some to Wilanów, some to the Warsaw palace at Nowy Świat; eventually all of them came to be located in the latter.²³ This was an eighteenth-century townhouse, later acquired by the Branicki family and restructured by Henryk Marconi, where the works of art constituted an element of apartment furnishings – a rich decoration. Count Ksawery was not a great art lover; admittedly, he was a full member of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts, but this was, in essence, a part of the *decorum* inherent in his social position, especially that of the owner of Wilanów, by then a museum open to general public. The paintings were nonetheless looked after as scrupulously as the Wilanów ones; they were made available for scientific research, conserved, cleaned, and care was taken to ensure proper display conditions, as evidenced by pencil

19 This was reported in detail in the Warsaw press, e.g. *Kurjer Codzienny. Dodatek Poranny*, no. 13, 13 Jan. 1892; *Kurjer Poranny*, no. 13, 13 Jan. 1892.

20 *Kurjer Warszawski. Dodatek Poranny*, no. 261, 9(21) Sept. 1898.

21 A. Olewnik-Delewska, 'Dochody domów w Warszawie w sprawozdaniu finansowym dóbr hr. Adama Branickiego w latach 1929–1935', in: *Abacus. Od Richarda Fitz Nigela do Jana Falewicza*, ed. S. Sojak (Toruń, 2018), pp. 203–207; eadem, 'Bilanse dóbr i interesów hrabiego Adama Branickiego w latach 1929–1938', *Zeszyty Teoretyczne Rachunkowości*, 2019, no. 105 (161), pp. 55–76.

22 Rothschild is mentioned as the owner of the tenement from 1900 onward; cf. *Paris-Adresses. Annuaire général de l'industrie et du commerce, corps constitués, administrations, professions liberales, propriétaires, rentiers, etc.* (Paris, 1898, 1900, 1902, 1907).

23 According to Mrs. Maria Rey, some unspecified paintings were also given, as a legacy of her father, to Róża Branicka, married to Stanisław Tarnowski of Cracow, a professor of the Jagiellonian University and its rector (letter dated 6 Dec. 1992 in the materials deposited at the National Museum in Warsaw, MNW S-15/9).

notes added on the margins of Żmigrodzki's catalogue ('a wash would be advisable', 'to take down and examine', 'to restore without delay', 'to move to a more suitable place', 'to repair in the nearest future').

The pieces were loaned for exhibitions at home and abroad. In 1905, three paintings depicting the Madonna and Child – one by Giovanni Bellini, one by Bernardino Luini and another recognised as a work of the sixteenth-century Italian school (in Żmigrodzki's catalogue: Francesco Francia) were sent to the 'Marian Exhibition' organised by the church authorities in the building of the Museum of Industry and Agriculture. These works were described as belonging to 'Count Branicki from Warsaw' and not as brought from the well-known and highly regarded Wilanów gallery; this may indicate that they came from the former Paris cabinet of Count Konstanty, all the more likely as they can be identified in the illustrations in the exhibition catalogue (Plate 43 and 45).²⁴

In 1910, a small painting by Rembrandt was stolen. The daily press wrote: 'In the palace of Count Ksawery Branicki (18 Nowy Świat Street), there was a need to take measurements of a painting which was to be sent abroad. While the measurement was being taken, a servant, Kazimierz W., pointed out to the adm[inistrator] Mr Przesławski that one painting was missing from the wall. Upon checking, it turned out that the painting that had been lost was one by Rembrandt, depicting the head of an old man with an unkempt beard'.²⁵ The information given in press reports, the painting's features and its dimensions (18 × 25cm) indicate that this piece too was included in Żmigrodzki's catalogue. In Warsaw, it hung in a room filled with opulent furniture and other paintings, which in the absence of the owners were protected with linen curtains. Experts had allegedly valued it at 30 or 40 thousand roubles; it had been additionally examined by Professor Jerzy Mycielski of the Jagiellonian University. However, according to Michał Walicki, sent in 1906 to the Rembrandt exhibition in Leyden, it returned from there without a confirmation of authorship.²⁶ There is no information as to the conclusion of the theft case, only that the investigation resulted in the arrest of the servant Kazimierz W. However, it must be added that an annotation in

24 „Ku czci Bogarodzicy”. *Pamiętka pierwszej w Warszawie wystawy mariańskiej*, [ed.] Father H. Skimborowicz (Warszawa, 1905), cat. no. 448 ('Mother of God with the Child, painted by Jan Bellini with signature'), 505 ('Mother of God with Child Jesus. Painted by Bernard Luini, around 1500'), 506 ('Madonna with Child. Painting of the Italian school, beginning of 16th c.').

25 *Wiadomości Codzienne*, no. 243, 22 Oct. 1910; see also *Kurjer Warszawski. Dodatek Poranny*, no. 292, 22 Oct. 1910; *Kurjer Poranny*, no. 293, 22 Oct. 1910; *Słowo*, no. 481, 22 Oct. 1910; *Kurjer Polski*, no. 293, 23 Oct. 1910.

26 *Rembrandt-Hulde te Leiden. Catalogus der tentoonstelling van schilderijen en teekeningen van Rembrandt*, 15 Juli – 15 September 1906, cat. no. 53b ('Studiekop van een grijsaard, naar voren gewend. Paneel, 24x20'); M. Walicki, 'Rembrandt w Polsce', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 18, (1956), no. 3, p. 335.

Żmigrodzki's catalogue indicates that this work was present in the collection as late as 1920.

In 1919, after the Germans left Warsaw, organisational structures and administration of the newly independent Polish state were being instituted and an embassy of Great Britain was established in Warsaw as part that process. The Branicki family rented to the British their palace at Nowy Świat (it remained the seat of the British Embassy until the outbreak of the Second World War). The building was not very large, but it proved attractive to the English diplomats because of its central location and above all because all the furnishings, antique furniture, tapestries and paintings remained inside the residence.²⁷ Some of those paintings had belonged to the former Paris cabinet, as attested by surviving photographs and later documents.²⁸ In a 1927 photograph showing the parlour (Fig. 7), the following paintings can be discerned on its walls: portraits by Frans Porbus (a male and a female one), Hals, Andrea del Sarto and Lucas Cranach the Elder; two small works by Teniers (*The Vodka Seller* and *The Palm Reading*); a *St Jerome* associated with Dürer; possibly another painting by Teniers (*The Village Surgeon*) and a copy of Rubens's *Holy Family during the Flight into Egypt*.

The Nowy Świat palace needed to be put up for rent because of the Branicki family's serious financial crisis following the end of the First World War, caused by the revolution in Russia and the Polish-Bolshevik war. Stanisław Lorentz recalled that in the spring of 1920, on the eve of the Battle of Warsaw, 'Ksawery Branicki negotiated with Paris and London antique dealers the sale of several dozen paintings from the Wilanów Palace for 20,000,000 francs. A fierce press campaign and a ban by the authorities made this impossible'.²⁹ Lorentz's opinion of the press reaction was probably somewhat exaggerated; however, his account indicated the existence of a sales catalogue which described the objects on offer. Pencil annotations containing catalogue numbers in Żmigrodzki's manuscript (recalling a 'catalogue du 1920') may refer to it, although the document itself has not been found. This indicates that in addition to the Wilanów paintings, eleven works from the Warsaw palace rented to the English were also intended to be sold, including the portrait by Hals, *The Vodka Seller* by Teniers, *Venus with Cupid* by Lucas Cranach the

27 M. Kuhnke, 'Dzieła sztuki w dawnej ambasadzie angielskiej w Warszawie', *Cenne, Bezcenne, Utraczone*, (2011), no. 2, pp. 16–19.

