In the study titled *La Bella Principessa* and the Warsaw *Sforziad*, published in January 2011, Professor Kemp provided evidence that the portrait of Bianca Sforza was a part of an illuminated book printed on vellum - *La Sforziada* by Giovanni Simonetta, stored in the National Library in Warsaw\(^1\). The excision took place, most probably, during the process of rebinding. This was done meticulously, as his paper showed, although the knife slipped at near the bottom of the left edge\(^2\). At that moment, the portrait and the book were separated from each other and ceased to share the same fortune.

\(^{1}\) Images indicating that portrait of *La Bella Principessa* was part of a bound volume  
Author: Pascal Cotte

\(^{2}\) M. Kemp and P. Cotte, op. cit., p. 5

My research initiated as a result of this discovery shows that the most probable date of rebinding of the Warsaw copy of *La Sforziada* was the turn of the 18\(^{th}\) and 19\(^{th}\) century\(^3\). The following text is an introduction to the first general analysis of the problems concerning

\(^{3}\) Extensive study of the history of the Zamoyski book collection as well as scrupulous analysis of alterations to the original volume – decoration of new leather cover, watermarks on inserted sheets, bookplates, existing and obliterated inscriptions - will be presented in the book published by the British publishing house Ashgate.
circumstances of rebinding and the contemporaneous excision of the portrait of *La Bella Principessa*. The findings will be extensively presented in a forthcoming book⁴.

2. *La Sforziada*. Book cover – front and two inscriptions by a different hand on the inserted sheet of paper⁵.

The widely quoted, yet unproved theory is that *La Sforziada* was brought to Poland by Bona Sforza in 1518 on the occasion of her wedding with Sigismund I⁶. An alternative provenance will be introduced by Prof. Wright in the same publication⁷. Equally uncertain is whether this copy of the Italian book was part of the book collection of her son, King Sigismund II Augustus (1520-1572) book collection. Several decades later, it was definitely a part of the collection of Jan Zamoyski (1542-1605), Royal Secretary, Great Royal Chancellor and Great Royal Hetman, and entered the Academy of Zamosc, which he established in the ideal city of Zamosc in 1594.

The *Sforziada* was without doubt a part of the Library of the Academy. Current research has revealed that the first mention of this volume appears in an inventory of the Library of the Academy made in 1675; the next listing is in 1766. It remained a part of this collection until late 18th century, that is, until the Academy was closed down, as a result of the gradual and

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⁴ This book will also contain meticulous analysis of the illumination by Giovanni Pietro Birago written by D. R. Edward Wright, Emeritus Professor of Art History at the University of South Florida.

⁵ Photographs: National Library in Warsaw


⁷ Prof. Wright’s hypothetical reconstruction states that Bona Sforza could not have owned Sforziad and that it was sent to the Kingdom of Poland *via* king of France.
The beginning of the 19th century brought numerous changes which will constitute the main topic of this paper. The most comprehensive and in-depth revival of the idea of the academic centre in Zamosc was conceived by Stanislaw Zamoyski (1775-1856), the 12th Lord of Zamosc. As a bibliophile, who collected rare books and precious documents he envisioned a thoroughgoing cultural and economic reform of the Estate, including the restoration of his family seat in Zamosc and the reestablishment and revival of traditions of the once prestigious Zamoyski Academy. Hippaeum Zamoscianum and its library laid at the symbolic heart of the Count's cultural undertakings and was the most complex renovation since the 16th century. Although the Library of the Academy was formed in 1594, it is Count Stanislaw Zamoyski who, two centuries later, is described in literature as the actual founder of the Library of the

8 Part of the book collection may have been separated shortly before or after the Academy was closed down and transferred to the palace of the Lords of Zamosc. This subject will be discussed in the mentioned book.
Entailed Estate of Zamość.

7. Stanislaw Kostka Zamoyski by Jean-Baptiste Augustin (1759-1832)
   Painted between 1803 and 1804, oil on canvas, 40×35 cm
   Lost

It remains uncertain whether it was him or his elder brother, Aleksander August Zamoyski, the 11th Lord of Zamosc in the years between 1792 and 1800, who ordered Mr Benoit, the concierge of the Academy, to create a catalogue of the library dated 1800. *La Sforziada* cannot be recognised in his catalogue, but it may have been concealed by the many oversimplifications. An alternative explanation is that *Sforziad* was part of the private library in the castle of Zamosc, the family seat of lords of the estate.

The beginning of the 19th century also witnessed also a significant attempt to unify the most valuable Polish aristocratic book collections – of the Zamoyski and Ossolinski families. From 1795 onwards, the year of the third and final partition of the *Res Publica Serenissima* - the Most Serene Republic - by Prussia, Russia and Austria - Earl Jozef Maksymilian Ossolinski (1748-1826) lived in Vienna. He was an erudite, bibliophile and a passionate art collector, whose book holdings consisted of almost thirty thousand volumes. At the end of his life he intended to bring them back to his home country, but since his book collection would have been endangered in partitioned Poland, as his collections were endangered by uncertain political situation, he was searching for a new and safe location.