28 Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów, DA 85 Wil.

29 S. Lorentz, 'Wilanów', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 12, 1999, p. 8; in reality, the press campaign cannot have been this fierce, as only a few articles appeared in the daily press, and those were very unclear and did not refer directly to Branicki (e.g. *Kurjer Polski*, no. 166, 20 June, no. 168, 22 June, no. 169, 23 June, no. 173, 27 June 1920).



Fig. 7

The parlour of the British embassy in the palace at 18 Nowy Świat Street in Warsaw, 1927, National Digital Archives

Elder, a piece by Géricault, as well as the small painting by Rembrandt allegedly stolen ten years earlier.³⁰

In the summer of 1923, Branicki loaned several works to an exhibition of French art organised by the Society for the Protection of Monuments of the Past (Polish: Towarzystwo Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości) in the Baryczka Tenement in the Old Town. On show were, among others, the famous *Equestrian Portrait of Stanisław Kostka Potocki* by Jacques-Louis David from Wilanów and five paintings from the Paris cabinet. The exhibition was not recorded in a printed catalogue, but those five works can be identified in photographic documentation compiled by the Society. These were primarily two Italian pieces by Greuze, *The Guitarist* and *Indolence (La Paresseuse italienne)*; as to the latter, it must be noted that the details visible in the surviving photograph seem to call into question the validity of its recognition as the piece currently in the Wadsworth Atheneum of Art in Hartford: the deep neckline is partly covered by a delicate shawl, and must be added that according to Żmigrodzki's catalogue, it was a copy on

30 1. Lucas van Leyden, *The Itinerant Dentist*; 2. Peter Paul Rubens, *Holy Family during the Flight into Egypt*; 3. David Teniers the Younger, *The Vodka Seller*; 5. Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Man*; 6. Albrecht Dürer, *St Jerome*; 13. *Portrait of a Woman*; 14. Jean-Louis-André-Théodore Géricault; 15. Rembrandt (attribué), *Portrait of a Man*; 20. Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Venus and Cupid*; 24. Frans Pourbus, *Portrait of a Man*; 25. Frans Pourbus, *Portrait of a Woman*.

board (Figs 8–9).³¹ In addition, the exhibition included the *Portrait of a Bearded Man* (Konstanty Branicki) by Gustave Ricard and works by artists rare in Polish collections: the *Portrait of the Duchess de Penthievre* by Chardin (although this attribution is rather doubtful; more interesting is the coincidence of the sitter's name with the name of the street, the original location of the cabinet) and *A Donkey and a Monkey* by Theodore Géricault – a study identified as a copy of a detail from a piece by Karel Dujardin (Fig. 10).³² In the winter of 1924, another five pieces from the same source went on show at an exhibition of Flemish and Dutch art, again organised by the Society for the Protection of Monuments of the Past in the Baryczka Tenement; those were the *Portrait of a Man in a Hat* by Frans Hals (assessed by the reviewers as a work from his studio), two portraits by Frans Pourbus, the *St Jerome*, whose attribution to Dürer was changed to the studio of Gerard David (Fig. 11), and a small piece linked with Lucas van Leyden: *The Itinerant Dentist* after his copperplate (Fig. 12).³³

Count Ksawery Branicki died at Montrésor in 1926 without leaving a will, so his legacy was divided, in accordance with the law of the time, between his widow, who renounced her share, and their three children: Adam, Katarzyna and Jadwiga, married to Stanisław Rey from Przecław. As a result of internal arrangements and repayments, Adam received

31 Information given on the website of the Wadsworth Atheneum of Art in Hartford is unclear. The painting was allegedly bought by Konstanty Branicki from the collection of J.P. Weyer (1862); but it is not found in the catalogue of the Cologne auction. Later it allegedly belonged to the Branicki and the Radziwiłł families and was held in Rome, Paris and Warsaw; finally, in September 1927, it was sold to Galeries Wildenstein in Paris, from which it went to the Museum in 1934; cf. 5058.sydneyplus.com/argus/final/Portal/Public.aspx?lang=en-US&p_AAEE=tab4&p_AABB=tab8 (accessed 5 July 2024).

32 This study, which remains unidentified, appeared at Paris auctions several times: in 1829, at the auction of the cabinet owned by Jean, the son of Pierre Paul Prud'hon (*Catalogue d'une collection précieuse de tableaux et dessins modernes, formant le cabinet de M. Prudhon fils*, Paris, 18–19 Dec. 1829, cat. no. 15), in 1831, at the auction of the collection owned by Pierre (?) de Laurencel (*Catalogue de tableaux précieux des écoles anciens et modernes, [...] dont la vente aura lieu après le décès de M. de Laurencel*, Paris, 10–12 Jan. 1831, cat. no. 81), in 1850, at the auction of the cabinet owned by Mr A. B. (*Catalogue d'une jolie réunion de tableaux et aquarelles [...] formant le Cabinet de M. A.B. dont la vente aura lieu pour cause de départ*, Paris, 19–20 April 1850, cat. no. 25), and finally in 1860, in Brussels, at the sale of van Becelaere's collection, when it was most probably acquired by Konstanty Branicki (*Catalogue de la riche et précieuses collection de tableaux modernes [...] composant la galerie de feu M. Jean-Ferdinand van Becelaere, amateur*, Bruxelles, 11–13 April 1860, cat. no. 115); I am grateful to Mr Brunon Chenique, an expert on the oeuvre of Géricault, for the above information.

33 'Życie artystyczne kraju i zagranicy', ed. W. Husarski, *Sztuka i Artysta. Miesięcznik*, 1924, no. 1, p. 14; J. Młodecki, 'Malarstwo flamandzkie i holenderskie (wystawa w kamienicy Baryczków)', *Sztuka i Artysta. Miesięcznik*, 1924, no. 2, pp. 32, 33; M. Piotrowski, 'Malarstwo flamandzkie i holenderskie (wystawa w kamienicy Baryczków)', *Sztuka i Artysta. Miesięcznik*, 1924, no. 2, p. 60.



Fig. 8

Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *The Guitarist*, National Museum in Warsaw



Fig. 9

Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Indolence (La Paresseuse italienne)*, Wadsworth Atheneum of Art in Hartford, Connecticut, USA (?)



Fig. 10

Théodore Géricault, *A Donkey and a Monkey*

the palace and estate of Wilanów with the adjoining manorial farms and, in Warsaw, tenement houses at 32–38 Smolna Street, the Branicki residence at 40 Smolna Street and the nearby palace at Nowy Świat Street (still leased to the British embassy), while Jadwiga received the castle at Montrésor in France.³⁴ However, the estates, which still under Count Ksawery had been severely weakened in terms of economy, were increasingly declining under the new owner, largely due to the Great Depression. Income (which was derived from agricultural activities – a dairy farm, fish farm, distillery, land leases, and sale of flowers from the palace gardens, as well as from the rental and lease of tenement houses and the sale of museum tickets and publications) proved insufficient; in the 1930s the annual deficit reached around one million zloty.³⁵ Some indebted properties had to be sold, others were seized by creditors; in addition, Branicki attempted to sell some works of art. In 1929, his plan to sell a large Persian carpet ‘into foreign hands’ caused a sensation on a nearly European scale; the sale was stopped by the Polish government, which bought the carpet for the Royal Castle. Later, a few more

34 Olewnik-Delewska, ‘Bilanse dóbr i interesów hrabiego Adama’, p. 58.

35 Olewnik-Delewska, ‘Dochody domów w Warszawie’, pp. 203–207.



Fig. 11

Atelier of Gerard David (attributed), *St Jerome*



Fig. 12

Lucas van Leyden, *The Itinerant Dentist*, in: *Sztuka i Artysta*, 1924, no. 1

attempts were made to patch up the estate's budget with income from the sale of works of art from Wilanów, which was to be compensated for, so to speak, by the donation of several paintings, historic craftworks and a library to the state.³⁶ In 1935, in turn, the press reported: 'A great commotion in aristocratic circles was caused by the news of the sale of Count Branicki's palace at 18 Nowy Świat Street in Warsaw, which for a number of years has been the seat of the embassy of the Kingdom of Great Britain. The palace was acquired by the Polish-American Bank for debts amounting to 750,000 zloty'.³⁷ In reality, the bank took over this property together with the nearby tenements on Smolna Street, with the exception of the family residence at no. 40.

The paintings from the Paris cabinet were also divided among the heirs, mainly Count Adam and his sister Countess Jadwiga Rey. From this point onwards the history of the collection is rather unclear, the lack of unambiguous sources making it impossible to trace the later fortunes of individual objects. Some seem to have remained in the hands of Ksawery Branicki's widow; those inherited by Adam and Katarzyna stayed in the embassy; the part belonging to Jadwiga went to Przecław near Mielec, where the sixteenth-century castle built by Mikołaj Ligęza had been taken over by the Rey family in the following century, henceforth constituting its main residence (later restructured to acquire neo-Gothic forms). The paintings held there survived the war and are still extant, including Greuze's *Guitarist (La Paresseuse italienne)* (may have been sold earlier), as well as *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *St Veronica* by an anonymous artist from the Netherlandish school, *Madonna with Child* by Luini, *Still Life* by Heda, and the *Holy Family during the Flight into Egypt* associated with Rubens. After the bank took over the palace at 18 Nowy Świat Street in Warsaw (even though it continued as the seat of the British embassy), Count Adam decided to move the works of art to the house at 40 Smolna Street, even though he agreed to leave the furnishings, as well as a few paintings and tapestries, temporarily in place. At this point, the set that used to be Konstanty Branicki's cabinet of paintings – by then already diminished by several pieces – was divided into three parts: works belonging to the furnishings of the British embassy, those belonging to the family apartments at 40 Smolna Street, and those moved to the castle in Przecław, although the exact location of particular pieces is now impossible to determine.

The war broke out soon afterwards and the palace at Wilanów with its collections became the Branicki family's main problem: it was these that needed to be maintained, protected and secured, and it was these that were the main object of the Germans' plundering attention. Other

³⁶ Lorentz, 'Wilanów', pp. 8–9.

³⁷ *Express Mazowiecki*, no. 51, 20 Feb. 1935.

elements of the family's collections located in Warsaw were somewhat less vulnerable, but by no means safe. In September 1939, the furnishings and many works of art in the apartment at 40 Smolna Street were lost to fire. According to an inventory compiled by Jan Morawiński, curator of the National Museum and Wilanów, who essentially took charge of the Branicki family collection, thirty-eight paintings and a collection of three hundred miniatures purchased from Feliks Wrotnowski were burnt. Only four of those were works from the set under discussion here: *Portrait of a Bearded Man* (Konstanty Branicki) by Gustave Ricard (Fig. 3)³⁸ and three paintings discernible in the already mentioned photograph of the British embassy's parlour: a *Portrait* by Andrea del Sarto (considered to be his self-portrait) and two portraits by an anonymous Dutch painter of the seventeenth century, which must be considered identical with the works by Frans Pourbus listed by Żmigrodzki. Also destroyed were many family portraits (including ones by Bacciarelli, Marteau and Mirys), the *Park Scene* by Jan Piotr Norblin, and works by Józef Brandt, Leon Wyczółkowski, Julian Fałat, Wojciech Weiss, one of the Gieryski brothers, and Jacek Malczewski (the painting *Death* and portraits of Konstanty and Ksawery Branicki).³⁹

Another group of paintings from Count Konstanty's former cabinet, by then in the house at 40 Smolna Street, was confiscated by the Germans in March 1940. The Germans had been planning the looting of cultural property in Poland for some years before the war. Public museums were thoroughly penetrated, while information on private collections was provided by Edward Chwalewik's publication *Zbiory polskie* (1926–1927).⁴⁰ The rest of the operation, concerning organisational matters and legal (in a peculiar sense of the term) issues, was completed during the war. The 'securing' of the Branicki collections was carried out on the basis of a decree on the confiscation of works of art in the General Government. The document – signed by Dr Joseph Mühlmann, half-brother of the head of the entire operation, Special Delegate for the Securing of Artistic Treasures Dr Kajetan Mühlmann – listed an eighteenth-century French chest of drawers in the style of Louis XIV and seven paintings, five of which came from the Paris cabinet. Those were *The Vodka Seller* by Teniers, *The Sleeping Peasant* by Brouwer,

38 A copy of this painting dating from the second half of the nineteenth century is held by the Wilanów Palace Museum (inv. no. Wil.1417); it must be added that another piece that burnt in the apartment at 40 Smolna Street was the *Portrait of Katarzyna Potocka née Branicka*, also by Ricard (possibly a copy of the work from the Potocki collection at Krzeszowice, currently in the National Museum in Warsaw).

39 Warsaw, Central Archives of Modern Records (Archiwum Akt Nowych), Ministry of Culture and Art, sign. 387/34, fols 45–47.

40 E. Chwalewik, *Zbiory polskie, archiwa, biblioteki, gabinety, galerje, muzea i inne zbiory pamiątek przeszłości w ojczyźnie i na obczyźnie*, vol. 1–2 (Warszawa–Kraków, 1926–1927).

The Village School by van Ostade, *Portrait of a Lady with a Rosary* ascribed, in various documents, to either the French or the German school of the sixteenth century, a *Still Life* by Jan Dawidz. de Heem, and two other works. The Wilanów gallery lost much more works, their expropriation occurring at more or less the same time; among them was one more work likely to have belonged to the set under discussion: a copy of *David with the Head of Goliath* by Guido Reni, in German documents ascribed to Caravaggio.⁴¹ All these works were initially deposited in the building of the National Museum in Warsaw (operating under the name Museum der Stadt Warschau at the time), then moved to Cracow, and subsequently, in view of the frontline drawing increasingly closer, evacuated to artwork warehouses in Lower Silesia and Bavaria, from where they were reclaimed after the war. All the paintings under discussion returned to Warsaw – with one exception: the anonymous *Portrait of a Lady with a Rosary*; in 1946 they were incorporated into the National Museum collection.