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9 Listed in the national catalogue of the objects lost in result of the Second World War: http://dzielautracone.gov.pl/katalog-strat-wojennych/obiekt/?obid=35636

10 The 11th Lord of Zamosc passed away suddenly and untimely in 1800 being only 28 years old.

11 One of the details that may confirm this theory is the partly obliterated inscription in *Sforziad* which will be discussed by me in detail in the mentioned book.
Initially, Count Ossolinski intended to choose Cracow as the most suitable site for his extensive collections, but later, after he had asked Prince Adam Czartoryski (1734-1823) for advice, who heartily recommended Stanislaw, he decided on Zamosc - already the seat of another magnificent library. The final agreement with Count Ossolinski regarding the location of the united libraries was reached in 1804 and a number of books from his collection still carry a bookplate with this date. However, numerous preparations on the part of Count Zamoyski took place before this date. The Count intensively searched for faculty to join the former academy, which he turned into the High School of Zamosc, an institution whose scope was better suited for the town at the turn of the centuries. The printing house in the Academy had already been renovated by him in 1802. By 1804 he had not found a suitable librarian, but continued correspondence shows how much effort he put into finding the most suitable candidate in Europe, with the help of a number of distinguished scholars. It needs to be underlined that Stanislaw Zamoyski was not only taking care of the collections he already owned, but also put very intense efforts in purchasing new valuable manuscripts and early printed books with the help of agents and dealers in Europe and through extensive family connections.

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13 There are significantly fewer books marked with this *ex libris* and the year “1804” than there are those marked with "1815", like Sforziada. Extensive study regarding these bookplates, watermarks, leather cover and its decoration, as well as numbers and inscriptions added later to this volume will be discussed in the mentioned book.

14 "He wished not only to become acquainted with foreign libraries, museums, and bookstores, to make promising contacts, but also to make appropriate purchases, impressions, and notes which later would be helpful in the management of the properties in country". Quotation after K. Ajewski, Stanisława Kostki Zamoyskiego życie i działalność, Warszawa 2010.
Eventually, after several years of intense preparations, the plans for the unification of the major Polish libraries were thwarted by the conquest of the fortress of Zamosc by the Austrian army on May 20th 1809. His attempts were the last, before the library was transferred to Warsaw in the same year, where it was established as the Library of the Estate of Zamosc, operating under the same name until 1944. After the Second World War the collection became a part of the National Library in Warsaw where it is today.

10. Stanislaw Zamoyski, the XII Lord of Zamosc
Miniature portrait by Pierre Louis Gravedon (1830)

11. Sophia of the Princes Czartoryski Family Countess Zamoyska
Miniature portrait by Waleria Tarnowska (1803)

12. Countess Izabela Czartoryska (1746-1835)
Portrait by Alexander Roslin (1774)

13. Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (1734-1823)
Portrait by Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1793)
A few years earlier, in 1798, shortly before Stanisław Zamoyski became the heir of “the country of Zamosc” - the second largest estate in pre-partition Poland, he married Zofia Czartoryska, the youngest daughter of Countess Izabela Czartoryska (1746-1835). The marriage found strong support the Countess’s husband, Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski. The engagement ceremony of the young couple took place in Pulawy - a town known as the "Polish Athens" - on the 18th of May 1798. Two days later, they celebrated their nuptials. During these ceremonies the cornerstone for the Temple of Sybil, the first Polish museum envisioned as the Polish royal pantheon, was laid.

The intense cultural life of the court of his mother- and father-in-law, their strong support, rich family traditions, and, finally, close connections with the most distinguished Polish and European scholars, as well as the atmosphere of enthusiastic search for relics of the past, would have deeply influenced Count Zamoyski as the owner of one of the most valuable private book collections in the country. Few scholars have addressed this triple connection - Zamoyski, Ossoliński, Czartoryski. Yet, in the context of the unification of the aristocratic libraries and, even more so, of the rebinding of La Sforziada, the role and impact of Prince Czartoryski, bibliophile, linguist, author, and a scholar deeply interested in studying ancient languages has not been underlined enough. It, is of crucial relevance. The Prince was so heavily involved involved in the re-establishment of academic traditions in Zamosc that he wrote "Remarks on Establishment of the High School in Zamosc" (Quelques Remarques sur le Plan des Écoles de Zamosc"), and, as mentioned earlier, played a major role in negotiations with Maksymilian Ossolinski. What is more, Count Zamoyski gave Prince Czartoryski authorisation to arrange the library matters while the Lord of Zamosc was away for political

15 After the wedding the couple spent most of their time in nearby Podzamcze – a country residence, while the palace in Zamosc was undergoing renovation (Ajewski, op. cit., p. 52). If Sforziad was part of the palace library, this renovation of the family seat would have been a very good reason for the parallel restoration of books.