Karol Estreicher wrote of the British embassy during the war: 'It contained a very valuable collection of paintings by such artists as F. Hals and L. Cranach, as well as valuable furniture and other products of artistic craftsmanship [...]. The agency was closed by the Germans and the fate of the collection is not known'.⁴² This 'very valuable' items were, of course, the paintings and furnishings loaned by the counts Branicki. The British diplomats left Warsaw in the early September 1939, after Great Britain joined the war. As stated by Monika Kuhnke, the palace was made inaccessible and left in the care of representatives of neutral Switzerland, which for the time being protected its artworks from confiscation. In addition, it seems that the Germans were not aware of the art treasures furnishing its interiors, as their primary source of knowledge (Chwalewik's *Zbiory polskie*), which was very laconic about the Branicki collections outside Wilanów, omitted these premises altogether.⁴³ At the beginning of the German occupation, Beata Branicka, Count Adam's wife, who was in charge of the family estate, and Jan Morawiński gained

41 *Dokumenty strat kultury polskiej pod okupacją niemiecką z archiwum Karola Estreichera*, ed. Z.K. Witek (Kraków, 2003), pp. 140, 184; that this copy of Guido Reni may have belonged to the Paris cabinet of Konstanty Branicki is indicated by the fact that it came to the Wilanów gallery from the seat of the British embassy, as noted by Jan Morawiński in the index card of this piece in his catalogue of works appropriated by the Germans during the war: 'on the frame, in the upper part, upside down, a piece of paper with the note "Le Guide", in the lower part, to the left: Nowy Świat 18/13" (National Museum of Warsaw Archives). After the war, the piece was returned by the USSR in the year 1956.

42 K. Estreicher Jr., *Straty kultury polskiej pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1944 wraz z oryginalnymi dokumentami grabieży* (Kraków, 2003; original ed.: London, 1944), pp. 438–439.

43 Kuhnke, 'Dzieła sztuki w dawnej ambasadzie angielskiej', pp. 16–19.

access to the building in order to examine the furnishings and works of art located there. Morawiński drew up a list of the most valuable items, where he recorded fifteen paintings (not all of them belonging to the set formerly in Paris) and five tapestries.⁴⁴ Of the paintings under discussion, he listed two *Madonnas with Child* – by Francesco Francia and Giovanni Bellini, *A Donkey and a Monkey* by Géricault, *Portrait of the Duchess de Penthièvre* by Chardin, *Venus with Cupid* by Lucas Cranach the Elder – an illustration to the poem *Eros and a Bee* by Anacreon, *The Village Surgeon* by Teniers, *Portrait of a Lady* by François Clouet, *Portrait of a Young Woman* by Aelbert Cuyp and *Portrait of a Man in a Hat* by Hals, as well as *Portrait of Stanisław Kostka Potocki* by Angelika Kauffmann, a watercolour *The Battle of Żółte Wody* by Juliusz Kossak (both recorded as Wilanów's war losses) and three landscapes.⁴⁵ The fate of most of those pieces is not known. In 1942 the Germans found out about them and began the process of their 'securing', but it seems that the procedure was never completed.⁴⁶ After the war, the painting by Cranach was entered (as the only one) into the list of war losses,⁴⁷ Teniers's *Village Surgeon* and Cuyp's *Portrait of a Young Woman* wended their way to the Rey family home in Przecław, and the portrait by Hals surfaced in the possession of the family members in France and was subsequently sold.

In 1945, after the Red Army entered Poland and the People's Republic was proclaimed, the Branickis were exiled to Krasnoyarsk, from where they

44 Warsaw, Central Archives of Modern Records (Archiwum Akt Nowych), Ministry of Culture and Art, sign. 387/34, fols 76–77; Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów, DA 85 Wil., fols 5–6.

45 I. Voisé, 'Straty wojenne w zbiorach malarstwa w Wilanowie', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 10, 1984, pp. 66–67 (cat. no. 13, 15).

46 Kuhnke, 'Dzieła sztuki w dawnej ambasadzie angielskiej', p. 19.

47 This work was entered in the Cranach Digital Archive corpus as belonging to a private collection, and previously to the New York collection owned by Dr Frederick Mont (lucascranach.org/de/PRIVATE_NONE-P124/#; accessed 10 Jan. 2024); the Corpus Cranach website, in turn, noted it at an auction held by Neumeister Auktionshaus in Munich on 12 March 1986 (cat. no. 852), with the information that it had previously belonged to the Schweinfurt industrialist Georg Schäffer (corpus-cranach.de; accessed 10 Jan. 2024). The probability of this identification was questioned by Mariusz Pilus on the Art Sherlock website; however, it seems that the differences pointed therein result only from the imperfect quality of the reproductions from which both pieces are known on the one hand, and on the other from erroneous dimensions given in the catalogue of Polish war losses, artsherlock.pl/2016/10/15/czy-obraz-lucasa-cranacha-wenus-i-amor-jest-polska-strata-wojenna/ (accessed 10 Jan. 2024). It must be added that in the year 1866 a work by Cranach having the same topic and similar dimensions was purchased for 1000 francs by Konstanty Branicki's friend, the collector Andrzej Mniszech, at the auction of the collection owned by Louis Félix de Nolivos (*Catalogue d'Objets d'art et Haute Curiosité Antiques, du Moyen-Age et de la Renaissance, Tableaux et Dessins provenant en grande partie de la précieuse Collection de M. de Nolivos et dont la vente aura lieu Hôtel Drouot Salle n° 1, les vendredi 19 et samedi 20 Janvier 1866* [Paris 1866], cat. no. 134; annotations on the copy held at Bibliothèque nationale in Paris).

returned in 1947. At the end of that year, Count Adam died in Otwock, almost in poverty, leaving no property; the tenement at 40 Smolna Street burnt down during the Warsaw Uprising, and the Wilanów Palace became a branch of the National Museum in Warsaw in 1945. Towards the end of 1944, in view of the approaching front, the Rey family deposited some of the works of art from Przeclaw in the palace of the bishops of Cracow. The possessions of Cardinal Adam Stefan Sapieha's relatives, brought to Cracow from Krasiczyn and other estates in 1939 in order to protect the assets from the Russians occupying the area, were also placed inside the palace, as were various deposits from other families, including objects from the Czartoryski family's residence in Pełkinie and a set of ancient relics (e.g. objects made of gold, precious stone and glass, Mesopotamian seals) from the Gołuchów museum.⁴⁸ All these pieces, together with paintings from Konstanty Branicki's cabinet in Paris – collectively known as the Sapieha Deposit (Polish: *depozyt sapieżyński*) – almost accidentally became evidence, in a manner of speaking, during one of the more spectacular political trials of the Stalinist period.⁴⁹

This was the trial of priests from the Cracow curia and some laymen, all connected with National Socialist circles and collaborating with the émigré Political Council,⁵⁰ who were groundlessly accused of espionage on behalf of the Vatican and the United States. During the investigation, a search was carried out in the curia building, as a result of which the aforementioned deposit was discovered and seized. The Cracow daily *Dziennik Polski* reported: 'Hidden in the basement of the Curia were works of art and valuable property of various former aristocrats and landowners some of them fugitive abroad – the property of the nation, which the dignitaries of the Archbishopric Curia wanted to keep for the magnates who dream of entering Poland at the side of the neo-Hitlerian Wehrmacht'.⁵¹ The trial lasted a few days in January 1953 and ended with three of the defendants being sentenced to death (although ultimately the sentence was not car-

48 The issue of artworks deposited at the Cracow Bishops Palace in the 1940s was discussed by Agnieszka Woźniak-Wieczorek as part of the analysis of the Czartoryski family collection from Pełkinie, in an unpublished doctoral dissertation *Problematyka badania historii polskich rozproszonych kolekcji dzieł sztuki na przykładzie wybranych kolekcji książek Czartoryskich*, University of Warsaw, 2021.

49 Wawel Royal Castle, Department of Inventories and Catalogues, Inventory book for art collections. The so-called Sapieha Deposit; paintings deposited by Mr. and Mrs. Rey were entered under the numbers 48–52, 718, 765, 771.

50 The Political Council (Rada Polityczna) was a quasi-parliamentary political organ of the Polish émigré circles, instituted in London in 1949 – a slightly paranoid body (incidentally, well infiltrated by the Polish secret services) opposed to August Zaleski's presidency; its members were politicians from the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), Polish Peasant Party (PSL), National Party (Stronnictwo Narodowe) in exile, and the 'Independence and Democracy' Polish Freedom Movement (Polski Ruch Wolnościowy 'Niepodległość i Demokracja').

51 *Dziennik Polski*, no. 292, 5 Dec. 1952.

ried out), the others sentenced to long-term imprisonment, and the seized objects forfeited to the State Treasury. This was one of the first acts in the communist state's campaign against the Church, which later led to the arrest and imprisonment of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński.⁵² The works of art stored in the Bishops' Palace had nothing to do with the whole affair, but they were nevertheless displayed in front of a large audience at the trial, alongside fabricated evidence, weapons, foreign currency, goods in short supply at the time and medicines not available in Poland at all. In its coverage of the trial, *Dziennik Polski* wrote:

Material evidence placed on the podium around the judge's table draws universal attention. Piled up here are priceless works of art found in the apartments of the defendants, and especially in the cellars and archives of the Cracow curia, which are national property, such as old paintings, books and Slutsk sashes. Next to them there are weapons – rifles, and further on thick bundles of dollars and other currencies, a jar full of gold coins, jewellery, gold watches, numerous lengths of textiles, collections of quality vodkas, wines and liqueurs, boxes of cigarettes and, finally, the contents of packages received from abroad, the latter constituting one type of remuneration bestowed on the defendants by their principals in payment for their despicable dealings.⁵³

The paintings under discussion here were completely marginal in the whole affair, but they did appear in the illustration to the above report, some of them easily recognisable: the *Madonna with Child* by Giovanni Pietro Rizzoli known as Giampietrino, earlier ascribed to Luini, *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *St Veronica* of the fifteenth-century Netherlandish school, previously considered a work by Lucas van Leyden, and *St Jerome* from the studio of Gerard David, earlier attributed to Dürer (Fig. 13).

Seized by the State Treasury, the 'Sapieha Deposit', as it came to be known, was moved to Wawel Castle, where the museum depot of the State Art Collections was located, in February 1953. The following year, on the basis of arrangements made by a commission headed by Stanisław Lorentz, the works of art belonging to the 'deposit' were transferred to museums in Warsaw, Cracow, Poznań, Łódź, Łańcut and Zamość. The National Museum in Warsaw received the largest share, comprising a sizeable set of artistic craftworks, Polish paintings and six paintings by 'foreign' schools, including five pieces from the Branicki family's estate in Przecław; after a while this group was supplemented

52 W. Czuchnowski, *Blizna. Proces kurii krakowskiej 1953* (Kraków, 2003); F. Musiał, 'Proces Kurii Krakowskiej', in: *Sapiehowie kolekcjonerzy i mecenasi*, exhibition catalogue, Wawel Royal Castle, 4 Oct. – 31 Dec. 2011 (Kraków, 2011), pp. 51–70.

53 *Dziennik Polski*, no. 19, 22 Dec. 1953.

Fig. 13

Paintings from Konstanty Branicki's cabinet as material evidence, in: *Dziennik Polski*, no. 19, 22 Jan. 1953



by the separately transferred *Guitarist* by Greuze.⁵⁴ In his comment on the enrichment of the collection, Lorentz wrote that 'the Museum received very valuable historical objects from the large group discovered in the vaults of the Cracow Curia, among them a set of ancient jewellery, a collection of Chaldean cylinders, a Renaissance gold pendant in the shape of an eagle, *The Guitarist* by Greuze, the *Madonna with Child* by Luini, the *Portrait of a Young Woman* by A. Cuyp, the *Still Life* by Heda'; to these, it is necessary to add *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *St Veronica* by the Netherlandish school and a Flemish copy of the *Holy Family during the Flight into Egypt* by Rubens.⁵⁵ Some confusion is caused by the above-mentioned painting by Heda, as the Germans had confiscated from the Branicki collection the signed *Still Life* by Jan Davidsz. de Heem, and it was his name that was included, without any description, in Żmigrodzki's catalogue; both works are connected with the person of Count Konstanty, but it is probably impossible to decide which of them actually belonged to his original cabinet.

Additional works from the 'Sapieha Deposit' which the commission headed by Lorentz allocated to the State Art Collections at Wawel were, among others, the *Portrait of a Young Man* by Lucas Cranach the Elder, which can be seen in a 1927 photograph showing the living room of the British embassy in Warsaw. Also, until recently the museum's store-rooms still contained *The Village Surgeon* by Teniers, which had been mentioned in the inventory of works of art located in the building of the same embassy made by curator Morawiński during the war. It is likely

54 J.T. Petrus, 'Wawelskie losy kraczyńskich zbiorów Sapiehów', in: *Sapiehowie, kolekcjonerzy i mecenasi* (Kraków, 2011), pp. 75–84.

55 S. Lorentz, 'Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie w latach 1939–1954', *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, vol. 2, 1957, pp. 62–63.



Fig. 14

Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Man in a Hat*, Sotheby's London, 4 Dec. 2013

that the paintings landed in the Rey collection in Przecław before and during the war, and then were transferred to the cellars of the Cracow curia. However, while a separate inventory of the deposit confiscated there was made at Wawel, no provenance was stated in it; for this reason the works were considered to be the property of the Sapieha family. In 1998, the late Michał Sapieha donated the *Portrait* by Cranach to Wawel Castle and, on the basis of a legal settlement, Teniers's work was returned to him, together with many other objects seized by the Security Office years ago.

It thus turns out that sixteen paintings from the Paris cabinet of Konstanty Branicki have survived to the present day. After the end of the Second World War, they were mostly located in Polish public collections at Wawel Castle and the National Museum in Warsaw (12 pieces). After the fall of the People's Republic of Poland and the subsequent lawsuits, some pieces from Warsaw were returned to the heirs of Jadwiga Rey née Branicka, or stayed in the Museum as a deposit (e.g. *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *St Veronica* by a Netherlandish school). *St Jerome* by Gerard David was donated to the metropolitan curia in Cracow still in 1956.⁵⁶ The work that went abroad was the *Portrait of a Man in a Hat* by Hals, which in the 1960s belonged to Ksawery Rey and his wife Wiridiana née Raczyńska, daughter of Edward Raczyński, President of the Republic of Poland in exile. Held at Montrésor, Paris and London, it was subsequently sold to the New York collectors Gerald and Linda Guterman. In the years 2013–2019 its was temporarily deposited at Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem (Fig. 14).⁵⁷ Another works that remains in Mrs Rey's possession in Paris is *The Old Man Reading* by François Marius Granet.⁵⁸

56 Wawel Royal Castle, Department of Inventories and Catalogues, the so-called Sapieha Deposit, no. 703.

57 In 2009 the painting was shown at the 'Frans Hals und Haarlems Meister der Goldenen Zeit' exhibition in Munich and Haarlem, in 2013 it was put up for auction at Sotheby's, London, with the estimated value of 2–3 million GBP; see *Old Master & British Paintings Evening Sale including Three Victorian Masterpieces from the Leverhulme Collection*, Sotheby's, London, 4 Dec. 2013, cat. no. 35, with extensive bibliography; sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2013/old-master-british-paintings-evening-113036/lot.35.html?locale=en (accessed 12 Sept. 2022).