16 Pol. "Uwagi nad założeniem gimnazjum w Zamościu", Sygn. 6037 III 1790-1817, Princes Czartoryski Library
purposes in Vienna or when he was traveling abroad. Stanislaw together with Zofia spent two years traveling in Europe between 1802 and 1804\textsuperscript{17}. It is likely that the answer to the question of the rebinding of \textit{La Sforziada} lies within the close connections and cultural exchange between Zamoyski and Czartoryski families.

16. Prince Adam Czartoryski, 4-page autograph of

"Quelques Remarques sur le Plan des Écoles de Zamosc"

containing detailed description of the conceived programme of five classes in the High School of Zamosc

Library of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Cracow

This relationship is of even greater significance as Countess Izabela Czartoryska (1746-1835) became the most active and prolific Polish art collector of her time and indeed in Polish history. Her involvement in this context is of great significance. At the turn of the 18th and 19th century and in the first years of the 19th century she paid a number of recorded visits to Zamosc. One of the early records described how Izabela and her daughter Zofia were traveling from Lviv via Zamosc, and how they had to stopped there because Izabela suffered from a migraine. Aleksander Zamoyski, the young Lord of Zamosc, cordially invited them on behalf of his mother, to take a rest and stay in the castle. The invitation was accepted. This is also when Zofia met her future husband, and future Lord of Zamosc, Stanislaw.

The third and final partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795 induced an even deeper interest in the need for the preservation of historical documents of the past. This maintenance of memory was needed for individual and social encouragement in the given political situation and, as the time went by, for future generations. Aristocracy, especially members of the Czartoryski family, played a major and inestimable role throughout the 19th century in collecting and preserving objects documenting Polish history. The 16th century and rule of the Jagiellonian dynasty, the times when Poland and Lithuania flourished economically and culturally together, was of special value and was very carefully studied by the Countess' circle.

Historical collections of Izabela Czartoryska were displayed in the Temple of Sybil – erected between 1798 and 1801 by a Neo-classical architect Piotr Aigner. It was modeled on the temple of Vesta in Tivoli and was envisioned as a Temple of Memory with engraved motto above the entrance "Past for the Future" (org. "Przeszłość Przyszłości"). This shrine of history was a dedicated to the memory of great Polish historical figures and major aristocratic

17. Palace in Zamość overlooking the Academy
Photo credit: http://www.zabytki.zamosc.pl/rejestr/43/akademia-zamojska.html

18 According to K. Ajewski it was their first encounter. However, the record BUAM sygn. 44/II, k. 81, on p. 59: "In Sieniawa [in 1797] where he stayed for a few good days he fell in love with Zofia for good".

19 Piotr Aigner designed also the "Marynki" palace of her elder daughter, Maria Wirtemberska, in Pulawy
families.

This likely context of the rebinding of *La Sforziada* is significant for one more reason: *Lady with an Ermine* by Leonardo da Vinci was purchased by Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, the Countess's son, and arrived in Pulawy around 1800. The exact circumstances of this acquisition remain unknown. Also the provenance of this portrait, prior to these dates, remains unexplained. The painting was in the residence until shortly before the outbreak of the November Uprising in 1830. The female figure was interpreted by Countess Czartoryska as "*La Bele Feroniere by Leonard D’Awinci*" (original spelling).


19. "*La Bele Feroniere Leonard D’Awinci*"

The background was painted black and this inscription was added in the top left corner of the painting.

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21 For more information see P. Cotte, op. cit., p. 42.

22 Around forty paintings from the Countess’ collection, preserved in the Princes Czartoryski Museum today, have similar inscriptions. Some of them seem original (from the time when they were created), some, on the other hand, added by her or her circle. The handwriting may suggest that by the same hand. A number of the
The arrival of the newly acquired painting by Leonardo da Vinci in Poland brought forth an even deeper interest in the studies of the Italian Renaissance. The most direct Polish Italian Renaissance connection was via Bona Sforza D’Aragona (1494-1557), daughter of Gian Geleazzo Sforza and Isabella d’Aragona. The turn of the 18th and 19th century marked a very intense interest, in the studies of the historical and cultural heritage of these two outstanding historical figures – Bona Sforza and Sigismund I. At that time, Bona, one of the most prominent figures in Polish history, emerged from behind the veil of history as a young queen – a young person. This was an undertaking in which all three of the discussed families - Zamoyski, Czartoryski and Ossoliński - were involved.

In this context, it seems likely that the three families not only would have known who Francesco Sforza was, but would also have linked queen Bona with the incunabulum from Zamoscium. Consequently, the identification of La Sforziada would have been discussed. Furthermore, the portrait of a young woman in profile might have probably suggested to them the figure of to Bona Sforza – at least, as a person who brought this volume to Poland. The fact that the book was in the collection of Jan Zamoyski, who held important political backgrounds could have been blackened too. Both, them and the context in which they were displayed, require further analysis.