58 The second work by this artist was, however, most probably lost; it had been recorded in the apartment at 40 Smolna Street as a work by the Dutch school owned by Katarzyna Branicka ('Interior of a kitchen or an eatery in cool, grey-greenish hues. At the forefront a man in a white apron standing on a table. Oil on wood', Warsaw, Central Archives of Modern Records, Ministry of Culture and Art, sign. 387/34, fol. 78); Andrzej Ryszkiewicz wrote of both works being in the family's possession ('Ksawery Branicki i polonica na zamku w Montrésor', p. 158); Mrs. Wirydianna Rey mentions only *The Old Man Reading* (letter dated 23 Sept. 1992 in the materials deposited at the National Museum in Warsaw, MNW S-15/9).

APPENDIX

**Katalog obrazów należących do J.W.P. hr. Konstantego Branickiego znajdujących się
w r. 1882 w Jego mieszkaniu na ulicy Penthievre No 22 w Paryżu**

spisał Michał Żmigrodzki

**[Catalogue of paintings belonging to His Lordship Count Konstanty Branicki, in 1882
located in his apartment at rue Penthievre No 22 in Paris,
compiled by Michał Żmigrodzki]**

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The descriptions were supplemented with titles of works in square brackets.⁵⁹

1. Hals Frans 1584–1666 (Ha[a]rlem) [*Portrait of a Man*] Length/0.57 Height/0.77; a – [head-dress], b – blond hair, c – white lace, d – black garb, e – white lace, f – dark brown black background; addenda: ‘War 3’; ‘a wash would be advisable’; ‘N. 5 du catalogue 1920’
2. Raibolini Francesco (il Francia) 1459–1517 (Bologna) [*Madonna with Child*] Length/0.71 Height/0.86; a, b, c – red, d – dark yellow lining of the robe, e – dark sapphire outer layer of the robe, f – naked neck and the child, g – landscape to the left – mountains, h – landscape to the right – city, i – background – sunset
3. Vannucchi Andrea (Andrea del Sarto) 1488–1530 (Florencia) [*Portrait of a Man*] Length/0.51 Height/0.62; a – black beret, b – blond hair, c – undergarments, d – garb in ash/steel grey, f – dark background
4. Lucas van Leyden [*Christ Carrying the Cross and St Veronica*] painted on wood Length/0.52 Height/0.58; a – the figure of Christ in dark ash grey, bluish robe, b – St Veronica, c – white headdress, d – red outer robe, e – white kerchief, f – the figure of a thug in pale ash grey robe, g – the figure of Simeon in dark brown robe, h – the head of a thug in blue headdress, i – the figure of a thug in red robe, k – city gate, l – city tower, m – landscape of two hills, n – a figure walking away – two figures in farther background, o – black architectural surrounding of the image
5. Rubens Piotr Paweł 1577–1640 (Anvers) [*Portrait of a Woman*] copy painted on wood Length/0.49 Height/0.68; a – white muslin veil, b – blond hair, c – bared breast, d – string of pearls, e – blue part of the garb, upon which a gold pin with a ruby and two pearls, f – red robe, g – fur cuff, h – belt of gold circles, i – dark background
6. Teniers David (the Young) 1610–1694 (Anvers) [*The Village Surgeon*] Length/0.84 Height/0.65; a – grey-haired old man with a small beard, in a blue jacket, with right leg bared, b – man of middle years, in light-coloured garb and bluish trousers – in a blue cap with a fur lining, c – woman of middle years, in black hat and red dress, with a basket on the left arm, d – young man, blond, preparing [!] a plaster – in ash grey garb, e – very dark figure of a man, f – window open to the inside, g – stick, h – two bottles, i – hat, k – sash, l – shoe, m – three bottles and a bowl; addendum: ‘provient de la Galerie Radziwill’
7. (Kranach the Old) Lucas Sunder 1472–1553 Weimar [*Portrait of a Man*] painted on wood Length/0.52 Height/0.67; a – blond hair, b – undergarments, c – yellow inner garb, d – black outer garb, e – dark brown gloves, f – ash grey/bluish background; addendum: ‘to take down and examine’
8. Granet Franciszek Marius 1775–1849 Aix-en-Provence [*An Interior Scene*] Length/0.46 Height/0.37; a – woman standing on a table in white garb and yellow bodice, b – young woman

⁵⁹ The descriptions, originally in Polish of the era, are here rendered in standard English; for the original text, see the Polish-language version of this article in the current issue of *Wilanów Studies*. The first names of painters have not been changed if given in Polish (translator’s note).

standing with her arms to the back, in red garb, in red skirt – little girls sitting, dressed the same way, cdf – coverings [*illegible*] on their heads, e – young woman in white, sitting, f – standing, g – woman in bluish dress, h – doors open to the inside of the room, i – shelf, k – table by the wall, l – light falling from above through an opening in the ceiling, m – ceiling beams, n – door architraves, o – door bolted from the outside, p – glass-paned window open to the inside, r – three carrots and a cabbage head