23 The intense Renaissance studies of this circle of outstanding individuals resulted in the purchase of this painting which could have been either preceded or followed by the discovery of the drawing of the girl in profile.

24 For more details please see the forthcoming book.

25 Francesco Sforza was Bona’s great-grandfather.
positions at the courts of Bona’s, only son, Sigismund II August, her daughter Queen Anna Jagiellon and Stephan Bathory, was also certainly obvious for those involved. It is possible that they had enough historical knowledge to decipher some elements of the complicated iconography of the Giovanni Pietro Birago’s illumination. The iconographic programme painted on the frame of La Bella Principessa might have answered some of these questions. Given the fact that the Sforziad presents the history of the deeds of Francesco Sforza, the famed patron of Leonardo da Vinci, it is entirely possible that Zamoyski and Czartoryski would have known it was a portrait by “Leonard D’Awinci”.

The three aristocratic families did not only exchange cultural ideas, but also the latest information about the newly purchased artworks. What is more, they presented them to each other on several different occasions. Research on the mutual donations has, so far, not been extensive. It is usually emphasised that such presents were merely occasional. Many existing records, however, suggest that donations occurred rather often. To present the Countess with a new find always met with a good reception. Such presents were later displayed in the Gothic House or listed in her catalogues with a suitable acknowledgment of the generous donor. In this respect, the correspondence of members of the Czartoryski and Zamoyski family, although preserved only fragmentarily, reflects this very intense period at the turn of the century very clearly. Regularly discussed were the latest findings of paintings and manuscripts, as well as visits to numerous archives, treasuries, and historic monuments in Poland and Europe. Izabela Czartoryska stands out in most accounts as the centre of these endeavours. Stanislaw Zamoyski was particularly involved in conversations with Prince Adam.

On 12th of February 1802 (?) Izabela wrote to her elder daughter, Maria Wirtemberska, and later, who later became known as the accomplished author of the first Polish psychological novel "Malwina" (1813). In the natural manner of the time, Izabela used combination of French and Polish: "Le manuscrit of Zosia [Zofia Zamoyska] is really on top, top of everything. You won’t believe how content it made me. J’en perdu la tête les premières jours. My husband and Marshall Potocki are working on the translation. They fetched multiple dictionaries. Enfin, my Marynia, ce manuscript [original spelling] est une chose si

26 The catalogue of the Gothic House gives insight into the immense historical knowledge that these families possessed. It comprises 1331 entries.

27 Interpretation of this complicated iconography will be provided by Prof. Wright. His detailed analysis reveals the possibility of Leonardo’s involvement in the creation of this 1-page illumination.

28 Discussed later in this paper

29 It is interpreted as Bona Sforza and, formerly, it was a part of the collection of The Temple of Sybil. In the above-mentioned circumstances, the choice of the material – parchment - as well as the use of watercolour to portray young queen, are intriguing.
pretieuse so that I wouldn't give it to anyone for no matter what. Why the "Les mille et une nuit" didn't reach us! (...)"

One year earlier, in 1801 Maria Wirtemberska reported to her mother that Stanislaw "m'a donné lionnes de marbres noir tres belles". One month later, in a letter from the 21st of March 1801, she mentioned a copyist working for her, while on the 12th of May she wrote about a sculpture made of white marble that she had in her garden. In the same letter she refers to the exchange of paintings "dans le genre de Watteau" with Dembowska. These letters are only a small fraction of her correspondence within a few months.

Equally intense was the correspondence between the male members of the families. In a letter from Paris, dated 15th April 1803, Stanislaw Zamoyski wrote to Prince Czartoryski from London mentioning artworks he had purchased. On the 1st of June 1804 he did not forget to announce a visit with his wife, Zofia Czartoryska Zamoyska, to Pulawy. Page 52 of the same set of letters includes Stanislaw's mention about two excised sheets from a manuscript of "Hours". In the context discussed throughout this paper, the year “1804” is of course of great significance as books were certainly renovated on this occasion and, as this example shows, illuminations were excised from them. Unfortunately, the Count did not provide any further information about the circumstances of this excision and it is uncertain whether he referred to the “Hours” that were in his possession.

Apart from the Countess’ son, Prince Adam, Stanislaw Zamoyski, was the most generous

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30 The year of this letter is not clear as it was not marked by the Countess. It is, however, a part of a set of consecutive correspondence, where some of them are marked with precise dates, what allows to draw conclusions that it regards the year 1802. Sygn. 6138, Princes Czartoryski Library in Cracow.

31 Sygn. 6138 Maria Wirtemberska. Letter from 16.02.1801. It is known that the statues of marble lions guarding the entrance to the Temple of Sybil were donated by the Russian tsar - Alexander I in 1805 when he paid a visit to Pulawy.