9. Clouet Franciszek (Cloet Jehannet) [*Portrait of a Woman*] painted on wood Length/0.21 Height/0.26; a – dark hair, b – double strings of pearls in the hair, c – white lace collar, d – three strings of pearls around the neck, e – black garb embroidered in gold, f – sleeves of golden fabric, g – dark background; addendum: ‘to restore without delay’
10. (attribué) Rembrandt van Ryn 1608–1669 Amsterdam [*Portrait of a Man*] painted on wood Length/0.18 Height/0.23; a – blond hair – in great dishevelment on the head and beard, b – dark brown garb, c – dark background; addendum: ‘N 15 du catalogue 1920’
11. Lovini da Luino Bernardino (Luini) [*Madonna with Child*] 1460–1530 Luino painted on wood Length/0.50 Height/0.67; a – dark blond hair, b – bared breast, c – naked Christ, d – blue inner robe, e – red outer robe, f – dark background of leaves, g – landscape of two hills and a house
12. Pinturicchio (Bernardino di Benedetto Perone) 1454–1513 [*St Catherine*] painted on wood Length/0.42 Height/0.49; a – blond hair, loose, b – bared neck, c – white inner robe, embroidered in gold, d – yellow belt, e – puce cloak with edges embroidered in gold and pearls, f – dark green lining of the cloak, g – fur cuffs, h – gold crown set with rubies, surrounded with a golden halo, i – dark background; addendum: ‘to move to a more suitable place’
13. Raibolini Francesco (il Francia) [*Madonna with Child*] painted on wood Length/0.52 Height/0.66; a – dark blond hair, b – bared neck, c – naked figure of Christ, d – red inner robe, e – sapphire blue outer robe, f – dark green lining of the outer robe, g – red cushion with tassels in corners, h – hems of undergarment, i – bench on which the Virgin Mary is sitting, k – dark background, l – dark brown landscape – tree to the left, m – bluish landscape, n – pale sky on the horizon
14. Bellini Giovanni 1426–1516 (Venice) [*Madonna with Child*] painted on wood Length/0.49 Height/0.42; a – muslin veil, b – bared neck, c – naked figure of Christ, d – light brown inner robe, e – hems of undergarments, f – dark green outer robe, g – dark lining of outer robe, h – golden lines surrounding the head halo, i – dark brown landscape, k – dark blue landscape, l – pale sky on the horizon, m – dark background behind the Virgin Mary’s head – appears to be a board; addendum: ‘to place suitably’
15. Cuyt Albrecht 1602–1672 (Anvers) [*Portrait of a Young Woman*] painted on wood Length/0.48 Height/0.49; a – blond hair with a braid at the back, b – lower collar of muslin, c – upper collar of muslin, d – undergarment, e – red brooch, f – rope of red beads, g – front of bodice with four slanting double stripes, h – black bodice, i – puff sleeves in red and black stripes, i₁ 11 puffs, i₂ 8 puffs, k – white cuffs, l – gold bracelets, m – pearl earring, n – dark background; addendum: ‘to take down and examine’
16. Porbus – Pourbus Franciszek (the Young) 1570–1622 (Holland – Paris) [*Portrait of a Woman*] Length/0.53 Height/0.65; a – dark blond hair, b – red and white headdress, d – triple ruff of lace, e – triple gold chain with a small cross, f – black garb, g – seven rows of gold embroidery on sleeves, h – dark background, i – earring with three pearls; addendum: ‘N 25 du catalogue 1920’
17. Copie du Guido Reni [added] [*David with the Head of Goliath*] Length/0.96 Height/1.29; a – light-coloured ostrich feather, b – black hair, c – red beret, d – naked parts of the body, e – head

- of Goliath with dark beard and moustache, f – pale blue lining of garment, g – fur garment, h – round column, i – square column, k – steel sword and blade – bronze crosspiece and two rings, l – dark background
18. Porbus – Pourbus Franciszek (the Young) 1570–1622 (Holland – Paris) [*Portrait of a Man*] Length/0.53 Height/0.65; a – dark hair, b – beard and moustache lighter in colour, c – triple ruff of lace, d – black garb, e – black sleeves embroidered in gold one row of stitching downwards and 18 rows across the sleeve, f – similar type of embroidery below the neck, g – dark background
 19. Anton van Dyck 1599–1641 (Anvers) [*St Sebastian*] Length/0.66 Height/0.96; a – blond hair, b – naked body, c – loincloth of white [linen], d – red robe, e – tree trunk, f – broken branch, g – leafy tree branches, h – lit sky on the horizon, i – landscape of blue mountains, k – dark background of stones, grasses, shrubs etc.
 20. Greuze Jan Baptist 1725–1803 (Macon – Paris) [*Indolence / La Paresseuse italienne*] (copy) painted on wood Length/0.50 Height/0.63; a – dark blond hair, b – bared breasts and arms – and one foot, c – shift, d – linen apron, e – skirt in red and white stripes, f – undergarments spread to dry, g – red shoes, h – two clay vessels, i – tripod for drying undergarments, k – copper vessel, l – two clay vessels and two glass bottles, one of those in a basket, m – cupboard on the wall, n – shelf; addendum: ‘from Wilanów’
 21. Rubens Piotr Paweł 1577–1640 (Anvers) [*Holy Family during the Flight into Egypt*] painted on wood Length/0.75 Height/0.61; a – naked figure of an angel, b – dark loincloth, c – little angel flying, with torch in left hand, d – bared breast of Virgin Mary, e – Child Jesus, f – red inner robe of the Virgin Mary, g – blue outer robe of the Virgin Mary, h – St Joseph’s head turned to the back – bare of hair, i – yellow outer robe of St Joseph, k – tree trunks, l – leafy branches, very dark, m – new moon, n – donkey; addendum: ‘N 2 du catalogue’
 22. Greuze Jan Baptist 1725–1803 (Macon – Paris) [*The Guitarist*] Length/0.48 Height/0.63; a – dark blond hair covered with a little black cap, b – white garb with lacing on the arm, c – trousers in yellow, black and red stripes, d – white hose, e – brown shoes, f – undergarments, g – grey-blue cloak, h – yellow guitar, i – things lying on the table: two birds, two glass bottles in straw wrapping, k – brown square table, l – dark brown bench
 23. [*Portrait of a Lady with a Rosary*] painted on wood Length/0.32 Height/0.44; a – white head-dress, b – bared breasts, c – white collar, d – dark garb, e – rosary of red beads, f – armorial shield, g – dark background; addenda: ‘N 13 du catalogue 1920’, ‘to repair in the nearest future’
 24. Adrien van Ostade [*The Village School*] painted on wood Length/0.30 Height/0.23; a – boy on a ladder: grey, b – boy holding the ladder: red, c – boy in light-coloured garb and red beret, d – boy in light-coloured garb and a hat, e – child with a linen head-covering, f – teacher in ash-grey garb and cap of the same colour, g – boy in the background, h – child with a linen head-covering, i – boy in red garb and a hat, k – boy in grey garb, l – boy in the background, m – child with a linen head-covering, n, o – boys in the background, in grey garb, p – boy with his back turned, in bluish garb, r – linen hanging to dry
 25. Dürer Albrecht 1471–1528 (Nuremberg) [*St Jerome*] painted on wood Length/0.19 Height/0.28; a – St Jerome with grey beard – in a shirt with chest and shoulders bared, b – his robe: red, c – dark brown lion, d – white tree trunk, e – passage under rock, f – hut, seated figure of the saint beside, g – yellow hillock, a tree on it, h – rock, i – shrubs at the foot of rock, k – ruins of castle on rock (on 4th [background] plane), l – ruins (3rd [background] plane), m – group