32 Sygn. 6138 Maria Wirtemberska. Letter from 16.01.1801 Dembowska was the wife of Leon Dembowski and she often stayed in the palace and accompanied Countess Czartoryska. In the same letter she mentioned that when Dembowska didn’t feel well (due to recovery after miscarriage), she stayed in Maria’s former apartment in the palace. 1806 "le 6 janvier" "La Dembowska a pris votre apartement: elle est plus tranquillement" and continues: "Je travaille,je colle (?), je donne des leçons, je reprend mes catalogues et je trouve que les contrastes dans la vie".

33 Ibidem, p. 52 pos. 18.

34 Unfortunately, there is no detailed study about the missing illuminations from the former Library of the Estate of Zamosc. The catalogue of the National Library in Warsaw lists three precious manuscripts of “Hours”. One of them is: “Horae Beatae Mariee Virginis ad usum Turonensem” (1485/86), printed by Jean Dupré in Paris. In terms of applied modifications there are many similarities between this volume and Sforziada: inserted sheets of paper what suggests this volume was rebound, three different inscriptions from different times, two of them by the same hand as in Sforziada, namely, “Devotionis Liber” on an added sheet and, on the original “Liber Precationum Magni Ioannis Zamoysky, Supremi Regni Poloniarum Cancellaris (…), with a number closed to that of Sforziada - “123”, the cover and spine were decorated with the same im-pressed details.
of all the donors and his contribution to the Czartoryski collection comprises twelve items
donated to the Gothic House alone, including objects related to his great predecessor – Jan
Zamoyski. For instance, stones from the old residence of Jan Zamoyski or "208. Two semi-
spheres conjoined by chain, Swedish, found in Zamosc"\textsuperscript{35}. They included also paintings from
Zamosc: "336. 11 pieces of allegorical images, painted on the occasion of birthday of Louis
XIV. From the Lord of Zamosc". (p.34)
", as well as gifts purchased during his and his wife’s
Zofia journey abroad between 1802 and 1804: "511. Small vase of Anna de Boleyn, wife of
Henry VIII, English king, fetched by Zofia wife of Lord of Zamosc" (p. 47), "519. Small vase,
made of agate, previously belonged to Ninon de L'Enclos. Bought in Paris by Stanislaw Lord
of Zamosc". (p. 49). One of these gifts is a precious manuscript with illuminations: "490.
Book of Marshall de Vauban (...), with pencil drawings on parchment (provides title). Bought
in Paris by Stanislaw, Lord of Zamosc". (p.46)\textsuperscript{36,37}.

Countess Izabela Czartoryska wrote extensively to her daughters about her current
undertakings and plans. In a letter from 2.04.1807 she reported: "I am refurbishing my entire
apartment"\textsuperscript{38}. In relation to this plan which she conceived: "D'abord ma fille m'a donne une
cabinet faite pour me tourner la tête et toucher le coeur. I have to admit it my self. Ensuite,
mon autre fille m'a donne des meubles charmants. Ses enfants des meubles aussi. Mr
Zamoyski m'a donne un cruche [pitcher or vase] d'ambre qui était au trésor Royal en France,
et qui doit avoir cinq ou six cents ans"\textsuperscript{39}. This quotation highlights two significant facts:
firstly, that the Countess' son-in-law, Stanislaw Zamoyski, often presented her with different
kinds of artifacts, like the "cruche d'ambre". Secondly, the mention of the "refreshing" of the
Countess' apartments in the palace in Puławy might be of significance in the context of a
source that would provide an account of paintings on the walls of her rooms.

\textsuperscript{35} I. Czartoryska, Poczet pamiątek zachowanych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach, Warszawa 1828
\textsuperscript{36} I. Czartoryska, op. cit., p. 46
\textsuperscript{37}The following positions in the catalogue of the Gothic House: "25.Remains of stones from Skokowka, old
residence of Jan Zamojski's parents. Sent by Stanislaw Zamojski. 26. Bricks from castle of Jan Zamojski" (p. 8),
"32. Stone taken from the gate of Krasnystaw, through which Jan Zamojski led Maximilian. Sent by Stanislaw
Zamojski" (p.9), “208. Two semi-spheres conjoined by chain, Swedish, found in Zamosc" (p.22), "217. Bullets
from Sandomierz, Torun, Smolensk, Rasyn, from Wilanow, Zamosc from 1809" (p.22), "320. Shield, long,
wooden, from the first crusade. (was) Preserved in the town of Constance. Given by lord Zamojski. (p.33), "336.
11 pieces of allegorical images, painted on the occasion of Louis XIV. From the Lord of Zamosc". (p.34), "490.
Book of Marshall de Vauban (...), with pencil drawings on parchment (provides title). Bought in Paris by
Stanislaw lord of Zamosc". (p.46), "498. Small vase made of lapis-lazuli bought in Paris by Stanislaw lord of
of Anna de Boleyn, wife of Henry VIII, English king, fetched by Zofia wife of Lord of Zamosc" (p. 47), "519.
Small vase, made of agate, previously belonged to Ninon de L'Enclos. Bought in Paris by Stanislaw Lord of
Zamosc". (p. 49), "1448. Mosaic altar piece, old-fashion execution, with small columns of lapis-lazuli, placed in
a wooden mahogany board, with shelves and gradus for kneeling. Given by Stanislaw Lord of Zamosc" (p.
117/118).

\textsuperscript{38} Sygn. 6138 (Pol.: "Cały apartament odświeżam")
\textsuperscript{39} Sygn. 6138. The same letter from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of February 1807
21. Palace in Pulawy (1842)


The following excerpt from the *Memoirs* of Leon Dembowski (1789-1878), a politician, statesman, who was a trusted collaborator of Prince Czartoryski, who remained close to the family throughout his life, provides a unique insight in what the art collection of Izabela looked like before "Lady with an Ermine" was transferred and displayed on the first floor of the Gothic House: "The Countess' apartment was on the ground floor in the pavilion on the right. The walls of the anteroom were covered with varnished non-coloured English caricatures. In the hall, whose vault was upheld by four-angular columns, there were only four chairs, copied after Roman ones, and a giant bathtub en stuc made of porphyry. In the second salon beautiful images were displayed on the walls - all of them original. Among them the following were of primary value: The Entrance of Ossolinski to Rome by Dolabella,

40 In correspondence with her son, Prince Adam, who was at that time, in 1800, in Italy, Izabela mentioned that she, herself, varnished these English caricatures for her living room. It was also a gift from him and she describes them providing more details. “Listy Księżnej Izabelli z hr. Flemmingów Czartoryskiej do starszego syna, Księcia Adama zebrała Seweryna Duchnińska”, Kraków 1891, Letter from Pulawy, April 28 1800 (?), p. 58-59.

41 Org. Polish “ogromna en stuc porfirowa wanna” (p. 123)

42 He used the Polish word *obrazy* what means „images”, but can be understood as “paintings” as well.
since today even the etchings made after this painting are rare. Further, a landscape by Rembrandt, St. Martin by Rubens, a Samaritan Woman by Veronese, Cattle – by Casanova, a portrait of Rembrandt's mother by himself, women by Leonardo da Vinci, and van Dyck's Ascension”.

The phrase "women by Leonardo" (an exact translation of the Polish: “kobiety Leonarda”) as well as the art collections in the palace and private apartments of the Czartoryski family have not attracted the attention of scholars, who have concentrated on the collections in the Temple of Sybil and the Gothic House from 1809 onwards. Significantly, this document mentions one or more female portraits of Leonardo in the Czartoryski collection. The phrase "women by Leonardo" suggests that one of them was the Lady with an Ermine. What is more, the other or other female portrait(s) must have been image(s) of significant value since they were mentioned in the paragraph listing the highlights of the Countess’s collection. A few years later, the portrait of Cecilia Gallerani was displayed in the “Green Room” on the first floor of the Gothic House designed and built between 1801-1809 and, interestingly, in a catalogue written later by the Countess herself, she refers to this painting using the word “woman”: „418. Image of a woman known as La Belle Ferroniere, mistress of François I, French king, painted by Leonardo de Vinci [org. spelling]. Given by Prince Adam Czartoryski”. The correct contemporary spelling used in this catalogue, both of the painting’s title as well as the name of the Artist, may suggest that the inscription was added before the catalogue was completed.

23. Willibald Richter, Gothic House in Pulawy (1840)
24. Gothic House, contemporary view. Photo credit: author not specified, web resources

43 The listed painting by Rembrandt is most certainly the “Landscape with the Good Samaritan”, 1638, oil on an oak panel. This painting is in the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Museum today.


45 I. Czartoryska, op. cit., p. 40

46 Few years after the acquisition, the Countess used at least two slightly different forms of his name what is reflected in her catalogue of the Maison Gothique published in 1828.

47 http://cul2.w.interia.pl/pulawy.html
Leon Dembowski also paid a visit to Zamosc. He shrewdly remarked: "The Academy had a beautiful library; it held the most magnificent manuscript of "Vitae of Archbishops of Gniezno" by Jan Długosz."\textsuperscript{48} It is to be remembered that this copy of the work by Długosz was later rediscovered and identified in the 19th century in the Library of the Estate of Zamosc in Warsaw. Another interesting fact is that this item is included in Benoit's inventory in the way that makes its identification possible. Moreover, we are provided, again by Dembowski, with the first detailed description of the interior of the library from that period\textsuperscript{49}.