- of three trees, n – threes on river bank, o – river, a bridge over it, on it the figure of the saint in red garb – pulling a thorn from lion's paw, p – grey tree trunk, r – landscape of blue mountains (5th [background] plane), s – hillock of yellow sand, t – trees in a canyon, u – bank of yellow sand; addendum: 'N 6 du catalogue 1920'
26. Granet Franciszek Marius 1775–1849 (Aix-en-Provence) [*The Old Man Reading*] Length/0.22 Height/0.29; a – black cap on the head of a grey-bearded old man, b – dark robe, c – dark brown book, d – white hose, e – dark brown-grey armrest of chair, f – red ends of armrest, g – window open to the inside, h – some rectangular object, i – some very dark figure, k – dark background
27. [*A Dog*] Length/0.38 Height/0.27; a – dog of pedigree, 1) muzzle, 2) white chest and forepaws, 3) ears and throat, 4) body and hind legs yellow in colour, 5) white end of tail, c – sea, d – landscape of blue mountains, e – sky covered with clouds
28. Teniers David (the Young) 1610–1694 (Anvers) [*The Palm Reading*] painted on wood Length/0.20 Height/0.26; a – old fortuneteller in dark dress wrapped in red shawl with two black stripes at the bottom – white head-covering, dark brown-grey shoes, b – old man with grey beard – in ash-grey jacket – in dark brown hat and trousers of the same colour – in grey hose and shoes, c – boy in a red jacket with torn-off sleeves, in dark trousers torn off at the knee, is stealing a money pouch from the old man's pocket, d – man of middle years – in a shirt and red garb, covered with light-green cloth – a staff in his hand – white head-covering, e – woman of middle years, on her arm a child wrapped in green cloth – red skirt, yellow bodice and shoulder covering – behind her a yellow cloak – white head-covering, f – stone with inscription, g – yellow sand, h – pot and basket with a greenish cloth, i – huge tree trunk, k – yellow hillock, l – trees in 2nd [background] plane, m – trees and small church in 3rd [background] plane, n – sky covered with clouds
29. Arnold van der Neer 1613–1684 (Amsterdam) [*Village Landscape at Night*] painted on wood Length/0.24 Height/18; a – river, b – boat with two people inside, c – plank fence entering the water, d – riverbank stones, e – large very dark figures one of which in red garb, f – hut, g – light visible through the window, h – trees, i – little huts on the other side of the river, k – outline of city in farthest background, l – full moon, m – clouds
30. Teniers David (the Young) 1610–1694 (Anvers) [*The Vodka Seller*] painted on wood Length/0.11 Height/0.16; a – ash-grey hat, b – dark brown-ash grey jacket, c – dark brown basket hanging on the neck with 5 bottles inside, d – dark brown-ash grey trousers, e – black hose, f – grey shoes, g – little houses in the background, h – trees, i – meadow, k – ash grey sky, l – rectangular glass bottle; addendum: 'N 3 du catalogue 1920'
31. Lucas van Leyden [*The Itinerant Dentist*] painted on wood Length/0.91/2 Height/0.13; a – wooden table, b – covered with tablecloth and tools on it, c – white board on a stick, d, e – beret on the head and red outer robe, f – fur collar, g – yellow inner garb, h – clay bottle, i – blond hair, k – fingers of the medic holding the head, l – bluish jacket, m – grey trousers, n – brown shoes, o – linen head-covering, p – bared breasts, r – pink dress, s – blue pouch, t – skirt, u – dark brown floor, w – bluish background, z – monogram; addendum: 'N 1 du catalogue 1920'
32. (Kranach the Old) Lucas Sunder 1472–1553 Weimar [*Venus with Cupid*] painted on wood Length/24 Height/0.38; a – naked female figure with a gossamer loincloth, b – pink headdress covered with pearl net, c – gold necklace set with precious stones and hung with pearls, d – gold chain with a medallion – ruby in the centre, pearl at the bottom, e – naked Cupid with honeycomb in his right hand – three bees on his hand, chest and forehead, f – tree trunk, g – board with

- inscription, h – background of dark green leaves, i – landscape of blue mountains, k – city, l – lit sky on the horizon, m – road covered with gravel; addendum: ‘N 20 du catalogue du 1920’
33. Chardin Jan Baptysta Symeon 1699–1779 (Paris) [*Portrait of the Duchess de Penthièvre*] Length/0.60 Height/0.49; a – white muslin edge of bonnet on the old woman’s head, b – dark celadon-coloured covering on head and shoulders, c – undergarment, d – bronze-coloured dress, e – couch armrest upholstered in red fabric with huge flowers, f – couch armrest of wood carved at the top, seven visible on the side, 8 on top, g – couch armrest of wood, h – dark ash-grey background
34. [*Portrait of a Man*] painted on wood oval format, Width/0.20 Height/0.23; a – blue beret with double gold band, b – shirt collar, c – black inner robe, d – fur, with which the cloak is lined, e – ash grey-blue outside of the cloak, f – book bound in old parchment, g – ash grey table, h – goblet of gilt silver, i – hilt of small sword, k – gold chain, l – dark background
35. Porbus – Pourbus Franciszek (the Young) 1570–1622 (Holland – Paris) [*Portrait of a Man*] painted on wood L/0.12 H/0.15; a – black beret, b – dark blond hair, c – white crinkle-pressed collar, d – pin, e – black garb, f – dark background; addendum: ‘N 24 du catalogue 1920’
36. Brouwer Adrian [*The Sleeping Peasant*] painted on wood D1/0.25 Wys/0.31; a – figure of man of middle years in light brown garb with a tankard and staff in his hand, b – red cloth hanging on the armrest, c – clay jug, d – copper vessel, e – broom, f – window open to the inside – an owl sitting on the window shutter, g – wooden shelf – a red bowl on it, h – door open to the inside in them a figure turned away, i – man in a hat low on his forehead a glass in his hand, k – head of a man, l – profile of a man with a red nose, m – head of a woman would with white cloth, n – man in a hat low on his forehead, left hand on a tankard, o – man with his head down on the table, p – shirt and naked flesh visible between trousers and jacket, r – man in red garb and red cap lying on the ground, s – head of a pig
37. Richard [Gustave] pinxit [*Portrait of a Bearded Man* (Konstanty Branicki)]; a – light blond hair, beard and moustache, b – bared part of neck, c – black garb, d – dark background
38. [*The Woman with a Bared Breast*]; a – light blond hair, b – bared breast, c – muslin veil, d – bed linen, e – dark background; addendum: ‘Baron Gérard?’
39. Géricault Jan Ludwik Andrzej Teodor 1791–1824 (Rouen) [*A Donkey and a Monkey*]; addenda: ‘N. 14 du catalogue 1920’, ‘to take down and examine’
40. Jan David de Heem 1600–1674 (Anvers) [*Still Life*]

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- Benesz H., Kluk M., *Early Netherlandish, Dutch, Flemish and Belgian Paintings 1494–1983 in the Collections of National Museum in Warsaw and the Palace at Nieborów Complete Illustrated Summary Catalogue. Volume II (Anonymus Artists)*, eds H. Benesz, P. Borusowski (Warszawa, 2016).
- [Blank A.], *Katalog Galeryi Obrazów sławnych mistrzów z różnych szkół zebranych przez ś.p. Xięcia Michała Radziwiłła Wojew. Wil. teraz w Królikarni pod Warszawą wystawionych* (Warszawa, 1835).
- Catalogue d'une collection précieuse de tableaux et dessins modernes, formant le cabinet de M. Prudhon fils*, Paris, 18–19 December 1829.
- Catalogue de tableaux précieux des écoles anciens et modernes, [...] dont la vente aura lieu après le décès de M. de Laurencel*, Paris, 10–12 December 1831.
- Catalogue d'une jolie réunion de tableaux et aquarelles [...] formant le Cabinet de M. A.B. dont la vente aura lieu pour cause de départ*, Paris, 19–20 April 1850.
- Catalogue de la riche et précieuses collection de tableaux modernes [...] composant la galerie de feu M. Jean-Ferdinand van Becelaere, amateur*, Bruxelles, 11–13 April 1860.
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60 After the completion of my work on this article, a two-volume study by Mariusz Klarecki has been published, where issues connected with Branicki's cabinet of paintings are mentioned in the context of war losses; this work has not been taken under consideration. Cf. M. Klarecki, *Zrabowana Warszawa. Straty w prywatnych zbiorach i artystycznych kolekcjach mieszkańców Warszawy w latach 1939–1945* (Warszawa, 2024), vol. I, pp. 78–81, 143, 174; vol. II, pp. 41–45.

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