Izabela Czartoryska was an avid collector of precious manuscripts and this aspect of her art collections has been described by researchers in detail. Major studies by Professors Barbara Miodońska and Maria Jarosławiecka-Gąsiorowska detail illuminations of which she was in possession one by one\textsuperscript{50}. The Countess collected them as separate, individual works of art - as paintings, and illuminated cut out pages were among them\textsuperscript{51}. The catalogue of the Gothic House lists several sets of cut out pages from different manuscripts and old prints\textsuperscript{52}.

Also in this respect the families complemented one another. Beside the previously mentioned "book of Vaubun with drawings on parchment", other books, gifts from Stanislaw and Zofia, include two precious illuminated manuscripts, previously owned by the French family Gouffier: an early 15th century Roman de la Rose by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung and, the second one, a prayer book of Claude Gouffier from the 2nd half of the 15th century\textsuperscript{53}. Izabela Czartoryska noted down that the first one was a manuscript bound in sumptuous velvet and that it was located in the Gothic House\textsuperscript{54}. These donations date back as late as to the year 1811\textsuperscript{55}.

Additionally, both families discussed the need for putting the archives of the subsequent Lords of Zamosc into order, starting with the founder, Chancellor Jan Zamoyski. Furthermore, one more proof for the intense exchange are the books from the former Academy of Zamosc, marked with bookplates with the year “1804”, stored at the Library of

\textsuperscript{48} L. Dembowski, Moje Wspomnienia, Petersburg 1898, vol. I, p. 63
\textsuperscript{49} Ibidem, p. 63
\textsuperscript{50} Zofia Ameisenowa, List in Sygn. 72024 III [w:] Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproduction de Manuscrits à Peintures, 18e Année, Paris 1934
\textsuperscript{51} This tradition of collecting single illuminations was passed on to future generations of the family members
\textsuperscript{52} I. Czartoryska, Poczet pamiętnak zachowanych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach, Warszawa 1828. They are enumerated in detail on pages: 67, 69, 70. Various sets and folders that included loose etchings and single excised pages are listed on page 95 under the title) "Folders and books with etchings".
\textsuperscript{53} For more information please see: Barbara Miodońska i Katarzyna Płonka-Balus, Puławska kolekcja rękopisów iluminowanych książcej Izabeli Czartoryskiej, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Kraków 2001
\textsuperscript{54} K. Ajewski, Stanislaw Kostka Zamoyski, op. cit., p. 235
\textsuperscript{55} It would be difficult to assume that these were the first donations of manuscripts.
the Princes Czartoryski in Cracow.

This cultural exchange between the families, including, the exchange of ideas as well as of material artifacts, lasted for many years, but the first decade of the 19th century witnessed an unprecedentedly intense collaboration. The collections of Pulawy suffered great losses after 1830, the year of the November Uprising, which makes any precise reconstruction of the original collection of Izabela Czartoryska from the beginning of the 19th century impossible. Similarly, one century later, the Zamoyski collections, were badly devastated during the Warsaw Uprising by the end of the Second World War. The great number of lost archival records causes serious problems, which, very often, are impossible to overcome. However, depending on the collection in which the portrait of a girl in profile eventually was, it is possible to reconstruct, but not without difficulties and to a certain degree only, its history until the second half of the 20th century. It can also be taken into consideration that the portrait was displayed in private apartments and was not necessarily included in catalogues or inventories.

The detailed historical context presented in this paper provides a reasonable explanation why the portrait of a girl on vellum escaped notice before its recent rediscovery. Further research on the history of La Sforziada, and especially DNA tests of its vellum sheets, may ultimately confirm the origin of La Bella Principessa as a work included in this volume. At this point and in the light of the circumstances presented above, we can speculate that when the members of the aristocratic Polish families discovered the portrait on vellum, they could have attributed it to Leonardo da Vinci. Additionally, in the light of the cited statement by Leon Dembowski, Countess Izabela Czartoryska may have searched for other portraits by the artist and his circle, or by his followers. In any event, attribution to Leonardo was lost by the time it reappeared in Western Europe.

Since La Bella Principessa was a part of La Sforziada and was very carefully removed during rebinding, the individuals responsible for this decision and action, would have appreciated the artistic value of this portrait. Consequently, "the vellum was at some point laid

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56 This list contains circa forty titles and will be discussed by me in the mentioned book.

57 In the meantime, this research has been continued and the first reconstruction of the portrait’s possible history in the later 19th and 20th century will follow shortly.

58 This test, however, may not provide conclusive results as the possibility of matching the same DNA in a book made of vellum coming from several different animals is relatively low.

59 Interestingly, in 1806, also Stanisław Zamoyski purchased a painting that, at the time, was attributed to Leonardo da Vinci – a portrait of King Francis I - later attributed to one of the two artists François Clouet or Jost van Cleve. This information provides K. Ajewski in “Zbiory artystyczne i galeria muzealna Ordynacji Zamojskiej w Warszawie” (Kozłówka 1997). In the context of the interpretation of Lady with an Ermine as “La Bele Feroniere”, who, according to the 18th and 19th century historiography was a mistress of this French king, this purchase may not have been accidental. He also bought a painting by Raphael - Holy Family”. His mother-in-law owned the “Portrait of a Young Man” by the same artist. This portrait, which is was plundered during WWII was brought from Italy together with Leonardo’s.
and a suitable frame was added, the one the owner felt it deserved. It remains to be confirmed whether these three actions – excision, mounting on the oak board, and putting in a frame - took place at the same time or whether the latter happened directly after the excision or later in the 19th century. It is possible that the independent portrait was at first a part of the collection of various illuminations or their fragments excised from different manuscripts, but, even more, that as a unique find, it was mounted shortly after removal from Sforziad. The frame, unlike the wooden panel, could have been easily removed or, later, changed.

The anonymous portrait of a girl in profile entered the Christie's auction house with this frame:

![Frame with portrait](image)

After the initial examination in the auction house, the frame was detached from the drawing, which was identified as a German 19th century imitation of great Renaissance masters. The frame was thus thought not to correspond with the portrait’s style. At present, it is unknown if this frame still exists, and if so, where exactly it is. Further exchange of correspondence with authorities responsible may, it is hoped, lead to the decision of making the frame available for public scrutiny. An investigation of this frame might provide inestimable information regarding, when the drawing was separated from La Sforziada, as well as important details about the subsequent location and history of this portrait. It may also

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60 M. Kemp and P. Cotte, op. cit., p. 2
provide information about who designed the frame of such an unusual kind.

The meticulously painted decoration of the frame, suggests that the person who decided to bestow upon this drawing the status of an individual artwork was aware of the fact that it previously had been part of an illuminated manuscript - it imitates the margins of an illuminated page. It can be, thus, presumed that this frame was added at the same time with its decoration - a detailed iconographical programme, which resembles a 19th century imitation of the Renaissance style. Its choice – relatively wide and flat one - could have been made with the intention of covering it with the painted scenes. The wooden frame is relatively solid - judging by the laws of proportion - approximately 8 cm wide. Together with the frame, the portrait's measures would be: ca. 41 cm high and ca. 32 cm wide\(^61\). The wooden frame might have been produced much earlier than it was decorated. However, the production of the decoration is unlikely to have preceded the process of excision.

![Image](image.png)

25. & 26. Portrait of a Girl in Profile
(1998)

The quality of the photographs is, unfortunately, not good enough to decipher many or most of the meaningful iconographic details and, thus, cannot support the drawing of far-reaching conclusions. The photographs were taken either from afar and from wide angle or with a strong flash light which makes a precise identification of its numerous elements impossible. The top and bottom parts of the "bordure" are painted with painted figural scenes. The left and right parts, on the other hand, present a combination of figural scenes with decorative Renaissance-style motifs. Nevertheless, even though they may not be clear enough

\(^{61}\) This is a rough estimation based on the not sharp photograph.
to interpret them, they suggest a general theme of the scenes. The top section, most probably, depicts a battle scene: two different antithetically positioned knights. The middle part is unclear, but seems to present a separate group of three or four horsemen. The bottom section is, unfortunately, even less clear than the top one. As far as the vertical sections are concerned: their upper parts are symmetrical and include candelabri, while the lower parts depict two different scenes with a conspicuous tree (perhaps the Sforza emblem of mulberry tree?); beneath them, there are two different figural scenes. The decoration of the frame bears at best a tenuous resemblance to that of the Warsaw Sforziad, which may suggest that it was added by someone who had no longer or no access to the book. This does not, however, necessarily have to be the portrait’s first and original frame.

The owner or owners who made the decision to put the portrait of a girl in profile in this highly elaborated frame must have realized that this was an individual and valuable artwork. It can be assumed that it must have had also a significant value for him or her. Further identification of the iconographical programme would help to answer numerous questions regarding the history of La Bella Principessa after the meaningful excision.

The circle of outstanding individuals presented throughout this paper, would have certainly be able to recognise the historical and artistic value of this female portrait. They may have not been able to identify the portrayed girl as Bianca Sforza, but almost certainly the depicted young woman would have been seen as a ‘Sforza’ – a member of the Sforza family. If the decision to rebind Sforziad and to excise the portrait of girl in profile was reached in this circle of family and close collaborators, it is very probable that it remained in their possession and it entered a different collection only at a later point in time62.

SUMMARY

This paper aims to present the circumstances of the renovation of the Warsaw copy of La Sforziada within a wider historical and cultural background, given that the research had indicated the turn of the 18th and 19th century as the most probable time of the rebinding of the book and the excision of the portrait of Bianca Sforza. Each of the topics has required an in-depth study of a large scope, and the full results will be published in a book by Ashgate.

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62 Provenance research is being continued and its first results will be published in due course.